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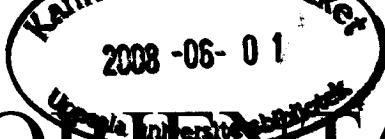
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Editorial communications and orders should be addressed to
Gunilla Gren-Eklund (gunilla.gren-eklund@lingfil.uu.se)
ORIENTALIA SUECANA
Box 635
SE-751 26 Uppsala
Sweden

More information on <http://www.lingfil.uu.se/orientalia>

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A Description of Verbal System in Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin

Abbas Ali Ahangar
Zahedan, Iran

1 Introduction

While there is some material on the verbal system of Sarawani (e.g. Baranzehi 2003) and Lashari (e.g. Mahmoodi Bakhtiari 2003) dialects, the western and southern Balochi dialects of Iran have for the most part not yet been described in this respect. This paper, which is based on the author's fieldwork, provides a synchronic description of some significant grammatical categories intrinsically/relationaly associated with verbs in Sarhaddi Balochi spoken in Granchin (henceforth abbreviated SBG).¹ These morpho-syntactic categories include the intrinsic (inherent) categories agreement, tense, aspect, and mood as well as voice as a relational category.

Granchin is a rural district some 35 km to the southeast of Khash in the Sistan and Baluchistan province of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is a collection of around 30 small and large villages inhabited by the people belonging to the Shahnawāzī tribe, locally and originally known as Yārahmadzahi.² They are mainly farmers and herdsmen.

The linguistic data have been extracted from the free speech of linguistic consultants (30 persons) of different ages (between the ages of 12 to 72) with different social backgrounds. The majority of them are illiterate (24 persons), the rest are educated (two have finished middle school, two high school, and two have a university education).³

This paper consists of four sections. Section two presents the grammatical category of agreement along with present and past personal endings as well as present and past forms of the copula verb. Section three illustrates the morphological and syntactic realization of tense, aspect and mood in SBG. Section four briefly deals with voice as a relational category in this language. Section five contains the conclusion.

Sincere thanks to Prof. Carina Jahani, Uppsala, for providing useful suggestions on earlier versions of this paper. My thanks also to Dr. Agnes Korn, Frankfurt am Main for her comments on an early version of the paper. Any shortcomings are, of course, my own responsibility.

¹ SBG seems to be in a transitional stage when it comes to the sound system, particularly that of the vowels. Balochi has eight oral vowel phonemes, and several dialects also have nasalized vowels. The pronunciation of some of the oral vowels vary considerably between different Balochi dialects (see e.g. Jahani 2003:119 fn. 27, and Mahmoodi Bakhtiari 2003:133, fn. 3). Both in this investigation and that of Mahmoodi Bakhtiari variation in pronunciation between different linguistic consultants is attested. The transcription of vowels is therefore here phonetic rather than phonemic.

² Some of the tribesmen recognize their tribe as Yārmammadzahī.

³ I would like to express my thanks to the patient linguistic consultants in Granchin who made the main contribution to preparing this paper, also particularly to Elyas and Hemmat Shahnawāzī and M. Amin and Hanife Rigi for their kind hospitality.

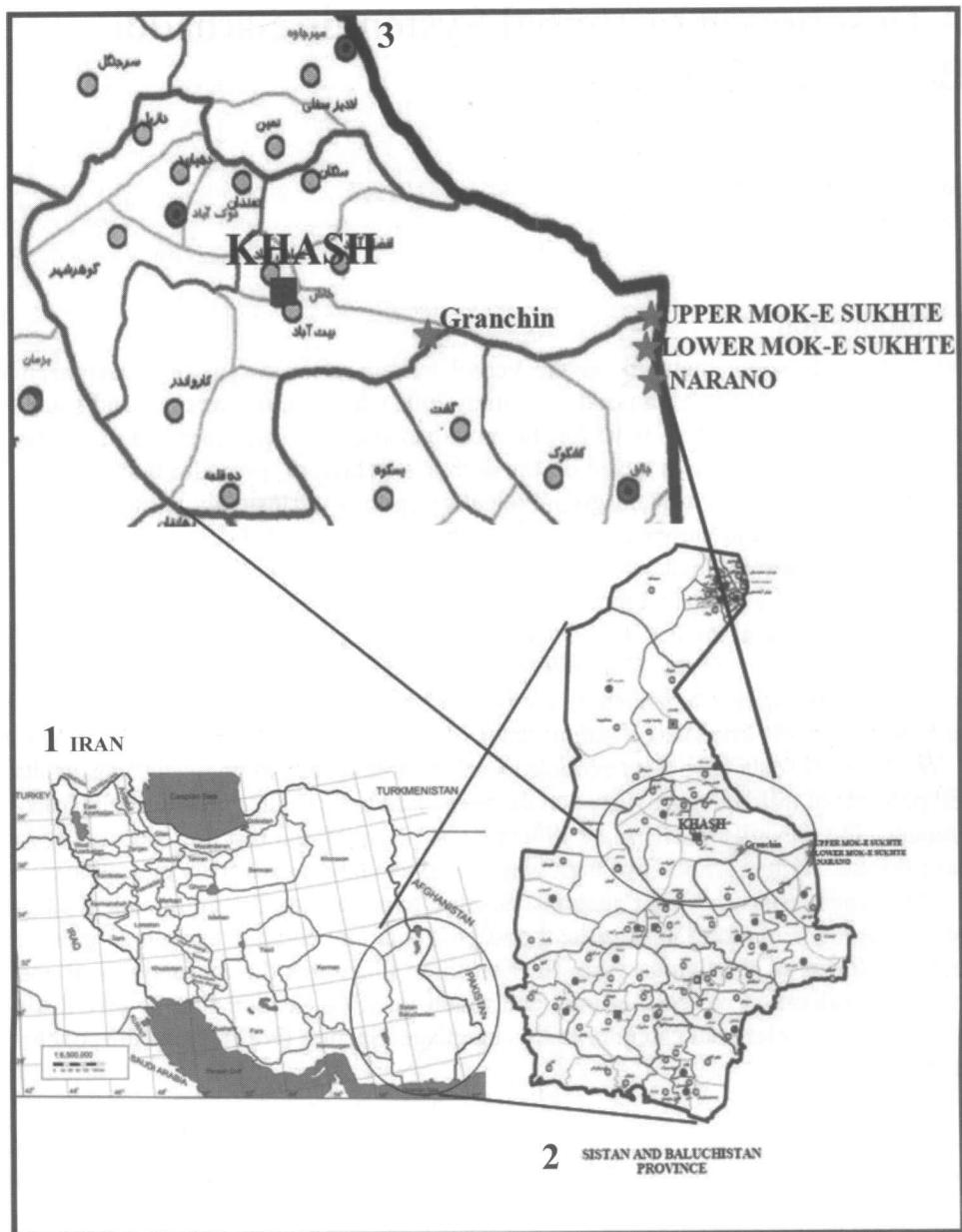


Figure 1. Areas where SBG is spoken.

2. Agreement, endings and copula

Verbs in SBG agree with their subject arguments in person and number. This language variant has a fairly rich subject-verb agreement inflectional system. That is, all members of a verb paradigm (except for the third person singular in some cases which will be presented later) are overtly marked for person and number. In fact,

such richness in the verbal inflection system permits the language to drop the subject pronouns and act as a pro-drop language. Number in SBG is either singular or plural. The category of person includes first, second and third persons both in the singular and the plural. However, in addition to singular and plural person distinctions, the first person plural pronoun has two different forms; *mā* is the exclusive ‘we’ (speaker and other(s), excluding the addressee(s)) and *māšmā* is the inclusive ‘we’ (speaker and addressee(s)); nevertheless, both take the same personal endings of the verb. So in what follows, I will disregard the verbal inflection of the subject pronoun *māšmā*.

The subject forms of personal pronouns as used by SBG speakers are presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Subject forms of personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural	
1st	man ‘I’	<i>mā</i> ‘we’ (exclusive)	<i>māšmā</i> ‘we’ (inclusive)
2nd	ta ‘you’	<i>šumā</i> ‘you’	
3rd	ā / āyī ‘he/she/it’	<i>āwān</i> ‘they’	

The verbal endings in the present tense change for person and number of the subjects. There are, of course, some dialect variations in their use. The final consonants of the endings are often deleted in free speech and, where a preceding vowel exists, it may be pronounced longer or nasalized. As for the third person singular ending, *-ī(t)* is used with regular verbs and *-t/-Ø* with irregular ones. The present personal endings are given in Table 2:

Table 2: Present personal endings

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-ān ⁴ , -īn	-in
2nd	-e	-it
3rd	-(ī)t /-Ø	-ant

The past verbal suffixes also agree in person and number with the subject. They are the same as the present personal endings except for the first and third person singular ones, where the first person suffix *-on* attaches to the past stem and third person singular form of the verb consists of the past stem with zero morpheme (-Ø). Also here deletion of a final consonant occurs. The past personal endings are the following:

Table 3: Past personal endings

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-on	-in
2nd	-e	-it
3rd	- Ø	-ant

⁴ This personal ending is rather more commonly used by the SBG speakers than the ending *-īn*.

Similarly, the copula verb *būten* meaning ‘to be’ is manifested in the form of present and past copula (consisting of the element *-at* + past endings), as presented in Table 4:

Table 4: The copula

	Present 'I am', etc.	Past 'I was', etc.
1 sg	-on	-at-on
2 sg	-e	-at-e
3 sg	-e(nt)	-at-Ø
1 pl	-in	-at-in
2 pl	-it	-at-it
3 pl	-an(t)	-at-an(t)

3 Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM)

The categories of tense, aspect and mood are the main inherent inflectional categories marked on verbs (Tallerman 1998:56). Tense has particularly been defined as “grammaticalized expression of location in time” (Comrie 1985:9). It is concerned with the time of the event at the present, past and future. In this respect, most languages show a basic binary opposition either between past and non-past (\pm past) tenses or between future and non-future (\pm future) tenses.

Furthermore, languages may make a distinction between absolute tense carrying a basic interpretation (core meaning) and relative tense bearing a secondary interpretation (peripheral meaning), or they may combine these two types of tense and provide a combined system of absolute-relative tense. Absolute time refers to a situation located at, before, or after the present moment, and it includes as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre, whereas relative time reference signifies the location of a situation at some point in time given by the context, whereby the present moment is not included as deictic centre (see Comrie 1985).

Aspect deals with the nature of the event, especially in terms of its “internal temporal constituency” (Comrie 1976:3). It marks such properties as perfectivity and imperfectivity of the events. Perfective aspect indicates completed events and lack of explicit reference to their internal temporal constituency, whereas imperfective aspect marks ongoing events with explicit reference to their internal temporal constituency (for a detailed discussion, see Comrie 1976). Comrie, moreover, provides a classification of aspectual oppositions. He divides aspects into two main groups: (a) “perfective” and (b) “imperfective”; the imperfective aspect is subdivided into the categories “habitual” and “continuous”, and, finally, the latter into “nonprogressive” and “progressive” (Comrie 1976:25).

Mood expresses properties such as possibility, probability and certainty. Languages tend to distinguish between actual events and hypothetical events (Tallerman 1998:55). The mood used for the former is termed indicative, marking the clauses as “realis” and the mood used for the latter is often called subjunctive, marking the clauses as “irrealis” (see: Palmer 2001:1).

SBG is a language that makes a basic past versus non-past (i.e. present-future) distinction in the tense system of the verb. In this language, there are no modal auxiliaries to indicate future tense. Instead, the present tense is used for future time reference. Consequently, its verbal system displays two marked tenses, namely past and present-future (or non-past), each one with distinctive structures as well as sub-divisions. The following will describe Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM)-forms in SBG and illustrate the most common uses of these morphologically marked verb forms.

3.1 Indicative mood

3.1.1 Present-future

3.1.1.1 Simple present-future

In SBG, the simple present-future form is composed of the present stem of the verb combined with the present personal endings. In the simple present-future verbal structure, the verbal element *-a*, morphologically a verbal prefix, when present (cf. Axenov 2006:168–170) attaches to the preverbal constituent rather than the verb itself. The simple present form of verbs basically presents the habitual aspect, however, it implies peripherally present progressive and future time reference as well. The simple present tense paradigms of some verbs in SBG are shown in Table 5:

Table 5: Simple present-future form

	'hit'	'eat'	'sit'	'laugh'
1 sg	jan-ān	war-ān	nind-ān	hand-ān
2 sg	jan-e	war-e	nind-e	hand-e
3 sg	jan-t	wārt/wā-Ø	nind-i(t)	hand-ī(t)
1 pl	jan-in	war-in	nind-in	hand-in
2 pl	jan-it	war-it	nind-it	hand-it
3 pl	jan-an(t)	war-an(t)	nind-an(t)	hand-an(t)

The simple present-future is used for:

a) General truths

(1) zmin ruəč-e douragā torr-a wā
earth sun-GEN around revolve-V.EL eat.PRES.3SG

'The earth revolves around the sun.'

(2) ruəč ša ruəčdarāht-ā dar-a yīt o te
sun from east-OBL out-V.EL come.PRES.3SG and in

ruəčnešten-ā nind-īt
west-OBL sit.PRES-3SG

'The sun rises in the east and sets in the west.'

b) Habitual actions or states

(3)	hom	ruəč	pa	zāhdān-ā	raw-ān
	every	day	to	Zahedan-OBL	go.PRES-1SG

'I go to Zahedan every day.'

(4)	ā	wat-i	zahg-ān-ā	duəst	dār-īt
	he/she	self-GEN	child-PL-OBL	friend	have.PRES-3SG

'She loves her children.'

(5)	čon(t)	sāl-e(nt)	eda	dars-a	wān-e
	how many	year-PRES.COP.3SG	here	lesson-V.EL	read.PRES-2SG

'How long have you been studying here (lit.: how many years is it [that] you are studying here)?'

(6)	mnī	pes	bānk-e	tehā	kār-a	kan-t
	my	father	bank-GEN	in	work-V.EL	do.PRES-3SG

'My father works in a bank.'

d) Ongoing actions in the present

(7)	be-muəč	b-kan-it,	ke	kāgad-ī	nvīs-ān*
	without-noise	IMP-do.PRES-2PL	CL.LINK	letter-INDEF	write.PRES-1SG

(*also *nmīs-ān* by illiterate people)

'Don't make noise, I am writing a letter.'

e) Future time reference

(8)	kad-a	raw-e
	when-V.EL	go.PRES-2SG

'When are you going?'

(9)	bānda	raw-ān
	tomorrow	go.PRES-1SG

'I will go tomorrow.'

f) Narration of events that happened in the past (narrative present)

(10)	šāhzādag	do-m-māh	ā-ra	dār-īt	dar	ā	mantaya-w-ā
	prince	two-RED-month	she-OM	have.PRES-3SG	in	that	region-GL-OBL

ša	oda	zūr-īt-ī	wa	harkat-a	kan-t
from	there	take.PRES-3SG-PRON.SUFF.3SG	and	move-V.EL	do.PRES-3SG

'The prince keeps her in that region for two months, (then) takes her from there and moves off.'

3.1.1.2 Present Progressive/Ingressive

The present progressive/ingressive form of the verb is formed with the present stem of *dāšten* 'to have' (*dār-*) in its auxiliary function plus the present stem of the main verb, both taking the same personal endings. This form may also be used together with the verbal element *-a*. The present progressive/ingressive form involves the progressive/ingressive aspect of the verb as its core interpretation. Nevertheless, it may also signify future time reference. Table 6 below shows the present progressive/ingressive form of some verbs:

Table 6: Present progressive/ingressive form

	'hit'	'fall'	'eat'	'burn'
1 sg	dār-ān jan-ān	dār-ān kap-ān	dār-ān war-ān	dār-ān suč-ān
2 sg	dār-e jan-e	dār-e kap-e	dār-e war-e	dār-e suč-e
3 sg	dār-ī(t) jan-t	dār-ī(t) kap-ī(t)	dār-ī(t) wā(rt)	dār-ī(t) suč-ī(t)
1 pl	dār-in jan-in	dār-in kap-in	dār-in war-in	dār-in suč-in
2 pl	dār-it jan-it	dār-it kap-it	dār-it war-it	dār-it suč-it
3 pl	dār-an(t) jan-an(t)	dār-an(t) kap-an(t)	dār-an(t) war-an(t)	dār-an(t) suč-an(t)

The present progressive/ingressive form is employed to express:

a) Actions about to begin at the speech moment

- (11) āyī dār-ī kap-ī
he/she have.PRES-3SG fall.PRES-3SG

'She is about to fall.'

b) Actions in progress at the speech moment in the present (of short duration)

- (12) kessa dār-īt geh-ter o geh-ter-a
story have.PRES 3SG interesting-COMP and interesting-COMP-V.EL

bīt

become.PRES.3SG

'The story is getting more and more interesting.'

- (13) ā dār-ī go wat-i pess-ā habar-a dant
he/she have.PRES-3SG with self-GEN father-OBL talk-V.EL give.PRES 3SG

'She is talking to her father now.'

- (14) eda bāz garm-ent man-a dār-ān suč-ān
here very hot-PRES.COP.3SG I-V.EL have.PRES-1SG burn.PRES-1SG

'It is very hot here, I am burning.'

- (15) dār-ant čāšt-a war-an
have.PRES-3PL lunch-V.EL eat.PRES-3PL

'They are eating lunch.'

c) Ongoing actions and states in the present (of long duration), but not necessarily at the speech moment (continuous non-progressive aspect)

- (16) āwān dār-an te tērān-e dānešgāh-ā dars-a wān-an
they have.PRES-3PL in Tehran-GEN university-OBL lesson-V.EL read.PRES-3PL
'They are studying at the University of Tehran.'

- (17) dār-ān ketāb-i nvīs-ān*
have.PRES-1SG book-INDEF write.PRES-1SG

*(also *nmīs-ān* by illiterate people)

'I am writing a book.'

d) Future time reference

- (18) bānda dār-in pa xwāš-ā ra-y-in
tomorrow have.PRES-1PL to Khash-OBL go.PRES-GL-1PL

'We are going to Khash tomorrow.'

As the examples (9) and (18) reveal, there is no separate future tense in SBG. It is the simple present-future or the present progressive/ingressive form of the verb along with, or without, a time adverbial such as *bānda* (tomorrow), *puaši* (the day after tomorrow), etc., which is employed to indicate future time.

3.1.2 Past

3.1.2.1 Simple past (past tense perfective aspect, preterite)

The simple past of the verb in SBG is composed of the past stem followed by past personal endings. This form indicates past tense perfective aspect of the verb. The simple past inflection of some verbs in SBG are as represented in Table 7 below:

Table 7: Simple past (preterite) form

	'run'	'sit'	'burn'	'laugh'	'go'
1 sg	jest-on	nešt-on	sōht-on	handit-on	rapt-on
2 sg	jest-e	nešt-e	sōht-e	handit-e	rapt-e
3 sg	jest-Ø	nešt-Ø	sōht-Ø	handit-Ø	rapt-Ø
1 pl	jest-in	nešt-in	sōht-in	handit-in	rapt-in
2 pl	jest-it	nešt-it	sōht-it	handit-it	rapt-it
3 pl	jest-an(t)	nešt-an(t)	sōht-an(t)	handit-an(t)	rapt-an(t)

The simple past form of the verb indicates:

a) An event completed in the past and viewed as a single unit without internal temporal structure

- (19) mni pīrok grančin-e tehā zendegi kō
my grandfather Granchin-GEN in life do.PAST.3SG

'My grandfather lived in Granchin.'

- (20) duəši wat-i nākozāht-ā dist-on
last night self-GEN cousin-OBL see.PAST-1SG

'I saw my cousin last night.'

- (21) ā zī yaht ham-ōda woštāt o go
he/she yesterday come.PAST.3SG EMPH-there stand.PAST.3SG and with

- mā habar dāt o pada rapt
we talk give.PAST.3SG and then go.PAST.3SG

'He came yesterday, stood there and talked to us and then he went.'

b) Relative tense (where the main clause is the deictic centre) with future time reference in, e.g., temporal subordinate clauses

- (22) kermān ke rast-on pa ta zang-i jān-ān
Kerman CL.LINK arrive.PAST-1SG to you ring-INDEF hit.PRES-1SG

'When I arrive (lit.: arrived) in Kerman, I will phone you.'

c) An action just about to happen

- (23) ta sēl kan ham-ōda buəšt man
you see IMP.do.PRES.2SG EMPH-there IMP.stay.PRES.2SG I

- ham-īš-ent ke yaht-on
EMPH-this-PRES.COP.3SG CL.LINK come.PAST-1SG

'Look! Stay there and I will be coming (lit.: came) right away.'

3.1.2.2 Imperfect (past tense imperfective aspect)

Imperfect is made up of the simple past form of the verb along with the verbal element *-a*. It expresses imperfective aspect in the past tense. Some examples of its use are found below:

a) Duration of a state or an event completed in the past

- (24) āwān dah sāl sarāwān-e tehā zendegi-a kort-ant o
they ten year Saravan-GEN in life-V.EL do.PAST-3PL and
pada pa xwāš bergašt-ant
then to Khāsh return.PAST-3PL

'They lived in Saravan for ten years and then they returned to Khash.'

- (25) hapt sāl ke dokkāl-a bū hij jā
seven year CL.LINK drought-V.EL become.PAST.3SG no place

- na-rapt-in o ham-edā mānt-in
NEG-go.PAST-1PL and EMPH-here stay.PAST-1PL

'We didn't go anywhere and stayed here for seven years when there was a drought.'

b) Repeated (habitual) actions in the past

(26)	tawahdi	ke	xwāš-at-on	pa	wat-i	ballok-e
	until	CLLINK	Khash-PAST.COP-1SG	to	self-GEN	grandmother-GEN

ges-ā-w-a rapt-on
house-OBL-GL-V.EL go.PAST-1SG

'As long as I was in Khash, I used to go to my grandmother's house.'

(27)	ta	pāri	har	māh	mni	brās	mā-ra	zarr-a
	till	last year	every	month	my	brother	we-OM	money-V.EL

dāt
give.PAST.3SG

'My brother used to give us money every month until last year'

c) Actions in progress (progressive aspect) in the past

(28)	zī-en	ruəč-ā	hour-a	kort
	yesterday-ATTR	day-OBL	rain-V.EL	do.PAST.3SG

'It was raining all yesterday.'

3.1.2.3 Past progressive/ingressive

The past progressive/ingressive form of the verb in SBG consists of the past stem of *dāšten* 'to have' (*dāšt-*) in its auxiliary function together with the past stem of the main verb with or without the verbal element *-a*. Both the auxiliary and the main verb take the same past personal endings, as illustrated in Table 8:

Table 8: The past progressive/ingressive form

	'come'	'sleep'	'eat'	'hit'
1 sg	dāšt-on yaht-on	dāšt-on wapt-on	dāšt-on wārt-on	dāšt-on jat-on
2 sg	dāšt-e yaht-e	dāšt-e wapt-e	dāšt-e wārt-e	dāšt-e jat-e
3 sg	dāšt-Ø yaht-Ø	dāšt-Ø wapt-Ø	dāšt-Ø wārt-Ø	dāšt-Ø jat-Ø
1 pl	dāšt-in yaht-in	dāšt-in wapt-in	dāšt-in wārt-in	dāšt-in jat-in
2 pl	dāšt-it yaht-it	dāšt-it wapt-it	dāšt-it wārt-it	dāšt-it jat-it
3 pl	dāšt-an(t) yaht-an(t)	dāšt-an(t) wapt-an(t)	dāšt-an(t) wārt-an(t)	dāšt-an(t) jat-an(t)

The past progressive/ingressive form is used for:

a) Actions about to happen (ingressive aspect) in the past

(29)	dāšt-on	rapt-on	ke	ta	yaht-e
	have.PAST-1SG	go.PAST-1SG	CLLINK	you	come.PAST-2SG

'I was about to go when you came.'

b) Actions in progress when something else happened (they may be parallel or not)

(30)	man	ke	yaht-on	mni	gohār	dāšt	kār-a
	I	CLLINK	come.PAST-1SG	my	sister	have.PAST.3SG	work-V.EL

kort

do.PAST.SG

‘When I came, my sister was working.’

(31)	āxtā	ke	Amin	mān	bū	dāšt-in	habar-a
	when	CLLINK	Amin	in	become.PAST.3SG	have.PAST-1PL	talk-V.EL

dāt-in

give.PAST-1PL

‘We were talking when Amin came in.’

(32)	hami	ke	dāšt-on	nān-a	wārt-on	Grānāz
	while	CLLINK	have.PAST-1SG	food-V.EL	eat.PAST-1SG	Grānāz

dāšt dars-a wānt

have.PAST.3SG lesson-V.EL read.PAST.3SG

‘While I was eating food Grānāz was studying.’

3.1.3 Perfect

3.1.3.1. Present perfect

The present perfect form of the verb is made of the past participle (past stem + -a(g)) followed by past personal endings. The past participle form of the verb in SBG occurs with or without the final consonant -g for all persons; nevertheless, the third person singular form of these verbs is more commonly used with -a, which is a reduction of -ag in word-final position. Meanwhile, the verbs in the present perfect paradigm are for transitive verbs also used without personal endings (a remnant of the ergative construction). In this case all of them take the form without the final consonant -g. The present perfect forms of some verbs in SBG are as follows:

Table 9: Present Perfect

	‘take, catch’	‘sit’	‘eat’	‘take, carry away’	‘say’
1 sg	gipt-a(g)-on	nešt-a(g)-on	wārt-a(g)-on	bort-a(g)-on	gwašt-a(g)-on
2 sg	gipt-a(g)-e	nešt-a(g)-e	wārt-a(g)-e	bort-a(g)-e	gwašt-a(g)-e
3 sg	gipt-a(g)-Ø	nešt-a(g)-Ø	wārt-a(g)-Ø	bort-a(g)-Ø	gwašt-a(g)-Ø
1 pl	gipt-a(g)-in	nešt-a(g)-in	wārt-a(g)-in	bort-a(g)-in	gwašt-a(g)-in
2 pl	gipt-a(g)-it	nešt-a(g)-it	wārt-a(g)-it	bort-a(g)-it	gwašt-a(g)-it
3 pl	gipt-a(g)-an(t)	nešt-a(g)-an(t)	wārt-a(g)-an(t)	bort-a(g)-an(t)	gwašt-a(g)-an(t)

What is given below represents some cases when the present perfect form is used in SBG:

a) actions or states happening or existing in the past with a particular relevance in the present

- (33) man yē habar-ā ā-ra gwašt-a(g)-on
I this news-OBL he/she-OM tell.PAST-PP-1SG

'I have told him the news.'

- (34) āyi nouk pa Zāhdān rast-a(g)
he/she new to Zahedan arrive.PAST-PP.3SG

'He has recently arrived in Zahedan.'

b) actions or states ongoing at the present moment

- (35) āyi (hamiešag) pa edāra yaht-a(g) o jwān
he/she always to office come.PAST-PP.3SG and good

kār-a kort-a(g)
work-V.EL do.PAST-PP.3SG

'He has attended the office regularly and (always) worked hard (and still does).'

- (36) mni brās-ān hanga māhig na-wārt-a(g)-ant
my brother-PL yet fish NEG-eat.PAST-PP-3PL

'My brothers have never eaten fish yet.'

c) actions or states definitely ended in the present

- (37) zī pa xwāš-ā rapt-a wat-i pīrok-ā
yesterday to Khash-OBL go.PAST-PP.3SG self-GEN grandfather-OBL

dist-a, ā-ra zar dāt-a o
see.PAST-PP.3SG he/she-OM money give.PAST-PP.3SG and

bergašt-a
return.PAST-PP.3SG

'I went to Khash yesterday, saw my grandfather, gave him money, and then I came back.'

- (38) hapt sāl dokkāl but-a vale embarani
seven year drought be.PAST-PP.3SG but this year

na-ent
NEG-PRES.COP.3SG

'There were seven years of drought but not this year.'

3.1.3.2. Past perfect

The past perfect tense is marked by a combination of the past stem of the verb with the past copula. It indicates the pluperfect aspect, where the situation in question is located prior to a reference time point in the past. The past perfect forms of some verbs shown in Table 9 below:

Table 9: The past perfect form

	'give'	'take, carry away'	'go'	'sit'
1 sg	dāt-at-on	bort-at-on	rapt-at-on	nešt-at-on
2 sg	dāt-at-e	bort-at-e	rapt-at-e	nešt-at-e
3 sg	dāt-at-Ø	bort-at-Ø	rapt-at- Ø	nešt-at-Ø
1 pl	dāt-at-in	bort-at-in	rapt-at-in	nešt-at-in
2 pl	dāt-at-it	bort-at-it	rapt-at-it	nešt-at-it
3 pl	dāt-at-an(t)	bort-at-an(t)	rapt-at-an(t)	nešt-at-an(t)

Below are two examples when the past perfect form is used in SBG. The second example contains a transformative verb, where the present and past perfect forms take the static meaning of 'to sit':

- (39) pēsar ša yē ke šumā b-yā-y-it āwān
before from this CL.LINK you SUB-come.PRES-GL-2PL they

rapt-at-ant
go.PAST-PAST.COP-3PL

'They had left before you came.'

- (40) man eda nešt-at-on ke pas-ān yaht-ant
I here sit.PAST-PAST.COP-1SG CL.LINK sheep-PL come.PAST-3PL

'I was sitting here when the sheep came.'

3.2 Other moods

SBG, like most Iranian languages, distinguishes between the mood used for actual events termed indicative (as seen in all examples above), and the mood used for non-actual (hypothetical) events, termed subjunctive. The subjunctive mood is manifested as present subjunctive, indicating unreal but likely and possible events, and past subjunctive expressing unreal, unlikely and impossible events (counterfactual). Subjunctive mood is often used along with lexical items such as *aga* 'if', *māsti* 'I wish', *balke* 'maybe, perhaps' and *yahto* 'maybe, perhaps, if it happens' expressing uncertainty. In what follows I will describe present subjunctive, counterfactual and imperative mood. For the uses of the subjunctives, see section 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Present subjunctive

In SBG, the present subjunctive form is composed of the prefix *b-* added to the simple present form of the verb, that is, the present stem plus present personal inflectional suffixes. The prefix has the form *be-* in front of /m/. If the verbal stem begins in /b/, /p/ or /n/ the prefix has zero phonetic realization. The negative form adds the prohibitive prefix *ma-* to the present stem. The present subjunctive shows that it is possible for the action or event to be realized in present or future time. The present subjunctive forms of some verbs are given in Table 10 below:

Table 10: Present subjunctive form

	'hit'	'sit'	'see'	'run'
1 sg	b-jañ-āñ	b-nind-āñ	b-gind-āñ	b-jih-āñ
2 sg	b-jañ-e	b-nind-e	b-gind-e	b-jih-e
3 sg	b-jañ-t	b-nind-i(t)	b-gind-i(t)	b-jih-i(t)
1 pl	b-jañ-in	b-nind-in	b-gind-in	b-jih-in
2 pl	b-jañ-it	b-nind-it	b-gind-it	b-jih-it
3 pl	b-jañ-an(t)	b-nind-an(t)	b-gind-an(t)	b-jih-an(t)

Examples:

- (41) mā aga mār-i b-gind-in ā-ra zūte koš-in
we if snake-INDEF SUB-see.PRES-1PL it-OM soon kill.PRES-1PL

'If we see a snake we (will) kill it immediately.'

- (42) aga ā zar b-dār-ī(t) māšin-i zūr-ī(t)
if he/she money SUB-have.PRES-3SG car-INDEF buy.PRES-3SG

'If he has money he (will) buy a car.'

3.2.2 Past subjunctive

The past subjunctive form expresses counterfactual events or actions such as doubts, unreal conditions and wishes in the past, and also impossible actions and states in the present or future time. There are various ways to form the past subjunctive of verbs in SBG:

- (a) The prefix *b-* is added to the past stem of the verb followed by the suffix *-in* for all persons, as presented below:

Table 11: Past subjunctive form (a)

		'hit'	'give'
1 sg	man	b-jat-in	b-dät-in
2 sg	ta	b-jat-in	b-dät-in
3 sg	ā/āyī	b-jat-in	b-dät-in
1 pl	mā	b-jat-in	b-dät-in
2 pl	šumā	b-jat-in	b-dät-in
3 pl	āwāñ	b-jat-in	b-dät-in

Examples:

(43)	aga	ta	ā-ra	zī	b-jat-in	ā	ges-ā
	if	you	he/she-OM	yesterday	SUB-hit.PAST-SUB	he/she	house-OBL

wēl-a kō
leave-V.EL do.PAST.3SG

'If you had hit her yesterday, she would have left the house.'

(44)	aga	man	pāri	zar	b-dāšt-in	pa	wat-ā
	If	I	last year	money	SUB-have.PAST-SUB	for	self-OBL

ges-i bast-on
house-INDEF build.PAST-1SG

'If I had had money last year, I would have built a house for myself.'

(b) The prefix *b-* (with variants, see 3.2.1) is attached to the past stem, followed by the suffix *-iən* and past personal endings, respectively, as given in Table 12 below:

Table 12: Past subjunctive form (b)

		'eat'	'go'	'hit'	'come'
1 sg	man	b-wārt-iən-on	b-rapt-iən-on	b-jat-iən-on	b-yaht-iən-on
2 sg	ta	b-wārt-iən-e	b-rapt-iən-e	b-jat-iən-e	b-yaht-iən-e
3 sg	ā/āyī	b-wārt-iən-Ø	b-rapt-iən-Ø	b-jat-iən-Ø	b-yaht-iən-Ø
1 pl	mā	b-wārt-iən-in	b-rapt- iən-in	b-jat-iən-in	b-yaht-iən-in
2 pl	šumā	b-wārt-iən-it	b-rapt- iən-it	b-jat-iən-it	b-yaht-iən-it
3 pl	āwān	b-wārt-iən-an(t)	b-rapt- iən-an(t)	b-jat-iən-an(t)	b-yaht-iən-an(t)

Example:

(45)	balke	tra	duəši	zar	b-dāt-iən-on,	anga
	maybe	you.OM	last night	money	SUB-give.PAST-SUB-1SG	then

čōn-a kort-e
what-V.EL do.PAST-2SG

'What would you have done if I had given you money last night?' (past subjunctive)

(c) The past participle (past stem + *-a(g)*) plus past subjunctive form of the verb *bütten* 'to be' (in the form of type (b) above). In free speech, the final consonant *-g* of the past participle is deleted for all persons. In this configuration only the verb *bütten* takes the relevant personal endings, as in the following examples:

Table 13: Past subjunctive form (c)

	'give'	'sit'	'break'	'hit'
1 sg	dāta(g) but-iən-on	nešta(g) but-iən-on	prušta(g) but-iən-on	jata(g) but-iən-on
2 sg	dāta(g) but-iən-e	nešta(g) but-iən-e	prušta(g) but-iən-e	jata(g) but-iən-e
3 sg	dāta(g) but-iən-Ø	nešta(g) but-iən- Ø	prušta(g) but-iən-Ø	jata(g) but-iən-Ø
I pl	dāta(g) but-iən-in	nešta(g) but-iən- in	prušta(g) but-iən-in	jata(g) but-iən-in
2 pl	dāta(g) but-iən-it	nešta(g) but-iən- it	prušta(g) but-iən-it	jata(g) but-iən-it
3 pl	dāta(g) but-iən-an(t)	nešta(g) but-iən-an(t)	prušta(g) but-iən-an(t)	jata(g) but-iən-an(t)

Examples:

(46) aga zī pa šumā tēkī-e dat-a but-iən-on
if yesterday to you gift-INDEF give.PAST-PP be.PAST-SUB-1SG

čōn kort-it
what do.PAST-PRON.SUFF.2SG

'What would you have done if I had sent you a gift yesterday?'

(47) yahto tra duəši jat-a but-iən-on ges-ā
perhaps you.OM last night hit.PAST-PP be.PAST-SUB-1SG house-OBL

wēl-a kort-it
leave-V.EL do.PAST-PRON.SUFF.2SG

'If I had hit you last night, would you have left the house?'

3.2.3 Uses of the subjunctive forms⁵

The present and past subjunctive forms are used to express:

a) A condition (real or unreal) or an expression of possibility with conjunctions such as *aga* 'if', *balke* 'if, maybe/perhaps'

(48) aga tra b-jan-ān ta griəw-e
if you.OM SUB-hit.PRES-1SG you cry.PRES-2SG

'If I hit you, you will cry.' (present subjunctive)

⁵ The subjunctive forms have a wide range of uses, which deserve more investigation. However, a full investigation is outside the scope of this paper, and here I will only refer to some of its uses.

(49)	ta	ma-r-ra,		balke	āwān	zut-ter	
	you	PROHIB-RED-go.PRES.2SG		maybe	they	soon-COMP	

b-raw-ant

SUB-go.PRES-3PL

'Don't go, maybe they will go quite soon.' (present subjunctive)

(50)	ta	ketāb-ān-ā	dēm	ma-de		balke	man	bānda
	you	book-PL-OBL	send	PROHIB-give.PRES.2SG		may	I	tomorrow

wat b-yā-y-ān

self SUB-come.PRES-GL-1SG

'Don't send the books. I may come tomorrow myself.' (present subjunctive)

(51)	aga	man	b-zānt-iən-on		ke	ta	zī	šišag-ā
	if	I	SUB-know.PAST-SUB-1SG		CL.LINK	you	yesterday	glass-OBL

pruəšt-a(g)-e ti pess-ā gwašt-on

break.PAST-PP-2SG your father-OBL say.PAST-1SG

'If I had known that you broke the glass yesterday, I would have told your father.' (past subjunctive)

b) A wish

(52)	māsti	embarāni	dokkāl	ma-bī(t)
	I wish	this year	drought	PROHIB-be.PRES.3SG

'I wish there were no drought this year.' (present subjunctive)

(53)	māsti	parīt		hour-i	b-kort-iən
	wish	the day before yesterday		rain-INDEF	SUB-do.PAST-SUB.3SG

'I wish it had rained the day before yesterday.' (past subjunctive)

(54)	māsti	mā	pāri	pa	makkā	b-rapt-iən-in
	wish	we	last year	to	Mekka	SUB-go.PAST-SUB-1PL

'I wish we had gone to Mekka last year.' (past subjunctive)

c) Some degree of urgency; after verbs of requesting, commanding, urging and adjectives like 'important', 'necessary' etc.

(55)	mni	pīrok	bāz-a	luət-ī(t)	ke	man	korān-ā
	my	grandfather	very-V.EL	want.PRES-3SG	CL.LINK	I	Quran-OBL

b-wān-ān

SUB-read.PRES-2SG

'My grandfather insists that I read the Quran.' (present subjunctive)

(56)	lāzom-ent	ke	ta	gišter	dars
	necessary-PRES.COP.3SG	CLLINK	you	more	lesson

b-wān-e

SUB-read.PRES-2PL

'You should really study more' (lit.: It is necessary that you study more). (present subjunctive)

3.2.4 Imperative

The imperative form in the second person singular consists of the present stem of the verb or the present stem plus the prefix *b-* (with the variants *be-* or *Ø*, see 3.2.1 above) but without any personal ending. For commands in other persons, the present subjunctive form is used. Nevertheless, the morpheme has the form *be-* in front of /m/. If the verbal stem begins in /b/, /p/ or /n/ the prefix has zero phonetic realization. The negative imperative form of the verb is formed by adding the prohibitive prefix *ma-* to the present stem:

Table 14: Imperative form of the verbs

	Second Singular	Second Plural
'die'	be-mer	be-mer-it
'kill'	b-kuš	b-kuš-it
'sit down'	b-nind	b-nind-it
'say'	b-gwaš	b-gwaš-it
'run'	b-jeh	b-jih-it
'break'	pruəš	pruəš-it
'take, catch'	b-gir	b-gir-it
'hit'	b-jan	b-jañ-it
'write'	nvīs/nmīs	nvīs-it/nmīs-it

Example:

(57)	dar-ā	band,	ā-ra	pāč	ma-kan
	door-OBL	IMP.close.PRES.2SG	it-OM	open	PROHIB-do.PRES.2SG

'Close the door. Do not open it.'

4. Voice

Voice is a relational category associated with the positions occupied by the noun phrase arguments of a verb as well as the form of the verb itself. In SBG, the contrast between active voice and passive voice is manifested by the position of the two verbal arguments (subject, direct object) and the form of the main verb as well as the auxiliary verb. In the passive construction, the direct object of the active sentence is promoted to the subject position of the passive sentence. In this promotion, the noun phrase loses its oblique case marker and becomes the subject of the passive sentence, while the subject noun phrase of the active sentence is missing (in fact, the agent noun phrase is rarely, if ever, used in passive construction in SBG). The pas-

sive voice is characterized by the past participle form of the main verb, or a verbal adjective consisting of the present stem + the ending *-ag* together with an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *būten* ‘to be, to become’, as illustrated in the following examples:

(58)	Pari	jāgah-ān-ā	šošt	
	Pari	dish-PL-OBL	wash.PAST.3SG	

‘Pari washed the dishes.’ (active voice)

(59)	jāgah-ān	šošt-a(g)/šod-a(g)	but-ant
	dish-PL	wash.PAST-PP/wash.PRES-ADJ	become.PAST-3PL

‘The dishes were washed.’ (passive voice)

5. Conclusion

As illustrated, the verbal system of SBG captures distinctions of category agreement, tense, aspect and mood, as well as voice as a relational category by means of morphosyntactic marking. The verbal paradigms include present and past personal endings and the copula verb as agreement markers. SBG marks the distinction between past and non-past tense in the verb stem. It also uses an absolute-relative tense system depending on the time of the events in relation to the speech moment or some other time reference point determined by the context.

SBG displays specific verb forms to signal habitual, perfect and imperfect aspectual properties in both tenses. Here, in addition to inherent marking, it makes use of one particular structure that shows influence of Persian, i.e. the construction that employs the present/past forms of the infinitive *dāšten* (*dār-* and *dāšt-*) in an auxiliary function to indicate progressive/ingressive aspect.

This language, moreover, makes verb structure distinctions to deal with different moods, including indicative, subjunctive and imperative. In the field of modality it draws three morphological distinctions: (a) indicative as realis, (b) present subjunctive as irrealis and (c) past subjunctive as counterfactual, each one with particular verb form(s).

Abbreviations

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
ADJ	adjective
ATTR	attributive
CL.LINK	clause linker
COMP	comparative
COP	copula
EMPH	emphatic
GEN	genitive

GL	glide
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IMP	imperative
NEG	negation
OBL	oblique
OM	object marker
PAST	past stem
PL	plural
PP	past participle
PRES	present stem
PRON.SUFF	pronominal suffix
PROHIB	prohibitive
RED	reduplication
SG	singular
SUB	subjunctive
V.EL	verbal element

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Hebrew Elements in Forty-seven Arabic Letters from the Cairo Genizah

Karin Almladh

Uppsala

The inclusion of Hebrew and Aramaic elements is peculiar to oral and written discourse by Jews for Jews in several languages. Recent years have witnessed an upsurge in the study of these elements in the modern varieties of Arabic. Much less interest has been devoted to the written legacy of medieval Jewry in Arabic, although these elements, together with the use of Hebrew script, are the criteria singled out according to the status of a separate language. So far the discussion by Joshua Blau in his *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic* remains the most detailed treatment of this topic. The source-material there, with few exceptions, consists of scholarly texts. In the present paper these elements are examined in forty-seven Arabic letters from the Cairo Genizah, written between 1045 and 1070 by five merchants hailing from Qābis (Gabes) in modern Tunisia: Avon b. Sedaqa, Isma‘il b. Farah, Farah b. Isma‘il, Joseph b. Farah and Farah b. Joseph. Arabic was their mother tongue, which they used for oral and written discourse, while Hebrew and Aramaic were the languages of their scriptures and their prayers. The letters studied here are autographs, i.e. we can read them as penned, without any manipulations by later copyists. Attention is also drawn to Hebrew elements in the modern Jewish varieties of Arabic in North Africa and Jerusalem in order to raise the question of continuity in this respect between the medieval written variety and the modern varieties.¹

The study is based on the printed texts as published by Moshe Gil in 1983 and 1997. All the letters are, according to the editor, autograph letters, i.e. were written by the merchants themselves. The parts of the letters are cited as follows: r = recto, v = verso, rt = right, l = left, mrg = margin, a = above, b = below, u = upside down. “Farah b. Isma‘il I r.rtmrg, 6” is thus to be deciphered as his letter I (= Gil, 1997, no. 501) recto, right margin, line 6. Lacunae are indicated by []. The words and phrases are rendered as they appear in the printed texts. For technical reasons, however, no diacritics appearing there have been added. As the discussion takes relies upon printed texts, only minor observations on the phonetics and the orthography are made. As for vulgarisms, they have been transcribed when the text

¹ Bibliographical information on recent research is found in Tedghi, 2003 while the discussion of these elements in the medieval variety of Arabic is found in Blau, 1999, 133–166 (with additions in pages 268–273). For the modern varieties Bar-Asher, 1992, Cohen, 1964, Leslau, 1945–1946, Piamenta, 2000, Stillman, 1988, Tedghi, 1995 and Tedghi, 1999 have been consulted. For a recent discussion of the classification of the Jewish varieties of Arabic see Gallego-Garcia, 2004.

clearly points to them without discussing them. In translating the Hebrew elements, italics have been used. In cases where the writers use the 3rd person singular for formal address, be it in Arabic or Hebrew, this has been translated by the 2nd person singular.² At times a word as found in the text may be interpreted as both Arabic and Hebrew. Words like **בָּן**, “son”, **יֹמָם**, “day”, **בְּ**, “by, with”, **לְ**, “to”, **וְ**, “and”, **כֹּל**, “all”, and **מִן**, “from” are understood as Hebrew when they occur in initial positions in phrases which are identified as quotations from Hebrew (or Aramaic) scriptures or as fixed phrases in these languages. Otherwise they are understood as Arabic. In a number of cases it has been decided to understand nouns expressing religious categories as Hebrew. Thus *talmīd*, “scholar” not *tilmīd*, “student”, *ḥāvēr*, “member of the academy”, not *ḥabr*, “religious scholar”, and *rāv*, “master”, not *rabb*, “Lord” are preferred. A few other cases are discussed below in their proper context.

1. The merchants and their letters

The merchants whose correspondence is discussed here belonged to the Jewry of Ifriqiya.

Abū l-Faraḡ Āvōn b. Ṣedāqā al-Maḡribī al-Qābisī was active in Jerusalem as the representative of the merchant-scholar Nehorai b. Nissim. Judging from his letters, Avon b. Ṣedaqa was a learned merchant, as he mentions a number of books which he studied, as well as his contacts with scholars. In a letter written by Joseph b. Farah from ca. 1045 he is apostrophised as *rabbī*, the title of scholars whose legal opinions were regarded as authoritative. The letters from Avon b. Ṣedaqa (AS), all of which are in Hebrew script, are: I = Gil, 1983, no. 497 (5 February, 1064), II = Gil, 1983, no. 499 (10 March, 1064), III = Gil, 1983, no. 498 (3 April, 1064), IV = Gil, 1983, no. 500 (11 November, 1064), V = Gil, 1983, no. 501 (28 August, 1065) = Gottheil & Worrell, 1927, no. 27 (with a facsimile of the letter), VI = Gil, 1983, no. 502 (October, 1065), VII = Gil, 1983, no. 503 (perhaps from 1065). Letter I is addressed to Ḥayyim b. ‘Ammār, who was the representative of the Jewish merchants from Sicily in Alexandria. Letters II to VII are addressed to Nehorai b. Nissim.

Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl b. Farāḥ al-Qābisī belonged to a family of merchants who moved to Egypt in the first half of the 11th century. Well in Egypt, he and at least two of his brothers settled in Alexandria, where they were involved in the triangular trade of Egypt-Sicily-the Maghreb. The dominant topic of his letters (as well as the letters from the other members of the family) is matters related to this trade. The family was associated by marriage to Nehorai b. Nissim, whose sister he married. The letters from Isma‘īl b. Farāḥ (IF), all of them in Hebrew script, are: I = Gil, 1997, no. 487 (ca. 1051), II = Gil, 1997, 489 (11 September, 1056), III = Gil, 1997, no. 488 (19 September, 1053), IV = Gil, 1997, no. 490 (23 September, 1056),

² The development of the orthography is discussed in Blau, 1999, 241–243, where SJAS is called “a transliteration” of CA spelling. A discussion of formal/informal address in this type of correspondence is found in Diem, 1991, 4.

V = Gil, 1997, no. 491 (23 September, 1056), VI = Gil, 1997, no. 492 (25 September, 1056), VII = Gil, 1997, 493 (29 October, 1056), VIII = Gil, 1997, 494 (6 November, 1056), IX = Gil, 1997, no. 495 (November, 1056), X = Gil, 1997, no. 496 (ca. 1060), XI = Gil, 1997, no. 497 (ca. 1060), XII = Gil, 1997, no. 498 (ca. 1060). The addressee of I is an unknown member of the merchant family Banū Tāhirtī, letters III, V, IX are addressed to his son, Farah b. Isma‘il, letters VII and VIII are addressed to Joseph b. ‘Alī Kohen Fāsī, the brother-in-law of Nehorai b. Nissim, while letters II, IV, VI, X–XII are addressed to Nehorai b. Nissim.

His eldest son, *Abū l-Surūr Farah b Ismā‘il al-Qābisī*, was still active in March 1085, as he is mentioned in a letter of that date. The letters by Farah b. Isma‘il (FI), all except no. II in Hebrew script, are: I = Gil, 1997, no. 499 (October 22, 1050), II (in Arabic script) = Gil, 1997, no. 500 (October 22, 1050) = ‘Aodeh, 1998 (with a facsimile of the letter), III = Gil, 1997, no. 501 (November, 19, 1050), IV = Gil, 1997, no. 505 (perhaps from 1053), V = Gil, 1997, no. 395 (perhaps from 1054), VI = Gil, 1997, no. 502 (perhaps from 1056), VII = Gil, 1997, no. 503 (June 5, 1056), VIII = Gil, 1997, no. 504 (October 8, 1056), IX = Gil, 1997, no. 506 (perhaps from 1057), X = Gil, 1997, no. 507 (perhaps from 1057), XI = Gil, 1997, no. 508 (not datable). No. V is peculiar, as it is actually two letters in one. They are written by Farah b. Isma‘il, but also signed by Joseph b. ‘Alī Kohen Fāsī. For reasons discussed elsewhere, it is likely that only the first part (= V r., 1–21) is actually from him, while he acts as the secretary of Joseph b. ‘Alī Kohen Fāsī in the second part (= V r., 22–the end). Thus only the first part of the V, is taken into account here, as we there, beyond any doubt, hear the voice of Farah b. Isma‘il. This is called V1. Letters I, III and X are to his father, II (in Arabic script) to the merchant Manasseh b. David, VIII to another wealthy merchant in Fusṭāṭ, Judah b. Moses ibn Sughmār, while IV, V1, VI, VII, IX and XI are addressed to Nehorai b. Nissim.

Abū Ya‘qūb (or *Abū l-Fadl*) *Yūsuf b. Farah al-Qābisī* was the brother of Isma‘il b. Farah. The letters of Joseph b. Farah (JF), all of them in Hebrew script, are: I = Gil, 1997, no. 509 (approx. 1045), II = Gil, 1997, no. 510 (approx. 1050), III = Gil, 1997, no. 511 (approx. 1050), IV = Gil, 1997, no. 512 (approx. 1055), V – Gil, 1997, no. 515 (December 22, 1055), VI = Gil, 1997, no. 513 (September 6, 1056), VII = Gil, 1997, no. 514 (October 25, 1056), VIII = Gil, 1997, no. 516 (approx. 1057). Letters I, II, III, IV and VII are addressed to Nehorai b. Nissim, letters V and VI are addressed to his nephew Farah b. Isma‘il, while letter VIII is addressed to a certain Abū Jacob ’Ishāq.

Abū l-Surūr Farah b Yūsuf b. Farah al-Qābisī was the son of Joseph b. Farah. The letters Farah b. Joseph (FJ), all of them in Hebrew script, are: I = Gil, 1997, no. 517 (approx. 1057), II = Gil, 1997, 518 (October, 1056), III = Gil, 1997, no. 521 (approx. 1065), IV = Gil, 1997, no. 523 (approx. 1065), V = Gil, 1997, no. 524 (approx. 1067), VI = Gil, 1997, no. 519 (May 4, 1069), VII = Gil, 1997, no. 520 (May 12, 1069), VIII = Gil, 1997, no. 525 (approx. 1070), IX = Gil, 1997, no. 522 (not datable). Letters I and II are addressed to Abū Sa‘d Khalaf b. Sahl, letter III to Abū l-‘Ulā Šā‘id b. Nağā, letter IV to Nissim b. ‘Atiyya, letters V, VI and VII

to Abū Zikri Judah b. Manasseh, while the addressees of VIII and IX are unknown.³

1. Phonetics of the Hebrew elements

No detailed analysis of the phonetics (and orthography) of the letters is possible as the study relies on *printed* texts and not facsimiles. A few observations on the phonetics of the Hebrew elements can, however, be inferred from incidental deviations from the standard orthography of Hebrew.

Isma‘īl b. Farah, Farah b. Isma‘īl, Joseph b. Farah and Farah b. Joseph frequently spell the name אַסָּא — i.e. the Arabic form of the Biblical name Isaac — אַזָּא. In the letters from, above all, Isma‘īl b. Farah and Joseph b. Farah, this is probably due to *tafkīm*, as their letters abound with other examples of this phenomenon. As for Farah b. Isma‘īl, it is possible to explain this spelling as a Hebraism, as there are only a few isolated cases of *tafkīm* in his letters. Avon b. Ṣedaqa always uses the correct spelling of the name, be it in Arabic or Hebrew.

Alef (and *alif* in Arabic script sections) is used a few times to indicate the vowel, viz. JF I r., 13 לְבָר֔וּךְ (“to Baruk”), IV r.rtmrg, 2 אֶלְחָאָבָרָךְ (“the member of the academy”), V r., 17, VIII v., 4, 5, אלְחָנָן (“Elhanan”) FI II r., 5 الرَّابُ (“the Rāv”). 7–8 شَمَار (“Shammar”), FJ VI r., 2, VII r., 2 אֵיָאָרְ (“[the month of] Iyyar”) and frequently in addresses נְהָרָאִי (“Nehorai”). In these cases *alef* and *alif* are obviously used to mark the quality of the vowel, viz. *a*. FJ V r., 12 טָהָוָר is ambiguous as it may be understood as both Arabic and Hebrew in both cases meaning “pure”. More difficult is to infer the quantity of the vowel. Investigations of the pronunciation of Hebrew among Andalusian Jews of the same period have, however, revealed that they did not differentiate between *a* and *ā*.⁴ In a number of cases names, where *sérē* or *segol* are expected are written with *alef* (or *alif*, in Arabic script sections), viz. JF II r., 2, V r., 2 טָבָת (“[the month of] Tever”), IF XII address, FI II address (Arabic script), FJ VI address (Arabic script) منشا (“Manasseh”), FI II r., 8 هَلَلْ (“Hillel”) and FI VIII address الكَوْهَن (but also الكَوْهَن for “the Kohen”). In Arabic documents from Christians and Jews in Toledo until ca. 1300, the same feature is found when transcribing Romance names, and in these cases it has been interpreted as a marker of *imāla*.⁵

Yod is used a few times, viz. IF I v., 5 אֶחָדִים (“others”), I v., 7 מִיעִיךְ (“your offspring”), III r., 2, v., 8 אַיְלָל (“[the month of] Elul”), II r., 1 עֵירָב (“Eve”), II r., 1, 2, V r., 3 בְּסִיף (“in the book”), II r., 2 בְּנִיחַמְתָּ (“with the redemption”), II r., 5 אֲרַצְ (“land/earth”), V r.rtmrg, 2 גִּירִים (“converts”), AS V r., 5 אַלְגִּזְוָרָה (“the catastrophe”)

³ The reference to Avon b. Sedaqa is found in JF v., 1 and the use of the title *rāv* is discussed in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 2, 211–212. What is known about him is found in Gil, 1992, 267–269 and the dates of his letters I and II are given after Gil, 2004b, 588. The biographical information on Isma‘īl b. Farah and his family is cited from ‘Aodeh, 1998, 126–128. The date of IF III is given after Gil, 2004a, 177.

⁴ Garbell, 1954, 686–687. It should be noted that she studied the literature of intellectual Andalusian Jews who were devoted to the notion of the purity of Hebrew.

⁵ Ferrando Frutos, 1994, 14, Ferrando Frutos, 1995, 15–16.

and JF V r., 14 (*למשני* ("to [the] *deputy*")). In these cases *yod* is used where *sérē* or *segol* would be expected. In AŞ IV r.33 הילכת ראו *yod* is used where *hireq* would be expected. To begin with, Andalusian Jews did not differentiate between *sérē* and *segol*. There are also indications that they did not differentiate between *hireq* and *sérē*. It is also of interest to mention that *sérē*, *segol* and *ḥăṭef segol* were realised as *i* in the speech of North African Jews of modern times.⁶

A number of times Isma‘il b. Farah (and once Joseph b. Farah) spell the word שלום, “*peace, farewell*” *שלום*. This is obviously a *scriptio defectiva* of the word, all the more so as the writers frequently spell the Arabic cognate *سلام*.

In JF IV v., 11, the spelling אָרָב instead of the normative *Rabbi*, is an example of the phonetic spelling of the definite article which is frequently found in the letters of this writer. Another possible example of phonetic spelling may be found in IF II v., 9, where Gil has understood the script לאלחנן, “to *Elhanan*”, but also quoted Menahem Ben-Sasson who has understood the same passage as *ללהנן*. If Ben-Sasson has understood it correctly, this indicate to the phonetic integration of this proper noun, treating it as an Arabic noun beginning with the definite article *al-*.⁷

Words understood as Hebrew frequently have horizontal strokes above the word. This is a conventional way of indicating that a word is Hebrew. This is also the place to note the spelling of phrase IF I r., 11, “*the law of [the] kingdom is law*, viz. *דינה דמלכותא דינה* as opposed to the standard spelling *דינה*.

2. Vocabulary

2.1. Quotations from scriptures and the liturgy

On a few occasions the writers introduce quotations in a learned fashion with a form of קאל or the like, such as AŞ I r., 19–22... “*ארני אלה פי בדנה אלצערת ואלגעות* ... *וקאל ר' יוסי ע אלס לאן רבותינו ע אלס קאלו כל ... וקאלו ר' יוסי ע אלס* ... *ולכני קריית פי וקתי הדא נפלה ... אפללה ... but I read in that moment let us fall ...*”, quoting 2 S 24:14. Very intricate is AŞ V r., 10–13 *וחק הדא אלקdot לך מראר כתירה נתמנא אלומות ונשתהיה וצרת ממן קיל פיה ... by this al-Quds, ... andidi ankutut manhem al-alama na wtabat fiham abda*, “*andidi ankutut manhem al-alama na wtabat fiham abda* ... by this *al-Quds*,

⁶ Garbell, 1954, 688–690. For the pronunciation of these vowels among North African Jews in modern times, see Bar-Asher, 1992, 53, Cohen, 1964, 30 (where, however, *sérē*, *segol* and *hireq* in closed unstressed syllable are realised as ə), Stillman, 1988, 54. A more varied pronunciation was recorded in Fez, see Leslau, 1945–1946, 66.

⁷ For this, see also Blau, 1999, 134.

often I wish for death and long for it. I have become one of those, concerning whom it is said, ‘*who long for ...*’ [Job 3:21] and from whom faith has been cut off, and it is confirmed concerning them, ‘*Perished ...*’ [Jer 7:28]”. The Arabic words which precede the quotations are here a more or less free rendering of what follows. To this can be added that the passage from Job is frequently found to express resignation, and therefore can be seen as a conventional phrase in hard times.⁸ Twice quotations are found in his letters within what is reported speech. In the description of a dispute on the custody of an orphaned boy, the writer mentions the reply to the aunt of the boy, saying in AŞ IV r., 15 קָלָנָא נַחַן חֻק וְלֹא יִעֲבֹר, “we said a decree not...”, quoting Ps 148:6. As it was part of a legal dispute, it may be a legal term. In another dispute, the presiding judge is reported to say to one of the claimants in AŞ VII v., 5–6 פָּקָל וְלֹא דָעָא לְהַקְבֵּה יְמִילָא חֶסְרוֹנָךְ, “...and he said to him, praying: ‘*May the Holy One, blessed be He, compensate your deficiency*’”, quoting b. Ber. 16b. Once more it is possible that the phrase is part of the legal language. As for Isma‘il b. Farah, he writes in IF I v., 7–8, discussing some business matters: וְלֹא אָקוֹל יְהִוָּה צָאצָא מִיעִיד בְּעֵץ אַלְצָאלוּחַן אִילּוּ, “I do not say: *May your offspring ...* [Is. 48:19], for one of the pious say: *O tree ...*[b. Ta‘n. 5b]”

More often they integrate the quotations by other means. A quotation of Ps 35:10 is added in AŞ I r., 16 פָּסְבָּחָאָן אַלְדִּי הוּא מְצִיל עַנִּי מְחֹזָק מִמְּנוּ, “and Glory to Him who delivers ...”, and in AŞ I r.rtmrg, 5–6 a passage the final benediction in the Eighteen Benedictions, פָּסְבָּחָאָן מִן יְעַמֵּל מִעִי אַלְמַגְזָאת וְאַלְבָרָא הַיּוֹן בְּכָל עַת וּבְכָל שָׁעה, “and Glory to Him who works wonders and miracles with me *on every occasion ...*”, In AŞ I r. rtmrg, 11–14, Abot 1:6 is referred to, קְדַם כָּאן יִגְבֵּעַ עַלְיךָ ... אֵן תְּדִינֵנִי לְכָה זִכְוָה ... “...and it is incumbent upon you ... that *you judge me ...*”. In AŞ III r., 16, 1 S 20:23 is connected with what follows, “...*and the matter... and you, do not, sir, divulge it to Isaac*”. In AŞ IV r., 20–21, Is 17:4 is introduced as a confirmation of a number of calamities which had befallen some travellers, viz. זְהָבָבָנָא בְּעֻנוֹת יְדֵל כְּבוֹד יְעָקָב וּמְשָׁמָן בְּשָׁרוּ יְרֹוזָה, “... and the destitution of our people, *alas the glory of Jacob ...*” In AŞ VI v., 2 all that is left is a quotation of Hab 1:2. AŞ II r.rtmrg, 4–5 “*ולֹא יְרַחֲמֵי שְׁמִים לְכַנֵּת הַלְּכָת 4–5 and were it not for the mercy of Heaven I had perished*” seems to be a reminiscence of a variant reading of Saadia Gaon’s second *baqqāṣā* included (with the translation of the Gaon himself) in his prayerbook, viz. זְהָבָבָנָא בְּעֻנוֹת יְדֵל כְּבוֹד יְעָקָב וּמְשָׁמָן בְּשָׁרוּ יְרֹוזָה.⁹

Turning to Isma‘il b. Farah, he congratulates the addressee in IF VI r., 2, adding to the congratulation a quotation of Prv 20:5 אַנְּא אָהָנֵיךְ בְּמַא אָשְׁרָתָה פִּיהָ יִתְּן לְךָ כְּלֹבֶד וְגַם, “I congratulate you for that which you have entered upon! *May God give ...*” There are traces of another quotation as well in VI r., 3, but that is all. In IF V r.rtmrg, 1–3, Isma‘il b. Farah blesses his son in a long chain of conventional eulogies, into which he has integrated a quotation of Ps 68:6, viz. זְהָבָבָנָא בְּעֻנוֹת יְדֵל כְּבוֹד יְעָקָב וּמְשָׁמָן בְּשָׁרוּ יְרֹוזָה.

⁸ For other examples of the use of the quotation from Job, see Gil, 1983, no. 264, 15, no. 265, r. 9, Gil, 1997, no. 614, r. 6. See also Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 392–393.

⁹ For the words of Saadia Gaon, see the edition of Davidson et al., 1970, 72. His prayerbook was the one in use in the period discussed here, and was part of the curriculum of elementary education (Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 2, 205).

תְּהֻמִּים וְשׁוֹמֵר גִּירִים “may God (His might is great) be with you, for He is *the father of...*”. In IF IX r., 17–18, he links a chain of conventional eulogies for his son with a Biblical quotation which is difficult to identify, [כתב אלה פיך כי ח], “... may God decree concerning you *for/that*”.¹⁰ In a fragmentary context in JF VIII r.rtmrga, 2, Joseph b. Farah quotes a few words from the prayer *Nishmat* כַּיִם, אלו פָנָו מֶלֶא שִׁירָה כִּים, “[] if our mouth was full of song like the sea”. Since the prayer renders thanks to God for His mercies, the inclusion of the passage from the prayer may indicate that the writer is grateful for deliverance from some danger.

At times it is possible that scriptural passages are merely hinted at, or even treated more or less as loanwords. This seems to be the case with allusions to Zeph 1:15 in AŞ I r., 5–6, “... ובאלגמלה מן מאת פי הָדָא אֱלֹקֶת אֲחָסָן הָאֵל מִן יְעִישׂ לְלִצְרוֹת וְאַלְמַזְקוֹות” and once more in AŞ IV r., 12, “...and כַּתְבַת הָדָא אֱלֹקֶת אֲבָבָדָה כְּתָבָת צְרוֹת וְמַזְקוֹות” and there was *distress and difficulties*”. In AŞ I r.rtmrg 2–3, it is said פְּקָאֵסִית וְחַק אַלְקָדָס מִן אַלְמָרוֹרָה מִעָהָם, “... and I endured — by *al-Quds!* — *troubles together with them*”. The Hebrew word here may be rooted in an allusion to the rabbinical interpretation of Dt 32:32.¹¹ In IF V v., 11, the writer describes the troubled situation in Alexandria in September 1056, writing אלכְבֵץ וּשְׁרָאָה בְּרִיבָה עַצְימָה בְּחַרְבוֹת וּבְרַמְחִים “... and the bread and trading with it goes on with great anxiety, *with knives and lances*”, which originally may perhaps be an allusion to I R 18:28.

2.2. Fixed phrases

Normally the writers use Hebrew blessings for the dead, all of them rooted in Jewish tradition. All of them (with one exception) are furthermore only found in Hebrew script passages. Only Avon b. Šedaqa uses Arabic blessings for the dead on a few occasions. The most common blessings are “X son of Y נָחוּ עַדְן, ‘may he rest in Eden’”, and “X son of Y נָחַ נְפָשָׁה, ‘may he rest in peace’” (AŞ I in the address, even in Arabic script). In FJ VI address, אָנָּא is added to the blessing נָחוּ עַדְן, and this the editor understands as an abbreviation of עִם כָּל הַצְדִּיקִים “with all the righteous”. In AŞ I r., 15 the writer blesses the Gaon Daniel b. ‘Azariah, by זְצַל יָמָצָא רְחִמִּים “the record of the righteous is a blessing, may he find mercy”. The use of the blessing יָמָצָא רְחִמִּים is otherwise ambiguous. In IF I v., 6 it is perhaps used for a dead person but in FI III r., 28 it is probably for a person who was still active when the letter was written. In FJ II v., 8, finally, there is a lacuna before the blessing. In this way it provides a parallel to the Arabic رَحْمَة الله of the same meaning, as this was used in both contexts in this period. Reporting the death of a person the writers use ברוך דין אמרת, “blessed be the truthful judge” with various additions such as שופט בצדק ואמתת אמרת.

¹⁰ The editor has identified the quotation as Ps. 67:5, while Goitein has understood it as a reference to Ex. 20:12 or Deut. 4:40 (Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 3, 244 (with footnote 151).

¹¹ Understanding אַלְמָרוֹרָה as “troubles”, see Ben-Yehuda, 1960 and Jastrow, 1975 s.vv.

“*who judges righteously and truthfully*”, and זו שגזר גזירה, “*who made this decree*” in AŞ I r., 4, IV r., 4–5, V r., 6, JF IV r.rtmrga, 2 and FJ IX r., 6. This formula is from the liturgy. A bilingual *epitheton ornans* is accorded an unknown religious notable in AŞ V r., 5–6, מִן וְפָאַה אֶלְסִיד אֶלְפָאַצֵּל עֲטָרָת רָאשֵׁינוּ, “after the demise of the noble lord, *the crown of our heads*”. The Hebrew phrase is an *epitheton* rooted in Lam 5:16 and accorded great scholars after their death. Tradition, including liturgy, thus provided the appropriate words when referring to death.¹²

Eulogising the living, on the other hand, the writers normally use conventional Arabic eulogies. A few times, however, Hebrew and Aramaic are used, and perhaps the scholarly rank of the eulogised persons accounts for the choice of language there. Thus we find in AŞ IV r., 14, r.rtmrg and in 11 AŞ V v., 3 בָּתְּ רָחָם, “*may the Merciful protect him*”. Judah ha-Kohen b. Joseph b. Eleazar is referred to by Avon b. Šedaqa by רְבִנָּנוּ יְחִי לְעֵד, רְבִנָּנוּ אֶלְבָּב, אֶלְבָּב יְחִי לְעֵד, אֶדְוֹנָנוּ וְקִירָא וְאֶלְפָאַצֵּל לְעֵד, the rabbi *Yahyā* *l'ed*. These are all ways to refer to him, current among the Jewish merchants of the period. In JF VIII r., 7, the writer accords Ḥananel b. Ḥushiel the blessing יְחִי לְעֵד. In AŞ II r.rtmrg, 4 Avon b. Šedaqa curses a person by יְכַנְּעֵוּ וַיִּשְׁמַדוּ, “*may He subjugate him and wipe him out*” — here the choice of Hebrew may be used for emphasis.

The use of the current Hebrew blessings by Isma‘il b. Farah for the holidays in Tishri may be compared to Avon b. Šedaqa who, in AŞ V r., 2–3, writes אלול אֱלֹא עַד הַזָּהָה אֶל מְעוּדִים אֶל מִקְבָּלה סְנִין טָאֵילָה וְגַעֲלָה עַלְיהָ מִימָּנוֹת מִבְּאַרְכָּה בְּקֻבָּל אֶל תּוֹבָה וְאֶל מִתּוֹבָה, “*Elul* may God add to you these *festivals* which are to come for many years, and may He make them fortunate for you and blessed in the acceptance of the repentance and the reward”. Though the Hebrew loanword is used (but in AŞ IV r., 2 אלְאַעֲזַעַד also for the High Holidays), no doubt to honour the holidays to come, their benefits are expressed in Arabic. Elsewhere the writers use conventional Arabic blessings for months. This is also true of Isma‘il b. Farah in IF III. Since he uses the appropriate Hebrew blessings only for his son, it is possible to understand this as due to the father-son relationship.

In AŞ I r.mrga, 11 is closed by רְבָּבָה יְנַחֵם לְ[עַמּוֹ] וְשָׁלוֹם רְבָּבָה, “*may the Holy One (Blessed be He) comfort [His people] and fare very well*”, where the first phrase may be a fixed formula. In AŞ II r., 4 the addressee is blessed by זְכַרְךָ לְשָׁנִים רַבּוֹת וַיַּרְאֵנִי לוֹ, “*...and may you live long, and may you soon let me see a son of yours*”. This too may be a fixed phrase. The same holds true of the Hebrew words in a similar blessing in the bilingual phrase in AŞ V r., 3–4, וְאַשְׁהַדֵּן לָהּ בְּנִים זְכָרִים לְחוֹיִם, “*may He let us witness for you sons for life*”.

In JF I v., 12 and II r.rtmrg, 8–10, Joseph b. Farah writes וַיַּעֲשֵׂה לִמְעֵן שְׁמוֹ וַיַּעֲשֵׂה לְעֵד שְׁמוֹ, “*and may He act for His name's sake*”. This is rooted in Jer 14:7, but is used by him (as well as by others) as a fixed formula following Arabic eulogies with God as their

¹² See Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 325 for the place of the blessing for the dead in Saadia Gaon’s prayer-book is discussed. The use of רְחָמָה אֶלְלה in this period is discussed in the comment on Diem, 1991, 13, 5. The corresponding vulgar form was in use among Tunisian Jews of the early 20th century, see Cohen, 1964, 116 (footnote 1).

subject.¹³ In JF VIII r.rtmrga, 1, he calls a person רְשָׁע גִּמְוֹרָה, and this is a fixed phrase from b. Yeb 18b. In FJ VI v., 6, the writer describes the wars in Sicily between the invading Normans and the Muslims, writing “... וּמְאַתּוֹ פִּיהָ מִתְהָ גְּדוֹלָה ...” “... and they [obviously the Muslims] suffered a heavy defeat.” This may be a kind of arabisation of a stereotyped Hebrew expression constructed like מה מיתה משונה “he met with a violent death”.¹⁴

Frequently Avon b. Şedaqa, Isma‘il b. Farah, Farah b. Isma‘il and (once) Joseph b. Farah add **וכל ישראל** “and all of Israel” to the conventional Arabic eulogy אללה כי גְּדוֹלָם “may God preserve you in the state of well-being”. This is done to such an extent that this bilingual eulogy has merged into a single unit. Now and then Avon b. Şedaqa, Isma‘il b. Farah and Joseph b. Farah (once) add **לכל ישראל** “to all of Israel” to other conventional Arabic phrases.

An Arabic letter is normally concluded by the word **السلام**. In two letters Farah b. Isma‘il uses **وشلوم** as the final greeting, as does his father in IF III. In the conventional phrase **خص فلانا باتم السلام** (and its variants), “to give NN the most special greetings”, Avon b. Şedaqa and Isma‘il b. Farah frequently gloss **אלסלאם** with **وشلوم**. At times they also gloss the final with **وشلوم** while Farah b. Joseph closes VIII v., 3 with **ושلومך יגדל**, “and may your well-being increase”. Avon b. Şedaqa closes AS I with **לו** and **وشلوم** with **ל** and AS III with **[]** and AS V with **ושلومך** while AS VII has no final greetings in Hebrew, and AS VI is fragmentary here. In two of his letters he elaborates the concluding blessings. Thus he writes in AS II **ויקרא אלפיו** **שלומות ושלום אדוניו ויקורי ואלפיו יגדל לעדי עד** *and thank you my lords and masters, may you be great for ever and ever, thousandfold, and your honourable and honoured sons-in-law, my masters. Fare very well*. His farewell blessings in AS IV are more or less a bilingual variant of this, viz. **כצצתה באתם אלסלם ורבינו יחי לעד אלפי שלומות ויתפצל מולאי יהנינה עני** ... “... and may you greet him *my honoured lord and master, may he be great for ever and ever, thousandfold, and your honourable and honoured sons-in-law, my masters. Fare very well*”. His farewell blessings in AS IV are more or less a bilingual variant of this, viz. **כצצתה באתם אלסלם ורבינו יחי לעד אלפי שלומות ויתפצל מולאי יהנינה עני** ... “... and may you greet him *my honoured lord and master, may he be great for ever and ever, thousandfold, and your honourable and honoured sons-in-law, my masters. Fare very well*”.

A number of times, quotations from scriptures and the liturgy may be understood as conventional phrases used in fixed contexts rather than conscious quotations. Thus in AS I r., 4–6 it is said in the condolences to the addressee, **חייב יאסידי פי קצא**, “[] impossible, sir, to escape the Divine judgement, *a brother* ... [quoting Ps 49:8]” This is used elsewhere to express mourning.¹⁵ In AS IV v., 19 “... **והו אשר גיר אנה מבין דבר** *and who ... [quoting Ps 58:6]*”, continued in AS IV v., 20–21 by **ויעשה כחכמתו**, “... although you *from one thing understand another* [quoting b. Sanh. 93b] *and are wise by a mere hint, and act according to your own wisdom*”, the writer has continued the quotation from b. Sanh. 93b by a variant of a stereotyped phrase alerting the addressee that there was far more to be said about the matter, but that it was not prudent to say more.¹⁶ In AS V r., 18–19, the

¹³ For another case of this phrase, see Gil, 1997, no. 417, r. 22–23.

¹⁴ For this expression, see Ben-Yehuda, 1960, s.v.

¹⁵ For another example of the use of this passage in a similar context, see Gil, 1997, no. 312, r. 22.

¹⁶ For this see Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 239 (with footnotes).

writer introduces a conventional Arabic phrase with a quotation, viz. טובה אלה תעלי יכאי כל ואחד בניתה (He is exalted!) requite each one with his intention". This passage lends itself naturally to contexts like this, and so other writers use it as well.¹⁷ Likewise in IF II r., 1–2, written on the eve of New Year's Day, Isma'īl b. Farah blesses his son with the appropriate Hebrew blessing for the festival תחנה לשנים רבות תראה בניממת ציון "... may you be inscribed in the book of life and in the book of livelihood and maintenance, and be granted many years, may you behold the redemption of Zion". In IF V r., 2–3, also to his son and written the 12th day of Tishri, i.e. two days after the Day of Atonement, a quotation from Ps 27:4 is added to the traditional Jewish blessing for the festive season including the High Holidays and the Feast of Tabernacles, viz. "... and may you be inscribed in the book of life and be granted to behold the beauty". A fragment of the same prayer can be found in IF VI r., 1, viz. "the Eve of Tabernacles may you..." This inclusion of Ps 27:4 in blessings for holidays was conventional in the period.¹⁸ Isma'īl b. Farah uses a number of phrases from rabbinical scriptures which may be understood as phrases familiar to everyone rather than conscious quotations. In I v., 5 רצונך בטל רצונך... "make naught your will ...your will" the quotation of Abot 2:4 is embedded in the text. In IX r., 15 he has merged two fragments from Abot into an admonition to his son, א נצָר לְנַפְשֶׁךָ אִיזָה חַכָּם הַרוֹאֶה אֶת הַנּוֹלֵד, "beware who is wise, he who sees the event", quoting Abot 4:1 and 2:13. This presence of expressions from Abot furthermore stresses its position in Jewish piety, as do fragments of Arabic renderings found in the Genizah.¹⁹ To them is added in IF I r., 11 b. Mets. 83a דינה דמלכות דיננה, "the law of [the] kingdom is law", an expression which can even be understood as a proverb. This is also the place to mention that in IF II r., 1 (to his son), VIII r., 1 (to Joseph b. 'Alī Kohen Fāṣī) and in FI X r., 1 (to his father) the writers bless the addressee with וְכָאָן לְךָ וּמַעַךְ עֹזֵר וּסֹומֵךְ "[and may He be for you and with you] a helper and a supporter", where the Hebrew phrase seems to be rooted in the liturgy. Other writers as well use this phrase, and so it may be a fixed phrase.²⁰ In IF VII r., 1 (also to Joseph b. 'Alī Kohen Fāṣī), however, the addressee is blessed by זְהַפֵּץ לוֹ וְמַעַךְ לוֹ, "and may He be for you and with you a friend and a keeper", which is also used by Joseph b. Farah in his letters JF II to VIII. Possibly the writers understood the two phrases to convey the same meaning.

¹⁷ Another example of the use of this passage is quoted in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 302–303 (with footnotes). See also Gil, 1983, no. 585, r., 8–9.

¹⁸ Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 350–351, 394 (with footnotes).

¹⁹ Finds of translations of Abot in the Genizah are discussed in Baker, 1995, 451.

²⁰ Seder Amram Gaon as quoted in The Responsa project 8.0. It is also found in Gil, 1997, no. 695, r., mrga, 14–15, no. 702, r., 4 and in no. 830, r., 6.

2.3. Loanwords

2.3.1. Festivals, religious customs, religious concepts

Only Avon b. Şedaqa uses Hebrew appellations for God, and except for AŞ I r., 9, all of them appear in quotations from scriptures or in fixed phrases. They are all classical Jewish appellations for God, viz. AŞ I r.rtmrg, 4, ''**אֱלֹהִים**'', AŞ I r.mrga, 11 and VII v., 5 **הַקָּבָה**, “*the Holy One, blessed be He*”, in AŞ II r.rtmrg, 5 **שְׁמֵיָם**, “*Heaven*”, and in AŞ I r., 9 **מֶלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶכִים**, “*the King, King of kings*”. Judging from the printed text, he manipulated the Hebrew word for God in the quotation from Ps 49:8 in AŞ I r., 5, spelling it instead of **אֱלֹהִים** **لَأَلْهَمِ**. Elsewhere he, like the other writers, makes profuse use of Allah for “God”.

Hebrew loanwords are used for names of Jewish festivals, religious customs and religious concepts. For the eves of the festivals, the Hebrew (but עֲרֻבָה פָּסָח, “*Eve of Passover*” in AŞ III r., 3), is used. In AŞ IV r., 6, לִילַת שְׁמַחַת תּוֹרָה, “eve of the *Rejoicing of the Law*” is found. אלְסָבָת is an early Hebrew loan in Arabic, which is always used for “Saturday, Sabbath”. Peculiar is מַתָּל סְבָת תְּשֻׁבָּה בָּאָב in AŞ V r., 7. The Sabbath before the fast on 9 Av may be intended here, viz. “like the Sabbath before *the ninth of Av*”.²¹ For “festival/s”, a Hebrew borrowing is found in AŞ II v.mrga, 7 בְּהַדָּא אַלְמֹועֵד אַלְמָכְבֵּל, referring to the Feast of Weeks (but in AŞ II r., 3 the Arabic for the same festival) and in AŞ V r., 1 אַלְמֹועָדִים, referring to the High Holidays. As for prayers, צְלָאת מְנֻחָה, “*afternoon prayer*”, is mentioned in AŞ V v., 8 and in AŞ VII r., 9 may be understood as “*evening prayer*”. In AŞ I r., 4 Hebrew is used [] לְאַלְבָרָכה פִּי מִן בְּקִי לְאַלְבָרָכה. Tunisian Jews of the 20th century used the Hebrew word for *bénédiction rituelle*, while the corresponding Arabic word was used elsewhere. This may be the case here as well, viz. “...for you the *blessing* for anyone who remains for you”, referring to the following blessing for the dead.²² As for AŞ IV v., 18 וְאַלְתּוֹרָה, it may be significant that the writer uses the Hebrew form of the word, not the current arabised form. This is shared with the modern Jewish varieties of Arabic.²³ Another concept is mentioned in AŞ IV v., 13, viz. מַתָּל תְּחִיַּת הַמֵּתִים ... “... like *the resurrection of the dead*.”

The months are given after the Jewish calendar in Hebrew script portions of the letters. AŞ II, III, IF II and IF VI are, furthermore, dated after Jewish festivals. For Farah b. Isma‘il, the choice of script was decisive, as he uses Arabic months in Arabic script sections.

Two verbs are found, viz. AŞ I r., 31, JF VIII r., 18 אַחֲרָמָהוּ אֱלֹהָה, “may God curse”, and JF VI r., 19, 20 אַפְשָׁע “apostatise”.

²¹ For a similar expression for this Sabbath, see Gil, 1983, no. 446, r. 5, where אלְסָבָת אֵיכָה is used for this Sabbath. In modern Jewish varieties of Arabic in North Africa, the corresponding expression is used to designate a tragic event, e.g. in Morocco *sabbatixa*, i.e. like the expression here (Tedhgi, 1999, 332–333).

²² Cohen, 1964, 23 (footnote 3). See also Blau, 1999, 162 and Piamenta, 2000, 83 for discussions of the verbs *baraka* and *bāraka*, “to recite a (ritual) blessing”.

²³ Bar-Asher, 1992, 40, 57, Cohen, 1964, 172, Piamenta, 2000, 91 and Stillman, 1988, 54.

2.3.2 The Jewish community and its notables, scholarship

כְּנִיסָה in AŞ IV v., 21, V r., 26, 30–31 is used for “synagogue” — otherwise seems to have been the word current for “synagogue” in the period. In JF IV r. rtmrga, 1, Joseph b. Farah thus mentions, “*כְּנִיסָת אֲשֶׁר מִן הַיְהוּדִים*”, “the synagogue of the Palestinian [Jews]”, the official name of what is now known as the Ben Ezra-synagogue. Both of these are Hebrew (or Aramaic) loans in Arabic.²⁴

Hebrew loans are used for titles of Jewish religious notables, viz. AŞ IV r., 7, r. rtmrg, 6, אַלְמָנִשָּׂא, the official title of the exilarch, AŞ IV r.rtmrg, 11 etc. אַלְחָבֵר, “*the member of the academy*”, AŞ IV v., 1 אַלְפְּרָנָס, “*the welfare officer*”, AŞ IV v., 22 etc. אַלְרָב, “*the master*”, IF IX r., 12 אַלְדִּין, “*the [rabbinical] judge*”, FI VI r.mrga, 11 etc. אַלְחֹזֶן, “*the synagogue cantor*” and FJ V r. 7 etc. אַלְגִּיד, “*the [worldly] head of the Jews* (here in Sicily)”. Such Hebrew loanwords occur transliterated in Arabic script into Arabic script portions of the letters. In AŞ IV r., 7, 18–19, FJ IV r., 3–4 the official title of the Gaon, the spiritual leader of Palestinian Jewry, is mentioned, viz. רָאֵס אַלְמָתִיבָה or אָב בֵּית דָין, “head of the academy”, and in AŞ IV r., 19, AŞ VII r., 40 president of the rabbinical court. אַלְכָהָן is very frequent in the letters and obviously referring to the merchant Joseph b. ‘Alī Kohen Fāsī, and here may be seen as a proper name. Likewise AŞ II r. 10 etc. אַלְתָּלְמִיד, “*the scholar*”, is part of the names of Abraham the son the Scholar, and of Joseph the Scholar. The writers also title several notables of the community with רב (usually abbreviated ר). The post-biblical rabbis Avon b. Şedaqa calls רְבָחוֹתֵינוּ עַלְסָם, “*our rabbis, peace be upon them*”, in AŞ I r., 21, while Isma‘il b. Farah writes in IF I v., 8 בעז אלצאלחון, “one of the pious [= the rabbis]”. Avon b. Şedaqa was a learned merchant engaged in the study of scriptures, and he mentions books which he studied, using their Hebrew (and Aramaic) titles in AŞ IV r., 33, 35, r.rtmrg, 5. In AŞ V r.rtmrg, 13–15 he mentions that he had penned questions on a number of Biblical passages, mentioning their Hebrew *incipits*.

The writers normally use Arabic for self-identifications with אַלְיָהוֹד for “Jew(ish)”. In IF VIII r., 6–7, however, it is said, “... and on board there was no Hebrew”, but it is difficult to grasp the connotations of Hebrew here. In IF V r., 15 the writer mentions אלמֻרְבִּים, “*the North Africans*” (as opposed to סְקָלִין, “men from Sicily”) obviously meaning North African Jews. The other writers use אלמְגַרְבָּה in this sense. In JF VI v., 10, the editor understands כּוֹשׁ as possibly referring to Egyptian Jews. In JF VI r., 11 Muslims are referred to by אלגּוּיִם and in FJ IX v., 11 the phrase بعد עיד אלגּוּיִם refers to some Muslim festival. The other writers, on the other hand, use מסלְמִינִין for Muslims.²⁵

Twice Avon b. Şedaqa uses Hebrew names of the places in Palestine, viz. AŞ IV

²⁴ The occurrence of כְּנִיסָה in Genizah letters may be traced through the indexes in Gil, 1983 and Gil, 1997. For the word, see Dozy, (1881) 1991, s.v., Corriente, 1997 s.v. and Ferrando Frutos, 1995, 183–184 (with a discussion of the etymology, as well as its place in Moroccan Arabic), Metcalfe, 2003, 203. For כְּנִיסָה for “synagogue”, the index in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 6 may be consulted — it is also found among Christians for “church” (for which, see Graf, 1954, s.v.).

²⁵ The use of goy for “Muslim” is discussed in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 2, 277–278, saying that the word was used with wholly neutral connotations.

r., 9 “from the Zion gate” (in Jerusalem) and in AŞ V r., 15, VII r., 28 r., “*the graves of the patriarchs*” for Hebron.²⁶

2.3.3. Other

2.3.3.1 Avon b. Šedaqa

On a few occasions Avon b. Šedaqa uses phrases which cannot be identified as quotations or as fixed phrases. In I r., 35–36, he adds a Hebrew phrase to a curse in Arabic, “[may God not forgive] ... perhaps *I will find relief for my soul*” while he prays with a bilingual phrase in II r., 16 אָסֶל אֱלֹהִים גַּעַל נֶפֶשִׁי “I pray God that He make the *end for good*”. Likewise he writes in IV r., 3–4 אָחֵת מְאַלְף צְרוֹת גְּרָתָה עַלְינָא פִּי הַדָּא אֲלֹעֵיד אַחֲרָכָל זֹאת חֻפְיתָה סְתָאָתָה זֹוְגָה רְנָתָן, “[I cannot describe] even one of a thousand troubles which have afflicted us during this festival, *and after all this* Sittāt, the wife of R’ Nathan, passed away”. At times it is obvious that the script אלף should be understood as Hebrew, and not Arabic. In I, the writer relates that he has been accused of stealing some money, and in I r., 15–16 זָהָב אֲלֹף זָהָב ... בְּאַלְעָבָרָא נִי ... יְקַוְּלָה, “[...they say this in Hebrew: ‘A thousand gold coins’]”. As matters like these fell under the jurisdiction of the rabbinical court, this may be part of the proceedings there, and so the use of Hebrew may be part of the technical legal language in use there. It is also possible that אלף in II r., 6 should be understood as Hebrew, as in the conclusion of the same letter where he writes אלף שְׁלוֹמָה תְּהִלָּה, “[*thousands of greetings*]”. In III r., 6 he writes מִן כְּתָבָ פְּלוֹנִי, “[from what NN says]”, perhaps confident that the addressee understands who is intended. In VII, v., 18 לְאַגְּנִי לְעוֹלָם לֹא כְּלָמְתָה, “[... for I have never spoken to him]”, perhaps for emphasis. Twice he uses the בעונות מֵאַתְּעִין אַלְיָום, “[*because of the iniquities*]”, viz. in III r., 7 סְנִין טְאִילָה, “[... as well as introducing the quotation of Is 17:4 in IV r., 21 (quoted above)]. This phrase was used in the speech of North African Jews in modern times in the sense of “alas”.²⁷ This justifies an understanding of בעונות in this sense here as well, viz. “[... [for, by that in which I believe], alas it does not today appear good to anyone]”. Blessing Tishri in IV r., 2, he writes אַעֲדָ אֱלֹהִים עַלְיהָ הַזָּהָא אֲלֹעֵיאָד שְׁנִים, “[... may God give you these festivals for many years]”, but in the same blessing in V r., 3, Arabic سنن طالحة with the same meaning is found. Later on he writes in IV r., 12 פָּאֲטִינָא שְׁוֹחֵד, “[...and we gave bribes]”. Bribery seems to have been normal in mercantile contexts and a verb, šahhadā, was even coined from the noun. The Hebrew word was also current in the modern Jewish variety of Arabic in Jerusalem, and there the verb is found as well.²⁸ In IV v., 12 בְּרָבִים מְשֻׁהָר, “[...]

²⁶ For the Zion gate, the map in Prawer, & Ben-Shamai, 1996 may be consulted as well as the discussion of D. Bahat in this book. The name for Hebron among the Jews of the period is discussed in Gil, 1992, 206–208 and in EJ2, s.v. Hebron.

²⁷ For this, see Bar-Asher, 1992, 92, Cohen, 1964, 157. See also Ben-Yehuda, 1960, s.v. עַז, where it is translated “leider, malheureusement, unfortunately”.

²⁸ Occurrence of the Hebrew word and the verb in the letters may be traced through the indexes in Gil, 1983 and Gil, 1997 and the place of bribery in the period is traced through the index in Goitein,

“... *publicly*, in public”, he glosses the Hebrew word with an Arabic word of the same meaning. A few times he uses Hebrew words with negative connotations, perhaps for emphasis. Thus in V r., 5 מִן אֶלְגַּזְוָרָה אֶלְכְּבִּירָה וְאֶלְפְּנָעָה אֶלְעַטְמָה גַּזְוָרָה was used in the sense “*catastrophe*” by North African Jews in the 20th century, and justifying the phrase here being rendered here by “...because of the mighty *catastrophe* and the strong calamity”.²⁹ Another negative word is found in V r., 37 קָד טְרֵחָ אֶלְלָה פִּיהָ אֶלְמָאָרָה “[= the sealed bag of money]”. In V r., 28 we have פָּלְמָא אֲגְבָּנָא אַלְיָ אֶלְסָתָה طְלָב יִגְבּ עַלְילָות מַן וְגוֹהָא אַכְרָעָתָה “... and when we had agreed to the six, he sought to bring *troubles* from other directions”.³⁰ In II r.rtmrg, 4, he calls an adversary אַלְבְּלִיעָל, “the *rascal*”. In V r.rtmrg, 7, he mentions volumes פִּיהָ אַצּוֹל אַלְדְּקָוָק “... wherein are found the principles of the [Hebrew] *grammar*”,³¹ and in V r.mrga, 2, פְּבָחָק אַלְאָהָבָה, it is possible that is used in the sense of *الصحبة*. This was not only used for “friendship”, but also as a technical term for commercial partnership, and was the Hebrew equivalent in both senses.³² In V r., 38, he mentions some commodities, with which he has been trading, “... in plums and gum-arabic, almonds and soap and *jugs*”.³³ There are also a few words which are obscure in their contexts. Thus in V r., 15 וְאַשְׁתָּרָא קְמָח ... וְעַנְיוֹנָה ... “...and he bought wheat ... and ?” The Hebrew word means “poverty” and the editor suggests, “poor devil”, or the like. In VII r., 12–13 the context is difficult: a person has come from Tyre with a number of commodities, including כְּשׂוֹב וּרוּחוֹת “... wood and ?”. The words mean “and *spirits*”, but the context is strange.

2.3.3.2. Isma‘il b. Farah, Farah b. Isma‘il Joseph b. Farah and Farah b. Joseph

Cloth, שְׁשָׁא, was an important commodity mentioned in the letters. By this word they (and other Jewish merchants of the period) intended fine linen cloth.³⁴

In I, Isma‘il b. Farah inserts a few Hebrew phrases, viz. I v., 2 כֹּל שָׁכָן בְּלָא אֲרֵיד אַעֲלָם “On the contrary, I surely want to know what more I owe...”. בְּכֻן אַלְיָם מִן “[] Thus today from Ibn Khallūf... ” In II r., 5, he says about some people, “...and most of them are from a *cursed land*”, which according to the editor refers to Sicily and is perhaps for emphasis. The situation in Sicily is also referred to in V. Reporting information from his

1967–1993, vol. 6. For the verb in the Jewish variety of Arabic in Jerusalem, see Piamenta, 2000, 142.

²⁹ For this, see Bar-Asher, 1992, 102, Cohen, 1964, 163 and Stillman, 1988, 54. In the Jewish variety of the Arabic dialect of Jerusalem, however, it was used in the sense “(Divine) decree” (Piamenta, 2000, 251).

³⁰ Following the translation in Gottheil & Worrell, 1927, 121.

³¹ For the word, see Ben-Yehuda, 1960, s.v.

³² For the terms for “friendship” and “commercial partnership”, see Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 277, 279.

³³ For *sabsatāna* [so vocalised?], see Dozy, (1881) 1991, s.v., and for קְלָלָתָה, see Ben-Yehuda, 1960, s.v. *qallāl*, following the interpretation in Gottheil & Worrell. Gil has understood the word as “curses”.

³⁴ Gil, 1992, 239–241.

brother (who lived there) he writes in V v., 13 “... וְקַד אָכְלָו אֶלְנָאָס בְּנֵי אָדָם מִרְאָה וְאַחֲרָה ...” and on one occasion people ate *human beings*. Hebrew might be used here for emphasis, perhaps to express horror at the report. Autumn 1056, he wrote two letters where he described the difficult situation in Alexandria. In VII r., 28 he says אלמים חסר ואלמאכול כלה מביע אַלְחָתִים ג בָּזָהָב, “the water has receded, and all the food is sold, the wheat 3 [waybas?] for a gold coin”. The same situation is described in VIII r.rtmrg, 2 חֲתִים ג בְּדִינָאָר, “... wheat 3 [waybas?] for one dinar”. The use of Hebrew for “wheat” in describing hard times seems to be conventional, as it occurs in other letters of the period.³⁵ Likewise זהוב was used in the sense of dinar in the period.³⁶ בָּן רְגָל אַלְמָאִידָה, “the man of the table” in FI III r., 4, r.rtmrg, 14–15 may be an otherwise unknown word for “money-changer” coined after the Hebrew *שְׁלַחַנִי*, “money-changer”.

In V, Joseph b. Farah discusses the situation in Sicily, mentioning in V r., 13 אלמשנה (and 14 לְלְשָׁנִי?), “to the *deputy*”, according to the editor referring to the vizier of the Muslim ruler of Sicily, but also elsewhere משנה is used for “vizier”.³⁷ In V v., 13–14 he asks the addressee to put the trademark of a fellow-merchant on a bundle, viz. the word חנ within a box. In JF VI r., 18 the writer discusses the taxation in Sicily, mentioning the tithe, אלף. The editor obviously elsewhere interprets the word as Arabic, rendering it *al-’uṣr*, although it is to be understood as Hebrew judging from the horizontal strokes above the word in the printed text, perhaps *al-iṣṣūr*.³⁸ In a fragmentary context in JF VIII r.rtmrga, 1, the writer says לאן אנסיטים אלדי ... [] “[...for violators who []”].

In FJ V r., 6, Farah b. Joseph says וכותבת מעשה נסכתין, “I have written a *deed* in two copies.” This was obviously a technical term among the Jewish merchants of the period. Later on, in V v., 6, he mentions a certain Abū Mansūr, “רֹפֵא אַלְצָעִים طַبִּيب instead of Arabic physician of the leader”.³⁹ physician of the leader seems to be frequent in texts from the Genizah, and perhaps it is a Jewish physician intended here.⁴⁰ In FJ VI v., 8, he mentions some commodities in the trade in Sicily, ופִירָא קְמָה וְדְבָשׂ וְנְטָעָעָל عַسل, “and there is wheat and honey and hides”. Perhaps the use of Hebrew here indicates a specific brand of honey, i.e. a case similar to the use of שׂו. It is, however, also used in a deathbed declaration from 1072 — elsewhere the Arabic عسل seems to be preferred.⁴¹ Specific words may occasionally be understood as both Arabic and Hebrew as in FJ VII r., 18–19 קִימָגָהִי מַעַה, “secure my rank with him”.⁴² The same

³⁵ The use of Hebrew for “wheat” in times of drought is discussed in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 71 (with footnotes). It is, however, also used in a letter from the 12th century (?), see Blau, 1988, 207 (line 24), where no such circumstances seem to be described. The water which “has receded” is here interpreted as referring to a low Nile. The drought of 1056 as mirrored in Genizah letters is discussed in Gil, 2004a, 161–163.

³⁶ Gil, 1992, 259.

³⁷ משנה for “vizier” is mentioned in Gil, 1992, 714, 716.

³⁸ Gil, 2004b, 573.

³⁹ Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 2, 246.

⁴⁰ Gil, 1997, no. 565, 28.

⁴¹ For qayyama instead of qawwama, see Dozy, s.v. The place of גאה in the period is discussed in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 5, 255–260 (with footnote 22 where the same phrase is quoted about a minor Jewish notable in Alexandria).

is true of טאהור in FJ V r., 11–12 ... כ רטל כעד טאהור ... וגרתין טאהור ... “and two jars of pure [oil] ... 20 ratl of pure biscuits”.

3. Grammatical observations

3.1 Morphology of the Hebrew elements

Hebrew nouns as loanwords in Arabic normally take the Arabic definite article. In Hebrew loans beginning with “sun letters” the article take its appropriate form, as demonstrated by JF IV v. 11, אָרָב. This feature is shared with modern Jewish varieties of Arabic.⁴² The phenomenon may be compared to the integration of English loanwords in Swedish by the addition of the post-positive definite article *-en/-et*, i.e. *displayen* (“the display”), *mailet* (“the [e-]mail”). The Hebrew definite article is only found in quotations and in fixed phrases. Exceptions to this use of the Arabic definite article are Hebrew words for the liturgy. They are found without the definite article even in constructions where this would have been expected, viz. in AŞ V v., 8 צְלָאָה מִנְחָה instead of AŞ VII r., 9 מַעֲרֵב instead of אלמַעֲרֵב (provided that it is understood as “evening prayer”) and AŞ II r., 3 שְׁבוּעוֹת, “[...at this festival which is to come to us], the Feast of Weeks”. Only Passover is normally mentioned with the article, פֶּסַח. It is as if such Hebrew words are seen as proper nouns and thus definite in themselves. This is also a feature which is shared with Jewish varieties of Arabic of today.⁴³

A number of nouns retain the Hebrew plural, e.g. AŞ IV r., 2 שְׁנִים רַבּוֹת, AŞ II r. rtmrga, 8 אֲלָפִי שְׁלֹמוֹת, JF VIII r. rtmrga, 1 אֲנוֹסִים, JF VI r., 11 אֲלָגִים, IF VII r., 28, VIII r. rtmrg, 2 אֲלָחִיטִים. This is, of course, also the case when Hebrew words occur in quotations or fixed phrases. This may be compared with the optional retention of Latin-type plurals like *formulae*, *foci* and *minima* instead of anglicised plurals *formulas*, *focuses* and *minimums* in Latin loanwords in English.⁴⁴ There are no examples of Hebrew nouns of which the plural is formed according to Arabic patterns, a feature found in Jewish varieties of Arabic of today. This may a mere coincidence as this phenomenon is found in medieval scholarly texts.⁴⁵

As for numerals, פֶּלֶף is explicitly to be understood as Hebrew in AŞ I r., 16 just as it is used in the conclusion of AŞ II r. פֶּלֶף שְׁלֹמוֹת. In cases where the writers elsewhere use numerals, Arabic words are used. Normally, however, they use Hebrew letters as figures.

FJ VI v., 6 גְּדוֹלָה מִתָּה וּמְאַתָּה has been discussed above. In AŞ IV r., 7, 18–19, FJ IX

⁴² Bar-Asher, 1992, 75, Cohen, 1964, passim, Leslau, 1945–1946, 68, Piamenta, 2000, 79–80 and Stillman, 1988, 55.

⁴³ This point is made in Blau, 1999, 147. For the modern varieties, see Bar-Asher, 1992, 76 (*purim*, *pisah*, *šabu'ut* but *s-sukka*), Cohen, 1964, 81–87 (*bīšāḥ*) and Stillman, 1988, 111–136 (*kuppor*, *ḥənīkka*, *pūrim*, *pisah*, *sabī'ot* and *skka* (but obviously also *s-skka*).

⁴⁴ For this way of not integrating loanwords, see Weinreich, 1953, 46, where additional examples are quoted.

⁴⁵ For medieval examples, see Blau, 1999, 162–166, and for the modern varieties, see Bar-Asher, 1992, 77, Leslau, 1945–1946, 69.

ר., 3–4 רָאֵס אַלְמַחִיבָה is the arabisation of an Aramaic verb. ⁴⁶ JF VI r., 19, 20 רִישׁ מִתְיִבָּתָא is in the fourth form in the sense “apostatise” although the corresponding Hebrew verb of this meaning is *qal* while *hif'il* means “to cause somebody to transgress”. Perhaps עֲשֵׂפָה should be understood as a verb derived from פְשֻׁעָה, “*apostasy*”, also retaining the š of the Hebrew word. Its presence here is peculiar, as it does not seem to be attested outside Genizah-texts. Elsewhere *tašammada*, from Hebrewoshם, “*apostate*”, is thus found.⁴⁷ As for AŞ I r., 31–32, JF VIII r., 18 אַחֲרָמָהוּ אֶלְילָה, ’*ahrama* is found in Christian texts in the first, second and fourth forms in the meaning “anathematise, excommunicate”, and this may be compared to Syriac *ahrem*. Turning to Jewish texts, it means “excommunicate”, a meaning perhaps influenced by the Hebrew הַחֲרִים, “to pronounce the חֶרֶם, [i.e. the rabbinical ban]”. Here, however, it is obviously used in the sense “to curse”, i.e. corresponding to its use in Christian texts. To this is added a case of polysemy as חֶרֶם normally means “to commit an unlawful act, to seek refuge in a sacred place, to go on the pilgrimage”.⁴⁸ Other cases of polysemy are AŞ I r., 21, 22 רְבֹוֹתֵינוּ עַלְסָךְ, “peace upon him/them” but used in the sense זְכָרוֹנָם לִבְרָכָה, “of blessed memory”, and AŞ V r., 30 אַלְחָמָם for the ritual bath for women. Here it is of interest to mention that Arabic עלייה אלסלאם was in use in Tunisia in the 20th century for the post-biblical rabbis, while the Hebrew version of the phrase is recorded in blessings of the dead.⁴⁹

3.2 Syntactical observations

There are several examples of bilingual constructions with the *nomen regens* in Arabic, and *nomen rectum* in Hebrew, viz. צָלָאָה מְנֻחָה בְּאֵבָב סְכָת חֶשְׁבָה, AŞ V r., 7 מְנֻחָה מְנֻחָה בְּאֵבָב, AŞ V r., 7, FJ IX v., 11 לִילִית שְׁמַחַת תּוֹרָה, AŞ IV r., 6 and AŞ III r., 6 מְנֻחָה פְּלוֹנוֹן, AŞ V r., 30 אַצְוֹל אַלְדָקָוָק etc. This has also been recorded in modern Jewish varieties of Arabic.⁵⁰ The opposite phenomenon is found in FJ V v., 6 רַוְפָא אַלְזָעִים.

In AŞ IV v., 12 מְנֻחָה אַלְכְּבִּירָה וְאַלְפְּגָנָה אַלְעַטִּימה and IF I v., 26 בְּרָבִים מְשֻׁהָר, the Hebrew word or phrase is glossed by an Arabic word of the same meaning. The glossing of אַלְסָלָם with וְשָׁלוּם also belongs here. This is a phenomenon

⁴⁶ The treatment of the word מִתְיִבָּתָא is discussed in Blau, 1999, 160, 165 and the position of רָאֵס in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 2, 5–22. For *ra'*s instead of *ra'is*, see Lane, s.v. *ra's*.

⁴⁷ For the use of this verb for “apostatise”, see Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 2, 300, 591 (footnotes 4 and 5, where it is suggested that this meaning of the verb is due to Arabic *irtadda*) and vol. 5, 60, 521 (footnote 59). The treatment of Hebrew/Aramaic š in loanwords in Arabic is discussed in Blau, 1999, 160–161, 272. For the use of the fourth form for the formation of denominative verbs in CA, see Wright, I, 34 and for a similar use among arabophone Jews of the 20th century, see Bar-Asher, 1992, 79–81 and Piamenta, 2000, 81–83. For *tašammada*, see Blau, 1999, 164, Bar-Asher, 1992, 92, Piamenta, 2000, 84.

⁴⁸ For the meaning of the word in Christian texts, see Dozy, (1881) 1991, Graf, 1954, Corriente, 1997 and Wehr, 1985, s.v. For a discussion of the word in Jewish texts, see Blau, 1999, 161, 162 and for Syriac, see Payne Smith, (1903) 1979 s.v.

⁴⁹ Bar-Asher, 1992, 103 (the Hebrew phrase for patriarchs and famous rabbis), Cohen, 1964, 61, Piamenta, 2000, 108 and Stillman, 1988, 55.

⁵⁰ Bar-Asher, 1992, 82–83 and Stillman, 1988, 112, 117, 121, 123.

recorded in the speech of North African Jews of the 20th century. It is a phenomenon also observed in modern studies of code-switching, viz. quasi-translations into the other language for the purpose of emphasis, clarification or for attracting attention. In this way its appearance here may well reflect the spoken language of the period.⁵¹

3.3 Integration of the Hebrew elements

The integration of numerals and nouns is not discussed, as the writers treat them like the corresponding categories in Arabic. Contexts where the text is more or less fragmentary have also been left outside the discussion.

Hebrew loanwords have the same grammatical function as the corresponding Arabic phrase which is demonstrated by the switch between سنין ט aliqua and شئون ربوات شئون, as well as the switch between אלעיאד/אלמעוד and אלמעודים/אלעיאד.

In AS I r., 11, v., 5 and IF VI r., 2 the quotations are inserted asyndetically as is AS I r.rtmrga. **הקבלה ינחת ל[עמון] לושלים לך**⁵² In AS I r., 5, the quotation of Ps 49:8 is introduced asyndetically with the preceding phrase, but connected by *wa-* with what follows, as is the Hebrew phrase in AS I r., 35. The Hebrew phrases may also be integrated by *wa-* as **וכלי ישראלי וכתיב בערנו שם** (in IF II r., 1–2, however, through asyndeton), JF I v., 12, II r.rtmrg, 8–10, AS II r., 4, ... **ויזכה...**, AS IV r., 4 **ואחר כל זאת**. In IF II r., 1, VIII r., 1, and FI X r., 1, the Hebrew words are in the accusative after *kāna* from the grammatical point of view, and in AS VII r., 25, **לא ריש ולא חבר ולא צגיד ולא כביר**, the Hebrew word is analysed as being in the accusative, viz. “...neither rayyis nor *member of the academy*, neither low nor high”. In AS I r., 9–11 **מלך מלכי המלכים ואלכיפאת תעלייה תעלייה**, the Hebrew phrase is the subject of the preceding predicate in Arabic just as the preposition refers back to it, viz. “*the King, King of Kings* knows the secrets and the hidden things, to Him (He is exalted!) ...”

In AS II, the writer uses formal address, and this is transferred to the Hebrew phrase in AS II r., 4–5 **ויראיי לו בן זכר ... ויזכה...** and **may you live long... and may you let me see a son of yours**”. This is also the case in the farewell greeting in AS V v., 17 **ושלום לך...** (as against the informal **ושלום** in AS I). In AS IV v., 19–20, the quotation of Ps 58:6 follows as a relative clause to the Arabic pronoun, viz. **... והוא אשר...** The quotation of Ps 68:6 in IF V r.rtmrg, 1–2 is introduced as the predicate to the Arabic pronoun, ... **אללה...** **יכoon מעך לאנה אבי...** The same is true of the quotation of Ps 35:10 in AS I r., 16, ... **פסבחאננה אלדי הוא מציל...** The quotation of Ps 38:20 **טובה משלמי...** in AS V r., 18 is part of a bilingual phrase where the Hebrew phrase is picked up as the object of the Arabic phrase **יכאפי כל ואחד בניתה**, “may God (He is exalted!) requite each one with his intention”. In AS I r.rtmrg 11–14, the quotation is integrated into the context as a subordinated clause by the Arabic conjunction **'an**, **וקד כאן יגב עלייך ... אן תידני לך כוח זכות** quoting Abot 1:6. Here the Hebrew phrase has been manipulated to fit the context. As for the embedding of the

⁵¹ For this, see Tedghi, 1995, 61–62 (for the Jewish examples from North Africa) and Auer, 1995, 120 (for code-switching).

⁵² For this observation in scholarly texts, see Blau, 1999, 148.

quotation of Ps 27:4 in IF V r., 2–3, only the second hemistich is quoted where there is no finite verb. In IF IX r., 15 אָנַצֵּר לְנִפְסֹךְ אֵיזֶה, the quotation of Abot 4:1 and 2:13 is integrated by the Hebrew word אֵיזֶה which is in the original quotation. Likewise the פָּסֶבְחָאָן מִן יִעַמֵּל מִעַי אַלְמַעֲגֹזָת וְאֶל in AS I r.rtmrg, 5–6 כתבת הָאָדָּא לְלִתְחָאָב בְּמֶרֶג נֶפֶשׁ, בראהן בכל עת ובכל שעה and in AS I r.rtmrg 2–3 וְשָׂרָה בְּרִיבָה עַצְימָה בְּחִרְכּוֹת וּבְרִמְחִים צָאָה רָהָה V v., 11 is integrated into the sequel by the pronominal suffix of the verb in what follows, “...*and the matter*..., do not, sir, divulge it”.

A few bilingual phrases call for special mention. AS II r., 16 אָסֶל אֱלֹהָה יִגְעַל אַלְאָחָרִית is more or less a bilingual version of the conventional Arabic eulogy أَخْرِيَّة شَمَّسٍ, “may God grant a happy outcome”, and here the Hebrew is to be understood as being in the accusative. In AS II r.rtmrg, 4–5 לוֹלִי רְחָמִי שְׁמָם, 4–5 לְכַנֵּת הַלְּכָת, the writer starts with the Hebrew *lulē*, only to introduce the apodosis with the Arabic *la-*. In a couple of instances a doubly transitive verb takes one object in Arabic and the other in Hebrew. Thus in AS II r.rtmrga, 8 يُكَرَّاهُ إِلَيْيَ 8, a conventional Arabic phrase, اقْرَا فَلَانًا السَّلَام, is introduced in Arabic only to be continued in Hebrew. This is also the case in AS III v., 4 يُبَلِّغُ مُولَّاً سَلَامِيْ إِذْنَنَّوْ which is a conventional Arabic phrase, بلغ فلانا السلام, also “to greet NN”. In FJ VI v., 6 and VII r.rtmrga one and the same phrase is found, viz. ואָשְׁהַדָּנוּ, 6 וְلֹאָהָעַלְיָ אַלְיהָוָגִיד over the Jews”. In AS V r., 3–4 הַזְהָדָנוּ, 3–4 the first accusative of a verb with two accusatives is an Arabic pronominal suffix, while second accusative is a Hebrew noun followed by a prepositional phrase in Hebrew.

In AS V r., 2 הַזְהָה אַלְמַוְעָדִים אַלְמַכְבָּלה the Hebrew plural of inanimate objects is treated like the corresponding Arabic nouns, i.e. as a feminine singular. The same phenomenon is found in AS IV r., 12 וְכֹאנַת צְרוֹת וּמְצֻקּוֹת. In IF VII r., 28 אלְמִים חָסֶר מִים normally takes the predicate in the plural. In Arabic, on the other hand, the corresponding word may have the predicate in the singular.⁵³ Another example of the rule from Arabic grammar is found in AS IV r., 4 וְמַא אָקוֹא אַצְפָּא אַחֲת מְאַלְפָן מִן צְרוֹת גְּרָתָה. The Hebrew phrase is introduced as the accusative object of the preceding Arabic phrase, followed by a relative *sifā-clause*, as the Hebrew word is indefinite.⁵⁴

Taken together, the observations made by Joshua Blau hold true here as well, and his conclusions may be quoted, “...it was Arabic, backed by a mother-tongue group, that absorbed Hebrew, which was no longer a living language ... the Hebrew elements adapt themselves to the structure of Arabic to a quite surprising degree”.⁵⁵

⁵³ For the treatment of *mayim* in Hebrew, see Brown, & Driver, & Briggs, 1979, s.v. and for Arabic, Lane, s.v.

⁵⁴ These points are discussed in Blau, 1999, 136–137 where additional examples are quoted.

⁵⁵ Blau, 1999, 133. The italics are in the original.

4. The place of the Hebrew elements in the letters

The great majority of the Hebrew and Aramaic elements are made up of quotations from scriptures or the liturgy, fixed phrases used by the writers in specific contexts, and loanwords for concepts and practices peculiar to Jewish religious life. A peculiar feature is the use of scriptural passages conventionally employed in specific contexts. In these cases these phrases of scriptural origin can be viewed as fixed phrases. To them are added expressions obviously belonging to the commercial vocabulary or otherwise current in writings from the period. Only rarely do the writers use words or phrases outside these domains. As is only to be expected, most of these loanwords are nouns, and there is only one verb of distinctly Hebrew origin, JF VI r., 19, 20 אָפְשָׁע. Peculiar are IF I v., 2 וכל שָׁכַן בְּלָי [בְּכִינָה], where the Hebrew phrases belong to parts of speech less likely to be transferred.

Avon b. Ṣedaqa is not surprisingly the writer who makes the most prolific use of Hebrew elements and he skilfully integrates them in his letters. He was a learned merchant who was writing to other learned merchants, and he knew that each of the addressees of his letters was חכִימָא בְּרָמֶזָא. To this should be added the observation frequently made that speakers and writers often sprinkle their discourse with words and phrases of a prestige language for emphasis. For the Jews Hebrew was such a prestigious language, being the language of scholarship, of scriptures and of prayers. Avon b. Ṣedaqa lived in Jerusalem, the seat of the Palestinian academy, and the Gaon Solomon b. Judah conducted his official correspondence in Hebrew until his death in 1051 while using Arabic in his private letters.⁵⁶ The cases where Hebrew elements are found in reported speech in Avon b. Ṣedaqa's letters are also of interest, viz. Aṣ I r., 15–16 and in Aṣ VII v., 5–6, quoted above. Both examples indicate that Hebrew (including quotations from scriptures) was mixed into speech, possibly in the way the writers mix it into writing. Hebrew elements are much less prominent in the letters of the other writers, and this evidently reflects that they, unlike Avon b. Ṣedaqa, did not have a scholarly education. Among them, however, Isma‘il b. Farah is of specific interest because of his inclusion of quotations and other non-stereotyped phrases in his letters to his son II, V, IX, to Joseph b. ‘Alī Kohen Fāsī in letter VII and to the unknown recipient of letter I. Likewise the usage of Joseph b. Farah in his letter VIII is of interest in this respect. Equally noteworthy is the absence of such phrases in the letters from Farah b. Isma‘il and Farah b. Joseph. Just as the inclusion of such words and phrases mirrors the personality of the writer, their absence does the same.

Of great interest are the examples of words and constructions which are recorded in the modern Jewish varieties of Arabic in North Africa and in Jerusalem, viz. cases like גִּירָה בְּשֻׁנְתָּה, glossing a Hebrew word with an Arabic word (or vice versa), bilingual expressions, the integration of loanwords by means of the Arabic definite article, and the integration of Hebrew words for the liturgy without the Arabic definite article. For “synagogue”, on the other hand, *kanis̄ya* and *kanīsa* seem to

⁵⁶ This aspect of the correspondence of Solomon b. Judah is discussed in Outhwaite, 2004.

have gone out of use, since *šnûga* was in use in the 20th century, as were *slá*, *bit ha-kniset* and *knís*.⁵⁷ This raises the question of continuity as regards the Hebrew elements between the Medieval and the modern Jewish varieties. The presence of Hebrew elements outside the religious and scholarly domains draws attention to the jargon that was current among Jewish traders and artisans in North Africa in the 20th century, and was based on the utilisation of a basically Hebrew vocabulary in accordance with Arabic morphology and syntax, *lašūn*. One possibility would be that the North African merchants of the period discussed here had a similar jargon which infiltrated their letters.⁵⁸

The loanwords for concepts and practices peculiar to Jewish religious life have their parallels in the loanwords from Coptic, Syriac and Greek in Christian texts in Arabic which form the bulk of the glossary by Georg Graf. It should, however, be kept in mind that his glossary is restricted to *ecclesiastical* terms culled from the writings of the intellectual and religious elite. A major difference is that Coptic was still a spoken vernacular in Egypt in this period, and hence Christians may well have been bilingual speakers of Coptic and Arabic, Coptic being the language of liturgy and scholarship as well. The same holds true of Syriac among the Maronites who even adapted Syriac script to Arabic — i.e. *karshuni*. In this way Coptic Christians and Maronites differed from the Jews who, to the best of our knowledge, were monolingual Arabic speakers since Hebrew had long ceased to be a spoken language. A parallel to the function of Hebrew (and also of Coptic and Syriac) is the function of Latin in Northern Europe (including Germany and Sweden). This part of Europe was christened by the Roman-Catholic church in the Middle Ages, and Latin thereby became the language of scriptures and liturgy as well as of scholarship. There was a massive influx of Latin loanwords in the domains of religion and scholarship into the Germanic languages, just as the Latin script was adapted to these languages. Latin was, however, to remain the language of scholarship even after the Reformation of the 16th century. The speech and writings of reformator, Martin Luther, are of interest here. Contemporary witnesses write that he spoke *mixtim vernacula lingua*, and in a pioneering study Birgit Stolt analysed his *Tischgespräche*, calling it a *Sprachmischung* between German and Latin. There she also quotes examples of the same phenomenon from Luther's private letters, as well as from Swedish texts from the 16th and 17th centuries. The picture sketched there of the dominance of Latin already in elementary schooling in Germany holds also true of Sweden well into the 18th century.⁵⁹ This raises the question of the knowledge of Hebrew among Jews in the period studied here. Commenting upon elementary

⁵⁷ For words for “synagogue” among arabophone Jews of the 20th century, see Cohen, 1964, 171, Cohen 1912, 391, Leslau, 1945–1946, 71, Piamenta, 2000, 15 and Stillman, 1988, 57.

⁵⁸ *Lašūn* is discussed in Cohen, 1912, 404–408, Cohen, 1964, 114–115 and in Chetrit, 1994.

⁵⁹ Stolt, 1964, 1969, 1990. The place of Latin in the educational system of Sweden is sketched in Lundström, 1976. The point of the parallel function of Latin and Hebrew is made in Rabin, 1981, where the similar function of Coptic and Syriac is discussed as well. He was, however, not aware of the place of Latin in post-Reformation Germany and Sweden (among other countries). In the words of Rabin, the vernacular was not “emancipated” in Sweden until the 18th century.

schooling in the Jewish community, Goitein assumes that its standards were poor. Regular reading and expounding of scriptures was, however, incumbent on everyone. From AŞ V r.rtmrg, 7, we also understand that the addressee, Nehorai b. Nissim, took an interest in Hebrew grammar. The quotations from scriptures made by Isma'īl b. Farah are also of interest in this context.⁶⁰ Both languages, Hebrew and Latin, were furthermore languages of learning, scholarship and religion which infiltrated the vernacular. In this respect their use differs from cases of the bilingualism between two spoken languages normally studied but is similar to the use of Arabic in "Islamic" languages like Aljamiado, Turkish, Persian, Urdu and Bosniak.

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⁶⁰ The elementary education and its organisation as mirrored in the Genizah are sketched in Goitein, 1967–1993, vol. 2, 173–190, 192–195. Learning how to read and write Hebrew is discussed in Olszowy-Schlanger, 2003.

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Edward FitzGerald and Persian Literature

Esmail Z. Behtash

Zahedan

Edward FitzGerald “without asking hither hurried” on 31 March 1809 was born as Edward Purcell in Suffolk. The family had adopted the capital G in their own name in order to show their Irish origin. His mother was the heir to numerous estates and fortunes while later his father died of bankruptcy.

The story of FitzGerald’s life is the history of his friendship. Life for FitzGerald found meaning only when it was accompanied with friendship. Major Edward Moor, a retired Anglo-Indian officer and a family friend, was FitzGerald’s boyhood hero who knew Persian well. His acquaintance led to the production of a dictionary by FitzGerald on Sea Words and Phrases. Moor disliked the clergy and had agnostic tendencies.

FitzGerald started schooling in Suffolk as an erratic student. He went to Cambridge in 1826. At Cambridge he made friends with John Allen, Alfred Tennyson, William Thackeray and later with Thomas Carlyle and Edward Byles Cowell. He graduated from Cambridge while vacillating between faith and doubt. Allen represented the spiritual side of his character and Thackeray the secular. FitzGerald’s graduate period coincided with Lyell’s *The Principle of Geology* (1830–1833) which revolutionized ideas about the age of the earth.

His friend, Edward Byles Cowell, had published at the age of sixteen some odes of Hāfiż in translation. He suggested Persian to FitzGerald and promised to teach its grammar in a day. With Cowell, he read Spanish plays by Calderon. On the death of his mother, FitzGerald inherited a fortune and decided to marry the daughter of his friend after seven years of engagement when both were at the age of forty-seven. After eight months they concluded that their marriage was a failure and they separated. Then he took refuge in the translation of Omar first into Latin and then into English.

FitzGerald’s independence of thought and frank confession of his doubts gave him a reputation as an agnostic. As he aged he grew more isolated. “The hair broke and the suspended sword fell”, to quote himself in June 1883. He had chosen the following line from the Bible to be his epitaph: “It is He that hath made us and not we ourselves.”

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The publication of FitzGerald’s *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām* in 1859 marks a kind of culmination of the Persian and oriental studies which commenced in Europe in the early eighteenth century with Antoine Galland’s translation of *Les Mille et une*

Nuits (1704–17). The introduction of the *Arabian Nights*¹ was the starting point for the reception of eastern literature and culture in the west. Antoine Galland's translation of *Les Mille et une Nuits* (1704–17) first brought the east before the eyes of French readers. The French version was immediately translated anonymously into English. The great success of Galland's translation gave rise to numerous imitations, such as *The Persian Tales* (1710), *The Tales of the Genii* (1764) by the Reverend James Ridley, *Persian Eclogues* by William Collins (1742), *Rasselas* by Samuel Johnson in 1759, whose work paved the way for the hugely popular of *Vathek* written by William Beckford in 1786. English translations of *Arabian Nights* were also made by Edward Lane in 1840 and by Sir Richard Burton in 1885–88. The repeated editions of the *Arabian Nights* (eighteen editions by 1793) show its great popularity in the eighteenth century. These tales, apart from the interest of their stories, gave European readers the opportunity of "knowing" the customs and ceremonies of "the Orient" without taking the trouble to travel to the far East. These stories, entertaining because of their exoticism as well as their tales of mystery and magic, stimulated the desire for the publication of more like them.

With the expansion of the British Empire in India on the one hand, and the encouragement of the knowledge of oriental learning on the other, Persian language and literature became more significant in Europe. The Persian language became important because of British commercial and political interests in India. Hence, political impulses and the encouragement of oriental studies brought the study of Persian to the close attention of the West. Britain owed part of its success in the advancement of its interests in India to the labours of Sir William Jones (1746–94), who was, according to Edward Said, "a poet, a jurist, a polyhistor, a classicist, and an indefatigable scholar whose powers would recommend him to such as Benjamin Franklin, Edmund Burke, William Pitt, and Samuel Johnson."² Said goes on to say that "to rule and to learn, then to compare the Orient with the Occident: these were Jones's goals." Jones believed that if

the study of oriental languages were encouraged in Europe, a new and ample field would be opened for speculations; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind; we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes; and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate.³

As the very beginning of his preface to the *Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771) states, Jones found Persian "rich, melodious, and elegant." He felt it his duty to bring the riches of the Persian manuscripts to the attention of Europeans by producing a practical guidebook for learning the language. Thus Jones introduced his readers not only to the grammar of Persian, but also, more importantly, to its litera-

¹ The English title is not accurate because the tales are not purely Arabian. The book is based on a collection entitled A thousand Legends which was probably translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi, then into Arabic.

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978; rpt. Penguin Book, 1991) p. 77.

³ W. Jones, *The Works of Sir William Jones, with the Life of the Author*, 13 vols. (London: J. Stockdale & J. Walker, 1807) x: p. 360.

ture. Furthermore, Jones for the first time in Europe “set up the oriental writers in competition with the revered ancients of Greece and Rome,” as J. P. Singh writes. “What he actually meant was that the Arabic and Persian poets were sublimer than Pindar, sweeter than Anacreon, and more polished than Sappho.”⁴ The point surely is that readers of Persian felt they were in touch with another tradition as ancient and deep as their own. At the end of his *Commentary* Jones related the story of an Arab who failed to appreciate the poetry of Milton and Pope in Latin translations and decided to learn English in order to enjoy them. Laudably, Jones encouraged his readers not to limit themselves to reading Persian literature in translation, but to acquire the language in order to read Persian literature in its original form. The *Arabian Nights* and Jones’s *Works* paved the way for future scholars of oriental studies on the one hand, and stimulated popular demand for oriental works on the other. William Beckford (1759–1844) produced the *History of Caliph Vathek* (1786), the most successful piece of exotic fiction of the late eighteenth century. This tale was praised by contemporary reviewers for the “novelty of its machinery and its detailed knowledge of eastern manners.”⁵ Beckford’s orientalism derived largely from the *Arabian Nights* and he was impressed by Jones’s writings on oriental literature.

Apart from the introduction of the folk literature of the Middle East into England, the introduction of the great poets of Iran began with the studies recorded in the works of certain travellers and scholars. Translations of Persian poets like Firdausi, Hāfiẓ, and Sa‘di “enjoyed a tremendous vogue in England, exercising a strong influence on poets like W. S. Landor, Southey, Byron and Moor.”⁶ Sa‘di’s *Golestan* was the first literary work translated into English by Stephen Sullivan in 1774. With the rise of Romanticism and associated interest in exotic themes, the study of oriental literature entered on a new phase. The East became a new source of inspiration for the Romantics. Writers such as Landor and Southey had prejudiced attitudes in their view of other cultures; yet they preferred to write on oriental subjects because they could be the source of new and popular stories. Byron contributed to the socialisation of Persian imagery and themes, thus helping to provide a setting and context for FitzGerald. The “cloudless skies” of the east became for Byron, a refuge from his personal difficulties:

I am sick, & sorry, & when I have a little repaired my irreparable affairs, away I shall march
... back again to the East, where I can at least have cloudless skies, & a cessation from impertinence.⁷

Byron owed his first impression of oriental literature mostly to Jones’s *Grammar* and Beckford’s *Vathek*. Before embarking on his Mediterranean voyage and producing the *Turkish Tales*, he knew of the well-known Persian poets through Jones’s writings. In his *Journal* in 1807, Byron mentions Hāfiẓ, Sa‘di, and Firdausi. In

⁴ Janardan Parasad Singh, *Sir William Jones: His Mind and Art*, diss. (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1982) p. 55.

⁵ Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992) p. 20.

⁶ Leask p. 18.

⁷ Leslie A. Marchand, ed., *Byron’s Letters and Journals*, 12 vols. (London: John Murray, 1973) 2: p. 54; to Francis Hodgson, 29 June 1811.

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, he compares Hāfiẓ to Anacreon, a famous Roman lyric poet of love and wine:

Love conquers Age – so Hāfiẓ hath averr'd,
So sings the Teian, and he sings in sooth.
(Canto II, 63)

Byron increased the oriental colouring of his tales by making a more correct use of eastern terms. What distinguishes the oriental atmosphere of Byron's writings, besides the oriental names, is his usage of common eastern images and references to Persian and Islamic culture in such terms as "mosque", "muezzin", and "minaret" in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*:

Hark! from the Mosque the nightly solemn sound,
The Muézzin's call doth shake the minaret,
"There is no god but God! – to prayer – lo! God is great!"
(Canto II, 59)

Of the other Victorian writers of oriental tales, Arnold's case is exceptional. He did not know Persian; yet his intuitive grasp of oriental themes is embodied in his version of an episode from Firdausi's "Rustum and Sohrab". In 1814, James Atkinson produced a freely translated form of "Sohrab and Rustum" in English. Jules Mohl, a German orientalist, commenced producing *Shah-Nâmeh* as *Les Livers des Rois* in Paris in 1838. Sainte-Beuve in his review of Mohl's translation gave a detailed account of "Sohrab and Rustum." Mohl's translation and Sainte-Beuve's review encouraged Arnold to work on the episode. Arnold used also Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, in which the account of Sohrab and Rustam is recorded, and Sir Alexander Burnes's *Travels into Bokhārā*, to give oriental atmosphere and colour to his poem. What made Arnold's translation close to the original was Arnold's use of Sainte Beuve's details in his review. "Sohrab and Rustum" deals with the tragic death of a son slain by his father. Sohrab, an unknown soldier in an alien army, is searching for his identity. He is the son of the Persian hero Rustam and was born while his father was away at war. His mother, Tahmineh, "for fear/Rustum should seek the boy, to train in arms", declares that she has given birth to a girl and returns to her own country with her son. Tahmineh fastens the sign of Rustam's seal on Sohrab's arm and asks him to search for his father. Sohrab challenges the bravest soldier of Persia to single combat. He does not know that he has the honour of fighting with the greatest champion of Persia, Rustam. During the final battle, Rustam reveals his name and Sohrab recognises his father. He recoils and Rustam strikes him down. Sohrab reveals his identity and Rustam recognises his son by the seal on his arm. It is too late. Sohrab dies in his father's arms. The chief difference between the original and Arnold's version, as Javadi also notes, is that the catastrophe in Firdausi's episode is due to the "cunning motivation of human action", whereas in Arnold's poem this part is completely omitted and is replaced with pure fatalism, which becomes the dominant theme of his "Sohrab and Rustum".⁸

It was in the house of the reverend John Charlesworth, a family friend, that

⁸ H. Javadi, *Persian Literary Influence on English Literature* (Calcutta: Iran Society, 1983) p.134.

FitzGerald found the conversation of a certain young man of nineteen very interesting. The young man was Edward Byles Cowell (1826–1903), FitzGerald's junior by seventeen years. Cowell's personality and commitment to studying foreign languages enticed FitzGerald into studying Spanish and Persian. Without Cowell's stimulation and FitzGerald's attachment to the Cowells, FitzGerald might never have persevered in the study of Persian. Cowell was the son of a corn merchant at Ipswich with less interest in corn than in his books. As a schoolboy at Ipswich Grammar School, then known as Queen Elizabeth's School, he showed a growing enthusiasm for learning languages. Cowell spent most of his leisure time at the town library, the Ipswich Literary Institution. There he became familiar with the works of the eminent orientalist and jurist of the time, Sir William Jones. Studying Latin, Greek, French and German led him into studying Persian. At the age of sixteen, he contributed some translations of the odes of Hāfiẓ to the *Asiatic Journal* (1842–5). On the death of his father in 1842, Cowell was compelled to abandon his schooling in order to take over the family business. He spent every day in his grandfather's counting house applying himself to figures, and in the early mornings and evenings he studied foreign languages. Despite all his success in learning foreign languages, he never sought fame and was not ambitious.

On December 10, 1852 FitzGerald went to Oxford to see the Cowells. During this visit he began to study Persian. "On a wet Sunday in Oxford", wrote Cowell, "I suggested Persian to him and guaranteed to teach the grammar in a day". The book was Jones's *Grammar*, the illustrations in which are nearly all from Hāfiẓ.⁹ FitzGerald probably began his study in late 1852 after his father died. His first Persian script in his correspondence appeared in a letter to Mrs. Cowell after he returned from Oxford on 29 December 1852. FitzGerald signed this letter in Persian.

In his study of Persian, FitzGerald relied on the second edition of Sir William Jones's *Grammar of the Persian Language* (1775). FitzGerald started reading Persian and became familiar with the great poets of Persian literature before he became familiar with the rubāiyāt attributed to Omar Khayyām. It is worth knowing that Omar Khayyām was the predecessor of the great poets FitzGerald studied: Attar, Rūmī, Sa'di, Hāfiẓ, though he read Omar after all of them. Jones's *Grammar* does not use poems by Omar. It seems probable to me that FitzGerald first encountered an essential mood of the quatrains attributed to Omar Khayyām in some lines of Hāfiẓ when he was reading Jones's *Grammar*. These lines contain the images of "morning", "wine" and "passing of time" which are very dominant in the *Rubāiyāt*. These lines in Jones's translation run:

It is morning; *fill* the cup with wine: the
rolling heaven makes no delay, therefore
hasten. The sun of wine *rises* from the
east of the cup: if thou seekest the delights
of mirth, *leave thy sleep*.⁹

These lines provide good evidence of a formal influence on Hāfiẓ, whether Omar or somebody else wrote them; but the impact on FitzGerald as well as on Hāfiẓ of the

⁹ William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (London: J. Richardson, 1775) p. 87.

use of quatrains is undeniable. And yet it is in fact Hāfiẓ who is making the impact on FitzGerald, predisposing him to a certain view of Omar. Since FitzGerald studied Hāfiẓ first, the impression of these lines on the *Rubāiyāt* is visible in quatrains I, II, and VII of the first edition (1859) and 1, 3, and 7 of the fourth edition. Yet when he discovered Omar he found him so much more appealing than the other Persian poets that he put all of them, the great poets of Iran, aside, and took the lesser Omar as “his property” because “the philosophy of the latter [Omar] is, alas! one that never fails in the World! ‘Today is ours etc.’”¹⁰

FitzGerald’s first impression of Jones’s *Grammar*, according to his letters, came through his interest in Firdausi. His first request made to Cowell in his letter was that Cowell find him a copy of Firdausi and a cheap Persian dictionary. Abol-Qasem Firdausi (933–1020), the greatest of Persian epic poets from Tūs (Khorasan), is famous solely for his *Shāh-Nāmeh* (“Book of Kings”). The tragic story of Sohrab and Rustam, familiar to readers of English poetry through Matthew Arnold’s poem, originated with Firdausi. FitzGerald had access to a mixed translation of the *Shāh-Nāmeh* in prose and verse by James Atkinson (1832). One very obvious result of FitzGerald’s reading in the original and in this translation was his treatment of the mysteries of creation and fate in the *Rubāiyāt*; another was the employment of the legendary and historical names of the book in his *Rubāiyāt*. Some of the proper names such as “Zal” and “Rustam” must have been taken from the *Shāh-Nāmeh*, since there are no such names in the Persian quatrains which FitzGerald used in his production of *Omar Khayyām*.

FitzGerald continued reading the Persian poets with Sa‘di, the writer of *Golestān* (“The Rose-Garden”) and *Būstān* (“The Scented Garden”), who was called the “Oriental Catullus” by Byron. FitzGerald studied Sa‘di’s *Golestān* with the help of two English translations: one by James Ross (1823) and another by E. B. Eastwick (1852). “The idioms of the language and forms of Eastern Thought are becoming more familiar to me,” FitzGerald wrote to Mrs. Cowell in 1854: “Persian is really a great Amusement to me.” A study of Sa‘di’s preface to his *Golestān* reveals why it first appealed to FitzGerald and why he eventually put him aside.

Sa‘di’s submission to God and destiny in the early pages of his preface shows that FitzGerald will not follow Sa‘di’s example. FitzGerald, as we will shortly see, was looking for a poet or a *persona* to be hostile to the force of destiny as Byron’s Manfred was. Yet there are points in Sa‘di that appealed to FitzGerald and clearly influenced his invention of the *Rubāiyāt*. Sa‘di talks about the unworthiness of human beings, made of clay:

’Twas in the bath, a piece of perfumed clay
Came from my loved one’s hands to mine, one day.
“Art thou then musk or ambergris?” I said;
“That by thy scent my soul is ravished?”
Not so,” it answered, “worthless earth was I,

¹⁰ Alfred McKinley Terhune, Annabelle Burdick Terhune, *The Letters of Edward FitzGerald* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980) ii: 262; to Cowell, 4–20 March 1857.

But long I kept the rose's company;
 Thus near, its perfect fragrance to me came,
 Else I'm but earth, the worthless and the same.”¹¹

FitzGerald takes up this conversation in the first edition of his poem under the name of “Kuza-Nama” [Book of Pots or Jars, or Urns]; and in the later editions he deletes the subtitle but still allocates eight quatrains to a conversation between jars, or urns. They discuss the issue of their creation, whether they are made for a purpose or without any purpose. If there is any purpose behind their creation, then why are they destroyed? They conclude as follows:

“Well murmured one, “Let whoso make or buy,
 “My Clay with long Oblivion is gone dry:
 “But fill me with the old familiar Juice,
 “Methinks I might recover by and by. (No. 89)

Another point of influence on FitzGerald by Sa‘di concerns the vanity of worldly desires, which is mentioned everywhere in the latter’s poetry:

The world, my brother! will abide with none,
 By the world’s Maker let thy heart be won.
 Rely not, nor repose on this world’s gain,
 For many a son like thee she has reared and slain.
 What matters, when the spirit seeks to fly,
 If on a throne or on bare earth we die?¹²

At a visit to the Cowells at Oxford, FitzGerald began to study the Persian Sufi poet Jāmī with Cowell. Jāmī was a poet who always remained with FitzGerald and whom he tried to introduce to others. FitzGerald read Jāmī’s mystical allegory *Salāmān and Absāl* with Cowell. Cowell suggested to FitzGerald that the story be translated into English; so he attempted a translation. FitzGerald worked on the *Salāmān* at intervals. To be more familiar with Persian, he also studied travel books on Persia, including *Travels in Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia* (3 vols. 1819–23) by Sir William Ouseley who had accompanied his brother Sir Gore, Ambassador to Iran, as his private secretary. In Ouseley’s *Travels*, FitzGerald found helpful information about *Salāmān and Absāl*, which he was busy translating. Through Ouseley’s book, FitzGerald became familiar with some of the spoken sounds of the Persian characters. Apart from Ouseley, he found Friedrich Tholuck’s *Sufismus* helpful in understanding the meaning of Jāmī’s *Salāmān*. In January 1855, FitzGerald wrote to Cowell: “In looking over my *Salāmān* I think I see how *that* could be compressed into very readable form: and should like to manage it with you.” He sent his *Salāmān* to Cowell for correction and comment. In April, he submitted his work to *Fraser’s Magazine* but it was rejected because it was too long.

FitzGerald’s insistence on its publication shows how FitzGerald felt it his duty to pay homage to Jāmī by introducing him to the Victorians. In December, FitzGerald started again working on his *Salāmān*. He “lightened the Stories, . . . cut out *all* the

¹¹ B. Edward Eastwick, *The Golistan or Rose Garden*, 2nd ed. (London: Trübner, 1880) p. 6.

¹² Eastwick p. 24.

descriptions of Beauty etc. which are tedious, and are often implied.”¹³ FitzGerald’s editorial intention did not excessively distort Jāmī’s text, as it happens, because the story of Salaman remains complete. FitzGerald sent the text of *Salāmān* to Childs to print only a few copies privately.

Hearing that the Cowells were preparing to leave for India, FitzGerald hurried to Oxford and gave a copy of the *Salāmān* to Cowell, including the dedicatory letter to Cowell, as a “little monument” to his studies with him. His delightful life with the Cowells was passing too quickly and he knew he would deeply miss his friends.

A few weeks before leaving Oxford for Calcutta, Cowell came across, in the Bodleian Library, a beautiful Persian manuscript “written on thick yellow paper, with purplish black ink, profusely powdered with gold”: a manuscript which was destined to survive and make widespread the name of both its author and its translator. Cowell sent FitzGerald a transcript of some portions of the manuscript called *Rubāiyāt-i [= of] Omar Khayyām*.

On 15 July 1856, FitzGerald wrote to Tennyson that he had spent the last fortnight with the Cowells, who were about to sail for India. In this letter FitzGerald gave his first impressions of reading some of Omar’s poems with Cowell:

We read some curious Infidel and Epicurean Tetrastichs by a Persian of the 11th. century – as savage against Destiny, etc., as Manfred but mostly of Epicurean Pathos of this kind – “Drink – for – the Moon will often come round to look for us in this Garden and find us not.”¹⁴

This highly revealing first impression shows how FitzGerald was predisposed by the earlier Persian poetry he had read to see Omar Khayyām in such a light. Omar’s supposed “infidelity” and “Epicureanism” were what struck FitzGerald. More importantly Omar’s “revolt” against destiny, his stress on the passing of time, captured FitzGerald’s imagination as appropriate to a man of action: not in everyday matters but, against God’s will, in eternal ones.

When the two friends parted in August 1856, Cowell gave FitzGerald a complete copy of the manuscript discovered at the Bodleian, containing 158 quatrains and named the Ouseley MS. Returning to his cottage at Bredfield, FitzGerald looked over the quatrains and wrote down some preliminary questions to Cowell. When the Cowells left for India, FitzGerald put the quatrains aside for almost one year, and continued his reading of another poet, Hāfiẓ. It seemed to FitzGerald that Hāfiẓ’s imagery of wine and love would keep him busy for a while. FitzGerald rightly believed that Hāfiẓ’s “best is untranslatable because he is the best musician of Words.”¹⁵ Hāfiẓ’s concerns about the transitoriness of life, his anxiousness to seize the moment, and his professed inability to fathom the mysteries of creation remind us of the influence of the quatrains attributed to Omar Khayyām on Hāfiẓ.

Reading Hāfiẓ was important for FitzGerald’s progress in reading Persian in two respects. First, most of the illustrations in Jones’s *Grammar* were from Hāfiẓ and

¹³ Letters ii: 192; to Cowell, 3 January 1856.

¹⁴ Letters ii: 234. Manfred is the hero in Byron’s *Manfred*, proud and independent, feeling guilty of some mysterious crime is outcast from society. He leads a solitary life in the Alps.

¹⁵ Letters ii: 261; to Cowell, 2–4 March 1857.

FitzGerald easily made progress in reading and understanding him even if only at a superficial level. He also had a German translation of the odes of Hāfiẓ by Von Hammer. Through Hammer's translation he could "hammer" Hāfiẓ's odes, to use FitzGerald's pun. Secondly, all the travel books that FitzGerald studied about Persia had referred to Hāfiẓ as well as to his native city Shiraz as *gol* and *bolbol* (flower and nightingale): images of later importance to FitzGerald. He worked on Hāfiẓ with Tennyson and asked Cowell to correct and "send back the enclosed as soon as you can – giving us the metre and sound of any words very necessary to the music. ... A. T. [i.e., Alfred Tennyson] will only look at Hāfiẓ – in whom he takes interest." Tennyson's writing of the intercalary songs of *The Princess* coincided with FitzGerald's studying Hāfiẓ. Hāfiẓ influenced Tennyson, as Killham also points out, in producing his erotic song "Now Sleeps the Crimson Petal."

FitzGerald worked hard on Hāfiẓ, and after a few weeks in August 1854 he wrote to Cowell that "I shall die with Hāfiẓ, or the *Mathnawi*, half discovered. There are some pretty things" [the remainder of the letter is missing]. It is strange that less than a year later his feeling about Hāfiẓ had changed: "I read an Ode or two of Hāfiẓ by the day; but it is weary monotony after all! Can't one get some Jalāleddīn [Rūmī]?"¹⁶ FitzGerald finally found Hāfiẓ repelling, because Hāfiẓ found himself in harmony with the design of God. Hāfiẓ never tries to revolt against "this sorry Scheme of Things" (No. 99). FitzGerald felt that "Hāfiẓ's Sakis and Goblets were not mystical. He is always apologising for them; always asking Heaven to forgive him, etc."¹⁷ FitzGerald probably felt the "weary monotony" of the odes of Hāfiẓ chiefly because of his own inadequate knowledge of Persian mysticism, which totally permeates the collections of the great Persian poets, especially Hāfiẓ and Rūmī. Thus the greatest lyricist of Persian literature (who inspired Goethe) is set aside; but his invitation to wine-drinking and his sense of the fleetingness of time remained with FitzGerald forever, and appeared everywhere in his *Rubāiyāt*.

Rūmī's poetry, as A. Schimmel rightly maintains, "is nothing but an attempt to speak of God's grandeur as it reveals itself in the different aspects of life."¹⁸ Love is a key word in the understanding of Rūmī. Love, even a secular love, finally leads the lover to the ultimate Beloved. Love, according to Rūmī, "is the ultimate transcendence of Human consciousness – analytical and rational, intuitive and holistic, but above all devotional and passionate."¹⁹ FitzGerald was as unfamiliar with this sort of "love" as he was unfamiliar with the "love" in Browning's poetry. So it seems likely that he would not have found Rūmī appealing to his temper. FitzGerald was not able or did not want to see the greatness of Rūmī which would have revealed him as a "great Artist:"

I don't speak of Jalāleddīn whom I know so little of (enough to show me that he is no great Artist, however) nor Hāfiẓ – whose *best* is untranslatable because he is the best Musician

¹⁶ Letters ii: 172; to Cowell, 5 August 1855.

¹⁷ Letters ii: 181; to Cowell, 4 September 1855.

¹⁸ A. Schimmel, *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jalaloddin Rūmī* (London: East-West Publications, 1978) p. 225.

¹⁹ Halman, *Persian Literature* 202.

of Words. . . . I am sure that what Tennyson said to you is true: That *Hāfiż* is the most Eastern – or, he should have said, most *Persian* – of the Persians. He is the best representative of their *Character*, whether his *Sakis* and *Wine* be real or mystical To be sure their *Roses* and *Nightingales* are repeated enough; but *Hāfiż* and old Omar Khayyām ring like true Metal. The philosophy of the Latter is, alas! one that never fails in the World! “Today is ours!” etc.²⁰

This fragment reveals why FitzGerald discards Rūmī and Hāfiż: the former because of the subjectivity and mysticism of his poetry, and the latter because of his being a pure Persian, inaccessible to translation because of the melody of his verse and his submission to fate and to God’s design of the world. FitzGerald’s preference for Omar Khayyām suggests that in his view Omar was not “the most *Persian* of Persians” like Hāfiż, but a blend of East and West: or at least more amenable to being blended. Omar’s revolt against destiny seems to be the “western” side of his character. But this objection to God’s design is also FitzGerald’s invention:

Ah Love! could you and I with him conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits – and the
Remold it nearer to the Heart’s Desire! (No. 99)

In the original there is no conspiracy against the divine design of the world except that the speaker wishes he had, like God, control of the heavens. FitzGerald was accurate enough in his recognition of Omar’s idea, or “philosophy” as FitzGerald calls it, of “Today is ours.” This philosophy has made Omar popular in the literature of both the East and the West. But what makes FitzGerald’s Omar diverge from the Persian Omar of the 11th century and makes him a Victorian Omar is the matter of *what to do with* “Today is Ours.” FitzGerald failed completely to take Jāmī’s advice, in his own translation. The king advises his son Salāmān:

“My Son, the Kingdom of the World is not
‘Eternal, nor the Sum of right Desire;
‘Make thou the Faith-preserving intellect
‘Thy Counsellor; and considering TO-DAY
‘TO-MORROW’s Seed-field, ere That come to bear,
‘Sow with the Harvest of Eternity.”²¹

FitzGerald failed to consider “Today” the “Seed-field” of tomorrow.

FitzGerald did not work seriously on Omar Khayyām until July 1857. For his consolation, FitzGerald turned to Persian in remembrance of those happy days he had spent with the Cowells. One would have expected him to resort to “old Omar” in such a desperate mood, with his supposed theme of “Today is Ours”, but instead, strangely enough, he started reading Attar’s *Mantiq al-tayr* (“Discourse of the Birds”), a mystical allegory on the quest of the birds for the mythical bird named Simorgh. Perhaps FitzGerald’s resort to Attar and his engagement in the journey of the birds gave him a sense of satisfaction and a hope of re-union with the Cowells. Attar

²⁰ Letters ii: 261–2.

²¹ G. Bentham, *The Variorum and Definitive Edition of the Poetical and Prose Writings of Edward FitzGerald* (New York: Phaeton Press, 1967), i: p. 121.

is one of the greatest Persian mystical poets. Rūmī met him when he was a boy, and chose him as his guide and Master. Attar's *Mantiq al-tayr*, translated partly as the *Bird Parliament* by FitzGerald, had attracted FitzGerald's attention in 1856, before "old Omar" cast his spell on him. Garcin de Tassy, a French orientalist, who had already worked on the analysis of Attar's book, published the Persian text with its French translation in 1857. The book relates how the birds under the leadership of the hoopoe set out on a long pilgrimage in search of Simorgh. At the end of the Journey, of all the birds only thirty were left. Thus these thirty birds saw themselves as Simorgh (literally meaning thirty birds), that is as One bird. Birds represent Sufi pilgrims and Simorgh God or Truth. The whole story symbolizes the quest of man's soul for union with God. FitzGerald studied the book very carefully. At intervals he worked on the verse translation of the *Mantiq* and in 1862 he finished the translation and sent it to Cowell asking him to write an introduction and to make it ready for publication in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. Cowell did not reply to his friend's demand until FitzGerald wrote to him for the third time: "I don't hear from you: I rather think you are deterred by those Birds which I asked you to print. ... But don't let anything of this sort prevent your writing to me now and then."²² Cowell hesitated in publishing his friend's *Bird Parliament* because he believed that "some parts of it are really magnificent, but I felt that it was too free and unscientific to be printed in such a Journal."²³ FitzGerald's *Birds* was never published in his lifetime but its influence can be traced to the *Rubāiyāt* in quatrains 33, 34, and 81.

Earlier in 1857, FitzGerald had occasionally worked on the Ouseley manuscript. He became interested in obtaining other versions of "Omar." He wrote to de Tassy in Paris to see if there were any texts of the supposed Omar Khayyām in the libraries of Paris; and copied a few quatrains as a sample for de Tassy. De Tassy, who had not heard of Omar's quatrains, became fascinated by them, and wrote an article on Omar Khayyām with some quotations from the quatrains which FitzGerald had provided. He read the article before the Persian Ambassador at a meeting of the Oriental Society. De Tassy, who had introduced Omar as a saint, published his article in the *Journal Asiatique* (No. IX, Paris, 1857). Thus FitzGerald was already beginning to interest scholars in the work.

FitzGerald studied two different collections of quatrains attributed to Omar Khayyām to create his first edition of the *Rubāiyāt*: the Ouseley Manuscript, No. 140 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, dated 1460 (A. H. 865)²⁴ with 158 quatrains; and the Calcutta Manuscript, No. 1548 in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library at Calcutta, containing 516 quatrains. FitzGerald had enough time to study the Ouseley manuscript; but he received the Calcutta manuscript in June 1857, only a few months before his publication of the *Rubāiyāt*. Therefore it is likely that the influence of the Oxford manuscript on the creation of his work was much the stronger; furthermore,

²² Letters ii: 491; 5 August 1863.

²³ Letters ii: 467.

²⁴ This manuscript is the oldest single collection of quatrains ever discovered and was written three hundred and twelve years after Omar's death in 1048. The officials of the Bodleian Library have kindly provided me with a photocopy of this manuscript.

according to Cowell, the Calcutta copy was “exceedingly difficult to read.”²⁵ In addition, FitzGerald’s letter to Cowell containing a long string of questions about the Calcutta manuscript shows that he had many problems with reading and deciphering the quatrains in it. The impression the Ouseley manuscript made on FitzGerald is revealed in a letter, already cited, to Tennyson. Omar Khayyām as an “Epicurean” and a man who was “savage against destiny” remained with FitzGerald in a way that his subsequent correspondence with his teacher, Cowell, could not change.

An examination of the sequence of the Persian quatrains, which FitzGerald chose and used as the source of his poem, shows how randomly they have been used. For instance, FitzGerald used the quatrain number 134 of the Calcutta MS as the source of his first quatrain. He used numbers 13 and 80 in the Ouseley MS as the origin of his inspiration for number 4; numbers 41 and 134 from the same manuscript to produce his quatrain number 72, and so on. Heron-Allen in 1899 tried to give the origins of FitzGerald’s poem quatrain by quatrain on the basis of the mentioned manuscripts. The manuscripts contain independent quatrains arranged on the basis of the final rhyming letter. Nevertheless, the first two quatrains in the Ouseley MS are out of alphabetical order. I believe the scribe wanted in this way to emphasise the monotheistic side of Omar as well as his belief in “heavenly grace”, which are the subject of the first quatrain; and his Sufi tendency, which is the subject of the second one. The first quatrain, in Whinfield’s translation, runs:

No pearls of righteousness do I enlace,
Nor sweep the dust of sin from off my face.
Yet since I never counted One as two,
I do not quite despair of heavenly grace. (Whinfield, No. 268)²⁶

The speaker feels sorry for disobeying God and not trying to repent of his sins; yet he is hopeful that God will forgive him because he has never doubted His existence and Oneness. The very opening of the manuscript goes against FitzGerald’s first impression of Omar Khayyām as an “infidel” sort of character. FitzGerald therefore thought that this quatrain “is *not* Omar’s own, but a provisional Malediction upon him.”²⁷ The very beginning of the manuscript shows that the speaker is a monotheist and not a person opposed to one of Islam’s fundamental beliefs; that is, he believes in the Oneness of God (*towhid*) and is not a person “striving to break free from the yoke of harsh and inflexible Semitic law.” FitzGerald, however, had already made up his mind, and had a different mental portrait of Omar, or the speaker, as one who was against the Divine Law. This suggests that FitzGerald was searching for a pre-supposed Omar whom he had already found.

The second quatrain conveys a Sufi tendency with the use of the word *kharābāt*: a

²⁵ Edward Heron-Allen, *Edward FitzGerald’s Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām with Their Original Persian Sources* (London: Bernard Quarich 1899), p. ix.

²⁶ Whinfield collection contains 508 quatrains with Persian text on opposite pages. I am using this translation because of its range of quatrains and its literal faithfulness to the original. Furthermore, his edition includes both the Ouseley and the Calcutta quatrains.

²⁷ Letters ii: 288; to Cowell, 24 June 1857. FitzGerald himself, for the first time in the history of the study of the quatrains, raises the issue of authenticity.

Sufi idiom meaning “tavern”; it hardly seems characteristic of Omar’s temper, occurring only once throughout the manuscript. This quatrain must be later than Omar since it was only later that this image came to dominate Persian poetry. This point raises the question of the contemporaneity of the quatrains in this manuscript with Omar. In Whinfield’s translation, this quatrain reads:

In taverns better far commune with Thee,
Than pray in mosques and fail Thy face to see!
O first and last of all Thy creatures Thou;
'Tis Thine to burn and Thine to cherish me! (Ouseley No. 2; Whinfield, No. 262)

Here the speaker prefers to be in a tavern to commune with his Beloved rather than to be in a mosque and fail to talk intimately with Him. In other words, it is better to be in hell to see God, than in heaven not to see Him. The third line alludes to a verse from the Koran: “We all are from Thee and shall return to Thee.” There is parallelism in this quatrain: the “tavern” burns (Hell) and the “mosque” cherishes (Heaven). This quatrain inspired FitzGerald to produce the following one:

And this I know; whether the one True light
Kindle to Love, or Wrath consume me quite,
One Flash of It within the Tavern caught
Better than in the Temple lost outright. (No. 77)

Both deal with the theme of God’s presence in taverns rather than in religious places; in taverns honesty and self-sacrifice are represented as being without any pretension, whereas in religious places honesty and self-sacrifice are supposedly only pretensions. FitzGerald changes the images of “burning” and “cherishing” to the ideas of “love” and “wrath”; and also the image of “mosques” to “Temple” to give a universal or a Christian theme to the quatrain. FitzGerald felt it no danger from the “divines” of his time in making such changes; yet when he wanted to express the scepticism of his time he disguised himself under the mask of a Muslim forerunner:

Alike for those who for TODAY prepare,
And those that after some TOMORROW stares,
A Muezzin from the Tower of Darkness cries,
“Fools! your Reward is neither Here nor There. (No. 25)

FitzGerald succeeded in evoking a certain kind of scepticism through the voice of that exotic symbol of organised Islam – the Muezzin. This is the Victorian aspect of the *Rubāiyāt*: FitzGerald’s way of expressing a peculiarly Victorian mood of religious doubt. This evocation is reminiscent in some ways of J. A. Froude’s *The Nemesis of Faith* (1849), in which Froude expresses the weakening of his faith by Newman’s conversion to Rome through the story of Markham Sutherland, a young man who is to become a clergyman. The book was publicly burnt, however; FitzGerald disguised himself better.

FitzGerald wrote his questions about the text in diary-like letters to Cowell. About the middle of June 1857, Cowell sent FitzGerald the transcript of a second “treasure” of Omar’s verses which he had found in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic

Society at Calcutta. This MS (which is called the Calcutta edition) had been written in “an atrocious cursive hand.” In spite of all his difficulties in reading the manuscript, FitzGerald found it very interesting; especially he found the piece about Omar’s tomb very touching. FitzGerald worked very hard and enthusiastically on its decipherment because of “its connecting me with the Cowells – now besieged in Calcutta.” FitzGerald’s weak eyes suffered from much reading and close comparison of the Calcutta manuscript with the Bodleian version. Wherever he noticed any problems he also recopied all his questions to Cowell quatrain by quatrain. He took pains to complete his first reading of the Calcutta edition in a few weeks, until he was able to tell Cowell: “Tuesday, July 14. Here is the Anniversary of our Adieu at Rushmere. And I have been (rather hastily) getting to an end of my first survey of the Calcutta Omar, by way of counterpart to our Joint survey of the Ouseley MS *then*.²⁸” FitzGerald closed this letter with his first verse inspired by Omar walking in his garden. He promised to Cowell: “I will not stop to make the Verse better”:

I long for Wine! oh Saki of my Soul,
 Prepare thy Song and fill the morning Bowl;
 For this first Summer Month that brings the Rose
 Takes many a Sultan with it as it goes.

This quatrain is the result of “mashing” three separate quatrains. translated by Heron-Allen as follows:

Sit in the shade of the rose, for, by the wind, many roses
 have been scattered to earth and have become dust. (Ouseley MS. No. 135 ll. 3 and 4)

By the coming of Spring and the return of *Day* [December]
 The leaves of our life are continually folded. (Calcutta Edition, No. 500 ll. 1 and 2)

For it has flung to earth a hundred thousand Jams and Kais,
 This coming of *Teer* [July] and departing of *Day* [December]. (Calcutta Edition, No. 481 ll. 3 and 4)

FitzGerald revised and improved this quatrain according to his own taste and some sense of its mysticism was missed in the published editions, No. VIII in the first edition and No. 9 in the fourth:

And Look – a thousand Blossoms with the Day
 work – and a thousand scatter’d into Clay:
 And this First Summer Month that brings the Rose
 Shall take Jamshyd and KaiKobad away.

FitzGerald carried “old Omar” with him on his walks. He tried “to look through it a second time, clearing away some Difficulties which had puzzled me on first reading, but also leaving many others, which perhaps a third or fourth Reading may dissipate”.²⁹ FitzGerald’s first impression of Omar Khayyām was the strongest one when he wrote to Tennyson in 1856 of his reading Omar with Cowell. One year later, on

²⁸ Letters ii: 289; to Cowell, 3–14 July 1857.

²⁹ Letters ii: 297; to Cowell, 22 August 1857.

July 18, 1857, again writing to Tennyson, FitzGerald expressed the same opinion about Omar but more strongly:

But also I have really got hold of an old Epicurean so desperately impious in his recommendations to live only for Today that the good Mahometans have scarce dared to multiply MSS of him.

This is a misunderstanding; indeed FitzGerald's whole recreation of Omar is based on a misunderstanding. First, *Omar Khayyām*, until FitzGerald's adaptation of his quatrains, was not known as a professional poet in Iran. Therefore Iranian scholars did not reproduce his quatrains. Secondly, the majority of the quatrains deal with the same subjects, such as the “passing of the time” and “praise of wine”, which permeate the poetry of other Persian poets who are not charged by FitzGerald with being Epicurean. Thirdly, it is not clear how many of the quatrains chosen by FitzGerald were Omar's. Fourthly, he chose those which suited his preconceptions about Omar. Finally, language and words which suggested hedonism and Godlessness to FitzGerald did not do so to the Persian poets. There is no evidence indicating where FitzGerald got this impression of *Omar Khayyām* as a “material Epicurean”, as FitzGerald calls him in his preface, other than from his own speculations about the quatrains. The French translation of *Omar's Algebra* (1851) had already showed that Omar was a serious religious scholar. FitzGerald, however, had his own impression of Omar. “I suppose we may conclude our Omar is the Man of Algebra”, wrote FitzGerald to Cowell, “and you see De Tassy thinks he is [a] Saint also: but I never feel certain about French or Irish Conclusions.” Thus, his selection as well as his tessellation of Omar's quatrains was based on such an impression. “Those here selected,” he wrote in his preface, “are strung together into something of an Eclogue, with perhaps a less than equal proportion of the ‘Drink and make – merry’ which . . . recurs over-frequently in the Original.”³⁰ As we have already seen, invitation to wine-drinking and being merry do not signify being a “material Epicurean.” At least an invitation to wine-drinking, apart from its symbolic meaning, might have the sense of “forgetting one's concerns.”

It took FitzGerald six months to tessellate “a pretty Eclogue out of Omar's scattered quatrains.” He worked on his translation while walking in his garden, pondering, polishing, correcting and rejecting, even borrowing from other Persian poets, such as Jāmī and Attar, in his desire always to get the spirit rather than the letter. “What is genius,” he asked, “but the faculty of seizing things from right and left – here a bit of marble, there a bit of brass, and breathing life in them?”³¹ This was FitzGerald's method so he could make something readable “not for Scholars” but for those who were ignorant of Persian. FitzGerald adopted the same method as in translating his Spanish plays and editing Barton's verses. To prepare his preface, FitzGerald asked Cowell for an account of Omar's life. Cowell provided him with some portions of *A Biography of Persian Poets* written by Ali Beg Adhar (1711–81). FitzGerald found the “story of the three friends” very fascinating: “it is pretty

³⁰ A.M. Terhune, *The Life of Edward FitzGerald* (London: Yale University Press, 1947) p. 225.

³¹ R. B. Ince, *Calverley and Some Cambridge Wits of the Nineteenth Century* (London: G. Richards and Toulmi, 1929), p. 53.

about the three Boys making a vow of mutual Promotion." These three young men, that is Omar, Nizam al-Mulk and Hasan ibn Sabbāh (the would-be leader of the Assassins) made a vow and promised that whoever obtained fortune would share it equally with the two others. It is related that when Nizām al-Mulk became the administrator of affairs Hasan went to him and claimed as his share a position in the government. The vizier kept his promise and offered him a position. Omar also claimed his share, not in the shape of a position in the government but as a yearly pension to continue his studies. FitzGerald found their vow of mutual promotion fascinating because this sort of friendship was sacred in FitzGerald's view. Yet, there are two problems with the story. We know that Nizām al-Mulk was murdered by the assassins (led by Hasan) in 1092 at the age of seventy-two. Omar was born in 1048. With a twenty-eight year difference in their ages it is not possible for these two figures to have been school-fellows, although the historical accounts show that they had at least met each other, since it was during Nizām al-Mulk's premiership that Omar was invited to the court as chief astronomer. Furthermore, Hasan Sabbāh was a Shi'a living in Ray (a Shi'a part of Iran at that time). In view of the severe conflict between the two sects, it would hardly have been possible for a Shi'a to send his son from Ray to Khorasan which was the main centre of Sunnis. Therefore the whole story of these school-fellows is apocryphal from both a chronological and an ideological perspective. However, the characterisation of Omar as a man of knowledge rather than a man of the world and of position has been rightly depicted.

FitzGerald was determined to print his poem because he had really taken pains in the "mashing" and "tessellating" of the quatrains; yet, he believed that Cowell "will repent of ever having showed me the Book" because of his re-invention of Omar's character. He had two hundred and fifty copies of the poem printed and bound in ordinary brown paper. He kept forty of them and gave the rest to Bernard Quaritch, an oriental bookseller, to place on sale. FitzGerald asked his publisher to send review copies to various magazines at his expense. On April 9, 1859, the following advertisement appeared in the *Athenaeum* (No.164) and the *Saturday Review* (vol. VII, No. 180):

Just published, price 1s
 Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām, the
 Astronomer-Poet of Persia, translated into English Verse.
 B. Quaritch, London, Castle Street,
 Leicester-Square

A Treatise from the Post-scholastic Era of Persian Writings on Music Theory: *Resālah-e Musiqi* by Nezām-al-din Aḥmad Gilāni

Mehrdad Fallahzadeh
Uppsala

Persian writings on theory of music has passed through phases of change during its evolution. One of these phases began at the beginning of the 16th century with the abandonment of scientific Greek-Arabic influenced writing on music theory and the emergence of a new approach to the subject. This phase, which can be labelled the post-scholastic period, was one of the most productive phases of the genre (cf. Massoudieh 1996) and many tracts and treatises were written during that period.¹ One of the works from this era which come down to us is a concise tract by Nezām-al-din Aḥmad Gilāni. In the following, the author and the opus will first be introduced, then a critical edition of the text and an English translation of the text are provided.

The Author and Opus

In keeping with the MS. in Berlin (see below), the author of the tract is Nezām-al-din Aḥmad Gilāni. Massoudieh (*ibid.* 100–1) also presents the author as Nezām-al-din Aḥmad Gilāni. However, Dānešpažuh, in his series of articles (1349/1950: no. 97, p. 73), presents the author as Nezām-al-din Aḥmad Gilāni Dakani. He was one of the scientists and renowned medical practitioners of the 17th century and served as a doctor at the court of Sultan ‘Abd-Allāh of the Qotb-Shahi² dynasty (1512–1672) in Golconda (cf. Ṣafā 1366/1987: v/1. 364). According to Monzavi (1351/1972: v. 3908), he was a pupil of Mohammad Bāqer Mir-Dāmād (d. 1631), the prominent Islamic philosopher of the mid-Safavid period. He is the author of a number of books, among them *Asrār al-aṭebbā* (The Secrets of Doctors), *Darmān-e bavāsir* (The Treatment of Haemorrhoids) (cf. Ṣafā 1366/1987: v/1. 364) and an encyclopaedia entitled *Šajarah-e dāneš* (The Tree of Science) (Dānešpažuh 1349/1950: no. 97. p. 73). Based on the information that Dānešpažuh (*ibid.*) and Monzavi (1351/1972: v. 3908) give us, the tract on music is a part of this encyclopaedia. He died in 1649 (Dānešpažuh 1349/1950: no. 97. p. 73).

The work is very concise and consists of ca. 800 words. The text is indeed taken from parts of two other music treatises which were written during the latter parts of

¹ For more comprehensive discussion of the era see my forthcoming work, *Two Treatises, Two Streams*.

² This dynasty which ruled in the southern Indian region of the Deccan was Twelver Shiī and had close relation with the Safavid kings “whose names were even mentioned alongside the names of the Twelve Imams in the sermon during Friday prayer.”

(http://www.iranica.com/articles/sup/Thailand_Iran_Relt.html).

the 12th and 16th centuries. These two treatises are the section on music theory in the encyclopaedia *Hadā'eq al-anvār fi ḥaqā'eq al-asrār* (The Garden of Light on the Truth of Secrets) or *Jāme 'al-'olum* by Faxr-al-din Rāzi (1149-1209)³ and the *Resālah-e Karāmiyyah* by a certain Davrah Karāmi (probably born during the first half of the 16th century and died before 1580) (Fallahzadeh, forthcoming).

As mentioned above, it is probable that the treatise is a part of the author's larger work *Šajarah-e dāneš*, which is presented by Dānešpažuh (1349/1950: no. 97. p. 73). Nevertheless, Massoudieh (1996: 100-1) describes the tract as an independent work and does not mention anything about the encyclopaedia *Šajarah-e dāneš*. The work is divided into two main chapters. In the first chapter the writer discusses the definition and origin of the science of music (music theory). In this connection, he relates stories and anecdotes about prominent music theorists. The second chapter, which is divided into two parts, concerns *maqāms* (main modes) (in the first part) and *šo'babs* (the derivative modes) (in the second part). The opus ends with a poem that can be found in other treatises from the Persian post-scholastic era, e.g. *Behjat al-ruh* ('Abd-al-Mo'men b. Ṣafi-al-din, 1346/1967: 52), the second version of the *Resālah-e Karāmiyyah* (Davrah Karāmi [ed. Fallahzadeh, forthcoming]) and which presumably was composed by Najm-al-din Kavkabi Boxāri⁴ (Mirzā Zamān Boxāri, [ibid.]). Generally, the first chapter is a re-writing of the ninth *asl* (principle) of Faxr al-din Rāzi's encyclopaedia (cf. Fallahzadeh 2005: 82-3) and the second chapter is a re-writing of parts of the two first principles (*asl*s) in the second version of *Karāmiyyah* treatise (Fallahzadeh, forthcoming).

The MS. and the Principle of the Edition

According to Massoudieh (1996: 101), Gilāni's music tract is extant in two different copies in libraries in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Petermann I, 175, fol. 57^v-58^a) and Bankipore (India), (Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 2641, 479). However, Dānešpažuh (1349/1950: no. 97. p. 73) presents another copy of the tract in Hyderabad at Asafiyah State Library (no. 39). In this critical edition of the tract, I use only the MS. in Berlin due to difficulties accessing the MS. in India.

The MS. contains the eighth of fourteen tracts in a collection of various work of the same author (cf. Pertsch 1888: iv. 99-101). The scribe is anonymous and the MS. is undated (probably from the 18th century). It is written in *nasta'liq*, on yellowish paper of the size 330×180 mm.

The MS. displays the following orthographical features. The letter ڦ is always written ڦ; the *eżāfah* of words ending in silent *h* is unmarked, Punctuation of the consonants ڻ and ڤ is almost always written. The verbal prefix *mi* is written together with the verb. The third person singular of the verb *budan* (to be), i.e. است, is sometimes written as an enclitic unit together with the previous word and sometimes separately. No vowel signs are written. *Tašdid* is infrequent, and *maddah* is often written.

³ For further information about this author and his work see Fallahzadeh (2005: 78-84).

⁴ He was one of the renowned poet and poet-musicians of the late 14th and early 15th centuries, and is the author of a music treatise.

To edit the text, I have been assisted by the critical editions of the section on theory of music in *Hadā'eq al-anvār*, edited by Purjavādi (cf. Faxr al-din Rāzi 1372/1993), and *Resālah-e Karāmiyyah*, edited by me (forthcoming). I keep the text of the MS. untouched and leave it as it is as long as it is not syntactically incorrect, even when it differs from the source in which it is cited, i.e. the two above-mentioned works. All emendations of text are given in angle brackets with a reference number in the text. In the case of exclusions, the excluded word is moved to the apparatus, and a reference number between two square brackets marks such emendations in the text. In one case, a verse, I turned to *Behjat al-rūh*, edited by Rabino de Borgomale ('Abd al-Mo'men b. Ṣafīl-din 1346/1967), for help emending the text, which is marked in the edited text and noted in the apparatus. In a few cases the corrections (often the addition or omission of conjunctions or prepositions) are done by means of conjecture, which is also noted in the apparatus.

As for the orthography, in most cases separate writing has been adopted here. *Taṣṣid* and *eżāfah* are written out in order to make reading easier. To further facilitate the reading, the edited Persian text is divided into paragraphs, and punctuation is also employed. Furthermore, the headings in the edited Persian text are written in larger type to clearly mark the beginning of chapters and sub-chapters.

A Text Critical Edition of Gilāni's Music Treatise

(متن انتقادی رساله موسیقی نظام الدین احمد گیلانی)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

و بعد از حمد خدا و شنای محمد، صلعم، <چنین⁵ می‌گوید راقم <این⁶ حروف، نظام الدین احمد گیلانی، که در <بیدا شدن⁷ علم موسیقی اقوال است. بعضی گفته‌اند از افلاطون است، و بعضی برآورده که فیثاغورس حکیم را وقتی که عروج به آسمان واقع شد، از اصطکاکات حرکات افلاک، این را استنباط نمود. چنکه گفته که، «ما رایت شیا احسن من صور الافلاک ولا سمعت شیا ابهی من اصوات الحركات».

و امام فخرالدین رازی در کتاب حدائق <الأنوار⁸، مشهور به کتاب <ستینی⁹، چنین آورده که از حکماء فلسفه، <اول کسی که¹⁰ شروع درین علم نمود، فیثاغورس بود. گفته اند¹¹ که او شاگردی سلیمان، علیه السلام، کرده بود. شبی درخواب دید که کسی او را گفت <برخیز و بجه¹² کنار فلان دریا رو و از آنجا [۱۳] علمی حاصل کن. روز دیگر فیثاغورس برخاست و کنار دریا آمد، و بسیار صبر کرد، هیچکس را ندید که علم از وی آموزد. و در شب دوم همان خواب دید. روز سیم بیامد و بدانست که این خواب را گراف نهیل داشت. در شب سیم همان خواب دید. روز سیم بیامد و بدانست که این خواب را گراف نهیل داشت. بسیار اندیشه کرد. جمعی از آهنگران در آن موضع به عمل آهنگری مشغول بودند، و مطرقهها به آهن می‌زندند بر وجهی متناسب. چون <فیثاغورس را¹⁵ خاطر برآن افتاد، [۱۶] در مناسبتها تأمل کرد و به خانه آمد و قصد آن کرد که انواع مناسبتها میان آوازها <بداند>. ¹⁷ و چون اورا آن معلوم شد، به اندیشه بسیار سازی بساخت و ابریشم برآن بست و قصیده در توحید خدای تعالی و نکوهیدن دنیا و ترغیب کردن به آخرت انشا کرد بر عادت آن روزگار. <و¹⁸ آن قصیده را بر خلق می‌خواند بجه¹⁹ آن ساز. <و²⁰ بدان سبب بسیار [۲۱] مردم از طلب دنیا روی به آخرت آوردند. پس آن ساز را در میان

⁵ نسخه: ندارد.⁶ نسخه: ندارد.⁷ نسخه: ندارد.⁸ نسخه: حدائق.⁹ نسخه: ستین.¹⁰ نسخه: کسی که اول به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (فخرالدین رازی، ص. ۱۰۴) تصحیح شد.¹¹ نسخه: گفته، به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) تصحیح شد.¹² نسخه: ندارد. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) تصحیح شد.¹³ نسخه: یک. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) حفظ شد.¹⁴ نسخه: ندارد. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) تصحیح شد.¹⁵ نسخه: ندارد. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) تصحیح شد.¹⁶ نسخه: و. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) حفظ شد.¹⁷ نسخه: پیدید آورد. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) تصحیح شد.¹⁸ نسخه: ندارد. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) افزوده شد.¹⁹ نسخه: در. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) تصحیح شد.²⁰ نسخه: ندارد. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) افزوده شد.²¹ نسخه: بسیار. به قیام بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) حفظ شد.

20

حکما و علماء عزیز داشتند. و بعد از آن بدان حکیمان «دیگر»²² در آن اندیشه‌ها کردند و آن را نیکوتر می‌کردند تا نوبت به استاد حکیمان ارسطاطلیس، علیه المغفرة فی الرحمان، رسید. و او در آن اندیشه کرد و ساز اراغون بساخت. و در حکمت هیچکس را در این «علم»²³ خوض می‌سیر نشود، الا آنگاه که خاطر وقاد و ذهن صافی و طبع راست او را یاری دهد.

و تمام سازها که بعد از ارسطو بنیاد نهاده‌اند، از اراغون گرفته‌اند. و اگر کسی را قوت علم با ممارست «در»²⁴ این صناعت جمع شود، در فن خود ببنظری بود، چنان‌که ابونصر فارابی، معلم ثالی، را در این علم قوت تمام و ممارست ملاکلام بود. و ساز عود از صنایع اوست، و از تاثیرات ساز او از عجایب و غرایب حکایات منقول است. مثل آن که در یک مجلس خلیفه، جمعی را به خنده آورد، و بعد از آن به گریه انداخت، و بعد از آن مست و مدهوش کرده و در خواب انداخته و بیرون رفت، که بعد از بیدار شدن، «آن جمع»²⁵ ندانستند که او از کجا آمده بود و به کجا بازگشت نمود.

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خواص تاثیرات ساز بسیار است. متاخران نیز فکرها کردند و آن را تصرفات نموده و شعبه‌ها و پرده‌ها نهاده‌اند، چنانچه مذکور است.

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فصل در بیان دانستن مقام

35

بدان که مقام در اصل یکی است، «و»²⁶ آن یکگاه است. چون خواننده و سازنده شروع در نغمه کنند، مذاول که بظهور «اید»²⁷ آن را یکگاه خوانند، و از آن به هر آهنگ که خواهد بروند. دیگر آن که، مقام در اصل چهار بود، و هر یک از بیغمبری ظاهر شد. حضرت آم، صفات الله در مقام راست ربنا ظلمنا گفتی: وحضرت ابراهیم، علیه السلام، در حجاز صحف می‌خواند؛ وحضرت موسی، علیه السلام، در مقام عشق مناجات می‌کرد؛ و حضرت داود، علیه السلام، در مقام حسینی نغمه سرایی می‌کرد. ومدار نغمه اهل ساز تا زمان سلطنت خسروپر ویزد این چهار مقام بود.

40

و قول دیگر آن است که افلاطون، فیثاغورس و سلاسل حکما هشت مقام قرار داده‌اند، اول: عشاقد، دوم: رهاوی، سیم: حسینی، چهارم: عراق، پنجم: بوسیلیک، ششم: راست، هفتم: اصفهان، هشتم: حجاز. و بعد از آن استاد کمال، و استاد شمس‌التنین محمدمحقق و استاد سعدی چهارمقام دیگر استخراج نموده‌اند، از اصفهان کوچک «را»²⁸، و از عراق بزرگ «را»²⁹، و از راست زنگوله «را»³⁰، و از عشاقد نوا «را»³¹.

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و [۳۲] هر یک از این مقامات دوازدهگانه «را»³³ به بر جی منسوب ساخته‌اند، راست را به حمل، اصفهان را به ثور، عراق را به جوز، کوچک را به سرطان، بزرگ را به اسد، حجاز را به سنبله، بوسیلیک را به میزان، عشق را به عقرب، حسینی را به قوس، زنگوله را به جدی، نوا را به دلو، رهاوی را به حوت. و قرار داده‌اند خاصیت و طبیعت هر کدام چیست.

22

نسخه: ندارد. به قیاس بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) افزوده شد.

23

نسخه: ندارد. به قیاس بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) افزوده شد.

24

نسخه: به به قیاس بخش موسیقی حدائق الانوار (همانجا) تصحیح شد.

25

نسخه: ندارد. به قیاس افزوده شد.

26

نسخه: که به قیاس تصحیح شد.

27

نسخه: می‌اید. به قیاس روایت اول رساله کراسیه (فلاحزاده، زیر چاپ) تصحیح شد.

28

نسخه ندارد. به قیاس افزوده شد.

29

نسخه ندارد. به قیاس افزوده شد.

30

نسخه ندارد. به قیاس افزوده شد.

31

نسخه ندارد. به قیاس افزوده شد.

32

نسخه: از. به قیاس حذف شد.

33

نسخه ندارد. به قیاس افزوده شد.

و به باید دانست که در اسم بعضی مقامات «اختلاف واقع است»³⁴: زنگوله را نهادن، و حسینی را زیرکش، ورهاوی را پسته نگار، کوچک را زیرافکن **خیز**³⁵ خوانند. بعضی حجاز ترک را داخل مقامات دانسته‌اند و آن را حجاز اصل خوانند، که اترک در آنجا خوانندگی کنند، و بعضی معتقد نیز گفته‌اند. و فرقه‌ایی حجاز ترک و پسته‌نگار ونهادن وزیرکش را از مرگبات بیست و چهارگاهه شعبه شمرده. و گروهی حجاز اصل **آن**³⁶ را دانند که میان عراق و نیریز است. والله اعلم بالصواب.

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فصل

بدان که شعبه بیست و چهار است، که از دوازده مقام فرا گرفته‌اند. و پستی هر مقام را شعبه‌ای و بلندی آن را شعبه‌ای گفته‌اند، بدین ترتیب:

دوشعبه هر مقامی راست ناچار دوگاه آمد قرینش با محیر مبرყع لازمش با پنجگاه است بود نوروز خارا فرع ماهور گهی روی عراق و گاه مغلوب عشیران و صبارا داده ⁴¹ آواز که در رک و بیتی بیت خوانی همیون و نهفت از وی دو پرده به نوروز عجم برد از دل آرام به نیریز و نشاپورک برد راه سه گاه است و حصار آن نخل را بار نعم در زابل و در اوچ پرداز نماید چارگاه آنگاه عزال چو دریا کش بود قری و موجی	مقام اندر ³⁷ عدد هشت آمد و چار حسینی کر مقامات است برتر مقام راست کنچ گنج گاه ³⁸ است نوا کزوی قند اندر جهان شور عرابی ³⁹ عشرت افروزست ⁴⁰ و مطلوب چو آمد بوسیلیک از پرده راز مقام کوچک اردانی توانی بزرگ آمد چو کوچک ⁴² ساز کرده رهاوی شد به نوروز عرب رام زاصفاهان کسی کوگردد آگاه حجاز آمد یکی نخلی شمردار چوسازی پرده عشق را ساز پس از زنگوله اندر نغمه قول حضیضی هست با هر اصل و اوچی	60 55 65 70
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شعب را نیز اسمی مختلفه است.

³⁴ نسخه: خلاف شده به قیاس روایت اول رساله کرامیه (مانجا) تصحیح شد.

³⁵ نسخه ندارد. به قیاس روایت اول رساله کرامیه (مانجا) افزوده شد.

³⁶ نسخه: ناخوانا است. به قیاس روایت اول رساله کرامیه (مانجا) تصحیح شد.

³⁷ نسخه: در. به قیاس روایت دوم رساله کرامیه (مانجا) تصحیح شد.

³⁸ نسخه: رنج گاه به قیاس بهجت الروح (عبدالمؤمن بن صفائی التین، ص. ۴۴) تصحیح شد.

³⁹ نسخه: عراق. به قیاس روایت دوم رساله کرامیه (مانجا) تصحیح شد.

⁴⁰ نسخه: افزارست. به قیاس روایت دوم رساله کرامیه (مانجا) تصحیح شد.

⁴¹ نسخه: داد. به قیاس بهجت الروح (عبدالمؤمن بن صفائی التین، ص. ۴۴) تصحیح شد.

⁴² نسخه: چنگ. به قیاس روایت دوم رساله کرامیه (فلاجزاده، زیر چاپ) تصحیح شد.

English Translation

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

After praising God and saluting of Muhammad, may God bless him and give him peace, the writer of these words, Nezām-al-din Ahmād Gilānī, says that there are different accounts of the invention of the science of music. Some people say it was Plato who invented it, and some other people believe that when the scientist Pythagoras ascended to heaven, he perceived/derived it from the frictions of the firmaments, as he says “I did not see anything more beautiful than the shape of the celestial spheres and did not hear anything more pleasant than the sound of the movements (of the celestial spheres)”

And Imam Faxr-al-din Rāzī in his book *Hadā'eq al-anvār*,⁴³ known as *Settini* (the Sixty Books), has written that among the scientist-philosophers, the first who began to study this science was Pythagoras. It is said that he was Solomon's, May God have mercy upon him, pupil. He dreamed one night that someone told him, “wake up and go to the shore of a certain sea and get knowledge of science in that place.” In the morning, Pythagoras woke up and went to the shore of the sea, and he waited for a long time there, but did not meet anyone who could teach him anything. He dreamed the same dream on the second night. And on the second day he went to the same place, but he came back without any result. On the third night he had the same dream. The third day came, and he understood that he should not trifle with that dream. So, he reflected very much (on that dream). There was a group of blacksmiths who worked in that place, hammering on iron with sledges in the proper way. When Pythagoras saw them, he thought about these proportions and returned home. He decided to figure out the proportions of these sounds. And when he figured it out, after deep reflections he built an instrument and stringed it. Then, he composed a song on *tawhid* (the unity) of God Sublime, the disapproval of this world, and the exhortation the next world according to the tradition of that time. He was singing this song with that instrument for people, and for this reason (because of that instrument) many people stopped thinking about this world and turned to the next world. So, this instrument was dear to philosophers and the learned. And you should know other philosophers then reflected and improved it until the time of the master scientists Aristotle, God forgive him and be merciful to him, came. He ruminated on it and constructed the instrument organ. And nobody can ponder on this science except with the help of sharp thought, a clear mind and right nature.

All instruments that are constructed after Aristotle are derived from the organ. And if someone combines the strength of this science (theory) with practice in this art, then he will be unique in his art, as for example Abu Naṣr Farābī, the second teacher, who had complete skilfulness and certain dexterity in this science. The instrument *'ud* is his construction. Many unbelievable and amazing stories are related about the effects of his instrument on people. For instance, he (through his playing)

⁴³ In the MS. the name of this encyclopaedia is given as *hadāyeq al-hadāyeq* which is incorrect. However, the name of this encyclopaedia is noted differently in various MSS. of the work.

made some people laugh and others cry in the Caliph's assembly, and then he made them comatose and unconscious and went out from there. And when the people became conscious and woke up, they did not know where he had come from and where he had gone.

The benefit of the effects of instruments (music) is many. The moderns have reflected on and developed it, and arranged the *šo'bahs* (the derivative modes) and *pardahs* (the main modes), as they are recorded.

Chapter on the Knowledge of Modes (*Maqāms*)

You should know that there is basically just one *maqām* (mode) and that is *yakgāh*. When singers or instrumentalists begin to sing/play, the first *madd*⁴⁴ that is played is called *yakgāh*, and from there they can go to any *āhang* (melody) they wish.

Furthermore, the modes (*maqāms*) were four originally, and each of them was invented (created) by a prophet. Prophet Adam, Chosen one of God, sang “*rabbanā zalamnā*”⁴⁵ in the mode of *rāst*. The Prophet Abraham, peace be upon him, chanted the Koran (*soḥaf*) in the mode of *hejāz*. The Prophet Moses, peace be upon him, praised in the mode of *'oššāq*. The Prophet David, peace be upon him, composed songs in the mode of *hosayni*. And the cycles of songs (*nağmah*) of musicians (*ahl-e sāz*) were based on these four *maqāms* until the reign of Xosrov Parviz⁴⁶.

Another account is that Plato, Pythagoras and chains of learned men arranged eight modes, first: *'oššāq*; second: *rahāvi*; third: *hosayni*; fourth: *'erāq*; fifth: *busalik*, sixth: *rāst*, seventh: *esfahān*; eighth: *hejāz*. And later Master (*Ostād*) Kamāl⁴⁷, Master Šams-al-din Mohammad Mohaqeq⁴⁸ and Master Sa‘di⁴⁹ have derived four further modes, (i.e.) *kučak* is derived from *esfahān*, *bozorg* from *'erāq*, *zangulah* from *rāst* and *navā* from *'oššāq*.

And each of these twelve modes has been attributed to a celestial constellation. *Rāst* (is attributed to) Aries, *esfahān* to Taurus, *'erāq* to Gemini, *kučak* to Cancer, *bozorg* to Leo, *hejāz* to Virgo, *busalik* to Libra, *'oššāq* to Scorpio, *hosayni* to Sagittarius, *zangulah* to Capricorn, *navā* to Aquarius, *rahāvito* Pisces. And it is prescribed what the quality and nature of each mode is.

⁴⁴ It is not clear to me what the author means by the *madd*. The word means to extend, tide,

⁴⁵ The Koran, chapter 7 (*al-A'rāf*), verse 23. English translation (*The Holy Qur'an*, 1988: 572): “Said They: ‘O’ Our Lord! Unjust have we been unto ourselves; and if Thou forgive us not and deal (*not*) with mercy unto us (*then*), we will certainly be of the losers.”

⁴⁶ Khosrov II, a Sasanian king, reigned between 590 and 628. (Cf. “*The Cambridge History of Iran*”, 1983: 3(1): 164 and 170).

⁴⁷ This musician is probably Kamāl al-Zamān who was one of the musicians of Sultan Sanjar of the Saljuqs (d. 1157) (cf. Menhāj Serāj Juzjāni 1343/1964: i. 261). In Nayshāburi’s music treatise (1374/1995: 63 [see also cf. Fallahzadeh 2005: 112]) his name is mentioned as Kamāl al-Zamān Ḥasan Nāyi.

⁴⁸ This musician is probably Yaḥyā b. al-Monajjem (b. 856, d. 912), the writer of a music treatise (*Resālah fī l-musiqi*). (For further information see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. ‘Munajjim’.)

⁴⁹ This person is perhaps Abu-‘Isā or Abu-‘Oṭmān b. Mesja? who was one of the most celebrated singers of the Arab Ḥejāz-School of the 8th century. He was born in Mecca and died there sometime between 705 and 719, (cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. ‘Ibn Misđja?’).

It should be known that there are different opinions regarding the names of some *maqāms*: (for instance) *zangulah* is also called *nahāvand*, *hosayni* is also called *zirkāš rahāvi* is even called *bastahnegār*, and *kučak* is also called *zirafkan*. And some people count *hejāz-e-tork* among the main modes and call it *hejāz-e-aşl* where the Turkish people sing, and some others have also called it *mo'tadel*. A group of musicians regard *hejāz-e-tork*, *bastahnegār*, *nahāvand* and *zirkāš* as among the twenty-four *šo'babs* (the derivative modes). And some other musicians recognize *hejāz-e-aşl* as the one that is between *'erāq*. And God knows best the truth.

Chapter

You should know that there are twenty-four *šo'babs* which are derived from the twelve main modes (*maqām*). *Pasti* (the low tessitura) of each main mode is said to be a *šo'bah*, and *bolandi* (the high tessitura) of that to be another *šo'bah*, in the following way:

The number of the modes is eight plus four

Each *maqām* has two *šo'babs* necessarily
Hosayni which is one of the superior modes

Dogāh becomes its ally together with *moħayyer*
The mode *rāst* is in the corner of *ganjgāh*⁵⁰

Mobaraqa' is necessary in *panjgāh*
From *navā* the whole world becomes restless

Its derivatives are *navruz-e xārā* and *māhur*
'*Erāq* is pleasure-increasing and desirable

Sometimes *ruy-e- 'erāq* prevails over it and sometimes *mağlub*
When the *busalik* comes out of the curtain of secret

Calls for *'aśirān* and *sabā*

If you can play, sing the mode *kučak*

You are able to sing in *rakk* and *bayāti*

The *bozorg* comes when the *kučak* is played

From it is derived two *pardahs* of *homāyun* and *nahoft*
Rahāvi is tamed by *navruz-e- 'arab*

(But) the heart's calm is disturbed by its *navruz-e- 'ajam*
If somebody is aware of *esfahān*

He goes to *nayriz* and *neśāburak*

Hejaz comes as a fruitful palm tree

Segāh and *heşār* are the fruits of that tree

When you play in the mode of '*oşşāq*

Perform (also) the melodies in *zābol* and *avj*

The singer sings first *zangulah*

And then he goes to *čahārgāh* and afterwards '*ozzāl*

⁵⁰ According to Pādshāh (s.v. 'Ganjgāh), *Ganjgāh* is one of the *šo'babs* of the mode *rāst*.

There is an abyss and a peak in each principle (mode)

Like a sea (which has) a bottom and a wave

The *šo ‘bahs* (the derivative modes) also have different names.

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The Usage of Singular Verbs for Inanimate Plural Subjects in Persian

Forogh Hashabeiky
Uppsala

Introduction

Animacy is an “extra-linguistic conceptual property...that exists independently of its realization in any particular language”. It can be defined “as a hierarchy whose main components, from highest to lowest degree of animacy, are: human > animal > inanimate” (Comrie 1989:185–86). Most languages have a tendency towards manifesting animacy, and different languages display finer or rougher distinctions¹. This distinction in Persian is among other things marked by the usage of the singular verb for inanimate plural subjects; a feature that has not been greatly studied.

As far as subject-verb agreement is concerned, one can actually find a commonly motivated paradigm cutting across a large number of languages. One relatively common paradigm is that the verb agrees with noun phrases higher in the animacy hierarchy. Persian and Turkish² are two examples of this common plural agreement paradigm. Persian manifests animacy not only in subject-verb agreement but also in personal pronouns: *u* “he/she”, *išān/ānhā* “they”, for person vs. *in/ān* “this/that”, *inhā/ānhā* “these/those” for non-person³, in interrogative pronouns⁴: *ke/ki* “who” for person vs. *čel/či* “what” for non-person, in plural suffixes: *-ān* for animates with some few exceptions, and *-hā* for both animate and inanimate substantives, and in certain adjective and adverb formations. Adjectives and adverbs that are formed by the suffix *-āne* are usually related to animates, for instance: ‘āšeqāne “tender, tenderly”, ‘āqelāne “rational, rationally”, *sexāvatmandāne* “generous, generously”.

Aitchison (2001: 104) maintains that syntactic changes usually occur at the vulnerable points, namely at those points where there is a possibility to analyse the structure in more than one way, and where a new variant thus has a chance to creep into the language. Subject-verb agreement in Persian is a typical example of such a vulnerable point, as in some cases where Persian grammar suggests a singular verb, a plural verb can be used without causing a native speaker of Persian to experience it as ungrammatical. Moreover, there are many cases in which one deliberately violates this grammatical rule and lets a plural verb co-occur with an inanimate plural subject. There are not so many clear rules for where, when and how one can violate

¹ See Dahl and Fraurud (1996:47–50, 56) for some concrete examples of the restrictions that the animacy hierarchy imposes on grammatical rules of certain languages.

² See Lewis, G. L. (1967:246).

³ Note that *in/ān* and *inhā* can in informal conversations be used for referring to persons as well.

⁴ The interrogative pronoun is a category within which most languages make a distinction between person and non-person.

this grammatical rule. Most Persian grammars recommend singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects just as a preferable alternative, not as a strict rule.

Language changes are usually provoked by external social factors that take advantage of those splits and gaps that already exist in a certain language. This can naturally make way for new variants to enter the language, and ultimately lead to a language change. One of the major external factors that can accelerate a language change is language contact. Tajik is a clear example of this. The usage of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects has almost disappeared from Tajik under the strong influence of Russian (Kāboli 1374 [1996]:46).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the usage of the singular verb for inanimate plural subjects diachronically as well as synchronically in order to find out whether this feature is on its way out of Modern Persian or not. The focus of the present study is on Modern Persian, but it was found necessary to investigate the historical usage of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects in Middle Persian and Classical Persian as well. For this purpose the first fifty pages of four Middle Persian texts, and the first fifty pages of four texts from the early Classical period (the tenth and the eleventh century) have been investigated, and examples of sentences with inanimate plural subjects have been extracted.

The study of the usage of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects in written Modern Persian includes both fiction and non-fiction. The study of this feature in fiction includes twenty works from 1921–1997 divided into three different periods during which literary productivity was particularly high. Each period includes representatives of three generations of writers in Iran. All examples of inanimate plural subjects have been extracted from every tenth page of the first 150 pages of each work. The latest works by six writers have also been compared with one of their earliest works, in order to find out whether there is a growing tendency towards letting the verb agree with the inanimate plural subject. The study of this feature in non-fiction includes one issue of four different newspapers and four issues of one and the same sports magazine. All examples of inanimate plural subjects have been extracted from these texts as well.

The material for the study of the usage of the singular verb for inanimate plural subjects in modern spoken Persian includes free conversations, a telephone conversation, films, and radio broadcasts. The material consists of six hours of recorded radio programs (news broadcasts and entertainment), four video films with a very high content of daily spoken language, a twenty minute long telephone conversation⁵, and three hours of recorded free conversations. All the extracted examples are then classified within four different patterns.

⁵ The conversation was carried on between a person in Tehran and a person in Stockholm. The examples are extracted only from the Tehran part of the conversation.

The Singular verb for inanimate plural subjects as reflected in Persian grammars

Which of the following sentences are grammatically correct?

Ex. 1

dokkān-hā baste bud
 Shop-PL close be.PAST.3 SG
 “The shops were closed.”

Ex. 2

dokkān-hā baste bud-and
 Shop-PL close be.PAST-3PL
 “The shops were closed.”

A native speaker of Persian approves both of them as grammatically correct sentences, but semantically, he/she will experience them differently. In the first clause the subject is not an agent. In the first clause the narrator informs us about the shops being in the closed state. The meaning of the second clause, however, may shift depending on the context. In the second clause the shops may represent the shopkeepers, meaning “the shopkeepers had closed their shops”. In this case, the subject is an agent. This, of course, does not mean that whenever a plural verb is used for an inanimate plural subject some kind of personification is involved.

In the famous Persian grammar, *Panj ostād*, it is maintained that using a singular verb and a singular pronoun for an inanimate plural subject is preferred. Only in cases where the inanimate plural subject is personified and likened to an animate subject should the verb be in plural form (Qarib., et al. 1350 [1971]: 115–16). Mashkur (2535 [1976/77]: 82) maintains that whenever the subject is inanimate and plural, the verb can either be in singular or in plural, but it is better to use a singular verb. Mo‘in (1363 [1984/85]: 168–69) referring to some other grammars including *Panj ostād*, writes: “some people who have come in contact with foreign languages do not apply this rule consistently and let all verbs agree with the subjects”. He then continues by claiming that most contemporary writers, with whom he agrees, let the verb agree with an inanimate plural subject only when it performs an act that only an animate subject is able to perform. Nātel Khānlari (1363: 52) does not mention personification. He just maintains that when the subject is animate and plural then the verb should be in plural form, and when the subject is singular then the verb should be in singular form.

In a grammar written for teaching at secondary schools in Iran, Soltāni Gerd Farāmarzi (1998: 9) maintains that if the subject is a person or an animal, agreement in number is necessary. He notes that there are some exceptions to this general rule. One can, for instance, use either a singular or a plural verb for collective nouns and nouns preceded by the indefinite pronouns *haryek* “each”, *hičyek* “none of”, *harkodām* “each”, and *hičkodām* “none of”. He then asserts that if the subject is a plant or a thing [inanimate], then subject-verb agreement in number is

unnecessary, unless the subject acts as an animate. Then the subject-verb agreement in number is necessary.

Lazard (1992: 178–79) writes:

- 1) As a general rule, when the subject represents a plurality (noun in the plural, numeral, several coordinated nouns, etc.), the verb is placed in the plural or in the singular according as the subject designates persons or things. With persons, or more usually, animated beings having will or feeling, the verb is in the plural: Ex. ... *kârgarhâ kâr mikonand* “the workmen are working,” ... *parandehâ parvâz kardand* “the birds took flight.” On the contrary, with inanimate objects or things considered as inanimate, the verb is in the singular: Ex. ... *čerâqhâ (čerâqâ) xâmuš šod* “the lamps went out,” ... *yek lahze sarhâ be taraf-e moštari-e mozâhem bar gašt...* “for an instant, heads [of persons present in the shop] turned toward the bothersome client.”
- 2) However, when the subject designates things which are conceived as endowed with a certain activity, or such that there is cause to insist on their plurality and the individuality of each of them, the verb is in the plural: Ex. ... *in harârathâ-ye moxtalef dar badan taqyirât-e mohemme tolid mikonand* ... “these different kinds of heat (lit., These different heats) produce important changes in the body,” ... *in do kafš bâ-ham jur nistand* “these shoes don’t match.”

Lazard (1992: 180) also writes:

With distributive expressions (*har kas (-i)*, *har yeki* “each”, etc. ...) the verb may be in the singular or in the plural: Ex. *har kodum-šun [-šan] ye [k] cizi goft* “each of them said something” (a different thing)

Rastorgueva (1964: 48) maintains that one type of violation of agreement in number occurs when:

The subject is in the plural, the predicate, in the singular. This is possible in case a substantive designating an inanimate object or an animal is used as the subject: *ru-ye miz ketab-o dæftærha hæst* “on the table are books and notebooks”; *bozha amæd* “the goats came”.

The use of singular verb for animals, as Rastorgueva writes, is highly unlikely. A singular verb can be used for animals in cases where a collective noun such as *galle* ‘flock’ is present: *galle-ye bozhâ āmad* “the flock of the goats came”.⁶

Boyle and Lambton respectively describe subject-verb agreement in Persian as follows:

Subject and verb agree in person and number except in the following cases:
 When a plural subject relates to inanimate things it normally takes a singular verb [...]. Note: However, when the subject consists of things which are thought of as separate entities or it is desired to stress their plurality, a plural verb may be used. Ex.: *xoršid o mâh o tamâm-e setâregânî ke dar âsmân mî bînîm kore-hâ-ye besyâr bozorgand* The sun and moon and all the stars we see in the sky are very large globes (Boyle 1966: 57).

⁶ See Lazard (1992: 179)

A plural subject denoting irrational beings or inanimate objects takes a singular verb, ... This distinction, however, is less carefully observed in Modern than in Classical Persian (Lambton 1957: 13).

What Boyle and Lambton miss is that an inanimate plural subject may function or be comprehended as animate, and as such agree with the verb. The personification process is sometimes very complicated and difficult to understand. The sentence *Dokkān-hā baste budand* may lead us, like Lambton, to declare that the distinction between animate and inanimate plural subject is “less carefully observed in Modern than in Classical Persian”. It must also be noted that the type of the text is of great importance for the occurrence of personification. The non-fiction nature of most of the prose texts written in Classical Persian with less space for personification can certainly explain parts of Lambton’s observation.

Let us look at two more examples quoted by Kāboli (1374 [1996]:46). Which of the following sentences are grammatically correct?

Ex. 3

<i>do</i>	<i>parvāz-e</i>	<i>irāneyr</i>	<i>be-ham</i>	<i>xōrd</i>
Two	flight-EZ	Iran Air	to-each other	strike.PAST.3 SG

Ex. 4

<i>do</i>	<i>parvāz-e</i>	<i>irāneyr</i>	<i>be-ham</i>	<i>xōrd-and</i>
Two	flight-EZ	Iran Air	to-each other	strike.PAST-3 PL

As is seen, the two sentences are identical except for the verb. A native speaker of Persian experiences both of them as grammatically correct, but the two sentences may convey two totally different messages through the shift from a singular verb to a plural one. The word *parvāz* comes to mean *flight* in the first sentence, and *airplane* in the second sentence. The first sentence then means: “Two of the Iran Air flights are cancelled”. The second sentence means: “Two of the Iran Air airplanes crashed with each other”. The inanimate subject in the second sentence functions as an animate subject and demands a plural verb. Why? What are the criteria for personification?

Criteria for personification

As was mentioned earlier, the process of personification is a relatively complicated one. In order to recognize a personified inanimate subject, one may sometimes need to involve the whole text and its meaning. Still there are some clear criteria which seem to be common to all languages, even if they are not grammaticalized everywhere:

- When an inanimate subject performs an act and has an active role the subject is personified. The subjects of transitive verbs, functioning as agents, are therefore always personified⁷. This is a clear criterion for recognizing a personified subject, and as such is the reason behind the presence of a plural verb, as in:

Ex. 5

va ba'd az mazāre'-i [gozašt-and] ke dārōnadār-e kāl va
 And then from farm.PL-INDEF [pass.PAST-3 PL] CL LINK wealth-EZ unripe and

reside-y-e xōd rā [...] zir-e āftāb pahn karde bud-and
 ripe-G-EZ self DO TOP [...] under-EZ sun spread do.PAST PERF-3 PL

(Dāneshvar1: 35:1)

"Then, they [passed by] farms that had spread out the whole of their unripe and ripe wealth [...] under the sun."

- Another factor that controls the process of personification is the verb itself. Verbs such as will, can, cry, die, scream, and laugh belong to the realm of the animates. When an inanimate subject performs an act that only an animate subject is able to perform, then we are dealing with personification:

Ex. 6

setāre-hā [...] nāgahān mi-mord-and
 Star-PL [...] suddenly IMP-die.PAST-3 PL

(Āl Aḥmad: 68: 3)

"The stars [...] died suddenly."

- The third factor that governs personification is simile. When an inanimate subject is likened to an animate creature, or when it is accompanied by adjectives that belong to the realm of animates, we are dealing with personification and a plural verb.

Ex. 7

kalam-āt digar ḥaqiqi na-bud-and, faqat engār mesl-e daste-i magas
 Word-PL anymore real NEG-be.PAST-3 PL just seem like-EZ swarm-INDEF fly

[...] bālā-y-e sar-emān parvāz mi-kard-and
 [...] over-G-EZ head-PR SUFF.1 PL flight IMP-do.PAST-3 PL

(Ravānipur: 35: 3)

"The words were not real anymore, they just seemed like a swarm of flies that flew over our heads."

- The fourth factor governing personification is the connection made between a series of inanimate subjects and the human beings behind them. In these cases the inan-

⁷ Studying this feature in Turkish, Kirchner (2001: 217–218) maintains: "what actually triggers plural agreement" in an example like "*Ağaçlar yüzümüze konfeti atıylar...* 'The trees are throwing confetti into our face'... is the fact that the subject *ağaçlar* has the role of an agent. The question whether the subject is human or not is of secondary importance". He continues: "Agentity helps to explain several restrictions on plural agreement which are hard to explain on the basis of the humanness-feature", for example plural agreement in passive sentences. As a matter of fact, Kirchner's agentity explains a great number of plural agreements, but the question is whether agentity can be defined independently of humanness-feature or personification at all. Dahl and Fraurud (1996: 58) write: "... some semantic roles crucially involve animacy in the sense that they can only meaningfully be attributed to animate entities. The clearest cases are Agent – which is often seen as the prototypical role of the grammatical subject (in particular, of transitive subjects)". There are actually cases of plural agreement in passive sentences that are triggered only by personification, not by agentity. See Ex. 33.

imate subject embodies human beings⁸. This includes cars, trains, shops, countries, sports teams, bodily organs, and so on. This explains the plural verb in:

Ex. 8

čand dokkān-e⁹ digar ham bāz karde bud-and
Some shop-EZ other too open do.PAST PERF-3 PL

(Golshiri2: 88:14)

“Some other shopkeepers (lit. shops) had also opened.”

In connection with this fourth factor, I have come across a very interesting sentence in Doulatābādi’s book *Ruzgār-e separi šode-ye mardom-e sâlxorde*:

Ex. 9

pas panjtir-hā-y-e rusi-ye čālang-hā va hājkalu-hā če
Then pistol-PL-G-EZ Russian-EZ čālang-PL and hājkalu-PL what

šode-and? *hame-šān* *zang* *zade-and?*
become.PERF-3 PL? All-PR SUFF.3PL rusty get.PERF-3 PL?

(Dôlatâbâdi2: 58: 10)

“What has then happened to Čālangs’ and Hājkalus’ Russian pistols? Have they all rusted?”

In this sentence the author is not asking about the pistols as pistols, but about those who used to carry those pistols. He could have written: *pas čālang-hā va hājkalu-hā bā panjtir-hā-ye rusi-šān če šode-and? Hamešān zang zade-and?* “What has happened to Čālangs and Hājkalus with their Russian pistols? Have they all rusted?”

These four criteria are relatively easy to recognize, however personification in Persian texts is not limited only to these criteria. It is sometimes necessary to involve the whole text in order to understand what the author of the text aims to convey. There is usually a kind of interplay between these four factors, but it is not always possible to take a sentence out of its context and try to identify the process of personification based on these factors. Sometimes one needs to find the reason behind the use of a plural verb for certain inanimate subjects such as stars and planets in Modern Persian within Iranian mythology. This will be discussed further in the section on Middle Persian.

Written language

Middle Persian

Middle Persian belongs to the south-western branch of the Middle Iranian languages which were in use from about the end of the Achaemenian dynasty in 331 BC until the beginning of the Islamic era in the seventh century AD. Writing in these languages continued until the tenth century, in the case of Khwârazmîān until the thirteenth century. Middle Persian was the official language of the Sasanians (226–651). The four Middle Persian works used in the present study are the followings:

⁸ Kirchner (ibid.) claims that “agentivity explains agreement in sentences with subjects such as ‘planes’ or ‘ships’ as well.”

⁹ Note the use of a singular noun after the indefinite pronoun *čand*.

1. *Kār-nāmak ī Artaxšēr ī Pāpakān*; a legendary book written at the end of the Sasanian era in the seventh century. The oldest preserved copies, however, must be from much later, as they display a very simple prose style and are very much influenced by New Persian.
2. *Pahlavi Rivāyat*; a kind of religious encyclopaedia from the eleventh century.
3. *Menōy ī xrat*; a book on Zoroastrian faith written sometime at the end of the Sasanian era in the seventh century.
4. *Bundahišn*; also a kind of religious encyclopaedia on creation according to Zoroastrian faith. The first version must have been written at the end of the Sasanian era. The last writer of this book is Farnbag, who was active in the tenth century.

All examples in the first fifty pages of these works have been extracted. This has resulted in 83 sentences, of which 43 sentences show agreement between the subject and the verb. They are then classified within four different patterns. The same classification has been applied to all examples extracted from other texts, as well as to examples extracted from the spoken material.

Pattern 1: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/singular verb (39 sentences)

Ex. 10

ud sē zrēh¹⁰ ī meh, ud wīst zrēh ī keh, az-iš būd.
 And three sea EZ great, and twenty sea EZ small, from-it be-PAST.3 SG,
dō čašmag ī zrēh az-iš ō paydāgīh mad
 two fountain EZ sea from-it to manifestation come.PAST.3 SG

(*Bd*: VI, B.16)

“And three great seas and twenty small seas arose therefrom; two fountains of the sea came into manifestation therefrom.”

Ex. 11

zarduxšt az ohrmazd pursīd kū mihrdrōz čand ēwēnag¹¹
 Zoroaster from Ohrmazd ask.PAST.3 SG that covenant-breaking how many kind

ast

be.PRES.3SG)

(*PRDd I&II*: 6.1)

“Zoroaster asked Ohrmazd: ‘How many kinds of covenant-breaking are there?’”

¹⁰ Note the use of singular nouns after cardinal numerals

¹¹ Note the use of the singular noun after an indefinite pronoun.

Pattern 2: Inanimate, personified plural subject/singular verb (1 sentence)

Ex. 12

<i>mīhr ud māh ī tamīg</i>	<i>ham-paymānagīh</i>	<i>abāg</i>	<i>rah</i>	<i>ī</i>
Sun and moon EZ dark,	contact	with	radiance	EZ
<i>xwāršēd ud māh rāy¹²,</i>	<i>wināhgārīh kardan nē-tuwānist</i>			
sun and moon POST POS.on-account -of harm	do.INF NEG-can.PAST.3 SG			

(Bd: V, B.12)

“The dark Sun and Moon could-not perpetrate any-harm, on-account-of the contact with the radiance of the Sun and the Moon.”

Pattern 3: Inanimate, personified plural subject/plural verb (19 sentences)

Ex. 13

<i>awēšān abāxtar-ān, čiyōn, pad ēn ēwēnag, andar spihr dwārist-hēnd,</i>
These planet-PL as in this manner into firmament enter.PAST-3 PL,
<i>abāg axtar-ān ō koxšišn ēstād-hēnd</i>
with constellation-PL to contest stand.PAST-3 PL

(Bd: V, A.3)

“As, these Planets entered the Firmament, in this manner, they were engaged in contest with the Constellations.”

Ex. 14

<i>awēšān abāxtar-ān, čand-išān, tuwān, az-iš appar-ēnd, ud pad</i>
Those planet-PL, much-PR SUFF.3 PL possible, from-it plunder.PRES-3 PL and to
<i>ōy nērōg ī dēw-ān ud druz-hā ud wattar-ān dah-ēnd</i>
it strength EZ demon-PL and demoness-PL and bad-PL give.PRES-3 PL

(MX: XII, 9–10)

“Those planets plunder from it as much as is possible for them, and will give it for the strength of the demons, and demonesses and the bad.”

Pattern 4: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/plural verb (24 sentences)

Ex. 15

<i>čiyōn alburz frāz waxśid, harwisp kōf ō rawišn ēstād-hēnd;</i>
As Alborz up grow.PAST.3 SG every mountain in motion stand.PAST-3 PL;
<i>čē, hamāg az rēšag ī alburz frāz waxśid-hēnd</i>
for, all from roots EZ Alborz up grow.PAST-3 PL

(Bd: VI, C.1)

“As Alborz grew up, all the mountains were in motion; for, they have all grown up from the roots of Alborz.”

¹² *Rā* or *rād* is a postposition meaning on behalf of, for the sake of, for, because of. See Nyberg, H. S. (1974), p. 164.

Ex. 16

ēg dānest kū ēn kēš ud wurrōišn ud jūd dastwarīh
 Then know.PAST.3 SG that this religion and belief and different custom
 kē, pad ēn gēhān, ēk andar did, ēdōn hambasān-hēnd, nē az
 which in this world, one among another, such antagonist.be.PRES-3 PL NEG from
 dahišn ī yazd sazāg būdan
 creation EZ God worthy be.INF

(MX: I, 38)

“Then he knew that these religions, and beliefs, and different customs which, in this world, among one another, are such antagonists, are not worthy to be from the creation of God.”

The predominance of inanimate subjects followed by a singular verb shows that already in Middle Persian texts, singular verbs were used for plural subjects that stood lower in the animacy hierarchy. The high number of sentences belonging to pattern 3, with personified inanimate plural subject and plural verb, shows that personification has been a current phenomenon. It occurs in all the four texts. The high number of sentences belonging to pattern 4, with non-personified inanimate plural subject and plural verb, demands some additional attention. As was mentioned earlier, in cases where there is a wish to emphasize plurality or individuals or individual characteristics, or in the presence of distributive pronouns such as *harkodām*, *haryek*, *hičkodām*, and so on, one can use a plural verb¹³, but this alone can not explain the high number of sentences belonging to pattern 4.

As is observable, 18 sentences out of the 24 are from *Bundahišn*. *Bundahišn* “primordial creation” is a book on the creation from Zoroastrianism’s dualist point of view, according to which everything in our universe is created either by *Ahurā Mazdā* or *Ahriman*. They are in constant war with each other. Already in the primordial creation, they were created in order to destroy each other:

13 Ôhr-mazd knew, through omniscience: “*The Evil Spirit exists, who will-defeat and seize, and even intermingle, with envious-desire, the eminent supporters, with several eminent agents, to the end;*” He created, spiritually, those creatures which were-requisite as those agents.

14 For three thousand years, *the creatures remained in the spiritual-state*, – that is, *they were unthinking, unmoving and intangible*.

15 *The Evil-Spirit, on-account-of after-wit, was unaware of the existence of Ôhr-mazd;... 17 He, [then,] saw valour and fortitude, which were greater than his-own, returned to darkness, and misreated many Dīvs, destroyers of the creatures, and rose for battle (Bundahišn 1956:7).*

As is seen the creatures of the two sides have the predetermined task of fighting each other. They play an active role. This inherent personification causes the verb to be in the plural even in sentences where no direct personification of the inanimate

¹³ See page 4.

subject is observable. From the same starting point, namely, the content, one can also explain the distribution of sentences in *Kār-nāmak ī Artaxšēr ī Pāpakān*. In the first fifty pages of this text, there is only one sentence in which the subject is plural and inanimate and the verb is in the plural. This is probably due to the fact that *Kār-nāmak ī Artaxšēr ī Pāpakān* is an epic work in which it is usually heroes that act and are in focus. Inanimate subject do not occur so often.

The main conclusion to be drawn from this section is that already in Middle Persian texts singular verbs were preferred for inanimate plural subjects, and plural verbs for personified inanimate plural subjects.

Classical Persian

Classical Persian refers to the written literary New Persian that emerged in the tenth century, about three hundred years after the Arab conquest, and continued down to the fifteenth century. It is written in Arabic script and includes many Arabic loanwords. For the study of the usage of the singular verb for inanimate plural subjects in Classical Persian, four texts from the tenth and the eleventh century have been chosen:

1. *Tarjome-ye tārīx-e ṭabari* by Abu 'Ali Mohammad ebn-e Mohammad Bal'ami. One of the oldest Early New Persian prose works from the tenth century, and a free translation of Ṭabari's world history from Arabic into Persian.
2. *Tārīx-e Beyhaqi* by Abu al-Fazl Mohammad ebn-e Hoseyn Beyhaqi. A book on history from the eleventh century. It is a detailed description of the reign of Soltān Mas'ud between 1030 and 1041.
3. *Kaſf al-Maḥjub* by Abu al-Ḥasan 'Ali ebn-e 'Oṣmān Hujviri. A book from the eleventh century on the life and faith of Sufi mystics.
4. *Siāsatnāme* by Nežām al-Molk. A book of fifty chapters from the eleventh century on the art of ruling.

All examples in the first fifty pages of these works have been extracted. This has resulted in 77 sentences, of which 7 sentences show agreement between the subject and the verb.

Pattern 1: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/singular verb (70 sentences)

Ex. 17

va nāme-hā ke az ǵazneyn reside bud
And letter-PL that from ǵazneyn come.PAST PERF.3 SG

(*Tārīx-e beyhaqi*: 6: 18)

"And those letters that had come from ǵazneyn."

Ex. 18

va nešān-e in ān ast ki zar o sang o sim o kolux
 And sign-EZ this that is that gold and stone and silver and clod

ān¹⁴ be nazdik-e man yeksān šod
 this-PR.3 SG before-EZ me equally valuable become.PAST.3 SG

(*Kašf al-mahjub*: 39: 8)

“And the sign of this is that gold, stone, silver and clod all became equally valuable before me.”

Pattern 2: Inanimate, personified plural subject/singular verb (0 sentences)

Pattern 3: Inanimate, personified plural subject/plural verb (5 sentences)

Ex. 19

pas dō deraxt¹⁵ be-bud bar sān-e mardom yeki nar va yeki
 Then two tree PREV-be.PAST.3 SG like-EZ human being one male and one

māde pas išān¹⁶ harekat kard-and va az išān farzand-ān
 female then they move do.PAST-3 PL and from them child-PL

āmad-and
 come.PAST-3 PL

(*Tārīx-e Ṭabarī*: 7: 2)

“And there were two trees like human beings, one male and one female; then they moved and children came to existence from them.”

Ex. 20

va se rustā rā banā kard va ān emruz ābādān
 And three village DO TOP build do.PAST.3 SG and that today flourishing

ast va be divān-e bagdād xarāj mi-dah-and¹⁷
 be.PRES.3 SG and to chancellery-EZ Baghdad tribute IND-give.PRES-3 PL

(*Tārīx-e Ṭabarī*: 45: 12).

“And he built three villages and they are flourishing today and pay tribute to Baghdad’s chancellery.”

¹⁴ Note the use of the singular pronoun to refer to the non-personified inanimate plural subject.

¹⁵ Note the use of singular nouns after cardinal numerals

¹⁶ Note the use of the plural pronoun to refer to the personified plural subject.

¹⁷ Note the shift from a singular verb into a plural one for one and the same inanimate plural subject. The “three villages” are not conceived as agents of the process in the first part of the sentence, but are agents in the second part (See Lazard 1992: 179).

Pattern 4: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/plural verb (2 sentences)

Ex. 21

va čun ān be-stad-and be tan o māl ō zan ō
 And as that PREV-take.PRET-3 PL for life and fortune and wife and

farzand imen bāš-and va asbāb va զiyā'-e išān imen bāš-and
 child safe be.PRES-3 PL and belonging.PL and land-EZ they safe be.PRES-3 PL

(Siāsatnāme: 35: 3)

"And as that was taken, their lives, fortune, wives and children, as well as their belongings and lands should be safe."

Comparing the results from Classical Persian with the results from Middle Persian, one finds that the number of sentences with a plural verb is much higher in Middle Persian texts. 43 sentences out of 83 extracted sentences in Middle Persian texts have a plural verb, while the proportion in Classical Persian texts is only 7 sentences out of 77. The reason behind this difference should be found in the specific content of Classical texts.

As is known, Persian prose texts from the tenth and eleventh century are usually non-fiction texts, in which there is little space for personification. As the results show, personification occurs in only 5 sentences. All of these five sentences are from *Tarjome-ye tārīx-e ṭabari*. Four of them are from the first pages of the book, where Bal'ami writes about the creation, planets, stars, and so on. This section is very similar to *Bundahišn* with its inherent personification. From page 7, the text changes character and takes the form of a history book, in which persons are in focus and the writer reports on events. As such there is not much space for inanimate subjects and personification.

Modern Persian

Modern Persian refers to the language which has been written and spoken in the twentieth century. One distinguishing feature of written Modern Persian is its simple style, and its closer proximity to the spoken language. This simple style has its roots in the official correspondences of Qā'em Maqām, the chief minister of the Qajar prince, 'Abbās Mirzā, in the early nineteenth century, in which flowery rhetorical phrases are eliminated. The study of written Modern Persian includes both fiction and non-fiction.

Fiction

Twenty works by three generations of writers under the following three periods have been selected:

1. 1921–1953

These writers are included: Mohammad 'Ali Jamālzāde, Mohammad Ḥejāzi, Mohammad Mas'ud, Ṣādeq Hedāyat, Zeyn al-'Abedin Mo'tamen, Bozorg 'Alavi, and Jalāl Āl Ahmad.

2. 1954–1978

These writers are included: 'Ali-Mohammad Afghāni, Sādeq Chubak, Gholām Ḥoseyn Sā'edi, Esmā'il Faṣīḥ, Hushang Golshiri, Simin Dāneshvar, and Maḥmud Dōlatābādi.

3. 1979–1997

These writers are included: Ja'far Modarres Sādeqi, Moniru Ravānipur, Farkhonde Āqāyi, Manuchehr Karimzāde, Faride Golbu, Reżā Julāyi, and 'Abbās Ma'rufi.

All examples of sentences with inanimate plural subject in every tenth page of the first 150 pages of each work have been extracted. This has resulted in a total of 430 sentences, of which 70 sentences show agreement between the subject and verb.

Pattern 1: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/singular verb (356 sentences)

Ex. 22

xabar-hā-y-e rangārang-i ke az kermānšāh jāygāh-e
News-PL-G-EZ manifold-INDEF CL LINK from Kermānšāh place-EZ

kas ū kār mi-resid
IMP-arrive.PAST.3 SG family and friends

(Jamālzāde: 62: 1)

"Those manifold pieces of news that were arriving from Kermānšāh, the place of the family and friends."

Ex. 23

češm-hā-y-e xākestari-ye zan sard šod
Eye-PL-G-EZ grey-EZ woman cold turn.PAST.3 SG

(Julāyi: 72: 11)

"The woman's grey eyes turned cold."

Pattern 2: Inanimate, personified plural subject/singular verb (8 sentences)¹⁸

Ex. 24

dar tārīki bud ke afkār-e¹⁹ gomšode-am, [...] hame
In dark be.PAST.3 SG CL LINK thought.PL-EZ lost-PR SUFF.1 SG [...] all

az sar-e nō jān mi-gereft, rāh mi-oftād va be man
again life IMP-get.PAST.3 SG way IMP-set out.PAST.3 SG and to me

dahankaji mi-kard
face IMP-make.PAST.3 SG

(Hedāyat: 84: 9)

"It was in the dark that my lost thoughts [...] all again got a lease of life, set out and made faces at me."

¹⁸ All eight sentences are from the first period. Four of the sentences occur in Hedāyat's text, one occurs in Ḥejāzi's text and three in Mas'ud's text. Except for three of the sentences in this group, a Persian speaker's native intuition finds the rest of the sentences strange or incorrect.

¹⁹ Lazar (1992: 180) writes: "Certain plurals with a collective value (particularly 'broken' plurals of the Arabic type), may be followed by a verb in the singular".

Ex. 25

**deraxt-ān-e sabz va xorram-i ke az vazeš-e bād Helhele*
 Tree-PL-EZ green and fresh-INDEF CL LINK from blowing-EZ wind joy

*mi-kon-ad*²⁰

IND-do.PRES-3 SG

(Mas'ud: 92: 2)

"Those green and fresh trees that shout with joy in the blowing of the wind."

Pattern 3: Inanimate, personified plural subject/plural verb (38 sentences)

Ex. 26

abr-hā-y-e tārik az ofoq-e xiyyāl-aš farār kard-and
 Cloud-PL-G-EZ dark from horizon-EZ imagination-PR SUFF.3 SG escape do.PAST-3 SG

(Hejāzi: 60: 17)

"The dark clouds escaped from the horizon of his imagination."

Ex. 27

sandali-hā-y-e čarxdār mi-āmad-and va mi-raft-and
 Chair-PL-G-EZ with wheel IMP-come.PAST-3 PL and IMP-go.PAST-3 PL

(Āqāyi: 52: 9)

"Wheelchairs were coming and going."

Pattern 4: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/plural verb (32 sentences)

Ex. 28

va dast-hā-y-aš [...] be do taraf-e badan-aš āvizān
 And arm-PL-G-PR SUFF.3 SG [...] to two side-EZ body-PR SUFF.3 SG hanging

bud-and

be.PAST-3PL

(Dōlatābādi: 18: 4)

"And his arms [...] were hanging from both sides of his body."

Ex. 29

kuce-hā va xiyyābān-hā hame xalvat bud-and
 Alley-PL and street-PL all empty be.PAST-3 PL

(Faṣīḥī: 62: 3)

"Alleys and streets were all empty."

As is observable, pattern 1 with 356 sentences is the largest group. Pattern 2 with 8 sentences is the smallest group, and all the sentences are from the first period. Pattern 3 with 38 sentences is the next largest group, and pattern 4 with 32 sentences is

²⁰ This sentence is among those that a native speaker of Persian judges as grammatically incorrect.

the next smallest group. Comparing the results with the results from Classical Persian, one finds that the proportion of sentences with a plural verb in Modern Persian texts is twice that in Classical texts. Can this be interpreted as a sign of language change? The fact is that in three of the four Classical Persian texts no cases of personification occur, while personification occurs in 19 out of the 21 Modern Persian texts. This difference is mostly due to the content and the type of the texts. The Modern Persian texts are all exclusively literary texts in which there is much more space for personification than in history books, in which persons are in focus.

The results from the study of Modern Persian texts do not indicate any tendency towards a higher degree of agreement. The only noticeable change is, in contrast to the texts from the first period, that the texts from the second and third periods do not allow a singular verb to follow a personified plural subject.

Non-fiction

The increasing need for processing and spreading information demands the rapid translation of non-fiction texts. This means that non-fiction texts are highly exposed to the influence of foreign languages. The non-fiction texts of this study are limited to newspapers and sports magazines. The reason for selecting newspapers and sports magazine is that they are among the primary media in which a great deal of rapid translations are included. Almost all examples of sentences with an inanimate plural subject in one particular issue of four different newspapers and four issues of one and the same sport magazine have been extracted. This has resulted in 311 sentences, of which 74 show an agreement between the subject and the verb:

Pattern 1: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/singular verb (247 sentences)

Ex. 30

ātašsuzi-hā-ye	'amdi	yek	sā'at	pas az	nime šab... āgāz šod
Firebrand-PL-EZ	intentional	an	hour	after	midnight... start.PAST.3 SG

(*Resālat*: 16)

"The intentional firebrands started an hour after the midnight."

Ex. 31

majmu 'an	27	tup	az	xātt-e	darvāze-hā	'obur kard
A total of	27	ball	from	line-EZ	goal-PL	pass.PAST.3 SG

(Key-varzeši 1: 17)

"A total of 27 balls passed the goal-line."

Pattern 2: Inanimate, personified plural subject/singular verb (0 sentences)

Pattern 3: Inanimate, personified plural subject/plural verb (43 sentences)

Ex. 32

hašt mō'assese-ye²¹ entešārāti dar eslāmbōl teyy-e telegrām-i eqdām-e
 Eight house-EZ publishing in Istanbul through-EZ telegram-INDEF attempt-EZ

ruznāme-ye "indinliq" rā dar entešār-e baxš-hā-y-i az ketāb-e
 newspaper-EZ "Indinliq" DO TOP in publishing-EZ part-PL-G-INDEF from book-EZ

āyāt-e šeytāni maḥkum kard-and
 vers.PL-EZ satanic condemn.PAST-3 PL

(Jomhuri: 2)

"In a telegram, eight publishing houses in Istanbul condemned Indinliq newspaper's attempt at publishing parts of the book *Satanic Verses*."

Ex. 33

in "padide-hā" na-bāyad "nāpadid" šav-and
 This phenomenon²²-PL NEG-should disappear (SUBJ)-become.PRES-3 PL

(Key-varzeşil: 33)

"These phenomena should not disappear."

Pattern 4: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/plural verb (21 sentences)

Ex. 34

forušgāh-hā-ye šahr o rustā, qods, ta'āvoni-ye ettekā dar punak šo 'be
 Store-PL-EZ Šahr o rustā, Qods Cooperative-EZ Ettekā in Punak branch

na-dār-and

NEG-have.PRES-3 PL

(Eṭtelā'āt: 13)

"The stores Šahr o rustā, Qods, and Cooperative Ettekā do not have any branches in Punak."

Ex. 35

şādeq, ehsāsāti va şurangiz va qalb-i bāz xoşuşıyāt-i
 Honest sensitive and enthusiastic and heart-INDEF open characteristic.PL-INDEF

hast-and ke dar uli jam' şode-and
 be.PRES-3 PL CL LINK in Uli gather become.PERF-3 PL

(Key-varzeşil: 38)

"Honest, sensitive, and enthusiastic and having an open heart are the characteristics that have gathered in Uli."

²¹ Note the use of singular nouns after cardinal numerals.

²² Note that the word phenomenon refers to football players. The text is about talented football players.

As the results show, the usage of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects is predominant. The results from the study of non-fictional texts are in broad outline in accordance with the results from modern Persian literary texts. As a matter of fact the frequency of personification in non-fictional texts is higher. The frequency of sentences belonging to pattern 4 is almost the same.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the above mentioned four types of sentences in Middle Persian, Classical Persian and Modern Persian; Fiction and Non-Fiction texts:

Table 1. Middle, Classical and Modern Persian

Pattern	Middle	Classical	Modern	Written Persian
	Persian	Persian	Fiction	Non-fiction
Inanim non-pers pl. subj/sing. verb	39 (47 %)	70 (91 %)	356 (84 %)	247 (79 %)
Inanim pers pl. subj/sing. Verb	1 (1 %)	0 (0 %)	8 (2 %)	0 (0 %)
Inanim pers pl. subj/pl. verb	19 (23 %)	5 (6.5 %)	28 (6.5 %)	43 (14 %)
Inanim non-pers pl. sub/pl. verb	24 (29 %)	2 (2.5%)	32 (7.5 %)	21 (7 %)
TOTAL	83	77	424	311

As the above table shows, the usage of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects is an old feature of written Persian. Nothing in the table indicates a tendency towards an extension of plural agreement in Persian.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the above mentioned four types of sentences in Modern Persian Fiction texts 1921–1997:

Table 2. Modern Persian Fiction (1921–1997)

Pattern	1921–1953	1954–1978	1978–1997	TOTAL
Inanim non-pers pl. subj/sing. verb	123 (79 %)	117 (83.5 %)	116 (90 %)	356 (84 %)
Inanim pers pl. subj/sing. Verb	8 (5 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	8 (2 %)
Inanim pers pl. subj/pl. verb	15 (10 %)	4 (3 %)	9 (7 %)	28 (6.5 %)
Inanim non-pers pl. sub/pl. verb	9 (6 %)	19 (13.5)	4 (3 %)	32 (7.5 %)
TOTAL	155	140	129	424

As the table shows, the use of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects is predominant. As far as the number of non-personified subjects followed by plural verb is concerned, the table shows the fewest occurrences in the texts from the third period.

Comparison between the most recent works of six writers to one of their earliest works

For this purpose the latest works of the following six writers of fiction have been compared to one of their earliest works: Bozorg 'Alavi, 'Ali Mohammad Afghāni, Esmā'il Faṣīḥ, Hushang Golshiri, Simin Dāneshvar, and Maḥmud Dōlatābādi. The reason for choosing these writers is that they have been writing over a long period of time. In some cases almost fifty years have passed between the two works to be compared; enough to search for signs of a possible language change.

Bozorg 'Alavi and Esmā'il Faṣīḥ have also been chosen for their long stays abroad, in order to find out whether their contacts with foreign languages have had any effect on the use of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects. Bozorg 'Alavi was living in Germany for about fifty years and finished his latest work in Berlin. Esmā'il Faṣīḥ has also been living in the USA over a long period of time. Both of them have been in direct contact with languages in which a consistent agreement between the subject and verb is applied.

Except for Dōlatābādi in his first work, none of these writers show any tendency towards letting a plural verb follow a plural inanimate subject. It is only in Dōlatābādi's work that a change is observable, and that is in the opposite direction. Of those 14 sentences with a non-personified inanimate plural subject and a plural verb in both his works, 8 sentences belong to his *Bašobeyro* from 1972/73, and 6 to his latest book, *Ruzegār-e separi šode-ye mardom-e sālxorde* from 1991/92. In 5 out of the 8 sentences in *Bašobeyro*, the plural verb can be replaced by a singular verb without causing a native speaker of Persian to experience it as ungrammatical. As a matter of fact, Dōlatābādi in his latest work uses a singular verb for the same inanimate plural subject, for which he had used a plural verb in his earlier work:

Ex.36

<i>jāsem</i>	<i>jelō-v-e</i>	<i>dokkān-e</i>	<i>'araq-foruši</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>resid</i>
Jāsem	front-G-EZ	store-EZ	liquor-sale	CL LINK	arrive.PAST.3 SG
<i>zānu-hā-y-aš</i>		<i>sost</i>	<i>šod-and</i>		
knee-PL-G-PR SUFF.3 SG		weak	become.PAST-3 PL		

(Dōlatābādi1: 68: 1)

"When Jāsem arrived in front of the liquor store, his knees became weak."

Ex. 37

<i>Tu-y-e</i>	<i>dālān</i>	<i>pā-y-e</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>nešast,</i>	<i>zānu-hā-y-aš</i>	<i>sost</i>
In-G-EZ	vestibule	near-G-EZ	door	sit.PAST.3 SG	knee-PL-G-PR SUFF.3 SG	weak

šod

become.PAST.3 SG

(Dōlatābādi2: 8: 19)

"He sat down near the door in the vestibule, his knees became weak."

Spoken Persian

Spoken Persian, here, refers to the language used by all speakers of Persian in Iran in different contexts. As is known, the majority of the Iranian population are by definition bilinguals, while Persian is the only official language and almost all broadcasts are in Persian. This causes the spoken Persian of a majority of the population to be strongly influenced by the Persian used in broadcasts and films. It is therefore both important and justified to include material from radio broadcasts in this part. It must also be taken into consideration that there are always occasions when people

speak spontaneously in these broadcasts. Thus, the study of spoken Persian includes free conversation as well as films and different types of prepared and structured radio broadcasts. As usual, all examples of sentences with an inanimate plural subject have been extracted. This has resulted in 347 sentences, of which 29 display an agreement between the subject and the verb.

Pattern 1: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/singular verb (319 sentences).

Ex. 38

in-ā hame bahān-as²³
This-PL all excuse-be.PRES-3 SG

(*Zir-e pust-e sahr*)

“These are all just excuses.”

Ex. 39

un kafš-ā-y-i ke šab-e 'arusi pā-m bud
Those shoe-PL-G-INDEF CL LINK night-EZ wedding foot-PR SUFF.1 SG be.PAST.3 SG
(*Sobh-e jom'e*)
“Those shoes that I was wearing on my wedding night.”

Pattern 2: Inanimate, personified plural subject/singular verb (1 sentence)

Ex. 40

in lebās-ā bāyad ādam-ō ahli kon-e
This cloth-PL must person-DO TOP domestic (SUBJ)-do.PRES-3 SG
(*Mārmulak*)
“These clothes must domesticate everyone.”

Pattern 3: Inanimate, personified plural subject/plural verb (18 sentences)

Ex. 41

in māšin-ā-y-i ke mi-y-ā-n pā-y-e deraxt-ā rō
This tanker-PL-G-INDEF CL LINK IND-G-come.PRES-3PL foot-G-EZ tree-PL DO TOP
āb mi-d-an, gozari az un xiābun rad mi-š-an tā
water IND-give.PRES-3PL by chance from that street pass IND-become.PRES-3 PL as
rad mi-š-an ō šilang-ō vā mi-kon-an mi-gir-an
pass.IND-become.PRES-3 PL and hose-DO TOP open IND-do.PRES-3 PL IND-hold.PRES-3 PL

ru māšin
over car

(Teleph Con)

“[One of] those tankers that water the trees, pass[es] that street by chance, as they pass, they open the hose and hold it over the car.”

²³ Contracted colloquial form av *bahāne ast*

This example is quite an interesting one. It is obvious that it is only one tanker that passes the street. Still, the narrator refers to it in plural form. The reason behind the usage of plural form is that the driver is usually accompanied by a co-driver who takes care of the hose and the watering. The narrator is clearly referring to the persons operating the tanker when she uses the word “tanker”.

Ex. 42

do tā teran bā-ham šāx be šāx šod-an
Two piece train with-each other horn to horn become.PAST-3PL

(*Ejāre nešinhā*)

“Two trains have had a head-on collision”

In this sentence the trains are likened to two bulls fighting with each other.

Pattern 4: Inanimate, non-personified plural subject/plural verb (9 sentences).

Ex. 43

film-hā-y-e bačče-hā-ye āsmān va abr ō aftāb be namāyeš
film-PL-G-EZ child-PL-EZ heaven and cloud and sunshine to showing

dar-mi-ā-y-and

PREF-IND-come.PRES-G-3 PL

(*Axbār*)

“The movies *Bačče-hā-ye āsmān...* and *Abra o aftāb* will be shown.”

Ex. 44

hičyek az dō e 'telāf dārā-y-e aksariyat naxāh-and bud
None of two coalition holder-G-EZ majority NEG-will.PRES-3 PL be.PAST.3 SG

(*Axbār*)

“None of the coalitions will have a majority.”

Table 4 shows the distribution of the above mentioned four types of sentences in the spoken material

Table 4. Modern Spoken Persian

Pattern	Modern spoken Persian
Inanim non-pers pl. subj/sing. verb	319 (92 %)
Inanim pers pl. subj/sing. verb	1 (0 %)
Inanim pers pl. subj/pl. verb	18 (5 %)
Inanim non-pers pl. sub/pl. verb	9 (3 %)
TOTAL	347

As the table shows the results are in accordance with the results from the written material.

Conclusion

The results from the study of Written Persian texts show that the usage of the singular verb for inanimate plural subjects is an old feature of Persian. Already in Middle Persian texts, one can observe this feature. The data also show that this old feature has not undergone any drastic changes, although other significant morphological and syntactic changes, such as the disappearance of the ergative construction, have occurred.

As was mentioned earlier, syntactic changes usually occur at the vulnerable points: at those points where there is a possibility for new variants to creep into the language. This inherent structural factor can be influenced by external factors of different types. One of the main driving forces behind the emergence of new variations in a language, and language changes is language contact.

Persian has always been in close contact with foreign languages. Arabic and Turkish are among the languages with which Persian has been in close contact over a very long course of time. It has been influenced by them in many respects, but as far as the usage of the singular verb for inanimate plural subjects is concerned, none of these languages could have any effect on Persian, as they themselves do not demand agreement in number between the subject and the verb in all cases. Arabic is a language in which subject-verb agreement is not so important, neither for animate nor for inanimate subjects. In those cases where the verb occurs at the beginning of the sentence, which is the normal verb order in an Arabic verbal sentence, and it is in the third person, it is always in singular, whether the subject is in plural or in singular (Haywood & Nahmud 1985: 97–100). Turkish, too, is a language in which the verb prefers to agree with subjects higher in the animacy hierarchy. As a matter of fact Turkish and Persian are very similar as far as plural agreement is concerned. It is only during the last century that Persian has come into close contact with languages such as English, French, and German, in which the verb agrees with the subject in number. This is something that could have, and still can open the door for new variants and hence for a language change in the long term.

The study of more than 400 pages of Modern Persian fiction shows that the usage of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects follows in broad outline the same pattern from about 70 years earlier. The only observable change is a greater restriction on using a singular verb for a personified plural subject, and an extended consciousness of the stylistic power of this feature of Persian. The same pattern is observable in non-fiction texts.

The results from the study of the spoken material are in accordance with the results from the study of the written material. As a matter of fact, the percentage of plural agreement is much lower in the spoken material. The main conclusion to be drawn from this study is that, as far as the usage of singular verbs for inanimate plural subjects in Persian is concerned, no language change is in progress. This is, in my opinion, in accordance with Persian's general preference for singular forms, in cases where other Indo-European languages like English, German and French prefer plural forms. Some other examples of this preference are the use of singular nouns after cardinal numerals, as well as after the interrogative and indefinite pronoun,

čand ‘how many, some’, the use of singular adjectives in front of plural nouns, as well as the use of a singular noun for expressing genericity. This last issue could be the subject of another study of how the animacy ranking refers to the choice of grammatical forms, since it has been observed that for human beings, sometimes the plural form is used to express genericity.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Āl Aḥmad	Āl Aḥmad, <i>Did ō bāzdid</i>
Āqāyi	Āqāyi, <i>Rāz-e kučak</i>
Axbār	Radio Tehran, <i>Axbār</i> ‘News Broadcast’
Bd	<i>Zand – Akāshi Iranian or Greater Bundahishn</i>
CL LINK	clause linker
Dōlatābādi1	Dōlatābādi, <i>Bāšobeyrō</i>
Dōlatābādi2	Dōlatābādi, <i>Ruzgār-e separi šode-ye mardom-e sālxōrde</i>
DO TOP	topicalized direct object
Dāneshvar1	Dāneshvar, <i>Savušun</i>
Ejāre nešinhā	Mehrjuyi, <i>Ejāre nešinhā</i>
Eṭtelā ‘āt	Eṭtelā ‘āt (1993)
EZ	eżāfe
Faṣīḥ1	Faṣīḥ, <i>Šarāb-e xām</i>
Golshiri2	Golshiri, <i>Dast-e tārik dast-e rōšan</i>
Hedāyat	Hedāyat, <i>Buf-e kur</i>
Hejāzi	Hejāzi, <i>Homā</i>
IDO	indirect object
IMP	imperfective aspect
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
Jomhuri	<i>Jomhuri-ye Eslāmi</i> (1993)
Julāyi	Julāyi, <i>Su'-e qaṣd be zāt-e homāyuni</i>
Jamālzāde	Jamālzāde, <i>Yeki bud yeki nabud</i>
Kašf al-mahjub	Hujviri Ghaznavi, <i>Kašf al-mahjub</i>
Key-varzešī1	Keyhān-e Varzešī, nr 2178
Key-varzešī3	Keyhān-e Varzešī, nr 2180
Mārmulak	Tabrizi, <i>Mārmulak</i>
Mas'ud	Mas'ud, <i>Dar talāš-e mo 'āš</i>
MX	<i>The book of the Mainyo-i-khard</i>
NEG	negation
PAST	past tense
PAST PART	past participle
PAST PERF	past perfect tense
PERF	present perfect tense
PERS PR	personal pronoun
PL	plural

PN	personal name
POST POS	postposition
PRES	present tense
PR SUFF	pronominal suffix
Ravānipur	Ravānipur, <i>Sanghā-ye šeytān</i>
<i>Resālat</i>	<i>Resālat</i> (1993)
<i>PRDd I&II</i>	<i>Pahlavi Rivāyat, Part I and II</i>
<i>Šobh-e jom'e</i>	Radio Tehran. (1996), <i>Šobh-e jom'e bā šomā</i>
SG	singular
Subject	subjunctive
Teleph Con	Telephone conversation
<i>Zir-e pust-e šahr</i>	Bani E'temād, <i>Zir-e pust-e šahr</i>

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Ost und West in den Augen von Orhan Pamuk

Zwei Beiträge

Michael Reinhard Heß
Berlin

I. Orhan Pamuks Mitte zwischen Ost und West

Einführung

Spätestens seit Orhan Pamuk (geb. 1952) am 12. Oktober 2006 der Nobelpreis zugesprochen wurde, führt in der Welt der Literatur kein Weg mehr an ihm vorbei.¹ Nie zuvor war ein türkischer Schriftsteller mit dieser höchsten Auszeichnung im Literaturbetrieb geehrt worden. Die Preisvergabe an Pamuk erfolgte jedoch nicht aus heiterem Himmel. Schon geraume Zeit zuvor war er als Kandidat für den Nobelpreis im Gespräch.² In den vorausgehenden Jahren hatte er bereits zahlreiche internationale Preise erhalten. Zu deren bedeutendsten zählen der Ricarda-Huch-Preis und der Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels, die Pamuk beide im Jahre 2005 zuerkannt wurden.

Das positive Votum der Schwedischen Akademie kam zu einer Zeit, in der Pamuk dem internationalen Publikum indes weniger als Schriftsteller als aus politischen Diskussionen bekannt war. Hintergrund war die folgende Äußerung Pamuks in einem Interview mit dem Schweizer *Tages-Anzeiger* im Februar 2005:

Man hat hier [in der Türkei – M.H.] 30 000 Kurden umgebracht. Und eine Million Armenier. Und fast niemand traut sich, das zu erwähnen. Also mache ich es. Und dafür hassen sie mich.³

Diese Stellungnahme löste eine Welle heftiger Kontroversen sowohl inner- als auch außerhalb der Türkei aus. Sie berührte zwei der heikelsten Fragen der türkischen Geschichte: den Genozid an den Armeniern von 1915 und das Verhältnis zu den Kurden.⁴ Als Fortsetzung dieser Kontroverse dürfen auch die öffentlichen Stellungnahmen Pamuks nach der Ermordung des armenischstämmigen Herausgebers Hrant Dink am 19. Januar 2007 gewertet werden.

Beide Aspekte von Pamuks Persönlichkeit – der schriftstellerische und der politisch interessierte – stehen in einem Verhältnis der wechselseitigen Interaktion.

¹ Zu Pamuk und seinem Werk insgesamt siehe Karakaşoğlu 1993, Ecevit 1996, Tekin 1997, Naci 1998, Kılıç 1999, Furrer 2000, Ecevit 2004, Furrer 2005 sowie den Dokumentarfilm Leidenberger 2005.

² Vgl. Eder 2002.

³ Pamuk 2007a.

⁴ Zum Faktenhintergrund des gegen Pamuk wegen des Armenier-Zitats in der Türkei angestrebten Prozesses siehe Vogel 2005 und Jeismann 2006. Siehe auch die Reaktion von Salman Rushdie (Rushdie 2005) und vgl. Pamuks eigene Stellungnahmen in Lau 2005 und Pamuk 2006a.

Denn auf der einen Seite war Pamuks internationaler Erfolg als Schriftsteller, der spätestens seit den Romanen *Kara Kitap*⁵ (1990; dt. „Das Schwarze Buch“⁶) und *Benim Adım Kirmızı*⁷ (1998; dt. „Rot ist mein Name“⁸) unbestreitbar ist, die Voraussetzung dafür, daß er es sich überhaupt erlauben konnte, den Finger auf jene beiden Tabuthemen zu legen. Ohne die Aufmerksamkeit, die die Affäre um seine Äußerungen im *Tages-Anzeiger* in der internationalen Presse fand, wäre der gegen Pamuk in Istanbul wegen „Herabsetzung des Türkentums“ (*Türkliği aşağılama*) nach § 301, Artikel 1 und 4 des Türkischen Strafgesetzbuchs⁹ angestrengte Prozeß möglicherweise anders als mit seinem Freispruch am 22. Januar 2006 ausgegangen.

Auf der anderen Seite funktionierte die Interrelation zwischen Politik und Schriftstellerei bei Pamuk schon immer auch in der umgekehrten Richtung. Insbesondere hat die politische Entwicklung in der Türkei seit dem letzten Militärputsch vom 12. September 1980 Pamuks literarisches Werk einschneidend beeinflußt. So ging seinen eigenen Ausführungen zufolge seine Entscheidung, nach 1980 das Manuskript eines angefangenen politischen Romans *nicht* zu veröffentlichen und sich stattdessen Themen ohne politische Brisanz zuzuwenden, auf das repressive Klima nach der 1980er Militärintervention zurück.¹⁰

Eine Kenntnis dieser in beide Richtungen funktionierenden Doppelstellung Pamuks als Schriftsteller und Partizipant an öffentlichen politisch-gesellschaftlichen Auseinandersetzungen ist unabdingbar für die nachfolgenden Ausführungen, in denen es um Pamuks Stellungnahme¹¹ in Debatten um das Verhältnis von Orient und Okzident geht. Nach dem 11. September 2001, dem vorläufigen Sturz des Taliban-Regimes und dem Irak-Krieg wird diese Frage derzeit vor allem in einem politischen Kontext diskutiert.¹² Im Falle der Türkei gewinnt sie durch die Beitrittsverhandlungen mit der EU weiteres politisches Gewicht.¹³ Es ist wichtig sich zu vergegenwärtigen, daß Orhan Pamuk sowohl seine fiktionalen als auch seine nicht-fiktionalen Texte über die Ost-West-Thematik immer auch vor dem Hintergrund dieser politischen Entwicklungen schreibt. Diese Politisierung seines Werks offenbart sich selbst und gerade in der pointierten Abkehr vom Politischen im Sinne einer *l'art pour l'art*-Philosophie, um die Pamuk sich über Strecken seiner schriftstellerischen Laufbahn bemühte. Denn wie er selber mitteilt, ist die Pflege einer solchen Attitüde in Wahrheit nicht nur von der Politik abhängig, sondern geradezu durch sie be-

⁵ Pamuk 1990a.

⁶ Pamuk 1995b.

⁷ Pamuk 1998.

⁸ Pamuk 2003a und Pamuk 2003b.

⁹ Siehe den türkischen Text des Gesetzes in Türk Ceza Kanunu 2007.

¹⁰ Siehe Pamuks eigene Darstellung in Pamuk 2006e.

¹¹ Zum emphatischen Sinn des Wortes „Stellungnahme“ in diesem Zusammenhang siehe unten Abschnitt 2.1., Seite 105.

¹² Hierbei wird auch die kulturelle Interaktion zwischen Islam und Westen häufig unter politischen Gesichtspunkten beurteilt. Zur Geschichte der Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Orient und Okzident siehe Sievernich/ Budde 1989 und Montgomery Watt 2002. Einen umfassenden Überblick über politische *und* kulturelle Aspekte sowie deren Wechselbeziehungen bietet am Beispiele Frankreichs Arkoun 2006.

¹³ Zur Entwicklung der türkisch-europäischen Beziehungen vgl. den Tagungsband Bagger/ Ocak/ Goltz 2004.

dingt.¹⁴ Eine systematische Trennung von Pamuks Schriftstellertum und seinen politischen Interessen und Positionen wäre also eher irreführend.

Daß die Dualität Orient-Okzident bzw. Ost-West sowohl in Pamuks literarischer Produktion als auch in der wissenschaftlichen und journalistischen Beschäftigung mit ihr einen wichtigen Rang einnimmt, ist unbestreitbar.¹⁵ Die ansonsten durchaus berechtigte Frage, ob die Bipolarität von Orient und Okzident eine darüber hinausreichende Existenzberechtigung habe oder ob sie nicht durch alternative Sichtweisen zu ersetzen sei,¹⁶ kann daher für die vorliegende Untersuchung vernachlässigt werden.

Aufgrund der für einen türkischen Schriftsteller einmaligen Bekanntheit und des großen, auch kommerziellen Erfolgs ist zu erwarten, daß Orhan Pamuk in den kommenden Jahren weiterhin im Mittelpunkt von Diskussionen über die Türkei, ihr Verhältnis zu Europa und allgemeiner die Beziehungen zwischen den islamisierten Kulturtümern und der sogenannten westlichen Zivilisation stehen wird. Was dabei von und über Orhan Pamuk gesagt und geschrieben werden wird, kann nur dann in seiner Bedeutung richtig verstanden werden, wenn es in den biographischen und literarischen Werdegang des Autors eingeordnet wird. Hierzu möchten die folgenden Ausführungen einen Beitrag leisten.

Ausgangspunkt ist dabei die Beobachtung, daß Pamuk sich in seinen Werken um die Überbrückung oder Neutralisierung dieser West–Ost-Dichotomie bemüht, sich gewissermaßen in deren ‚Mitte‘ plaziert und in der Öffentlichkeit dort auch wahrgenommen wird.¹⁷ Die Implikationen dieser Plazierung lassen sich auf mehreren Beobachtungsebenen anschaulich darstellen, denen die Unterkapitel des nächsten Abschnitts gewidmet sind. Im einzelnen handelt es sich um die räumlich-geographische Dimension, Pamuks Biographie, werkimmanente Betrachtungen, *hüzün* als Orient und Okzident überbrückende Kategorie sowie Pamuks Stellungnahme in aktuellen Debatten. Im Schlußkapitel wird eine zusammenfassende Interpretation dieser Aspekte versucht.

Der räumlich-geographische Hintergrund

Wenn in der Einleitung von der „Stellungnahme“ Pamuks bezüglich der Extrempole ‚Orient‘ und ‚Okzident‘ gesprochen worden ist, läßt sich dies zunächst einmal in einem ganz wörtlichen Sinne als räumlich-geographische Verwurzelung in der Heimatstadt Istanbul verstehen. Wie aus zahlreichen Untersuchungen und Selbstzeugnissen bekannt, wuchs Pamuk im Istanbuler Stadtviertel Nişantaşı auf.¹⁸ Geogra-

¹⁴ Siehe die entsprechenden Ausführungen in Pamuk 2000b.

¹⁵ Dieser Dualismus spielt in allen Romanen Pamuks eine Rolle, am deutlichsten in „Die weiße Festung“ (Pamuk 2004a, dt. Pamuk 2005a), „Das Schwarze Buch“, „Das Neue Leben“ (Pamuk 1994, dt. Pamuk 2001) und „Schnee“ (Pamuk 2002a, dt. Pamuk 2005b); Näheres zu diesen einzelnen Titeln siehe in Abschnitt 2.3. unten, S. 108.– Zur Reflektion des Ost–West-Dualismus in der Pamuk-Rezeption vgl. die Preisverleihungsrede des Nobel-Komitees an Pamuk (Engdahl 2007).

¹⁶ Vgl. hierzu etwa die Theorie von Bulliet 2004.

¹⁷ Konkrete Belege für diese These aus einzelnen Romanen Pamuks werden in Heß im Erscheinen ausführlich dargelegt.

¹⁸ Siehe Çakıroğlu/ Yalçın 2001: 680–683 und die Selbstzeugnisse in Pamuk 2005c (zuerst erschienen 2003, dt. Pamuk 2006c).

phisch befindet sich dieses sowohl außerhalb der Altstadt, des historischen Konstantinopel, als auch des alten Botschafts- und Europäerviertels Beyoğlu/Pera.¹⁹

In der jüngeren Geschichte Istanbuls symbolisiert der Bereich der Altstadt – *intramuros* der ehemaligen oströmischen Kapitale – eher den vor- oder sogar antimodernen Aspekt der osmanisch-türkischen Kultur. Hier befanden sich seit der Eroberung der Stadt im Jahre 1453 der Sultanspalast und die wichtigsten Staatseinrichtungen. Im Gegensatz zum alten byzantinischen Mauerbezirk steht Beyoğlu für eine Öffnung hin zur europäischen Kultur. Hier war der Anteil nichtmuslimischer Minderheiten (Armenier, Griechen, Juden) bis weit nach der Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts besonders hoch, und hier hatten die europäischen Mächte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert ihre diplomatischen Vertretungen.²⁰

1853 verlegte der damalige osmanische Sultan ‘Abdü’l-Meğid (1839–1861) seine Residenz aus der Altstadt in den Dolmabahçe-Palast, der sich unterhalb von Beyoğlu am Ufer des Bosporus befindet.²¹ Dieser Umzug symbolisierte die Abwendung des Sultans vom traditionellen osmanischen Staatswesen und seine Umorientierung nach Europa im Zeitalter der Reformen (osm. *Tanzimat*, 1839–1876). Dieses hatte ‘Abdü’l-Meğid selbst im Jahr seines Regierungsantritts mit dem berühmten Edikt von Gülhane (türk. *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) eingeläutet. Seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts besaß Istanbul also zwei Stadtteile, die emblematisch für den kulturellen Gegensatz zwischen traditioneller osmanischer und europäisch-westlicher Zivilisation standen: die Altstadt und Pera/Beyoğlu.

Durch seine Lage ein Stück landeinwärts und oberhalb des Dolmabahçe-Palastes und nördlich von Beyoğlu²² befindet sich das kleine Stadtviertel Nişantaşı etwas abseits dieser topographischen und zugleich kulturellen Opposition zwischen Altstadt und Beyoğlu. Da es jedoch räumlich an Beyoğlu anschließt, das zwischen ihm und der weiter entfernten Altstadt liegt, ist Nişantaşı dem europäischen Einfluß stärker ausgesetzt gewesen als demjenigen Alt-Istanbuls. Während Orhan Pamuk in den 1950er Jahren und später in Nişantaşı aufwuchs, war dieses ein Neubauviertel, in dem vor allem die aufsteigende türkische Elite siedelte. Diese distanzierte sich zunehmend vom osmanischen Erbe, wenngleich dessen Spuren noch überall präsent waren. Pamuk hat diesem über mehrere Generationen von der Republikgründung 1923 an verlaufenden Ablösungsprozeß in seinem Roman „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ (1982)²³ ein Denkmal gesetzt. In seinem jüngsten Buch „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ (2003)²⁴ hat er die in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren in Nişantaşı verbreitete, im nietzscheschen Sinne antiquarische und teilweise sogar nostalgische Einstellung gegenüber dem osmanischen Erbe eindringlich beschrieben.²⁵ Durch die

¹⁹ Zur Lage der Altstadt und von Beyoğlu siehe beispielsweise die Karte im Rückumschlag von Restle 1976.

²⁰ Zu den Ursprüngen der europäischen Präsenz in Istanbul des 16. Jahrhunderts siehe aktuell Veinstein 2006: 318–330.

²¹ Eingetragen auf der Karte im Rückumschlag von Restle 1976.

²² Nişantaşı ist in etwa die Gegend um die Teşvikiye-Moschee, siehe Planquadrat H5 in : İkiz 1989: 87.

²³ Pamuk 2002b. Es gibt keine deutsche Übersetzung.

²⁴ Pamuk 2005d, dt. Pamuk 2006c.

²⁵ Pamuk 2005d: 17–24.

Entfernung von ca. 3–4 Kilometern bis zum östlichen Ende der Grande Rue de Péra (der heutigen İstiklâl Caddesi) und somit zur Lebensader Beyoğlu war Nişantaşı auf der anderen Seite jedoch vom traditionellen Europäerviertel Beyoğlu räumlich klar getrennt. Es partizipierte nicht voll am dortigen kosmopolitischen Leben, das stark durch die in Beyoğlu konzentrierten europäischen Exilgemeinden und die Minderheiten jüdischer und christlicher Konfession geprägt wurde. Pamuks relative Distanziertheit zum multikulturellen Treiben in Alt-Pera kann durch einen Vergleich mit den Werken des türkischen Schriftstellers Metin Kaçan (geb. 1961) illustriert werden. Kaçan wuchs im Unterschied zu Pamuk mitten in Beyoğlu auf. Obwohl in der Zeit seit dem Ende der 1960er Jahre, die Kaçan in seinen Romanen und Erzählungen vorwiegend beschreibt, die alte kosmopolitische Kultur bereits weitgehend zerstört war, reflektieren diese erzählerischen Werke eine Innensicht von deren letzten Ausläufern. Diese unterscheidet sich signifikant von den eher durch die Außensicht geprägten und kurorischen Bezugnahmen auf das multikulturelle Leben Beyoğlu in Pamuks Werken (vor allem in „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“).²⁶ Der Vergleich zwischen Pamuk und Kaçan zeigt deutlich, wie tiefgreifend die Herkunft aus unterschiedlichen kulturellen Milieus innerhalb Istanbuls die Thematik und Sichtweise des jeweiligen Autoren beeinflusst.

Pamuks Prägung durch den Mikrokosmos Nişantaşı prädisponierte somit insgesamt eine gewisse Hinneigung zur europäischen Kultur, während die Einflüsse des alten Istanbul in dieser Gegend weniger stark nachwirkten, und wenn, dann vor allem in der Form antiquarischer Überbleibsel. Es gab ein relikthaftes Nachleben der osmanischen Kultur in Gegenständen, Ausdrucks- und Umgangsformen. Dieses verblassende osmanische Erbe war im Nişantaşı von Pamuks Jugend keineswegs eindeutig negativ besetzt. Orhan Pamuk wuchs zwar in einer aufstrebenden, der Zukunft zugewandten Gegend auf, die sich an den modernen, westlichen Maßstäben der Türkischen Republik orientierte. Doch es herrschte eine Atmosphäre der Toleranz bzw. Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber den Relikten der osmanischen Vergangenheit.

Übergänge in Orhan Pamuks Biographie

Zusätzlich zur topographischen Rand- und somit Zwischenstellung zwischen den kulturellen Polen ‚orientalische‘ Altstadt und ‚europäisiertes‘ Beyoğlu lässt sich eine intermediäre Position Pamuks und seiner Familie auch in der zeitlichen Dimension nachweisen. Pamuk stammt aus einer Familie der osmanischen Großbourgeoisie. Mit dem Übergang zur Republik machte sie einen intensiven Wandel in allen Lebensbereichen durch, was für verschiedene Familienangehörige durchaus auch negative Beleitercheinungen wie Verarmung oder auch Wegzug mit sich brachte. Auf der anderen Seite gelang es Pamuks Vater Gündüz (1925–2002) sehr rasch, sich in der jungen Republik wirtschaftlich gut zu etablieren. 1959 wurde er IBM-Chef der Türkei.²⁷

²⁶ Zu Kaçan siehe im einzelnen Heß 1998, Heß 2005, Kaçan 1990 (dt. Kaçan 2003) und Kaçan 2002.

²⁷ Zu Gündüz Pamuk vgl. die Nachricht über seinen Tod in Anonym 2002 und Orhan Pamuks Würdigung in seiner Nobelpreisrede vom 7. Dezember 2006 (Pamuk 2007b).

In der Zeit von Pamuks früher Jugend, also in den 1950er Jahren, war der Umbruchprozeß von der Osmanen- in die Republikzeit noch in vollem Gange. Ihn hat Pamuk in „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ bildreich beschrieben.²⁸ Auch in diesen autobiographischen Erinnerungen schildert er den allmählichen Wechsel von der osmanischen zur republikanischen Zivilisation trotz melancholischer Anklänge²⁹ keineswegs nur als negativen Verfallsprozeß. Denn aus „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ spricht eine gewisse Verzauberung durch eine zwar versunkene, aber gerade deswegen rätselhafte und magisch anziehende osmanische Vergangenheit. Unschwer ist die Parallele zwischen Pamuks Beschreibungen des aus dem osmanischen *Konak* der Familie Pamuk in deren neues *Apartiman* in Nişantaşı herübergeretteten Sammelsuriums und der verklärenden und romantisierenden Liebe fürs antiquarische Detail in einigen von Pamuks Romanen wie „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ und „Das Schwarze Buch“ erkennbar. Pamuks Biographie erlaubt ihm einen privilegierten Zugang zur Oberschichtkultur sowohl der Türkischen Republik als auch – verklärt durch den Schleier der Erinnerung – des ausgehenden Osmanischen Reichs. Der Übergang zwischen beiden historischen Perioden und der allmäßliche Wandel von der einen zur anderen Kultur war dabei weder für Pamuk noch für seine Familie mit einem dramatischen Statuswechsel oder dem Bewußtsein eines radikalen Bruchs verbunden. Er stellte sich eher als ein schrittweise verlaufender, harmonischer Prozeß dar. Pamuks persönliche Biographie spiegelt somit eher eine Auflösung und Milderung des Gegensatzes zwischen östlicher und westlicher Zivilisation – eben in Richtung auf eine ‚mittlere‘ Position – wider als deren Aufeinanderprallen.

Das Ost-West-Thema in Pamuks Romanwerk

Der Gegensatz zwischen Ost und West wird in mehreren Romanen Pamuks direkt benannt. So tritt er uns in der „Weißen Festung“ als „das Ost-West (sc. – Thema o. dgl.)“ (*Doğu-Bati*) (1985)³⁰ entgegen, im „Neuen Leben“ (1994) als „Verwestlichungs-Islamisierungs-Problem“ (*Batılılaşma-İslamlaşma sorunu*)³¹ und in „Schnee“ (2002a) als „Ost-West-Problem“ (*Doğu-Bati meselesi*).³²

Noch deutlicher als durch derartige gelegentlich auftauchende wörtliche Benennungen tritt das Thema Ost-West-Opposition auf der Ebene der Romanhandlung zutage. In so gut wie allen Pamuk-Romanen bestimmt nämlich der Gegensatz zwischen westlicher und orientalischer Kultur das Geschehen oder berührt es zumindest. Dabei baut Pamuk diese Thematik in der Regel auf eine der beiden folgenden Arten ein. Entweder wird es direkt in die Handlung des Romans integriert, oder es wird durch eine große Zahl von Zitaten oder Anspielungen in Erinnerung gerufen, welche jedoch für den Fortgang der Handlung nicht unbedingt erforderlich sind. In manchen Romanen sind beide Möglichkeiten der Thematisierung schwer voneinan-

²⁸ Siehe vor allem Pamuk 2005d: 17–24.

²⁹ Siehe Kapitel 2.4., S. 114.

³⁰ Pamuk 2004a: 10.

³¹ Pamuk 1994: 87.

³² Pamuk 2002a: 107.

der zu unterscheiden. Dies sind die Romane, bei denen die Handlungsstruktur grundsätzlich eng mit Zitaten verwoben ist bzw. auf diesen aufbaut, also vor allem Werke aus der stark postmodernistisch geprägten Schaffensphase ab 1990. Hierzu sind „Das Schwarze Buch“ und „Schnee“ zu rechnen. So stellt die zentrale Handlungsebene des „Schwarzen Buchs“ eine Art auf der Interpretation von zitierten Texten beruhender Schnitzeljagd dar, wobei die Zitate teils von fiktiven Personen wie dem Kolumnisten Celâl, teils von real existierenden Figuren aus der Literaturgeschichte von Orient und Okzident stammen.³³ In „Schnee“ wiederum wird das Theaterstück *Vatan yahut Silistre* („Das Vaterland, oder: Silistre“) des osmanischen Schriftstellers Namık Kemal (1840–1888) an mehreren Stellen zitiert und parodiert. Zusätzlich zu diesen Zitationen werden jedoch auch Motive aus dem Stück fest in die Romanhandlung integriert und strukturieren sie.³⁴ Sowohl im „Schwarzen Buch“ als auch in „Schnee“ sind also Handlung und Zitat nicht klar voneinander geschieden.

Romane, deren Handlung das Ost-West-Thema reflektiert

Typische Beispiele für Romane, deren Handlung sich *als Ganzes* mit der Ost-West-Thematik auseinandersetzt, sind „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ (1982),³⁵ „Die Weiße Festung“³⁶ (1985) und „Schnee“ (2002a).³⁷ Das nach dem Vorbild von Thomas Manns „Buddenbrooks“ konzipierte „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ ist eine Istanbuler Familiensaga aus der Zeit des Übergangs vom Osmanischen Reich zur Türkischen Republik. Durch diese Themenwahl ist das Buch automatisch auch ein Kommentar zur Geschichte des Aufeinandertreffens westlicher und orientalischer Zivilisation.

Der drei Jahre nach „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ vollendete historische Roman „Die Weiße Festung“ spielt im 17. Jahrhundert. Er handelt von der Seelenverwandtschaft eines Osmanen und eines als Kriegsgefangener nach Istanbul verschleppten Italieners, die einander auch physisch vollkommen ähneln.³⁸

„Schnee“ schließlich thematisiert die Konfrontationen zwischen gewalttätigen Islamisten, konservativen Muslimen, säkular-laizistischen und anderen Gruppierungen in der Türkei der Gegenwart. Dieser Roman wird von der einstimmigen Kritik und Pamuk selbst als sein politischster gewertet.³⁹ Dies liegt unter anderem daran, daß in ihm die kulturellen Spannungen in der Türkei nicht wie in „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ und „Die Weiße Festung“ durch die distanzierende Optik des historischen Romans betrachtet werden, sondern daß er nur geringfügig verfremdend und sehr zeitnah auf aktuelle Geschehnisse in der Türkei der 1990er Jahre Bezug nimmt.

Aber auch in anderen Romanen spielt die West-Ost-Problematik eine wichtige

³³ Siehe Pamuk 1990a.

³⁴ Siehe Pamuk 2002a: 34 und 147–152.

³⁵ Pamuk 2002b.

³⁶ Pamuk 2004a, dt. Pamuk 2005a.

³⁷ Pamuk 2002a, dt. Pamuk 2005b.

³⁸ Zur West-Ost-Problematik in der „Weißen Festung“ siehe auch Berman 2002.

³⁹ Vgl. Pamuk 2006e.

Rolle. Im „Neuen Leben“⁴⁰ (1994) und in „Rot ist mein Name“⁴¹ (1998) geht es über weite Strecken um gegensätzliche Auffassungen von Orient und Okzident, auch wenn dieses Thema nicht so sehr im Vordergrund steht wie bei den beiden zuvor genannten Büchern.

Der Roman „Das Neue Leben“ beschreibt die ziellosen Busreisen des Protagonisten durch die Türkei, was zu Recht als Anspielung auf das Motiv der mystischen Reise gedeutet und mit der islamischen Tradition der Spiritualität kontextualisiert worden ist.⁴² In Verbindung mit dem Titel des Romans ist dies in sich schon eine Anspielung auf das Verhältnis zwischen westlicher und östlicher Tradition, deren westliche Seite allerdings auch aus kaum mehr als diesem einen Zitat besteht.⁴³ Diese mystische Ebene, auf der es im buchstäblichen Sinne um Leben und Tod geht, dominiert zwar die Handlung des „Neuen Lebens“, macht indes nicht den gesamten Inhalt des Romans aus. Vielmehr wird auch dargestellt, wie der Held auf seinen endlosen Reisen kreuz und quer durch die Türkei mit zwei Organisationen in Berührung kommt, von denen die eine radikal antiwestlich, die andere hingegen dem Westen gegenüber aufgeschlossen ist. Das West–Ost-Thema tritt also auf einer sekundären Handlungsebene hervor. Ähnlich wie in „Schnee“ spielt die Handlung des „Neuen Lebens“ in der Türkei der Gegenwart.

In „Rot ist mein Name“ wird das Ost–West-Thema auf dem Gebiet der mittelalterlichen Malerei angegangen.⁴⁴

Ein Sonderfall im Umgang mit Fragen von Orient und Okzident ist „Das Schwarze Buch“.⁴⁵ Die Handlung dieses Romans realisiert eine *tour de force* durch die Kultur- und Literaturgeschichten des Orients und Okzidents, wobei das Erleben der gegensätzlichen Kulturen allerdings über weite Strecken durch deren Zitierung ersetzt ist. Aus diesem Grunde kann das Werk, wie bereits erwähnt, sowohl hier als auch in den folgenden Unterabschnitt eingeordnet werden kann.

Ost und West in Zitatform

Orhan Pamuk ist ein eklektizistischer Autor, der stark mit Intertextualität arbeitet. Es überrascht daher wenig, daß sich die Ost–West-Thematik in seinen Romanen nicht nur in Form von Handlungselementen, sondern auch anhand von zahlreichen Zitaten nachweisen läßt. Schon der Titel „Neues Leben“ ruft beispielsweise die Verbindung von Osten und Westen in Erinnerung, indem er auf Dantes Gedichtzyklus „Vita Nova“ (1292–1295) anspielt.⁴⁶ Dasjenige Werk Pamuks, in dem Zitate am ausführlichsten zur Illustration der West–Ost-Thematik verwendet werden, ist ohne Zweifel „Das Schwarze Buch“. Abgesehen von den über alle Kapitel verteilten Zi-

⁴⁰ Pamuk 1994, dt. Pamuk 2001.

⁴¹ Pamuk 1998, dt. Pamuk 2003a und Pamuk 2003b.

⁴² Die islamische Seite der im „Neuen Leben“ aufgegriffenen mystischen Elemente behandelt ausführlich Ecevit 1996 und Ecevit 1999.

⁴³ Hierauf wird im nachfolgenden Abschnitt 2.3.2. eingegangen.

⁴⁴ Siehe hierzu Eder 2002.

⁴⁵ Pamuk 1990a, dt. Pamuk 1995b.

⁴⁶ Zu Dante und Pamuk siehe Ever 1999.

taten bedeutender Schriftsteller des Orients und des Okzidents ist auch der eigentliche Romantext so voll mit literarischen und kulturellen Anspielungen aus beiden Sphären, daß die Menge der Zitate nahezu die Handlung des Romans in den Hintergrund treten läßt. Aber auch „Die Weiße Festung“, „Mein Name ist Rot“ und „Schnee“ sind mit angeführten Texten aus der und Anspielungen auf die Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte des Ostens und Westens gespickt. Die Pamukforschung hat die multiplen Anspielungen aus beiderlei kulturellen Hemisphären bereits ausführlich behandelt, so daß hier der Hinweis auf die einschlägige Literatur genügen mag.⁴⁷

Nachdem in den vorherigen Abschnitten, die beiden wichtigsten Ebenen dargelegt worden sind, auf denen Pamuk die Opposition von Orient und Okzident in seinen Romanen zur Sprache bringt, werden in den beiden folgenden zwei erzählerische Techniken dargestellt, mit deren Hilfe er eine Bewertung dieses Gegensatzpaars vornimmt. Dies sind Inversion und Nuancierung.

Inversion als Technik der Egalisierung von Ost und West

Bei der Technik der Inversion wird die dualistische Opposition zwischen Orient und Okzident in einer harmonischen Lösung neutralisiert, indem jeweils ein mit, orientalischen‘ und ein mit ‚abendländischen‘ Attributen ausgestatteter Protagonist ihre Identitäten miteinander vertauschen. Das älteste und zugleich wichtigste und detaillierte Beispiel für diesen Kunstgriff in Pamuks erzählerischem Werk liefert „Die Weiße Festung“. Denn hier nimmt der erwähnte Identitätstausch zwischen dem Italiener und dem Osmanen den Hauptplatz auf der zentralen Handlungsebene des Buchs ein. Daß der in osmanische Gefangenschaft geratene Italiener am Ende in Istanbul bleibt und die osmanische Kultur annimmt, sein osmanisches Ebenbild hingegen in den Kleidern des Europäers nach Italien aufbricht, gibt eine starke Chiffre für die Gleichwertigkeit orientalischer und europäischer Zivilisation sowie für deren prinzipielle Kommunikationsfähigkeit ab.

Eine Variante des Inversions-Modells findet sich in der Binnenerzählung „Helden der Eisenbahn“ (*Demiryolu Kahramanları*) im Roman „Das Neue Leben“.⁴⁸ In dieser kurzen Geschichte wird das „Eisenbauprojekt der Türkei“ (*Türkiye'nin demiryol davası*)⁴⁹ der 1930er Jahre mit der eisenbahnerischen Erschließung des nordamerikanischen Kontinents verglichen. Die orientalische Türkei wird mit den westlichen USA gleichgesetzt, wobei ähnlich wie in der Inversion in der „Weißen Festung“ beide Kulturen mit einem positiven Werturteil belegt werden. Denn bei den eingesetzten Eisenbahnprojekten ist von der „aufklärerischen Bemühung“ (*aydınlanmacı çabası*) der Eisenbahner die Rede, mit der diese für „die Entwicklung unseres Landes“ (*ülkemizin kalkınması*) arbeiteten.⁵⁰

Einen besonderen Typ der West–Ost-Inversion, der mit einem Zitat und einem in-

⁴⁷ Siehe Ecevit 1996 und Kılıç 1999 (zu den älteren Romanen Pamuks).

⁴⁸ Pamuk 1994: 115f.

⁴⁹ Pamuk 1994: 115.

⁵⁰ Zitate aus Pamuk 1994: 116.

geniösen Wortspiel kombiniert auftritt, stellt die Science-Fiction-Episode über die beiden Randfiguren Fazıl und Necip in „Schnee“ dar.⁵¹ Auch sie ist, wie die oben besprochene Eisenbahnergeschichte, eine Binnen-Narration. Zusammen ergeben die Namen der beiden Figuren den des türkischen Religionsphilosophen Necip Fazıl Kisakürek (1904 oder 1905–1983). Kisakürek bemühte sich in zahlreichen Werken um eine Synthese zwischen islamischer und westlicher Kultur, wobei er allerdings dem Islam eine überlegene Rolle zuschrieb.⁵² Schon durch Spielerei mit den Namen gibt Pamuk zu erkennen, daß das Thema der eingebetteten Geschichte das Verhältnis zwischen Orient und Okzident tangiert. Mit der Anspielung auf den heute weitgehend vergessenen Kisakürek dürfte Pamuk allerdings wohl kaum den Wunsch verfolgen, zu einer kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit dessen Theorien anzuregen. Denn im Unterschied zu den einseitig dem Islam den Vorzug gebenden Thesen Kisaküreks deutet der Inhalt der Binnenerzählung über Necip und Fazıl nicht auf einen Konflikt zwischen den einander gegenüberstehenden Polen hin. Vielmehr sind beide nicht nur gleichberechtigt, sondern legen auch eine bis zum äußersten Grad der Selbstaufopferung getriebene Liebe zueinander an den Tag. Diese wird beispielweise an den folgenden Worten Necips an sein Pendant deutlich:

„Nein! Niemals habe ich meinem eigenen Leben mehr Wert beigemessen als dem deinen!“⁵³

Indem Pamuk die Binnenerzählung über Fazıl und Necip mit Fernsehgeräten ausstattet und sie ins Jahr 3579 verlegt, gibt er ihr einen distinkt ‚westlichen‘ Anstrich, während die Erwähnung großer Denker des islamischen Mittelalters wie Ibn al-‘Arabī (1165–1240) und Al-Ğazālī (1059–1111) für die orientalische Komponente sorgen.⁵⁴ Als Fazit ist festzuhalten, daß die eingerahmte Erzählung über Necip und Fazıl den Eindruck eines komplexen Gemenges darbietet, in dem Orientalisches und Okzidentalisches nicht nur nicht mehr scharf voneinander unterscheidbar sind, sondern sich in einem eifrigen Wettstreit der Zuneigung gegenseitig ergänzen und bereichern. Die hier zutagetretende Form der Inversion geht somit in die zweite, nun zu behandelnde erzählerische Umgangsform mit der Ost-West-Thematik über, die Nuancierung.

Die Nuancierung von Orient und Okzident

Was hier als Technik der Nuancierung bezeichnet wird, charakterisiert sich dadurch, daß der begriffliche Ost-West-Dualismus durch Hinweis auf die in der Realität vorhandenen zahlreichen Übergangsstufen und Nuancen unterminiert wird. Das erzäh-

⁵¹ Pamuk 2002a: 107–109.

⁵² Zu Kisakürek und seiner Philosophie siehe Kurdakul 1992: 307–309.

⁵³ „*Hayır!*“ diye bağırdı Necip. „*Hiçbir zaman kendi hayatımı seninkinden fazla değer vermedim.*“ (Pamuk 2002a: 109, Übersetzung von M.H.).

⁵⁴ Pamuk 2002a: 108. Pamuk bezieht sich höchstwahrscheinlich auf den bekannten Philosophen und Mystiker Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ğazālī (1058–1111) und nicht auf dessen Bruder Ahmad (gest. 1126). Pamuks Zuweisung der *Futūhat Makkīya* an einen der beiden ist natürlich ein Irrtum, das Werk stammt bekanntermaßen von Ibn al-‘Arabī.

lerische Mittel der Nuancierung des Ost-West-Themas kommt besonders in den Romanen aus Pamuks postmoderner Phase zum Einsatz.⁵⁵ Nicht nur die oben besprochene Necip-Fazıl-Geschichte aus „Schnee“, sondern dieser ganze Roman kann als Beispiel für diese Vorgehensweise zitiert werden. Dies bestätigt Pamuks selbst. In einem Interview auf „Schnee“ angesprochen, sagte er dem *Monde des Livres* nämlich:

„Das Klischee will, daß die Türkei vom politischen Islam vergiftet sei. Aber in der Wirklichkeit gibt es *so viele Farben und Nuancen*, daß der reine und unverfälschte Fundamentalismus sich darin aufgelöst sieht... [...] All dies bildet eine politische Konfiguration von einer *extremen Komplexität*. Und natürlich, für den Romancier, eine ganze *Palette voller o wie kostbarer Farben...*“⁵⁶

Klar erkennbar ist die Nuancierung als Technik auch im „Neuen Leben“ (1994). In diesem Roman tritt ein gewisser Dr. Narin als Führer einer der beiden erwähnten Organisationen auf. Mit grotesken Manövern versucht er, eine Art Spießbürgер-Revolution gegen die Verwestlichung der Türkei anzuzetteln. Gegenspieler von Dr. Narin ist Onkel Rıfki, der im Gegensatz zu jenem sehr wohl in der Lage ist, auch gute Seiten in der westlichen Zivilisation zu erkennen. Dies zeigt sich vor allem darin, daß er ein enthusiastischer Bewunderer der Eisenbahn ist, für die er selber früher gearbeitet hat und die durch die Erzählung über die „Eisenbahnhelden“ mit einem positiven Bild von westlichem Fortschritt assoziiert ist.⁵⁷ Dr. Narin und Rıfki stehen für unterschiedliche Arten des Umgangs mit der fremden westlichen Zivilisation. Durch die Gegenüberstellung dieser beiden gegensätzlichen Charaktere erzeugt Pamuk eine gewisse Ausgewogenheit in der Bewertung des westlichen und östlichen Einflusses. Die Türkei des „Neuen Lebens“ ist die Heimat beider und somit ein Land, in dem die Grenzen beider Kultursphären sich überschneiden. Sie kann weder der einen noch der anderen als ganzes zugeordnet werden.

Daran ändert sich auch dadurch nichts, daß Dr. Narin und seine Anhänger eher negativ gezeichnet und ironisiert werden, während Onkel Rıfki stark idealisierte und beinahe mythische Züge erhält. Die Lächerlichkeit und Bizarerie Dr. Narins und seiner Anhänger – die unter anderem Gimmicks wie eine die islamischen Gebetszeiten ausrufende Kuckucksuhr und den ersten automatischen türkischen Schweinefleischdetektoren erzeugen⁵⁸ – kann nämlich nicht als grundlegend ablehnende Haltung Pamuks gegenüber der islamischen Kultur gewertet werden. Vielmehr sind diese ironischen Passagen des „Neuen Lebens“ eine Kritik an den türkischen Islamisten der 1990er Jahre, deren Erfolg bis zur Veröffentlichung des Romans unaufförmlich zunahm. Für eine solche Interpretation spricht, daß die Figur des Dr. Narin gewisse Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Urvater der türkischen Islamisten, Necmettin Erbaakan (geb. 1926), aufweist.

⁵⁵ Zur postmodernen Phase in Pamuks Schaffen siehe oben S. 109.

⁵⁶ *Le cliché veut que la Turquie soit empoisonnée par l'Islam politique. Mais il y a, en réalité, tant de couleurs et de nuances que le fondamentalisme pur et dur s'en est trouvé dilué... [...] Tout cela forme une configuration politique d'une extrême complexité. Et naturellement, pour le romancier, toute une palette de couleurs ô combien précieuses...* (Pamuk 2006b, Übersetzung aus dem Französischen und Hervorhebungen von M.H.)

⁵⁷ Siehe oben S. 111.

⁵⁸ Siehe Pamuk 1994: 87.

Daß Pamuk keinesfalls alle islamisch gesinnten Gruppierungen in Bausch und Bogen negativ bewertet, läßt sich überdies anhand eines weiteren Romans, „Schnee“, belegen. Hier räumt Pamuk den Argumenten sowohl radikalster als auch gemäßigter islamischer Gruppen viel Platz ein. Die Kritik hat ihm deswegen sogar vorgeworfen, sich durch allzu einfühlsame Darstellung proislamische Positionen zu eigen gemacht zu haben.⁵⁹

Die vergleichende Untersuchung des „Neuen Lebens“ und von „Schnee“ zeigt, daß die Auseinandersetzung Pamuks mit dem Aufeinandertreffen von westlichen und orientalischen Ansichten alles andere als klischeeorientiert abläuft. Stattdessen versucht der Autor, die in der Wirklichkeit auftretenden Grautöne erzählerisch zu berücksichtigen.

Am weitesten fortgeschritten ist die Nuancierungs-Technik im „Schwarzen Buch“ (*Kara Kitap*), auch wenn dieses bereits vier Jahre vor dem „Neuen Leben“, im Jahre 1990, erschien. Der Roman *Kara Kitap* enthält eine Vielzahl von offenen und verdeckten Anleihen aus der westlichen und der östlichen Kultur. Diese sind zwar als solche in den meisten Fällen über die Herkunft der Zitate der einen oder anderen Sphäre zuzuordnen. Dadurch daß Westliches und Östliches einander ablösen und durchdringen, entsteht aber nicht der Eindruck sich gegenüberstehender, blockartig abgeschlossener Kulturen. Vielmehr bildet das Istanbul des Romans eine einzige inhomogene Spielfläche ohne feste Grenzen, auf denen sich Gedanken, Literatur und kulturelle Eigenheiten von überallher vermengen.

Hüzün als Orient und Okzident überbrückende Kategorie

Einen Schlüssel zur Selbst-Positionierung Pamuks hinsichtlich der Orient-Okzident-Einteilung bildet der Begriff *hüzün* (in etwa mit „Taurigkeit“ oder „Melancholie“ zu übersetzen). Er spielt im Schaffen Pamuks von Anfang bis Ende eine wichtige Rolle. Bereits in der Eingangsszene des Erstlingsromans „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ wird das Wort eingesetzt, um die Gefühle des Titelhelden wiederzugeben:

„Er betrachtete sich selbst in dem kleinen Tischspiegel und kam zu dem Ergebnis, daß er so war, wie er sein wollte, aber dennoch erwachte in ihm eine Art Traurigkeit (*hüzün*). [...] Mit dieser kleinen und harmlosen Traurigkeit (*hüzün*) schlug er die Vorhänge zurück.“⁶⁰

In seinem bisher letztem Buch „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ aus dem Jahr 2003 widmet Pamuk dem Thema *hüzün* schließlich unter anderem zwei ganze Kapitel. Das zehnte, auf türkisch *Hüzün – Melankoli – Tristesse* betitelt,⁶¹ bietet schon in seiner Überschrift zwei Übersetzungsvorschläge für den türkischen Begriff, während Kapitel 11 „Vier melancholische, einsame Schriftsteller“⁶² vorstellt: Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884–1958), Reşat Ekrem Koçu (1905–1975), Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar (1887–1963) und Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901–1962). Die prominente

⁵⁹ Siehe Pamuk 2006b.

⁶⁰ Küçük masa aynasında kendisini seyretti ve istediği gibi olduğuna karar verdi, ama gene de içinde bir hüzün uyandı. [...] Bu küçük ve zararsız hüzünle perdeleri açtı. (Pamuk 2002b: 12).

⁶¹ Pamuk 2005c: 92–107.

⁶² Türk. *Dört Hüzünlü Yalnız Yazar* (Pamuk 2005c: 108–114).

Behandlung des Terminus *hüzün* in „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ kann als Beleg für die große Bedeutung angesehen werden, die Pamuk selbst ihm beimißt.

Für die Frage nach Pamuks Positionierung zwischen Ost und West ist weniger die genaue Definition seines Verständnisses von *hüzün* entscheidend, das nach Sigrid Löffler in dem Buch von 2003 als „eine historische Schwermut, gespeist aus dem Heimweh nach verlorenen Traditionen und der Trauer um eine zerstörte Vergangenheit, zugleich aber verbunden mit einem schmerzlichen Genuss an der Poesie des Untergangs“ entgegentritt.⁶³ Interessanter sind die Quellen, die Pamuk für seine eigene Umschreibung dieser spezifischen Istanbuler Melancholie heranzieht. Neben orientalischen Referenzen wie dem Koran, Texten von Al-Kindī (ca. 800–873) und Avicenna (980–1037) zitiert Pamuk im genannten Kapitel *Hüzün – Melankoli – Tristesse* unter anderem Aristoteles, Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier (1811–1872) und Claude Lévi-Strauss' (geb. 1908) „Tristes Tropiques“ aus dem Jahre 1955.⁶⁴ Die jeweiligen orientalischen und westlichen Autoritäten werden dabei nicht in getrennten Abschnitten oder in separaten Themenblöcken behandelt. Vielmehr sind für Pamuk die Terminologien des einen Kulturbereichs ohne weitere Umstände in die des anderen überführbar. Am Beispiel des aus dem Arabischen stammenden Leitbegriffs *hüzün* und seines aus dem Griechischen abgeleiteten Pendants „Melancholie“ liest sich dies folgendermaßen:

„Daß als grundlegende Quelle von *hüzün* die Melancholie angesehen wird, bezeugt, zusammen mit der aus den Zeiten des Aristoteles stammenden Wurzel des Wortes *Melancholie* (*melaina chole* „schwarze Galle“) nicht nur diese allseits bekannte Ausprägung des Gefühls [sc. die melancholische Stimmung – M.H.], sondern auch, daß die Wörter „*hüzün*“ und „Melancholie“ einstmals (genau wie heutzutage das Wort „Depression“) auf einen dunklen Schmerz hindeuteten, dessen Spielarten sich über ein sehr breites Spektrum verteilten.“⁶⁵

Das Entscheidende an diesem Zitat ist, daß bei der Erörterung von „Melancholie“ und *hüzün* keine Aufteilung in eine östliche und westliche Begriffsgeschichte eine Rolle spielt. Vielmehr figurieren sowohl der arabische als auch der griechische Ursprung, zusammen mit der echt-türkischen Entsprechung von „Melancholie“ (*kara sevda*)⁶⁶ als Teile einer einzigen, gemeinsamen Kulturgeschichte, indem im Schlußteil der Periode (ab „daß...“) *hüzün* und die auf Aristoteles zurückgehende Melancholie ineingesetzt werden. Pamuks Perspektive artikuliert de facto ein Gegenmodell zu kulturgeschichtlichen Ansätzen, die von einer weit zurückreichenden historischen Bifurkation in ‚Westliches‘ und – von Fall zu Fall auf verschiedene Weise

⁶³ So die Rezension von „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“, Löffler 2007. Eine weitere Rezension des Romans ist Bartels 2006.

⁶⁴ Pamuk 2005c: 92f., 95, 101.

⁶⁵ *Hüzün temel bir kaynağı olarak kara sevdanın sayılması ve melankoli kelimesinin Aristo zamanından kalma kökeni (melania [sic – M.H.] kole – kara safra) yalnız duygunun bu çok bilinen rengini değil, hüzün ve melankoli kelimelerinin de bir zamanlar (tipki bugünkü depresyon kelimesi gibi) çok geniş bir yelpazeye yayılan kara bir acıya işaret ettiğini gösteriyor.* (Pamuk 2005c: 93, Übersetzung von M.H.).

⁶⁶ *Sevda* geht bekanntermaßen auf das arabische *sauda'* „Schwarze“ zurück, wird jedoch weder hier von Pamuk noch allgemein im türkischen Sprachgebrauch als nichttürkisches Wort empfunden, wozu die volksetymologische Ableitung von *sev-* „lieben“ ihren Teil beitrug (siehe Lewis 1986: 222, Fußnote 1).

interpretiertes „Östliches“ – ausgehen. Eine solche Herangehensweise wird beispielsweise in dem Kapitel „Die Narbe des Odysseus“ von Erich Auerbachs „Mimesis“ praktiziert. Es beschreibt bekanntermaßen eine Opposition von altgriechisch-homerischem und biblisch-jüdischem Erzählen.⁶⁷ Einen dem auerbachschen vergleichbaren Ansatz bietet Leo Strauss in seinem Essay „Jerusalem and Athens: Some Preliminary Reflections“, dessen Titel die beiden symbolischen Extremwerte der kulturellen Opposition benennt.⁶⁸ In einem zentralen Bereich nähert sich Strauss jedoch der Methodik Pamuks an. Denn analog zu Pamuks transkultureller wortgeschichtlicher Verbindung von Melancholie und *hüzün* ungeachtet der linguistischen und begriffsgeschichtlichen Andersartigkeiten konstatiert auch Strauss bei einem für seine Thesen wichtigen Terminus einen direkten wort- bzw. begriffsgeschichtlichen Konnex zwischen den beiden Polen ‚Athen‘ und ‚Jerusalem‘. Diesen Konnex realisiert Strauss sprachlich, indem er das englische Wort „wisdom“ sowohl auf die jüdische als auch auf die griechische Denktradition überträgt. Die philologischen und begriffsgeschichtlichen Differenzen zwischen den jeweiligen originalsprachlichen Terminen (griech. *sophía*, hebr. *khokhma*) werden dabei für die Argumentation hintangestellt.⁶⁹

Pamuks Sinnieren über *hüzün* und Melancholie schließt sich unverkennbar an einen seit Edward Saids „Orientalism“⁷⁰ in immer neuen Varianten geführten wissenschaftlichen und polemischen Diskurs über die Opposition einer westlichen und einer islamisch-orientalischen Kultur an. Auch erwähnt Pamuk in „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ Said an einer Stelle explizit.⁷¹ Trotz der ausführlichen philologischen, begriffsgeschichtlichen, philosophischen und theologischen Argumente, die Pamuk in seinen Essay über *hüzün* in Kapitel 10 von „Istanbul...“ einfließen lässt, geht es ihm jedoch weder um eine wissenschaftliche Argumentation noch um Polemik. Er benutzt die wissenschaftlichen Informationen und Hintergründe vielmehr als Accessoires für seine impressionistische Gesamtschau auf das von *hüzün* geprägte Istanbul. Der eigentliche Kern von Pamuks Annäherung an das zugleich westliche und östliche Istanbul ist der intuitive, gefühlsbetonte Blick:

„Mein Ausgangspunkt war das Gefühl, welches ein Kind empfand, wenn es auf beschlagene Fenster schaut.“⁷²

Der „Blick“ (*bakış*) und nicht die kritische Reflexion oder Rationalität determiniert folglich Pamuks Positionierung in der Ost-West-Dichotomie. Man kann ergänzen, daß dies nicht nur für „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ gilt, sondern auch für weite Teile von Pamuks übrigem Werk. In der oben zitierten Eingangspassage aus „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ etwa *blickt* Cevdet aus dem Zimmer seines Fensters auf

⁶⁷ Auerbach 2001: 5–27.

⁶⁸ Strauss 1997: 377–404.

⁶⁹ Siehe Strauss 1997: 379: „Or is there a notion, a word, that points to the highest that the Bible on the one hand and the greatest works of the Greeks claim to convey? There is such a word: wisdom.“

⁷⁰ Said 1979.

⁷¹ Nach Löffler 2007.

⁷² Çıkış noktam, bugulu pencere'lere bakarken bir çocuğun hissettiği duygusu idi. (Pamuk 2005c: 93, Übersetzung von M.H.).

eine Moschee, während er die zitierten Worte spricht. Weiterhin hat Pamuk den Blick und das Blicken (*bakmak*), vorwiegend auf Istanbuler Szenerien, in mehreren weiteren literarischen und publizistischen Veröffentlichungen zum Titelbegriff oder Leitmotiv gemacht.⁷³

Pamuks Zwischen- und Sonderstellung in aktuellen Debatten

Verdeckte Anspielungen auf politisch oder sonstwie aktuelle Entwicklungen durchziehen zwar das ganze Schaffen Pamuks. Im folgenden soll es jedoch nur um diejenigen Beiträge gehen, in denen der politische Bezug *offen* hergestellt wird, da nur diese als direkte Wortmeldungen in solchen tagesaktuellen Diskussionen gewertet werden können. Im wesentlichen handelt es sich um journalistische oder essayistische Publikationen, die zum Teil in diversen türkischen Zeitschriften erschienen. Manches davon wurde in dem Sammelband „Die anderen Farben“⁷⁴ vereint.

Orhan Pamuks Partizipation an öffentlichen Debatten in der Türkei lässt sich historisch in Form eines graduellen Übergangs von einer Latenz- in eine Manifestations-Phase beschreiben, der vom Anfang der 1980er Jahre bis zur Gegenwart stattgefunden hat. Trotz seines schrittweisen Charakters sind die Extremwerte dieses Ablaufs klar benennbar. In der zeitlich am Anfang liegenden *Latenzphase* enthielt sich Pamuk sowohl in seinem schriftstellerischen Werk als auch in seinen öffentlichen Äußerungen weitgehend der Stellungnahme zu aktuellen politischen Themen. Dies hat seine Erklärung im bereits erwähnten repressiven Klima der unmittelbaren Nach-Putsch-Ära.⁷⁵

In der *Übergangsphase*, ungefähr seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre, als sich Pamuks Erfolg als Schriftsteller national wie international immer weiter festigte, begann er dann aber zu in der Türkei vieldiskutierten Fragen publizistische Beiträge zu schreiben. Sowohl durch die Wahl der Themen als auch durch seine Aussagen blieb Pamuk hierbei jedoch zunächst im Rahmen dessen, was in der Türkei an öffentlicher Kritik akzeptabel ist, ohne in den Verdacht der Dissidenz zu geraten oder gar an die Ränder der Illegalität vorzustoßen. Ein charakteristisches Beispiel sind Pamuks Texte über das große Istanbuler Erdbeben vom 17. August 1999.⁷⁶ Ein anderes Thema, mit dem sich Pamuk kritisch, aber für türkische Verhältnisse gleichfalls nicht provokativ auseinandersetzte, ist die Belastung des Bosporus durch den Tankerverkehr.⁷⁷ Der engagierte Ton dieser Beiträge unterscheidet sich deutlich von den eher quietistischen, auf schriftstellerische Themen konzentrierten Betrachtungen, die in der Anfangszeit bis etwa Mitte der 1990er domi-

⁷³ Siehe etwa die Erzählung *Pencereden Bakmak* („Aus dem Fenster schauen“) in Pamuk 1999: 21–41 sowie die Istanbul-Impressionen *Pera'dan Bakış* („Blick von Pera“), *Güney'den Bakış* („Blick vom Süden“) und *Işıklı Pencereler* („Erleuchtete Fenster“) in Pamuk 1999: 289f. und 297. Vgl. auch die zugehörigen deutschen Übersetzungen in Pamuk 2006d.

⁷⁴ Pamuk 1999.

⁷⁵ Siehe oben S. 104, sowie Pamuk 2006c.

⁷⁶ Siehe etwa den Erlebnisbericht *Zelzele* („Das Erdbeben“) in Pamuk 1999: 387–397.

⁷⁷ Siehe den Aufsatz *Boğaz'dan geçen tankerler, yangınlar ve diğer felaketler* („Tanker, die durch den Bosporus fahren, Brände und andere Katastrophen“) in Pamuk 1999: 369–381.

nierten. Essays wie *Zelzele* bereiteten stilistisch die Schriften der letzten, politisch am stärksten interessierten Phase in Pamuks Publikationskarriere vor, enthielten jedoch immer noch nichts, was in der Türkei einen öffentlichen Aufschrei hätte herbeiführen können.

Im Laufe der 1990er Jahre und später wandte sich Pamuk dann immer brisanteren Themen zu, jedoch auch hier zunächst ohne daß er skandalträchtige Meinungen vertrat. So nahm er im Jahre 2003 zur Frage der Stationierung amerikanischer Soldaten auf türkischem Gebiet im Zuge des Irak-Kriegs Stellung.⁷⁸ Obwohl dies wie alle mit dem Militär zusammenhängenden Themen für die Türkei eine ausgesprochen brisante Frage ist, erregten die betreffenden Äußerungen Pamuks weder national noch international nennenswertes Aufsehen. Dies dürfte nicht zuletzt daran gelegen haben, daß er hier eine im Sinne der nationalistischen Einstellung des türkischen Militärs eher affirmative Position vertrat.⁷⁹ Thematisch befand sich Pamuk mit seiner Positionierung zur Stationierung der US-Soldaten indes bereits nahe an den beiden Tabuthemen Armeniergenozid und Kurdenfrage, die ebenfalls stark mit der Rolle des türkischen Militärs in der Politik zusammenhängen.

Das Attackieren der letztgenannten beiden Fragen im Februar 2005 markierte schließlich eine neue und die bisher letzte Phase in Pamuks publizistischer Karriere. Sie hebt sich durch einen massiven Aufschrei in der Türkei und weitreichende internationale Beachtung von allen vorherigen Phasen deutlich ab. Dieser letzte, als eigentliche *Manifestationsphase* zu bezeichnende Abschnitt, verwicklichte somit einen qualitativen Sprung gegenüber sämtlichen von Pamuks vorausgehenden Veröffentlichungen. Die bloße Tatsache von Pamuks Anklage aufgrund sogenannter „Gedanken-Verbrechen“ (*düşünce suçu*) im Gefolge seiner Äußerung über Armenier und Kurden ist dabei alleine für sich noch nichts Außergewöhnliches. Die Türkei besitzt eine lange Tradition der Zensur, die sich an die Unterdrückung der Meinungsfreiheit im Osmanischen Reich anschließt. Berühmte Schriftsteller wie Nazım Hikmet (1902–1963) und Yaşar Kemal (geb. 1923) waren von ihr betroffen. Eine recente Statistik hat für die Zeit nach der Jahrtausendwende mehr als 60 Anklagen aufgrund des bewußten Paragraphen 301 des Türkischen Strafgesetzbuches innerhalb eines einzigen Jahres gezählt.⁸⁰ Was die Besonderheit von Pamuks Stellung in der langen Liste türkische Zensur-Opfer ausmacht, ist indes die Parallelität seiner nationalen und internationalen Präsenz, was seine schriftstellerische und publizistische Rezeption betrifft.

Diese Besonderheit läßt sich abschließend durch einen kurzen Vergleich mit einigen anderen türkischen Schriftstellerinnen illustrieren, die aus ähnlichen Gründen wie Pamuk mit der türkischen Justiz in Konflikt geraten sind: İpek Çalışlar,⁸¹ Elif Shafak (geb. 1971) und Perihan Mağden (geb. 1960). Çalışlar wurde aufgrund ihres

⁷⁸ Siehe Pamuk 2003c. Bereits zum ersten Irak-Krieg und der sich daraus ergebenden politischen Situation in Nahost hatte Pamuk sich geäußert, siehe den Essay *Saddam’dan Kaçan Iraklı Kürtler* („Die irakischen Kurden auf der Flucht vor Saddam“) in Pamuk 1999: 382–387.

⁷⁹ Siehe Pamuk 2003c.

⁸⁰ Adil 2007.

⁸¹ Das Geburtsdatum Çalışlars ist unbekannt. Sie ist die Frau des bekannten türkischen Publizisten Oral Çalışlar (geb. 1946).

Buches *Latife Hanım*⁸² angeklagt und später freigesprochen.⁸³ Das auf der intensiven Auswertung historischer Quellen beruhende Buch setzt sich in einer Mischung aus Historiographie und Fiktion mit der Ehe der Titelheldin und des türkischen Staatsgründers Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) auseinander. Nach Auffassung der türkischen Staatsanwaltschaft soll es dessen Andenken beschädigt haben, was in der Türkei eine Straftat darstellt. Elif Shafak wiederum wurde von der türkischen Justiz ähnlich wie Pamuk vorgeworfen, den Armenier-Genozid in strafrechtlich relevanter Weise thematisiert zu haben, und zwar in ihrem Roman *Baba ve Piç*⁸⁴ („Vater und Bastard“).⁸⁵ Mağden schließlich wurde angeklagt, weil sie sich in einem Zeitungskommentar eines türkischen Wehrdienstverweigerers angenommen hatte.⁸⁶

Unter allen vier Autor(innen) – Çalışlar, Mağden, Pamuk und Shafak – ist Pamuk der einzige, der die folgenden drei Bedingungen zugleich erfüllt:

überwiegend in der Türkei zu leben und zu arbeiten;⁸⁷

aufgrund von sogenannten ‚Meinungsdelikten‘⁸⁸ dort angeklagt worden zu sein;

sowohl national als auch international (gleich auf welchem Gebiet: als Schriftsteller, Publizist oder wegen der Politik) berühmt zu sein.

Elif Shafak erfüllt zwar eindeutig das zweite Kriterium, und man könnte durchaus argumentieren, daß sie als Schriftstellerin eine ähnliche, wenngleich bei weitem nicht dieselbe, Bekanntheit hat wie Pamuk. Immerhin war ihr Roman *Baba ve Piç* nach einer von der türkischen Tageszeitung *Radikal* erstellten Bestsellerliste das in der Türkei meistverkaufte Buch des Jahres 2006.⁸⁹ Doch die in Straßburg geborene Shafak – deren Name eine amerikanisierte Schreibweise hat – verbrachte einen großen Teil ihres Lebens außerhalb der Türkei und lebt derzeit in den USA. Und was noch wichtiger ist: *Baba ve Piç* ist nur die türkische Übersetzung des ursprünglich auf englisch unter dem Titel „The Bastard of Istanbul“ verfaßten Romans.⁹⁰ Zumindest was „The Bastard of Istanbul“ und Shafaks derzeitigen Lebensort betrifft, kann sie daher im Unterschied zu Pamuk auch als türkische Exilschriftstellerin klassifiziert werden. Hinsichtlich der Sprache von „The Bastard of Istanbul“ darf man sie überdies strenggenommen gar nicht zur türkischen Literatur rechnen; faktisch kann dies aber durch das frühere Erscheinungsdatum der türkischen Übersetzung des Romans legitimiert werden. Was Pamuk schließlich von Çalışlar und Mağden unterscheidet, die beide in der Türkei leben, ist deren fast vollständige Nichtpräsenz in publizistischen Diskussionen außerhalb der türkischen Grenzen. Kein Buch einer dieser beiden Autorinnen ist in eine Fremdsprache übersetzt worden.

⁸² Çalışlar 2006.

⁸³ Siehe die Meldung Anonym 2007b.

⁸⁴ Şafak 2006 (türkische Übersetzung).

⁸⁵ Vgl. die Pressemeldung Anonym 2007c.

⁸⁶ Schmidt 2007.

⁸⁷ Das Manuskript wurde vor der Aussiedlung Pamuks nach New York abgeslossen.

⁸⁸ Vgl. Vogel 2005.

⁸⁹ Anonym 2007a.

⁹⁰ Shafak 2007.

All dies zeigt, warum Pamuk spätestens seit dem *Tages-Anzeiger*-Interview wie kein anderer als Kommunikator zwischen der Türkei und dem Rest der Welt auftritt. Diese kommunikativ vermittelnde Sonderstellung realisiert sich in mehr als einer Hinsicht bzw. Richtung. In der Türkei erlaubt Pamuks Ruhm ihm, „das zu erwähnen“, was „fast niemand (sich) traut“⁹¹ – seine prompte öffentliche Stellungnahme am 21. Januar 2007 vor den Mikrophonen der Weltpresse nur zwei Tage nach der Ermordung von Hrant Dink bestätigte diese Rolle aufs neue. Im Ausland ermöglicht ihm dieser Sonderstatus wie kaum einem anderen Türk, Gehör zu finden. Die meisten türkischen Intellektuellen kommen nicht in den Genuss auch nur eines dieser Privilegien. Daß Pamuk *beide* in seiner Person sich vereint, verschafft ihm ein weltweites publizistisches Alleinstehungsmerkmal.

Zusammenfassend gilt es über Pamuks Stellungnahmen zu aktuellen Fragen in der Türkei zwei Tatsachen festzuhalten. Zum einen entwickelt sich deren Umfang, Intensität und Schärfe in proportionaler Abhängigkeit von seinem schriftstellerischen Erfolg, was faktisch gleichbedeutend mit zeitlicher Sukzession ist. Auf der anderen Seite zeigt sich auch hier, daß Orhan Pamuk ohne weiteres in der Lage ist, zwischen den Kultur-Welten – hier konkret der Öffentlichkeit in und außerhalb der Türkei – hin und her zu wandern und sie so zu verbinden. Diese Verbindung scheint die zentrale Aspekt in Pamuks publizistischer Tätigkeit zu sein. Trotz seiner tiefen Verwurzelung in der orientalischen Kultur, für die im übrigen seine Romane das beste Zeugnis liefern, porträtiert er diese nicht in einem dualistischen Gegensatz zur westlichen Zivilisation. Er ist vielmehr die lebende Gegenposition zum vielbeschworenen *Clash of Civilizations*.⁹²

Schlußbetrachtungen: Pamuk als Schriftsteller der bewußten Ambivalenz

Es wurde gezeigt, daß Orhan Pamuks gesamtes Schaffen von Referenzen auf die dualistische Gegenüberstellung von Orient und Okzident durchzogen ist. Neben Bezugnahmen auf die durch Edward Said in Gang gesetzte „Orientalism“⁹³-Debatte finden sich in Pamuks literarischem und publizistischen Œuvre zahlreiche wörtliche und inhaltliche Anspielungen auf diese Thematik. Am deutlichsten zeigt sich dies darin, daß sie in zahlreichen seiner Bücher eine für die Handlung zentrale Rolle spielt.

Die sich aus dieser Integration der Orient-Okzident-Thematik in das Schaffen des Romanciers ergebende Frage nach seiner inhaltlichen Stellungnahme dazu läßt sich mit den Begriffen ‚gewollte Ambivalenz‘ und ‚bewußt gewählte Mittelposition‘ beschreiben. „Ambivalenz“ ist hierbei ohne jeden pejorativen Beisinn im ursprüng-

⁹¹ Siehe oben zu Fußnote 3.

⁹² Zu den Debatten um das Für und Wider um die Thesen Huntingtons (siehe Huntington 1998) vgl. Metzinger 2000, Mokre 2000, Schwan 2001 und Czollek/ Perko 2003.

⁹³ Es ist sinnvoll, den englischen Begriff beizubehalten, da er die von Said intendierte doppelte Referenz auf die Orientwissenschaft und die nach Saids Analyse vorurteilsbeladene Perzeption der orientalischen Kultur in imperialistisch und kolonialistisch geprägten Sichtweisen auf sich vereint. Im Deutschen existieren hierfür zwei gesonderte Begriffe, Orientalismus und Orientalistik. Ich danke Dr. Andreas Pflitsch vom Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft Berlin für diesen wertvollen Hinweis.

lichen emphatischen Sinne eines ‚auf beiden Seiten‘ (*ambi-*) ‚Wert‘ (*valere*) zu erkennen zu verstehen: Ohne die historischen, geographischen, literarischen, religiösen und sonstigen Trennungen und Andersartigkeiten von Orient und Okzident zu negieren oder ignorieren, schreibt ihnen Pamuk prinzipiell einen gleichrangigen Wert zu.

Diese Position der Gleichrangigkeit verwicklicht Pamuk in seinen Romanen konkret durch die spezifischen Techniken der Inversion und Nuancierung. In dem autobiographischen Langessay „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ tritt als weitere Technik die der Verwischung durch den emotionalen, stark individualistischen Blick in den Vordergrund, als dessen hervorstechendes Charakteristikum Pamuk selbst *hüzün* herausarbeitet.

Pamuks so verstandene positive Ambivalenz ist ein Korrelat seiner persönlichen Biographie, einschließlich der Familiengeschichte der Pamuks und der topographischen Situierung der Pamuk-Domizile in Istanbul. Diese biographischen Kontexte sind ihrerseits nicht zu trennen von der gleichfalls von Übergang und Wandel geprägten Geschichte Istanbuls in den ersten Jahrzehnten der Türkischen Republik und somit vom weiteren Kontext des Untergangs des Osmanischen Reiches und der Geburt des türkischen Nationalstaats.

Der nach beiden Seiten offene, kreative Umgang Pamuks mit der ererbten Ost-West-Dualität erlaubt es ihm wie kaum einem anderen in öffentlichen Debatten über türkische Themen sowohl im In- als auch im Ausland wahrgenommen zu werden. Im Unterschied zu Edward Said betont er nicht die Fehl wahrnehmungen und Vorurteile, sondern tritt als Brückenbauer auf. Die Singularität der Referenz auf Said in „Istanbul. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt“ spricht weniger für Pamuks fehlender Rezeption von und Auseinandersetzung mit den „Orientalism“-Debatten, sondern vielmehr für deren Marginalität in seinem Schaffen.

II. Zwischen Engagement und Elfenbeinturm: zum (Selbst-)Bild des türkischen Intellektuellen von Ziya Gökalp bis Orhan Pamuk*

Einführung

Aus der Selbstbeschreibung der von August bis September 2006 veranstalteten „Berliner Sommer-Uni“ geht hervor, daß die dort angestrebte „Annäherung“ an den Orient einen Spagat darstellt. Einerseits wird die „Tagesaktualität“ des Themas fest-

* Der Artikel basiert auf dem stark erweiterten Manuscriptes eines Vortrags, der unter dem Titel „Grundfragen der türkischen Literatur“ am 1. September 2006 auf der „Berliner Sommer-Uni 06, „Der Orient – Annäherungen an Mythos und Moderne“ in Berlin gehalten wurde. Auszüge des urprünglichen Vortragsmanuskripts sind in Heß 2007 erschienen.

Türkische Wörter werden in der heutigen Standardorthographie wiedergegeben. Das Osmanische wird nach dem System von Kreutel 1965: XIV–XX umgeschrieben.

Für das Arabische wird die Umschrift von Wehr 1985 verwendet.

Auch ohne die explizite Benennung als „türkeitürkisch“ bezieht sich das Adjektiv „türkisch“ und die dazugehörigen Ableitungen im folgenden Beitrag stets auf die Türkei. Eine terminologische Unterscheidung von anderen Türkvlkern ist nicht erforderlich, da diese hier keine Rolle spielt.

gestellt, zugleich aber das Bemühen artikuliert, durch einen fundierten Ansatz über eine bloß ephemere Herangehensweise hinauszugehen.⁹⁴ Die weiteren Ausführungen in der schriftlichen Selbstdarstellung zu der Veranstaltungs-Reihe sowie die Themen der Vorträge, Präsentationen und Rundgänge machen deutlich, daß beides, Tagesgeschehen und eine breitere Perspektivierung, im Konzept der Veranstalter Hand in Hand gehen. Beide Aspekte gehen also faktisch ineinander über.

Wie auch immer man zur Gewichtung des Tagesaktuellen gegenüber grundlegender Erforschung stehen mag, es kann nicht geleugnet werden, daß zeitgeschichtliche Ereignisse seit geraumer Zeit – oder etwa schon seit immer? – unser Interesse am Orient leiten. „Orient“ wird dabei im übrigen in den meisten Fällen stillschweigend als Synonym für den islamischen Orient gebraucht; diese Konvention soll auch für das Folgende gelten.⁹⁵

Immer wieder sind es aktuelle Ereignisse, die neue Wellen von Diskursen und Analysen über den Orient auslösen. Die Serie der internationalen Terroranschläge, deren trauriger Höhepunkt die Attentate vom 11. September waren, die Kopftuchdebatte, der Karikaturenaufruhr, die Frage nach der Vereinbarkeit von Islam, Menschenrechten und Demokratie sind einige Beispiele für Geschehnisse in der Gegenwart, die unsere Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam endgültig der Sphäre akademischer Beschaulichkeit enthoben haben.

Die Kette der zu ihrer Zeit aktuellen – aus unserer heutigen Sicht historischen – Begegnungen zwischen Orient und seinem logischen Pendant, dem Okzident, läßt sich hierbei fast bis an die Ursprünge der islamischen Zivilisation, ins 7. Jahrhundert nach Christus zurückverfolgen. Damals eroberten die muslimischen Heere die bis dahin christlichen Gebiete des Orients – schon ein Jahr nach dem Tode des Propheten Muhammad (632) fielen sie beispielsweise in Syrien ein. Die Invasion Spaniens im Jahre 711, die Zeit der Kreuzzüge vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert, der Fall Konstantinopels am 29. Mai 1453, die knappe Rettung Wiens vor den türkischen Angreifern 1683, all dies sind historische Stationen, die uns in Erinnerung rufen, daß das Verhältnis zwischen dem islamischen Orient und dem Abendland zu allen Zeiten vom tagespolitischen Geschehen entscheidend bestimmt wurde.

Doch dieses kurze Schlaglicht auf einige historische Daten macht ebenfalls deutlich, daß ‚Aktualität‘ im Sinne einer rigiden Beschränkung der Perspektive auf das jeweilige *hic et nunc* – heute im Zeitalter der Globalisierung wäre es vielleicht eher ein *ubique et nunc* – zwangsläufig zu Mißverständnissen führen muß. Um uns wirklich etwas sagen zu können, bedürfen solche Daten jeweils der historischen und damit auch kulturgeschichtlichen Kontextualisierung. Dies gilt, ganz allgemein gesprochen, auch für unsere sonstigen intensiveren Begegnungen mit dem Orient, nicht nur in Konflikten, sondern auch mit unseren muslimischen Mitbewohnern auf der Straße oder bei der Lektüre orientalischer Literatur. Der Orient als Kulturphänomen (und nicht nur als geographische Referenz) ist per se eine historische Größe, ein über Jahrhunderte hinweg akkumuliertes Phänomen. Und er ist dies kein

⁹⁴ Berliner Akademie für weiterbildende Studien 2006: 3.

⁹⁵ Sie liegt auch der erwähnten Veranstaltungsreihe zugrunde (siehe Berliner Akademie für weiterbildende Studien 2006).

bißchen weniger dann, wenn er uns im Zusammenhang tagesaktuellen Geschehens begegnet.

Aus diesen Gründen ist der eingangs zitierte Zwist zwischen „grundlegenden Fragen“ und „Tagesaktualität“⁹⁶ nicht etwa Ausdruck fehlender Bereitschaft zur Festlegung – an Klarheit und Strukturiertheit lassen die Autoren nichts zu wünschen übrig. Vielmehr tritt darin eine dem Thema ‚Orient‘ selbst inhärente Dialektik zutage, in der beide Aspekte untrennbar miteinander verschränkt sind.

Thema des folgenden Beitrags ist ein Teilgebiet der orientalischen Kultur: die moderne türkische Literatur. Es geht darin nicht um die Darstellung eines literarischen Kanons oder die Abarbeitung eines als repräsentativ geltenden Schriftstellerkatalogs, was in dem vorliegenden Rahmen höchstens in fragmentarischer Form möglich wäre und zudem nicht unbedingt einen hohen Erkenntniswert garantierte. Vielmehr wird eine Annäherung an das weite Feld der türkischen Literatur mit Hilfe von zwei theoretischen Fragestellungen versucht, die ihrerseits miteinander verknüpft sind. Dies ist zum einen das Problem des Status des türkischen Schriftstellers, der als ein Sonderfall des Intellektuellen beschrieben werden kann. Zum anderen ist es die Frage, wie das Verhältnis zwischen ‚Orient‘ und ‚Okzident‘ in der türkischen Literatur selbst dargestellt wird. Auf welche Weise diese beiden Fragestellungen miteinander verbunden sind, wird im Verlauf der Darlegung noch genauer dargelegt werden. Die Relevanz beider Gesichtspunkte für den europäischen Leser türkischer Literatur ergibt sich zum einen aus der Orient-Okzident-Thematik, die vielleicht *das* Thema ist, welches uns Europäer am meisten angeht. Auf der anderen Seite können uns Reflexionen über die Stellung des Schriftstellers in der Türkei helfen, unsere eigene Lektüre kritisch zu hinterfragen.

Ausgangspunkt der Betrachtungen sind die türkischen Äquivalente des Begriffs „Intellektueller“. Die verschiedenen Lexeme und vielfältigen Semantisierungen im Türkischen führen uns direkt vor Augen, wie nicht nur unsere Wahrnehmung des Orients, konkret der Türkei, sondern auch deren Selbstwahrnehmung von Ambiguitäten und Dilemmata durchzogen ist. Dieses Schwanken betrifft die aktuelle weltpolitische und -wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, aber auch die kulturelle Orientierung und Selbstpositionierung. Insbesondere geht es dabei um den Umgang mit dem eigenen, türkischen Kulturerbe.

Nach dieser anfänglichen Betrachtung der verschiedenen Bedeutungsebenen des türkischen Intellektuellenbegriffs werden in schrittweiser Abstraktion davon einige Entwicklungsstadien der türkischen Literatur des letzten Jahrhunderts abgegangen, die zugleich auch Etappen der Auseinandersetzung zwischen orientalischer Tradition und westlichen Einflüssen waren. Endpunkt dieses Parcours ist die Gegenwart. Als Dreh- und Angelpunkt der Darlegungen wird die Figur des derzeit berühmtesten türkischen Schriftstellers, Orhan Pamuk, gewählt. Wie kein anderer steht er sowohl in seinem eigenen Land als auch international im Zentrum der Debatten um das Verhältnis der Türkei zum Westen, und zwar sowohl als Subjekt wie auch Objekt.

⁹⁶ Siehe erneut Berliner Akademie für weiterbildende Studien 2006: 3.

Kaum eine Diskussion über den Orient kommt gegenwärtig ohne einen Bezug auf die beiden dominierenden *master discourses* aus, die daher auch hier kurz erwähnt seien, bevor zum eigentlichen Betrachtungsgegenstand übergegangen wird. Dies ist zum einen eine sich auf Samuel Huntington berufende, stark dualistische Perspektive des „Clash of civilizations“. Hierbei werden die auf der Welt existierenden Kulturökumenen als einander grundsätzlich feindlich gegenüberstehend interpretiert.⁹⁷ Dieser Vision steht eine dezidiert irenische Herangehensweise des „Dialogs“ gegenüber. Während sich die Anhänger der *Clash of civilizations*-Theorie mitunter vorwerfen lassen müssen, die Antagonie zwischen den Kulturen, und insbesondere zwischen dem Westen und dem Orient, zu dämonisieren und so das latente Konfliktpotential erst richtig zum Ausbruch zu bringen, haftet vielen unter dem Titel „Dialog“ laufenden Annäherungen ein Hauch von naiver, die Realitäten ausblendender Friedensschwärmerei an.⁹⁸

In diesem allgemeinen diskursiven Kontext eröffnet der nachfolgende Beitrag nun eine weitere, kaum beachtete Perspektive. Das Beispiel literarischer Entwicklungen in der modernen Türkei zeigt nämlich, daß dort das Verhältnis von Orient zu Okzident in Form von Ambiguitäten, Unsicherheiten und Suchbewegungen ausgehandelt wird, die sich mit denen unserer eigenen Orient-Okzident-Erfahrungen durchaus berühren. Indem wir auf diese Weise die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem Denken des ‚Fremden an sich‘⁹⁹ und unserem eigenen kennenlernen, werden wir gezwungen, die uns liebgewordene dualistische Einteilung in Fremdes und Nicht-Fremdes zu hinterfragen. Am Ende hören Westen und islamischer Osten auf, als einander entweder bekämpfende oder in einem (gleichfalls auf einer bipolaren Opposition beruhenden) „Dialog“ gegenüberstehende distinkte Entitäten zu existieren. Vielmehr löst sich die häufig als gegeben hingenommene Opposition zwischen Ost und West in einem Geflecht mit endlos vielen Schattierungen auf, das nur jeweils von zwei verschiedenen Seiten aus, hier Europa, da die Türkei, betrachtet wird.

Diesen erkenntnistheoretischen Prozeß des Sichselbsterkennens von Orient und Okzident im jeweils Fremden hat wohl niemand schöner in eine literarische Allegorie gegossen als Orhan Pamuk in seinem Roman „Die weiße Festung“. Darin tauschen ein Italiener und ein Osmane, deren Seelen tiefste Verwandschaft

⁹⁷ Siehe Huntington 1998.

⁹⁸ Insbesondere viele von christlichen Kirchen ausgehende ‚Dialog‘-Bemühungen leiden darunter, daß sie, von Gemeinsamkeiten und Übereinstimmungen zwischen Islam und Christentum ausgehend, auf eine entsprechende gemeinsame Basis zwischen Islam und westlicher Moderne schließen (vgl. etwa Schmid 2003). Selbst ein erfolgreicher ‚Dialog‘ zwischen christlichen Kirchen und muslimischen Vertretern besagt jedoch in dieser Hinsicht noch gar nichts, da ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der modernen westlichen Zivilisation in der Relativierung religiös begründeter Macht- und sonstiger Ansprüche liegt. Zu den Debatten um das Für und Wider der Huntington- und Dialog-Theorie siehe Metzinger 2000, Mokre 2000, Schwan 2001 und Czollek/ Perko 2003.

⁹⁹ Zum Islam als dem „Fremden an sich“ aus europäischer Sicht vgl. Weiss 2006. Vgl. auch die Darstellung des Islams als „the essence of Central Asia’s otherness“ im Kontext der russischen Eroberung Zentralasiens im 19. Jahrhundert bei Khalid 1998: 82.

verspüren, am Ende ihre Existenzen und Länder miteinander aus.¹⁰⁰ Nur einer ist im literarischen Brückenschlag zwischen Orient und Okzident möglicherweise noch weiter gegangen als Pamuk, und das ist Goethe mit seinem West-östlichen Divan:

Herrlich ist der Orient
Übers Mittelmeer gedrungen;
Nur wer Hafis liebt und kennt,
Weiß, was Calderon gesungen.¹⁰¹

Zur Problematik des türkischen Intellektuellen

Zur Begriffsgeschichte

Der am häufigsten verwendete türkische Ausdruck für „Intellektueller“¹⁰² lautet *aydin*.¹⁰³ Das Wort ist zugleich ein Adjektiv mit der ursprünglichen Bedeutung „hell, erleuchtet“.¹⁰⁴ Ein aufschlußreicher Zusammenhang beider Bedeutungen zeigt sich in dem Wort *aydinlanma*. Dieses ist einerseits der türkische Ausdruck für „Beleuchtung“ im konkreten physikalischen Sinn. Zugleich ist es die türkische Standard-Wiedergabe des Wortes „Aufklärung“ im Sinne eines Epochensinnes, wie in „Europäische Aufklärung“ etc.¹⁰⁵ *Aydin* ist dem Wortsinn nach also jemand, mit dem Licht, Helligkeit und Aufklärung im primären wie im figurativen Sinn assoziiert werden. Diese teils primäre, teils figurative bzw. historisierende Semantisierung mit ‚Licht‘ und ‚Aufklärung‘ akzentuiert die soziale Verantwortlichkeit eines türkischen *aydin* im engeren Sinne. Denn dessen geistiges Wirken in die Gesellschaft hinein wird geradezu in Analogie zu den Strahlen des Lichts gestellt.¹⁰⁶ Vom *aydin* wird erwartet, daß er eine Leuchte für das Volk sei, er soll es voranbringen. Die im Wortstamm angelegte Affinität zum historischen Begriff der Aufklärung legt außerdem nahe, daß der solcherart beleuchtete Weg nach Westen weist.

Auffallend ist hingegen, daß der türkische Begriff *aydin* etymologisch keinerlei Bezug zu Intellektualität und Verstand hat, was ihn von dt. *Intellektueller*, engl. *intellectual*, frz. *intellectuel* etc. unterscheidet.¹⁰⁷ Sprachhistorisch ist die Belegung von *aydin* mit der Bedeutung „Intellektueller“ daher ein neologistischer Vorgang.

¹⁰⁰ Siehe Pamuk 2004a, deutsche Übersetzung: Pamuk 2005, eine englische Übersetzung ist bereits 1990 erschienen (Pamuk 1990b).

¹⁰¹ Goethe 2006.

¹⁰² Aus Platzersparnisgründen wird hier darauf verzichtet, generische Termini jeweils mit ihren grammatischen Geschlechtsformen aufzulisten. Die maskuline Form generischer Ausdrücke schließt Angehörige jedweden Geschlechts ein.

¹⁰³ Seyppel 1991: 9.

¹⁰⁴ Steuerwald 1988: 95, s.v. *aydin*.

¹⁰⁵ Steuerwald 1988: 95, s.v. *aydinlanma*.

¹⁰⁶ Die Metapher des Lichts für geistige Vorreiter geht bekanntermaßen schon bis weit in die Antike zurück, vgl. das neutestamentliche „Licht des Universums“ (*phōs tou kosmou* Mt 5, 14). Die Geschichte dieser Metapher kann hier natürlich nicht aufgearbeitet werden.

¹⁰⁷ Zur Wortgeschichte der europäischen Begriffe vgl. Bering 1978 und Rey/Hordé 2005.

Aydin ist nun aber nicht die einzige türkische Bezeichnung für den Intellektuellen. Ihm zur Seite stehen das aus dem Französischen übernommene *entelektüel* (< frz. *intellectuel*) und das aus dem Arabischen stammende *münevver* (< arab. *munawwar*).¹⁰⁸ Das heutzutage ungebräuchlich gewordene *münevver* ist begriffsgeschichtlich insofern interessant, als seine Semantik weitgehend derjenigen von *aydin* entspricht. Denn auch *münevver* bedeutet einerseits ursprünglich „erleuchtet, beleuchtet, erhellt“,¹⁰⁹ steht anderseits aber auch in einer etymologischen Beziehung zu einer – heute allerdings veralteten – Bezeichnung für die „Epoche der Aufklärung“, *Tenevvür devri*.¹¹⁰ Die Morphosemantik des türkischen *aydin* stimmt also zweierlei Hinsicht auffallend mit derjenigen von *münevver* überein.

In der oben beschriebenen lexikalischen Dreiteilung *aydin* – *münevver* – *entelektüel* spiegelt sich ein Teil der türkischen Kulturgeschichte wider. Einer von deren Grundpfeilern ist die islamische Kultur, ein zweiter der vor allem in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten immer wichtiger gewordene europäische Einfluß, während den dritten, *last but not least*, die eigenständige türkische Komponente bildet. Diese Gliederung findet sich in verschiedenen Epochen der türkischen Geschichte wieder. So wird die osmanische Literatur an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert mit Hilfe der damals vorherrschenden drei Ausrichtungen Verwestlichung (*Baticilik*), Besinnung auf das Osmanentum bzw. den Islam (türkisch *Osmancılık*, *İslamcılık*) und türkischer Nationalismus (*Türkçülük*) klassifiziert.¹¹¹

Bei jeder Betrachtung des türkischen Intellektuellen, und insbesondere von dessen Sonderfall „Schriftsteller“ (türk. *yazar*), muß dieses dreigeteilte kulturelle Erbe mindestens als Hintergrundfolie beachtet werden.¹¹²

Eine weitere terminologische Nuance liefert das türkische Wort *entel*, ein aus *entelektüel* verkürzend abgeleiteter, gemäßigt pejorativer Ausdruck für Möchtegern-Intellektuelle.¹¹³ Sein Fehlen als Lemma in vielfach als maßgeblich zitierten türkischen Wörterbüchern¹¹⁴ stellt natürlich keinen Beweis für die Nichtexistenz des Wortes dar. Ebensowenig darf man daraus auf seine Inakzeptabilität schließen.

Die besondere Semantik von *entel* läßt sich jedoch als kulturgeschichtliche Spur lesen, die etwas über das Intellektuellen-Verständnis sowohl der Türken allgemein als auch der Lexikonkompilatoren aussagt. Was den allgemeinen türkischen Sprachgebrauch betrifft, so belegt *entel* eine gewisse ironische Distanz zum ansonsten mit

¹⁰⁸ Seyppel 1991: 9, Steuerwald 1987: 311, s.v. *Intellettuelle*.

¹⁰⁹ Zur Etymologie des arabischen Wortes vgl. Wehr 1985: 1328, s.v. *munawwar*, sowie für den weiteren Zusammenhang Wehr 1985: 1327f., s.v. *n-w-r*.

¹¹⁰ *Tenevvür* und *münevver* gehören zur selben arabischen Wurzel *n-w-r*. Vgl. Alkim et al. 1998: 1141, s.v. *tenevvür*, Steuerwald 1987: 54, s.v. *Aufklärung*.

¹¹¹ So etwa durch Özkipraklı 2006.

¹¹² Allerdings tritt dies im Falle von *yazar* selbst nicht so klar zutage wie bei *aydin* – *münevver* – *entelektüel*. Denn es als Synonym von *yazar* gab es nur das aus dem arabischen abgeleitete (heute vollkommen ungebräuchliche) *muharrir*, während ein aus einer europäischen Sprache übernommenes Wort je bis heute fehlt. Siehe Steuerwald 1987: 480, s.v. *Schriftsteller*. Was unter einem *muharrir* zu verstehen ist, kann beispielsweise den Selbstreflexionen des osmanischen *homme de lettres* Ahmed Râsim (1865–1932) entnommen werden (siehe Ahmed Rasim 1990).

¹¹³ [Http://sozluk.soutimes.org/](http://sozluk.soutimes.org/), s.v. *entel* [abgerufen am 22. Juni 2006] bietet eine Reihe von informellen, humorvollen und erhellenden Definitionen dieses Wortes.

¹¹⁴ Z. B. Steuerwald 1988, Fidan et al. 1995–1996.

den hehren Attributen des ‚Lichtes‘ und der ‚Aufklärung‘ ausgestatteten türkischen Intellektuellenideal. Was die Omission des Wortes durch die Lexikographen betrifft, so weist sie auf eine genau gegenteilige Vorstellung hin. Denn indem jene das der saloppen Umgangssprache angehörende *entel* unterdrücken, stricken sie bewußt oder unbewußt am Mythos des türkischen Intellektuellen mit. Dieser Sichtweise folge ist der *aydin* in der Türkei eine Respektperson, deren Aureole nicht durch die Etikettierung mit volkstümlichem Vokabular profaniert werden darf.¹¹⁵

Zusammenfassend ist zur Begriffsgeschichte des türkischen Intellektuellen festzuhalten, daß auf der Ebene der Jetztzeit ein einziges Lexem alle anderen ausgestochen hat, eben *aydin*. Dessen semantische Belegung dominiert infolgedessen sowohl die einheimische als auch die fremde Wahrnehmung des türkischen Intellektuellen. Erst wenn man eine diachrone Perspektive hinzuzieht, wird deutlich, wie verschiedene für den Intellektuellen verwendete Begriffe (*münevver, entelektüel*) sowie deren jeweilige spezifische kulturelle Assoziationen miteinander in Konkurrenz treten. Erst bei dieser begriffsgeschichtlichen Betrachtung des Intellektuellen offenbart sich die komplexe Zwischenstellung der Türkei zwischen (islamisch-)orientalischer und westlicher Kultur. Die Wort- und Begriffsgeschichte des Intellektuellen beinhaltet also *in nuce* jene enge Verknüpfung und wechselseitige Durchdringung von Aktualität und historischer Perspektivierung, welche bereits in der Einführung zur Sprache gebracht worden ist.

Zwei zentrale Charakteristika des türkischen Intellektuellen

Um die Genese und Charakteristik des türkischen Intellektuellen zu überschauen, bedarf es der Ergänzung der Begriffsgeschichte durch sozial- und kulturhistorische Daten. Diese sind von der Turkologin Tatjana Seyppel ausführlich aufgearbeitet worden.¹¹⁶ Aus ihrer Darstellung ergeben sich zwei Aspekte, die auch für das Verständnis von türkischer Literatur im allgemeinen von zentraler Wichtigkeit sind.

Der erste kann als *Doppelorientierung* der türkischen Intellektuellen bezeichnet werden. Damit ist gemeint, daß diese sich zwar an aus Europa importierten Begrifflichkeiten und *role models* orientieren, zugleich aber den lokalen Befindlichkeiten und Erwartungen Rechnung tragen müssen.¹¹⁷ Spätestens seit der *Tanzimat*-Epoche des Osmanischen Reiches (1839–1876), in der es zu einer massiven Zunahme des europäischen Einflusses kommt,¹¹⁸ existiert diese Ambivalenz. Sie stellt seither eines der Grundprobleme der türkischen Intellektuellenschicht dar.

¹¹⁵ Der türkische Sprachgebrauch unterscheidet insgesamt sehr stark zwischen normalen und tabuisierten Wörtern. Letztere werden selbst in wissenschaftlicher Literatur mitunter durch Auslassung von Buchstaben unkenntlich gemacht (siehe Aktunç 1990, der umfassendes Wortmaterial zum Thema präsentiert). Die Verwendung tabuisierter oder umgangssprachlicher Ausdrücke birgt also ein (etwa im Vergleich zum Deutschen) größeres pejoratives Potential. Vgl. Yetkin 2006, der Reaktionen auf den Gebrauch von skandalösem Argot-Vokabular durch den türkischen Ministerpräsidenten Recep Tayyip Erdoğan bespricht.

¹¹⁶ Seyppel 1991.

¹¹⁷ Siehe hierzu Seyppel 1991: 8, die Edward Shils zitiert.

¹¹⁸ Seyppel 1991: 9–11. Ein Standardwerk zur *Tanzimat*-Ära ist immer noch Belge 1985. Zur Literatur dieser Epoche siehe auch Akyüz 1964.

Den zweiten Aspekt bildet ein Element der osmanischen Tradition, demzufolge Bildung automatisch an politischen bzw. administrativ-juristischen Einfluß gekoppelt war. Die osmanische Gelehrtenenschicht (osm. *'ulemā*, türk. *ulema*), zum Teil historische Vorläuferin der späteren Intellektuellenschicht, war das einzige soziale Stratum, das am politischen Geschick des Reiches partizipieren durfte.¹¹⁹ Diese Politisierung der geistigen Eliten ist auch in der von Verwestlichungstendenzen geprägten Schlußphase der osmanischen Herrschaft, darunter in der *Tanzimat*-Zeit, spürbar. Damals ließen sich beispielsweise Dichter von der Maxime „die Kunst ist für die Gesellschaft da“¹²⁰ leiten. Kurz gefaßt kann man sich auf diese traditionell- osmanisch geprägte Auffassung als Theorie vom *nützlichen Intellektuellen* beziehen.

Türkische Literatur als Sonderfall der Intellektualität

West-östliche Doppelperspektive bei türkischen Schriftstellern

Die oben beschriebene Doppelperspektive, die als grundlegendes Merkmal der türkischen Intellektuellen seit etwa der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts feststellbar ist, bleibt bis heute prägend für die moderne türkische Literatur – wie im übrigen auch für die Literaturwissenschaft.¹²¹ So versucht letztere einerseits, die gewachsenen Strukturen und Terminologien der türkischen Literatur(geschichte) zu respektieren, während andererseits der methodologisch-theoretische und terminologische Rückgriff auf die westliche Literaturforschung nicht zu übersehen ist.¹²²

Die im oben dargestellten Sinne ambivalente Orientierung türkischer Schriftsteller läßt sich anschaulich am Beispiel des 1952 geborenen Schriftstellers Orhan Pamuk aufzeigen.¹²³ Daß hier die Wahl auf Pamuk als Demonstrationsobjekt fällt, ist mitnichten zufällig. Er ist seit einigen Jahren der mit Abstand international bekannteste türkische Autor ist und einer der wenigen, deren Werke übersetzt werden. Daher ist es einem ausländischen (deutschen oder internationalen) Publikum möglich, sich direkt einen Eindruck von seinem Werk zu verschaffen. Des weiteren rezipiert Pamuk – im Unterschied zur Mehrzahl seiner türkischen Berufskollegen, die keine oder eine vergleichsweise geringe weltweite Aufmerksamkeit genießen – die Polarität zwischen Orient und Okzident nicht nur, sondern gestaltet sie auch selbst aktiv mit. Und zwar tut er dies spätestens seit seinem internationalen Durchbruch, der sich mit „Die Weiße Festung“ (1985) andeutete und mit dem „Schwarzen Buch“ (1990) endgültig vollzogen war.

¹¹⁹ Eine direkte Beziehung zwischen der osmanischen Führungsschicht und dem modernen türkischen *aydın* stellt Gölpınarlı 1992: 1 her, indem er die Bildungseliten des osmanischen Mittelalters als *aydın zümre* „gebildete Schicht“ bezeichnet.

¹²⁰ *Sanat toplum içindir* (Özkırımlı 2006). Wie an dem Wort *toplum* zu erkennen ist, handelt es sich hierbei um kein Originalzitat aus der osmanischen Zeit, sondern um eine von Özkırımlı geprägte Formulierung.

¹²¹ Siehe Özkırımlı 2006.

¹²² Siehe beispielhaft Özkırımlı 2006. Bewußte und weitreichende Adaption europäischer Terminologie findet sich beispielsweise in den Werken der Germanistin Yıldız Ecevit (Ecevit 2004, Ecevit 2005). Kritik an Ecevits weit gehendem Terminologietransfer übt Kirchner 2003.

¹²³ Zu Pamuk allgemein siehe Ececvit 1996, Tekin 1997, Kılıç 1999, Belge 1998b, Belge 2002, Biondi 2003, Haydari/ Pakkan 2003.

Doch Pamuk nimmt auch in anderer Hinsicht eine Zwischenstellung zwischen traditioneller orientalischer und westlicher Kultur ein. Zum einen läßt sich dies an seiner privaten Biographie ablesen. Pamuk wuchs als Sprößling einer Familie mit ursprünglich osmanischer Lebensweise auf,¹²⁴ die sich jedoch später klar nach Westen orientierte. Letzteres läßt sich unter anderem daran festmachen, daß der Vater Generaldirektor von IBM in der Türkei war.¹²⁵ In seinem jüngsten Buch „Istanbul – Erinnerungen und die Stadt“ setzt Pamuk seiner zwischen angestaubtem Osmanentum und zaghafter Hinwendung zur Moderne oszillierenden Jugend ein unterhaltsames Denkmal. Literarischer Ausdruck der beiden Pole der Umbruchssituation ist die Einrichtung des von den Pamuks bewohnten Istanbuler Hauses. Neben einem museal anmutenden Sammelsurium von Möbeln und Erinnerungsstücken aus der alten osmanischen Zeit gibt es darin als Symbol der westlichen Kultur auf sämtlichen Stockwerken Pianoforti, die jedoch niemals gespielt werden.¹²⁶

Es darf außerdem nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, daß Pamuks Familie dem wohlhabendsten Teil der türkischen Oberschicht angehört, was einen stark erleichterten Zugang zu den führenden westlichen Bildungseinrichtungen ermöglichte. So konnte Orhan das prestigereiche englischsprachige *Robert Kolej* in Istanbul besuchen.

Diese bereits in Pamuks Biographie vorgezeichnete Berührung mit beiden Seiten des türkischen Erbes – dem traditionell-orientalischen und dem westlichen – hat keinesfalls nur anekdotische Bedeutung für sein schriftstellerisches Werk. Vielmehr bildet die Begegnung von Ost und West darin, wie auch in seinen sonstigen öffentlichen Äußerungen, eines der wichtigsten Themen.

So gut wie alle Pamuk-Romane bringen dieses oft spannungsreiche Verhältnis auf die eine oder andere Weise zur Sprache. Bereits der Erstling „Cevdet und seine Söhne“¹²⁷ behandelt den schwierigen Übergang von der althergebrachten Welt des Osmanischen Reichs zur modernen Republik Türkei. Pamuk stellt ihn in einer mehrere Generationen umspannenden Familienchronik nach dem Vorbild von Thomas Manns „Buddenbrooks“ dar. In den späteren Romanen „Das Schwarze Buch“,¹²⁸ „Das Neue Leben“¹²⁹ und „Schnee“¹³⁰ wird das Verhältnis von Orient und Okzident dann namentlich und ausführlich zur Sprache gebracht. Im Falle des „Neuen Lebens“ geschieht dies unter anderem durch die bereits im Titel angedeutete Bezugnahme auf Dantes *Vita Nova*.¹³¹

Was die sonstigen öffentlichen Äußerungen betrifft, so hat Pamuk wiederholt zu Themen Stellung genommen, zu denen es unterschiedliche Sichtweisen in der Türkei und im Westen gab. Ein bekanntes Fallbeispiel stammt aus dem Februar 2005.

¹²⁴ Siehe hierzu ausführlich Pamuks eigene Darstellung in Pamuk 2004.

¹²⁵ Siehe die Angaben in der Todesanzeige für Gündüz Pamuk in *Hürriyet* [Deutschlandausgabe], 22. Dezember 2002: 12.

¹²⁶ Siehe Pamuk 2004 und die englische Übersetzung, Pamuk 2005b. Vgl. auch die Rezension Doğan 2006.

¹²⁷ Türkische Ausgabe: Pamuk 1984. Das Werk ist noch nicht ins Deutsche übersetzt worden.

¹²⁸ Türkisch: Pamuk 1990a, deutsche Übersetzung: Pamuk 1995b, englisch: Pamuk 1995a.

¹²⁹ Türkische Ausgabe: Pamuk 1994, englische Übersetzung: Pamuk 1997, deutsch Pamuk 2001.

¹³⁰ Türkische Ausgabe: Pamuk 2002a, englisch: Pamuk 2004b, deutsch Pamuk 2005a.

¹³¹ Zu den Bezügen zwischen Pamuks „Neuem Leben“ und Dantes Werk siehe Biddick 2006.

In einem *Tages-Anzeiger*-Interview äußerte Pamuk damals: „Man hat hier dreißigtausend Kurden umgebracht. Und eine Million Armenier. Und niemand traut sich, das zu erwähnen.“¹³² Während Pamuk im selben Jahr in Europa mit mehreren bedeutenden Preisen für sein Schaffen ausgezeichnet wurde (Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels, Ricarda-Huch-Preis), warf ihm die türkische Presse vor, das Armenier-Thema instrumentalisiert zu haben, um diese Preise einzuheimsen.¹³³ Man sieht, daß Pamuks Wirkung im europäischen Ausland sich hier deutlich von derjenigen in der Türkei unterscheidet. Die Person des Schriftstellers ist hier der Austragungsort eines Werte- und Interpretationskonflikts, dessen Wurzeln und Ursachen weit über ihn hinausreichen.

Ähnliche Grundsatzdiskussionen hat es in der Türkei in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten auch um andere Themen, wie etwa Demokratie und Menschenrechte, gegeben. In sie involviert waren neben Schriftstellern wie Yaşar Kemal (geb. 1923) und Perihan Mağden (geb. 1960) auch Kulturschaffende aus anderen Bereichen. Sie kann hier nicht ausführlich dargestellt werden.¹³⁴

Reflexe des ‚nützlichen Intellektuellen‘ in der türkischen Literatur

Schon das oben zitierte Beispiel von Orhan Pamuks Äußerung über die Armenier und Kurden zeigt, wie ein türkischer Schriftsteller auch in Bereichen wirksam werden kann, die vorderhand nichts mit Literatur zu tun haben. Daß ausgerechnet Orhan Pamuk in den Brennpunkt einer historisch-politischen Debatte um die Aufarbeitung der osmanisch-türkischen Vergangenheit und die Selbstbestimmung der Kurden gerückt ist, stellt nun aber doch in gewisser Hinsicht eine Ironie der (Literatur-)Geschichte dar. Denn Pamuk begann seine literarische Karriere Ende der 1970er Jahre in bewußter und ausdrücklicher Absetzung von solchen Richtungen der türkischen Literatur, die sich der Erbringung eines gesellschaftlichen Nutzens verschrieben hatten. Und zwar wandte er sich insbesondere mit massiver Kritik gegen die sogenannte „Dorfliteratur“ (türk. *köy edebiyatı*),¹³⁵ von deren ästhetischen und inhaltlichen Prinzipien er sich ausdrücklich distanzierte. Die *köy edebiyatı* war eine von Prosa im realistischen Stil beherrschte Literaturströmung, die ihre Szenarien vorwiegend aus dem ländlichen Milieu Anatoliens wählte und deren Thema vornehmlich die Entwicklung in diesen Gebieten war. Die Autoren waren vielfach Absolventen der zwischen 1940 und 1954 bestehenden „Dorfinstitute“ (türk. *Köy Enstitüleri*), ruraler Bildungseinrichtungen, mit denen die Prinzipien der kemalistischen Revolution auch in der ländlichen Türkei verbreitet werden sollten. Das literarische Niveau der „Dorfliteratur“ wird in aller Regel vernichtend beurteilt.¹³⁶

¹³² Zitiert nach Jeismann 2006. Diese Äußerung wurde rasch ins Türkische übersetzt und erschien zahlreichen türkischen Publikationen. Eine der türkischen Übersetzungen lautet: *Burada otuz bin Kürt, bir milyon da Ermeni öldürüldü. Ve kimse bundan söz etmeye cesaret edemiyor* (Devrim 2006). Vgl. auch Pamuks Beitrag zu dem gegen ihn wegen des Armenier-Zitats in der Türkei angestrengten Prozeß (Pamuk 2006a), außerdem Steinig 2005.

¹³³ Vgl. Devrim 2006 und Jeismann 2006 über das Presseecho in Europa und der Türkei.

¹³⁴ Vgl. die Presseberichterstattung über Mağdens Stellungnahme zur Menschenrechtssituation in der Türkei in Pamuk 2006f.

¹³⁵ Siehe hierzu die in Tekin 1997: 14 wiedergegebenen Äußerungen Pamuks.

¹³⁶ Siehe z.B. Özkırımlı 2006.

Was führte nun zu Pamuks anscheinend paradoxer Haltung zur Rolle des Schriftstellers, in der seine pointierte Ablehnung von ‚gesellschaftlichem Nutzen‘ der Literatur seinem eigenen aktiven und engagierten Eingreifen in brennende gesellschaftliche Debatten gegenübersteht? Um diese Frage beantworten zu können, ist es erforderlich, etwas weiter auszuholen und nachzuzeichnen, wie die Auffassung vom ‚nützlichen Intellektuellen‘ sowie der Dualismus zwischen Orient und Okzident sich in der modernen türkischen Literatur niedergeschlagen hat.

Hauptströmungen zweckgerichteter Literatur: *Milli Edebiyat* und Sozialismus

In der letzten Phase des Osmanischen Reiches sowie in der Anfangszeit der Republik, also etwa in den Jahren 1900–1928, entwickelte sich die sogenannte „Nationale Literatur“ (türk. *Milli Edebiyat*) zur beherrschenden literarischen Strömung. In ihr spielte das Bewußtsein von einer politischen Mission des osmanischen bzw. türkischen Schriftstellers eine beherrschende Rolle.¹³⁷ Es handelte sich also um eine inhärent politisierte Literatur, die darin dem traditionellen osmanischen Rollenbild des gesellschaftlich verantwortlichen Intellektuellen bzw. Schriftstellers entsprach. Der wohl wichtigste Vertreter dieses Literaturzweigs war Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924), der zugleich als Begründer des modernen türkischen Nationalismus gilt. Ein weiterer wichtiger Repräsentant war der islamisch-konservativ orientierte Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873–1936), der Verfasser des Textes der türkischen Nationalhymne.

Doch nicht nur in der *Milli Edebiyat* war das Ideal des Schriftstellers an einen gesellschaftlichen Nutzen gekoppelt. Dies war auch in der von Nazım Hikmet (1902–1963) begründeten sozialistischen türkischen Literatur der Fall. Zwar wurde die sozialistische Literatur durch das Verbot von Hikmets Schriften 1936 und seine Inhaftierung zwei Jahre später vorübergehend ihrer Leitfigur beraubt. Im Unterschied zur rasch verblühten *Milli Edebiyat* spielte sie jedoch auch in der Folgezeit eine sehr wichtige Rolle innerhalb der türkischen Literaturgeschichte. Von der Aufhebung des Publikationsverbots für Nazım Hikmets Schriften in den 1960er Jahren bis zum dritten Militärputsch (12. September 1980) zählte sie zu den wichtigsten türkischen Literaturrichtungen überhaupt.¹³⁸ Bis heute lebt sie in den Werken bekannter türkischer Autoren fort. Zu ihnen gehören die Dichter Ahmet Arif (1927–1991), Atilla İlhan (1925–2005) und Şükran Kurdakul (geb. 1927).¹³⁹ Auch die namhaften Prosaautoren Sabahattin Ali (1906–1948), Sevgi Soysal (1936–1976) und Aziz Nesin (1915–1995) wurden mehr oder weniger stark von sozialistischen Ideen beeinflußt.¹⁴⁰

Man kann sagen, daß bis zum Militärputsch von 1980 die Mehrzahl der türkischen Schriftsteller mit ihrem Schaffen bewußt auf die positive Veränderung der Gesellschaft abzielten und somit auf ihre Weise das Erbe des osmanischen Intellektuellen-Ideals antraten. Bekannte Autoren wie Kemal Tahir (1910–1973), Orhan Kemal (1914–1970), Haldun Taner (1915–1987) und Yaşar Kemal (geb. 1923) sind

¹³⁷ Zur *Milli Edebiyat* allgemein siehe Özkırimlı 2006.

¹³⁸ Özkırimlı 2006.

¹³⁹ Özkırimlı 2006.

¹⁴⁰ Kuru/Barlas 2006.

repräsentativ für diesen Typ des Autoren.¹⁴¹ Haldun Taner gehört dabei zu denjenigen Autoren, die diese Auffasung vom Schriftstellertum auch theoretisch vertraten.¹⁴² Der Hauptunterschied zwischen den Schriftstellern dieser Generation und den osmanischen Intellektuellen liegt darin, daß in der Republik politisches und gesellschaftliches Engagement zunehmend von der gesellschaftlichen Stellung entkoppelt werden. Die Schriftsteller und Intellektuellen der türkischen Republik sind nicht notwendig Angehörige der Funktionseliten.

Gegenströmungen: *Garip* und *İkinci Yeni*

Die am gesellschaftlichen und politischen Nutzen orientierte Literatur beherrschte zwar die Frühphase der Türkischen Republik (von deren Gründung 1923 bis etwa 1940). In den frühen 1940er Jahren bildete sich jedoch eine literarische Gegenbewegung heraus, die sich dezidiert von den Idealen und Prinzipien sowohl der *Millî Edebiyat* als auch der sozialistisch inspirierten Literatur absetzte.

Primärer Austragungsort dieses Neuansatzes war die Dichtung. Wohl für keine türkische Literaturgattung war die kemalistische Revolution so folgenreich gewesen wie für die Dichtung. Das Hauptmedium der osmanischen Dichtung, die nach quantifizierenden Prinzipien funktionierende höfische (osm.:) ‘arûz-Dichtung (türk. *aruz*), war um 1940 so gut wie vollkommen außer Gebrauch gekommen. In den ersten beiden Jahrzehnten nach der Gründung der Republik Türkei hatte man zunächst versucht, sie durch die silbenzählende türkische Volksdichtung (türk. *hece vezni*) zu ersetzen. Diese aus dem jahrhundertealten Formenfundus der türkischen Volkspoesie schöpfende Poesie genoß jedoch nicht mehr als eine vorübergehende Blüte.¹⁴³

Dem *hece vezni* machte aber seit den frühen 1930er Jahren zunehmend ein dritter Dichtungs-Zweig das Feld streitig. Dies war der an keinerlei Silben- oder Reimstruktur mehr gebundene freie Vers, der sich in der Türkei vor allem durch das Vorbild Nazım Hikmets immer mehr durchsetzte. Es war daher wenig überraschend, daß der oben beschriebene literarische Neuansatz mit Hilfe der fortschrittlichen freien Versdichtung zustandekam. Sein Träger wurde die *Garip*-Bewegung.¹⁴⁴ *Garip* (zu deutsch etwa „Befremdlich“) war der Titel eines 1941 erschienenen Gedichtbandes. Seine Autoren waren Melih Cevdet Anday (geb. 1915), Orhan Veli Kanık (1914–1950) und Oktay Rifat (1916–1988). Im Unterschied zur sozialistischen Dichtung Hikmets waren die *Garip*-Poeten nicht nur auf formellem, sondern auch ideologischem Gebiet ungebunden. Sie schrieben introvertierte, experimentelle, sensible und individualistische Gedichte. Wenig überraschend warfen ihnen die türkischen Sozialisten kleinbürgerliche Empfindlichkeit und degenerierende Wirkung vor.¹⁴⁵

Garip und die von ihm inspirierte Dichtung markiert einen der wichtigsten Mei-

¹⁴¹ Vgl. Özkiprimli 2006.

¹⁴² Siehe Kuru/ Barlas 2006, s.v. *Haldun Taner*.

¹⁴³ Nach Özkiprimli 2006.

¹⁴⁴ Siehe Özkiprimli 2006.

¹⁴⁵ Özkiprimli 2006.

lensteine in der modernen türkischen Literaturgeschichte. Zum erstenmal wurde die Öffentlichkeit mit einer Bewegung konfrontiert, die Literatur als Selbstzweck ansah und ebenso praktizierte. Wenngleich sich die *Garip*-Gruppe schon bald auflöste, ging sie daher als das „Erste Neue“ (*Birinci Yeni*) in die türkische Literaturgeschichte ein. Auf sie nahm die in den 1950ern entstehende Bewegung des „Zweiten Neuen“ (*İkinci Yeni*) Bezug, die ebenfalls als eines der wichtigsten literarischen Ereignisse der republikanischen Türkei gefeiert wird.¹⁴⁶ Zu ihren führenden Vertretern gehörten Ece Ayhan (1931–2002), İlhan Berk (geb. 1918), Edip Cansever (1928–1986) und Cemal Süreya (1931–1990).¹⁴⁷ Trotz der avantgardistischen (unter anderem surrealistischen) Techniken, derer sich diese Dichter bedienten, wirkten sie weitaus weniger radikal als die *Garip*-Trias. Im Vergleich zu dieser waren die Protagonisten des *İkinci Yeni* sozial besser abgesichert und in die Gesellschaft integriert.

Die Beurteilung des *İkinci Yeni* als „eskapistische Poesie“ (*kaçış şiirleri*) durch den bekannten türkischen Literaturwissenschaftler Atilla Özkırımlı¹⁴⁸ spiegelt einerseits die zunehmende Verflachung des revolutionären und innovativen Pathos dieser Strömung wider. Noch wichtiger als der literaturhistorische Aussagegehalt dieser Bewertung ist jedoch der in ihr implizierte Wertmaßstab, der direkt auf die alte Juxtaposition zwischen Poesie und Nutzen für die Gesellschaft zurückgreift. Gute Dichtung wäre demzufolge solche, die sich den Problemen stellt anstatt in mutmaßliche Fluchtwelten abzutauchen. Özkırımlis Beurteilung verrät also auch etwas über das Persistieren der traditionellen Vorstellung vom nützlichen Intellektuellen bzw. Schriftsteller auch über das „Erste“ und das „Zweite Neue“ hinaus. Wie später zu zeigen sein wird, reicht dieses Ringen um die Bestimmung des Dichters und Schriftstellers bis in die Gegenwart hinein.

Nach der relativ ausführlichen Behandlung der Poesie bedarf es zuvor jedoch noch einer kurzen Fokussierung auf die besondere Entwicklung in der Prosaliteratur.

Die Dominanz des Realismus in der Prosa

Bereits in der ersten Phase nach der Gründung der Türkischen Republik waren Romane in realistischem Erzählstil dominierend. Zu den bekanntesten Autoren dieser Zeit gehört Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889–1974). Sein Roman „Der Fremde“ (*Yaban*, 1932) gilt bis heute als Klassiker der türkischen Literatur. Eine weitere realistische Autorin dieser Periode war Halide Edip Adıvar (1882–1964). Zum Teil gehörten die Autoren dieser realistischen Romane der *Millî Edebiyat* an, andere waren sozialistische Autoren.

Doch auch außerhalb dieser beiden großen Strömungen fand der realistische Stil Anklang, so in dem bekannten Roman '*Aşk-i memnû*' („Die verbotene Liebe“, 1925) von Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil (1867–1945).

Der Realismus fand in der türkischen Literatur eine überaus große und langanhaltende Tradition.

¹⁴⁶ Özkırımlı 2006.

¹⁴⁷ Siehe Özkırımlı 2006, der auch weitere Angaben zum *İkinci Yeni* macht.

¹⁴⁸ Özkırımlı 2006.

tende Verbreitung. Er blieb bis in die Zeit der dritten Militärintervention (1980) die bestimmende Strömung der türkischen Romanliteratur. Auch wenn verschiedene türkische Romanautoren in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren mit der Adaption avant-gardistischer europäischer Schulen und Stile wie Existentialismus, Surrealismus und Bewußtseinsstrom begannen, führte dies am Ende dennoch nicht zur Etablierung eines vom Realismus befreiten Kunstverständnisses. Vielmehr beschränkte sich der Effekt der versuchten Neuerungen im wesentlichen darauf, „einen neuen Blickwinkel auf den Realismus zu eröffnen“.¹⁴⁹ Autoren, die diesem „neuen Realismus“¹⁵⁰ zugeordnet werden, sind Nezihe Meriç (geb. 1925), Yusuf Atilgan (1921–1989), Ferit Edgü (geb. 1936, bekannt als Autor der Romanvorlage zum Film „Eine Saison in Hakkâri“) und Erdal Öz (geb. 1935).¹⁵¹ Der Abstand dieser Generation neorealistischer türkischer Romanschriftstellern zu den früheren realistischen Autoren ist mit dem durch das *İkinci Yeni* erbrachten Innovationssimpuls verglichen worden.¹⁵²

Man muß jedoch betonen, daß es einen fundamentalen Unterschied zwischen dem Verlauf der Entwicklung im Bereich der Dichtung und dem in der Prosa gibt. Während *Garip* und *İkinci Yeni* sich nach dem Untergang der klassischen osmanischen und dem weitgehenden Scheitern der Silbendichtung in einer Situation befanden, die einen radikalen Neuanfang begünstigte, fehlte ein vergleichbar radikaler Bruch mit der Vergangenheit auf dem Gebiet der Prosaliteratur. Der Roman und insbesondere der in realistischem Stil geschriebene war ein im 19. Jahrhundert aus Europa importiertes Genre, das von der kemalistischen Revolution daher nicht mit einem Anathema belegt wurde, sondern im Gegenteil als vorbildliches und fortschrittliches westliches Kulturgut betrachtet wurde. Dies dürfte zumindest einer der Gründe für seine über die kemalistische Zeitenwende hinweg konstante Popularität sein.

Die postmoderne Wende: von Atay bis Pamuk

Bevor der Versuch unternommen werden kann, das in 3.2. beschriebene, augenscheinlich paradoxe, Verhältnis Orhan Pamuks zum gesellschaftlichen Engagement des Schriftstellers zu erklären, ist ein kurzer Blick auf die jüngste Periode der türkischen Literatur, die postmoderne, unerlässlich. Denn viele gegenwärtige Entwicklungen in der türkischen Literatur werden nur vor deren Hintergrund verständlich.

Ohne daß in der Forschung völlige Einigkeit über die inhaltliche Definition von „postmoderner Literatur“ bestünde,¹⁵³ werden Werke bestimmter Autoren aus der Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg als „postmodern“ klassifiziert, ohne daß es nennenswerte Einsprüche dagegen gäbe. Ein eindeutig als postmodern eingeordneter Roman ist beispielsweise *Pale Fire* (1962) von Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977).¹⁵⁴

In den ausgehenden 1960er Jahren begann postmoderne Literatur auch in der Tür-

¹⁴⁹ ... *Gerçekçiğe yeni bir yorumun getirilmesi* ... (Özkırımlı 2006).

¹⁵⁰ *Yeni gerçekçilik*. Der Ausdruck stammt von Adnan Özyalçiner (zitiert in Özkırımlı 2006).

¹⁵¹ Özkırımlı 2006.

¹⁵² Özkırımlı 2006.

¹⁵³ Vgl. die Diskussionen in Łebkowska 2001, Federman 2002, Francioso 2002, Palandri 2002. Zur Postmoderne im allgemeinen vgl. auch Lyotard 1986.

¹⁵⁴ Zu *Pale Fire* siehe Zimmer 1996.

kei heimisch zu werden, wenngleich auch zunächst nur zaghaft. Als Pionier kann der Romancier Oğuz Atay (1934–1977) gelten.¹⁵⁵ Er konstruierte seinen 1971–1972 erschienenen Erstlingsroman *Tutunamayanlar* („Die Haltlosen“) direkt nach dem Vorbild von *Pale Fire*.¹⁵⁶ Obwohl der Roman kurzzeitig Furore machte, geriet er nach wenigen Jahren in Vergessenheit. Dafür dürften sowohl der unzeitige Krebstod des Autoren als auch der drei Jahre danach erfolgte Militärputsch mitverantwortlich gewesen sein. Erst nach dem Abtritt der Militärregierung und den Wahlen von 1983 konnte die durch den Putsch unterbrochene geistige Entwicklung langsam wieder fortgeführt werden. Dies führte dazu, daß trotz der bereits Ende der 1960er Jahre begonnenen „postmodernen Öffnung“¹⁵⁷ der türkischen Literatur der Hauptstoß dieses Neuimpulses sich erst in der Mitte der 1980er Jahre bemerkbar machte.¹⁵⁸

Ähnlich wie bei *Garip* und *İkinci Yeni* ging die sukzessive Etablierung des postmodernen Romans in der Türkei keineswegs mit einer Verabschiedung von den traditionellen Rollenerwartungen an den Schriftsteller einher. So schreibt Oğuz Atay in einem Tagebucheintrag:

„...um *dem Volk ein Vorbild* sein zu können, ist zuvor erst einmal die Zeit der Selbstabrechnung des Intellektuellen gekommen. Die Schriftsteller müssen sich in ihren Romanen, Erzählungen und Gedichten auf diese Selbstabrechnung einlassen.“¹⁵⁹

Auch wenn Atay hier von einer „Selbstabrechnung“ spricht und somit die Perspektive auf das schriftstellerische Individuum und seine Selbstreflexion lenkt, bleibt hinter dem Anspruch, Vorbild für das Volk sein zu wollen, erneut das alte osmanische Intellektuellen-Konzept erkennbar.

Atays Treue zum Ideal des gesellschaftlich verantwortungsbewußten Autoren zeigt sich auch in deutlicher Form im Roman „Die Haltlosen“. Dieser ist ein politischer Roman. Er thematisiert unter anderem das in der Türkei der 1970er hochaktuelle Thema der Wahl zwischen gewaltfreiem und gewaltsamem Widerstand gegen den Staat.¹⁶⁰ Außerdem baut Atay zahlreiche Argumente, Versatzstücke und Zitate aus sozialistischen und marxistischen Theorien ein,¹⁶¹ und das Buch ist inspiriert von der damals ihren Höhepunkt erreichenden 68er-Bewegung.¹⁶² Ungeachtet der langen Selbstbetrachtungen in *Tutunamayanlar* – schon der Nachname des Helden *Turgut Özben* (deutsch etwa „Turgut Selbst-Ich“) ist in dieser Hinsicht sprechend – geht es in dem Roman nicht um das Privatleben von Individuen, schon gar nicht im

¹⁵⁵ Zu Leben und Werk Atays siehe Kurdakul 1989: 91f., Seyppel 1991, Ecevit 2005.

¹⁵⁶ Zu *Tutunamayanlar* als postmodernem Roman siehe İnan 2005.

¹⁵⁷ Vgl. den Titel von Ecevit 2004.

¹⁵⁸ Vgl. Furrer 2000, Furrer 2005, Ecevit 2004. Furrer 2005: 16 verwendet das Erscheinen von Pamuks „Weißer Festung“ im Jahre 1985 als Epochenscheide für den türkischen Roman, wobei allerdings nicht die Postmoderne, sondern spezifische inhaltliche Merkmale des historischen Romans das Kriterium sind.

¹⁵⁹ Das Zitat stammt aus Seyppel 1991: 28. Quelle des von Seyppel ins Deutsche übersetzten Textes ist eine Ausgabe von Atays Tagebüchern aus dem Jahre 1984. Die Hervorhebung ist von M. H. Ähnliche Äußerungen Atays über den Intellektuellen wie die hier zitierte finden sich auch in Seyppel 1991: 29–32.

¹⁶⁰ Siehe etwa Atay 2002: 95 und 98.

¹⁶¹ Siehe beispielsweise Atay 2002: 79, 93, 95–98.

¹⁶² Ecevit 2005: 232.

Sinne einer egozentrischen Nabelschau. Die Helden des Romans, ausnahmslos Intellektuelle, stehen vielmehr stellvertretend für die türkischen Bildungseliten der Nachkriegszeit und deren tiefgreifende Krise. Ihr schwieriges Verhältnis zur Gesellschaft ist das eigentliche Thema des Buchs.

Orhan Pamuk, der Atay kennt und rezipiert¹⁶³ und wie dieser als postmoderner türkischer Schriftsteller eingeordnet wird,¹⁶⁴ wählte ein Jahrzehnt später zunächst einen diametral entgegengesetzten, nämlich gänzlich unpolitischen Ansatz. Sein literarisches Selbstverständnis drückte er unter anderem in verschiedenen Statements zu seinem bisher letzten Roman „Schnee“ (*Kar*, 2002) aus. Dieser sei der einzige politische unter seinen insgesamt acht Romanen.¹⁶⁵ Ferner hat Pamuk in zahlreichen Zeitungsartikeln und anderen Selbstzeugnissen seine kritische Distanz zur Politik artikuliert.¹⁶⁶

Liest man Pamuks Romane, so stellt man fest, daß von der Verantwortung des Individuums bzw. des Schriftstellers gegenüber der Gesellschaft und Politik darin nur selten die Rede ist. Dies gilt selbst für große Teile von „Schnee“. Dessen Hauptfigur *Ka* enthält sich einer moralischen Bewertung des von ihm Erlebten weitgehendst, obwohl es dabei um Themen geht, die für die zeitgenössische Türkei brennende Aktualität besitzen, wie etwa Islamismus, islamischer Terror und die Kopftuchdebatte. Stattdessen gibt sich *Ka* mystischen und poetischen Erfahrungen hin.

Auch im „Neuen Leben“ bleibt politisches Engagement oder Stellungnahme unter der Oberfläche, obwohl es darin auch um das politisch brisante Thema des Aufstiegs der islamischen Wohlfahrtspartei (*Refah Partisi*) geht. Doch keine der diesbezüglichen Referenzen ist direkt und explizit, vielmehr wird alles durch fiktionale Personen, Orte und Umstände so chiffriert, daß der Leser einen Großteil des realen Kontextes selbst ergänzen muß. Die politische Ebene des Romans verschwindet nahezu vollständig unter dem mystischen Hauptstrang der Erzählung. Zu einem ähnlichen Ergebnis wird man auch gelangen, wenn man den politischen Gehalt der übrigen Romane Pamuks analysiert.

Es ist daher festzustellen, daß Pamuk einen entscheidenden Schritt zur Befreiung des türkischen Romans vom Legitimationszwang durch politische bzw. gesellschaftliche Nutzbarmachung gemacht hat. Selbst Atay, der vielleicht als der stilistisch innovativste Autor vor Pamuk gelten darf, war auf diesem Weg nicht so weit vorangeschritten.

Pamuks Weg in die *vita activa*

Die bereits mehrfach erwähnten publizistischen Eingriffe Pamuks in aktuelle Debatten – sie reichen thematisch von der Kurden- und Armenierfrage bis zum Kopftuch-

¹⁶³ Nachgewiesen durch eine Selbstaussage Pamuks, die in Tekin 1997: 20 zitiert wird.

¹⁶⁴ Berman 2002. Vgl. Moran 1999: 172–174 und Innes 2002. Kritik an der Klassifikation von Pamuks Werk als „postmodern“ übt Tekin 1997: 15, Fußnote 12.

¹⁶⁵ Laut Böthling 2006 bezeichnet Pamuk diesen Roman als seinen „ersten und letzten politischen Roman“. Vgl. außerdem Pamuks Äußerungen in Lau 2006 und Pamuk 2006e.

¹⁶⁶ Siehe beispielsweise seine in Pamuk 1999: 399–416 unter der Überschrift „Politik ist öde“ (*Siyaset sıklıdır*) gesammelten Beiträge.

streit und Erdbeben – belegen unzweifelhaft sein intensives Interesse an den aktuellen Entwicklungen in seinem Land und beweisen, daß er kein völlig der *vita contemplativa* hingebener Autor ist. Es ist aus mehreren Gründen unmöglich, diese öffentlichen Auftritte von Pamuks schriftstellerischer Existenz zu trennen, so als führte er gewissermaßen ein Doppelleben. Denn in allen seinen Stellungnahmen zu aktuellen Themen ist Pamuk immer als er selbst kenntlich gewesen.

Wichtiger noch ist, daß Pamuks literarische Vita keineswegs ohne Bezug zu seinem gesellschaftlich engagierten Auftreten dasteht. Geht man seine Stellungnahmen zu viel diskutierten gesellschaftlichen Problemen der Türkei durch, so wird man feststellen, daß sie ausnahmslos aus der Zeit stammen, als sein Ruhm als Schriftsteller bereits international etabliert war. Als *terminus post quem* kann hierbei das Jahr 1995 gelten, als Pamuks bereits in der Türkei sensationell rezipierter Roman „Das Schwarze Buch“ in englischer Übersetzung erschien.¹⁶⁷ Damit war sein Ruhm als berühmtester türkischer Gegenwartsschriftsteller auch auf der internationalen Bühne nahezu unangefochten.¹⁶⁸ Es läßt sich also eine Parallelität zwischen schriftstellerischem Ruhm und publizistischer Profilierung erkennen.

Pamuks weltweite Bekanntheit dürfte dabei in zweierlei Hinsicht eine Rolle gespielt haben: zum einen verschaffte sie seinen Äußerungen auch über nicht-literarische Themen ein so großes Publikum, wie er es ohne sie wohl nicht erreicht hätte. Zum anderen – und dies ist vielleicht sogar der wichtigere Aspekt – bot die internationale Anerkennung auch einen gewissen Schutz gegen mögliche Repressionen.

Erst wenn man den literarischen und den publizistischen Lebenslauf Pamuks synoptisch liest, löst sich das scheinbare Paradoxon eines Schriftstellers auf, der einerseits *l'art pour l'art* predigt und in seinem Werk auch weitgehend verwirklicht, andererseits aber zum international wohl bekanntesten Sprachrohr seines Landes in allen möglichen aktuellen Fragen avanciert ist. In Wahrheit wirken beide Teile von Pamuks Biographie direkt aufeinander ein. Sein einzigartiger literarischer Ruhm – wohl kein türkischer Schriftsteller seit Nazım Hikmet ist so bekannt geworden – verschafft ihm eine von sonst nur wenigen Türken genossene Position, die ihn in einzigartiger Weise zur aktuellen Stellungnahme prädestiniert. Zwar hat er seine Berühmtheit durch eine Karriere erlangt, die auf einer bewußten Negierung des traditionellen Anspruchs an den türkischen Intellektuellen, „nützlich“ zu sein, beruhte. Doch durch seinen kometenhaften Erfolg auf dieser Laufbahn ist er dann am Ende doch in eine Lage gekommen, die ihn de facto zu einer Rückkehr in genau diese traditionelle Intellektuellen-Rolle gebracht hat.

Abschließend sei darauf hingewiesen, daß Pamuks Romane trotz der bis auf „Schnee“ und wenige Stellen anderswo¹⁶⁹ konsequent durchgehaltenen politischen Abstinenz mehrere für die Türkei wichtige Themen dadurch berühren, daß es zwischen der Politik und den Romanen Berührungspunkte auf eher abstrakten Ebenen

¹⁶⁷ Pamuk 1995a.

¹⁶⁸ Siehe Innes 2002.

¹⁶⁹ Ich denke hier an die Figur des Dr. Narin im „Neuen Leben“, die in manchen Zügen Ähnlichkeit mit dem türkischen Politiker Necmettin Erbakan aufweist.

gibt. Dies gilt beispielsweise für die in „Cevdet und seine Söhne“ und dem „Neuen Leben“ pervasive Identitäts-Thematik oder für die in „Die weiße Festung“, „Das stille Haus“ und „Das schwarze Buch“ explizit zur Sprache gebrachte Auseinandersetzung zwischen abendländischer und orientalischer Kultur.¹⁷⁰ Auch wenn diese Themen in den Romanen stark fiktionalisiert und häufig auf historische Zeitebenen zurückprojiziert sind, ähneln die in ihnen aufgegriffenen Fragestellungen denen gegenwartsbezogener Debatten.

Pamuk zwischen Orient und Okzident

Eines dieser Themen sei zum Abschluß noch einmal kurz dargestellt, nämlich das Verhältnis zwischen Orient und Okzident. Es schließt den Bogen zu der in der Einführung aufgegriffenen Frage nach dem für beide Seiten angemessenen Zugang zur Beziehung zwischen den beiden Kultursphären.

Im Werk Orhan Pamuks hat dieses Thema eine Brückenfunktion zwischen seinem literarischen und seinem politisch engagierten Wirken. Wie im Anfangsteil dieses Beitrags gezeigt wurde, ist die oft konfliktbeladene Auseinandersetzung zwischen islamisch-orientalischer Tradition und westlicher Moderne ein fester Teil der spätosmanischen ebenso wie der türkischen Kulturgeschichte. Mehrere Werke Pamuks nehmen zu dieser Frage ausführlich Stellung, wenngleich, wie bereits ange deutet, so gut wie immer jenseits tagesaktueller Fragen. Dazu gehören seine Romane „Cevdet und seine Söhne“, „Das stille Haus“, „Die weiße Festung“, „Das Schwarze Buch“ und „Mein Name ist Rot“.¹⁷¹ In sämtlichen dieser Werke bezieht Pamuk eine Position, die als Alternative zu den beiden eingangs referierten *master discourses* verstanden werden kann. Pamuks Vision des Verhältnisses von Orient und Okzident ist nicht die eines feindlichen Gegeneinanders wie in der *Clash of civilizations*-Theorie, und auch nicht die eines friedfertigen Nebeneinanders wie im *Dialogmodell*. Vielmehr ist es ein auf Wesensverwandtschaft und Gleichberechtigung beruhendes Miteinander, bei dem die Gemeinsamkeiten der geteilten Geschichte – inklusive der Kulturgeschichte – stärker betont werden als die Unterschiede etwa auf religiösem Gebiet. Am klarsten ist diese Vision Pamuks wohl im „Weißen Schloß“ ausformuliert.¹⁷² Auf nicht-fiktionalem Gebiet findet sie wohl am ehesten ihre Parallele in der von Richard W. Bulliet postulierten These von der Einheit der „islamo-christlichen Zivilisation“.¹⁷³

Schluß

Mit Hilfe eines kurzen Streifzuges durch die neuere türkische Literaturgeschichte und einer etwas vertieften Betrachtung von Leben und Werk Orhan Pamuks konnte einerseits gezeigt werden, daß in der Gegenwartsliteratur der Türkei geistige Strömungen und Muster fortwirken, deren Wurzeln bis in das Osmanische Reich zu

¹⁷⁰ Vgl. hierzu Karakaşoğlu 1993.

¹⁷¹ Siehe Naci 1998: 447, Berman 2002, Eder 2002.

¹⁷² Pamuk 2004a. Ausführlicher zu Pamuks West-Ost-Theorien ist Heß im Erscheinen.

¹⁷³ Bulliet 2004.

rückreichen. Am Beispiel Pamuk wurde deutlich, daß auch scheinbare Widersprüche zwischen Leben und Werk eines türkischen Gegenwartsauteuren ihre logische Erklärung in diesen kulturellen Mustern finden können.

Bestandteil dieser kulturellen Muster ist auf türkischer Seite das nicht immer konfliktfreie Aufeinandereinwirken islamischer, türkischer und europäischer Kulturströmungen. Es dürfte deutlich geworden sein, daß die besprochenen Beispiele aus der türkischen Literatur sich nicht als Ganzes einer postulierten ‚abendländischen‘ oder ‚europäischen‘ gegenüberstellen lassen. Vielmehr verlaufen die Trennlinien zwischen dem, was als ‚europäisch‘ und dem, was als ‚orientalisch‘ perzipiert wird, *innerhalb* der türkischen Literatur. Prägnant formuliert könnte man daher sagen, daß der literarische Okzident nicht an der türkischen Grenze aufhört (ebenso wie der literarische Orient nur noch im Nahen Osten lokalisiert ist, aber das wäre ein ganz anderes Thema). Spätestens mit der durch Atay und Pamuk eingeläuteten postmodernen Phase der türkischen Literatur hat sich diese de facto an die Weltliteratur angeklinkt. Sie muß daher nicht unbedingt nur unter den Vorzeichen ‚orientalischer‘ Literatur gelesen werden – was nicht heißt, daß sie dies in bestimmten Fällen kann oder sogar muß. Weitere Schätze türkischer Gegenwartsliteratur, für die dies trifft, die also auch ohne besondere Berücksichtigung ihrer ‚orientalischen‘ Herkunft unterhaltsam sein können, warten noch darauf, von einem breiteren Publikum gehoben zu werden.¹⁷⁴

Eines der kulturellen Muster, das sich wie ein roter Faden durch die osmanische und türkische Literaturgeschichte der letzten beiden Jahrhunderte zieht, ist eng mit der Frage nach der Rolle des Schriftstellers in der Gesellschaft verbunden. Indem sich Pamuk in seinen Romanen explizit mit den kulturellen Wurzeln der Türkei und dabei der Ost/West- und Identitäts-Thematik beschäftigt, hat er nicht nur eines der Grundthemen osmanischer und türkischer Intellektueller schelchthin geerbt. Vielmehr erklärt das literarische Interesse für diese Fragen auch den auf den ersten Blick überraschenden Widerspruch zwischen seiner dezidierten Ablehnung politischer Inanspruchnahme des Schriftstellers und seinem eigenen öffentlichen Engagement. Denn über die zunächst jeder Bezugnahme auf aktuelle Debatten entbehrende literarische Behandlung der Orient-Okzident-Problematik und der Frage nach der türkischen Identität gelangt er am Ende doch mitten in aktuelle politischen Diskurse über diese Fragen. Nicht zufällig berühren viele von Pamuks nicht-literarischen Wortmeldungen just solche Fragen, die mit der Herausbildung der modernen Türkei, ihrer Identität und Orientierung zusammenhängen, wie etwa die Diskussionen um die Leugnung des Armenier-Genozids und den kurdisch-türkischen Bürgerkrieg.

Orhan Pamuk ist somit ein pertinentes Beispiel für das Nachleben des Osmanischen in der Gegenwart. Die Kontinuität zwischen (spät-)osmanischer Zeit und Gegenwart besteht in der Rolle des Intellektuellen bzw. Schriftstellers als Partizipanten an aktuellen politischen Entwicklungen. Eine naheliegende Erklärung für die Dauerhaftig-

¹⁷⁴ Siehe beispielsweise Kaçan 2003.

keit dieses Rollenmodells könnte darin gesehen werden, daß Intellektuelle und Schriftsteller sich damals wie heute einem moralischen Druck ausgesetzt fühlten, „nützlich“ zu sein, der sich aus ihrem Prestige und ihrer privilegierten Stellung ergibt.

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The Qur'ān and Arabic Literature

Bo Holmberg

Lund

Introduction

Once upon a time a certain ‘Abd Allāh was unfaithful to his wife. Returning home from his mistress, ‘Abd Allāh was caught by his wife who had good reason to suspect what her husband had been up to. After all, it was not the first time she had entertained such suspicions. This time she decided to put him to the test by demanding that he recite some verses from the Holy Qur'ān. Poor ‘Abd Allāh got into a quandary. Having had sexual intercourse with his love-mate, he was ritually impure and had to perform the appropriate ablutions before reciting the Holy Book. So what could he do to save himself from this dilemma and the cunning of his wife? Well, ‘Abd Allāh could also be ingenious. He soon collected his wits and boldly recited some lines from a pre-Islamic *qaṣīda* to the satisfaction of his wife who innocently believed she was hearing words from the Qur'ān. Both parties were convinced of their own success and were satisfied with the result of the test.¹

This story about ‘Abd Allāh and his wife may, of course, be interpreted in various ways according to need. The sole reason for me to relate it here, is that it focuses on the relationship between the Qur'ān and Classical Arabic poetry. From this perspective, the point of the story is that the linguistic and stylistic differences between a Qur'ānic saying and a *bayt* of Classical Arabic poetry are small enough to confuse at least a person who is not an expert in the field. To bring matters to a head, one could venture to suggest that there are no inherent stylistic differences between the Qur'ān and Arabic poetry. Historically and ideologically the Qur'ān and Arabic poetry are, of course, quite separate, though the story of the interplay between the two is an intricate one.

Here I wish to problematise the intertextual relationship between the Qur'ān and Arabic literature in general, especially poetry and *adab*. Needless to say, the subject is too vast for a thorough investigation in a short paper. Nevertheless, I wish to touch upon notions such as “literature”, “*adab*”, “poetry”, “inimitability”, “intertextuality”, and “intentionality”, with constant reference to Qur'ānic studies.

The pre-Islamic ode (*qaṣīda*) and the Qur'ān have traditionally been regarded as the twin foundations of Arab-Islamic literary culture.² The Qur'ān, though not in itself literature in a strict sense, has had an impact on all genres of Arabic literature that cannot be overestimated. The important role of the Qur'ān is adroitly described

¹ See *Lisān al-‘arab* (Beirut 1374/1955), vol. 7: 183ab.

² See Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak. Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), xi.

by Adonis ('Alī Ahmad Sa'īd) when he states that “the Qur'ān was the focal point of all the controversies relating to rhetoric and the aesthetics of speech in general, and to poetry and prose in particular”.³

The readiness to quote the Qur'ān at all times is partly attributable to the wide-spread practice of learning it by heart, which has always been a feature of Islamic education. A vivid account of this is given by Tāhā Husayn in the first volume of his *al-Ayyām*. The same Tāhā Husayn, who was taught to recite the entire Qur'ān by heart, was later to experience the danger of questioning its divine authority, as well as the authenticity of the *jāhiliyya* poetry, when his work *Fī sh-shi'r al-jāhilī* (On Pre-Islamic Poetry) in 1926 was withdrawn from public distribution.

But the practice of memorising the Qur'ān is, in itself, of course, the result of the importance accorded to it at the very beginning of Arab-Islamic culture. Not only does it constitute the foundation of written discourse in an environment dominated by oral tradition, but it became the paradigmatic text, the yardstick by which everything else was measured. The doctrine of the inimitability of the Qur'ān (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān*) secured for it a supreme position as different from and superior to all literary genres composed by humans.

In the first belletristic prose narratives to emerge, such as the secretary 'Abd al-Hamīd's writings from the last twenty-five years of the Umayyad caliphate, copious citations from and allusions to the Qur'ān are found. The tenth-century grammarian ar-Rummānī (d. 384/994) considered the Qur'ān's *i'jāz* the highest of three categories of *balāgha* ('eloquence'). Another specialist on this subject, al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), sought to prove the Qur'ān's superiority by comparing it to the prominent poets Imru' al-Qays (pre-Islamic) and al-Buhturī (d. 284/897). Besides concluding that the Qur'ān is in fact superior, he also noted that the Qur'ān could not be counted as poetry, though parts of it were in metre, since there has to be a desire to produce poetry for it to be considered as such. The major figure in Arabic literary criticism, 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081), bases his entire linguistic and literary theory as propounded in *Asrār al-balāgha* (The Secrets of Eloquence) and *Dalā'il al-i'jāz* (The Features of Inimitability) on an analysis of the Qur'ānic text.

So, throughout the history of Arabic poetics we find a vivid discussion about the relationship between the Qur'ān and other types of scripture, especially poetry. These discussions aim to demonstrate the uniqueness and superiority of the Qur'ān, and thus to place the Holy Book in a category of its own. At the same time, throughout the history of Arab-Islamic literary culture, the intertextual relationship between the Qur'ān, on the one hand, and poetry and prose, on the other, is an ever-present fact. The Qur'ān itself abounds in quotations from and allusions to other written as well as oral sources. More important, though, is the diversified use of the Qur'ān in Arabic literature in general – as subtext, as legitimisation, as symbol of identity etc.

In the following, the Qur'ān and Classical Arabic poetry – being the twin foundations of Arab-Islamic literary culture – may be viewed as the two base corners of a

³ Adonis, *An Introduction to Arab Poetics*, trans. Catherine Cobham (London: Saqi Books, 1990) [first published in French in 1985], 41.

triangle. The tip of the triangle – or, the summit of the pyramid – is represented by the Arab-Islamic literary culture, or the somewhat narrower concept to which I will stick here, namely *adab*. I intend to first focus on the relationship of *adab* to the Qur'ān and poetry, i.e. the tip of the triangle in relation to the two base corners. Then I wish to concentrate on the intertextual relationship between the Qur'ān and poetry.

Adab vs. the Qur'ān and poetry

There are, of course, many ways to define “literature”. Generally speaking, one can apply the word “literature” either in the restricted sense described in *The Oxford English Dictionary* as “writing which has claim to consideration on the ground of beauty of form or emotional effect”,⁴ or, in the more inclusive sense also found in *The Oxford English Dictionary*: “Literary productions as a whole; the body of writings produced in a particular country or period, or in the world in general.”⁵

It is this wider notion of “literature” that dominates many – if not all – histories of Arabic literature which do not restrict themselves to the modern period. This goes for Carl Brockelmann's monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*⁶ and Fuat Sezgin's likewise monumental *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*,⁷ which deliberately avoids the term “Literatur” in favour of “Schrifttum”. The two works share a common concern for cataloguing manuscripts in cases where editions are unavailable. A different approach is taken by *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* in five volumes.⁸ Here experts on various specialised fields of research have collaborated in giving an over-all view of literary productions in Arabic from pre-Islamic times to the late twentieth century. Yet, the definition of “literature” adopted is again the inclusive one: “virtually everything that has been recorded in writing, apart from inscriptions and purely archival material.”⁹

From the point of view of the history of Oriental studies in Europe, the inclusive definition of “literature” as employed in the works just mentioned is quite understandable. The study of “Oriental languages” in Europe has from the very beginning (and as far as Arabic is concerned this means going back to the Middle Ages) been driven by a philological concern with manuscripts and textual variants. An impor-

⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary*² (prepared by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner), vol. 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1029.

⁵ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 8, 1029. For further discussions of this issue, see Gunilla Lindberg-Wada and Anders Pettersson (eds.), *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), vol. 1: *Notions of Literature Across Times and Cultures*.

⁶ See Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Zweite den Supplementbänden angepaste Auflage (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937–1949), erster Band, 1.

⁷ See Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–).

⁸ *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983–2000); *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, eds. A.F.L. Beeston *et al.* (1983); ‘Abbasid Belles-Lettres’, eds. Julia Ashtiyani *et al.* (1990); *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, eds. M.J.L. Young *et al.* (1990); *The Literature of al-Andalus*, eds. María Rosa Menocal *et al.* (2000); *Modern Arabic Literature*, ed. M.M. Badawi (1992).

⁹ A.F.L. Beeston *et al.*, eds. *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), xi.

tant motive for learning Arabic in Europe in the past was the existence of Arabic Bible translations which could shed light on the Biblical texts. The study of Arabic as an academic discipline was “the maiden of Theology”. In the course of time, it became the auxiliary discipline for a growing number of other disciplines. The peak of this process was perhaps reached in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. So, alongside the general tendency in the past to define “literature” in a wide sense, the philological background of Oriental studies, and in this case especially Arabic studies, contributes to explaining the attitudes adopted by Brockelmann, Sezgin and *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*.

In this respect, Roger Allen’s book *The Arabic Literary Heritage*¹⁰ represents an effort to break with the past. Leaving behind the philological phase of the history of Arabic literature studies in the West, Roger Allen professes himself an adherent of a more belletristic one: “I would venture to suggest that the field [i.e. of the history of Arabic literature studies in the West] has now moved from what I might term a philological phase into a more belletristic one, but the shift is relatively recent.”¹¹

In the light of contemporary research, it has become evident that everything written down is not automatically literature (and, by the way, that literature does not have to be written down; it may also be oral). As far as Arabists are concerned, it has also become evident that the Qur’ān as such is not literature in any meaningful sense. Ironically, this position tallies with the view of traditional Arabic rhetoricians and critics who distinguished the Qur’ān from the rest of written Arabic discourse, though, of course, the reasons are quite different. While the Arabic rhetoricians argue from the point of view of a divine origin of the Qur’ān and its inimitability, modern literary critics argue from a belletristic notion of literature.

Though the Qur’ān may not be considered as literature,¹² it certainly contains literature. The literary elements in the Qur’ān spring from two different sources, namely ancient Arab paganism and the Jewish-Christian heritage. The former source, i.e. ancient Arab paganism, makes itself known through the idioms and conceptions of the soothsayers (*kuhhān*, sing. *kāhin*) and the use of rhymed prose (*saj'*). The peculiar oaths which frequently introduce a Qur’ānic saying and provide it with “rhetorical or even magical pathos”,¹³ stem from this source. By way of example, *Sūrat al-Fajr* (89:1–4) may be cited: “By the dawn, by ten nights, by the even and the odd, and by the night when it runs its course. Is this not an oath for a man of understanding?” (*wa-l-fajri wa-layālin ‘ashrin wa-sh-shaf'i wa-l-watri wa-l-layli idhā yasri. hal fi dhālikā qasamun li-dhī hijrin?*).

While the literary elements that stem from the old pagan world are mainly of a

¹⁰ Roger Allen, *The Arabic Literary Heritage. The Development of its Genres and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 278. An abridged version of the original book appeared a couple of years later: Roger Allen, *An Introduction to Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹¹ Allen, *Heritage*, 3f.

¹² Cf. Robert Irwin, *Night & Horses & the Desert. An Anthology of Classical Arabic Literature* (New York: Anchor Books, 2011), 5.

¹³ See R. Paret, “The Qur’ān – I”, in Beeston et al., eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, 207.

stylistic and rhetorical nature, those that have been taken over from the Jewish-Christian heritage are identifiable mainly by their subject matter. They are mostly stories of biblical, haggadic and apocryphal origin. Good examples of such stories are the legend of the Seven Sleepers in *Sūrat al-Kahf* (18:9/8–26/25) and the Alexander Romance in the same *sūra* (18:60/59–64/63, 83/82–98). In addition to these stories, the Qur'ān has adopted old proverbial wisdom in part related to the legendary pre-Islamic sage Luqmān (cf. *Sūrat Luqmān*; 31:12–13) who bears a close resemblance to the wise Ahīqar – prominent in much Near Eastern wisdom literature.

The legend of the Seven Sleepers, the Alexander Romance and the sapiential sayings are all set within the scope of Qur'ānic ethics. They complement the purely juridical statutes and laws so prominent in especially the later *sūras* by summoning the faithful to comply with a certain code of behaviour, with rules of etiquette and good manners, and promote the virtues that are characteristic of the faithful. In this respect there is a connection between the literary material in the Qur'ān and the somewhat elusive phenomenon of *adab*. This concept – *adab*, which may be translated as “good manners” in its most general sense – is a good candidate for an indigenous Arabic parallel to the modern notion of literature. Obviously, this is the case in Modern Standard Arabic where *adab* simply is used as an equivalent of *belles-lettres*. But the parallel also holds true – to a certain extant – for the pre-modern uses of *adab*.

This is not the place for a survey of the development of the notion of *adab* from its early pre-Islamic roots up to its modern sense as *belles-lettres*. That story has been told elsewhere.¹⁴ Suffice to say that from an initial sense of “custom”, “habit” – cf. the term *sunna* – the ethical and practical content of *adab* was soon emphasised. By the end of the Umayyad caliphate, *adab* in much corresponded to “the Latin *urbanitas*, the civility, courtesy, refinement of the cities in contrast to bedouin uncouthness”.¹⁵ This social and ethical dimension of *adab* was current throughout the ‘Abbāsid caliphate.

The most extreme example of *adab* as sophisticated urban codes is the mannered ways of the *zarīf* (plur. *zurāfa*’), a person who was marked by *zarf*, i.e. personal elegance and refinement, implying such qualities as culture, urbanity, ethics, aesthetic sensibility, courtesy and amiability. The *zarīf* was a connoisseur of dress, fine object, poetry and wit. He was a dandy and arbiter of taste. A colleague of the *zarīf* was the *nadīm* (plur. *nudamā*’, “boon companion”), an important functionary in medieval Arab court society. The task of the *nadīm* was to accompany and entertain the ruler in his solitary moments, at his private literary musical gatherings – soirées

¹⁴ See e.g. Carlo-Alfonso Nallino, *La littérature arabe des origines à l'époque de la dynastie umayyade*, translated by Charles Pellat, (Paris: Éditions G.P. Maisonneuve, 1950), 7–34; Hartmund Fähndrich, “Der Begriff ‘adab’ und sein literarischer Niederschlag”, in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Klaus von See, (Wiesbaden: AULA-Verlag, 1972–1984), vol. 5:326–345; Philip F. Kennedy (ed.), On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005); and Bo Holmberg, “Adab and Arabic Literature” in Gunilla Lindberg-Wada and Anders Pettersson (eds.), *Literary History: Towards a Global Perspective* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), vol. 1: *Notions of Literature Across Times and Cultures*, 180–205.

¹⁵ F. Gabrieli, “Adab”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1960–), vol. 1:175.

(*musāmarāt*), sessions (*majālis*), and conferences (*muḥādarāt*) – and drinking parties, in playing games and in hunting.

But the term *adab* does not only apply to the life-style of cultured society. It also applies to the writings, the literature, emanating from this way of life with its ideals and codes of behaviour. To *adab* as literature belong the books on the etiquette of various social activities, such as eating, drinking, dressing, travelling and studying, as well as the manuals for certain professions and offices, notably those of secretaries (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib*), judges (*quḍāh*, sing. *qāḍin*) and viziers (*wuzarā'*, sing. *wazīr*). To *adab* as literature also belong the mirrors for princes as well as a wide array of genres celebrating learning in various more or less specialised fields. The *adab* work is typically a compilation. Anecdotes, witty remarks, quotations from poetry and the Qur'ān and serious philosophical arguments are intertwined. Seriousness (*jidd*) and joking (*hazl*) alternate. The object is both to educate and to entertain.

It has already been noted that the Qur'ān and *adab* share a concern for ethics, good manners and the promotion of certain virtues. Of course, the contents of the codes of behaviour celebrated by the Qur'ān and *adab* respectively differ a great deal. The secular and urban ideals of the *zārif* and the *nadīm* are not always compatible with the religious pathos of Qur'ānic patterns of behaviour. Nevertheless – and this is important – one of the characteristics of *adab* works is the frequent quotation of the Qur'ān along with quotations of poetry. Why do the *adab* works quote the Qur'ān and poetry?

There are certainly many answers to this question and I will not pretend to examine all of them. Those I wish to mention here all have to do with legitimisation in one way or another; i.e. the quotations from the Qur'ān and the allusions to it in prose literature normally serve as justification for the piece of writing or the book in question. This is perhaps most evident in the very common habit of introducing a prose work with quotations from the Qur'ān. To pick just one example of this, the exordium to *The Thousand and One Nights* begins with the following invocation:

Praise be to God, the Beneficent King, the Creator of the world and man, who raised the heavens without pillars and spread out the earth as a place of rest and erected the mountains as props and made the water flow from the hard rock and destroyed the race of Thamūd, 'Ād and Pharaoh of the vast domain. I praise Him for his infinite grace.¹⁶

Here various Qur'ānic passages are conflated into a single sentence. We recognise, for instance, *Sūrat Luqmān* (31:10/9): "He has created the heavens without pillars that can be seen and set on the earth firm mountains" (*khalaqa s-samawāti bi-ghayri 'amadin tarawnahā wa- 'alqā fī l- 'ardi rawāsiya*); and *Sūrat ar-Rā'd* (13:3): "He is the one who spread out the earth and set thereon mountains and rivers" (*wa-huwa lladhī madda l- 'arda wa-ja'ala fī-hā rawāsiya wa- 'anhāran*); and, of course, the numerous passages where the destruction of Thamūd, 'Ād and Pharaoh is mentioned.

By quoting the Qur'ān, the anonymous compiler of *The Thousand and One Nights* gives the collection of magical tales an indisputable legitimisation. In addition to this, he alludes to the stories of divinely punished pre-Islamic races, and thus implies that the stories he is going to relate also contain warnings and messages of moral value.

¹⁶ Quoted from Irwin, *Night & Horses*, 32.

The legitimising function of Qur'ānic quotations and allusions in Arabic works of prose applies to poetic quotations as well. Though lines of poetry do not play the same role as do Qur'ānic quotations in the prefaces and preambles of prose works, they do occur – along with quotations from the Qur'ān – within the prose narrative itself, especially in works of *adab*, i.e. the typically compiled work which brings together anecdotes, witty remarks, quotations from poetry and the Qur'ān, and serious statements with the dual object of educating and entertaining.

If my assumption that quotations from the Qur'ān and from poetry aim to legitimise the works in which they appear is correct, it is appropriate to ask the question why these works need this kind of support and justification at all. To answer this question, I will refer to what I consider to be certain biases within Arabic literary culture, i.e. deeply rooted opinions that are sometimes explicitly stated and sometimes tacitly implied.

One such bias has to do with the question of orality vs. literacy and the dominating view in traditional Arabic culture that orally transmitted material has a higher status than texts that have been written down. This is, of course, a bias that the Arabs in many ways share with much of Western tradition. One need only go back to Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* and reflect on Derrida's deconstruction of it and its role in European thought.¹⁷ If we stick to Arab culture, there is an unmistakable tension throughout the history of Arabic literature between the oral transmission of words and words that are written down.

The Qur'ān marks the beginning of written discourse in an environment dominated by oral tradition. It was the Qur'ān and the need of the early Islamic community to understand the divine written revelation that supplied the motivation to record the pre-Islamic poetic tradition in written form. The poetry was collected and studied in order to interpret opaque words and phrases in the revelation, a procedure that sometimes meant that the obscure was interpreted in the light of the even more obscure. This dual event of written corpora, the Qur'ān and pre-Islamic poetry – “the twin foundations of Arab-Islamic culture” – stand out against everything else that has been written in the Arabic language.

Though the amount of texts being written down from the late Umayyad period and onwards continuously increased due to several factors such as the introduction of relatively cheap paper and the rapid spread of literacy, Arab society continued to be basically oral in several respects. The bedouin legacy of oral transmission could not be erased that easily. As evidence to this effect, one could mention the ongoing practice of learning huge amounts of text by heart. It was not only the Qur'ān that one was supposed to know by heart. It was also a merit to have memorised as much poetry as possible. In medieval Arab society, as Robert Irwin has put it, “[l]iterary men were walking, talking books.”¹⁸ Another evidence for the importance of oral transmission is the fact that even after the spread of literacy, written works retained many of the characteristics of oral transmission, for instance the practice of intro-

¹⁷ See Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975).

¹⁸ Irwin, *Night & Horses*, 354.

ducing a story by mentioning the oral sources of information, sometimes a complete chain of authorities, reminiscent of the *isnād* in *hadīth* transmission.

Given this background of oral priority over written texts, it is my contention that one explanation of the almost universal practice in Arabic prose literature at all times to quote the Qur'ān and poetry is the fact that both the Qur'ān and poetry (especially pre-Islamic poetry), though being the first written corpora in Arab society, are distinctly associated with oral transmission and memorisation. By quoting from these foundations of Arab-Islamic culture so closely associated with orality and esteem, the *adīb* gives legitimation to his work.

Another bias within Arabic literary culture is the common opinion that one's own time and its achievements are clearly inferior to times gone by. Many authors in the tenth and eleventh centuries, such as at-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994) and at-Tawhīdī (d. 411/1023), speak with disdain about their own time in terms of "the rottenness of the age" (*fasaḍ az-zamān*). The telling allegory of the history of poetry attributed to the Umayyad poet al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728) shows that already in his time the standards of poetry were perceived as constantly declining:

Poetry was once a magnificent camel. Then, one day, it was slaughtered. So Imru'ul Qays came and took his head, 'Amr ibn Kulthum took his hump, Zuhayr the shoulders, al-A'sha and al-Nabigha the thighs, and Tarafa and Labid the stomach. There remained only the forearms and offal which we split among ourselves. The butcher then said, "Hey, you, there remains only the blood and impurities. See that I get them." "They are yours," we replied. So he took the stuff, cooked it, ate it and excreted it. Your verses are from the excrement of that butcher.¹⁹

By regularly quoting the Qur'ān and early poetry, the *udabā'* counteract the effects of the rottenness of the age. They link their own humble texts to the highly esteemed paradigmatic texts of the earliest times. The Qur'ānic verses and the poetic lines give these *udabā'* an acceptable excuse for venturing to add new materials when everything of genuine importance has actually already been said.

The general perception of a progressive decline in literary standards is related to the common feature in Arabic literature to disclaim one's own authorship of a piece of writing.²⁰ This is the third bias that I would like to mention. The typical *adīb* is a compiler who collects and puts together pieces of poetry, verses from the Qur'ān, aphoristic wisdom (*hikma*), and anecdotes in prose, attributing every piece to someone else. In this perspective, the quotations from the Qur'ān and from poetry serve the compiler (or the author, as we would call him) in his endeavour to disclaim originality and the pretention of authorship. These quotations anchor the writings of the *adīb* well outside his own person and provide his work with the legitimation it needs in order to be accepted by the audience.

A fourth and final bias in Arabic literary culture that helps us to understand why the *adab* works so frequently quote the Qur'ān and poetry is the depreciation of

¹⁹ Quoted from Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 98.

²⁰ For this and related issues, see Abdelfattah Kilito, *The Author and His Doubles. Essays on Classical Arabic Culture*, translated by Michael Cooperson (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001) [*L'auteur et ses doubles*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1985].

prose in relation to poetry, especially the pre-Islamic ode, and the strong prejudice against telling stories that are not true. Along with the disparaging attitude towards popular tales in the Arabic critical tradition, there is a common bias against prose fiction as a whole. While poetry has always been accorded a very high status, prose fiction is scarcely counted as literature. This is of course not the case in the present-day Arab world where, on the contrary, the fictional novel, and particularly the short story, have become the most popular genres. But as late as in 1913, the Egyptian writer Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (d. 1956) had to publish his novel *Zaynab*, sometimes considered the first real Arabic novel, under a pseudonym, to all appearances due to the ambiguous status of fiction in the minds of the upper-class intelligentsia.²¹

These two aspects mentioned – i.e. the depreciation of prose and the prejudice against idle tales – are opposite sides of the same coin. Poetry, especially that of the ancients (*al-qudamā'*) as opposed to that of the moderns (*al-muḥdathūn*), was praised for its truth (*sidq*), i.e. its objectivity, sincerity and accuracy of description.²² The Qur'ān is, of course, even more associated with truth. It is worth keeping in mind that in the Qur'ān the opponents of Muḥammad accuse him of telling lies or *asāfīr al-awwalīn* with the pejorative meaning of “untrue stories of the men of old”²³. Nevertheless, when poetry is quoted in *adab* works, it is often to balance the low status accorded to prose as such. When the Qur'ān is quoted, the object is often to safeguard the credibility of the writer's stories. In both cases the overall result is to give the *adab* work legitimacy.

The Qur'ān vs. poetry

So far we have considered the intertextual relationship between the tip of our imagined triangle – the Arab-Islamic literary culture, or rather, in its more narrow sense, the works of *adab* – and the two base corners of the same triangle, i.e. the Qur'ān and poetry. Now, we will concentrate on these two base corners – the Qur'ān and poetry – and try to problematise their relationship. Since poetry is not a monolithic phenomenon in Arabic literary culture (the distinction between the ancients and the moderns has already been mentioned), I will in turn deal with: a) the pre-Islamic ode; b) Umayyad and 'Abbāsid poetry; and c) modern Arabic poetry. Again I will confine myself to a few examples.

As far as the pre-Islamic poetry and its relation to the Qur'ān is concerned, it is of vital importance to keep in mind that these two events are roughly contemporary, or, to be more exact, that the poetry by and large even predates the Qur'ān. When Muḥammad began his prophetic career, the Arabic ode was fully developed in language, structure and metrical scheme. The poetic traditions with their characteristic style, social notions and habits of thought were already firmly established. How

²¹ See Allen, *Heritage*, 296, 304.

²² See Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* 1–2 (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 781–782.

²³ See e.g. the Qur'ān 6:25; 8:31; 16:24/26; 23:83/85; 25:5/6; 27:68/70; 46:17/16; 83:13.

does the Qur'ān relate to these traditions? What does it have in common with them, and how does it dissociate itself from them? In order to answer these questions, we have to remind ourselves of the Qur'ānic references to the poet (*ash-shā'ir*), the soothsayer (*al-kāhin*) and the Arabic tongue (*al-lisān al-'arabiyya*).

Etymologically, the poet or *shā'ir* was “the knower”, the one who was aware and had insight into matters beyond the ken of ordinary men. The word occurs four times in the singular²⁴ and once in the plural (*shū'arā'*).²⁵ All the passages have a negative attitude towards the poets. It is the opponents of the Prophet who derogatively accuse him of being a mere poet. In *Sūrat al-Anbiyā'* (21:5) they say of Muḥammad's revelations: “No, [they are] muddled dreams; no, he has only invented it; no, he is but a poet” (*bal qālū adghāthu 'aḥlāmin bal iftarāḥu bal huwa shā'irun*). In *Sūrat aṣ-Ṣāffāt* (37:36/35) the Prophet is called a “poet possessed” (*shā'ir majnūn*) and in *Sūrat al-Hāqqā* (69:40–41) he is defended by God: “This is indeed the word of an honoured messenger. It is not the word of a poet – little is it that you believe! Nor is it the word of a soothsayer – little is it that you remember!” (*innahu la-qawlu rasūlin karīmin wa-mā huwa bi-qawli shā'irin qalīlan mā tu'mīnūna wa-lā bi-qawli kāhinin qalīlan mā tadhakkarūna*).

In this last passage the soothsayer (*kāhin*) is introduced and parallelled with the poet. The same holds true for *Sūrat at-Tūr* (52:29–30) which is the second of the two occurrences of the word *kāhin* in the Qur'ān: “Therefore warn! By the grace of your Lord you are neither a soothsayer nor possessed, or they say, a poet” (*fa-dhakkir fa-mā 'anta bi-ni'mati rabbika bi-kāhinin wa-lā majnūnin 'am yaqūlūna shā'irun*). In this verse, as well as in the other passages referred to, it is clearly stated that the Prophet was neither a *shā'ir* nor a *kāhin*.

That the *kāhin* was an oracle and soothsayer is well known, and there are ample descriptions of the activities of the *kuhhān*.²⁶ As for *shā'ir*, it is normally translated as “poet”, which is of course the meaning it eventually adopted in Arabic. But we have already noted that etymologically the poet was “the knower”, the one who was aware and had insight into matters beyond the ken of ordinary men. There is no doubt that the designation *shā'ir* also stands for “oracle-givers and soothsayers who transmitted messages from the spiritual world in a language with specific characteristics and in a stylized poetic form.”²⁷ The meaning of the word *shū'arā'* in *Sūrat ash-Shū'arā'* (26:224) is definitely not “poets” but rather “soothsayers”, i.e. the original meaning of the word.

Both the *kuhhān* and the *shū'arā'* were bearers of the Holy Tongue, i.e. the stylised language of the *'arabiyya* which was not the everyday medium of conversation of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, but the ancient language of gods and spirits which, at a certain time, was secularised together with the spread of classical Arabic

²⁴ The Qur'ān 21:5; 37:36/35; 52:30; 69:41.

²⁵ The Qur'ān 26:224.

²⁶ See Julius Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums gesammelt und erläutert* (Berlin, 1897, 2 Aufl., repr. Berlin, 1961), 134–140; and T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloristiques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 92ff.

²⁷ Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 592.

poetry which used the Holy Tongue for everyday themes.²⁸ While the utterances of the *kuhhān* were formed as *saj̄*, “rhymed prose”, those of the *shu‘arā’* were modelled on the rules of *rajaz*, rhymed verses or *qarīd* poetry with its variegated metres. A certain antagonism seems to have existed between these two schools of soothsayers. It is worth noting that while the Qur’ān heavily criticises the *shu‘arā’* in *Sūrat ash-Shu‘arā’* (26:224–227) it clearly uses the poetic form of the *kuhhān*, i.e. *saj̄*. The Qur’ān thus seems to side with the *kuhhān*, at least implicitly; it still rejects that the Prophet would be a soothsayer.

While dissociating itself from the *kuhhān* and especially the *shu‘arā’*, the Qur’ān shares with both these groups the Holy Tongue, the prestigious *‘arabiyya*. This is of course emphasised again and again when the Qur’ān insists that the message revealed to Muḥammad is “an Arabic Qur’ān” (*Qur’ānun ‘arabiyyun*),²⁹ “a decisive utterance in Arabic” (*hukman ‘arabiyyan*),³⁰ “a confirming book in the Arabic tongue” (*kitābun muṣaddiqun lisānan ‘arabiyyan*),³¹ and that the language of the revelation is “a clear Arabic tongue” (*lisānun ‘arabiyyun mubīnun*).³²

While sharing the Holy Tongue with the *kuhhān* and the *shu‘arā’*, and as far as the *kuhhān* are concerned even the poetic form of rhymed prose, the Qur’ān dissociates itself from both groups and any other conceivable group by stressing the uniqueness and inimitability of its message. Those contesting the Qur’ānic revelation are challenged to produce a similar *sūra* or book.³³ In *Sūrat al-Baqara*, for instance, God says: “If you are in doubt as to what we have sent down to our servant, then produce a similar *sūra*!” (*wa-in kuntum fī raybin mimmā nazzalnā ‘alā ‘abdinā fa-tū bi-sūratin min mithlihi*).³⁴

Incidentally, we have the sayings of the “false prophet” Musaylima who allegedly wished to share dominion over Arabia with Muḥammad and who was killed fighting against Khālid ibn al-Walīd in 633. His pronouncements are similar in form to the earliest *sūras*, but their authenticity is questionable.³⁵ Among later writers who took up the gauntlet in this respect, or at least were accused of doing so, we find Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (d. 139/756) who is supposed to have written a heretical imitation of the Qur’ān which began “In the name of the Light, the compassionate, the merciful...” (*bi-smi n-nūri r-rahmāni r-raḥīm*)³⁶ and al-Ma‘arrī (d. 973/1058) whose *al-Fuṣūl wa-l-Ghāyāt* (Paragraphs and Periods) “was seen as an attempt simultaneously to emulate and parody the Qur’ān”.³⁷

More important, though, is the fact that the verses in the Qur’ān which contain a challenge (*tahaddī*) to the Prophet’s opponents to produce a discourse like it were

²⁸ For the linguistic issue, see Retsö, *The Arabs*, 591–599.

²⁹ The Qur’ān 12:2; 20:113/112; 39:28/29; 41:3; 42:7; 43:3.

³⁰ The Qur’ān 13:37.

³¹ The Qur’ān 46:12/11.

³² The Qur’ān 16:103/105; 26:195 (cf. 41:44).

³³ The Qur’ān 2:23/21; 8:31; 1038/39; 11:13/16; 17:88/90; 28:49; 52:34.

³⁴ The Qur’ān 2:23/21.

³⁵ See Paret, “The Qur’ān – I”, 212.

³⁶ See Paret, “The Qur’ān – I”, 212.

³⁷ Irwin, *Night & Horses*, 230.

fundamental for the proponents of the doctrine of the “miraculous inimitability” of the Qur’ān (*i’jāz al-Qur’ān*). Though the technical term *i’jāz* (with its literal meaning of “incapacitation” or “rendering powerless”) does not occur in the Qur’ān, it became current during the third/ninth century. The doctrine of the “miraculous inimitability” of the Qur’ān was linked to the doctrine that the Qur’ān is the confirmatory miracle (*mujiza*) of the Prophet’s mission, which was in turn underscored by the claim of his illiteracy.³⁸

In the written works on the inimitability of the Qur’ān, it is the rhetorical and stylistic aspects that are stressed. The Qur’ān is the most excellent example of *balāgha* (“eloquence”), conveying the best meaning in the best form; of *fāsāha* (“purity of speech”), the best choice of words in their syntactic context; of *naẓm* (“composition”), the arrangement of words to convey the required meaning; and of *bayān* (“lucidity”).

By referring to the exegetes and the literary critics of later centuries we have left the discussion of the intertextual relationship between the Qur’ān and pre-Islamic poetry. It is time to turn to the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid poetry and briefly see how it relates to the Qur’ān. The Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid poetry owe a debt of gratitude to both the Qur’ān and the pre-Islamic ode. The presence of pre-Islamic poetry in the themes, structure and language of the Arabic poem is, of course, more significant than the presence of the Qur’ān. Nevertheless, the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid poetry opens onto the Qur’ān as well, in several respects, through straightforward quotations, subtle allusions and so forth.

Much of what has been written on the relationship between the Qur’ān and Arab-Islamic literary culture works within the traditional models of influence. According to these the relations between texts are more or less stable and determinate. A text relies on a prior text which functions as a stable source revealed by a study of allusion, quotation and reference. The stability and determinacy of relations between such texts is the result of several premises of traditional criticism: (1) that language has the capacity to create stable meaning; (2) that such meaning exists within the confines of form; (3) that the author is in control of meaning; (4) that a work has closure; and (5) that criticism is an ancillary activity, separate from literature.³⁹

During the last half-century, these and other premises have been challenged as unduly logocentric by poststructuralist critics and proponents of deconstruction who have discarded the concept of “influence” in favour of the concept of “intertextuality”. Intertextuality, according to this understanding, rests on another set of premises, the major ones being: (1) that language is arbitrary and compact and open to an infinite number of interpretations; (2) that texts are fragments, without closure or resolution; and (3) that no writer can ever be in control of the meaning of the text.⁴⁰

Keeping these theoretical considerations in mind, we now turn to Umayyad and

³⁸ See *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 390.

³⁹ See *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, edited by Alex Preminger and T.V.F. Brogan (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993, 620–622).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

'Abbāsid poetry and its intertextual relationship to the Qur'ān. In *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, there is an article on the impact of the Qur'ān and *hadīth* on medieval Arabic literature written by A.M. Zubaidi.⁴¹ The approach taken by the author here is not surprisingly in accordance with the traditional models of influence. “[T]he Umayyad poets made an extensive use of the Quranic ideas, images, diction and expressions, of the narratives relating to prophets and the fate of their opponents, and of the descriptions of Paradise, Hell and the Day of Judgement.”⁴² “In all this the Quranic ideas, images and phrases, which are used in abundance, are assimilated, transformed and modified.”⁴³ Zubaidi goes through examples of Qur'ānic influences on the panegyrics, satires, *rajaz* and ascetic poems of Umayyad times, and the examples could be multiplied almost infinitely.

“These Quranic influences”, Zubaidi goes on to say, “continued in the works of the ‘Abbasid poets...’⁴⁴ In their panegyrics, satires, love lyrics, ascetic poems and hunting poems, the ‘Abbāsids employed the same Qur'ānic ideas, images and arguments as the Umayyad poets. But we also come across some highly delicate and witty allusions to other Qur'ānic ideas and images, especially in the drinking songs of Abū Nuwās (d. c.198/813), the panegyrics of Abū Tammām (d. c. 232/845) and the satirical poems of Ibn ar-Rūmī (d. 283/896).

In the drinking poems of Abū Nuwās, the impact of the Qur'ān is quite conspicuous. It appears in the description of the wine and its pleasures, as in the opening of one of his poems:

“Praise the wine for its gifts
And call it by its most beautiful names”⁴⁵

But it also appears in the descriptions of the cup-bearers and the tavern-maidens, in the poet's arguments in favour of the pleasure of this world as opposed to that of the world to come, and in his references to God's forgiveness and mercy.

Unlike Zubaidi, who does not use the terms “intertextual” and “intertextuality” in the above-mentioned article, Philip F. Kennedy freely makes use of these terms in his book *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry. Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition*.⁴⁶ In the end, though, Kennedy, like Zubaidi, takes part in a discourse moulded upon the traditional models of influence. Intertextuality often merely amounts to “allusions” to older texts, “glimpses of an older text” and transformations of earlier poetry and the Qur'ān.⁴⁷ But Kennedy's study of the wine song also proves that the paradigm of influence may shed abundant light on the relationship between a piece of poetry and the Qur'ān.

⁴¹ See A.M. Zubaidi, “The Impact of the Qur'ān and *hadīth* on Medieval Arabic Literature”, in Beeston et al., eds., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, 322–343.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 323.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 327.

⁴⁵ Quoted from Zubaidi, “The Impact of the Qur'ān”, 327.

⁴⁶ See Philip F. Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry. Abū Nuwās and the Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁴⁷ See *ibid.*, 30, 56, 242.

This is evident from Kennedy's analysis of one of Abū Nuwās' most original pieces, which al-Ghazālī appropriately entitled *Ighrā' Iblīs* (The temptation of Iblīs). It depicts a conversation between Satan and Abū Nuwās and relates to the contemporary discussion about the inconstancy of *tawba* ("repentance") amongst many who had given voice to their contrition. The references to the Qur'ān are evident on several levels and eloquently illustrate that Abū Nuwās had studied the Qur'ān in detail, and was amply capable of giving it a role in his own poetry. It would require too much space for us to go through all the aspects of intertextual relationship between this poem and the Qur'ān, especially *Sūrat an-Najm* (53:1–18) and *Sūrat al-Hijr* (15: 32–42). Suffice to say that the extent of interplay with the Qur'ān in this vivid and complex poem suggests an allegory with its own encoded meaning and significance. Not least noteworthy is the fact that the allusions to the Qur'ān extend even to phrases and images in these two *sūras* that are not mentioned in the poem. The interplay is not only between the poem and the Qur'ān, but it also presupposes an intelligent listener (or reader) who knows the Qur'ān by heart and is able to communicate within the symbolic universe of Arab-Islamic culture.

There is also an intertextual relationship between the Qur'ān and modern Arabic poetry. When speaking about the intertextual relationship between the Qur'ān and other types of Arabic scripture, the concept of "subtext" may be useful.⁴⁸ Now, the term "subtext" is used in different senses. In the context of the traditional models of influence it stands for the underlying, prior text which a later text quotes, alludes to or in some other way refers to. In poststructuralist criticism it has a more specialised meaning as a strategic dismantling of the text. The subtext functions as a text's unconscious and indicates a reading against the grain. In a very general way, but nonetheless worth keeping in mind, one could say that the Qur'ān is a subtext in both these senses, not only to other types of Arabic scripture, but to literary Arabic as such. Every utterance in *fusha* is tied up with the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān is, in this general sense, the subtext of everything written or spoken in this language to this very day. Literary Arabic would not be what it is today without the Qur'ān.

In an article entitled "The Koran as Subtext in Modern Arabic Poetry",⁴⁹ Stefan Wild uses the term "subtext" within the traditional model of influence in analysing some extracts from a number of twentieth-century Arabic poets. He distinguishes between two main types of intertextuality between the Qur'ān and modern Arabic poetry. On the one hand, the Qur'ānic language is used as a means to intensify the religious impact. This is, of course, a very common feature. On the other hand, there is the more imaginative use of the Qur'ān which distances itself from this traditional mode with a flippant, ironic, nostalgic or even destructive counterpoint to the context.⁵⁰

An example of the flippant or ironic use of a subtext is Nizār Qabbānī's (1923–1998) love poem which begins with the words "I proclaim that there is no woman

⁴⁸ See *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 1276–1277.

⁴⁹ See Stefan Wild, "The Koran as Subtext in Modern Arabic Poetry", in *Representations of the Divine in Arabic Poetry*, ed. by Gert Borg and Ed de Moor t, (Amsterdam – Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2001), 139–160.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, 145, where reference is made to Sasson Somekh, *Genre and Language in Modern Arabic Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 61.

who can play the game to perfection but you" (*'ashhadu 'an lā mra'ata 'atqanati l-lu'bata 'illā 'anti*).⁵¹ The playful subtext here is, of course, the *shahāda*, the Muslim creed, which strictly speaking is not a verbatim quotation of the Qur'ān, but of the same status. Stefan Wild suggests that one should remember that the real *shahāda* consists of two parts ("I declare that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is his Prophet") and that the invisible complete subtext of Nizār Qabbānī's version could be: "I declare that there is no woman but you and that Nizār Qabbānī is your prophet". Be that as it may, the flippant and ironic use of the Qur'ān as subtext is not a phenomenon that is peculiar to modern Arabic poetry. Nizār Qabbānī, in this respect, stands in a tradition that goes back at least as far as Abū Nuwās, as we have already seen.

Summary

I have tried to shed light upon the role of the Qur'ān in the wider context of Arabic literature by problematising the intertextual relationship between the Qur'ān and other types of Arabic scripture. I have posited a figurative triangle with the Qur'ān and poetry as the two base corners, and Arab-Islamic culture, or rather *adab*, as the tip.

The relationship between *adab*, on the one hand, and the Qur'ān and poetry, on the other hand, has been dealt with. This gave us reason to consider the notions of literature and of *adab*, and the status of the Qur'ān in this respect. In answer to the question of why the *adab* works so frequently quote the Qur'ān and poetry, it has been suggested that the Qur'ān and poetry give legitimacy to the works of *adab*. This legitimisation is needed because of certain biases within Arabic literary culture, namely the priority of orality over literacy, the perception of a progressive decline in literary standards, the endeavour to disclaim originality and the pretention of authorship, and the depreciation of prose in relation to poetry.

Furthermore, the relationship between the two base corners of the imaginal triangle, i.e. the Qur'ān and poetry, has been problematised. In order to answer the question how the Qur'ān relates to the pre-Islamic poetic tradition, we had to consider the Qur'ānic references to the poet (*ash-shā'ir*), the soothsayer (*al-kāhin*) and the Arabic tongue (*al-lisān al-'arabiyya*). In this context we also found the origin of the doctrine of Qur'ānic inimitability (*'i>jāz al-Qur'ān*). Then the role of the Qur'ān in Umayyad and 'Abbāsid poetry as well as in modern Arabic poetry was discussed. This gave us reason to problematise the terminology of textuality – theoretical concepts such as "influence", "intertextuality" and "subtext".

When 'Abd Allāh fooled his wife by reciting a line of poetry instead of the Qur'ān, in order to get away with his adultery, he showed that the uniqueness of the Qur'ān and its fundamental state of separateness in relation to poetry is not primarily founded on stylistic and linguistic differences, but on ideological presuppositions. These ideological presuppositions are rooted in the Qur'ān itself. Thus the role of the Qur'ān as a subtext extends far beyond the domain of Arabic literature.

⁵¹ Nizār Qabbānī, *'Ashhadu 'an lā mra'ata 'illā 'anti* (Beirut, 5th ed. 1983), 35.

Semitic circumstantial qualifiers in the Book of Judges: A pilot study on the infinitive

Bo Isaksson
Uppsala

Introduction

It is commonly held that the frequent syntagm consisting of the infinitive construct with *lāmaēd* – the so-called *liqṭōl* – because of the prefixed preposition **ל** has “a strong value for the direction, the aim, the purpose of an action”, as in Gen 31:19 **וְלֹכֵד הַלְּקָד לִגְזָע אֶת-צָאן** “now Laban had gone to shear his sheep” (J-M § 124l). At the same time many grammars recognize that in the *liqṭol* syntagm the preposition **ל** “often has a very weak meaning or even no meaning at all” (J-M, § 49f), and that the syntagm is also used to express adverbial ideas, as in Gen 18:19 **וְשָׁמְרֻוּ דָּרָךְ יְהוָה לְעַשׂוֹת אֲתָאָנוּ** “they shall keep the way of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice” (J-M § 124o). Such an adverbial usage is sometimes described as equivalent to the Latin gerund (J-M § 124o).

It might appear strange to consider an infinitive preceded by a preposition **ל** “to, for” as a possible circumstantial qualifier, but the compound *liqṭōl* is generally recognized to be more closely integrated than the combination of other prepositions with the infinitive construct. Gesenius-Kautzsch § 45 f–g) describes how the infinitive construct with **ל** forms “A kind of Gerund”, where the two morphemes have fused into “a single grammatical form”, cf. *dāgēš lene* in **לְנֶפֶל** (Ps 118:13) with the absence of *dāgēš* in **בְּנֶפֶל** (Job 4:13) and **כְּנֶפֶל** Sam 3:34). Since the morpheme **ל** in many cases has practically “no meaning at all” the syntagm *liqṭōl* must “have been felt to constitute a closer unit”, as an infinitive in itself (J-M § 49 f). The usage of *liqṭōl* as infinitive must be very old, and is used as an infinitive side by side with *qəṭōl* throughout Biblical Hebrew.

It goes without saying that the adverbial functions of the Hebrew infinitive construct has a Semitic parallel in the Arabic *māṣdar* used in the accusative: *fada'aw-tuhu rağā'a 'an takūna tilka bī* “I invited him *hoping* that this would happen within me” (The *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq).¹ In this example from one of our earliest texts in classical Arabic, the *rağā'a* is an infinitive with an accusative ending, formed from the verb *rağā* (“hope, wait”).

An infinitive in the accusative case after the finite verb is a normal syntactic

¹ Ibn Hisham. *Kitāb sīrat rasūl Allāh*. Ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1859, 101:17. The woman invited the man hoping to become pregnant with the prophet Muhammed.

device in Arabic to express background information or an adverbial qualification, called *ḥāl*. And because of its general – unmarked – meaning, the Arabic *ḥāl* is capable of expressing a gamut of subordinated meanings: final, consequential, causal and temporal. In Hebrew, such functions of the infinitive are recognized only as a very special case, called “gerundial” or “epexegetical”. In a Semitic perspective, however, it would be worth investigating whether the Hebrew *liqtōl* is not instead a general construction, the specialized meanings of which are *inferred* from the context rather than explicitly stated by the syntagm itself.

H. S. Nyberg, who was a foremost Arabist, supplies some examples of such a circumstantial usage of *liqtōl* in his *Hebreisk grammatik* (§ 91c):

- | | | |
|------------|---|--|
| Gen 24:63 | Isaac went out to meditate in the field <i>at the turn of the evening</i> | וַיֵּצֵא יַעֲקֹב לְשׁוֹחֵן בַּשָּׂקָה לִפְנֵות עֶרֶב |
| Gen 2:3 | because on it God rested from all the work that he had done <i>in creation</i> (NRSV) | כִּי בָּשְׁבַת מְכֻלָּמָלְאָכְתָּו
אֲשֶׁר־בָּרוּא אֱלֹהִים לְעַשּׂוֹת |
| 1Sam 20:36 | As the boy ran, he shot an arrow <i>making it pass over him</i> . | הַנּוּר כֵּץ וְהַיְזָרָה הַחִצִּי לְעַבְרוֹ |

The examples suggest that the Hebrew *liqtōl*-syntagm in such adverbial functions might correspond to the Arabic *ḥāl*-infinitive when it is put in the accusative. If such be the case, the specific nuances of finality in many usages of the *liqtōl* are due to the unmarked character of the *liqtōl* as such, rather than the morpheme ְלָ. Circumstantial qualifiers in Semitic possess a general ability to express purpose by inference, such as is expressed in the English sentence “he arrived at the bookshop searching for a dictionary”, where “searching” by inference gets the nuance of “with the intention of”, although this intention is never explicitly marked by the expression. In Arabic the infinitive in the accusative case is used to express purpose as in *qarabtu bnī ta'dibān lahu* “I slapped my son in order to discipline him”, where *ta'dibān* is an infinitive in the accusative with a nuance of finality (Wright II 121B).

In this article we shall examine the syntactical function of the Hebrew infinitive. The underlying thought is that this syntactic construction is a common Semitic heritage, and that that which belonged to the oldest known stage of Arabic was also part of the Semitic heritage of Classical Hebrew. Circumstantial qualifiers, both in the form of phrases and complete clauses, play an extraordinarily important role in Semitic syntax, and one such circumstantial expression was the infinitive, in Arabic in the accusative case, and in Hebrew, which did not possess case endings, in the form of either *qaṭōl* or *liqtōl*.²

We have chosen as a corpus text the Book of Judges. The advantage of such a

² Hebrew does not lack case markers, as can be seen in the object particle נָא. From time to time Hebrew scholars like S. R. Driver (1892), Ewald (1891), Kuhr (1929) and Meek (1929) have discussed parallels with Arabic in a Semitic perspective, but a comparative Semitic approach is uncommon in the current scholarly discussion on Hebrew syntax.

procedure is that we deal only with early biblical Hebrew.³ And in order to achieve a complete view of the functions of the infinitive we will register also those usages that do not correspond to an Arabic *ḥāl*, for example the *liqtōl* as an object complement.

The compounds with other prepositions (in Judges נִמְעָן, עַד, בְּ, כְּ) form rather trivial adverbial adjuncts.

בְּ with the infinitive construct (18x) is a specific temporal complement. A very typical usage is after an introductory macrosyntactic marker *wayhī* and following *wayyiqtol*: וַיֵּהַ בָּבָאֹ וַיָּקָרְבַּ שָׁפֵר “When he arrived, he sounded the trumpet” (3:27). בְּ with the infinitive (9x) often forms a temporal complement (7x) equivalent in meaning to בְּ + infinitive, or a comparative complement as in 5:31: אֲבָבֵי כִּיאת הַשָּׁאֵשׁ בְּגַבְרָתוֹ “But may his friends be like the sun as it rises in its might”. מִן + infinitive (2x) is a marked final complement (“in order to”), מִן + infinitive (3x) expresses a negated finality and consecution as in 9:41: וְאֶת-גָּעֵל וְאֶת-אָחִיו מִשְׁכַּת בְּשֶׁכֶם זְבֻל אֶת-גָּעֵל “and Zebul drove out Gaal and his kinsfolk, so that they could not live on at Shechem”; and עד + infinitive (7x) is a temporal-final complement (“until”): “I will stay until you return” (6:18).⁴

The infinitive construct with initial נִ

The infinitive construct with initial נִ (= *liqtōl*) occurs as frequently as 170 times in Judges. It is an exceedingly common device, and it must be considered to be of the utmost importance for a correct exegesis to fully understand its different functions. It is our intention to examine whether *liqtōl* is a marked final/consecutive syntactic device (“in order to”/“so that”) or has a more general (unmarked) meaning (that makes a final/consecutive nuance possible by inference).

The 170 cases of *liqtōl* in Judges will be classified into mutually exclusive groups. One will contain those *liqtōl*'s that have a clear circumstantial meaning. In another group we shall put those *liqtōl*'s that have a final or consecutive nuance. There are, of course, also cases where a final nuance and a circumstantial function are equally possible. Such uncertain instances will be put in a third group.

The doubtful group is put aside in the discussion, so that only reasonably clear cases are considered in the discussion. This group turns out to contain 13 uncertain instances.⁵ One instance in which both interpretations are possible is found in 7:5, וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יִקְרַע עַל-בָּרְכֵי לְשֹׁתּוֹת “all those who kneel down to drink (or when drinking)”. An interpretation of *lishtōt* with a nuance of finality might seem natural in this

³ By this we mean basically pre-exilic Hebrew. Ch. 1 and 19-21 belong to the exilic redactional layer of Judges (Boling 37), but the samples from those chapters are few in number and do not in any way alter the conclusions drawn in the article.

⁴ When evaluating the attested texts *kətīb* has been given priority. If *qərē* also exhibits an infinitive, the passage is reckoned only once in the statistics.

⁵ Those cases where *liqtōl* may be interpreted either as a general circumstantial qualifier or as a final adverbial complement are 1:9, 2:6, 7:5, 6, 9:24 (*lahārōg*), 10:1, 9, 11:32, 40, 12:1 (*ləhillāhem*), 18:14, 17, 21:21.

instance, but against that points the fact that the focus of the passage is not so much on the intention to drink, but on the manner of drinking. How did they drink? Kneeling down or not? An interpretation of *lishtōt* as a general circumstantial adjunct (“when he drinks”) is consequently more in accord with the context. A nuance of finality in *lishtōt* is, however, possible, and 7:5 is accordingly relegated to the uncertain group.

liqtōl as circumstantial qualifier

The infinitive construct with prefixed ℒ is a reasonably clear circumstantial qualifier in 45 instances. The most frequent such infinitive is (29x), in which the loss of the glottal stop and compensatory lengthening of the prefix vowel – the expected form would have been *lə'əmōr* – already indicates that the phrase has fossilized into a particle that marks the beginning of direct speech. This fossilized function of *lē'mōr* cannot reasonably have developed from a marked final function of *liqtōl*.⁶ A more probable origin is that of a circumstantial complement “in that he said”, “saying”, which correlates to the preceding matrix sentence. A typical example is: וַיִּשְׁאָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּיהֻנָּה לְאמֹר מִי יַעֲלֶה־לְנוּ “the Israelites inquired of the LORD, (saying) ‘Who shall go up first for us against the Canaanites?’” (1:1). The circumstantial nuance is discernible in a few instances, as in 6:32: וַיָּקֹרְאִלוּ בַּיּוֹם־הַהוּא יְרֻבָּעַל לְאמֹר גַּבְעָל בְּעֵבֶל “Therefore on that day Gideon was called Jerubbaal, *that is to say*, ‘Let Baal contend against him’”. The circumstantial *lē'mōr* in 6:32 gives the reader a piece of information about the reason behind the name Jerubbaal.

Besides the formulaic instances of *lē'mōr* there are 16 other examples of *liqtōl* as circumstantial qualifier in the Book of Judges.⁷ In 2:19 Israel’s repeated backsliding is expressed by a series of three *liqtōl*’s, which constitute adverbial adjuncts to the matrix sentence:

2:19	But whenever the judge died, they relapsed and behaved worse than their ancestors, <i>following</i> other gods, <i>worshiping</i> them <i>and bowing</i> <i>down</i> to them.	הִיא בָּמוֹת הַשׁוֹפֵט יִשְׁבֹּו וְהַשְׁחִיתָן מִאֲבוֹתֶם לְכַת אֶחָרִי אֱלֹהִים אֶחָרִים לְעַבְדָּם וְלְהַשְׁתְּפָהָקָה לְגַם
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Another example of a *liqtōl* as circumstantial qualifier is found in 6:5, where the Midjanites’ ravages are described. They are like swarms of locusts, penetrating the land with devastation and destruction. A final interpretation of the *liqtōl* clause (“in order to waste the land”) does not fit well into the context:

6:5	They and their livestock came up	כִּי הֵם וּמְקֻנֵּיהם יֵצְאוּ וְאַקְלֵי הֵם
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⁶ The inclusion of the ḥālaf in the transcription only refers to the Hebrew orthography, not the pronunciation.

⁷ 2:17, 19 (3x), 22, 5:16, 28, 6:5, 9:56, 11:27, 13:19, 17:8 (2x), 9, 19:26, 20:10 (*ləbō'ām*). Two of these belong to the layer of composition that is considered “Deuteronomistic”, belonging to the “post-587 edition”, Boling 37.

(repeatedly), and they even brought their tents, as thick as locusts; neither they nor their camels could be counted; so they came in *wasting the land*.

יבאו כרְדִּיאָרֶבֶה לְרַב וְלַקְמָן
וּלְגָמְלִיָּהָם אֵין מִסְפֵּר וַיָּבֹא בְּאָרֶץ
לְשִׁנְתָּהָה:

Finality (purpose) is even less discernible in the *liq̄ol* phrase describing the punishment of Abimelech in 9:56:

- 9:56 Thus God repaid Abimelech for the crime he committed against his father *in killing* his seventy brothers;

וַיִּשְׂבַּב אֱלֹהִים אֵת רַעַת אֲבִימָלֶךְ
אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְאָבִיו לְקַרְבָּן אֶת־שְׁבָעִים
אֲחֵיָיו.

God punishes Abimelech for his crime when he killed his brothers. Here it is not possible to interpret the infinitive as conveying nuance of finality, nor does the *lah̄rōg* express a consequence of something. It simply states the *character* or *content* of Abimelech's crime. The significance of a crime is expressed by a *liq̄ol* phrase in 11:27 as well, where Jephthah conveys his message to the king of the Ammonites.

- 11:27 It is not I who have sinned against you, but you are the one who does me wrong by *making war* on me.

וְאַנְכִּי לֹא־חִטְאָתִי לְךָ וְאַתָּה עָשָׂה
אַתָּה רָעָה לְהַלְלָם בְּ

The focus in Jephthah's message is on who is doing wrong and on the kind of evil that is being done. The king is doing wrong, not *in order to* attack, but *by attacking* Israel. Another *liq̄ol* that more closely describes or more specifically determines an action is met in the phrase 13:19 (וּמְפֻלָּא לְעַשּׂוֹת), which describes the Lord as "He who is unfathomable in doing", that is, "He who works wonders". Here *la^aśōt* is an adverbial complement to *mapl̄*.

In the story of Micha there is a wonderful episode about a Levite who went out walking. It exhibits how a correct interpretation of a *liq̄ol* phrase is essential for a correct translation. Using the infinitive *lāgūr* the passage describes that he lived as a guest and stranger during the journey:

- 17:8 This man left the town of Bethlehem in Judah, *living* wherever he could find a place. He came to the house of Micah in the hill country of Ephraim *making his own way*.

וַיֵּלֶךְ הָאִישׁ מִקְעֵיד מִבֵּית לְקָם
הַוֹּרֶה לְגֹרֶר בְּאָשֵׁר יִמְצָא וְנִבְאַת
הַרְיָאָפָרִים עַד־בֵּית מִיכָּה לְעַשּׂוֹת
קָרְכוֹ:

Many translators feel that the *liq̄ol* phrase *lāgūr* must express a purpose (NRSV: "to live wherever he could find a place"). But this would be to overstretch the text. The *purpose* of the journey was hardly to live in this way. The *lāgūr* is an expression of

the circumstances under which he travelled.⁸ The other *liqtōl* phrase in 17:8, *la^asōt darkō*, is an adverbial adjunct as Boling (1975, 257) translates, “making his own way”.

A *liqtōl* phrase expressing a temporal circumstantial qualifier is found in 19:26 וַיָּבֹא הָאִשָּׁה לְפָנָות הַבָּקָר “The woman came as the morning approached” (Boling, 1975, 273, cf. Gen 24:63). Here a final or consecutive interpretation would be impossible.

The extensive use of *liqtōl* as a circumstantial qualifier, occurring in at least 45 instances out of a total of 170, indicates that this function of the syntagma is original, and not an innovation in preexilic Hebrew.

liqtōl as a (necessary) complement to a finite verb

A necessary complement is “any word or phrase (other than the verb itself) which is an obligatory constituent of the predicate” (Lyons 1968, 345). All-in-all there are 24 instances of such complements in the Book of Judges expressed by a *liqtōl* phrase. Some frequent verbs usually take a complement: (הסית *לשואל*) “mislead, incite to” (1:14), “decide, be prepared to; begin to” (1:27, 1:35, 17:11), “allow to” (1:34, 3:28, 15:1), *יכל* “be able to” (2:14, 11:35, 14:13, 14, 21:18), *כללה* “finish” (3:18, 15:17), *ירא* “be afraid of” (7:10), *חפוץ* “be able to” (12:6), *take pleasure in* (13:23), *נעצל* “hesitate to” (18:9),⁹ *אהה* “be willing to” (19:10, 25, 20:13). Such functions are similar to the English infinitive used as an object complement. There is hardly any final and consecutive shade of meaning in such constructions. We encounter in them the *liqtōl* phrase as a pure verbal noun in the position of an object, as in 1:14: *wattasitēhū liš'ol* “he nagged her to ask”. Another example of such a verb requiring a complement is the verb *כללה* in 3:18: *כִּי-אָשֵׁר כָּלָה קָרְבָּת אֶת-* *הַמִּנְחָה* “When he had finished presenting the tribute” (Boling, 1975, 84).

A closely related usage of *liqtōl* is when the infinitive expresses the main action, and the preceding finite verb only indicates an adverbial modification of the action (Ges-K § 114m). In such cases, *liqtōl* is syntactically still an object complement to the finite verb, but semantically the construction is similar to a hendiadys (with two syntactically co-ordinated but semantically subordinated verbs, Nyberg § 97v). There are 21 such instances in Judges, the following verbs being used before *liqtōl*: *הוֹסִיף* “go on to = again” (2:21, 3:12, 4:1, 9:37, 10:6, 13, 13:1, 20:22, 23, 28), *חָל* “go on to = again” (8:28, 13:21), *הַחֲל* “begin to (ingressive action)” (10:18, 13:5, 25, 16:19, 22, 20:31, 39, 40), *הַרְבָּה* “very much, abundantly” (20:38). One example should be enough to illustrate this usage of *liqtōl*:

2:21	I will <i>no longer drive out</i> before them any of the nations that Joshua left when he died.
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גַּם־אָנָּי לֹא אָוֹסִיף לְהֹרִישׁ אִישׁ
מִפְנִימָם מִן־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־עָזָב יְהוָשֻׁעַ
בַּיּוֹם:

⁸ The same expression is used again in 17:9.

⁹ With three following infinitives.

In 2:21 the finite verb *'ōsīf* together with the negation semantically contributes the adverbial meaning “no longer”, and the infinitive *ləhōrīš* expresses the main action “drive out”.

We may conclude that neither the 24 instances of *liqtōl* as complement to a verb nor the 21 instances of *liqtōl* in a hendiadys-like construction confirms the opinion that the syntagm would have an intrinsically final och consecutive meaning. It is instead confirmed that *liqtōl* is a verbal noun that can be used in a multitude of positions, among which we have attested that of an object complement after a transitive verb.

So far we have treated $45 + 45 = 90$ instances of *liqtōl* in the Book of Judges, that is, about 53 % out of a total of 170, and in all those cases the *liqtōl* syntagm either functions as a circumstantial qualifier or as a complement to a transitive verb.

liqtōl with final or consecutive shade of meaning

In 48 instances in the Book of Judges the *liqtōl* has an unmistakable, or at least probable, final shade of meaning,¹⁰ in three further cases the meaning is consecutive.¹¹ All-in-all there are 51 such instances out of a total of 170 *liqtōl*. Among the examples with nuances of finality, the overwhelming majority (32 of 48) occur as complements to the most frequent motion verbs in the Hebrew language: 9) אֶחֱלָל (9), 3) אֶעֱלָה (3), 3) אֶבְוֹא (3), 1) קָרְבָּן (1), 1) אֶנְצַבָּה (1), 1) אֶסְרֵר (1), 1) הָשִׁיבָה (1), 1) שָׁלַח (1). Some instances are וְקָלַקְתִּי לְנַעֲצִים עַל־הַעֲצִים “and shall I go to sway over the trees” (9:9, 11, 13), בָּאתָ אַלְיָ לְהַלְמָם בְּאַרְצִי “have you come to me to *fight* against my land?”” (11:12). It is questionable if the final shade of meaning in such examples represents the basic or “fundamental meaning” of ל in this syntagm (thus Ges-K § 114f). It is easy to interpret *liqtōl* even in those examples as adverbial complements, “shall I go *swaying* over the trees”, “have you come to me *fighting* against my land”, which by inference receives the final shade of meaning from the context and the motion character of the preceding verb.

liqtōl in special idioms

liqtōl often occurs in set phrases and special idioms. Of the 16 such cases in the Book of Judges, 11 is actually a preposition which has developed from an infinitive: מִן־לְקָרְאת “against”, “in front of”, as in 4:18 וְמִצְאָה עַל לְקָרְאת סִיסְרָא “Jael came out to meet Sisera”, where it is still possible to discern the original meaning “approaching”, “to approach”. The preposition is more fossilized in רְדוּ לְקָרְאת מִזְרָח “Come down against the Midjanites!” (7:24). Other idioms are עַד לְבוֹא “to the approach to” (3:3), and תָּמוֹת “to death; until death” (16:16). An idiom that is rare in Judges but is paralleled in the Qumran text is לֹא לְהֹרִישׁ אֶת־יְשֻׁבֵּי הַעֲמָק “they could not drive out the

¹⁰ 1:1, 3:1, 2, 4 (2x), 6:11, 7:20, 8:1, 9:8, 9, 13, 24 (2x), 52, 11:5, 9, 12 (*ləhillahem*), 12:1 (*lālækæt*), 3, 14:3, 8 (2x), 15, 15:10 (2x), 12 (2x), 16:23, 17:3, 18:1, 2 (2x), 19:3 (2x), 5, 7, 8, 9, 15 (3x), 27, 20:4, 10 (2x *ləqahat* och *la'asot*), 14, 21:22.

¹¹ 16:5-6, 19:9.

inhabitants of the plain” (1:19), i.e. “it was not (possible) to drive out the inhabitants on the plain”. In 21:3, finally, we encounter *liqtōl* as a verbal noun *ləhippāqed* in apposition to a feminine *zōt*: **הַיּוֹת זֹאת בִּישְׁרָאֵל לְהַפְּקֵד הַיּוֹם מִיְשְׁרָאֵל שָׁבֵט אַחֲרֶךָ**, literally: “(How) has this happened in Israel: a counting out today of one tribe from Israel!”.

The infinitive construct without preceding particle

The infinitive construct without preceding preposition (10x),¹² *qətōl*, is, like *liqtōl*, a verbal noun, but in contrast to *liqtōl* it can constitute the genitive after a noun in the construct state, as in 18:30, **וְבָנָיו הֵyo כָּנָגִים לְשָׁבֵט הָקֻנִּי עַד־יּוֹם גָּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ** “and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the time the land went into captivity”, a sentence that is concluded by a construct chain *yōm-gəlōt-hā'ārēs*, literally: “the day of the captivity of the land”. In other respects, *qətōl* functions like *liqtōl* as a verbal noun. It can be a complement to the verb *يָכַל* as in 8:3, **וּמָה־יָכַלְתִּי עֲשֹׂות כְּמֵם** “what have I been able to do in comparison with you?”, it can be an circumstantial qualifier as in 11:20, **וְלَا־עָזָן סִיחוֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְרַ בָּגְבָלוֹ** “But Sihon did not trust Israel crossing his territory” (= “... an Israel that was allowed to cross ...”).

The infinitive construct with negation

In three instances the infinitive construct is negated with the negation *ləbiltī* (3x). With the negation the infinitive construct functions as a negated circumstantial qualifier, as in 2:23, **וַיַּגְּדֵל יְהָנוֹת אֶת־הָגָיִים הַאֲלָה לְבָלְתִּי הַוּרִישָׁם מֵהָר** “the Lord had left those nations, *not driving them out* at once, and had not handed them over to Joshua”, and in 8:1, **מָה־הָהָזְבָּר הָהָעֲשִׂית לְנוּ לְבָלְתִּי קְרָאוֹת לְנוּ** “What’s this you have done to us, *by not calling us* when you went out to fight Midian?” (Boling, 1975, 150). In 21:7 *ləbiltī qətōl* is a negated complement to *nišba'nū* (“we have sworn”), **וְאַנְחָנוּ נִשְׁבְּעָנוּ בְּיָהָנוּ** “we have sworn by the LORD *that we will not give them any of our daughters as wives?*”.

The infinitive absolute

The usage of the infinitive absolute in Judges (25x) is dominated by that of an emphatic accusative infinitive (21x) of the same root (often also the same stem form) as the main verb: : **וְהַוְרִישׁ לֹא הַוְרִישׁ** “but they (Israel) did not in fact drive them out” (1:28). This frequent usage of the Hebrew infinitive absolute corresponds to the Arabic infinitive absolute object (*al-maf'ūl al-muṭlaq*, Wright II 54C), although the Arabic usage shows more variation than the Hebrew. The typical case in Arabic is an emphatic function: *qatalahu qatlan* “he killed him really”. In two passages in Judges the inf. abs. *hālōk* is used to express increase or repetition (4:24, 14:9) of the main verb, and once, in 7:19, the infinitive absolute replaces a finite verb: **וַיַּתְקַעַשׁ בְּשׁוֹפְרוֹת נִצְפּוֹז הַקְדִּים** “they blew the trumpets and thereby they smashed the jars that were in

¹² 8:3, 9:2 (2x), 11:20, 18:19 (2x), 30, 31, 19:9, 30.

their hands” (Nyberg § 91 j, m).¹³ The usage of the infinitive absolute in the Book of Judges, and its direct counterpart in Classical Arabic is an indication of a common Semitic set of syntactical constructions, and in particular of partly overlapping stocks of circumstantial expressions in Hebrew and Arabic.

Summary

This article is an investigation into the preexilic usage of the Hebrew infinitive, and in particular the infinitive with a prefixed preposition *ל*. As a corpus text, the Book of Judges was chosen as representing a recognized segment of early Hebrew. The basic methodological hypothesis is that the usages of the infinitive in classical Arabic and in classical Hebrew exhibit parallels that are due to a common Semitic heritage. The hypothesis implies that it is fruitful to compare syntactical phenomena in both languages and that syntactical constructions in the two languages – although not identical – mutually elucidate one another. The point of departure of the paper was the accusative infinitive in Arabic: on the one hand the so-called absolute object (*al-maf'ūl al-muṭlaq*) the reflex of which is the infinitive absolute in Hebrew, on the other the Arabic infinitive being used as a general adverbial qualifier (not bound to the root of the preceding verb) a reflex of which is the circumstantial function of the Hebrew infinitives *liqtōl* and *qaṭōl*. It was shown that both *liqtōl* and *qaṭōl* may be used as circumstantial complements in the Book of Judges. The frequent usage of *liqtōl* as a circumstantial qualifier indicates that the syntagm *liqtōl* functions as an alternative infinitive in classical Hebrew, and that the nuances of finality so often perceived in the texts represent inferred meanings that originate from the nature of the infinitive as a general adjunct that is unmarked with respect to subordination.

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¹³ It remains for another story to demonstrate that such a continuative function of *wəqātōl* following a clause using *wayyiqṭol* comprises a circumstantial clause that together with the main clause forms a single composite occurrence, a scene.

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Le *mulk* dans tous ses états. Remarques sur la notion de pouvoir chez les Umayyades d’al-Andalus

Mohamed Meouak
Cádiz

Généralités sur le pouvoir politique en Islam médiéval

Lorsque l'historien de l'Islam aborde la problématique complexe du rôle des groupes agnatiques dans la vie politique d'al-Andalus vers la fin 4^e/X^e siècle, il est bon de rappeler que ceux qui détenaient l'autorité et le pouvoir, étaient les descendants des chefs de tribus de l'époque émirale conscients de la solidarité d'un groupe agnati que nombreux¹. Cette remarque permet de prendre conscience du fait que l'examen des pouvoirs politiques en Islam reste ardu et nécessite, de toute évidence, l'intervention de plusieurs outils méthodologiques comme l'anthropologie, la sociologie, la lexicologie, etc. L'étude des structures étatiques et l'histoire des questions relatives au politique de l'Occident chrétien médiéval ont connu durant les deux dernières décennies un regain d'intérêt incontestable. Certains historiens se sont consacrés à l'histoire des institutions, l'histoire des théories politiques, celle des administrations et des personnels politiques ou encore à la sociologie historique de l'État². Si l'on excepte quelques cas spécifiques³, on constate que la situation des études du politique et des structures étatiques en Islam médiéval n'est pas aussi brillante pour ce qui concerne les entreprises coordonnées et collectives. Et dès lors, il faut cependant bien admettre que pour des raisons qui parfois nous échappent, il est difficile d'étudier certaines questions du politique et de l'État en Islam à l'aide de méthodes et d'instruments de grande qualité utilisés pour le cas de l'Occident chrétien⁴.

¹ Voir P. Guichard, *Structures sociales «orientales» et «occidentales» dans l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris-La Haye, 1977, p.319, et P.M. Cobb, *White Banners. Contention in 'Abbāsid Syria, 750–880*, New York, 2001, pp.68–75 sur les questions du tribalisme et du rôle des factions en Syrie umayyade.

² Voir les ouvrages collectifs *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne*, J.-Cl. Maire Vigueur (éd.), Rome, 1985; *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds.), Cambridge, 1987; *La ville, la bourgeoisie et la genèse de l'État moderne (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, N. Bulst et J.-Ph. Genet (éds.), Paris, 1988; *Genèse de l'État moderne en Méditerranée. Approches historiques et anthropologiques des pratiques et des représentations*, Rome, 1993; *Les princes et le pouvoir au Moyen Âge. Actes du XXII^e Congrès de la SHMES, Brest (mai 1992)*, Paris, 1993, et *Représentation, pouvoir et royaume à la fin du Moyen Âge*, J. Blanchard (éd.), Paris, 1995.

³ Voir les ouvrages collectifs *Islam and Power*, A.S. Cudsi and A.E.H. Dessouki (eds.), Londres, 1981; *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid, 1994, et *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, R. Brann (ed.), Bethesda, 1997.

⁴ Voir A. Cheddadi, «Le système du pouvoir en Islam d'après Ibn Khaldūn», *Annales E.S.C.*, 3–4 (1980), pp.534–550, 534–536; M. Meouak, «Représentations, emblèmes et signes de la souveraineté politique des Umayyades d'al-Andalus d'après les textes arabes», *Acta Orientalia*, 56 (1995), pp.78–105, 82–86, et J. Dakhlia, *Le divan des rois. Le politique et le religieux dans l'Islam*, Paris, 1998, pp.17–19 mettant en garde contre les dangers du comparatisme en histoire.

Nous reconnaîtrons également qu'il est délicat d'utiliser telle ou telle méthodologie valable pour l'exemple des États de l'Europe médiévale et tenter de les mettre en pratique pour l'histoire des institutions islamiques. L'un des problèmes essentiels réside en effet dans la présence d'une documentation textuelle qui diffère sensiblement d'une zone à l'autre. Il semble toutefois qu'il y aurait beaucoup à gagner en tentant l'expérience de l'usage de l'anthropologie historique, de la sociologie, de la lexicologie politique, etc. D'ailleurs, il serait utile de rappeler l'appel lancé par la revue *Annales. ESC* qui invitait, il y a plus de quinze ans, les chercheurs et plus particulièrement les historiens, à se pencher sur la nécessité d'une revitalisation des perspectives de recherche. L'une de ces pistes concernait l'histoire des sociétés et des diverses formes du politique en tant que partie intégrante des travaux sur les groupes sociaux et les «collectivités», acteurs principaux du fait politique et de l'organisation de l'État⁵.

Le but de ce bref article est de mettre en relief certains traits du dispositif concernant l'autorité, la mise en pratique du pouvoir et certains éléments relatifs au concept d'État chez les Umayyades de Cordoue. Ces aspects seront étudiés sur la base d'un examen du terme *mulk* ainsi que des mots et des expressions qui en dérivent⁶. La question posée aux sources arabes est simple: établir le degré d'organisation politique de l'État et la véritable profondeur du *bayt umayyade* comme pivot de son maintien au pouvoir en al-Andalus, du milieu du 2^e/VIII^e à la fin du 4^e/X^e siècle. La documentation arabe mise à profit ici est principalement de type historique et littéraire. Mais il n'empêche que d'autres productions écrites auraient pu être utilisées comme la littérature juridique, les réertoires bio-bibliographiques, les écrits à résonance religieuse ou bien encore les œuvres des géographes arabes⁷. En plus de ces sources textuelles, indiquons que la documentation épigraphique ainsi que la céramique auraient également pu être mises à profit. Pour ce qui concerne l'épigraphie, il est en effet bien connu que les inscriptions umayyades d'al-Andalus apporteraient des indications de valeur sur l'histoire et les sens du terme *mulk*. Ce vocable est très souvent gravé sur le matériel épigraphique et il constitue l'une des principales caractéristiques de l'épigraphie andalouse du 4^e/X^e siècle, voire l'un des vecteurs fondamentaux de la diffusion des messages politico-religieux umayyades⁸.

⁵ Cet appel avait été diffusé par la rédaction de la revue dans un article intitulé «Tentons l'expérience», *Annales. ESC*, 6 (1989), pp.1317–1323.

⁶ Voir O. Grabar, «Notes sur les cérémonies umayyades», dans M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jérusalem, 1977, pp.51–60 afin de comparer la situation andalouse avec l'Orient umayyade.

⁷ Voir D. Sourdel, «Appels et programmes politico-religieux durant les premiers siècles de l'Islam», dans G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel et J. Sourdel-Thomine (éds.), *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Âge. Islam, Byzance et Occident*, Paris, 1983, pp.111–131, 111–115, et M. Meouak, «Propagande politique et discours idéologique des Umayyades d'al-Andalus: réflexions théoriques et données textuelles», *Studia Orientalia*, 95 (2003), pp.31–43, 31–33.

⁸ Voir J. Escudero Aranda, «La céramica decorada en “verde y manganeso” de Madinat al-Zahra», *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā*, 2 (1988–1990), pp.127–161, 127–138, et M^a A. Martínez Nuñez et M. Acién Almansa, «La epigrafía de Madīnat al-Zahrā», *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā*, 5 (2004), pp.107–158, 107–129.

Le *mulk* ou la notion de pouvoir dans l'Islam médiéval

L'idée d'État et la théorie de la souveraineté sont marquées en al-Andalus, comme dans le reste du monde arabo-musulman, par le souvenir des débuts de l'Islam et l'action des premiers califes ceux que l'on appelait du nom d'*al-hulafā' al-rāšidūn*⁹. Les idées relatives à l'existence, ou non, d'une notion d'État ont été l'objet de discussions au sein des diverses écoles juridico-religieuses¹⁰. Certains juristes de l'époque classique ne considéraient pas nécessaire de prendre en compte l'idée d'État dans leurs débats car seul le calife était le «lieutenant» de Dieu, et possédait la «lieutenance» des pouvoirs en tant que détenteur de l'autorité. On a bien compris qu'il est question du problème des pouvoirs du calife, et des limites de ceux-ci¹¹. La problématique des cadres du pouvoir califal est bien connue des arabisants et des historiens de l'Orient musulman. Il suffira de rappeler ici les débats, au ton parfois polémique, maintenus autour des expressions *halīfat Allāh* et *halīfat rasūl Allāh*¹². Parfois désignés du nom d'*Ibn al-halā'if* ou bien alors par celui d'*Ibn al-hulafā'*, les souverains umayyades de Damas considéraient ce titre comme une véritable grâce que le pouvoir divin avait accordé à l'ensemble de leur dynastie. Certains géographes arabes sont là pour étayer cette donnée avec une relative précision. Si l'on en croit les informations fournies par Ibn Hurradādbih (4^e/X^e siècle) et Ibn al-Faqīh (3^e/IX^e siècle), les Umayyades de Cordoue furent rapidement salués du titre de *Ibn al-halā'if* car le *ism al-hilāfa* était seulement réservé au souverain des deux villes saintes¹³. Sans pour autant l'utiliser dès leur arrivée dans la péninsule Ibérique, les souverains de l'Espagne umayyade s'efforcèrent d'asseoir leur légitimité par l'intermédiaire du principe d'hérédité qu'ils appliquèrent avec constance et rigueur¹⁴.

⁹ Voir R.G. Khoury, «Calife ou roi: du fondement théologico-politique du pouvoir suprême dans l'Islam sous les califes orthodoxes et omayyades», dans P. Canivet et J.-P. Rey-Coquais (éds.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam. VII^e–VIII^e siècles*, Damas, 1992, pp.323–332, 323–325, et W.M. Watt, «God's Caliph. Qur'ānic interpretations and Umayyad claims», dans C.E. Bosworth (ed.), *Iran and Islam: in Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edimbourg, 1971, pp.565–574, 565–568.

¹⁰ Voir R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1969, pp.271–354; A.K.S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam. An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists*, Oxford, 1981, pp.43–68, et F. Clément, *Pouvoir et légitimité en Espagne musulmane à l'époque des Taifas (V^e/XI^e siècle). L'imam fictif*, Paris, 1997, pp.21–29 pour une discussion des théories du pouvoir dans le monde sunnite médiéval.

¹¹ Voir É. Tyan, *Institutions de droit public musulman*, tome I: *Le Califat*, Paris, 1954, pp.221–512; A.K.S. Lambton, *State and Government*, pp.13–20; R. Levy, *The Social Structure*, pp.279–288, et El^r, IV, *sub voce* «califat», pp.970–985 [D. Sourdel; A.K.S. Lambton].

¹² Voir R. Paret, «Signification coranique de *HALĪFA* et d'autres dérivés de la racine *HALAFA*», *Studia Islamica*, XXXI (1971), pp.211–217, et É. Tyan, *Institutions*, pp.443 et ss. sur les conditions juridiques du califat. On relèvera une mention de l'expression *halīfat Allāh* chez Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhi, *Al-Iqd al-farīd*, éd. 'A. al-M. al-Tarhīnī, Beyrouth, 1987, 9 vols., V, p.254.

¹³ Ibn Hurradādbih, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, éd. et trad. M.J. de Goeje, Leyde, 1889, p.90/65; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Muhtasar kitāb al-buldān*, éd. M.J. de Goeje, Leyde, 1885, p.83. Sur ce sujet, voir É. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, Paris-Leyde, 1950 et 1953, 3 vols., II, pp.113–114 note 2, et A. Abel, «Gouvernants et gouvernés en terre d'Islam», dans *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'Histoire Comparative des Institutions*, XXII/1: *Gouvernés et Gouvernants*, Bruxelles, 1969, pp.355–389, 359–360.

¹⁴ Voir P. Guichard, «Le pouvoir politique dans l'Occident musulman médiéval», *Horizons maghrébins*, 14–15 (1989), pp.33–40 ainsi que l'étude classique d'É. Tyan, *Institutions*, pp.243–315.

Au moment où l'Islam apparaît en Orient, les partisans de la religion naissante se sont retrouvés face à de sérieuses difficultés externes. Celles-ci sont surtout de deux ordres. Le premier problème est constitué par le maintien que les Arabes firent de leurs nombreuses traditions tribales héritées pour la plupart de la *Gāhiliyya*¹⁵. Et le second réside dans l'apparition de plus en plus massive des éléments non arabes, c'est-à-dire les convertis d'origine grecque et de souche perse. Deux conceptions vont alors s'opposer. L'une sera marquée par la notion d'arabité comme ce fut le cas avec les Umayyades de Damas. La seconde, illustrée surtout par les premiers *'Abbāsides*, mettra l'accent, pour des raisons évidemment idéologiques, sur des pratiques rigoureuses et conservatrices de la religion islamique¹⁶. Mais cependant, il faut bien admettre que les revendications d'une certaine légitimité, constantes tant chez les Umayyades que chez les *'Abbāsides*, pour accéder au pouvoir puis conforter leur règne sont marquées du sceau de la généalogie. Il y aura par la suite un lent et lourd travail de recomposition ou d'oubli du patrimoine des *ansāb* umayyades et *'abbāsides* afin de se réclamer de l'autorité du Prophète de l'Islam¹⁷.

Parmi les questions que l'on devrait poser aux textes arabes médiévaux, en voici deux dont l'importance nous paraît capitale: peut-on admettre la notion de *dawla* comme équivalent de l'État au sens occidental du terme? Peut-on soutenir l'idée qu'al-Andalus constituait un État organisé et soumis à un gouvernement et à des lois communes? L'une des réponses probables se trouve dans l'étude du concept de *mulk* et de ses significations¹⁸. Si l'on en croit Ibn *'Abd Rabbīhi* (m. 328/940), c'est avec *'Abd al-Rahmān I^{er}* que la dynastie et le règne des Umayyades se trouvèrent véritablement renforcés (*tawātṭada mulk 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya*). Ce même écrivain signale que le premier Umayyade de Cordoue fut le premier calife à prendre le pouvoir en al-Andalus (*awwal hulafā' al-Andalus min Banī Umayya [...] waliya al-mulk*)¹⁹. D'autres lieux communs consignés dans la littérature pro-umayyade sont détectables au cours de la narration de quelques notices relatives à deux autres émirs. Il s'agit d'*al-Hakam I^{er}* et de *Muhammad I^{er}* qui sont qualifiés de «détenteur du califat» (*tumma waliya al-hilāfa*) puis de «détenteur du pouvoir» (*tumma waliya al-mulk*)²⁰.

Le *mulk* et ses caractères en al-Andalus à l'époque umayyade

L'examen des occurrences du vocable *mulk* et de ses attributs permet de mesurer le nombre et la qualité des supports sur lesquels le pouvoir umayyade pouvait compter.

¹⁵ Voir M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East. The Establishment of the 'Abbāsid State. Incubation of a Revolt*, Jérusalem-Leyde, 1983, pp.38–42, et I.M. Lapidus, «State and Religion in Islamic Societies», *Past and Present*, 151 (1996), pp.3–27, 4–8.

¹⁶ Voir H. Djait, *La Grande Discorde. Religion et politique dans l'Islam des origines*, Paris, 1989, pp.38–57 sur la construction de l'État islamique, et I.M. Lapidus, «State and Religion», pp.8–12.

¹⁷ Voir W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad. A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1997, p.17.

¹⁸ Voir P. Guichard, «Émergence de l'État dynastique et territorial dans l'espace musulman occidental au Moyen Âge», dans *Genèse de l'État moderne en Méditerranée. Approches historiques et anthropologiques des pratiques et des représentations*, Rome, 1993, pp.215–228, 215–218.

¹⁹ Ibn *'Abd Rabbīhi*, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, V, pp.229–230.

²⁰ Ibn *'Abd Rabbīhi*, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, V, pp.232 et 234.

Plusieurs expressions viennent confirmer la place croissante de cette notion si chère aux théoriciens arabo-musulmans de l'autorité et de la souveraineté. Ainsi, nous nous trouvons confrontés à la mise en place d'un réel système étatique, et être en possession du *mulk*, c'est également posséder le contrôle du pouvoir²¹. Nous devons à Abdesselam Cheddadi une étude originale sur la conceptualisation de l'État selon Ibn Haldūn (m. 808/1406) et donc du *mulk*. L'une des conclusions à laquelle aboutit l'auteur de cet article réside dans le fait que le *mulk* ne repose sur aucune base sociale et qu'il ne reflète aucun intérêt structuré dans la société. À ce sujet, A. Cheddadi ajoute que le *mulk* est nécessairement précaire et « [...] Il ne représente que ses propres intérêts: ceux du *mālik* [celui qui possède], ceux des *ahl al-dawla* »²². Ce dernier passage, emprunté à la philosophie du pouvoir chez Ibn Haldūn, est probablement inspiré de l'expression coranique: *Qul! Allāhumā mālikū al-mulkū tu’ūtī l-mulkū man tašā’ū wa-tanzi’ū al-mulkū mim-man tašā’ū* que l'on traduit par « O Dieu, possesseur du règne ! Tu donnes le règne à qui Tu veux et Tu ôtes le règne à qui Tu veux »²³. Nous voici donc en présence de locutions qui illustrent en quelque sorte la jouissance du *mulk*, ou bien du pouvoir. Les expressions en question peuvent être divisées en quatre volets en relation avec le *mulk* personnalisé, c'est-à-dire celui qui est caractérisé par un personnage ou un lieu: *mulk al-Andalus* ou « pouvoir d'al-Andalus » en référence au premier émir umayyade ^cAbd al-Rahmān I^e; *mulk Banī Marwān bi-l-Andalus* ou « pouvoir des Marwānides »; *mulk al-Nāṣir* ou « pouvoir d'al-Nāṣir »; *mulk al-Umayyāda* ou « pouvoir des Umayyades »²⁴. D'autres textes historiques et littéraires peuvent être mis en valeur afin d'étayer nos remarques. De ces écrits, ceux qui ont été choisis renvoient à une période cruciale du califat umayyade: la mise en marche de la construction du complexe monumental de Madīnat al-Zahrā'. Le calife ^cAbd al-Rahmān III est l'objet de toutes sortes d'éloges notamment pour ce qui concerne la force, la brillance de son pouvoir ainsi que la beauté, parfois même considérée comme paradisiaque, de l'ensemble architectural de Madīnat al-Zahrā'²⁵. Parmi les exemples contenus dans les textes arabes, citons la locution: *quwwat mulki-hi wa-izzat sultāni-hi* ou « force de son pouvoir et noblesse de son autorité » et la même expression avec une légère variante: *quwwat al-mulk wa-izzat*

²¹ Voir B. Lewis, *Le langage politique de l'Islam*, traduit de l'anglais par O. Guitard, Paris, 1989, pp.147–150 ainsi que M. Mahassine, « Deux genres d'autorité vus à travers les œuvres d'Ibn al-Muqaffa': l'autorité fondée sur la religion et l'autorité fondée sur la fermeté », *Acta Orientalia. Acta Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XLV/1 (1991), pp.89–120, 104–118 sur les détenteurs et les partisans du *mulk* chez Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

²² A. Cheddadi, « Le système du pouvoir », p. 547, et J. Dakhlia, *Le divan des rois*, pp.83–94.

²³ *Al-Qur’ān al-karīm*, texte arabe, trad. et notes S. al-Dīn Karṣīd, Beyrouth, 1985³, 3:26. Voir les commentaires de R.P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society*, Princeton, 1980, pp.184–185, 186–187 sur la situation politique en Orient où il est question du *mulk* possédé par l'*amīr būyide* au détriment du *halīfa abbāside*.

²⁴ Ibn al-Haṭīb, *Kitāb aṭ-ṭālūn fī man būyīra qabla l-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*, éd. É. Lévi-Provençal, Beyrouth, 1956², pp. 38, 103; Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Hullā al-siyarā'*, éd. H. Mu'nīs, Le Caire, 1963, 2 vols., II, p. 8; Ibn al-Haṭīb, *Al-Iḥāṭa fī aḥbār Ġarnāṭa*, éd. M.^cA.A. Ḥanāṭa, Le Caire, 1973–1977, 4 vols., III, p.468.

²⁵ Voir M. Fierro, « Madīnat al-Zahrā', el paraíso y los Fatimíes », *Al-Qantara*, XXV/2 (2004), 299–327, 299–301 et 326–327; J.M. Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate. The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in al-Andalus*, Cambridge (Mass.)–Londres, 2000, pp.56–60, et E. Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas. Los Omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus*, Barcelone, 2006, pp.417–469 sur les formes du pouvoir durant le califat.

al-sultān ou «force du pouvoir et noblesse de l'autorité»²⁶. Dans cette dernière mention, outre la place fondamentale occupée par le terme *mulk*, il est nécessaire de mettre l'accent sur la signification de *sultān* qui dans ce cas comporte d'une part le sens d'autorité avec l'idée de *qahr* (coercition) et de l'autre, celui de *hug̃ga* (preuve). Selon cette définition, nous pouvons penser que l'individu détenteur du titre de *sultān* serait alors celui qui possède la force de contrainte et le droit de gérer la preuve²⁷.

On notera en outre l'existence d'autres expressions originales puisées à l'onomastique arabe. La première d'entre elles est présentée sous forme de *kunya* attribuée à un personnage connu. Nous voulons parler du premier émir umayyade de Cordoue, ‘Abd al-Rahmān I^{er} qui avait été salué par le titre d'*Abū l-mulūk* ou «le père des rois»²⁸. Cette expression constitue, selon nous, une illustration remarquable de la manière avec laquelle le premier potentat umayyade d'al-Andalus fut appelé. En faisant référence à la restauration, voire la renaissance, du *bayt* marwānide à Cordoue, Ibn ‘Idārī (circa 712/1312) célébra le pouvoir et la souveraineté retrouvés des Umayyades. Il nous faut pourtant poser le problème de la valeur documentaire et du sens de cette locution dans le contexte andalousien d'époque umayyade. Est-il acceptable d'évoquer la transposition d'une réalité postérieure au 8^e/XIV^e siècle vers la période durant laquelle le premier émir cordouan régna? Il est probable que dans l'exemple d'*Abū l-mulūk*, nous soyons en présence d'une terminologie propre au milieu mérinide avec notamment l'usage du mot *mulūk* (pluriel de *malik*)²⁹. Une deuxième locution peut servir d'exemple dans notre discussion des différents éléments onomastiques employés au service du pouvoir umayyade de Cordoue. Il s'agit du nom de l'une des filles de ‘Abd al-Rahmān III, ‘Ağūz al-mulk ou «la vieille du pouvoir» ainsi appelée parce qu'elle aurait vécu quarante neuf ans après la mort de son père³⁰.

Nous relevons ensuite des expressions clairement métaphoriques commémorant la puissance et la beauté du *bayt* umayyade. Celles-ci, se rapportant au calife ‘Abd al-Rahmān III, mettent en scène le souverain en lui assignant les réussites politiques comme *fa-ğaddada al-mulk* ou «il rénova le pouvoir» et *wa-zayyana al-mulk* ou «il embellit le pouvoir»³¹. Ensuite, il serait intéressant de retenir des expressions en rap-

²⁶ Ibn Hāqān, *Maṭmah al-anfus wa-masrah al-ta’annus fī mulāḥ ahl al-Andalus*, éd. M. Ā. Šawābiqa, Beyrouth, 1983, pp.245–246; al-Bunnāhī, *Al-Marqaba al-‘ulyā fī man yastaḥiqqu al-qadā’ wa-l-futuḥā*, éd. É. Lévi-Provençal, Le Caire, 1948, p.69. Ces textes arabes et bien d'autres ont été transcrits, traduits et commentés dans M. Meouak, «Madīnat al-Zahrā’ en las fuentes árabes del Occidente islámico», *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā’*, 5 (2004), pp.53–80, 68–69.

²⁷ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*, éd. ‘A.A. ‘Alī l-Kabīr, M.A. Ḥasib Allāh et H.M. al-Šādīlī, Le Caire, s.d., 6 vols., *sub voce* «s.l.t.», III, pp.2065–2066. Voir également M. Meouak, «Las instituciones políticas del Islam temprano. Notas sobre *siyāda*, *sultān* y *dawla*», *al-Andalus-Magreb*, VIII–IX/1 (2000–2001), pp.37–48, 43–45 sur le traitement de la racine *s.l.t.*

²⁸ Ibn ‘Idārī, *Al-Bayān al-muğrib fī aḥbār mulūk al-Andalus wa-l-Maġrib*, éd. revue et corrigée par G.S. Colin et É. Lévi-Provençal, Leyde, 1948–1951, 2 vols., II, p.44. Information commentée en détail dans M. Meouak, «Notes sur les titres, les surnoms et les *kunya*-s du premier émir hispano-umayyade ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu‘āwiya», *Al-Qanṭara*, XII/2 (1991), pp.353–370, 366–367.

²⁹ Voir A. Ayalon, «Malik in Modern Middle Eastern Titulature», *Die Welt des Islams*, XXIII–XXIV (1984), pp.305–319, 307–310, et B. Lewis, «Malik», dans *Mélanges Charles Pellat*, dans *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, XXXV (1987), pp.101–109.

³⁰ Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila*, éd. M. Alarcón, Madrid, 1915, n° 2866, pp.403–404.

³¹ Ibn al-Haṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, III, p.465.

port avec les instruments du pouvoir comme *mağālis al-mulk* ou «conseils du pouvoir», *martabat al-mulk* ou «hiérarchie du pouvoir», *‘arṣ al-mulk* ou «fardeaux du pouvoir», *qarārat al-mulk* ou «décrets du pouvoir» et dans un style plus symbolique, le terme *mulūkiyya* ou «regalia»³².

Enfin, dans un dernier temps, voyons un exemple concernant la pompe et l'étiquette souveraines avec le trône ou *sarīr*. Signalons qu'un rapide coup d'oeil dans la bibliographie moderne, nous indique que le terme et ses significations ont été amplement étudiés. L'une des références les plus fréquentes dans les sources arabo-musulmanes est celle de *sarīr al-mulk* ou «trône du pouvoir» qui apparaît aussi avec les vocables *kursī* ou «tabouret» et *‘arṣ* ou «marche-pied» avec une connotation divine puisqu'il correspondait également au «trône de Dieu»³³. Afin d'illustrer notre propos, voyons deux notices relatives aux règnes des deux premiers califes de Cordoue comme par exemple *fa-qā‘ada al-Nāṣir ‘alā sarīr al-mulk bi-qasr Qurṭuba* ou «Al-Nāṣir était assis sur le trône du pouvoir dans le palais de Cordoue» et *i‘talā ‘alā sarīr al-mulk* ou «Il [al-Hakam II] accéda au trône du pouvoir»³⁴. Ces deux exemples font allusion à la situation confortée des souverains en place et confirme clairement la succession puis la continuité du pouvoir umayyade.

Conclusions ouvertes ...

Les représentations, à la fois théoriques et pratiques, du pouvoir perçues grâce à l'étude du *mulk* servent à conforter la légitimité des souverains. Nous pouvons ainsi les considérer comme des signes marquant l'existence de la *siyāda* ou principe de la «souveraineté» nécessaire au bon fonctionnement du gouvernement et à la bonne marche des institutions de l'État umayyade en al-Andalus³⁵. Mais soyons prudents quant aux généralisations abusives et aux conclusions rapides qui feraient du *mulk* le seul équivalent valable pour l'idée de pouvoir. Signalons qu'un auteur oriental comme al-Ṣafadī utilise un autre terme lorsqu'il élabora la biographie de ‘Abd al-Rahmān III. Il emploie le mot *al-imra* dans le syntagme suivant: *baqiya fī l-imra*

³² Ibn Hayyān, *Al-Muqtabas li-Ibn Hayyān al-Qurtubī (al-ğuz’ al-hāmis)*, éd. P. Chalmeta, F. Corriente et M. Sobh, Madrid, 1979, p.14 / trad. M^a J. Viguera et F. Corriente, *Crónica del Califato ‘Abdarrahmān an-Nāṣir, entre los años 912–942 (al-Muqtabas, tomo V)*, Saragosse, 1981, p.20; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla*, II, p.30; Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, *A‘māl*, pp.44 et 93; al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyād fī ahbār ‘Iyād*, éd. de Rabat, 1978–1980, 5 vols., II, p.296.

³³ Voir J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine. Étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique*, Paris, 1947, p.132 et note 3 précisant que le *kursī* «est un siège transportable sans dossier, un tabouret»; P. Sanders, *Ritual, Politics and the City in Fatimid Cairo*, Albany, 1994, pp.32 et 33 sur le *kursī* fatimide; G. Vitestam, «*Arsh* and *kursī*. An Essay on Throne Traditions in Islam», dans E. Keck, S. Sondergaard et E. Wulff (eds.), *Living Waters. Scandinavian Orientalistic Studies Presented to Professor Dr. Frede Løkkegaard*, Copenhague, 1990, pp.369–378, 369–372 sur le *‘arṣ* en Orient.

³⁴ Ibn ‘Idārī, *al-Bayān*, II, p.213; al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyād*, II, pp.286, 287.

³⁵ Voir A. Dietrich, «Autorité personnelle et autorité institutionnelle dans l'Islam: à propos du concept de “sayyid”», dans G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel et J. Sourdel-Thomine (éds.), *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Âge: Islam, Byzance, Occident*, Paris, 1982, pp.83–99, 85–86; M. Meouak, «Las instituciones políticas del Islam temprano», pp.41–43 pour un examen détaillé du concept de *siyāda*.

hamsīn sana ou «Il resta au pouvoir cinquante ans»³⁶. Tiré du radical *a.m.r*, *al-imra* renvoie sans équivoque au concept de pouvoir effectif, celui qui est réellement possédé et qui permet l'exécution des ordres et des décrets.

Le vocabulaire arabe basé sur le mot *mulk* continuera à être usité par d'autres entités politiques durant l'époque des *mulūk al-tawā'if*, au V^e/XI^e siècle. Citons à ce sujet quelques exemples: *al-alqāb al-mulūkiyya* ou «les titres royaux»³⁷; *dūl-mulk al-akbar* ou «détenteur du plus grand pouvoir» à propos d'al-Muzaffar Ibn al-Aftas de Badajoz³⁸, etc. Nous relevons également des expressions en relation avec la possession du *mulk*, c'est-à-dire du pouvoir avec les expressions suivantes: *mulk Banī 'Abbād* ou «pouvoir des Abbâdides» de Séville, *mulk Banī Ġahwar* ou «pouvoir des Ġahwarides» de Cordoue, *mulk al-Barābira* ou «pouvoir des Berbères», *mulk al-Hammūdiyya* ou «pouvoir des Hammūdides» de Malaga et Ceuta³⁹.

Pour prétendre à une véritable diffusion du message politico-religieux et du discours de propagande, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur d'al-Andalus, les Umayyades de Cordoue se retrouveront face aux problèmes de concurrence de *leadership* en Méditerranée occidentale. Cette problématique vit le jour lorsque les Fâtimides d'Ifrîqiya se posèrent, à partir du début du 4^e/X^e siècle, en champions de la *hilâfa* et en gardiens de l'Islam⁴⁰. Il est donc possible d'affirmer que le siècle du califat umayyade fut celui de la véritable mise en marche du dispositif de propagande politique et discours idéologique. Ces champs du pouvoir constituent des représentations pertinentes des comportements, tant individuels que collectifs, qui se trouvent liés en permanence au sein de structures où s'établissent les relations sociales, à l'intérieur de ce que l'on appelle «institutions». Nous entendons par ce mot tout ce qui parle d'idéal collectif, d'esprit de corps, tout ce qui conforme ambitions personnelles et censure collective. Ces cadres sont les lieux de tensions que l'on pourrait illustrer par le conflit, presque permanent, entre les *fuqahā'*, le pouvoir central et les divers cercles de hauts-fonctionnaires de l'État⁴¹. Ces tensions, souvent représentées par des mouvements en marge de la légalité des institutions umayyades, ont parfois débordé les organes centraux du pouvoir.

³⁶ Al-Šafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, vol. XVIII, éd. A.F. Sayyid, Stuttgart, 1988, p.230.

³⁷ Ibn al-Haṭīb, *al-Iḥāta*, IV, p.273.

³⁸ Ibn Dihya, *Al-Muṭrib min aṣ-ṣār ahl al-Maġrib*, éd. I. al-Abyārī, H. 'Abd al-Maġīd et A.A. Badawī, Le Caire, 1954, p.25.

³⁹ Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla*, II, pp.38, 65; Ibn 'Idārī, *Al-Bayān al-muğrib*, éd. É. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1930, vol. III, pp.125, 259; Ibn Bassām, *Al-Dahīra fi maḥāsin ahl al-Ġazīra*, éd. I. 'Abbās, Beyrouth, 1979, 8 vols., I/1, p.453, I/2, p.617.

⁴⁰ Voir P. Guichard, «Omeyyades et Fatimides au Maghreb. Problématique d'un conflit politico-idéologique (vers 929 – vers 980)», dans M. Barrucand (dir.), *L'Égypte fatimide, son art et son histoire*, Paris, 1999, pp.55–67, et M. Meouak, «Identité nationale et hégémonie territoriale. Les Umayyades et les Fâtimides au Maghreb», *Orientalia Suecana*, XLVII (1998), pp.105–110, 108–109.

⁴¹ Voir M. Fierro, «La política religiosa de 'Abd al-Rahmān III (r. 300/912–350/961)», *Al-Qantara*, XXV/1 (2004), pp.119–156, 119–121; M. Meouak, *Pouvoir souverain, administration centrale et élites politiques dans l'Espagne umayyade (II^e–IV^e/VII^e–X^e siècles)*, Helsinki, 1999, pp.74–227, et M. Marín, «Altos funcionarios para el califa: jueces y otros cargos de la administración de 'Abd al-Rahmān III», *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā*, 5 (2004), pp.91–105.

Legends Concerning the Wedding of Fāṭīma Al-Zahrā^c As Reflected in Early Shī^cite Literature

Khalid Sindawi
Emek Yezreel

There are two good reasons for dedicating a paper to legends about Fāṭīma's wedding in early Shī^cite¹ literature: the lack, to the best of our knowledge, of any previous scholarly treatments of this subject; and the existence of numerous Shī^cite traditions which deal with it.

The present study is based primarily on materials found in the following four sources:

1. *Dalā'il al-imāma* by Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Rustum al-Ṭabarī al-Ṣaghīr (d. second half of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century AH). Al-Ṭabarī, a prominent Shī^cite *faqīh* of the fourth century AH and a contemporary of the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, was born in the city of Āmul in the province of Māzandarān. He heard traditions from many of al-Ṭūsī's teachers. The traditions which he transmitted are quoted in respected Shī^cite collections and are considered reliable. His *Dalā'il al-imāma* contains stories of Shī^cite Imāms as well as traditions about the Prophet and his family, and also Imāms' sayings and sermons.
2. *Manāqib āl Abī Ṭālib* by Muḥammad b. Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192), one of the most prominent Shī^cite learned men of his generation, respected also in Sunnī circles. His book contains biographies of the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭīma and the twelve Imāms.
3. *Rawḍat al-wā'iẓīn* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Fattāl al-Nīshābūrī (d. 508/1114), also known as Ibn al-Fattāl or Ibn al-Fārisī. The author was killed by 'Abd al-Razzāq, the *wazīr* of the Seljuk sultan Sanjar Ibn Malik-Shāh (d. 1157). The book consists of two parts, biographies and traditions about the Prophet, Fāṭīma and the twelve Imāms, and traditions about various religious topics such as burial, resurrection, marriage, the month of Ramadān and so on.
4. *Bihār al-anwār* by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1115/1698), who grew up in Isfahān and devoted his life to collecting Shī^cite traditions. In the year 1686 he was appointed "Shaykh of Islām" by the Ṣafawid ruler, a position which al-Majlisī used in order to enhance the status of Twelver Shī^cism. The book contains a wealth of information on numerous topics, including Shī^cite traditions, exegesis, jurisprudence, rhetoric, ethics and more. It is one of the largest collections of Shī^cite traditions, and

¹ Shī'a and Shī^cite refer throughout this article to Imāmī (Twelver) Shī^cism.

contains materials which al-Majlisī took from a number of sources dating back to various historical periods, among them *Baṣā’ir al-darajāt*, *al-Kharā’ij wal-jarā’ih*, the above-mentioned *Manāqib ʿAlī b. Tālib* and others, which makes it possible to perform a comparison among traditions derived from a number of different sources.

In this paper we describe and analyse traditions concerning Fāṭima’s heavenly and earthly marriage ceremony and attempt to discover the motivation behind the creation of the legends concerning this event

Preparatory remarks

‘Alī b. Abī Tālib² (d. 661 CE) married the Prophet’s daughter Fāṭima, whose epithet was al-Zahrā’ (= “the radiant”),³ in the city of al-Madīna.⁴ Muslim scholars are not agreed on the date of the wedding; some claim that it took place during the first year after coming to al-Madīna, others put it in the second year AH,⁵ and still others waver between the two opinions.⁶ But whatever the date, ‘Alī’s marriage to Fāṭima was an important event in his life. He never took another wife as long as Fāṭima lived, and thanks to her he became the Prophet’s son-in-law and the father of the Prophet’s descendants. This marriage thus played an important role in the history of Islām, and especially in the history of Shī‘ism.

Sunnī and Shī‘ite sources differ in reporting the circumstances of ‘Alī’s marriage with Fāṭima. According to some Sunnī traditions both Abū Bakr and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked the Prophet for her hand in marriage, but the Prophet declined both proposals since his daughter was still too young, and eventually he betrothed her to ‘Alī.⁷ According to one tradition the Prophet had already promised her to ‘Alī before Abū Bakr and ‘Umar presented themselves.⁸

According to Shī‘ite sources ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf al-Zuhrī (d. 652 CE) also asked Fāṭima’s father for her hand in marriage. As bridal money he offered one-hundred black, blue-eyed she-camels, all laden with Egyptian Qabātī (a kind of cloth inclining to fineness, thinness and whiteness) and ten-thousand dinars. According to this tradition, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān was present at the time and offered to give the same, pointing out that he, ‘Uthmān, had embraced Islām before ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf. The Prophet, after hearing their offers was very angry at both. He took a handful of pebbles, dropped them over ‘Abd al-Rahmān and said: “Do you want to impress me with your possessions?” Whereupon the pebbles turned into pearls, each of

² For details about him see L. Veccia Vaglieri, “‘Alī b. Abī Tālib”, *EP*, s.v.

³ For more on her see L. Veccia Vaglieri, “Fāṭima”, *EP*, s.v.

⁴ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, 6:16.

⁵ Ibn Abī Khuthayma, *al-Ta’rikh al-kabīr*, 1:88; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh al-umam wal-mulūk*, 2:15; al-Bustī, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya wa-akhbār al-khulafā’*, p. 152; al-Quḍā’ī, *al-inbā’ bi-abnā’ al-anbiyā’ wa-tawārikh al-khulafā’ wa-wilāyat al-umarā’*, p. 137; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwa wa-ma’rifat aḥwāl ṣāḥib al-sharī’ā*, 3:162.

⁶ Al-Mas’ūdī accepts first the one, then the other. For details see al-Mas’ūdī, *Murij al-dhahab wa-ma’ādin al-jawhar*, 2, 290; al-Mas’ūdī, *al-Tanbīh wal-ishrāf*, p. 218.

⁷ Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā’il al-ṣahāba*, 2:614; al-Sharīf al-Murtadā, *al-Qaṣīda al-mudhahhaba*, p. 122.

⁸ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, 6:14.

which was equal in value to all of ‘Abd al-Rahmān’s possessions.⁹ According to Shī‘ite sources the reason why the Prophet rejected all four was because he did not receive divine approval.¹⁰ The marriage of ‘Alī and Fātima was, in this view, preordained in heaven.¹¹ The angel Gabriel himself is said to have told the Prophet that he must offer his daughter to ‘Alī in marriage, adding that ‘Alī, like the Ka‘ba, is worthy of pilgrimage.¹² Gabriel further informed him that ‘Alī was created as Fātima’s equal, and that he was the only spouse she could have.¹³ Shī‘ite tradition goes on to relate that ‘Alī wanted to ask the Prophet for his daughter’s hand in marriage but did not have the courage to do so. The Prophet, who was aware of this, sent him a message that he should come and see him in the house of his wife Umm Salma (Hind bint Suhayl, d. 681 CE). At the same time the Prophet also called on ‘Ammār b. Yāsir (d. 657 CE) and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās (d. 687 CE). When everyone had arrived the Prophet told ‘Alī that God had ordered him to give him Fātima in marriage.¹⁴ ‘Alī protested that he was too poor and that the only things he could give as bridal money were his sword, his horse and his armor, whereupon the Prophet told him to sell the latter. ‘Alī duly sold his armor for four-hundred dirhams to Dihya al-Kalbī (d. 665 CE). When ‘Alī had taken the money Dihya gave him back his armor as a gift. ‘Alī took the armor, and when he told the story to the Prophet the latter informed him that it was the angel Gabriel in the form of Dihya who had bought the armor and given it back, and that the money which he had been paid for it was God’s gift in honor of Fātima.¹⁵

The problem of ‘Alī’s bridal money is thus seen to have been solved by heaven, since God had decreed that these two were meant only for each other. God’s purpose, in the Shī‘ite view, was that the two should give birth to the first of the line of imāms who would lead the Muslim nation. The fact that the Prophet accepted ‘Alī and rejected the other suitors is deemed proof of ‘Alī’s essential purity and superiority.¹⁶

⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Dalā'il al-imāma*, . 12.

¹⁰ Al-Sharīf al-Murtadā, *al-Qaṣīda al-mudhahhaba*, p. 122; Ibn al-Mughāzilī, *Manāqib al-imām ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib*, p. 346; Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn akhbār al-riḍā*, 1:225, no. 3.

¹¹ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfi*, 1:460–461; Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn akhbār al-riḍā*, 1:30; idem, *Mā’ani al-akhbār*, p. 104; al-Mufid, *al-Irshād*, 1:36; al-Khuzā’ī, *al-Arba’īn*, p. 68; Ibn Shādhān, *al-Faḍā’il*, pp. 35–36; Ibn al-Mughāzilī, *al-Manāqib*, pp. 342–343.

Although in this particular, Shī‘ite and Sunnī traditions differ, there is a similar Sunnī tradition, related by Ibn Māja, that when ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān married the Prophet’s daughter Umm Kulthūm the Prophet said to him: “O ‘Uthmān, it was Gabriel who told me that it was God’s will that you marry Umm Kulthūm for the same bridal money as (you paid for my other daughter) Ruqayya (for details see Ibn Māja, *al-Sunan*, 1: 40–41).

¹² Al-Ṭabarī, *Dalā'il al-imāma*, p. 12.

¹³ Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn akhbār al-riḍā*, 1:225, no. 3.

¹⁴ Al-Fattāl, *Rawdat al-wāzin*, 1:144–145; Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn akhbār al-riḍā*, 1:225, no. 2; Furāt b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr Furāt*, pp. 413–414, no. 413 – 552; Ibn Bābawayh, *al-amālī*, pp. 588–589, no. 1; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43:111, no. 24, 101:87, no. 53.

¹⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, *Dalā'il al-imāma*, p. 13.

¹⁶ Al-Sharīf al-Murtadā, *al-Qaṣīda al-mudhahhaba*, pp. 122–123.

Accounts of the wedding of ‘Alī and Fātīma abound in both Sunnī and Shī‘ite tradition. The descriptions, however, differ greatly. Sunnī historical sources describe the wedding as a very modest affair, albeit one at which all Muslims, and the Prophet in particular, rejoiced very much.¹⁷ The Shī‘ite version is much more elaborate; it speaks of two celebrations, one in heaven and the other on earth. More attention is given to the heavenly feast, attended by a host of angels. It is the details of these feasts to which we shall turn in the following pages.

We should point out that although some late Sunnī sources accept Shī‘ite accounts of the wedding ceremony,¹⁸ most standard Sunnī texts either make no mention of these accounts, or declare them to be unreliable.¹⁹

Fātīma’s bridal money²⁰

In the traditions in question separate bridal money was given for Fātīma in heaven and on earth. According to one tradition her earthly bridal money amounted to four-hundred-and-eighty dirhams, which the Prophet ordered to be paid two-thirds in perfume and one-third in garments.²¹ In another tradition the sum is put at four-hundred *mithqāl* of silver. Other sums and quantities mentioned are five-hundred dirhams,²² a coat of mail worth thirty dirhams,²³ and a lambskin bed.

It is related that Fātīma wept before her father because of the modest sum ‘Alī had paid. The Prophet consoled her by saying that of all their relatives none was superior to ‘Alī and that God himself had ordained that they be married. He then added: “Know that God has made a fifth of the earth bridal money for you; know also that whoever shall walk on the earth and hate Fātīma and her progeny, will be cursed on the earth until the Day of Judgment.”²⁴

The Prophet’s answer, that in fact the bridal money she was given was of greater worth than that given to any other woman, accords with the Shī‘ite view that Fātīma was indeed superior to any other woman in all worlds, and therefore deserving of gifts superior to those of any other bride.

In addition to her earthly bridal money, she also received, in accordance with

¹⁷ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, 6:15.

¹⁸ The Sunnī imam Ibn Shādhān (d. 426/1034) mentions a tradition which accepts some details of the Shī‘ite depiction of the wedding, although most Sunnī scholars reject it. For more details see Ibn Shādhān, *Mashyakhat Ibn Shādhān al-sughrā*, p. 71.

¹⁹ Al-Bustī in his biography of the Prophet says: “Many long tales have been told concerning her marriage, but I have refrained from mentioning them because their transmission is faulty”. For more details see al-Bustī, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, p. 152.

²⁰ For more on the concept of bridal money see O. Spies, “Mahr”, *EI²*, s.v.

²¹ Al-Fattāl, *Rawdat al-wā‘izīn*, 1:146.

²² Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:399–400; al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfi*, 5:377–378, no. 42, whence al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43:144, no. 42.

²³ Al-Tūsī, *Tahdhib al-ahkām*, 7:364, no. 40; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:400, whence al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43:105, no. 43, 20:113, no. 24; al-Āmilī, *Wasā'il al-shī'a*, 21:250–251, nos. 27014, 27017.

²⁴ Al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfi*, 5:378, nos. 6–7, whence al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43:144, no. 43.

Shī'ite tradition, a heavenly gift consisting of a fifth of the earth, a third of Paradise, four terrestrial rivers: the Nile, the Euphrates, Nahrawān and Balakh, and also five-hundred dirhams.²⁵

Other traditions put her bridal worth as half of Paradise, one-fifth of this world and everything in it, four rivers, and a fifth of the booty, all God's gift to Fātima, and therefore "no one has the right to deny her even a single hair of it".²⁶

The witnesses to the wedding in Paradise

In Islām a marriage ceremony must be witnessed. It must not remain secret, nor should it be open to denial. The Prophet himself is quoted as saying: "There is no marriage without witnesses", and also "There can be no marriage without [the presence of] a guardian and two just witnesses; otherwise it is not valid".²⁷ Two witnesses are thus required.

Since Fātima's wedding in Paradise was a special occasion for a special person, the wedding ceremony was witnessed by the angels Gabriel and Michael²⁸ as well as all the other angels and houris.²⁹ According to Shī'ite tradition, as soon as the angel Rāhīl finished the wedding speech, God himself and His angels confirmed the marriage of Fātima and 'Alī.³⁰

The wedding ceremony in Paradise

Shī'ite sources relate that Gabriel performed the ceremony. He was also 'Alī's proxy, while Michael was the Prophet's. According to one tradition, God Himself inspired Gabriel to wed "light to light".³¹ It was Gabriel who asked for Fātima's hand, and God caused Rāhīl,³² the most eloquent of the angels, to give the wedding

²⁵ Al-Tabarī, *Dalā'il al-imāma*, p. 18.

²⁶ Al-Tabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 15:65, nos. 17549–9 – 17550–10, 17:25, no. 20644–5.

²⁷ Al-Zayla'ī, *Naṣb al-rāya li-ahādīth al-hidāya*, 3:167. We should mention here that according to Twelver Shī'ism the presence of witnesses at the wedding ceremony is considered desirable, but not necessary; a marriage ceremony conducted without witnesses is thus valid.

²⁸ Ibn Bābawayh, *al-amālī*, p. 439.

²⁹ Ibn Shahrashūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:395.

³⁰ Al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 14:209, no. 16517–11.

³¹ Among Shī'ites light (*nūr*) is one of the most prominent attributes of the Prophet, 'Alī and Fātima. This is a divine light which God created expressly for them and their offspring, when they were all still spirits and shadows, many centuries before they were born. Shī'ite tradition relates that when God wanted to create them He placed these shadows in a column of light in Adam's spine, whence it entered the spines of the prophets until it reached the spine of 'Abd al-Mutallib (d. 579 CE), the Prophet's grandfather. From him the column of light split into two. One part reached the Prophet through his father 'Abd Allāh, eventually to reach Fātima. The other part reached 'Alī through his father Abū Ṭālib. Thus both 'Alī and Fātima had the divine light in them, and they bequeathed it to their sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn and all the imāms who were their descendants. For more details see: Uri Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nur Muhammad", *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 62–119.

³² Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr Furāt*, p. 414, nos. 413–552; al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 14:208, no. 16515–9; al-Tabarī, *Dalā'il al-imāma*, pp. 12–13; Ibn Bābawayh, *'Uyūn akhbār al-riḍā*, 1:224, no. 1; al-Fattāl, *Rawdat al-wā'iẓīn*, 1:145; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43:128, no. 32.

speech³³ from the “podium of honor” (*minbar al-karāma*)³⁴ in the “inhabited house” (*al-bayt al-ma’mūr*)³⁵ before an audience from the seven heavens. According to the Shī‘ite account this was a speech the likes of which none in heaven or on earth had ever heard. When it was over Michael called on those present to come to the wedding celebration.³⁶

The celebration of Fātiما’s marriage in Paradise

According to Shī‘ite tradition Fātiما’s marriage in Paradise took place before her earthly wedding. In preparation for the wedding God ordered all the angels and the other denizens of Paradise to decorate all the trees and palaces there, and made the winds of Paradise spread a sweet perfume. In addition, God ordered the houris of Paradise to sing and to recite aloud the following chapters of the Qur’ān: 20, 26, 27, 28, 36 and 42.³⁷

God then sent a white cloud which rained pearls, emeralds and sapphires.³⁸ He also ordered Ridwān, the guardian of Paradise, to shake the Tūbā tree, which then shed leaves equal in number to the number of supporters of the Prophet’s family. Angels of light were then created, each of whom took one leaf which it would keep until the Day of Judgment, when it would present it to one of the supporters of the Prophet’s family, as protection against being committed to the fires of Hell.³⁹

According to another tradition the Tūbā tree bore white pearls, red sapphires and green emeralds which were picked by the houris. Each houri put its jewel in a dish and gave it to another to keep until the Day of Judgment, saying: “This is the gift of the best of women [i.e. Fātiما]”.

³³ Some traditions claim that Gabriel gave the wedding speech, see: Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:395.

³⁴ According to tradition this is the same podium on which Adam spoke when God taught him the names of things. See al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 14:208–209, no. 16517–11.

³⁵ The “inhabited house” is mentioned in the Qur’ān (4:52). Different traditions give differing descriptions of this house. According to some it stands in the fourth heaven; angels worship in it: every day seventy-thousand angels enter it, never to return to it again. In other traditions it is located in the first or lowest heaven and is visited by seventy-thousand angels daily. Yet other traditions explain it as referring to the Ka‘ba, which is “inhabited” by pilgrims (for details see: al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma‘ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, 9:272). Al-Rāzī adds to what al-Ṭabarsī reports as another opinion, namely that the “inhabited house” is in the highest heaven, next to God’s throne, and is named for the numerous angels which constantly hover around it. For more on the “inhabited house” see: Th. P. Hughes, “Al-Baitūl-Ma’mūr”, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. The Shī‘ites would seem to have adopted the view that it is in the seventh heaven, next to the throne.

³⁶ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:395.

³⁷ Furāt b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr Furāt*, p. 414, no. 413–552; Ibn Bābawayh, *Uyūn akhbār al-riḍā*, 1:224, no. 1; al-Ṣaddūq, *al-Amālī*, 559, no. 1; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 101:87, no. 53.

³⁸ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:395.

³⁹ Some Shī‘ite sources relate that on the anniversary of Ḡadīr Khumm (the 18th of Dhū al-ḥijja, the day on which the Prophet announced that ‘Alī was his lawful heir) the inhabitants of Paradise gather in a palace made of silver and gold bricks and give each other presents which they call “Fātiما’s trinkets” (*nuthār Fātiما*), whereupon God announces that they shall now be safe from misfortune until the next anniversary (for more details see: Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:43). We can assume that the jewels which the inhabitants of Paradise gave each other as presents at Fātiما’s heavenly wedding served a similar purpose.

Yet another tradition relates that the fruits of Paradise fell on the angels.⁴⁰ Then a voice announced from beneath the throne: “Today is ‘Alī’s banquet. You are my witnesses that I gave Fātīma to ‘Alī in marriage so that they will delight in each other”. Whereupon a cloud began raining pearls, emeralds and sapphires.⁴¹

The afore-mentioned traditions would seem to constitute a kind of reaction to the social inferiority imposed on Fātīma in her real life. What they perceived as an unfitting status was corrected by means of imaginary daydreams and wishful thinking.

‘Alī and Fātīma’s knowledge of their heavenly wedding

A number of Shī‘ite sources tell us that Fātīma and ‘Alī were aware of the wedding celebration which took place in their honor in Paradise. According to one tradition the Prophet told ‘Alī that God had married him to Fātīma in Paradise before their earthly wedding, explaining that “if God wants to honor His friend, He does so with something which no eye has seen and no ear has heard”.⁴² Upon hearing this ‘Alī thanked God by reciting a verse from the Qur’ān.⁴³ Fātīma, too, knew of her heavenly wedding, for in a boasting match with her husband she proudly announced that in heaven the angel Rāhīl gave her in marriage, and that the amount of her bridal money was determined in heaven.⁴⁴ Both Fātīma and ‘Alī are thus taken in Shī‘ite tradition to have known of their marriage in Paradise.

The picture which these traditions intend to convey is that this marriage was indeed “made in heaven”, in the sense that both spouses were extremely content with their marriage to each other, a marriage which they perceived as a fulfillment of God’s wishes.

The earthly wedding

Forty days after the wedding celebration in Paradise, according to Shī‘ite tradition, the earthly marriage between Fātīma and ‘Alī took place, either on the first or the sixth day of the month of Dhū al-hijja⁴⁵ or, according to some other traditions, a few days after the battle of Badr (624 CE).⁴⁶ Shī‘ite sources relate that the Prophet was

⁴⁰ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:394–395; al-Fattāl, *Rawḍat al-wā‘izīn*, 1:144; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43:107.

⁴¹ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:395.

⁴² Ibn Furāt, *Tafsīr Furāt*, p. 415, no. 413–552.

⁴³ Q 27:19: “My Lord! grant me that I should be grateful for Thy favor which Thou hast bestowed on me and on my parents, and that I should do good such as Thou art pleased with, and make me enter, by Thy mercy, into Thy servants, the good ones” (Translation: M.H. Shakir).

⁴⁴ Ibn Shādhān, *al-Fadā'il*, p. 80.

⁴⁵ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:398; al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 15”65, no. 1755–10.

⁴⁶ Al-Kanjī, *Kīfāyat al-tālib*, p. 308. According to the traditions which date the wedding on earth to the first or sixth of the month of Dhū al-hijja in the year 2 AH, forty days after the wedding in Paradise, the latter must have occurred on the twentieth or the twenty-fourth of the month of Shawwāl in the same year. On the other hand, the traditions which date the earthly wedding a few days after the battle of Badr (for details see Al-Kanjī, *Kīfāyat al-tālib*, p. 308), which took place on the seventeenth of Ramaḍān in the year 2 AH, imply a different time for the wedding in Paradise as well. At any rate, there is clearly some doubt as to the precise date of Fātīma’s wedding.

approached by an angel with twenty-four-thousand faces who told him: “I am not Gabriel but Maḥmūd. God sent me to marry light to light”. The Prophet asked whom he meant and the angel answered: “Fāṭima to ‘Alī”. When the angel turned to leave the Prophet saw an inscription between the angel’s shoulders: “Muḥammad is the messenger of God and ‘Alī is his regent”. The Prophet then asked the angel when these words were inscribed. The angel replied: “Twenty-two-thousand years before God created Adam”. According to another tradition it was twenty-four-thousand years.⁴⁷

A different account relates that the Prophet was in the house of his wife Umm Salama⁴⁸ when he was approached by the angel Ṣarsā’il, who possessed twenty heads, on each of which there were one-thousand people, each of whom praised God in a different language. The angel’s hand was wider than seven heavens and seven earths. The Prophet thought this was Gabriel, but the angel said to him: “I am not Gabriel but Ṣarsā’il. God has sent me to you so that you may marry the light to the light”. The prophet then asked: “Who should marry whom?”, whereupon the angel answered: “Fāṭima should marry ‘Alī, with Gabriel, Michael and Ṣarsā’il as witnesses”. The Prophet then noticed that the angel had the following inscription written between his shoulders: “There is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh, ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib who carries out the duty of the Imamate[*muqīm al-hujja*]”. The prophet asked the angel when the inscription was written. The angel answered: “Twelve-thousand years before God created the world”.⁴⁹

Traditions of this kind clearly have the purpose of demonstrating the truth of the Shī‘ite belief in the superiority of ‘Alī and his descendants, a superiority which is deemed to have been preordained since before Creation. They thus legitimize the Shī‘ite ideology, which is claimed to go back many millennia.

According to yet another tradition the Prophet said to Fāṭima: “‘Alī b. Abī Tālib is someone whose kinship and merits in Islām are known, and I have asked my God that He should marry you to the best of His creatures and the one most beloved of Him”. Fāṭima remained silent after having heard her father’s words, whereupon the Prophet announced: “God is great! Her silence is equivalent to agreement”. He then ascended the podium and gave a sermon about the marriage of his daughter Fāṭima.⁵⁰

The angels’ role at Fāṭima’s wedding celebration

In Shī‘ite tradition angels play a prominent role in both the heavenly and the earthly wedding of Fāṭima. She is considered closer to God than other women, and her wed-

⁴⁷ According to another tradition the angel, named Ṣarsā’il, possessed twenty heads, each populated by one-thousand people (for details see Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:398; al-Majlīsī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43: 111, nos. 23–24; al-Irbillī, *Kashf al-ghuma*, 1:352; al-Fattāl, *Rawdat al-wā’izīn*, 1:146).

⁴⁸ For details about her see: R. Ruded, “Umm Salama Hind”, *EP*, s.v.

⁴⁹ Al-Irbillī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 1:353, whence al-Majlīsī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 43:123, no. 31; Ibn Shādhān, *Mi’at manqabā*, p. 35.

⁵⁰ Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, 3:398–399; al-Ṭabarī, *Bishārat al-muṣṭafā*, p. 262; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, p. 40, no. 44–13.

ding therefore attracts the attention of the dwellers of heaven. In Paradise the angel Gabriel or, according to some traditions, the angel Rāḥīl, gives the wedding sermon in the “inhabited house”.⁵¹ The angels are also reported to have decorated Paradise for the wedding on the command of God Himself. The wedding itself was attended by numerous angels, spirits and cherubs.⁵²

As for the terrestrial wedding ceremony, the angel Gabriel is reported to have descended in order to inform the Prophet of God’s decision that Fātīma shall marry ‘Alī. Gabriel is also said to have brought the Prophet a carnation and an ear of corn from the decorations of the wedding ceremony in Paradise. Gabriel also shouted “God is great” at the earthly festivities. This, according to tradition, was the first time this cry was heard at a Muslim wedding, and from then on it became customary.⁵³

According to another tradition the Prophet was accompanied by seventy-thousand angels as he walked in Fātīma’s procession towards ‘Alī. In addition, the angel Ridwān sent Fātīma perfume from heaven for her wedding. The perfume was brought to her by houris.

Discussion and conclusion

The main purpose of all the above-mentioned Shī‘ite traditions is to demonstrate the important position which Fātīma occupies in the eyes of God, who mobilized countless angels and houris to prepare her wedding and to be present at the ceremony in Paradise. These divine exertions on Fātīma’s behalf constitute a miracle through which her status, and consequently the status of her admirers, the Shī‘ites, is enhanced.

Shī‘ites consider Fātīma a saint whom events have wronged. For this reason they have lifted her up to Paradise, the abode of imāms and prophets. The need to show her saintly character and to stress the miracles which were performed on her behalf thus stems from two basic causes:

1. To show that Fātīma was worthy of being the Prophet’s daughter and ‘Alī’s wife, and that God wrought miracles for her, as he did for them.
2. To demonstrate to the detractors of Shī‘ism that its articles of faith are not heresy, and that its veneration of Fātīma and of her descendants the imāms is justified.

Such traditions may well also constitute an attempt to provide a haven of sorts from the pain and fear felt by Shī‘ites in the real world, through an escape into an imaginary world of daydreams. These traditions describe a Paradise very different from the everyday world of Shī‘ites, tell of utterances which modify the laws of nature and fulfill latent desires, such as the desire for money as expressed in the fruit of the Tūbā tree in Paradise. In short, they express an ever present hope that words will be

⁵¹ Al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, 14:208–209, no. 16517–11.

⁵² According to some sources the ceremony was held in Paradise under the Tūbā tree in a valley named al-Afyāh. For details see: al-Kanji, *Kifāyat al-ṭālib*, p. 300.

⁵³ See: al-Kanji, *Kifāyat al-ṭālib*, p. 303.

able to triumph where actions have failed, that non-believers in Shī‘ism will eventually be led to believe in the miracles performed on Fātima’s behalf.

To the true Shī‘ite believers, the traditions concerning Fātima’s wedding provide proof of her powers, and give hope that she may be able improve their present and future lot, economically and socially.

From a theological point of view the stories about Fātima’s wedding stress the merits of the mother of all future Shī‘ite imāms, chosen by God for this purpose and married in heaven on God’s command. Furthermore, the imāms are descended from both the best of all women, the Prophets daughter, and the best of all men, the Prophet’s cousin. This provides the foundation for the belief that the imāms themselves are not like other men. They are holy men protected by God.

As a final comment, we should stress the fact that we express no opinion here as to the historicity or otherwise of various historical “facts” mentioned in the traditions discussed above. Our inquiry is not affected by the truth or falseness of these traditions, since our aim has been to analyse the motivation and purpose behind the acceptance and dissemination of these traditions among Shī‘ites for many generations.

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“Swimming Against the Current”. Towards an Arab Feminist Poetic Strategy

Ibrahim Taha
University of Haifa

Introduction*

Is there any unique and established Arab feminist poetics? How does poetics relate to politics, ideology, and beliefs? Before embarking on these questions about the ways Arab women write, other questions fundamentally attached to the very existence of feminism in modern Arabic literature should be briefly answered. Do we have a feminist ideology in modern Arabic literature, and if so, what phase of feminism dominates contemporary Arabic literature written by women? Primarily, this paper refers to feminism, in the very title of the paper, as a variety of strategies of *destruction* and *construction* by which several women writers have been using literary strategies and patterns to undermine convention and thereby establish a new feminist poetics for Arabic writing. In so doing, several Arab women writers have recently demonstrated a great willingness to accelerate their literary activity throughout all the Arab countries. Following Toil Moi and Elaine Showalter, Sabry Hafez in a socially and nationally oriented literary study illustrates three distinct phases or types of Arab women's writing: *feminine*, *feminist*, and *female*.¹

My current study focuses on the latter two types of women's literary discourse as two branches of one major trend, which have existed in combination since the early 1970s.² Regardless of the differences between the semantic and thematic back-

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¹ Feminine stands for gender and “liberal feminism”, feminist stands for difference and “radical feminism”, and female mainly stands for the demand to reject the sharp dichotomy between the two genders. See Sabry Hafez, “Women’s Narrative in Modern Arabic Literature: A Typology”, in Roger Allen, Hilary Kilpatrick and Ed de Moor (eds.), *Love and Sexuality in Modern Arabic* (three types of narrative discourse – ‘feminine’, ‘feminist’ and ‘female’ – correspond to similar phases in the development of the quest for and perception of national identity. They do so in a manner that reveals the interaction between the national consciousness and the position of women in society, and the impossibility of realizing the aspirations of a nation without realizing the full potential of both genders” (pp. 173–174). On these three terms see Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977; Elaine Showalter (ed.), *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1985, pp. 137–139; Moi, T. “Feminist, Female, Feminine”, in Catherine Belsey and Jane Moore (eds.), *The Feminist Reader: Essays in Gender and the Politics of Literary Criticism*, 2nd edition, London: Macmillan Press Ltd: 1997, pp. 104–116.

² These three stages of women literature “are obviously not rigid categories, distinctly separable in time, to which individual writers can be assigned with perfect assurance. The phases overlap; there are feminist

grounds of these terms, this study concerns the literary patterns and strategies of this trend of women's writing in which women's interests are represented by particular subjects and themes, but also by a set of definite literary devices, techniques, and conventions.³ Any ideological movement of literary activity cannot rely only on one facet of the literary text, traditionally called by the formalists 'content' and 'form'. Considering that any attempt to detach 'form' from 'content' will be doomed to failure from the outset, this study is wholly devoted to poetics, not to themes, which I have described in detail elsewhere.⁴

Plainly, all these terms, proposed by Moi and others, were until recently rejected by many Arab women writers themselves. Being Western in origin and abundant in colonial connotations, feminism, according to Fadia Faqir, "has no roots in the Arab-Islamic culture".⁵ That is apparently one of the reasons why many Arab women writers have opposed the term "feminist literature". "The label 'feminism' is

elements in feminine writing, and vice versa. One might also find all three phases in the career of a single novelist." Elaine Showalter, "A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing," in Mary Eagleton (ed.), *Feminist Literary Theory: A Reader*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, p. 16.

³ In her book *A Literature of Their Own*, Elaine Showalter deals with the British women's novels from the mid-19th century to the early 1970s. She divides this long period of women's writing, more than 130 years, into three main phases: the feminine phase, underway about 1840 to 1880, the feminist phase from about 1880 to 1920, and the female phase ongoing since 1920. In the last phase "women reject both imitation and protest – two forms of dependency – and turn instead to female experience as the source of an autonomous art, *extending the feminist analysis of culture to the forms and techniques of literature*." Elaine Showalter, "Toward a Feminist Poetics", in Elaine Showalter (ed.), *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory*, pp. 138–139.

⁴ See Ibrahim Taha, "'Beware Men, They Are All Wild Animals' – Arabic Feminist Literature: Challenge, Fight and Repudiation" has already been published in *Al-Karmil – Studies in Arabic Language and Literature*, volume 7 (2006), pp. 25–71. In this study, I have dealt in details with the five principal themes of the recent trend of feminist Arabic literature in a comprehensive paper. All the themes discussed in previous detailed studies indicate a massive change in Arab women writers' position and view of the world since the early 1970s. Adopting a new strategy of struggle against the patriarchal system, several Arab women writers have moved from the traditional defensive strategy to an offensive one, namely from weeping and complaining to an aggressive struggle in which they do not hesitate to challenge masculine concepts, and political, social and religious taboos. Several Arab women are starting to adopt hard-line positions, to stand firm, and to oppose all kinds of patriarchal oppression, fighting against male/masculine/patriarchal-dominated life on two major fronts: direct and indirect. On the direct front men are individuals, whereas on the indirect front, men collectively represent a particular system of standards, and norms.

This offensive trend, described above, is accompanied by offensive poetics in which new devices, techniques and forms dominate the ways literary texts produce meanings and significance. This is the very reason why Muhsin Jassim al-Musawi believes that "feminist poetics and politics fit well into postcolonial theory", namely "the fight against oppression, exploitation, backwardness and dormancy". Muhsin Jassim al-Musawi, *The postcolonial Arabic Novel: Debating Ambivalence*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003, p. 221. The close relationship between all types of the colonized/subaltern, including women, and the concept of marginalization has been widely treated since the 1970s in one way or another. See, for instance, Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 1994; Edward Said, "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors", *Critical Inquiry* 15 (Winter 1989), pp. 205–225; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Explanation and Culture: Marginality", *Humanities in Society* 2:3 (Summer 1979), pp. 201–222; *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, New York: Methuen, 1987; *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. by Sarah Harasym, New York: Routledge, 1990.

⁵ Fadia Faqir (ed.), *In the House of Silence: Autobiographical Essays by Arab Women Writers*, Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1998, p. 175.

associated with the colonial past, the hegemonic West, inferior literature, narrow-mindedness and political dogma in the Arab world”.⁶ In addition to this reasonable explanation, many more are offered by Arab women writers themselves for rejecting the label “feminist writing”. One refers to the way Arab male-dominated societies think of “feminism”, which frequently is perceived as an imported body of strange and unacceptable beliefs, and above all as an all-out rebellion against the institution of Arab manhood. Many women writers have recently come out against “feminism”, chiefly identified with bourgeois activity.⁷ Supporting working women who labor strenuously to save their families from hunger and poverty, the Egyptian writer Salwā Bakr in the afterword to her novel *Sawāqīl-Waqt* aggressively attacks those bourgeois feminists attending dinner parties.⁸

Many Arab women writers do deeply believe in feminism, but lack sufficient courage to accept the term. Some of them, as we learn from their biographies, lead feminist lives. Those Arab women writers do not reject the term “feminism”, itself but its image as reflected in men’s minds. Generally, they have no problem with its nature, but with the way men understand it. Paradoxically, the rejection of the term “feminist literature” by Arab women writers, I believe, stems from a feminist standpoint. They do not like to be treated as sectarian writers, or labeled “feminist writers”, “but just as writers”.⁹ Hamīda Na’na’, a Syrian woman writer living in Paris, resists the term “feminist literature” because “attempting to imprison women inside their femininity creates obstacles which impede such development. Ways are needed to allow women to develop as human beings, rather than waste their time.”¹⁰ Feminist literature, as perceived by men, is meant to address particular parts of society, sects, people of color, classes, genders; it is something restricted to women. If history and reality, as commonly believed by women, are dominated/controlled/ruled by men, and women are the inferior “other”, then their literature will accordingly be labeled as inferior.

Suggesting the term “Islamic womanism”, Miriam Cooke tries “to avoid the race, class and north-south problems inherent in the controversial term Islamic feminism (al-’Unthawiyya al-Islāmiyya)”.¹¹ If “womanism”, originally coined by Alice

⁶ Fadia Faqir, *In the House of Silence*, p. 178.

⁷ See Sabry Hafez, “Women’s Narrative in Modern Arabic Literature: A Typology”, p. 170.

⁸ “Women of the feminist movement, in my opinion, are not those who ascend stages in conferences to demand changing laws related to the personal affairs of the individual; nor are they those who look for a feminist association where they can go out at night to consume foods. Rather, they are the millions of women who rush out to work market every day to protect their own families against famine and poverty, [...] indeed, those are the true women of the feminist movement which is actively engaged in pushing the movement of society ahead; those women confront life, fight its difficulties and its inherited moral ethics confining their womanly creative energy”. Salwā Bakr, *Sawāqī al-Waqt*, Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 2003, p. 129.

⁹ McKee, E. “The Political Agendas and Textual Strategies of Levantine Women Writers”, in Mai Yamani (Ed.), *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*, University of London: Ithaca Press, 1996, p. 134.

¹⁰ Fadia Faqir, *In the House of Silence*, p. 103.

¹¹ Miriam Cooke, “Ayyam min Hayati: The Prison Memories of a Muslim Sister.” *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1–2 (1995), p. 149.

Walker to define black and colored feminism,¹² chiefly focuses on sex/sect/gender in order to avoid the ideology inherent in the term “feminism”, it may assuage the anger men feel about women. However, I assume that many Arab women writers would not accept it, as Fadia Faqir explicitly explains in her book.¹³ They mostly resist the terminology referring to their writing as “female writing”, “feminine writing”, “feminist writing”, “Islamic womanism”, and the like, because they firmly wish to be at the center, integrated, and a productive partner regardless of sex, gender or race.¹⁴

According to Hélène Cixous, “‘feminine writing’ is not determined by the sex of the author; it is only signified by the gender of *the text*. So this type of ‘narrative’ could be produced by women or men”.¹⁵ “Women [according to Heath] are not feminists by virtue of the act alone of being women: feminism is a social-political reality, a struggle, a commitment, women *become* feminists”.¹⁶ Feminism according to many scholars refers to the urgent need to change the reality in which women live. It refers, as formulated by Jayawardena, to the “awareness of women’s oppression and exploitation within the family, at work and in society and conscious action by women and men to change this situation”.¹⁷ Cixous, Heath and Jayawardena, then, try to emphasize that women’s writing is an ideological writing. In plain language, ideology cannot be avoided, or at least ignored, by terminology. Apparently, many Women writers are committed to a corpus of beliefs, ideas and concepts, and do their best to push them forward on two levels: the thematic and the aesthetic. Agreeing on the ideological standpoint of feminist literature, scholars basically associate it with “otherness” and difference. As such, it deviates from the mainstream in literature established and dominated by men. Feminist literature is a label neutrally used by critics and scholars so that they can point out the particular and unique features of this phenomenon, differentiating it from patriarchal norms and conventions.

Regardless of Arab women writers’ suspicion of terminology attached to their literary activity, “feminist poetic strategy”, the terminology that appears in this study’s title, is meant to probe the way of writing employed by several Arab women writers to resist prevalent patriarchal devices, modes, genres and theories. Recently, many Arab women writers principally and practically resist stable male forms, discourse, genres, and theory. They willingly adopt the principle of free experimental writing, which is not restricted or limited to women writers, but apparently they are going to dominate this type of writing. One may count five major points of concern as follows:

¹² See Walker, A. *In Search of Our Mothers’ Gardens: Womanist Prose*, London: Women’s Press, 1984.

¹³ See Fadia Faqir, *In the House of Silence*, p. 179.

¹⁴ For more details, see Nāzik Al-A’rajī. *Şawt al-’Unthā Dirāsāt fī al-Kitāba al-Nasawiyya al-’Arabiyya*, Damascus: al-Ahālī lil-Tibā'a wal-Nashr wal-Tawzī', 1997, p. 12. For a brief survey of the rise of feminism in the Arab world, see Nawar Al-Hassan Golley, *Reading Arab Women’s Autobiographies: Shahrazad Tells her Story*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003, pp. 27–34.

¹⁵ Quoted in Fadia Faqir, *In the House of Silence*, p. 21.

¹⁶ Stephen Heath, “Male Feminism”, in Mary Eagleton (Ed.), *Feminist Literary Criticism*, 4th edition, London and New York: Longman, 1995, p. 194.

¹⁷ Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World in the C19th and C20th: History of the Women’s Movement*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 1982, pp. v-vi.

Female Protagonists

“A comparison between female and male writers sheds light on essential differences in the way they tackle the issues of women and gender relations. The most obvious distinction is the accordance of the sex of the author and the sex of the protagonist: men writers create male protagonists and women writers create female protagonists”.¹⁸ The status of women can be reinforced, first and foremost, by removing male characters from the center of literary works to the side, and focusing on female characters, as Muhsin Jassim al-Musawi rightly argues “What makes Ḥanān al-Shaykh’s narrative quite feminist is Zahrah’s take-over of two-thirds of speech and narrative, leaving little room for further male domination.”¹⁹ Women are becoming main characters in literary texts, whether they are heroines or anti-heroines. In feminist literature, men have recently witnessed a massive shift and switch from positions of heroes to anti-heroes, and women from positions of victimized characters to heroines. Women become the center of the world, men have been removed to margins. This is a significant development in modern Arabic literature, which responds to the appeal of Hélène Cixous that “women must write women. And man man.”²⁰

One may identify two types of heroism in the last phase of Arabic feminist literature. One refers to the hero, the other to the anti-hero.²¹ In *al-Madīna al-Ḥulum* (The Dream Town), a short story by the Tunisian writer Rashida al-Turki,²² the protagonist, a thirty-year-old woman writer, lives in Europe. She sincerely and openly admits to suffering from the “tragedy” caused by departing her homeland and living in exile. Locked in her room, after she has attempted suicide by taking tablets, the protagonist holds a long narrated monologue²³ considering the motivations for her suicide and the arguments against her decision. In an exciting confession, she identifies her problem and consequently the coming tragedy:

اكتملت المأساة حقاً إلى حد أنها سيطرت عليها فكرة منذ سنتين تقريباً وهي أنها لا تستطيع الكتابة حين تكون في بلد़ها. السفر والكتابة. فماذا قدمت لها الغربية سوى مثل تلك الأوهام؟ لماذا قتلت الغربية علاقتها بالعالم الحقيقي الصادق، والذي لا يوجد سوى هناك في بلدِها؟ ماذا قدمت لها تلك المدن سوى طعم الوحدة حتى وهي في أسعد لحظاتها؟ وكم هي نادرة تلك اللحظات!

(97)

¹⁸ Nadje Sadig Al-Ali, *Gender Writing/Writing Gender: The Representation of Women in a Selection of Modern Egyptian Literature*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1994, pp. 118–119.

¹⁹ Muhsin Jassim al-Musawi, *The Postcolonial Arabic Novel: Debating Ambivalence*, p. 230.

²⁰ Hélène Cixous, “The Laugh of the Medusa”, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1976), p. 877. Dealing with literary pieces written by women from the early stages of women’s Arabic literature in the first half of the 20th century, Joseph Zeidan noted “women novelists greatly increased the range of female character types, which both reflected and helped bring about greater freedom for women in Arab cultures.” Joseph Zeidan, *Arab Women Novelists: The Formative Years and Beyond*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995, p. 233.

²¹ For more details about these terms and others, see Ibrahim Taha, “Heroism in Literature: A Semiotic Model,” *The American Journal of Semiotics*, No. 18 (2002), pp. 109–127.

²² Rashida al-Turki, ‘Aṣr al-Ḥanīn, Cairo: Wikālat al-Ṣīḥāfa al-‘Arabiyya, 1999, pp. 89–101.

²³ For more details about this technique and others, see Dorrit Cohn, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

كيف صارت الغربة قدرها والسفر قدرها الأقسى؟ متى بدأ ذلك بالضبط؟ إنها لا تذكر. كانت مجرد فكرة بدأت عابثة وساذجة "السفر والكتابة" ثم اتسعت دائرة الغربية والسفر والكتابة. الكتابة والسفر والغربة. وهي جماعتها صنعت منها تلك الإنسنة القلقة، الحالمة دائمًا، التي تلاحق أوهامًا والتي تبني صورًا – حتى عن الأشخاص – صورًا ترثاح لها قبل أن تعرفهم (99).

The tragedy was really so complete that it reached a point where one idea overcame her nearly two years ago, and it is that she cannot write when she is in her country. Traveling and writing. So what did estrangement in exile present her, except these illusions? Why did estrangement in exile kill her relationship with the real and authentic world that exists nowhere except there in her own country? What did these cities give her except the taste of loneliness even when she was enjoying her happiest moments? And how rare these moments were! (97).

.....

How did estrangement in exile become her destiny, and traveling her severest destiny? When exactly did that happen? She does not remember. It was a mere idea that initially appeared vain and naïve – traveling and writing; then the cycle of estrangement in exile and traveling widened. Exile, traveling, and writing. And all of these combined to make of her that worried human being, forever dreaming, pursuing illusions and forging images which brought her comfort even before she got to know them (99).

This story refers to a common problem of some Arab women writers: living in exile, whether in another Arab country, a Western country, or elsewhere in the world. Exile apparently offers Arab women writers some degree of the freedom essential to produce any type of literature. However, this typical problem for Arab women writers who could not be represented by any male character has another facet, as repeatedly described during the course of the monologue. It is the illusion, alienation, disengagement, anxiety and dreams, the only things exile can provide the foreigners. The protagonist decides to handle this tough reality through suicide, the most submissive and regressive measure for dealing with such circumstances. When she recognizes her critical mistake and unsuccessful decision at the very end of the story, it is too late to change her recent past when she swallowed the tablets. The events end with the protagonist's certain death:

توقفت الذاكرة. ترید أن تصرخ. طائر قبيح مفزع ينقض على وجهها. تحاول الحرaka. ينقض الندم عليها. ينهشها. "لو يتغير كل شيء الآن وأرجع إلى الحياة. سأغير مقاييس حكمي على الأشياء. سأكون أكثر واقعية لقبل هذه الحياة..." لكن النهاية تبدو أمام الجدار الأبيض الذي ينأى. ينأى. يتقل رأسها على المخددة ويتلاشى إلى الأسف. يدق الباب. ترید أن تقوم لتفتحه. لكن الموت كان جواباً سريعاً. سريعاً. سريعاً.
ولم يقل كل شيء (100–101).

The memory stopped. She wants to shout out. An ugly, scary bird is swooping down on her face. She is trying to move. Regret is attacking her. Snapping at her. 'If only everything changed now and I returned to life, I would change the standards of judgments on things. I would be more realistic in accepting this life...' But the end is appearing in front of the white wall which is distancing. Distancing. Distancing. It is making her head heavier on the pillow and it is vanishing downward. It is ringing at the door. She wants to stand up and open it. But death was a quick answer. Quick. Quick.

And it did not say everything" (100–101).

Two major lessons can be learned from this apocalyptic end to the story: (1) Arab women writers must not flee their homeland in order to write; exile is not the answer for the harsh reality women expect to face in their homeland; (2) Arab women writers should have enough courage and power to challenge any tough reality anywhere; suicide is not the answer, it is the fastest and most readily available option, but not the right one. The protagonist is punished for taking two wrong decisions, namely fleeing her homeland, and committing suicide. Living in exile is equivalent to committing a suicide. In so doing, she is entitled to be considered an anti-hero. Lack of heroism is, in itself, an ideological statement of failure, crisis, and defeat. Referring to the Moroccan writer Khannatha Bannuna's literary work, Mona Mikhail believes that anti-heroism usually dominates it, indicates the writer's own loss “of faith in the society of the forefathers”.²⁴

Considering the foregoing ideas, this female-centered story – in which one female character alone dominates the entire discourse by putting herself, memory, consciousness, life, future and her destiny at the center of all events – has three feminist messages to offer.

(1) Female protagonists have the right, legitimacy, and power to represent female/feminist issues and concerns on their own. Women have their particular aspirations and dreams, which cannot be shared by men.

(2) Female protagonists as reliable characters can be anti-heroines, not just heroines. Self-criticism, as introduced into the story under discussion, stems from the fundamental obligation and responsibility women writers take upon themselves in dealing openly and realistically with their harsh and complex concerns. Involving some autobiographical data by using the mask of her protagonist, al-Turkī dares to make an open and a sincere confession and take full responsibility for her failure.

(3) Monologues are associated with feminine nature. “The choice of stream of consciousness by women writers as a favorite narrative technique – with its built-in power of reflection and of revealing mental processes – has led to viewing this technique as inherently feminine.”²⁵

“Women are the subjects of feminism, its initiators, its makers, its force; the move and the join from being a woman to being a feminist is the grasp of that subject hood.”²⁶ Women are mostly the protagonists, whether they are heroines or anti-hero-

²⁴ Mona Mikhail, *Seen and Heard: A Century of Arab Women in Literature and Culture*, Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2004, p. 102. Bannuna's “men and women are constantly depicted as probing, meditative characters beset by doubts, guilt-ridden and insecure, and usually anti-heroes. These people seem helpless in arbitrating their destinies. They are men and women who grope for happiness but rarely achieve it, seeming to encapsulate the anguish and defeats of a whole generation of Moroccans in crisis” (p. 102). These particular findings regarding characterization in Bannuna's work could to a large degree be applied to many feminist literary works recently published over nearly all the Arab world.

²⁵ Saddeka Arebi, *Women & Words in Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Literary Discourse*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 259. For more details about monologues as literary devices closely attached to feminist writing, see, for instance, Sayyid Muhammad al-Sayyid Qutub, ‘Abd al-Mu’tī Shālih and Īsā Mursī Salim (eds.), *Fī Adab al-Mar'a*, Cairo: Longman, 2000, p. 148, 153, 157.

²⁶ Stephen Heath, “Male Feminism”, in Mary Eagleton (ed.), *Feminist Literary Criticism*, London & New York: Longman, 1995, p.194.

ines, in Arabic feminist literature, as shown in hundreds of texts reviewed for this study. The image of women in modern Arabic literature should, according to women writers, undergo a critical change and experience new positions. Dealing with all nine collections of short stories by the Kuwaiti writer Laylā al-'Uthmān published until 2001, Muhammad Şaffūrī observed that more than 62% of the stories are dominated by female protagonists, about 28% are shared by both female and male protagonists, and only about 9.5% of the 158 short stories of these collections are dominated by men.²⁷ “In male-centered ethnic societies [like Arab societies], the woman usually remains in the margin, invisible, mute, or constrained to limited stereotypical roles of possession – child or mother, domestic worker, or sexual object.”²⁸ Being fully aware of women’s status in Arab societies, as described by Geok-Lin Lim, it is highly significant for Arab women writers to increase and strengthen their active presence in literature by various techniques, including personal narrators.

Female First-Person narrator

If male readers tend to identify the first-person narrator with the real author herself, women writers in conservative societies narrating sexual activity in first person may well be suspected of having experienced that sexual activity themselves.²⁹ Arab women who produce first-person oriented writing are therefore to be highly commended for their courage. 'Alyā Mamdūh, an Iraqi writer (b. 1944), defends her writing in the first person: ‘I write about them in the ‘first person’. The critics do not like this type of writing much because it refers to the personal, maybe even to the intimate, and why not. It is perhaps the only world allowed to me – that of the self – carrying it forwards with an outstretched hand beyond the boundaries of mere individual self. It is the first, the original person, who stands for all and will say before them: ‘this is just the beginning’’.³⁰

Examining novels from 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, Joan Douglas Peters insists that “as narrators, women are portrayed in many ways as stronger, more self-analytical, sometimes more passionate, but also more intellectually reliable and com-

²⁷ See Muhammad Şaffūrī, *A Study of the Literary Works of Laylā Al-Uthmān: A Monograph*, Haifa: University of Haifa, 2001, pp. 129–132 (unpublished M.A. thesis).

²⁸ Shirley Geok-Lin Lim, “Feminist and Ethnic Literary Theories in Asia American Literature”, in Robyn R. Warhol & Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997, p. 813. In many countries in the Gulf where black female employees are a common phenomenon, rape is a familiar crime. In a short story from the United Arab Emirates by Salmā Matar Sayf, “al-Nashīd” (The Song), in Latīfa al-Zayyāt, (ed.), *Kull Hādhā al-Şawī al-Jamīl* (All that Pretty Voice), Cairo: Nūr- Dār al-Mar'a al-‘Arabiyya lil-Nashr, 1994, pp. 109–116, the black woman has been raped and victimized by the grandfather just because she looks “other” and “different”. This crime committed by the grandfather was based on terminology of “race” and “ethnicity”. In this case, the female character has been victimized for two reasons: as a woman and as a black person. For more details about “race” and “ethnicity” see Robyn R. Warhol & Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 741.

²⁹ See for instance Salwā Nu'aymī, “al-Qaylūla,” in Latīfa al-Zayyāt, (ed.) *Kull Hādhā al-Şawī al-Jamīl*, p. 121.

³⁰ Fadia Faqir, *In the House of Silence*, pp. 66–67.

plex than male narrators in the very same text or the narrational discourse identifying themselves in that text as patriarchal”.³¹ Ubiquitous in feminist literature, autobiography greatly resembles writing in the first person. In both genres/techniques, women writers appear and sound busy, and even fully occupied with the self. It takes “the writer’s ‘self’ as subject matter”.³² Autobiography and first-person narration enable women authors to assume the authority and responsibility of narration. As such they refer to the private and the public aspects of the “I”, as the subject of the object, and vice versa. Both become one entity. Moving from writing under pen-names to first-person writing, women abandon fear and adopt strategies of self-confidence and challenge.³³ Keeping in mind the fact that Arab women writers in many Arab states have until recently published their work under pen-names, one can better understand the critical significance of first-person writing for Arab women writers themselves. By means of the first person, the female narrator controls the narration process.³⁴ Generally, women writers make intensive and repeated use of a first-person female narrator,³⁵ so that they can put the “self” at the center of text. Joan Douglas Peters believes that “as narrators they have authority in their texts; and the values that they articulate as women are promoted as the values of the novels they narrate”.³⁶

The narrator of Salwā Nu’aymī’s short story *al-Qaylūla* (The Midday Nap)³⁷ is a woman journalist attending a week-long conference on the status of Arab women and their role in Arab culture. At the very end of the story, the narrator demonstrates full awareness of the fact that Arab women do not reveal their own experiences because of their fear of the social norms that identify their private life with their literary works.

في العتمة الشفافة تتنقل قبلاته متأنية على المفهوم مني والسرى. أغمض عيني من جديد سباحة خلف موجاتي: تتعاقد في داخلي، تتشابك ثم تتصاغر، وبعد أبعد، قبل أن تتفتح نقطة نور تتداح لا تعبر المرأة العربية عن تجاربها خوفاً من أحكام المجتمع الأخلاقية التي لا تفصل بين الحياة الخاصة والعمل الفني لست بحاجة أن أفتح عيني كي أراه. أعرف أنه هنا، مختلطًا برائحة اللذة (121–120).

In the transparent darkness his kisses move slowly on what is revealed of me and hidden. I close my eyes anew swimming beyond my small waves: they get complicated in me, they

³¹ Joan Douglas Peters, *Feminist Metafiction and the Evolution of the British Novel*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002, p 8.

³² Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 1100.

³³ About the fear that Arab women writers have of writing under pen names, see *Şabwa*, a short story by the Bahraini writer Fawziyya Rashid, *Imra'a wa-Rajul* (A Woman and a Man), Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1997, pp. 89–92.

³⁴ Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Men, Women, and God(s): Nawal El-Saadawi and Arab Feminist Poetics*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1995, p. 198.

³⁵ See Nazih Abū-Nidāl, *Tamarrud al-Unthā fi Riwyāt al-Mar'a al-‘Arabiyya wa-Biblyūgrāfiyā al-Riwyā al-Nasawiyā al-‘Arabiyya 1885–2004*, Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-‘Arabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wal-Nashr, 2004, p. 108.

³⁶ Joan Douglas Peters, *Feminist Metafiction and the Evolution of the British Novel*, p. 20.

³⁷ Salwā Nu'aymī, “al-Qaylūla,” in Laṭifa al-Zayyāt, (ed.) *Kull Hādhā al-Ṣawt al-Jamīl*, pp. 117–121.

interweave together, miniaturize , further further, before a point of light gets open round and bigger ‘an Arab woman does not tell her experiences because of the moral judgments of society that make no distinction between private life and artistic work’ I need not open my eyes to see him. I know he is here, mixed with the odour of ecstasy (120–121).

True, male readers tend to identify female protagonists with the female writers themselves, as rightly stated by Nazīh Abū Niḍāl.³⁸ This is especially so when the text has some autobiographical data and is narrated in the first person, like the one discussed here. Making the most of the first-person narration, the narrator courageously decides to reveal her own sexual experiences so as to challenge the fact – that male readers tend to identify female protagonists with the female writers themselves – created by patriarchal ways of thinking. In this sense, first-person narration is not merely a formal device but a strategy by which Arab women writers declare their sincere resolution to stand firm against patriarchal norms.

To move from being watched mostly by men to a position of watching themselves and men as well, feminist critics borrowed in the late 1980s the term “gaze” from the visual arts so as to discuss female narrative point of view.³⁹ Women in male Arabic literature mostly play the part of “object” watched through a male gaze. “Objectification” refers to the women’s acquiescence to be watched. They are presented as objects of vision and sight. Changing from being the objects of the gaze to being the gazers means changing from being controlled to controlling. This is first achieved the moment women start taking advantage of first-person narration.

كنت أرى عينيه عليّ ويتوتر جسدي. هل يمكن أن تكون الرغبة معدية في ضوء بعد الظهريرة المرمي بكسل وراء ستائر أستطيع تمييز عريّة الجميل وشيناً من الرضا على الوجه السامن المغمض العينين ”مفهوم الرجلة يفرض على الذكر في مجتمعنا أن يمارس مختلف أنواع الخبرات الاجتماعية حتى المحظورة منها دون أن يستذكر عليه ذلك. أما إذا قامت المرأة بالأعمال نفسها .. عيناي أنا مفتوحان. أراه ولا يراني (118).

I was seeing his eyes on me and my body became tense. Is it possible that the desire can be harmful under the afternoon light, which is lazily thrown beyond the curtains? I can distinguish his beautiful nakedness and something of satisfaction in his fattening, close-eyed face ‘the concept of manliness makes the male in our society practice various kinds of social expertise, even taboos without getting reproved for doing them. But if a woman practices the same deeds..’ **My own eyes are wide open. I see him and he doesn’t see me** (118).

The narrator transforms the man’s watching her body into her own pleasure and desire. She treats his watching as sexual stimulation, which she greatly needs to elevate her sexual desire. Furthermore, by watching him watching her body, it is she who dominates the act of gazing throughout the text, and thereby defines and determines the consequences according to her ultimate needs and goals. The first-person narration helps the gazer to control the whole process of narration. In such a case, she keeps two major roles in the text for herself: she is the only one who gazes and

³⁸ See Nazīh Abū-Niḍāl, *Tamarrud al-'Unthā fī Riwayat al-Mar'a al-'Arabiyya wa-Biblyogrāfiyā al-Riwayā al-Nasawiyā al-'Arabiyya 1885–2004*, pp. 28–29.

³⁹ See Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl, (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 428.

the only one who speaks. “Feminist critics [and writers] tend to be more concerned with characters than with any other aspects of narrative and to speak of characters largely as if they were persons”.⁴⁰ One technique of women writers, namely making a woman the very focus of the text, gives controlling authority to female first-person narrators. It is one of the techniques profusely employed in feminist Arabic literature in the last two or three decades, to promote feminist views, notions, and values. In first-person texts dominated by a female narrator, a woman functions as the gazer/viewer, and as the “bearer of the look”⁴¹ she becomes the subject of the text itself, not the object as expected. She no longer plays the role of victim, icon, image, and passive character.

One of the modes and techniques strongly attached to nature of women’s literature is the female first-person narrator. “In most of the short stories and poetry written by women, the point of view is usually revealed through the first person, who often happens to be a woman.... The use of the first person narrative with a woman as the narrator leads to the impression that the story is realistic and ‘true’ and to its identification as autobiographical”.⁴² Arab women writers indeed tend to take much advantage of many autobiographical devices and techniques. Since the majority of them search for personal female identity, as rightly argued by Joseph Zeidan, they fill their literary work with large amounts of autobiographical and semi-autobiographical material.⁴³ This apparently reflects the urgent need of Arab women writers to place their personal identity at the center of their literary texts. They aim to give top priority to the female self, using first-person writing as the seemingly most appropriate way to do so in fiction. First-person writing most likely makes the identification of life and literature (and art in general) an accessible and achievable aim.⁴⁴

In sum, this story by Nu‘aymī is without doubt one of the most successful texts illustrating the decisive role of first-person narration. Using the first person helps the female narrator to achieve some sort of guaranteed superiority over male characters, familiar norms, and events. The female narrator is the protagonist, the only one who initiates action and motivates the events; she is the gazer, the only one who sees; she is the decision maker, the only one who decides how things should proceed. Now these three significant functions need to be sustained by a personal and direct point of view, without any sort of intervention by a third-person mediator. Referring to

⁴⁰ Susan S. Lanser, “Toward a Feminist Narratology,” in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 677.

⁴¹ “In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female” Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.) *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 442. In such a situation woman functions as a product displayed for men, and man as a consumer.

⁴² Saddeka Arebi, *Women & Words in Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Literary Discourse*, p. 259.

⁴³ See Joseph Zeidan, *Arab Women Writers: The Formative Years and Beyond*, p. 146.

⁴⁴ This may explain “the attraction of women writers to personal forms of expression like letters, autobiographies, confessional poetry, diaries, and journals”. Employing the first-person mode of writing, these forms assist women writers to bridge the gap between life and art. Susan Gubar, “The Blank Page” and the Issues of Female Creativity,” in Elaine Showalter, (ed.), *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory*, p. 299.

diarists, Alex Aronson believes that “whenever a diarist uses the third person in one of his entries a distancing effect is achieved.”⁴⁵ Third-person narration is mostly associated with fictional, scripting, or documenting, whereas the first person is more likely associated with the speaking “truth”. Third person normally invites us to read; first person, by contrast, sounds as if she/he invites us to listen. The difference between reading and listening is equivalent to imagining and embodying. While pushing aside the male character and the patriarchal norms expressed in the papers delivered at the conference in the story, the female narrator sounds and looks extremely eager to place the female self in the focus. Controlling not only the “facts themselves” but also the way they are delivered, the first-person technique is greatly needed to maintain this position in this story. First-person narration provides the female narrator of Nu‘aymī’s story obvious superiority in all confrontations between: (1) the female individual and society as represented in the conference’s papers; (2) the private experience and the public norms; (3) her and him; (4) her future and her past; (5) deeds and talking; (6) the bedroom and the conference hall. This superiority seems to promote the writer’s own ideology, particularly when it is produced by the right language.

Female Language

Hélène Cixous believes that there are distinct differences between the language used by women and men writers. Women writers will be busy with their bodies, therefore their language is closely attached to sexuality.⁴⁶

تنتشر النغمات
أرقص، أدور، وتدور بي الأرض، وتقذفني الرغبة المجنونة إلى البلاد البعيدة/القريبة، ويفور
قلبي، تذوب جبال الجليد، ترتفع الشهفات.
تها.....
أتريح الماء ولذة، تدثرني رموشي المبتلة، تصعد قدماي الحافيتان إلى اللامنتهى، تنفر حلمتاي.
[...]
أموت وأحيا، تبحر الذكرى سفينية في دمي، ترسو على عيون البراءة والصبا، تطرطش المياه
حولنا، نسلق الشجر، نقاد الطيور، نلعق حبات المطر.
بينك وبيني غجرية السنين، تت弟兄 في دخان الرحيل، وما بين الخوف والرغبة، تتسلل النغمات
من جديد، تتنشر، يتتصاعد الإيقاع المجنون على رمال صدرك المتحركة (51).

The melodies spread.

I dance, turn round, and the earth turns me round and the mad desire launches me to the distant/close countries, my heart bubbles up, the icebergs melt and the inhalations get loud. The appeasement.....

⁴⁵ Alex Aronson, *Studies in the Twentieth-Century Diaries: The Concealed Self*, Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991, p. 31.

⁴⁶ See Fadia Faqir, *In the House of Silence*, p. 20. For more details about the mutual relations between women’s language and feminine themes see a detailed study Sayyid Quṭub, ‘Abd al-Mu’ṭī Ṣalīḥ and Īsa Salīm, *Fī Adab al-Mar’ā*, Cairo: Longman- al-Sharika al-Miṣriyya al-Ālamiyya lil-Nashr, 2000, pp. 48–103.

I stagger out of pain and desire, my wet eyelashes cover me, my naked feet ascend the infinite, my nipples stick out.

[. . .]

I die and live, the memory ship sails in my blood, anchors on the eyes of innocence and youth, water gurgles around us, we climb the trees, imitate the birds, lick the drops of rain. Between you and me there are the *gypsies* of years which evaporate in the smoke of departure, and between fear and desire the melodies leak in newly, spread, the mad rhythm embarks on the shifting sands of your chest (51).

Mixing body and feelings, Ibtihāl Sālim in her very short story⁴⁷ *Īqā’ Wahīd* (A Single Rhythm)⁴⁸ uses a personal diction whereby she leads the reader to a situation of multi-dichotomies and contradictions rather than to definite meaning/s. These contradictions – between nearness/closeness and distance, excitement and silence, meeting and departure, desire and fear, past and future, life and death, her and him, and the like – bring the reader to a situation of confusion and agitation. Sālim’s language requires a patient, productive, and well-experienced reader.

One can completely understand Saddeka Arebi’s caution and reservations about some male critics’ judgment of the use of poetic language in narrative fiction. Referring to the Saudi writer Najwā Hāshim, Arebi says that as is the case with other women writers, Najwa’s reviewers have often described her language as “poetic”. This may appear to be high praise, for poetry is the most pure of Arabic literary forms. But within the context of a short story, “poetic” implies a tendency to emphasize the formal and stylistic qualities of the work while undermining or completely ignoring the message. This is one reason why most women writers are not happy with such a description. The emphasis on the aesthetics of the work rather than on its message is, for many reviewers, especially the non-Saudis, the “safest” aspects of a woman’s literary works. While this has brought attention to women’s works, these critics, by considering the aesthetic qualities of the texts in total isolation or exclusion of the content, have not only concealed the serious political messages embedded in the works but have generated an assumption that women are incapable of producing works of substance.⁴⁹

Many women critics believe that language has to play a key role in feminist writing.⁵⁰ Women writers believe that they must combat the dominant male discourse

⁴⁷ For more details about this genre see Ibrahim Taha, “The Modern Arabic Very Short Story: A Generic Approach”, *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. xxx, No. 1 (2000), pp. 59–84; Ibrahim Taha, “Semiotics of Minimalist Fiction: Genre as a Modeling System”, *Applied Semiotics/Sémiotique Appliquée*, No. 14 (2004), pp. 42–52.

⁴⁸ Ibtihāl Sālim, “*Īqā’ Wahīd*”, *Ibdā’*, No. 9 (1995), p. 51.

⁴⁹ Saddeka Arebi, *Women & Words in Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Literary Discourse*, p. 260.

⁵⁰ See for instance Carolyn Greenstein Burke, “Report from Paris: Women’s Writing and the Women’s Movement,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Summer 1978), pp. 843–855; Nelly Furman, “The Study of Women Language: Comment on Vol. 3, No. 3,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Autumn 1978), pp. 182–185; Cynthia Berryman and Virginia Eman, *Communication, Language, and Sex*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1980; Sally McConnell-Ginet, Ruth Borker, and Nelly Furman, (eds.), *Women and Language in Literature and Society*, New York: Praeger, 1980; Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramer, and Nancy Henley, (eds.), *Language, Gender, and Society*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1983; Elaine Showalter, “Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness,” in Elaine Showalter (ed.), *The New Feminist Criticism*, pp. 252–256.

and language and construct/establish their own discourse; this is accomplished by Ahlām Mustaghānamī in her trilogy.⁵¹ Many male writers in the post-modern era tend to employ various kinds of verbal ambiguity and obscurity, true. However, centering on “the self”, female writers in particular tend to take remarkable advantage of unexpected, personal, indirect, poetic, and figurative expressions and verbal mediums. This is mainly associated with dreams, feelings, and unconsciousness.⁵²

وعندما كانت تنظر إليه أو ينظر إليها تصحو البذرة السديمية في الكون وتعلن شموخ الشجرة فيما ثم الغابة. وبين أحضان الحواس المفتوحة لكل نقاء الكون وجماله يلتقيان مع الكائنات الراخية بتلألئها النادر.

لم تكن تنوي منازلة المجهول وإنما تتاسب في الرحلة الراهفة بفيض التجانس الكلي وتصطاد من الوقت كل الزمن المكتنز بهما.

تجرد الفتى من كل ما كان يعتبره تقىصة أو قبحاً. اغتسل في مياهها المسحورة فجداً كالجعة بياضاً. كان مأخوذاً بها، كانت مأخوذة به. ومن كل حدب تتوافد رسائل الغابات المعطرة، ومن كل صوب تفتح بوابات البحار والفضاء.

كانا يقطنان معاً أهazيج البراءة المتسربة من جسديهما. لم تكن الملامة إلا مزيداً من الاختراق لمواطن البهجة المباحة والساخنة بفوانيش الاشتعال (80-81).

And when she looked at him and he at her, the nebular seed woke in the universe and declared the loftiness of the tree in them and the forest. And among the laps of the senses open to the purity of universe and its beauty they met the creatures rich with their rare brightness. Filled by them.

She did not intend to fight the unknown, but to flow in the thin trip with a flood of thorough homogeneity and to hunt of time the whole time, to deprive the youngster of all he considered deficiency or ugliness. He washed himself in her charmed water and became as white as a swan.

He was fascinated by her and she was fascinated by him. And from every destination came the messengers of the perfumed forests, an from every direction the gates of seas and space opened.

Together they lived in the songs of innocence leaking out of their bodies. The mutual touching was not but an excess of breakthrough into points of allowed joy and generous with candles of burning (80-81).

These passages from *Hubb*, a short story by Fawziyya Rashīd,⁵³ and from the previous and the following ones, including Sālim's story, are filled with figurative expressions, various types of metaphors, ambiguity and obscurity, confessions, dreams, personal consciousness, forms of intertextuality, and mixtures of the private

⁵¹ Joseph Zeidan refers to women's use of language as an instrument of resisting the patriarchal structure. Joseph Zeidan, *Arab Women Novelists: The Formative Years and Beyond*, pp. 233-234.

⁵² For more aspects of women's use of language see Sa'īd Yaqtīn, “al-Riwāya al-Nisā'iyya al-'Arabiyya: Rajā' 'Ālim Namūdhajan,” in *al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya al-Nisā'iyya: al-Multaqā al-Thalith lil-Mubdi'at al-'Arabiyyāt*, Tunisia: Dār Kitābāt and Mahrajān Sūsa al-Dawlī, 1999, p. 109; Salāḥ Shālih, *Sard al-Ākhar: al-Anā wal-Ākhar 'Abr al-Lugha al-Sardiyya*, al-Dār al-Baydā' and Beirut: al-Markiz al-Thaqāfi al-'Arabī, 2003, pp. 153-157. For further examples of female language see the Palestinian writer Rajā' Bakriyya's novel: *'Iwā' Dhākirā*, Nazareth: Dā'rat al-Thaqāfa al-'Arabiyya fi Wazārat al-Ma'ārif wal-Thaqāfa, 1995.

⁵³ Fawziyya Rashīd, *Imra'a wa-Rajul* (A Woman and a Man), pp. 77-83.

and the general and the human being and nature. Above all, the absence, or limited number, of narrative elements brings them as close as possible to the nature of poetry.⁵⁴

On the level of meaning and significance, female language tends to employ mediums of resistance and deconstruction. In addition to ambiguity resulting from various devices and techniques as detailed in the previous section, female language is one of the most effective techniques used by women writers to liberate their work from the massive presence of the author. Arab women writers thereby fight the patriarchal superiority of authors. “For the patriarchal critic, the author is source, origin and meaning of the text. If we are to undo this patriarchal practice of *authority*, we must take one further step and proclaim with Roland Barthes the death of the author”.⁵⁵ Saddeka Arebi has no reason to worry, one can conclude from this discussion three major feminist aims of women novelists’ use of poetic language in fiction: (1) to blur the clearly marked boundaries between genres (fiction and poetry) chiefly established by men from a patriarchal standpoint, (2) to involve the reader in the interpretation process by creating some types of figurative language and ambiguity, and (3) to establish a unique female language, a feminist one, different from patriarchal language. Sometimes the very language becomes their own reality.

Metaliterature: Fiction as Reality

“To account for life against death, to stand for the human, and to decry absurdity, you need to portray human existence amid destruction, human desire against extinction, and also to set all within a perceptible site, usually a city where the battle is fierce. *The act of writing becomes a celebration of life chances against the encompassing death*”(My italics).⁵⁶ Arab women writers construct their own concrete worlds with words, and metafiction is much needed as a tool to maintain and sustain these worlds. Since life is a nightmare for Arab women writers, an illusion – writing – becomes real life. It is the hope that keeps them alive. It is a situation of endless love. The Algerian writer Ahlām Mustaghānamī says, “Fortunately, I own nothing more destructive than writing [...]. Writing is a part of my entity, that is why I get tired while writing”.⁵⁷ Referring to an exceptionally impressive title quoted from the American poet Hilda Doolittle, “Write, Write, or Die”, the Egyptian writer Sahar al-Mūjī writes: “Before writing I did not exist, after writing I came to existence [...]. I began writing therefore, I began recognize myself [...]. Writing for me is itself the making of life [...].”⁵⁸

Using the mask of her narrator, Hudā Barakāt, the Lebanese writer, in her novel

⁵⁴ For more illustrative texts see, Sa'diyya Mufriḥ, *Mujarrad Mir āt Mustalqiya* (Just a Lay Mirror), Damascus: Dār al-Madā, 1999, pp. 95–99.

⁵⁵ Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory*, London: Methuen, 1985, pp. 62–63.

⁵⁶ Muhsin Jassim al-Musawi, *The Postcolonial Novel: Debating Ambivalence*, p. 218.

⁵⁷ Būshūsha bin Jum'a, “al-Riwāya al-Nisā'īyya al-Maghāribiya: 'As'ilat al-'Ibdā' wa-Malāmiḥ al-Khuṣūṣiyya,” in *al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya al-Nisā'īyya: al-Multaqā al-Thālith lil-Mubdi īt al-'Arabiyyāt*, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Sahar al-Mūjī, “Uktubī, 'Uktubī Aw Mūtī,” *Ibid*, p. 122.

Hajar al-Daḥik (The Stone of Laughter)⁵⁹ addresses the hero, at the very end of the novel as if he was a real human being:

You've changed so much since I described you in the first pages. You've come to know more than I do. Alchemy. The stone of laughter.

Khalil is gone, he has become a man who laughs. And I remain a woman who writes.

Khalil: my darling hero.

My darling hero.... (231)

Barakāt believes that men conduct real life: they can walk and laugh. Women apparently can do nothing but write. Writing itself is the real life.⁶⁰

“Feminist metafiction...is a woman writing about a woman writing – especially in reaction to conventions for the novel prescribed by established ‘male’ literature”.⁶¹ One can certainly take this term further and expand it to include all genres of literature. Metaliterature enables the writer to fulfill two different missions, that of the writer and the critic, through whom she/he simultaneously can (re)present both fiction and reality. Employing metawriting to integrate both functions, women writers seek to ignore the hard-line dichotomies of creative and descriptive writing, fiction and reality, writer and critic, and maybe, woman and man.

In her novel *Qamīṣ Wardī Fārigh* (An Empty Rosy Dress), the Egyptian writer Nūrā Amīn mixes fiction with reality to set forth her views on literature and its role/s. For her, and presumably for other Arab women writers, writing is an ideological means and tool with which she wishes to replace the rejected reality with one of promise.⁶² However, if the unchangeable reality keeps functioning as an oppressive patriarchal system, writing itself becomes for Amīn the *reality* she longs for. Writing about the way she writes, and focusing on the significance of various literary techniques and devices,⁶³ Amīn places (the craft of) writing itself at the center of her consciousness, and it consequently becomes her top concern. In this sense, the text does not serve as a tool, but as a reality, which she wants to improve so that she can *live in it*. In her short story *Al-Tadhakkur bi-Qadr Akbar min al-'Ātifiyya* (Remembering with a Greater Amount of Sensibility),⁶⁴ Nūrā Amīn describes the way she prefers to write in the course of the story itself:

In such cases as these I well avert all possible solutions so as to maintain the alertness of

⁵⁹ Hudā Barakāt, *Hajar al-Daḥik* (The Stone of Laughter),

⁶⁰ “For the artist, this sense that she is herself the text means that there is little distance between her life and her art.” Susan Gubar, “‘The Blank Page’ and the Issues of Female Creativity,” in Elaine Showalter, (ed.), *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory*, p. 299.

⁶¹ Joan Douglas Peters, *Feminist Metafiction and the Evolution of the British Novel*, p. 1.

⁶² See Nūrā Amīn, *Qamīṣ Wardī Fārigh*, Cairo: Dār Sharqiyāt, 1998, pp. 35–37, 67–68. For more details on the role of meta-writing in Amīn’s novel see Sayyid Muhammad al-Sayyid Quṭub, ‘Abd al-Mu’tī Ṣāliḥ, and ‘Isā Mursī Salīm, *Fī Adab al-Mar'a*, pp. 167–174.

⁶³ See for instance, Nūrā Amīn, *Qamīṣ Wardī Fārigh*, pp. 53, 93–94.

⁶⁴ Nūrā Amīn, “Al-Tadhakkur bi-Qadr Akbar min al-'Ātifiyya”, *Tbd?*, No. 4 (1998), pp. 88–92.

في مثل هذه الحالات أتفادى جيداً كل الحلول الممكنة كي أحافظ بيقظة مشاعري تجاه كل شيء، لعل لحظة الكتابة تلك تحيء ولو متأخراً من هنا فإنني أعمل جيداً على مراجعة جميع الأحداث كل ليلة، على محاولة الربط بين تفاصيلها وبين بعض المفردات المستقة من الأعمال الأدبية العظيمة، فالتضمين عادة ما يكسب التجربة بعداً ملحمياً "جاداً" وإن كان يزعزع قليلاً المسافات ما بين الماضي والحاضر والعكس، تلك المسافات التي تصلح في نظرى للتدريب على الهدف في كل شيء وعلى التخلص من بقايا أوصال التفاعل العاطفى، ومن ثم النضوج الحقيقى وكتابه نص على مستوى عالٍ من البلاغة الأدبية (91).

my feelings towards every thing, hopefully that moment of writing might come even if late. Hence, every night I work very well on reviewing all events, attempting to connect between their details and some of the vocabulary derived from great literary works; for example, connotation usually provides experience with a ‘serious’ tragic dimension although it shakes a little the distances between past and present and vice versa which, in my idea, is fit for practising the renunciation of everything and for getting rid of the traces of the emotional interaction parts and, in consequence, to achieve real maturity and to write a text considered very lofty in the perspective of literary eloquence (91).

When literary texts become the medium fully occupying women writers' minds, literature is considered an alternative partner to men. Nidā' Khūrī, a prominent Palestinian poet, writes in her poem *Tamarrud* (A Revolt)⁶⁵:

أتمرَّدُ فِي كَفَّ بِدَه
يَطْوَعُنِي
وَيَلْعَنُ عَلَى الْغَبَارِ وَالْخَطِينَةَ
أتمرَّدُ
عَلَى هَوَائِي وَمَاءِي وَجَلْدِي
أخْتَرِقْ تَمَرَّدِي
وَأسْجُدُ
لَهْرِيَةِ أَسْمَيْهَا الْقَصِيْدَةِ (ص 93).

I rebel in the palm of his hand
He subdues me
And declares on me the dust and sin
I rebel
Against my air, my water and my skin
I break through my rebellion
And I kneel down
Before the freedom I call the poem (93).

If men are by no means equal partners for women, the way out of the male's (her lover's, her husband's, ...) dominance can only be reached by changing partner. On the one hand, the persona declares her revolt against *him*, on the other she bows in

⁶⁵ Nidā' Khūrī, *Khawātīm al-Milḥ*, (Rings of Salt), Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wal-Nashr, 1998, p. 93. A detailed study of the feminist discourse of this collection see Salmān Farrāj, “al-Khiṭāb al-Nasawī fi Dīwān ‘Khawātīm al-Milḥ’ lil-Shā'ira Nidā' Khūrī”, in Maḥmūd Ghanāyim, ed., *Marāyā fi al-Naqd: Dir āsāt fi al-Adab al-Filisīnī*, Beit Beirl and Kafr Qar': Markiz Dirāsāt al-Adab al-'Arabī, 2000, pp. 169–206.

worship of a freedom she names *the poem*. Literature in several Arab feminist literary works is the only available *reality* by which women can liberate themselves from total belonging to men.⁶⁶

If *fiction* itself is a liberating *reality*, it is not surprising to find several types of metaliterature abounding in much of Arab feminist writing. Many Arab women writers have responded seriously to Hélène Cixous's rousing call to women: "And why don't you write? Write! Writing is for you, you are for you".⁶⁷

Su'ād al-Şabāḥ, the Kuwaiti poet, sounds particularly powerful, aggressive, prosaic, loud, and excited in her response to this call. In some poems published in her collection *Qaṣā' id Ḥubb* (Love Poems)⁶⁸, she writes:

أريد أن أكتب ..
لأدافع عن كلّ شبرٍ من أنوثتي ..
أقام به الاستعمار ..
ولم يخرج حتى الآن ..
فالكتابة هي وسليتي ..
لكسر ما لا أستطيع كسره ..
[...]
لا تؤاخذني ..
إذا كنت نزقة .. وعصبية ..
ومتوحشة الحروف ..
فالكتابة بالنسبة للرجل ..
هي عادة يومية كالتدخين ..
وأصطياد السمك ..

أما المرأة ..
فتكتب بذات الطريقة التي تعطي بها طفلا ..
وبنفس الحماسة ..
التي تمنح بها حليها.

I want to write..
To defend every span of my femininity..
Where imperialism has settled
And has not gone out yet..
Writing is my tool
To break what I cannot break
[...]
Do not blame me..
If I were a trotter and were nervous..
And savage-lettered..

⁶⁶ In another poem by Khūrī *Ma'nā al-Intihā'* (The Ending's Meaning), the pen functions as an alternative to men, see Nidā' Khūrī, *Khawātim al-Milh*, pp. 107–108.

⁶⁷ Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa", p. 876.

⁶⁸ Su'ād al-Şabāḥ, 1992. *Qaṣā' id Ḥubb* (Poems of Love), Kuwait: Dār Su'ād Al-Şabāḥ.

As writing for man
 Is a daily routine like smoking
 And fishing..
 But the woman..
 Writes in the same way that she gives birth to a baby..
 With equal intensity..
 And with the same amount of enthusiasm
 That she gives her milk.
 But the woman..
 Writes in the same way that she gives birth to a baby..
 And with the same intensity..
 That she gives away her milk.

Women and men somehow differ in their views on literature. Bonnie Zimmerman suggests an “other” perspective to deal with feminist, including lesbian, literature. “As women in a male-dominated academy, we explored the way we write and read from a different or “other” perspective”.⁶⁹ Obviously, here “otherness” means, among other things, to make a substantial distinction between male and female writing. It means a powerful and offensive struggle against male writing. Unlike men, who show no respect for literature, treating it as an everyday habit, or as a marginal, leisure time activity, women treat literature with enormous respect, not just as a defense mechanism to overcome the major obstacles in life, but also as the most precious thing they ever have – life itself. Often in feminist writing “the act of writing becomes the fulfillment of desire, telling becomes the single predicated act, as if to tell were in itself to resolve, to provide closure [...]. In a universe where waiting, inaction, reception, predominate, and action is only minimally possible, the narrative act itself becomes the source of possibility”.⁷⁰

In a commentary at the very end of her novel *Sawāqī al-Waqt* (Time’s Waterwheels), Salwā Bakr writes about writing, women writing, images of women and men in her literary work, women in general and the like. In this commentary, Bakr demonstrates close awareness of the importance of self-criticism, and the urgent need of women writers’ intervention in their work. Clarifying some points about her characters in various pieces of fiction, Bakr employs a kind of metaliterature and metacriticism. It is an additional tool of writing that women writers take advantage of, to show increasing involvement in literature and criticism as well.

Three major themes arise from this metaliterature section: (1) the role and status of literature, (2) disconnection with society, and (3) attitude to men. Most of those social roles/concepts are particularly associated with men. The writer changes their fundamental definition, moving from one context to another, from a male-dominated world/society to *literature*. Disconnecting from patriarchal society enables her to be much closer and more faithful to her self as writer. In sum, the woman writer is by definition the daughter, relative, kinswoman, wife, mother, and sister of literature.

⁶⁹ Bonnie Zimmerman, “What Has Never Been: An Overview of Lesbian Feminist Literary Criticism,” in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.) *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 76.

⁷⁰ Susan S. Lanser, “Toward a Feminist Narratology,” in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 688.

Meta-writing fundamentally means writing about writing. Arab women writers strongly tend so much to write about art in general, and literature in particular. Three explanations for this phenomenon may be suggested from women's point of view:

1. Since literature is life, the most valuable thing for women writers, meta-writing for them is a golden opportunity to remain distant from material subjects and daily matters which are the concerns of mainstream writing. Metaliterature, by contrast, is meant to make art/literature the focus of creating writing itself. It indicates the urgent search by women writers for new forms and themes.
2. Meta-writing, according to women writers, functions as a means to refer to art and literature as an alternative to men. Men are different. Women writers prefer to be married to writing rather than men.⁷¹
3. Meta-writing leads to a sort of experimental writing and violation of established genres. Genres should not be pure. It primarily mixes creative writing with criticism. In such a case, a writer has two roles, in addition to his/her being a writer he/she functions as a critic as well. Taking advantage of metaliterature, women writers are eager to violate the traditional theory of pure genres dominated by men.

Confused Texts: Who Needs Patriarchal Theories and Genres?

It was a woman poet from Iraq, Nāzik al-Malā'ika, who was the first in history to break the strict rules of Arabic prosody established by al-Khalil b. Ahmad al-Farāhīdī (A. D. 712–778), with her poem *al-Kūlīrā*.⁷² The challenging and destroying of '*Amūd al-Shi'r*', Arabic prosody, one of the traditional untouchable symbols of Arab masculinity, by a woman in the late 1940s marked the beginning of a trend in which Arab women writers demonstrated a voracious appetite for violation, destruction, and change.⁷³ Preferring experience to theory, Hélène Cixous believes that "theory is impersonal, public, objective, male; experience is personal, private, subjective, female".⁷⁴ Many feminist writers tend to violate male-dominated frames,

⁷¹ When Nawāl al-Sa'dawī's second husband, a lawyer, came to her after she had published a short story in a magazine, forcing her to choose between him and writing, she said: "Well, I choose my writing". Margot Badran and Miriam Cooke (eds.), *Opening the Gate: A Century of Arab Feminist Writing*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990, p. 399. Writing according to al-Sa'dawī is like life. "Writing to me is like breathing. If I would not write I die, exactly as if I would stop breathing. [...] Writing, especially fiction writing, has some thing more than functions. It is like life. Does life itself gave a function?" Nadje Sadig Al-Ali, *Gender Writing/Writing Gender: The Representation of Women in a Selection of Modern Egyptian Literature*, pp. 30–31.

⁷² See Nāzik al-Mlā'ika, *Shażayā wa-Ramād* (Beirut: Dār al-'Awda, 1971), p. 136.

⁷³ For more details see 'Abdallah M. al-Ghadhdhāmī, "Ta'nīth al-Qaṣīda: Qaṣīdat al-Taṭīla bi-Waṣīḥā 'Alāma 'Alā al-'Unūtha al-Shi'riyya," *Fuṣūl*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1997), pp. 66–72.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Mary Eagleton, ed., *Feminist Literary Criticism*, p. 6. Eagleton's quotation is from Hélène Cixous, "Stories: Out and Out: Attacks/Ways Out/Forays", in Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément, eds., *The Newly Born Woman*, Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1986.

forms, methods, theories, genres, and literary conventions, creating ambiguous experimental texts.⁷⁵ Jane Tompkins tends to think that “theory itself, at least as it is usually practised, may be one of the patriarchal gestures women *and* men ought to avoid”.⁷⁶ “Many feminists see theory as, if not innately male – women are capable of doing it – then certainly male-dominated in its practice and masculinist in its methods”.⁷⁷ Others believe that they have no other option but to be “within” theory.⁷⁸ Based on two impulses, one deconstructive and one reconstructive, many Arab women writers in equal measure attempt to deconstruct traditional forms and ways of expression historically associated with the patriarchal order, and instead shape new kinds of “open” and “free” writing, which gradually turn into hard facts, familiar forms and established poetics. In keeping with those who believe that they have no other option but to be “within” theory, many Arab women writers seem to have nothing against poetic strategy or theory of writing in itself. They apparently aim to replace established and accomplished patriarchal writing strategies with fresh ones based on the new orientation of an experimental approach. This orientation enables women writers to be engaged in an ongoing process of changing, updating, and improving their ways of writing. This is because they are probably not anarchists but revolutionists.

Speaking of feminist narratology, Susan Lanser complains that “standard narratological notions of plot do not adequately describe (some) women’s texts, what is needed is a radical revision in theories of plot”.⁷⁹ In the novel *Qamīṣ Wardī Fārīgh* (An Empty Rosy Dress), Nūrā Amīn employs various techniques and tools to make the plot unfamiliar, confused, different, and mixed. These techniques are poetic and figurative diction and language, fragmented sentences which recall poetic style, types of ambiguity, mixture of fiction and reality, focusing on one female self detached from context, revealing massive contents of consciousness (dreams, thoughts, and monologues), minimizing various aspects of action and external events, mixture of different generic aspects (autobiography, poetry, metaliterature), absence of dialogue as a traditional feature of narrative fiction, breaking the patriarchal determinacy of linearity, and confusing many tenses together.⁸⁰ Summarizing

⁷⁵ See for instance a short novel by the Bahraini writer Munīra al-Fāḍil, *lī-Sawt li-Hashashat al-Madā*, Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya lil-Dirāsāt wal-Nashr, 2000. I express my deep thanks to Professor Gail Ramsay of Uppsala University for sending me a copy of this novel.

⁷⁶ Jane Tompkins, “Me and my Shadow,” in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 1104.

⁷⁷ Mary Eagleton, (ed.), 1995. *Feminist Literary Criticism*, p. 5. See also Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father: Towards a Philosophy of Women's Liberation*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1973, pp. 12–13.

⁷⁸ For a brief survey of the debate between the pro-theorists and the anti-theorists, see Mary Eagleton, (ed.), 1995. *Feminist Literary Criticism*, pp. 5–8; Lidia Curti, *Female Stories, Female Bodies: Narrative, Identity and Representation*, New York: New York University Press, 1998, pp. 13–16.

⁷⁹ Susan S. Lanser, “Toward a Feminist Narratology,” in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 687.

⁸⁰ The Egyptian writer Mīrāl al-Tahāwī mixes some forms and genres and familiar forms of writing, such as poetry, popular songs, essays, historical documentation, letters, maxims and allegories in her novel *al-Bādhinjāna al-Zarqā'*, Cairo: Dār Sharqiyyāt, 1998.

the type of such a plot, one may say that it is an anti-plot based on female experience, not on rules, conventions, or theory.⁸¹

In *Kātiba* (A Woman Writer) a very short story by Munā Ḥilmī,⁸² an Egyptian writer – the daughter of Nawāl al-Sa‘dāwī – attempts to explain the writer’s primary role, which is to be against the mainstream. In an exceptional mode of writing, a romantic, lyric and figurative, and meta-literary style, she consciously violates the rigid and fixed conventions of narrative fiction:

انتقلت إلى رحمة الكون البراح
كاتبة

ناقت روحها دوماً للخلاص، عشقـت رجلاً في الخيال
الكاتبة كريمة "الخير" و "التأمل"
قريبة كل من الشمس و "الليل" ..
ارتعاشات الخطر .. ولحظات الود الغريب ..
نسمـية الشواطئ المهاجرة .. والعصافير الملونة
زوجة معاـلي القلم،
والدة كل إحساس مغامر سابع ضد التيار
كل زهرة بـرية طموـحـها سـابـع السـماـوات.
أخت الأشجار، قطرـات المـطر (137 – 138)

She moved to the mercy of the spacious universe
 A woman writer
 Her soul always longed for redemption; she loved a man in fantasy
 The woman writer is the daughter of ‘bewilderment’ and ‘reflection’
 Close to the sun and ‘Nile’..
 The shivers of danger.. and the moments of strange intimacy..
 An in-law to the migrating beaches.. and the colored birds
 Wife of his majesty, the pen,
 Mother of every feeling of an adventurer swimming against the current.
 Every wildflower whose ambition is the seventh sky.
 Sister of the trees, and drops of dew (pp. 137–8).

If a text dominated by such literary features illustrated in this passage is a story, one may wonder “what a poem sounds and looks like”. Having a close look at the two quoted passages by S. al-Şabāh and M. Ḥilmī, one can paradoxically identify many prosaic and some narrative elements in al-Şabāh’s poem, and some poetic/lyric elements in Ḥilmī’s short story. Complaining about the disregard of some forms of women’s writing by the “masculine plot”, Lanser insists on paying special attention to women’s experience reflected in their particular form/s of writing. Women’s experience, unlike the masculine plot, seems to be “static and in a mode of waiting. It is not progressive, or oriented toward events happening sequentially or climactical-

⁸¹ For a detailed and illustrated discussion of the new trend of women’s narration, see Sawsan Nājī, *al-Mar'a al-Miṣriyya wal-Thawra: Dirāsāt Taṭbiqiyya fī Adab al-Mar'a*, Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'ṭā lil-Thaqāfa, 2002, pp. 211–219.

⁸² Munā Ḥilmī, *al-Baṭr Baynanā*, (The Sea is between us), Kuwait and Cairo: Dār Su'ād al-Şabāh, 1993.

ly, as in the traditional masculine story plot”.⁸³ Apart from the two stories by Munā Ḥilmī discussed in this paper, there are hundreds of feminist literary texts mixing genres and violating traditional literary conventions by means of a variety of techniques. In *Bi-La Hudūd* (Without Borders), a very short stories (of about 100 words) by the Egyptian writer Munā Rajab,⁸⁴ the writer imitates the shape and the sense of poetry with various poetic tools, such as incomplete lines, rhyme, nameless characters, ignorance of specific details of time and space, descriptive language (instead of language of action and external events). These techniques and many others assist writers in mixing genres:

أحبته منذ الأزل...
منذ بدأت تعني وجودها..
منذ أن تعلمت حروف الكتابة فصار اسمه وشماً مرسوماً في قاع
قلبها.. أعطت بلا حدود منذ أن وجدت في حبه معنى لحياتها..
سقطت يوماً صريعة إجهادها..
تشبّه مرض لعين أظافره بداخل جسدها..
نادته كي يخفف عنها آلامها.. فلم يرد نداءها..
[...]
بكـت.. صرخت.. انتفضت..
لم يفهم حتى معنى لبكائـها..
كان قد أدمـن الأخـذ..
وكانت هي لا تزال وسط دوامة ذهولها تـسـأل نفسها:
لماذا تركـها؟! (111-112)

She loved him since eternity...

Since she started to know her existence..

Since she learnt the writing letters and his name became a tattoo drawn at the bottom
Of her heart.. she gave away infinitely since she found in his love a meaning to her life..
One day she fell victim to her exhaustion..

A damned illness broke out, his nails inside her body..

She called him to relieve her pain.. but he did not respond to her call..

[...]

She wept.. cried.. shook herself..

He did not comprehend any meaning to her weeping..

He was addicted to taking..

And she was amid the whirlpool of her distraction asking herself:

Why did he leave her?! (pp. 11–112).

In *Qiṣṣa Masraḥiyya* (A Play Story), an unfamiliar short story by the Tunisian woman writer Rashīda al-Turkī,⁸⁵ many techniques from both genres mentioned in the story's title are mixed to make an unconventional form. From narrative fiction

⁸³ Susan S. Lanser, “Toward a Feminist Narratology,” in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 688.

⁸⁴ Munā Rajab, *Indamā Tathür al-Nisā’* (When Women Revolt), Cairo: Dār Qibā’ lil-Ṭibā’ā wal-Nashe wal-Tawzī’, 1998, pp. 109–112. For more illustrative texts see also her very short story *Tifl Yantażir* (A Waiting Infant), pp. 81–83.

⁸⁵ Rashīda al-Turkī, *Al-Dahik wal-Waqār* (Laugh and Dignity), Damascus: al-Madā, 2003, pp. 105–113.

comes the function of the narrator, and from drama come many techniques of stage direction and dialogue dominating the course of the whole text. The opening paragraph of the story has four literary components. The first is the narrator, an authority wholly associated with narrative fiction; the last three, closely connected with drama, are screen/stage scene, director, and actors engaged in dialogue. This combination of literary components from two different genres violates the principle of pure genres and makes the theoretical concepts of inter-genres and even anti-genres attainable and practicable concepts.⁸⁶

Since “literary taxonomy (or genres) implicitly prescribes a *law* against ‘mixing’, against the pollution of cross-species or cross-sex miscegenation”,⁸⁷ genres seem to be associated with male-dominated laws, which preserve the power of patriarchal order. Experimental writing is obviously one of the dominant features of Arabic feminist literature. This term, widely used by many critics and scholars, is meant to indicate modern and post-modern writing, meaning a continual search for new styles and forms of writing. One of the dimensions of experimental writing is inter-genres, namely a mixture of genres, which is a marked feature of women’s writing. By this means, Arab women writers aim to undermine the concept of pure genres, established forms, and theory. Theory is a male and masculine concept; therefore it should be violated by women. Women writers have a self-imposed obligation to be different, independent, creative figures by undermining the male view and offering new alternative concepts. In doing so, they can demonstrate their skills, talents, and ability to contribute alternative views.

Two very short stories by the Egyptian writer Munā Ḥilmī *Kātiba* (A Woman Writer) and *I'lān Zawāj* (An Advertisement for Marriage)⁸⁸ obviously take advantage of unfamiliar techniques and forms of narrative fiction. The first story applies an interesting technique from the media/newspapers. Bear in mind that the narrator in the other story, tracing the entire life of a woman writer from birth to death, plays a key role in approving the generic identity of the text as a narrative fiction; still, the story looks and sounds like a poem. This is one of the remarkable characteristics of the very short story.

Contrasting theory and experience, Hélène Cixous does much to undermine the concept of “primacy of theory”. She holds that theory is impersonal, objective, and masculine, while experience is personal, particular, subjective and feminine. That is why women resist theory, reject the need to be associated/correlated to any sort of firm and stable frame. This may well explain why women writers normally find some trends of “Deconstruction” suited to their beliefs and views on reality. Ration-

⁸⁶ For a theoretical study of these terms, see my article “Text-Genre Interrelations: A Topographical Chart of Generic Activity,” *Semiotica*, Vol. 132, No. 1/2 (2000), pp. 101–119. For a practical study of the phenomenon of trans-generic or hybrid writing in modern Arabic literature, see Kawthar Jābir, *Trans-Generic Writings: Inter-Genres in Modern Arabic Literature: Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr and Edward al-Kharrāṭ as Examples*, Haifa: University of Haifa, 2005. (Unpublished dissertation).

⁸⁷ Susan S. Friedman, “When a ‘Long’ Poem is a ‘Big’ Poem: Self-authorizing Strategies in Women’s Twentieth-Century ‘Long Poems’”, in Robyn R. Warhol and Diane P. Herndl (eds.), *Feminism: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, p. 722.

⁸⁸ Munā Ḥilmī, *al-Baṭr Baynanā*, (The Sea is between us), pp. 83–87.

ality (i.e., theory) is a means to strengthen male control and domination of women. It is a sort of “phallic and patriarchal means”, as formulated by Mary Eagleton in her book *Feminist Literary Criticism*. According to Eagleton, the first step in resisting the concept of rationality and theory is to be suspicious, since suspicion is an effective means of being “destructive”, as shown in Mary Daly’s book.

Styles, literary techniques, and forms in women’s literature function as statements of criticism, protest and resistance. By implementing some views connected to post-modernism and deconstruction, they aim to resist the mainstream or traditional styles of writing. In so doing, they attempt to discriminate, or to detach themselves from male writing, to lead a new, extraordinary trend in modern Arabic literature. They challenge the domination of men, the mainstream long established by men. Female literature is not supposed to be easily interpreted and understood, especially by men. Women’s writing is highly sophisticated; they refer to literary tools and techniques “as at least as important as content”, as rightly stated by Gail Ramsay.⁸⁹

Uncertainty, confusion, doubts, instability, and insecurity are somehow connected with post-modernism. The latest stream/trend of female writing, at least, stands for these concepts. Since women writers are wholly engrossed in themselves, focusing on their doubts, feelings of uncertainty, confusion, stress, insecurity and so on, they are willing to try all possible sorts of experimental free writing, one outcome of which is ambiguity. This frequently indicates a case of implicit, indirect, and uncertain meaning which may lead to a situation of multi-meaning. Ambiguity is a remarkable sign of post-modernism which can be achieved by female language rich in private, figurative and unconscious imagery.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this article, I argued that feminism in modern Arabic literature accords with some principles of worldwide feminism, particularly in its recent trend. As an ideological movement, as previously stated, feminism has largely benefited from a variety of thematic and aesthetic measures. The literary standpoint of this article enables me to refer to the literary text as a binary system in which a combination of content and form makes it a united and integrated work. As for the content of Arab feminist literature, it has been widely described in an independent article to be published elsewhere, in which I point out five major subjects dominating Arab women writers’ interests and concerns. The present article is meant to complete the earlier thematic one by indicating five major techniques and devices, which repeatedly and widely appear in feminist literature all over the Arab world.

Poetics, in the title of this study, cannot be merely formulated and defined in technical or formal terminology, but in mixed terms of politics, ideology, and ways of expression. Ideology and beliefs undoubtedly affect, in one way or another, the ways we express ourselves. Arab women writers are naturally committed to promoting their own concerns, needs, dreams, goals, and status in patriarchy oriented and

⁸⁹ Gail Ramsay, “Styles of Expression in Women’s Literature in the Gulf”, *Orientalia Suecana*, vol. LI-LII (2002–2003), p. 384.

dominated societies. This fundamental commitment primarily compels them to treat female characters as their top priorities. Female protagonists, as heroines or anti-heroines, are the only characters capable of introducing and representing female concerns. Female protagonists need not only to represent the facts themselves relating to women's issues, but they also insistently demand to control the point of view from which these facts are represented. Since an impersonal narrator, a third person for example, is expected to create a distance between the self and the objective facts associated with "her", a personal narrator is greatly required to achieve full identification between the female protagonist and the concerns that she speaks of. Female personal narration achieved by the first person acquires a specific language in order to reach some degree of intimacy, reliability, and authenticity. Giving female private experience much attention, many Arab women writers individually or collectively need to introduce their mute unconsciousness by various modes of vocal revelation, which acquires an intimate female diction. Showing full sympathy with their own language, many Arab women writers feel safer in this language than in a world dominated by a patriarchal order. For many of them, writing itself becomes the final goal they can seek under such harsh conditions. Furthermore, metawriting enables them to simultaneously control the language performance and its content. That is, two functions could be easily achieved by metawriting: the craft of writing and the reality reflected in the text. Taking advantage of a variety of metawriting devices, Arab women writers seek to produce the message they wish to deliver to their audience and to explain the way the text does its job as well. Mixing two different crafts, creative and descriptive writings, Arab women writers wish to be the first critics of their own literary works. The mix of two different specialties is only one phase of a feminist strategy essential for resisting the deep-rooted patriarchal dominance. Challenging familiar genres historically established by men, Arab women writers feel a powerful impulse to deconstruct the patriarchal order, and giThese five techniques involving many more minor or sub-devices make an enormous contribution to feminist ideology in modern Arabic literature, as explored in the previous thematic study. The five major characteristics establishing a unique poetics of women's literature serve the ideology of feminism in practice. Regardless of Arab women writers' disregard of the title 'Arabic feminist literature', the very fact that they have been constantly and consistently searching for new techniques, ways, and modes of expression strongly confirms their sympathy with world-wide feminism. The findings of this study implicitly and explicitly refer to three interrelated literary entities/authories: writer, text/genre, and reader. The ideological background of most Arab women writers, some of whom are discussed above, strongly affects their writing forms and modes in a way that *deconstructs* some familiar forms and modes established by the patriarchal order. Alternatively, it *reconstructs* new ones, maintaining their ideological background in return. The ways that women writers write generate an active reading process in which readers are easily involved, stimulated and provoked.

The question is, are these features of female literature illustrated above restricted to women's writing only? The answer is no. Nevertheless, women seem to be more courageous than men, and fearless in experiencing new ways of writing. That is why

we have witnessed an increasing stream/trend of women writing in unique ways, as described earlier. These unique forms of Arab women's writing have constantly contributed to placing Arab women writers at the center of the literary canon.

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Ausdrücke für das Generelle und das Spezielle im Arabischen

Christopher Toll
Stockholm

Zu dem ersten, was man lernt, wenn man Arabisch studiert, gehört, daß Feminin mit der Endung *-at* gebildet wird, der die Kasusendung folgt und, in unbestimmter Form, die Nunation: Mask. *kalb-un* "Hund", Fem. *kalb-at-un* "Hündin". Bald zeigt sich aber, daß dieselbe Endung *-at* viele andere Begriffe als das Genus ausdrücken kann. Eine solche andere Verwendung kommt bei den Nomina generis vor, wenn die Endung *-at* das Nomen unitatis markiert: *šaġar-un* "Baum" (im Allgemeinen), *šaġar-at-un* "ein (besonderer, einzelner) Baum".

Das Nomen generis im Arabischen wurde Gegenstand einer Abhandlung von M. Ullmann 1989, und diese Abhandlung bildet den Ausgangspunkt für die Gedanken, die ich hier darlegen möchte. Ullmann beginnt (S. 16) mit einer Liste der verschiedenen Funktionen, welche die Opposition Ø: *-at* haben kann, die ich hier, leicht gekürzt, als Unterlage für die folgende Darlegung unterbreite.

- 1) Nomen generis: Nomen unitatis
šaġarun "Baum": *šaġaratun* "ein Baum"
- 2) Nomen actionis: Nomen vici
la'nun "Verfluchung": *la'natun* "einmalige Verfluchung"
- 3) Genus masculinum: Genus femininum (Sexusopposition)
kalbun "ein Hund": *kalbatun* "eine Hündin"
- 4) Simplex: Augmentativ
'allāmūn "ein Gelehrter": *'allāmatun* "ein Gelehrter von Rang"
- 5) Konkretum: Abstraktum
kitābun "ein Buch": *kitābatun* "Schreibkunst"
- 6) Adjektiv: Abstraktum
waqāḥun "dreist": *waqāḥatun* "Dreistigkeit"
insānīyun "menschlich": *insānīyatun* "Menschlichkeit"
- 7) Participium activi: Nomen instrumenti
sāqīn "ein Bewässerer": *sāqiyatun* "ein Wasserrad"
- 8) Participium passivi: Nomen actionis
muqāṭalun "ein zu Bekämpfender": *muqāṭalatun* "Bekämpfung"
- 9) Substantiv im Singular: Kollektiv
ṣūfiyūn "ein Mystiker": *ṣūfiyatun* "Mystiker"

- 10) Semantische Differenzierung zweier Konkreta
arnabun "ein Hase": *arnabatun* "eine Nasenspitze"
- 11) Synonymik, zum Teil zur genaueren Genusindikation
hamrun "Wein": *hamratun* id.

Dazu füge ich zwei Oppositionen hinzu, die in Ullmanns Liste nicht vorkommen:

- 12) Adjektiv: Substantiv
dabīhun "geschlachtet": *dabīhatun* "Schlachttier"
- 13) Zahlwort vor einem Wort im Fem.: Zahlwort vor einem Wort im Mask.
talātun "drei": *talātatun* "drei"

Wie alle diese Oppositionen entstanden sind, ist nicht erklärt worden. C. Brockelmann spricht von der Opposition Ø: -at als Klassenzeichen, wobei Ø für das Wertvolle und -at für das Minderwertige stehen. M.E. handelt es sich eher um eine Opposition zwischen dem Generellen und dem Speziellen (so auch W. Fischer, S. 37), die auch in anderen Fällen festgestellt werden kann, die ich behandeln will.

Aber zuerst wollen wir die verschiedenen Fälle der Opposition Ø: -at betrachten. Ullmann will zeigen, daß das Nomen generis in den Wörterbüchern und Grammatiken mit den Kollektiva vermischt worden sind, und will sie nach den folgenden Merkmalen trennen:

Das *Kollektiv* sei eine aus mehreren Individuen zusammengesetzte Gruppe, die sprachlich als Einheit konzipiert sei. Kollektive haben fast ausschließlich lebende Wesen, d.h. Menschen oder Tiere, zum Inhalt. Neben dem Kollektiv könne ein Plural stehen: Koll. *tayrun* – Plur. *tuyūrun* "Vögel", Koll. *haylun* – Plur. *huyūlun* "Pferde". Für Singular benutze man ein anderes Wort derselben oder einer anderen Wurzel: *fā'irun* "ein Vogel", *farasun* "ein Pferd".

- 1) Das *Nomen generis* bezeichne die Gattung und werde formal dadurch erkannt, daß es zu einem *Nomen unitatis* in Opposition steht, das ein Exemplar der Gattung bezeichne: Nom. gen. *samakun* "Fisch" ("Fisch esse ich nicht"): Nom. un. *samakatun* "ein Fisch" (gebrochener Plural *simākun* "Fische"). Denselben Gegensatz zeigt Ullmann im Hebr. *śē'är* "Haar": *śa'arā* "ein (einzelnes) Haar", im Aram. *zabnā* "Zeit": *zbattā* "Mal", im Akkad. *hallūru* "Erbsen": *hallūrtu* "einzelne Erbse". Im Verhältnis zum Numerus sei das Nomen generis indifferent und könne mit Sing., oder Plur. je nach dem Kontext übersetzt werden. Da das Nom. un. Sing. ist – *hamāmatun* "eine Taube" – fassen wir das Nom.gen. in der Opposition zum Nom.un. als Plur. auf: *hamāmūn* "Tauben", aber es kann oft als Sing. übersetzt werden: *samakun* "Fisch". Formal ist das Nom.gen. Sing. und kann wie das Nom.un. Plur. bilden: Nom.gen. *samakun* "Fisch", gebr. Plur. *simākun*. Nom. un. *samakatun* "ein Fisch", äußerer Plur. *samakātun*.

- 2) Im Fall 2, Inf. kontra Nomen vicis, bedeutet *la'nun* das Fluchen, also die Tätigkeit im Allgemeinen, während *la'natun* einen einzelnen, also speziellen, Fluch bezeichnet.

3) Wie oben erwähnt wird die Opposition Ø: -at besonders verwendet, um Mask.: Fem. auszudrücken: *kalbun* "Hund": *kalbatun* "Hündin". Dies ist üblich in den semitischen Sprachen überhaupt. Aber wenn die Opposition männlich: weiblich nicht realisiert wird, ist die Form ohne -at genusneutral (F. Rundgren 1961, S. 37-42), wie bei uns. Sagt man "Guck mal, ein Hund!", bedeutet das keine Stellungnahme zum Geschlecht des Hundes. Das gilt auch für andere Wörter, die ohne Femininendung genusneutral sind, wie Sprecher, Lehrer und Verfasser. Formen mit der Endung -at dagegen (wie die mit "-in" im Deutschen) sind eindeutig Fem. und also speziell im Verhältnis zur endungslosen Form, die als genusneutral das Generelle bezeichnet. Auch der mask. äußere Plural kann genusneutral sein: *innaki kunti mina l-hāti īn* "du (fem.) bist (fem.) [eine] von den Sündigen (mask. äußerer Plur.)", Sura 12:29. [Nach Ullmann, briefl. Mitteilg., stimmt das nicht: -īna steht wegen des Reimes.]

4) Im Fall 4, den Ullmann Simplex: Augmentativ nennt, handelt es sich um den Gegensatz zwischen *'allāmūn*, einen gelehrt Mann im Allgemeinen, und *'allāmatūn*, einen besonders gelehrt Mann. Die Endung -at wird einer Reihe von Adjektiven zugelegt, um den zu bezeichnen, der durch einen besonders hohen Grad der Eigenschaft oder der Tätigkeit gekennzeichnet ist. Ein anderes Beispiel ist das Adj. *qāri'ūn* "einer der schlägt": *qāri'atūn* "Donnerschlag" (nach K. V. Zetterstéens schwedischer Übersetzung der Name der Sura 101 vom Jüngsten Gericht, "Dunderslaget"). Mein Lehrer H. S. Nyberg pflegte zu erklären, daß die Endung -at in *'allāmatūn* den Inbegriff aller ausdrückte, die diejenige Tätigkeit ausübten, welche die endungslose Form vertrat – dann sollten *'allāmatūn* und *qāri'atūn* eigentlich Kollektiva sein, "der Inbegriff aller Gelehrten", "der Inbegriff von allem, was einen schlägt". Man könnte wohl die Form mit -at auch als Bezeichnung von etwas Speziell betrachten, wenn man sie von einem oder etwas benutzt, der oder was von seiner Eigenschaft oder Tätigkeit besonders ausgezeichnet wird. Ein Beispiel aus dem Hebräischen ist *qōhālēt* "der Prediger ohnegleichen". Schwieriger ist zu verstehen, wie ein Kollektiv eine Endung haben kann, die das Spezielle bezeichnet – Fall Nr. 9 unten.

5–6) Die Fälle 5 und 6, das konkrete *kitābūn* "Buch": das abstrakte *kitābatūn* "Schreibkunst" und das Adjektiv *waqāħūn* "dreist": das abstrakte *waqāħatūn* "Dreistigkeit", sind auch schwieriger als Ausdruck der Opposition generell: speziell zu erklären. Könnte die Form mit -a in ihrer ursprünglich abstrakten Bedeutung, als den Inbegriff einer Eigenschaft bezeichnend, auch als speziell betrachtet werden im Gegensatz zur Form ohne -at, die diese Eigenschaft nur im Allgemeinen bezeichnet? Oder sind diese abstrakten Formen auch eigentlich Kollektiva? Betrachten wir die Fälle 4, 5 und 6 als Kollektiva, wird es vielleicht später möglich, sie mit den übrigen Kollektiva als speziell anzusehen im Gegensatz zum Sing./Nom.gen. Oder umgekehrt: können wir die Kollektiva als eigentlich Abstrakta betrachten? Wörter wie das deutsche "Jugend" und das arabische *sabāb* haben ja sowohl kollektive wie abstrakte Bedeutung. Andererseits würde man wohl eher das Konkrete, ein Buch, als speziell betrachten, verglichen mit der abstrakten Schreibkunst. Ich möchte noch auf einen Gegensatz hinweisen, den Ullmann nicht erwähnt hat, und zwar das Adjektiv *dabīħūn* "geschlachtet": das Sub-

stantiv *dabīhatun* "Schlachttier", wo die Form mit *-at* konkret ist und nicht abstrakt. Ich komme darauf unter dem Fall Nr. 12 zurück.

7) Der Fall betrifft Part.akt. kontra Nomen instr.: *sāqin* "einer, der wässert oder zu trinken gibt", "Schenk" (Saki, in Goethes *Westöstlichem Diwan*): *sāqiyatun* "Wasserrad". Dieser Gegensatz ist m.E. scheinbar: die Form mit *-at* ist eher ein substantiviertes Partizip mit einem ausgelassenen femininem Hauptwort, etwa *'ağalatun* "Wasserrad". Brockelmann (S. 421) erwähnt im Zusammenhang mit Feminina für Nom.instr. auch Feminina zur Bezeichnung eines neuen Gegenstandes: *śamsatun* "Parasol" zu *śamsun* "Sonne". Hier handelt es sich aber nicht um ein Instrument sondern um ein Würzezeichen, vielleicht eine kleine Sonne, was mit Brockelmanns Auffassung von Fem. als Bezeichnung des Deminutivs, d.h. des Minderwertigen (wie im Fall 10 die Nasenspitze kleiner ist als der Hase) übereinstimmt, aber vielleicht eher eine spezielle Sonne bezeichnet, wie die Nasenspitze ein spezieller Hase ist, und zwar metaphorisch benutzt. Gibt es vielleicht Beispiele, daß ein Wort, metaphorisch benutzt, ins Feminin gesetzt werden kann?

8) Im Fall 8 ist *muqātalatun* eigentlich Fem. vom passiven Partizip *muqātalun* – in dieser Hinsicht gehört die Opposition zum Fall 3. Wie es dazu gekommen ist, daß Fem. des passiven Partizips als Infinitiv benutzt werden konnte, kann ich nicht erklären. Das ist für das Arabische etwas Besonderes.

9) Der Fall 9, wo die Endung *-at* das Kollektiv bezeichnet, ist schwer zu erklären – man würde das Individuum eher als das Kollektiv als speziell betrachten. Wenn wir Nyberg Glauben schenken, liegt hier ein Zusammenhang mit dem Fall 4 vor. Mit der Endung *-at* werden auch gebrochene Plurale gebildet, die auch als Kollektiva betrachtet werden können, und auf die ich zurückkomme, und ich habe gerade auch auf einen Zusammenhang mit den Fällen 5 und 6 hingewiesen.

10) Den Fall 10 habe ich schon erwähnt: *arnabatun* "Nasenspitze" als eine spezielle Form von "Hase" *arnabun* oder in metaphorischer Verwendung.

11) Im Fall 11, *hamrun*, könnte man untersuchen, ob das Fem. einen speziellen Wein bezeichnet, aber am wahrscheinlichsten wird die Endung *-at*, wie Ullmann selbst vorschlägt, dazu benutzt, um das Genus des femininen Wortes *hamrun* näher zu bezeichnen. Nach Brockelmann (1, S. 425) versehen besonders jüngere Sprachen feminine Wörter mit Femininendung, wie im ägyptisch-arab. Dialekt *kāsa* "Becher", *qidra* "Kittel" (klass. Arab. *ka's*, *qidr*), assyr. *napištu* für arab. *nafs* "Seele" u.a.m. Solchenfalls gehören diese Wortpaare rein formal zum Fall 3, Mask.: Fem., aber in der Wirklichkeit liegt keine Opposition vor – Ullmann spricht ja auch von Synonymik.

Ich wende mich jetzt den zwei Fällen zu, die Ullmann nicht behandelt hat:

12) Der Fall 12 Adjektiv *dabīhun* "geschlachtet": Konkretum *dabīhatun* "Schlachttier" steht im Gegensatz zu Ullmanns Fall 6 Adjektiv: Abstraktum. Das konkrete Schlachttier müßte wohl als spezieller betrachtet werden als etwas Geschlachtetes im Allgemeinen. Auch in anderen semitischen Sprachen begegnet uns dieser Gegen-

satz, wenn z.B. das konkrete hebräische *gⁿeħbā*, syrisch *gⁿūbtā* "gestohlener Gegenstand" zur entsprechenden endungslosen Form gebildet wird, die "gestohlen" im Allgemeinen bedeutet.

13) Den Fall 13 mit den Zahlwörtern will Ullmann als nur ein Beispiel der Opposition Mask.: Fem. betrachten, aber die Sache ist nicht so einfach. In den semitischen Sprachen herrscht das eigenartige Verhältnis, daß die Zahlwörter 3-10 umgekehrtes Genus zu dem Gezählten haben. Es heißt also auf Arabisch *talātū riğālin* "drei Männer" mit der Endung *-at* vor dem maskulinen gebrochenen Plural aber *talātū banātin* "drei Mädchen" mit der endungslosen Form vor dem femininen äußeren Plural. Daß ein Beiwort das umgekehrte Genus zum Hauptwort hat, scheint unsinnig, und F. Rundgren 1968 bietet eine andere Erklärung an. Nach ihm sollte *talātū riğālin* "drei Einzelne aus dem Kollektivum Männer" bedeuten, mit dem gebrochenen Plural als Kollektiv betrachtet, während *talātū banātin* "eine Dreizahl einzelner Mädchen" bedeuten sollte, mit dem äußeren Plural als wirklichem Plural. Das würde eine Opposition Kollektivum *talātūn* "eine Dreizahl": sing. *talātūn* "drei Einzelne" bedeuten. Aber nach Ullmann ist die Opposition Ø: *-at* was die Opposition Nom. gen.: Nom. un. kennzeichnet, und Ullmann glaubt deshalb nicht, daß *talātūn* Kollektiv sein kann, und auch nicht, daß es Nom.gen. ist, sondern sieht wie gesagt hier bloß die Opposition Mask.: Fem.

Andererseits kann Sing. zu einem Kollektiv mit einer anderen Form derselben Wurzel gebildet werden, wie Sing. *tā'irun* "ein Vogel" zum Kollektiv *tayrun* "Vögel", und mit *-at* bildet man ja auch eine andere Form der Wurzel. Daß ein Sing. zu einem Kollektiv die Endung *-at* haben kann, scheint aus dem Beispiel *qıssatūn* hervorzugehen, Sing. vom Koll. *qıṣṣaṣūn* "Erzählungen", wenn auch die Singularbildung durch Vokalwechsel zustande gekommen ist. Ein Nom.gen. *qıssūn*, zu dem *qıssatūn* Nom.un. sein könnte, gibt es m.W. nicht.

Es wäre natürlich, die Endung *-at* auch hier als Bezeichnung des Speziellen zu sehen, "eine spezielle Erzählung" aus dem Kollektivum "Erzählungen". Die Sache wird aber dadurch komplizierter, daß es auch das Kollektiv sein kann, das die Endung *-at* hat, und der Sing., der ohne Endung steht, und ohne Endung haben wir ja auch eine andere Form der Wurzel, wie wir im Fall 9 gesehen haben.

Die Sache wird noch komplizierter durch die Schwierigkeit, die Grenze zwischen Kollektivum und Plural zu ziehen, weil der gebrochene, innere Plural als Kollektiv betrachtet werden kann: z.B. Sing. *rağulun* "ein Mann", Plur./Koll. *riğālun*, Sing. *abdun* "ein Sklave", Plur./Koll. *abīdun*, und mit der Endung *-at* für Sing. *qıssatūn* "eine Erzählung", Plur./Koll. *qıṣasūn*, oder mit *-at* für Plur./Koll., Sing. *ǵulāmūn* "ein Jüngling", Plur./Koll. *ǵilmātūn*. Verschiedene Formen derselben Wurzel, um Koll. und Sing. zu bezeichnen, finden sich auch in anderen semitischen Sprachen, z.B. hebr. Sing. *‘aḇəd* "Sklave", Koll. *“buddā*. Ullmann erwähnt die gebrochenen Plurale nicht, wenn er von den Koll. spricht, sondern geht davon aus, daß die gebrochenen Plurale wirkliche Plurale sind. Aber wie die Kollektiva können sie sowohl Mask. wie Fem.Sing. und Plur. sein. Und wenn die gebrochenen Plurale wirkliche Plurale sind, welcher ist dann der Unterschied in Bedeutung zwischen den gebro-

chenen Pluralen und den äußeren Pluralen mit Endung? Zum Nom.gen. *samakun* "Fisch" gehört der gebrochene Plural *simākun*, zum Nom.un. *samakatun* gehört der äußere Plural *samakātun*. Welcher ist der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Pluralen *simākun* und *samakātun*, wenn der gebrochene Plural *simākun* nicht Koll. und der äußere Plural *samakātun* nicht wirklicher Plural ist? Und was ist Singular zum gebrochenen Plural *simākun*? Formell ist das *samakun*, aber als Nom.,gen. ist *samakun* numerisch indifferent. Noch komplizierter wird das Verhältnis dadurch, daß die Kollektiva selber gebrochene Plurale haben: Koll. *tayrun* "Vögel" (zum Sing. *tā'irun*) hat den gebrochenen Plural *tuyūrun* – ist der auch Koll.? Und wenn *farasun* "ein Pferd" Sing. zum Koll. *haylun* ist – wie verhält sich dann der gebrochene Plural *afrāsun* zum gebrochenen Plural *huyūlin*? Ullmann findet selbst, daß es unlogisch wirkt, Plurale von Nom.gen. und Kollektiva zu bilden. Ein Unterschied zwischen gebrochenen Pluralen von Sing. und gebrochenen Pluralen von Koll. scheint vorzuliegen, wenn man sie zählt. Jedenfalls sagt Ullmann, daß ein Ausdruck wie **talātatū huyūlin* mit Plur. vom Koll. *haylun* "Pferde" ihm unmöglich scheint.

Nach dieser Abweichung auf das Kollektivum, veranlaßt von der Schwierigkeit, die Opposition zwischen den Zahlwörtern, *talātū*: *talātatūn* zu bestimmen, verlasse ich die Endung *-atūn* als Bezeichnung des Speziellen und erwähne zwei andere Endungen, *-ānun* und *-īyun*, die eine ähnliche Funktion zu haben scheinen. Zu *insūn* "Menschen, Menschengeschlecht" bildet man *insānūn* "ein Mensch", und zu dem gebrochenen Plural *a^crābūn* kann man Sing. mit der Endung *-īyun* bilden: *a^crābīyūn* "ein Beduine".

Ein anderes Beispiel der Opposition generell: speziell ist die Opposition determiniert: indeterminiert, z.B. *al-kalbu* "der Hund": *kalbūn* "ein Hund", wo die determinierte Form, wenn die Opposition determiniert: indeterminiert nicht aktualisiert worden ist, neutral ist, d.h. eine generelle Bedeutung hat und also nicht mehr den schon erwähnten oder sonst bekannten Hund sondern einen Hund/den Hund/Hunde im Allgemeinen bezeichnet. Ein bekanntes Beispiel ist die von Ullmann (S. 68) zitierte Sentenz in der arabischen Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen, *al-qāṭru bi-dawāmīhī yaḥṭafiru ṣ-sahra* "der Tropfen höhlt den Stein durch seine Ausdauer". Auch wir sagen "der Tropfen" und "der Stein", obwohl es sich weder um einen bekannten Tropfen noch um einen bekannten Stein handelt. Auch die Form der Wörter zeigen ihre generelle Bedeutung: das Nom.un. *al-qāṭratū* mit der Endung *-atū* ist ausgeschlossen, weil ein einzelner, spezieller Tropfen den Stein nicht höhlt, und das ist auch mit dem Ausdruck *bi-dawāmīhī* "durch seine Ausdauer" unvereinbar. Auch *al-qāṭarātū* im Plural geht nicht, weil es sich nicht um eine Anzahl von Tropfen handelt sondern darum, daß weiches Wasser harten Stein höhlt. Auch dem Sinne nach ist der Satz gnomisch, allgemeingültig. Die generelle Determination ist auch im Hebräischen üblich: *æt-haṣṣaddīq weæt-hārāšā' yišpot ælōhīm* "über die Gerechten und die Ungerechten richtet Gott". Die generelle Determination ist besonders bei Vergleichen üblich (Pedersen § 116, Nyberg S. 234).

Aber nicht nur das Nomen sondern auch das Verb kann diesen Unterschied zwischen dem Generellen und dem Speziellen ausdrücken. Die Verbalkonjugationen im Arabischen und in anderen semitischen Sprachen zeigen die Opposition *kataba*: *yaktubu*, zwischen dem punktuellen Perfekt und dem kursiven Imperfekt, Perfekt

kataba "he wrote" und Imperfekt *yaktubu* "he is/was writing", wo Perfekt *kataba*, wenn die Opposition nicht realisiert ist, neutral ist und generelle Bedeutung hat: "he writes = is a writer". In der neutralen Bedeutung wird Perfekt u.a. in Bedingungssätzen verwendet, wie auch eine andere neutrale Form, die endungslose Form des Imperfekts, *yaktub*.

Wir haben gesehen, daß in der Opposition Mask.: Fem. Fem. das Spezielle bezeichnet, während Mask. das Generelle bezeichnet, wenn die Opposition Mask.: Fem. nicht realisiert ist. Während die indeterminierte Form eindeutig ist, bezeichnet die determinierte Form nicht nur die bestimmte Form sondern kann auch neutral, d.h. generell sein. Ebenso bezeichnet in der Opposition Perfekt/ Punktuell: Imperfekt/Kursiv Letzteres das Spezielle, während Perfekt, wenn diese Opposition nicht realisiert ist, das Generelle bezeichnet.

Ich möchte jetzt versuchen, einige der erwähnten Fälle nach diesem dreigliederten Schema aufzustellen, zuerst das eindeutige Glied in der Opposition, dann das zweite Glied in der Oppositiionsstellung und zuletzt das zweite Glied, wenn die Opposition aufgehoben ist und das zweite Glied neutral, d.h. generell ist. Es handelt sich um die Oppositionen 1) Fem.: Mask., 2) Determination: Indetermination, 3) Kursiv: Punktuell, 4) Nom.un.: Nom.gen., 5) gebrochener Plural/Koll.??: Sing. und 6) Sing.: Plur.

Markiert	:	Unmarkiert	/	Neutral
1) <i>kalbatun</i> Fem.	:	<i>kalbun</i> Mask.	/	neutral/generell
2) <i>kalbun</i> indeterm.	:	<i>al-kalbu</i> determ.	/	generell determ.
3) <i>yaktubu</i> Imperf. kurs.	:	<i>kataba</i> Perf. Punkt.	/	neutral, generell
4) <i>samakatun</i> Nom.un.	:	<i>samakun</i> X?	/	Nom. gen.
5) <i>simākun</i> gebr.Plur./Koll.??	:	<i>samakun</i> Sing.	/	neutral,Nom.gen.
6) <i>samakatun</i> Sing.	:	<i>samakātun</i> Plur.	/	X?

Die erste Opposition Fem.: Mask. mit dem Mask. auch in der Neutralisationsstellung verlangt keinen weiteren Kommentar.

In der zweiten Opposition, indeterm. *kalbun*: determ. *al-kalbu*, fasse ich die indeterminierte Form mit der Endung *-n* als die Markierte auf, weil ich den bestimmten Artikel als sekundär auffasse, wie Brockelmann, aber nicht so Retsö, der meint, die nicht determinierte Form sei sekundär und neutral, "unmarked as regards definiteness: indefiniteness". Meines Erachtens hat aber Ullendorff recht, wenn er behauptet, der bestimmte Artikel im Arabischen, [a]l-, sei durch Dissimilation aus dem verlängerten ersten Konsonanten entstanden – in der Regel wird die Determination durch Verlängerung des ersten Konsonanten markiert: indeterm. *šamsun* "eine Sonne": determ. [a]š-*šamsu* "die Sonne", ebenfalls im Hebräischen indeterm. *šæmæš* "eine Sonne": *ha-ššæmæš* "die Sonne". Dieses Konsonantenverlängern könnte kaum anders entstanden sein als durch Assimilation der Endung *-n* oder *-m* eines vorangehenden Wortes. Ein Indiz dafür sind die Ausdrücke, in denen nur das Attribut und nicht das Hauptwort den bestimmten Artikel hat: *rabī at-tānī* "der zweite [Monat] rabī", Hebr. *yōm ha-ššiššī* "der sechste Tag" – hier kann die Assimilation von *-n* oder *-m* die Verlängerung des ersten Konsonanten des Attributes

verursacht haben. (Die generelle Bedeutung der determinierten Form behandelt Ullmann in seinem *Adminiculum*.)

Die dritte Opposition mit Imperf. *yaktubu* als die eindeutig kursive Form und Perf. *kataba* und die endungslose Form *yaktub* als punktuell in Oppositionsstellung und als neutral, wenn die Opposition nicht realisiert ist, hat Rundgren in mehreren Arbeiten (1959, 1961) behandelt. Ich veranschauliche dies mit zwei Beispielen: *dahala tufayliyun 'alā qawmin ya'kulūna* "ein Schmarotzer trat ein (punktuelles Perfekt) zu Menschen, die abßen (kursive Imperfekt)". Hier ist die Opposition punktuell: kursiv realisiert. In dem Spruch *man talaba šay'an wa-ğadda wağada* "wer was sucht und sich anstrengt, findet" ist die Opposition nicht realisiert, und die drei Perfekta sind neutral, der Spruch hat einen allgemeinen Sinn und kann auch als ein konditionales Satzgefüge aufgefaßt werden: "wenn jemand was sucht und sich anstrengt, findet er".

In der vierten Opposition weiß ich nicht, welche Bedeutung *samakun* im zweiten Glied hat, wenn es zum ersten Glied Nom.un. *samakatun* in Opposition steht und nicht neutrales Nom.gen. ist. In einer Diskussion mit Bo Isaksson (Uppsala) wollte dieser die Glieder wechseln und Nom.gen. *samakun* in Opposition zum Nom.un. *samakatun* setzen und die neutrale Form *samakun* als Kollektiv betrachten: *samakatun* Nom.un. "ein Fisch": *samakun* Nom.gen. "Fisch" (Gattung)/neutral "Fisch" (Koll.).

Aber wäre es nicht natürlicher, daß Nom.un., das Sing. ist, in Opposition zum koll. *samakun* stünde, und daß *samakun* in Neutralisationsstellung Nom.gen. wäre mit der generellen Bedeutung dieser Form? Daß *samakun* also auch Kollektiv sein könnte ist gegen die These Ullmanns, die Kollektiv und Nom.gen. unterscheidet, aber es gibt dem Kollektiv einen Platz im Schema, und Isaksson weist darauf hin, daß Kollektiv und Nom.gen. semantisch nahestehend sind und verweist auf meine Beobachtung, auf die ich zurückkomme, daß das Hebräische das Kollektiv und das Nom.gen. möglicherweise nicht von einander unterschieden hat. Betrachten wir *samakun* auch als Koll. entsteht ein Problem im Zusammenhang mit dem nächsten Oppositionspaar, dem fünften, in dem das erste Glied der gebrochene Plural oder das Kollektiv *simākun* in Opposition zum Sing. *samakun* steht. Es mutet etwas eigenartig an, daß *samakun* also Koll., Sing. und Nom.gen. bezeichnen könnte, auch wenn es grammatisch kein Problem ist, da auch Koll. und Nom.gen. beide grammatisch Sing. sind.

Als Opposition 5 habe ich also die Opposition zwischen dem gebrochenen Plural *simākun*, als Koll. betrachtet, und dem Sing. *samakun*, das, wenn die Opposition nicht realisiert ist, neutral und = Nom.gen. ist.

Ullmann bietet in *Adminiculum* S. 7 eine Zusammenfassung der Kriterien für Koll. an, und wir wollen jetzt sehen, wie diese für den gebrochenen Plural passen.

- 1) Koll. wird vor allem von gewissen einsilbigen Formen gebildet, aber wenn auch der gebrochene Plural ein Kollektiv ist, wird der Formenreichtum der Kollektiva größer.
- 2) Koll. hat viele Formen mit Femininendung: auch gebrochene Plurale mit Femininendung kommen häufig vor (Fischer § 89 b).

- 3) Sing. von Koll. (Ullmann Singulativ) ist ein anderes Lexem derselben Wurzel oder einer anderen Wurzel: der Sing. eines gebrochenen Plurals ist auch ein anderes Lexem derselben Wurzel, wie *simākun*, gebrochener Plural von *sama-kun*.
- 4) Koll. bezeichnet eine quantitative Größe: so auch die gebrochenen Plurale.
- 5) Koll. bezeichnet fast ausschließlich Menschen- und Tiergruppen
 - das würde nicht stimmen, wenn wir die gebrochenen Plurale zum Koll. zählen.
- 6) Koll. kann Plural haben: so auch die gebrochenen Plurale. Es gibt Serien von Sing. – Koll./gebrochenem Plural – wirklichem äußerem Plural, wie Sing. *kal-bun* "ein Hund" – gebr.Plural *kilābun* – äußerer Plural des gebr.Plural *kilābātun*. Der gebr. Plural kann auch einen gebrochenen Plural haben wie das Koll. *tayrun* mit dem gebr. Plural *tuyūrun*: Sing. *baladun* "ein Ort", gebr. Plural *bilādun* "ein Land", gebr.Plural des gebrochenen Plurals *buldānun* "Länder".

Auch in anderen semitischen Sprachen kann man einen gebrochenen Plural mit einem äußeren Plural versehen, wie im hebr. *m^{el}lāk-īm* und aram. *malkayyā* (beide < **malak-* gebr. Plural vom Sing. **malk-*). Da auch die Endung *-īm* eigentlich Koll. bezeichnet, wurde der gebrochene Plural ohne *-īm* als Koll. überflüssig und verschwand aus dem Hebräischen. Es mutet also merkwürdig an, daß das Arabische die beiden Kollektiva *tayrun* und *tuyūrun* behalten hat (bei *bilādun* – *buldānun* "Orte" – "Länder" kann es mit der Bedeutungsdifferenzierung erklärt werden).

Von den Nom.gen. gibt es im Hebr. wie im Arab. Nom.gen., Nom.un., Koll. und wirklichen Plural, obwohl ich keine Wurzel gefunden habe, die alle vier Formen aufweist: Nom.gen. *śē-ār* "Haar", Nom.un. *śā-ārā* "ein [einzelnes] Haar", Plural *śā-ārōl* "einzelne Haare" (aber kein Koll. **śā-ārīm*); (kein Nom.gen. **’alōm* "Garbe"), Nom.un. *’alummā*, Plur. *’alummōt*, Koll. *’alummīm*. Beruht das Fehlen eines Gliedes vielleicht darauf, daß auch das Hebr. Nom.gen. als Koll. aufgefaßt hat, so daß entweder Nom.gen. oder Koll. mit *-īm* als überflüssig aufgefaßt wurde, oder kommt es einfach daher, daß der Text des Alten Testaments zu klein ist und alle in der Sprache üblichen Formen nicht enthält? Wenn im Hebr. Nom.gen. und Koll. zusammengefallen sind, so bestätigt das Bo Isakssons Ansicht, daß auch im Arab. Nom.gen. und Koll. zusammenfallen können.

Noch ein Beleg dafür, daß der gebrochene Plural ein Kollektiv ist, ist daß der gebrochene Plural in Verbindung mit Attribut und Verb oft nicht wie Plural behandelt wird sondern wie Sing. Interessant in diesem Zusammenhang ist, daß das Attribut eines gebrochenen Plurals oft im Femininum steht, *tiyābun naqīyatun* "reine Kleider". Aber gibt die Endung *-at* hier wirklich das Femininum an? Bezeichnet sie nicht eher das Kollektiv, wie der gebrochene Plural und das Kollektiv mit der Endung *-at* (siehe oben Nr. 2 unter Kollektiva und Nr. 9 in der Übersicht am Anfang des Aufsatzes)? Die Endung *-at* sollte auch bei Kollektiva/gebrochenen Pluralen das Spezielle bezeichnen?

Zu den Kollektiven zählt wie gesagt F. Rundgren auch die Zahlwörter von drei

bis neun, die die endungslose Form haben, wie *talātun* "drei", als Kollektiv eigentlich "eine Dreizahl", die mit der wirklichen äußeren Plural kombiniert wird, *talātu banātin* "eine Dreizahl individueller Mädchen", während einem gebrochenen Plural, also einem Kollektiv, die Form mit der Endung *-at* vorangeht, *talātatu rigālin* "drei einzelne aus dem Kollektiv Männer". Daß *talātun* Kollektiv ist scheint daraus hervorzugehen, daß diese Art von Zahlwörtern einen gebrochenen Plural als Attribut haben können, *sab'un iğāfun* "sieben Magere" vom Singular *'ağīfun* "mager" und *sab'un simānun* "sieben Fette" vom Singular "fett" (Sura 12:43, 48). Könnten wir mit Bo Isaksson das Kollektiv als das neutralisierte Nom.gen. betrachten, oder, wie ich es vorziehen würde, das Nom.gen. als die neutralisierte Form des Kollektivs auf-fassen, also als das Kollektiv in der Opposition zum Nom.un./Sing., würde es das Verständnis der Konstruktion dieser Zahlwörter erleichtern.

In der 6. Opposition zwischen Sing. *samakatun* und dem Plural *samakātun*, weiß ich nicht, welches Glied in der Opposition Singular: Plural das markierte und ein-deutige ist, und welches das neutrale. Da *samkatun* markiert ist als Nom.un. in der Opposition zum Nom.gen. und als Fem. in der Opposition zum Mask., könnte man glauben, daß es so auch als Sing. in der Numerusopposition ist. Andererseits ist der Plural *samakātun* immer Plural und kann nichtr numerisch neutral und generell sein. Umgekehrt ist *samkatun* immer Sing. und kann auch nicht numerisch neutral sein. Bo Isaksson schlägt auch hier als neutralisiertes zweites Glied Koll. vor, wobei ein neutralisiertes *samkatun* gegen verfügbare kollektive Formen wie *samakun* und *simākun* sollte ausgetauscht worden sein. Aber können Formen mit *-ātun*, die wirklichen Plural ausdrücken, neutral sein, und können sie gleichwertig mit Kollektiv und dagegen austauschbar sein? Ich möchte wohl gerne *samakun* und *simākun* als Kollektiva betrachten, aber ist es überzeugend, *samakun* in drei Oppositionen zu sehen: als zweites Glied in den Oppositionen (4) Nom.un.: Koll. und (5) Koll.: Sing. und in Neutralisationsstellung im zweiten Glied der Opposition (6) Sing.: Plur.?

So weit diese sechs einigermaßen klaren Oppositionen. Aber wie verhält es sich mit den übrigen Oppositionen in Ullmanns Liste am Anfang der Aufsatz, z.B. Nr. 2 Nom.vicis *la'n-atun* "einmalige Verfluchung": X/? Inf. *la'nun* "Verfluchung"? Hier ist wohl deutlich, daß das Nom.vicis das markierte eindeutige Glied ist, während das Inf. neutral ist im Hinblick auf die Zahl der Verfluchungen, aber was bedeutet das Inf. *la'nun* in der Opposition zu *la'natun* "einmalige Verfluchung"? Dies scheint dasselbe Problem zu sein wie in der 4. Opposition Nom.un. *samakatun*: *samakun*, wo es mir auch schwierig war, das zweite Glied der Opposition zu identifizieren. Könnte *la'nun* auch Kollektiv sein – kann man sich eine Opposition Nom.vicis: Kollektiv vorstellen mit dem Inf. in der Neutralisationsstellung?

Ich kann auf die übrigen Fälle in Ullmanns Liste (am Anfang des Aufsatzes) nicht eingehen – es muß mit den sechs erwähnten Oppositionen genügen, in denen das markierte Glied jeweils das Spezielle ausdrückt (falls man nun sagen kann, daß das Koll. das tut?), und ihre Neutralisationsformen, die alle das Generelle ausdrücken.

Betrachten wir nun ganze Sätze. Bei Sätzen, die eine der Formen für das Generelle oder mehrere in Kombination enthalten, kann vermutet werden, daß sie generelle Aussagen darstellen. Umgekehrt sollten generelle Aussagen, wie etwa gno-mische Sprüche, konditionale Satzgefüge und Imperative mit Folgesätzen, die mit

konditionalen Satzgefügen äquivalent sind, generelle Nominal- und Verbalformen enthalten. Auch Sätze mit Vergleichen und Metaphern können generell sein. Ich habe 49 von den Sätzen untersucht, die Ullmann als Beispiele von Sätzen mit Nom.gen. anführt. Von diesen sind 37 aspektneutral, also generell, d.h. sie haben neutrales Perfekt, endungsloses Imperfekt oder Imperativ oder haben kein Verb. In diesen 37 Sätzen gibt es 21 determinierte und 16 indeterminierte Nomina. Von den 21 aspektneutralen Sätzen mit determiniertem Nomen enthalten 16 eine Metapher oder einen Vergleich, 3 eine generelle Aussage und 2 stellen Bedingungssätze dar. Von den 16 aspektneutralen Sätzen mit indeterminiertem Nomen enthalten 11 eine Metapher, einen Vergleich oder ein Rätsel, und 2 stellen Bedingungssätze dar. In 5 Sätzen mit Imperfekt sind alle Nomina determiniert und 4 von den Sätzen drücken einen Vergleich aus. Übrig bleiben einige Sätze, welche, wie es scheint, weder die formalen Kriterien für generelle Bedeutung erfüllen noch inhaltlich das Generelle ausdrücken. Schließlich zeige ich einige Beispiele in Übersetzung von Sätzen, welche die Kriterien erfüllen, und einige, die das nicht zu tun scheinen.

"Der und der gleicht einer Motte, die in die Flamme fliegt, und einer Fliege, die sich in den Wein stürzt" (Ullmann Beispiel Nr. 13). "Die Motte" und "die Fliege" sind hier Nom.gen., sie sind generell determiniert, der Satz hat kein Verb, er ist ein Nominalsatz und also aspektneutral, und er enthält einen Vergleich.

"Wenn einem von euch eine Fliege in den Eßnapf fällt, soll er sie ertränken" (Ullmann Nr. 11). "Die Fliege" ist Nom.gen. und generell determiniert, und das Verb ist das neutrale Perfekt und steht in einem Bedingungssatz, der generell ist.

"Das Todesgeschick ist wie eine Wolke, deren Regen in Strömen gießt" (Ullmann Nr. 47). "Eine Wolke" ist Nom.gen., ist aber indeterminiert, der erste Satz ist doch ein Nominalsatz und also aspektneutral, und der Nebensatz hat das neutrale Perfekt und es handelt sich um einen Vergleich.

"Für uns ähnelt die Narzisse sozusagen dem Auge eines Liebenden" (Ullmann Nr. 32). "Ähnelt" steht zwar im Imperf., aber "die Narzisse" ist Nom.gen. und determiniert, und es handelt sich um einen Vergleich.

In den folgenden Beispielen ist das Generelle nicht gleich deutlich, und ich frage mich dann, wie die Wörter, die hier Nom.gen. sind, dies sein können.

"Im Gefängnis war das Loch einer Maus, und ihm gegenüber ein anderes Loch; da beobachtete er ... von einem jeden von ihnen Drohungen, Piepen und Herum-springen" (Ullmann Nr. 6). "Eine Maus" ist Nom.gen. und indeterminiert, der Satz ist ein Nominalsatz und also aspektneutral, aber der folgende Satz hat das Imperf. "beobachtete", das kursiv und nicht generell ist: er saß da und beobachtete die ganze Zeit. Offenbar ist "Maus" Nom.gen., weil es Genitivattribut zu "Loch" ist – das Loch ist zwar speziell aber ein Mausloch gehört keiner speziellen Maus.

Verhält es sich so auch mit dem Satz "Die Klage einer auf dem Zweig einer Moringga sitzenden Taube ... hat mich erschreckt" (Ullmann Nr. 20)? "Eine Taube" ist

Nom.un., weil es eine spezielle Taube war, und das Verb "hat mich erschreckt" steht in punktuelllem Perfekt, aber "Moringa" ist Nom.gen. weil es Genitivattribut zu "Zweig" ist, ein bestimmter Zweig aber von einem beliebigen Moringabaum?

Ein letztes Beispiel: "Ich denke an eine gelbe Zitrone ... einen Baum hat sie verlassen" (Ullmann Nr. 18). "Eine Zitrone" ist hier Nom.un. und indeterminiert, eine spezielle Zitrone. "Ein Baum" dagegen ist Nom. gen. aber auch indeterminiert, und "hat verlassen" steht im Perfekt, das wohl punktuell und nicht generell ist. Hier scheint eine spezielle Zitrone einen Baum im Allgemeinen bei einer besonderen Gelegenheit verlassen zu haben. Die Sprache ist aber nicht immer ganz logisch.

Bemerkung: Professor Ullmann lenkt brieflich meine Aufmerksamkeit darauf hin, daß die Aspektbezüge in den obigen Beispielen nicht immer schlüssig sind, da in der Poesie der Dichter nicht immer frei formulieren kann.

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Corrigenda*

Julian Rentzsch: Notes on actionality and aspect in Hindi, *Orientalia Suecana* LV (2006), 77–132.

Page: Line (Footnote)	wrong	correct
80: 21	<i>baitħā (hū)</i>	<i>baitħā (huā)</i>
84: 17	<i>praveškar-</i>	<i>praveś kar-</i>
85: 26	<i>hū hai</i> [–PAST (+POST)]	<i>huā hai</i> [–PAST (+POST)]
85: 26	<i>hū thā</i> [+PAST (+POST)]	<i>huā thā</i> [+PAST (+POST)]
85: 26	<i>hū</i> [(-INTRA)(-POST)]	<i>huā</i> [(-INTRA)(-POST)]
85: 30	aspect forms like <i>hū</i>	aspect forms like <i>huā</i>
85 (Fn12)	‘habitual, used to’	“habitual” <i>used to</i>
92: 6	<i>ghutte</i>	<i>ghuṭte</i>
92: 29	<i>ābhās hū</i>	<i>ābhās huā</i>
92: 29	<i>ṭharā hū</i>	<i>ṭharā huā</i>
94: 6	<i>kon"</i>	<i>koṇ</i>
95: 13	<i>ghamōṁ</i>	<i>ghamṭoṁ</i>
95: 29	<i>khūmā</i>	<i>khūmṭā</i>
95: 37	<i>ks"an"</i>	<i>kṣan</i>
95: 37	<i>manuṣya</i>	<i>manuṣya</i>
96: 23	<i>tab bhi</i>	<i>tab bhī</i>
96: 23	<i>usī kṣaṇrāvat jī</i>	<i>usī kṣaṇ rāvat jī</i>
101: 26	<i>rahtā hūv</i>	<i>rahtā hūṁ</i>
104: 28	<i>patthar hū jā saktā hai</i>	<i>patthar huā jā saktā hai</i>
104: 30	<i>patthar hū jā-</i>	<i>patthar huā jā-</i>
104: 31	<i>patthar hū jā sak-</i>	<i>patthar huā jā sak-</i>
105: 34	<i>baitħtī</i>	<i>baitħtī</i>
106: 22	<i>pratīks"ā</i>	<i>pratīkṣā</i>
106: 23	<i>ghūmtā hū dekhtā</i>	<i>ghūmtā huā dekhtā</i>
109: 32	<i>sṭtrok</i>	<i>strok</i>
109: 32	<i>hū hai</i>	<i>huā hai</i>
110: 12	<i>nigāhov</i>	<i>nigāhom</i>
110: 16	<i>ks,an"</i>	<i>kṣan</i>
111: 13	<i>śurūt</i>	<i>śuruāt</i>
112: 2–3	looked like earthly ghost shadows	looked like ghostly shadows of <i>Pretas</i>
112: 18	<i>ks"an"</i>	<i>kṣan</i>
112: 18	<i>d,åktar</i>	<i>dāktar</i>
113: 36	<i>kabhī nahīṁ hū</i>	<i>kabhī nahīṁ huā</i>
115: 3	<i>navgī</i>	<i>naṅgī</i>

* The editors sincerely regret the technical mishaps that caused a series of printing distortions in the article by Julian Rentzsch in the previous volume of *Orientalia Suecana*

115: 5	<i>hū</i>	<i>huā</i>
116: 11	<i>leṭṭūṁgā</i>	<i>leṭṭūṁgā</i>
116: 15	<i>ṭṭhahar-</i>	<i>ṭṭhahar-</i>
118: 9	<i>cahalqadmī kartā hū</i>	<i>cahalqadmī kartā huā</i>
119: 4	<i>sīṭūl</i>	<i>sīṭūl</i>
120: 18	<i>-tā hū</i>	<i>-tā huā</i>
120: 28	<i>sīṭī bajātā hū</i>	<i>sīṭī bajātā huā</i>
121: 14	<i>-(y)ā (hū)</i>	<i>-(y)ā (huā)</i>
121: 15	<i>leṭā hū</i>	<i>leṭā huā</i>
121: 16	copula segment <i>hū</i>	copula segment <i>huā</i>
121: 16	Just as <i>-tā hū</i> , <i>-(y)ā (hū)</i>	Just as <i>-tā huā</i> , <i>-(y)ā (huā)</i>
121: 17	<i>-(y)ā (hū)</i>	<i>-(y)ā (huā)</i>
121: 24	<i>pratīks"ā</i>	<i>pratīksā</i>
121: 27	<i>saṭā-</i>	<i>saṭā-</i>
121: 38	<i>lauṭā</i>	<i>lauṭā</i>
122: 4	<i>leṭā hū</i>	<i>leṭā huā</i>
122: 8	<i>leṭṭ-</i>	<i>leṭ-</i>
122: 9	<i>-(y)ā (hū)</i>	<i>-(y)ā (huā)</i>
122: 10	<i>-(y)ā (hū)</i>	<i>-(y)ā (huā)</i>
122: 22	<i>-tā (hū)</i> [+INTRA] and <i>-(y)ā (hū)</i> [+POST]	<i>-tā (huā)</i> [+INTRA] and <i>-(y)ā (huā)</i> [+POST]
122: 25	<i>-tā (hū)</i>	<i>-tā (huā)</i>
122: 34	<i>-tā (hū)</i>	<i>-tā (huā)</i>
122: 35	<i>-tā (hū)</i>	<i>-tā (huā)</i>
122: 37	<i>hū</i>	<i>huā</i>
122 (Fn 47)	<i>duār</i>	<i>dūr</i>
123: 1	<i>jāṭā hū</i>	<i>jāṭā huā</i>
123: 36	<i>raks"āmāmtrī</i>	<i>rakṣāmāmtrī</i>
123: 37	<i>am̄tarrāś"trīy</i>	<i>am̄tarrāśtrīy</i>
124: 15	<i>-(y)ā (hū)</i>	<i>-(y)ā (huā)</i>
124: 15	<i>hū</i>	<i>huā</i>
124: 28	<i>saṭā hū</i>	<i>saṭā huā</i>
124: 32	<i>ghirā hū</i>	<i>ghirā huā</i>
125: 12	<i>baiṭhā hū</i>	<i>baiṭhā huā</i>
125: 22	<i>ātā hū</i>	<i>ātā huā</i>
126: 14	<i>-tā (hū)</i>	<i>-tā (huā)</i>
126 Tables	<i>hū</i>	<i>huā</i>
130: 9	principle	principle
130: 13	<i>brāṁdī</i>	<i>brāṁdī</i>

Book Reviews

Birth of the Persian Empire, vol. I. Ed. by Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, London, New York: I. B. Tauris in association with the London Middle East Institute at SOAS and the British Museum 2005. Pp. 147.

This work contains six papers delivered by specialists in a series of lectures at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London (SOAS) in 2004 on the theme “The idea of Iran: from Eurasian Steppe to Persian Empire”. Topics include “Cyrus the Great and the Kingdom of Anshan” (D. T. Potts), “An Archaeologist’s Approach to Avestan Geography” (Frantz Grenet), “The Achaemenids and the *Avesta* (P. O. Skjaervø), “The Contribution of the Magi” (Albert de Jong), “The History of the Idea of Iran” (A. Shapur Shahbazi) and “Iron Age Iran and the Transition to the Achaemenid Period” (John Curtis). These articles study the constitutive process of the Achaemenid empire from two main points of view, a) that of the historical development in which the age-old Elamite polity in southwestern Iran came to be dominated by Persian power and b) that of the worldview of the Persian/Iranian groups who seized power and consciously created a fusion of their culture with the older indigenous ethnic groups. Little new material other than from excavations has come to light but, based on a better understanding of the Elamite and Avestan sources together with Assyrian and Babylonian texts, the authors attempt to interpret the sparse and sporadic material. This is an extremely dynamic field of research at present with valuable articles and books appearing continually. The present book is no exception and each article is worth a review in itself. It will be hard to do justice to all aspects of this interesting book.

The thesis of the first article “Cyrus the Great and the Kingdom of Anshan” by D. T. Potts is that Elam, located in what is now Khuzistan and western Fars, was an important kingdom from the time of Ur III down to the reign of Cyrus II the Great. As such he maintains that it must be seen as one of the main pillars in the identity of the Iranian Achaemenid empire which replaced it.

He maintains that Anshan was an independent kingdom which had earlier formed part of the kingdom of Elam and Anshan and that Cyrus II was an Elamite who revived the fortunes of Elam. There are two main points in his proof a) the titulature and genealogy of Cyrus as found in the Babylonian sources (the Cyrus Cylinder, the Nabonidus Chronicle and UE 7 1.194) which always refer to him as king of Anshan with a lineage of non-Iranian names (Shishpish, Kurash and Kambuziya) and b) the assumption that Elamite Anshan and Persian Parsua/Parsumash represented two distinct kingdoms in southwestern Iran during the period between the sack of Susa by the Assyrians (647 BCE) and Cyrus the Great’s accession to the throne of Anshan (ca 550). For this he relies heavily on the testimony of the Sennacherib prism which describes the battle of Halule in 691. This text clearly distinguishes between lowland Elam centered around Shush and highland Anshan on the one hand and between Anshan and Parsumash on the other. Other evidence cited by Potts in support of independent kingdoms in the region at the time comes from recent archaeological excavations of sites yielding seals and vessels with Elamite inscriptions.

In general his argument is convincing. Today it is generally conceded that the inscriptions

in Old Persian at Pasargadae naming Cyrus as an Achaemenid were put in place by Darius after the death of Cyrus. Likewise the author argues that the genealogy of Behistun in which Darius has incorporated Cyrus' ancestor Shishpish (Greek Teispes) as his own is obviously a conflation of the two lineages aimed at legitimizing Darius' rule over the Elamite-speaking population. Meanwhile the Babylonian sources are close in date to the lifetime of Cyrus himself and in Potts' estimate are more trustworthy than information found in the Greek sources. The nature of the Assyrian evidence for the existence of Anshan as an independent kingdom is less clear-cut. The chronicles of Assurbanipal, Sennacherib's grandson, naming treaties with independent city-states in southwestern Iran, mention only Parsumash while the name Anshan has simply faded away. This leaves the titulature of Cyrus as king of Anshan as the only evidence of the existence of this kingdom from ca 600 to 550 (Waters 2004: 94).

In the second article Frantz Grenet proposes to identify the 16 countries named in the 1st chapter of the *Widēwdād*. This is a list of the countries created by Ahura Mazda each of which is visited by a specific plague sent by Ahriman. Grenet sets out two principles to guide him in his work, first a sceptical attitude towards identifications in Pahlavi texts, most of which were clearly motivated by a wish to transfer the traditional lands to the more central regions of the Sasanian empire. Secondly, he suggests that more attention should be paid to the geographical characterisation of the regions as they appear on the list.

He adopts Gnoli's proposal (1980) that all of the names refer to places that are located outside of Iran proper and, with his enormous knowledge of the lay of the land in large parts of Central Asia, is able to organize the list in a coherent manner. He locates the starting point, Aryana Vāējah of the Good River, in the pre-Pamirian highlands in that part of Badakhshān which is now in Tajikistan. He suggests that Vanjvi Dāityā 'the good river' is identical with Vakh, which designates the Daryā-ye Panj on the upper course of the Oxus and originally the right side tributary to the Oxus. He situates the central area referred to by the list in the grazing lands of southeastern Afghanistan, e. g., Arachosia and the neighboring valleys and dates the original composition of the list at not later than the middle of the 6th century BCE. His solution provides the geographical cohesion which is lacking in many of the earlier attempts to identify them and demonstrates how archaeology and careful study of the texts can give fruitful results.

In article number three "The Achaemenids and the *Avesta*", P. O. Skjaervø maintains that there are similarities between Achaemenid religion and Zoroastrianism defined as the religion expressed in the *Avesta*. The bulk of his evidence comes from comparing passages of the Old and Young Avestan with the royal inscriptions. He shows beyond all doubt that the two sets of texts reflect the same mindset, forged in the same world of ideas even though they are written in two different languages. There are identical concepts not infrequently expressed by cognates of the two languages and much parallel phraseology.

The author of this article goes a step farther. He maintains that Darius claims to unite the functions of supreme king (Yima) with that of supreme sacrificer (Zarathushtra) and thereby stands as the revitalizer of the world. This claim is not made openly but is suggested by the fact that passages in the *Avesta* about Zarathushtra are being echoed in the royal inscriptions with reference to Darius. The texts Skjaervø quotes in support of this hypothesis reflect an identical structure of society and similar requirements of moral and physical excellence in leaders, be they spiritual like Zarathushtra or guarantors of the civil society like Darius, but do not appear to me to support fully the conclusion he draws from them. Nevertheless it is extremely likely that the Achaemenids did make use of Iranian traditions of mythical origins and eschatological renewal of the world in their political propaganda but exactly how seems to me to be as yet an unanswered question.

In the fourth article de Jong tackles the question of the identity and role of the Magi at the Achaemenid court. He has recourse to Greek sources as well as to the Elamite Persepolis tablets. From these sources the Magi appear to have been specialists in ritual. They are seen as memorizers/preservers of the texts necessary for a valid sacrifice, they interpret signs and dreams, they function as court officials in administrative and legal positions. This picture

largely agrees with the duties of Zoroastrian priests in Sasanian times as attested in a wide variety of later sources. He considers their adaptation and integration of a millenary scheme inspired by Babylonian ideas into the Zoroastrian story of creation and final renewal of the world to be their greatest contribution to Zoroastrianism.

The author also discusses the thorny problem of the origin of the Magi. He points out that the identification of the Magi as a priestly clan of the Medes is based on very flimsy evidence and should be discarded. He notes that the word *magu-* is attested in western Iran from the Achaemenid period onwards while the term occurs only once in the Avesta (Y.65.7) in an obscure passage suggesting a social group rather than a religious specialist. He does not, however, take a stance on the still heatedly debated issue of whether or not Old Persian *magu-* can be derived from the same root as Avestan *maga-* ‘ritually enacted exchange of gifts of reciprocity’ (Hintze 2004: 31). No consensus of opinion has yet been reached on this matter with Kellens (2002: 449) pointing out that there is no evidence for relating the two terms and Hintze (*ibid.*) taking for granted that a *magu-* is ‘a priest engaged in ritually enacted gift-exchange’ (*maga-*).

In the fifth article the late Professor Shahbazi discusses the idea of Iran through history. In refutation of the thesis that the idea of Iran as a national state was invented by Ardashīr Pāpakān, founder of the Sasanian dynasty (Gnoli 1989) he assembles all the evidence of a concept “*arya*” found in Avestan, Old Persian and Greek. From this collective testimony he argues that the idea of Iran existed already at the time of the Achaemenids.

His evidence for the existence of the concept is convincing but it is not quite clear how he understands it at this early period. He makes the interesting observation that “The third division of this empire (i. e. that of Darius as described at Naqsh-e Rustam) comprised the truly Iranian lands/peoples of Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Choresmia and Drangiana.” and notes that five of these six names are among the regions named in Chapter I of the *Widēwdād*. This train of thought could be carried a step further. Kellens (2003:107) defines “Aryan, of Aryan lineage” as one who is descended from the “good men” gathered by Yima in Aryana Vaēja and traces his lineage to a son of Oraētaona. Finally at some time it came to be attributed to someone who belonged to a certain (unidentified) ethnic group. As Darius claims this identity for himself in his inscriptions it could be suggested that he makes this part of his lineage to legitimize his rule over these particular six provinces of the realm. Waters (2004:98) notes that a good deal of Darius’ military support came from the northeastern Iranian clans and points out that this epithet is never attributed to Cyrus.

In the sixth and last article John Curtis tries to identify early traces of Iranians at archaeological sites. He notes the introduction of a red and grey monochrome pottery from 1450 BCE and onwards which could indicate the arrival of the Iranians. He is careful to observe, however, that as long as there is no inscription or writing of any kind linking the pottery to an ethnic group there can be no question of absolute identity.

For the period after the 9th century when the Medes and possibly Persians are named in Assyrian texts he notes that Assyrian influence is massive in the northwest/western areas of today’s Iran. As for the Medes he agrees with the present consensus that there were groups of clans and fighting contingents who influenced the course of events in the region but that no united kingdom of any size and duration can have existed before 612 and there is little trace of one afterwards. (For a complete overview of this subject see *Continuity of Empire (?)* 2003.)

Curtis recognizes that while the influence of the Elamites must have been great there is some difficulty in identifying what the characteristic traits of the material culture of Elam are. He notes the influence of Assyria at different sites but mentions also a number of excavations revealing Elamite objects such as the grave at Arjan. Of special interest is a bronze bowl with an Elamite inscription with bands of scenes showing particularly Elamite motifs in the architecture, the figure of the ruler on his throne, etc.

In summary the articles underscore the strong and pervasive influence of Elam on Achaemenid culture, institutions and politics at a time when the waning supremacy of Elam was giv-

ing way to an increasingly dominant Persian force. Once the Achaemenid Darius has obtained power he is obliged to legitimize his right to rule in relation to different groups. He claims Cyrus the Great's ancestor, Shishpish/Teispes as his own, he claims legitimacy in religious categories which reveal a mindset similar to that of the Avesta. In the title "Aryan, of Aryan lineage" he may be expressing a pan-Iranian identity harking back to the Central Asian homeland of the Eastern Iranians. His religious specialists, the *magi*, play a central role at court. It is probable that their importance will become more obvious when the Elamite Persepolis tablets have been fully understood. (See Razmjou 2004 on the *Lan* ritual). The last word has not been said on these matters but it seems to me that a much more nuanced picture of events is beginning to emerge. Finally a word of praise to the editors for such a well-produced book.

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Judith Josephson, Gothenburg

Tallay Ornan, *The Triumph of the Symbol: Pictorial Representations of Deities in Mesopotamia and the Biblical Image Ban* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 213). Fribourg: Academic Press & Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005. Pp. XII, 298.

The aim of Tallay Ornan's monograph is to investigate the modes of divine representations in Mesopotamian visual art especially during the first millennium B.C.E. and also "to shed light on a possible Mesopotamian inspiration for the articulation of the biblical image ban" (p. 1). The introduction discusses the social levels represented by various media – monuments being official, miniature art, popular – the basic types of motifs found in the material to be treated, and the difficulties due to the general lack of textual captions in connection with Mesopotamian iconography. Six major chapters then follow. The first two of these deal with the 2nd millennium material, one being devoted to anthropomorphic representations, and the other to non-anthropomorphic representations from all of Mesopotamia. Ornan notes the lack of standard norms for the iconography of this period as far as the anthropomorphic type is concerned. She notes the possibility of western inspiration underlying the increase of non-anthropomorphic types.

Since the focus of the work is on the first millennium, the subdivision of the material is here more "fine-meshed." The author thus separates not only anthropomorphic from non-anthropomorphic types.

morphic, but also deals with Babylonian and Assyrian in separate chapters for each type. Chap. 3 on anthropomorphic material in Babylonia provides, for instance, a fine discussion of the Sippar tablet, depicting a Shamash statue. Chap. 4 on anthropomorphic material in Assyria notes the various types of hand-gestures and proposes a Syrian background for the closed right fist (p. 76). She also notes that Sennacherib probably introduced the Babylonian "nose-rubbing" gesture to replace the Assyrian "pointing the finger" (p. 85f.). The naked or partially dressed goddess is probably due to western inspiration (p. 101), as may be the subjugation of reptiles (p. 107).

The two main chapters of the book are 5–6, on non-anthropomorphic material from Babylonia and Assyria respectively. The author makes it clear that both Babylonia and Assyria had statues of the main gods in the temples. At the same time the proliferation of non-anthropomorphic representations of the deities is very obvious during this period. There is an interesting discussion of a wall-relief of Tiglath-Pileser III depicting Assyrian looting of Babylonian cultic items, including a statue of a god and a bird-shaped emblem. The author also notes that the rituals for dedication of a statue are also applied to divine emblems. The development of the sun-disc emblem from being semi-anthropomorphic to non-anthropomorphic is noted. In each chapter there are fine discussions of all the main types of divine emblems, such as the spade, stylus, lamp, goat-fish, and fish-apkallu.

Chapter 7 contains the conclusions. The development of the anthropomorphic iconography is discussed (statues of deceased kings, living kings, and deities). The function of the emblems as signifying markers is treated. Some well-taken observations are made about the iconography met with in Mesopotamian every-day life: not the statues enclosed in temples, but glyptic art of various kinds. Ornan then turns to a discussion of some contentions held by other scholars. Thus Lambert's attempt to explain the non-anthropomorphic wave is dealt with. The author rightly criticizes the idea of technical simplicity: why then depict human devotees in complicated detail? But she thinks Lambert's idea of the supreme holiness of the statue is acceptable. She also successfully discusses one of my own contentions, namely that Mesopotamian aniconism is a marginal phenomenon. Her entire monograph is a fine refutation of my position on this point.

Ornan has chosen a first-class scholarly topic. The Mesopotamian phenomenon studied, aniconism, is by no means peripheral. It is worth special notice that, as far as I know, this is the first systematic study of the Mesopotamian representations of the deities from the point of view of anthropomorphic vs. non-anthropomorphic representation.

The organization of the material is exemplary. I am inclined to believe that the material assembled is next to exhaustive, well representing our present access to the past of Mesopotamia. The material is supremely well mastered. The author has a very firm grasp of the whole project.

The overall impression is of a scholar who knows how to write crystal clear prose. The illustrations are excellent. Only on some minor points does one note a lack of clarity. Thus on p. 175 one might get the impression that Gerhardsson's typology for tradition (*de facto* vs. *programmatic*) was made with a view to iconography, which would be wrong. The index of the book is satisfactory.

The project is a difficult one, partly due to the lack of textual captions witnessing to what the ancients themselves meant with their iconography. Ornan is well aware of various potential complications. She displays fine methodological awareness. She is sensitive to the interconnections in the ancient Near East, noticing possibilities of western influence in a number of cases. She accurately notes various historical developments, sometimes leading to a discrepancy between the beliefs of a certain period and the iconography executed, as in the case of Marduk's subordinate position on the kudurru.

Her knowledge of the scholarly literature is excellent. Of gaps I would like to mention two, neither of which is serious: Martin Metzger, "Gottheit, Berg und Vegetation in vorderorientalischer Bildtradition" (*ZDPV* 99, 1983, 54–94) and Thomas Podella, *Das Lichkleid JHWH:s* (FAT 15, 1996), which contains fine comparative work on the Mesopotamian material on di-

vine representations. Ornan shows independence of judgement and criticizes colleagues in a sympathetic and fair way.

Ornan submits overwhelming evidence to demonstrate the central importance of the non-anthropomorphic representation of the deities. What she introduces to us is by no means a marginal phenomenon. At the same time I must here express slight disappointment on one point. The title of the work and the aims of the project as presented by way of introduction lead the reader to expect a proper treatment of the importance of Mesopotamian aniconism for the development of the biblical image ban. I must confess that I do not find such a discussion in the conclusions; the brief remarks made are by no means sufficient. Nevertheless, this is not detrimental to the major results of the work. My overall impression is that of a first-class book on a first-rate scholarly problem.

Tryggve N.D. Mettinger, Lund

Judíos y musulmanes en al-Andalus y el Maghreb. Contactos intelectuales. Ed. by M. Fierro. (Collection de la Casa de Vélezquez 74). Madrid 2002. Pp. 254.

R. Lohlker. *Islamisches Völkerrecht. Studien am Beispiel Granada*. (Kleio Humanities). Bremen 2006. Pp. viii, 178.

On February 20–21 1997, a roundtable was organised in Casa de Vélezquez with the theme *Intelectuales musulmanes y judíos en contacto: al-Andalus y el Magreb* (“Intellectual Muslims and Jews in contact: al-Andalus and Maghreb”) the first of three roundtables devoted to *Judíos en tierras de Islam* (“Jews in the realm of Islam”). The proceedings of this roundtable are now available in the present volume edited by the distinguished Spanish Arabist Maribel Fierro. Ten communications are included. Linguistics can be said to be the focus of the first three of them. In his article David J. Wasserstein (University of Tel Aviv, Israel), *Langues et frontières entre juifs et musulmans en al-Andalus* (“Languages and frontiers between Jews and Arabs in al-Andalus) discusses language change and language choice among Jews of al-Andalus, i.e. sociolinguistic issues. Taking as his point of departure the dearth of remnants of the Jewish intellectual culture in Visigothic times, he suggests that the Jews of al-Andalus learned two languages: Arabic (becoming part of the Arabic diglossia in the peninsula) and Hebrew. While it may be taken for granted that the current Vulgar Latin dialects also were languages of the Jews in pre-conquest Iberia, he observes that the Jews rallied with the Muslims in adopting Arabic and dropping Romance. This was enhanced by the extremely small size of the Jewish community as well as the fact that they obviously were an urban minority concentrated in the political and cultural centres of al-Andalus. These demographic factors are put forward against the suggestions of Eliyahu Ashtor, who argued the possibility of an immigration of Jews from the East to al-Andalus to account for the emergence of the intellectual Jewish culture. According to Wasserstein there is no evidence of such immigration. The revitalisation of Hebrew as a literary language was an achievement parallel to the arabisation of the Jewish community, and it is to be taken for granted that this revitalisation was cultivated in small intellectual circles, as demonstrated by Ángel Sáenz-Badillo and Judit Targarona Borrás elsewhere. Ross Brann (Cornell University, Ithaca, USA) discusses the use of Arabic as a literary language among Andalusian Jews in *Reflexiones sobre el árabe y la identidad literaria de los judíos de al-Andalus* (“Reflections on Arabic and the literary identity of the Jews of al-Andalus”). Here he reassesses the place of Arabic in the literary culture of the Jews. Starting with the title *Dū l-lisānayn* accorded to a person in the Muslim literary culture of the East who mastered Arabic and Persian he surveys Andalusian Jewish intellectuals who were praised by their contempor-

aries, Jews and Arabs alike, as masters of the two languages Arabic and Hebrew. As a result he questions the characterisation of Jewish culture in the Islamic world of the period as being totally separated from the dominating culture. On the contrary he stresses the ambiguity and the ambivalence towards this culture as reflected in the writings and praxis of the Jewish elite. The third contribution is *El contacto intelectual de musulmanes y judíos: gramática y exégesis* ("Intellectual contacts between Muslims and Jews: Grammar and exegesis") by Angel Sáenz-Badillo (Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Spain). From this it is evident that there are parallels between the two communities in the analysis of the origins of these sciences, as the study of grammar was closely linked to exegesis of the Holy Scriptures. The next contribution focuses on the intellectual culture in a wider perspective, viz. *Los límites del saber. Reacción de intelectuales judíos a la cultura de procedencia islámica* ("The limits of knowledge. The reaction of Jewish Intellectuals to Culture of Islamic Origin") by Esperanza Alfonso (University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA). Rather than talking of influences on the Jewish culture from the dominant culture, she discusses the relationship in anthropological terms as a process of acculturation. Two contributions deal with literature, viz. *Old Age in Hebrew and in Arabic Zuhd Poetry* by Raymond Scheindlin (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, USA) and *Un intellectuel juif au confluent de deux cultures: Yehūda al-Ḥarīzī et sa biographie arabe* ("A Jewish intellectual at the confluence of two cultures: Yehūda al-Ḥarīzī and his Arabic biography") by Joseph Sadan (University of Tel Aviv, Israel). The indebtedness of Andalusian-Jewish poetry to Arabic poetry is today a well-researched topic. As Raymond Scheindlin observes, it is also necessary to appreciate the uniqueness of Andalusian-Jewish poetry (apart from its use of Hebrew). For this reason he here discusses the theme of old age in the poems of, above all, two Granadine poets, the Hebrew poems by Moses Ibn 'Ezra' (d. ca. 1135) and the Arabic poems by the *faqih* Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī (d. 1067). One conclusion drawn from this discussion is that both poets draw upon the same language and imagery. The Arabic poems are, however, firmly grounded in Islamic pietism which characterises *zuhd* poetry. The Hebrew poems, on the other hand, reflect the strong impact of Neoplatonism on the Jewish piety of the period. Although hailing from Toledo in what was by that time the capital of the Christian realm of Castile, Judah al-Ḥarīzī (d. in Aleppo 1225) was a late representative of Andalusian-Jewish literary culture. Already in 1996, Joseph Sadan was able to present new evidence on his biography and his contribution here is a revised version of this remarkable article. Here he presents the *tarjama* or entry on al-Ḥarīzī in the biographical dictionary of Ibn al-Shā'är al-Mawsilī from a unique manuscript in Istanbul. Drawing upon an informant who had met al-Ḥarīzī in Irbil in 1220, the entry is not only interesting in that it furnishes new biographical evidence for al-Ḥarīzī. It is also a rare source of information for Medieval Arab *literati* of the poetical output in Hebrew, informing them that al-Ḥarīzī had composed *maqāmāt* as well as poetry in Hebrew, just as Arabic poems of his are quoted. The final section has four contributions dealing with the history of religion. The first contribution is *Entre Harrān et al-Maghreb. La théorie maimonidienne de l'histoire des religions et ses sources arabes* ("Between Harrān and al-Maghreb. The Maimonist theory of the history of religions and its Arab sources") by Sarah Stroumsa (Hebrew University, Israel). Discussing paganism Maimonides frequently refers to *al-Ṣāba*, the Sabians, and this is original to him among Jews. In her contribution Sarah Stroumsa discusses his possible Arab sources. Dominique Urvoy (University of Toulouse, France) discusses *Ibn Khaldūn et la notion d'altération des textes bibliques* ("Ibn Khaldūn and the notion of alteration of Biblical texts"). In the Koran, Jews and Christians are accused of having altered their scriptures. Broadly speaking there are two interpretations of this in Muslim polemical writings, viz. a maximalist view that they "altered the actual texts" and a minimalist view that they "altered the meaning of the texts". Reviewing the arguments of Ibn Khaldūn on this topic, Dominique Urvoy draws the conclusion that he followed the minimalist view. To this is added that he distinguished between Jews and Christians in as far as the Christians were obviously the target of harder rebuke and criticism than the Jews.

A Jewish reply to Ibn Hazm. Solomon b. Aderet's polemic against Islam by Camilla Adang (Tel Aviv University, Israel). In the second half of the 13th century Solomon b. Aderet from Barcelona wrote a tract against Islam. The place and time of its composition are unique as it was composed in Christian Spain, so what prompted him to do it? Reviewing the explanations put forward so far, she suggests that it was intended to be a manual for Jews living in Islamic countries. Another suggestion put forward by David Nirenberg in his *Communities of violence* (1996) is that it was intended to be a manual for Jews in the Crown of Aragon in their conflicts with Muslims in the realm. Be this as it may, from Camilla Adang's analysis it is obvious that the arguments against Judaism put forward by Ibn Hazm were circulating in the realm in the period, testifying to a cultural continuity in the peninsula.

The final contribution is *Messianisme juif aux temps des mahdīs* ("Jewish Messianic movements in the era of the *mahdīs*") by Mercedes García-Arenal (Departamento de Estudios Árabes, CSIC, Madrid, Spain). The 12th century was a period of *mahdism* among Muslims of the peninsula, and in her contribution Mercedes García-Arenal draws attention to the parallel phenomena of Messianic fervour and speculation among Jews in the Almoravid period. For natural reasons Judah ha-Levi is here at the forefront, but she also rightly draws attention to Abraham Bar Hiyya (d. ca. 1135) who, in the Crown of Aragon, composed his Messianic treatise *Megillat ha-megalleh*, "The scroll of the revealer". Ibero-Jewish Messianism would thus form a parallel to Messianism among the Jews of Yemen slightly later, in the 1160s, which seems to have been nurtured by outbursts of *mahdism* there.

Taken as a whole, the volume offers a number of stimulating contributions. They reflect the fact that scholarly discourse on the topic of the volume has moved far away from simplistic notions of "tolerance", not to speak of the much abused term *convivencia*. By applying new methods of investigation several contributors are able to understand well-established "facts" in a new way, just as other such "facts" may be questioned thanks to a renewed investigation of the sources. It is also of interest to observe that the field of Jewish culture in al-Andalus is obviously far better researched than the corresponding Christian culture of al-Andalus. Like the Jewish culture, the intellectual culture of the Christians was bilingual, Latin and Arabic. While there has been increased interest among Arabists in Andalusian-Christian literature in Arabic, including the publication of the Psalter of Hafs b. Qūṭī in 1994, the interest in Andalusian-Christian literature in Latin seems to be much less. This is only to be regretted.

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The second work treats the waning of al-Andalus. The author, Rüdiger Lohlker, is Professor of *Orientalistik* at the University of Vienna and a specialist in Islamic law. The stated purpose of *Islamisches Völkerrecht: Studien am Beispiel Granada* is to discuss Islamic international law as exemplified by the naṣrid Granada, i.e. the al-Andalus between ca. 1250–1492. The study takes its point of departure in the fact that, thus far, discussions of medieval Islamic international law have relied on medieval chronicles, collections of legal opinions, *Kanzleiliteratur* and the like. In deliberate opposition to this, Lohlker explores medieval documents from archives in Spain and North Africa. Another point of departure is the discussion of "world systems" undertaken by Janet Abu-Lughod. From this point of view, the naṣrid Granada is understood as being in the margin, part of both the Arabic-Islamic world and of Europe (v–vii). The main part of the book can be divided into three parts, framed by an introduction and a conclusion. In the introduction (1–4) the rare extant international treaties from the Islamic world are explored, as distinct from reports in literary sources, as well as examples from Islamic *Kanzleiliteratur*. After that follows a survey of the place of naṣrid Granada in European history, as well as sketch of its history and social and economic conditions (5–22). For natural reasons this is rather *Lesefrüchte*, yet an essential part of the book, all the more so as our knowledge of the history of naṣrid Granada is scanty. This is rather strange, keeping in mind that this period is better documented than, for instance, the history of the caliphate and the 11th century.

Essential for this period of the history of al-Andalus is the observation, quoted from Gottfried Liedl on page 17, that naṣrid Granada was a frontier state in a more or less permanent state of war. In this introductory part of the book there follows a survey of medieval Islamic international law as treated in Islamic jurisprudence, *fiqh*, (23–38) and in *Kanzleiliteratur* (39–43). In Muslim constitutional law, the world is divided into *dār al-harb* and *dār al-islām*. In order to bridge this binary concept some schools recognised a third category, *dār al-sulh*, or *dār al-'ahd*, which was not under Muslim rule, though in a tributary relationship to Islam. In order to regulate relations with countries outside the Muslim orbit the institute of *muwāda'a/hudna* (*muhādana*) was developed, i.e. treaties of securities based upon mutual recognition and collected in *kutub al-siyar*. The reasons for these treaties were understood to be the interest (*maṣlaḥa*) of the Muslim community or the necessity (*darūra*), and they were understood to last for three to ten years. According to al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418), only the *imām al-a'ẓam* was empowered to conclude *hudna* for the *maṣlaḥa* of the Muslim community and this for up to ten years. The second part is devoted to an empirical investigation of extant diplomatic correspondence between naṣrid Granada and the Crown of Aragon 1296–1471 (9 items, 45–79), the Crown of Aragon and North African states 1301–1350 (3 items, 81–89) and correspondence concerning piracy (ca. 20 items, 99–112) as well as a discussion of international treaty law (80–98). Compared to what is stated in *fiqh*, the first group of treaties exhibits a great flexibility, often exceeding the constraints of *fiqh*, while the second group of treaties remain within its limits. Judging from the rhetoric of the treaties, the author understands the first group as treaties between equal parties while the rhetoric of the second group portrays Aragon as subordinate to the Muslim part. In the third section, *fiqh* in naṣrid Granada is discussed (113–134) as well as another aspect of Grenadine international law, the right of emigration of *Mudejares* in Christian Spain (135–141). The analysis of the Andalusian jurists' discussions on the *Mudejares* from the 12th century onwards suggests their flexibility, which contrasts with the picture normally given of their position. Summing up his investigation in the final chapter (143–145), Lohlker rightly stresses that an investigation of Islamic international law should not exclusively rest upon *fiqh* and *Kanzleiliteratur*, as these sources only reflect one, theoretical, aspect. Instead an investigation of actual treaties is necessary. In this respect it is a step forward, though the source-material is regrettably small. One conclusion drawn from the investigation is that naṣrid Granada created diplomatic links with Christian Spain based upon equality, thus modifying the demands of *fiqh* (143). Likewise, the flexibility of the ruling elite and the jurists is underscored, whereby the limits of Islamic law were transcended. Much less well-founded are the remarks concerning the place of Granada in the “world systems” of the period, remarks that are rather loosely linked to the main argument of the book.

Karin Almbladh, Uppsala

Reuven Snir, *Religion, Mysticism and Modern Arabic Literature. (Mizān. Studien zur Literatur in der islamischen Welt, Band 12. Eds. Stephan Guth, Roxane Haag-Higuchi, Mark Kirchner.)* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2006. Pp. VIII, 178.

What is the object of literary research? What texts qualify as worthy of scholarly attention? The debate on literary research and the relation between so-called “canonized” and “non-canonical” literature takes place on many levels. The question of to what extent academic research also has a responsibility of aesthetically valuing this literature resurfaces from time to time with widely different points of view, also reflecting regionally different views on the role of literature itself.

This is also an issue in Reuven Snir's volume on the interrelationship between religion and literature in modern Arabic Literature. By addressing the way religion – both religious sensibilities and religious tradition – relates to literary texts and text production, he highlights some important aspects of this relationship as it is realized in the literary arena in the Middle East today. The majority of the examples reflect Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian area.

The study takes its point of departure in system theory, assuming that literary texts in total can be seen as "one dynamic autonomous system" (p 1), and the Russian Formalists' claim that the aim of literature is to "de-automatize" the preconceived. Literary aesthetics is a function of the tension between automatization and deautomatization, between the familiar and the non-familiar. However, as Snir points out, an autonomous literary system also has relationships and functions outside the literary field and can be related to these contexts, or systems, as well: the pragmatic, communicational and socio-cultural.

This view of literature as functioning beyond an autonomous aesthetic domain has consequences for the study of literary development. Reuven Snir takes into account both the so-called canonized as well as non-canonized literature, adhering to a wide definition of literature. Canonized literature comprises the texts that have been the traditional focus of the critical and academic discourse. In order to understand changes and constants in literary perception, the non-canonized, traditionally overlooked literature must also be taken into account. According to Snir, religious texts have often been part of the latter group. He arrives at the following textual categories (not further addressed in the study). In the study, only *texts for adults* are dealt with further.

Canonized	Non-canonized
Texts for children	Texts for children
Texts for adults	Texts for adults
Translated texts (both for adults and children)	Translated texts (both for adults and children)

Based on this understanding of system theory, the study consists of five chapters corresponding to the same number of different approaches and perspectives ranging from broad *synchronical* and *diachronical* overviews of the relationship between religion and literature, to a *thematic* approach dealing with the neo-Sufi trend in modern literature, and concluding with two more detailed studies of an individual *authorship* – that of Șalâh 'Abd as-Şabûr – and an individual *text*, the poem *Elegy for Al-Hallâj* by Adûnîs. Some of the studies have previously appeared in earlier versions in different journals.

The advantage of this methodology is, according to Snir, that it makes it possible to systematically shed light on a phenomenon of diversity within a limited amount of space. However, any choice made, even within a thematic approach, can also risk being arbitrary. Is there a necessary relation between the calls for censorship on the one hand, and the role of Sufi mysticism in literature; or are there other responses that are equally or more valid? The narrowing of focus also entails a narrowing of textual choices. While the non-canonical literature is in focus in the larger overviews, in particular the synchronical study, as the perspective narrows the focal point returns to texts that most critics would define as the canonized literature. The use of non-canonical texts thus becomes a way to highlight the process of canonization, rather than a criticism against the phenomenon as such.

The first of the five individual studies deals with religion and literature in a synchronic cross-section, focusing on the role of *Islamist Literature*, here defined as literature that does not contradict divine law (in contrast, Islamic literature often refers to *any* literature written by Muslims). According to Snir, trying to maintain the twofold allegiance to literature and religion has historically been a sure way to be excluded from any secular literary canon, though a certain rise in interest has been encountered during the 1990s in the Arab world. This relegation to the margins has provoked Islamist writers to lay their own theoretical foundations for literature that differ from the development of Arabic literature in general. Snir mentions a ris-

ing number of publishers dealing with this Islamic literature, as well as differences in sensibility and thematic and genre preferences.

The second study takes a diachronic view of the literary developments during the 20th century in relation to extra-literary systems. Socio-cultural changes are an important part of this literary development. Snir addresses two seemingly contradictory trends where this interaction has been particularly clear in relation to religion: censorship and modernist irony. The religiously motivated censorship on moral, scholarly and religious ground has been faced by well-known writers as Laylā Ba'labbakkī, Tāhā Husayn, as well as the Egyptian professor Nasr Hamid Abū Zayd who was declared a heretic and ordered to divorce his wife. From outside the Egyptian arena, the court proceedings against Marcel Khalifa for singing verses from the Qur'ān are also dealt with. Parallel to this, there has within Arabism at large been a trend towards separating literature from Islam in order for it to emerge as modern secularized literature. However, this modern literature is often founded on the basis of Islam seen as a system of symbols that can be used and subverted in literature. Thus writers continue along the lines of alluding to traditional religious imagery, loading it with different, often ironic, references. The prime reference to this is of course Adūnis, whose speaker often takes the place of God.

With the three final studies, Snir turns to a more traditional relation to text, focusing on "canonical" texts belonging to the thematic neo-Sufi trend in modern Arabic literature, and later also reflecting this trend through one of its representatives: the Egyptian author Ṣalāḥ 'Abd as-Ṣabūr. Snir concludes the study with a close philological reading of an individual text, Adūnis' *Elegy for Al-Hallāj*.

The interest in Ṣalāḥ 'Abd as-Ṣabūr lies in his elaboration of a theory on poetic composition based on a parallel with mystical experience, but also highly influenced by Western theory – Freud and Nietzsche. This theme is not uncommon to the Arab world – poets in particular seem to adhere to an image of their own role as poets as parallelling the divine creation process (examples being Kahhlīl Jibrān, Adūnis, Maḥmūd Darwīš). Ṣalāḥ 'Abd as-Ṣabūr has described the entire creation process in these terms. Creation starts with the divine inspiration – intuition, the original idea. As this idea develops, the poet enters a different state of mind, reflecting the Aristotelian categories of mimesis as well as catharsis. In the third stage, the poet returns to a normal condition, where the critical ability to perfect the text through conscious work sets in.

Overall, Snir makes a valuable – and long overdue – contribution in addressing the role of religion in modern Arabic literature, something that is otherwise mostly dealt with in relation to individual texts or authorships, rather than in this broader perspective. The individual studies are well written and easily accessible, each of them well worthy of reading separately in its own right. Choosing a limited number of aspects to highlight a general phenomenon presents itself as a very didactical perspective. By choosing not to deal exclusively with the "canonized" literature, the undercurrent of religion in much of the modern literary tradition is shown. The point of intersection in the neo-Sufi trend is particularly important. Linking this phenomenon to other arenas where literature and religion intersect shows the importance of furthering this study. There might be other equally relevant intersections, where the response to or from the religious upsurge has taken other directions. It would be particularly interesting to compare the studies on the "established" writers Ṣalāḥ 'Abd as-Ṣabūr and Adūnis, with texts and authorship from among the "non-canonized" literature. Snir's study points to a direction, and I hope that this comparison will be undertaken. Closer study of the internal development of the literature that is canonized compared to what is non-canonical may give important insights into the development of literary aesthetics as such, something that the work on modern texts can contribute, whereas the earlier non-canonical literature has simply disappeared.

Anette Måansson, Uppsala

Haddis Alemayyehu, *Fiqir Iske-Meqabir (Love unto the grave)*. Transl. by David Appleyard. Asmera, Addis Ababa & Trenton, New Jersey 2005 (original ed. 1965). Pp. 552.

The work under discussion is the first truly mature modern Amharic novel and marks “the coming of age” of Amharic fictional writing. The longest work of its genre when it first appeared, it was an immediate success, and has since gone through at least a half-dozen reprintings, having become “a classic” and a required reading (albeit only sections of it) in the Ethiopian high school curriculum. The plot is set in actual time 1887-1935, i.e. from the founding of Addis Ababa by Menelik I to the beginning of the Italian interlude, and in real space, mostly in Eastern Gojjam, the province where the author grew up. Indeed, there is much autobiographical material here and authentic, first-hand and detailed characterization of rural Ethiopia (“the true Ethiopia”). The characters are well-founded and psychologically real and convincing, the plot realistic and naturalistic, and the plot structure generally well-planned and tight. The Amharic original is idiomatic and flowing, if at times labyrinthic in narrative sections, but the dialogues are mimetic and “true to Ethiopian form”, with witty repartées, puns, idioms and proverbs, interjectional particles, and the like. The title of the work bespeaks the tragic romance of “a pair of star-crossed lovers” and the fearful passage of their death-marked love, the lowly teacher-tutor Bezzabbih and the nobleman’s daughter Seble Wengél, a Romeo and Juliet type topic much loved by Ethiopians. Indeed, by the end of the novel all of the main *dramatis personae* are dead, à la Hamlet. In a word, “all are punished”. Haddis ironically wrote a core novel of this work in English when serving at the Ethiopian consulate in Washington, D.C., in the late 1940s, but put it aside for almost two decades, rewriting it in Amharic instead and considerably expanding the work. Appleyard here has, as it were, reversed history and produced a fine English version and rendition. Amharic literature may well be the most prolific vernacular literature in Sub-Saharan Africa, but until now virtually nothing has been translated into English. Appleyard can only be praised for his true labour of love. The novel’s atmosphere, tone and texture are most admirably rendered and the work is recommended to all who are interested in traditional Ethiopia.

Jack Fellman, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan

Helga Anetshofer, *Temporale Satzverbindungen in altosmanischen Prosatexten Mit einer Teiledition aus Behcetü'l-hadā'iq (1303 und 1429), Muqaddime-i Qutbeddīn (1433) und Ferec ba'de's-ṣidde (1451)* (Turcologica 57). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2005. Pp. 388.

Studies on Oghuz Turkish texts produced between the 14th and the 16th centuries in and around Anatolia have reached a considerable degree in recent years creating a strong accumulation of knowledge and scholarship on this branch of Turkish. As in other areas of scholarship this field has also had varieties of long argued issues that need to be reinterpreted and resolved now in the light of new findings and approaches of general comparative linguistics. Some of these issues are very basic ones like determining what term to use for the area, constructing its basic sound system, transcription signs and most representative canons. All these issues unavoidably make themselves felt in the work of Anetshofer who embarks upon analyzing six prose texts in early Anatolian Turkish demonstrating their structural varieties of phrases, idioms and set expressions indicating place in time on coordinating, modifying and subordinating levels within intra- and inter-sentential contexts. The focus is on the simple and complex time adver-

bials within simple, compound and complex sentences, and sometimes within larger discourses comprising groups of sentences on a given topic in the logical movement of a narrative.

The work consists of two major chapters. In the first chapter "Einleitung" (page 1–48) the author first makes a very brief comment on the question of terminology concerning the use of Old Ottoman (Altosmanisch) and Old Anatolian Turkish (Altanatoliantürkisch) for the idiom of these texts without explicating on the reason why she chooses to use Old Ottoman rather than Old Anatolian Turkish. Here also, after summarizing briefly some of the studies on the syntax of "Altosmanisch" she describes source materials presenting the details of the textual characteristics of the works, and their authors, copies, dates and the modern studies have been produced about them. The author uses as source texts Behetü'l-Hadā'iq (B), Kitabü'l-Gunya (G), Muqaddime-i Qutbeddīn (Q), Marzubān-nāme (M), Ferec Ba'de's-ṣidde (F), Kitāb-ı Dede Qorqud (DQ), Dānişmend-nāme (D), Saltih-nāme (S) and 'Āşıqpaşa-zāde Ta'rīhi (A). Here, while explaining general characteristics of these texts she discusses mainstream questions put forward by Turkologists concerning their periods of production, authors, copyists and renderings of their lexical and grammatical aspects.

The second chapter "Analyse" (page 49–150) draws upon the analysis of the texts in terms of structural features of temporal construction in simple, compound and complex sentences. The author explains and exemplifies common phrases indicating temporal points within and between sentences in the first part of the chapter "juxtaposition". Here, the author goes on identifying basic adverbial terminology like "Adjunctoren" (coordinating adjuncts like *andan*, *pes*), "Conjunctoren" (coordinating conjunctions like *ve*, *ammā*), "Subjunctoren" (subordinating converbial suffixes like *-InCA*, *-dUKdA*) and "Junktoren" (coordinative/subordinative conjunctions like *cün*, *qaçan*). She explains the logical / temporal sequence of actions narrated in a given discourse in successive simple or compound sentences. Here, the author successfully points out a very important feature of sentential conventions of general Turkic that is concerning the asyndetic constructions of compound sentences with a sense of logical / temporal coordination. Although these asyndetic constructions are based on parallel set verbal conjugations indicating a logical sequence of actions without subordination, they often have the force of subordination semantically. In this context the author explains the use of *geldi görüd* (two finite verbs in logical sequence; fully asyndetic), *geliüb görüd* (one converbial and one finite in logical sequence; semi-asyndetic), and so on. In the second part of the chapter she takes on describing Indo-European type of temporal constructions that function as subordinate clauses in complex sentences. Here, the appearance of the subordinate conjunction *ki/kim* alone or its combinations with *kaçan*, *cün*, *hemān*, *tā* and so on as part of the main clause with specific finite forms is described and exemplified. This is followed by the Turkic converbial forms that modify the main verb in terms of time. Among them especially the semantic functions of *-IcAK*, *-InCA* and *-dUKdA* suffixes are analyzed. The last part of the chapter deals with the constructions consisting Turkic and Indo-European structural forms both like *cün kim...IcAK* or *qaçan...dUKdA*. In this chapter, the tables showing the frequency of the constructions in question are given at the end of each part of the chapter without any analyses explaining the significance of the data for the overall discourse.

The main body of the work ends with a bibliography (page 155–169), glossary (page 171–204) and an index (page 205–226) followed by an addenda including the transcription and German translation of the parts of the works Behetü'l-Hadā'iq, Mukaddime-i Qutbeddīn and Ferec Ba'de's-ṣidde and their facsimiles (page 227–388).

This study successfully analyzes the source materials to identify and classify the structural dimensions of the temporal constructions used in early Anatolian Turkish. The degree of emphasis laid on the textual aspects and studies of the source materials by other scholars sometimes overrides the original purpose of the work as a linguistic analysis on the temporal constructions of these texts. However, one finds varieties of transcribed and translated original texts throughout the work, which present very useful materials for those studying in the field.

Although it doesn't deal so much with the theoretical aspects of syntactic forms in contrast and comparison with non-Turkic languages it presents a detailed comparative investigation within historical and modern Turkic languages. However, the modern Turkish dialects of Anatolian, Azeri and Balkan regions as direct successors of early Anatolian Turkish are not included in this analysis for the clarification of the general issues that the sources present.

The work shows slight inconsistencies in transcribing texts as the writing styles of the manuscripts are very often reflected in the transcribed texts. In this, for example, the author sometimes shows certain suffixes separated from the word roots as if they were separate words, or shows separate words attached to each other as if they were single word forms. I think in transcribing historical texts one should need to adapt the conventions of hand-written texts to the conventions of the scholarly transcription in order to avoid the confusion as much as possible just as one often tries to clarify the grammars of the text by using modern punctuation marks that the original texts do not have. Thus, in this work the transcription and transliteration systems are occasionally confused.

In terms of source materials one doubts how much *Behcetü'l-Ḥadā'iq* represents "Altosmanisch" as it heavily demonstrates lexical and grammatical elements of Kipchak Turkish and has been considered a work produced within the cultural domain and influence of the Memlukids by the mainstream Turkologists. The works *Dānişmend-nâme* and *Āşıqpaşa-zâde Ta'rîhi*, on the other hand, present different linguistic problems concerning their representation of the period as these works are clearly copied in the 16th century and reflect the characteristics of Ottoman Turkish rather than "Altosmanisch" as both works accept the suffix *-inca/ince* as parallel temporal coordinative in complex sentences rather than as limitative that is the linguistic feature of early Anatolian Turkish and both lacks certain earlier forms and vocabularies.

In conclusion, this study presents an extensive syntactic analysis on the selected source materials demonstrating a number of syntactic constructions with temporal meaning in early Anatolian Turkish. All analyses in the work are supported by a large number of examples from a wide range of sources. It marks an invaluable study contributing to general Turkic linguistics and philology with fresh insights.

Fikret Turan, Manchester

Arienne M. Dwyer. *Salar: A Study in Inner Asian Language Contact Processes. Part I: Phonology.* (*Turcologica* 37,1.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2007. Pp. XXII, 336.

Salar, an Oghuz Turkic language spoken in Qīnghǎi and Xīnjiāng in China, is still relatively unknown even among Turkologists. This can in part be blamed on the lack of accessible "western" publications, and the difficulty to obtain the Chinese publications, which mostly appear scattered in several university journals. Another factor may be that Salar is often still perceived as a kind of Southeastern Turkic, essentially a variety of modern Uyghur. It is hoped that the volume reviewed here will raise awareness of this unique Oghuz language.

The manuscript of this long-awaited book was not simply "shelved" after it was presented as a Ph.D. thesis. Since its publication was first announced, the author has had the opportunity to do additional fieldwork, and consult relevant publications that have appeared in recent years. The data that resulted from many months of fieldwork can be considered the main treasure of the book. At the same time, the book abounds with other information that one could not learn elsewhere, even with a good command of Chinese. The volume's subtitle "Phonology" is really too modest, as it deals with several other subjects. The Preface and acknowledgements

are followed by the following chapters. 1. *Cultural History*, where the author compares written sources and oral traditions on the ethnogenesis of the Salar people, focusing on their migration history and religious affiliation. 2. *Linguistic History* which discusses the place of Salar among Turkic languages. 3. *Documentation and Variation* which gives an overview of earlier studies on Salar, the present varieties described by other scholars and those investigated by the author, and the differences between all known varieties. 4. *The Sound System: an Overview* where the Salar phoneme and allophone inventory is presented synchronically, including wave diagrams of aspiration and voice. 5. *Syllable Structure and Prosody* including redefinition of syllables, diphthongisation, and stress. 6. *Major phonological Processes* such as phenomena of weakening or loss of consonants; epenthetic phones, issues related to vowel harmony, and vowel “spirantisation” (again with wave diagrams). 7. *Diachronic development* (or: The Development of the Salar Sound System) provides an overview of all Salar phonemes and their possible sources. 8. *Conclusions*. The first chapter is preceded by a list of abbreviations, notes on the chosen notational conventions of Salar and other cited languages, as well as a handful of old photographs taken in Xúnhuà. At the end of the book we find practical indices of languages and subjects, and a bibliography. The latter appears to contain the majority of extant works on Salar, but unfortunately does not include all of the literature cited or consulted in the book.

The volume brings together knowledge from several inaccessible fields. This reviewer will focus on issues concerning dialect differences, classification, historical phonology, etymology, and some of the snippets of morphological innovation which pop up here and there. Since I will not necessarily follow the same order as the book, page numbers are given with each discussed item.

The IPA-based transcription used throughout by the author will not be used here for technical reasons. Here I will use ö, ü, ī, haček letters č, š, ġ, and ġ for the voiced counterpart of q.

Classification

The author builds on earlier publications, including her own, to discuss the Oghuz elements of Salar, and the features acquired since the Proto-Salars branched off from the remaining Oghuz. As she concludes, it is probably best to view Salar as an Oghuz language with a Chaghatai adstrate. We can agree with the author that the evidence for any Kypchak contributions to Salar is marginal. Even some of the few forms cited as possible confirmation of a Kypchak stratum may have different origins. It seems unlikely that Salar *awu* 52 ‘boy, son’ stems from *ogul. It has an equivalent in Baoran *awu*, and both may be from Tibetan *a-bu*, although this is originally a vocative form. Salar *jila-* 52 ‘move/shake/move house’ is not very helpful either. The quoted equivalents from other languages are non-Turkic, which may also apply to the Salar verb. In the case of *saš* 53 ‘hair’ the Salar *s* is a primitive feature rather than a Kazakh-type development. The author goes on to list elements shared by Salar and South Siberian. Most of these similarities are due to shared retention or shared loss of old features.

Some of the forms cited in table 4 (p. 41) are similar by coincidence. Uyghur *incikiyär* ‘lower body’ is not related to Salar *injix* ‘shin, leg’. In fact it is from *incikä yär* (lit. ‘narrow place’), perhaps of euphemistic origin. Western Yugur *kreyi* ‘saw’ is in fact borrowed from Mongolic *kirüge*. However, none of this affects the validity of the arguments presented.

The dative case (p. 63) has two variants +A and +KA (as well as +nA, as a consequence of the analysis mentioned below), which may reflect Oghuz and Chaghatai influences, respectively. However, it is both phonetically and phonologically unlikely that the variant +A developed from an intermediate stage +yA.

Phonology & phonetic developments

In her *Conclusions*, the author suggests that Salar phonology is more in agreement with (NW Mandarin) Chinese than with Amdo Tibetan, regarding syllable structure and the distribution of consonants, among other things. While it is true that Salar does not have initial consonant

sequences or a three way obstruent system (p. 303), not even in Tibetan loans, other statements about syllable structure are somewhat puzzling. She suggests that Salar did not adopt “the relative abundance of coda consonants in Amdo Tibetan” (p. 304) and that “Salar’s (C) V (V) (R) structure is virtually identical with that of Northwest Chinese” (p. 305). This seems odd in view of the fact that Labrang Amdo only allows final *-p*, *-x-k*, *-l*, *-r*, *-m*, *-n*, *-ŋ* (i.e., fewer than Salar, which in addition also allows *-b*, *-f*, *-d*, *-t*, *-č*, *-γ*, *-y*, *-s*, *-z*, *-š*). Like Salar and Chinese, Labrang Amdo does not have final clusters.

Concerning loan phonemes (p. 211, 286 and elsewhere), it may be useful to remark that several, such as *f*, *h*, and *v*, can now be found in native words, e.g. *ver-* 218 ‘to give’, *fir-* 109 ‘to blow; to bark’, *sufse* 216 ‘broom’, *yahrax* 254 ‘leaf’. The palatal series aligned itself with Chinese pronunciation.

As hinted at by the author, epenthetic vowels after *-m* and *-l* are usually found in Arabic words that entered Salar via the Chinese variety as spoken by the Huí, cf. *ha'ram* ~ *ha'ra:mī* (p. 151) ‘ritually unclean’, and Arabic personal names like *'kerimu* 151, *'yusufu* ~ *'yisifū* 147, *zenebe* 111. In Turkic words final *-m* and *-l* are normal (in spite of the author’s remark p. 109), e.g. *yem* 277 ‘fodder’, *yel* 283 ‘wind’.

The author detected an “Unrounded vowel preference” (p. 39), which is expressed in three ways. Firstly, Salar has retained original unrounded vowels which have become rounded in modern Uyghur, and in some words, in parts of Kypchak. E.g. *irux* 39 ‘apricot’ from **ärük*, *itix* 39 (but */tytk/* 178!) ‘boots’ from **ä:tik*. This is apparently supported by further words such as *tišux* 259 ‘hole’ (**täš-iük*). The same tendency can also be found in remaining Oghuz. As suggested (p. 39, footnote 16), *ešku* 300 ‘goat’ from **äčkü* probably provides another example. (On p. 300, Salar *ešku* is taken to be due to secondary unrounding from a form **öčki* which itself was secondarily rounded). Secondly, unrounding of old rounded vowels, which apparently mostly occurs after labials, e.g. *pičax* 39 ‘broad bean’, *birge* 298 ‘flea’, and in palatal environments, e.g. *čiš-* 298 ‘to descend’, *yirex* 39 ‘heart’, *išči* 298 ‘top, upper’. Related to “unrounded vowel preference”, the author equates Salar *iy-* ~ *iz-* ‘self’ with **öz* (p. 40, note 18; p. 174). The absence of rounding vowel harmony is mentioned as a third expression of “unrounded vowel preference” Qīnghǎi Salar and its Xīnjiāng counterpart seem to behave differently in this regard: “Western Salar vocalisms tend to correspond more closely to those of Uyghur and Kazakh rather than Eastern Salar, retaining the original front rounded vowels *y* and *ø*” (pp. 298–299). Some of the words quoted to illustrate this point may in fact be loanwords from Uyghur, e.g. the (originally Mongolic) verb *ös-* ‘to grow’, which does not seem to exist in Qīnghǎi Salar. Perhaps then Xīnjiāng Salar has regained the front rounded vowels rather than retaining them from an ancestral stage.

A typical Salar development is dental affrication (p. 186, see also pp. 262–266). Of course palatalisation in itself is not rare in Turkic, but in Salar the phenomenon is apparently neither necessarily triggered by adjacent palatal vowels, nor restricted to aspirated *t*.

Palatalisation of the perfect tense suffix *-di*, as in *verfi* 266 ‘s/he gave’ is ascribed to its similarity to Mongolic past tenses and conversbs. Although these endings also exist in neighbouring Baoan, it seems unnecessary to resort to such explanations, as other words display the same development, e.g. *arfi* < *arči* < **art-i* ‘back’ on the same page.

The section on stress assignment (p. 155) is very interesting, since both derivational and flectional suffixes may behave differently than expected (on the basis of other Turkic languages), e.g. verbalisers *+laN* and *+laš* attract the stress away from the following tense suffix. The paragraph on ‘syllable-based stress assignment’ (p. 157) explains Salar vowel lengths by ‘syllable weight’, and the lengths in turn attract the stress. However, it is not quite clear which of the listed examples are considered to be (actually, rather than underlying) long, phonetically and/or phonologically. That being said, both *ka(:)fir* ‘infidel’ and *siya:set* ‘politics’ had long *ä* before entering Salar. The third example *ha:mi* ‘weak’ is possibly also from an Arabic word with long *ä* (the proposed Tibetan etymology is unlikely). The fourth example *gó* ‘door’ may owe its length to contraction from Turkic **kapug* ‘id’, as supported by variants mentioned by

Tenišev (who nevertheless advocates a relationship with Tibetan – and Chinese), and Potanin's forms *kau* and *koo*. A Turkic origin would also explain the uvular consonant (preservation of the velar would be expected in the case of a Tibetan loan). The suggestion that Tibetan pre-initials trigger Salar vowel length would need the support of further examples.

Interestingly, the author could not confirm most vowel lengths as heard by Tenišev. Vowel lengths do still occur, especially in low vowels, but they appear to be non-distinctive by-products of certain word structures. E.g. low vowels preceding high vowels: *to:qu:sini* 156 'ninth', *xu'sa:yim* 160 'my belly', *'e:lim* 160 'my palm', *qo'na:yim* 160 'my guest', *a:yir* 137 'heavy', or in front of certain suffixes: *ba'la:sii* 161 'her child', *a'na:sii* 161 'her girl', *a'vu:sii* 161 'her boy', all from stems with short vowels. Also compare *p'te:yuji* 161 'writer', *i'li:pi* 161 'previous', *ci'ra:lux* 161 'oil lamp', which show the correlation between length and stress. *bi:l* 153 'this year' (< **bu yil*) and *to:x* 188 'plate' (< earlier *tawaq* < Arabic) are contraction lengths, while *gi:-* 161 'to wear' could perhaps be analysed alternatively as /giy-/ . Compensation for dropped *r* (reminiscent of modern Uyghur) also occurs (see p. 167–168): *ve:-miš* 167 'gave', *u'la:* 167 'they'. Only *sa:rü ~ sarü* 137 'yellow' (also heard by Tenišev) may reflect original Turkic vowel length.

In the discussion of vowel devoicing (p. 188) the author states that "Devoicing does not apply to words with secondary long vowels", quoting /*to:x/* 'plate' as an example. However, the counter example /*tox/* 'chicken' (with devoiced vowel) is in fact also a contracted form, from earlier **tavuk*, which then raises the question of why it did not preserve vowel length or at least a voiced vowel. So perhaps we have two words /*tox/*, distinguished only by their different realisations of *o*, which are not triggered synchronically by the phonetic environment, nor are explicable from earlier stages of the language. It would be interesting to know whether there are more cases like this, and how to make phonological sense of them.

The analysis with "underlying" lengths also creates some doubt about the notation used elsewhere in the book. For instance, does the author write *so:x* 250 'cold' with length because it is really long (which it could well be, since it is contracted from a bisyllabic word), or does the length marking merely denote that the vowel was not devoiced? In other cases "underlying" length is used to explain exceptional developments. On p. 157, [go] 'door' is shown as "phonologically long", which length is then used to explain the phenomenon that this word remains stressed even if provided with a case suffix. However, the inflected form 'qo:da 'in the door' is shown to be "phonetically" long. On the same page the author mentions "underlying" long vowels in Arabic words, which influence stress assignment, but apparently need not be long phonetically. On pp. 165–166 we find Arabic words with long vowels that resist the vowel nasalisation processes found in Chinese as well as native words. However, these vowels are not actually pronounced long.

Morphology

The author plausibly suggests that the Salar genitive *-niyi* 62 is simply the original genitive *-nIŋ + the adjectiviser -ki. The independent/predicative form of the genitive supplanted the simple genitive found elsewhere.

The observed similarity between the Turkic diminutive -čux and Amdo čék (p. 263) is most likely a coincidence. Amdo čék (corresponding regularly to written Tibetan *phrug*) does not appear to be a general diminutive suffix, but rather a noun denoting young living creatures.

In several sections the author touches upon the metanalysis of third person possessive forms as new noun stems, which then have to receive new possessive suffixes, at least in the third person, e.g. *azi* 'elder sister' > *azi-sii* 'his elder sister' which was then perceived as the stem 'elder sister', and needed a new possessive form *azi-sii-sii* to express the meaning 'his elder sister'. The author discusses this phenomenon from different angles. On p. 153 it is approached as "syllable strengthening", i.e. as a device to lengthen stems, even though not all affected stems are really short (in fact, disyllabic stems seem to predominate). Although it is unlikely that this development had set itself a 'goal', such factors do obviously play a role (compare

French words [originally diminutives] like *soleil*, *abeille*, *agneau* which supplanted their shorter predecessors). On pp. 147–149 the forms *orni* ‘place’, *sijni* ‘younger sister’, which would in most languages be explained as possessive forms reinterpreted as stems, are here seen as stems + epenthetic vowels (“and not merely possessive suffixes”). In this analysis, the final vowels appeared in order to “prevent” impossible consonant clusters *-rn* and *-yl*. The question whether “unsyllabifiable” forms like **orn-*, etc., existed in a prehistoric stage of Turkic is a Turkological problem extending far beyond the history of Salar. The hypothetical “underlying” phonological shapes such as /ayz/ ‘mouth’, from which the actual Salar forms are taken to derive, are in fact not documented anywhere. Most of the consonant sequences in question are not only impossible in Salar, but throughout Turkic.

In the case of the collective numerals, the fact that *-si* is no longer felt to represent the third person only, made it possible to create forms such as (*men*) *ikki-si-m* 153 ‘the two of us’. Note that the plurality is indicated by *ikki* alone, as the singular pronoun is used.

Other interesting cases of metanalysis in fact created new Salar lexemes, e.g. *tayat* 225 ‘dawn’ stems from a collocation **tay at-* ‘for dawn to break’; *kod* ~ *kud* 129 ‘back’ apparently stems from the verb *kod-* ‘to carry (on the back?)’; *wočin* 130 ‘hand’ seems to have absorbed the *-n* of the third person possessive suffix. Also of morphological interest is the formation *bi:lim* 160 ‘my knowledge’, which seems to involve a noun *bil* or *bili* not known from other sources.

Etymology

For many Salar words the author provides cognate forms, and ultimate origins. She offers interesting new suggestions in several cases, which is quite a feat since the phonetic developments may obscure the original forms. In the case of non-Turkic words there are several source languages to consider. Apart from modern Chinese loans, the most obvious, the Salar lexicon presents us with a cocktail of words from dialectal or older Chinese, Mongolic, Tibetan, and Arabo-Persian.

The author proposes a new etymology for *baydax* 41 ‘cotton jacket’: Kāšgarī’s *bagirdak* ‘woman’s bodice’. This is a plausible etymology, as similar shortening can be seen in other words, such as *samzax* 255 ‘garlic’ from trisyllabic **sarımsak*. (Tenišev derives *baydax* from Persian *paxta* ‘cotton’). Her suggestion that the enigmatic word *begirax* 41 ‘clothes’ is the same etymon is less likely, as some of the numerous variants given by Tenišev seem to suggest a compound word with *boy* ‘body’ as a first element (although the second element remains unclear).

In some cases earlier versions of the manuscript seem to shine through. Some words have a correct etymology in one part of the book, but an incorrect one elsewhere. Salar *dombax* ‘story’ is correctly connected to Mongolic *domoy* on p. 232, but incorrectly derived from Tibetan on p. 147. *Xaji* ~ *hadi* ‘Chinese’ is correctly derived from *kitay* (< **kitañ*) on pp. 110, 118, but incorrectly from Tibetan *rgya* on p. 245. On p. 247, 266, *gaja-* ‘to bite’ is correctly viewed as a Mongolic loan (although mixed up with the Mongolic verb *quča-* ‘to bark’), but it is considered a Turkic word on p. 116. *Ğahalda* 86 ‘when’ is sensibly derived from the interrogative root **ka-* + Arabic *ḥāl* + locative case. *Oholda* 294 ‘in the past’, although here derived from Arabic *'awwal*, is more likely to be a parallel formation *u hal-da* ‘at that time’. A third parallel can be found in *pūxolda* (Tenišev 457) ‘at this time’, *boxda* (Lín 1992:29), *boholdi* (Lín 1985: 108) ‘at this time’, a contraction of *bu hal-da*.

In several cases a different choice of etymology rids us of an irregularity or exception, as in the case of *go* 247 ‘door’ mentioned earlier. Salar *iy* and *iz* 39 ‘self’ are treated as a single etymon, but it is conceivable that the Salar paradigm was cobbled together from **öz* and **idi* (see also the forms for Gaizi and Munda dialects in Lín (1985:51)). This would make unnecessary the irregular developments of *y* < **z* and *i* < **ö*. Other phonetic irregularities can also be eliminated by assuming a different etymology. Some words are foreign rather than Turkic: *nizix* 277 ‘tender’ is probably from Persian *nāzik*; *kalayi* 241 ‘swallow’ is from Tibetan rather

than related to Turkic **karligač/kargilač* (cf. Ŋantooq Baoan *khalayi*, Labrang Amdo *kha-la-yék* ‘id’). Other words are Turkic rather than foreign: *sorma* 275 ‘wine’ is not from Arabic; *aza* 258 ‘elder sister’ need not be of Chinese origin; *yaša-* 59 ‘to talk’ need not be Mongolic, cf. Kāšgārī *yayša-*; *uz-a-* 300 ‘to grow’ is not related to Mongolic *ös-*, but to Turkic *aza-*; *aren* 282 ‘pen, fold’ is not Tibetan. All of these Salar words have cognates in pre-thirteenth century Turkic (see EDPT), although several could of course ultimately be of non-Turkic origin. In some cases a different Turkic word seems to provide a more fitting etymology, as in the case of *yoyan* 294 ‘coarse’ from **yogun* ‘id’ rather than from **yagan* ‘elephant’, even if the latter means ‘big’ in some modern languages; *dezex* 257 ‘dung’ is not related to Turkish *dışkı*, but to Turkish *tezek* ‘dried dung used as fuel’, Uyghur *tezäk* ‘bovine or equine dung’; *čeden* 230 ‘shoulder basket’ is not related to Turkish *çanta* but to (dialectal) Turkish *çiten* ‘wicker basket’, Uyghur *čitän* ‘reed basket’. Salar *diux* 291 ‘stone roller’ is not related to Uyghur *tulug* but perhaps rather represents **tö:g-iik*, related to Salar *doy-* ‘to smash, beat’. *nene* 277 ‘again’ is related to Old Turkic *yana* ‘again’ (which developed front vowels very early), not *yeme* ‘also’. *tayır* 50 ‘hectolitre’ (as noted also found in Western Yugur) could well be a semantic development of **tagar* ‘large sack’. The same word is found as a measure unit in Old Turkic and Persian.

The Arabic word *meyit* 228 ‘body of deceased’ is from *mayyit* ‘dead (man)’; *terbet* 228 ‘coffin’ is more likely to come from Arabic *turbat* than from *tābūt*. The Mongolic word *julur* 86 ‘rein’ is related to LM *čilbuyur* rather than to *jiloya*.

Technicalities

In some matters the author deviates from the usual terminology or from Turkological convention, which is refreshing in some cases, and somewhat confusing in others.

The author speaks of (p. 60): “the oblique case suffixes +*ndA*, +*ndAn*, +*nkA*”. Here and elsewhere in the book she follows a convention of Chinese Turkology which views the so-called pronominal *n* as a part of the case suffix. With this analysis comes the need for extra suffix variants that start with *n*, and only occur after the third person possessive. In ‘western’ Turkology it is common usage to view the *-n-* as a part of the third person possessive suffix, which surfaces as soon as further suffixes are attached. This economical solution does away with the need to invent a rule why the *-n*-variants only appear after the third person possessive, and not in words like *oylie-den* ‘from the afternoon’.

Throughout the book “Old Turkic” doubles as the well-attested Turkic language and the ancestral Turkic language reconstructed from the modern languages. Such reconstructed stages are elsewhere usually referred to as Common Turkic, Proto Turkic (which terms can also be found in the book). Its reconstruction is not merely a means to provide us with ancestral forms that happen not to be attested in Old Turkic. Comparison of modern languages can reveal ancient features that are only marginally indicated in the old sources, and in fact it has been shown that the modern languages are not simply descended from Old Turkic. Non-attested forms are occasionally given without asterisk (e.g. ‘OT’ *a:d* ‘name’ on p. 45).

The author uses nominative in two senses (not counting the usual sense as the first case). Firstly (p. 40, note 18, p. 18) she uses the term to denote the bare stem without possessive suffix, which is slightly confusing since the possessive suffixes do not alter the case of nouns. The statement (p. 290) “Salar speakers interpret words like *oji* ‘hand’, *jüyi* ‘bottom’, and *ayzi* ‘mouth’ as being nominative” reflects the same analysis. Elsewhere she uses the more apt terms “non-possessive nouns” (p. 153) and “inherently-possessed nouns” (p. 124, note 22) to refer to these reinterpreted noun stems. Secondly (p. 97) she refers to the Chinese ending *-zi* as a nominative suffix. Since this element may distinguish a noun from an otherwise homophonous verb, perhaps this was meant as “noun marker” or “nominalizer”? The term nominalizer also seems to be behind the abbreviation NZR in the gloss for *a'niš* 175 ‘hen’. Historically the *-č* stems from the ancient diminutive suffix *-č*, but it is unclear what function the author thinks it represents here.

Some readers may take issue with the phonetic representation of a number of Turkish words. Unorthodox notations and misprints include *aşayi* 41 ‘low’, *kü:t* 246 ‘paper’, *so:q* 250 ‘cold’, *buzayı* 290 ‘calf’, *yïyan* 294 ‘coarse’. Also unexpected are the Turkish imperative forms *üşiyin*, *okiyin* with unrounded suffixes (p. 175, footnote 7).

There are some unfortunate copy and paste glitches. Turkic equivalents for *sirye* ‘nit’ are seemingly quoted instead of ‘earring’ s.v. *sïryä* 256. Cognates for ‘brain’ (where the Salar word itself is missing altogether) are listed under *çolman* 275 ‘Venus’.

Several publications mentioned in the body of the text are missing from the references section. Maybe these will be included in a references section in the second volume. Examples include Doerfer’s TMEN (cited p. 51, note 30), Feng Zengli (p. 18), Li & Luckert (cited p. 75, note 8), Mu Shoufu (p. 21), Yang Dixin (p. 92). If such a supplementary references section is planned, it would be useful to add publications from the field of “Salarology” which emerged during the preparation of this volume: Ebibulla, Minewer 2002, *Säläyū Cihü Tänxī, Minzú Yiwén* 1, 45–54; Xǔ Yīnuó 2000, *Xīnjiāng-Qīnghǎi Säläyū Wéiwú éryü Cihü Bījiào*, Ürümqi; Yakup, Abdurishid 2002, *An Ili Salar Vocabulary, Introduction and a provisional Salar-English Lexicon* (CSEL Series 5.), Tokyo; Xǔ Yīnuó & Wú Hóngwěi 2005, *Xīnjiāng Säläyū*. Ürümqi; as well as a short article by this reviewer: Nugteren, Hans. 2007. Oghuz and non-Oghuz elements in Salar. *Einheit und Vielfalt in der türkischen Welt* (Turkologica 69). Wiesbaden. 171–181.

Let me conclude this review by again stressing that most of these remarks do not affect the conclusions and the quality of the presented fieldwork. The book is filled to the brim with interesting data and offers novel analyses. The volume is warmly recommended to all linguistic Turkologists, as well as to comparative linguists, typologists, and others, including those who are not acquainted with Salar or Turkic languages in general. May it result in an increased interest in the Salar language and the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù linguistic area. The reader will encounter a wealth of previously unpublished data and a many-sided presentation, and derive additional pleasure from reading a book written by a native user of English with an eminently readable style. We look forward to the second volume.

Hans Nugteren, Leiden

Efraim Karsh, *Imperialismus im Namen Allahs. Von Muhammad bis Osama Bin Laden*. München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt 2007. Pp. 399.

Wie Titel und Untertitel nahelegen, sieht Karsh im „Imperialismus“ eine Verbindungslinie zwischen dem Gründer des Islams und dem notorischen Übervater des modernen Terrorismus. Auch wenn zwischen den Eckpunkten dieser historischen Parallele fast 1400 Jahre liegen, gründet sich dieser provokante Vergleich durchaus auf mehr als die evidentermaßen von beiden geteilte Referenz auf angebliche transzendentale Legitimation durch einen Allah. So weist der Autor zu Recht darauf hin, daß die muslimischen Expansionskriege der ersten Jahrhunderte nach der Hidschra „alles andere als eine massenhafte Migration barbarischer Horden auf der verzweifelten Suche nach Überlebensmöglichkeiten, sondern zentral organisierte Militär-expeditionen in erstaunlich geringer Stärke“ waren (Zitat S. 39) – eine Parallele zur relativ geringen Zahl der Kämpfer und Aktivisten moderner islamistischer Gruppen wie der Qaida.

Die stärksten Kapitel von Karshs Buch sind das zweite, über „Aufstieg und Fall des ersten islamischen Reiches“ (S. 38–64) und diejenigen Kapitel, welche sich auf das Emporkommen des arabischen Nationalismus seit dem Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs konzentrieren (8–13).

Kapitel 2 faßt übersichtlich und klar einiges an historischem Wissen über die Entstehung

und Ausbreitung des frühen Islams zusammen, wobei vor allem die Tatsache gewürdigt wird, daß es sich in erster Linie um eine gewaltsame Expansion mit anschließender Imperiumsbildung handelte. Sachlich und argumentativ stimmig, bildet dieses Kapitel ein unverzichtbares Präludium zu den Kapiteln über die modernen Araber und den modernen Islam, die schon aufgrund des Platzes, den Karsh ihnen einräumt, sowohl den Mittel- als auch den Kulminationspunkt seines Werks darstellen. Es gehört zu den Verdiensten Karshs, daß er die in aktuellen Debatten über das Verhältnis zwischen islamischen und westlichen Kulturen in der Regel gegen den Westen eingesetzte Totschlagvokabel ‚Imperialismus‘ dadurch entschärft, daß die rassistischen, kolonialistischen, militärisch aggressiven und expansionistischen Züge, welche dem Westen in Verbindung mit diesem Kampfbergriff vorgeworfen werden, auch im Islam nachgewiesen werden, und zwar gerade in dessen sogenannten ‚goldenem Zeitaltern‘. So zitiert Karsh den oft als ‚modern‘ und sogar mit westlichem Denken der Nachaufklärungszeit kompatibel zitierten Gelehrten Ibn Khaldun (14./15. Jahrhundert) mit der doch überraschend unmodernen Feststellung, daß Schwarzafrikaner „charakterlich nicht weit von dumpfen Tieren entfernt“ seien (S. 75f.).

Die erwähnten Kapitel über die Entwicklung der nahöstlichen Gesellschaften nach dem Zusammenbruch des Osmanenreichs sind für jeden an der jüngeren Geschichte und Gegenwart des Islam Interessierten vor allem deshalb empfehlenswert, weil sie gut geschrieben und konzis dargestellt sind und sich auf das Wesentliche konzentrieren. Phänomene wie al-Qaida und die Muslimbrüder, die in den Medien allgegenwärtig sind, werden durch eine präzise Kontextualisierung in exzellenter Weise verständlich gemacht. Karsh benennt die zentralen historischen Ereignisse und Entwicklungen, die jene Erscheinungen hervorgebracht haben. Nach der Lektüre dieser Kapitel ist auch dem bisher in die Arkana der islamischen und nahöstlichen Gesellschaften Uneingeweihten klar, daß weder Khomeini noch die Muslimbruderschaft noch Osama bin Laden aus dem Nichts oder gar aus himmlischen Höhen herabgestiegene Entitäten sind, sondern daß sie ihren Erfolg ganz konkreten und irdischen historischen Umständen verdanken. Die politische Entwicklung Ägyptens unter Nasser, diebrisante Unterstützung der Amerikaner für den Schah von Iran und ihre Blauäugigkeit gegenüber dessen Tyrannie, schließlich die historischen Kausalketten, die die sowjetische Invasion in Afghanistan, den Golfkrieg von 1990 und Osama bin Ladens Aufstieg zum selbsternannten Führer des weltweiten Dschihad verständlich machen, bringen in den mit einer Patina vielfacher Mythen überkrusteten Diskurs um Islam, Islamismus und islamischen Terrorismus einen Wind kühler Sachlichkeit, dessen Überzeugungskraft auf der über weite Strecken mit bewundernswerter Konsequenz durchgehaltenen strikten Trennung von politischer Realität und ideologischer Verbrämung beruht, ohne beiden die Existenzberechtigung als unabhängig den Lauf der Weltgeschichte mitbestimmenden Faktoren abzustreiten.

Während der durch den Titel und die oben genannten Kapitel implementierte *Vergleich* der frühen islamischen Eroberungsbewegungen mit islamistischen Gruppierungen des 20. und 21. Jahrhundert trotz aller Vorsicht, die bei derartig weit auseinanderliegenden Epochen angebracht ist, durchaus einiges an Erkenntnisgewinn einträgt, leuchtet die im Untertitel durch die Präpositionen „von“ und „bis“ suggerierte *Kontinuität* zwischen Muhammad und Osama bzw. den von ihnen repräsentierten Formen der militärisch-religiösen Ideologie nicht so ohne weiteres ein.

Sie tut es schon deshalb nicht, weil Karsh den ambitionierten Versuch übernimmt, so etwas wie eine historische Sukzession von der Zeit des Propheten bis heute nachzuzeichnen. Ein solches Vorhaben hätte zwar im Falle seines Glückens Karshs Grundthese, daß der islamische Imperialismus der ersten Jahrhunderte im Prinzip nach ähnlichen Mechanismen funktioniere wie der islamistische Terrorismus heutzutage, untermauern können. Es ist jedoch schon aus Platzgründen in einem Werk mit 350 Seiten Haupttext nicht auch nur ansatzweise realisierbar. Daß Karsh es trotzdem nicht unterläßt, einen, wenn auch notwendigerweise nur fragmentarischen, Parforce-Ritt durch schlappé 14 Jahrhunderte islamischer Geschichte zu unternehmen, stellt eine signifikante Fehljustierung der eigenen Methodik dar.

Die Umsetzung des selbstgesteckten Anspruchs einer chronologisch einigermaßen zusammenhängenden Darstellung der islamischen Geschichte scheitert darüberhinaus noch daran, daß Karsh sich in etlichen Kapiteln allzu hilflos im Geflecht historischer Quisquilien verheddet. Beispielsweise seien die dynastie- und lokalgeschichtlichen Exkurse auf den Seiten 116f. und 122 genannt, die von zahllosen Details strotzen, die für das Thema des Buches rein gar nichts einbringen.

Dieser und zahlreichen anderen Stellen in den Kapiteln (5-7) über die islamischen Reiche, welche zwischen der Frühzeit und dem 19. Jahrhundert liegen, merkt man auch stilistisch an, daß Karsh nicht besonders tief in der Materie steckt. Klare Linien der Darstellung fehlen weitgehend, und mehr oder weniger assoziativ aneinandergereihte Daten folgen aufeinander oft ohne Stringenz.

Hinzu kommt wenig überraschend, daß einige der historischen Perioden und Episoden, die Karsh im Schneisen Galopp von der frühislamischen Zeit bis zum Jahre 2003 streift, nicht nur oberflächlich, sondern auch in theoretisch und im Detail hinterfragbarer Weise dargestellt werden. Offen zutage tritt dies bei Karshs Schwenker in die mongolische Geschichte. Bereits wenn er auf Seite 40 „den“ Mongolen (womit er hier vermutlich Dschinggis Khan und seine unmittelbaren Nachfolger meint) „irgendeine Art universeller Ideologie“ unterstellt, riecht es stark nach Anachronismus und dem Versuch, die Form ideologischer Motivation, welche Karsh dem islamischen „Imperialismus“ unterstellt, auch in anderen Bereichen der Weltgeschichte zu entdecken. Die Fragwürdigkeit dieser apodiktischen Diagnose einer vermeintlichen mongolischen „universellen Ideologie“ wird spätestens dann sichtbar, wenn man sie Karshs eigener Behauptung, die Mongolen hätten „kein eigenständiges religiöses und kulturelles Gepäck dabei“ gehabt (S. 135), an die Seite stellt – einer Behauptung, die nicht nur offenbart, daß es dem Autor offenbar an elementarster Kenntnis über die von ihm als Gegenstand gewählte mongolische Kultur gebricht, sondern die, schlimmer noch, bei ihm dieselben anderen Kulturen diskriminierenden, unverhohlen kulturchauvinistischen, Denkschemata aufscheinen läßt, die er an anderen Stellen mit so viel Berechtigung in der islamischen Welt anprangert. Bei seinem Ausflug in das Reich der Reiternomaden läßt Karsh die Zügel vollends auf Seite 132 schießen, wo Dschinggis Khan und seinen direkten Nachfolgern attestiert wird, „getrieben vom unerschütterlichen Glauben an ihren gottgegebenen Auftrag, die Welt zu erobern und zu beherrschen“ vorgegangen zu sein. Mit dem Gebrauch des theologisch-missionarischen Vokabulariums „unerschütterlicher Glauben“ und vor allem „gottgegebener Auftrag“ unterstellt Karsh den Mongolen – ohne Referenz auf und Gegenprüfung mit deren Selbstzeugnissen – Denkfiguren aus der abrahamitischen Tradition, die seine eigene geistige Heimat bestimmen. Der Grund für diese historisch nicht korrekte Zuschreibung liegt auf der Hand, erlaubt sie doch, selbst das Weltreich der Mongolen in Karshs Islam-Imperialismus-Interpretation einzubauen. Möglich wird eine derartig unsaubere Herangehensweise durch Karshs unkritisches Zitieren historischer Quellen. So nimmt er dem muslimischen Historiker Ğuvaynī ohne weiteres die Behauptung ab, Dschinggis Khan habe folgendes gesagt: „Hättet Ihr nicht schwere Sünden begangen, hätte Gott nicht eine Strafe wie mich über euch gebracht.“ (S. 133). Abgesehen vom legendarischen Flair einer solchen Äußerung bleibt die Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen Zitat und mutmaßlichem Original ungestellt. Karsh hätte zumindest erkennen lassen müssen, daß die Begrifflichkeiten „Strafe“ und „Sünde“ ebensogut aus der Feder Ğuvaynīs wie aus dem Mund des Khans stammen können, und daß davon abgesehen der Terminus „Gott“ in der Religion der Mongolen mitnichten mit der von Karsh insinuierten monotheistisch-abrahamitischen Gottheit ineins gesetzt werden kann. Daß Karshs historische Parallelen mit den Mongolen hinkt, wird jedoch nicht nur auf der philologischen Ebene manifest, sie ist auch historisch fragwürdig. Die Tatsache, daß die mongolische Expansion über weite Strecken ethnisch und dynastisch gesteuert war, wie sich unter anderem an der Benennung der Teilreiche nach den Nachfolgern Dschinggis Khans zeigt, und daß die Mongolen sich nach zwei Generationen den lokalen kulturellen und somit auch ideologischen Gegebenheiten der von ihnen unterworfenen Gebiete anpaßten, sind alles Faktoren, die ge-

gen Karshs These vom ‚göttlich‘ motivierten mongolischen Expansionismus sprechen, was jedoch unbeachtet bleibt.

Mit ähnlichen Fehlurteilen und fehlenden Hinweisen auf Zusammenhänge übersät ist die mehr als kurSORische Behandlung der osmanischen Expansion auf den Seiten 131–138. Als integrierter Bestandteil des Kapitels „Das letzte große islamische Reich“ präsentiert Karsh hier den Aufstieg des osmanischen Emirates zur größten Macht des Mittelmeerraums als eine unaufhörliche Erfolgsstory des islamischen Expansionismus: „Nichts konnte den türkischen Expansionsdrang aufhalten.“, schreibt Karsh auf Seite 138, sechs Zeilen, bevor er Mehmed II. in Konstantinopel einreiten lässt. In Karshs Darstellung müssen die osmanischen Türken tatsächlich als eine Art aus dem Nichts bzw. aus dem unbekannten Steppenraum aufgetauchte militärische Supermänner erscheinen, die einfach ungehindert im Namen des Islam bis zur Eroberung der Führungsmacht durchmarschieren. Diese ex post zur Rechtfertigung von Karshs Grundthese vom „Imperialismus“ des Islam geschriebene teleologische Osmanensaga funktioniert aber erneut nur dadurch, daß wesentliche historische Tatsachen weggelassen werden. Einige der entscheidenden Daten der spätbyzantinischen und osmanischen Geschichte fallen dabei unter den Teppich. Die in Karshs Saga vom unaufhaltsamen Aufstieg der Osmanen eingekapselte These, daß diese islamische Dynastie im wesentlichen durch ihren eigenen Expansionsdrang an die politische Vorherrschaft im östlichen Mittelmeerraum gekommen sei, läse sich kaum so überzeugend, hätte er beispielsweise die Plünderung Konstantinopels durch die Kreuzfahrer im Jahre 1204 verzeichnet. Nach verbreitetem Forscherkonsens war nämlich dieser *nicht* von den Osmanen verschuldete Schock der eigentliche Auslöser von Ostroms unaufhaltsamem Niedergang und nicht erst das Anstürmen der Osmansöhne.

Nicht wesentlich besser als die Behandlung der mittelalterlichen osmanischen Geschichte ist schließlich diejenige des Safawidenreichs. Man fragt sich beispielsweise, warum auf Seite 177 über die „kraftlosen Nachfolger“ Schah Ismails (1501–1524) bis einschließlich zum Jahr 1587 die Rede ist. Eine solche Unterbewertung der safawidischen Macht ist erneut nur durch die Unterschlagung zentraler historischer Daten plausibel. Zu ihnen gehört beispielsweise der von Karsh nicht erwähnte Frieden von Amasya (1555), der die Safawiden auf gleicher Augenhöhe mit den Osmanen zeigt, der Umstand, daß weite Teile Ostanatoliens noch bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts safavidisch waren, von den zahlreichen und massiven safavidisch gestützten Volksaufständen im osmanischen Herrschaftsgebiet ganz zu schweigen.

Immer wenn Karsh sich außerhalb der arabischen Welt bewegt, merkt man, daß er bestenfalls über angelesene und schlimmstenfalls über fehlerhafte Informationen verfügt. Da landet Thrakien schon einmal östlich von Istanbul (S. 167) und werden die Parther als im Iran „fremde“ „Imperialherrscher“ (was sonst!) den „einheimischen“ Sasaniden gegenübergestellt (S. 175), obwohl die iranische Affiliation der Parther nicht angezweifelt werden kann. Karsh gehört ferner offenbar zu denjenigen Autoren, die gerne Bücher in Sprachen zitieren, die sie nicht beherrschen, was zumindest die fehlerhafte Transkription des russischen Titels auf S. 374, ad Anmerkung 3 nahelegt. Doch auch auf Karshs Hauptgebiet, der modernen arabischen und islamischen Welt, sind seine Angaben mit Vorsicht zu genießen. So spricht er ohne Beleg von „angeblich 50 000“ Christen, die in jüngster Zeit in Frankreich pro Jahr zum Islam konvertieren sollen (S. 346) – eine Zahl, die mindestens eine Null zuviel enthalten dürfte, zumal es in Frankreich nach aktuellen Schätzungen etwa 70.000 zum Islam Konvertierte insgesamt geben soll.

Ein Nachteil von Karshs Darstellungsweise, nicht nur in den oben genannten Kapiteln, sondern insgesamt, ist die fehlende Systematik. Trotz der im großen und ganzen respektierten Chronologie handelt es sich bei seinem Buch nicht um ein durchgehendes historisches Narrativ, sondern um eine eher nach impressionistischen und journalistischen Kriterien ausgewählte Beispielsammlung mit unmotivierten Vorwärts- und Rückwärtssprüngen, wie etwa auf S. 41f. Etliche der von Karsh in den Fluß seines Narrativs eingesprengelte Einzelheiten, wie etwa der sich angeblich auf das Tragen von Orden auf dem Pyjama gründende Ruhm des Marquis

Richard Colley Wellesley (S. 180), bringen zudem für das gestellte Thema absolut nichts ein und wären besser in eine Universalgeschichte des Alltagslebens oder eine historischen Anekdotensammlung aufgehoben. Der Mangel an klarer Struktur führt an einigen Stellen sogar dazu, daß man nicht mehr bestimmen kann, über welche Zeit Karsh eigentlich gerade redet (abschreckendes Beispiel: S. 176).

Ein weiterer methodologischer Kritikpunkt, den man nicht unerwähnt lassen kann, ist die Anachronie. Anachronistisch in die historischen Quellen hineingetragen ist z.B. die von Karsh an zahlreichen Stellen wiederholte These zum Ende Osmanischen Reiches, daß dieses allein durch dessen Entscheidung zum Kriegseintritt als Verbündeter Deutschlands und Österreichs herbeigeführt worden sei. So ist auf Seite 160 von der „verhängnisvollen Entscheidung der Osmanen, auf Seiten der Verlierer in den Ersten Weltkrieg einzutreten“ die Rede. Wohl kaum eine andere Formulierung macht die in Karshs Schreiben fehlende Differenzierung zwischen den Aussagen der Quellen und seinen eigenen ähnlich augenfällig. Als historisches Faktum kann es diese angebliche „Entscheidung, auf Seiten der Verlierer“ in den Krieg zu ziehen, selbstverständlich niemals gegeben haben, da Sieg und Niederlage sich logischerweise erst während des Krieges und danach herausstellten. Durch die unverhohlene Aneignung der Perspektive der Sieger annonciert Karsh zudem seine bekennende Voreingenommenheit. Abgesehen davon fügt er seiner These von der Schuld der osmanischen Politik am Untergang des eigenen Reiches auf den folgenden beiden Seiten so gut wie keinerlei Substanz hinzu, sondern weicht von der Frage der politischen Entscheidungen in ganz andere Themenfelder wie Minderheiten- und *millet*-System ab. Mehr als ein larmoyeranter Betroffenheitsduktus bleibt da von der analytischen Betrachtung der osmanischen Geschichte nicht übrig. Hier wird deutlich der Nachteil allzu eklektizistischen und ‚interdisziplinären‘ Schreibens deutlich, das nicht in der Lage ist, sich konsequent mit konkreten Phänomenen auseinanderzusetzen, da es stets auf andere Gebiete ausweicht.

Der neben der eklektizistischen und häufig beliebigen Darstellung der islamischen Geschichte auffallendste Mangel an Karsh Buch besteht in der total abwesenden terminologischen Reflexion. Ohne an irgendeiner Stelle des Buchs auch nur am Rande auf die mit dem Terminus „Imperialismus“ verbundenen Schwierigkeiten und unterschiedlichen Ansätze (beiläufig sei nur daran erinnert, daß es auch affirmativ-positive Wertungen des Begriffs „imperialism“ gegeben hat, z. B. in J. B. Burys klassischer *History of the later Roman Empire*) einzugehen, stürzt sich Karsh medias in res. Dieser Verzicht auf selbst ein infinitesimales Mindestmaß an theoretischer Reflexion über Begriffe führt dann unweigerlich zur Bruchlandung. Denn die Grenzen dessen, was Karsh unter „Imperialismus“ verstehen mag, werden derartig aufgeweicht, daß es an nicht wenigen Stellen unmöglich ist, den zentralen Begriff der Arbeit von anderen, notabene von Expansionismus, militärischer Aggression und sogar Terrorismus, zu unterscheiden. Dadurch verliert Karshs durchaus beachtenswerte These, die islamische Kultur und Religion sei in ihrer langen Geschichte vom Geist des Imperialismus getragen worden, fast ihre gesamte Schärfe, und selbst wenn man ihr zustimmte, verflacht sie zu einem nichtssagenden Gemeinplatz.

Am harmlosesten wirkt diese begriffliche Verwirrung noch im Kapitel 2, wo die Begriffe „imperialistisch“ und „Expansion“ zur Beschreibung einer in sich abgeschlossenen Periode verwendet werden, so daß die fehlende Differenzierung zwischen beiden nicht sonderlich auffällt. Wenn auf S. 40f. beispielsweise als „typisch imperialistische“ Vorgehensweise der muslimischen Eroberer Ägyptens die Unterjochung der einheimischen Bevölkerung, die Kolonialisierung von deren Ländern und die Ausbeutung von deren Reichtum bezeichnet wird, dann ist dahinter im Element der Kolonialisierung trotz einer fehlenden expliziten Reflexion ein Begriff von Imperialismus erkennbar, der über die bloße militärische Eroberung mit anschließender Ausplünderung hinausgeht. Im folgenden schwindet der Unterschied zwischen Imperium und Razzia jedoch stellenweise aus den Augen, und man fragt sich, ob die Selbstbereicherung des dritten Kalifen tatsächlich unter „Imperialismus“ zu subsumieren sei – tatsächlich verwendet Karsh hier den Ausdruck „Expansion“ (S. 41). Nichtsdestoweniger ist diese Unschärfe für die

Darstellung in diesem Kapitel nicht folgenreich, da beide Termini die meisten der geschilderten Ereignisse treffen.

Wenn die vorübergehende Besetzung Siziliens durch die ephemere muslimische Dynastie der Aghlabiden im Jahre 827 jedoch als eine „herausragende imperiale Leistung“ gefeiert wird (S. 93), dann ist der Begriff des Imperiums so inflationär gebraucht, daß man ihn nicht mehr von bloßer militärischer Eroberung und Besetzung unterscheiden kann. Karsh macht es sich zu einfache, wenn im Prinzip jeder kleine Raubzug und jede lokal begrenzte Eroberung auf eine Stufe mit Reichs- und Imperiengebilden gestellt werden, die eine übergeordnete zeitliche, räumliche und ideologische Geltung beanspruchen.

Die Mängel, welche die Kapitel über das Mittelalter betreffen, dürfen jedoch nicht überbewertet werden, da sich Karshs Buch sowohl vom Thema als auch von den vorgetragenen Thesen her auf den Nahostkonflikt der Gegenwart konzentriert. Die diesem vorangegangenen historischen Perioden werden kaum als Epochen in ihrem eigenen Recht gewürdigt. Vielmehr stellen sie ein Vorspiel zu den Darstellungen der modernen und gegenwärtigen Phänomene dar, wie auch im abschließenden „Epilog“ (S. 343–351) es um *aktuelle* Debatten und deren Be grifflichkeiten und nicht um Historie geht, die allenfalls als instrumentalisierter Bestandteil darin vorkommt (etwa in den von Karsh zitierten Mythen über Al-Andalus). Die im Titel versprochene gesamtislamische Perspektive wird somit faktisch nicht eingelöst, und beim Lesen wird deutlich, daß die Gründe dafür nicht nur in einer bewußten Themenauswahl Karshs liegen. Es fehlt ihm vielmehr an historischem Handwerkszeug, um die von ihm herbeizitierten Phänomene und Quellen adäquat zu interpretieren. „Imperialismus im Namen Allahs“ ist der im Angesicht der dramatischen Ereignisse der letzten Jahre und Jahrzehnte zwar verständliche, aber gescheiterte Versuch, eine sich aus einer souveränen Beherrschung politikwissenschaftlicher Methoden und Theorien, aktueller Thematiken sowie einem leichten, anschaulichen Schreibstil speisende Darstellungsweise ins Fachgebiet der Historie zu verlängern. Das Buch macht deutlich, daß die vielbeschworene Inter- und Transdisziplinarität offenbar nicht einfach dadurch gelingt, daß *eine Disziplin* beherrscht und in einer anderen nur dilettiert wird. Nun sind handwerkliche Unzulänglichkeiten in einer dem Autoren nicht primär am Herzen liegenden Disziplin relativ leicht verzeihbar, zumal das Thema ‚islamischer Imperialismus‘ naturgemäß das Zusammenspiel verschiedener Disziplinen nahelegt. Doch wo Karsh mit Hilfe einer oberflächlichen Behandlung historischer Quellen Evidenz für die von ihm a priorisch in den historischen Kontext eingeführten Thesen produzieren möchte, muß sich Kritik regen. So heißt es auf Seite 41 im direkten Anschluß an ein Zitat des Kalifen Ali („Das wachsame Auge Gottes ruht auf euch und der Vetter des Propheten ist bei euch. Tut eure Pflicht und hütet euch zu fliehen, denn das wird Schande über eure Nachkommen bringen und euch am Jüngsten Tag ins Feuer [der Hölle] befördern.“): „Und als ob dieser *religiöse Ansporn* nicht genug gewesen wäre, ...“ (Hervorhebung vom Rezensenten). Indem Karsh das Zitat als klaren Beleg einer „religiösen“ Motivation bewertet, übersieht er geflissentlich das soziale und generationelle Element, das Ali mit dem Appell an die Schande ins Spiel bringt. In Karshs Sicht wird entsprechend seiner auf den Islam als religiös-politischer (bzw. -militärischer) Ideologie fixierten historischen Darstellungsmethodik das religiöse Element stärker betont, als dies aus der Quelle selbst hervorgeht. Es ist nicht verwunderlich, daß sich mit einer solchen selektiven Lesetechnik die von Karsh beispielsweise für das 20. Jahrhundert und die Gegenwart formulierten und dort berechtigten Thesen problemlos für nahezu die gesamte islamische Geschichte ‚nachweisen‘ lassen.

Obwohl Karshs Buch eine abwechslungsreiche und interessante Lektüre darstellt, die den Leser insbesondere mit wichtigen Fakten und Zusammenhängen aus der islamischen Gründungszeit und der Moderne versorgt, ist es summa summarum ein eher ernüchterndes Beispiel dafür, wie eine unter dem Eindruck gegenwärtiger Erlebnisse *cum ira et studio* in historische Tiefen vordringende, zwischen Journalismus und Politikwissenschaft angesiedelte Expertise an ihre Grenzen stößt. Statt den von vornehmerein zum Scheitern verurteilten Versuch einer kurisorischen Globalanalyse der islamischen Geschichte auf 350 Seiten zu unternehmen, wäre es

neben einigen terminologischen und methodologischen Präzisierungen wohl sinnvoller gewesen, sich ein paar grundsätzliche Gedanken über das Verhältnis von Gegenwart und Geschichte und deren Verwendung in aktuellen Diskursen zu machen.

Michael Reinhard Heß, Berlin

List of Contributors

Abbas Ali Ahangar, Dept. of English Language and Linguistics, Faculty of Literature and Humanities, Sistan and Baluchestan University, Zahedan, Iran
(aaliahangar@yahoo.com)

Karin Almbladh, Fjärdhundragatan 54, SE-753 37 Uppsala, Sweden
(karin.almbladh@lingfil.uu.se)

Esmail Z. Behtash, English Dept Chabahar Maritime University, Chabahar, Iran
(ezbehtash@gmail.com)

Mehrdad Fallahzadeh, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
(mehrdad.fallahzadeh@lingfil.uu.se)

Jack Fellman, Dept. of Hebrew and Semitic Languages, Bar-Ilan University, IL-52900 Ramat Gan, Israel
(fellmaj@mail.biu.ac.il)

Forogh Hashabeiky, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
(forogh.hashabeiky@lingfil.uu.se)

Michael R. Hess, Rathausstrasse 13/1207, DE 10178 Berlin, Germany
(michaelreinhardhess@googlemail.com)

Bo Isaksson, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
(bo.isaksson@lingfil.uu.se)

Bo Holmberg, Arabic, Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University, Box 201, SE-221 00 Lund, Sweden
(bo.holmberg@mellost.lu.se)

Judith Josephson, Mäster Bengtsgata 8, SE-412 62 Gothenburg, Sweden
(judith.josephson@gu.se)

Mohamed Meouak, Area de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Cádiz, Avenida Gómez Ulla, s/n, ES-11003 Cádiz, Spain
(mohamed.meouak@uca.es)

Tryggve Mettinger, Centre for theology and religious studies, Lund University, Allhelgona Kyrkogata 8, SE-223 62 Lund, Sweden
(tryggve.mettinger@teol.lu.se)

Anette Måansson, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
(anette.mansson@lingfil.uu.se)

Hans Nugteren, Institut für Orientalische und Ostasiatische Philologien, Turkologie,
Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität, P.O. Box 111932, DE-60054 Frankfurt am
Main, Germany
(h.nugteren@chello.nl)

Julian Rentzsch, Seminar für Orientkunde, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz,
DE-55099 Mainz, Germany
(rentzsch@uni-mainz.de)

Khalid Sindawi, Dept. of General Studies, The Max Stern Academic College of
Emek Yezreel, IL-19300 Emek Yezreel, Israel
(khalids@yvc.ac.il)

Ibrahim Taha, Dept. of Arabic Language and Literature, University of Haifa, Mount
Carmel, IL-31905 Haifa, Israel
(itaha@research.haifa.ac.il)

Christopher Toll, Valhallavägen 94, SE-114 27 Stockholm, Sweden
(chr.toll@swipnet.se)

Fikret Turan, Middle Eastern Studies, SLLC, University of Manchester, Oxford
Road, Manchester, M13 9PL, England
(fikretturan@hotmail.com)

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