

# ORIENTALIA SUECANA

---

VOL. LIII (2004)

---

UPPSALA  
SWEDEN

ORIENTALIA SUECANA. An International Journal of Indological, Iranian, Semitic and Turkic Studies. Founded 1952 by ERIK GREN.

# Contents of last vols.

Vol. XLVIII, 1999

<i>Christiane Bulut: Klassifikatorische Merkmale des Iraktürkischen</i> .....	5
<i>Jack Fellman: Notes on Hebrew Language and Literature</i> .....	29
<i>Jack Fellman: Some Notes on Ethiopian Language and Literature</i> .....	35
<i>Gunilla Gren-Eklund: The Meanings of Words and the Categories of Things—Indian and Aristotelian</i> .....	43
<i>Ablahad Lahdo: An Arabic dialect in Qamishli</i> .....	49
<i>Otto F.A. Meinardus: St. Bishoi: A Coptic Christophorus</i> .....	67
<i>Mohamed Meouak: Considérations sur les fonctionnaires et la magistrature de la sûreté urbaine (ṣāḥib al-madīna/wilāyat al-madīna) dans l'Espagne umayyade</i> .....	75
<i>Mefküre Mollova: Terme türk xuun et la famille des chèvres dans le Codex Cumanicus</i> .....	87
<i>Ludwig Paul: Die Geheimsprache von Kahak (Tafreš)</i> .....	105
<i>Stephan Procházka: From Language Contact to Language Death: The Example of the Arabic Spoken in Cilicia (Southern Turkey)</i> .....	115
<i>Book Reviews</i> .....	127
<i>Works Received</i> .....	161
<i>List of Contributors</i> .....	163

Vol. XLIX, 2000

*In Memoriam*

<i>Tryggve Kronholm (by Tryggve N.D. Mettinger)</i> .....	5
---	---

## Studies

<i>Almbladh, Karin: A Romance Kharja and the Poems Linked to It</i> .....	9
<i>Eskhult, Mats: Hebrew Infinitival Paronomasia</i> .....	27
<i>Jahani, Carina: Restrictive Relative Clauses in Classical and Modern New Persian and the Marking of the Antecedent</i> .....	33
<i>Khajeh-Najafi, M.A.: Risalat al-Ghufran, The Forgiveness Letter of Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri, AH 363–449/973–1058</i> .....	57
<i>Lahdo, Ablahad: An Arabic Dialect in Qamishli, II</i> .....	61
<i>Lodhi, Abdulaziz, Y.: Arabic Loans in Swahili</i> .....	71
<i>Meinardus, Otto: Die koptischen Drachentöter als Lebensretter</i> .....	83
<i>Miller, Roy Andrew: Ramstedt and the Korean Geminates</i> .....	95
<i>Pedersén, Olof and Ólafsson, Sverrir: The Cuneiform Tablet in Carolina Rediviva</i> .....	107
<i>Öztürk, Rıdvan: Beobachtungen zu Veränderungen im Wortschatz des Türkei-türkischen ausgehend von zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern</i> .....	111
<i>Book Reviews</i> .....	119
<i>List of Contributors</i> .....	147

Vol L 2001

<i>Almbladh, Karin: Islamic Terms in the Introduction to the Commentary on Pereq ḥeḥeq by Moses Maimonides</i> .....	5
<i>Eskhult, Mats: Reading the Book of Ruth (Review article)</i> .....	13
<i>Hess, Michael: On threefold compounds in Turkish</i> .....	23
<i>Lahdo, Ablahad: The Arabic Dialect of Tālo: Some Phonological Remarks</i> .....	39
<i>Meinardus, Otto F.A.: Missionare, Bibliophile und Forscher in den koptischen Klöstern des Wādī 'n-Naṭrun</i> .....	51
<i>Meouak, Mohamed: Peuplement, territoire et agriculture dans l'Algérie médiévale: L'exemple de la palmeraie de Tolga (Biskra)</i> .....	67
<i>Pedersén, Olof and Ólafsson, Sverrir: Cuneiform Texts from Neo-Babylonian Sippar in the Gothenburg City Museum</i> .....	75
<i>Book Reviews</i> .....	131
<i>List of Contributors</i> .....	139



# ORIENTALIA SUECANA

An International Journal of  
Indological, Iranian, Semitic and Turkic Studies

VOL. LIII (2004)

Editorial board:

GUNILLA GREN-EKLUND  
LARS JOHANSSON

BO ISAKSSON  
BO UTAS

UPPSALA  
SWEDEN

© 2004 by the individual authors

Published with aid of grants from  
Vetenskapsrådet, Stockholm

Editorial communications and orders should be addressed to  
The Editorial Board (Gunilla Gren-Eklund, [gunilla.gren-eklund@lingfil.uu.se](mailto:gunilla.gren-eklund@lingfil.uu.se))  
*ORIENTALIA SUECANA*  
[www.afro.uu.se/orientalia/oriental.html](http://www.afro.uu.se/orientalia/oriental.html)

Department of Linguistics and Philology  
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY  
Box 635  
SE-751 26 Uppsala  
Sweden

ISSN 0078-6578

Printed in Sweden 2004  
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB

# Contents

## Studies

Sevgi Ağcagül: <i>Grammaticalization of Turkic postverbial constructions</i> . . . . .	5
Karin Almblad: <i>The letters of the Jewish merchant Abū l-Surūr</i> <i>Farah b. Ismā'il al-Qābisī in the context of medieval Arabic business</i> <i>correspondence</i> . . . . .	15
Greg Bailey: <i>The Mahābhārata as counterpoint to the Pāli Canon</i> . . . . .	37
Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz: <i>Two pastoral Balochi love songs</i> . . . . .	49
Ashk P. Dahlén: <i>The Holy Fool in medieval Islam: The Qalandarīyāt of</i> <i>Fakhr al-dīn 'Arāqī</i> . . . . .	63
Tal Davidovich: <i>Was Maacah King Rehoboam's wife?</i> . . . . .	83
Carina Jahani: <i>Language attitudes and language maintenance among</i> <i>Iranian immigrants in Sweden</i> . . . . .	93
Rasoul al-Khafaji: <i>Lexical cohesion in Arabic texts</i> . . . . .	113
Gail Ramsay: <i>Confining the guest labourers to the realm of the subaltern</i> <i>in modern literature from the Gulf</i> . . . . .	133
Reuven Snir: <i>"Forget Baghdad!": The clash of literary narratives among</i> <i>Iraqi-Jews in Israel</i> . . . . .	143
<i>Review article:</i>	
Bo Isaksson: <i>Towards a corpus-based syntax of the Arabic language</i> . . . . .	165
Book Reviews . . . . .	187
List of Contributors . . . . .	208





# Grammaticalization of Turkic postverbial constructions

Sevgi Ağcagül  
Mainz

In their 2002 *World lexicon of grammaticalization*, Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva present lexical and grammatical units, labelled SOURCES, which have developed into grammaticalized or further grammaticalized items or TARGETS. These grammaticalization processes are illustrated by examples from several hundred languages.

Turkic languages display developments of these kinds in various grammatical categories. The present paper aims to illustrate some of these grammaticalization processes by demonstrating the way in which so-called postverbial constructions in Turkic have participated in the creation of new aspect-tense markers.

In the following, I shall first briefly describe some Turkic postverbial constructions and their evolution. I shall then proceed to a presentation of the SOURCES they go back to and the TARGETS they have resulted in.<sup>1</sup>

## Turkic postverbial constructions

Turkic languages display certain types of verbal constructions serving to express actional modifications and consisting of a converb and an immediately following auxiliary verb. The modifying element, the auxiliary verb and (normally) the preceding converb marker, may be referred to as a postverb.<sup>2</sup> Languages of the Indo-European type use preposed elements that precede the primary stem of a verb and form a lexical unit with it, e.g., German *sich hinsetzen* 'to sit down' vs. *sitzen* 'to sit', where the prefix or preverb in the first form expresses a dynamic change, while the second verb denotes the resulting state. In many languages, actional modification can also be expressed by preceding verbs, e.g., the Swedish example quoted from Csató (2001), in which a postural verb denotes durativity:

- (1) *Han sitt-er och läs-er*  
'He is reading.' (Csató 2001: 182)

The postposed elements used in Turkic are functionally equivalent to the Indo-Euro-

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer whose valuable remarks I have included here. A previous version of this article is a paper given at the XVII International Congress of Linguists, Prague, July 24–29, 2003 (cf. Hajičová, E. & Kotěšovcová, A. & Mírovský, J. (eds.) 2003, *Proceedings of CIL 17, CD-ROM*, Prague: Matfyzpress, MFF UK).

<sup>2</sup> Turkic languages also exhibit paratactic constructions in which both the lexical element and the auxiliary element carry the same suffixes (see Demir 1993 and Csató 2001: 176–177). These constructions will not be dealt with here.

pean preverbal elements in that they express actional modification of the preceding element.<sup>3</sup>

The converbs involved belong to two different types: the *B* type ending in a labial stop, e.g., Turkish *-(y)Ip*, and the *A* type ending in a vowel, e.g., Turkish *-(y)A*. Both types of constructions are formally identical with syntactically free combinations of a converb and a following verb, i.e. combinations of two lexical items. In postverbal constructions, however, only the first element is used as a lexical item. The auxiliary element has undergone desemanticization and is not expandable according to its original argument structure. Information on aspect, tense, mood, person and number is carried by the auxiliary element. The semantic relation between postverb and lexical verb can be symbolized as follows (the symbol  $\Leftarrow$  indicating the direction of the actional modification):

lexical verb  $\Leftarrow$  *B* postverb  
lexical verb  $\Leftarrow$  *A* postverb<sup>4</sup>

Examples from some Turkic languages are:

(2) Uzbek

*yâz-â*                      *yat-*  
write-CONV              lie.AUX  
'to be writing'  
(lit.: 'to lie writing')

(3) Uzbek

*yâz-îp*                      *otur-*  
write-CONV              sit.AUX  
'to write for a while'  
(lit.: 'to sit writing')

(4) Uzbek

*yâz-îp*                      *tur-*  
write-CONV              stand.AUX  
'to write regularly / continually'  
(lit.: 'to stand writing')

(5) Khakas

*xal-îp*                      *odîr-*  
remain-CONV              sit.AUX  
'to remain (for a long time)'  
(lit.: 'to sit remaining')

(6) Dukhan<sup>5</sup>

*ĵii-p*                      *olur-*  
eat-CONV              sit.AUX  
'to be eating' (lit.: 'to sit eating')

Postverbs operate on the actional content of the preceding lexical element. This has the effect that the modification structure typical of Turkic syntax, i.e. modification 'from left to right', is reversed. The constructions dealt with here have adopted the modification structure typical of the Turkic word, in which bound items attached to the right modify the preceding items (Johanson 1973: 104–105).

<sup>3</sup> Turkic languages also have preposed verbs that have by grammaticalization processes developed into a kind of 'preverbs', which give the lexical verbs additional meanings; see some Turkish examples based on the verbs *tut-* 'to take hold of / to hold' and *al-* 'to take' in Csátó (2003: 107–108).

<sup>4</sup> Csátó (2001: 176) gives a more general figure: 'lexicalV  $\Leftarrow$  postV'.

<sup>5</sup> I owe examples (6) and (15) from Dukhan, a variety of Tuvan, to personal communication with Elisabeth Ragagnin, Mainz.



Postverbs can modify the actional content of the lexical verb by specifying its qualitative or quantitative properties, e.g., various modes of action, phase specification, direction, and subject and object version. The grammaticalized notion is usually derived from the original lexical meaning of the auxiliary verb. In the following examples, suddenness (7) and thoroughness (8) are expressed by the postverbs:

(7) Karachay

*ayt-ïp*                      *qoy-*  
say-CONV                  put.AUX  
'to blurt out'  
(lit.: 'to put saying')

(8) Uyghur

*oqu-p*                      *čïq-*  
read-CONV                emerge.AUX  
'to read from beginning to end'  
(lit.: 'to emerge reading')

In the Karachay example (7), the focus is on how something is said, whereas *čïq-* 'to emerge' in the Uyghur example (8) excludes readings like 'to read for a while' or 'to start reading'.

In the case of phase specification, one inherent phase of the actional phrase can be expressed by a postverb that focuses on the initial, the statal or the final phase of the lexical content:

(9) Tatar

*yaz-a*                      *tor-*  
write-CONV                stand.AUX  
'to be writing'  
(lit.: 'to stand writing')

In example (9), *tor-* focuses on the statal phase of the actional phrase, excluding readings like 'to start reading', 'to read through', etc.

The overall inventory of Turkic postverbs is very comprehensive. Verbs occurring as the auxiliary element include the following types: postural verbs such as *tur-/dur-* 'to stand, stand up, stand upright', *yat-/ĵat-/čat-* 'to lie down, lie', *oltur-/otur-/odır-* 'to sit down, sit'; motion verbs such as *kel-/kil-/gel-* 'to come', *ket-/git-* 'to go', *bar-* 'to go', *yorı-* 'to move' and other verbs, e.g., *al-* 'to take', *ber-/bir-/ver-* 'to give', *ïd-* 'to send', etc.

Postverbial constructions have developed from free syntactic combinations of a lexical verb in converbial form and a following lexical verb. In clauses based on converbs of the *B* type, the converb element is syntactically subordinated to the following verb (the matrix clause predicate), sharing the same first actant (subject) with it.<sup>6</sup> Semantically, however, the converb element can have a value equal to that of the second element. Although the converb clause is embedded in the matrix clause, the relation between the two clauses can be characterized semantically as a kind of "'and'-relation" (Johanson 1996: 96), similar to the semantic function of conjunctions such as 'and' in European languages,<sup>7</sup> e.g.:

<sup>6</sup> Turkic languages also have converb constructions in which both elements have different first actants; see Johanson (1995b).

<sup>7</sup> For an overview of types of Turkic converb clauses, see Johanson (1995b).

## (10) Turkish

<i>Soyguncu</i>	<i>herkes-i</i>	<i>yer-e</i>
robber	everybody-ACC	floor-DAT
<i>yat-ır-ıp</i>	<i>para-ları-nı</i>	<i>al-dı.</i>
lie down-CAUS-CONV	money-POSS.3PL-ACC	take-PST.3SG
'The robber forced everybody to lie down on the floor and took their money.'		

In narrative texts, clauses based on converbs of the *B* type have a propulsive ('plot-advancing') meaning rather than a modifying one. They used to be one of the most important means of connecting several events of narrative sequences to each other (Johanson 1998b: 64–65).<sup>8</sup> In the history of Turkic, this converb, as we shall see below, has also been involved in the renewal of aspect-tense categories.

Converb clauses based on the converb ending in a vowel, here represented as *A*, are used much less frequently than those based on *B*. Converbs of the *A* type, too, have been involved in the creation of new aspect-tense markers. Originally, though, this converb appeared as the predicative core in a subordinated converb clause with a modifying function. This is the case in older stages of Turkic (Schulz 1978: 156–168), as well as in the modern Turkic languages. In the following examples, the converb clauses give circumstantial information on the event expressed by the matrix clause predicate. The converb often occurs reduplicated. Examples include the following:

## (11) Old Anatolian Turkish (15th century, quoted from Mansuroğlu 1959: 175):

<i>Ayla-ş-u</i>	<i>ayla-ş-u</i>	<i>ğumla</i>	<i>qayyu-lu.</i>
cry-REC-CONV	cry-REC-CONV	all	sorrow-DER.with
'They are all sorrowful, crying continually.'			

## (12) Modern Uyghur

<i>Yaz-a</i>	<i>yaz-a</i>	<i>qol-um</i>	<i>tal-di.</i>
write-CONV	write-CONV	hand-POSS.1SG	become tired-PST.3SG
'My hand became tired because of writing continually.'			

In some cases, the converb suffix is attached to two verbs with similar or opposite meanings forming a single lexical unit, as in the following examples:

## (13) Turkmen (Baskakov et al. 1970: 376):

<i>Olar</i>	<i>otur-a-tur-a</i>		
they	sit-CONV stand-CONV		
<i>öz</i>	<i>bar-malī</i>	<i>yer-i-ne</i>	<i>bar-dılar.</i>
self	go-OBL	place-POSS.3SG-DAT	go-PST.3SG
'They calmly arrived at the places they were supposed to go to.'			

(lit.: 'Sitting and standing, they arrived at the places they were supposed to go to.')

<sup>8</sup> This use has decreased in some modern Turkic languages, e.g. in Turkish, where its function has been taken over partly by the converb *-(y)ArAk*.

## (14) Turkish

<i>Düş-e</i>	<i>kalk-a</i>	<i>buraya</i>	<i>gel-dik.</i>
fall-CONV	stand up-CONV	here	come-PST.1PL

'After many struggles we reached this state.'

(lit.: 'Falling down and standing up [again and again] we arrived here.')

The converb in *A* has an intraterminal value, which has had a particular effect on the further developments that it has been involved in (see below).

Although the two types of converb presented here have different functions, they have undergone similar changes in the field of verbal composition. Frequent collocation and extension of their use to more general contexts have led to desemantization of the verbs that were the predicative cores of the matrix clause. This has caused a stronger semantic fusion between the two verbs, which now occur as a single lexical unit, in which the second element describes the event expressed by the first one in a more accurate way. The syntactic fusion is so strong that nothing—except particles such as Turkish *da / de* 'and'—can be placed between the lexical element and the auxiliary.

The types of postverbs discussed here seem to have replaced the synthetic actionality markers which were used in older varieties of Turkic and which have only survived in a few cases (see Johanson 1998b: 42). Originally analytical items may, at later stages, have been exposed to general tendencies such as increase of agglutination up to suffixation of the postverb. Note, for example, the case of the Khakas suffix *-İbİS*, which has developed from *B + İS-* 'to send'. However, most items that are identifiable as postverbs have not yet reached the stage of suffixation. In Khakas, we even observe phonetic reduction, another step on the grammaticalization path: the *B*-converb suffix is reduced to  $\emptyset$  after stems ending in consonants, e.g., *pas sal-* (< *pasİp sal-*) 'to write down' (Johanson 2002: 95–96). In Turkish dialects of the Eastern Black sea coast, examples such as *ayit-* / *agit-* (< *alıp git-*) 'to take away' occur.<sup>9</sup>

Several stages of grammaticalization can be observed at the same time. Thus, in all attested Turkic varieties, past and present, combinations of converbs and immediately following lexical verbs can represent a non-grammaticalized stage—as in examples (10)–(14)—and at the same time display a grammaticalized meaning in the sense focused on here.

## SOURCE > TARGET developments in Turkic languages

I shall now turn to the SOURCES and TARGETS presented in Heine & Kuteva (2002). The SOURCES to be illustrated are LIE, SIT and STAND. In the languages investigated by Heine & Kuteva, these SOURCES, among others, have ended in a TARGET labelled 'CONTINUOUS' with the meanings 'to be doing sth.' and 'to keep on doing sth.'. This grammatical label is defined as a "marker for an event that is in progress at reference time" (2002: 19). Because Turkic postverbs exactly fulfill this task, I shall concentrate on some cases covered by the label CONTINUOUS.

<sup>9</sup> These examples were provided by Bernt Brendemoen, Oslo.



Turkic representatives of the SOURCES mentioned here are the following auxiliary verbs:

Lie	<i>yat-</i>	'to lie down, lie'
SIT:	<i>ol(t)ur-</i>	'to sit down, sit'
STAND:	<i>tur-</i>	'to stand upright, stand still'

Postverbs based on these SOURCES can express continuity, durativity, etc., but also other notions such as iterativity and habituality.

The grammaticalization of Heine & Kuteva's concept of CONTINUOUS in the Turkic material is based on the fact that the verbs *yat-*, *ol(t)ur-* and *tur-* are initiotransformative verbs possessing two inherent phases: an initial dynamic one and a following statal one. With initiotransformatives, the crucial limit of the action is the initial one: the transformation takes place with the transgression of this limit. With finitranformatives, however, the crucial limit of the action is the final one. An event expressed by verbs of this kind cannot take place until this final limit is attained. Nontransformatives do not imply a crucial initial or a final limit (see Johanson 2000).

Postverbs based on the verbs just mentioned focus on the statal phase of the lexical verb. The initial transformative phase has already been transgressed and is not envisaged. The constructions operate on the basic actional content of the lexical item and render different kinds of durative readings of the actional phrase. These postverbs thus have a nontransformativizing function, excluding limit-oriented readings. See the Uzbek examples (2)–(4) cited above, in which a reading 'to start writing' is not possible:

(2) Uzbek

<i>yâz-â</i>	<i>yat-</i>
write-CONV	lie.AUX
'to be writing'	

(3) Uzbek

<i>yâz-îp</i>	<i>otur-</i>
write-CONV	sit.AUX
'to write for a while'	

(4) Uzbek

<i>yâz-îp</i>	<i>tur</i>
write-CONV	stand.AUX
'to write regularly / continually'	

Another type of Turkic postverb denoting durative and continuous meanings is based on the verbs of the type *yori-* 'move', which has undergone similar grammaticalization processes.

(15) Dukhan

<i>o''tta-p</i>	<i>ĵor-</i>
graze-CONV	move.AUX
'to be grazing'	

### Further grammaticalization into aspectotemporal markers

The Turkic postverbs mentioned so far have also taken part in the formation of new aspectual markers. Present tense forms of these constructions have been reinterpreted in more general contexts and finally become markers of aspect and tense.

Before I give some examples that illustrate these developments, some information on the terminology used will be appropriate. The aspectual markers in question express viewpoint categories in the sense of Johanson (2000). Viewpoint operators relate the events expressed to some orientation point. The relation is based on three types of aspectual terminality:

- intraterminality: viewing the event within its relevant limits (*intra terminos*)
- postterminality: viewing the event after the transgression of its relevant limit (*post terminum*)
- adterminality: viewing the event at the very attainment of its relevant limit (*ad terminum*)

The third type, adterminality, is a very important feature in, for example, Slavic languages ('perfectivity'), but it does not occur in Turkic languages. Intraterminality and postterminality can be further characterized by higher and lower degrees of focality, i.e. more or less concentration on the situation obtaining at the orientation point.

### Renewal of high-focal intraterminality

Heine & Kuteva's lexicon also includes further grammaticalization of already grammatical(ized) items (2002: 4). Thus, the grammatical concept of CONTINUOUS can function as a basis for the creation of HABITUALS and PRESENTS (2002: 93–94). Here I shall comment on the latter case, including the 'progressive' property.

In Turkic, combinations based on *-A tur-* in the old present tense ('aorist') form *-A turur* have been used to create new categories of high-focal intraterminality ('progressives'). See the following examples:

(17) Chaghatay (15th–16th centuries, quoted from Eckmann 1966: 175):

<i>Şahar-da</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>qul</i>	<i>sat-a dur lar</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>däm.</i>
town-LOC	one	slave	sell-INTRA.3PL	DEM	moment

'They are selling a slave in the town right now.'

(18) Old Anatolian Turkish (15th century, quoted from Mansuroğlu 1959: 175):

<i>Murād Xan</i>	<i>gäl-i yoru r.</i>
Murad Khan	come-INTRA.3SG

'Murad Khan is coming.'

In some languages, combinations based on *-B tur-* have come to express high-focal intraterminality as well. In the following Tuvan example, the former present tense form *turur* occurs in the reduced form *tur*:

(19) *t*

*Sü*                      *xayn-ïp tur.*  
 milk                      boil-INTRA.3SG  
 'The milk is boiling.'

In the South Siberian Turkic languages, to which Tuvan belongs, the auxiliary verbs *yat-* and *ol(t)ur-* have also contributed to the renewal of high-focal intraterminality, as in the following example from Khakas:

(20)

*kir-ip odır*  
 enter-INTRA.3SG  
 'is entering'

As is well known, a renewal of focality in Turkish has been obtained by means of the verb *yorĩ-* 'to move', the combination *-A yorür* developing into the marker *-(I)yor*:

(21)

*Ali*                      *gel-iyor.*  
 Ali                      come-INTRA.3SG  
 'Ali is coming.'

This form has undergone defocalization, so that today it expresses a general present tense; see example (22), which may have both high-focal and low-focal interpretations:

(22)

*Ali*                      *sigara iç-iyor.*  
 Ali                      smoke-INTRA.3SG  
 'Ali is smoking / smokes.'

## Second renewal of high-focal intraterminality

In Kipchak languages such as Kazakh and Kirghiz, the high-focal items based on *-A turur* have developed into markers of lower focality and have thus prepared the ground for the creation of new elements expressing high-focal intraterminality.<sup>10</sup> Again, it was a combination based on *-A tur-*, namely *\*-A tura tur(ur)*, that filled this gap. Today this marker often occurs in a reduced shape, for example:

(23) Kazakh

*al-a turadı*  
 take-INTRA.3SG  
 'is taking'

<sup>10</sup> For a typological description of these processes, see Johanson (1999).



## Renewal of high-focal postterminality

The combination *-B tur-* has also contributed to the creation of new high focal post-terminal viewpoint markers ('resultatives' and 'perfects'). These markers can be observed in most Turkic languages, often in a considerably reduced shape, e.g.:

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| (24) Turkmen    | (25) Azerbaijani |
| <i>al-ipdîr</i> | <i>al-ip</i>     |
| take-POST.3SG   | take-POST.3SG    |
| 'has taken'     | 'has taken'      |

## Second renewal of high-focal postterminality

Some Turkic languages display the result of a further development, by which the *-B tur-* complexes have been expanded by the same periphrasis as the already mentioned *-A tur-* complexes. Thus the pattern *\*-B tura tur(ur)* functions today, mainly in Turkic languages of the Kipchak type, as a marker of high-focal postterminality, focusing on the postterminal state of the actional phrase ('being in the state of having done sth.'), e.g.:

- |                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| (26) Karachay        | (27) Kumyk            |
| <i>ket-ip turadî</i> | <i>gel-ip turaman</i> |
| go-POST.3SG          | come-POST.1SG         |
| 'has gone'           | 'I have arrived'      |

In the last example, again, reduction in the phonetic shape of the aspectual marker can be observed. Decrease of the focality degree of aspectual markers is often correlated with formal erosion. In written texts, these aspectual markers may be difficult to distinguish from the postverbs they derive from, since they seem to be identical in form. For example, a *B tur-* complex may at first sight seem to be functionally ambiguous between aspectual and actional meaning (see Johanson 1995a). In spoken varieties, however, intonational features help to disambiguate the constructions.<sup>11</sup>

## Final remarks

The above survey is an attempt to give some basic insight into certain Turkic categories which may differ formally from their equivalents in other languages, while sharing much of their functional development with them. There is much more to say about Turkic postverb constructions, their distribution in the individual languages, their further grammaticalization paths, contact and areal phenomena, etc. Some of these issues will be dealt with in a forthcoming monograph.

<sup>11</sup> The distinctive role of intonation in a Turkish dialect has been dealt with by Demir (1993); cf. Karakoç (2004) for a description of the same phenomenon in Noghay.

## Abbreviations

1PL	1st person plural	2PL	2nd person plural
3PL	3rd person plural	1SG	1st person singular
3SG	3rd person singular	ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary	CAUS	causative
CONV	converb	DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	DER	derivational suffix
INTRA	intraterminal	LOC	locative
OBL	obligation	PL	plural
POST	postterminal	PST	past
REC	reciprocal	SG	singular

## References

- Baskakov, N. A. et al. (eds.) 1970. *Grammatika turkmenskogo jazyka*. Aşxabad: İlim.
- Csató, Éva Á. 2001. Turkic double verbs in a typological perspective. In: Ebert, Karen H. & Zúñiga, Fernando (eds.) *Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages. Proceedings from a workshop held at the University of Zurich, June 23–25, 2000*. Zurich: Universität Zürich. 175–187.
- Csató, Éva Ágnes 2003. A typology of Turkish double-verb constructions. In: Özsoy, Sumru A. & Akar, Didar & Nakipoğlu-Demiralp, Mine & Erguvanlı-Taylan, Eser E. & Aksu-Koç, Ayhan (eds.) *Studies in Turkish linguistics. Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference in Turkish Linguistics. August 16–18, 2000, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press. 105–109.
- Demir, Nurettin 1993. *Postverbien im Türkeitürkischen. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung eines südanatolischen Dorfdialekts*. (Turcologica 17.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Eckmann, János 1966. *Chagatay manual*. (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 60.) The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johanson, Lars 1973. Sprachbau und Inhaltssyntax am Beispiel des Türkischen. *Orientalia Suecana* 22, 82–106. [Also in: Johanson, Lars 1991. *Linguistische Beiträge zur Gesamtturkologie*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1–25.]
- Johanson, Lars 1995a. Mehrdeutigkeit in der türkischen Verbalkomposition. In: Erdal, Marcel & Tezcan, Semih (eds.) *Beläk Bitig. Sprachstudien für Gerhard Doerfer zum 75. Geburtstag*. (Turcologica 23.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 81–101.
- Johanson 1995b. On Turkic converb clauses. In: Haspelmath, Martin & König, Ekkehard (eds.) *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 313–347.
- Johanson, Lars 1996. Funktionen syndetischer Gerundien im Türkischen. In: *Uluslararası Türk Dili Kongresi 1988 (26 Eylül 1988 – 3 Ekim 1988)*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Johanson, Lars 1998a. The history of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London: Routledge. 81–125.
- Johanson, Lars 1998b. The structure of Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London: Routledge. 30–66.
- Johanson, Lars 1999. Typological notes on aspect and actionality in Kipchak Turkic. In: Abraham, Werner & Kulikov, Leonid (eds.) *Tense-aspect, transitivity and causativity. Essays in honour of Vladimir Nedjalkov*. (Studies in Language Companion Series 50.) Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. 171–184.
- Johanson, Lars 2000. Viewpoint operators in European languages. In: Dahl, Östen (ed.) *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 27–187.
- Johanson, Lars 2002. *Structural factors in Turkic language contacts*. Richmond: Curzon.
- Karakoç, Birsal 2004. *Das finite Verbalsystem im Nogaischen*. (Turcologica 58.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Mansuroğlu, Mecdut 1959. Das Altosmanische. In: Deny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* 1. Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner. 161–182.
- Schulz, Peter 1978. *Verbalnomina und Konverbien als adverbiale Ergänzungen im Alttürkischen*. [PhD dissertation, University of Gießen.]

# The letters of the Jewish merchant Abū l-Surūr Farah b. Ismā'īl al-Qābisī in the context of medieval Arabic business correspondence

Karin Almbladh  
Uppsala

Every type of discourse has its rules, so also how to write a letter. In the medieval Arabic world, the secretaries in the chanceries set the rules. After years of training, the secretaries were highly qualified specialists. They had manuals at their disposal, in which the refinements were discussed in detail. The best known of these manuals, the so-called 'inšā' works, is *Ṣubḥ al-'a'šā fī šinā'at al-'inšā'* by al-Qalqashandī (dead 1418) which was the crowning achievement of the genre.<sup>1</sup>

But what about those who were not professional scribes, e.g. businessmen who often personally handled a wide correspondence with their business partners? And what about members of the religious minorities? From previous investigations, it is obvious that the rules set down in the chanceries filtered down into other sectors of society. An example of this is the studies of Y. Rāghib on the archive of Banū 'Abd al-Mu'min dating from the 9th century.<sup>2</sup> However, the attention paid to the material has been mainly focussed on documents from the early periods of Islamic rule, as well as on material relating to the chanceries. Only rarely has the focus been on private and business letters which also figure in the collections. Yet there is no lack of material, as it was estimated in 1979 that the number of *inventoried* Arab papyri and papers only in the Erzherzog Rainer Collection in Vienna was said to amount to 13,968 papyri and about 12,000 papers.<sup>3</sup> To this should be added the material from the Cairo Genizah, as well as probably also the archives of the Egyptian monasteries, although they have obviously not been explored for this type of material, not to speak of the Muslim archives.

In the present study, a comparative investigation is made between a small collection of eleven letters written between 1050 and 1057 by the Jewish merchant *Farah b. Ismā'īl al-Qābisī* from Alexandria and letters by Muslim writers from Egypt published by Werner Diem. The purpose of the study is to discuss to what extent (if any) letters written by a Jewish merchant differed from letters from a similar, social and professional, Muslim milieu. The letters are discussed in the context of the autograph business and private letters dating from the 10th and 11th centuries, as published by Diem in *Arabische Briefe auf Papyrus und Papier aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, Arabische Geschäftsbriefe des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts aus*

<sup>1</sup> The genre is explored in Veselý, 1992. Al-Qalqashandī's work is surveyed in Björkman, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> = *Marchands d'étoffes du Fayyout au IIIe/IXe siècle d'après leurs archives (actes et lettres). I-III.* (Cairo, 1982-1992).

<sup>3</sup> Hopkins, 1984, xli. The *total* number of Arab documents in the Erzherzog Rainer Collection is far greater.

der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, *Arabische Privatbriefe des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, and *Arabische Briefe des 7. bis 13. Jahrhunderts aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin*.<sup>4</sup> Following suggestions by Joshua Blau, attention is also paid to the possible influence of the choice of script by the writer.<sup>5</sup> The focus is on the formal structure of the letters as well as on their rhetoric. Thus, the commercial and economic vocabulary is excluded from the investigation. This is treated in detail in *A Mediterranean society* by S. D. Goitein, and in the discussions by Diem in the publications already mentioned. Both business and private letters have been chosen since private matters are often discussed in business letters, as well as business matters in private letters. As we shall see below, all of Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl's letters, except one, are thus directed to members of his extended family. The reason for excluding later texts from the investigation is that the style and rhetoric of Fāṭimid letter writing changed in the early 12th century.

The letters studied here are taken from the edition published by Moshe Gil in 1997, as well as (for one of the letters) the edition by Šabiḥ 'Aodeh.<sup>6</sup> All the letters are, according to the editors, autograph letters, i.e. written by Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl himself. For practical reasons, the letters have been arranged in chronological order for the present study: I = Gil, 1997, no. 499 (from October 22, 1050), II = Gil, 1997, no. 500 (from October 22, 1050, = 'Aodeh, 1992, no. 13, 'Aodeh, 1998), III = Gil, 1997, no. 501 (from 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 (from June 5, 1056), VIII = Gil, 1997, no. 504 (from October 8, 1056), IX = Gil, 1997, no. 506 (perhaps from 1057), X = Gil, 1997, no. 507 (perhaps from 1057), and XI = Gil, 1997, no. 508 (not datable). No. V is peculiar as we here actually have two letters in one. They were written by Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl but were also signed by a business friend of his, Joseph b. 'Alī Kohen Fāsī. It is, however, likely that only the first part (= V r. 1–21) is actually from Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl, while he acts as the secretary of his business friend in the second part (= V r. 22 to the end). The reason is that he is referred to in the third person in this part of the letter, although elsewhere (including the first part of the letter) he refers to himself in the first person. His father is furthermore referred to by his name Ismā'īl b. Faraḥ, not as *wālidī*, "my father", as in the other letters. For this reason, only the first part of the letter V is taken into account, as we there, beyond doubt, hear the voice of Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl. This is called V1.

<sup>4</sup> = Diem, 1991, 1995a, 1996, 1997. Diem, 1995b is only rarely quoted, as the letters published there emanate from quite another professional milieu. The term "autograph" is qualified by the editor as meaning "autograph" of the actual writer of the letter. At times there is (according to the editor) reason to believe that the writer and the ultimate sender of the letter may be different persons, e.g. when the sender was illiterate and had to turn to a more or less professional scribe. The word "autograph" is used in the same sense here. When the letters in the comparative sample are given a date from the 10th and 11th centuries (= roughly early Fāṭimid times), this is not mentioned. When a letter is given an earlier or later date, on the other hand, this is mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> Blau, 1999, 42.

<sup>6</sup> = Gil, 1997 and 'Aodeh, 1992, 242–248, 'Aodeh, 1998. The editors have calculated the dates from information in the letters. It should be mentioned that Goitein prefers 1083 as the date for letter III (Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 387).

Of the letters, nos. I, II, III, VI, VIII, IX and X are more or less complete, nos. VI and VII are in the middle of a scale of completeness/incompleteness, and nos. IV and XI are at its other end. A facsimile is available only for letter no. II.<sup>7</sup> As for the transcription of the Arabic text, forms of Classical Arabic (CA) have been used whenever the text allows this. One reason is that Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl uses what has been called "Standard Judaeo-Arabic Spelling" (SJAS) which was modelled upon the conventions of CA and which achieved predominance among the Arabic-speaking Jews by the end of the first millennium as the only acceptable orthography. To this should be added that he was probably, at least partly, familiar with CA through his training, as he at times himself wrote in Arabic script. Vulgarisms have, however, been transcribed when the text clearly points to them, although they are not discussed. In all, this is the principle adopted by the editor of the comparative sample. For practical reasons, the system of transliterating Arabic in there has also been adopted. The only exception is that the *tā' marbūṭa* is rendered -a, not -ah. Whether or not to indicate the *hamza* is a special problem, as it is usually not indicated in Arabic in Hebrew script, not even in CA texts in Hebrew script. In the final analysis, it was decided to follow the principles in the comparative sample. There the editor treats all texts in one and the same way, irrespective of script. Whenever a phrase or an expression in the letters of Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl is also found in the comparative sample, the vocalisation there has been adopted here. The main reason is that there are no indications whatsoever of vowels in the letters studied here.<sup>8</sup>

There are, admittedly, problems in the method used here. First of all, letters written by one single person are discussed in the context of a sample of mostly anonymous letters with as many writers as letters. The letters in the comparative sample are furthermore generally shorter than the letters from Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl. The only letters of comparable length are thus a group of big merchant letters from the 12th and the 13th centuries (= Diem, 1995a, nos. 41–48). We thus get a comprehensive picture of Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl's style and way of writing, while this is not so with the writers of the letters in the sample. Still, the two groups are nevertheless as close as one can expect, thus making a comparative study fruitful.

The parts of the letters are quoted as follows: r. = recto, v. = verso, rt = right, l = left, mrg = margin, a = above, b = below, u = upside down. I r.rtmrg, 6 is thus to be deciphered as letter I (= Gil, 1997, no. 501) recto right margin line 6, VI v.a, 3 as letter VI (= Gil, 1997, no. 502) verso above line 3. As for the letters in the comparative sample, they are referred to in the same way as the editor. Thus, Diem, 1996, 10r. 5, is to be deciphered as Diem, *Arabische Privatbriefe des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, letter 10 recto, line 5.

<sup>7</sup> = 'Aodeh, 1998, 137–138.

<sup>8</sup> The development of Judaeo-Arabic orthography is discussed in Blau, 1999, 241–243, where SJAS is called "a transliteration" of CA spelling. For the comparative sample, see the discussion in Diem, 1991, 5–6. For *hamza*, cf. Judah ha-Levi, 1977, where the editors added it although it is not found in the manuscripts. Specimens of CA in Hebrew script where it is not indicated in the script are provided by Judah ha-Levi's autograph letters in Goitein, 1955–1956. As for Diem, he actually at times indicates it even when the script does not allow it, e.g. Diem 1991, 43, 5 *fa-nas'alu*, although it is spelt *fnsl*.

## 1. The merchant Abū l-Surūr Farah b. Ismāʿīl al-Qābisī and his letters

*Abū l-Surūr Farah b. Ismāʿīl al-Qābisī* belonged to a family of merchants who hailed from Qābis (Gabes) in modern Tunisia but who moved to Egypt in the first half of the 11th century. Not only his father was a merchant but also his three (paternal) uncles. Once in Egypt, his father and at least two of his uncles settled in Alexandria, where they engaged in trade in the Mediterranean. The family was also associated with the great merchant-banker Nehoray b. Nissīm, who also hailed from the Maghreb. The father of Farah b. Ismāʿīl, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Farah, married a sister of Nehoray b. Nissīm, who was thus the maternal uncle of Farah b. Ismāʿīl. This probably explains the close relationship between Farah b. Ismāʿīl and Nehoray b. Nissīm. There were strong bonds between brother and sister in Genizah society, and these bonds were transferred to the sister's son. Numerous persons were even known as "the sister's son of NN". It was also common for the latter to become an associate with his uncle.<sup>9</sup> As for Farah b. Ismāʿīl, it appears that he traded in copper, iron, knives, nails, wax, silk, saffron and pepper. He was still active in March 1085, as he is mentioned in a letter of that date.

It is here pertinent to say a few words about the education of the Jews of the period, including the education of those who, like Farah b. Ismāʿīl, took up a trade. The main aim of the *kuttāb* or the *kanīs*, as the Jewish elementary school of the Genizah period was called, was, first of all, to prepare the boys to take an active part in the synagogue service by memorising the Pentateuch and the readings from the Prophets, as well as memorising the main prayers in the prayer book. Secular subjects were studied as well, among them calligraphy which also included the study of grammar and style. Arabic calligraphy and knowledge of CA were thus required for boys aspiring to be government officials, physicians and (religious) scholars, but also merchants. From the Genizah, we also know that the boys were trained in Arabic and Hebrew calligraphy by copying model letters. It has here been argued that the schoolboys used part of the business and private letters preserved there as models. The same holds true of the drafts of documents from the chanceries, viz. that they may have been deposited in the Genizah by Jews serving at the court in order to be used as model letters by the boys. The boys who were to take up trade as their profession left school after the *kuttāb*. After that, they got their vocational training in a renowned firm as "servants". In the case of Farah ibn Ismāʿīl, we know that his father gave him advice in his letters to him, and perhaps he also served with his maternal uncle Nehoray b. Nissīm as an apprentice.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For Nehoray b. Nissīm, see Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 153–155 and *passim* (where his name is given as Nahrāy), and Gil, 1997, vol. 1, 704–721. His vast correspondence is available in Gil, 1997 (for details, see vol. 4, index). The bonds between brother and sister and between the maternal uncle and his sister's son are treated in Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 3, 20–26. Three letters from Nehoray b. Nissīm to Farah b. Ismāʿīl are available in Gil, 1997, nos. 254–256 (assigned a date 1053 by the editor). Of these, the editor links no. 254 to Farah b. Ismāʿīl's letter IV, although obviously there is no direct connection between them.

<sup>10</sup> This outline of the elementary education is based on Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 2, 173–183, 205, and Goitein, 1971, 84. An all-round élite education in the Genizah world is discussed in Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 5, 426–431.



All the letters from Farah b. Ismā'īl are in Arabic and are addressed to Jewish addressees. Letters I, III and X are addressed to his father, letters IV, V1, VI, VII, IX, and XI to Nehoray b. Nissīm, letter VIII to the merchant Yēhūdā b. Mūsā Ibn Sughmār (or Sighmār), and letter II to the merchant Manasseh b. Dāwūd, the brother-in-law of a paternal uncle of Farah b. Ismā'īl. Yēhūdā b. Mūsā Ibn Sughmār was another of the wealthy merchants who had come from the Maghreb to Egypt. This means that all the letters, except one, are directed to members of his extended family.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. The formal structure of the letters

### 2.1. The scripts of the letters

Two of the letters are (in their present condition) wholly in Hebrew script, viz. letters IV and VII. Letters I, III, V1, VIII, IX, X and XI are in Hebrew script, except for the instructions for the *fayḡ*, the mail man which are in Arabic script. Letter II is wholly in Arabic script, except for two post scripts in Hebrew script, one with a message to the father of Farah b. Ismā'īl (II v.brt, 1–3, v.al, 2–3), as well as a few lines in the address (II v.ul, 2–4). Letter VIII is peculiar, as it is wholly written in Hebrew script, except for the instructions to the *fayḡ*. However, to this are added a few words in Arabic script in the running text, viz. *mawlāya* (VIII r. 22), *'ilayhi 'in šā'a llāhu*, “to him, God willing” (VIII v. 2), *'in šā'a llāhu* (VIII v. 4, 5, 7), *wa-'in*, “and if” (VIII v. 6) just as the words *al-kawhān* (الكوهان) *dār al-baraka* (البركة) are added in Arabic script in the address. Similarly VI is wholly in Hebrew script except for the expression *'aḥyāhu llāhu*, “may God keep him alive” and the instructions for the *fayḡ*.

The reasons for adding instructions for the *fayḡ* in Arabic script are, of course, natural if a Muslim *fayḡ* was used but also if a Karaite *fayḡ* was used. Unlike the Rabbanite Jews, the Karaites are known to have been comfortable with Arabic script.<sup>12</sup> The reason for the lines in Hebrew script in letter II is most likely that the father of Farah b. Ismā'īl was not comfortable with Arabic script. However, the insertions of Arabic script in letters VI and VIII are strange. In VIII, we find the very same words written in Hebrew script in other places in the same letter. Perhaps the easiest explanation is simply that this is one of the inconsistencies which one frequently meets with in this kind of material. On the other hand, one may wonder why he ever wrote letter II in Arabic script. Similarly, its addressee writes his own name as Mēnashshe b'r Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī, but in the address in II vurt, 1 the name is written in Arabic script as *أبو سهل منشأ بن داود الصيرفي*.<sup>13</sup> In this letter he also trans-

<sup>11</sup> The biographical information on Farah b. Ismā'īl and his family is cited from 'Aodeh, 1998, 126–128. The suggestion that he was still active in 1085 is based on the identification of Abū l-Surūr b. al-Qābisī with Farah b. Ismā'īl in a letter of that year ('Aodeh, 1992, 393–399 (= Gil, 1983, no. 593), Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 3, 442). For Ibn Sughmār, see Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 158–159 (who gives his name as Sighmār). All the names are given as interpreted by Gil.

<sup>12</sup> For the Karaites using Arabic script, see Blau, 1999, 42ff.

<sup>13</sup> Gil, 1997, nos. 761 and 818. For information on the other merchants, the indexes in Gil, 1997, should also be consulted.



literates the name of a certain Ḥayyīm b. Hilāl as جسيم بن هلال. This may be compared with the style of other merchants who wrote Arabic words in Arabic script and Hebrew words in Hebrew script in one and the same letter.<sup>14</sup>

This is also the place to mention that Faraḥ b. Ismā‘īl always uses Hebrew letters as numerals in the Hebrew-script letters. In the Arabic-script letter II, however, he writes figures in full, obviously conforming to a practice which is more often than not found in the comparative sample. This way of expressing figures is used there even in letters in which quite complicated accounts are discussed, as in Diem, 1995a, no. 64. In a few letters there, however, Greek letters are used as numerals, as in Diem, 1995a, nos. 2, 30, 31, and 36. Furthermore Faraḥ b. Ismā‘īl’s usage conforms to the usage in other Jewish documents from the Genizah, in which the writer switches between Hebrew and Arabic script within one and the same document.<sup>15</sup> Likewise he usually abbreviates the words *dīnār(an)*, *danānīr(u/a) dn’*, *dn*, and *dyn*; only rarely do they appear written in full. It is also possible to observe that the abbreviations used by Faraḥ b. Ismā‘īl are different from those found in the comparative sample.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.2. The structure of the letters

The generic term for “letter” is *kitāb* (in the plural *kutub*).<sup>17</sup> The formal structure of Arabic business and private letters of the period is as follows:

### *Basmala*

Introduction (including introductory eulogies and, at times, the date of the letter)

Exposition

Conclusion (including concluding greetings and eulogies)

(*Ḥasbala*)

Address with the name of the addressee and the sender and instructions for the *fayḡ*

### 2.2.1. Basmala

In an Arabic letter, the *basmala* may be written on a separate line but there are also examples in which it is followed by the introduction on the same line.

In Faraḥ b. Ismā‘īl’s letters, there is a *basmala* only in the Arabic-script letter II, where the usual Muslim formula is found. All the Hebrew-script letters lack any sort of *basmala*. Of course it is impossible to know whether this lack is due to the present state of the letters or whether it is original. Yet a perusal of the Hebrew-script letters from Egypt published by Gil, as well as the Arabic-script letters from

<sup>14</sup> For examples, see ‘Aodeh, 1992, 225–229, 357–360 (= Gil, 1983, no. 456), 360–365 (= Gil, 1983, nos. 504–505), 401–403. For the same phenomenon in a literary text, see Blau, 1999, 141, 152–153.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Aodeh, 1992, 236–240, 255–261 (= Gil, 1997, no. 279), 266–270 (= Gil, 1997, no. 681), 346–349 (= Gil, 1997, no. 394), 390–392, 393–399 (= Gil, 1997, no. 593), 399–401. The use of figures in papyri is discussed in Grohmann, 1952, 89.

<sup>16</sup> For the abbreviations of these words, see Diem, 1997, 335–336.

<sup>17</sup> The formal structure of Arabic letters is discussed in Jahn, 1937, 153–173, and Khan, 1993b, 63–66. See also the discussion in Grohmann, 1954, 108.

Jews to Jews edited by 'Aodeh, seems to confirm the observation that Jews mainly used the Muslim formula when writing in Arabic script.<sup>18</sup> It is thus only found in a handful of Hebrew-script letters and then at times is written in Arabic script, even when the rest of the letter is in Hebrew script.<sup>19</sup> It thus appears that Jews somehow felt that using the Muslim formula was alien. But not only this. The Hebrew-script letters published by Gil more often than not actually lack any equivalent of the *bas-mala*. Once more, it is, of course, impossible to know to what extent this is due to the state of preservation of the letters. Yet the lack of any formula in most of the letters is so conspicuous that one wonders how widespread its use was at this time. In letters with such a formula, the Hebrew *'al šimkā*, "in Your name", as well as the Aramaic *bišmāk raḥmānā*, "In Your name, O Merciful", are the most frequent in use. There is thus reason to believe that Farah b. Ismā'il followed the customary usage among Jewish merchants of the age when he began his Arabic-script letter with the Muslim formula, while leaving out any formula in his Hebrew-script letters.

### 2.2.2. The introduction

The introductions to the letters conform basically to the introductions to the letters in the comparative sample.<sup>20</sup> Most of the letters begin with standard formulas, viz. *kitābī*, "my letter" (II, VIII, X and XI) and *waṣala kitāb*, "the letter from ... has arrived", + the relevant pronominal or genitive construction (III and VI). Two letters open with *taqaddamat kutubī 'ilā / li... 'iddatun*, "my numerous letters have been sent beforehand" (I and VI), while two letters open quite freely, viz. *'anā 'as'alu mawlāya*, "I ask my lord", (VII), and *qadi staḥartu llāha ḡalla tanāyuhu wa-ḥamaltu li-mā qibala mawlāya ...*, "I have entreated God (may His praise be high!) and sent to my lord..." (IX).

After the opening formula, the regular eulogies on the addressee follow. They are introduced by the formula *'aṭāla llāhu baqā'a* ("may God let NN live long") + the relevant pronominal or genitive construction, an introductory formula belonging to the elements prescribed by al-Qalqashandī for the introduction of a letter.<sup>21</sup> Except for the letters to the father, the formula is followed by *wa-'adāma* ("... and may He prolong") + a variety of the standard formulas. Thus in II *wa-'adāma 'izzahu wa-ta'yīdahu wa-sa'ādatahu wa-salāmatahu wa-ḥirāsatahu* [not found in Diem] *wa-ni'matahu*, "... and may He prolong your strength, your support, your happiness, your well-being, His protection and His grace", in IV *wa-'adāma ta'yīdaka wa-s[...]*ka wa-ni'mataka**, in VI *wa-'adāma ta'yīdahu wa-sa'ādatahu wa-salāmataka* (!) *wa-ni'mataka* (!) [...], in VI and VIII *wa-'adāma ta'yīdahu wa-ni'matahu wa-kabata 'a-dā'ahu* ("... and may He humble your enemies"), in VII *wa-'adāma 'izzahu wa-ta'yīdahu wa-sa'ādatahu wa-salāmatahu*, and in IX *wa-'adāma ta'yīdahu*

<sup>18</sup> Gil, 1997, nos. 102–846, 'Aodeh, 1992, *passim*. It should be observed that not all the letters edited by 'Aodeh are written by Jews to Jews.

<sup>19</sup> Gil, 1997, nos. 102–104, 111, 178, 205, 324 and 661. In letter 397, only the word *bism* in Arabic script is found.

<sup>20</sup> The rhetoric of the introductory eulogies is discussed in the comments on Diem, 1995a, 7r, 2–4, 26r, 2.

<sup>21</sup> For the views of al-Qalqashandī, see Björkman, 1928, 118.

*wa-sa'ādatahu*. In three letters (II, IV and VIII) the place and date of the letters are introduced. The introduction to the exposition is achieved by *'u'limu* ("I inform") + the relevant pronominal or accusative construction in I, II, IV and VIII (for this, see Diem, 1991, 10, 2, with comments). Once again the introduction to this part of the letter is achieved more freely in the letters to the father (III and X) but also in those to Nehoray b. Nissīm (VI, VII and IX).

An almost formulaic expression in all letters, except IV, IX and XI, is *taqaddama kitābī / taqaddamat kutubī... 'iddatun*. It is tempting to understand the expression in the light of the observation by Goitein, viz. that the letters and the accounts accompanying them were often sent in a number of copies. The reason for this no doubt was to ensure that at least one copy reached the addressee.<sup>22</sup> Be this as it may, the expression is found in the comparative sample as well, where it is discussed in the comments on Diem, 1991, 37v. 2.

The letters to the father, as well as letters II and VIII, merit a more detailed discussion. To begin with the letters to the father, we have in I [*taqaddamat kutubī 'īlayka yā wālidī 'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aka*] *wa-kāna laka wa-ma'aka* [*'iddatun*], "...and may He be for you and with you", in III [*waṣala kitābuka yā wālidī 'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aka*] *mutaḥamminan bi-salāmataka fa-ṣakartu llāha 'alā ḍālika*, "...containing your well-being, and I thanked God for this", and in X [*kitābī yā wālidī l-'azīza 'alayya 'aṭāla llāhu baqā'aka*] *wa-kāna laka wa-ma'aka 'ōzēr wē-sōmēk*, "and may He be for you and with you 'a helper and a supporter". It is as if these introductions convey a sense of intimacy. The final blessing in the introduction to X is, furthermore, of special interest, as he has woven a Hebrew phrase into it, *'ōzēr wē-sōmēk*. A perusal of the letters from his father which are published, reveals that his father uses the very same blessing in one letter to his son as in a letter to Joseph b. 'Alī Kohen Fāsī, Farah b. Ismā'īl's business friend.<sup>23</sup> To this may be added that he calls his father *wālidī l-'azīzu 'alayya*, "my dear father", in the addresses of these letters. *Wālidī* is here the polite word for "father", just as the epithet *'azīzu* is frequently used for family members in the comparative sample, and so it may be that it was a preferred epithet for more intimate addressees. In this way these words add to the intimacy of these letters. The introduction is quite different in letter VIII, i.e. the letter to the most distant addressee. After the customary introductory eulogies, and the place and date of the letter, a set of fixed phrases follows, most of them attested in the comparative sample: *al-ḥālu salāmatun* [cf. Diem, 1991, 11, 3; 1996, 2r. 4; 28r. 4] *wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi l-'ālamīna wa-ṣawqun 'ilā ḡurratihi as-sa'idati wa-tawallu'un li-mā yaridu min naḥwihi* [for these two, see below] *qarraba llāhu l-'iḡtimā'a bihi 'alā 'afḥali l-'aḥwāli s-sārrati bi-rahmatihi* [Diem, 1995a, 66r. 4–5 (14th century)], "I am well, praised be God, the Lord of the worlds! I desire your happy countenance and crave that which comes from you! May God, in His mercy, bring near my union with you in the most joyful circumstances!" Then the introduction continues with information on earlier letters to the addressee before the exposi-

<sup>22</sup> This down-to-earth aspect of mercantile correspondence is discussed in Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 161–162, 304, where a number of cases are cited.

<sup>23</sup> = Gil, 1997, nos. 489 and 494.

tion is introduced by *'u'limu*. Two elements are prominent in this introduction, viz. the *ḥamdala* and the *šawqiyya*. As for the *ḥamdala*, it is another element prescribed by al-Qalqashandī for the introduction. It is also found in IV, but this letter is so fragmentary that it is difficult to get a proper impression of its introduction. The *šawqiyya*, i.e. where the writer expresses his yearning for the addressee, is here expressed in two eulogies introduced by *šawqun* and *tawallu'un* respectively.<sup>24</sup> Also letter II, i.e. the Arabic-script letter, has quite a prolix introduction. After the *bas-mala*, the introductory eulogies, and the place and date of the letter, there follows *'arrafahu llāhu barakatahu wa-'as'adahu bi-mā yalīhi*, "may God acquaint you with His blessing and make you happy in that which follows". After this follows *'u'limu* with information on earlier letters to the addressee. Then the exposition proper begins with *sa'altuhu 'an ...*, "I asked you that ..."

The picture which emerges is that Farah b. Ismā'il introduces his letters in different ways, depending on his relationship to the addressees. While the introductions to his father convey a sense of intimacy, the introductions to the letters to the other addressees convey an increasing distance, depending on his relation to the addressee.

### 2.2.3. Grammatical forms of address

The addressee of a medieval Arabic letter may be addressed in a number of ways. The grammatical forms used are the third person (= formal address), and the second person (= informal address), in either case in the singular, the dual or the plural, depending on the circumstances. Even more formal forms of address include *ḥaḍra*, *ḡanāb*, and *maḡlis*, each of them used in the sense of "Your Excellency". In these cases, the gender of the word chosen may be used in addressing the addressee. The sender of the letter may for himself/herself use the first person singular or the first person plural (= the plural of modesty), but also the third person singular. To humble himself/herself, the sender may use formulas like *al-mamlūk*, *al-ḥādim* (or in the feminine in a letter with a female sender), both of them signifying "the slave" and the like.<sup>25</sup>

The way in which Farah b. Ismā'il apostrophises the addressees obviously follows his relations with them. As we saw above, we find *yā wālidi* in I and III, and in X *yā wālidi l-'azīza 'alayya*. In these letters he also always uses informal address. He calls Nehoray b. Nissīm *sayyidi wa-mawlāya*, "my master and my lord", in the introductions to VI, and XI as well as in the address of IX. This is a way of apostrophising the addressee which became frequent later (for which see Diem, 1991, 20, 2, with comment). Elsewhere in these letters, however, he uses only *mawlāya* which is also the usage throughout VII. Letter VI is peculiar in this respect. In its introduction, *li-mawlānā*, "to our lord", may be understood as the plural of modesty. In the rest of this letter, he calls the addressee *mawlāya aš-šayḥ*, as he does in the address.

<sup>24</sup> The *shawqiyya* is discussed in Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 5, 230–231. Its frequency in the comparative sample is easily traced through the glossaries. It is worth noting that the eulogy introduced by *tawallu'un* is lacking there.

<sup>25</sup> The views of al-Qalqashandī are quoted in Björkman, 1928, 112, 122. See also Diem, 1991, 4.

This may suggest an increased degree of deference towards Nehoray b. Nissīm in this letter. For the more distant addressees in II and VIII, we find *mawlāya aš-šayḥ* in the introductions. The addressee of II is furthermore apostrophised as *li-ḥaḍṛatihi* later on in the introduction, only *mawlāya* in the exposition but *sayyidī wa-mawlāya* in the address. As for the exposition of VIII, the addressee is there addressed as *mawlāya* but also as *mawlāya aš-šayḥ*, and so this letter is singled out in this respect as well.

Faraḥ b. Ismāʿil may switch between formal and informal address, between using the third person singular and the second person singular, in one and the same letter. Formal address predominates in the introductory formulas which adds to the impression that they were more or less copied mechanically. Letters II and VIII are the letters with the most consistent use of formal address, but even in them there are lapses into informal address. In II it is as if he tried to use formal address when writing in Arabic-script, switching over to informal address in the lines in Hebrew script. Not even this is, however, consistently done: in II vrtmrg, 2, he all of a sudden uses second person singular for once, only to switch over again to the formal third person later on. Diem, 1997, no. 31, provides a suitable parallel for such an inconsistency. The reason is, of course, that he was a busy merchant, not a professional scribe, with little or no interest in such niceties. As for himself, he generally uses the first person singular. At least once, however, we find the plural of modesty in III v. 2–3 ... *ʿarrafanā llāhu wa-ʿiyyāka barakatahu ... wa-ḡamaʿa baynanā wa-baynaka*, “may God acquaint us and you with his blessing ... and may He unite us”. The first person plural is found a number of times in VI in different positions, and possibly this may be interpreted as the plural of modesty as well, although there are also clear examples of the first person singular in this letter.<sup>26</sup>

#### 2.2.4 The exposition

In private letters, as well as in petitions to amirs and to high officials, the exposition is a free-form composition. In the petitions, there is, however, a frequently recurring, fixed phrase, viz. the formula used to express specific requests. The phrase is introduced by *saʿala* (or one of its synonyms), the subject of which is the petitioner, usually followed by the formula *al-ʿinʿām ʿalayhi wa-l-ʾiḥsān ʾilayhi*, (“the bestowal of kindness upon him and the granting of benefaction to him”). At the end of the request in most petitions there is another formulaic phrase, the basic scheme of which consists of the protasis/apodosis construction *ʾin raʿā l-ʾamīr ʾan yafʿala kaḍā wa-kaḍā faʿala / fa-l-yafʿalu*, (“if you should resolve to do such-and-such a thing, do so”). The formula has a number of variants. Thus the adverbs may qualify the verb in the apodosis like *faʿala muwaffaqan*, (“do so with success”), *faʿala mutaḥaddilan*, (“do so with kindness”), and *faʿala muṭāban* (“do so and be rewarded”). The apodosis may also be omitted altogether just as the protasis may be replaced by a direct request.<sup>27</sup> Both the standard formula and the variants were used in private

<sup>26</sup> The possible use of *nafʿalu* for the first person singular is beyond the scope of the present discussion, as are any other vulgarisms.

<sup>27</sup> The formula is discussed in detail in Khan, 1990, 14–21, 1993a, 312–316, 1993b, 65f. This is, no doubt, also how the expression discussed in Blau, 1988, 415 (footnote 18), should be understood.



letters as well, so also by Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl. Thus in I r. 9–10 [*tatafaḍḍilu tubayyi'u ... 'in šā'a llāhu*] *fa'alta mutafaḍḍilan*, “[please sell ..., God willing] do so with kindness”, VI v. 3 *fa'ala mun'imān 'in šā'a llāhu*, “do this kindly, God willing” (for which cf. Khan, 1993a, 316), and VI v. 6 *fa'alta mutafaḍḍilan* (for this, cf. Diem, 1991, 64r. 13).

Quite frequent in his letters is another formula, *'a'lamtuka / 'a'lamtu mawlāya ḍālika*, “I have informed you/my lord of this” which is used to close a section in IV r. 12, v. 4, 7, VI r. 11, VII r. 13 and VIII r. 15. It is not found in the comparative sample of *Fātimid* letters. In Ayyubid and later letters and documents, however, there is a closing formula of similar function, *'anhā ḍālika*, “he informed of this”, (Diem, 1991, 2r. 13, with comments and references). What may be relevant here is that *'u'limu* ceased to introduce the exposition in the 12th century, being replaced by *'unhī/yunhī*, “I/he inform(s)”, (depending on the subject) just as *'anhā ḍālika* was introduced as a closing formula.<sup>28</sup> But, so far no examples have been found of the use of *'a'lamtuka ḍālika* as a closing formula except here.

## 2.2.5. The conclusion

The conclusions of the letters are far less prolix than the introductions. Thus, we have in VIII (i.e. in the letter with the elaborate introduction) and to his father in X the Hebrew ... *wē-šālōm*, and in I only *as-salāmu*. There are, however, also more elaborate forms. He concludes III (to his father) with... *'arrafanā llāhu wa-'iyyāka barakatahu wa-ḡa'alaka fīhi min as-sālimīna wa-ḡama'a baynanā wa-baynaka* [Diem, 1996, 4, 9–10] and *'innahu 'alā mā yašā'u qadīran* [Diem, 1991, 68, 14 (14th century), 1996, 16, 5 (14th century)], “may God acquaint us and you with His blessing and may He preserve your well-being and unite us, for He has the power over whatever He wants”. This, no doubt, adds to the intimacy of the letter which we noted above regarding the introduction. To Nehoray b. Nissīm, he uses a standard formula in VII *taḥtaṣṣa 'atamma s-salāmi wa-li-š-šayḥi 'abū iṣḥāq as-salāmu*, “Accept my most special greetings, and greetings to the master Abū Iṣḥāq” (for the formula, see Diem, 1995a, 47v. 3 with comments (12th century), 1996, 4, 11, 20v. 4). In VI (also to Nehoray b. Nissīm), he obviously starts the final greetings with *ḥaṣaṣtuhu bi-'atammi s-salāmi wa-man tašmaluhu 'ināyatuhu s-salāmu*, “I send you my most special greetings, and greetings [to] everyone whom your care encompasses”, only to add some new business items, ending with *wa-s-salāmu*. Finally, he concludes II with the *ḥasbala*, here in the form *wa-ḥasbī tiqatī bi-llāhi*, “Sufficient for me is my trust in God” which follows at the end of the concluding blessings. The addition of the *ḥasbala* is of interest. It was originally a quotation from the Qur'ān 3:167 and another element prescribed by al-Qalqashandī. It is found not only in Arabic letters, but Maghrebite Jewish merchants also used it. There are a number of varieties of the formula in Jewish letters, all of them found in the comparative sample, as is the form used by Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl. A perusal of the letters from Egypt published by Gil reveals that the *ḥasbala* is found in 29 letters. In 27 of them it is written in Hebrew script in Hebrew-script letters, in Arabic script in an Arabic-

<sup>28</sup> Diem, 1991, 48, 4 (with comments).

script letter to which is added one occurrence in Arabic script in a Hebrew-script letter. In the Arabic-script letters from Jews to Jews edited by 'Aodeh, the formula is found in Arabic script in five letters.<sup>29</sup>

The conclusion of II is, furthermore, embedded in a variety of greetings and post-scripts which suggest haste and urgency. The concluding phrases proper are preceded by a number of short instructions to the addressee. Then follows ...*ḥaṣaṣtuḥu bi-'atammī s-salāmi wa-mawlāya 'abī zakarīya waldahu ḥarasahu llāhu bi-'afḍali s-salāmi* (cf. the concluding greeting in VI and VII). After that, he asks for news about his father, followed by the *ḥashbala* quoted above. To this are then added post-scripts.

## 2.2.6. The address

The address is, together with the instructions for the *fayḡ*, among those parts of a letter which is most easily damaged. It is peculiar for Jewish letters in general that the address may be found both in Hebrew script and in Arabic script. This is also the case in nos. III and VI of Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl's letters.

The basic scheme of the address is:

←	←
( <i>min</i> ) + (self title) + name of the sender (Date)	( <i>li</i> ) + (honorific title) + name of the addressee Eulogies
instructions for the <i>fayḡ</i> <sup>30</sup>	

This is the scheme found in I. But there is, of course, room for all kinds of variations and additions. Thus, in II, there is written between the name of the sender and the date: '*amānatan muwaṣṣalatan / mūṣalatan* [or '*amānatu muwaṣṣilihi / mūṣilihi*] *fīhi muhimmun wa-lā taṭruḥḥu fī-ṣ-ṣunduqi*, "a permanent trust [or entrusted to its deliverer], in it is important [matter], so do not cast it away into the box", and in IV we find a postscript after the name of the sender.

The honorific titles and the eulogies are more or less a repetition of the introduction. His way of addressing his father in this section has been treated above in 2.2.2. To Nehoray b. Nissīm he calls himself *šākiru tafaḍḍulihi*, "he who is grateful for your kindness" in letters VI, VII and IX, but only *šākiru* in IV. These are expressions found in the comparative sample as well (= Diem, 1995a, 61v. 1 with comments, 12th century). In VI both expressions are used, with *šākiru tafaḍḍulihi* in Hebrew script and only *šākiru* in Arabic script. It may here be relevant to mention that, so far, the former expression is better attested in Jewish letters than in Muslim ma-

<sup>29</sup> The same form of the *ḥashbala* is found in Diem, 1995a, 56, v9, and Gil, 1997, nos. 329, 616 and 788. The varieties in the comparative sample are easily traced through the glossaries. For the suggestion that mainly Maghrebi Jews used the formula, see Goitein, 1973, 235. For the views of al-Qalqashandī, see Björkman, 1928, 117.

<sup>30</sup> The basic scheme is discussed in Jahn, 1937, 171–173, and examples from the Genizah are culled and discussed in Worman, 1907.

terial. A variant of the expression which perhaps should be seen as more submissive, is used in VIII, viz. *šākiru 'afḏālihi*, "he who is grateful for your favours".

### 2.2.7. The instructions for the *fayḡ*

There was a well-developed, princely mail-service in the Persian and the Byzantine empires. The Arabs took over the Persian princely mail-service, calling it *al-barīd*. Parallel to this, there developed a commercial mail-service more or less organised along the lines of *al-barīd*. The couriers were called *fayḡ* (in the plural *fuyūḡ*), an Arabisation of the Persian *payk*. They were organised in agencies, and it appears that a paternal uncle of Farah b. Ismā'il's, Ibrāhīm b. Farrāh Ibn al-Iskandarānī, was running such an agency.<sup>31</sup>

In Farah b. Ismā'il's letters, the instructions for the *fayḡ* are always in Arabic script, as in I, II, III, V, VI, VIII, IX and X – the absence of such instructions in IV, VII and XI may just be due to the present state of the letters. The verbs *dafa'a* and *waṣala* are used here. Thus we have *yudfa' li*, "to be delivered to" + the person in II and V, only *yudfa'* + the place in I and VI, and in VIII *yudfi'hā* + the place (for a discussion of different constructions with this verb, see Diem, 1991, 32v. 2 with comment). With *waṣala* we have in III *yuwaṣṣilhu / yūṣilhu* + the place, and in IX *yaṣil li* + the person.<sup>32</sup> In X, only the place is mentioned without any verb. The instructions in II, finally, may indicate that this letter was transmitted as a favour by the deliverer Shammār, who is mentioned in the letter, and not by the *fayḡ* for payment. The expression *'amānatan muwaṣṣalatan / mūṣalatan* [or *'amānatu muwaṣṣilihi / mūṣilihi*] is thus cited by Goitein as aimed at a friend acting as the deliverer. In the comparative sample, we also find a similar expression, *'amānatan muwaddātan*, "an entrusted matter" (= Diem, 1996, 9v. address, with comments and further parallels). The form used here is not known from the comparative sample, and it seems to be rare in Jewish letters as well. Thus, in Gil, 1997, no. 644, both forms are used: *'amānatan muwaddātan muwaṣṣalatan / mūṣalatan* (Hebrew script), in Gil, 1997, no. 742... *'amānatan 'ilayhi fī tawṣilihi li-muwaṣṣilihi / mūṣilihi qirāt* (?), Arabic script), "... entrusted to him, at the delivery one qirāt (?) to the deliverer", while the form found here is also used in Gil, 1997, no. 537 (Hebrew script).<sup>33</sup>

### 2.2.8. Expression of dates

One striking feature of Arabic letters is the lack of a date of writing. In many cases, no doubt, the reason is simply their fragmentary state. Yet dating is conspicuously

<sup>31</sup> The princely mail-service *al-barīd* is treated in *EI2*, s.v., while the commercial mail-service in Fāṭimid Egypt is treated in *EI2*, s.v. *fuyūḡ* as well as in Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 281–295. The note on Ibrāhīm b. Farrāh Ibn al-Iskandarānī is found in Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 304, 'Aodeh, 1992, 36. His letters are published in Gil, 1997, nos. 542–559.

<sup>32</sup> The constructions with the verb *waṣala* in the comparative sample may be traced through the glossaries. In his comment on 1991, 48, 4, Diem opts for the fourth form of the verb as he does in the glossary in Diem, 1995a s.v., but in the glossary in Diem, 1996 s.v. the choice between the second and fourth forms is left open.

<sup>33</sup> See Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 304, for the point that friends acted as deliverers of letters instead of *fuyūḡ* and for the phrase discussed here.



absent even in letters which are well preserved, and this both in private letters and in business letters. One reason put forward is that people did not find the date important enough. It is, however, worth observing that al-Qalqashandī specifically says that dates are necessary in letters to kings, while letters to ordinary people are to be remain undated. There are, though, a few cases in which dates are found in the comparative sample. In these cases, they are found in the introduction of letters.<sup>34</sup>

Dates are found in six of Farah b. Ismāʿīl's letters. In IV and VIII, the date of the letter is given in the introduction, in VII at the end, in I and III in the address, and in II both in the introduction and in the address. In III, we also find the date of the addressee's previous letter at the beginning of the letter. The date is given slightly differently according to the script used. Thus, in Hebrew script: I (address) and II (address) *li3 ḥalawna min marḥešwān*, "3rd of Marḥeshwan", III (introduction) *muwarraḥ 7 baqīna min marḥešwān*, "dated 23rd of Marḥeshwan", III (address) *li-yawmayna ḥalawna min kislēw*, "2nd of Kislew" (also at the end of the letter), IV (introduction) *li11 baqīna min kislēw*, "19th of Kislew", VII (end) *li10 baqīna min tammūz*, "20th of Tammuz", VIII (introduction) *li14 baqīna min tišrī*, "27th of Tishri". Dates are given in Arabic script as follows: II (introduction) *li-ṭalāṭin ḥalawna min ǧumādā l-āḥiri*, "the third of Jumada II", III (address), *mustahallu raǧābin*, "first of Rajab".<sup>35</sup> Only two exceptions from this pattern of using Jewish months in Hebrew-script dates and Arabic months in Arabic-script dates are found, viz. IV v. 6 [...] *'awwal ramaḍāna*, "first of Ramadan" and *nišfu šaḥri šawwāli*, "15th of Shawwal", in VIII r. 15. They are to be discussed below in 3.2.

The basic pattern is the one found in Arabic, though with certain modifications. In the dates in Hebrew script, Hebrew letters are used as numerals, just as the months are given according to the Jewish calendar. In the address of III, we also find that the date is reckoned after the *days* of the month, although otherwise constructed on the Arabic pattern, in which the dates are usually reckoned by the *nights* of the month. In the dates in Arabic script, on the other hand, the pattern of CA is followed with the dates according to the Muslim calendar. It is striking that only the day and the month of the letters are mentioned, not the years. The obvious difference between the way of expressing dates in Hebrew and in Arabic script may be compared with the contemporary accounts from the Jewish pious foundations written by the official scribe Yefet b. David b. Shekhanyā. In these accounts, the Arabic months predominate and this irrespective of the script, just as we also find there years given according to Muslim calendar.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Diem, 1991, 35, 3; 37r, 3; 1995a, 51r, 3; 1997, 66r, 2. The view of al-Qalqashandī is quoted in Björkman, 1928, 116. For a comment upon the lack of dates in letters, see also Jahn, 1937, 164f.

<sup>35</sup> For the system in CA, see Wright, II, 248f. It is to be noted that Arabic numerals are used in the present investigation whenever Hebrew letters are used as numerals in the original.

<sup>36</sup> = Gil, 1976, nos. 3–4, 8–30. According to the material collected and studied there, the use of Muslim dates in these documents was widely spread during the Fātimid period, only to give way to a dominant use of Jewish dates after c. 1170 (Gil, 1976, 60–61, 522–524).

## 2.2.9. The eulogies

Eulogies form an essential part in the rhetoric of medieval Arabic, epistolary style. The writer had at his disposal a stock of polite expressions and sentences. Taken together, they formed a veritable handbook of good manners. This is not the place to analyse them in the context of the contents of the letters, however interesting such an analysis would be.<sup>37</sup> Here I shall only relate them to the comparative sample. A number of the Arabic eulogies in the introductions and the conclusions of the letters have been discussed above. What is discussed here is the rest of the Arabic eulogies, as well as the Hebrew eulogies.

The Hebrew eulogies are mainly found in the introductions of the letters. X (introduction) *wa-kāna laka wa-ma'aka 'ōzēr wē-sōmēk*, and in the conclusions of VIII and X ... *wē-šālōm* have already been treated. To them should be added the "judaisation" of the Arabic eulogy *allāhu yağ'alka fī ḥayyizi s-salāmati*, "may God preserve you in the state of well-being", by adding *wē-kol yiš[rā' ēl]*, "and all of Israel", in IV r. 4 and in IX r. 10. Once more it is of interest to observe that the very same judaisation of a eulogy is found in a couple of his father's letters.<sup>38</sup> To these examples should be added [*aš-šayḥ*] *yimšā rah[āmīm]*, "may he find mercy", in III r. 28 and possibly referring to his paternal uncle, Abū Ya'qūb Joseph b. Farah, mentioned earlier in this letter. Farah b. Ismā'īl also consistently uses Jewish blessings for the dead, viz. *n[ūhō]* '[eden]', "may he rest in Eden", in IV, v.bu, 1, VI v.u, 2, VII r. 2, v. 1, VIII v.ua, 1 and IX, v.u, 1, and *n[āḥ] n[afšēh]*, "may he rest in peace", in III v.bu, 1 (?), and X v.bu, 1.

The rest of the eulogies are in Arabic. The most frequent of them is the ever-recurring 'in šā'a llāhu. The *ḥamdala* is interesting: in IV r. 2 and VIII r. 2, it is found in the common form, *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi l-'ālamīna*, "praised be God, the Lord of the worlds!" but in VI v. 5 we meet with *naḥmadu llāha wa-naškuruhu*, "we praise God and thank Him" (for this form, see Diem, 1995a, 32r. 2–3), and in III v. 1 *bi-ḥamdi llāhi wa-tafaḍḍilihi*, "through God's grace and His favour" (for which, cf. Diem, 1995b, 23, 2). The *ḥasbala* at the conclusion of II has been discussed above. A frequent eulogy is *allāhu yağ'alka fī ḥayyizi s-salāmati* (with variants with different suffixes according to the context, in III r. 30, IV r. 3–4, VI r.rtmrg, 3–4, VIII r.amrg, 1–2; Diem, 1996, 35r. 8–9). In *al-ḥāliqū ḡalla wa-'azza*, "the Creator, He is high and strong" (VI r. 15) and in *allāhu ḡalla wa-'azza*, "God, He is high and strong" (X r. 6), *ḡalla wa-'azza* instead of 'azza wa-ḡalla is peculiar, but it is also found in Diem, 1995b, 38, 5. In II v. 5 and VI r. 9, we have *allāhu yaktub salāmata l-ḡamī'i*, "may God decree the well-being of everything" (VII r. 5, 8 *kataba llāhu s-salāmata*), for which cf. Diem, 1995a, 43r. 10, and 1996, 27r. 9. Two eulogies with *ḥarasa* are found, viz. *ḥarasahumā llāhu*, "may God protect the two of them", (II v. 1, 2; vurt, 2; cf. Diem, 1991, 18, 13) and *ḥarasa llāhu 'izzahu*, "may God protect his strength", (II v.amrg, 2; cf. Diem, 1995a, 41v. a14, b4; from the 12th century). In VI r. 2 and X r. 4, the eulogy *allāhu ḡallat qudratuhu*, "God's might is great" (Diem,

<sup>37</sup> For such a discussion, see Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 5, 229–241, where the Genizah correspondence is treated. No similar discussion of the Arabic correspondence is found, to the best of my knowledge.

<sup>38</sup> = Gil, 1997, nos. 487, 491, 493.

1996, 35r. 8) is used, while there is no need to quote any parallels for *'ayyadahu llāhu*, “may God help him” (IV r. 14). For *allāhu yusāhil*, “may God make it possible” (IV r. 14), Diem, 1995a, 54 rtmrg, 1, may be quoted, and for *wa-llāhu yu'in*, “may God be of help” (VIII r. 23), Diem, 1996, 5v. 20. For *allāhu yağ'ali l-'āqibata li-ḥayrin*, “may God grant a good outcome” (IX v. 1), Diem, 1996, 27r. 19–20 (12th century) provides a parallel, and for *'ahyāhu llāhu* (VI r. 8) Diem, 1995a, 41r. b 8 (12th century). VIII r.rtmrg, 7–8 *fa-ğayyidun allāhu ta'ālā*, “for God (He is exalted!) is excellent”, should be compared with Diem, 1996, 6, 4, and VIII r.rtmrg, 8–r.amrg, 1 *allāhu ta'ālā lā 'addamanī ḥayātahu*, “may God (He is exalted!) not deprive me of your life”, with Diem, 1993, 18r. 9 (7th–8th century). For IV r. 13 *wa-llāhu 'alima l-ḥāla*, “but God knows how it is”, Diem, 1995a, 1r. 3 provides a parallel. For II r.rtmrg, 1–2 *'ā'idun bi-llāhi*, “I am seeking protection by God”, the dictionaries may be consulted, as also in the case of IX r. 1 *allāhu ḡalla ṭanāyuhu*, “may God's praise be high”. Eulogies, finally, which lack parallels in Diem are II r. 3 *'arraḥahu llāhu barakatahu* (III v. 2–3 *'arraḥanā llāhu wa-'iyyāka barakatahu*), II r. 3 *'as'adahu bi-mā yalīhi* (but cf. Diem, 1993, 22, 4 (9th–10th century)), III v. 3 *ḡa'alaka fīhi min as-sālimīna*, VI r.rtmrg, 11–12 *allāhu yaqqā bi-l-barakati*, “may God decide upon the blessing”, VIII r. 2–3 *tawallu'un li-mā yaridu min naḥwihi*, and IX r. 10 *allāhu yaṣḡulka fī ḥayrin*, “may God divert you with good”. There are, however, a number of eulogies with *baraka* in the comparative sample, and so the absence of the eulogies here may be a coincidence. *Baraka* was also important in Genizah society as it was among the Muslims.<sup>39</sup> As for oaths, all of them are conventional, viz. *wa-llāhi* and *bi-llāhi*, *fa-llāhu*, and *allāha llāha*.

A grammatical note may be added here. The introductory and concluding eulogies are more or less fixed formulas which are used in different combinations. In them the optative perfect is used which adds to the stereotyped impression of these parts of the letters. In the Arabic eulogies in the exposition, on the other hand, we find a number of eulogies with the imperfect interchanging with the use of the optative perfect. This is furthermore a linguistic trait which the letters studied here share with the letters in the comparative sample. This use of the imperfect, no doubt, mirrors the usage of living speech.<sup>40</sup>

### 3. “Confessional” traits in the letters

Hebrew script and the occurrence of Hebrew elements are the outward marks which characterise Arabic texts written by Jews for Jews. It is thus of interest to investigate the extent to which Hebrew words and phrases are found in the letters as well as how far words and phrases characteristic of Islam have penetrated them. The first characteristic is here interpreted as judaisation while the existence of Islamic phraseology is seen as a sign of islamisation.

<sup>39</sup> For *baraka*, see *EI2*, s.v. and Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 5, 229. The eulogies with *baraka* in the comparative sample are easily traced through the glossaries.

<sup>40</sup> This switch in this variety of the language is discussed in Hopkins, 1984, §§ 137c, 138c, citing examples culled from Arabic papyri.

### 3.1. Hebrew phraseology

The Hebrew elements, including the judaisation of Arabic eulogies, are, on the whole, restricted to the formal parts of the letters, and they have already been treated. Peculiar to Arabic texts written by Jews for Jews is otherwise the use of hybrid constructions with the Arabic definite article prefixed to an unchanged Hebrew word, e.g. *at-tōrā*, “the Torah”, for words denoting Jewish religious terms.<sup>41</sup> Three such constructions are found in the letters, viz. *al-kōhēn* which is frequently used concerning his trading partner Joseph b. 'Alī Kohen and may perhaps almost be seen as a proper name. To this is added *al-ḥazzān*, “the synagogue cantor” in VI r.amrg, 11. In X v. 2 *aš-šēš* is found, a word used for fine linen cloth in the language of the period.<sup>42</sup> A possible Hebraism may be hidden in ...[bni] *raḡuli l-mā'idati*, “the man of the table” (III r. 4, r.rtmrg, 14–15): perhaps we here have an otherwise unknown word for “money-changer” coined after Hebrew *šulḥānī*, “money-changer”. Finally we have already observed that Farah b. Ismā'īl normally uses Jewish months in Hebrew-script dates, while Arabic months are found in Arabic-script dates.

### 3.2. Islamic phraseology

The Arabic eulogies, including the *ḥamdala* and the *ḥasbala*, have already been treated. This is the place to mention other expressions which may be interpreted as Islamic phraseology. God is normally referred to by *allāhu*, twice *allāhu ta'ālā* (VIII r.rtmrg, 8, XI r. 10), once *allāhu ḡalla wa-'azza* (X r. 6), and once *al-ḥāliq ḡalla wa-'azza* (VI r. 15). A quite common expression is '*istahartu llāha*, “I have entreated God to choose the best” (I r. 5, II r. 6, VIII r. 7, IX r. 1, X r. 4; cf. Diem, 1995a, 37r. 2 with comment) – '*istihāra* was common among the merchants.<sup>43</sup> This is also the place to remind the reader of [...] '*awwal ramaḍāna* (IV v. 6) as well as *niṣfu šahri šawwālī* (VIII r. 15). The text is too fragmentary to allow of the interpretation of the context of the first expression, but the second refers to the reported speech discussed below.

There are two rather unclear expressions, viz. *min 'awwali* [...] *al-ḡum'a* [...] *naqbiḍu* (IV v. 5) and *al-'īd*, “festival”, (VIII r. 15, v. 8, and X v. 1). In the first case, the fragmentary text makes any interpretation difficult. The editor's interpretation of *al-ḡum'a* as “week” is, however, less likely, as we have [...] *al-'usbū'* for this in IV v. 3. A possibility here would be “Friday”, for which the current Hebrew (and Jewish) expression is '*erev šabbāt*, “eve of the Sabbath”. In V2, r 41 he actually writes, obviously at the dictation of Joseph b. 'Alī Kohen, [*wa-katabtu ḥāda l-kitāba*] *yawma l-ḡum'ati 'erev šabbāt*. As for *al-'īd*, the difficulty lies in which festival is to be taken into account. In VIII r. 15, v. 8, it is possible to argue with the editor that it refers to Christmas: in VIII r. 15, it is found in a quotation of an utterance by some inhabitants from Qūš which was still a predominantly Christian town

<sup>41</sup> The matter is discussed in Blau, 1999, 44–46, 146–149, 158–166 and 271–273.

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of the use of this word in the period, see Gil, 1992, 239–241.

<sup>43</sup> For '*istihāra*, see E12, s.v. and Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 346–347, vol. 5, 331–332.

in this period, while VIII v. 8 obviously refers back to this quotation. However, another possibility would be that it may refer to the Jewish *Ḥanukkah* which is celebrated about the same time as Christmas, as we know that it was referred to as *ʿīd* as well at this period.<sup>44</sup> Anyway we obviously do not hear the voice of Faraḥ b. Ismāʿīl as, like *niṣfu šahri šawwāli*, here it belongs to reported speech. In X v. 1 it is reported that the agents, *al-wukalāʾu*, have said that they do not want anything from the Jews *wa-huwa ḥurūju l-ʿīdi*, “and this is the end of the festival”. The context may perhaps be understood as meaning that non-Jewish (?) agents are willing to postpone some transactions out of respect for the Jewish custom of celebrating the conclusion of a festival. In this case it would refer to a Jewish festival but in an utterance by non-Jews.

The presence of the Arabic eulogies implies, furthermore, a profuse use of the word *allāhu*, “God”, and this is peculiar in a *Jewish* context. Taking their departure from the Biblical injunction not to take the Lord’s name “in vain”, Jews have been extremely reticent of using not only the Tetragrammaton but also the very word “God”, whether in Hebrew or in other languages. Instead they have used (and many still do) different circumlocutions. Not so here. Judging from observations made by others, Faraḥ b. Ismāʿīl conforms to the current usage, as found in the documents from the Genizah.<sup>45</sup>

### 3.3. Names

The naming custom among the Jews basically followed the custom among Muslims of the same period. A man may thus be identified in a number of ways, at times found side by side in the very same document. First of all we have his *personal name* which for Jews may be in Hebrew (or Aramaic), like Nehoray, or in Arabic, like Faraḥ, or both. In the last case, the meaning of the two names was supposed to be the same (and at times actually was), just as the sounds of the names at times were similar. Thus, we meet with Obadiah/ʿAbdallāh, “Servant of God”, while ʿAlī became a popular Jewish name because it has the same consonants as the Biblical ʿElī. The personal name was followed by the *name of his father*, as in Faraḥ b. Ismāʿīl or Nehoray b. Nissīm, To this was added his *kunya*, as in Abū l-Surūr Faraḥ b. Ismāʿīl or Abū Yaḥyā Nehoray b. Nissīm.<sup>46</sup>

In the letters of Faraḥ b. Ismāʿīl, it is of interest to discuss to what extent he used Hebrew or Arabic forms of the names of the Jews he mentions. For natural reasons, the names of Muslims and Christians mentioned in the letters are not taken into account. First of all, it should be kept in mind that *ywsf* may be understood as both Arabic and Hebrew, and so it is not discussed here. In the addresses, Nehoray b. Nissīm is referred to by his full name, Abū Yaḥyā Nehoray b. Nissīm, in IV, VI and IX (Hebrew script) and in X (Arabic script), but only by Nehoray b. Nissīm in VII (Hebrew script), and VI and IX (Arabic script). In the address of VIII, its addressee is called Abū Zikrī Yēhūdā b. Mūsā n[ūḥō] ʿ[eden] b. Sughmār. The merchant Abū

<sup>44</sup> Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 5, 395.

<sup>45</sup> This point is made in Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 5, 335.

<sup>46</sup> Goitein, 1967–1988, vol. 1, 357–358.



Zakariyā Yēhūdā b. Ismā'īl al-Andalusī is referred to by his full name in VII r. 2, and in VII r. 11 Abū Zakariyā Yēhūdā may refer to him as well. Another merchant, Barhūn b. Mūsā al-Tāhirtī/hat-Tāhirtī, is always referred to by his *kunya* as Abī Ishāq (IX r. rtmrg, 6), i.e. the normal Arabic form of the name, but also as Abū/Abī Ishāq (VII r. 3, 7, 13; VIII r. 4, v. 2, 3) and once even as Abū Yiṣḥāq (VIII v. 5). In view of the last form of the name, it may be justified to regard the spelling Ishāq as a Hebraism, instead of Ishāq. His paternal uncle, Ibrāhīm b. Farrāh Ibn al-Iskandarānī, is also referred to by his *kunya*, Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm (VI v. 1). In I r. 7, II, r. 7–8, r. mrg, 7–r. amrg, 1 and X r. 5 “Shammār, the sister’s son of Ḥayyīm b. Hilāl”, is mentioned. According to the editor, Shammār is short for Shemaryah, and so the name should probably be interpreted as Hebrew.<sup>47</sup> The Hebrew name of a certain Avrahām (VI r. 7, 9) should also be noted. To this should be added the Hebrew names transliterated into Arabic script in letter II and discussed above. Elsewhere Arabic names and forms of names are used in the letters.

## 4. The letters of Farah b. Ismā'īl and medieval Arabic commercial correspondence

### 4.1. The formal structure of the letters

From the formal point of view, the letters follow the structure of contemporary epistolary Arabic writing with some minor modifications. What is of interest is that these modifications, except for the abbreviations of the words *dīnār(an)*, *danānīr(ula)*, follow the choice of script. The Hebrew-script letters thus lack an equivalent of the *basmala*, a trait which they seem to share with most Hebrew-script letters of the period. The use of the *basmala* in the Arabic-script letter II, on the other hand, was obviously also in conformity with the conventions among Jewish merchants of the age. Likewise the use of Jewish or Islamic names of the months follows the choice of script in the letters as does the use or non-use of numerals as well as a stylistic feature like the obvious attempt to use formal or informal address in II. It is also possible to argue that the use of the *hasbala* in this letter follows the choice of script. It is thus clear that this was a distinctive parameter for Farah b. Ismā'īl in several cases and that he obviously conformed to conventions among the Jewish merchants of the period in a number of them.

Another peculiarity which they share with other letters of Jewish provenience is that dates are found in several of the letters, while most of the letters in the comparative sample lack any date. Even allowing that the lack of dates in there may be explained by their mutilated state, the difference between the groups is conspicuous.

As for the Arabic eulogies, most of them are also found in the comparative sample. For this reason it is likely that it is a mere coincidence that a few of them have no parallels there. However, it is interesting that it is possible to discern a difference in the use of eulogies between the letters to the father, on the one hand, and the other letters, on the other.

<sup>47</sup> For the identification of the name Shammār, see Gil, 1997, vol. 1, 264–265. Other places where he is mentioned may be traced through the indexes in Gil, 1997.

## 4.2. *The confessional traits of the letters*

The letters have a weak Jewish character, as is borne out by the discussion above. The elements peculiar to Judaism are more or less restricted to the formal parts of the letters, but even there elements peculiar to Islam are found. While the introductory eulogies there are more or less part and parcel of a standard phraseology, the occurrence of the *ḥamdala* in the introductions to IV and VIII is noteworthy. The elements peculiar to Judaism are, furthermore, almost completely absent in the exposition, viz. the free-form part of the letters. This, no doubt, mirrors the contents of the letters, whose basic focus is the delivery or non-delivery of goods, as well as financial transactions. This may be compared with a number of letters whose linguistic character has been studied by Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins. Thus, a non-mercantile letter of the 12th century provides an example of a letter with a profuse use of Biblical quotations, while a number of business letters from the 10th century show early examples of avoiding the profanation of the name of God, just as they use Biblical phrases for God. At the same time, they have the same formal structure as the letters of Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl.<sup>48</sup> This suggests that there was room for individual variants just as it points to the personalities of the writers and the type of correspondence.

Taken together, it is possible to maintain that the letters of Faraḥ b. Ismā'īl are part and parcel of the same epistolary style current among Muslim writers from a similar social and professional milieu about the same time in Egypt.

## References

### Oriental sources

- 'Aodeh, Š., 1992, (ed.). *Eleventh century Arabic letters of Jewish merchants from the Cairo Genizah* (Unpublished PhD thesis at the University of Tel Aviv). Tel Aviv.
- , 1998. "Eleventh century Arabic letters from the Cairo Geniza: The letter of Faraḥ Ibn Ismā'īl, a mercantile representative, to Abu Sahl Minashi Ibn Dāūd Al-Šayrafi", in *Te'uda*, vol. 14, xv–xvi, 125–138.
- Diem, W., 1991 (ed.). *Arabische Briefe auf Papyrus und Papier aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*. Wiesbaden.
- , 1993 (ed.). *Arabische Briefe aus dem 7.-10. Jahrhundert*. Vienna.
- , 1995a (ed.). *Arabische Geschäftsbriefe des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*. Wiesbaden.
- , 1995b (ed.). *Arabische amtliche Briefe des 10. bis 16. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*. Wiesbaden.
- , 1996 (ed.). *Arabische Privatbriefe des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*. Wiesbaden.
- , 1997 (ed.). *Arabische Briefe des 7. bis 13. Jahrhunderts aus den Staatlichen Museen Berlin*. Wiesbaden.
- Gil, M., 1976 (ed.). *Documents of the Jewish pious foundations from the Cairo Geniza*. Leiden.
- , 1983 (ed.). *Palestine during the first Muslim period (634–1099)*, vols. 1–3. Tel Aviv.
- , 1997 (ed.). *In the kingdom of Ishmael*, vols. 1–4. Tel Aviv.
- Goitein, S. D., 1955–1956 (ed.). "Autographs of Yehuda Hallevi", in *Tarbiz*, vols. 25/26, 393–412.
- , 1973 (trans.). *Letters of Medieval Jewish traders*. Princeton.

<sup>48</sup> = Blau, 1988, 198–209, 408–435 (letters ii, iii, xi and xii).



Grohmann, A., 1952. *From the world of Arabic papyri*. Cairo.

Judah ha-Levi, 1977. *Al-Radd wa-l-dalīl fī l-dīn al-dalīl* (ed. D Baneth). Jerusalem.

### Modern studies

Björkman, W., 1928. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei in islamischen Ägypten*. Hamburg.

Blau, J., 1988. *Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic variety*. Jerusalem.

—, 1999. *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic* (3rd ed.). Jerusalem.

Dozy, R., (1881) 1991. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, vols. 1–2. Reprinted at Beirut.

*EI2* = *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.). 1961–. Leiden.

Gil, M., 1992. *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*. Cambridge.

Goitein, S. D., 1967–1988. *A Mediterranean society*, vols. 1–5. Berkeley (quoted by volume and page).

—, 1971. "Side lights on Jewish education from the Cairo Genizah", in *Gratz College Anniversary Volume*. Philadelphia.

Grohmann, A., 1954. *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyrskunde. I. Band: Einführung*. Prague.

Hopkins, S., 1984. *Studies in the grammar of early Arabic*. Oxford.

Jahn, K., 1937. "Vom frühislamischen Briefwesen", in *Archiv Orientalní*, vol. 9, 153–200.

Khan, G., 1990. "The historical development of the structure of Medieval Arabic petitions", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 53, 8–30.

—, 1993a. *Arabic legal and administrative documents in the Cambridge Genizah collections*. Cambridge.

—, 1993b. *Bills, letters and deeds: Arabic papyri of the 7th to 11th centuries*. London.

Lane, E. W. (1863–1893) 1984. *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vols. 1–2. Reprinted at Cambridge.

Veselý, R., 1992. "Die *inšā'*-Literatur", in *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie. Band III. Supplement*. Wiesbaden.

Wehr, H., 1985. *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. 5th ed. Wiesbaden.

Worman, E. J., 1907. "Forms of address in Genizah letters", in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 19, 721–743.

Wright, W., 1981. *A grammar of the Arabic language*. 3rd ed. Cambridge.



# The *Mahābhārata* as counterpoint to the *Pāli Canon*

Greg Bailey  
La Trobe University, Australia

Since Indian Studies began in the West the relationship between Buddhism and Hinduism, especially in the first five centuries prior to the beginning of the Common Era, has been studied almost continually. The burden of most of these studies has been either textual, manifested above all in the search for parallels between Pāli literature and the *Upaniṣads* or the *Bhagavadgītā*, or doctrinal,<sup>1</sup> in the attempt to match or contrast related ideas. Buddhism remains, however, a substantial presence on Indian soil until about the 7th century ACE. The present paper sets out a program of research that develops the hypothesis that the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* were in part developed as brahmanical reactions to the early successes of Buddhism and that these reactions were all the more stronger because of the visibility of these successes. It suggests that focus should be placed on the growth of Buddhism between the middle of Aśoka's reign and the beginning of the Gupta period in North India about 320ACE. Arbitrary dates no doubt, yet we have to begin somewhere and the inscriptional evidence suggests Aśoka did begin to pour money into the Buddhist *saṅgha* from about 250BCE and the archeological evidence is consistent with a feverish period of construction of *vihāras* and *stūpas* been 200BCE and 200ACE. Why is this important? Firstly, because it testifies to the rapid growth<sup>2</sup> of Buddhism in a very visible way over a period of several centuries, and, secondly, because I speculate that this dramatic period of growth must have produced equally strong reactions.

<sup>1</sup> Most recently see A. Malinar, *Rājavidyā: Das königliche Wissen um Herrschaft und Verzicht*, (Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1996), esp. pp. 435–444.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, (Thames and Hudson, London, 1972), pp. 145, "There would seem to have been a sudden and rather rapid spread of Buddhism into western India, after which the faith entrenched itself in this area as is evident from the large number of rock-cut monasteries." See also K. Morrison, "Buddhist Monastic Institutions and the State in Western Deccan," *World Archeology*, 27 (1995), writing of the Sātavāhana period in present day Maharashtra between (200bc–200AD), p. 210 "the relationship between Buddhism and the Sātavāhana state was close... Outside its Gangetic homeland, the spread of Buddhism was associated with the extension of state power and state sponsorship. ... pre-S stupas do occur in the Deccan, but, during the S period, the number of Buddhist structures ... increased dramatically". The details are somewhat filled in by H.P. Ray, *Monastery and Guild. Commerce and the Sātavāhanas*, (Delhi, OUP, 1986), pp. 61–89. Cf. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, (Calcutta, Sahitya Sam-sad, 1971), p. 198, "The land [Andhra Pradesh], however, witnessed a phenomenal growth in Buddhist religion, art and architecture in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era." All of these conclusions need to be tested empirically by comparison with some standard by which the growth or decline of Hindu movements can be measured. This could include, but not be restricted to, the spread and number of Hindu monuments and plastic art. I have not yet had time to study D.C. Ahir, *Buddhist Sites and Shrines in India. History, Art and Architecture*, (Shri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 2003), but it looks more popular than scholarly.

We may reasonably expect these reactions to have been most strongly noted amongst the social elites, of whom the brahmins stood in the first rank. In a sense it is they who had the most to lose and they possessed the means and long experience to combat any new ideology and its accompanying lifestyle, which they perceived as being threatening.<sup>3</sup> Their own attempts to define a very distinctive view of culture and society become formalized in the Dharma literature which dates from the early centuries before the Common Era. The great bulk of this dharmaśāstric material also finds itself in the twelfth and thirteenth books of the *Mbh* where it is developed massively, especially the section dealing with *dāna*, and designed to comment on much of the narrative that precedes it. In short the brahmins have created a tightly bounded view of culture and society placing themselves always in the centre and reflecting the role they had always seen for themselves as bearers of an *ārya* ethos. Whether this should be evaluated as an extreme form of ideological development, I strongly doubt. Above all it had to be inclusive of other groups in society as well as delineating clear divisions within this society and an absence of fluidity (and social mobility), but only in certain aspects of culture. It does also show a very strong desire to delineate carefully and to codify (always from previously known sources which convey a sense of traditionality) a highly self-interested view of one class's position in the world.

There is an element of paradox about this. In certain *suttas* of the *Dīgha* (1 *suttas* 9–13) and *Majjhima* (2 *suttas* 91–100) *Nikāyas*, and two well known passages in the *Suttanipāta* and the *Dhammapada*, the figure of the brahmin is presented as the corrupt living embodiment of a particular class and as the pale reflex of what in some period of the distant past was a wholly spiritual figure.<sup>4</sup> These texts deliberately demonstrate a tension between the more spiritual aspirations of the Buddha (possibly representing the early Buddhist monks) and the Buddhists' perception of the material ostentation of the brahmins. Associated with this is an explicit attempt by the Buddha to deconstruct the epistemological foundation of the brahmin's claim to be possessors of sacred wisdom based on their exclusive knowledge of the Vedas. What then comes forth from the texts is an impression that the Buddha regarded the brahmins as his principal opponents and that in some measure he felt apprehensive about the material success they had achieved, as if this material success was an index<sup>5</sup> of the religious status they had achieved in the eyes of society. Let us note that a principal expression of the brahmin's material wealth was their possession of

<sup>3</sup> It need not be the lifestyle of the monks that was so threatening as the possibility that lay Hindus would also actively practise the ritualistic giving to monks and the Order and that their acceptance of the brahmin's superior status would somehow be broken down.

<sup>4</sup> For primary sources see the very concentrated and highly rhetorical statements in *Suttanipāta* vs. 612–655 and *Dhammapada* 26. See G. Bailey and I. Mabbett, *The Sociology of Early Buddhism*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004), pp. 117–120; P. Masefield, *Divine Revelation in Pali Buddhism*, (Allen & Unwin, London, 1986), p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> His own index of success – psychological and social detachment, an alteration in the pattern of habitual behaviour, and ultimately the quenching of all desires – was quite at variance with the worldly brahmin role, but this variance, and acceptance by the body of monks, was insufficient to overcome the emerging class confidence accompanying brahmin success.

land, often in the countryside, where they effectively functioned as farmers.<sup>6</sup> Apart from the lifestyle model he offered by virtue of his own celebrated life, this apprehension about the brahmins also led him to define an image of the brahmin in terms of clearly defined role models.

We cannot know if the brahmins themselves were aware of the body of early Buddhist literature, in whatever language it might have been composed, or even whether *it really does* reflect a contested relationship between prominent Buddhists and the brahmins around the time of the initial growth of Buddhism. Between the death of the Buddha (whenever that was) and the appearance of the Aśokan inscriptions (250BCE) we know almost nothing about the expansion of Buddhism and the relationship between brahmins and prominent monks. It is likely however that monks were being converted from whatever their pre-existing beliefs were, though on the basis of recent evidence from Ajanta and from the *Suttanipāṭa* this did not mean a wholesale rejection of certain aspects of the Hindu superstructure, instead it meant use of it.<sup>7</sup> However, where we can have some degree of confidence in our data is in the conclusion that following the reign of Aśoka Buddhism, measured by the growth of monasteries and monks, expanded quite rapidly.<sup>8</sup> As part of this expansion there was required to be an extensive building programme, that was certainly conducted on a localized basis and probably funded by a combination of royal patronage and small scale donations often made by monks, nuns and lay-Buddhists/Hindus who came either from a peasant background or who lived by providing services in the rapidly growing cities. Extensive building took place between 200BCE until about 600ACE (*vide* Ajanta). For the purposes of this paper I am concerned only with the four hundred years between 200BCE and 200ACE as I estimate these were the crucial centuries during which the composers/revisers of the *Mbh* would have been influenced by a perception of the dramatic changes occurring around them.

Part of the proposed research involves looking at patterns of patronage and exchange between kings, in particular, and the localized *saṅgha*, on the one hand, the brahmins on the other. It may also require analysis of the social background of non-elite donors to these two groups (as the Buddhist monumental art received major

<sup>6</sup> See E. Ritschl, "Brahmanische Bauern. Zur Theorie und Praxis der brahmanischen Ständeordnung im alten Indien," *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 7 (1980), pp. 177–187.

<sup>7</sup> See the excellent article by Richard Cohen, "Nāga, Yakṣiṇī, Buddha: Local deities and Local Buddhism at Ajanta," *History of Religions*, 37 (1998), pp. 360–400.

<sup>8</sup> Of course, we have no firm numbers and, in any case, such numbers would be useful only if they could be contrasted with more detailed figures for the entire population. E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, (Louvain, 1958), p. 600 quotes Hiuan Tsang as giving the following numbers of monasteries, and monks pertaining to particular sects at the beginning of the seventh century ACE:

Sthāvira	401 monasteries	36 800 monks
Mahāsāṃghika	24 monasteries	1 100 monks
Sarvāstivādin	158 monasteries	23 700 monks
Saṃmatīya	1,351 monasteries	66 500 monks
Non-specified	145 monasteries	6 700 monks

Closer analysis of these figures suggests that of the Sthāvira, 20, 000 were in Ceylon and 10, 000 in the Deccan.

patronage from the minor players), but for one obvious reason it is the role of the king as patron of distinct socio-religious groups that must be researched in greater detail. Both Sanskrit epics are narratives which explore the subject of kingship, but not so much from a kṣatriya perspective, as from the point of view of the brahmin who regards the king as the preserver of the normative social and cultural system which privileges brahmins materially and hierarchically. I am suggesting that the obvious material success of Buddhism between 200BCE and 200ACE may reflect a transformation in patronage patterns where certain prominent brahmin intellectuals became anxious and angry when they perceived – no doubt over several generations – themselves as no longer being the unique recipients of royal patronage. Patronage from lower socio-economic groups was necessary for the expansion of the various ascetic groups flourishing in the pre-Christian period, but it is the patronage of the king that is fundamental because of the powerful symbolic resonances associated with kingship in ancient India.

The title of the paper requires some explanation. It is not a question of just undertaking an intertextual study of the *Mbh* and the Pāli Canon. A study of that kind is a long way off and presupposes relatively accurate identification of literary parallels, quotes and deliberate counter statements based on passages drawn from either body of texts. Alone, some word parallels have been undertaken for the *Bhagavadgītā*. Rather, I begin with the proposition that the production of two very large bodies of literature must have been the result of considerable intellectual development, the process of several hundred years of collection, refinement and editing. This is simplistic, of course, and takes no consideration of the fact that the social and institutional conditions of the production of both sets of texts must have been substantially different. Nor do we know anything concrete about the audience reception pertaining to this body of literature. Despite the almost insurmountable differences represented by these questions and the still greater difficulties in merely exploring these difficulties, it remains that behind both bodies of texts there exists substantial socio-religious movements and all kinds of possibilities for influencing the way people thought and acted. It is with speculation about the former that I am most concerned and the possibility that the *Mbh* is in some sense a response to the success of the social movement and its material expressions that developed out of the expansion of Buddhism at least up until 200ACE. Thus it is the production of both sets of texts in their wider context that is the focus of the research project to be developed from the basic proposition I have advanced.

What also becomes important is the question of the visibility of financial and other material support, its spread and what the Buddhists made of it, taking these as clues as to how the brahmins responded. The kind of brahminism that was probably just a movement of elites in the pre-Buddhistic period is challenged with the emergence of Buddhism and the other śramaṇic groups, and the *Mahābhārata*, in most of its recensions, can be seen as a text of brahmanical revivalism. It is likely that brahmin groups were expanding numerically and were tightening up and codifying their differences from groups they considered to be beneath them in the emerging caste hierarchy. But if this is an example of revivalism, what is being revived? Some nuancing is necessary here, the argument being that the brahmins were redefining

the conditions under which culture would be defined. The didactic books of the *Mbh* show a high degree of brahmanical concentration, if not of obsession. The motivation (s) for this must be ascertained, if it can be. At this stage they must still be searched for and this searching ideally should begin within the text itself.

Finally, it is significant that Buddhist literature does present its own perception of brahmanical practices and takes pains to do so, but to what exact period this corresponds we can never be certain. On the contrary, in the emerging Hindu literature of the epics and the dharma literature we find no such explicit impression of Buddhist practices. This in itself is highly significant given that by the beginning of the common era Buddhism had developed as a highly visible institution whose connections to local areas were extremely well established and yet simultaneously known to be part of a pan-Indian body. Its success was in considerable measure because of its capacity to integrate local deities and semi-divine figures such as *yakṣas* and *nāgas*, who were always part of the cultural framework within which popular Hinduism had operated.

### Explicit Descriptions of Buddhism in the *Mbh*

To my knowledge there are very few descriptions of Buddhist practices, doctrines or illustrations of monkish behaviour in the *Mbh*. One exception, pointed out by Bronkhorst and others, concerns a description of the first jhānic state in an elaboration of a “fourfold Yoga of meditation” (*dhyānayogaṁ caturvidham*) in 12, 188, 1–22.<sup>9</sup> Bronkhorst glosses the relevant verses of this passage in saying,

“This passage speaks of a “fourfold dhyānayoga” V. 1), and of a “first Dhyāna” ... in which *vicāra*, *vitarka* and *viveka* are present, as well as bliss (v. 21–22). Yogins performing this kind of meditation reach nirvāṇa (vv. 2, 22). All this sounds like pure Buddhism ... and cannot be due to coincidence.

But there are differences as well. It appears that the Four Dhyānas are really a foreign element in the Yoga of the Epic, which could only be made to fit clumsily.”

Given this occurs in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*, a text whose aim was to summarize the known knowledge about everything to do with *mokṣa* and therefore with meditation, it may not be representative for the rest of the *Mbh*. Asceticism is, of course, alluded to with great frequency, but there are no indications given that these are Buddhist ascetics. Nor can we identify passages where code language is used that may be referring to Buddhists.

However, it is possible to identify passages such as 12, 290, 49 which contain terminology that is recognizably Buddhist.

*varṇānāṁ ca kṣayaṁ dr̥ṣṭvā kṣayāntaṁ ca punaḥ punaḥ /  
jarāmṛtyuṁ tathā janma dr̥ṣṭvā duḥkhāni caiva ha ||*

“Once again, after repeatedly seeing the destruction of the classes and the end of destruction, and having seen also death, old age and birth and troubles...”

<sup>9</sup> J. Bronkhorst, *The Two Traditions of Meditation in Ancient India*, (Franz Steiner, Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 65–66 and p. 73, n.2.



These are reminiscent of some of the terms in the *paṭiccasamuppāda*, but the obvious weakness in using them is that these terms have also always been used in Hindu texts.<sup>10</sup> Given this it will be the degree of concentration of usage in the *Mbh* that will be an important point for comparison.

The presentation of *duḥkha*, and even the extent of its presentation, in our respective texts is a fundamental area of comparison. In Buddhist doctrine the centrality of *dukkha* understood in a technical sense, because of its position as one of the three marks of existence, is very well known, but the word appears often in Sanskrit literature, from as early as the *Rgveda*. It is well known that its occurrence in the two epics is widespread, giving rise, for the *Mbh*, at least, of the development of a *śāntarasa* to explain the aesthetic/emotional response to that text as having *duḥkha* as its dominant ideology.

Why focus on this? Because if the *Mbh* (and/or the *Rāmāyaṇa*) is in some way a reaction to the success of Buddhism, we would expect to find this reaction to extend to doctrinal areas. That is, the initial reaction (however this might be charted) may have occurred as a consequence of the perception of the widespread material success of Buddhism, but to counter this success, a total response in the area of doctrine may have been offered. One way to meet the problem of *dukkha* would be to adapt it in such a way that it is seen as an integral part of whatever worldview the brahmins wish to advance. Yet we do not find the word used often in the *Upaniṣads*<sup>11</sup> (where *śoka* is more common), but it is very common in the *Mbh* and especially in its didactic books. A problem here is that the dominance of *duḥkha* may have been a common element in South Asian intellectual culture in the centuries with which we are concerned and that this would guarantee its treatment in all of the main religions and their texts. In this sense the Buddhists are just giving it more emphasis than the Hindus, but it may be erroneous to look for borrowings and counter-reactions between both sets of texts.

*Duḥkha* in the twelfth and thirteenth books of the *Mbh* is treated in a way analogous with what we find in the Pāli Canon, but evidence of the sophisticated *paṭiccasamuppāda*, the schematic device which explains the transmission of *dukkha* and the means of its reception over several lives, is not found in the *Mbh* to my knowledge, and certainly not in the *Rām*. This may mean the theory was not known to those who composed the didactic books of the *Mbh*, an unlikely possibility given its centrality in Buddhist thought and its comparability as a concept to various Sāṃkhyan cosmologies well known in the twelfth book. Alternatively, it may mean the acceptance of *duḥkha* and its causes was so well known by the time (?) when these portions of the *Mbh* were known, as not to require substantial elaboration. Thus it was sufficient simply for it to be presented in the texts as one unquestioned component of existence, though, as in Buddhist literature, it is made clear different

<sup>10</sup> For the compound *janmamṛtyu* see 6, 35, 8; 36, 20; 12, 9, 33; 80, 2; 92, 6; 98, 1c; 208, 2; 290, 26; 302, 10; 306, 30b, 52a, 55c, 76, 81, 104; 13, 16, 20; 135, 15, 131. For *jarāmṛtyu* see 183, 11; 212, 45; 280, 43; 290, 49; 307, 8.

<sup>11</sup> See Greg Bailey, *Materials for the Study of Ancient Indian Ideologies: Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti*, (Torino, 1985), p. 84.

groups have different perceptions of the weight to be placed on *dukkha* as a factor in the quality of lived existence.

## Material Evidence for the Spread of Buddhism between 200BCE and 200ACE

One of the central parts of this proposed research program is a determination and evaluation of the material success associated with the spread of Buddhism between 200BCE and 200ACE. Evidence for the material success of Buddhism is everywhere in South Asia and such evidence can usually be reliably dated. I do not present this evidence below as I have not studied it in any detail, so that the impulse for developing my hypothesis is largely impressionistic at this stage. Thorough study of the archeological and epigraphical evidence will give precision to this impression and provide firm guidance as to whether the hypothesis should be developed or abandoned. The obvious value of Buddhist sites is that they can be dated, located on maps and analysed within the framework of broader settlement patterns, which include villages and cities that do not have any particular kind of specific religious function as the Buddhist structures clearly do, and communication routes. A full study will require placing all of the Buddhist sites within a particular chronological sequence – and some such as Ajanta, Sarnath and Nalanda were being worked on for about seven hundred years – and correlating these with geographical location and actual spatial size. This mode of ordering the data will enable us to isolate periods of relatively more or less rapid stages of construction and to ascertain if these stages of rapid constructional activity occurred across South Asia as a whole, or only in specific areas, such as in Western Maharashtra during the earlier and later periods of the Sātavāhana dynasty from 200BCE to 200ACE.

Writing in 1995 Morrison says, “Over 800 Buddhist rock-cut caves from the Western Deccan are known, ranging from isolated structures to large and elaborate complexes. The most common forms are viharas, or monasteries for monks, and chaityas, areas of worship.”<sup>12</sup> This may be conflating caves found in the same area and this would therefore give a larger number of actual Buddhist sites, as opposed to individual monuments, than is really present as implied by these numbers. Numbers of sites are of importance in demonstrating visibility or at least awareness, especially so if it was known outside of the immediate area of construction that construction, including renovation of existing, and building of new, structures had been going on for several centuries or at least in living memory. Some idea of the number of structures located at a recently surveyed site at Satdhara, near Sanchi, was made available by R.C.Agrawal in 1995.<sup>13</sup> He briefly describes a “great stūpa” almost as

<sup>12</sup> K. Morrison, *op.cit.*, p. 211. See also Ray, *op.cit.* pp. 61–89; cf. p. 61. In the vicinity of the modern city of Bombay there are at least 130 Buddhist caves at Kanheri, Kondivate, Marol, Magathana and Mandapwar. Of these, the largest monastic establishment was at Kanheri with 109 caves, though some of these are as late as the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

<sup>13</sup> R.C.Agrawal, “Stupas and Monasteries: A Recent Discovery from Satdhara, India,” in *South Asian Archeology, 1995*, ed R and B. Allchin, (Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1997, 2 Vols.), Vol. I pp. 403–416.

large as the Sanchi stūpa, its building begun during the Mauryan period, then two other stūpas and to this he adds, "To the north of this stupa on a elevated plain, a cluster of stupas was encountered."<sup>14</sup> He also speaks of seventeen monasteries (one being 29.93 × 16.97 metres) and some caityas, but gives no numbers for them. In addition, he notes a rock shelter overlooking the Halali river where two panels of paintings have been found, one containing inscriptions.<sup>15</sup> This site has scarcely been explored, but I have used it as an example to show that the well-known and substantially excavated and renovated sites are not the only ones that exist. No doubt the picture will only become richer over the ensuing years as more excavations are undertaken.

It is not just the raw numbers but the extent and size of this monumental architecture which contributes towards the visibility it had for others. And this is why it is important for the proposed program to correlate the relation between the Buddhists sites and population centres, which would have been populated with both lay Buddhists and Hindus, or more likely a hybrid of both. Many of the Buddhist sites are not located in areas of obvious visibility – Ajanta being an obvious example – but a correlation with trade routes has frequently been noted. It is no good just to assert the existence of these monuments, we must also be able to show that they were integrated within the local areas where they were located and guess, as this is all it can be, the extent to which they might have been accessible to the local area within that entire community and outside of it as well.<sup>16</sup> Some extent of local participation in the patronage of these monuments can be ascertained by examining the donative inscriptions as has been done by Schopen<sup>17</sup> and others before him. However, these are not instructive for determining patronage along *varṇa* lines although a sense of this may be gained from the occupational categories sometimes listed in the inscriptions.

## Royal and Other Support for Buddhism

Initially, the provision of land and support for the building of monumental constructions like *stūpas* seems to have been the preserve of kings and the mercantile and military elite, though the evidence for this may be quite restrictive, being derived primarily from Aśokan and Kuṣaṇa inscriptions. These may cover the period from 250BCE until the beginning of the Christian era. After that, judging from the inscriptions, collected by Lüders and more recently analysed by Schopen, sources of material donations are extended to include non-elite groups as well as the political and economic elites. Literary sources, much more difficult to date, focus on the economic and political elites as the principal source of material support for the

<sup>14</sup> Agrawal, *op.cit.*, p. 407.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>16</sup> As observed by R. Thapar, "Patronage and Community", in Miller, B.S. (ed.) *The Powers of Art. Patronage in Indian Culture*, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992), pp. 26, "Inscriptions from Bharhut included donations from persons residing in Vidiśā, Pāṭaliputra, Bhojakaṭa, Bhogavardhana and Nasik (Lüders: 712, 719, 723, 797, 799) indicating an extensive geographical reach."

<sup>17</sup> G. Schopen, "What's in a Name: The Religious Function of the Early Donative Inscriptions," in V. Dehejia, *Unseen presence. The Buddha and Sanchi*, (Marg Publications, Delhi, 1998), pp. 58–73.

*saṅgha*. Evidence is abundant from the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta Piṭaka* that the Buddha was offered and accepted material support from kings and other non-political elites and that he visited so-called “brahmin villages” in order to attempt conversion and to gain support for any local monks.<sup>18</sup> Fund raising tours were part and parcel of the expansion of Buddhism from the time of the Buddha himself and must have continued especially when Buddhist pilgrimage sites became well known and certain monasteries became famous.

At the same time we know how important patronage was to brahmins to whom kings gave land and the revenue from entire villages. Brahmin villages given by kings are mentioned frequently enough in the Pāli Canon (see PTS Dictionary, sv *brahmadeyya*) and often later in inscriptions collected in particular by Herman Kulke on the basis of Orissan evidence. Kulke noted that “The main function of these generous land donations to large groups of Brahmins was to provide the central power of the great regional kingdoms with a group of administrative and ideological specialists. Their way of life and their traditional ideology of contentedness and worldly abstinence ... made them an ideal group of “extra-patrimonial” administrators counterbalancing local vested interests.”<sup>19</sup> This conclusion is drawn from evidence taken from the 5th c ACE and beyond, but there is no reason to believe it was not a common practice earlier. It would have acted to constantly reaffirm the asymmetrical reciprocity, which ideally defined the relationship between the brahmin and the king and also confirmed the brahmin’s role as mediator to communities living beyond the metropolitan culture of the king.

It is arguable that Buddhist monks performed the same role and that this may have over the centuries created an underlying sense of tension between a series of roles which were being duplicated, though we have no explicit evidence of this tension.<sup>20</sup> My impression, and this is all that it is, is that the inscriptional evidence suggests a far greater rate of giving to the *saṅgha* than to brahmin communities or to brahmins as individuals during the period of my concern. This does not mean resources were not being given to the brahmins, only that the Buddhist donors may have been more successful in publicizing their donations.

To argue this case in a realistic way it will be necessary to analyse further the inscriptions of kings who have been identified as explicitly giving financial support to both the Buddhists and the brahmins. Whilst the reaction of the brahmins may have been provoked by an overall assessment of the support being given to the various heterodox groups, it is more likely that they were antagonized by Hindu kings who were actively patronizing both sets of groups. In light of this qualification, a more positive lead could be to analyse the inscriptions and temple building activities of those kings—the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas—who retain explicit Hindu affiliations, yet have no reservations about offering support to the Buddhist *saṅgha*, support which is highly visible and represents the kind of ambiguity the brahmins could

<sup>18</sup> See Bailey and Mabbett, *op.cit.*, Chs. 2, 3 and 11.

<sup>19</sup> H. Kulke, “Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of medieval Hindu Kingdoms,” in *Kings and Cults*, (Manohar, Delhi, 2001; originally published 1978), p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> See Bailey and Mabbett, *op.cit.*, Chs. 7–10.

have done without. I suggest they would have responded more strongly against this kind of catholicity than towards those kings who supported Buddhism and nothing else. As Jim Fitzgerald has suggested to me elsewhere it is the disillusionment brahmins have with kings who do not accord them pre-eminence within culture/society that creates anger and this would be especially expressed towards those kings whose impartiality was evident, rather than those who were quite transparent in their support of Buddhism.

But this mirrors an ideological concern. Kingship is strongly developed ideologically in both Sanskrit epics. This ideology sets the king at the centre of a society whose hierarchy he was required to maintain. Empirically, of course, the situation must have been much more fluid. However, this ideology would not have penetrated below the elite circles of the brahmins and we know that many of the donors to the *saṅgha* were from the lower *varṇas*. How would the brahmins have responded to these groups? We have no way of knowing unless we develop some very creative decoding of the concept of *varṇasaṅkara*, which is such a fundamental doctrine in the *Mbh* and exists to preserve the privilege of the brahmins. What I am suggesting is that the response to the brahmins must have been different according to the support they perceived the *saṅgha* receiving from these groups. We cannot know this with any certainty, however, but with the doctrine of *varṇasaṅkara*<sup>21</sup> and kingship—a brāhmaṇical rather than a kṣatriya—doctrine, we can gain a glimpse of the exclusivism the brahmins always sought to sustain for themselves. Religion and politics strongly overlap here and Biardeau is incisive in saying “La relation brāhmane-roi hindou était une sorte de « face-à-face » don’t l’empire bouddhique les privait doublement, par ses dimensions et sa non-appartenance à la société brahmanique.”<sup>22</sup>

Case studies of the use the *saṅgha* made of its capacity to assimilate local Hindu deities with the “saving, protective” power of the Buddha have been made, most recently by Cohen. Admittedly outside of the period of which I am concerned, he shows the success of this assimilation from a study of Vākāṭaka inscriptions and an analysis of the configuration of images in Caves 2 and 16 at Ajanta. The essential process is that of “localization” of the *saṅgha* and the development of reciprocal relationships this entails. Cohen summarizes the theory behind this when he writes,

“Localization is one moment in the domesticization of a *saṅgha*. A Buddha or a community of monks becomes localized by entering into a restricted exchange relationship with a divinity intimately associated with a place; the relationship can be read in part, through its expression within a monastery’s architectural plan. The re-

<sup>21</sup> Biardeau’s correlation of this problem with the reign of Aśoka is provocative and strongly worthy of further exploration, if needing to be backed up with other evidence pertaining to North Indian kingship in the few centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian era. See M. Biardeau, *Le Mahābhārata*, (Éditions de Seuil, Paris, 2002, 2 Vols) Vol. 1., p. 137, “Comment tout cela [le Mahābhārata] s’est-il mis en place? Comment le projet de cet immense labyrinthe a-t-il pris naissance? Sans nul doute, l’aventure du bouddhisme, avec le triomphe d’Aśoka, lui fournissait les éléments d’un désordre social théorique puisque les classes ordonnant la société n’avaient plus aucune signification et que seul le *karman* individuel déterminait la renaissance à venir, ou éventuellement l’accès à la délivrance.”

<sup>22</sup> loc.cit.



lationship works in both directions: an indigenous deity such as a nāga, is pacified by the Buddha's continuing presence; for the local community, the Buddha himself is bound with the identity and characteristics of the nāga as well. Buddhists do bring certain translocal, generalized values into a local economy of belief, but these values become coin only insofar as they are converted into a currency whose exchange is accepted in the locale."<sup>23</sup>

It is the success of this process that must have contributed to the rapid expansion of Buddhism throughout South Asia and, more pointedly, to the acquisition of abundant financial resources, the material effect of which can be seen all over the country. The Buddha's mediating role and his function as a protector, especially manifested in the belief in his capacity to neutralize the destructive activity of fertility deities such as *nāgas* and *yakṣas*, was very attractive for political elites who wanted association with a pan-Indian movement whose local credentials had been long established. And it is likely this mediating role was taken up by generations of later monks, especially given the importance it plays in the Buddha's own life. If Cohen's analysis is correct, and I believe the evidence of the Pāli texts gives support to its applicability for an earlier period, then it is not too difficult to realize that the success of Buddhism after the reign of Aśoka must have been highly visible.

## Conclusion

The silence of Sanskrit literature in regard to Buddhism from the early dharma literature is thundering. All the archeological evidence suggests all schools of Buddhism enjoyed a florissant between the 2nd century before and after the common era and that this effervescence was spread over most of South Asia, with the notable exception of present day Rājasthan and Gujarat. Because of its specialist function it may be of no surprise that references to Buddhism are virtually absent from the dharma literature. However, a text like the *Mbh*—which is extremely expansive in its outlook and breadth, and much more of a Dharmaśāstra than any of the dharma texts—might raise expectations that there could be some explicit notice of Buddhism within it. Especially in several of the didactic books and the *Bhg* there are deliberate attempts to debate the doctrines of several philosophical positions, Yoga and Sāṃkhya being the most obvious. Yet of Buddhism nothing until the *Purāṇas*.

Maybe this silence—and it is always dangerous to argue from silence—can be explained in the following way. Certain brahmin intellectuals were aware that the Buddha was offering a total world-view that was relatively consistent on the intellectual level and yet was able at the practical level to attract people who would simultaneously operate within the sphere of the emerging Hindu (and Buddhist) devotional cults. At the same time certain lineages of kings were pointedly putting money into the institutionalisation of Buddhism through its most visible devotional instrumentalities, *caityas* and *stūpas*, as well as land for *viḥāras*. To counter this the

<sup>23</sup> Cohen, *op.cit.*, p. 391. The same process is implied in certain texts of the early *Sutta Nipāta*. See my article "Problems of the Interpretation of the Data pertaining to Religious Interaction in Ancient India: The Conversion Stories in the *Sutta Nipāta*", *Indo-British Review*, XIX, (1992) 1, pp. 1–20.

brahmins produced or took over a text that already existed in several forms, Sanskrit and vernacular, which had great attraction because it dealt with the central themes of Hindu culture: the role of the king, the social status of elites and the emerging religion of devotion, all within a framework of a vestigial Vedic culture. A total view of culture based on *dharma* – surely not coincidental with the Buddhist *dhamma* – was developed as the true alternative to what was communicated in a literary sense in the Pāli Canon and orally through the mouths of monks acting as parish priests and communicators of a metropolitan civilization to outlying areas.



# Two pastoral Balochi love songs

Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz  
Uppsala

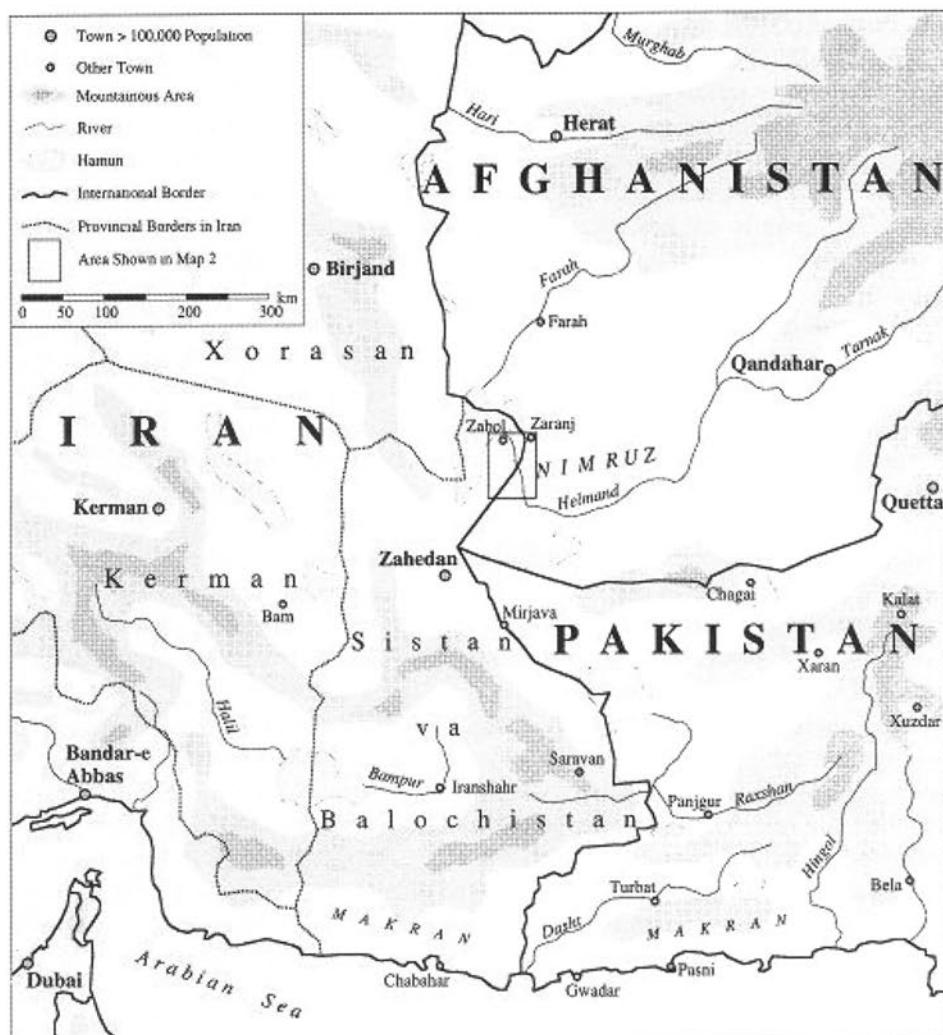
The outbreak of war in Afghanistan caused many people to move to neighbouring countries. As a result, in addition to Pashto and Dari speaking Afghans, many Baloch from the provinces of Nimruz and Helmand moved to Iranian Sistan and brought with them a rich oral literature which had been preserved there. Because of the spread of education and mass media in the second half of the twentieth century, most of this common traditional literature has been almost entirely forgotten in Iranian Sistan. So, this displacement of neighbours and relatives from Afghanistan brought about an opportunity for elderly Sistani Baloch to remember their old traditions and for youngsters to become familiar with them again. I had also the opportunity to visit some villages near the border between Iran and Afghanistan and record many epical, religious and love poems and many folktales from professional Baloch poets and singers from Afghanistan.

Here I present two love songs as examples with explanations. It is important to mention that these two songs do not have anything to do with Balochi high-class poetry such as epics and ballads in which Baloch from well-known ruling families play the main role. These are very simple and ordinary love songs which are prevalent among common pastoral nomad Baloch in their solitude. It is natural to see them as a mixture of several half-remembered older songs being sung over and over again with new additions and deletions here and there to create metre and rhyme and also to make them fit new situations. Also, though a kind of syllabic pattern, especially in the second poem, can be recognised, the lack of a fixed metre is expected in this kind of poetry. The varying number of syllables in each hemistich is compensated for by shortening or lengthening of vowels and intonation so that the approximate length of each hemistich is somewhat constant. From lines 5 to 26 there are alternate long and short hemistiches where the longer ones serve as a basic argument, a condition or a cause for the reaction or answer given by the lover in the following short hemistich.

The first song here called *jinikkō* was recorded in March 2001 in one of the villages in Iranian Sistan (*Fīrūzābād*) and the singer is a Baloch man about fifty-five years old from Afghani Sistan, from *Xawga* (NP *Xābgāh*) and from the *Qal'eh-ye Fath* area (see maps).<sup>1</sup> According to Elfenbein's classification (1990: II: VII), the dialect of this poem (and also the second one) is Afghani Rakhshani.<sup>2</sup> The poem

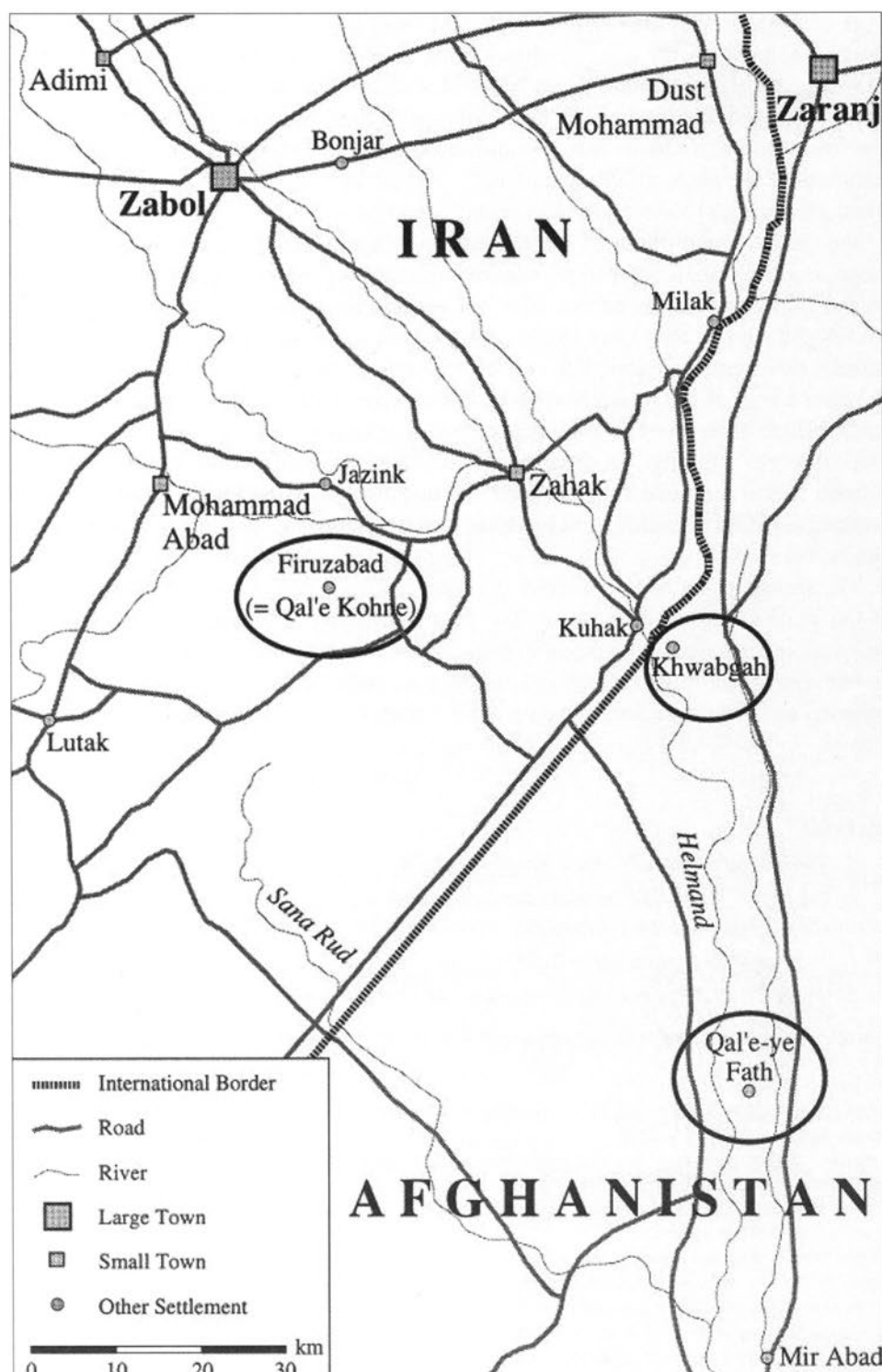
<sup>1</sup> Pp. 50 and 51 below. Sincere thanks to Christian Rammer, Frankfurt, for drawing these maps.

<sup>2</sup> Grammatical descriptions of this dialect are found in Buddruss 1988 and Nawata 1981. As the Pakistani Rakhshani dialect is rather closely related to this one, the more comprehensive work by Barker-Mengal may be used for additional information.



was recorded again in July 2003. There are only minor differences between the two versions, such as the replacement or omission of some words or morphemes in one of them as well as variation in the pronunciation of some words. Perhaps the singer's loss of memory or the way of singing caused these divergences since he sang the poem once with a melody and the second time he recited it without melody. The latter one has been chosen and transcribed here, and the differences as well as some lexical and grammatical notes are mentioned as footnotes.

This is a typical love poem of the kind that was mentioned before, portraying, in accordance with my personal experiences from the same area and as found in some other songs, men's thoughts in a pastoral society about the ideal physical features that their beloved must possess. The beauty of the beloved is described through the



eyes of the lover in terms of his understanding of his natural environment, the sun, the moon, the stars, the trees etc. Black eyes, red lips, white face and two curls (that may also be black) hanging from both sides of her face have a great effect on the lover and make him insane. The face of the beloved is compared to the full moon on the fourteenth night of its orbit around the earth. The full moon that shines in the darkness of the night exactly parallels the age of fourteen which is regarded as the ideal age for a girl to be married in such a society.

We can see the difficulties and limitations that a traditional and religious society imposes on lovers in order to prevent them from free love relationships. According to the prevailing social norms, it is not acceptable to meet each other in public places. As a result they have to see each other in secret and away from the eyes of family, rivals and strangers. The coyness and refusal of the beloved is not real, but it is rather a sign of her inclination towards the lover. This love and meeting must remain hidden otherwise it would meet severe reaction from public opinion and especially the girl's family.<sup>3</sup> In this context the faithfulness of the beloved is very important and at the same time doubted and questioned by the lover. Women are always considered unfaithful and the lover can but hope that this is untrue of his particular beloved.

The second poem, which I call *Napas j̄ān*, was recorded in July 2003. The singer is the same as for the first poem. The poet complains of the unfaithfulness of his beloved in particular and women in general. He also indicates that life in this world is temporary and must be enjoyed as much as possible. This song was sung with melody and the repetition of some hemistiches has been shown wherever it occurred.

### *j̄inikkō*

*j̄inikkō pattī<sup>4</sup> j̄amālā, man ganōk-u šaydā*  
*pa j̄amāl-i<sup>5</sup> mālīkā<sup>6</sup> nadārīn šawr-u yawyā*  
*dil mnī tank-in<sup>7</sup> byā gwanḍakk*  
*man taw<sup>8</sup> pkanan abar-u hakk<sup>9</sup>*

<sup>3</sup> In spite of the dangers involved, love relationships are in fact quite common among the Baloch, cf. Pehrson 1966: 62ff.

<sup>4</sup> < *pa + tī* = "for your".

<sup>5</sup> *iḏāfa* construction as in Persian. For more information about the use of *iḏāfa* construction in Balochi cf. Jahani 1994 and Nawata 1981: 8.

<sup>6</sup> *mālīkā* < *māh/mah* (NP.) + *liqā* (Ar.) = moon + face, visage = moon-faced, beautiful; < NP مَه لِقَا (it is an adjective that is also used as a female proper name).

<sup>7</sup> < *int*, present 3sg. of copula verb, in the speech of this singer usually -*t* has been omitted from pronunciation, especially in poems.

<sup>8</sup> Dual form of personal pronoun 1sg. + 2sg. "you and me" "the two of us". For the use of dual pronoun forms in Balochi, see e.g. Baranzehi 2003: 85.

<sup>9</sup> *h* is unstable in this dialect and usually dropped everywhere. However, increased knowledge of Persian has made the employment of *h* in loan words from Persian and Arabic more frequent. Conversely, unetymological *h* may be found in all positions of the word, including in the vowel-separating function, cf. Buddruss 1988: 44.

- 5 *aga yak wā<sup>10</sup> dilay dardānā, mnīyān<sup>11</sup> pkanay<sup>12</sup> darmān*  
*man mirīn<sup>13</sup> nadārīn armān*  
*kuštagan mnā syāyēn čamm, tī sōrēn lunṭ, spētēn dēm*  
*man guštun kāyay<sup>14</sup> kadēn*  
*ilayī ša watī umrā xayr maginday aw<sup>15</sup> parīrang*
- 10 *byā ki bāz astun diltang*  
*misāl-i čārdayay māā<sup>16</sup>, rōk a<sup>17</sup>- wā<sup>18</sup> šap-i tārīnk*  
*man kabāb-un zū byā nazzīnk*  
*aga yē gušnagēn lunṭānā billay watī dēmā*  
*ta tārī maguṣay mnā*
- 15 *nēm šapē<sup>19</sup> kāyay mnī zānay sarā zēbā*  
*gwanṭakk-am kašš ša jēbā<sup>20</sup>*  
*gō nāzurkēn lunṭ-u dap-u dantānā, gwanṭakkānā jāyay*  
*šap tačk-in padā byāyay*  
*ta ki padā kāyay xudā zānt bayīn zindag*
- 20 *kušta tī dap-u handag*  
*jinikkō man ganōk-un, pa čamm-u ar du zulpān*  
*ta mnā ma-kan parēšān*  
*aga šē<sup>21</sup> mulkā brayīn, watī arsā marēčay*  
*mnī dilay rīšagān sōčay*
- 25 *har čī zindagī bdārīn, pa sēr-u jādū bdayīn<sup>22</sup>*  
*ta<sup>23</sup> magray man padā kāyīn*  
*brayīn kōṭa<sup>24</sup> patta sawyāt a-kārīn*  
*šapī byāyay mnīyā harmān<sup>25</sup> nadārīn*  
*maguṣay dōst mnī wapt-u wāb-in*

<sup>10</sup> < wār (yak wār “one time, suddenly”).

<sup>11</sup> *mnīyān* is a pl. form of the gen. *mnī* of the 1sg. personal pronoun (cf. *watīānā* in fn. 29). The reason for its taking a pl. suffix is that it is placed after its head noun, in predicative position.

<sup>12</sup> Present subjunctive 2sg. Note that *b-* before a voiceless consonant changes to *p-* (regressive assimilation).

<sup>13</sup> Present subjunctive 1sg. without the subjunctive element *bi*. For the use of various forms of conditional sentences and clauses containing subjunctive verbs see Barker-Mengal 1969: I: 227–233 and Buddruss 1988: 59–60.

<sup>14</sup> For verbs beginning with *k-* cf. Elfenbein 1990: II: IX and Barker-Mengal 1969: I: 133–134 and Buddruss 1988: 63 and Nawata 1981: 14, 21.

<sup>15</sup> In the other version *ta* is used instead of *aw*.

<sup>16</sup> *čārda-y-ay* is the genitive form for *čārda* “fourteen”, and *māā* is the oblique form for *māh* “moon”.

<sup>17</sup> The particle *-a* is used in this dialect as an aspectual marker of the imperfective aspect with the past stem and as a marker of indicative mood with the present stem. For more information see Buddruss 1989: 62–65 and Nawata 1981: 14, 20–21.

<sup>18</sup> Contracted form < *wārt*, pres. 3sg. of *warag* “to eat”.

<sup>19</sup> In the second version *šapēyā*

<sup>20</sup> < NP *jīb* “pocket”, the Bal. equivalent word is *kītō*.

<sup>21</sup> *šē* < *š(a)* preposition “from” + *ē* demonstrative adjective “this”.

<sup>22</sup> Both *bdārīn*.....*bdayīn* are subj. 1<sup>st</sup> person sg.

<sup>23</sup> In the other version *ta* has been omitted.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. fn. 36, *kōṭa* also means “room” in this dialect, cf. Buddruss 1988: 76.

<sup>25</sup> *harmān* shows a secondary etymological *h*, cf. fn. 9.

- 30 *dil pa wābā naylī*<sup>26</sup> *patta kabāb-in*  
*awlīyēn wābā byāyay ta mnīyā*  
*ša kassē matrus, man wāb-un tānā*  
*sin tī sēzda sāl, pur gōšt-u zand-ay*  
*čārda marasay tanga ta gwand-ay*
- 35 *jōr makan watrā ta kātīl-i jān-ay*  
*ar čī išāra man dayīn napāmay*<sup>27</sup>  
*dušman tī bāz-an, bōštay bi jāyē*  
*kassē mapāmī*<sup>28</sup>, *byāyay ša rāyē*  
*jīnikkō ta watīānā*<sup>29</sup> *gwarā kan*<sup>30</sup>
- 40 *tī dēm čō kāgadā pamman darā kan*  
*payat muntazir-un tī čammānā bgindīn*  
*xudāāpiz*<sup>31</sup> *man ē mulkā nanindīn*  
*dastā watī bday, man šidā*<sup>32</sup> *rayīn*  
*rabb a-zānt mnī dōst, man padā byāyīn*
- 45 *pa yakk andagē ta mnī dilā burtay*  
*zamāna xarāb-in mnā kabāb kurtay*  
*šap ka šapā nēm-i šapā, ātun gisay ta*<sup>33</sup>  
*γamān dilay tālān kanan, jāgar man-u ta*  
*guštun wā napas jān, šapī man kāyīn*
- 50 *guštay man nalōfīn, dušmān a-dayīn*  
*dušmānay maysad ē abar dil tī a-kaššī*<sup>34</sup>  
*surxī bgirīn spēdag-u yag manē waššī*  
*guštay das maḡanay, man trā bdayīn pant*  
*jāyē abarē magušay ki*<sup>35</sup> *pis mnī minā jānt*

### Oh girl!

Oh girl! I am insane and enraptured about your beauty  
 I have no quarrel or dispute (with anybody) about the beauty of the moon-faced  
 one

<sup>26</sup> < *naylīt* negative form of present indicative *killīt*, 3sg. Here -*t* has been omitted, cf. fn. 7.

<sup>27</sup> *pahm*- "to understand" < NP/Ar. *fahm* "understanding".

<sup>28</sup> Cf. fns. 26 and 27.

<sup>29</sup> When singing, the singer separated the word in two parts with a pause between them: *watī 'ānā*. Here it means "the same clothes that you have; your clothes, yours; without formality". *watīānā gwarā kan* "wear yours (your clothes)", without mentioning the object, i.e. clothes, anywhere. The morphemes are *wat* + *ī* + *ān* + *ā*, reflexive pronoun + genitive element + plural ending + object case, respectively. It is also possible that *watī ārā* (with (*h*)*ār* < Brah. "necklace, low-hanging necklace") is intended here, thus meaning "Oh girl! Put on your necklace!".

<sup>30</sup> 2sg. impv. particle; in the second version *pkān* < *bi* + *kan* with assimilation. The same applies to *kan* in the next line.

<sup>31</sup> In the second version *xudāhāpiz*, cf. fn. 9.

<sup>32</sup> *šidā* < *š(a)*, cf. fn. 21 + *idā* adv. of place "here".

<sup>33</sup> Contracted form of *tahā*; here it must be read as *ta* like the next hemistich for the sake of rhyme, normally *tā*.

<sup>34</sup> < *kaššīt*, cf. fn. 26.

<sup>35</sup> In the other version *ki* has been omitted.



- My heart is sad, come little girl  
 Let us speak openly to each other  
 5 If for once you remedy my heart-pain  
 I have no desire any more, even if I die thereafter  
 Your black eyes, red lips and white face have killed me  
 I said: Will you come at all?  
 I wish to God that you may not see the blessing of your life, oh fairy-faced!
- 10 Come because I am full of yearning  
 Like the full moon, your face shines in the dark night  
 I am burnt, come near (me) quickly  
 If you should allow these hungry lips on your face  
 (then) you should not ask me to leave before dawn
- 15 At midnight you come (and sit) on my lap  
 Pull chewing-gum too from (my) pocket  
 With your delicate lips and mouth and teeth, you chew the chewing-gum  
 It is a long night (and) maybe you will come back again  
 When you come back, God knows whether I will be alive
- 20 Your mouth and laughing have killed (me)  
 Oh girl! I am insane for your eyes and both two curls  
 Don't make me distressed  
 If I go from this land, you should not shed your tears  
 You burn the roots of my heart
- 25 All that I have in my life, I will give (to put) a spell on you  
 You should not weep, I will come back  
 (If) I go to Quetta,<sup>36</sup> I will bring (some) gifts for you  
 If you come to me tonight, I have no other desire  
 You should not say "My lover is sleeping (now)"
- 30 My heart does not let me sleep because it is roasted for you  
 You may come to me in the early hours of the night  
 Do not fear anybody, I am sleeping alone  
 You are thirteen years old, and you are buxom and shapely  
 May you not turn fourteen and still remain small
- 35 Do not use make-up; you are the killer of (my) soul  
 Whatever sign I give, you do not understand  
 You have many enemies, (so) you should hide yourself somewhere  
 You should come from a (hidden) path so that nobody will know  
 Oh girl! Put on your own (clothes)
- 40 Reveal to me your face which is (delicate and white) as paper  
 I am only waiting to see your eyes  
 Farewell, I shall not stay in this land  
 Give me your hand, (for) I depart from this place  
 God knows, my beloved, whether I will come back

<sup>36</sup> The capital of the Pakistani province of Balochistan.

- 45 With just a laugh, you ravished my heart  
 Times are bad, you burned me up  
 In the midst of the night, at midnight I came into the house  
 So that we could share the grief of our hearts, you and me, oh darling!  
 I said: "Oh dear soul! I will come tonight."  
 50 You said: "I do not want you to, and I will insult (you)"  
 Your intention to insult (me) reveals your willingness  
 I would like to buy red make-up, white powder and a heap<sup>37</sup> of sweets  
 You said: "You should not touch (me); I will give you a piece of advice,  
 You should not say a word anywhere for my father will beat me"

### *napas j̄ān*

- šāl-i kišmīrā gwarā kan byā pa halkay gardagā*  
*man tāi ikšay ganōk-un rab psātī mnī pardagā*  
*ḡwānēn baxmal tī gwarā-y-in dāmun-i girdī nawār (2)*  
*xiyābānay sarā maōšt-u šawpirā makan tawār*  
 5 *šawpir guṛā mnī nākōzāk-in ta dilā čizē madār<sup>38</sup>*  
*maškā bzūr-ō mnī padā byā man raīn rōday sarā (2)*  
*rōday gazzān mučč tanakk-in baz(z)ēn gazzē nē xudā*  
*dapā billīn bittī<sup>39</sup> lunṭān band ša bandā bī<sup>40</sup> jītā*  
*jāyē nadīstun napas j̄ān bill-u braway bi gisā (2)*  
 10 *wāda dātay man a-kāyīn mabanday gisay darā*  
*durrēn dap gō handagā bičukk ša lunṭānī sarā*  
*siyāyēn pētēk<sup>41</sup> gō du zulpān ārōsī ḡawl burrita (2)*  
*byā pkanan gwāzī gwandak dunyā du rōčīyēn šuta*  
*burzagē ništa xudā j̄ān byay ša nāmētēn dilā (2)*  
 15 *dušmanay<sup>42</sup> bāz-an wā brāsān nēst-in<sup>43</sup> mnī dōstay gunā*  
*bālād-ī rusta xudā j̄ān misl-i bāḡānī nalā*  
*nīwagay draxtē napas j̄ān āta bi bār-ō gulā (2)*  
*tōba kurtun tōba dārīn ša jīnēn zāgay wapā (2)*  
*dast-u gardin gō digarē sōtag-un durrēn xudā (2)*  
 20 *sītam dīstun man bi j̄ānā kaššitun dard-ō balā (2)*  
*ētubārē nē<sup>44</sup> jīnēn zāḡā mabayay bē wapā*

<sup>37</sup> The Balochi word *man* corresponds to about six kilos.

<sup>38</sup> The beloved says this part. This sort of song is composed as a dialogue, without mentioning the change of speaker.

<sup>39</sup> < *bī* + *tī* "to" + "your".

<sup>40</sup> < *bīt*, cf. fn. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Usually *pētōk* "forehead, also the hairs which cover the forehead, i.e. forelock". Barker-Mengal 1969: II: 331 mentions the word *pētīk* "(women's) silver forehead ornament", but since its colour is black, this meaning cannot be intended here.

<sup>42</sup> 3sg. pronominal suffix -ē cf. Nawata 1981: p. 13, varies somewhat. It is here pronounced -ay and in the next line -ī in *bālād-ī*.

<sup>43</sup> < *na* + *ast* + *int*, for more details about the verb *ast* and its negative *nēst* and also the use of forms of the copulative verb after it, see Barker-Mengal 1969: I: 52–54.

<sup>44</sup> < *nēst*.

*Dear beloved*

- Put on the Kashmiri shawl and come for a walk around the village  
 I am mad for love of you, may God help me!  
 You are wearing beautiful velvet cloth with the encircling strip around the skirt  
 Do not stay in the street and call for a driver  
 5 The driver is my cousin; do not be suspicious  
 Take up the water skin and follow me to the river bank  
 The tamarisks around the river are far apart, oh God there is not a thick tamarisk  
 tree (to hide among its branches)  
 If I put my mouth on your lips, I will fall apart  
 I could not find a hiding-place my dear beloved, depart here and go home  
 10 You gave me (your) promise, so I will come, do not close the door  
 Oh you of the pearly mouth, laughingly, kiss me on (my) lips  
 Your black forelock together with two curls have been cut and formed like new  
 brides  
 Come let's play oh little one, the fleeting world<sup>45</sup> has passed away  
 God sits in a high place, may the beloved come because of my despairing  
 heart<sup>46</sup>  
 15 My beloved has many enemies, oh brothers, and it is not her fault  
 She has reached full stature, oh dear God, like a garden reed  
 My beloved is a fruitful tree which has begun to give fruit and blossom  
 I have repented; I repent on account of the faithlessness<sup>47</sup> of the women  
 She is in another's arms, oh God, I have burnt up  
 20 I was oppressed and I endure every pain and calamity  
 There is no trust in women, do not be unfaithful

*Abbreviations*

Adj.	Adjective	NP	New Persian
Adv	Adverb	Pfx	Prefix
Ar.	Arabic	Pl.	Plural
Brah.	Brahui	Postpos	Postposition
Imv.	Imperative	Pres.	Present
Ind.	Indicative	Sg.	Singular
N.	Noun	Subj.	Subjunctive

*References*

- Baranzehi, Adam Nader 2003. "The Sarawani dialect of Balochi and Persian influence on it" in: *The Baloch and Their Neighbours. Ethnic and Linguistic Contact in Balochistan in Historical and Modern times*. Edited by Carina Jahani and Agnes Korn. Wiesbaden, pp. 75–111.

<sup>45</sup> Literally "the two-day world"

<sup>46</sup> Or "God is in a high place and can see everything, so He knows in what a hard situation I am placed and He is well aware of my hopeless heart". We can also interpret it as "Oh dear God! The beloved has sits in a high place ( and does not bother what happens to me), may she come.

<sup>47</sup> the Balochi word *wapā* means "faithfulness", not "faithlessness", but the intended meaning is the latter.

- Barker, Muhammad A. & Mengal, Aqil. K. 1969. *A Course in Baluchi*, I-II, Montreal.
- Buddruss, Georg 1988. *Aus dem Leben eines jungen Balutschen von ihm selbst erzählt*. Stuttgart.
- Elfenbein, Josef H. 1990. *An Anthology of Classical and Modern Balochi Literature* (2 vols.). Wiesbaden.
- Jahani, Carina 1994. "Notes on the use of genitive construction versus *iẓāfa* construction in Iranian Balochi" in: *Studia Iranica* 23 (1994), pp. 285–298.
- Pehrson, Robert N. 1966. *Social organisation of the Marri Baloch* (Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology 43). New York.
- Nawata, Tetsuo 1981. *Baluchi* (Asian and African Grammatical Manuals 17b). Tokyo.

## Glossary

*ār-*, *āwurt* : to bring  
*ārōsī* : adj. < *ārōs* wedding, marriage,  
*ā(y)-*, *āt* : to come  
*abar* : word, news, speech, matter, talk, thing  
 ~ *kanag* "to talk"  
*aga* : if  
*akk* : right, true, truth, salary, share  
*alk* : village, small settlement, people  
*andag* : laugh  
*ar* : all, each, every  
*armān* : pity, desire, yearning  
*ars* : a tear (drop)  
*ast* : exists, is  
*aw* : vocative particle oh!  
*aw(w)al* : first

*bāg* : garden, orchard  
*bālād* : bodily height, stature  
*bār* : 1) fruit 2) load, burden  
*bāz* : much, very (much)  
*balā* : calamity  
*band* : knuckle-joint, joint  
*band-*, *bast* : to close, to tie, to bind  
*bar-*, *burt* : to take away, to carry  
*baxmal* : velvet  
*ba(y)-/bī-*, *būt* : to be, to become  
*bazz* : thick  
*bē* : un-, not, without  
*bī* : on, to, at, in, inside, on the surface of  
*brās* : brother  
*burr-*, *burrit* : to cut, to slice, to scatter  
*burzag* : < *burz* top, up high, above

*čārda* : fourteen  
*čamm* : eye  
*čē* : what?  
*čī* : thing  
*čīz* : a thing, thing

*čukk-*, *čukkit* : to kiss

*dāmūn* : also *dām* "skirt"  
*dār-*, *dāšt* : have  
*dantān* : tooth  
*dap* : mouth  
*dar* : 1) out, outside 2) door  
 ~ *kanag* : to put out, to reveal to, to get out  
*dard* : pain  
*darmān* : medicine, remedy, cure  
*das/dast* : hand  
*ḡawl* : manner, method  
*da(y)-*, *dāt* : to give  
*dēm* : face  
*ḡigar* : other, another one  
*dil* : heart  
*diltank* : heavy-hearted, distressed, gloomy,  
 lonesome, nostalgic  
 ~ *bayag* "to be annoyed"  
*dōst* : friend, lover (male and female)  
*draxt* : tree  
*du* : two  
*dunyā* : world  
*durr* : pearl, pearly  
*dušmān* : insult, hatred, execration, curse

*ē* : this  
*ētubār* : confidence, trust, worth, reliability

*ganōk* : mad, insane, crazy  
 ~ *bayag* : to become mad/insane  
*gard-*, *gašt* : to walk around, to turn  
*gardin* : neck  
*gazz* : tamarisk (tree)  
*gind-*, *dīst* : see  
*girdī* : all around, encircling < *gird* round,  
 around  
*gis* : house  
*gōšt* : meat; *pur gōšt*, see *pur*

*grēw-*, *grēt* : to weep, to cry  
*gul/gō/gō* : with  
*gul* : flower, rose  
*gunā* : sin  
*guṛā* : then, then afterwards  
*guš-*, *gušt* : to say, to tell  
*gušnag* : hungry  
*gwāzī* : play, game  
*gwand* : small, short, young, (little)  
*gwanjakk* : wild pistachio gum  
*gwar* : side, breast, udder  
*~ā kanag* : to wear, to put on (clothes)

*ḡam* : grief, sadness, worry  
*ḡawḡā* : complain, uproar, quarrel

*habar* : see *abar*  
*hakk* : see *akk*  
*halk* : see *alk*  
*handag* : see *andag*  
*har* : see *ar*  
*harmān* : see *arman*

*idā* : here  
*ikš* : < išk < išk “love”  
*ilāyī* : oh God, Lord  
*ill-*, *išt* : to leave, let  
*išāra* : sign, gesture, signal  
*~ dayag* : to give signal

*jā* : place  
*jādū* : magic, charm, spell  
*jān* : soul, self, body, life, dear  
*jā(y)-*, *jāpt* : to chew  
*jagar* : liver, essence (heart), beloved  
*jamāl* : beauty  
*jan-*, *jat* : to hit, to bit, to strike  
*jēb* : pocket  
*jīnēn* : woman, wife  
*~ zāg* : girl, (female)  
*jīnikk* : young woman, girl, daughter  
*jītā* : separate, apart  
*jōr* : well, healthy  
*~ kanag* : to construct, to make up  
*jwān* : good, nice, right

*kāgad* : paper, paper-thin  
*kātil* : killer, murderer, slayer

*ka* : a colloquial connective particle  
*kabāb* : roasted meat; (here: consumed, burning in the fire of love)  
*kan-*, *kurt* : to do  
*kass* : someone, a person  
*kašš-*, *kaššit* : to pull, draw, to take out  
*ki* : conj. that, as, who, which  
*kišmīr* : 1) an Indian province (Kashmir)  
           2) a kind of cloth  
*kōṭa* : Quetta, the capital of Pakistani province of Balochistan  
*kuš-*, *kušt* : to kill

*lōṭ-*, *lōṭit* : to want, ask for, invite  
*lunt* : lip

*mā(h)* : moon  
*mālikā* : moon-faced, beautiful  
*maysad* : purpose, aim, goal  
*man1* : pers. pron. 1sg. “I”  
*man2* : maund, a weight  
*mašk* : water skin  
*mīr-*, *murt* : to die  
*mīsāl/misl* : like, as  
*mučč* : collected, assembled, gathered together, folded  
*mulk* : land, country  
*muntazir* : waiting, looking for, expecting

*nākō* : uncle; *nākōzāg/k* “cousin”  
*nāmēt* : hopeless, disappointed, desperate <  
       *nā-* without + *ōmēt/umēt* hope  
*nāzurk* : delicate, fine, thin  
*nal* : reed, reed pipe  
*napas* : soul, breath, life  
*nawār* : tether manacle, band, strip  
*nazzīnk* : near, nearby, nearly  
*nē* < *nēst* : < *na* + *ast* (it) is not  
*nēm* : half  
*nīnd-*, *ništ* : to sit  
*nīwag* : fruit

*ōšt-*, *ōštād* : to stand, to stay, to wait

*pām-*, *pāmit* : < *pahm*; NP/Ar. *fahm* “understanding”  
*pa* : prep. with *ā*-case; for, with  
*padā* : after(wards), later, back

*payat* : only, merely, sole(ly)  
*pant* : advice, instruction  
*pardag* : 1) purdah, seclusion (for women) 2) protection, safety 3) mercy  
*parēšān* : depressed, (distressed), sad  
*parīrang* : fairy-faced, charming, like a fairy, beautiful; from *parī* fairy + *rang* sort, like, kind, colour (about women's figure and shape)  
*pētēk* : forelock, topknot = *pētōk* forehead  
*pis* : father  
*pur(r)* : full, filled, fully; *pur gōšt-u zand* plump, buxom, round,  
*rā(h)* : road, way  
*rabb* : God, The Lord  
*ras-, rasit/rast* : to arrive, to reach, (to be completed)  
*ra(w/y)-, šut* : to go  
*rīšag* : root  
*rōč* : day, also sun  
*rōd* : river  
*rōk* : lit, kindled, shining, light  
*~ warag* : to shine, to flash  
*rud-, rust* : to grow  
*sāl* : year, age  
*sāt-, sātīt* : to keep, preserve;  
*sar* : head, on  
*sarā* postpos. "on, above, upon, ahead, in front, before"  
*sawāt* : travel gift, souvenir  
*sēr* : < NP/Ar. *sihr* "magic, sorcery, black arts"  
*sēzda* : thirteen  
*sin* : age  
*sišam* : oppression, cruelty, tyranny, injustice  
*sōč-, sōt* : to burn  
*sōr/sōhr* : red  
*spēdag* : white powder, white lead  
*spēt* : white  
*surxī* : red make-up used on the face (by women)  
*syā[h]/siyā[h]* : black  
  
*šāl* : shawl, long coat  
*~ kišmīr* : a very nice shawl which is woven in Kashmir in India  
*ša* : prep. from  
*šap* : night

*šapā* by night, at night;  
*šapī* to night  
*šap ka šapā* in the darkness of the night  
*šawpir* : driver; < Eng. chauffeur  
*šawr* : advice, consultation, contest, decision, decide, consult  
*šaydā* : enraptured  
  
*tā/ta[h]ā* : in, inside, amongst  
*tālān* : spread out, spreading out, share  
*~ kanag* : to open out, to spread out, to share  
*tānā* : alone, only  
*tārī* : early morning, morning-tide  
*tārīnk/tārīk* : darkling, gloomy, dark, dim  
*ta<sup>1</sup>* : until, till  
*ta<sup>2</sup>/taw* : pers. pron. 2sg. "you"  
*tačk* : spread out, laid out, straightened, long  
*tanakk* : thin, scattered  
*tangal/taningā* : up to now, still, yet  
*tank* : narrow, annoyed; see *diltank*  
*tawār* : shout, cry  
*tī* : poss. pron. 2sg. "your"  
*tōba* : regret, repentance  
*~ kanag/dārag* : to regret, to repent  
*truss-, tursīt* : to fear, to be afraid of  
  
*umr* : age, life, the duration of live  
  
*wā* : Oh!, vocative particle (like *aw*)  
*wāb* : sleep, dream  
*wāda* : promise  
*wā(r)* : turn, chance, time, occasion,  
*wapā* : faith, trust, reliance  
*wapt* : lay down, slept < *waspag* "to sleep"  
*waššī* : cookie, sweets < *wašš* sweet  
*watī* : own, belonging to self; < *wat* self  
  
*xarāb* : bad, spoiled, broken, wrecked  
*xayr* : well, fair, good  
*~ gindag* : to be blessed, to enjoy (the blessing of), to have happy ending  
*x(i)yābān* : street  
*xudā* : God  
*xudā[h]āpiz* : farewell, God protect you  
  
*yakk* : one, a; ~ *wā* "once"  
*yē* : see *ē*



*zāg* : child (son); *jinēn zāg* : see *jinēn*

*zān* : knee, (lap)

*zān-*, *zānt* : to know

*zamāna* : time, era

*zand*: fat, thick, bulky

*zēbā* : beautiful, elegant

*zindag* : alive, living

*zulp* : sidelocks, sideburns, sideboards, curls

*zū* : fast, quick(ly); < *zūt*, NP *zūd*

*zūr-*, *zurt* : to take up/away, to lift



# The Holy Fool in medieval Islam: The *Qalandariyāt* of Fakhr al-dīn 'Arāqī

Ashk P. Dahlén  
Tehran

"I know of no poet in the Persian language who is as free, as daring and as lofty in the expression of love as 'Arāqī; this ardor, this passion, are shown clearly and to the highest degree in his *ghazals*."<sup>1</sup> (Sa'īd Nafīsī, Persian scholar)

The mystical poetry of Fakhr al-dīn Ibrāhīm 'Arāqī (d. 1289) has been considered to be unparalleled and he has been celebrated as the most eloquent spokesman of divine love in the history of Persian literature. His literary production is distinguished above all by the depth and audacity of its unbridled, esoteric speculations and the intensity and brilliant colour of its religious expression. As a disciple of Sadr al-dīn Qunawī, he was the first writer to introduce Muhyī al-dīn Ibn 'Arabī's mystical teachings into the Persian language. He composed Sufi love poetry in the tradition of Sanā'ī and 'Attār, and also wrote a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* in elegant Persian prose. Owing to his creative talent and the synthesizing character of his spiritual vision, he made a fecund contribution to Islamic mysticism. My task in this short paper is to draw attention to a feature of 'Arāqī's production which has so far been largely neglected by modern scholarship, namely the genre of *qalandariyāt*.<sup>2</sup> The examination is based on a close reading of selected passages of his *Dīwān* (Collection of Lyrics), which are analysed by initially taking into consideration hagiographical accounts of his life.<sup>3</sup> Before exploring the *qalandariyāt* poems, it is, however, necessary to look at the religious and historical background against which this genre emerged and developed. In this respect, my essay will initially examine the *qalandar* phenomenon, its spiritual doctrine and practice, in the context of medieval Islam, and then give attention to it as a distinct literary type.

<sup>1</sup> K, preface. Note on abbreviations: The source quoted as "K" (with number of page) indicates *Kullīyāt-i Dīwān-i Shaikh Fakhr al-dīn Ibrāhīm Hamadānī mutakhallis bi 'Arāqī* (Complete Works of 'Arāqī), ed. Mahmūd 'Ilmī Darwīsh, with important introduction by Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran, 1998 [1377].

<sup>2</sup> The literary aspects of the genre has been treated by Helmut Ritter (1955:487–91) and J.T.P. De Bruijn (1992) with specific reference to 'Attār and Sanā'ī.

<sup>3</sup> A manuscript entitled *Muqaddima* (Introduction) provides most of what is known about 'Arāqī's life. The author of the biography is anonymous, but the text is written down in the manner and style of 'Arāqī's own period. 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (d.1492) based his information about 'Arāqī in *Nafahāt al-uns* on this introduction. The *Muqaddima* is included in Mahmūd 'Ilmī Darwīsh's edition of 'Arāqī's *Kulliyat* (Complete Works). Cf. K 17–38.

# 1. The *Qalandar*: deranged vagabond and fool for God's sake

While the *qalandar* was making his way into literature, the word was known as the designation of a group of mystics in the eastern lands of Islam who distinguished themselves from other Muslims by their unconventional way of life. Their origin has not yet been determined, but the existence of individual *qalandars* in Khurāsān in the early eleventh century is clearly attested. The word *qalandar* is first encountered in a *rubā'ī* (quatrain) of Bābā Tāhīr 'Uryān ("the naked") and in a short treatise entitled *Qalandar-nāma* ascribed to 'Abdullāh Ansārī (d. 1088–9) of Herat.<sup>4</sup> Abū Sa'īd Abī al-Khair (d. 1048) is also reported to have recited a few quatrains which affirmatively depict the *qalandar* as a homeless wanderer and fierce visionary.<sup>5</sup> While the fact that the word passed into Arabic from Persian would suggest a Persian origin, Tahsin Yazici (1978:472) asserts that the alleged derivation from the Persian *kalandar* ("ugly and ungainly man") is still no more than a hypothesis.

From the early eleventh century, the *qalandars* were known as mystics who had withdrawn from the world and practised poverty. Acting upon the Qur'ānic command, "Journey in the land!" (3:137), they led the life of obsessive vagrants; they were homeless and nameless and had no family. They regarded the outward journey as a symbol of the inner, spiritual journey. The *qalandars* rejected bookish knowledge and therefore never established a closely reasoned doctrinal scheme, their teachings having rather a common esoteric orientation. 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (1957:14–15) characterizes their religious attitude in his *Nafahāt al-uns* as consisting of inner contentment (*riqā*), tranquillity of the heart (*tayyib al-qalb*) and prevention of self-conceit (*riyā*). Like the mainstream Islamic mystics, the *qalandars* comprehended the divine attributes (*ṣifāt*) as means of grasping God's essence (*dhāt*) and reflected on His names by invocation (*dhikr*). They were in fact peculiar in their continuous invocations of God.

The *qalandars* focused themselves upon the fullness of reality, which is considered to be revealed in the entire creation through God's names. Attracted by the beauty and grandeur of God's manifestation, they yearned for spiritual realization through two essential divine aspects: beauty and majesty (*jamāl wa jalāl*). The Sufi master Shihāb al-dīn Abū Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardī (d. 1235) used the term *qalandar* in his *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* in a derogatory style, applying it to "people so possessed by the intoxication of 'tranquility of the heart' that they respect no custom or usage and reject the regular observances of society".<sup>6</sup> In the thirteenth century, the influ-

<sup>4</sup> Bābā Tāhīr's (1983:8) quatrain describes the *qalandar* as a homeless vagabond, who depends completely on divine Providence:

I am the debauchee whom they call *qalandar*.  
I have no provision, no refuge or harbour.  
During the day, I travel around your district.  
At night, I go to bed with my head on your soil.

مو آن رندم که نامم بی قلندر      نه خوان دیرم نه مان دیرم نه لنگر

چو روز آیه بگردم گرد کویت      چو شو آیه بخشستان وانهم سر

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Meier 1976:494–516.

<sup>6</sup> Cited in Trimmingham 1971:267.

ential *qalandar* master Sayyid Jamāl al-dīn Sāwī (d. 1232) identified five principles of the *qalandariya* path, which collectively correspond to the term *qalandar* itself: contentment (*qanāʿat*), gentleness (*liṭāfat*), repentance (*nidāmat*), godliness (*diyānat*) and self-discipline (*riyāsat*).<sup>7</sup>

The *qalandars* were known for their unconventional appearance. They used to shave the head, the beard, the moustache and even the eyebrows in order fully to reveal the physical beauty of the face. They dressed in unusual and strange garments, usually a mantle or a simple blanket over the body, and sometimes in the skins of lions and leopards, presumably to inspire fear among rustic people. Sometimes they even appeared naked, not as a sign of sexual promiscuity, but rather of deep spirituality: nudity being a symbol of primordial beauty.<sup>8</sup> Their way of dressing, while by no means uniform, was distinct enough to make them stand out in a crowd. In company, some of them also used to carry various implements, such as a drum or a standard. Their characteristics usually also included the perforation of ears for the insertion of iron rings as symbols of penitence. The *qalandars* subsisted on charity and owned nothing but a few personal belongings. Men and women gathered together openly among them, and the latter apparently did not veil themselves or live secluded. They stood outside the social structure and were not “tainted” by any legal obligations to a family or to a religious community. As such, they remained within society but were free from its constraints.

The principles of the *qalandari* doctrine most probably had their origin in the teachings of the *malāmatīya* (“the people of blame”), who appeared in Khurāsān in the ninth century. The doctrinal foundation of the *malāmatīya* has been attributed to Abū Sālih Hamdūn Qassār (d. 884), an artisan of Nishāpūr.<sup>9</sup> His basic credo contained a strong element of self-reproach professing that all outward appearance of piety, including good deeds, is display. He and his disciples sacrificed their worldly reputation and concealed all virtuous acts of supererogatory worship so as to avoid the danger of self-pride and hypocrisy. In their struggle against the desire for social respect and the approval of men, they kept secret their spiritual states and instead made themselves objects of blame (*malāma*).<sup>10</sup> The *malāmatīs* believed that public

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Khatīb-i Fārsī 1983:42.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Aflākī 1983:412, and Feuillebois-Pierunek 2002:238. The characteristic of shaving the hair, the moustache and the beard may point to a Buddhist influence, probably from the Mahāyāna and Saṅgha traditions. ‘Abd al-Husain Zarrinkub (1975:79) argues that the early *qalandars* were most likely Buddhist converts to Islam, inspired by their prior religious background, or alternatively that they maintained their beliefs and way of life under a Muslim disguise. As testified by the hagiographer Khatīb-i Fārsī (1983:41) in his *Sīrat-i Jamāl al-dīn Sāwī*, the *qalandars* revered the Indian ascetics and held their religious rituals in high esteem. According to J. Spencer Trimingham (1971:98), many practices taken from the Hindu sages, such as yoga exercises, celibacy and vegetarianism, were adopted by some *qalandars*.

<sup>9</sup> Farīd al-dīn ‘Attār (1991:349–52) relates several episodes from Hamdūn Qassār’s life in his hagiography *Tadhkirat al-auliya*.

<sup>10</sup> The designation *malāmatīya* derives from the Qur’ānic passage (5:54), which refers to the believers “who struggle in the path of God, not fearing the reproach of any reproacher”. This passage is usually interpreted as referring to the Prophet and his companions, whom the *malāmatīs* claimed as the first of their number. The Prophet had himself been reproached with being a madman. Owing to their excessive emphasis on inner sincerity, the *malāmatīs* did not themselves produce any corpus of ideas in written form. The main source for the study of their doctrine is the *Risālat al-malāmatīya* by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī

blame directed against them would have a great effect in making their devotion sincere. Typical is the story told by Jāmī (1957:264) in his *Nafahāt al-uns*:

“One of them was hailed by a large crowd when he entered Hirāt. The crowd tried to accompany the great saint, but on the road he publicly started urinating in an unlawful way, so that all of them left him and no longer believed in his spiritual rank.”

The *qalandars* adopted the fundamental orientation of the *malāmātī* way and displayed utter contempt of social conventions, public appearances being a matter of indifference. But in contrast to the *malāmātī* emphasis on inward sobriety and obedience to the religious law, they intentionally transgressed the norms and values of society. Owing to their cynicism in social behaviour and their antinomian attitude to religious matters, there are important differences between these two manifestations of Islamic mysticism in their notions of religious practice: “The distinction between the *malāmātī* and *qalandarī* is that the former hides his devotion and the latter externalizes and even exploits it, going out of his way to incur blame”.<sup>11</sup>

The *qalandars* stood outside the social hierarchy and were completely detached from the mass of the population. They did not, however, seek solitude or thrive in seclusion but were constantly on the move, bringing with them disorder and disruption. Notorious for their coarse behaviour and blameworthy attitudes, the *qalandars* attempted to destroy all customs (i.e. *takhrīb al-‘ādāt*) by committing unseemly, even wicked acts, not as an exit from society but in order to conceal the sincerity of their actions from the public view.<sup>12</sup> By overturning conventions, they strove to expose the hypocrisy of the established order and to question its values. They not only showed no interest in the ordinances of religious law but were also indifferent to following obligatory religious rules.

For the *qalandar*, holy foolishness was an ingenious way of fighting spiritual pride rather than an attempt at moral instruction. Even a highly spiritual person, one

(d. 1021), himself a native of Nīshāpūr. *Malāmātīya* appears to have represented a sharp reaction to the effusive public demonstrations of religiosity associated with a group called *karāmīya*, which flourished in Persia until the Mongol conquests. The *karāmīya*, which received its name from Muhammad ibn Karrām (d. 869), was known for its excessive pietism and emphasis on ascetic self-mortification (*taqashshuf*) and complete trust (*tawakkul*) in God. Cf. Sviri 1993.

<sup>11</sup> Trimmingham 1971:267. The *qalandars* gradually came to prevail over the *malāmātīya* tradition, since no prominent individuals are identified as *malāmātīs* after the tenth century. During the same period, the Naqshbandīya order enjoyed great popularity in Transoxania and Khurāsān. While the Naqshbandīs did not claim spiritual descent from the *malāmātīya*, some elements of the latter were absorbed into their teachings, notably the practice of silent invocation, the avoidance of a distinctive garb and the prohibition of ceaseless wandering. The spiritual orientation of the *malāmātīya* also had an influence on Sufi masters such as Abū al-Qāsim Qushāirī (d. 1074) and Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240). Cf. Zarinkub 1975:80.

<sup>12</sup> The *qalandars* were criticised by Shihāb al-dīn Abū Hafs ‘Umar Suhrawardī, master of the Suhrawardīya order, for their libertinism and antinomian practices. Considering them as an institution exploited by charlatans, he explains that those who in his time took the dress of the *qalandars* in order to indulge in debaucheries are not to be confused with true *qalandars*. A subtle balance between the mundane and the spiritual was essential to the *qalandar* way of life, and when the morality of individuals with *qalandarī* affiliation degenerated, the name itself became associated with immoral acts, such as fornication, homosexual conduct and kissing women and boys. The Sufi master ‘Abd al-Qadīr Gilanī (d. 1166), for instance, uses the name in condemnation in his *al-Fuyūdāt al-rabbānīya*, which deals with principles of Islamic faith (*‘aqida*). Cf. Trimmingham 1971:268.



who has truly renounced vanity, pride and acquisitiveness, could still yield to the temptation of pride in his or her accomplishments. Yielding to this temptation is, of course, tantamount to cancelling out virtue and returning the would-be saint to common hypocrisy and sinfulness. The ultimate purpose of the *qalandarī* path was to reach a spiritual state in which no importance was attached to either praise or blame. The human being had constantly to struggle against both desire for divine reward and approval by man to preserve the perfect tranquillity of the heart. Aware of this psychological paradox, the *qalandars* invented a special way of behaving to prevent the development of self-pride. By committing blameworthy actions which discredited them in the eyes of the crowd, they were prevented from feeling proud about their accomplishments.

‘Arāqī’s life contains several episodes that fit the tradition of the *qalandars*. His first encounter with them occurred in Hamadān, when he was seventeen. The *qalandars* held one of their moving meetings at a neighbourhood gathering in the central part of town. They recited poetry and performed ritual dances in a spiritual concert (*samā’*), inspiring people with their holy idiocy. With sweet melody, they chanted the following verses:

We have moved our bedrolls from the mosque to the ruin.  
 We have scribbled over the pages of asceticism and miracles.  
 We sat in the ranks of lovers in the Magi’s lane  
 and drank a cup from the hands of the debauchees of the ruin.  
 We will spread out in heaven like the flag of fortune,  
 if the heart beats the drum of decency after this.  
 We have passed much beyond self-denial and mystical stations,  
 since we have carried the cup of hardship from all such states!<sup>13</sup>

ما رخت ز مسجد بخرابات کشیدیم	خط بر ورق زهد و کرامات کشیدیم
در کوی مغان در صف عشاق نشستیم	جام از کف رندان خرابات کشیدیم
گر دل بزند کوس شرف شاید ازین پس	چون رایت دولت بسموات کشیدیم
از زهد و مقامات گذشتیم که بسیار	کاس تعب از زهد و مقامات کشیدیم

‘Arāqī was overwhelmed with inner joy at observing the ecstatic *qalandarī* congregation. As the story goes, “love’s flame caught at the haystack of his reason and consumed it”.<sup>14</sup> He tore off his turban and was received by the *qalandars*, who welcomed him as one of themselves, shaving his hair and eyebrows. After this event, he passed his time as a homeless vagrant until he met Bahā’ al-dīn Zakarīyā of Multān, the master of the Suhrawardīya order, who initiated him into the Sufi path. Inspired by the *qalandarī* outlook, ‘Arāqī continued to act upon its ethos during his whole life. The author of the *Muqaddima* relates several instances in which he subjected himself to public blame and censure so as to obtain the condemnation of the people rather than their veneration. When already a venerable master in Dukāt, he could,

<sup>13</sup> K 21.

<sup>14</sup> K 21.

for instance, be found joking and playing with teenagers, and he was known for his inclination toward companionship with beautiful young boys.<sup>15</sup> On one occasion, a group of children were leading him around by a string, which he held in his teeth, making him run hither and yonder and otherwise gleefully tormenting him.<sup>16</sup> Reliable information concerning 'Arāqī's life reveals that he considered social respect as one of the most dangerous pitfalls on the spiritual path. He habitually preferred socializing with drunkards and outcasts to the company of governors or viziers. He provided for poor people and protected outcasts from the sometimes brutal hands of the rulers.<sup>17</sup>

'Arāqī's aspiration to free himself from the world and its passions whilst living in the world is illustrated in a famous episode, which took place in Egypt during his later life. The ruler of the Mameluke empire, Sultān al-Mansūr Saif al-dīn Kalaun (d. 1289), had him appointed as chief Sufi master (*shaikh al-shuyūkh*) of Cairo, and then ordered all the notables of the land to attend the court in honour of the occasion:

Next morning a thousand Sufis were present at the court, together with all the notables and religious scholars of Egypt. The sultan commanded that 'Arāqī should be mounted on a horse and clothed in a robe and a hood of honour. 'Arāqī was alone mounted that day and all the notables walked on foot at his stirrup. When 'Arāqī saw all this, the thought suddenly entered his head that no other man of the age had ever been treated with such respect. He realized that he was in danger of being overcome by his own ego (*nafs*). He immediately ripped off his hood and turban and placed them on the ground before him. The crowd watched in stunned silence as he sat there, till, after a few minutes, he picked up the turban and hood and put them back on his head. The crowd began to titter. "How could such a man deserve such rank?", whispered someone, "He is a madman! He is foolish!", and all of them began to ridicule him. "Why did you do such a thing?" demanded the vizier. 'Arāqī answered: "Hold your tongue. What do you know?" The news of this scandal was at once carried to the sultan. Next day he sent for 'Arāqī and asked him for an explanation. "My carnal soul overcame me", he replied. "If I had not acted in this way, I should never have escaped from the consequences of my self-pride". This incident only increased the sultan's faith in him.<sup>18</sup>

The *qalandars* were madly in love with God and, like most pure lovers, foolish in the eyes of the sophisticated, urbane world. But, irrespective of the radical nature of their outrageous behaviour, they were not madmen allegedly venerated as holy men

<sup>15</sup> The author of the *Muqaddima* relates the following story: "One day, 'Arāqī passed through the shoemakers' market when his attention was suddenly attracted by a young boy. He approached the boy and greeted him. He then asked the shoemaker: 'Who is this boy?' The man answered: 'He is my son'. The Sufi master touched the boy's lips and asked: 'Isn't it rude that such pleasant looks should be spoiled on dirty skin?' The shoemaker answered: 'We are poor people and this our work.' 'Arāqī asked again: 'How much does the boy earn?' 'Four dirhams every day', the father replied. 'I will give him eight dirhams every day, so that he will not have to work after this', 'Arāqī said. Day after day, the Sufi master went to see the boy in his store, together with some disciples. They sat down and gazed at him, reading poetry and weeping. The sultan was soon informed about the master's conduct and called upon him: 'Do you bring the boy with you at night?' 'No', 'Arāqī replied. The sultan asked: 'Are you any time alone with him?' The master once again said: 'No'. The sultan then praised 'Arāqī and doubled his pension." Cf. K 36–7.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. K 28.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. K 27–32.

<sup>18</sup> K 36.

nor saints masquerading as fools, only appearing to be mad. The *qalandars* were mystics, outwardly behaving in a careless manner according to the conventional standards of society, but inwardly they pursued a religious ideal, enlivened by the experience of God's beauty and majesty. By cultivating a highly personal, spiritual life epitomized by humility and poverty, they strove to show to the people the existential heart of Islam: to love God without a second thought. In contrast to another group of the period called the '*uqalā al-majānīn* (wise fools), who claimed to be rebels against God, the *qalandars* did not feign madness; instead, they were sincerely inspired and "enraptured" (*majdhūb*) by God.<sup>19</sup> Their joyful ecstasies were due not to speculative absorption but to spontaneous "attraction" made sincere by God. People regarded them compassionately as invested with the role of representatives of God in the wayward world. If harmless, they were considered to be excused and freed from religious duties. Islamic law acknowledges in fact the privileged position of the insane, and the mad man or woman is not subject to the Qur'ānic restrictions (*ḥudūd*).<sup>20</sup> In view of the fact that madness for God was a recognised form of spirituality, the *qalandars* were standing not in opposition to the structuring of Islamic civilization but as an element which contributed to its unity and continuity.

In the context of ordinary life, the appearance of the *qalandars* was a part of the realia of the Middle Ages, when Sufism was pervasive in Islamic societies. The role of the *qalandars* for the milieu was the elements of love, humility and foolishness. Unlike ascetics and hermits, their proper element was a neighbourhood gathering, the market-place and, above all, the ruins (*kharābāt*) on the outskirts of town. The ruins were known from an early period as a disreputable location enclosing unlawful institutions, such as taverns, brothels and gambling-houses. In such surroundings, they were truly at home, amusing people with their conversation, music and dance. They sang, shouted, cried and prophesied. Some of them behaved in a more undignified way by abusing passers-by.<sup>21</sup> As Ritter (1952:9) points out, the *qalandars* had a particular impact on the lowest strata of society, on outcasts such as beggars, drunkards and prostitutes. In the village community it was believed that they possessed mysterious powers and were in some way in contact with the supernatural. Their vagrancy and dislike for settled life was a sign of their closeness to God. What at first sight appeared to be mental illness (*junūn*) was interpreted as a sign of

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Feuillebois-Pierunek 2002:224–7. According to Dols (1992:376), the term '*uqalā al-majānīn* gradually became synonymous with "holy fools", but in contrast to the latter the wise fools did not invariably have the connotation of mystics. Abū al-Qāsim Hasan al-Nishāpūrī (d. 1016) outlines the theological context of wise foolishness in his *Kitāb 'uqalā al-majānīn* and gives an account of over a hundred mad people, including the well-known Abū Wuhaib Buhlūl. Like the *qalandars*, the '*āqil al-majānīn* represented a phenomenon in ordinary life, as well as a literary figure.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Dols 1992:390 and 425–455.

<sup>21</sup> Farīd al-dīn 'Attār (1968:179–80) relates a story in his *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* about an Arab merchant who visited a ruin in Persia. He was accompanied into a tavern by a group of *qalandars*, who made him drunk and then led him to lose all his possessions by gambling. The *qalandars* ridiculed him and then threw him out of the tavern. When the Arab returned to his native soil, he did not recall anything about the incident, except the pleasant voices of the *qalandars* chanting: "Come in! Come in!" At this moment, he had experienced true love and, in the words of 'Attār, he had become divinely "annihilated" (*fanā'ī*), both in the literal and the figurative sense.

profound wisdom (*ḥikmat*): these two contradictory characteristics were assumed to coexist in the *qalandar* and became a hallmark of his sanctity.<sup>22</sup> By claiming that the world was dehierarchized and challenging the boundaries of ordinary social conduct, their behaviour evoked veneration as well as fear.

The *qalandars* did not initially form a strictly organized movement or party but rather represented a religious orientation embodied in a broad spectrum of eclectic beliefs and practices. Their activities were confined to the eastern lands of Islam and to individuals, unattached to any recognized Sufi master (*shaikh*) or initiatory line (*silsila*). The historian Taqī al-dīn Ahmad al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) records that about 1213 *qalandars* in Damascus first made their appearance as a large movement, equivalent to other Sufi orders.<sup>23</sup> The new transformation was introduced by the Persian mystic Sayyid Jamāl al-dīn Sāwī, who can be considered as the most prominent reviver of the *qalandarī* way. Sāwī systematized the general principles of the order, now called the *qalandarīya*, and adopted a few innovative practices, such as the initiation formula (consisting of a four-times-repeated *takbīr*).<sup>24</sup> Under his direction, the order spread westward and penetrated into Anatolia, Egypt and parts of the Maghrib. Shams al-dīn Aflākī (1983:596) mentions the existence of a *qalandar* hospice (a so-called *langar*, “anchor”) in Konya during the time of Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī (d. 1273). He gives an account of the friendly relations between Rūmī and the *qalandar* master Abū Bakr Jaulaqī Nīksārī and also tells about *qalandars* participating in the *samāʿ* performances of Shams al-dīn Tabrīzī.<sup>25</sup> While the *qalandars* were condemned for their strong, antinomian trend by “orthodox” theologians and mystics (such as Shihāb al-dīn Abū Hafs ʿUmar Suhrawardī and ʿAbd al-Qādir Gīlānī), the fact that they were tolerated indicates a high level of acceptance in the most influential circles of medieval Islamic society.

## 2. The *Qalandarīyāt* of ʿArāqī’s *Dīwān*

The impact of the *qalandar* way of life on medieval Persian poetry can hardly be overestimated; it is traversed through and through by its paradoxes. The *qalandars* contributed to it a model of behaviour and, more importantly, a set of assumptions about man, the world and God. As de Bruijn (1992) has demonstrated convincingly in the case of Sanāʿī, far from all Persian poets adopted the *qalandarī* lifestyle, even though their poetry was to some extent absorbed in its ethos. As far as literary genre

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Zarrinkub 1975:78–80. In his prose work *Lamaʿāt* (Divine Flashes), ʿArāqī gives a mystical meaning to the Arabic legend of Lailā and Majnūn to illustrate the nature of divine love. The central theme is Majnūn’s passionate but chaste love for Lailā. In ʿArāqī’s version, Majnūn is depicted as a supreme lover, who is absorbed in his love for Lailā, the symbol of the transcendental Beloved. She drives him mad by denying his love, and he starts to witness her beauty everywhere, in all created forms. In the end, she appears to him but he refuses to look at her. At this point, Majnūn has attained the station of the perfect mystic and understands that Lailā is no more than a mirror which distracts him from beholding his Beloved (his true Lailā). Cf. K 391–2 and 410.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Trimmingham 1971:267.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Khatīb-i Fārsī 1983:41–2. Sāwī established continuous voyaging (*siyāhat*) as obligatory and introduced the custom to wear a type of sack-cloth (*jaulaq*), from which the designation of the *qalandars* as the *jaulaqīya* derives. The four *takbīrs* are as a rule recited in the Islamic funeral prayer. This practice is given a symbolic meaning in the *qalandar* doctrine, signifying the initiatic birth of the individual mystic.

<sup>25</sup> Aflākī 1983:631.

is concerned, the *qalandarīyāt* became the designation of a category of poems characterized by the use of provocative motifs connected with antinomian mysticism. The poets invented a cluster of motifs which celebrates intoxication and debauchery, and idolizes spiritual and physical vagrancy above common wisdom. The name *qalandarīyāt* was not selected by the poets themselves in order to distinguish it as a distinct section but was coined by contemporary philologists to be used as a designation for a literary genre. The poets classified their poems exclusively according to prosodic forms.

In medieval, mystical poetry, the *qalandar* is depicted as a prototype of characters, as a model of the perfect man. His holiness is always made clear from the context and the deliberate transparency of his behaviour notwithstanding the fact that the imagery of Persian poetry contains a great deal of ambiguity. The first poet who used the *qalandar* as a central motif in a cluster of related themes was Abū al-Majd Majdūd Sanā'ī (d. 1131) of Ghazna. On the evidence of Sanā'ī's biography, de Bruijn claims that his *qalandarīyāt* should be considered as an essential element of homiletic discourse, closely associated with the poet's function as a private preacher. de Bruijn further asserts that the various notions of piety envisaged in the genre demonstrate that *qalandarīyāt* encompasses a much wider range of religious concepts than can be included under the name "Sufism". While it can be disputed to what extent the religious practice of the Islamic preachers was necessarily incompatible with the ethical teachings of Sufism, de Bruijn (1983:247) substantiates his claim that Sanā'ī's *qalandarīyāt* belongs to "the tradition of Islamic piety shared by the community as a whole".

After Sanā'ī, the major themes related to the genre became part of the general stock of imagery for Persian poets, and the word *qalandar* was always used with a positive connotation. Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, for instance, sets up the *qalandars* as the very embodiment of virtue and piety. He portrays their mystical station as beyond annihilation (*fanā*) in God, which some mystics consider as the highest station on the spiritual path. The *qalandar* is not even in the category of created beings as a lover, but he is a mirror of the transcendental Beloved. According to Annmarie Schimmel (1993:19–20), Rūmī's use of the term *qalandar* as a symbol of the veritable Beloved is in harmony with Shams al-dīn Tabrīzī's vagabond character and his spiritual status as "the pole of all the Beloved" (*qutb-i hama ma'shūqān*). In one famous poem, Rūmī sings:

The Phoenix, alchemy and *qalandarī* station are descriptions  
of the *qalandar*, but he is indifferent to these words.  
They say I am a *qalandar* and this does not seem likely.  
Since the *qalandar* is uncreated ...  
His path is above godliness.  
He is neither a servant nor a prophet!<sup>26</sup>

وصف قلندرست و قلندر ازو بری	سیمرغ و کیمیا و مقام قلندری
زیرا که آفریده نباشد قلندری	گویی قلندرم من و این دلپذیر نیست
در بندگی نیاید و نه در پیمبری	راه قلندری ز خدایی برون بود

<sup>26</sup> Rūmī 1992: poem 3006.



'Arāqī's poetry reflects a broad, spiritual vision and a highly stimulated emotionality. He is particularly famous for his ability to express the most profound, mystical teachings in an elegant but emotive style. His language is distinguished by its rhythmic musicality and vivacity, being devoid of vulgarity and intricate, learned allusions. 'Arāqī's *Dīwān* consists predominantly of conventional, mystical love poems, which reveals the essential affinities of his work with that of Sanā'ī, 'Attār and Rūmī. A fairly small quantity of 'Arāqī's verses display the characteristics of *qalandariyāt* very clearly.<sup>27</sup> Their subject matter is always distinguished by a relatively uniform set of symbols, even if the prosodic form is often closely associated with the imagery of love and intoxication. The fact that the *qalandariyāt* poems are, as a rule, easy to identify indicates that the genre had acquired a rather fixed set of symbols in the middle of the thirteenth century.

As far as the form is concerned, the bulk of 'Arāqī's *qalandariyāt* poems are *ghazals*, i.e. lyrical poems of generally 7–9 lines. The rhyming scheme of the *ghazal* is based on monorhyme with internal rhyme in the opening line, bound together by a single metre and sometimes a *radīf*, a word repeated at the end of each line. A few *qaṣīdas* (longer lyrical poems), *muqaṭṭa'āt* and *tarjī'bands* (stanzaic poems) also clearly contain elements belonging to the genre. The small number of *qaṣīdas* is not surprising, given that its dominant theme, the panegyric *qaṣīda*, was characteristic of the culture of the courts. In the case of 'Arāqī, all his *qaṣīdas* expound mystical themes, including his eulogies (*na'ats*) of the Prophet.

'Arāqī is probably the most outspoken poet of the antinomian *ghazal*. His *qalandariyāt* poetry is marked by a unique blend of antinomian, thematic features and a rich symbolic imagery. The dominant motif is the *kharābāt* (ruins) on the outskirts of town frequented by beggars, rascals and debauchees. The ruins house the wine taverns and the gambling houses, and it was here, outside the city walls beyond the civilized world, that the illicit wine commerce took place in medieval Persia. In 'Arāqī's poetry, wine-drinking and gambling are mentioned among the entertainments offered in the *kharābāt*. From an early period onwards, the *kharābāt* was also used as synonymous with a brothel.<sup>28</sup> In Sufi literature, the *kharābāt* acquired a symbolic meaning above the literal meaning, referring to an environment where the true mystic is at home: the location of man's annihilation (*fanā*) in God. In a short treatise on mystical vocabulary, called the *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 'Arāqī defines the mystical meaning of *kharābāt* as symbolizing the lover's total surrender (*taslīm*) to the Beloved. The debauchees of the *kharābāt* are described as supreme lovers who have cut off the dominance and inspection of discursive reason (*qaṭ'-i taṣarrufāt wa tad-bīrāt-i 'aql*) from mystical understanding.<sup>29</sup> He also provides a clarification of the

<sup>27</sup> The *Dīwān* consists of about 5800 lines of which approximately 250 contain explicit elements of the *qalandariyāt* genre. The term *kharābāt* itself occurs in 20 poems in Mahmūd 'Ilmī Darwīsh's edition. The majority of 'Arāqī's *qalandariyāt* poems are *kharābāt* poems, i.e. poems in which the term *kharābāt* plays a major part as far as subject is concerned.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. De Bruijn 1983:5 and Zarrinkūb 1955.

<sup>29</sup> K 426. 'Izz al-dīn Kāshānī (d. 1356) explains in his *al-Hidāya wa al-miftāḥ al-kifāya* the mystical meaning of *kharābāt* as "divine unity; the station of annihilation of God's attributes and actions (*ṣifāt wa af'āl*)". The inhabitants of the *kharābāt* are described as "careless lovers and spiritual wayfarers" who perceive all



mystical meaning of other terms, such as wine, tavern and intoxication, which are connected with the ruins. By preserving the concreteness of the ordinary context, the *kharābāt* is both a symbol of sensuous affection and mystical love, of worldly disrepute and spiritual realization:

In the lane of the ruins, what do you have need of?  
 Drunkenness and sobriety alike are all the same prayer.  
 There, no one accepts the coin of righteousness and self-denial.  
 The good currency of that street is what you need.  
 None but the drunkard knows the secrets of the ruins.  
 How could the sober unveil the mysteries of that district?  
 Once I witnessed the drunkenness of the debauchees of the ruins,  
 I realized that other work than theirs is purely allegory.  
 Do you seek entrance to the shrine of love?  
 Come, sit in the tavern, for the trip to Ka'ba is long.  
 Beware, do not traverse the path toward defeat,  
 since there are many ups and downs on the path of love.  
 A heartbreaking cry suddenly arose from the taverns.  
 I know not what is reasonable in the whispering of love.  
 What is the mystery behind the locks of the beautiful ones?  
 Since Mahmūd is in constant raptures at beholding Ayāz' locks.  
 The light from the faces of the beauties, which sparkled with your goodness,  
 has set the souls of all fervent lovers in flames.  
 They refused me entrance at first at the tavern.  
 So I went to the monastery and found an unlocked door.  
 But then I heard a voice from within the tavern crying, "'Araqī!  
 Open the door for yourself, for the tavern's gate is open!"<sup>30</sup>

در کوی خرابات کسی را که نیازست	هشیاری و مستیش همه عین نمازست
آنجا نپذیرند صلاح و ورع امروز	آنچ از تو پذیرند در آنکوی نیازست
اسرار خرابات بجز مست نداند	هشیار چه داند که در این کوی چه رازست
تا مستی رندان خرابات بدیدم	دیدم بحقیقت که جزین کار مجازست
خواهی که درون حرم عشق خرامی	در میکده بنشین که ره کعبه درازست
هان تا ننهی پای درین راه ببازی	زیرا که درین راه بسی شیب و فرازست
از میکده ها ناله دلسوز بر آمد	در زمزمه عشق ندانم که چه سازست
در زلف بتان تا چه فریبست که پیوست	محمود پریشان سر زلف ایازست
زان شعله که از روی بتان توافروخت	جان همه مشتاقان در سوز و گدازست
چون بر در می خانه مرا بار ندادند	رفتم بدر صومعه دیدم که فرازست
آواز ز می خانه بر آمد که عراقی	در باز تو خود دراکه در میکده بازست

creation as subsisting in God's attributes and actions; therefore they do not ascribe "any attributes to themselves or others" (Kāshānī 1993:625). 'Araqī refers to the ruins in one quatrain as the *kharābāt-i fanā* (the ruins of divine annihilation), a term which Najm al-dīn Dāya Razī (d. 1221) was the first to speak of in its mystical sense. Cf. K 377.

<sup>30</sup> K 100-1.

Some of 'Arāqī's *qalandarīyāt* poems are marked by the presence of a narrative or sometimes no more than an anecdotal trait, which is typical of the *ghazal*. In these *ghazals*, the first line sets the mood of the poem, which is roughly followed through in all the lines. The anecdote usually centres on the poet's visit to the *kharābāt* the previous night (*dūsh*), which, according to 'Arāqī, symbolizes the alchemical aspect of God's grandeur (*kibriyā*).<sup>31</sup> The poet is afflicted by love and leaves the civilized world to experience the everyday life of the ruins in the company of the debauchees.<sup>32</sup> In the following poem, the poet describes how he was received in the ruins:

Yesterday I made a visit to the tavern  
with a prayer bead in my hand and a rug on my shoulders.  
The elder welcomed me at the gate of the ruin saying:  
"No one here will buy deception, so don't persuade anyone to buy!  
Give me your rosary and receive the wine cup.  
Give me your mantle and put on the blanket.  
Why were you in the cloister in vain?  
Come, sit in the tavern and drink some wine!  
If you call to mind the beauty of the Saki,  
you will forget both your soul, heart and religion.  
If you witness the image of his face in the wine,  
you will be ruined and lifeless without wine ..."<sup>33</sup>

سبحه بکف و سجاده بر دوش	کردم گذری بمیکده دوش
کاینجا نخرند زرق مفروش	پیری بدر آمد از خرابات
خرقه بنه و پلاس درپوش	تسبیح بده پیاله بستان
در میکده رو شراب می نوش	در صومعه بیهده چه باشی
جان و دل و دین کنی فراموش	گر یاد کنی جمال ساقی
بی پاده شوی خراب و مدهوش	ور بینی عکس روش در جام

As de Bruijn correctly points out in the case of Sanā'ī, the sensuality and coarseness of the *qalandarīyāt* genre is not in contradiction to its mystical and symbolic intention. While de Bruijn avoids clarifying the mystical meaning of Sanā'ī's poetry in relation to the genre, he does have a preference for a figurative interpretation of his antinomian verses. Focusing on the homiletic character of the poet's discourse, de Bruijn (1992:85) suggests that the ambiguous, even shocking nature of the poet's antinomian imagery principally "served to enhance their effect on the public to whom these poetical sermons were addressed". The evidence of 'Arāqī's biography illustrates that his *qalandarīyāt* poetry did not originate in the context of delivering public sermons but rather in the context of his encounters in daily life. Some early poems, which date back to his formative years, are direct reflections of antinomian practice, but the largest part was intended as mystical songs recited during ritual

<sup>31</sup> K 427.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. K 141 and 149.

<sup>33</sup> K 162–3.

dance sessions performed in the Sufi establishments (*khāniqās*) of Multān and Duqāt. In contrast to mainstream literary life, which mainly centred on the courts, the *qalandarīyāt* poetry seems in fact to have had its origin in the popular song tradition. In the *kharābāt* milieu, the songs were chanted publicly and were subsequently integrated into mystical literature by way of the *qalandar* poets. In the end, the *qalandarīyāt* were almost completely absorbed by Sufi poetry and its mystical ethos.

Even if 'Arāqī was attracted to the taverns with their wine, conversation and music and ridiculed the Sufi institutions with their submission to an exacting master, he was not a mystic simply as a matter of course. Being a disciple and eventually a distinguished master on the Sufi path with strong Suhrawardī associations, his poetry is a highly idiosyncratic expression of Sufi doctrines and ideas. While his antinomian verses about wine, wrongdoing and pleasure reflect a deep-rooted *qalandar* affinity, these statements were never intended as proclamations of plain libertinism.<sup>34</sup> 'Arāqī does not adopt the *qalandarīyāt* in a strictly symbolic sense but preserves a subtle harmony between the possibilities of transcendental and profane allusions. The tendency to regard the religious and the profane as essentially different and separable was for him almost non-existent, since the allegorical ultimately is considered as a ladder to the Divine. While his religious practice remained within the framework of the revealed law, his biography indicates that some of his antinomian poems are expressions of real experiences.<sup>35</sup>

'Arāqī's *qalandarīyāt* are, as far as the form is concerned, intrinsically connected with wine imagery. The poet celebrates intoxication and adopts wine (*may*, *sharāb*), which in the Qur'ān (76:21) is described as the pure drink of paradise, as a symbol for spiritual drunkenness. As 'Arāqī explains in the *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, wine represents the last station on the mystical path, and as a symbol of love's supremacy over intellect, it is the state of spiritually perfected people (*ahl-i kamāl*).<sup>36</sup> Since the inner wisdom of wine-drinking is superior to the devout prayers (*munājāt*) of ascetic piety, the fools (*diwānagān*) in the tavern are superior in wisdom to the intellectual scholars (*ahl-i khirad*).<sup>37</sup> In the tavern, which sometimes seems to refer to a real tavern and sometimes is used as a symbol for the mystical congregation, there is true conversation in contrast to the self-centred speech (*tāmāt*) of respectful pseudo-Sufis.<sup>38</sup> In

<sup>34</sup> This is evident from 'Arāqī's own treatise on Sufi vocabulary, called *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, in which he gives an explanation of the mystical meaning of some characteristic antinomian motifs.

<sup>35</sup> 'Arāqī explores the various dimensions of the revealed law (*sharī'at*) in his *Lama'āt*. Rejecting the possibility of actualizing mysticism outside the boundaries of the revealed law, he instructs the mystic to keep away from all morally illicit behaviour: "The lover who experiences God through God and sees the entire world as God must reject all blameworthiness through God, in God, and for God, with his argument sustained by God. In that which is prohibited by the revealed law (*shar'an ḥarām*), he will not perceive God's Beauty, and will therefore avoid it. In fact, by his very nature he will not feel the slightest desire for it" (K 411). On this account, 'Arāqī's antinomian statements should probably be regarded as bold expressions of the fundamental *malāmatī* attitude according to which the appearance of immorality guards the individual against the sin of pride.

<sup>36</sup> K 429.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. K 98.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. 91. In the *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 'Arāqī defines the tavern as a "location of worship" (*qadam-i munājāt*) and wine intoxication (*mastī*) as absorption of God's most beautiful names. Cf. K 434.

'Arāqī's poetry, the liberal, but socially corrupted debauchee (*rind*) is closely associated with wine imagery. He is a notorious drinker who is stuck on wine (*may-parast*) and represents the paragon of virtue. Like the *qalandar*, he has broken with all past repentance and habitually brings the crowd's blame upon himself.<sup>39</sup> 'Arāqī uses the word *malāmat* in the ordinary sense of "blame". In one poem, he tells the blamer not to blame him, since he is unaware (*bikhabar*) of conventional customs and manners.<sup>40</sup>

The *qalandarīyāt* are also mingled with references to an imaginary mixture of non-Islamic cults (so-called *kufīyāt*), a usage which is attested already in the poetry of Abū Mansūr Muhammad Daqīqī (d. c. 970/980). In 'Arāqī's poems, the Magi elder (*pīr-i mughān*) is portrayed as the proprietor of the Magian domain (*dair-i mughān*), the centre of the wine commerce. He is referred to as the chief of the wine-sellers (*bāda furūshān*) and the debauchees (*kharābātīyān*).<sup>41</sup> By identifying the Magi with the tavern and wine-drinking, 'Arāqī turns the Magian cult into an alternative mode of piety. It is very likely that, in adopting this set of symbols to express their spiritual intoxication, he and other Sufi poets of medieval Persia were informed that intoxication was a part of the ancient, Zoroastrian, religious ritual. The word *mugh* derives from the Middle Persian *magū/mōg*, which was the designation for Zoroastrian priests in Sassanian Persia. The Magis were primarily famous for religious learning and legal responsibilities. As directors of fire temples, they were in charge of divine ceremonies, founded fires and sealed contracts for fires and testaments.<sup>42</sup>

'Arāqī also refers to encounters with Magian youths (*mughbachcha*) and Christian ephebes (*tarsābachcha*), who are occasionally the objects of his philandering. Contemplating the divine Beloved in the face of a beautiful Magian youth, who is commonly described as the servant boy in the tavern, the poet cannot any longer recall his own religious faith and becomes the boy's devotee (*murīd*).<sup>43</sup> Similarly, the Christian ephebe is portrayed in 'Arāqī's poetry as charming and joyful. His innocent face and alluring locks enchant the poet, who is drawn to his beauty and loveliness. The youth ensnares the faithful Muslim with his Christian girdle (*zunnār*) and demonstrates thus the miraculous powers of Christ. Imagining the Magian cult as an alternative mode of piety centred on the unrestrained atmosphere prevailing at the *kharābāt*, 'Arāqī defies the respectable piety of common believers. He ridicules the sterile pietism of the mosque and the cloister (*sauma'a*) and condemns the ascetic (*zāhid*) for his dutiful habits, selfishness and sinful hypocrisy (*riyā'*). In his view,

<sup>39</sup> Cf. 109 and 295. From various expressions, such as *rind-i qallāsh* (rascal debauchee), *qalandar-i qallāsh* (rascal *qalandar*) and *rind-i qalandarkish* (debauchee of *qalandar* faith), it is evident that the terms *rind*, *qalandar* and *qallāsh* are used as parallel terms and more or less refer to the same figure. Cf. 109, 132, 153, 160, 186 and 283.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. K 98.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. K 98, 141, 151 and 282. There are also references in 'Arāqī's *Dīwān* to the Zoroastrian sun-worship (*khurshīd-parastī*) as an element of the Magian cult. Cf. K 235.

<sup>42</sup> The Zoroastrian background of non-Islamic themes in medieval Persian poetry has been examined by Ehsan Yarshater (1960) with specific reference to wine imagery.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. K 150–1.

renouncing the world is equivalent to unbelief (*kufṛ*), and honest drinkers are superior to dishonest abstainers.<sup>44</sup>

In 'Arāqī's view, the ascetics, as well as the common man, are unfamiliar with the mysteries of intoxication and conversation. The *kharābāt* is thus only open to a few initiates, those with warm, luminous hearts (*zinda dilān*), who have freed themselves from all reputation (*nām u nang*).<sup>45</sup> To free oneself from all reputation is evidently the main attribute of the *qalandar*, who is commonly described as a disreputable reveller who prefers intoxication to sobriety.<sup>46</sup> In its mystical meaning, the word *qalandar* symbolizes the lover who is detached from the crowd and strives for God's beauty and majesty. His outer appearance is worthy of blame (*malāmat*) but his inner state is happy (*salāmat*), and he is content with the tranquillity of the heart (*tayyib al-qalb*).<sup>47</sup> A frequent expression in 'Arāqī's poetry is the word *qalandarwār* ("like a *qalandar*"), which refers to a certain conduct or bodily posture related to wine drinking and ritual dance.<sup>48</sup> In the following poems, which provide an impression of some symbols belonging to the *qalandariyāt* genre, the poet exhorts the spiritual initiate to break off his past repentances (*tauba shikastan*) and to follow the way of the *qalandar*:

O disciple! Enter the *qalandar*'s way if you are my friend.  
 Since the way of asceticism and austerity is long and tedious.  
 O disciple! Take the Magian's wine if you are my friend  
 and purify us from all sternness and austerity.  
 Bring the cup of Magian's wine for me to drink.  
 I have liberated myself from all deceitful repentance.  
 If there is no pure wine, then bring me the dusk of sorrow.  
 Because the eye of the heart finds light in dark pain ...  
 Pour the wine for me, since I have abandoned all routine.  
 In asceticism, I found nothing virtuous; only pose and self-delusion.  
 For a moment, the wine made me forget time's sorrow.  
 The wine alone makes us do away with time's sorrow.  
 When I am drunk from the cup; what is the difference of Church and Ka'ba?  
 When I have abandoned myself; what is the difference between union and separation?  
 Do not break your oath, since I have broken my repentance again.  
 Speak to my broken heart. Say: "How are you?" and "Where are you?"  
 I knocked at the door of the ruins. A voice invited me from within saying:  
 "O 'Araqi! Cross the threshold, since you are our friend."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Cf. K 91, 92, 98, 132, 160, 171, 186, 208 and 270. In the *qalandariyāt* genre, terms derived from religious vocabulary, such as *namāz* (obligatory ritual prayer) and *tasbīḥ* (rosary), acquire a negative meaning.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. 102, 141 and 187.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. 152. It is documented that *qalandars* consumed wine and the use of hashish was evidently widespread among them. Cf. Feuillebois-Pierunek 2002:238 and Zarrinkub 1975:82.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Kāshānī 1993.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. K 46, 93 and 130.

<sup>49</sup> K 239–40.

پسراره قلندر سزد ار بمن نمایی	که دراز و دور دیدم ره زهد و پارسایی
پسر امی مغانه دهی ار حریف مایی	که نمائد پیش ما را سر زهد و پارسایی
قدحی می مغانه بمن آر تا بنوشم	که دگر نمائد ما را سر توبه ریایی
می صاف اگر نباشد بمن آر درد تیره	که ز درد تیره یابد دل و دیده روشنایی
تو مرا شرب ده که ز زهد توبه کردم	ز صلاح چون ندیدم جز لاف و خودنمایی
ز غم زمانه ما را برهان ز می زمانی	که نیافت جز بمی کس ز غم زمان رهایی
چو ز باده مست گشتم چه کلیسیا چه کعبه	چو بترک خود بگفتم چه وصال چه جدایی
چو شکست توبه من مشکن تو عهد باری	بمن شکسته دل گو کو چگونه ای کجایی
در دیر می زدم من ز درون صدا بر آمد	که در آی ای عراقی که تو خود حریف مانی

The debauchee of the tavern does not go well with the cloister.  
 O Saki, give him the pain of the Magian wine!  
 Enter the *qalandar*'s path in the company of drinkers!  
 Show the gambler the way to the gambling house!  
 May you subdue every idol you worshipped like penitence.  
 May you surrender your soul like a drop in gratitude.  
 Flee your home, like Phoenix, into the wilderness.  
 Fly from yourself and transcend your own abode.  
 Rise above existence and abandon all self-worship.  
 Do away with the good and bad of time in drunkenness ...<sup>50</sup>

در صومعه ننگد رند شرابخانه	ساقی بده مگی را درد می مغانه
ره ده قلندری را در بزم درد نوشان	بنما مقامری را راه قمارخانه
تا بشکند چو توبه هر بت که می پرستید	تا جان نهد چو جرعه شکرانه در میانه
بیرون شود چو انقا از خانه سوی صحرا	پرواز گیرد از خود بگذار آشیانه
فارغ شود ز هستی وز خویشتن پرستی	برهم زند ز مستی نیک و بد زمانه

'Arāqī's *qalandarīyāt* poetry is also characterized by frequent allusions to the practice of contemplating divine beauty in the faces of handsome boys (so-called *shāhid-bāzī*). In Persian poetry, the term *shāhid* (witness) is used for the beautiful beloved as a "witness" of divine beauty. On account of the Prophetic tradition of "I saw the Lord in the most beautiful form", the beautiful youth early on became an ideal of human beauty in Islamic literature. The first Persian poet who gave a mystical meaning to the *shāhid* symbolism was Ahmad Ghazālī (d. 1122), who deeply influenced 'Arāqī's understanding of the human and divine dimensions of love.<sup>51</sup> 'Arāqī had an inclination toward the companionship of beautiful boys and was noto-

<sup>50</sup> K 212.

<sup>51</sup> 'Arāqī writes in the prologue to the *Lama'āt*: "Our intent is to concisely explain the mystical levels of love in the tradition of [Ahmad Ghazālī's] *Sawānīh* [*fī l-'ishq*]". Cf. K 383.



rious for the practice of gazing upon the divine presence in the faces of youths. In the words of Edward Browne (1920:132), he is "a typical *qalandar*, heedless of his reputation, and seeing in every beautiful face or object a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Eternal Beauty".

In the *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, 'Arāqī defines the term *shāhid* as synonymous with the manifestation (*tajallī*) of divine beauty. According to him, the mystic participates in the very act of divine love through the process of visionary experience (*shuhūd*).<sup>52</sup> Once the mystic is completely absorbed in love, he or she is capable of contemplating beauty in the human beloved as a divine manifestation. In 'Arāqī's poetry, the beautiful youth is a symbol of primordial beauty and perfection. The youth reveals the inner, hidden meaning of the veil of forms (*parda-yi šurat*) to the mystic. The poet glorifies his beautiful looks, his pure eyes and sweet lips, which incite the loving soul to mystical nostalgia and rapture (*gham u ḥairānī*).<sup>53</sup> In the following famous *muqatta'a* poem, 'Arāqī celebrates the beautiful youth as a "witness" of eternal beauty:

O debauchee of the *qalandar* faith! Drink the wine and forget one and all!  
 Imagine that you have all you do not, because the poor heart is in rapture.  
 How could the heart cure its own afflictions in ecstasy?  
 Enter the ruins and sit down in front of the sweet, beautiful youth.  
 For how long will you think of unbelief and belief? Look at his sweet lips!  
 Witness the truth of Islam and the Christian faith in his face and his locks.  
 I said: "I have searched and rescued myself from the snares of misfortune.  
 I have tied my heart in the beautiful youth, drunk on his remembrance.  
 Whilst suffering the loss of my heart, how could I care for repentance?..."<sup>54</sup>

ای رند قلندر کیش می نوش وز کس مندیش      انکار همه کم بیش زیرا که دل درویش  
 مرهم ننهد بر ریش از غایت حیرانی  
 در دیر شو و بنشین با خوش پسری شیرین      شکر ز لبش مچین تا چند ز کفر و دین  
 در زلف و رخ او بین گبری و مسلمانی  
 گفتم که مگر جستم وز دام بلا رستم      دل در پسری بستم کز یاد لبش مستم  
 چون رفت دل از دستم چه شود پشیمانی

The practice of *shāhid-bāzī* was condemned on moral grounds by a number of Muslim writers, such as Ibn 'Arabī and Shihāb al-dīn Abū Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardī. While some argued that gazing at handsome boys is identical to paederasty, which is prohibited in the Qur'ān, 'Arāqī considers the subject from a metaphysical perspective. He contemplates the entire creation as one great mirror, or a large number of mirrors, reflecting God's beauty and beneficence. With regard to the divine attributes, he interprets God as the Shaper of Beauty (*al-musawwir*) who moulds

<sup>52</sup> K 430.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. K 81, 213, 294. As 'Arāqī explains in the *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, the face and locks of the beloved symbolize the revealed beauty and hidden identity of God's manifestation in the world. Cf. 427.

<sup>54</sup> K 295.



everything in the most perfect form. In the *Lama'āt*, 'Arāqī takes up the Prophetic tradition, "God is beautiful and loves beauty", which has been popular with the mystics throughout the centuries, to illustrate that "beauty by its very nature is made to be loved".<sup>55</sup> Love and beauty are interdependent, since beauty reveals itself to kindle love in man's inner heart. According to 'Arāqī, the secret of God's creation is that the manifestation of divine beauty is made up of different levels, which culminate in man, the microcosmos of the divine attributes. As he claims, God loves ultimately Himself through the loving mystic:

All that exists is the mirror of His Beauty; so everything is beautiful. He loves beauty, or to be precise, He loves Himself. Any lover you see loves, in fact, only himself. To see but his own face in the mirror of the beloved, he must come to self-amorousness. The Prophet said, "The believer is the mirror of the believer and God is the believer".<sup>56</sup>

### 3. Conclusions

In this study, we have examined the *qalandar* phenomenon, its spiritual doctrine and practice, in the context of medieval Islam with specific reference to 'Arāqī's lyrical poetry. As a social phenomenon, the origin of the *qalandar* is as yet undetermined, but the concept made its entrance into Persian literature in the early eleventh century as a paragon of spiritual virtue. In contrast to mainstream Islamic mysticism, the *qalandars* never established a closely reasoned, doctrinal scheme, but their teachings were centred on a common, esoteric orientation emphasizing inner contentment, tranquillity of the heart and the prevention of self-conceit. Notorious for their coarse behaviour, the *qalandars* attempted to destroy all customs by committing wicked acts, not as an exit from society, but in order to conceal the sincerity of their actions from the public view. By overturning conventions, they strove to expose the hypocrisy of the established order and to question its values. For the *qalandar*, holy foolishness was not primarily an attempt at moral instruction but an ingenious way of fighting spiritual pride.

On the evidence of his biography and religious teachings, there can be no doubt about the importance of the *qalandarī* doctrine for 'Arāqī himself. Reliable information concerning his life reveals that he considered social respect as one of the most dangerous pitfalls on the spiritual path. The quintessence of his notion of piety is man's absolute nothingness before God and ultimate "annihilation" (*fanā*) in the divine attributes. 'Arāqī's criticism of conventional piety and excuse for scandalous behaviour constitute the central tenet of antinomian *qalandarī* mysticism: outwardly he behaved in a foolish manner according to the conventional standards of society, but inwardly he pursued a religious ideal, inspired by experience of God's beauty and majesty. As far as literary expression is concerned, he is probably the most outspoken poet of the *qalandarīyāt* genre and his poetry is penetrated through and through by its paradoxes. Marked by a unique blend of antinomian, thematic features and a rich, symbolic imagery, his poems preserve a subtle harmony between

<sup>55</sup> K 391.

<sup>56</sup> K 392.

the possibilities of transcendental and profane allusions. In this respect, he became a perfect model for Persian literature, influencing Shams al-dīn Hāfiz and Sa'dī Shīrāzī, undisputed masters of the *ghazal*, and inspiring many other writers of the following centuries, from Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī to Dārā Shikūh.

## References

- K 'Arāqī, Fakhr al-dīn (1998) *Kullīyāt-i Dīwān-i Shaikh Fakhr al-dīn Ibrahīm Hamadānī mutakhallis bi 'Arāqī* (Complete Works of 'Arāqī), ed. Maḥmūd 'Ilmī Darwīsh, with important introduction by Sa'id Nafīsī, Tehran [1377].
- Aflākī, Shams al-dīn Aḥmad (1983). *Manāqib al-'arīfīn*, 2 vols., ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Tehran.
- 'Aṭṭār, Farīd al-dīn (1968). *Manṭiq al-ṭair*, ed. Dhakā' al-Mulk Furūghī, Tehran [1347].
- (1991). *Tadhkirat al-auliya*, ed. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Qazwīnī, Tehran [1370].
- Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān (1983). *Dīwān-i shī'r-i Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān Hamadānī*, ed. Wahīd Dastgirdī, Tehran [1361].
- Browne, Edward (1920). *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. 3, Cambridge.
- de Bruijn, Johannes Thomas Pieter (1983). *Of Piety and Poetry. The Interaction of Religion and Literature in the Life and Works of Hakīm Sanā'ī of Ghazna*, Leiden.
- (1992). The Qalandariyāt in Persian Mystical Poetry, From Sanā'ī and Onwards, *The Legacy of medieval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn, London, pp. 75–86.
- Dols, Michael W. (1992). *Majnūn: The Madman in medieval Islamic Society*, Oxford.
- Feuillebois-Pierunek, Ève (2002). *A La Croisée des Voies Célestes. Faxr al-dīn 'Erāqī. Poésie Mystique et Expression Poétique en Perse Médiévale*, Tehran.
- Jāmī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1957). *Nafahāt al-uns*, ed. Mihdī Tauhidīpūr, Tehran [1336].
- Kāshānī, 'Izz al-dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (1993). *al-Hidāya wa al-miftāh al-kifāya*, ed. Jalāl Humā'ī, Tehran [1372].
- Khatīb-i Fārsī (1983). *Qalandar nāma. Sirat-i Jamāl al-dīn Sāwajī*, ed. Ḥamīd Zarrinkūb, Tehran [1362].
- Meier, Fritz (1976). *Abū Sa'id-i Abūl-Hayr (357–440/967–1049), Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Tehran and Liège.
- Ritter, Helmut (1952). Muslim Mystics Strife with God, *Oriens*, vol. 5, Leiden, pp. 1–15.
- (1955). *Das Meer der Seele. Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn 'Attār*, Leiden.
- Rūmī, Jalāl al-dīn (1992). *Kullīyāt-i Shams-i Tabrīzī*, Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran [1371].
- Ṣafā, Dhahībullah (1968). *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, vol. 2, Tehran [1347].
- Schimmel, Annmarie (1993). *The Triumphal Sun. A Study of the Works of Jalāloddin Rumi*, New York.
- Svirī, Sara (1993). Hakīm Tirmidhī and the Malāmatī Movement in Early Sufism, *Classical Persian Sufism: From its Origins to Rumi*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn, London and New York, pp. 583–613.
- Trimingham, J. Spencer (1971). *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford.
- Yarshater, Ehsan (1960). The Theme of Wine-drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry, *Studia Islamica*, vol. 13, Paris, pp. 43–53.
- Yazıcı, Tahsin (1978). Kalandar, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 4, ed. C.G. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, Leiden, pp. 472–3.
- Zarrinkūb, 'Abd al-Ḥusain (1955). *Kharābāt, Yaghmā*, vol. 7:5, Tehran, pp. 225–9.
- (1975). Ahl-i malāmat wa rāh-i qalandar, *Bi yād-i ustad Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar* (Festschrift Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar), ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusain Zarrinkūb, Tehran, pp. 61–100 [1354].



# Was Maacah King Rehoboam's wife?

Tal Davidovich  
Uppsala

In the Old Testament, 2 Chronicles 11:18–22, king Rehoboam's women and children are mentioned.

This passage is unique because it is the only place in which the chronicler has described the harem of a king in detail.<sup>1</sup> In this description, the type of relationship between king Rehoboam and one of his women, Maacah, is left unclear, a fact that makes her status and position in the king's harem uncertain.

The few scholars who have written about the last part of 2 Chronicles 11 about Rehoboam's family have focused mainly on the identity of the different characters mentioned in the passage and their genealogies. They have taken it for granted that Maacah was the wife of Rehoboam as much as Mahlath was.<sup>2</sup> By doing so they have ignored some details which are important for the understanding of the text and for the determination of the relationship between Maacah and Rehoboam.

Three main factors in the passage may help us to understand this relationship:

- 1) The way the chronicler has used לקח (*lkh*) Qal.
- 2) The mention of the פלגשים (*pīlagšīm*)<sup>3</sup>
- 3) The use of נשא (*ns'*) Qal.

In the following, these three factors will be examined, in order to clarify whether there is a doubt or not concerning Maacah's status as Rehoboam's wife.<sup>4</sup>

ויקה לו רחבעם אשה את מחלת בן ירימות בן דוד אביחיל בת אליאב בן ישי

ותלד לו בנים את יעוש ואת שמריה ואת זהם

ואחריה לקח את מעכה בת אבשלום ותלד לו את אביה ואת עתי ואת זיזא ואת שלמית

ויאהב רחבעם את מעכה בת-אבשלום מכל-נשיו ופילגשיו כי נשים שמונה-עשרה נשא ופילגשים ששים

ויולד עשרים ושמונה בנים וששים בנות

ויעמד לראש רחבעם את-אביה בן-מעכה לנגיד באחיו כי להמליכו

<sup>1</sup> Note that the huge harem of king Solomon (1 Kings 11:1–3) is not mentioned at all in 1 & 2 Chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> BDB p. 590; Myers (1965) p. 67; Japhet (1993) p. 671; Johnstone (1997) p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *pīlagšīm* is the plural form of *pīlegeš*, פלגש. For further discussion, see BDB p. 811.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning "to take as wife" does not exist in the OT. Even though it is problematic to use a modern word in order to describe ancient conditions, in this article the word "wife" is used. The purpose in using "wife" is to distinguish between different statuses of women in relation to their men. For further definitions of the different statuses, see Davidovich, T. *The pilegesh in the Old Testament* (to be published).

Verses 18–23 in 2 Chronicles 11 constitute an additional note to the chapter. This is the only place in the OT where the harem of Rehoboam is presented. In this text, there is a description of Rehoboam's family. Two of his women and seven of his children are mentioned by name.

From 2 Chronicles 11:18–22, one learns several details: Rehoboam took Mahlath<sup>5</sup> as his wife, and she bore him children. Then he took Maacah, who bore him children as well. Rehoboam loved Maacah more than all his other women, including wives and *pīlagšīm*. And last but not least, Rehoboam made Abijah, his son by Maacah, leader of his other children.

This looks at first like a clear and simple text, but when going into details, a different picture emerges.

### 1. The way the chronicler has used לקח (*lkḥ*) Qal.

In v.18, it is written: ויקח לו רחבעם אשה את מחלת בן ירימות<sup>6</sup>

In v.20a: ואחריה לקח את מעכה בת אבשלום<sup>7</sup>

In v.18, it is stated that Rehoboam took Mahlath,<sup>8</sup> daughter of Jerimoth and Abihail, as his wife ויקח לו רחבעם אשה. As will be shown in the following, the text leaves no doubt concerning the type of relationship between Mahlath and Rehoboam: he took her as his wife.

Assuming a chiasmus between the two verses (18 and 20) and, further, that the preposition אחרי can mean also similarity between two different events that follow each other not only in time ("after") or place ("behind"); in that case Ma'acha, like Mahlat, was taken by Rehoboam as his wife. But since, in all the 14 cases in which אחריה appears in the OT, it does not even once appear in the meaning of "in the same way" or "the same as", it is not likely that here אחריה will have an extra meaning. One can say, anyhow, for certain that Rehoboam "took" Maacah after he "took" Mahlath, which means that Maacah was not his first woman.

Furthermore, it seems that scholars who have referred to Maacah as the wife of Rehoboam have drawn the premature conclusion that the meaning of לקח Qal in 2 Chronicles 11:20 and its meaning in 2 Chronicles 11:18 are the same. However, there is an unclarity concerning the nature of the act described by לקח Qal.

Verbs with the root לקח appear approximately 970 times in the OT. Mostly, about 940 times, in Qal. This root occurs also in Niphal 10 times,<sup>9</sup> in Pual 15 times<sup>10</sup> and twice in Hitpael.<sup>11</sup> In Qal the verb has different meanings depending on its context.

<sup>5</sup> According to 2 Chronicles 11:18, Mahlath was the cousin of Rehoboam. See further discussion in Japhet (1993) p. 670; Johnstone (1997) pp. 37–38.

<sup>6</sup> Translation: Rehoboam took as his wife Mahalath, daughter of Jerimoth.

<sup>7</sup> Translation: After her, he took Maacah, daughter of Absalom.

<sup>8</sup> Even though there are some hints that Abihail was one of Rehoboam's wives, it is no doubt that Mahlath was a relative of Rehoboam, probably his cousin. For further discussion, see Japhet (1993) p. 670, where she explains why Abihail could not be one of Rehoboam's wives, but rather Mahlath's mother. For a contrary opinion, see Johnstone (1997) pp. 37–38.

<sup>9</sup> In the meaning of "to be taken away", "to be brought".

<sup>10</sup> In a similar meaning to that of these roots in Niphal.

<sup>11</sup> In both cases in a meaning connected with fire.

The most common meaning of this verb in Qal, more than 90 per cent, is "to take" in different variations, depending on its context and the words that are connected with it.

לקח Qal appears about one hundred times in passages that deal with women and in which women are not the subject of action.<sup>12</sup> In these passages, לקח Qal appears in the following constructions:

1. With the preposition ל without further supplement. Describing a man who takes a woman, לקח Qal can mean "to take as one's woman". See, for example, Gen. 24:48, 34:9, Deut. 7:3, Ezek. 44:22 and Neh. 10:3. With the preposition ל and with a woman as an object, but without אשה, the meaning depends on the context, as in לקחה מרדכי לו לבת, "Mordechai took her as his daughter, adopted her" (Esther 2:7).<sup>13</sup>

2. לקח אשה Qal in combination with אשה but without the preposition ל (לקח אשה).

In this case, there are two possibilities:

a) The meaning is merely "to take".<sup>14</sup>

There are three passages that belong to this group:

Gen. 12:19 והלך קח אשתך "here is your wife, take (her) and go";

Gen. 12:5 ויקח אברם את-שרי אשתו ואת לוט בן אחיו ואת כל רכושם אשר רכשו "Abram took his wife Sarai and his brother's son Lot, and all the possessions that they had gathered";

Gen. 19:15 קום קח את אשתך, "Get up, take your wife".

b) The meaning is "to take as one's woman" (including "wife").

There are about 10 passages that belong to this group:

Gen.25:1 ויסף אברהם ויקח אשה ושמה קטורה "and Abraham took a woman whose name was Kturah";

Deut 23:1 לא יקח איש את אשת אביו "a man shall not take his father's wife as his woman";

Deut. 24:1 כי יקח איש אשה ובעלה... "Suppose a man enters into marriage with a woman";

Judg. 21:22 כי לא לקחנו איש אשתו במלחמה "because we did not capture in battle a woman/wife for each man".

See also Deut. 20:7; 22:13, Lev.21:14, 2 Sam.12:10 and Ezra 2:61. To this group can be added 1 Kings 4:15, in which אשה is preceded by the preposition ל without any change in meaning: לקח לאשה בת-לשם, "Ahimaaz, in Naphtali. He had taken Basemath, Solomon's daughter, as his woman/wife".<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Passages in which women are the subject of action will not be examined here, since it is clear that לקח Qal in those cases cannot mean "to take someone as wife" or "to take as a woman". Only in one incident in which a woman is the subject of action does לקח Qal mean "to take a wife to someone". See the story of Hagar, Gen. 21:21. ותקח לו אמו אשה מארץ מצרים.

<sup>13</sup> For further discussion, see below, section 5.

<sup>14</sup> Whenever the meaning "to take" is mentioned in this article, it means "cause to come with one, carry with one, conduct, convey, remove". For examples and explanations, see Take 3, in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1968, 5th ed.), p. 1318.

<sup>15</sup> This combination often appears with the preposition ל: לקח לו לאשה. See construction 3.

One can learn from these texts that the meaning of the combination לקח אשה or לקח לאשה without the preposition ל can be either “to take as a woman/wife” or “to take” in a general sense. Since these cases are so few, the textual evidence is not sufficient to enable a definite conclusion to be drawn.

### 3. With the preposition ל and אשה, as in the phrase ‘לקח לו אשה’.

This construction is used in several variations: ואת אשתו לקחת לך לאשה, “and his wife you took to yourself as a wife” (2 Sam. 12:9). And also first אשה and then ל as in Gen. 24:4 ולקחת אשה לבני ליצחק “and you took a wife for my son”; see also Deut. 21:11, 25:5–11, 1 Sam. 25:40 and 1 Chr. 7:15. Or not directly one after the other ותקח את אשת אוריה החתי להיות לך לאשה, “and you took the wife of Uriah the Hittite to be your wife” (2 Sam. 12:10); see also Gen. 4:19, 21:21, 25:20, 28:2,5, Ex. 6:25 and Judg. 14:2. In all such constructions, the meaning of לקח Qal is “to take as a wife”.

### 4. לקח Qal with neither אשה nor the name of a woman nor the preposition ל.

This construction appears in approximately 20 per cent of the cases in contexts dealing with women. In these passages, its main meaning is “to take (a woman)” as in Judg. 14:8 וישב מימים לקחתה, “After a while he returned to take her”; and in ויקחה ותבוא אליו וישכב עמה, “and he took her and she came to him and he lay with her” (2 Sam. 11:4).<sup>16</sup> It appears in this meaning most of the times. Only once can the meaning of the verb with none of the supplements mentioned above be “to take as a woman”. But also in this passage it is uncertain that the meaning is such and not “to take”: and 1 Chr. 2:21 והוא לקחה והוא בן ששים שנה ותלד לו את שגוב, “and he took her (as his woman?) when he was sixty years old and she bore him Segub”.

### 5. In nine passages, one can find לקח Qal in combination with a woman’s name. In these texts, the meaning can be:<sup>17</sup>

#### a) “to take” (in general):

Gen. 20:2 ויקח את שרה, “and he took Sarah”; Gen. 24:51 והנה רבקה לפניך קח ולך, “here is Rebekah, take her and go”; Gen. 24:61 ויקח העבד את רבקה, “and the servant took Rebekah”; Gen. 34:26 ויקחו את דינה מבית שכם, “and they took Dinah from the house of Shechem”.

#### b) ‘to take as someone’s woman’<sup>18</sup> (excluding “wife”):

1 Sam. 25:43 ואת אחינועם לקח דוד מישראל, “David took as his woman Ahinoam of Jezreel”; Hos. 1:3 ויקח את גומר בת דבלים, “and he took Gomer the daughter of Devalim as his woman”<sup>19</sup>; Neh. 6:18 ויהוהנן בנו לקח את בת משלם בן ברכיה...

<sup>16</sup> See also Gen. 12:5,19, 19:15, 1 Sam. 25:43 and Ezek. 23:25.

<sup>17</sup> In one of these passages, 1 Kings 7:18 ויבית יעשה לבת פרעה אשר לקח שלמה, “Solomon also made a house for Pharaoh’s daughter, whom he had taken as his wife”, the meaning is probably “to take as a wife”. In this passage, לקח Qal appears in a subordinate clause, while the name of the woman appears in the main clause, unlike the other passages, in which לקח Qal and a woman’s name come in the same clause. Therefore it is a unique example, with a unique construction and a unique meaning.

<sup>18</sup> If in the text there is no other reason for the act, as there is in Esther 2:7.

<sup>19</sup> This is a special case, since God instructs Hosea to take not an ordinary woman but rather a “whoredom woman”. See Hosea 1:2.



"...and his son Jehohanan took the daughter of Meshulam son of Berechiah as his woman". And 2 Chr. 11:20.

It thus seems that in the OT the use of לקח Qal with a woman as an object does not necessarily mean "to take as a wife". In 2 Chr. 11:18, לקח Qal is a part of the phrase לקח לו אשה and therefore its meaning is most probably "to take as a wife". But in 2 Chr. 11:20, when לקח Qal appears, the object in the sentence is not אשה but instead a name of a woman. Therefore the meaning of this verb in this text is probably not "to take as a wife". Concerning the fact that there is a sentence beginning with ואחריה "and after her", it may be that לקח Qal has a similar meaning to the meaning of this verb in v.18, but in no other place in the OT does אחריה mean "in the same way" or "the same as". Furthermore, there are other texts in the OT in which this verb appears, followed by the name of a woman but not אשה itself. In all these texts, the meaning is "to take as one's woman", and not "as one's wife". One can assume the same meaning here.

## 2. The mention of the *pīlagšīm*.

וַיֵּאָהֶב רַחֲבֵעַם אֶת מַעְכָּה בַת-אֲבִשְׁלֹם מִכָּל-נָשָׁיו וּפִלְגִּשְׁיוֹ כִּי נָשִׁים שְׂמוֹנָה-עֶשְׂרֵה נָשָׂא וּפִלְגִּשִׁים שְׁשִׁים  
וְיֻלְדוּ עֲשָׂרִים וּשְׂמוֹנֵה בָנִים וְשִׁשִּׁים בָּנוֹת <sup>20</sup>

It is written that king Rehoboam loved Maacah, the daughter of Absalom,<sup>21</sup> more than all his women (his wives and *pīlagšīm*). If Maacah's position as his wife was not obscure, the chronicler might have mentioned only the wives. Therefore, the mentioning of the *pīlagšīm* in this context may be an indication that Maacah belonged to this group of women.

Furthermore, it is written that he had twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. It is possible that the text does not distinguish between the children of wives and those of *pīlagšīm*<sup>22</sup> and the Chronicler has intentionally made the difference between the children of wives and the children of *pīlagšīm* indistinct. Since this text does not belong to the body of the story but is rather an additional note, it was probably meant to explain why the son of Maacah had been chosen by his father to rule even though he was not the first-born.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Trans. And Rehoboam loved Maacah daughter of Absalom more than all his wives and *pīlagšīm*. He took 18 wives and 60 *pīlagšīm*, and became the father of 28 sons and 60 daughters.

<sup>21</sup> For the different opinions concerning his identity, see Mayers (1965) p. 71, Williamson (1982) p. 245, Schearing (1992) pp. 429–430 and Japhet (1993) p. 671.

<sup>22</sup> This is quite unique in relation to other texts of the Old Testament in which there is a clear separation between the sons born to wives and those born to *pīlagšīm*, cf. Gen. 22:20–24, Gen.25:6, Judg. 8:31, 1 Chronicles 3:9. But see 2 Samuel 5:13.

<sup>23</sup> On the rights of the first-born, see Brin (1971), Davies (1993), pp. 175–191; Sicherman (2003), pp. 17–25.

### 3. The use of *נשא* Qal

כי נשים שמונה-עשרה נשא ופילגשים ששים

The use of *נשא* Qal in relation to wives and *pīlagšim* instead of *לקח* Qal, may also have had a literary reason. It may simply be that the writer wished to vary his language in describing the big harem of one of the kings of Judah and since one could use this verb parallel to *לקח* Qal, in its basic meaning “to take”,<sup>24</sup> the Chronicler preferred to use them both.

Verbs with the root *נשא* appear approximately 650 times in the OT, and mostly (about 590 times) in Qal. This root appears also in Niphal 26 times,<sup>25</sup> in Piel 10 times,<sup>26</sup> in Hitpael 10 times<sup>27</sup> and twice in Hiphil.<sup>28</sup> When it appears in Qal, the verb has different meanings, depending on its context. The most common meaning is “to lift”, “to transfer”, “to move about”. About 12 per cent (70 out of 590) of the appearances in Qal are in the meaning “to suffer”, about 5 per cent (about 32 times) in the meaning of “to forgive” and about 2 per cent (about 12 times) in the meaning “to take”. With *פנים*, as in *נשא פנים* (25 times), *נשא* Qal means “to prefer”. With *ראש*, as in *נשא ראש* (18 times), *נשא* Qal means “to count”.

*נשא* Qal appears in passages in the OT that deal with relationships between men and women, in which women are not the subject of action, in the following constructions:

1. *נשא* Qal in combination with *נשים* (*אשה* pl.),<sup>29</sup> without the preposition *ל*.<sup>30</sup>

In only two passages in the OT this construction is found, in our text: 2 Chr. 11:21 and in:

Gen. 31:17 *וַיָּקָם יַעֲקֹב וַיֵּשֶׂא אֶת-בָּנָיו וְאֶת-נָשָׁיו עַל הַגְּמָלִים*, “So Jacob arose, and set his children and his wives on the camels”.

Since this construction appears in only two passages in the OT, one cannot come to any conclusion regarding the meaning of this construction in the OT. Nevertheless, one can learn from Gen. 31:17 that the meaning of the construction *נשא* Qal in combination with *נשים* without the preposition *ל* was not necessarily “to take as one’s woman”, but rather “to take”, “to move about”.

2. *נשא* Qal in combination with either *בנות*<sup>31</sup> or *נשים* and with the preposition *ל*.

There are seven passages that include this construction. In three of them, the construction is with *בנות* and in four the construction is with *נשים*.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., SoS 5:7 and 1 Chr. 21:24. It could mean also “to carry”, “to lift”: Gen 44:1, 45:27, 46:5, De. 1:9, Num. 25:14, 27:7, 37:5, etc.

<sup>25</sup> Four times in the meaning “be given”, “be moved about”, and the majority in the meaning “to rise”.

<sup>26</sup> In the meaning “rise”, “lift up”.

<sup>27</sup> In the same meaning as the majority of the verbs in Niphal.

<sup>28</sup> In the meaning “to transfer”.

<sup>29</sup> One should note that *נשא* Qal does not appear even once with *אשה* in the singular.

<sup>30</sup> *נשא* Qal appears with none of these supplements in some passages in the OT but not in the same context. This construction appears in passages that deal with relationships between men and women but not in the description of the act which begins this relations. For example Num. 30:16 *וְאִם הִפְרִי יֶפֶר אֹתָם וְנִשְׂאָה אֶת עֹנֶהָ*, “But if he nullifies them, then he shall bear her guilt”. Though its context is about men and their women, the text deals with the vows that the woman had made, and they are the object of *נשא* Qal. Therefore this text does not belong to the group of texts that concern us.

<sup>31</sup> Note that *בנות* in combination with *נשא* Qal appears only in the plural.

With *נשא* Ezra 9:2 *ולבניהם להם מבנותיהם* “for they have taken some of their daughters as women for themselves and for their sons”.

Ezra 9:12 *ולבניהם אל-תתנו לבניהם אל-תשאו לבניהם* “Therefore do not give your daughters to their sons, neither take their daughters for your sons...”.

Neh. 13:25 *ולבניהם מבנותיהם לבניהם ולכם* “you shall not give your daughters to their sons, or take their daughters for your sons or for yourselves”. From the passages above, one can learn that when *נשא* Qal occurs in combination with the preposition *ל* and *בנות*, its meaning is “to take as someone’s woman”.

With *נשים* Judg. 21:23 *למספרם וישאו נשים* “The Benjaminites did so; they took wives for each of them”.

Ruth 1:4 *ולשאו להם נשים מאביות* “and they took Moabite wives”.

2 Chr. 13:21 *ולשאו לו נשים ארבע עשרה* “but Abijah grew strong. He took fourteen wives”.

2 Chr. 24:3 *ולשאו לו יהויאדע נשים שתיים* “Jehoiada got two wives for him”. When *נשא* Qal occurs in combination with the preposition *ל* and *נשים*, it means “to take as someone’s wives”.

From the above, it can be concluded that *נשא* Qal appears in only nine passages in the OT that deal with relationships between men and women, in which women are not the subject of action. While with *נשא* Qal and the preposition *ל* and *בנות* it has the meaning “to take as someone’s woman”, with *נשים* and the preposition *ל*, it means “to take as someone’s wife”. But with *נשים* without the preposition *ל*, the meaning is, most probably, “to take” (in general).

One can find in passages in the OT that belong to a rather late period the verb *נשא* also with the meaning of “take as a wife”.<sup>32</sup> However, it is not necessary that the verb in 2 Chr. 11:20 shall have this later meaning. If it has such a meaning,<sup>33</sup> the understanding of the type of relationship between Rehoboam and his *pīlagšīm* will be as follows: Rehoboam married both his wives and his *pīlagšīm*. Since they are mentioned not as one but rather as two separate groups, it is possible that one group (that of the wives) had more rights, and higher or at least different status than the other (the *pīlagšīm*). If *נשא* Qal does not have in this passage the meaning that was added to it in late OT texts but rather retained its basic meaning, one could understand the passage as meaning that Rehoboam took to himself eighteen women as wives and sixty as *pīlagšīm*. The understanding of the meaning of *נשא* Qal in passages that relate to women in the OT makes it clear that it is wrong to determine that the meaning in 2 Chr. 11:20 is “to marry”.

Rehoboam had a large harem. It is reasonable to assume that this description of the chronicler is used as a reference to the power of the Kingdom of Judah during Rehoboam’s reign. By describing so many women and children, the chronicler meant to describe the Kingdom of Judah during the first period after the disunion between Israel and Judah as powerful and successful<sup>34</sup> and to indicate that God was

<sup>32</sup> See 2 Chr. 13:12,21, 24:3, Ezra 9:12, Neh. 13:25 and Ruth 1:4.

<sup>33</sup> As other scholars stated, e.g. BDB p. 671 and Japhet (1993) p. 672.

<sup>34</sup> On large families as a sign of success in Chronicles, see Japhet (1993) pp. 663–664.

still with David's offspring. Nevertheless, the purpose of the passage in question was not only to show Rehoboam's wonderful family, as other scholars have argued, as a symbol of success.<sup>35</sup> Rather, it supplied an explanation of the fact that Abijah became a king of Judah (2 Chr. 12:16, 13:1–3), even though he was neither the son of a first wife nor the first son born to Rehoboam.<sup>36</sup>

## Conclusions

In this article, three arguments on the status of Maacah according to 2 Chr. 11:18–22 have been examined: the meaning of לקח Qal, the reference to the *pīlagšīm*, and the meaning of נשא Qal. From this examination, the following conclusions have been drawn:

לקח Qal, as it appears in this passage, does not (necessarily) mean “to take as a wife” but rather “to take a woman”.

The reference to a second group of women in the text, the group of the *pīlagšīm*, may be an indication that Maacah belonged to this group and not to the group of the wives.

נשא Qal could mean in late OT Hebrew “to take as a wife” but nothing in 2 Chr. 11:20 indicates that it has this meaning here, but rather that this verb can also mean, like לקח Qal, “to take”.

Owing to the above, the situation might have been even more complicated: Abijah was not only not the first-born (entitled to the crown), but he was not the son of a beloved wife. Abijah could in fact have been the son of a beloved *pīlegeš*.

The assumption that Maacah was a *pīlegeš* becomes even more interesting, considering 2 Chr. 15:10–16. From this text, one learns that Maacah was a גבירה.<sup>37</sup> If so, then even as *pīlegeš*, she could have been the woman with the highest rank in the kingdom!

## References

- Ben-Barak, Z. (1991), “The Status and Rights of the Gebira”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110,1, 23–34.  
 BDB = Brown, F., Driver, S.R. & Briggs, C.A. (eds.), 1955, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, London.  
 Brin, G. (1971), *Habākōr bəlsraēl bitkufat hamiqra'*, Tel Aviv (in Hebrew, *The first-born in Israel in Biblical times*).  
 Curtis, E.L. (1910), *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, Edinburgh.  
 Davies, E.W. (1993), “The inheritance of the first-born in Israel and the ancient Near East”, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vol. 38,2, 175–191.  
 Japhet, S. (1993), *I & II Chronicles*, London.  
 Johnstone, W. (1997), *I and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 2, Sheffield.  
 Myers, J.M. (1965), *II Chronicles*, New York.  
 Scheering, L.S. (1992), Maacah, in Freedman, D.N. (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York, 429–430.

<sup>35</sup> E.g., Williamson (1982) p. 244 and Japhet (1993) pp. 663–670, but see also Johnstone (1997) pp. 38–39 and William (1997) p. 116.

<sup>36</sup> See 1 Kings 1,2, 1 Chr. 29:28 and 2 Chr. 1. Also king Solomon was neither the first-born nor the son of the first wife, but a son of a woman whom king David loved.

<sup>37</sup> “Queen mother”. On Maacah as a גבירה, see Ben-Barak (1991) and Spanier (1994).

- Sicherman, H. (2003), "'Foremost in rank and foremost in power'. Conflict over the first-born in Israel", *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 31,1, 17–25.
- Spanier, K. (1994), "The Queen Mother in the Judaeen royal court: Maacah – a case study", in *A Feminist Companion to Samuel and Kings*, Sheffield, 186–195.
- William, H.B. (1997), "Non-Synoptic Chronological References in the Books of Chronicles", in Graham, M., Hoglund, K.G. and McKenzie, S.J. (eds.), *The Chronicler as Historian*, Sheffield, 106–131.
- Williamson, H.G. (1982), *1 & 2 Chronicles*, London.



# Language attitudes and language maintenance among Iranian immigrants in Sweden<sup>1</sup>

Carina Jahani  
Uppsala

## Introduction

After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, which took place in 1979, and especially during the war between Iran and Iraq (1980–1988), many Iranians sought refuge outside Iran. Some of these refugees came to Sweden, either as UN quota refugees or by seeking asylum directly in Sweden, mainly between the years 1984 and 1989.<sup>2</sup> On 31 December 2002, there were, according to statistics from the Swedish Migration Board, 52,721 Iranians in Sweden. In this figure, all Iranians who have immigrated to Sweden are included, even though they may later have acquired Swedish citizenship. However, children born in Sweden to Iranian parents are not counted. The total number of Iranians, including children born in Sweden, may be as high as 70,000 or even higher.

From an ethnic and religious perspective, Iran is a very heterogeneous country. Within its borders, there are Persians, Kurds, Baloch, Gilaks, Mazandarani, Bakhtiari and other groups who speak Iranian languages. A majority of these are Shia Muslims, but most of the Kurds and Baloch profess Sunni Islam. There are also speakers of Turkic languages, e.g., Azerbaijani, Turkmen and Qashqai, the majority of whom, apart from the Sunni Turkmen, are Shiites. Most of the speakers of Arabic, a Semitic language, are Shiites and live in the south-western corner of the country. Among the religious minorities, all very small, the Persian-speaking Jews, Zoroastrians, Bahais and Mandeans, and the two Christian groups, Armenians, speakers of an Indo-European language, and Assyrians, speakers of a Semitic language, can be mentioned. There are also great differences in socio-economic structure and the degree of urbanisation among the different ethnic groups in Iran, and until recently pastoral nomadism was prevalent in mountainous areas in different parts of the country.

Many Iranians belonging to linguistic minorities, especially educated people and those living in close contact with Persian speakers, have also mastered Persian. In

<sup>1</sup> An article in Swedish based on the same investigation was published in Boström Andersson (1999: 219–227) and an article particularly concentrating on language attitudes and language maintenance among the Baloch in Sweden is to be found in Jahani (2000: 33–58). A re-analysis of the data concerning language loyalty (Table 5) and ethnic identification (Table 6) according to stricter criteria has been carried out in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Prior to 1984, a small number of Iranian students as well as some refugees, mainly from religious and ethnic minorities, were already in Sweden, and after 1989 the immigration of Iranians has mainly been by marriage or family reuniting. There is also a certain emigration back to Iran or to other countries, e.g., to the USA.



fact, there are indications of a considerable language switch from the minority language to Persian, particularly among the well-educated youth of Shia Muslim minorities in urban areas.<sup>3</sup> The language policy prevalent during the Pahlavi monarchy was that of strict conformity. There was to be one nation with one language, namely Persian. Under such circumstances there was, of course, no provision made by the Government for mother tongue education or even cultural activities or publication in minority languages, except in the case of the Christian minorities, who had their own private schools, where also the minority language was taught.

The official policy towards the large Muslim ethnic minorities, e.g., the Azerbaijanis, the Kurds, the Arabs, the Baloch and the Turkmens, during the Pahlavi monarchy is well described by Mojab and Hassanpour. This policy was, of course, founded on the fear of political separatism.

The Pahlavi monarchy (1925–1979) combined extreme violence with extensive propaganda in order to build the nation-state of Iran—one nation, one language, and one centralized, secular state [...]. Turkish and Arab domination over Iran in the remote past was declared the main historical obstacle to the continuity of the glorious Persian empire. This racist ideology denied the national, linguistic and cultural diversity of Iran. Turkish, Kurdish and other languages were branded ‘local dialects’ of Persian. The culture (for example dance, costume, music and food) of non-Persian peoples was also labelled a ‘local’ [...] or ‘tribal’ [...] variety of the ‘Iranian’—that is, Persian—culture. (Mojab and Hassanpour 1996: 231–232).

According to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, chapter 1, article 15, in addition to the official language, Persian, “[t]he use of regional and national (*qaumi*) languages in the press and mass media [...] as well as for teaching in schools the literatures written in them, is permitted” (Algar 1980: 34). This means that it is in principle permitted to publish books and newspapers in any minority language. At present, there is very little such publication taking place in Iran, except in the largest minority languages, e.g., Azerbaijani and Kurdish, and in the languages spoken by Christian minorities. When it comes to teaching literature in the minority languages in the schools, no provision is being made for such a subject in most of the minority languages. Exceptions, again, are the languages spoken by the Christian minorities.

Thus, educated members of the different minority groups in Iran are all able to use Persian as a spoken and written language, and those belonging to the Christian minorities, particularly the Armenians, are also normally familiar with not only the spoken, but also the written form of the minority language. Persons belonging to minority groups whose language is used in writing mainly in other countries<sup>4</sup> do not get acquainted with the written form of the language in the educational system but may learn it on their own. Some groups can find reading material published in Iran, whereas others have to seek it across the border, e.g., in the case of the Baloch, in Pakistan. The scripts (Cyrillic and Latin) used in, e.g., the Republics of Azerbaijan

<sup>3</sup> Comprehensive sociolinguistic studies of language maintenance and language shift among different ethno-linguistic groups in Iran are highly desired.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., Balochi, Azerbaijani, Turkmen and Kurdish.

and Turkmenistan, of course, create an obstacle to readers in Iran. Some minority languages, such as Luri, Bakhtiari and Qashqai, are not used at all as written languages.

Ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic and religious differences found in Iran are also reflected among the Iranians in Sweden. Some groups, e.g., the Armenians, are overrepresented among the immigrants,<sup>5</sup> whereas others, e.g., the less urbanised Qashqais and Baloch, are underrepresented. Within the different groups, different attitudes towards the minority language and the Persian state-language prevail. As for the country of Iran, it is by some seen as their fatherland,<sup>6</sup> by some as a country where they are already living in exile,<sup>7</sup> and by others as an illegitimate occupying power.<sup>8</sup> The Iranians in Sweden also have a variety of educational backgrounds, varying from almost illiterate (mainly women from rural areas) to highly educated.

### Some theoretical and methodological aspects concerning the study of language maintenance and language attitudes

Language maintenance can be described as a situation where a whole community, or members of it, keep the language(s) they have always used (Hoffmann 1991: 185) and language shift as a community's (or part of a community's) transition to a new language, which normally involves a stage of bilingualism in the old and the new language (Romaine 1995: 39–40).

One of the situations where the question of language maintenance or language shift becomes an issue is when speakers of a particular language migrate to an area within the country (internal migration) or to a foreign country where another language is spoken and "where their language doesn't serve them any longer" (Hoffmann 1991: 189), i.e. is not used in society. In such a situation the speakers may adopt a strategy of diglossic<sup>9</sup> bilingualism, retaining the first language in the home domain, and possibly also to some extent in the friendship domain, and acquiring the second language for use in public domains such as work and/or education, shopping, contacts with authorities etc. The other strategy possible is that of language shift, which means that the immigrants will as soon as possible replace the first language by the new language in all domains, including home and friendship. In most cases there will be a period of bilingualism also in the process of language shift.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> I.e. they constitute a larger percentage of the Iranian immigrants in Sweden than of the total population in Iran.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., by most Persians, Gilaks, Mazandarani and by many of the Azerbaijanis.

<sup>7</sup> Particularly by the Armenians. Many Armenians were at the beginning of the 17th century (during the reign of Shah 'Abbās I) moved by force from their original habitat in Transcaucasia to Esfahan, at the time the capital of Iran.

<sup>8</sup> This is true of, e.g., many Baloch and Kurds. Nationalist Azerbaijanis also sometimes use such a description in their political discourse.

<sup>9</sup> Here diglossia is used not only of high and low varieties of the same language, as it is used, e.g., about Arabic, but for any situation where different languages or varieties are dominant in different domains. Cf. also Nercissians (2001: 60–61). For a discussion on whether there exists a diglossic situation in Persian, see Jeremiás (1984) and Perry (2003).

<sup>10</sup> There are exceptions, e.g., when only one speaker of a particular language moves to a new environment where no other speakers of that language are to be found.

When the Iranians meet with the Swedish language, they face the task of learning it and of acquiring some formal status in the new society, e.g., a new education and/or employment.<sup>11</sup> They also have to make certain decisions about language use, particularly in relation to their children. To what extent should the children be encouraged, or forced, to retain their mother tongue in Sweden? Should they participate in mother tongue education at school and, if so, should they study Persian or the minority language?<sup>12</sup> Should they be sent to language classes privately arranged by, e.g., cultural associations? What language should be spoken at home? Should the children be encouraged to read books in the mother tongue? Much of what can be described as attitudes towards the different languages (Swedish, Persian and, in the case of people from a minority group, also the minority language) and the degree of maintenance of Persian and/or the minority language among the second-generation immigrants depends on how these and other language-related questions are answered.

Fasold (1984: 147–152) outlines different methods of investigating language use and attitudes towards the different languages that a certain person knows or desires to learn. First of all, he discusses the difference between a *mentalist* and a *behaviourist* view of language attitudes. The mentalist view sees attitude “as a state of readiness; an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person’s response”, whereas the behaviourist view regards attitude as “to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations” (*ibid.*: 147). If the behaviourist view is adopted, the best method of investigation is *participant observation*, i.e. spending sufficient time with the persons whose language attitudes one wants to evaluate, noting and drawing conclusions from their language behaviour (performance) as one goes along.

If the mentalist view is followed, one also generally needs some sort of *direct* or *indirect* self-evaluation of language attitudes. Direct methods may consist of either *questionnaires* or *interviews*. Indirect methods would be different types of investigations where the person participating in the investigation is not aware that language attitudes are being studied.<sup>13</sup>

Edwards (1994: 97) defines attitude as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects”. He further notes that “there often exists inconsistency between assessed attitudes and actions presumably related to them”, thus adhering to the mentalist view. The question whether it is important for the participant to know Swedish well may be answered positively without necessarily indicating a favourable attitude towards the Swedish language. The person answering may sim-

<sup>11</sup> Although not for the Persian speakers, but for the minority groups, as described above, there already existed a diglossic bilingual situation in Iran, and superimposed on this, a new diglossic bilingual situation was added for all Iranians in Sweden.

<sup>12</sup> In Sweden a number of “mother tongues”, among others, Persian, Armenian and Kurdish (both Sorani and Kurmanji) are taught in the state schools once a week. The quality of this “mother tongue education” varies considerably, mainly depending on the particular teacher. See also Boyd (1993), for a description and analysis of the Swedish mother tongue education system.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., Fasold (1984: 149–150, 152–158), where one indirect method known as the *matched-guise technique* is described and examples of its use in actual language-attitude investigations are given.

ply be aware of the fact that, if he lives in Sweden, he has to know Swedish well in order to be able to work and function in society.

Nercissians (2001: 60) recognises the "overt or covert" nature of norms and values that affect language choice, and notes that such values may under certain conditions be enforced either "from above", i.e. by the dominant culture of the society, or "from below", i.e. by pressure within the community. In Iran, there was during the monarchy, and still is, a strong enforcement of positive attitudes to Persian from above, but there is also among many of the minority groups pressure from within the community to retain and value the minority language, particularly among, e.g., the Armenians and the Kurds.

In view of the fact that language attitudes may be both overt and covert, it stands beyond doubt that they cannot solely be judged from behaviour. Actual behaviour may often differ from desired behaviour. Not only in Iran, but also in Sweden, it has at times been forbidden to speak a certain minority language at school, even though the pupils belonging to the ethnic minority may have wanted to speak their mother tongue. The same applies to government offices and other public places. It is therefore necessary to investigate attitudes specifically in order to find out to what extent actual behaviour coincides with, or differs from, desired behaviour.

Some indirect methods of investigating language attitudes are only relevant in situations in which there are totally bilingual individuals who can participate, since the idea of these investigations is that the same person talks or reads a text in two different languages and the listeners should not be able to distinguish which of the languages is the speaker's native language. Such methods can hardly be used, at least for the adult Iranians who live in Sweden, since it would be quite obvious during the investigation that they are not native speakers of Swedish. It is also in most cases possible for persons with Persian as their first language to discern that the Persian spoken by, e.g., Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Kurds or Baloch is not their first language.

In order to investigate language maintenance and daily use, the observation technique is, of course, the safest way to get totally reliable data. On the other hand, it would be very time-consuming to observe a large number of individuals during a prolonged period of time in order to ascertain their speech, reading and writing habits, their command of different languages etc. It is not very practical either in a society like Sweden, where most individuals spend at least a substantial part of the day at work or in educational institutions, places where the researcher cannot readily accompany them.

The method used in this investigation is thus that of a questionnaire. Some of the advantages of this method are that it allows for a large number of participants, it gives data that are easy to analyse quantitatively, and it can be carried out during a relatively limited period of time. It also allows the participants to express their own opinions anonymously, something which cannot be done in interviews. Among the disadvantages one may mention that self-evaluation gives room for a considerable degree of subjectivity, e.g., when it comes to language proficiency. The participants may also try to answer so that they conform to what they suppose the researcher regards as "correct linguistic behaviour" or what they themselves feel is "good language use" or "correct attitudes".

In the analysis, however, I will also draw on my own observations of linguistic behaviour and language attitudes among a number of individuals and families from the different groups included in the investigation who have been personal friends of our family for more than 20 years. This will give a more adequate picture than that emerging only from answers to the questionnaire. It should also be pointed out that this investigation is of a preliminary character, and that further studies will be necessary before a complete picture of language attitudes and language maintenance among Iranian immigrants in Sweden emerges.<sup>14</sup>

### The questionnaires<sup>15</sup>

The present investigation is based on direct self-evaluation in the form of a questionnaire. The questionnaire was constructed in Swedish, since this is the language which all the participants were able to read. There were two target groups; one was adults between 20 and 50 years of age, and the other teenagers.<sup>16</sup> There were several reasons why adults above the age of 50 were excluded from the investigation, e.g., the fact that there are relatively few persons in this category in Sweden and that the language attitudes of the older generation have less influence on their grandchildren than those of their parents. Many elderly Iranians are also unable to read Swedish.

The investigation, which was carried out in the autumn of 1998, was directed to five different ethnic groups among the Iranian immigrants, namely Persians, Armenians, Baloch, Kurds and Azerbaijanis. The groups were chosen to represent different religions and socio-economic patterns, as well as different linguistic backgrounds from Iran.

### *The Persians*

Their language is not a minority language in Iran. They are Shia Muslims, and the immigrants have a background of a mainly urban lifestyle and good education from Iran. They constitute about 50% of the population in Iran<sup>17</sup> and probably about the same percentage among the immigrants, living in most parts of Sweden but with a concentration in major cities.

<sup>14</sup> A research colleague in Uppsala, Shidrokh Namei, recently presented a study, not yet published, of language maintenance among Persian-speaking immigrants in Sweden, carried out by herself, with a somewhat different focus than the present study. One of the interesting observations she made was that mothers seem to be more prepared than fathers to speak Swedish to their children. Also this investigation was based on questionnaires. Another study of a similar character is presented in Sohrabi (1997).

<sup>15</sup> Special thanks to Leena Huss, Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, for useful suggestions and sample questionnaires used for investigating language maintenance and language attitudes among the Sami in Sweden. Many thanks also to Helena Bani Shoraka, who helped with the distribution of the questionnaires among Azerbaijanis.

<sup>16</sup> The actual age limits of this group were 12–20 years.

<sup>17</sup> According to the *Britannica Book of the Year* (1987: 670), the Persians were 45% of the total population in 1980. The figure given for 1995 is 51% (*Britannica Book of the Year* 2000: 624).



### *The Armenians*

They have a written minority language taught in schools in Iran. They are Christians with a mainly urban lifestyle and good education from Iran, where they are known as skilful artisans. The Armenians are a very small minority and probably made up less than 0.5% of the total population at the time of the revolution.<sup>18</sup> They are over-represented among the immigrants, mainly concentrated in the Uppsala–Stockholm area.

### *The Baloch*

Theirs is a non-written minority language in Iran.<sup>19</sup> They are Sunni Muslims, with a mainly rural lifestyle and tribal social structure. Among the first-generation immigrants, the men are usually well-educated, but the women almost uneducated. The Baloch constitute about 2% of the population in Iran.<sup>20</sup> They are underrepresented among the immigrants, nowadays mainly concentrated in the Stockholm area.

### *The Kurds*

Kurdish is a minority language used in writing on a limited scale in Iran. The Kurds are Sunni Muslims, with both a rural and an urban lifestyle, and the tribal social structure still plays a certain role in their society. Among the first-generation immigrants, the men are usually well-educated whereas the education level of the women varies. They amount to about 7–8% of the population in Iran,<sup>21</sup> but there is no detailed information about their number in Sweden.

### *The Azerbaijanis*

Theirs is a minority language used in writing on a limited scale in Iran. They are Shia Muslims, and among the immigrants a background of urban lifestyle and good education predominates. Probably as many as 20% or more of the population in Iran are Azerbaijanis.<sup>22</sup> There is no detailed information about their number in Sweden, but possibly approximately the same percentage as in Iran.

The best way to distribute the questionnaires proved to be through personal contacts. Owing to my special interest in the Balochi language, I have become acquainted with many of the Baloch living in Sweden and I was therefore able to send the questionnaires directly to their home addresses. The same applies to the Armen-

<sup>18</sup> According to the *Britannica Book of the Year* (1987: 670), the non-Muslim religious minorities in Iran amounted to 2% in 1980. In the *Britannica Book of the Year* (2000: 624), the figures are split up according to religion, and 0.3% is given as the figure for Christians (Armenians and Assyrians). For a concise and informative description of the Armenian community in Iran, see Nercissians (2001: 61–62).

<sup>19</sup> Not written in Iran, in Pakistan developed as a written language from about 1950.

<sup>20</sup> *Britannica Book of the Year* (1987: 670, 2000: 624).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> In the *Britannica Book of the Year* (1987: 670), the figure 16% is given (for 1980). This may be an underestimation, since the figure given for 1995 is 24% (*Britannica Book of the Year* 2000: 624). See also Nercissians (2001: 62–63).

ians, many of whom I also know, being married to an Armenian from Iran. Among the Persians, it was also easy to find interested participants both through personal contacts and with the help of a number of mother tongue education teachers in Uppsala and a few other places, who distributed the questionnaires in their classes. Among the Azerbaijanis and Kurds, the questionnaires were distributed by cultural associations and mother tongue education teachers, but very few questionnaires were returned. The reasons for this may be that the questionnaires were actually never handed out or that the persons were not motivated enough to fill them in. Language is, as already discussed, a politically sensitive subject, and there may even have been a certain fear of expressing attitudes towards Persian and the minority language, even though the questionnaire was totally anonymous.

Table 1. Number of returned questionnaires (number of distributed questionnaires in brackets).

	Persians	Armenians	Baloch	Azerbaijanis	Kurds
12–20	80 (348)	25 (160)	28 (96)	9 (230)	4 (152)
20+	71 (317)	51 (170)	48 (101)	33 (200)	23 (162)

The three groups that will be studied below are the Persians, the Armenians and the Baloch, since the number of returned questionnaires from the other two groups, especially in the age-group 12–20, is far too limited to allow any conclusions at all to be drawn. There is, furthermore, an advantage of concentrating on these three groups in that I have many personal friends among them, a fact that has allowed me to compare the answers to the questionnaires with my own observations of their language use and their attitudes towards different languages expressed in private conversations. These observations have been made over several years, both before and, even more, after the actual investigation, when I feel that I, consciously or unconsciously, have paid more attention to language use and language attitudes among my Iranian friends.

## Results of the investigation

The first issue investigated is how the participants evaluate their knowledge of the different languages studied (the minority language, Persian, Swedish). Language proficiency has been graded between 0 and 4, where 0 stands for “no knowledge of the language”, 1 for “very limited knowledge”, 2 for “quite good knowledge”, 3 for “good knowledge”, and 4 for “very good knowledge”. Again, it must be stressed that the investigation is based on self-evaluation, but due to the extensive contacts with speakers of the different languages investigated, I have been able to judge the data against my own observations.

It is clear from Table 2 that there are considerable gender differences between the Baloch when it comes to proficiency in Persian and also when it comes to reading and writing the minority language. This depends on the gender differences in the educational background from Iran. It is, however, noteworthy that the gap between the genders for proficiency in Swedish is smaller. Here the Baloch women must be



commended, who, according to my own observations have often worked very hard to learn Swedish and to get official employment outside the home.

It is also noteworthy that the Armenians, particularly the women, do not feel very confident about speaking, reading and writing Persian, even though most of them are well educated. The Armenians in Iran often live in particular quarters and usually have most of their social contacts with other Armenians, and therefore women who are at home, i.e. housewives, speak Persian only to a limited extent, e.g., when shopping. They also read and write the minority language just as well, or better, than Persian.

An interesting observation to be made from Table 2 is that gender differences among the Armenians and the Baloch are smaller for proficiency in Swedish than for proficiency in Persian.

Table 2. Language proficiency, adults (on a scale of 0–4).

		Own minority language			Persian			Swedish		
		Bal.	Arm.	Pers.	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.
Understand	m.	3.8	3.6	–	3.6	3.7	3.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
	f.	3.5	3.6	–	2.7	3.2	3.7	2.3	2.5	2.7
Speak	m.	3.6	3.3	–	3.5	3.2	3.7	2.5	2.3	2.6
	f.	3.3	3.4	–	2.3	2.8	3.7	2.1	2.1	2.4
Read	m.	2.0	3.2	–	3.6	3.2	3.6	2.8	2.7	2.6
	f.	0.9	3.0	–	2.1	2.8	3.5	2.2	2.4	2.4
Write	m.	1.5	2.9	–	3.3	2.8	3.6	2.2	2.6	2.4
	f.	0.7	3.1	–	1.9	2.7	3.5	1.7	2.1	2.1

It is very interesting to note how the teenagers have been affected by the “language choices” that the parents and, to a certain extent, also they themselves have made. Most teenagers who participated in the investigation came to Sweden before the age of 10, and some were even born in Sweden. Table 3 shows that the Armenians have chosen not to pass on Persian to their children, but, on the other hand, they have been eager for them to learn good spoken and written Armenian. This is confirmed by my own observations.<sup>23</sup>

It has not been as easy for the Baloch to give their children a good knowledge of their mother tongue. There were some attempts to introduce Balochi in the mother tongue education in the town of Borås, where most Baloch refugees settled in the mid-1980s. This experiment was soon abandoned, however, owing to the lack both of a standard written language for Balochi and also of teaching experience. Most Baloch later moved to the Stockholm area, where the children were dispersed in different schools, something which also made it more difficult to arrange Balochi

<sup>23</sup> An exception is a very limited number of Armenians who worship in a Persian-speaking Pentecostal Church. The children of these Armenians usually, in addition to Swedish and Armenian, have some, at least passive, knowledge of spoken Persian. The reason why some ability to understand (0.8) and speak (0.4) Persian among the Armenian teenagers is reported is probably the fact that a number of the Armenian participants in the investigation belong to the above-mentioned Christian fellowship.

classes. Nowadays the Baloch children normally take part in the Persian classes, a language they do not know from home and do not use in their social network.

All the teenagers show good knowledge of Swedish, which is natural considering the fact that most of those who were between 12 and 20 years old in 1998 came to Sweden before the age of 10 and thus have got all or most of their education in the Swedish school system. There are no observable gender differences among the teenagers. After establishing this fact, the data from male and female participants have been treated together. All these results agree with my own observations. It would, however, be interesting to make a contrastive study of Swedish language proficiency among teenagers who live in residence areas heavily populated by immigrants and those living in a more Swedish environment.

Table 3. Language proficiency, teenagers (on a scale of 0–4).

	Own minority language			Persian			Swedish		
	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.
Understand	2.9	3.3	–	2.0	0.8	3.2	3.7	3.9	3.8
Speak	2.9	3.1	–	1.6	0.4	3.0	3.6	4.0 <sup>a</sup>	3.7
Read	0.4	2.2	–	1.4	0.0	2.1	3.7	4.0	3.6
Write	0.3	2.4 <sup>a</sup>	–	1.3	0.0	2.3 <sup>a</sup>	3.6	3.9	3.5

<sup>a</sup> Performance (speak and write) ought to get a lower figure than comprehension (understand, read). Probably the teenagers feel that they can express what they want, possibly resorting to Swedish loanwords when they do not know a particular word in Armenian, but that they sometimes find it difficult to understand when people use words that they have not mastered. The same applies to written Armenian and Persian, where the participants probably find some of the texts they are asked to read in the mother tongue classes difficult to understand. They may not have met these challenges in writing, mainly because they do not often write Armenian/Persian.

One of the most interesting parts of the study was to investigate what languages are spoken in the family. In order to find this out, I posed three different questions:

1. What language do the parents speak to their children?
2. What language do the children speak to their parents?
3. What language do the children speak to siblings or, if there are no siblings, to other children belonging to the same language group?

The participants were asked to mark only one of the following alternatives:

- ☐ Always *the minority language*
- ☐ Always *Persian*
- ☐ Always *Swedish*
- ☐ Mostly *the minority language*, sometimes Persian, but never Swedish
- ☐ Mostly *the minority language*, sometimes Swedish, but never Persian
- ☐ Mostly *the minority language*, sometimes Persian or Swedish
- ☐ Mostly *Persian*, sometimes the minority language, but never Swedish
- ☐ Mostly *Persian*, sometimes Swedish, but never the minority language
- ☐ Mostly *Persian*, sometimes the minority language or Swedish
- ☐ Mostly *Swedish*, sometimes the minority language, but never Persian
- ☐ Mostly *Swedish*, sometimes Persian, but never the minority language
- ☐ Mostly *Swedish*, sometimes Persian or the minority language

The answers were then classified in three categories, according to which language was seen as the dominant one for each alternative (marked in italics above). In Table 4, the reader can see that among the Armenians and the Persians the totally dominant language between parents and children (in both directions) is the mother tongue. It is, however, interesting to note that as many as 20% of the Baloch children prefer to talk Swedish to their parents.

Armenian is the language that appears to be the best retained of the three among the second-generation immigrants, and only 13% state that they mostly talk Swedish to their brothers and sisters. However, my own experience from participant observation is that the children talk Armenian among themselves, e.g., to please their parents or when they do not want people around them to understand, but that they frequently switch over to Swedish, e.g., to discuss issues related to school or other "Swedish" sectors of their life. For the Persian teenagers, 36% state that they speak mainly Swedish to brothers and sisters, and for the Baloch this figure is as high as 73%. These figures mainly conform to my own observations, even if, just as in the case of the Armenian teenagers, it is very common to hear Persian teenagers talking Swedish with siblings or friends of the same age.<sup>24</sup>

There are, of course, reasonable explanations for these figures. The Armenians have always regarded their language as a very important component in their ethnic identification, and they were also used to making provisions for retaining their language in a minority situation already in Iran. When they came to Sweden, the Armenian cultural associations quickly started to arrange classes in Armenian on a voluntary basis. The Persians do not have the same experience of being a linguistic minority and were therefore not as well prepared for this situation as the Armenians, even though their language has a written standard and a long literary tradition. There were also many teachers among the Persian immigrants who were used to teaching Persian in schools in Iran.

The situation was totally different for the Baloch. Their language lacks a written standard, and there was no experience of teaching Balochi to fall back on. Thus, quite soon, Balochi was abandoned in favour of Persian as the "mother tongue" at school. This created a situation where the Baloch children were introduced to three languages, Balochi (spoken at home), Persian (as a written language in the mother tongue education) and Swedish. This seems to have made it difficult for the Baloch children to master any one of the two minority languages and has made Swedish the totally dominant language among the second-generation Baloch immigrants.<sup>25</sup>

Except in the case of the Armenians, a process of language shift among the second-generation immigrants interviewed in this investigation seems to be under way, strongly among the Baloch but also to a considerable extent among the Persians.

<sup>24</sup> It may, indeed, be difficult to evaluate whether one speaks mostly Swedish or mostly Persian/Armenian/Balochi to different interlocutors. It would be valuable with extensive participant observation to confirm the reported results in Table 4.

<sup>25</sup> It may, however, be noted that many of the Baloch teenagers in Sweden have now reached the age of marriage, and it is quite common for them to marry a Baloch from Iran, something which causes a strengthening of the Balochi language in the second generation.

Table 4. Family language.

<i>Parents to children, dominant language (in percentages)</i>			
	Baloch	Armenians	Persians
Minority language	94	93	–
Persian	0	0	98
Swedish	6 <sup>a</sup>	7 <sup>b</sup>	2 <sup>c</sup>
<i>Children to parents, dominant language (in percentages)</i>			
	Baloch	Armenians	Persians
Minority language	80	91	–
Persian	0	0	94
Swedish	20	9 <sup>d</sup>	6 <sup>d</sup>
<i>Children among themselves, dominant language (in percentages)</i>			
	Baloch	Armenians	Persians
Minority language	27	87	–
Persian	0	0	64
Swedish	73	13 <sup>d</sup>	36

<sup>a</sup> Two of these three cases are mixed marriages. In the third family, one of the parents moved to Sweden as a teenager.

<sup>b</sup> All in mixed (Armenian–Swedish) marriages.

<sup>c</sup> All in mixed (Persian–Swedish) marriages.

<sup>d</sup> Mainly in mixed marriages.

However, in Table 5, it can be observed that the loyalty towards the mother tongue still seems to be strong in theory, especially among the Baloch, who in fact are the ones who use this language the least in practice.

Sohrabi (1997), who has made a study of language maintenance among 20 Iranian children of different ethnic background from Iran living in Uppsala, Sweden, has obtained similar results of linguistic interaction between parents–children and siblings between each other. His findings suggest that Persian/Armenian/Kurdish predominate between parents–children both in cases where the children have come to Sweden not later than at the age of six (his group one) and also when the children were 10+ at the time of the immigration (his group two). When it comes to language use between siblings, however, Sohrabi (*ibid.*: 65) notes “certain aspects of the ongoing process of language shift from parent–child interactions to brothers/sisters. Children were reported to use a mixture of Persian and Swedish or mostly Swedish with their siblings.”<sup>26</sup>

Loyalty towards the language was judged from the answers to three specific questions. If the same language, and only that one,<sup>27</sup> was indicated for two questions, I

<sup>26</sup> Similar patterns have been found also among other immigrant groups in Sweden. Cf. e.g. Kostoulas-Makrakis (1995: 125), who in a study of 322 Greek-background students in Sweden aged 13–16, all attending mother tongue instruction, finds that “more Greek than Swedish is used in parent–children interactions whereas both languages (with a slight dominance of Greek) are used with brothers and/or sisters.

<sup>27</sup> Some participants ticked two languages for one or more of these three questions. A person who indicated, e.g., Armenian as the mother tongue and the language that was the most important to know well, and Swedish as the most important language to pass on to the children was seen as having strong loyalty

considered this to indicate loyalty towards that very language, otherwise language loyalty was classified as unidentified (see Table 5). The three questions were:

1. What language do you consider to be your mother tongue?
2. What language is the most important for you to know well?
3. What language do you first and foremost desire to pass on to your children?

Table 5. Language loyalty (in percentages).<sup>a</sup>

	Adults			Teenagers		
	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.
Minority language	86	71	–	63	57	–
Persian	2	0 <sup>b</sup>	52	4	0	42
Swedish	2	6	14	7	19	13
Unidentified	10	23	34	26	24	45

<sup>a</sup> Answers from teenagers in mixed marriages have been excluded since they diverge from the average. All teenagers in mixed marriages have indicated loyalty towards Swedish.

<sup>b</sup> In the previous studies, the figure of 7% for loyalty towards Persian was presented for Armenian adults. Reviewing this figure, it appears to be incorrect. The figure for Persian should have been lower also according to the method used to determine language loyalty in the previous articles. See Jahani (2000: 55).

Language loyalty is often closely linked to ethnic identification. Smith (1986: 14) sees ethnic identity as related "mainly to a sense of community based on history and culture, rather than to any collectivity or to the concept of ideology." This ethnic identity generally includes components such as a distinctive name for the ethnic group, or *ethnie*, as Smith prefers to call a specific ethnic community, as well as common myths of descent, a shared history and association with a specific territory. Language<sup>28</sup> and religion are normally two of the most important factors in the distinctive shared culture of an *ethnie*, where also other cultural traits such as folklore, dress, food, music, arts etc. belong. Ethnic identification is normally relevant only in relation to other *ethnies* which are seen as different from the own-group and with which there is a certain interaction. Ethnic identification is thus a relation between "us" and "the others" (see also Eriksen 1993).

One of the questions which particularly the second-generation immigrants face is whether to cling to their ethnic identity from Iran, to adopt a new, Swedish, identity or to acquire a double ethnic identification. The history-related components in Smith's parameters, i.e. a common myth of descent, a shared history and association with a specific territory will strengthen the "old" ethnic identification, while the cultural part (language, dress, food, music, arts etc.) will probably mainly strengthen the Swedish identity.<sup>29</sup>

towards Armenian. On the other hand, if, e.g., Balochi was given as the mother tongue, but Swedish and Balochi as the most important to know well and to pass on to the children, language loyalty was classified as "unidentified". There were no instructions in the questionnaire that two alternatives could be marked, but most participants took the liberty to do so. On the other hand, there were no clear instructions that only one alternative could be marked.

<sup>28</sup> For a thorough discussion of the relation between language and identity, see e.g. Kostoulas-Makrakis (1995: 18–23).

<sup>29</sup> Religion is of minor importance in ethnic identification in a secular society, like Sweden. The fact that

In Table 6, the reader can see that a large majority of all Baloch and Armenians identify themselves as Baloch and Armenian respectively. Many Iranians have nowadays obtained Swedish citizenship, but this does not seem to have any bearing on their ethnic identification, and already in Iran the Baloch and Armenians were used to having a citizenship different from their ethnic identity.

Among the Persians the issue of ethnic identification is a bit more complicated. Many of the participants could not see any difference between being a "Persian" and being an "Iranian", something which they commented on specifically, e.g., by writing notes like "Persian = Iranian!!!" in the margin. The Persians usually do not regard themselves as belonging to one of several ethnic groups in Iran and therefore do not feel the need for a separate ethnic identity other than Iranian. The term *fārs* 'Persian' is mostly used about the Persians by persons belonging to minority groups, and it is only lately that Persians who are aware of the ethnic diversity in Iran have started using this term about themselves.

It is also very interesting to observe that the pattern of ethnic identification is very similar among the teenagers and the adults, and that even though most of the teenagers were very small when they came to Sweden, they still do not primarily identify themselves as Swedish. Ethnic identification has been evaluated by six questions. The same answer to four or more of these questions was seen as indicating a specific ethnic identification; otherwise the identification was classified as unidentified (see Table 6).<sup>30</sup> The six questions were as follows:

1. How do you primarily identify yourself?
2. How would you introduce yourself
  - a) to an Iranian?
  - b) to non-Iranians?
3. What identification would you prefer your child to choose?
4. Among what ethnic groups do you have your closest friends?
5. Among what ethnic group would you like to marry or would you like your children to marry?

Table 6. Ethnic identification (in percentages).<sup>a</sup>

	Adults			Teenagers		
	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.
Minority	79	88	9	75	90	35
Iranian	8	4	76	7	0	51
Swedish	0	0	0	0	0	3
Unidentified	13	8	15	18	10	11

<sup>a</sup> Answers from teenagers in mixed marriages have been excluded, since they diverge from the average. All teenagers in mixed marriages identify themselves as Swedes.

a large number of the Iranians in Sweden are not practising Muslims also makes it easier to acquire a double, or a Swedish ethnic identity. There is also a possibility of choosing a "general immigrant" identity. A new term, "blatte", has recently been coined in the Swedish language to denote this identity, and this term is commonly used as an identity marker among young second-generation immigrants.

<sup>30</sup> Several participants marked two identities throughout, e.g., Baloch and Swedish, Persian and Swedish, Persian and Iranian. Also such answers are classified as unidentified in Table 6.



In one of the questions in the questionnaire the participants were asked whether they regarded knowledge of spoken and/or written Persian/Armenian/Balochi as a prerequisite for being able to identify themselves as Persians/Armenians/Baloch. The answers show that many of the participants in this investigation are ready to compromise when it comes to language knowledge in accordance with the realities they face in their daily life. It may, however, be noted that, among the teenagers, the Baloch more than the others regard knowledge of the spoken form of the mother tongue as a prerequisite for ethnic identification, whereas, when it comes to language use this group exhibits the highest figures for language shift (see Table 4). The number of adults and teenagers who regard knowledge of the language as a prerequisite for ethnic identification can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7. Knowledge of language as a prerequisite for ethnic identification (in percentages).

	Adults			Teenagers		
	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.	Bal.	Arm.	Pers.
Knowledge of spoken language necessary	39	51	58	59	40	41
Knowledge of written language necessary	5	27	29	14	40	18

## Conclusions and final considerations

The most interesting issue to analyse in the data presented above is probably that of language maintenance versus language shift among the second-generation immigrants. Here there are considerable differences between the three groups investigated. Two factors seem to be particularly crucial in this context, namely language loyalty, i.e. a desire to retain the language, and appropriate means for retaining the language in the new social context.

Considerable differences can be observed between the three groups when it comes to these two factors. The Baloch appear to have a strong desire to retain Balochi but do not have the appropriate means to fulfil this goal in a literate society like Sweden, where education is of crucial importance for anyone who wants to get an employment with any kind of status. The first thing that a person is asked to show in order to get such an employment is that he or she has had a formal education. Both parents also normally work outside the home in Sweden, which means that most children spend several hours a day in day-care from the age of two or even earlier. Under such circumstances, a non-written language like Balochi spoken by a small minority is hardly going to survive beyond the first-generation immigrants.<sup>31</sup> Persian does not seem to be an alternative "language of the country of origin" to retain and pass on to the second generation, owing to the lack of emotional affection

<sup>31</sup> The same linguistic integration has taken place among the Baloch who have migrated to East Africa, particularly Kenya and Tanzania, where they have acquired education and in many cases reached high positions in society (see, e.g., Lodhi 2000). However, such linguistic integration has not yet taken place among the Baloch in Turkmenistan, where they mainly live in rural areas and keep their traditional lifestyle (see, e.g., Moshkalo 2000). See also Farrell (2000: 20), who sees the lack of education as one of the main reasons for language retention among the Baloch in Pakistan.



towards this language. One factor that may allow Balochi to survive somewhat longer is the marriage pattern<sup>32</sup> of the Baloch, which is quite well retained also in Sweden. The Baloch prefer to marry close kinsmen, particularly cousins, and for this reason many Baloch also in Sweden seek brides or grooms for their children among relatives in Iran.

Among the Armenians, both the desire and the means to retain the language appear to be at hand. The Armenians in Iran have retained their language and distinct ethno-religious identity for about 400 years, even though they are a very small group.<sup>33</sup> They are thus used to a minority situation, where they have had to develop means, such as schools, cultural associations, sports clubs, etc., to retain their language even in a modern society. One of the social restrictions which has strengthened the language and identity retention is the fact that Armenians are expected to marry within their own group or at least within the Christian community, which in Iran also includes the Assyrians. In Sweden, there are more "marriageable" ethnic groups, and, even though most Armenians prefer their children to marry other Armenians,<sup>34</sup> any person with a non-Muslim background is acceptable in most cases. It is very uncommon for young Armenians in Sweden to marry Armenians from Iran. Thus, the Armenians are a relatively small group in Sweden, and their religion is no longer seen as different from that of the majority.<sup>35</sup> This factor, in combination with the indication that language loyalty seems to decrease for Armenian and increase for Swedish among the teenagers in comparison with the adults, makes it likely that the Armenians in Sweden will gradually be linguistically integrated into the Swedish speaking majority.

As for the Persians, they are a much larger group in Sweden than both the Armenians and the Baloch. That is, of course, a factor that facilitates language retention. However, even though the means for retaining Persian are available in Sweden, e.g., mother tongue instruction, cultural associations, Persian literature in the libraries, etc., the language loyalty seems rather weak, particularly among the teenagers, but also among the adults. Retaining Persian and passing it on to coming generations appears not to be a crucial issue to many speakers of Persian. In Iran, the position of the Persian language has never been questioned and no struggle was needed to retain it. It is, furthermore, in no way an endangered language and has a long and well-established written tradition.<sup>36</sup> In such a context, it may be felt by some Persian

<sup>32</sup> Marriage patterns have not been studied in detail in this investigation. Comments here build on observations during more than 20 years. A comprehensive study of marriage patterns among second-generation Iranians in Sweden is highly desired. Note, however, Darvishpour (2003) who touches upon the subject in a Ph.D. thesis in Sociology in which he describes and analyses the high divorce rate among Iranians in Sweden.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Nercissians (2001: 66–68) who reports very high figures for language use in the family and with friends among Armenians in Tehran. The motivation to use Armenian and to pass it on to future generations is likewise high.

<sup>34</sup> This is one of the reasons why many Armenians nowadays emigrate from Sweden to the USA, particularly to Los Angeles, where there is a large concentration of Armenians and a much greater chance of finding an Armenian marriage partner than in Sweden. Arranged marriages no longer take place among the Armenians.

<sup>35</sup> The fact that most Swedes no longer actively profess Christianity is not taken into account by most Armenians.

<sup>36</sup> The same is true of Armenian, but not of Balochi.

speakers in Sweden that, even if their children will not learn the language, it will still survive and be strong in Iran. Note, however, that the Persian speakers express a strong desire to identify themselves as Persians/Iranians, but retaining the language is, on the whole, not as important to them as it is to the Baloch and the Armenians.<sup>37</sup>

The marriage patterns among the Persians are quite diverse. Some marry other Iranians from Sweden, some marry Swedes or persons of other nationalities and some marry persons from Iran. Many Persians in Sweden are quite secularised and do not mind their children marrying a non-Muslim. In view of the rather weak language loyalty and the fact that marriages between Persians and Swedes are not uncommon, a possible scenario is that the number of persons who have a knowledge of Persian will decrease in each future generation until this group is linguistically assimilated, unless, of course, a new wave of Iranian immigrants would arrive in Sweden.

Thus, the investigation indicates that the Iranians are already a linguistically well integrated minority group in Swedish society and will probably be even more so in each new generation. However, in families where the teenagers have a better command of Swedish than the parents, certain conflicts may arise. The Iranians are used to a patriarchal family structure from Iran, where the children are expected to submit to the will of their parents, especially their fathers. When the children find themselves ahead of their parents in society, e.g., by understanding and being able to use the Swedish language better, they may also question their authority, something that can be very painful. At the same time, it may be noted that there has been a lot of pressure on the Iranian families in Sweden also from the fact that the women gain financial independence in Sweden, and many of them take this opportunity to liberate themselves from submission to their husbands (see Darvishpour 2003).

Gender differences among the Armenian and Baloch adults are, as noted above, smaller when it comes to proficiency in Swedish than it is for Persian. This indicates that there is less difference between the genders when it comes to integration in Swedish society than in Iranian (i.e. Persian-speaking) society, both among the rural Baloch and the urban Armenians. The somewhat lower figures of Swedish proficiency for the women must also be seen in the light of the fact that some Baloch and Persian women who participated in the investigation had recently come to Sweden after marrying men already living in Sweden. The opposite phenomenon, i.e. girls who go back to Iran to marry and then bring their husbands, is still not very common but may increase in frequency, especially among the more traditional Baloch, when the girls in Sweden reach the age of marriage.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. reports on the Persian speaking community in the USA. Ansari (in Modarresi 2001: 101) states that "most Iranian parents are bilingual; some even speak other languages such as French and German; but their children speak only English. According to the survey, the majority of children of Iranian couples and almost all children of mixed parenthood are unable to speak Farsi." Modarresi (*ibid.*: 112) reports that, although most Persian speaking families in the USA are eager to expose their children to Iranian (= Persian, see above) culture and the Persian language, "even in large urban centers where there are sizeable Iranian populations, the preservation of the Iranian cultural and linguistic heritage in the second generation seems to be difficult, because of the strong sociocultural pressures and the conditions of urban life."

One important question that arises from the results is how particularly the young Baloch growing up in Sweden will handle the situation with a relatively strong loyalty to Balochi and an ethnic identification which goes hand in hand with this loyalty, while at the same time they more and more speak Swedish among themselves. The fact that the second-generation Baloch immigrants generally express a desire to retain their ethnic identity with the cultural norms that belong to it but have very limited means at their disposal to retain their language may cause a certain degree of alienation, i.e. they may neither feel completely at home in Swedish society nor in their Baloch nuclear family. There is hardly the same danger for the Armenian youth growing up in Sweden, since they have adequate means available to acquire a good proficiency in the Armenian language, one of the important factors in their identification as Armenians.

In the questionnaire, the participants were asked whether they found knowledge of the mother tongue important for learning new languages and also for the individual's self-confidence. Most participants regard the mother tongue as particularly important for self-confidence. Likewise, a majority of the participants express the view that it is advantageous to a child to learn more than one language from childhood. Thus, they seem to be of the opinion that good knowledge both of their mother tongue and of Swedish will enable them to choose the best from two worlds.

## References

- Boström Andersson, Rut (ed.), 1999. *Ordets makt och tankens frihet. Om språket som maktfaktor*, Uppsala.
- Boyd, Sally, 1993. "Immigrant Minority Languages and Education in Sweden", in *Immigrant Languages in Europe*, ed. by Guus Extra and Ludo Verhoeven, Clevedon etc, pp. 19–32.
- Britannica Book of the Year*, 1987. Chicago etc.
- Britannica Book of the Year*, 2000. Chicago etc.
- Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 1980. Transl. into English by Hamid Algar, Berkeley.
- Darvishpour, Mehrdad, 2003. *Invandrarkvinnor som bryter mönstret*, Stockholm.
- Edwards, John R., 1994. *Multilingualism*, London.
- Eriksen, Thomas H., 1993. *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, London.
- Farrell, Tim, 2000. "Mother Tongue Education and the Health and Survival of the Balochi Language", in Jahani 2000, pp. 19–32.
- Fasold, Ralph, 1984. *The Sociolinguistics of Society. Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, I, Oxford–New York.
- Fishman, Joshua A., 1989. *Language & Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*, Clevedon–Philadelphia.
- Hoffmann, Charlotte, 1991. *An Introduction to Bilingualism*, London–New York.
- Jahani, Carina, 2000. *Language in Society—Eight Sociolinguistic Essays on Balochi*, Uppsala.
- 2000a. "Language Attitudes and Language Maintenance among Iranian Baloch in Sweden", in Jahani 2000, pp. 33–58.
- Jeremiás, Éva M., 1984. "Diglossia in Persian", in *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 34(3–4), pp. 271–287.
- Kostoulas-Makrakis, Nelly, 1995. *Language Maintenance or Shift? A Study of Greek Background Students in Sweden*, Stockholm.
- Lodhi, Abdulaziz Y., 2000. "A Note on the Baloch in East Africa", in Jahani 2000, pp. 91–95.
- Modarresi, Yahya, 2001. "The Iranian Community in the United States and the Maintenance of Persian",

- in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 148 (=Aspects of Sociolinguistics in Iran), ed. Y. Modarresi, Berlin–New York, pp. 93–115.
- Mojab, Shahrzad, and Hassanpour, Amir, 1996. "The Politics of Nationality and Ethnic Diversity", in *Iran after the Revolution*, ed. S. Rahnema and S. Behdad, London–New York, pp. 229–250.
- Moshkalo, Vyacheslav V., 2000. "Language and Culture of the Baloch in Turkmenistan", in Jahani 2000, pp. 97–103.
- Nercissians, Emilia, 2001. "Bilingualism and Diglossia: Patterns of Language Use by Ethnic Minorities in Tehran", in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 148 (=Aspects of Sociolinguistics in Iran), ed. Y. Modarresi, Berlin–New York, pp. 59–70.
- Perry, John R., 2003. "Persian as a Homoglossic Language", in *Iran Questions et Connaissances*, vol. 3, *Cultures et sociétés contemporaines* (=Studia Iranica, 27), ed. B. Hourcade, Paris, pp. 11–28.
- Romaine, Suzanne, 1995<sup>2</sup>. *Bilingualism*. Oxford.
- Smith, Anthony D., 1986. *The Ethnic Origin of Nations*, Oxford.
- Sohrabi, Bahram, 1997. "Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Patterns of Communication among the Second Generation of Iranian Immigrants in Sweden", in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 128, pp. 45–71.



# Lexical cohesion in Arabic texts

Rasoul al-Khafaji  
University of Gothenburg

## Research objectives

As a text-forming phenomenon, cohesion has been at the focus of attention for an increasing number of linguists over the past three decades. Since the last decade, however, this has taken a new turn and the study of cohesion has come to be looked on more as a means than an end in itself. Text linguists have begun to emphasize that studying cohesion in a given text would enable us to say many worthwhile things about text and textuality in general. Michael Hoey, for example, has undertaken some extensive analyses of cohesion in English texts and has come to the conclusion that it is *lexical* cohesion in particular which is responsible for realizing the cohesive text-forming function (1991:10). The study of lexical cohesion in text, he claims, would enable us to identify 'bonded' sentences, as well as to distinguish between 'central' and 'marginal' sentences in a given text. He asserts that the identification of these three types of sentences through the analysis of lexical cohesion would also enable us, among other things, to "create summaries of the content of the passage" which are both 'readable' and 'representative' (p. 100).

It has to be pointed out in this respect, however, that, while Hoey demonstrates in his studies how the 'central' sentences in a given text can be combined on their own to produce an acceptable summary of that text, he does not do so either by excluding all 'marginal' sentences or by combining all 'bonded' sentences. Concerning marginal sentences, for example, he rather selects a few fragments from his analysed sample text and, after omitting one or more marginal sentences which occur in between them, concludes that the omission of such sentence(s) "has not disrupted the argument" of the text excerpt (p. 106). Similarly, when it comes to bonded sentences in general, he produces summaries of text fragments rather than of longer sample texts. He discusses some sample summaries, which consist of "all the sentences that are *bonded with any one sentence*," (p. 143, my italics). In fact, Hoey himself plainly questions the adequacy of text summaries worked out by combining all and only bonded sentences when he says that, "perhaps surprisingly, it is not the case that tracing bonded pairs through the text produces a reliably good summary" (p. 142). Thus, only in the case of 'central' sentences does Hoey actually demonstrate the significance of cohesive, lexical bonds for the production of summaries of *the whole analysed text*, rather than of a short fragment from that text, although this is one of the major claims he seems to be making, as well as one of the most direct means of capitalizing on the findings of the cohesive analysis of lexis in text.

Since the study of text in general, and that of cohesion in particular, has not yet

received due attention in modern Arabic linguistics, it is both worthwhile and imperative to pay special attention to this. Arabic is a language genetically distant from English and its text norms and rhetoric are known to be widely divergent from those of English. It would thus seem useful both on theoretical and applied grounds to see how Hoey's analytical model would fare in the 'exotic' terrain of Arabic texts. Moreover, it would be especially interesting to find out how well the results of lexical, cohesive analysis arrived at by applying this model are able to yield adequate text summaries. In general, therefore, the present paper aims at investigating lexical cohesion in Arabic texts by using a modified version of Hoey's analytical model for this purpose, thus partly serving as a replication study whose aim is to test the applicability of a certain analytical method to Arabic texts.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, however, this study aims at investigating two claims concerning the production of 'readable' and 'representative' abridgements of varying sizes for the entire, analysed sample text in Arabic. Such abridgements, it is claimed here, can be produced for Arabic texts by:

- (a) the deletion of all *marginal* sentences and placing together all and only the remaining bonded sentences in a given text (Claim One) and/or
- (b) the combination of only the *central* sentences in that text (Claim Two).<sup>2</sup>

## Introduction and background

Since the seventies, the analysis of text has been increasingly establishing itself as a major preoccupation in linguistics, translation studies and language teaching. In all these fields, the study of cohesion as a basic text-forming linguistic phenomenon has occupied a central position. Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) consider cohesion as one of the seven standards of textuality and define it as "the ways in which the components of the surface text, i.e. the actual words we hear or see, are mutually connected within a sequence" (p. 3). Halliday and Hasan, in their book *Cohesion in English* (1976), the first book exclusively dedicated to the study of cohesion, state that cohesion refers to the "relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text" (p. 4). They also add that cohesion in the surface structure of text is partly expressed through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary, and therefore distinguish between *grammatical* cohesion and *lexical* cohesion. Grammatical cohesion, to Halliday and Hasan, is linguistically realized in text by conjunctions, reference, substitution and ellipsis. Lexical cohesion, on the other hand, is realized by the use of lexical items, which are bound together by semantic relations such as synonymy, antonymy, etc. or by words, which are simply repeated in one or more sentences of a given text.

Commenting on Halliday's and Hasan's treatment of cohesion and cohesive de-

<sup>1</sup> Hoey's method has been slightly adapted for the purposes of this paper. His analytical step of drawing a textual *net*, for example, has been ignored as being neither necessary nor indispensable. See Hoey (pp. 92–93) on his rationale for the 'creation of a net of bonds'. Moreover, a new type of text abridgement has been proposed and tested in the present study.

<sup>2</sup> Hoey has already been able to validate this claim as far as English texts are concerned.



vices, Hoey rightly observes that the above-mentioned types of cohesive devices, except those of conjunction, are no more than different means of *repetition* or *re-iteration* of lexical items. Moreover, on the basis of the statistics of the sample texts analysed by Halliday and Hasan themselves and reported at the end of their above-mentioned book, lexical cohesive devices seem to be by far the most frequent single type of cohesion. If conjunctions are disregarded on the ground that they are *structural*, cohesive devices and thus different in nature from the rest, and if we take into consideration that only lexical cohesive devices normally enter into multiple cohesive relations, it becomes even more evident that it is lexical cohesion which plays the dominant role in creating cohesion in text (Hoey, p. 10). Accordingly, lexical, cohesive devices seem to deserve and require our utmost attention when studying cohesion in text. In his outstanding book *Patterns of Lexis in Text* (1991), Michael Hoey has done just that. He has focused on the role that lexical cohesion plays in creating and organizing text. He has analysed both short and long English texts in an attempt to show that the study of various types of lexical repetition among the sentences of a given text enables us to arrive at useful and interesting conclusions about that text, as well as about the organization of texts in general. Thus, Hoey reiterates, the study of cohesion and cohesive features in text is to be regarded as a means of arriving at worthwhile findings about text and textuality (p. 51). As was mentioned above, this pioneering work of Hoey will be heavily drawn upon in the present study, as it is one of the most well developed approaches for the analysis of lexical cohesion in text.

### Outline of Hoey's analytical approach

It must be noted at the start of this section that only a very brief outline of the approach that Hoey uses to analyse some sample English texts is outlined here. Moreover, I take it that the reader is already familiar with the basic notions of text and cohesion, as found in standard books on text linguistics, especially those of Halliday & Hasan and Beaugrande & Dressler. However, the reader who is keen to follow Hoey's arguments and to fully examine the details of his approach, as well as probably to try them out on some sample texts in his or her own language, can be referred to the first few chapters in Hoey's *Patterns of Lexis in Text* (1991).

Most cohesive repetition is achieved, according to Hoey, by different sorts of *lexical repetition*. Within lexical repetition, he distinguishes between *simple*, lexical repetition and *complex*, lexical repetition. The former occurs "when a lexical item that has already occurred in a text is repeated with no greater alteration than is entirely explicable in terms of a closed grammatical paradigm" (p. 53). A cohesive relation of simple, lexical repetition is found, for example, between the two occurrences of the word *book* when used in two different sentences or between the singular form of the word *book* in one sentence and its plural form *books* in another. In Hoey's analytical method, only open-set, lexical items can occur as members of this type of cohesive lexical relation. In the latter type of lexical repetition, i.e. complex repetition, the cohesive lexical items are not 'formally identical' as in the simple repetition defined above, but they either share a lexical morpheme (as in *play* and

playing) or belong to two different parts of speech (as in the word *alternative* when used as a noun and the same word when used as an adjective).

In addition to simple and complex repetition, Hoey includes two other types of lexical repetition. These are *simple paraphrase* and *complex paraphrase*. We speak of simple paraphrase whenever "a lexical item may substitute for another in context without loss or gain in specificity and with no discernible change in meaning" (p. 62). Synonyms would thus qualify well as instances of simple paraphrase. Complex paraphrase is, however, not so easy to define. This is why Hoey says that 'it will be recognized very conservatively' and dubs it a 'can of lexical worms'. In general, complex paraphrase occurs when "two lexical items are definable such that one of the items includes the other, although they share no lexical morphemes" (p. 64). This broad definition would include, for example, antonyms like *happy/sad* as well as word pairs like *writer/author*. The fuzziness of criteria used for the identification and definition of complex paraphrase prompts us to be generally wary of using it. Finally, Hoey's analytical method also counts as repetition any two items, which are interpreted as having the same reference even though they are unrelated as lexical items, for example, in the co-reference between the word *Baghdad*, and the word-group *the capital of Iraq* or in the *hyponymic repetition* between *flowers* and *roses*.

Having defined the different types of cohesive repetition in text, Hoey proceeds to demonstrate the validity and feasibility of his analytical method by analysing the first forty sentences from a certain, non-narrative textbook. The first step in the analysis is to identify lexical repetition links in the analysed text. Each cohesive, lexical item is supposed to enter into a repetition relationship with all its previous occurrences, not just with the one directly preceding it; thus creating a net of links. It is to be noted also that this assumes that repetition is primarily anaphoric in nature. Other than these lexical, cohesive links, which form the overwhelming majority, grammatical cohesive links like *substitution* and *ellipsis* are also included. Besides, it should be remembered that when two items in a sentence repeat an earlier item in another sentence, only one link is recorded. In such cases, priority of link recording is given to the lexical link over the grammatical one.

Once the initial identification of cohesive links is over, Hoey moves on to analyse the results. He begins this by working out a diagram of the actual lexical items involved in cohesive linkage, and then drawing a matrix representing links as figures rather than as items. The aim in both cases is to find out the number of connections that each sentence has with its preceding and following sentences. This reveals that "there is considerable variation in the number of repetitions a sentence may have with others" (p. 91). In order to function as cohesive and text forming, a lexical item needs to be repeated more than twice, since lower numbers of repetitions can be too common to be indicative or interpretative. Thus, while each single instance of lexical repetition forms a cohesive *link*, Hoey considers only three or more of such links in two sentences to form a *bond* between those sentences. In taking this procedural decision, he goes along with many other text linguists like Philips (pp. 162–163), among others. So, a minimum of three lexical links is taken as a prerequisite for establishing a cohesive bond between any pair of sentences. It should be noted, however, that a bond is not to be understood in terms of an absolute number of links,

since some texts tend to have higher, cohesive, lexical density than others. Legal and scientific texts in English, for example, are characterized by such a high cohesive density (Hoey, p. 92). The cut-off point, therefore, is relative and only to be defined in relation to the average density of linkage found in a given text. It is always to be remembered in this respect, however, that above-average repetition is more revealing, since it is this, which mostly creates cohesive bondage between the sentences of a given text.

After establishing which sentences are *bonded* in a given text, viz. sentences linked by above-average numbers of repetition links, Hoey proceeds to work out a table of sentence co-ordinates. In such a table, each sentence in the text is assigned a two-figure co-ordinate; the first shows the number of previous sentences to which it is bonded while the second indicates the number of subsequent sentences to which it is bonded (p. 104). A number of useful observations can be made on the basis of such a table. Sentences, which are shown to have no bonds at all with other sentences, can be said to be *marginal* in the sense that they neither refer to, nor are they referred to by, other sentences. Thus, they do not seem to contribute much to the main theme of the text. In order to demonstrate the marginality of such sentences, one can study the effect of their omission on the coherence of the remaining text. After trying this out on some text fragments which contain marginal sentences, Hoey comes to the conclusion that the argument of the original text has been maintained in the shorter version and that no disruption has occurred in the coherence of the passage either (p. 106). He then goes on to state that the identification of marginal sentences, and their subsequent omission from the original text, would allow us to make abridgements which are equally coherent and without loss of any significant information. On the other hand, the table of co-ordinates mentioned above would show that a number of sentences could be said to be *central* in a given text. Central sentences would be those, which show levels of bonding unusually higher than the rest. The identification of central sentences in a given text, Hoey emphasizes, would enable us to produce another abridged version of the text, one that consists exclusively of those central sentences. Such a condensed text, after simply removing some local, non-lexical, cohesive links,<sup>3</sup> would also preserve the continuity and intelligibility of the original text. It is interesting to note that an abridgement like this may reduce a text to only 15% of its original size while still producing a viable and representative sub-text (p. 118).

### Analysis of Arabic data

So as to be able to make the results of investigating the Arabic text comparable to those of the English text(s) studied by Hoey (1991), a non-narrative, Arabic text has likewise been selected for analysis. The data represent the first 22 sentences of an article entitled "نحو تربية اسلامية صالحة لزماننا" written by Mohammed Fadhil al-Jamali.<sup>4</sup> As has already been mentioned in the section on Hoey's model above, the

<sup>3</sup> This step would include, for example, removing sentence connectors and supplying the reference of definite articles in particular. See Hoey, pp. 100–102.

<sup>4</sup> See the Appendix for a copy of the Arabic text, as well as for the facts about its publication.

analytical approach begins with the identification of all the lexical repetition links in a given text. Since all repetition for the purposes of recording cohesive links is assumed to be anaphoric, each word in every sentence (except the first) is checked against every other word in all the preceding sentences. Any instances of simple or complex repetition, as well as of simple or complex paraphrase, are to be recorded first.<sup>5</sup> Later, instances of substitution, as well as of deixis and ellipsis, are recorded, if any, since these may also 'stand in for' lexical items. It is to be noted, however, that intra-sentential repetition links have been discounted here and only inter-sentential repetition links have been considered as cohesively significant. It should also be pointed out that the orthographic definition of the sentence has been adopted as a working definition and that the sentence boundaries, as they originally appeared in the analysed Arabic text, have, consequently, been maintained. Accordingly, a sentence is defined here as any stretch of text, which is terminated by a full stop, a question mark or an exclamation mark.<sup>6</sup>

In order to illustrate the analytical approach described above, let us begin by trying it out on the sentences quoted below. These are the first five sentences in the analysed Arabic text.

(1) استقبل العالم الإسلامي القرن الخامس عشر الهجري وهو مثقل بما خلفته عهود التخلف والاستعمار من مشاكل سياسية واقتصادية واجتماعية وأخلاقية وعقائدية.

(2) وفي الوقت نفسه نشاهد نقطة عامة تشمل كل أجزاء العالم الإسلامي تقريبا "ترافقها عزيمة أكيدة للنهوض وللحاق بركب الحضارة العصرية وتحقيق المستقبل الأفضل على أسس إسلامية قويمه وبروح متحفزة حركية.

(3) ان تحقيق ذلك يتوقف على اختيار اتنا التربوية.

(4) يقف المفكر الإسلامي في مجابهة هذا الموقف الجديد متسانلا " في حيرة وتأمل ما هو الهدف؟

(5) وفي أي اتجاه نسير؟

I begin the analysis by considering which words in Sentence 2 above have any kind of cohesive linkage with the words of Sentence 1. The reference of the phrase *at the start of Sentence 2*, we find, cannot be understood without going back to *القرن الخامس عشر الهجري* in Sentence 1. Both word-groups have the same reference and constitute, therefore, an instance of the cohesive link of *co-reference* (co-ref). We then proceed further to examine Sentence 2, word by word, and check each word against all the words of Sentence 1. The other two words in Sentence 2, which enter into cohesive relations, are *العالم* and *الإسلامي*. Both words are exact repetitions of the same words in Sentence 1 and would thus represent two cohesive links of the *simple lexical repetition* (sr) type. Finally, we find that the noun *المستقبل* in

<sup>5</sup> See section "Outline of Hoey's analytical approach" for the definitions of these terms.

<sup>6</sup> I am aware that the delimitation of sentence boundaries in Arabic texts can be a bone of contention since punctuation marks are sometimes not consistently used to mark sentence boundaries and since a 'major' sentence can comprise many 'minor' sentences within its own orthographic boundaries. See Williams (1984) on sentence boundaries in Arabic and Al-Khafaji (2001) on the use of punctuation marks in Arabic texts.

Sentence 2 is a partial repetition of the verb استقبل in Sentence 1. This constitutes a case of *complex lexical repetition* (cr), as it was defined in the section on Hoey's model above. After examining all the words of Sentence 2 in this way, we move to Sentence 3 and do the same by checking each of its words against all the words of both Sentences 1 and 2 this time. We notice that the second word تحقيق in Sentence 3 has the cohesive relation of *simple lexical repetition* with the same word in Sentence 2. Besides, the reference of the deictic word ذلك can only be understood by going back to the noun phrase المستقبل الافضل على أسس اسلامية in Sentence 2. It can hence be said that the word ذلك has the cohesive relation of *deixis* (d) with the noun phrase it stands for. Moving to Sentence 4, we find ourselves tempted to think that the first word يقف has the cohesive relationship of simple lexical repetition with يتوقف in Sentence 3, owing to the fact that they share the same trilateral root /w-q-f/. Their relatively different meanings in the text, however, should make us somewhat hesitant to do so.<sup>7</sup> This is why a question mark appears next to this cohesive link in Table 1 below. It should be pointed out that such debatable links would not be counted as part of the lexical cohesive links in the analysed text. The adjective الاسلامي in Sentence 4 has a simple lexical relation (sr) with the same word in both Sentences 1 and 2. Moreover, the phrase هذا الموقف الجديد in this sentence refers back to the whole text chunk represented by Sentences 1, 2, and 3. This explains why this cohesive link of *deixis* (d) appears under each of the three above-mentioned sentences. When we come to Sentence 5, we notice that none of its words seem to enter into any cohesive relation with any other word in the four preceding sentences. And so our search for cohesive links from sentence to sentence proceeds, examining each word in every sentence and checking it against all the words in the preceding sentences until we come to the last word in the terminal sentence of the analysed text.

Once the analysis is complete, a repetition matrix is constructed in the form of a table that shows all the cohesive links and the lexical items, which represent them in the sentences of the given text. A sample, illustrative matrix for the above five sentences of the analysed text is reproduced as the table below.<sup>8</sup>

Such a table can be used to trace the lexical connections of any sentence with other sentences in a text, whether adjacent or close or further away in that text. Horizontal columns show a given sentence's connections with those sentences, which come earlier in the text, whereas vertical columns show its connections with later sentences. Thus, for example, the horizontal column of Sentence 2 shows that it has four links with Sentence 1. The vertical column of Sentence 2, on the other hand, shows that it has two links with Sentence 3, two with Sentence 4, and none with Sentence 5.

A cursory look at Table 1, as well as at its full version, which can be worked out along the same lines for all the 22 sentences of the analysed text, would reveal the unpredictable nature of cohesive linkage among the sentences. Sentence 4, for ex-

<sup>7</sup> According to the co-text, the word يقف has the meaning of 'to stand' but يتوقف على means 'to depend on'.

<sup>8</sup> Reproducing the whole table of the matrix for the twenty-two sentences is typographically difficult here, since it would cover more than one page.

Table 1.

(1)			
(2)	sr : العالم - العالم sr : الإسلامي - الإسلامي cr : مستقبل - المستقبل co- : القرن 5 الهجري ref : الوقت نفسه	(2)	
(3)		sr : تحقيق - تحقيق d : المستقبل الأفضل على أسس اسلامية- ذلك	(3)
(4)	sr : الإسلامي - الإسلامي d : جملة 1 - هذا الموقف الجديد	sr : الإسلامي - الإسلامي d : جملة 2 - هذا الموقف الجديد	cr : يقف - يتوقف ؟ d : جملة 3 - هذا الموقف الجديد
(5)			(4)

ample, has no cohesive links whatsoever with its adjacent Sentence 5. Yet it has three links with the distant Sentence 9 and two other links with an even further one like Sentence 16 and one link with sentence 22, from which it is separated by 17 sentences. These cohesive links of certain words of Sentences 9, 16, and 22 with the words of Sentence 4 are shown in brackets under each of the sentences quoted below:

(4) يقف المفكر الإسلامي في مواجهة هذا الموقف الجديد متسانلاً في حيرة وتأمل ما هو الهدف؟

(9) وهذا مما يزيد في بلبلية الفكر التربوي الإسلامي ويعقد مشاكله.

(d: جملة 4 - هذا ؛ sr: الإسلامي - الإسلامي ؛ cr: المفكر - الفكر)

(16) فيه ما هو صالح لزماننا وفيه ما هو بال وسقيم باعتراف الباحثين والمفكرين في البلد الذي اقتبست منه النظم

المستوردة.

(sr: المفكر - المفكرين ؛ cp: الجديد - بال<sup>9</sup>)

(22) فتربيتهم المدرسية في الغالب تفصل بين العلم والعمل وبين الفكر واليد.

(cr: المفكر - الفكر)

The cohesive analysis conducted so far also reveals that some sentences seem to be only slightly connected to the rest of the text. Sentence 5, for example, is only connected by one link each to two other sentences in the text, viz. Sentences 6 and 8. Conversely, Sentence 10 shows multiple connections with many other sentences in the text. It has, for example, six cohesive links with Sentence 13, as illustrated below:

<sup>9</sup> See section "Outline of Hoey's analytical approach" for the definitions of *simple paraphrase* (sp) and *complex paraphrase* (cp) as two of the varieties of cohesive lexical repetition.







As can be easily seen from Table 2 above, the discrepancy in the number of links among the sentences in a given text can vary considerably. Sentence 2, for example, has a total of 20 links: four with Sentence 1 and 16 with different, subsequent sentences. On the other hand, Sentence 7 has a total of two links only with all the other sentences in the text: one with Sentence 4 and the other with Sentence 8. Moreover, a cursory look at the table shows that the number of links a sentence can have does not seem to be related to the position it occupies in the text, but rather to the amount it contributes to the theme(s) handled by the text. Thus, Sentences 3 and 5, though both occur somewhat towards the beginning of the text, have ten links for the former, but only two for the latter. The equivalent figures for Sentences 12 and 13, which are adjacent to each other and both located towards the middle of the text, are 38 and four respectively.

The total number of cells in Table 2 above is 231 and out of this total we can see that 114 cells (about 50%) show zero cohesive connection. Furthermore, of the remaining cells, 69 show one-repetition links only and 33 indicate two-repetition links. If we take the level of two links as our cut-off point, this would mean that over three-quarters of sentence pairs (about 80%, i.e. 183 out of 231) do not have significant cohesive connection by lexical repetition. If, however, we decide to use three links as the minimum number of cohesive repetitions as a prerequisite for forming a cohesive *bond* between any two sentences,<sup>10</sup> we are left with only about 10% of sentence pairs in the text with *significant* connection via repetitions. This is because about 90% of the sentence pairs lie under the three-link, threshold, cut-off point. Because my primary concern is with the discovery and study of the above-average level of linkage in any text, as well as because I want to make my results comparable with those of Hoey, I shall adopt the three-link criterion as my cut-off point for the Arabic text under investigation. We are thus left with only 12 *bonded* sentences, which, among themselves, form 15 *bonded* sentence-pairs.

Another useful way of analysing the information provided by Table 2 above is to work out a table of sentence co-ordinates. In this table, each sentence in the ana-

Table 3.

1	(-, 1)	12	(0, 0)
2	(1, 0)	13	(1, 4)
3	(0, 0)	14	(1, 3)
4	(0, 1)	15	(2, 3)
5	(0, 0)	16	(3, 1)
6	(0, 0)	17	(3, 0)
7	(0, 0)	18	(0, 0)
8	(0, 0)	19	(0, 0)
9	(1, 0)	20	(3, 0)
10	(0, 1)	21	(0, 0)
11	(0, 1)	22	(0, 0)

<sup>10</sup> This is the minimum number of links recommended by many text linguists involved in the study of cohesion, for the reasons mentioned in section "Outline of Hoey's analytical approach" above.

lysed text is assigned a two-figure co-ordinate: the first figure indicates the number of the preceding sentences to which that sentence is bonded, while the second figure stands for the number of the subsequent sentences which that sentence is bonded to. Thus, Sentence 13, for example, which is shown in Table 2 to be bonded to one preceding sentence, viz. Sentence 10, and to four subsequent sentences, 14 through 17, would appear in Table 3 with a coordinate of (1, 4).

## Results of data analysis

### *Bonded vs. unbonded sentences*

A quick look at Table 3 above is again enough to show the wide discrepancy between the sentences of the analysed text in terms of the number of the cohesive bonds that they share with other sentences. Of the 22 sentences of the analysed text, six have three or more bonds with other sentences, while ten sentences have no bonds at all with any of the other sentences in the text. As has already been mentioned in the section on Hoey's model above, the ten unbonded sentences are to be considered *marginal* in the sense that their propositions are not lexically based on what has been said before, nor do they provide lexical reference to any subsequent sentences in that text. They are deemed marginal, therefore, in that their direct contribution to the main theme of the text is negligible. On the other hand, bonded sentences, viz. those which share at least one cohesive bond with one or more other sentences in the analysed text, are claimed to carry more propositional weight and are therefore more conducive to the thematic progression in a given text.

In order to test Claim 1, as stated in (a) in the introductory section above, concerning the omissibility of marginal sentences and the indispensability of bonded ones, we need to find out how coherently and representatively the analysed text would read after removing all marginal sentences and placing together all and only bonded sentences. In other words, we need to see how dispensable marginal sentences are and how much their omission would go by unnoticed. The sentences which are shown to have no bonds with other sentences in Table 3, viz. the sentences with bonding co-ordinates (0,0) in Table 3 above, are Sentences 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 18, 19, 21 and 22. After the omission of these sentences, the remaining sub-text would exclusively consist of the 12 bonded sentences, which are reproduced below:

- (1) استقبل العالم الإسلامي القرن الخامس عشر الهجري وهو مثقل بما خلفته عهود التخلف والاستعمار من مشاكل سياسية واقتصادية وأخلاقية وعقائدية.
- (2) وفي الوقت نفسه نشاهد نقطة عامة تشمل كل أجزاء العالم الإسلامي تقريبا تراثها عزيمة أكيدة للنهوض وللحاق بركب الحضارة العصرية وتحقيق المستقبل الأفضل على أسس إسلامية قديمة وبروح متحفزة حركية.
- (4) يقف المفكر الإسلامي في مجابهة هذا الموقف الجديد متسانلا في حيرة وتأمل ما هو الهدف؟
- (9) وهذا مما يزيد في بلبله الفكر التربوي الإسلامي ويعقد مشاكله.
- (10) ففي العالم الإسلامي اليوم من يرى أن التربية الإسلامية بصيغتها التقليدية وكما ورثناها بمحتواها وأساليبها هي ما يجب أن نعمل.

- (11) وأن النظم الحديثة قد لا تضمن لنا تخريج علماء نقاة [sic] أو مواطنين شرفاء، انها تخرج أناسا يحملون شهادات تعطى بعد دراسات قد "تمزج السم بالدم".
- (13) وهناك من يقول : أن التربية التقليدية بأساليبها البالية وبمحتواها المتحجر لا تصلح لزماننا فهو يرى اقتباس النظم التربوية من الشرق الشيوعي أو الغرب اللبرالي بعجزها وبحرها.
- (14) والتعليم الرسمي في العديد من البلاد الاسلامية يتأرجح بين النظرتين وفي الغالب تنطغى عليه النظرة الثانية نظرة الاقتباس من الغرب.
- (15) فمعظم الدول الاسلامية اقتبست نظمها التربوية من الغرب وفيما اقتبسته الصالح والضرار.
- (16) فيه ما هو صالح لزماننا وفيه ما هو بال وسقيم باعتراف الباحثين والمفكرين في البلد الذي اقتبست منه النظم المستوردة.
- (17) فما يقتبس من الخارج قد لا يلانم احتياجاتنا وظروفنا ومما يؤاخذ عليه النظام المقتبس هو عدم عنايته كافية بالتكوين الديني والاخلاقي لناشئتنا.
- (20) النتيجة هي أن الانظمة المعمول بها في العديد من الاقطار الاسلامية قد تخرج طلابا " اتكاليين لم يهيأوا للخوض في معترك الحياة.

Combined together, the above 12 bonded sentences read smoothly despite the gaps in their serial numbers. Moreover, the abridged text is a good representation of the theme(s) dealt with in the original text and nothing significant seems to have been lost as a result of eliminating all the marginal sentences. It has to be pointed out also that the new text represents only about 50% of the original. It is no mere coincidence, I believe, that Hoey has also found that "it is not unusual for over fifty per cent to be marginal" when conducting his own studies on lexical cohesion in English texts (p. 113). Bonded sentences, which are separated from each other, by two or more marginal sentences seem worthy of special attention. As an example of this, let us consider the bonded pair of Sentences 4 and 9, reproduced below for easy reference:

- (4) يقف المفكر الاسلامي في مجابهة هذا الموقف الجديد متسانلا " في حيرة وتأمل ما هو الهدف؟
- (9) وهذا مما يزيد في بلبله الفكر التربوي الاسلامي ويعقد مشاكله.

Read together, these two sentences sound strikingly well connected and coherent. In fact, one hardly notices that there is a big gap of four intervening sentences between them in the original text.

It can thus be quite safely said from the discussion and examples above that the deletion of marginal sentences, leaving behind only bonded sentences, does not seem to have led to any disruption in the flow of argument in the remaining text. It can also be concluded in general that a 'readable' and 'representative' summary, which is only about 50% of the length of the original, seems possible by omitting all the marginal sentences and placing together all and only the bonded sentences in a

given text. This means that Hoey's reservation on text abridgements made by combining all and only bonded sentences (see p. 1 above) is either inapplicable to Arabic texts or is in need of further evidence and validation from the analysis of more English texts. However, it should be emphasized here that such an adequate text abridgement has only been made possible by the kind of lexical cohesion analysis described above. Claim 1 in the introductory section above can consequently be said to have been validated by the results of lexical cohesive analysis of the analysed Arabic text.

### *Central vs. non-central sentences*

Another way of analysing the results of lexical cohesive analysis is to pay special attention to those bonded sentences, which show an unusually high level of bonding. Such sentences, as has already been pointed out in the section on Hoey's model above, are considered *central* in the sense that they manifest above-average bonding and therefore represent the more significant sentences in a given text in terms of their multiple cohesive relations with other sentences. Thus, if we take only the bonded sentences reproduced in the previous subsection above and group them according to the number of *bonds* they have (as reported in Table 3), we shall have them arranged as in Table 4 below:

Table 4.

<i>Number of Bonds</i>	<i>Number of Sentences</i>
1	5 (sentences 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 11)
2	None
3	2 (sentences 17, 20)
4	2 (sentences 14, 16)
5	2 (sentences 13, 15)

Just as the minimum number of links necessary for forming a cohesive bond may vary from one text to another, there is no absolute number of bonds, which must be present in order to qualify a sentence as *central*. The only guideline is that, as was just explained above, a central sentence must be marked by an unusually large number of bonds in relation to other bonded sentences in a given text. Table 4 above, which shows the level of bonding among bonded sentences, indicates that the number of *three bonds* can be conveniently adopted here as a cut-off point for *centrality* in the analysed text, since there are five sentences with only one bond each and none with two. Thus three bonds can be considered a suitable threshold for marking central sentences, and the six sentences, which are shown in Table 4 with a minimum of three bonds, are therefore deemed 'central' in the case of the analysed text. Another possibility is to consider the two sentences with the highest level of bonding, i.e. sentences 13 and 15, as the two central sentences *par excellence*. But let us begin by considering the first alternative above and see if a text summary consisting just of central sentences with a minimum of three bonds represents a viable abridgement which is both 'readable' and 'representative', as proposed in Claim 2 in the introductory section above.

Placed together, the six central sentences referred to above produce the following abridgement:<sup>11</sup>

(13) هناك من يقول: ان التربية التقليدية بأساليبها البالية وبمحتواها المتحجر لا تصلح لزماننا فهو يرى اقتباس النظم التربوية من الشرق الشيوعي أو الغرب اللبرالي بعجزها وبجرها. (14) والتعليم الرسمي في العديد من البلاد الاسلامية يتأرجح بين <النظرتين> [ النظرة الاسلامية التقليدية ونظرة الاقتباس من الغرب ] وفي الغالب تطغى عليه النظرة الثانية نظرة الاقتباس من الغرب. (15) فمعظم الدول الاسلامية اقتبست نظمها التربوية من الغرب وفيما اقتبسته الصالح والضرار. (16) فيه ما هو صالح لزماننا وفيه ما هو بال وسقيم باعتزاف الباحثين والمفكرين في البلد الذي اقتبست منه النظم المستوردة. (17) فما يقتبس من الخارج قد لا يلائم احتياجاتنا وظروفنا ومما يؤخذ عليه النظام المقتبس هو عدم عنايته عناية كافية بالتكوين الديني والاخلاقي لناشئتنا. (20) النتيجة هي أن الانظمة المعمول بها في العديد من الاقطار الاسلامية قد تخرج حل طلابا اكثاليين لم يهبأوا للخوض في معتزك الحياة.

Since coherence is mostly a subjective matter, the reader is invited to read the above text summary and see for him- or herself how 'readable', or 'coherent', it is. For my part, I find it reasonably coherent. It may also be interesting to note here that the absence of Sentences 18 and 19 from the above summary does not seem to produce any adverse effect either on the cohesion or the coherence of the abridged text.

Concerning the other, probably more important question of how 'representative' of the original text the above abridgement is, it may first be necessary to analyse both the original and the abridged texts into their main propositional components. An overall look at the original Arabic text (see the Appendix) would reveal that the first few sentences, Sentences 1 through 7, serve as a text-opening which introduces the temporal and locational settings and depicts the prevalent situation characterized by political, economic, social and ideological problems, as well as by an overall awakening. Likewise, Sentences 8 and 9 are introductory in providing necessary background information concerning the simultaneous presence of two competing outlooks, especially in the field of education in Islamic countries. The real beginning of the text argument and counter-argument starts with Sentence 10 in fact. Sentences 10, 11, and 12 together form a text chunk whose function is to argue for the Islamic view of education whereas Sentence 13 represents the counter-argument, which criticizes this view. Furthermore, Sentence 14 depicts the status quo by saying that formal education in Islamic countries ranges between applying Islamic and non-Islamic views of education, adding that borrowing from the West is, however, more characteristic of most educational systems. Finally, Sentences 15 through 22 represent a personal critique by the writer of Western educational systems.<sup>12</sup> This critique, however, mostly highlights the negative aspects of these systems as applied

<sup>11</sup> The removal of local, non-lexical cohesive links (see footnote 3) is not usually necessary when the combined sentences are immediately adjacent to each other in the original, unabridged text; like those, which appear in this summary. This is because sentence connectors, for example, would not cause disruption to the flow of the argument in such a case. Moreover, the reference of definite articles would be easy to establish in most such cases as well. This is why no adjustments have been introduced into these sentences, except for retrieving the referent of the definite article in Sentence 14 and deleting the initial /waw/ in Sentence 13.

<sup>12</sup> It may be worth noting here that the writer, Mohammed Fadhil al-Jamali, was himself a university professor with a Ph.D. in education from the U.S.A.

in Islamic countries. The thematic structure of the text can thus be divided up into five components: (a) a long introduction represented by Sentences 1 through 9 which set the time and place and depict the prevailing situation; (b) an argument for traditional Islamic education, Sentences 10 through 12; (c) a counter-argument in support of non-Islamic views of education, Sentence 13; (d) the educational status quo in Islamic countries, Sentences 14 and 15; and finally (e) a criticism of the Western system of education in Sentences 16 through 22.

A similar, overall analysis of the above, six-sentence, text summary reveals that it represents a faithful abridgement of the original text. It opens with Sentence 13, which criticizes the traditional Islamic view of education. It is interesting to note, however, that, even in this sentence, the non-committal, introductory phrase "هناك من يقول" clearly shows that the writer does not sympathize with this point of view. The summary also contains Sentences 14 and 15 from the original text. These sentences, as was said above, provide an important description of the status quo in Islamic countries concerning the prevailing educational system. Finally, Sentences 16, 17 and 20 offer the writer's own point of view, which, while recognizing some positive aspects in the Western educational system, focuses on what is negative in it. This negative evaluation of the application of the Western system of education by Islamic countries represents, though indirectly, an argument in favour of Islamic education, as expressed in Sentences 10 through 12 of the original text. Thus, although the summary text has deleted the long introductory phase of the original text represented by Sentences 1 through 9 and 10 through 12, as well as deleting 21 and 22 at the very end, this has not adversely affected either the argument or the counter-argument; which both form the core of the text's thematic content. Neither has it deleted any crucial details or irreplaceable sentences, which may lead to gaps in the flow of the overall text plan. It can thus be concluded that none of the basic components of the thematic structure of the original text has been dropped from the text summary. Consequently, the abridgement, which consists of the six central sentences, can be said to be both 'readable' and 'representative'. It is worth noting that the above abridgement of the analysed text constitutes only a little more than 25% of the size of the original text. In conclusion, Claim 2 in the introductory section above can thus be said to have been verified as far as the analysed Arabic text is concerned.

Table 4 above also shows that while the other central sentences in the analysed text have three bonds each, Sentences 13 and 15 have five bonds each. These two sentences would, as mentioned before, qualify for the status of being the central sentences *par excellence* in this particular text. The sub-text, which these two sentences together form would read as follows:

(13) هناك من يقول: أن التربية التقليدية بأساليبها البالية وبمحتواها المتحجر لا تصلح لزماننا فهو يرى اقتباس النظم التربوية من الشرق الشيوعي أو الغرب اللبرالي يعجزها ويجرها. (15) فمعظم الدول الإسلامية اقتبست نظمها التربوية من الغرب وفيما اقتبسته الصالح والضار.

While the above highly concentrated abridgement is clearly less satisfactory than the previous one from the point of view of its 'representativeness' of the different



lines of argument of the original text, it nevertheless seems to capture the essence of the text's basic theme. Both abridgements open with the same sentence: Sentence 13. This sentence, as was explained earlier, presents the counter-argument, which criticizes Islamic education. In the first abridgement, however, the five sentences which follow Sentence 13 basically perform two functions: (a) depicting the educational status quo in Islamic countries, which is mostly characterized by the adoption of the Western system of education, and (b) asserting the text writer's point of view that this system has both positive and negative aspects, though more of the latter highlighted. A quick look at Sentence 15 in the above, two-sentence abridgement shows that this sentence actually represents a very condensed summary of both functions (a) and (b) above, with probably only the focusing on the negative aspects missing. One can argue, therefore, that the abridgement produced just by combining the two most central sentences represents a viable, though slightly less representative, alternative summary of the original text. It should be noted that this abridgement represents less than 10% of the original length of the text. This again would give credit to the second research hypothesis stated in the introductory section above concerning the exceptional significance that central sentences have for the formation of text abridgements in Arabic. Moreover, Hoey's analytical approach to the discovery of such 'central' sentences seems once more to be applicable to Arabic texts.

### *Topic-opening vs. topic-closing sentences*

What is of additional interest in the figures of Table 3 above is the directionality of bonding as reflected by the values of the first and second figures in the co-ordinates of bonded sentences. A bonded sentence, which has a high second figure in its co-ordinate, but a low first figure, is a sentence, which is much referred to by subsequent sentences. Such a sentence would accordingly act as a *topic-opener* for all the subsequent sentences it is bonded with. Sentence 13 in the analysed text can serve as a good example of this with its co-ordinate of (1, 4). It sets the topic for the whole text and can in fact be considered as the topic sentence in the text. Sentences prior to it seem mostly to furnish an introduction, whereas Sentence 13 opens the real debate on the topic of discussion.<sup>13</sup> This sentence is expected therefore, according to the above rationale, to open a 'new' theme or a sub-argument, in the overall information macro-structure of the text. A bird's-eye view of the full text in the Appendix is enough to show that in fact this is exactly the case. Up to Sentence 13, the text exclusively discusses the Islamic view of education; hence sentences 10, 11, and 12 are fully dedicated to presenting the point of view of the proponents of this view. Sentence 13, however, shifts the text focus to the other extreme, viz. the view of the opponents of Islamic education, and hence marks the threshold of a new line of thought. Sentence 13 can be considered as a *topic-opener*. Together with the four

<sup>13</sup> What is somewhat unexpected, though, is the rather late occurrence of this sentence in the Arabic text, since topic sentences tend, at least in English, to occur earlier in texts. However, more Arabic texts need to be analysed before a generalization can be made about the typical position of 'topic sentences'.



subsequent sentences, it forms a text chunk, which represents an information package focusing on evaluating the Western view of education.

On the other hand, sentences which appear in Table 3 with a high first figure in their co-ordinates, but a low second figure, can be said to have the function of closing down a sub-theme of discussion in the text. Sentence 20, which has the co-ordinate of (3, 0), is a good example of this. It has three preceding sentences to which it is bonded, but it is not itself bonded to any subsequent sentences. Thus, it serves as the terminal point in a series of sentences, which form a text chunk of four bonded sentences. The series of Sentences 11 – 14 – 15 – 20 deals with the Western view of education; how it is adopted by most Islamic countries, and the result that this leads to as far as the quality of the students, which this educational system produces, is concerned. Sentence 20 thus draws the curtain down, as it were, by concluding this discussion. Sentences 21 and 22 in the original text (see the Appendix) do not in fact offer any new point of view in the argument; they serve only as an additional, after-thought comment. The use of the word-group *النتيجة هي* (the result is; consequently), at the beginning of Sentence 20, is itself another indicator of the concluding role it plays, since such a phrase is usually used to refer to the end 'result' or 'consequence' of what has already been mentioned before in the preceding text. It can thus be said that sentences with a high first figure in their co-ordinates and a low second figure typically serve as *topic-closing* sentences in text. It can also be generally concluded in this respect that the result of lexical cohesive analysis, as conducted in the present study can also help to identify both topic-opening sentences and topic-closing sentences in Arabic texts. This conclusion is supportive of Hoey's findings concerning the same phenomenon in English texts (p. 119).

### Concluding remarks

- (1) The present paper has demonstrated that the technique used by the British linguist Michael Hoey for the study and analysis of lexical cohesion in English texts is basically applicable to Arabic texts. A modified version of the above has been used for analysing and studying cohesion in a sample text in Arabic.
- (2) The above-mentioned lexical cohesive analysis has yielded a number of worthwhile findings: some already reported by Hoey for English texts, some not. The analysis has been able, for example, to distinguish between 'bonded' and 'unbonded', or 'marginal', sentences. Moreover, it has been able to distinguish between 'central' and 'non-central' sentences, as well as between 'topic-opening' and 'topic-closing' sentences. It has also produced alternative text abridgements. Such findings can certainly have implications for many language-related activities, such as reading comprehension, translation and interpretation and précis-writing, as well as for the field of language teaching and learning in general.
- (3) The present study has also shown that discovering the above-mentioned, different, cohesive roles, which sentences play, can yield a better understanding of the structure, texture and lexical patterns in text.
- (4) The above-mentioned classification of sentence cohesive roles in text has been

utilized in the paper, as has just been said above, for the production of some 'readable' and 'representative' abridgements of the sample text. Such alternative text abridgements, it has been found, can reduce a text to between 50% and 10% of its original size, while leaving behind a viable text summary.

- (5) Further studies are required to investigate lexical cohesion in text. Texts of various types and genres need to be analysed in Arabic, as well as in other languages, so as to shed more light on different lexical patterns and the role that lexis plays in text cohesion.
- (6) The conclusions drawn from analysing the sample data used in the present study are not conclusive; larger corpora must be analysed first. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the above 'tentative' conclusions will raise some meaningful, academic questions, as well as prove useful in stimulating further research in the field of Arabic text linguistics.

## Appendix<sup>14</sup>

- (1) استقبل العالم الاسلامي القرن الخامس عشر الهجري وهو متقل بما خلفته عهود التخلف والاستعمار من مشاكل سياسية واقتصادية واخلاقية وعقائدية.
- (2) وفي الوقت نفسه نشاهد يقظة عامة تشمل كل أجزاء العالم الاسلامي تقريبا ترافقها عزيمة أكيدة للنهوض واللاحق بركب الحضارة العصرية وتحقيق المستقبل الافضل على أسس اسلامية قوية وبروح متحفزة حركية.
- (3) ان تحقيق ذلك يتوقف على اختيار اتنا التربوية.
- (4) يقف المفكر الاسلامي في مجابهة هذا الموقف الجديد متسانلا" في حيرة وتأمل ما هو الهدف؟
- (5) وفي أي اتجاه نسير؟
- (6) شرقاً أم غرباً أم على الصراط المستقيم ؟
- (7) ما هي الوسيلة لبلوغ الهدف ؟
- (8) من الطبيعي أن تكون الأجوبة على هذه الأسئلة مختلفة من بلد اسلامي الى اخر إذ هناك آراء ونظريات متضاربة تسيطر على هذا البلد الاسلامي أو ذاك، فمن تمسك بأهداب الشريعة الاسلامية وتعاليمها الى العلمانية الى الالحاد.
- (9) وهذا مما يزيد في بلبلية الفكر التربوي الاسلامي ويعقد مشاكله.
- (10) ففي العالم الاسلامي اليوم من يرى أن التربية الاسلامية بصيغتها التقليدية وكما ورثناها بمحتواها وأساليبها هي ما يجب أن نعم.
- (11) وأن النظم الحديثة قد لا تضمن لنا تخريج علماء نقاة [sic] أو مواطنين شرفاء، انها تخرج أناسا يحملون شهادات تعطى بعد دراسات قد "تمزج السم بالدمسم".

<sup>14</sup> This is a copy of the analysed text. It comprises the first twenty-two sentences of an article entitled "Naḥwa tarbiya 'islāmiyya ṣāliḥa liẓamānina". The article was written by Muhammad Fadhil Al-Jamali and published in 1980 in the Tunisian journal *Al-Fikr*, 26 (4).

- (12) وقد تكون وبالا على مستقبل الأمة والوطن.
- (13) وهناك من يقول : أن التربية التقليدية بأساليبها البالية وبمحتواها المتحجر لا تصلح لزماننا فهو يرى اقتباس النظم التربوية من الشرق الشيوعي أو الغرب اللبرالي بعجزها وبجرها.
- (14) والتعليم الرسمي في العديد من البلاد الاسلامية يتأرجح بين النظرتين وفي الغالب تغطي عليه النظرة الثانية نظرة الاقتباس من الغرب.
- (15) فمعظم الدول الاسلامية اقتبست نظمها التربوية من الغرب وفيما اقتبسته الصالح والضار.
- (16) فيه ما هو صالح لزماننا وفيه ما هو بال وسقيم باعتراف الباحثين والمفكرين في البلد الذي اقتبست منه النظم المستوردة.
- (17) فما يقتبس من الخارج قد لا يلائم احتياجاتنا وظروفنا ومما يواخذ عليه النظام المقتبس هو عدم عنايته عناية كافية بالتكوين الديني والاخلاقي لناشئتنا.
- (18) كما أنه في التطبيق عندنا قد يعمل على "قولية" الطالب ويجر حريته وافكاره كما أنه قد يرهق الطالب بتعدد المواد النظرية الجافة المطلوب حفظها ببعثاً لغرض اجتياز الامتحان ونيل الشهادة.
- (19) كما أن التربية كما تمارس عندنا لا تعنى العناية الكافية بالاتصال بالحياة والواقع.
- (20) النتيجة هي أن الانظمة المعمول بها في العديد من الاقطار الاسلامية قد تخرج طلاباً اتكاليين لم يهيأوا للخوض في معترك الحياة.
- (21) انهم عالة على الدولة ينتظرون من الدولة أن تطعمهم وتكفل معاشهم بأقل ما يمكن من الجهد والتعب من قبلهم.
- (22) فتربيتهم المدرسية في الغالب تفصل بين العلم والعمل وبين الفكر واليد.

## References

- Bahiri, S. H. 1999. *Dirāsāt Luġawiyya Taṭbīqiyya*. Cairo: Zahra Bookshop.
- Bahiri, S. H. 1997. *'ilmu Luġati Nnaṣṣ*. Cairo: Dar Noubar.
- al-Batal, M.M.A. 1985. *The Cohesive Role of Connectives in a Modern Expository Arabic Text* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).
- de Beaugrande, R. & Dressler, W. 1981. *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. London: Longman.
- de Beaugrande, R. 1980. *Text, Discourse and Process: Toward a Multidisciplinary Science of Texts*. London: Longman.
- Ghazala, H. 1999. *'Al'uslūbiyyatu wal Ta'wīlu wal Ta'lim*. Riyadh: Yamama Foundation.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. & Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hoey, M. 1991. *Patterns of Lexis in Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnstone, B. 1991. *Repetition in Arabic Discourse*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- al-Khafaji, R. 2001. "Punctuation Marks in Original Arabic Texts". *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik*, 40: 7-24.
- Philips, M. 1985. *Aspects of Text Structure: An Investigation of the Lexical Organization of Text*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Salah, F. 1996. *Balāġat al-Ḥifāḍ wa 'ilmul Nnaṣṣ*. Cairo: Dar Noubar.
- Saleem, Ghazi F. 2000. *'alrawābiṭu Filkitābatil 'arabiyyatil Ḥadīṭa* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

- Williams, M. P. 1984. "A Problem of Cohesion" in Swales & Mustapha (eds.), *English for Special Purposes in the Arab World*. Birmingham: Language Studies Unit, University of Aston in Birmingham.
- Winter, E.O. 1986. "Clause Relations as Information Structure: Two Basic Text Structures in English" in Coulthard, M. (ed.), *Talking About Text: Studies Presented to David Brazil on his Retirement* (Discourse Analysis Monographs No. 13). Birmingham: English Language Research, University of Birmingham.

# Confining the guest labourers to the realm of the subaltern in modern literature from the Gulf<sup>1</sup>

Gail Ramsay  
Uppsala

## Background and theory

In this article, I shall study some initial steps in modern short-story and novelistic writing in the United Arab Emirates (the UAE) and the Sultanate of Oman (Oman). This literature is taking form in a post- and neocolonial society which is rapidly moving from a traditional Bedouin society to a modernized, urbanized and industrialized society in a globalized world.<sup>2</sup> I shall set out to explore how the ideas of national unity and identity, generated by the pressure and demands of rapid societal changes and processes of globalization, fix the expatriate, guest labourers in these countries in the realm of the subaltern in the texts. These stereotypically illustrated characters, as well their culture or, more precisely, the notion of their "non-culture", are the main topic of this article.

The UAE and Oman have covered a vast range of socio-economic changes and evolved from being void of the trappings of modern society to being saturated with the high-tech gadgets of the industrialized world, during a short time-span. The UAE emerged as a federation of six emirates in 1971 and seven emirates in 1972 and Oman is usually said to have been held back from modernization until July

<sup>1</sup> Some Arabs of the region reject the term Persian Gulf and prefer Arab or Arabian Gulf. I have therefore chosen to simply speak of the Gulf in this article.

<sup>2</sup> In this article, neocolonialism implies a situation in which the formerly colonized territory remains dependent, controlled by a global system of economic relations and intellectual practices and dependent on former colonizers to learn the organization of state and public administration (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, Cambridge, Mass. & London, Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 3. Cf. Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, Routledge, 1998, pp. 6–7). To use the words of Spivak: "We live in a post-colonial, neo-colonized world", as quoted by Peter Childs & R.J. Patrick Williams in *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*, Hemel Hempstead, Prentice Hall, 1997, p. 7, and further, "Territorial imperialism, in the offing then, has given place to neocolonialism and now globalization" (Spivak, 1999, p. 190).

In this article I draw on the definition of modernity given by Bruce Lawrence as connoting "the emergence of a new index of human life shaped, above all, by increasing bureaucratization and rationalization as well as technical capacities and global exchange unthinkable in the premodern era" (Lawrence, *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt Against the Modern Age*, London, I.B. Tauris, 1989, p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> This was the date when the then 30-year-old Qaboos ibn Said overthrew his father, Said ibn Taimur, whose conservatism and isolationism had seriously hampered the country's development in all major areas: economic, educational, infrastructural, political, technological, etc. As Carol J. Rhipenburg writes: "Sa'id ibn Taimur was an unusual personality, an arch-reactionary of great personal charm. He was opposed to any sort of change and attempted to isolate Oman from the modern world. ... He opposed education, which he saw as a threat to his power" (Rhipenburg, *Oman: Political Development in a Changing World*, Westport, Connecticut; London, Praeger, 1998, p. 45).

23rd, 1970.<sup>3</sup> In Hisham Sharabi's view they fit into the mould of neopatriarchies, superficially modernized, at the same time being ruled by traditional norms.<sup>4</sup>

The oil economy has necessitated a strong link between international commerce and capital and resulted in a rocketing increase of consumerism. All of this has led to a dependence on consuming Western products and close commercial trade relations with the West and the global economic community. In order to fill the gap between the required number of labourers and the existing individuals equipped to meet the needs of the expanding societies of the Gulf, vast numbers of expatriates have been invited to work in the Gulf states. This situation has brought about a skewed character of the demographic profile. Expatriate workers make up more than 50 per cent of the total population in the UAE (Anthony Cordesman proposes over 80 per cent) and more than 25 per cent of the population of Oman.<sup>5</sup> Both countries are vying with time to situate themselves on the map of the modern world as modern nation states and the foreign labourers are caught in the contradictory situation of being necessary as working hands and at the same time unwanted as national citizens. In fact, the Kuwaiti sociologist, Muhammad Rumaihi, expresses anxiety about the myth that the Gulf countries have inexhaustible wealth and that development can be imported wholesale in the form of equipment, contractors, technical experts and workers.<sup>6</sup>

Yūsuf ash-Shārūnī has elaborated on this situation by comparing the early Omani novel *ash-Shirā' al-kabīr* (The Great Sail) by 'Abd Allāh at-Ṭā'ī, which he finished shortly before his death in 1973 and which was published posthumously in 1981, and Sa'ūd al-Muẓaffar's novel *Rimāl wa-jalīd* (Sand and Ice), 1988.<sup>7</sup> These two novels, ash-Shārūnī proposes, reflect an important difference between the European colonization under the Portuguese, 1507–1650, and the post/neocolonial situation in which society has been flooded with Asian expatriates. The Portuguese never penetrated the Omani hinterland but clung to the long coastline and dominated seafaring and trade. Consequently, they did not dig their roots deep into the soil of the Gulf region spiritually, culturally or geographically and the marks of their presence on the exterior margins of the land were easily removed and left few, lasting, cultural impressions. The foreign labourers of the present, however, are intricately woven into Gulf society. They are employed as servants, cooks, drivers, secretaries, accountants and blue-collar workers and serve as nannies, nurses and wives, thus making up the indispensable base of society. "Therefore, this party is more dangerous than the Eu-

<sup>4</sup> Hisham Sharabi, *Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society*, New York & Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1988.

<sup>5</sup> Anh Nga Longva, "Keeping Migrant Workers in Check: The *Kafala* System in the Gulf", *Middle East Report* (211), 1999, pp. 20–2 (p. 20).

"Over 80% of the total work force ... is foreign, and 45% of it is Asian", according to Anthony H. Cordesman in *Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE: Challenges of Security*, Westview Press, 1997, pp. 137 and 335.

Consult Oman '99, Ministry of Information, Sultanate of Oman, pp. 275, and <http://www.dubai.com> and <http://www.khaleejtimes.com/handbook/population.htm> (Feb. 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Rumaihi, referring to *al-Sharq al-Awsat* (10 March 1980) in *Beyond Oil: Unity & Development in the Gulf*, London, Al Saqi Books, 1986, p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Michalak-Pikulska, *Modern Poetry and Prose of Oman: 1970–2000*, Craców, The Enigma Press, 2002, pp. 160–64, for a summary of and discussion on *ash-Shirā' al-kabīr*, by 'Abd Allāh at-Ṭā'ī.

ropean party, which never blended into the basic Omani fundament", concludes ash-Shārūnī.<sup>8</sup> Here, the theoretical basis for our understanding of the experience of the collective reader- and authorship is voiced through Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities". This experience reinforces the idea of the solidity of the Gulf communities in which is embedded and positioned the stereotypical character of the expatriate worker in the texts.<sup>9</sup>

According to the Emirati sociologist and literary scholar, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Muṭawwa' (henceforth al-Muṭawwa'), it is possible to speak of a literary reaction to the overwhelming influx of a vast number of foreigners, mostly from eastern Asia but also from Europe and the USA, to the Gulf countries.<sup>10</sup> As ash-Shārūnī succinctly remarks: "This Asian element is that which distinguishes Omani literature—perhaps Gulf literature generally".<sup>11</sup>

Al-Muṭawwa', who studied the situation of Gulf society being overwhelmed by guest workers from all over the world through the lens of contemporary UAE literature, found that the high percentage of foreign, guest labourers has influenced the emerging literature.<sup>12</sup> He concluded that several texts reflected bitterness and sometimes even opposition towards the foreign experts and workers, whether from eastern Asia or western Europe, who were pouring into the country. The reason for these negative sentiments was that the indigenous culture and identity of the nation were being threatened by the influx of expressions of foreign culture, it was thought.<sup>13</sup> In some cases, it was a question of focusing the searchlight on the plight of this large group, whose welfare lies in the hands of the Gulf employer. At other times, the opposite dilemma surfaced between the lines; the Gulf nationals felt themselves strangers in their own countries. The large community of guest labourers is erasing the Gulf features of their society, they fear. Al-Muṭawwa' exemplifies this by a dialogue between Salmān and his colleague 'Abd Allāh in the short story *Ṣarkha* (The Cry) by his compatriot, Nāṣir Jibrān. Here the burning question is where the "school of Arabization is located". The protagonist, 'Abd Allāh, bitterly concludes that "Arabization has vanished".<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Yūsuf ash-Shārūnī, *Fī al-adab al-'Umānī* (On Omani Literature), 2000, pp. 140–1 and 171–2.

<sup>9</sup> I here refer to Benedict Anderson's observations on the mechanisms of "print-capitalism", the relationship between large-scale publishing, a sense of national solidarity and the conjuring up of "imagined communities". Consult Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London & New York, Verso, 1999 (first impression, 1983), pp. 26–27.

<sup>10</sup> Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Muṭawwa', "al-'Ummāla al-wāfida, dirāsa sūsiyūlūjiyya li-l-qīṣṣa al-qāṣira fī al-Imārāt" (The Guest Workers: A Social Study of the Short Story in the Emirates), *Abḥāth al-multaqā ath-thānī li-l-kitābāt al-qīṣaṣiyya wa-r-riwā'iyya fī dawlat al-Imārāt al-'arabiyya al-muttaḥida*, 1989 (Proceedings of the Second Colloquium for Short-Story and Novelistic Writing in the United Arab Emirates, 1989), Vol. I, Sharjah, Emirates Writers' and Literates' Union, 1992, p. 77.

<sup>11</sup> Yūsuf ash-Shārūnī, 2000. *Fī al-adab al-'Umānī* (On Omani Literature), Cairo, Markaz al-ḥaḍāra al-'Arabiyya, p. 130.

<sup>12</sup> al-Muṭawwa', "al-'Ummāla al-wāfida, dirāsa sūsiyūlūjiyya li-l-qīṣṣa al-qāṣira fī al-Imārāt", 1992, p. 77.

<sup>13</sup> al-Muṭawwa', "Malāmiḥ at-taghayyur al-ijtimā'ī fī al-qīṣṣa al-qāṣira" (Traces of Social Change in the Short Story), *Nadwat al-adab fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī* (The Literary Seminar in the Arabian Gulf) 10–14 Jan. 1988, Vol. I, Sharjah, Emirates Writers' and Literates' Union, 1990, pp. 163–208 (p. 179), and "al-'Ummāla al-wāfida, dirāsa sūsiyūlūjiyya li-l-qīṣṣa al-qāṣira fī al-Imārāt", 1992, p. 75.

<sup>14</sup> al-Muṭawwa', "al-'Ummāla al-wāfida, dirāsa sūsiyūlūjiyya li-l-qīṣṣa al-qāṣira fī al-Imārāt", 1992, pp. 74–5.



"Nationalism", writes Alain Touraine, "has for 150 years been associated with the gulf that exists between the formation or defence of the nation and the workings of modern society."<sup>15</sup> Touraine's point is that the national idea, rather than constituting a meeting-place for dialogue and negotiation, tends to impose a unitary image. He describes the scenario as "a disoriented world that has been torn apart and divided into two universes", between which there is no communication in a common social field.<sup>16</sup> This reasoning is particularly relevant to the UAE, while Oman has historically had a more relaxed attitude to the existence of non-Arab communities.<sup>17</sup>

In this article, Homi K. Bhabha's contribution to my understanding of stereotypical fixation in colonial discourse and Touraine's analysis of the state of affairs in a society bewildered by modernization, globalization and nationalizing, as divided into "two universes" between which there is no communication, are central to my analysis of the expatriate workers and their emergence as the subaltern in the texts.<sup>18</sup> My notion of the expatriate subaltern is clarified by Mary Louise Pratt, who, in her research on Anders Sparrman's and William Paterson's accounts of their travels in southern Africa (1772–76), found that "Khoikhoi" servants were referred to simply as "Hottentots" and that all were interchangeable. She found that none was distinguished from another by a name or any other feature. Their *subaltern status* was taken for granted.<sup>19</sup>

I am aware that, in speaking about the Gulf, today, it is not a question of colonial discourse in the traditional sense of the word, designating a situation in which one power seeks to justify its forceful domination of peoples and regions outside its national domain. Nonetheless, there exists a parallel to what Touraine refers to as "demodernization" and which I have discussed above; two conflicting "cultures" working within one nation. The conflict entails living and acting in the culture of a global economy which calls for modernity, at the same time nurturing the quest for a national identity which produces an obsession with cultural purity, leading to "demodernization".<sup>20</sup> The area of conflict between modernization and its subsequent globalization, and that of "demodernization" with cultural purity in view, is the realm of the foreign workers.

Bhabha's perspective on colonial discourse with its inherent conflict between

<sup>15</sup> Alain Touraine, *Can We Live Together?*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2000, p. 209.

<sup>16</sup> Touraine, p. 59.

<sup>17</sup> As Carol J. Rhipenburg has pointed out: "Oman's population is heterogeneous, comprising an ethnic and religious mix attributable largely to a history of maritime trade, tribal migrations, and contacts with the outside world" (Rhipenburg, *Oman: Political Development in a Changing World*, 1998, p. 8).

<sup>18</sup> Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1994, p. 66, Touraine, *Can We Live Together?*, 2000, p. 59 and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson & Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), Urbana & Chicago, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1988, pp. 271–313.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London & New York, Routledge, 1992, p. 52.

<sup>20</sup> Touraine, *Can We Live Together?*, 2000, pp. 157–58. "Modernity is the medium which makes globalization possible", proposes Tord Larsen in "Den globale samtalen: Modernisering, representasjon og subjektkonstruksjon", *Ambivalens og fundamentalisme: Seks essays om kulturens globalisering*, ("The Global Discussion: Modernization, Representation and Construction of the Subject", *Ambivalence and Fundamentalism: Six Essays on the Globalization of Cultures*, Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Oscar Hemer (eds.), Oslo, Spartacus, 1999, p. 102).

dominator (colonialist/neocolonialist) and dominated (stereotyped colonized/neo-colonized) sheds further light on this "contact zone", to use Pratt's expression, in which nationals enjoying the benefits of neopatriarchal society and the expatriate subaltern are subjected to the mechanisms of "demodernizing".<sup>21</sup> The "... major discursive strategy" of "colonial discourse", explains Bhabha, was incessantly to let the identity of the colonial subject "vacillate between what is always in place, already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated ...".<sup>22</sup> To sum up, in the context of the "unitary image", as outlined by Touraine, one applies Bhaba's theory of the ambivalence of the identity of the stereotype in colonial discourse. Rather than the stereotypically projected Oriental or African of colonial literature in western discourse, it is a question of "stereotypization" triggered by the existence of vast numbers of foreign workers in the region, which surfaces in Gulf literature from the UAE and Oman.<sup>23</sup>

In the UAE, writers such as Muḥammad Al Murr, 'Alī Abū ar-Rīsh, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad and Nāṣir az-Zāhirī give voice to the marginalized and/or victimized Indian and Pakistani expatriates residing in the affluent society of these writers. Ra'fat as-Suwayrkī has treated the question of foreign workers and literature in the UAE. He found that the foreign workers epitomized the concept of the subaltern or, in other words, an ethnocentric view of the Other, in the short stories of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad. As-Suwayrkī found that some of his short stories institutionalized the character of the foreign worker as either dangerous and antagonistic or a subdued and poor outsider in a society bewildered by rapid changes and vast needs to meet these changes efficiently.<sup>24</sup> "The foreign workers are isolated in a framework of hostile glances from the residential groups. They are the ones on whom criminality and corruption and deviation are fixed. As a consequence, a hostile feeling has been created against these workers whose human reality has been blotted out", concluded as-Suwayrkī.<sup>25</sup>

### The guest labourers and the texts

In Muḥammad Al Murr's short story *Pepsi*, the stray camel, Pepsi, befriends a black foreign worker, Farḥān Sa'īd.<sup>26</sup> Farḥān, once the strongest among the men on an oil rig, becomes lame owing to an injury. He resorts to spending most of his time outside 'Abūd's grocery shop drinking alcoholic Cleopatra perfume. This tragic figure

<sup>21</sup> "... 'Contact zone' is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect" (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 1992, p. 7).

<sup>22</sup> Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1994, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1994, p. 66.

<sup>24</sup> Ra'fat as-Suwayrkī, "Al-baṭal al-munkasir, malāmiḥ an-numūdḥaj fī qīṣaṣ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad" (The Broken Hero: Characteristics from Examples in Short Stories by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad), *Nadwat al-Adab fī al-Khalīj al-'Arabī*, 10–14 Jan. 1988 (The Literary Seminary in the Arabian Gulf), Vol. I, Sharjah, Emirates Writers' and Literates' Union, 1990, pp. 11–62 (pp. 15 and 27–8).

<sup>25</sup> as-Suwayrkī, "Al-baṭal al-munkasir, malāmiḥ an-numūdḥaj fī qīṣaṣ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad", 1990, p. 27.

<sup>26</sup> Muḥammad Al Murr, *al-Bīṣī* (Pepsi) in *Shay' min al-ḥanān* (A Bit of Tenderness), 1992 (Vol. I), pp. 353–361, transl. Peter Clark, "Pepsi", 1991, pp. 17–22.

eventually comes to lead a poor but happy life as an outsider, in the midst of the wealthy Gulf society with his companion Pepsi, who likewise becomes lame after being hit by the young, reckless driver of an American car.

Such persons as Farḥān Saʿīd are often marginalized in Muḥammad Al Murr's stories and seldom hold prominent roles, as in *Pepsi*. In *Mutaʿ al-layl* (Pleasures of the Night), the protagonist stops his car at a café and sounds his horn, on which an Indian boy approaches the car and asks him what he wants to order.<sup>27</sup> In *Wāqifa wa-hiya tabtasimu* (Just Standing There Smiling), the protagonist, Ṣaqr, enters the elegant office complex of his wealthy comrade from days of long ago, Aḥmad ʿAbd Allāh. The white-collar staff at his company are Indians, Pakistanis and Arabs from other Arab countries. In the headquarters of the company, "which occupied three floors of the building, he [Ṣaqr] saw Indian accountants, Pakistani engineers and Arab secretaries".<sup>28</sup> When Jamīla in the story *ar-Riḥla al-muntaẓara* (The Long-Awaited Trip) has her first baby, a girl, she informs her mother-in-law that she is going to name the girl Ḥanān. "When her mother-in-law hears of this innocent, maternal wish she explodes with anger. ... 'Hanan is an absurd name which has been brought in with all these other strange new names'", she remarks. What may be referred to the author's sense of humour, is the fact that the name that the mother-in-law chooses for her granddaughter is today a more unusual and strange name—ʿAdhīja: "'She will be called Adhija after my late grand-mother'".<sup>29</sup> Buthayna in *Ziyāra* (The Visit) goes to the hospital with her mother to visit her friend Īmān, who has been operated on for appendicitis. Her mother curses the servants and her Pakistani driver who is three weeks overdue from his vacation. "On the way to the hospital Buthaina's mother abused all servants and drivers; her personal Pakistani driver was three weeks late in returning from annual leave, the dates of which she had specified to him quite clearly".<sup>30</sup> In *Khawf* (Fear), at a coffee shop, Sulṭān embarks on a discussion with his companions saying: "There's been an increase in frightful crimes." Ḥāmid, one of his companions around the table, thinks about his wife, alone at home in the flat, while Sulṭān rattles on: "Crime is on the up. Murder. Theft. Robbery. Forgery." To top it off, ʿAbd Allāh joins in the conversation asking: "Have you heard of the naked black robber who greases his body all over before raiding the houses he wants to rob?" ... Ḥāmid had visions of a naked black giant coated with grease ...".<sup>31</sup>

It is unnecessary to comment extensively on the examples given above. The vacillation between that which is known and evokes contempt (the odd, lazy, in-

<sup>27</sup> Al Murr, *Mutaʿ al-layl* (Pleasures of the Night) in *Ḥabūba* (Darling), 1992 (Vol. II), pp. 343–357, transl. Peter Clark, "Pleasures of the Night", 1991, pp. 23–34.

<sup>28</sup> Al Murr, *Wāqifa wa-hiya tabtasimu* (She is Standing and Smiling) in *Makān fī al-qalb* (A Place in the Heart), 1992 (Vol. III), p. 14, transl. Jack Briggs, "Just Standing There Smiling", 1994, p. 92.

<sup>29</sup> Al Murr, *ar-Riḥla al-muntaẓara* (The Awaited Trip) in *Qurrat al-ʿayn* (The Delight of the Eye), 1992 (Vol. III), pp. 161–70, transl. Clark, "The Long Awaited Trip", 1991, pp. 35–6.

<sup>30</sup> Al Murr, *Ziyāra* (A Visit) in *Makān fī al-qalb*, 1992 (Vol. III), p. 23, transl. Briggs, "The Visit", 1994, p. 107.

<sup>31</sup> Al Murr, *Khawf* (Fear) in *aṣ-Ṣawt an-nāʿim* (The Soft Voice), 1992 (Vol. III), pp. 347–53, transl. Clark, "Fear", 1991, pp. 121–4.

ferior, dangerous, unwanted, etc.) and that which must be kept in place (the required), to allude once again to Bhabha, is the manacle holding the foreign-worker stereotypes in their place of “demodernization”, where “cultural purity” is called for.<sup>32</sup> As Touraine would put it, they are unable to act as subjects; Touraine’s definition of subjectivization stipulates “... the individual’s right to live an individual life, to be different from others, and above all to be truly self-consistent ...”<sup>33</sup> The black worker Farḥān Saʿīd, once strong (required), now lame, injured and idle (inferior, unwanted) is happy and content to drink Cleopatra perfume in the company of his likewise lame (useless, unwanted) camel. Other black guest workers may express their frustration in the manner of the criminal (dangerous, unwanted) discussed around the coffee table. As far as Ṣaqr’s friend, Aḥmad ‘Abd Allāh, is concerned, he would not be able to run his enterprise without his Indian and Pakistani white-collar staff (inferior, required). The Pakistani driver of Buthayna’s mother-in-law is lazy or stupid or both (inferior, required). He may even be insincere. And the foreigners in *ar-Rihla al-muntaẓara* have strange names. In other words, they are odd.

As a final example of the ambivalent position of the expatriate stereotype in Muḥammad Al Murr’s stories, let us consider *Taht al-mirwaḥa* (Under the Fan).<sup>34</sup> The sentiments towards the Pakistani worker, Yāsīn, pull in opposite directions. Yāsīn wishes to get married and to this end asks if he can borrow 15 thousand dirhams from the company in which he works and which is owned and run by two brothers, Khalfān and Aḥmad, who, we assume, are UAE nationals. While Khalfān scorns and belittles the Pakistani for even thinking such a stupid thought, Aḥmad agrees to guarantee the loan for him, thus persuading his brother to let him have the money. When their driver is dispatched to Yāsīn to summon him to the managerial office to be told about this new turn of events, he finds that the Pakistani has hanged himself from the fan on the ceiling of his room. This figure exposes the opposites battling against each other around the character of the foreign worker. The one brother, Khalfān, projects suspicion and contempt, and the other, Aḥmad, takes a pragmatic stance and expresses sympathy and pity for a fellow man. To both, he is perceived as “the foreign worker”. About this story, al-Muṭawwaʿ concluded that the contrasting views on the foreigners and their lifestyle in the Gulf are epitomized in each brother respectively, the one taking a humane stance of pity, while the other sets the foreigner on the level of the beasts.<sup>35</sup> The expatriate worker is set in the mode of the subaltern, reduced to an inventory in the cultural sphere of “demodernization”, whichever perspective we choose.

In the short story *Damʿat Marwān* (Marwān’s Teardrop), by the Omani author Muḥammad al-Yaḥiyāʿī, the situation is portrayed from the opposite angle. The story’s protagonist, Muḥammad, an Omani national and a writer with a modest income, has been evicted from his home because an Indian man has the means to pay twice as much for the same residence. His son, Marwān, with tears in his eyes, asks

<sup>32</sup> Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1994, p. 66.

<sup>33</sup> Touraine, *Can We Live Together?*, 2000, p. 65.

<sup>34</sup> Al Murr, *Taht al-mirwaḥa* (Under the Fan) in *Ḥabūba*, 1992 (Vol. II), pp. 323–32.

<sup>35</sup> al-Muṭawwaʿ, “al-ʿUmmāla al-wāfida, dirāsa sūsiyūlūjiyya li-l-qīṣṣa al-qāṣira fi al-Imārāt”, 1992, pp. 72–3.

his father to bring him to their home unaware that his father "owns no home in his own country".<sup>36</sup>

In *Dam'at Marwān* an Indian is able to pay double the sum of the Arab protagonist. Historically, Indians have settled in Oman at least since the sixteenth century. Owing to the success of Hindu merchants, they have sometimes encountered hostility in the region. In other words, the story contains a critical comment on the well-off, financial situation which the Hindu community has enjoyed traditionally in the past. This situation has not been entirely eroded even by the new laws giving preference to Omani nationals that have been implemented since Sultan Qaboos' coming to power in 1970.<sup>37</sup> In fact, although Sultan Qaboos is at present implementing a program of "Omanization", which is reflected in Oman's 1996–2000 Five-Year Plan, indications point to Oman having a large number of foreigners performing unskilled labour. The rate of Omanization is also low for skilled manual workers and skilled office workers and white-collar jobs are over-staffed.<sup>38</sup>

Whether the individual belongs to the indigenous, Omani Hindu community or is an expatriate expert, the fact remains that his income is higher than that of the Arab, who consequently must give up his home on a market where the prize goes to the highest bidder. The author suffers at the tears of his son and his pleas to take him to their home; he feels humiliated because his income is lower than that of the Indian man. On the one hand, then, a central problem is that of the new demands to make a career and gain a high income and status, all of which are familiar to the western reader, which have been imposed by the oil era and modern, urban ways of life. On the other hand, it is a reflection of an Arab or Bedouin question of dignity and shame, of humiliation in the face of a successful Indian, maybe even an expatriate.

In some short stories from the UAE, the diction is coloured by distorted spelling, grammatical mistakes and mispronunciations, all of which form a literary technique which has become institutionalized, as representing the large group of expatriates and themes related to their affairs. One particular sign which denotes an immigrant worker is his or her pronunciation of Arabic. This is true for texts by Al Murr as well as by other authors. In the waiting-room of a hospital, in *ad-Dubb al-mūsīqī* (The Musical Bear), a little boy appears, lost and without his parents. He cries at the top of his voice, nobody being able to quiet him. A Filipino nurse tries to calm him down and speaks to him in broken Arabic: "habībī, habībī—where are your parents?", she says, using a Latin *h*, instead of saying *ḥabībī*, *ḥabībī* with the Semitic *ḥ* which is foreign to her.<sup>39</sup> This marker makes it unnecessary for the writer to point out explicitly that the speaker is not a Gulf national.

In Nāṣir az-Zāhirī's short story *Ittihād, Kalij, Bayān*, included in his short-story collection *Inda-mā tudfanu an-nakhīl* (When the Date-Palm is buried), already the title speaks about a foreign element in the national Gulf-setting.<sup>40</sup> "Ittihād" and

<sup>36</sup> Muḥammad al-Yaḥiyā'ī, *Yawma nafaḍat Khazīna al-ghubār 'an manāmati-hā* (The Day that Khazīna Shook the Dust off her Nightgown), Beirut, Dār al-Fārābī, 1998, p. 27.

<sup>37</sup> Rippenburg, *Oman: Political Development in a Changing World*, 1998, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Cordesman, *Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE: Challenges of Security*, 1997, p. 140.

<sup>39</sup> Al-Murr, *ad-Dubb al-mūsīqī*, in *Qur'at al-ayn, al-A'māl al-qīṣā'iyya*, 1992 (Vol. III), p. 138.

<sup>40</sup> Nāṣir az-Zāhirī, *Ittihād, Kalij, Bayān* in *Inda-mā tudfanu an-nakhīl*, 1990, pp. 5–12.



"Kalīj" are the faulty pronunciations of the titles of the daily papers *al-Ittiḥād* and *al-Khalīj*. The protagonist, 'Abd ar-Raḥīm, is a newspaper vendor from Kerala, India, who rides his bicycle among the large, shiny cars as they stop for red lights, in order to sell daily papers and magazines. His call to the drivers constitutes the names of the three main dailies. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm feels forlorn and lonely in this foreign and "cold city", as he writes home to his wife, telling her that he would rather be with her and his two daughters. The tragedy and irony of the story are that he never makes it home—he is run over by a car at a stop light.

When 'Alī Abū ar-Rīsh wrote his novel, *Nāfidhat al-junūn* (Window of Madness) in 1994, his pessimistic view of humanity and life generally, and the ways of the metropolis especially, included the situation of Indian foreigners trying to make their livings in the Gulf. When an Indian man approaches the protagonist, Sa'īd, the Indian expresses his concerns and anxiety in broken Arabic: "Māmā fī mūt, anā yirīd tikīt, yirūḥ bilād", meaning something like "Mother is dead, I want a ticket to go to my country". At this, the protagonist is moved but does not feel inclined to help him. "The poor man wants a *tikīt*, but what will he do with this *tikīt* ... hundreds of thousands die every day in this world, using their tickets, going away and never returning ...".<sup>41</sup>

Distorted Arabic, as an instrument by which to convey subalternity has been treated by Badr 'Abd al-Malik, who exemplifies this by the story *'Abbār* (Ferryman) by the Emirati woman author Maryam Jum'a Faraj. In this story, a non-Arabic girl, Narjis, who is the wife of the ferryman, tells him that he is ugly. To underline this fact, she yells at him "qird shabīh", by which she means to say: "You resemble an ape". The correct way of expressing this would be "shabīh qird", as observed by 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>42</sup>

In all of these works from the UAE, the expatriates' inability to speak correct Arabic constitutes a hallmark of their inferiority and difference.

## Concluding remarks

It is at present possible to speak of the existence a modern literature, anchored in and impressed by its societal context, in the UAE and Oman. There is no doubt that the immense changes that have taken place in UAE society since the oil boom of the 1970s have during the last three decades left impressions on the literature. Adjusting to the global, urbanized life of the metropolis and a society inundated with new technology has occasioned a rapid transformation, which has violently overturned the pre-oil, societal arrangements of life. To meet the demands of this situation the working hands of expatriate labourers are called for.

The influx of foreign experts and workers from eastern Asia, the West and other Arab states has given the developing literature of the region unique characteristics.

<sup>41</sup> 'Alī Abū ar-Rīsh, *Nāfidhat al-Junūn* (Window of Madness), Abu Dhabi, 1994, p. 104.

<sup>42</sup> 'Abd al-Malik, p. 136. It is in the version of the story which appears in *Kullu-nā, kullu-nā, kullu-nā nuḥibbu al-baḥr*, 1992, p. 144, that we find this wording. In the original version, included in Maryam Jum'a Faraj's short-story collection, *Fayrūz*, 1988, pp. 13–17, the wording is "qird, shā'ib", meaning "ape, grey-haired", p. 15.

We found that the expatriates in the texts studied here were located to the "contact zone", where they were depicted stereotypically and held in place as the subaltern in an "imagined Gulf community".

In terms of Touraine's reasoning, the foreign workers are unable to construct themselves as subjects; they are reduced to an inventory and firmly locked in the cultural sphere of "demodernization". This emphasizes the fact that the foreign guest-workers are necessary as working hands; essential to the running of the daily affairs and services of Gulf societies and their individual citizens. At the same time, they constitute a threat to what is thought to be indigenous Gulf culture. This makes them unwanted as Gulf nationals. It was this point of social and cultural ambivalence which we noted in the stories discussed above.

In Al Murr's stories from the UAE, the expatriate emerged in the shape of a stereotypical character, whose existence was at all times limited to the sphere of subalternity. In whatever direction this character turned, he was kept in position, ambivalently wavering between being unwanted and inferior, on the one hand, and required, on the other.

In al-Yaḥiyā'ī's short story, the Indian character had the upper hand economically. He was able to purchase the home of the Omani national. This fact did not change his status in the "contact zone". On the contrary, he emerged as unwanted, lacking in culture and an impostor. This positioned him in the realm of the subaltern, as a threat to Arab culture and dignity.

The texts confirm Spivak's proposal that "The subaltern cannot speak".<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", 1988, p. 311.



# “Forget Baghdad!”: The clash of literary narratives among Iraqi-Jews in Israel

Reuven Snir  
Haifa

## 1. Introduction

In the wake of the modernization and Westernisation of the Middle East and North Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century, the barriers between Jewish communities and the society around them began gradually to fall. Jews, particularly in Egypt and Iraq, began to interact in the political, social and economic life of their countries, as well as in intellectual life, culture, literature and art. In Iraq from a desire to integrate themselves into the surrounding society as Arabs of Jewish origin, Jewish educational institutions emphasized instruction in the Arabic language and its heritage. Arabic was not just a “decisive fact of life”;<sup>1</sup> rather, there was also a motivation to demonstrate excellence in it and in the Arab culture which “has penetrated to our blood”.<sup>2</sup> It is no wonder then that, more than once, the fluent Arabic style of the Jews was deemed superior to the average among their non-Jewish counterparts.<sup>3</sup> From the Syrian educator ‘Alī al-Ṭanṭāwī (1909–1999), we learn that the excellence of the Jewish students in Arabic provoked one school administration to “guarantee the good of the homeland, and behave towards the Jews as they deserve”. Thus, it was decided to integrate instruction in literature with instruction in the Muslim religion, but even this did not prevent the Jews’ excelling in the new curriculum.<sup>4</sup> It was not at all a desire to abandon Judaism, but a consequence of the deep belief that there was no contradiction between the Jews’ adherence to their religion and being citizens, with equal rights and responsibilities, in the Iraqi home-

<sup>1</sup> Ishāq Bar-Moshe, *Bayt fī Baghdād* [A House in Baghdad], Jerusalem: Rābiṭat al-Jāmi‘iyyīn al-Yahūd al-Nāziḥīn min al-‘Irāq, 1983, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Salmān Darwish, *Kull Shay’ Hādi’ fī al-‘Iyāda* [All Quiet in the Surgery] Jerusalem: Rābiṭat al-Jāmi‘iyyīn al-Yahūd al-Nāziḥīn min al-‘Irāq, 1981, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Abd al-Ilāh Aḥmad, *Nash’at al-Qiṣṣa wa-Taṭwwuruhā fī al-‘Irāq 1908–1939* [The Rise of the Short Story and its Development in Iraq 1908–1939], Baghdad: Maṭba‘at Shafīq, 1969, p. 242. Cf. Shmuel Moreh, “The Intellectual Production of Iraqi Jews in the Arabic Language” [Hebrew] in Jacob Mansour (ed.), *Meqqarim be-‘Aravit uve-Islam* [Arabic and Islamic Studies], Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1978, II, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> See *al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ* (London), 24 May 1984, p. 10. Cf. a similar case in Syria in which a Muslim journalist stunned to discover that Jewish students excelled in Arabic examinations (Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times*, Philadelphia & New York, The Jewish Publication Society, 1991, p. 280.) On a similar phenomenon in Egypt, see Sasson Somekh, “Lost Voices: Jewish Authors in Modern Arabic Literature”, in Mark R. Cohen & Abraham L. Udovitch (eds.), *Jews Among Arabs: Contacts and Boundaries*, Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1989, p. 14. In the 1940’s, prominent Muslim intellectuals were teaching Arabic language and literature in Jewish schools in Iraq. Cf. D. Semah, “Mīr Baṣrī and the Resurgence of Modern Iraqi Literature” [Arabic], *al-Karmil*, 10 (1989), p. 86.

land. Their cultural vision was inspired by the eloquent dictum "Religion is for God, the Fatherland is for everyone",<sup>5</sup> and the reality in which they lived and worked was one of close symbiotic contact with the wider, Arab, Muslim culture. For most of them, their Arab identity was uppermost—they were "Arab Jews" or "Arabs of the Jewish faith".<sup>6</sup> On 18 July 1921, one month before his coronation as the King of Iraq, the Amir Fayṣal (1883–1933) declared before the Jewish community leaders that "in the terminology of patriotism, there is nothing called Jews, Muslims, and Christians. There is simply one thing called Iraq [...] I am asking all the Iraqi children of my homeland to be nothing but Iraqis, because we all belong to one origin and one tree, the tree of our ancestor Shem, and all of us are related to the Semitic root, and in that there is no distinction between Muslim, Christian, and Jew".<sup>7</sup> Jewish writing in literary Arabic (*fuṣṣḥā*) began in the first decade of the twentieth century, predominantly in journalism which developed as a result of the liberalization in the Ottoman Empire after the revolution of July 1908, and as a result of secularisation and modern education in the local community. Arabic belles-lettres among the Jews flourished from the beginning of the 1920s.<sup>8</sup>

As an organic and vital part of Iraqi society, the Jews were numbered in the front rank of the intelligentsia. Pioneers of modernization and Westernisation, they even participated in the National Arab Movement,<sup>9</sup> all in the belief that the Jewish community in Iraq would endure "to the days of the Messiah".<sup>10</sup> Little did they foresee

<sup>5</sup> Anwar Shā'ul, *Qisṣat Hayātī fī Wādī al-Rāfidayn* [*The Story of My life in Mesopotamia*], Jerusalem: Rābiṭat al-Jāmi'iyyin al-Yahūd al-Nāziḥin min al-'Irāq, 1980, pp. 119 and 223; Darwīsh, *Kull Shya'*, 1981, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> Semah, "Mir Baṣrī", pp. 88–89.

<sup>7</sup> The original text was first published in *al-'Irāq*, 19 July 1921. The translation is, according to Mir Baṣrī, *A'lām al-Yahūd fī al-'Irāq al-Ḥadīth* [*Eminent Jewish Personalities in the New Iraq*], Jerusalem: Rābiṭat al-Jāmi'iyyin al-Yahūd al-Nāziḥin min al-'Irāq, 1993, II, p. 9. For a slightly different translation, see Philip Willard Ireland, *'Iraq: A Study in Political Development*, New York: Russell & Russell, 1970 [1937], p. 466. Cf. D.B.E. Bell, *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, London: Ernest Benn, 1930, p. 495; M.H. Mudhi, *The Origin and Development of the Iraqi-Jewish Short Story from 1922–1972*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Exeter, 1988, p. 21; Stillman, *The Jews*, 1991, pp. 55–56 and 260.

<sup>8</sup> On the Arabic literature of the Iraqi Jews, see my articles "Cultural Changes as Reflected in Literature—The Beginning of the Arabic Short Story by Jewish Authors in Iraq" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim—Studies in Oriental Jewry* 36 (1988), pp. 108–129; " 'We Were Like Those Who Dream': Iraqi-Jewish Writers in Israel in the 1950's", *Prooftexts* 11 (1991), pp. 153–173; " 'Under the Patronage of Muḥammad': Islamic Motifs in the Poetry of Jewish Writers from Iraq" [Hebrew], in T. Alexander *et al.* (eds.), *History and Creativity in the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Communities* [Hebrew], Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1994, pp. 161–193; "Jewish-Muslim Relations in the Literature and Periodicals of Iraqi Jewry" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim—Studies in Oriental Jewry* 63 (Spring 1995), pp. 32–33; "Arabic Literature of Iraqi Jews—The Dynamics of the Jewish Cultural System and the Relationship with the Arabic Cultural System" [Hebrew], *Miqqedem Umiyyam* 6 (1995), pp. 255–288; "Women in the Arabic Belles-Lettres of Iraqi Jewry in the 20th Century" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim—Studies in Oriental Jewry* 82 (Winter 2000), pp. 119–149; "Iraqi Jewry after 1945—Literature, History and Historiography" [Hebrew], *Miqqedem Umiyyam* 7 (2000), pp. 245–271; " 'My Heart Beats with Love of the Arabs': Iraqi Jews Writing in Arabic in the Twentieth Century", *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 1, 2 (2002), 182–203.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Dafna Zimhoni, "The Beginnings of Modernization among the Jews of Iraq in the Nineteenth Century until 1914" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim—Studies in Oriental Jewry* 36 (1988), p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Shalom Darwīsh, "Relations between Communal Institutions and the Hehalutz Underground Movement in Baghdad" [Hebrew], in Zvi Yehuda (ed.), *Mi-Bavel li-Yrushalayim* [*From Babylon to Jerusalem*], Tel Aviv: Iraqi Jews' Traditional Cultural Centre, 1980, p. 83. Cf. Sammi Michael, *Hofen shel 'Arafel* [*A Handful of Fog*], Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1979, p. 77.

at the time that political developments in Palestine would abruptly foreshorten Messianic hopes for that community. After King Faysal's death in 1933 and following the escalation of the national conflict in Palestine, the Jewish community had to walk a fine line. The distinctions made by early Arab nationalists between Jewish religion and political Zionism began to blur, especially after 1936, with the infiltration of Nazi propaganda and when Iraqi support for the Palestinians coalesced with pan-Arab foreign policy. As Iraqi foreign policy publicly adopted the Palestinian Arab, the definition of Arabism became ever more narrow and excluded Jews. Because in Palestine religious and political identification were blurred and no matter how vociferously their loyalty as Iraqi Arabs and denials of Zionist partisanship were expressed, the Jews became targets of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. The *Farhūd* in Baghdad in June 1941, when more than one hundred and fifty Jews were killed and Jewish property was looted, led to an obfuscation of the Jews' role in Iraqi society by implying doubts about their loyalty. These events caused a shift in their thinking and pushed Jews, especially the young men, whether as a committed way of struggle or as a kind of escapism, into joining liberal opposition groups, particularly the Zionist movement and the Communist underground. While the former struggled for the establishment of an independent state for the Jews, the latter struggled against the corrupt, dictatorial regime and for equal rights for all minorities in Iraq. It goes without saying that the Communist underground also struggled against Zionism; several of its Jewish members even founded in 1946 the magazine *al-'Uṣṣa* (The League), the organ of the "League for the Struggle against Zionism".<sup>11</sup> With the outbreak of the World War, this underground strengthened, and Jews joined it "out of feelings of Iraqi patriotism"<sup>12</sup> and the belief that Communism was the only force capable of withstanding Nazism. "From a small, childish, one-dimensional framework", this underground grew in strength into "a tidal wave".<sup>13</sup> According to details based on Iraqi criminal files,<sup>14</sup> the number of Jews who joined the Communist Party in the 1940s was 245; with the exception of a few, they were from Baghdad and the great majority joined the party in 1946. Not a few were at the time still students and among them there were also females.

Following the war in Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel, many Jewish Iraqi poets, writers, journalists and intellectuals emigrated to the Jewish state,<sup>15</sup> while a much smaller number decided to seek their future in the West.<sup>16</sup> Only

<sup>11</sup> Shmuel Moreh, *Hibure Yehudim ba-Lashon ha-'Aravit* [Arabic Works by Jewish Writers], Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1973, p. 111.

<sup>12</sup> Semah's letter in *Maariv*, 26 January 1989.

<sup>13</sup> According to Sammi Michael; *ba-Mamahane*, 22 March 1989, p. 23. On Jewish Communist activity in Iraq, see Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements in Iraq*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 650–651, 699–701 and 1190–1192; Abbas Shibli, *The Lure of Zion, The Case of the Iraqi Jews*, London: Saqi Books, 1986, p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> Fā'il al-Barāk, *al-Madārīs al-Yahūdiyya wa-l-Īrāniyya fī al-'Irāq*, Baghdad: al-Dār al-'Arabiyya, 1985, pp. 245–252.

<sup>15</sup> On the Jewish-Iraqi emigration to Israel, its causes and motives, see Mudhi, *The Origin and Development*, pp. 58–91.

<sup>16</sup> One of them is Naim Kattan (Na'im Qaṭṭān) (b. 1928), who left Baghdad for Paris and then for Canada. Kattan published an autobiographical novel on his life in Iraq, *Adieu Babylone* (Montréal: Julliard, 1975), which was also published in English and Arabic translations: *Farewell, Babylon* (trad. by S. Fischman),

a few chose to stay in Iraq. The present article presents the development of the political Zionist/Communist rivalry among the Jews in Iraq in the 1940s into the Zionist/Communist Arabic literary debate in Israel in the 1950s and then into the Zionist/Post-Zionist Hebrew literary debate in the 1960s-1980s.

## 2. Zionist/Communist Arabic Literary Debate

The Jewish intellectuals who ended up in the 1950s in Israel faced very harsh material conditions and difficulties in adapting to a new society. They underwent an "experience of shock and uprooting", and in these conditions "it became difficult to think about literature".<sup>17</sup> Among the Iraqi Jewish emigrants who continued writing in Arabic, it was soon possible to discern two groups parallel to the dominant trends among the Palestinian minority: those who preferred to be active under the Establishment<sup>18</sup> aegis and those who joined the Communist Party.

Several literary organs were at the disposal of the writers who were close to the Establishment, such as the newspaper *al-Yawm* (established 1948, closed in 1968),<sup>19</sup> the weekly *Ḥaqīqat al-Amr* (first issue on 24 March 1937 and closed in 1959)<sup>20</sup> and the monthly *al-Mujtama'* (established 1954 and closed in 1959).<sup>21</sup> The last-mentioned was founded by the Palestinian poet Mīshīl Iskandar Ḥaddād (1919–1997), who in 1955 initiated, under the inspiration of the Establishment, the "Association of Arabic Language Poets", whose elected head was the Jewish poet and jurist Salīm Sha'shū'a (born 1926).<sup>22</sup> The Association published a collection of selected

New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1980; *Wadā'an Bābil* (trad. by Ādam Fathī), Cologne: Al-Kamel Verlag, 1999. On Kattan and his work, see *al-Ḥayāt* (London), 11 November 1994, p. 16; *The Scribe* 66 (September 1996), p. 34; E. Benson & W. Toye, *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 588–589.

<sup>17</sup> According to Sasson Somekh (b. 1933), in *Iton* 77, January–February 1988, p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> I use "Establishment" advisedly. In as much as political establishment is based not on merit but on power, so cultural and literary establishment refers not just to literary and cultural elements within the community but to the power relations that structure it. It is that hegemonic group in a society's culture that has succeeded in establishing its interpretative authority over all other cultural groups, that is, a minority group of individuals within society, such as major critics and scholars, editors of literary periodicals, publishers, major educators, etc., who from the sociocultural point of view are acknowledged as superior in some sense and who influence or control most segments of culture. Although the people-in-the-culture share in the process of defining the sociocultural distinctions, it is the above cultural, literary and critical élite which has the decisive role in that process (cf. Reuven Snir, "Synchronic and Diachronic Dynamics in Modern Arabic Literature," in S. Ballas and R. Snir, *Studies in Canonical and Popular Arabic Literature*, Toronto: York Press, 1998, p. 93). In Israel, the cultural and literary Establishment closely parallels the hegemonic Zionist structure of the state itself, in that the canonical centre which "dictates" the prevailing features of Israeli culture is predominantly Ashkenazi and Western-oriented.

<sup>19</sup> Moreh, *Hibure Yehudim*, p. 118.

<sup>20</sup> Moreh, *Hibure Yehudim*, p. 106. It was replaced by *al-Hadaf* (1960–1962) (Ibid, pp. 117–118).

<sup>21</sup> Shmuel Moreh, *Bibliography of Arabic Books and Periodicals Published in Israel 1948–1972*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1974, p. 104.

<sup>22</sup> On Sha'shū'a and his work, see Abraham Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel be-Eretz Yisrael me-ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonot 'ad ha-Yom* [The Jews of Iraq in the Land of Israel from the First Emigrations till Today], Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1980, p. 436; J. S. Meisami and P. Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, II, pp. 708–709; Shmuel Moreh and Maḥmūd 'Abbāsī, *Tarājīm wa-Āthār fī al-Adab al-'Arabī fī Isrā'īl 1948–1986* [Biographies and Bibliographies in Arabic Literature in Israel 1948–1986], Jerusalem & Shfaram: Dār al-Mashriq, 1987, pp. 117–119.

poems by seventeen poets, among them four Jews.<sup>23</sup> The Histadrut (The General Workers' Organization) played at the time an important role in the encouragement of the Establishment's activities within the Palestinian minority during these years, especially with regard to the cultivation of "positive" literature by means of prizes and literary competitions, as well as through the "Arab Book Fund" acting under the aegis of the Histadrut.<sup>24</sup> While the Arabic literature of the emigrant Jews dealt with the yearning for peace and "Jewish-Arab brotherhood",<sup>25</sup> it did not include any criticism of government policy towards the Palestinian minority; rather it was steeped in Zionist pride and permeated with Israeli patriotism. Similarly, it avoided dealing with controversial problems, such as the way in which Arab Jews were absorbed into Israel. Instead of that, it dealt with traditional themes, such as male and female relations, as well as universal questions of existence.

One of the prominent figures among the writers close to the Establishment at the time was the above Salīm Sha'shū'a, whose volume of poetry *Fī 'Ālam al-Nūr* (In the World of Light, 1959) represents them well. The book's title reflects the character of the poems, which praise the exodus from the dark Iraqi exile to the light of redemption in Israel while underscoring the dichotomy between the wretchedness of the past and the joyous life of the present. The author makes in his poems no criticism, not even allusive, of the Establishment, or any protest at social, economic or political conditions. The reverse is true. Notwithstanding the difficult problems of absorption of the new immigrants, and the severe problems of the Palestinian minority, the poet gives an idyllic picture of a paradise on earth in the Israel of the 1950s. This gave the book's critics their pretext for a scathing treatment.<sup>26</sup> Its national patriotism is clearly expressed in the dedication of the volume to the then President of the State, Yitzḥak Ben Zvi (1884–1963), whose picture figures alongside the dedication, above the following lines of verse:

From the pearls of my poetry, your exalted glory, I made these verses,  
And interwove them with stories of the heritage of fathers and sons.  
Now I present them to you today as a hymn to your honour,  
Behold the bounty of my feeling, transformed to poetry by love.

Conforming to the custom of the medieval Arab court poets, who glorified and praised their patrons, and like one who felt the rush of history's wings above his head, Sha'shū'a composed the following rhetorical introduction to his volume:

My brother the Reader! In this land in which hands labour, brains strive and thoughts grow weary. In this land, in which ideas are distinguished like rays of the sun and thoughts

<sup>23</sup> *Alwān min Shi'r al-'Arabiyya fī Isra'īl* [Selections of Arabic Poetry in Israel], Nazareth: Maṭba'at al-Hakīm, 1955.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, *Fī Mahrajān al-Adab* [In the Festival of Literature], Tel Aviv: Maṭba'at Davar, 1959, which was published by the Fund and contained works which earned prizes in the literary competitions of the Histadrut in 1958. Eliyahu Agasi's introduction to the book illustrates the efforts to produce "positive" literature.

<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that, while in Iraq Arab cultural and national identity encompassed Jews, side by side with Muslims and Christians, in Israel since the 1950s the Jewish identity has become in itself a cultural and national identity. Thus, the natural, Iraqi hybrid Jewish-Arab identity turned, because of the political conflict, into the sharp dichotomy of Jewish versus Arab.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, *al-Jadīd*, July 1958, pp. 23–24.



sparkle like moons, the tree of Knowledge blooms, Wisdom spreads her pleasant scents and spirituality bursts forth, East meets West and the Idea crystallizes in Form. The West discovers and the East invents a new and astounding world. The dawn rises, the sun shines and its rays break forth in a world of light. In this new world, in which gardens are overgrown and orchards bloom, where ten years ago was arid desert, Man stands today and reveres his fellow Man. Man who sows, Man who builds, Man who thinks, this Man before whom Nature is no obstacle to the realization of his desires. Here you will find us working and creating in Israel, where the Pen creates, the paintbrush is productive and the scalpel [of the sculptor] makes wonders! I stood and harkened, my eyes full of this beauty, the plains, the hills and the valleys. The beauty of the good earth! The beauty of hands which create! The beauty of brains which invent! I sense this beauty at every moment and in every place I look and in which I take pleasure. It is no wonder, then, that here, willingly or unwillingly, I have sought my inspiration for my poems—these very poems which I have written in the world of light, while I walk in the columns of that Arab-Jewish brotherhood which strives for peace and love between our two peoples under Hebrew and Arab skies. Perhaps you will find something pleasing among these poems placed before you to endear to you that noble brotherhood which spreads across Israel. I hopefully await the day when you and I shall triumph over the thorns which may perhaps stand in the path of our brotherhood and pursuit of peace, so that we may live together in a world of light.<sup>27</sup>

Phrases on the meeting of East and West, the flowering of the desert, the blossoming of the new state, Jewish-Arab brotherhood and the yearning for peace, all the while absolutely ignoring the severe problems of the new Israeli society. Sha'shū'a is satisfied with a vague reference to the thorns which "may perhaps (*sic!*) stand in the path of our brotherhood and pursuit of peace". This was generally the emphasis in the literary writing of the Iraqi authors that were close to the Establishment, with great praise for the accomplishments of the State "whose flowering land is flowing with milk and honey".<sup>28</sup> Not a scrap of criticism of the authorities was seen in their writing.

The leftist Jewish writers worked within the framework of the Communist Party, whose Palestinian intellectuals had not abandoned Israel following 1948. The Establishment ban on Communist writers, Jews and Palestinians, inspired the above "Association of Arabic Language Poets" to refuse to collaborate with them.<sup>29</sup> The journals of the two camps were fiercely competitive, but the Communist ones stood out for their quality and wide circulation, particularly *al-Ittiḥād* (The Union), established in 1944, and *al-Jadīd* (The New), established in 1953.<sup>30</sup> They did not hesitate to deal with subjects considered taboo by the Establishment press, which the Palestinians perceived as the trumpet of the ruling party, Mapay, even attributing to it hatred of Arabs.<sup>31</sup> Unlike the writers who were supported by the Establishment, a thematic preoccupation with political and social problems was dominant in the

<sup>27</sup> Salim Sha'shū'a, *Fī 'Ālam al-Nir*, Nazareth: Maṭba'at al-Ḥakīm, 1959, pp. 7–8.

<sup>28</sup> From a poem by Zakkay Binyāmīn Ḥārīn (b. 1927), which earned the third prize in the 1958 competition (*Fī Mahrajān al-Adab*, pp. 106–107).

<sup>29</sup> See *al-Jadīd*, December 1955, pp. 40–43.

<sup>30</sup> Other Communist journals of the time were *al-Ghad* (The Tomorrow) (established in 1954) and *al-Darb* (The Road) (1951–1969). On these journals and others, see Moreh, *Bibliography of Arabic Books*, pp. 91–110.

<sup>31</sup> See Reuven Snir, "A Wound of his Own Wounds"—Palestinian Arabic Literature in Israel" [Hebrew], *Alpayim* 2 (1990), pp. 249–253.



Communists' writing. It was also possible to discern in their work a significant poetic difference: while the writers close to the Establishment clung strictly to the conservative Arabic poetics, especially the traditional norms of the *qaṣīda*, the Communists were already in the early 1950s inclined towards the modernism of the "free verse" (*al-shi'r al-ḥurr*),<sup>32</sup> despite the fact that this new poetics had hardly been digested by Palestinian poets in Israel. The Jewish poets had already absorbed this modernist poetics in Iraq, where it had first flourished and where it was also identified with Communist writers, such as Badr Shākīr al-Sayyāb (1926–1964).<sup>33</sup>

The immigration to Israel did not chill the fervour of the Communist Jewish writers for their ideology. A short memoir by Nājī Shā'ūl published in *al-Jadīd* in 1955 expressed that fervour; he described an enthusiastic festival held by Communist prisoners in the Iraqi prison of Naqrat al-Salmān in 1952 to commemorate the October Revolution, ending with the hymn of the Iraqi Communist party calling on the masses "to liberate Iraq and crush the tyrants".<sup>34</sup> Reading the text in Israel in the 1950s, it was not possible to ignore the evident analogy alluded to by the author between Iraq and Israel and to draw the necessary conclusions. The Communist, Iraqi-Jewish, emigrant writers devoted all their literary energies to the intellectual struggle, focusing their attention on three central concerns: the manner in which new Arab-Jewish immigrants were absorbed; the inequality between them and the Ashkenazi residents; and the fate of the local Palestinian minority. The world view presented in their works was based on a clear dualism between the oppressive rulers and the oppressed masses, the belief that social justice is a necessary condition for peace between peoples, and the hope for a better tomorrow. The literary activity of two young poets, Sasson Somekh (b. 1933)<sup>35</sup> and David Semah (1933–1996),<sup>36</sup> may illustrate this facet of anti-Establishment writing in the 1950s. After immigrating to Israel in 1951 without knowing Hebrew at all, they responded to *al-Jadīd*'s call to encourage local Arabic literature by founding the "Club of the Friends of Arabic Literature in Israel", which later became the "Hebrew-Arabic Literary Club".<sup>37</sup> The club, whose activity encompassed the transit camps (*ma'abarot*) for the immigrants as well, set itself the goal of becoming a "bridge between Hebrew and Arabic literatures", while working for mutual understanding, "despite the borders of blood-letting".<sup>38</sup> Not without hesitations regarding the fundamental dilemmas of the lan-

<sup>32</sup> The essential concept of which entails reliance on the free repetition of the basic unit of conventional prosody i.e., the use of an irregular number of a single foot (*tafīla*), instead of a fixed number of feet. The poet varies the number of those feet in a single line according to need.

<sup>33</sup> Shmuel Moreh, *Modern Arabic Poetry*, Leiden: Brill, 1976, pp. 267–268. On the acquaintance of Somekh, for example, with al-Sayyāb, see *al-Anbā'* (weekly supplement), 10 December 1982, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> See *al-Jadīd*, November 1955, pp. 39–41.

<sup>35</sup> On Somekh and his work, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel*, pp. 388–390; Itzhak Bezalel, *Kitve Sofrim Yehudim Sfaradiyim bi-Lshonot Yehudiyot ve-Zarot* [*The Writings of Sephardic and Oriental Jewish Authors in Languages Other than Hebrew*], Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University & the Ministry of Education and Culture, I, p. 299; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, pp. 109–111.

<sup>36</sup> On Semah and his work, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel*, pp. 436–437; Bezalel, *Kitve Sofrim Yehudim*, p. 304; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, pp. 137–138.

<sup>37</sup> See *al-Jadīd*, March 1954, pp. 54–55. On the club's activities, see *al-Jadīd*, January 1956, p. 54; February 1956, p. 16.

<sup>38</sup> *Al-Jadīd*, November 1954, p. 45. Cf. *al-Jadīd*, February 1956, p. 16. See also Somekh's words in *al-Anbā'* (weekly supplement), 10 December 1982, p. 4.

guage of literature and the target audience,<sup>39</sup> the club helped to bring to the local Arabic readers—Jews and Palestinians—news of what was happening in Arabic, Hebrew and world literature, as well as specific topics from Arab history.<sup>40</sup> The work of Somekh, Semah and their colleagues was characterized by protest, in the form of solidarity gatherings, against the Establishment, and for equal rights and social justice.<sup>41</sup> Their work was a sensitive seismic register of Palestinian minority sentiment in Israel, and occasionally an expression of its collective conscience in the shadow of the military administration's restrictions and political censorship.

Semah's poem *Sawfa Ya'ūdu* ("He Shall Return") was, for example, one of the first poems to be written in Arabic about the massacre of scores of innocent Palestinian men and women at Kafr Qasim on 29 October 1956.<sup>42</sup> As in S. Tchernichovski's poem, "The Rabbi's Daughter and Her Mother",<sup>43</sup> the poet chose to represent the tragic events in the form of a poetic dialogue between a mother and her daughter on the father who has been killed. The poet connects the national misery of the minority with its social and economic woes, as the death of the patriarch, only by his being a Palestinian, has brought the family to the threshold of hunger. The daughter is stunned by the knowledge that her father "will never return" and, in order to calm her, the mother confronts her with the certainty of the future redemption and with a vision of sweeping revolution, "Striking oppression and oppressors/ Those who steal the bread of the hungry". The revolution, according to the mother's vision, will bring a total change of the existing order, and it is described in standard Communist terminology: the masses, the workers, the red flag, the struggle against social oppression, the crushing of oppressors and shedders of blood, and the call to the proletariat, who "have nothing to lose", to storm the old regime. The allusion is to the concluding words of Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*: "The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains".<sup>44</sup> A new era will follow the removal of in-

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, *al-Jadīd*, November 1954, pp. 45–46; and also Somekh's words in *Iton* 77, January–February 1988, p. 32; as well as Sammi Michael in *Yedi'ot Aḥronoth*, 15 February 1985, p. 20; and *Iton* 77, July–August 1985, p. 50.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, in *al-Jadīd*, Semah's articles in April 1956, pp. 6–10; January 1959, pp. 22–27; November 1959, pp. 27–32; as well as Ballas' surveys in January 1956, pp. 16–18; March 1956, pp. 23–26; and translation of poetry by Semah in February 1956, p. 14 and Sammi Michael's article in December 1955, pp. 35–39.

<sup>41</sup> Such as, for example, Semah's participation in the solidarity gathering with the Algerian people (*al-Jadīd*, April 1958, pp. 51–55). The poems he recited there were included in his collection *Ḥattā Yajī' al-Rabī'* [*Till Spring Comes*], Tel Aviv: al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥadītha, 1959, pp. 13–16 and 49–50.

<sup>42</sup> It was completed, according to Semah, approximately two weeks after the massacre. The poem was published for the first time in *al-Ittiḥād*, 31, December 1956 and was included later with slight revisions in Semah's above collection (pp. 41–45). In January 1957, *al-Jadīd* published literary reactions to the massacre, among them a poem by the Palestinian poet, Tawfiq Zayyād (1932–1994), which he claimed to have been written on 3 November 1956 (see Abraham Yinnon, "Tawfiq Zayyād: We Are the Majority Here" [Hebrew], in A. Layish, *Ha-'Aravim be-Yisrael—Retsifut U-Tmura* [*The Arabs in Israel—Continuity and Change*], Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1981, p. 238).

<sup>43</sup> Saul Tchernichovski, *Shirim* [Poems], Jerusalem & Tel Aviv, 1950, pp. 736–737. Semah was then very fond of Tchernichovski's poetry much more than Bialik's (conversations with Semah, 2 May and 6 and 14 June 1989).

<sup>44</sup> Somekh concluded one of his poems in memory of the October Revolution with similar words (*al-Jadīd*, November 1959, pp. 48–49).

justice and then "Even your father might return/A bouquet of roses in his hand/To anoint our souls with fragrance".

Semah's poem represents one facet of the literary activism of the leftist Jewish writers—an immediate reaction of protest, chiefly in poetry, to what struck them as injustice towards the Palestinian minority. Another facet of their work is the great longing for a utopia of social justice and peace among peoples, such as we find in a poem which Semah dedicated to Somekh and the latter's response.<sup>45</sup> The editorial board of *al-Jadīd* introduced the two poems with the following words:

The love for life under the protection of peace has inspired, and continues to inspire, the most tender feelings and the sweetest hopes. This love has moved two poets to speak in the form of poetic debate. One of them saw the poem of peace "in the tranquil heart," while the other saw it in "the hearts seared by the awful pain." But they both join forces in immortalizing their love for peace and for those who labour towards it.

Semah's poem, *Laḥn al-Salām* ("Song of Peace"), not only presents a dualism on the realistic level of good and bad, but also a clear distinction, on the meta-poetic level, between the poetry of those bearing grudges and animus and true poetry. Somekh responded with a poem called *Tilka al-Qulūb* ("These Hearts"), using as its motto Semah's lines "But your poem dwells in the tranquil heart/Sung by the lips of spring". Somekh rejects the idea that his poem dwells in a tranquil heart: how is it possible to know tranquillity, when everywhere one sees just hunger, oppression and misery? Both poems convey a world view whose universality rejects the narrow confines of nationalism and preaches equality of rights for all peoples, and justice and equality in all human societies. The two poems, on the surface contradictory, actually complement one another. Semah's poem was written out of a naive pacifism, while his friend tries to rouse him from his innocent naivety.

In both literary trends, the sharp, black-versus-white dichotomy was striking. For those close to the Establishment, this dichotomy had a nationalist character; it contrasted the dark past of a minority degraded in exile with the joyous present of Jewish independence in the homeland. For the Communists, the dichotomy was social and universal, between a dark present filled with oppression and a utopian future ruled by justice, which did not prevent nostalgic allusions to their past in Iraq from appearing in their work. The difference in world view can be seen in the concept of "spring" so frequently used by both sides. According to the Zionist writers, their hopes had been realized in the Jewish, independent Israel of the 1950s, as we find in the first two words of Salīm Sha'shū'a's first poem in the collection *The World of Light*, "The spring has arrived".<sup>46</sup> In contrast, the struggle was still in full force for the Communist writers, and their eyes gazed towards the future "Till Spring Comes", as is seen from the title of Semah's collection *Ḥattā Yajī' al-Rabī'* (Till

<sup>45</sup> The two poems were published in *al-Jadīd*, March 1954, pp. 18–19. They were reprinted with some changes in Semah's above collection (pp. 83–8; see also Moreh, *Hashira*, pp. 105–107). On the poems, see also Nabīh al-Qāsim, *al-Ḥaraka al-Shi'riyya al-Filasṭīniyya fī Bilādīnā* [The Poetic Movement in Our Country] (Kufr Qara': Dār al-Hudā, 2003), pp. 125–128.

<sup>46</sup> Sha'shū'a, *Fī*, p. 9.

Spring Comes) (1959). All the Jewish writers in Arabic in the 1950s preached coexistence, peace and brotherhood and believed in their realization. But while this belief arose among the Zionist writers in the wake of the victory of the Jews, it emerged among the leftist writers from a sense of sympathy with the defeated side. The Palestinian leaders of the Communist Party liked to emphasize the obligations of Arabic literature in Israel to "carry the banner of Jewish-Arab brotherhood", in the words of the writer Emīl Ḥabībī (1921–1996) in 1954. They stressed Jewish-Arab cooperation not only in times past, such as in al-Andalus, but also in the present and in the future, as they also praised the contribution of Jewish writers to Arabic literature.<sup>47</sup> Given a reality in which one culture seeks to maintain its dominance over the other, the radiant image of Andalusian tripartite religious coexistence appears in the works of Jewish authors writing in Arabic,<sup>48</sup> where we can find an allusion to the famous lines of the Andalusian Ṣūfī Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (1164–1240) in *Tarjūmān al-Ashwāq* (The Translator of Desires):

My heart is capable of every form, a pasture for gazelles, and a cloister for monks,  
A place for idols, and the pilgrim's *Ka'ba*, the Tables of the Torah, and the Koran.  
Love is the faith I hold wherever turn its camels, love is my belief and faith.<sup>49</sup>

These famous lines, which express, above all, the oneness of the mystical experiences of all religions, have evoked other interpretations that find here "the 'tolerance' of the mystic",<sup>50</sup> but Jewish writers in Arabic, as well as Palestinian poets in Israel who have gone through the formal, Israeli, educational system, generally view them as calling for cooperation between the three monotheistic religions.<sup>51</sup>

### 3. Zionist/Post-Zionist Hebrew Literary Debate:

Since the 1960s, most Iraqi-Jewish writers and poets who have emigrated to Israel over the years have completely severed themselves from any creative activities.<sup>52</sup> Only a few have insisted on remaining true to their cultural origins and continued to write in Arabic. Among them, I can mention two writers who began publishing only in the 1970s, though their books found hardly any readership inside or outside Is-

<sup>47</sup> *Al-Jadīd*, January 1954, p. 42. Quoted also by Nabīh al-Qāsim, *Dirasāt fī al-Adab al-Filasṭīnī al-Maḥallī* [Studies in Local Palestinian Literature], Acre: Dār al-Aswār, n.d., pp. 24–25. Cf. the editorial in *al-Jadīd*, November 1954, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> For example, Salīm Sha'shū'a, al-ʿAṣr al-Dhahabī: *Ṣafahāt min al-Ta'āwun al-Yahūdī al-ʿArabī fī al-Andalus* [The Golden Age: Pages of Cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Andalusia], Tel Aviv: Dār al-Mashriq, 1979.

<sup>49</sup> Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Tarjūmān al-Ashwāq*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1966, pp. 43–44. The translation is by Annemarie Schimmel, *As Through a Veil, Mystical Poetry in Islam*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 38–39, with some corrections.

<sup>50</sup> Schimmel, *As Through a Veil*, p. 38.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, *Mifgash* 3 (May 1968), p. 287; Jūrj Najīb Khalīl, *Al-Shi'r al-ʿArabī fī Khidmat al-Salām*, Tel Aviv: Dār al-Nashr al-ʿArabī, 1967, pp. 75–76.

<sup>52</sup> On the general issue of the interactions of Hebrew and Arabic literature and the involvement of Iraqi Jewish writers in these interactions, see Reuven Snir, "Intersecting Circles between Hebrew and Arabic Literature" [Hebrew], in Yosef Tobi (ed.), *ʿEver and ʿArav: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, Tel Aviv: Afikim, 1998, pp. 177–210.

rael: Ishāq Bar-Moshe (1927–2003)<sup>53</sup> and Samīr Naqqāsh (1938–2004).<sup>54</sup> Soon they realized that they were working in a void and that their voices lost, a fact regretted today even by Muslim and Christian authors.<sup>55</sup> The following words of Samīr Naqqāsh epitomize the feeling of the Jewish writers still writing in Arabic: “I don’t exist in this country [Israel], not as a writer, a citizen nor human being. I don’t feel that I belong anywhere, not since my roots were torn from the ground [in Iraq]”.<sup>56</sup> The gradual abandonment of Arabic literature by Jews has opened a new controversy regarding the cultural preferences of Israeli society. The great dilemma which began hovering in the air was whether Arab culture could be regarded as a “correct” source of inspiration for the Israeli new Hebrew culture. In this regard, the new emigrant writers from Iraq faced the question of the choice of language: on the one hand, their mother tongue was Arabic, on arriving in Israel, most of them even did not know Hebrew; on the other hand, the language of the new state is Hebrew, the language of Zionism, while Arabic is the language of the enemy. A direct line leads from the Iraqi Jewish writers, who wrote in Arabic in the 1950s, to those writing in Hebrew since the 1960s. Nevertheless, following the consolidation of the Zionist narrative, it is no wonder that we find some of the Communist Jewish writers moving into the Zionist camp. The most prominent of them is Sami Michael (Sāmī Mikhā’il) (b. 1926),<sup>57</sup> whose transition to writing in Hebrew illustrates his “crossing of lines”, leaving behind the Communist ideology.

Most emigrant Iraqi writers who succeeded in adapting themselves to writing in

<sup>53</sup> On Ishāq Bār-Moshe and his work, see Shmuel Moreh, “The Individual Nature of Ishāq Bār Moshe’s Stories” [Arabic], *al-Sharq*, April–May 1975, pp. 43–58; Shmuel Moreh, *Short Stories by Jewish Writers from Iraq*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1981, pp. 233–236; Mudhi, *The Origin and Development*, pp. 365–403.

<sup>54</sup> On Samīr Naqqāsh and his work, see Moreh, *Short Stories*, pp. 251–254; Mudhi, *The Origin and Development*, pp. 404–458; David Semah, “The Iraqi Novel of Samīr Naqqāsh” [Hebrew], *Naharde’a* 7 (1989), pp. 21–22; ‘Izz al-Dīn Sarmad, “The Period I Lived in Baghdad was All My Life: An Interview with Samīr Naqqāsh” (Arabic), *al-Thaqāfa al-Jadida* (Cairo), May–June 2000, pp. 134–142.

<sup>55</sup> The Lebanese writer and critic Ilyās Khūrī (Elias Khoury) (b. 1948) considers the “Jewish-Arab voice” a central voice in Arab culture and therefore, its loss has been a great loss for that culture (interview with Anton Shammās in *Yediot Ahronoth*, 7 Days, 15 March 2002, p. 60). It is ironical that, about six years before, Ilyās Khūrī himself threatened to walk out of the hall during a conference on Arabic literature in Carthage when the Israeli writer Sami Michael (b. 1926), himself an Arab-Jew in origin, was preparing to come up on the stage to give his lecture. Michael’s anger was expressed in an essay with an ironical title: “Shylock in Carthage”, *The Jewish Quarterly*, Winter 1994/5, pp. 71–72. Under the title “The Experience of Oriental Jews in Israel: Have We Lost for Ever the Jews of Iraq?”, the Jordanian writer Ibrāhīm Gharāyiba laments the failure of the Arabs to have the Arab Jews, especially the Iraqis, as an integral part of Arab society and culture (*al-Hayāt*, 25 July 2002, p. 25). The article appeared in an English translation in *The Scribe, the Journal of Babylonian Jewry*, published by the Jewish Exilarch’s Foundation in London, Vol. 72 [September 1999], p. 25. However, the translation omits some sentences in which the writer tries to convince the reader that the above failure has only served Israeli and Zionist aggression against the Arabs.

<sup>56</sup> Nancy E. Berg, *Exile from Exile—Israeli Writers from Iraq*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> On Michael and his work, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel*, pp. 411; Moreh, *Short Stories*, pp. 221–232; Bezalel, *Kitve Sofrim Yehudim*, p. 294; Moreh and ‘Abbāsī, pp. 226–227; *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Centre in Cairo* 16 (May 1992), pp. 47–50; Sorrel Kerbel (ed.), *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*, New York & London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003, pp. 373–374.



Hebrew adopted the Zionist narrative. The path which Elī 'Amīr (b. 1937)<sup>58</sup> took after emigrating from Baghdad to Israel in 1950 reflects the adaptation to such narrative by those writers. 'Amīr was sent with his family—parents and seven children—to settle in a cloth tent in a transit camp (*ma'abarah*). Although he had finished eight classes in Baghdad, he was sent to learn in the fourth class: "The Ashkenazim thought that we had just come down from the trees".<sup>59</sup> Finally he was sent to get his education in the Mishmar Ha-Emek kibbutz, which he was later to describe as "the most important and decisive" experience of his life.<sup>60</sup> Occupying positions in the Ministry of Absorption and serving as emissary of the Sepharadi Federation in the USA, he was subsequently appointed director-general of *Aliyat Ha-Noar*, the Youth Immigration Section of the Jewish Agency, later to become part of the Ministry of Education. This Zionist path, in which 'Amīr, as a young *oleh ḥadash* (new immigrant), came to be in charge of the fate of young immigrants, induced him to adopt the master Zionist narrative which considers Jewish exodus from Iraq as a new exodus of the Sons of Israel.

Arab culture has been an integral part of 'Amīr's background; he even majored in Arabic language and literature in the Hebrew University. Yet he did not write in Arabic, though in recent years he has been showing his talent as traditional *ḥakawātī* (story-teller) in televised Arabic programs. He made his literary debut in the middle of the 1970s with part of his memoirs entitled *Tarnegol Kappara* (Fowl of Atonement) included in a reader for students (edited by A. Shatal). Eight years later, it became the nucleus for his first quasi-autobiographical novel with the slightly different title *Tarnegol Kapparot* (Fowl of Atonements) (1983).<sup>61</sup> Described as "casually turning a flashlight into a dark corner of a field and catching the eyes of a ferocious beast",<sup>62</sup> the novel immediately proved to be one of the Hebrew best-sellers of the 1980s and was published in 18 editions (70,000 copies) with a popular televised adaptation by Dan Wolman. The protagonist Nuri, a young boy of Iraqi origin, was sent from the *ma'abarah* to get his education in Kiryat Oranim, a kibbutz in the Jezreel Valley established by Polish pioneers. In the struggle to become one of "them"—the arrogant, Ashkenazi aristocrat Sabra youth ("the regionals"), Nuri's experience epitomizes the conflict between East and West, and between the original values of the Arab-Jewish immigrants and the Ashkenazi values forced upon them. As he came to the kibbutz accompanied by "the whole of Jewish Baghdad", Nuri was reassuring himself that the painful process through which he acquired his new identity did not come on at the expense of his original identity. 'Amīr considers the novel as "settling account with myself and with Zionism",<sup>63</sup> but Zionist narrative

<sup>58</sup> On 'Amīr and his work, see Berg, *Exile from Exile*, pp. 391–394; R. Snir, "Baghdad My Beloved City" [Hebrew], *Ha'aretz*, 23 April 1993, pp. B9; R. Snir, "Zionism as Reflected in the Arabic and Hebrew Belles-Lettres of Iraqi Jewry" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim—Studies in Oriental Jewry* 73 (Autumn 1997), pp. 128–146; Kerbel, *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 42–43.

<sup>59</sup> *The Jerusalem Post Magazine*, 18 March 1988, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Ha'aretz*, 8 February 1985, p. 16.

<sup>61</sup> Translated by D. Bilu as *Scapegoat*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1988.

<sup>62</sup> *The Jerusalem Post*, 11 March 1988, p. 15.

<sup>63</sup> *Ba-Ma'racha* [Hebrew], 281 (March 1984), pp. 12–13.



dominates it and the fate of Nuri is dictated by Ashkenazi Western values. Surprisingly enough, immigrants from Ethiopia and Russia found in the novel an expression of their own agonies of uprooting and immigration. The writer Aharon Megged (b. 1920) says that the novel is "one of the significant treasures of Jewish culture, like the stories of the Jewish villages in Poland and Russia".<sup>64</sup>

Strongly coloured by a kind of "invented tradition",<sup>65</sup> the core of 'Amīr's second novel *Mafriach Ha-Yonim* (The Pigeonneer; English title on the inside cover, Farewell, Baghdad) (1993) is the desire of the Iraqi Jews to return to their ancient homeland. Referring to the relationship of past to present, 'Amīr says "it is a mixture that can hardly be returned into its original components ... I told my story through my anxiety about the fate of Israeli society".<sup>66</sup> The panoramic novel, a kind of *Bildungsroman* based on the author's childhood in Iraq in the 1940s, is related through the eyes of the protagonist Kabi Imari while he was attaining puberty. Highlighting the historical events on the eve of the mass immigration, it depicts the complicated relationship of the Jews with their Muslim neighbours and is steeped in sensual descriptions touching in rich language on almost every corner of the cultural Arab-Jewish life in the colourful and exotic streets and alleys of Baghdad. "When writing this Hebrew novel", 'Amīr recalls, "I imagined myself listening with one ear to my father telling it to me in Arabic".<sup>67</sup> Described as "one of the most important achievements of Hebrew literature in recent years",<sup>68</sup> the novel is populated by dynamic figures reflecting the diversity of characters in an *Arabian Nights* Baghdad. The events of the plot are flavoured with the music of the Egyptian singer and composer Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1901–1991) and the Jewish singer Salīma Murād Bāsha (1905–1974), as well as with erotic belly-dancing by the dancer Bahiyya, seductive prostitutes, adventurous sailing on the river, summer nights on the roofs, rich cousins, smells of spices and sexual dreams of the adolescent narrator whose fantasies include Rashelle, his uncle's wife, the teacher Sylvia, and Amīra, Abu Edwar's daughter, who was to end, like him, in a kibbutz. "Within the rich and the varied social mosaic of the novel, each character represents a type, a trait and also a particular way of approaching the national and existential questions raised".<sup>69</sup> However, not surprisingly, one may have doubts concerning the reliability of the figure of the Communist teacher, Salīm Afandī, presented as a *carpe diem* hedonist, while all the evidence proves that the Communist option was no less popular at the time than the Zionist one. Asked why he returned to his childhood only in his second novel, 'Amīr replies that "the confrontation with the figure of the father was difficult", especially against the background of the collapse of his own father following

<sup>64</sup> Yediot Ahronoth, 19 March 1993, p. 27.

<sup>65</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992; Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 [1983].

<sup>66</sup> *Ba-Ma'racha* [Hebrew], 281 (March 1984), p. 12.

<sup>67</sup> Personal communication, 23 May 2000. The novel will soon appear in an Arabic translation.

<sup>68</sup> *Moznayin*, February–March 1993, p. 70.

<sup>69</sup> *Moznayin*, February–March 1993, p. 69.

the immigration.<sup>70</sup> While in Iraq Kabi's father, Salman, was dreaming of growing rice in the Hula Valley in northern Israel but soon after he kissed the sacred soil of the "promised land", his dreams were shattered on the rock of reality. Unlike him, the mother, Umm Kabi, who was opposed to the emigration, shows a marvellous ability to adjust. Still, the disappointment is mingled with a gleam of hope—the birth of his first Sabra son is presented by the implied author as signifying a first step in a new start. In a personal communication, 'Amīr reveals that he is in the process of writing a sequel which will complete a trilogy corresponding to the well-known, Cairo trilogy of the Egyptian novelist Najīb Maḥfīz (b. 1911), whom he greatly admires as expressed in his essay on their meeting in Cairo.<sup>71</sup> This trilogy will cover what he describes as "the Via Dolorosa of being an Israeli and devoting myself to this society".<sup>72</sup>

Meanwhile, 'Amīr surprised his readers with a third novel *Ahavat Shaul* (Shaul's Love) (1998), departing from his own fictionalised experiences and the autobiographical *alter egos* Nuri and Kabi. Appealing to Israeli mainstream readers, it touches on the Ashkenazim, the Sephardim of the Old Yishuv, Arab Jews, the Israeli army and the Holocaust, in addition to a plot which has a clear tendency to imitate popular soap operas. One critic wrote that "'Amir compensates his heroes and readers with plenty of tasty food, sexual encounters steeped in fresh Hebrew songs, tours which are full of love of the land, and praises of the gathering of the Jewish immigrants".<sup>73</sup> Also noteworthy in the novel is the implied author's clear outlook regarding the territorial price that Israel should pay for peace in the Middle East.

Propagating the central myths of Zionism—the kibbutz, the *Aliya*, and the Israeli army—'Amīr has been considered since the mid-1990s as one of the established, canonical, Hebrew writers. "The Pigeonneer" was even published in a shortened version for youth (by Rina Tsdaka) to be part of the Israeli Hebrew school curricula. 'Amīr's novels are steeped in awareness of the injustice done to the Arab Jews, but at the same time they refer to the mitigating circumstances under which the Zionist vision was carried out. The founders of the kibbutz themselves had rebelled against their original culture with the aim of "overturning the pyramid", as Dolek, in charge of the fertilizer section in "Fowl of Atonements", puts it. Dolek himself had abandoned his doctoral studies in physics. 'Amīr himself expresses his appreciation of the way in which the kibbutz absorbed the newcomers and the values it represents. "No other immigrant society in the modern era has registered", says 'Amīr, "a comparable success or social revolution in absorbing nearly two million immigrants, in difficult economic conditions and while fighting five wars".<sup>74</sup> Attempting to bridge

<sup>70</sup> *Yediot Ahronoth*, 19 March 1993, p. 27. Alluding to the manner in which the new Jewish immigrants from Arab countries were absorbed in Israel in the 1950s, 'Amīr focuses his protest on the dwarfing of the figure of the father in the eyes of his children, which "brings you to want revenge" (*Ha'aretz*, 8 February 1985, p. 16; *Maariv*, 25 April 1989, p. B9).

<sup>71</sup> *Yediot Ahronoth*, 3 December 1999, p. 26.

<sup>72</sup> Israeli Radio, 16 February 1991.

<sup>73</sup> *Yediot Ahronoth*, 20 February 1998, p. 28.

<sup>74</sup> *The Jerusalem Post Magazine*, 18 March 1988, p. 4.

between East and West, 'Amīr is trying in his novels to fulfil Jacques Derrida's ideal, "to speak the other's language without renouncing his own".<sup>75</sup> Yet, more than any other author of Iraqi origin, his writings illustrate the adoption of Zionist master narrative.

Unlike 'Amīr, Shimon Ballas (b. 1930) was among the very few of those Iraqi Jews who succeeded in adapting themselves to writing in Hebrew while still adhering to the Arab cultural preference within the Israeli culture.<sup>76</sup> "I am an Arab Jew", says Shimon Ballas, "I write in Hebrew, and I belong here. This does not mean, however, that I have given up my cultural origins, and my cultural origins are Arab".<sup>77</sup> Born as "a Jew by chance", in his words, in the Christian quarter of Baghdad, Ballas grew up to adopt a secular, cosmopolitan, world view. He was educated at the Alliance School, where he mastered Arabic and French; the latter was his window to world literature. He even attributes his membership of the Communist Party, when he was sixteen, as being prompted by reading in French Jack London's *The Iron Heel*. Yet Arabic literature, especially by Gibran Khalil Gibran (1883–1931) and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973), proved to be his major inspiration. In Iraq, besides publishing essays on movies and translations, he wrote short stories and even a detective novel—*al-Jarīma al-Ghāmīḍa* (The Mysterious Crime). However he burned them—which he was later to greatly rue<sup>78</sup>—before immigrating to Israel.

Ballas' immigration to Israel in 1951 was by no means motivated by Zionism. His first preference was France and he had even been chosen for a scholarship to study in the Sorbonne, but this dream was to materialize only about twenty years later, when Paris became for him a second home. In Israel the transit camp (*ma'abarah*) experience and his Communist activities were to inspire his literary production. Joining the Communist Party, he served for six years as editor for Arab Affairs of the Party's Hebrew organ, *Kol Ha'am* (The Voice of the People) and began to publish Arabic short stories. In one of them, *Uḥibbu al-Ḥayāt* (I Love Life),<sup>79</sup> although he is facing deprivation of the very means of living, the protagonist does not give up his principles. After leaving the Party in 1961, he devoted himself to literary writing, academic research and translation. His major scholarly study, *La littérature arabe et le conflit au proche-orient (1948–1973)* (Paris: Édition Anthropos, 1980) was based on his Ph.D. thesis written in the Sorbonne, and then translated into Arabic and Hebrew. He has also published an anthology of Palestinian stories in Hebrew translation (1969), served as Head of the Department of Arabic Language

<sup>75</sup> L. Gates (ed.), *Race, Writing and Difference*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986, p. 333.

<sup>76</sup> On Ballas and his work, see Ben-Yaacob, *Yehude Bavel*, pp. 397–398; Moreh, *Short Stories*, pp. 187–202; Bezalel, *Kitve Sofrim Yehudim*, p. 283; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, pp. 31–34; Jayana Clerk & Ruth Siegel (eds.), *Modern Literature of the Non-Western World: Where the Waters Are Born*, New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1995, pp. 459–466; Berg, *Exile from Exile*, pp. 391–394; R. Snir, "Shimon Ballas and the Canon of Hebrew Literature" [Hebrew], *Iton* 77, April 1998, pp. 16–21; Kerbel, *Jewish Writers of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>77</sup> *New Outlook*, November–December 1991, pp. 30–32. Cf. *Maariv*, 25 April 1989, p. B9.

<sup>78</sup> Personal communication in Haifa, 4 April 2001; S. Ballas, "Šuwar Mutaharrika", *Mashārif* (Haifa) 21 (Summer 2003), p. 22.

<sup>79</sup> *Al-Jadīd*, December 1955, pp. 26–34.

and Literature in Haifa University, and in recent years has been serving as a chief editor of the academic, Arabic-language journal *al-Karmil*.

Ballas' first novel on the experiences of the transit camps was completed in Arabic but, before publication, he decided to switch over to Hebrew writing.<sup>80</sup> He devoted himself to reading thoroughly the Bible and the Mishnah and later concentrating on Agnon and other Hebrew works, though, on moving from Arabic to Hebrew, he felt forced to unlearn his Arabic and refract his identity.<sup>81</sup> When he found himself capable, he rewrote in Hebrew the above-mentioned, unpublished novel and published it as *Ha-Ma'abarah* (The Transit Camp). Explaining his switching over to Hebrew, he says that he felt that in Arabic he was facing a contradiction and was isolating himself from the society in which he was living.<sup>82</sup> *Ha-Ma'abarah* depicts the tragedy of the Arab-Jewish immigrants who had been uprooted from their homes, thrown into poverty and had insufficient resources for living. His approach traversed the material level to deal with the cultural deprivation of the Arab Jews whose most esteemed, moral and cultural values were rejected. Being thrown into a hostile environment in which their neighbours felt contempt for their original culture, they were labelled as exceptional, thereby becoming victims of an organized and institutionalised process of adaptation to a new culture, in which Arabic language, literature and music were considered inferior and "weapons" of the enemy.<sup>83</sup> Surprisingly enough, the novel was very well accepted by critics, some of whom even praised Ballas as representing the Arab Jews, who had preserved Hebrew throughout the generations, though he arrived in Israel without knowing Hebrew at all. Shortly after the publication of *Ha-Ma'abarah*, he completed a sequel, *Tel Aviv Mizrah* (Tel Aviv East); however, owing to the patronizing and dismissive attitude of the cultural and literary Establishment, its publication was delayed till 1998, i.e. for about 30 years. In 2003 he published the trilogy *Tel Aviv Mizrah* (Tel Aviv East), which consists of the above *Ha-Ma'abarah* and *Tel Aviv Mizrah*, in addition to the new instalment, *Yalde Hutz* (The Outsiders), which describes the lives of the heroes until the murder of the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in 1995.

Other works by Ballas proved to show his Arab cultural preferences as well. In *Ve-Hu Akher* (And He Is Other) (1991), he presents his views on the fate of Iraqi Jews through the story of several, non-Zionist Jewish-Iraqi intellectuals. One of them, to whom the title of the novel alludes, is Aḥmad Hārūn Sawsan, a character based on the well-known Aḥmad Nissīm Sūsa (1900–1982), who converted to Islam.<sup>84</sup> Another figure, As'ad Nissīm, is reminiscent of Anwar Sha'ul (1904–1984), one of the founders of the art of the Iraqi short story and owner and editor of *al-*

<sup>80</sup> According to a conversation with Ballas in Haifa in 14 June 1989.

<sup>81</sup> Smadar Lavie, "Blowups in the Borderzones: Third World Israeli Authors' Groupings for Home", in Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenborg (eds.), *Displacement, Diaspora and Geographies of Identity*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, p. 73.

<sup>82</sup> Later he was to return to literary Arabic writing only in order to translate two of the Hebrew short stories included in his *Nudhur al-Kharif* (*Signs of Autumn*) (1997). Another story, written originally in Hebrew, was translated by Ballas and published in July 2003 in [www.Elaph.com](http://www.Elaph.com).

<sup>83</sup> *Maariv*, 25 April 1989, p. B9.

<sup>84</sup> On Sūsa and his work, see Mīr Baṣrī, *A'lām al-Adab fī al-'Irāq al-ḥadīth* [*Eminent Personalities in the Literature of the New Iraq*], London: Dār al-Ḥikma, 1994, II, pp. 524–525.

*Hāšid* (The Reaper).<sup>85</sup> *Otot Stav* (Signs of Autumn) (1992) is a kind of sequel to the novel. It consists of three long short stories, each symbolizing a necessary component of the longed-for, Ballasian utopia. Based on autobiographical material, the first story, "Iyya",<sup>86</sup> depicts the Iraqi Jews in the late 1940s, before their departure from their beloved ancient homeland, from the point of view of a Muslim maid named Zakiyya, nicknamed "Iyya". The second story, "Signs of Autumn", is centred on the cosmopolitan figure of Ḥusnī Maṣṣūr, based on the character of the Egyptian Ḥusayn Fawzī (1900–1988), well known for his books that use the mythical figure of *al-Sindibad* from *Arabian Nights*. The third story, "In the Gates of Kandinski", is about Yaḡob Reshef, a Jewish painter immigrant from Russia torn between the values of the surrounding society and his idealistic aspirations. Failing to pass "the Gates of Kandinski", he died two days before the beginning of the New Year. The three protagonists illustrate three central components of Israeli culture, each of them related to the town where the events of the story take place: Baghdad/Arab culture, Paris/Western culture and Tel-Aviv/Israeli culture.

Although concentrating on the role of Arab culture in Israeli society, Ballas' literary project is much more comprehensive, accompanying the readers into unknown fictional realms: *Ash'ab Mi-Baghdad* (Ash'ab from Baghdad, 1970) is centred on the historical and legendary figure of Ash'ab, a versatile, voracious musician from the medieval, Arab, cultural heritage who caught the imagination of the Arabs.<sup>87</sup> In *Hitbaharut* (Clarification, 1972), the protagonist is an Iraqi Jew who did not participate in the 1973 war. Iraqi characters also appear in his short stories, such as those in the collection entitled *Mul Ha-Homah* (In Front of the Wall, 1969). *Heder Na'ul* (A Locked Room, 1980), which describes the way of life of members of the Communist Party in Israel, deals with a Palestinian architect returning home for a visit. In *Horef Aḡaron* (Last Winter, 1984), the focus is on Middle Eastern exiles in Paris, especially Henri Curiel (1914–1978), a Jewish Communist of Egyptian origin assassinated in Paris. *Ha-Yoresh* (The Heir, 1987) is a self-referential novel in which Ballas' academic professionalism finds its best manifestation. *Lo Bi-Mkoma* (Not in Her Place, 1994) has feminist implications, and the protagonist of *Solo* (Solo, 1998) is based on the life of Ya'qūb Ṣanū' (James Sanua, 1839–1912), a Jewish dramatist considered to be the father of the Egyptian theatre.<sup>88</sup> Experiencing alienation and

<sup>85</sup> On Anwar Shā'ul and his work, see E. Marmorstein, "Two Iraqi Jewish Short Story Writers: A Suggestion for Social Research", *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* 1, 2 (1959), pp. 187–200; Moreh, *Short Stories*, pp. 81–87; Mudhi, *The Origin and Development*, pp. 191–230. For a list of his short stories published in newspapers and magazines, see Mudhi, *The Origin and Development*, pp. 497–501.

<sup>86</sup> Translated into English by S. Einbinder in *The Literary Review* 37, 2 (1994), pp. 69–99. For an Arabic translation (by Mahā Sulaymān), see Shimon Ballas, *Nudhur al-Kharif*, Cologne: Manshīrāt al-Jamal, 1997, pp. 57–110.

<sup>87</sup> On Ash'ab in Arab classical literature, see Hilary Kilpatrick, "The 'Genuine' Ash'ab. The Relativity of Fact and Fiction in Early Adab Texts", in Stefan Leder (ed.), *Story-Telling in the Framework of Non-Fictional Arabic Literature*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998, pp. 94–117.

<sup>88</sup> On Ya'qūb Ṣanū', see I. L. Gendzier, *The Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'*, Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 1966; M. A. Al-Khozai, *The Development of Early Arabic Drama (1847–1900)*, London & New York: Longman, 1984, pp. 123–168; M. Moosa, "Ya'qūb Ṣanū' and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (1974), pp.



estrangement, most of Ballas' protagonists or, better, anti-heroes are outsiders living on the margins of society, not willing to compromise their principles. Preaching a new connection between identity, language and territory, Ballas de-mystifies Hebrew, attempting to "un-Jew" it, in a process of "deterritorialisation" accompanied by simultaneous "reterritorialisation". Master Zionist narrative, in his view, is an Ashkenazi ideology that developed in a different culture and surroundings and came to claim its stake in the Middle East with no acceptance of the environment.<sup>89</sup>

Ballas is considered by a new generation of critics and scholars to be a prophetic voice challenging, since the mid-1960s, the Ashkenazi, Western-oriented, Hebrew literature's reluctance to accept the legitimacy of Arab culture. Only after demarcating new boundaries for the Hebrew literary canon in which cosmopolitan, humanistic values will be combined with Arab and Western values, according to Ballas, will Israel society be able to boast of a particular original culture which expresses the aspirations of all its citizens—Jewish, Muslim, and Christian.

#### 4. Conclusion

Seeing itself as part of a Eurocentric narrative and adopting the dichotomy between East and West as a given, objective category, the attitude of the hegemonic Zionist narrative to Arab culture was not different. Moreover, not a few, immigrant, Iraqi-Jewish intellectuals hastened to present themselves as Israeli Jews, referring to their Arab identity as a mark of disgrace. Having internalised the negative attitude of the canonical, cultural centre to Arab culture, these Arab-Jews have learned to reject their own Arab roots in order to get closer to the heart of the Israeli Zionist collective. The negative impact of all this on youth growing up in Arab-Jewish immigrant families has since been very apparent. "For our parents", the Morocco born poet Sami Shalom Cetrit (b. 1960) says, "we all of us were the agents of repression".<sup>90</sup> Yehuda Shenhav describes his own experience:

On the first Thursday of every month, the Egyptian singer Um Kulthum would begin to sing and I would begin to tense up. As the Oriental tones filled the house my mother would gradually make the radio louder and louder and I would not know where to bury myself. I would try to turn the radio off and she would turn it back on and make it even louder. I had become a foreign agent in my own house. This is a result of external socialization that works very effectively. We internalise a very particular kind of logic that I am now trying to understand. For many years I tried to escape my Mizrahi identity and to deny the existence of a Mizrahi issue. I adopted the position of the Ashkenazi Left that identifies with the Palestinian issue and rejects the Mizrahim.<sup>91</sup>

401–433; S. Moreh, "Ya'qūb Ṣanū': His Religious Identity and Work in the Theater and Journalism, According to the Family Archive", in S. Shamir (ed.), *The Jews of Egypt, a Mediterranean Society in Modern Times* (Boulder & London: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 111–129; R. Ostle, E. de Moor and S. Wild (eds.), *Writing the Self: Autobiographical Writing in Modern Arabic Literature* (London: Saqi Books, 1998), pp. 51–60; P.C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteenth Century (1799–1882)* (Reading: Ithaca, 1996), pp. 89–124; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, I (1960) 141–142.

<sup>89</sup> *The Literary Review* 37,2 [1994], pp. 67–68.

<sup>90</sup> *Yediot Ahronoth*, 7 Days, 8 August 2003, p. 54.

<sup>91</sup> A lecture at the School for Peace Neve Shalom/Wāḥat al-Salām, Israel, March 2000; *School for Peace Annual Review 1999–2001*, January 2001.



So as to avoid being mistaken for Arabs many Arab Jews wear a Jewish Star, a "Hai", around their necks, or a Kipa on their heads for national rather than religious motives, and women of Arab-Jewish origin often dye their dark hair blond. The same internalised oppression is partially responsible for the very nationalist positions that Arab Jews have adopted. "Stripped of our history", as the Arab-Jewish scholar Ella Habiba Shohat, a professor of cultural studies and women's studies at CUNY, says, "we have been forced by our no-exit situation to repress our collective nostalgia, at least within the public sphere". In *Forget Baghdad: Jews and Arabs—The Iraqi Connection*,<sup>92</sup> which focuses on five Iraqi Arab-Jew figures, Shohat relates how "when I went to kindergarten in Israel, I was aware that Arabic words sometimes slipped in when I spoke. I was ashamed". In order to be incorporated into the narrative, as G. Piterberg put it, "the Arab-Jews were forced to negate their memory and culture, just as 'the Exilic Jew' was forced to do according to the general pattern of the Negation of Exile, in order to transform themselves and become eligible to join the Zionist/Israeli imagined community".<sup>93</sup>

The inferiority complex of the Arab Jews deepened even more as a result of the negative attitude of the canonical centre of Israeli culture to Arab culture. Ironically, while imposing its interpretative authority over all other cultural groups, the hegemonic centre of the literary Hebrew Establishment prides itself on being mainly left-ist-liberal. As the roots of Jewish nationalism lie in Eastern Europe and the overall orientation of modern Israeli canonical culture is predominantly Ashkenazic and Western-oriented,<sup>94</sup> no wonder that Arab culture has been totally rejected by the dominant circles. There is no better illustration of this than the structure of the departments of Hebrew and Comparative Literature at Israeli universities, where one can hardly find tenured academic scholars of modern Hebrew literature or comparative literature who have a knowledge of Arabic or have taken the trouble to study the Arabic language and literature. Comparative studies can legitimately be pursued in Russian, Italian, Japanese, Polish and, of course, English, French and German, but hardly in Arabic literary works in the original. At the same time, hegemonic cultural circles cannot openly and publicly express their negative views regarding Arab culture. This is for fear that that would mean voicing a disparaging attitude to the "Other" and would thus not be "politically correct", especially after multiculturalism has become a fundamental component of the new, local, intellectual discourse and the consensus of opinion, at least publicly, is that the Eurocentric character of Israeli education should be multiculturalised. To resolve this "cognitive dissonance" and preserve the cosy reassurance of its liberal and tolerant attitude to the culture of the minority in its midst, the literary Establishment gives Arab culture a "seat" in

<sup>92</sup> A film written and directed by an Iraqi Shiite, exile film-maker, nicknamed Samir; produced by Dschoint Ventschr, Zurich, 2002.

<sup>93</sup> G. Piterberg "Domestic Orientalism: The Representation of 'Oriental' Jews in Zionist/Israeli Historiography", *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 23.2 [1996], p. 135.

<sup>94</sup> For an attempt to locate the roots of the Westernisation identity project undergone by the emerging Israeli society in the earlier history of the Jewish encounter with Orientalism and Western colonialism, see Aziza Khazzoom, "The Great Chain of Orientalism: Jewish Identity, Stigma Management, and Ethnic Exclusion in Israel", *American Sociological Review* 68 (2003), pp. 481–510.

the local cultural arena, either through Palestinian writers such as the Druze Na'im 'Arāyidī (b. 1948) and the Christian Anṭūn Shammās (b. 1950) who are "chosen" by the canonical centre as representatives of the minority,<sup>95</sup> or through Hebrew Arab-Jewish writers such as the above Sami Michael or Eli 'Amīr.

From the 1980s, in the light of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), the development of postcolonial theories and the rise of multicultural studies, a critical literature developed on the way in which the hegemonic Ashkenazi society of the 1950s absorbed Arab-Jewish immigrants and its attitude to their Arab culture. In addition, thanks to the activities of a new generation of scholars and intellectuals of "Arab-Jewish" or "Jewish-Arab" origin, the terms "Jewish-Arabism" or "Arab-Judaism", which almost disappeared from the academic scholarship and discourse of most of the 20th century, made their comeback. A great contribution to this end is the contribution made by the journal *Teoria U-Bikoret* (*Theory and Criticism*), more than 20 issues of which had already been published from 1991 by the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute. From the 16th issue (2000), the editor was the above Yehuda Shenhav, a Tel-Aviv University professor and one of the leaders of *Ha-Keshet Ha-Demokratit Ha-Mizrahit* (The Oriental Democratic Spectrum). According to Shenhav, the militant outlooks of some Arab Jews towards Arabs are the result of years of European Zionist ideology which regards Arab culture with contempt. Shenhav argues that the negation of the East and the crystallization of Western culture within Zionism constitute a powerful driving force. As Edward Said expressed it, the East serves as a wall or as "the other" which the West uses in order to define itself. A large part of the struggle over multiculturalism in Israel is a struggle over the collective memory, since Zionist systems of memory are mobilized and used to form the insights and the attitudes of Arab-Jewish immigrants towards the Arabs and their culture. Just as the memory of the Holocaust was put aside for the sake of the State of Israel, so is the *Farhūd* pogrom in Baghdad. This pogrom has in all seriousness been described as part of the events of the Holocaust, as, for example, in some of the publications of the Babylonian Jewry Heritage Centre in Or-Yehuda. The same centre, which was founded in 1972, has since painted Jewish Iraqi modern history in Zionist colours and has even sent a letter to the Ministry of Education asking why "the holocaust in Baghdad" is not a major part of the State history program.

Arabic literary writing by Iraqi Jews in Israel in the 1950s and its transition into Hebrew writing since the 1960s reflect two major narratives among the Iraqi Jews—Zionist and post-Zionist. Both had their roots in the Arab cultural vision of the Jews in Iraq before 1948, when Baghdad encapsulated the possibilities of a "new" Middle East, where nationalist ideologies would give way to cultural cooperation and religious tolerance. It is not too farfetched to see Arabic literature written by Jews as another victim of the conflict waged in Palestine, especially following the disappearance of the distinction between "Jew" and "Zionist" in Arab nationalist discourse. Since the early 1950s, the literature which twentieth-century Iraqi Jews produced in Arabic has been entirely relegated to the margins of Arabic literature. Po-

<sup>95</sup> R. Snir, "'Postcards in the Morning': Palestinians Writing in Hebrew", *Hebrew Studies* XLII [2001], pp. 197–224.

litical and politico-cultural reasons are mainly behind that process and behind the paucity of scholarly attention that has been given to this literature through the years. Although the literary writing of Iraqi Jews gained in the 1940s some attention among Jewish intellectuals in Palestine,<sup>96</sup> scholars outside Iraq have since 1948 totally shunned the study of that literature.

In the 1920s, Jewish Iraqi intellectuals were literary pioneers who stood on the threshold of emancipation with the highest hopes in their hearts. "Their attitudes must be examined", according to Emile Marmorstein (1901–1983), headmaster of the Shammāsh School for boys in Baghdad in the 1930s, "in the light of the generous prospects of the twenties rather than in the gloom of a decade in which their visions have been almost completely shattered".<sup>97</sup>

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, Yehushua Ben Hananya", Jewish Writers and Poets in Iraq" [Hebrew], *Hed Ha-Mizrah*, 29 September 1943, p. 12; 13 October 1943, pp. 6–7; 29 October 1943, p. 7; 12 November 1943, pp. 6–7.

<sup>97</sup> Marmorstein, "Two Iraqi Jewish Short Story Writers", p. 199.



# Towards a corpus-based syntax of the Arabic language

## Review article

Bo Isaksson

Uppsala

Arabic scholarship is still lacking comprehensive, truly corpus-based grammars covering the classical language, the modern written registers and the spoken varieties. For classical syntax, the advanced student of Arabic syntax is still referred to W. Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (1896–98), which is based on the medieval Arab grammarians. No corpus-based (“data-driven”) investigation of the classical language has been made so far, with the exception of the chapter on Early Arabic by Dahlgren, which will be discussed below. For the modern written variety there is the *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose* (3 vols., 1974–77), by Vicente Cantarino, based on literary texts from the first half of the twentieth century. Thirty years ago, Cantarino's work was epoch-making, based as it was on the largest actual textual material available so far and illustrating every syntactical feature with text examples. Altogether, it constituted a huge classified anthology of Modern Standard Arabic. The limitation of Cantarino's syntax was its concentration on literary sources. The Arabic of mass media, for example, was left out. For the modern dialects, there are a few highly focused text-based comparative syntactical studies like Rosenhouse (1978), Eksell (1980), Retsö (1983) and Mitchell/El-Hassan (1994), but the only comparative syntax covering a reasonably full range of syntactical topics is Brustad's *The syntax of spoken Arabic* (2000). Brustad makes use of both his own tape-recorded texts, commercial tape recordings and published texts. The data are collected from four main areas of spoken Arabic. His syntax is truly text-based: only as a last resort he used elicited data. In addition to the usual themes of Arabic syntax, his work also deals with such modern linguistic topics as discourse analysis and sentence typology. Brustad's work is, however, limited in its coverage of dialectal areas and it has a marked urban bias in that only a few rural and no bedouin dialects are represented. Another blend of limitations is found in Dahlgren's *Word Order in Arabic* (WO), published 1998. This work is based on a well-defined large textual corpus covering all published texts from all dialectal areas, except Maghreb. It includes urban, rural and bedouin tongues. The strength is the profound evaluation of linguistic concepts and their application to a well-defined textual corpus. Dahlgren's focus is basic word order and this inevitably excludes a number of syntactical topics like definiteness and agreement. This limitation is not as severe as it might seem. Word order is a topic that in a profound way permeates the bulk of the syntactical phenomena.

For modern written Arabic, we are now lucky to have a worthy successor of Cantarino's *Syntax* in the full-fledged, text-based grammar by Elsaid Badawi, Michael

Carter and Adrian Gully: *Modern Written Arabic: A comprehensive grammar* (Routledge 2004). Basically, it is a syntax, although a good first chapter ("Forms") treats phonology and morphology (93 pages). The Arabic language described in this work is definitely modern. All texts, with some minor exceptions, have appeared from 1990 onwards. Geographically, the data are taken from publications from the entire Arab world. All material has been drawn from "written, invariably public sources" and it represents a broad selection of texts "from bus tickets to high literature" (*MWA*, 3). Cantarino's limitation to literary texts is hereby remedied. As is specifically stated in the introduction, *Modern Written Arabic (MWA)* is not corpus-based in the strict sense, in that "the harvesting of the data was carried out in a totally random way, by reading as broad a selection of texts as possible" (*MWA*, 3). This is, of course, necessary as long as a full covering of syntactical features is called for and as long as we are not in the possession of large electronically gathered and processed corpora. In extreme cases when evidence of a construction could not be found in published sources, data were drawn from the personal usage of the Egyptian co-author Elsaïd Badawi. This is a theoretical weakness, but not to be criticized. It is slightly more surprising that Wehr and other dictionaries have been used to supplement the data for orthography and lexical innovations (*MWA*, 4). The grammar is, anyhow, a tremendous achievement for Arabic scholarship and the advanced student of Arabic, and sets a standard for all future grammars. It is truly modern in its linguistic approach. It is also modern considering its post-1990 data-base of texts. "The next step will require an electronic corpus and an adequate technology for the various goals of linguistic enquiry" (*MWA*, 7).

In the following, a close examination will be made of Dahlgren's *Word Order*, which, in view of its linguistic complexity, its strictly corpus-based approach and its covering of both eastern Arabic dialects and Early Arabic deserves a more detailed treatment. It should be stated beforehand that, unlike *MWA*, *Word Order* is not a reference grammar. It is a highly focused investigation and, as *MWA* states in its surprisingly short Bibliography, *Word Order* is "decidedly not for the beginner" (*MWA*, 780). Dahlgren's work is hard reading and even more so because of a certain lack of lucidity and consistency in its arrangement. For that reason the account of its chapters will be relatively detailed and the actual working process behind Dahlgren's investigation—only traceable in patches in his book—is further analysed. When appropriate, I shall compare with the works of Brustad and Badawi-Carter-Gully (*MWA*).

Sven-Olof Dahlgren, *Word Order in Arabic* (Orientalia Gothoburgensia, 12. Göteborg 1998) "aims at contributing to both general linguistics and Arabic linguistics. The main objective will be to determine basic word order in the eastern dialects of modern, spoken Arabic" (1.3 Aim, 12). It will also "compare with the earliest, written Arabic to find out in what respects there is a fundamental difference in word order of these two types of Arabic" (*WO*, 13). The basic assumptions of the book thus concern the concept of "basic word order" and that concept's connection with native registers of the Arabic language. The concept of basic word order is taken from general linguistic typology. The implication is that there is, in some sense, a natural unmarked basic word order for every language, including Arabic. It is



understood that such a concept is fruitful enough to justify a large-scale investigation.

As a necessary delimitation of the scope, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is excluded from the investigation. In this work Dahlgren has decided to give precedence to registers of Arabic that are inherited by birth, not by education. As an additional delimitation, the Maghreb dialects, Arabic in the Sudan, Uzbekistani Arabic and Yemeni Arabic were excluded because of the lack of sufficiently large published texts (WO, 122).

The presentation of the theoretical basis and linguistic methodology comprises about half of the book. Such a lengthy introduction is undoubtedly valuable to the reader but may at the same time obscure the simple, guiding ideas behind the investigation. Besides the basic, linguistic constituents of the investigation, there are also some fundamental assumptions concerning the choice of target and sources. Together with the basic constituents, they form the main lines of thought, which may be arranged as follows:

**Target:** Basic word order in Arabic.

*Assumption 1:* There is such a thing as a basic word order in Arabic (WO, 15).

*Assumption 2:* Basic word order can be determined by relevant statistics, measuring what a structuralist would call *la parole* (performance level) (WO, 18)

*Assumption 3:* Basic word order is the word order that exhibits the highest frequency in a sufficiently large, relevant, textual material.

**Sources:** Texts from eastern, colloquial dialects and texts from early Arabic.

*Assumption 4:* A study of basic word order in Arabic should in the first place be based on linguistic material produced by native speakers, which means that MSA is excluded from the investigation. *Word Order in Arabic* is not a treatment of the word order in Modern Standard Arabic.

**Method 1:** Modern, linguistic concepts of textual analysis are applied to the source texts and give rise to data from each relevant sentence.

**Method 2:** The data obtained from textual analysis of all source texts are compiled in a database.

**Method 3:** Statistical analysis is performed on the database.

**Results:** Tables derived from statistical analysis exhibit the frequency of different word orders in different types of discourse.

It should be stated beforehand that Dahlgren has produced an unusual work. He is innovative in the sense that he applies a whole tool-box of concepts from leading modern linguists to a large Arabic material. The number of comparative linguistic treatises on Arabic is not great and even rarer are works that comply with state-of-the-art linguistic standards. In addition, Dahlgren's thorough use of statistical methods is nearly unique in a Semitic context. For Arabists and Semitists alike, this

is a source book on syntactic and text-linguistic analysis. When in the following pages strictures are passed on the book, they concern more the arrangement of the book and the presentation of its results. Despite some criticism, it must be emphasized that *Word Order in Arabic* exhibits a commendable, scholarly audacity in view of its methodological complexity and the dimensions of its source material.

The distribution of the chapters is partly confusing. The main divisions of the book — not conspicuously displayed by the headlines — are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

	<i>Chapter</i>
1 Linguistic introduction	1–8
2 Presentation of the textual corpus	9:2–4
3 Method applied to the corpus	
Structure of the database and working procedure	9:1, 5–6
Possible sources of error	9:7–8
4 Results on word order	
Narrative discourse in MCA	10
Dialogue and description in MCA	11
Early Arabic	12
5 Summary and conclusions	13
6 Table data	
On MCA (Tables 5–22) <sup>2</sup>	
On early Arabic (Tables 23–24)	

As can be seen, the first eight chapters of Dahlgren's work constitute a detailed introduction to the theoretical and linguistic concepts that form the basis of his investigation. These eight chapters are several times referred to as "the introduction" (WO, 144, 148, 154), although they are never explicitly given that name in the table of contents or in any headline. On page 148, it is stated that the introduction is a theoretical frame, a point of departure for the investigation.

The brief *first chapter* (two effective pages) presents in section 1.1 the concept of basic word order and its originator.<sup>3</sup> Section 1.2 with only 12 lines in the main text deals extremely briefly with previous research on word order in Arabic. Except for a lengthy footnote on compound nominal clauses, Dahlgren presents only two quotations, two rather arbitrary references to the subject, from Beeston and Ingham.<sup>4</sup> In a work on word order, this is an unsatisfactory treatment of previous research. Dahlgren is not completely without predecessors and even if he disagrees with some of them, their contributions deserve to be discussed in a fair way with their faults and weaknesses. In 1985, El-Yasin published a study on word order in Jordanian Arabic

<sup>1</sup> MCA is the abbreviation used by Dahlgren for Eastern Modern Colloquial Arabic

<sup>2</sup> Tables 1–4 do not present results but display various linguistic concepts in the introduction (Table 1 on p. 72 and Tables 2–4 on pp. 86 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Greenberg, 1963.

<sup>4</sup> From Beeston, 1970, and Ingham, 1994.

and Classical Arabic.<sup>5</sup> In 1986, Versteegh in the *Festschrift to Frithjof Rundgren* discussed word order in Uzbekistan Arabic (excluded from Dahlgren's MCA-corpus) and concluded that Uzbekistan Arabic is an "exception to the general rule in modern Arabic dialects which have the order subject-verb-object".<sup>6</sup> Recently Majdi and Shlonsky have studied word order in Classical Arabic.<sup>7</sup> None of them are mentioned by Dahlgren.<sup>8</sup> There are also recent studies on word order in Modern Standard Arabic, some of which are mentioned and discussed briefly in the footnote on compound nominal clauses. Dahlgren could have mentioned also Al Sweel's unpublished dissertation from 1983.<sup>9</sup> In footnote 3, Dahlgren discusses some positions held concerning compound nominal clauses. By definition, a compound nominal clause implies an SVO word order, which means that some of the relevant previous research is treated in this footnote. The present reviewer would have appreciated it if a critical treatment of previous positions had been presented to the reader in the main text and in a separate section. A clear reference to Chapter 8, "Views on Basic Word Order in Colloquial Arabic", would have been even more feasible. Previous research and its shortcomings are a natural *raison d'être* and point of departure for a monographic treatment.

In Chapter 2 Dahlgren gives an account of his linguistic beliefs. Often they are easy to agree with. He prefers a high degree of induction and empiricism (Greenberg) and a low degree of deduction (WO, 18). Chomsky's formal deductionist approach to syntax is not Dahlgren's *couscous*.<sup>10</sup> He prefers to study the performance level by statistical methods and seems to be reluctant to use a concept like *la langue* (the competence level) of de Saussure. The reader may be tempted to reflect that the whole project of determining the *basic* word order in Arabic is a subject completely in accordance with de Saussure's structural approach. Statistical data from *la parole* are used to draw conclusions about the structure of a language, just as observations on the phones of a language (using minimal pairs) may give rise to conclusions about its phoneme inventory. Be that as it may, Dahlgren prefers the functional-typological approach in the spirit of Greenberg, Givón and Hopper (WO, 24) rather than Chomsky's deductions and rightly (following Givón) criticizes the lack of diachronic perspective in generative grammar (WO, 21).

From Chapter 3 onwards, Dahlgren introduces the linguistic concepts that will be applied in his investigation and form the fields in his database. He does not in a clear way tell the reader about this strategy (the reader will find out in Chapter 9). In Chapter 3 Dahlgren presents some concepts from functional grammar on the sentence level. He observes with Daneš that the syntax of a sentence may be approached on three levels:<sup>11</sup> I, the level of the grammatical structure; II, the level of

<sup>5</sup> El-Yasin, 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Versteegh, 1986, 443.

<sup>7</sup> Majdi, 1987. Shlonsky, 1997. After the publication of Dahlgren's work, also Brustad, 2000, treated word order in MCA (Chapter 10, Sentence Typology, 315–362).

<sup>8</sup> Versteegh is included in Dahlgren's bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> Al Sweel, 1983.

<sup>10</sup> Neither is it Brustad's choice of theoretical framework, generative grammar being, as he writes "based largely on artificially generated sentences devoid of context" (Brustad, 4).

<sup>11</sup> Daneš, 1966.

the semantic structure; III, the level of the organization of the utterance. Level III is the more tangible for a statistical analysis and to this level belongs word order. This level reflects the functional perspective, according to which the elements of an utterance "follow each other according to the amount (degree) of communicative dynamism they convey" (WO, 30, quoting Daneš who quotes J. Firbas). On that level, *theme* is that which is known or obvious (Mathesius) or spoken about (Halliday) in a clause, *rheme* is what the speaker says about the known theme (WO, 27, 33, 43). *Topic* (Dik) is the entity about which the predication predicates something; *focus* is the most important information (WO, 36). Those concepts have been applied to MSA by Moutaouakil (1989). Within the framework of the chapter the reader is left without clues as to which of all concepts presented Dahlgren intends to apply in his own investigation.

In Chapter 4, the functional grammar perspective is broadened to the text. The concepts of discourse, topic, focal, topical and definiteness are introduced. *Discourse* is a multiclausal entity. A text may consist of different kinds of discourse, monologue and dialogue. For the reader, it would have been valuable to be given some clues as to the use of those concepts in the present investigation of word order, but no such information is given. If the reader will take a look in Chapter 9, he will discover in the actual investigation a tripartite division of discourse (WO, 144) not mentioned here. All examples of the terms are in the English language and are quoted directly from works on general linguistics.<sup>12</sup> From Givón, Dahlgren quotes a hierarchy of increasing topicality in a functional text perspective which the reader later will discover to be important in the investigation. *Topicality* means an increasing degree of proximity and tangibility of the subject with respect to the speaker:<sup>13</sup> Anaphoric pronoun (highest topicality)—Definite noun phrase—Indefinite noun phrase—Existential (lowest).

In Chapter 5 Dahlgren introduces the text-linguistic concepts of *foreground* and *background*. While text-linguistic topics are barely mentioned in MWA, for Dahlgren they are fundamental, and likewise for Brustad, who gives a full treatment of aspect in narrative contexts (section 6.5) along the same lines as Dahlgren.<sup>14</sup>

Dahlgren's working definition of "foreground" is: "In our study, however, 'foreground' refers only to sequentiality" (WO, 63). For practical reasons of his work, this is probably the best way to proceed, with the disadvantage of missing background sentences with antecedent information about past events. In Chapter 5 he also introduces the concepts of *tense*, *aspect* and *mood*. At this point, the linguistic introduction expands to an extensive treatment with examples from modern standard Arabic (MSA) and modern colloquial Arabic. Even examples from Classical Hebrew are given. *Aspects* are defined according to Comrie<sup>15</sup> as "different ways of

<sup>12</sup> The main authorities in Chapter 4 are T. A. van Dijk, S. C. Dik, T. Givón, and R. E. Longacre.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted from page 172 in Chapter 10.

<sup>14</sup> Both Dahlgren and Brustad refer to Hopper (1979). In MWA, the concepts of *foreground* and *background* are not mentioned although independent background sentences are called "syndetic circumstantial qualifiers" (MWA, 583 ff.). The concept of *aspect* is equated with *tense*, "since the distinction is no longer clear in MWA" (MWA, 62).

<sup>15</sup> Comrie, 1978.

viewing the internal, temporal constituency of a situation" (WO, 65, quoting Comrie, 3) and Dahlgren concludes rightly that "This means that one and the same situation may be expressed by different aspects" (WO, 65). As a consequence, aspect is independent of the semantic structure of a specific verb. Dahlgren does not expressly make a distinction between the structure of the situation in the referenced reality (external world) and the internal semantic structure of the text (linguistic description of the external world). Anyway, the process described by a verb form in a given text has one component which is determined by the lexical meaning of the verb (the semantheme, and thus independent of the individual speaker) and another component which is determined by the speaker's choice of aspect. Unfortunately Dahlgren is not consistent on this point and blurs the important concept of aspect when he later in the book talks of "verbs that denote an event with punctual aspect" (WO, 69) and "verbs with punctual or ingressive aspect" (WO, 161). Verbs have no inherent aspect since the concept of aspect by the definition given by Dahlgren (from Comrie) is a subjective one. What Dahlgren is talking about on this occasion is the semantic verbal content, the so-called *Aktionsart*. Lexical meaning is not a matter of the speaker's subjective choice. The present reviewer cannot but regret that Dahlgren does not recognize the concept of verbal semantic content (German *Aktionsart*).

Dahlgren goes on to describe the tense/aspect system of Arabic following Comrie. He picks even his text examples directly from Comrie.<sup>16</sup> Whatever evidence of correct Arabic usage Comrie may present, it would have been better for an Arabist like Dahlgren to put forward excerpted examples from his own sources or at least to quote directly from Wright's grammar (which is the source of Comrie).<sup>17</sup> Some of the examples that Comrie adduces (from Wright) with dubious interpretations (though with reservations) are taken over by Dahlgren with even more cryptic comments, e.g.:

*fallāhū yahkumu baynahum yawma l-qiyāma*

"But God will judge between them on the day of resurrection"<sup>18</sup>

Dahlgren tells us that the aspect is perfective without any further explanation. This is not supported in Wright, and Comrie's vague comment is that the aspect is "not necessarily" imperfective and may resemble a perfective aspect in a Slavonic language. A more plausible interpretation, in accordance with Wright, is that the imperfect expresses a future tense in the sense of something not yet completed. This does not contradict a belief that the judgment of God will be a momentary event.

Dahlgren is not content with the aspectual model. Following Comrie, he argues

<sup>16</sup> Wright, 1896–98. All examples in Dahlgren's nos. 56–59 on pp. 68 f. are taken from Comrie, 1978, with due corrections of Comrie's misspellings in the transcription. Only concerning Ex. 59 does Dahlgren expressly state the source: "Another example with relative time reference is provided by Comrie" (WO, 68), which misleads the reader into thinking that the other examples are provided by Dahlgren himself. By the way, Comrie is not an Arabist and he is dependent on secondary sources for Arabic syntax (personal communication from Comrie).

<sup>17</sup> Comrie, 1978, 78, note 2.

<sup>18</sup> Wright II 18D, Comrie 79, WO 68. Wright gives the example in Arabic script. Comrie's transcription is faulty on a couple of points and is corrected by Dahlgren.

for a combination of aspect and relative tense when explaining the Arabic verbal system and it is obvious that he prefers the tense model. Tense is a handier concept to use in connection with Dahlgren's statistical approach. In his text readings and database, he works exclusively with *la parole* data, deferring conclusions about *la langue* (basic/unmarked word order) to the final results of the percentage numbers. Dahlgren's strict, empirical approach — commendable from many points of view — leads him in his practice to consider only one structural level and to muddle together aspect and *Aktionsart*. The concept of *realization* could have lead him to recognize that an aspect is realized in a specific, temporal situation, in a narrative text or in a prophetic utterance, just as phonemes are realized by the speaker in different phones. Aspects and relative tenses are mixed up in a curious way. It is no surprise that Dahlgren goes on to advocate a relative tense model for Classical Hebrew without recourse to aspects.<sup>19</sup> When, concerning the Arabic example above as an argument in the scholarly debate, he comments that "the two Arabic verb forms cannot be regarded as purely one of aspect" (WO, 68), he disregards the fact that aspects are always realized in texts with time reference (including the general present).

From the point where the tense–aspect–mood system in modern colloquial Arabic is described, the sources are taken from Dahlgren's corpus (to be presented in Chapter 9) and the account grows out of its frame, which is to introduce "Pragmatic Arrangement of Discourse" (headline of Chapter 5). In spite of the extent of the presentation, only the TAM systems of modern Iraq (gilit type) and of the Sinai bedouins are presented. The reader is left without knowing the reason for choosing these two types of Arabic for a fuller account of an Arabic TAM system. Are we reading a preparatory terminological presentation or an explanation of some of the results? It is easy to get the impression that here in the introduction we are suddenly served with some of the results of the investigation expected to come later in the book.

Chapter 6 is short and discusses the concept of markedness in relation to basic word order. Markedness is defined by a binary opposition *unmarked* : *marked* and basic word order is the unmarked or normal or standard word order.<sup>20</sup> The basic

<sup>19</sup> WO, note 127 ("Biblical Hebrew is better explained (*sic*) as a relative tense-system") and note 159. The text examples Ex 19:17–18 and 20:18 are adduced by Dahlgren without comments as illustrations of relative tenses. The text passages show how Biblical Hebrew uses nominal and verbal clauses to express foreground and background in a way quite similar to Classical Arabic. Dahlgren seems to indicate that the Hebrew perfect, like the *kitab* in the modern Iraqi verbal system, denotes "Vorzeitigkeit in relation to a certain time value" (WO, 73, with reference to Denz, 1971). However, the Hebrew perfect is used also to denote present time or general present; see p. 28 and Chapter 4, "The SC as a form for the present" in Isaksson, 1987. The Hebrew text examples are awkwardly transcribed by Dahlgren. His refusal to distinguish between *šawā* mobile and *šawā* quiescens, ditto between *qāmaš* and *qāmaš hātūf*, and his writing *-ā* for the Hebrew, nominal, feminine ending is non-standard. The reasons for such a transcription should have been explained with due references.

<sup>20</sup> In example 89, Dahlgren puts forward an unexpected source of information: "For Classical Arabic our informant has delivered the following corresponding examples" (WO, 90). Whatever Dahlgren intended to show by this example, the informant should have been introduced and his reliability discussed. Dahlgren has informed me that the person referred to is Muhammad Yacoubi from Damascus. Even if he is in some sense a traditional expert on Classical Arabic, the term "informant" should only be used for someone possessing a native competence in a language.



word order in narrative discourse appears in foreground, main, declarative, affirmative, perfective, active and continuative clauses (*WO*, 87, following Givón).<sup>21</sup> The important concept of *leftdislocation* (in other works called theme or topicalization) is introduced.<sup>22</sup> It is a device to mark definite topics that have been dropped for a while and to bring them back into focus by a placement in front of a sentence with neutralized case-marking (in Arabic: nominative) and with an anaphoric pronoun in the following clause. The existence of an anaphoric pronoun is important. If a subject is fronted in a clause and an anaphoric pronoun is lacking, Dahlgren in his investigation reckons the clause as being of the SV type.<sup>23</sup> *MWA* prefers the concept of *topic* (and following *comment*) instead of *leftdislocation*, but remarks that the western linguistic concept of *topic* may be inadequate in order to define the exact function of the phenomenon in Arabic syntax.<sup>24</sup>

*Chapter 7* returns (from Ch. 2 and 6) to the concept of basic word order. Section 7.7 discusses the question "Is basic word order universal?". The answer is yes, all research seems to confirm that basic word order is typologically relevant and an important characteristic of a single language. The fact that a few languages lack a basic word order only means that they belong to a type with free word order. Dahlgren relates the modern discussion of word orders. He is sympathetic towards Greenberg's results that, of the six possible combinations of basic word orders (SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS, and OSV), only three are attested among the existing languages, namely SOV, SVO and VSO.<sup>25</sup> But after having reviewed the research, Dahlgren is pessimistic about explaining the mechanisms behind this fact: "No convincing set of principles which explains different word orders in languages is found among the ones we have surveyed" (*WO*, 114). So, there is a limited set of basic word orders, but we do not know why.

In *Chapter 8* Dahlgren describes the research on word order in modern Arabic dialects. He notes that so far no proper study of basic word order has been made. The statements about word order that can be found in dialectological investigations are based on mere impressions. Many scholars follow Joshua Blau in regarding a change of word order (from VSO to SVO) as having taken place in the development from Old Arabic to Neo-Arabic. Blau points to the breakdown in the case system caused by the falling away of the short, final vowels,<sup>26</sup> a development that can be observed already in Middle Arabic.<sup>27</sup> However, specialists in Arabic dialectology are usually more cautious and observe both VSO and SVO in the extant material.

<sup>21</sup> Givón, 1984–1990.

<sup>22</sup> Described in Wright II 256A.

<sup>23</sup> E-mail by Dahlgren, 7 September 2002.

<sup>24</sup> *MWA*, 326 f.: "the resemblance to western 'topicalization' is strong, especially since in both cases the grammatical and logical subjects may be different, but is important to emphasize that the topic-comment sentence in Arabic is a basic structure and not the result of any movement, fronting or extraction".

<sup>25</sup> *WO*, 97; with the possible addition of free word order, 105.

<sup>26</sup> Briefly described in Isaksson, 2002–2003.

<sup>27</sup> Dahlgren refers to a work "Blau (1965)", which cannot be found in the Bibliography. He should have mentioned in the Bibliography that Blau (1981) (*The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*) is a photographic reproduction of the first edition of 1965, supplemented by addenda and corrigenda.

Holes, for example, not surprisingly finds that SVO tends to be used when the subject is definite and the predicate is descriptive of a state or circumstance among the bedouin dialects of the eastern Arab world.<sup>28</sup> That amounts to something very close to the functions of regular, compound, nominal clauses in Classical Arabic. However, Dahlgren wants to perform his investigation without recourse to the traditional concept of the *ḥāl*-clause. He concludes that it is "of urgent importance for Arabic linguistics that a proper investigation will be performed in this field" (WO, 119). We agree, and when the game is over, statistics has had its way and has given its overweight to the *unmarked*, basic word order for different varieties of Arabic, we are left with the question of the functions of the other, *marked*, word orders. Fortunately, Dahlgren does not leave us completely without an answer on that point. In the statistics that follow, one important parameter will be *foreground/background*.

Until now, the reader has had practically no indications as to the relevance of the introduced linguistic concepts for the concrete investigation that Dahlgren is going to perform in the rest of the book. But in *sections 9.1 and 9.5–6*, the purpose of the first eight chapters is revealed. With recourse to the foregoing chapters, he picks out those concepts that he feels are important enough to be promoted to *fields* in his *database*. Extensive samples of transcribed texts are given in order to give reason for and explain the choices behind the fields and their *values* in the database. The starting-point is Daneš's third level (Chapter 3), on which the speaker makes his pragmatic choices controlling the flow of old and new information. Changing the flow means making a marked construction. Key elements on this third level are (WO, 122 f.):

<i>Topic</i>	What is known; old information
<i>Focus</i>	Where the crucial, most important or new information about the topic is placed
<i>Theme</i>	The element about which something is said
<i>Rheme</i>	What is said about the theme
<i>Thematization</i>	Moving a definite constituent (often subject or object) from its ordinary place in the sentence to a place where its function as theme is more emphasized
<i>Unmarked usage</i>	Most common and "ordinary" usage
<i>Marked usage</i>	Grammatically correct construction which a speaker is free to employ whenever he wants to heighten the attention
<i>Foreground</i>	Refers to information that comes in chronological sequence next after the preceding foreground information or the initial information in a discourse
<i>Background</i>	What is not foreground
<i>Peak</i>	The climax of a story. Here the ordinary arrangement of the discourse may be distorted

<sup>28</sup> Dahlgren refers to a "Holes (1994)", but the correct date is found in his bibliography: Holes, 1995.

For the concrete mode of procedure and a grasp of the fields in the database, it is best for the reader to skip sections 9.2–4 for a while and jump to sections 9.5–6 “The initial analytic procedure” and “The notation” (WO, 130 and 144).

Two concepts of the utmost importance for the investigation are amplified in section 9.5 with the subsections 9.5.1 “The subject”, 9.5.2 “The foreground/background distinction” and 9.5.3 “Deviations”.

In 9.5.1, the concepts of topic and peak (marked by subject noun phrases) are once again discussed (see Ch. 3) but are now applied in an Arabic context. The *subject* is defined as the element in the sentence which determines the agreement of the verb (WO, 130). There are two possibilities. Either there is an explicit, independent subject or the subject is implicit and “contained in” the verb. Only the first possibility permits of determining a word order involving a subject and, as a consequence, Dahlgren disregards all verbal clauses with implicit, pronominal subjects.

Dahlgren begins by discussing when independent subjects appear at all in Arabic. This is a great scientific issue, of course, and is connected in a profound way with the issue of basic word order. At this point, Dahlgren offers a tentative solution by quoting a sample text of 13 lines from Lebanon, *Mawt al-m’allem Buṭṭos*.<sup>29</sup> Dahlgren makes a detailed analysis of the noun phrases (NPs, which also include separate pronouns) in this text and he concludes that nearly all NPs occur when there is a change of topic (WO, 132) or a peak in the story (WO, 134). Although the reader may feel inclined to find this conclusion reasonable, it is inevitable to regard the textual basis for such an inference as unsatisfactory. Dahlgren draws far-reaching conclusions from the text in a way that becomes confusing to the reader: “From this example we can infer that change in topics generally is a *prerequisite* for subject NPs” (WO, 134). As a proof of the functional grammar of subject noun phrases in Arabic, this is simply poor science. Strictly speaking, what Dahlgren infers is valid only for the sample text unless he can make otherwise plausible. But taken as an illustration of an accepted general linguistic concept taken from Givón about how and when an independent subject is explicitly used in spoken Arabic, it is valuable. It then works as a demonstration of example 118.<sup>30</sup> Here, in section 9.5.1 on page 130, we are still in the middle of a methodical introduction in which Dahlgren intends to “present the method which has been used for determining basic word order” (WO, 130). Throughout the whole book, Dahlgren frequently falls short of declaring the purpose of sections and paragraphs. The reader is left to find out for himself. Here he should have taken pains to clarify the intention of *illustrating* rather than *proving* the validity of a linguistic principle that will be important for his database structure (topic shift is registered in field 7).

In 9.5.2, Dahlgren resumes (from Ch. 5) the discussion of the foreground/background distinction. He observes that in the preceding sample text all instances of foreground have VS word order and that the SV instances belong to the background (WO, 135). He rightly compares with early Biblical Hebrew, where VSO expresses foreground and SVO order background, and concludes that the issue deserves a fur-

<sup>29</sup> Fleisch, 1974, 177.

<sup>30</sup> E-mail communication by Dahlgren, 7 September 2002.

ther sample text, which he again takes from a village in Lebanon (el-Khanchāra). From this one-page long text Dahlgren observes that the VS pattern dominates the foreground and SV the background. However, *there are* a few instances of SV order in the foreground. He concludes that “the initial position *can* be used as a slot for themes as a device for the speaker to mark the theme as the point of departure for the sentence” (WO, 139, my italics).

In 9.5.3, Dahlgren singles out a two-pages-long text from the ‘Aḡārma tribe in Jordan, in order to further analyse the instances that deviate from the pattern SV = background / VS = foreground. He finds that although VS predominates in the foreground and SV in the background, there are three instances with SV in the foreground in which a demonstrative, anaphoric pronoun constitutes the subject. Since anaphoric pronouns, according to Givón, have the highest degree of topicality (Ch. 4), Dahlgren suggests that “a higher degree of topicality in MCA also means a higher degree of SV order” (WO, 144).

To the reader’s surprise, the division of discourse types chosen as values in column 7 of the database now taken from Jan Retsö,<sup>31</sup> who was not mentioned in Chapter 4. Discourse is divided into three types, not two: narrative, description and dialogue. The most unmarked clauses are found in narrative discourse in “foregrounded, main, declarative, affirmative and active clauses, which are realis, perfective and preterit” (WO, 144).

The practical procedure of the investigation is a classification of every (relevant) clause in the corpus and the registration its functional-level characteristics in the database. Dahlgren now makes the practical decision that in cases of leftdislocation the leftdislocated element is not considered relevant for basic word order. In view of what was stated about Chapter 6 above, this means that, if there is an anaphoric pronoun, then the sentence is analyzed without its left-dislocated element (probably registered as a VS case), but, if the anaphoric pronoun is lacking, then the whole sentence is regarded as a SV sentence (provided the fronting element is a subject). The case in which leftdislocation may occur without an anaphoric pronoun in the dialects is not considered. Such cases have been considered as thematization and not leftdislocation. This methodical decision by Dahlgren represents a possible error in the investigation and should have been discussed by Dahlgren.

Only main clauses are included (WO, 154). Optative, imperative and question clauses are considered marked and subsequently excluded from the investigation (WO, 144). The reader may reflect that excluding marked clauses in some sense will result in a circular argument. Basic word order was *defined* as the unmarked word order. Dahlgren would probably answer that optative, imperative and question clauses are *evidently* marked. We can safely exclude them. The basic and fundamental inclusion — not explicitly discussed as such by Dahlgren — is the inclusion of all compound nominal clauses in the Classical Arabic sense. Dahlgren does not want to make the prejudiced assumption that they are marked in all varieties of Arabic. Statistics will decide instead. All clauses that in the traditional way would have been analyzed as *ḥāl*-sentences are included, and the basic assumption by

<sup>31</sup> Retsö, 1983.

Dahlgren is that, even if we do include a lot of sentences that will turn out to be marked, the final statistics will anyway show us what basic word order actually looks like in Arabic. The majority case will direct us to the basic word order. In a footnote, we are informed that in addition also subject clauses (the missing S3 below) are excluded, since they cannot be considered basic (unmarked).<sup>32</sup>

The fields of the database — Dahlgren calls them “columns” — are shown in section 9.6.3 “Summary of the system” (WO, 152). Every clause or sentence (“proposition”) in the corpus is represented by a record in the database. Each record has eight fields (columns). Fields 1–2 identify the text of the proposition, fields 3–5 specify sentence categories and fields 6–8 specify pragmatic categories:

### Record

*Col. Description*

1	Title of the specific text
2	Page and line, or paragraph
3	Type of proposition
4	Clause type
5	Order of meaningful elements
6	Leftdislocation
7	Type of discourse
8	The actual phrase of cols 1–7 in coded form

Every field has a distinctive set of possible, well-defined *values* that are written in coded form (label below). The *values* are chosen from the previous discussion of pertinent linguistic concepts. The full set of values represents the heart of the whole investigation. This is indeed an intricate database structure intended for practical analytical purposes:

*Col Value Description  
label*

3	<b>Type of proposition</b>
D	Declarative affirmative proposition
N1	Declarative negative proposition with negated subject
N2	Declarative negative proposition with negated predicate
N3	Declarative negative proposition with both negated subject and negated predicate
4	<b>Clause type</b>
M	Main clause
Apo 1	Conditional apodosis with real condition
Apo 2	Conditional apodosis with unreal condition

<sup>32</sup> Footnote 306. I interpret this as a clause that constitutes a subject in another clause.

*Col Value Description  
label*

**5 Order of meaningful elements**

<b>n</b>	Negating element
<b>Sd</b>	Noun phrase: definite subject
<b>Si</b>	Noun phrase: indefinite subject
<b>S2</b>	Noun phrase: indefinite subject pronoun
<b>S2+</b>	Noun phrase: S2 linked to another subject
<b>S4</b>	Noun phrase: demonstrative pronoun
<b>S5</b>	Noun phrase: <i>hā</i> +definite article+noun
<b>S6</b>	Noun phrase: indefinite pronoun
<b>V1</b>	Verb phrase: active perfect
<b>V2</b>	Verb phrase: active <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>V3</b>	Verb phrase: active <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>Vp1</b>	Verb phrase: passive perfect
<b>Vp2</b>	Verb phrase: passive <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>Vp3</b>	Verb phrase: passive <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>k1</b>	Verb phrase: "tense"- <i>kāna</i> in perfect
<b>k2</b>	Verb phrase: "tense"- <i>kāna</i> in <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>k3</b>	Verb phrase: "tense"- <i>kāna</i> in <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>kt1</b>	Verb phrase: "existential"- <i>kāna</i> in perfect
<b>kt2</b>	Verb phrase: "existential"- <i>kāna</i> in <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>kt3</b>	Verb phrase: "existential"- <i>kāna</i> in <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>A</b>	Active participle (infinite verb phrase)
<b>ap1</b>	Verb phrase: punctual aspectualizer perfect
<b>ap2</b>	Verb phrase: punctual aspectualizer <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>ap3</b>	Verb phrase: punctual aspectualizer <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>ai1</b>	Verb phrase: ingressive aspectualizer perfect
<b>ai2</b>	Verb phrase: ingressive aspectualizer <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>ai3</b>	Verb phrase: ingressive aspectualizer <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>ad1</b>	Verb phrase: durative auxiliary perfect
<b>ad2</b>	Verb phrase: durative auxiliary <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>ad3</b>	Verb phrase: durative auxiliary <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>ar1</b>	Verb phrase: repetitive auxiliary perfect
<b>ar2</b>	Verb phrase: repetitive auxiliary <i>y</i> -imperfect
<b>ar3</b>	Verb phrase: repetitive auxiliary <i>b</i> -imperfect
<b>9</b>	Progressive verb participle (infinite)
<b>r</b>	Near future verb participle (infinite)

**6 Leftdislocation**

<b>Ldo</b>	Leftdislocated element is repr. by object in following clause
<b>Lds</b>	Leftdislocated element is repr. by subject in following clause
<b>Ldg</b>	Leftdislocated element is repr. by genitive in following clause



*Col Value Description  
label*

**Ldp** Leftdislocated element is repr. by prep. phrase in following clause

- 7      **Type of discourse**
- f**      Foreground
  - w**      Description
  - b**      Background
  - D**      Dialogue

In section 9.8, Dahlgren takes the proper precautions to ensure that the statistical analysis of the database will be reliable. This is a commendable procedure, not often found in Semitic linguistics. He discusses the possible impact of random faults when the number of instances is low. He has taken pains to use sufficiently large texts when building his database. The corpus is presented in sections 9.2–4. Dahlgren has chosen “corpus that are big enough to make acceptable statistical claims” (WO, 122). In practice, this means that he has included all sufficiently large texts available from the respective areas. Narratives represent the primary material and dialogues and descriptive texts the secondary. Poetry is not included. The whole database comprises about 22 900 main clauses with at least one independent subject and one verb, of which 3970 are from early Arabic.

Unfortunately, the numbering of the dialectal areas in section 9.2 deviates in a confusing way from designations given in the statistical tables and in 9.3 (numbers from section 9.2 are given within parentheses): A. EMMA, Eastern Mediterranean Modern Arabic (1. i), otherwise often called Syro-Palestinian Arabic dialects;<sup>33</sup> B. Anatolian dialects (ii), constituting the *Qeltu* dialects in areas with Kurdish dominance; C. *Qeltu* dialects south of Anatolia (iii); D. Gilit dialects (iv); E. Egyptian dialects (3. v); F. Bedouin dialects from Sinai to Khuzistan, including the Arabian Peninsula (4. vi); G. Early Arabic (5. vii). The split between the *Qeltu* dialects in areas with Kurdish dominance and the other *Qeltu* dialects is justified by the expected influence of Kurdish on word order and verbal aspectualizers.

For early Arabic, the *Sira* of the Prophet by Ibn Iṣḥāq is chosen by Dahlgren in order to achieve a corpus unaffected by the normative system of Classical Arabic (WO, 125). This famous *sira* probably appeared before the *Kitāb* by Sibawaih. For practical reasons, Dahlgren uses Ibn Hišām’s recension of the *Sira* (the edition of Wüstenfeld). Although Ibn Hišām excluded the first part of the *Sira* (ancient legends), it is a work comprising more than 1000 pages and, as far as we know, he altered nothing, except for adding a few explanatory notes. This huge text should meet even the most demanding needs in an investigation of early Arabic.

Up to Chapter 9 (inclusive) everything has been preliminary and introductory. The reader has been introduced to the database and the considerations that led to the

<sup>33</sup> This is also the area where Aramaic was spoken in antiquity, which opens for a detection of an Aramaic substrate influence (WO, 130).

choice of database fields, to the values of the fields, and to the textual sources. Between Chapters 9 and 10, the database has been filled with nearly 23 000 records as a result of the reading and philological analysis of the textual corpus. Those already classified 23 000 records include text samples and represent a systematic reference grammar of the syntax of MCA and early Arabic. It is understandable, for the sake of not expanding the book the set limits, that Dahlgren decided not to include those references and to confine himself to determine the basic word order in different registers of Arabic. It goes without saying, though, that a systematic selection of those references would have enhanced the scientific usefulness of the book tremendously.

In Chapters 10 to 12, the results of a statistical processing of the database are presented. By far the largest result presentation is contained in *Chapter 10* which concerns narrative discourse in dialectal texts. Associated with the account in the chapter are 18 tables in a supplement (Tables 5A–16B). Since the unmarked category should be the more frequent, it is not surprising that in A. EMMA an average of 80 % of the instances with the perfect tense in the foreground show the VS word order. This must be regarded the basic word order in narrative discourse in EMMA (see Ch. 6). In the background, quite the opposite is the case. Seventy-two per cent of the background instances with the perfect exhibit SV word order, which must be regarded as the unmarked word order for background sentences (*WO*, 168 and Table 5A). About the same picture is shown for *Qəltu* dialects, Gilit dialects, and Bedouin dialects.<sup>34</sup> The figures for the perfect with a punctual aspectualizer in the narrative foreground (Table 12A) are even more convincing. Dahlgren's conclusion is that "when an event with punctual aspect is marked morphologically to have such aspect, the tendency towards VS syntax increases considerably" (*WO*, 181).

Quite interestingly, the Anatolian (*Qəltu*) dialects exhibit a SV word order for the perfect in the narrative foreground. Seventy-seven per cent have SV word order in the foreground; seventy-two per cent have SV word order in the background.<sup>35</sup> Clearly, "SV should be regarded as basic word order in Anatolian, for both foreground and background" (*WO*, 186). This is a contact-linguistic phenomenon, since both the dominating language (Kurdish) and the official language (Turkish) have SOV word order. Word order is not a feature used to distinguish between foreground and background in Anatolia. This is confirmed by my own and Ablahad Lahdo's field studies on the Turkish–Syrian border (southern end of the Anatolian dialects),<sup>36</sup> in the Siirt area (central position in the Anatolian dialects)<sup>37</sup> and in Sason (northern border of the Anatolian dialectal area).<sup>38</sup> For example, from 'Āmūda is attested the following foreground SV sentence with the perfect in narrative discourse: *ē hāda rəğə' 'al-bayt*, "he returned home". In contradistinction from practically all

<sup>34</sup> The caption in Table 5A (page 130) should be "F. Bedouin", not "E. Bedouin".

<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately the caption "B. Anatolia" in Table 5A on page 230 has been misplaced, which makes reading the table confusing. The caption should be rearranged from the top position to line 11 (after "Total").

<sup>36</sup> Isaksson and Lahdo, 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Lahdo, 2003.

<sup>38</sup> Isaksson, 2003.

other Arabic areas, the basic word order in Anatolia is SVO. This is one of the important results of Dahlgren's investigation. Brustad, who is also keen to discern the "dominant typology in event narration", misses this word order variation among the Arabic dialects just because the Anatolian dialects were not represented in his textual corpus (Brustad, 361).

In Egypt, the figures are not decisive because of the disputable reliability and relevance of the texts available. Three are from Cairo and do not reflect narrative discourse in free speech.<sup>39</sup> Only one text is from the Delta and one from Lower Egypt, none from Upper Egypt and none from the oases. It is remarkable that Dahlgren did not consider the standard publications by Peter Behnstedt and Manfred Woidich with a full covering of the geographical regions in Egypt.<sup>40</sup> Their texts were published in 1987–88 and should have been available to Dahlgren, even though the glossaries were published later (1994 and 1999).

The imperfects (Table 5B) are seldom used in the foreground. For example, in EMMA, 92 % of all instances in the foreground are in the perfect. The 8 % of imperfects in the foreground constitute a marked use of the imperfect corresponding to a historical present.

Figures in Dahlgren's database (not displayed in a table) show clearly that independent subjects mainly occur when a topic shift is at hand (WO, 170).<sup>41</sup> Table 6 shows that 27 % of the independent subjects are demonstrative pronouns in Syria (an exceedingly high figure, compared with the other regions represented in the table, Lebanon, Gilit and Egypt). In Syria, demonstrative pronouns are used for marking the discourse theme in narrative.

Dahlgren concludes Chapter 10 with the observation that, in the mainstream dialectal areas (EMMA, Qəltu, Gilit and Bedouin), word order is affected by (1) the foreground/background distinction, (2) the degree of topicality, (3) perfectivity (instead of non-perfectivity), (4) the placement in the discourse (initial, middle or end) and (5) marked constructions (e.g., thematization and focusing).

Chapter 11 gives an account of the results concerning the discourse types dialogue and description. All dialectal regions show a high rate of SV word order with definite subjects for dialogue and description respectively (both perfect and imperfect): EMMA 72 % and 55 %, Anatolia 93 % and 72 %, Qəltu 84 % and 60 %, Gilit 88 % and 51 %, Egypt 87–95 % (only dialogue), Bedouins 82 % and 62 %.<sup>42</sup> Indefinite nouns consistently exhibit more VS syntax than the definite nouns in accordance with the topicality hierarchy (WO, 195).

Chapter 12 summarizes the results from the investigation of early Arabic. There is a strong prevalence of VS word order for both tenses in the foreground and for the perfect in the background. Imperfects in the background show 50 % SV syntax.

<sup>39</sup> M. I. Hassan's tales (Copenhagen 1971 and 1981) seem to be composed, and W. Spitta-Bey's *Grammatik* (1880), although good for its time, is antiquated.

<sup>40</sup> Behnstedt and Woidich, 1985–99.

<sup>41</sup> Dahlgren refers to Diagram 10 in Chapter 9, but the proper reference is to Diagram 11 on page 133.

<sup>42</sup> The caption for bedouins in Table 17 is "F. Bedouins Dialogue", but figures are given for description as well.

Thematization is rare, only 2 % out of 2011 instances.<sup>43</sup> In sharp contrast to Classical Arabic the foreground/background is not expressed by a difference in word order but by an alternation between the two conjunctions *fa* and *wa*, where *fa* is used principally in the foreground and *wa* mainly in the background.<sup>44</sup> As in the modern dialects, narrative discourse has VSO as the basic word order, whereas dialogue has a preference for SV order (WO, 209). Unlike the dialects, however, pronouns are practically non-existent as subjects, owing to the character of the text as *written* discourse. Like the dialects, in dialogue, word order deviates from that of narrative and shows a clear preponderance of SV order.

Dahlgren's *Word Order in Arabic* is in many respects a fully-fledged, methodical handbook for further studies of Arabic syntax. It is simply impressive in its scrupulous efforts to base the investigation completely on studies by leading modern linguists. It is also impressive in view of the scope of the research: practically all larger texts from modern, eastern Arabic dialects (lacking only some texts from Egypt) have been included, and in addition, a 1000-page text from early Arabic before the standardization of Classical Arabic. Lastly, it is impressive in view of the complexity and size of the database and the figures calculated from it. Dahlgren's book comprises 273 pages, but most of his philological efforts are never mentioned in the pages. Only occasionally, by scattered examples, is the reader introduced to the considerations that must have lain behind the processing of this immense textual material. What hampers the usefulness of the book is a certain incoherence between its different parts. The reader would certainly benefit from some commentating notes that would tell the rôle of each chapter and section in the investigation as a whole. At present, the reader is left to find out for himself whether a certain notion will be used later in the study or not. The book also needs a revision of the table of contents and the corresponding chapter headings. A renewed proof-reading would make it even better.<sup>45</sup> Finally, in the result chapters (10–12), the con-

<sup>43</sup> Dahlgren writes 2111, but, if he means the figures in the foreground, the number of instances of definite noun subjects with the perfect is 1971 (with VS word order) plus 40 (SV), which amounts to 2011 (see Table 23). Dahlgren's accounts of the figures are often too short and easily become hard to follow for a reader who wants to compare his summaries with the corresponding tables. The figures given in the text are frequently unavailable from the tables, for example, the "2404 instances in foreground" mentioned on page 207, lines 6–7 from bottom.

<sup>44</sup> The typical alternation between *fa* in foreground narrative and *wa* in background narrative is exemplified by a quotation from Wüstenfeld's edition, p. 22 from line 6 (Dahlgren, page 208). The transcription is mistaken on a few minor points (which do not affect the syntactical analysis): *wata'ā*, "they reached", on line 1 (in the quotation) should be *watī'ā* and *wa-hulya*, "jewels", on line 6 should be *wa-hūliyya* (acc. plur.). The phrase on line 2, *fa-ḥtaṭafathumā sayyāratun min ba'di*, is not represented in the translation (but this is a fault of Guillaume). Dahlgren follows Guillaume's translation, except for the rendering "large palm-tree", where Dahlgren writes "big palm-tree", possibly just a citation mistake. There is no doubt that, if Dahlgren had taken pains to make his own translation, it would have displayed the functions of *fa* and *wa* much better.

<sup>45</sup> Some additional minor errors: P. 11, note 3, "Grammar, 255" should be "Grammar II, 255". P. 65, Lyons is referred to but no reference is given. P. 69, lines 5–6, the transcriptions are incorrect. P. 123, the third column in the table should have the caption "Muslim". P. 164, "Supplement 1", should be "Supplement", because the supplements are not numbered and not marked as "Supplement". P. 171, "Abul-Fad21", should be "Abul-Fad1". P. 182, "page 182" on line 2 from bottom should be "page 69". P. 197, line 11 (in

nection between the figures given and those in the tables should be easier to follow.<sup>46</sup>

I conclude that Dahlgren's *Word Order* and Brustad's *Syntax* constitute two decisive steps towards a comprehensive, comparative reference grammar of spoken Arabic. For the modern prestige language, the *Modern Written Arabic* by Badawi-Carter-Gully will become the standard syntactical reference tool for many years to come. The most obvious lacuna and a goal for future research is a work on the syntax of the classical Arabic language, for which, so far, no corpus-based syntax exists at all.

## References

- Al Sweel, Abdulaziz Ibrahim. 1983. *Word Order in Standard Arabic: A Lexical Approach*. A University of Washington Ph.D. diss. Washington.
- Badawi, Elsaïd, Michael G. Carter, and Adrian Gully. 2004. *Modern Written Arabic: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Beeston, Alfred Felix Landon. 1970. *The Arabic Language Today*. London: Hutchinson University Library.
- Behnstedt, Peter and Manfred Woidich. 1985. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*. Part 1, *Einleitung und Anmerkungen zu den Karten*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften, 50:1. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 1985. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*. Part 2, *Dialektatlas von Ägypten*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften, 50:2. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 1987. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*. Part 3, *Texte. I. Delta-Dialekte*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften, 50:3. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 1988. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*. Part 3, *Texte. II. Niltaldialekte. III. Oasendialekte*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften, 50:3. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 1994–1999. *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte*. Part 4–5, *Glossar Arabisch–Deutsch*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften, 50:4–5. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Blau, Joshua. 1965. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*. 1st ed. Scripta Judaica, 5. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1981. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*. 2d ed. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East.
- Brustad, Kristen E. 2000. *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic. A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti Dialects*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown UP.
- Cantarino, Vicente. 1974–1975. *Syntax of modern Arabic prose*. Asian Studies Research Institute: Oriental Series, 4. Bloomington: Indiana University Press for the International Affairs Center.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1978. *Aspect. An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*.

the quotation from Jastrow), “fī” should be “fī”. P. 197, note 369, “Qəltu-Dialekte I” should be “Qəltu-Dialekte II”. P. 213, headline “Negatives in Early Arabic” should probably be deleted. P. 215, footnote 409, “Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrah*, 88” should be “Ibn Ishāq, *Sīrah*, 135–136”. P. 215, Ex. 181, line 8, “*yūṣallī*” should be “*yūṣallī*”. P. 241 in Table 16A, caption “A. EMMA” should be deleted. P. 259, line 9, “pp. 58–90” should be “pp. 73–113”. The order of titles by the same author in the bibliography should be rechecked. Either chronological order or alphabetical order, according to title.

<sup>46</sup> At the best, a reader should be able to verify all figures by referring to the tables. This is not possible in the present presentation. E.g., on p. 207, “2 % of the 2111 instances” must be interpreted from Table 23 as 2 % out of 1971 VS and 40 SV in the foreground, which amounts to 2011 instances. From where did Dahlgren get the remaining 100? A misprint? The “total 2046 instances” is the sum of 2005 plus 41 instances, but how is the “total of 2404 instances in foreground” calculated? There is no basis for this sum in Table 23.



1976. Reprinted with corrections. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daneš, František. 1966. "The three-level approach to syntax." In *L'École de Prague d'aujourd'hui*, edited by J. Vachek, 225–240. Travaux Linguistiques de Prague, 1. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Denz, Adolf. 1971. *Die Verbalsyntax des neuarabischen Dialektes von Kwayriš (Irak) mit einer einleitenden allgemeinen Tempus- und Aspektlehre*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 40:1. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner.
- Eksell, Kerstin. 1980. *The Analytic Genitive in the Modern Arabic Dialects*. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Orientalia Gothoburgensia, 5. Gothenburg.
- El-Yasin, Mohammed Khalid. Jan. 1985. "Basic Word Order in Classical Arabic and Jordanian Arabic." *Lingua* 65, no. 1–2:107–122.
- Fleisch, Henri Robert. 1974. *Études d'arabe dialectal*. Langue arabe et pensée islamique: Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de lettres orientales de Beyrouth, nouv. sér., A: Recherches, 4. Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq.
- . 1986. *Études d'arabe dialectal*. Beirut.
- Givón, Talmy. 1984–1990. *Syntax a functional-typological introduction*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Pub. Co.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements." In *Universals of Language*, edited by J. H. Greenberg, 73–112. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1979. "Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse." In *Syntax and Semantics*, edited by T. Givón. Vol. 12, *Discourse and Syntax*, 213–241. New York.
- Holes, Clive. 1995. *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*. Longman Linguistics Library. Harlow: Longman.
- Ingham, Bruce. 1994. *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian*. London Oriental and African Language Library, 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Isaksson, Bo. 1987. *Studies in the Language of Qoheleth. With Special Emphasis on the Verbal System*. Diss. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, 10. Uppsala.
- . 2002–2003. "The notion of diachrony and the modern Arabic dialects." *Orientalia Suecana* 51–52: 211–219.
- . 2003. "Sason: New data from a nearly forgotten Arabic minority in Turkey." In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of AIDA—Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe—held in Cádiz, September 2002*, edited by I. Ferrando and J. J. Sánchez Sandoval, 39–49. Cádiz: Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe.
- Isaksson, Bo and Ablahad Lahdo. 2002. "Three border towns between Turkey and Syria: 'Āmūda, Dərbēsiyye and Rās al-'Ayn." In *„Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten Aramäisch, wir verstehen es!“ 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by W. Arnold and H. Bobzin, 311–335. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lahdo, Ablahad. 2003. *The Arabic dialect of Tillo in the region of Siirt (south-eastern Turkey)*. Diss. Uppsala: Dept. of African and Asian Languages.
- Majdi, Basim. 1990. "Word Order and Proper Government in Classical Arabic." In *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics I: Papers from the First Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, edited by M. Eid, 127–154. Held at the University of Utah, April 24–25, 1987. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series IV—Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 63. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mitchell, Terence Frederick and Shahir A. El-Hassan. 1994. *Modality, Mood and Aspect in Spoken Arabic. With Special Reference to Egypt and the Levant*. Library of Arabic Linguistics Series. London: Kegan Paul.
- Moutaouakil, Ahmed. 1989. *Pragmatic Functions in a Functional Grammar of Arabic*. Functional Grammar Series, 8. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Retsö, Jan. 1983. *The finite passive voice in modern Arabic dialects*. Orientalia Gothoburgensia, 7. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.



- Rosenhouse, Judith. 1978. "Circumstantial clauses in some Arabic dialects." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 128:227–236.
- Shlonsky, Ur. 1997. *Clause Structure and Word Order in Hebrew and Arabic: An Essay in Comparative Semitic Syntax*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. New York and Oxford.
- Spitta-Bey, Wilhelm. 1880. *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*. Leipzig: Hinrich'sche.
- Versteegh, Kees. 1986. "Word Order in Uzbekistan Arabic and Universal Grammar." In *On the Dignity of Man: Oriental and Classical Studies in Honour of Frithiof Rundgren*, edited by T. Kronholm and E. Riad, 443–453. *Orientalia Suecana*, 33–35. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Wright, William. 1975. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language. Translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections*. Revised by W. R. Smith and M. J. d. Goeje, 2 vols. in 1. 3d ed. 1896–98. Reprint. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



## Book Reviews

Klaus Mylius, *Wörterbuch Ardhamāgadhī-Deutsch*. Wichtrach: Institut für Indologie 2003. Pp. 663.

The present work is the third in a series of dictionaries by Klaus Mylius aiming to facilitate access to and reading of the original texts of India's major religions, the envisaged readership including Indologists as well as those interested in the history of religions: Mylius' Sanskrit dictionary is a useful companion to the works on which Hinduism is based, the Pāli dictionary helps us to understand the fundamental texts of Buddhism, and the present dictionary of Ardhamāgadhī is intended to do the same for Jainism.

Jainism emerged in Bihar (North-Eastern India) at about the same time as Buddhism (maybe in the 6th / 5th century BC). Parallels between Buddhism and Jainism in terminology, ideas and the general aim of the reform movement directed against Brahmanism are far-reaching; there are even noteworthy similarities in the biographies of the Buddha as well as of the founder of Jainism, the *jina* ("conqueror") Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (according to Jainist tradition, he was not so much the founder, but rather the renewer of what others had taught before). The canon of the Śvetāmbara school of Jainism was fixed in the 5th century AD in the West of India, its older parts maybe dating from around 400 BC and consisting of metrical and prose parts.

In contrast to Buddhism and in spite of the setbacks suffered since the Middle Ages for the benefit of Hinduism, Jainism continues to flourish in India. The belief itself and the community of followers play a role in Indian society which is more important than the rather low number (4,345,000 according to the *Britannica Book of the Year 2003*:306) might lead to expect.

Jainist thinking is distinguished from Buddhism and Hinduism by having remained essentially unaltered throughout the centuries. It is characterised *inter alia* by denying the existence of any God as creator of the universe and by a decided bent for asceticism to the point of praising death from starvation through fasting. The canonical scriptures treat a number of particularly interesting issues of philosophy, e.g. the idea of matter being composed of atoms, and a system for the different kinds of *karma*. Considering these factors, it is deplorable that, as Mylius states in the preface of his dictionary (p. 5), Jainism has received comparatively little attention within the field of Indology.

The same may be said about the language in which the canonical scriptures of Jainism have come down to us. This Middle Indic (MInd.) language is called "Jaina Prākṛt" in early European studies of the language, *Ārṣa* ("language of the ṛṣis") by the Jainist tradition, and *Ardhamāgadhī* (Amg., literally "half-Māgadhī") by Indian grammarians who held the opinion that the language is similar to Māgadhī, the language in which the Buddha is believed to have preached. In fact, however, Amg. is not closer to Māgadhī than to some other MInd. languages (cf. Pischel 1900:13ff.).

The language of the Jaina canonical texts is characterised e.g. by the loss of intervocalic *t*, the coalescence of Old Indic (OInd.) *ś, ṣ, s* > *s*, the sound change of intervocalic *th* > *h* and *n* > *ṇ* (the manuscripts differ in their treatment of *n* and *ṇ*, though), the m. nom. sg. of stems in *-aḥ* is *-e* (at least in the older texts), which is a characteristic of Eastern MInd. languages, but other instances of OInd. *-aḥ* appear as *-o* (cf. von Hinüber 2001:99).

In addition to being the language of religious texts, some form of Amg. (which may be called Old Amg.) is likely to have been the language spoken at the court of king Aśoka in Pāṭaliputra (present-day Paṭnā), testimonies to which are to be found in stone inscriptions; it is also attested in fragments of plays by Aśvaghoṣa. This variant differs from the Jaina Amg. in the change of *r* > *l*, of *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n* > *n*, the consistent development of *-aḥ* > *-e*, and the preservation of *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* (cf. von Hinüber 2001:49f., 80f., 98).

Owing to its early and comparatively rich attestation, Amg. occupies an important position among the MInd. languages, second only to Pāli. Notwithstanding, the lexicography of Amg. has not progressed as much as Indologists, linguists, and those who are interested in Jainism might wish: so far, only very few dictionaries have been available (cited and discussed by Mylius on p. 7 and in Ghatage 1993). The dictionary of Jaina Amg. by Klaus Mylius will thus be much welcomed by all those who read German.

The main aim of the present work is to facilitate the studying of Jainist texts, especially selected texts from the canon (listed on p. 6). For this purpose, Mylius' book indeed proves to be a very useful tool, most words occurring in the texts being found in one form or another in the dictionary (it is surely impossible to account for every variant attested in manuscripts and editions). The translations cite the main and most essential meaning(s) and prove to be to the point and well chosen.

The book combines the advantages of being broad in scope (covering more than 16,000 entries) and at the same time handy in size, thus a true handbook indeed. The pleasant layout will also contribute to the success of what Mylius modestly calls a first attempt ("Pilotversuch") of an Ardhamāgadhi-German dictionary. The price of 240 SFR is a serious disadvantage, though (according to <http://www.indologiewichtrach.ch/>, there is a discount of 25% for individuals ordering directly from the publishing house: [mail@indologiewichtrach.ch](mailto:mail@indologiewichtrach.ch)).

The "Vorbemerkungen" (pp. 5–8) outline the aim of the book. In "Hinweise für die Benutzung" (pp. 9–14), Mylius explains the arrangement and structure of the entries and gives the inventory (and order in the dictionary) of Amg. phonemes (somewhat infelicitously called "alphabet").

These do not include *ś*, *ṣ* (see above) and diphthongs: what might seem to be a diphthong in an Amg. word is in fact two vowels which have come to be adjacent due to the loss of an intervocalic consonant (e.g. *aīhi* "guest" < OInd. *atithi-*), these groups of vowels have been noted with trema on the second vowel in other works on MInd. (e.g. *aīhi*, von Hinüber 2001: 99); since Mylius on p. 9 makes it clear that combinations of vowels do not represent diphthongs, he can dispense with the trema.

As far as *ṇ/n* (see above) is concerned, Mylius on the whole follows the policy of the text editions of the *Jaina Āgama Series* in noting what corresponds to OInd. *n* as *ṇ* also in word-initial position. Some cases of *n* remain, however, presumably because they occur in some text edition, and thus one finds e.g. two entries *saṃpanna* and *saṃpaṇṇa* "equipped with", which, with regard to the remark made on p. 9 that *n* may appear as *ṇ* and vice versa, would not seem absolutely necessary.

Verbs are cited in their present stem, the class of which is also given.

The negative prefix *a(ṇ)-* is always separated from the rest of the Amg. word by a hyphen. This certainly has the advantage of allowing a quick analysis of the word by the reader, but the disadvantage of suggesting – probably unintentionally – that all relevant words were analysable in this way by the speakers of Amg. or the composers of the texts, a claim which would seem difficult to substantiate. It might have been preferable to separate the negative prefix in the OInd. cognates quoted for each Amg. word (see below). It also seems somewhat inconsistent that the negative prefix is separated while no other sorts of compounds or derivatives are subject to morpheme analysis.

The dictionary also provides rich material for the study of the historical grammar of Amg. and MInd. in general since the entries (pp. 15–663) are followed wherever possible by the OInd. word they are likely to correspond to (*chāyā*), existing Sanskrit (Skr.) words conscien-

tiously being distinguished from those which are not attested but presupposed by the Amg. word. By simply browsing through the book, the reader thus automatically gets an impression of the historical phonology of Amg. and, to some degree, of MInd. in general. The approach of consistently quoting OInd. cognates has the further advantage of distinguishing words which have become homophones by the sound changes leading from OInd. to Amg. It also serves a pedagogical aim since most users of the dictionary will have some knowledge of Sanskrit and are thus enabled to relate Amg. words to what they might already know.

At the same time, however, one wonders whether the Skr. *chāyās* may give rise to misunderstandings since users might mistake them for the OInd. “origins” of the Amg. words, all the more since there is no note in the introduction which would warn them from the pitfalls involved here. Readers might be astonished, for instance (each of the following examples standing for a group of similar cases), about what seem to be MInd. doublets arising from the same OInd. word, e.g. *baṁdha* and *bajjha* “bond” both being related to Skr. *bandha-*; *bitiya*, *bīiya*, *bīya*, *ducca* and *docca* “second” to Skr. *dvitīya-*; both Amg. *bāhu* and *bāhā* corresponding to Skr. *bāhu-* “arm” etc.

In fact, the relationship of a given Amg. word to its Skr. *chāyā* may be of an entirely different nature: there are *mots savants* from OInd. (e.g. *baṁdha*), “truly” MInd. words and various mixtures of both categories, e.g. phonological adaptations of OInd. words (e.g. *bitiya*), morphological adaptations of varying sorts (*bāhā* besides *bāhu*; Amg. *balia* / Skr. *balin-* “powerful”; Amg. *hatthi* / Skr. *hastin-* “elephant”). Some more complicated cases involve the derivation of Amg. words from different forms of an OInd. word, as in Amg. *jea* “victorious” and *jeyāra* “winner”, both of which are related to Skr. *jetṛ-*; in fact, the second one will go back to the OInd. acc. *jetāram* while the first may be from the nom. In another group of cases, the Amg. words correspond to their alleged *chāyās* rather from a semantic point of view, e.g. *pupphamaṁta* “having many flowers” (a derivative of *puppha* “flower” < OInd. *puṣpa-*) for which Skr. *puṣpavat-* is given.

Although it is clearly beyond the scope of the present work to serve as an etymological dictionary of Amg., one might want to avoid misinterpretations by marking at least those Amg. words which are obviously Skr. loanwords or adaptations of such (e.g. *baṁdha*, *bitiya*) in a way different from those which do or may represent MInd. forms of some sort (e.g. *bajjha*; *bīiya*, *bīya*, *ducca*, *docca*).

Needless to say, opinions may also differ as to the attribution of Skr. *chāyās* to Amg. words. For instance, with regard to *sajja* “stick to” which Mylius relates to OInd. *saj*, one wonders whether *pasajja* “to be ready; stick to” (“hängend (an), neigend (zu)”) should obviously read “hängen (an), neigen (zu)”) might belong to the same root rather than to *pra-sj-*. It also seems rather unlikely to me that Amg. *puratthima* and *puratthimilla* (both “eastern”) could have developed from Skr. *paurastya-*, they will rather represent MInd. derivatives of *purattha* (< OInd. *purastāt*) “in front of; in the East”.

It is obvious that much remains to be done in the field of the historical grammar of MInd. languages, and the material collected in Mylius’ dictionary is a convenient starting-point for further investigations.

It is to be hoped that the book under review will bring new life to the study of Jainism and Middle Indic languages and will help users to appreciate the qualities of Ardhamāgadhī which the tradition describes in the following way (at the same time describing the envisaged public of the Jaina teachings):

*bhagavaṁ ca ṇaṁ addhamāgahīe bhāsāe dhammaṁ āikkhaṁ | sā vi ya ṇaṁ addhamāgahī  
bhāsā bhāsijjamāṇī tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyāṇaṁ duppayacaūppayamiyapasupakkhi-  
sarīsivāṇaṁ appappaṇo hiyasivasuhadāya bhāsattāe pariṇamaṁ*

“The Lord propagated the law in the Ardhamāgadhī language : this peace[-,] happiness-and-bliss-giving Ardhamāgadhī undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and tamed animals, the birds and the worms.”

(Samavāyāṅgasutta 98; text and translation quoted from and in the orthography used by Pischel/Jhā 1981:17, but replacing *y* by *y*).

### References:

- A. M. Ghatage (ed.): *A comprehensive and critical dictionary of the Prākṛt languages*. Poona 1993ff.  
 Oskar von Hinüber 2001: *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (2nd ed.).  
 Klaus Mylius 1975: *Wörterbuch Sanskrit–Deutsch*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, repr. Leipzig etc.: Langenscheidt 1992.  
 Klaus Mylius 2003: *Wörterbuch Pāli–Deutsch*. Wichtrach: Institut für Indologie 2003.  
 Richard Pischel 1900: *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*. Strassburg: Karl Trübner; English translation by Subhadra Jhā: *A Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1981 (2nd ed.).  
 Walther Schubring 1935: *Die Lehre der Jainas, nach den alten Quellen dargestellt*. Berlin etc.: de Gruyter; English translation: *The doctrine of the Jainas*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1962.

Agnes Korn  
Frankfurt am Main

Tryggve Mettinger, *The Riddle of Resurrection, "Dying and Rising Gods" in the Ancient Near East* (Coniectanea Biblica, OT ser. 50). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International 2001. Pp. 275.

This study by Mettinger is, like other studies by his hand, well informed and well written. The primary and secondary sources include several languages and there are several analyses of pivotal passages.

Chapter 1 (pp. 15–53) introduces the idea of dying and rising gods, which at the beginning of the 20th century was put forward by Frazer, who saw a seasonal vegetation cycle underlying the ideas behind several Levantine deities.

In recent research, the concept of the death and vivification of gods has been seriously questioned. The idea of the resurrection of Tammuz (Dumuzi in Sumerian) suffered a great blow, when some fifty years ago it turned out that he was not liberated by the goddess Inanna; rather she went down to the underworld to hand him over as her substitute. Adonis, secondly, is known from the Church Fathers as a god who reappears yearly, only to be mourned. Can such a return be called a resurrection? Also, the Christian interpretation of pagan religion as prototypical changed the way in which the Fathers described it, which means that it is hard to know what was actually believed in pre-Christian times.

What is more, however, as has recently been put forward by Mark Smith, Dumuzi has a semi-divine status only, and no ritual texts celebrate his return from the underworld; the well-known designation *mqm 'lm*, "riser of deity", used in connection with the Tyrian Melqart/Hercules does not unambiguously refer to the revival of the god. Moreover, the continuity between Baal and Adonis is uncertain; rather there seems to be a connection between Dumuzi and Adonis as deified humans; and finally, the well-known Baal cycle is of a literary character and no ritual texts contain any reference to the death and rising of Baal, who is, then, more like the disappearing and returning Hittite god Telepinus.

From this overview, and by taking exception to Smith, Mettinger presents his own agenda, which takes him into a profound analysis of the motifs of the death and return of deities. The question is: were there ever gods that were believed to die and return to life and, if so, was this



belief related to the seasonal cycle and celebrated ritually? It is furthermore stressed that resurrection means return from the underworld and the resumption of a full and active life on earth, and not merely renascence and immortality (pp. 41f.).

The order of investigation is then Baal, Adonis, Melqart/Heracles and Eshmun/Asclepius, followed by a general comparison of these West Semitic gods with Tammuz and Osiris. As a prerequisite, it is pointed out that the *interpretatio graeca* highlights a contrast between Greek and Semite religion. In the former, gods alone were immortal, whereas, in the latter, the borderline between gods and men was not so sharply defined. It is pointed out that the only available guideline to the beliefs once embraced in antiquity is what can be gathered from texts and iconography. Moreover, the connection between myth and ritual is not considered as indispensable, which means that myths may shift in contents and still express the same underlying idea, the mytheme (pp. 50–52).

Chapter 2 (pp. 55–81) deals with the Ugaritic god Baal. The suggestion that not Baal, but his substitute, was killed by Mot is firmly declined. It is pointed out that the key text, KTU 1.6 II, 25–26, contains a drought formula: the land lies helpless under the glowing sun due to Baal's death. Thus, Baal himself dies and returns with the rains. Admittedly, the corpus of ritual texts contains virtually no reference to Baal's death and return, but the mytheme itself, it is maintained, is alluded to in various cultic texts and accordingly the connection between Baal and Telepinus is expressly declined.

Chapter 3 (pp. 83–111) deals with Melqart/Heracles. Basically, the myths attributed to the Tyrian Melqart are the same as those attributed to the Greek god and *heros* Heracles, whose bones, according to antique sources, were kept in a sanctuary in Gades (modern Cadiz) in Spain. According to one tradition, a certain Typhon killed him. According to another, he met his death on a pyre and was transferred to the world of the gods. Despite this disagreement, it is clear that Melqart/Heracles actually died, but what about his resurrection? Josephus in his *Antiquitates* says that King Hiram of Tyre was the first to celebrate the *égersis*, “awakening”, of Heracles, a phrase that apparently refers to a cultic celebration of Heracles of Tyre (i.e. Melqart). Moreover, a Greek inscription in Amman reports that a local magistrate has been promoted as the “resuscitator” of Heracles. The Phoenician counterpart of this term, viz., *mqm 'lm*, is encountered in a number of inscriptions, many of them connected with Heracles. Admittedly, there are other interpretations of the term. Thus, *mqm 'lm*, “riser of gods”, may denote a supervisor of the cult or perhaps a manufacturer of gods or a person who invokes gods for salvific action, as is the case in OT usage (p. 92). Important in this connection is, however, a 15th–14th century B.C. vase from Sidon, with a series of scenes on it, viz., a figure on a pyre, a tomb, a mourning scene and, finally, a figure standing on a podium with the inscription *b'l kr* beneath, a phrase that E. Lipinski renders “*maître de la fournaise*”. The scenes, it is stated, very likely depict Melqart's death and resurrection (p. 103).

Chapter 4 (pp. 113–154) discusses Adonis (or Adon, “lord”, without the Greek ending). Owing to the general lateness of the source material, any description of older stages of the Adonis cult is venturesome. The discussion of the character of the Adonis cult is, thus, carried out in three steps: the classical Greek–Roman *heros*, the classical Egyptian *heros* and, finally, the Semitic god. In Athens, the Adonis festival seems to have had a funeral character. The myth of Adonis' bilocation, i.e., one part of the year in the underworld and another part on earth, does not involve a victory over death but rather reflects the recurring seasonal cycle. It seems that, in Egypt, Adonis was not connected with any bilocation which may have been owing to his close affiliation to Osiris, who was not revived to a life on earth but instead to a life in the “beyond”.

In contrast, both Origen and Jerome described the Semitic god Adonis as a dying and living god; they refer to the celebration of his death and resurrection and connect this with the agricultural year, which is all corroborated by Lucian's *De Dea Syria*. Thus, one has to distinguish between the Greek *heros* Adonis, who does not rise from the dead, and his Levantine counterpart, the Byblite Adonis, who does. In addition, the 10th-century B.C. Yehimilk inscription re-

fers to *b'l gbl*, i.e. Lord of Gebal. This may infer that Adonis was actually the Baal or Lord of Gebal/Byblos, though not named *ba'al*, but *'adon*. Consequently—so it is argued—the Byblite Adonis, whose cult certainly was influenced by the Osiris rites, has a prehistory in the Baal of the Late Bronze Age, whose death and return to life depict the vegetation cycle. Upon its reception into Greek religion, the concept of Adonis underwent major changes; only there he became a *heros*, whose death was to be mourned.

Chapter 5 (pp. 155–165) discusses Eshmun/Asclepius, the god of Sidon. The etymology of the name suggests a derivation from *šmn* “oil” and is connected with the use of oil in medical treatments. This deity seems thus to be a healing god, but it is not so easy to find any evidence of his curing himself of death. Certainly, the 5th-century B.C. pagan philosopher Damascius describes his self-emasculation, followed by his being “rekindled” to life, but—so it is argued—all this is nothing but a false track ending up in the Attis cult. Rather, more attention should be paid to a passage in the *India* by al-Biruni (d. 1048), who, quoting Galen, says that Asclepius, like Heracles, was raised to the angels in a column of fire (p. 159f.).

Chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 167–215) contain a discussion of the similarity of the West Semitic gods to Tammuz and Osiris. It is concluded that Osiris, although dead, is not *conceived* as dead, but alive and active as ruler in the underworld. His return to life, accordingly, is not paralleled among the West Semitic gods. The cult of Osiris in Byblos goes back to the Late Bronze Age, but an Osiris–Adonis syncretism is not so easily assessed. True, the Adonis cult in Alexandria was influenced by the Osiris cult, but express identification is rare and late. The connections between Osiris and Melqart, on the other hand, seem to be stronger: Melqart’s being killed by Typhon appears to be a parallel to Osiris’ being killed by Seth. Furthermore, it is concluded that the Tammuz myth was widespread in the ancient Near East, but the evidence pointing to a cultic celebration of his vivification is meagre, although not altogether lacking. It seems that the cult of Tammuz early took on a vegetation concept. This very concept, it is stated, may have contributed to the change of Baal from an ordinary storm god to a storm god who descended into the underworld and returned. Also, the mourning of Adonis and Tammuz both fall in the middle of the summer; and the festival of Melqart’s awakening roughly coincides with the celebration of Tammuz’ return.

An epilogue (pp. 217–222) concludes the discussion and simultaneously points out that the Christian belief in Jesus’ resurrection, being presented as a one-time, historical event, does not fit with the old myths. The riddle thus remains.

Mats Eskhult  
Uppsala

M.F. Rogland, *Alleged Non-Past Uses of QATAL in Classical Hebrew* (Proefschrift). Leiden: University of Leiden 2001. Pp. 157.

The aim put forward for this study is to investigate marginal usages of the *qatal* formation, namely the so-called gnomic, prophetic and performative usages in Biblical Hebrew, and this from a theoretical as well as a practical, exegetic angle.

The study is justified by the lack of systematic, theoretical investigation of the allegedly non-past uses of *qatal*, and the remarkable scholarly disagreement when it comes to interpreting various individual passages as examples of these usages—in spite of the general acceptance of their existence (p. 2).

Being confined to “the indicative function of lexically fientive verbs” (pp. 9 and 23), the in-

vestigation excludes the *qatal* of stative verbs and the *qatal* in interrogative and conditional clauses. The basic assumption is that fientive *qatal* is semantically marked for the past; other tense references are highly incidental.

After a well-informed discussion of tense and aspect and the Hebrew verbal system, the author starts with the "gnomic perfect" (pp. 15–46), which is often described as a general truth, established on the basis of observation and experience and hence lacking location in time. It is remarked that the term *gnomic* is commonly used, notwithstanding that the term itself lacks precision and clarity. Also, proverbs are not always in the present tense, as is shown *inter alia* by the example: "too much water drowned the miller". From this point of departure, the *qatal* forms in gnomic usage are explained in a number of cases as reporting an experience or observation (§ 2.5.1), i.e., an essentially *past* action that is reported by the author, e.g., "A lazy one said, 'There is a lion outside!'" (Prov. 22,13). Interestingly, this interpretation is extended to allusions to the creation as well as to theophanies, e.g., Nah. 1,4, Amos 5,8 and Ps. 97,4ff.

In other cases, the *qatal* forms in gnomic usage are explained as proverbs utilizing a global or general past tense, which refers to a multitude of occurrences that are summarized into a general rule, a global past (§ 2.5.2). The general application of such an utterance is conveniently stressed by the insertion of "ever/always" or "never" in translation, e.g., "Fools have (ever/always) despised wisdom and discipline" (Prov. 1,7); and "But mockers never listened to a rebuke" (Prov. 13,1). In conclusion, it is stated that, in a good many cases cited in the grammatical literature, *qatal* should be understood as a past tense.

The discussion of the "prophetic perfect" (pp. 47–101) is yielding. The description of the use of *qatal* with reference to the future varies precariously between the authorities. Ewald, Gesenius and Driver suggest an action that is accomplished in the imagination of the speaker, whereas Gibson explains the phenomenon from an aspectual point of view, namely as the injection of a note of permanency into the predication. Rightly, Rogland discerns various separate phenomena involved, such as the interference of a relative tense, quoted speech or past decisions. Most interestingly, he suggests the "prophetic perfect" may be explained as a narration of events which occurred in a vision and are related by the biblical author, that is to say, the "prophetic perfect" is nothing but an ordinary past form (pp. 57–81). It stands to reason that Joseph's and Daniel's dreams are narrated in the past, but the interpretation given is in the future. The same is in principle valid for most alleged examples of the "prophetic perfect", such as the classic Isa. 9:1: "the people walking in darkness saw a great light". Admittedly, the mixture of *qatal* and *yiqtol* forms in prophetic oracles can be explained by the assumption of shifting vantage points or, in S.R. Driver's words in his *Treatise*, at one moment the prophet looks upon the events he is describing "from the *real standpoint* of the present", and at another moment "he looks back upon them as accomplished and done, and so viewing them from an *ideal position* in the future" (p. 47). Yet the visionary character of the oracles, often accompanied by auditory phenomena, supports Rogland's suggestion, although a frequent change between a past vision and a present discourse very often makes such an analysis rather venturesome, as is the case in, e.g., Jeremiah, ch. 48.

The introduction to the short chapter on the performative perfect (pp. 103–117) is well informed as regards the state of research and the scholarly discussion. The adduced examples show that the Septuagint and the Vulgate very often render a performative utterance by the present. Nevertheless, some scholars in general linguistics maintain that "performatives are by definition outside the scope of temporality", and thus—so it is argued—a non-past interpretation of *qatal* in this usage "simply appears to be a convention and has no bearing on the semantic analysis" (p. 113). The discussion at this point is much too brief and the author obviously clings to his descriptive model: fientive *qatal* is semantically marked for the past. It seems, however, that he neglects the interpretive level: does his contention explain the apparent tense value of *qatal* in performative utterances? After all, in standard prose solely *qatal* is used for performative utterances, only in late biblical prose the participle took over the performative function, as is nicely pointed out in an appendix.

Rogland's thesis is an important contribution to the theoretical and the practical-exegetic interpretation of non-past meanings of *qatal*. However, a number of long—not translated and only partly commented—quotations from biblical passages lend a somewhat premature character to the book as a whole.

Mats Eskhult  
Uppsala

Peursen, W.Th. van, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira* (PhD thesis). Leiden: Leiden University 1999. Pp. xvi + 419.

*The Wisdom of Ben Sira* was written in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. A Greek translation, by the author's grandson in 132 B.C., was widely read and the book was incorporated in the Christian OT manuscripts. In this shape, it was known till 1896, when Hebrew fragments of the book were discovered among the Cairo Geniza findings. The more extensive fragments were published within a few years, and subsequently Hebrew fragmentary manuscripts from Masada and Qumran were added, so that by now two-thirds of the book are extant in Hebrew. A text edition of the extant Hebrew manuscripts, with a synopsis of the parallel texts, was published by P.C. Beentjes (Leiden 1997). The textual transmission, however, is complicated and it is not possible to reconstruct the original Hebrew text. Therefore, the object of van Peursen's investigation is the language of *Ben Sira*, as it is attested in the various Hebrew manuscripts.

The investigation is carried out in three parts, Part One, "The Wisdom of Ben Sira and its language" (pp. 1–56), contains preliminaries on the phases of the Hebrew language, an account of the textual transmission of the book, a chapter on the orthography of the Hebrew manuscripts, and finally a survey of the studies that have been made of *Ben Sira* and their results. Part Two, "Morphosyntax of the tenses" (pp. 57–252), covers the Hebrew perfect, imperfect, perfect consecutive, imperfect consecutive, copulative perfect, copulative imperfect, volitive forms, the participle, and the infinitive construct and the infinitive absolute. Part Three, "The use of tenses in various kinds of clauses" (pp. 253–352), discusses interrogative and exclamatory utterances, subordinate clauses, i.e., substantival and relative clauses plus adverbial clauses with emphasis on verbal syntax. In addition to the summaries of the different chapters, there is a general conclusion (pp. 353–364). There is a useful bibliography (pp. 366–393) and indexes (pp. 394–415), plus a Dutch summary and curriculum (pp. 416–420).

In orthography, there is great divergence between the manuscripts, ranging from a rather defective spelling in the Masada manuscript, to a very *plene* one in the larger Geniza manuscripts.

Part Two, "Morphosyntax", begins with the use of finite verbal forms. It turns out that the perfect, *qatal*, in *Ben Sira* does not differ in essentials from that in Biblical Hebrew (BH); the perfectivity of *qatal* accounts for it being used as an absolute and relative past form, as well as for its employment in the present in gnomic and performative utterances.

The imperfect, *yiqtol*, is problematic, insofar as the unvocalized text distinguishes between the full form (indicative) and the short form (jussive) solely in III *he* and II *waw/yod* verbs. In Qumranic Hebrew (QH), the two forms have become allomorphs, the use of which is conditioned by their position in the clause: the short form is initial; the full form is non-initial. Already in BH, the cohortative, *'aqr' lā*, tends to be a clause initial variant of *'aqtol*, leaving aside the semantic factor. It is noteworthy, however, that in the existence of the cohortative and the

jussive, Ben Sira sides with other forms of classical Hebrew, viz., Biblical, Epigraphic and Qumranic in contrast to Mishnaic Hebrew (MH). With the imperfect consecutive, the short *yiqtol* is used in the 2nd and 3rd persons, while in the 1st person *wā'eqtlā*, is used along with *wā'eqtol*. The paragogic *nun* is rare, similar to the situation in late biblical and post-biblical writings, as opposed to the earlier biblical literature. The energetic suffix *-an-* (observable in the 3rd pers. sg.) does not occur with the short *yiqtol* form in BH, nor in QH, and the same is true for *Ben Sira*.

The *yiqtol* form is used with reference to the present in utterances that aim at a habitual activity or a general truth, as in "the wise one is silent (*yhryš*) till the proper time, but the fool ignores (*l' yšmr*) the proper time" (C 20,7). The general, contingent sense of *yiqtol* makes it hard to determine whether in particular cases the present or the future is intended. Logically, the future always contains the notion of epistemic modality and so the two coincide in *yiqtol*; alternatively, it is stated, the future use of *yiqtol* may be regarded a subcategory of its modal use. When employed for the past, *yiqtol* in *Ben Sira* generally has a contingent, and thus modal, force (pp. 106 and 109).

The perfect consecutive, *weqatalīf*, is abundantly attested in *Ben Sira*, in contrast to MH, where the form has disappeared. It continues finite verbal form (at times even non-finite forms), thus expressing a temporal or logical consequence. As an apodosis after a conditional clause, it may be replaced by *yiqtol*, as is mostly the case in the later biblical prose.

The imperfect consecutive, *wayyiqtol*, is used in accordance with BH rules, not only in the narrative past as is especially the case in the portion named "Praise of the Fathers"; it is also used after gnomic expressions for the general present, e.g., "Therefore I give thanks (*hwdyt*) and offer praise (*w'hllh*), and I bless (*w'brkh*) the name of the Lord" (B 51,12).

Initial *qatal* occurs several times, in a "looser" kind of narration that relates points of interest in the life of the author rather than a connected story. This usage is not unknown in classical Hebrew (pp. 129ff.).

The copulative perfect, *we-qatal*, is poorly attested in *Ben Sira*, as is the case in QH and the later biblical literature, which proves that there is no linear development from *wayyiqtol* in BH to *we-qatal* in MH. Interestingly, the sequence *qatal* followed by *we-qatal* is used to express synonymous or similar actions, or is used in short parallel clauses; both phenomena are known from BH (Deut. 2,30; Gen. 28,6).

As to the copulative imperfect, *we-yiqtol*, it is maintained that a final-consecutive relationship is marked by *weqatalīf*, while *we-yiqtol* is not marked in this respect. Thus, Van Peursen follows his teacher Muraoka in contesting the existence of an indirect volitive, albeit the short form is employed, whenever possible, to express the purpose of the preceding volitive form. At this critical point, he leans on Qimron, who thinks that the syntagm *wyqtl* in itself requires the short form (pp. 148 and 152).

As to the volitives, it turns out that *Ben Sira* shows the same construction of coordinated imperatives as is also found in BH, e.g., *bqš wms*' (A 6,27). The negated imperatives '*l* + jussive (prohibitive) and '*l* + indicative (vetitive) show the same overlap in function as in BH. The prohibitive outnumbers the vetitive, just as the imperative, *q'etol*, outnumbers the injunctive use of the *yiqtol*.

The participle, *qotel*, is thoroughly discussed as concerns the government, whether nominal or verbal, the rules for which roughly follow those of BH. The participle of intransitive verbs may be construed as the former component of a construct phrase, whose latter component signifies in what respect the activity is to be viewed. This usage is a bit remarkably named "indirect object" and occurs in phrases quoted from the Bible or coined in accordance with biblical style (p. 180).

The semantics of the passive participle, depending on the intrinsic character of the verb, is duly discussed, as is also its complement and the general relation between participle and verbal adjective. The active, predicative participle most often expresses the general present, less commonly the future and the past. Its growing encroachment on the field of finite forms in late



and post-biblical literature is duly observed by the example of the verb *ms'* "find". The periphrastic form occurs a few times. The non-predicative participle, in contrast, has remained a-temporal and location in time can only be deduced from the context. Some functions are elucidated, such as that of general reference, i.e., "whoever", "someone", and the function of the participle as an adverbial accusative (perhaps more properly to be described as a circumstantial phrase).

As to the infinitive construct, its nominal and verbal features are nicely presented. In contrast to the general development towards post-biblical Hebrew, the subject infinitive in *Ben Sira* is found both with and without *l'*. As predicate, *l'* + infinitive, i.e., *liqtol*, is typical of later style. With *'ēn* and with *tōb* the construction has a strong modal value. As verbal complement, *liqtol* often stands with auxiliaries of modal and adverbial meaning, some are well known from BH such as *'l t'hr lšwb 'lyw*, "do not tarry in returning to Him" (A, C 5,7), others are less well known, such as *wl' yms' lhšhytk*, "he will not be able to destroy you" (A 12,11). The adverbial-gerund use of *liqtol* to specify the action of the main verb is also attested, as are also other logical relations, especially then with other prepositions than *l'* (in which case MH prefers other verbal noun formations than *q'ol*).

*Ben Sira* employs the infinitive absolute as adverb, once as imperative, and as internal object (the analysis as *object* may be contested, at least as far as the origin of the construction is concerned).

Part Three, dedicated to the verbal syntax as expressed in different types of clauses, begins with interrogative and exclamatory clauses. It is remarked that the extraposition of an element before the pronoun may be due to Aramaic influence, e.g., *wbmrwm my yzkrny* "and who will remember me in heaven" (A 16,17).

Admittedly, logical and grammatical subordination far from always coincide, yet all sorts of "subordination" are conveniently treated under the heading of subordinate clauses, and according to their various functions: substantival, adjectival and adverbial. A preliminary diachronic observation (pp. 260f.) calls attention to the fact the later biblical and post-biblical style shows an increase of *liqtol* at the expense of other final and consecutive constructions, and after verbs of commanding *liqtol* tends to replace direct speech.

In *Ben Sira*, object clauses are more often introduced by *ky* than by *'šr* or *š-*. The (dependent) asyndetic, relative clause is very common, especially with *yiqtol*, e.g., *mqwm ybyt*, "the place he regards" (B 31,14), which is said to be appropriate to express indefiniteness and uncertainty (p.285). According to the general rules for Hebrew, the syndetic, relative clause is introduced by *'šr* or *š-*, followed by a finite verb, or *h-*, followed by a participle.

Temporal clauses are dealt with under the headings *anteriority*, *posteriority* and *simultaneity*. *Ben Sira* has no case of a *wyhy* or *whyh* preceding a temporal clause. Conditional clauses are arranged according to the presence of conditional particles and *waw apodosis*. Final and consecutive clauses are arranged according to whether finite forms or *liqtol*, only, expresses the relationship. Causal and explicative relationships may be inferred from the context or may be made clear by means of particles.

The general conclusion emphasises the fact that the verbal system in *Ben Sira* is closely connected with that in BH and with that in QH, in contrast to that in MH. Nevertheless, there are some affinities to MH, e.g., the periphrastic forms. Consequently, it is difficult to place *Ben Sira* in a gradual development of the Hebrew language. Although it seems sensitive to regard *Ben Sira* as a representative of the transition from BH to MH, there are archaic traits and features that do not fit in any phase of Hebrew. At the same time, the diversions from standard BH are too many to be looked upon as simple mistakes; rather the Hebrew of *Ben Sira* stands out as an entity in its own right, albeit with some Aramaic influences.

Van Peursen's book is much more than an inventory of the verbal system of *Ben Sira*. It contains a learned, sober and solid discussion of the Hebrew verbal syntax in its development from the stage of the classical (pre-exilic) biblical literature, through the later biblical books, and the Qumran Hebrew writings, to the Mishanic Hebrew literature—all in order to judge the nature



of the Hebrew in *Ben Sira*. Van Peursen's style is clear and didactic and his book is a masterpiece in its way of introducing the reader to its subject.

Mats Eskhult  
Uppsala

Per Å. Bengtsson, *Translation Techniques in Two Syro-Arabic Versions of Ruth* (Studia Orientalia Lundensia, nova series 3). Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell International 2003. Pp. 195.

This book deals with two Syro-Arabic translations of Ruth, viz., Ar I and Ar III. Of these the latter is more literal *vis-à-vis* the Syriac *Vorlage*, represented by the manuscript 7a1 in the Leiden Peshitta edition.

The introductory chapter (pp. 10–16) gives an overview of Syriac Bible manuscripts in general and introduces the two Arabic versions under discussion and their mutual relation.

The main chapter (pp. 17–73) is dedicated to translation technique. A very short introductory discussion refers to four investigations of translation technique. The more important of these are J. Barr, *Typology of Literalism in Ancient Bible Translations*, 1979, and S. Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity" in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 1984, pp. 69–87.

The criteria set up for the investigation of the translation technique follow those of Barr and are rather formal in character, viz., word order, expansions, reductions, exchange of words and phrases, and associative / dissociative choices. There is no discussion of the theoretical considerations in the choice of translation that the translators might have had in mind. Thus, nothing is said about the scholarly discussion of translation in antiquity, as it is presented, in for example, F.M. Renner, *Interpretatio* (1989), who says that early Middle Age theory in the selection of words favoured proper equivalents fetched from the common vocabulary and of common usage, and moreover words that ought not to be new but might very well be etymological counterparts between source language and target language. Barr's categories for classifying divergences are certainly very useful, but in isolation they give little background to the ideas that might have guided the Arabic translators in their work on the text of Ruth.

Mats Eskhult  
Uppsala

Helen Younansardaroud, *Der nordostaramäische Dialekt von Sārdä:rīd* (Semitica viva 26). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2001. Pp. xxiv, 261.

Among the most important developments in Semitic studies during the last century has been the documentation of the Neoaramaic languages. The exile of large numbers of their speakers has made these languages more easily accessible to scholars in the west than was the case earlier. The revival of Neoaramaic studies flourished during the later half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, initiated by scholars like Anton Spitaler, Helmut Ritter, Konstantin Tsereteli, Rudolf Macuch

and Otto Jastrow, five scholars who set out to continue the pioneering work initiated by Maclean, Nöldeke, Prym and Socin almost a century earlier. By now, we have quite a considerable amount of documentation of all the main groups of Neoaramaic: Syrian Maṣlūla, Turoyo, Urmian/“Assyrian” or ‘Nordostneuarāmāisch’, both Christian and Jewish dialects, and even Neomandaean. This does not mean that the situation is satisfactory. We still lack documentation of a large number of varieties, especially of Urmian/“Assyrian” and, of course, Neomandaean. The latter illustrates the problem well, since its documentation is probably an urgent task before it disappears completely. A similar situation holds good in different degrees for the other Neoaramaic languages. Many grammatical features, especially in Urmian, have not been described in a satisfactory way or even understood completely. We still lack a systematic, comparative dialectology of these languages. The diachronic aspect is also an untrodden field, which is not surprising, considering the lack of documentation of the languages until recently, as well as the small number of scholars working in the field. It is, however, a promising task, since the development of the Aramaic dialects at least into some of the modern forms can probably be traced in the extensive, Syriac and Mandaean literary texts produced during almost two millennia, where we may expect to find a rich material of interference between the spoken and the written forms in the same manner as in Arabic. On the whole, Aramaic studies should have a much more central position not only in Semitics but in linguistics in general, owing to the unique documentation of this group of languages/dialects covering almost three thousand years. Few languages in the world can point to such a long, continuously documented history.

The most important of the Neoaramaic languages is the one used as a literary idiom by both Nestorians and Jacobites, which was more or less created at the beginning of the 19th century by the American mission in Urmias. This is the only Neoaramaic language which has a written standard. The history of this language experiment has lately been described by H. Murte-van den Berg (*From a Spoken to a Written Language. The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century*, Leiden 1995, pp. 1–102). Since Nöldeke’s ground-breaking *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache* from 1868, there have in fact been several attempts to describe this language, mostly by scholars in the Soviet Union like Q. I. Marogulov, *Grammaire néosyriaque pour écoles d’adultes (dialecte d’Urmia)*, Paris 1976 and K. Tsereteli, *Sovremennyj assirijskij jazyk*, 1964, translated as *Grammatik der modernen assyrischen Sprache*, 1978. In spite of their merits, none of these works can be said to have been completely successful. One setback is that they all tend to treat the language as a *written* idiom. Especially the phonology of Urmian remains opaque. It is thus with some expectation that one now takes a new description of spoken Urmian in one’s hand, especially since it is a description of a variety spoken in the village of Sārdā:rīd, c. 20 km north of Urmia made by one of its speakers trained by R. Voigt in Berlin. Even if it is not the language of the town of Urmia, which is described, the dialect of Sārdā:rīd is very close to it. It should be underlined that none of the modern studies of the dialects within this language, ‘Nordostneuarāmāisch’, deals with the Christian dialects on the western shore of the Urmias lake. They all describe varieties further south or south-west in Kurdistan, which are phonologically quite different from the northern dialects. Garbell’s study from 1965 (*The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan*) treats the Jewish dialects in villages west and south-west of the lake, which are quite different from the Christian ones. Odisho’s *The Sound System of Modern Assyrian (Neoaramaic)* from 1988 deals with a koiné-variant of the ‘Assyrian’ spoken in Iraq. Although this work is a step forward, several phonological phenomena remain unclear, e.g., the vowel system. Besides, the language is not that of the Urmia region. At last we now have the possibility of studying what one of the bases of the written Urmian language looks like.

The book under review contains four parts: Phonologie (1–70), Morphologie (71–192), Syntax (193–214) and a collection of recorded texts (215–250). As will be seen, phonology and morphology loom large, whereas syntax gets a more abbreviated presentation. The ample space given to phonology and morphology is, of course, well motivated, since both fields are full of interesting problems in the Neoaramaic languages in general and this language in particular.

Anyone who has spent some time reading Urmian texts, e.g., in Tsereteli's *Xrestomatija sovremennogo assirijskogo jazyka* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Tbilisi 1980) or Macuch & Panoussi's *Neusyrische Chrestomathie* (Wiesbaden 1974), without having access to a native informant, has often been at a loss how to pronounce the language. Even though the phonetic hints in the glossary of the latter are helpful, the system is not transparent and the phonological structure of Urmian is one of the most discussed features of the language, all the more so since this is one of the main isoglosses dividing the whole Urmian/'Assyrian' group. Dr. Younansardaroud gives a short survey of the discussion from Stoddard's first grammar of the language from 1855 to Fox's description of the Jilu dialect in the Hakkari region from 1997 (pp. 39–63). This survey shows that (a) the phonology is quite varied in the dialects and (b) the theoretical equipment of the scholars dealing with it has not always been adequate. As far as Urmian is concerned, it has long been evident that its phonology is a consistent system of 'vowel-harmony' or 'syn-harmony' similar to (but not quite identical with) the one in standard Turkish. The most interesting and important part of the present study is definitely the description of the phonology.

One of the advantages of this book, in my view is the introduction of the traditional orthography as a parallel to the phonological transcription. Since there is a big gap between the historicizing orthography and the morpho-phonological structure of the language, this device has a pedagogical value for those who are interested in handling modern, literary standard Urmian. Unfortunately, the author has not had the energy to be consistent; the parallel Urmian orthography is given somewhat haphazardly and it tends to disappear in the second half of the book. In general, however, this method gives the reader a good idea of how the orthography works and he can with renewed energy and hope attack modern Urmian texts, now being able to read them with an acceptable pronunciation.

Dr. Younansardaroud assumes a three-grade synharmony in this dialect. This means that all vowels and (almost?) all consonants have three variants: fronted, centred and backed. These distinctions are annotated both by diacritical signs on vowels and consonants in the transcription and also by an indicator of the category to which a phoneme sequence belongs: superscript *v* for 'fronted' ('vorne'), *m* for centered ('mitte') and *h* ('hinten'). This gives a double marking, which in most cases is redundant but makes the system more transparent for the reader. There are also cases in which a segment does not participate in the fronting, centring or backing, which is then clearly visible in the transcription. It is, however, somewhat confusing that she does not stick to the accepted phonetic terminology. Instead she operates with 'harte' and 'weiche Aussprache', a relapse into a more home-made and/or old-fashioned terminology. She gives several nice examples of how this system works, e.g., minimal pairs like [ˈgö:rá] (fronted) 'she married', [ˈm̥gö:ra] (centred) 'husband', [ˈrĩ:šā] (fronted) 'head', [ˈrĩ:šā] (backed) 'awakened', and [ˈm̥ta:ma] (centered) 'there', [ˈh̥tā:mā] (backed) 'taste'. What should have been pointed out is the fact that there does not seem to be cases of minimal 'triplets', i.e. words with the same segments but with a semantic opposition based on all three grades. We have oppositions fronted-centred, centred-backed, fronted-backed but no case with three terms.

These data are undoubtedly important and constitute a most valuable piece of information about this dialect. On the other hand, the presentation of the phonological system is hardly satisfactory, even from a modest, theoretical point of view. On p. 3 an inventory of consonantal phonemes is given, listing 35 phonemes altogether. Eighteen of these are pairs with fronting and backing as distinctive features. According to this scheme, this opposition is found only with labials and apicals. But on p. 20, it is said that "die harte Aussprache", i.e. the backed variant, is audible also with all the other consonants. The question then remains why this opposition is not counted in the table on p. 3. Is fronting-backing not phonemic with other consonants? One must also ask how the centred variant should be understood, which is completely absent from the scheme. Is centring not phonemic either? With this is connected the absence of triplet oppositional terms. It is obvious that something is wrong with the theoretical model used here. The centred variants should probably be characterised as neutral as far as backing-

fronting is concerned without operating with centering as a distinctive feature. We would then end up with a system of binary oppositions, either equipollent (backing–fronting) or privative (neutral–backing/fronting) in Trubetzkoy's terminology.

The treatment of the vowels is not satisfactory either. For some reason, no vowel inventory is presented. On p.27, we are given lists of the short and long vowels, together with the diphthongs, showing their realisation in the three-grade, synharmonic system. There are five short and five long vowels, *i/i:*, *e/e:*, *a/a:*, *o/o:*, *u/u:*. But on p. 16, lists of minimal pairs illustrating the vowel oppositions are given, in which we find a five-vowel system with the long ones and a three-vowel system with the short ones. In the rest of the material, e.g. the texts, there are plenty of notated short *is* and *os* in unstressed positions, like the nominal plural suffix {*i*} or the possessive suffix, third-person feminine sing. {*o*}. They could perhaps be seen as phonemically long but shortened in non-stressed position but in that case one would like to see some evidence of their phonemic length. A major setback is the lack of phonetic analysis of both vowels and consonants, which is a serious deficiency when dealing with a language with such a complex phonology as this one. One would very much have liked to have had a proper description of the sounds, phonemes and common allophones of the language given in the general, phonological/phonetical terminology. This would have been essential in order to understand the structure of the synharmonic system and how it operates. Dr. Younansardaroud's book contains a lot of very interesting phonological data, but the handling of them is not very impressive and unfortunately gives an amateurish impression.

The other parts of the book are less problematic. There is a generous presentation of the morphology, which is also quite systematic and—not least—almost complete with a rich inventory of verbal paradigms. This is a main virtue of the work which sets it apart from many other descriptions of this language, especially the Urmian dialects, where parts of the very complicated verbal system often tend to be forgotten, an unfortunate tendency launched by the great Nöldeke, in whose *Grammatik* one looks in vain for paradigms, that wonderful instrument for language description.

Among the features found in the verbal system, one may note the absence of object-pronominal suffixes with preterite verbs. Thus, Murre-van den Berg quoting the earlier grammars, gives *dheq-ā-li* “he took her” which in Sārdā:rīd would be *dviq-lī qātō* (p. 147f.). The particle *qā:t-* + pronominal suffix is said to be more common (‘häufiger’) as pronominal object marker than the suffixes *-a* (f.) and *-i* (pl.). In standard Urmian, *qat* is said to mark indirect objects only (Murre-van den Berg 192).

Another feature not found in this dialect, at least not in the present work, is the double agreement in the preterite verb marking both subject and definite object, which is normal in standard Urmian (Murre-van den Berg, loc. cit.). One more observable fact is the alleged absence of the verb *PYŠ* + participle marking the verb in a passive construction. Instead the dialect employs finite, active forms, the third person singular or plural. It is, however, to be remarked that in the first text, the Lord's Prayer, there occurs a passive construction with this verb: *pā:jiš qüccā šimmuḥ* = “may thy name be sanctified”, but this may be an influence from the standard language.

The text consists of descriptions of traditional life in the village, an account of events during the Second World War, and some traditional stories. It would have been of great value to have some examples of spontaneous dialogue. The texts are easy to read, thanks to the meticulous transcription, accompanied by a quite literal translation. Unfortunately, they are syntactically quite primitive, tending to let one main clause follow upon another, instead of using subordination. More sophisticated constructions like relative clauses are almost non-existent and the structure of the passive construction may be more complex than indicated. This also explains the brief treatment of syntax in general in the book. Nöldeke's Neosyriac grammar is still the main source for insights into this field.

Dr. Younansardaroud's book is a most welcome contribution to the descriptions of this fascinating language group. Its main value is the phonological material presented which allows

the phonologically trained scholar to draw some important conclusions about the sound structure of one of the main dialects on the Urmias Plain, even though the analysis of the data leaves a lot to be desired. Also the morphological part is of great value, even though all the problems of the verbal morphology in Urmian cannot be said to have been solved. We still lack a modern treatment of the syntax of this language and its varieties.

Jan Retsö  
Göteborg

Christine Chaillot, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition. A Brief Introduction to its Life and Spirituality*. Paris: Inter-Orthodox Dialogue, 2002. 250 pp, 251 photos, 7 maps, 6 charts.

Christine Chaillot's book on the life and spirituality of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo (united) Christians is a much needed and most welcome source of detailed information about the various aspects of the history, theology and piety of this ancient Orthodox Church. Following the terrible persecutions of the Church by the communist regime (Derg-Committee) from 1974 until 1991, Mrs. Chaillot, a laywoman attached to the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, has spent several years visiting churches and monasteries, schools and charitable institutions throughout the various regions of the country. Through discussions and interviews with bishops and abbots, teachers and laymen, monks and hermits she has gained a deep insight into the spirituality of the Orthodox Ethiopians. Each and every chapter of this book is a genuine testimony to the vitality and faithfulness of these African Christians following almost twenty years of persecution, affliction and harassment by the communists. To my knowledge, Christine Chaillot's study is the first structural and spiritual inventory of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church after the death of the Coptic Pope Cyril VI in 1971 and the assassination of the members of the royal family in 1974.

Following a concise introduction of the principal historical, geographical and ethnic data of the country, the text is divided into two main parts. Part One provides a detailed account of the history of the Church from the days of the ancient kingdom of Axum to the patriarchate of Abuna Paulos (1992), the fifth Ethiopian Patriarch. Today the patriarch of the Ethiopian Tewahedo Orthodox Church has the title of Archbishop of Axum and Etchege of the See of Saint Tekla Haymanot.

In 1991 Eritrea gained political independence from Ethiopia and in May 1993 Pope Shenouda III consecrated and installed in Asmara the first Eritrean Orthodox Patriarch, H.B. Philippus, once abbot of the historic monastery of Bizen near Asmara. Throughout her book, Christine Chaillot has consistently included in her presentations of churches and monasteries, pilgrimage-sites and institutions of the new Eritrean Orthodox Church, which, of course, follow the same age-old traditions, theology and piety as the Ethiopians. Both the Sunday school and the Mahebere Kidusan Youth Association are very significant movements for the future of the Church. As correctly pointed out, these youth movements were originally inspired by some of the leaders of the Coptic Orthodox Church and Sunday-School of the fifties of last century. The importance of these developments among the youth of the church cannot be exaggerated. They are well described in Mrs. Chaillot's book.

In Part Two, the author deals with some basic information pertaining to language and literature, oral and written sources. The chapter on the various traditional and theological institutions of learning reads like a reference book, which, of course, is important for scholars in the respective fields. Also in the field of higher theological learning, the Coptic Orthodox



Church used to provide qualified instructors, men like Abuna Murqus Dáúd. and Sa'ad Aziz (the late Bishop Samuel). The text of this study excels in the presentation of the liturgical and devotional life of the Ethiopian Christians. Here, the book is a spiritual fountain of vital information for our appreciation and understanding of the deep piety of the people. Following a description of the various architectural types of churches, one is introduced to the most important aspect of the Christians spiritual life, the eucharistic liturgy, of which the Ethiopians know no less than 14 anaphoras! As to be expected, the Ethiopian liturgical calendar reveals in terms of structure and content many similarities with the Coptic Church year, although, there are also sufficient differences, for example the emphasis placed upon the national celebrations of Epiphany (*timkat*) or the festivities in honour of the Holy Cross (*mascal*). In these public Christian celebrations, Ethiopian society demonstrates its belongingness to the Orthodox heritage. The listing of some 18 Ethiopian saints of the *synaxar* is a helpful reminder of the vitality of the local traditions. In these days—since 1995—in which the Copts discovered the veneration of the martyrs of Najran (Yemen) it is good to remember that for the Ethiopians this is an established tradition. In her well-written description of the spiritual life, the author portrays in depth and details the various nuances of Ethiopian piety.

To this reviewer, the most informative chapter deals with the monastic life and the Ethiopian monasteries. Although she has not visited all 800 Ethiopian and Eritrean monasteries, yet, she has paid personal visits to many of the most important places in Eritrea, Tigray, Wollo, Gondar, Gojam, Shoa, etc. Her discussion with the hermits (*behetawis*) and monks in the different regions provide hitherto unrecorded insights into the beliefs and practices of these spiritual fathers of the Church. The reader learns about many unusual experiences and unrecorded practices, which appear utterly strange to Western Christians. With much sympathy and cultural empathy, the author conveys the sincerity of some of these excessive ascetic performances.

Over 250 photos and several maps and charts illustrate this most informative study. Almost all of the photos are well integrated into the text. An inclusive bibliography provides students with valuable source material for further studies and investigations.

In short, through her visits to the churches and monasteries, schools and church-organizations, through her discussions with the leadership of the church, but also with priests, monks, hermits and laymen, Christine Chaillot has produced the most informative text of the life of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church after the Derg regime. For the theologian and anthropologist, the ethnologist and orientalist, this book provides a wealth of information, which is otherwise unattainable. Mrs. Chaillot is to be congratulated for this contribution to our understanding of Ethiopian theology and piety.

Otto F.A. Meinardus  
Ellerau

Thierry Fayt, *Les Alévis. Processus identitaire, stratégies et devenir d'une communauté « chiite » en Turquie et dans l'Union européenne*. Paris, Budapest & Turin: L'Harmattan 2003. Pp. 326.

Die gegenwärtigen westlichen Debatten über den Islam werden nachvollziehbarerweise weitgehend von prägenden Ereignissen gewaltsamer Art wie dem 11. September 2001, dem Irak-Krieg, dem israelisch-palästinensischen Konflikt, dem Massenmord von Madrid im März 2004 sowie zahllosen weiteren Terrorakten auf der ganzen Welt dominiert, was von vielen islamistischen Terrorgruppierungen mit Sicherheit auch so intendiert ist. Dabei rücken andere



Aspekte des Islams in den Hintergrund, die im Vergleich zur Taktik purer Gewalt islamistischer Splitter- und Extremistengruppen jedoch kaum weniger der Aufmerksamkeit verdienen.

Einer dieser Aspekte ist die Frage der Identität: Was ist der Islam, und wer sind die Muslime? Wer hat das Recht, im Namen des Islams zu sprechen und zu agieren? Auf diese Fragen wird sowohl von muslimischer als auch nichtmuslimischer Seite viel zu oft mit viel zu oft peinlichen Stereotypen geantwortet. Oder man bestreitet schlichtweg die Berechtigung, angesichts einer wahren Sintflut des islamischen Terrors für solche Subtilitäten Zeit zu vergeuden. Häufig führen Diskussionen hier zu einer Polarisierung zwischen Anhängern der Meinung, es gebe „den“ Islam gar nicht, und deren Gegnern.

Mit seiner Studie zur heterodoxen islamischen Gruppe der Aleviten zeigt Thierry Fayt eindrucksvoll, daß die – auch philosophisch verstandene – Frage nach der Identität keineswegs ein peripheres Accessoire in der Islam-Debatte ist, sondern vielmehr eine Grundfrage, von der her viele ansonsten schwer verständliche Haltungen und Positionen erklärbar werden und die auch den Hintergrund einiger militanter Strömungen bildet.

Die Aleviten sind eine in der Türkei bisher offiziell immer noch nicht anerkannte Minderheit. Sie existierte bis vor kurzem überwiegend im verborgenen, obwohl es sich um eine zahlenmäßig überaus bedeutende Minorität handelt, deren Stärke nicht selten auf mehr als zwanzig Millionen Köpfe geschätzt wird. Erst mit dem Auftritt einer Delegation in der Vertretung der Europäischen Kommission in Ankara im Juni 2000 fordern die Aleviten zum erstenmal ostentativ ihre Rechte als Minderheit ein. Wie Thierry Fayt mehrmals betont, wird sich diese offene Demarche wahrscheinlich deutlich auf den weiteren Identitätsfindungsprozeß der Aleviten auswirken.

Faszinierend an Fayts Darstellung ist ihr Weitblick und ihre Vielseitigkeit. Ohne sich allzu sehr in den Einzelheiten des alevitischen Kultes und der langen und wandlungsvollen Geschichte der Aleviten zu verlieren, werden Fragen der (türkischen und europäischen) Innenpolitik, der Geopolitik, von Wirtschaft und Sozialwesen anschaulich behandelt. Einen Schwerpunkt des Interesses bildet dabei, neben der Situation der Aleviten in der Türkei die alevitische Diaspora, vor allem in Frankreich und Deutschland. Man erfährt Wesentliches und Neues über die Bedeutung der Aleviten im nahöstlichen Mächtespiel wie auch über ihre Rolle im Versuch der Türkei, EU-Mitglied zu werden.

Im Mittelpunkt von Fayts Aufmerksamkeit steht dabei stets das Verhältnis der Aleviten – und allgemein der islamischen Religion – zum Staat, sei es nun der türkische oder eine europäische Demokratie wie Frankreich. Dieser Thematik ist das zusammenfassende Schlußkapitel der Arbeit („Conclusion générale“, Seiten 277–293) gewidmet, welches die wesentlichen Ansichten Fayts auf den Punkt bringt. Dieses Kapitel bildet jedoch nicht nur eine Zusammenfassung, sondern auch einen ausführlichen politischen Essay mit weitergehenden Folgerungen und Vorschlägen.

Im wesentlichen plädiert Fayt in diesem Kapitel für eine Integration der Aleviten sowohl in der Türkei als auch in Europa, die auf dem Wege eines laizistischen Modells zu erreichen sei. Als Kontrast zu diesem Modell, das ein friedliches Zusammenleben der Aleviten mit dem Rest der Gesellschaft und sogar den ihnen traditionell mindestens unfreundlich gegenüberstehenden Sunniten ermöglichen soll, beschreibt Fayt im dem Schlußkapitel vorausgehenden Kapitel (Kapitel 11, Seiten 253–276) beispielhaft drei Wege, die *nicht* zu dieser friedlichen Koexistenz führen: Nationalismus (bzw. seine übersteigerte Form, der Chauvinismus), Panislamismus und schiitischer Partikularismus.

Die von Fayt in seiner „conclusion générale“ anvisierte, am französischen Modell orientierte, Integration der Aleviten erscheint auf den ersten Blick sehr überzeugend, vor allem als Gegenentwurf zu den drei negativ beurteilten ideologischen Projekten. Insbesondere im Hinblick auf die von Fayt über das ganze Buch hin beschworene Gefahr des Abgleitens der Aleviten in extremistische oder partikularistische Selbststeinkapselung scheint die Einbindung der alevitischen *community* in einem den Prinzipien der Demokratie, der Menschenrechte und der Toleranz verpflichteten Staat eindeutig als die zukunftsreichere Variante.

Allerdings können Zweifel daran angemeldet werden, ob das von Fayt auf den Seiten 277–293 diskutierte Modell *à la française* tatsächlich von den Aleviten (oder zumindest einer bestimmenden Mehrheit unter ihnen) umgesetzt werden kann. Denn wie Fayt gleichfalls auf etlichen Seiten seines Buches nicht müde wird herauszustellen, ist die von den Aleviten selbst immer wieder als eine der Grundkonstanten ihrer Identität herausgestrichene Treue zu den Prinzipien von Laizität und Demokratie durchaus als auf einem utilitaristischen Kalkül basierend erklärbar. Als jahrhundertlang von der herrschenden Form der islamischen Religion („le sunnisme triomphant“ bei Fayt) im Osmanischen Reich verfolgt und in den Untergrund gedrängte ethnisch-religiöse Gruppierung hatten die Aleviten nämlich sehr berechnete eigennützige Motive, um in den 1920er Jahren so vorbehaltlos die kemalistische Revolution zu unterstützen, wie sie dies getan haben. Es kann also durchaus in Frage gestellt werden, ob die Aleviten jemals über ein solches abstraktes Staatsbürgerverständnis verfügt haben, wie es für das von Fayt propagierte laizistische Modell unabdingbar ist. So weist Fayt an anderer Stelle zu Recht darauf hin, daß es bestimmten alevitischen Kreisen an „ouverture d'esprit“ mangle und sie es statt dessen vorzögen, nabelschäumäßig in einem folkloristischen, sich selbst abkapselnden Randgruppendasein zu verharren (Seite 225, vgl. auch 222–224 sowie das Kleingedruckte auf Seite 228 oben). Auch wenn das von Fayt in seinem Schlußkapitel besprochene optimistische Modell tatsächlich einmal Realität werden *könnte*, muß man doch die Frage stellen, ob ein solches, aus der (auch nicht wie ein Apfel vom Baum gefallenen und noch gar nicht so alten) französischen Tradition der Trennung von Religion und Staat heraus formuliertes Szenario den real existierenden kulturellen Voraussetzungen der Alevis, vor allem der außerhalb Frankreichs lebenden, tatsächlich gerecht wird.

Auch das Verständnis, welches Fayt von „dem“ (er verwendet den bestimmten Artikel) Islam allgemein hat, scheint aus einer stark eurozentrischen Perspektive heraus zu funktionieren, für die Religion etwas dem Politischen Untergeordnetes bzw. neben ihm Stehendes ist: „Cette religion (der Islam, M.R. H.) paraît donc compatible, tout comme d'autres représentations religieuses, avec la laïcité, si et seulement si un Etat le décide véritablement. De plus, l'islam, comme toute autre religion, est également le reflet de la société et de l'histoire des pays où il s'est ancré.“ (Seite 283). Hier offenbart Fayt nicht nur trotz aller in seinem Buch vorgenommenen Differenzierungen hinsichtlich einzelner islamischer Gruppen, daß er letztlich an die Existenz von so etwas wie „dem“ Islam glaubt, sondern auch daß dieser „der“ Islam auch entpolitisiert werden könne. Die Möglichkeit eines Islams, der freiwillig die Trennung von religiöser und politischer Sphäre akzeptiert und sich einem nicht-islamischen oder sogar dem Wesen des Islams diametral entgegengesetzten politischen Gebilde zu subordinieren in der Lage ist, ist jedoch eine vollkommen offene Frage, die ursächlich mit einem Großteil des weltweiten islamischen Terrors zusammenhängt. Die Ansicht, der Islam könne im Sinne des Laizismus integriert werden, bleibt bis auf weiteres zweckoptimistisch.

An der Laizismus-Thematik, die für den ganzen Aufbau und die Zielrichtung von Fayts Werk zentral ist, läßt sich im übrigen auch ein methodologisches Defizit aufzeigen, das aus einem anderem Blickwinkel als eher nebensächlich erscheinen mag, nämlich die Auswahl der vom Autor benutzten Quellen. Das Literaturverzeichnis enthält ausschließlich Werke auf französisch und englisch, wobei letztere nur eine Handvoll der Titel ausmachen. Es gibt dagegen keinen einzigen Quellen- oder Literaturverweis auf türkisch, dem Idiom der Mehrzahl der Aleviten und zugleich der offiziellen Sprache ihres Herkunftslandes. Auch wenn Fayt dies an keiner Stelle offen sagt, darf man weiterhin annehmen, daß auch die Gespräche mit den (so gut wie immer unidentifizierten) alevitischen Gewährsmännern auf französisch und zum Großteil auch in Frankreich geführt wurden. Die Quellen- und Literaturbasis des Buches stellen somit ausschließlich Aussagen und Publikationen von Personen dar, die einen unmittelbaren und starken Bezug zu Frankreich haben und mithin mehr oder weniger stark auch von dessen staats- und religionspolitischer Tradition und Denkweise geprägt sind. Es mag nun zwar sein, daß bei dieser Quellenauswahl ein Modell *à la française*, wie es Fayt in seinem Schlußkapitel als Möglichkeit für die Aleviten ins Spiel bringt, tatsächlich eine logische Entwicklung ist.

Doch ob sich diese Möglichkeit tatsächlich mit der Selbstdarstellung der Aleviten insgesamt – deren überwiegender Teil ja *außerhalb* Frankreichs lebt – deckt, ist damit keineswegs nachgewiesen. Letztlich muß man an Fayt die Frage stellen, ob er bei seiner Darstellung nicht zu euro- bzw. frankozentrisch verfährt.

Methodologisch verbesserungsfähig – falls das Buch als wissenschaftlicher Beitrag zum Alevitismus und nicht bloß als politischer Essay gelesen werden soll – ist im übrigen auch das generelle Zitierverfahren. Zahllose Zitate – auch wörtliche – sind nicht ausgewiesen (z.B. Seite 223). Insgesamt dürften die Probleme bei der Quellenbenutzung und Zitierung verhindern, daß Fayts Arbeit vorbehaltlos als wissenschaftlicher Beitrag akzeptiert werden kann.

Ein möglicherweise auf die Benutzung unzulänglicher Quellen bzw. fehlender linguistischer Kompetenz zurückgehender Fehler ist auch die Übersetzung von *Ayin-i cem* als „l'Union dans la source“ (Seiten 81 und 119) bzw. „union dans l'œil intérieur“ (Seite 81). Denn nur in einer nichtwissenschaftlichen Umschrift, wie sie von Fayt durchgehend benutzt wird, kann „*Ayin*“ wie das türkische Wort *ayın* (< ar. *‘ayn*) aussehen, das sowohl „Quelle“/„source“ als auch „Auge“/„œil“ bedeuten kann. Tatsächlich handelt es sich bei dem ersten Teil des Ausdrucks *Ayin-i cem* aber um das türkische (aus dem Persischen übernommene) Wort *ayin* (< pers. *āyīn*) „Ritus, Zeremonie“. *Ayin-i cem* bedeutet also keineswegs „Vereinigung in der Quelle“ (usw.), sondern „Ritus der Zusammenkunft“ (usw.).

Was die Methodik Fayts in den beiden Schlußkapiteln sowie an etlichen anderen Stellen seines Buches ansonsten dagegen auszeichnet, ist der Wille und die Fähigkeit, empirisch gewonnene Daten über die Aleviten (und andere religiöse bzw. politisch-religiöse Gruppierungen) mit abstrakten Fragestellungen und Antworten zu verknüpfen. Dadurch läßt sich das Werk sowohl als fachspezifische Publikation als auch als Beitrag zur generellen Publikumsdebatte lesen. Eine Kluft zwischen „Orientalistik“ bzw. „Turkologie“ und dem aus Nichtexperten bestehenden Publikum entsteht so erfreulicherweise erst gar nicht. Der nach zwei Seiten offene Charakter von Fayts Buch, das einerseits Fachpublikation und andererseits Essay ist – gelingt vorzüglich, da Fayt trotz aller notwendigen Abstrahierung vom Konkreten stets nah an den Fakten bleibt.

Vielleicht etwas verzerrend und vereinfachend ist Fayts Darstellung lediglich in bezug auf den kolonialen Aspekt der türkischen bzw. alevitischen Migration in Europa (Seite 26). Die Behauptung, daß „ziemlich häufig“ („fort souvent“) „Komplexe, die aus der Kolonialzeit geerbt sind“ die Interaktion zwischen europäischen Staaten und ihren muslimischen Migranten determinierten, ist insofern kaum glaubhaft, als das Land mit der bei weitem größten muslimischen Einwandererpopulation, nämlich Deutschland, niemals eine Kolonie in einem der wichtigsten nahöstlichen Herkunftsländer hatte und im Gegenteil traditionell gute politische Beziehungen zum Osmanischen Reich bzw. der Türkischen Republik pflegte. Insofern erscheint es unangebracht, zumindest in bezug auf diese zahlenmäßig überragende muslimische Migrantenpopulation in Europa von aus der Kolonialzeit stammenden Schuld- bzw. Minderwertigkeitskomplexen zu sprechen. Im Gegenteil wird die Nichtpräsenz Deutschlands als Akteur im kolonialen Spiel in den muslimischen Gesellschaften eher als Sympathiebonus verzeichnet. Diese das eigentliche Thema von Fayts Werk nur am Rande berührende Bemerkung ist jedoch nur eine Kleinigkeit, die gegen Fayts ansonsten an den Tag gelegte faktische und argumentative Präzision so gut wie nicht ins Gewicht fällt.

Zu den großen Vorzügen von Fayts Werk gehört schließlich auch noch sein überaus stringenter Aufbau. Dieser kann mit einer Pyramide verglichen werden. Deren Basis bilden die ersten beiden Teile (Seiten 47–234). Darin werden in wohlabgemessener Detailtiefe in eigenständigen Unterabschnitten die wichtigsten Fakten und Zusammenhänge über die Aleviten zusammengetragen. Ausgangspunkt ist die Situation der Aleviten in der heutigen Türkei. Es folgen Angaben über die historischen Wurzeln des Alevitentums. Das historische Kapitel mündet dann in einen Überblick über die Situation der Aleviten im breiteren geopolitischen Kontext des Nahen Ostens (Kapitel 4, Seiten 87–102). Dieses Kapitel bereitet dann thematisch bereits auf den zweiten Teil der Arbeit (Seiten 123–234) vor, das der alevitischen Diaspora in

Europa gewidmet ist. Bereits in allen diesen Einzelkapiteln und Abschnitten fügt Fayt regelmäßig Resümees und Teilsynthesen ein. Dies erleichtert es ihm, mit Hilfe der in diesen Einzelschlußfolgerungen enthaltenen Aussagen schließlich zur bereits eingangs beschriebenen Spitze der Pyramide, dem Schlußkapitel mit seinen Ausführungen zum Laizismus, vorzudringen. So mündet das ganze Werk zielstrebig von einer faktenorientierten Grundlagendarstellung in eine faktenbasierte Analyse ein.

An allen Stellen seines Buches versteht es Fayt, die für die Darstellung relevanten Daten konzipis auszuwählen. Er schreibt nicht zu viel und nicht zu wenig. So beschränkt er sich bei der Behandlung der in Europa ansässigen alevitischen Einrichtungen im wesentlichen auf die größten Dachorganisationen, und bei der Lebensbeschreibung eminenter alevitischer Figuren wie Hacı Bektaş Veli nennt er nur das Essentielle, zu Recht auf die ausführlicheren Arbeiten der von ihm zitierten Sekundärliteratur verweisend. Durch diese kompakten, aber treffsicheren Darstellung eignet sich Fayts Buch hervorragend für alle, die sich – auch zu erstenmal – einen raschen und übersichtlichen Einstieg in das Alevitentum verschaffen möchten.

Das Buch enthält zahlreiche Karten, Tabellen und Schemata. Ein Teil davon dürfte jedoch aufgrund von Überfrachtung mit Pfeilsymbolen (z.B. Seite 190) kaum zur Erhöhung der Verständlichkeit beitragen. Von seiten des Verlages sollte man bei einer eventuellen Zweitaufgabe darauf hoffen, auf manche ultrawinzige und auch unter Augenzusammenknäufen und Einsatz einer Lupe kaum noch entzifferbare Fontgrößen wie die auf den Seiten 299–300 verwendeten zu verzichten.

Ungeachtet der an bestimmten Aspekten der Methodologie und der möglicherweise zu starken Eurozentrität der Schlußfolgerungen geäußerten Kritik hat Thierry Fayt einen überaus wertvollen Beitrag zur Debatte über den Alevitismus sowie auch generell über den Islam geleistet. Gerade das Essayhaftige des Buches, verbunden mit der Weitsichtigkeit und vielseitigen Orientierung seines Autors, wird es zu einem grundlegenden Werk der künftigen Alevitismusforschung machen, auch wenn es mit anderen, bereits existierenden Einführungen in den Alevitismus, wie Markus Dreßlers „Die alevitische Religion: Traditionslinien und Neubestimmungen“ (Würzburg 2002) an wissenschaftlicher Profundität und Materialbasis nicht konkurrieren kann.

Michael Reinhard Hess  
Berlin

*Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature.* Selected essays of İlhan Başgöz. Edited by Kemal Silay. (Indiana University Turkish Studies Series 19.) Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Turkish Studies 1998. Pp. 383.

İlhan Başgöz is one of the most competent and versatile scholars in the field of Turkish folklore and oral literature. His classes on these subjects at Indiana University attracted a large number of young Turcologists and folklorists. At the same time, his fieldwork in Turkey has been extensive and of great importance. In many cases, he has succeeded in recording and preserving for future generations of scholars significant samples of Turkish oral literature that otherwise would be at risk of disappearing for ever. His extensive research has resulted in several publications and a great number of articles and essays.

Kemal Silay, Başgöz's former student and friend of many years, has brought together in this book a selection of Başgöz's articles, most of them previously published in various scholarly journals. Silay grouped them in chronological order, according to the date of their publishing. It is a selection that illustrates both the wide spectrum of Başgöz's research and the way in

which his approach to his research has developed under the years. The articles take up different aspects of Turkish folklore, such as the shadow theatre, proverbs, folk poetry, etc. However, the author has paid attention not only to traditional folk culture—besides articles on traditional Turkish lore, we can also find essays on such topics as the personal names given to Turkish children in our time. Perhaps no other aspect can more explicitly express the trends in Turkish current culture than the changes in the way in which parents select their children's names. The development of Turkish society—pre-Islamic, Ottoman or modern Turkish—has always been reflected in the personal names. With the Islamization of the Turks, many of the traditional Turkish names were replaced by names taken from the Islamic cultural circle, mostly Arabic and Persian. Since the introduction of the republic in 1923 with its emphasis on secularization and nationalism, there has been an ever-increasing trend to replace these names with Turkish ones. As a result, at the present time, the personal names of the young Turkish population display an unprecedented variety of names created according to the grammatical and phonetic rules of the Turkish language; otherwise, there are no limits to the fantasy of parents in naming their children. According to Başgöz, such a radical transformation is unheard of in human history.

Still, the author's articles on Turkish oral narratives, the *hikâye*, represent the most important and probably best-known part of Başgöz's scholarship. The first essay in this collection, *Turkish Folk Stories About the Lives of Minstrels*, published as early as 1952, provides the reader with a comprehensive insight into this typically Turkish folklore genre. The following article, *Dream Motif in Turkish Folk Stories and Shamanistic Initiation*, establishes convincingly the connection between the *hikâye* genre and ancient shamanistic rituals. This theory is now generally accepted and has even inspired other scholars. Another important contribution in the field of the *hikâye*-genre is the study of the role of the audience in the minstrel's presentation of his narrative—the minstrel Müdami performed the same *hikâye* for villagers in a small town and then in the local branch of the Teachers' Union for the local élite. The author describes in detail the behaviour and reactions of the audience and depicts the influence that these had on the story-teller's performance. These two variants (their full texts are presented in English translation) differ considerably in many respects, depending on the socio-cultural conditions of the occasions. This experiment, carried out in 1967, represents an invaluable contribution to Turkish folkloristic, as it recorded the actual and concrete setting under which the oral performance functioned and was recorded just in time before the traditional setting for the oral performance of *hikâye* vanished. Başgöz's essays, put together in this volume, probably represent the most complete source of this specific type of Turkish oral narratives ever published. The collection even contains, in English translation, the complete text of one of the most popular *hikâyes*—*Aşk Garip and Shah Sanem*—as a complement to the theoretical essays.

What may confuse a reader not familiar with Turkish circumstances is that the editor (quite rightly) has chosen not to change the original texts published previously within the range of five decades. This leads to a certain confusion in the terminology. The genre of *hikâye* can be presented as "a folk story", "a romance" or "an oral narrative". The performers—the *âşıks*—are also called "minstrels", "tale-singers", "romance-tellers" or "*hikâye* tellers". Still, the meaning is always the same. Perhaps some kind of index would have helped the standardization.

Although Turkish folklore and oral literature are rich and varied, little is known about them outside Turkey. As Turkish society has recently been going through far-reaching changes, the function of folklore has taken on new forms adapted to new conditions. The *âşıks* have not lost in popularity—on the contrary, through the radio, television and music tapes, they can now reach a much wider audience—but it is mainly in their role of folk poets and singers. To study the process of the rapid evolution in Turkish folk culture should be an interesting task for the scholars. Başgöz's contribution opens the way for further studies on these subjects.

Jitka Zamrazilová-Jakmyr  
Lund



# List of Contributors

- Sevgi Ağcagül, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, SFB 295 „Kulturelle und Sprachliche Kontakte“, Dietrich-Gresemund-Weg 4, DE-55099 Mainz, Germany
- Karin Almbladh, Fjärdhundragatan 54, SE-753 37 Uppsala, Sweden
- Greg Bailey, Program in Asian Studies, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria 3086, Australia
- Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
- Ashk Dahlén, Länsmansvägen 1 A, SE-184 32 Åkersberga, Sweden
- Tal Davidovich, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
- Mats Eskhult, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
- Michael Reinhard Hess, Rathausstrasse 13/1207, DE-10178 Berlin, Germany
- Bo Isaksson, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
- Carina Jahani, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
- Jitka Jakmyr, Thomanders väg 2C, SE-224 65 Lund, Sweden
- Rasoul al-Khafaji, Hammarkulletorget 32, SE-424 37 Angered, Sweden
- Agnes Korn, Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Frankfurt, DE-60054 Frankfurt, Germany
- Otto F.A. Meinardus, Stettiner Straße 11, DE-25479 Ellerau, Germany
- Gail Ramsay, Dept. of Linguistics and Philology, Box 635, SE-751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
- Jan Retsö, Dept. of Oriental and African Languages, Göteborg University, Box 200, SE-405 30 Göteborg, Sweden
- Reuven Snir, Dept. of Arabic Language & Literature, Haifa University, Mount Carmel, Haifa 31905, Israel



Ahmadzadeh, Hashem: <i>From the Mountains of Kurdistan to the Streets of Europe. The problems of adjustment refugees face, as reflected in two Kurdish novels</i> .....	5
Bani-Shoraka, Helena: <i>A Revitalization of the Azerbaijani Language and Identity?</i> .....	17
Blomkvist, Hans: <i>When the Image Becomes Real: The TV Broadcast of Rāmāyaṇa</i> .....	25
Brandell, Inga and Rabo, Annika: <i>Arab Nations and Nationalism: Dangers and Virtues of Transgressing Disciplines</i> .....	35
Buddruss, Georg: <i>Khowar Proverbs Collected by Wazīr Ali Shah: From the Posthumous Papers of Professor Georg Morgenstierne</i> .....	47
Csató, Éva Á.: <i>Copied Features of Turkic Reflexives</i> .....	67
Dahlén, Ashk P.: <i>Transcendent Hermeneutics of Supreme Love: Rūmī's Concept of Mystical "Appropriation"</i> .....	75
Dahlgren, Sven-Olof: <i>Arabs in Central and Eastern Iran</i> .....	89
Dunkel, George E.: <i>IE *re 'back, away'</i> .....	95
Elfenbein, Josef: <i>The Oldest Detective Story in World History</i> .....	103
Elizarenkova, T.Y.: <i>On the Uses of nābhi- in the R̥gveda</i> .....	117
Elmevik, Lennart: <i>Das nordische Ortsnamenelement vin 'Weide' und die indogermanischen Wurzeln *uen-, *uenH-</i> .....	125
Eskhult, Mats: <i>Judges 7: 5–8. A Discussion</i> .....	129
Eslami Nodooshan, M.A.: <i>What Do We Learn from Shāhnāme?</i> .....	135
Falk, Harry: <i>Decent Drugs for Decent People: Further Thoughts on the Nature of Soma</i> .....	141
Frye, Richard Nelson: <i>Impressionistic Views of Ancient Iranian History</i> .....	157
Gignoux, Philippe: <i>Une liste du calendrier zoroastrien en pehlevi tardif</i> .....	161
Hara, Minoru: <i>A Note on the Sanskrit Word kopa</i> .....	165
Hjärpe, Jan: <i>Entangled Music</i> .....	189
Hultgård, Anders: <i>"The One Who Was, Who Is and Who Shall Be"—An Indo-European Formula of Divine Omnipotence?</i> .....	199
Isaksson, Bo: <i>The Notion of Diachrony and the Modern Arabic Dialects</i> .....	211
Jackson, Peter: <i>Allusions to the Vala-myth in Yasna 44</i> .....	221
Jahani, Carina: <i>Bilingualism in Sweden: The Example of a Swedish-Iranian Family</i> .....	235
Johanson, Lars: <i>Old Uyghur, Eastern Turki, Modern Uyghur</i> .....	257
Josephson, Judith: <i>Dādestān or 'Judgement' in Middle Persian</i> .....	267
Kahle, Sigrid: <i>Le Monde Oriental, 1906–1946</i> .....	275
Kahrs, Eivind: <i>Yāska and the Meaning of upasargas</i> .....	297
Kargar, Dariush: <i>Jamshid and the Ultrahuman Power of Creation</i> .....	305
Kellens, Jean: <i>Le problème avec Anāhitā</i> .....	317
Lazard, Gilbert: <i>Le mètre du Draxt asūrig</i> .....	327
Lindquist, Torkel: <i>On the Semantics of 'Terrorism' in Arabic and How the Word is Used in the Press</i> .....	337
Lorenz, Manfred: <i>Bozorg Alavi als Wissenschaftler (Erinnerung an gemeinsame Arbeit)</i> .....	343
Muhaddis, Ali: <i>Three Persian Poems by the Turkish Poet Nash'at</i> .....	349
Rahmani, Tahere: <i>A Historical Poem on the Attack on Iran by the Afghans</i> .....	363
Ramsay, Gail: <i>Styles of Expression in Women's Literature in the Gulf</i> .....	371
Schalk, Peter: <i>From "Do and Die" to "Do or Die". Semantic Transformations of a Lethal Command on the Battlefield in ʾĪlam/Lamkā</i> .....	391
Shakely, Farhad: <i>My Soul is Intoxicated and my Body is Ruined by a Goblet of Love. Life for a Kurdish Poet in Exile</i> .....	399
Shams-Yadolahi, Zahra: <i>Ali Akbar Dehkhodā: Author, Philologist and Unique Encyclopaedist</i> .....	405
Skalmowski, Wojciech: <i>Rumī's Deliberate Obscurity: Ghazal 466</i> .....	415
Smith, William L.: <i>Braving the Bangalinis: Women's Kingdoms in North Indian Vernacular Literatures</i> .....	421
Stolpe, Jan and Wikander, Marita: <i>Stig Wikander: Four Kurdish Tales</i> .....	429
Thiesen, Finn: <i>Pseudo-Hāfeẓ: A Reading of Wilberforce Clarke's Rendering of Divān-e Hāfeẓ</i> .....	437
Toll, Christopher: <i>A Persian Astrolabe from A.H. 1203 / A.D. 1788–1789 by Ḥāgg 'Alī</i> .....	461
Windfuhr, Gernot: <i>Zoroastrian Myth and Constellations: Hauma and Zarathushtra</i> .....	471
Zipoli, Riccardo: <i>On the Theory of qāfiya in Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī and Shams-i Qays</i> .....	479
Zysk, Kenneth G.: <i>Medical Sanskrit. An Exercise in Translating and Interpreting Sanskrit Medical Literature</i> .....	491
List of Contributors	

# Contents

## Studies

Sevgi Aġcagül: <i>Grammaticalization of Turkic postverbal constructions</i> . . . .	5
Karin Almblad: <i>The letters of the Jewish merchant Abū l-Surūr</i> <i>Farah b. Ismā'il al-Qābisī in the context of medieval Arabic business</i> <i>correspondence</i> . . . . .	15
Greg Bailey: <i>The Mahābhārata as counterpoint to the Pāli Canon</i> . . . . .	37
Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz: <i>Two pastoral Balochi love songs</i> . . . . .	49
Ashk P. Dahlén: <i>The Holy Fool in medieval Islam: The Qalandariyāt of</i> <i>Fakhr al-dīn 'Arāqī</i> . . . . .	63
Tal Davidovich: <i>Was Maacah King Rehoboam's wife?</i> . . . . .	83
Carina Jahani: <i>Language attitudes and language maintenance among</i> <i>Iranian immigrants in Sweden</i> . . . . .	93
Rasoul al-Khafaji: <i>Lexical cohesion in Arabic texts</i> . . . . .	113
Gail Ramsay: <i>Confining the guest labourers to the realm of the subaltern</i> <i>in modern literature from the Gulf</i> . . . . .	133
Reuven Snir: <i>"Forget Baghdad!": The clash of literary narratives among</i> <i>Iraqi-Jews in Israel</i> . . . . .	143
<i>Review article:</i>	
Bo Isaksson: <i>Towards a corpus-based syntax of the Arabic language</i> . . . . .	165
Book Reviews . . . . .	187
List of Contributors . . . . .	208