ORIENTALIA SUECANA

VOL. LI–LII (2002–2003)

Department of Asian and African Languages
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

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

Contents of last vols.

Vol. XLVIII, 1999

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

Vol. XLIX, 2000

In Memoriam

Tryggve Kronholm (by Tryggve N.D. Mettinger) 5

Studies

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

Vol L 2001

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

ORIENTALIA SUECANA

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

VOL. LI–LII (2002–2003)

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CHRISTIANE SCHAEFER

Department of Asian and African Languages
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY
UPPSALA, SWEDEN

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Published with aid of grants from
Vetenskapsrådet, Stockholm

Editorial communications and orders should be addressed to
The Editorial Board (Gunilla Gren-Eklund)
ORIENTALIA SUECANA
www.afro.uu.se/orientalia/oriental.html
Department of Asian and African Languages
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY
Box 527
SE-751 20 Uppsala
Sweden

ISSN 0078-6578

Printed in Sweden 2003
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB

Contents

Ahmadzadeh, Hashem: *From the Mountains of Kurdistan to the Streets of Europe. The problems of adjustment refugees face, as reflected in two Kurdish novels* 5
Bani-Shoraka, Helena: *A Revitalization of the Azerbaijani Language and Identity?* 17
Blomkvist, Hans: *When the Image Becomes Real: The TV Broadcast of* Rāmāyaṇa 25
Brandell, Inga and Rabo, Annika: *Arab Nations and Nationalism: Dangers and Virtues of Transgressing Disciplines* 35
Buddruss, Georg: *Khowar Proverbs Collected by Wazir Ali Shah: From the Posthumous Papers of Professor Georg Morgenstierne* 47
Csató, Éva Á.: *Copied Features of Turkic Reflexives* 67
Dahlén, Ashk P.: *Transcendent Hermeneutics of Supreme Love: Rūmī's Concept of Mystical "Appropriation"* 75
Dahlgren, Sven-Olof: *Arabs in Central and Eastern Iran* 89
Dunkel, George E.: *IE* *re *'back, away'* 95
Elfenbein, Josef: *The Oldest Detective Story in World History* 103
Elizarenkova, T.Y.: *On the Uses of* nā́bhi- *in the* Ṛgveda 117
Elmevik, Lennart: *Das nordische Ortsnamenelement* vin *'Weide' und die indogermanischen Wurzeln* *u̯en-, *u̯enH- 125
Eskhult, Mats: *Judges 7: 5–8. A Discussion* 129
Eslami Nodooshan, M.A.: *What Do We Learn from* Shāhnāme*?* 135
Falk, Harry: *Decent Drugs for Decent People: Further Thoughts on the Nature of Soma* 141
Frye, Richard Nelson: *Impressionistic Views of Ancient Iranian History* 157
Gignoux, Philippe: *Une liste du calendrier zoroastrien en pehlevi tardif* 161
Hara, Minoru: *A Note on the Sanskrit Word* kopa 165
Hjärpe, Jan: *Entangled Music* 189
Hultgård, Anders: *"The One Who Was, Who Is and Who Shall Be"—An Indo-European Formula of Divine Omnipotence?* 199
Isaksson, Bo: *The Notion of Diachrony and the Modern Arabic Dialects* 211
Jackson, Peter: *Allusions to the Vala-myth in Yasna 44* 221
Jahani, Carina: *Bilingualism in Sweden: The Example of a Swedish-Iranian Family* 235
Johanson, Lars: *Old Uyghur, Eastern Turki, Modern Uyghur* 257
Josephson, Judith: Dādestān *or 'Judgement' in Middle Persian* 267
Kahle, Sigrid: *Le Monde Oriental, 1906–1946* 275
Kahrs, Eivind: *Yāska and the Meaning of* upasargas 297
Kargar, Dariush: *Jamshid and the Ultrahuman Power of Creation* 305
Kellens, Jean: *Le problème avec Anāhitā* 317
Lazard, Gilbert: *Le mètre du* Draxt asûrîg 327

Lindquist, Torkel: *On the Semantics of 'Terrorism' in Arabic and How the Word is Used in the Press* 337
Lorenz, Manfred: *Bozorg Alavi als Wissenschaftler (Erinnerung an gemeinsame Arbeit)* 343
Muhaddis, Ali: *Three Persian Poems by the Turkish Poet Nash'at* 349
Rahmani, Tahere: *A Historical Poem on the Attack on Iran by the Afghans* . . . 363
Ramsay, Gail: *Styles of Expression in Women's Literature in the Gulf* 371
Schalk, Peter: *From "Do and Die" to "Do or Die". Semantic Transformations of a Lethal Command on the Battlefield in Īlam/Laṃkā* 391
Shakely, Farhad: *My Soul is Intoxicated and my Body is Ruined by a Goblet of Love. Life for a Kurdish Poet in Exile* 399
Shams-Yadolahi, Zahra: *Ali Akbar Dehkhodâ: Author, Philologist and Unique Encyclopaedist* 405
Skalmowski, Wojciech: *Rumi's Deliberate Obscurity: Ghazal 466* 415
Smith, William L.: *Braving the Bangalinis: Women's Kingdoms in North Indian Vernacular Literatures* 421
Stolpe, Jan and Wikander, Marita: *Stig Wikander: Four Kurdish Tales* 429
Thiesen, Finn: *Pseudo-Ḥåfeẓ: A Reading of Wilberforce Clarke's Rendering of* Divån-e Ḥåfeẓ 437
Toll, Christopher: *A Persian Astrolabe from A.H. 1203 / A.D. 1788–1789 by Ḥâǧǧ 'Alî* 461
Windfuhr, Gernot: *Zoroastrian Myth and Constellations:* Hauma *and Zarathushtra* 471
Zipoli, Riccardo: *On the Theory of* qāfiya *in Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī and Shams-i Qays* 479
Zysk, Kenneth G.: *Medical Sanskrit. An Exercise in Translating and Interpreting Sanskrit Medical Literature* 491
List of Contributors

From the Mountains of Kurdistan to the Streets of Europe

The problems of adjustment refugees face, as reflected in two Kurdish novels

HASHEM AHMADZADEH, Uppsala

Among the migrants and refugees who come from totalitarian and authoritarian countries to Europe and America one can easily find writers, poets and artists who have been active in the fields of literature and art in their homeland. These literary men/women tend to belong either to the first or second generation of migrants. The reflection of the realities of their homeland within their work differs from generation to generation. While the influence of their previous homeland is obvious and decisive in the first generation of migrant writers, the second generation may have only imaginary experience of this homeland.

The aim of this essay is to show some of the cultural adjustment problems refugees and migrants from Kurdistan face by referring to the works of two Kurdish writers, i.e. *Rawe Masi* (*Fishing*) by Fazil Karim Ahmad and *Komele Shaxe Berz u* ... (*A Range of High Mountains and* ...) by Kurdan. The settings of both of the novels are in Germany. Fazil, the writer of *Fishing* lives in Germany, and Kurdan, the writer of the latter book, lives in Sweden. The translation of the titles and the quotations from Kurdish to English are mine. Both of these writers belong to the first generation of refugees who migrated from Kurdistan to Europe. It is worth mentioning that both of these writers have been active politicians in Kurdistan and that both have taken part in armed struggles against the Iranian and Iraqi regimes during the early 1980s. Although they have written their novels while in Europe and their settings are also European, one can see many allusions to, and flashbacks from their homeland. The problems that the characters of these novels face originate from their cultural background, which differs from Western ideas and practices. These kinds of problems are mainly the subject of social sciences, but if literature has any role in at least the description of the problems of human beings, then we can study the way that these problems have been illustrated in literary works. Literature written by migrants helps us to examine the extent of the variety of problems those people who have been displaced from one certain cultural milieu to a profoundly different one, face. The images of the writers and the way that they describe the lives of their characters may not have any prescriptive answers to the problems. Nevertheless, locating the boundaries of the problems is no less important than solving them.

The problems of adjustment to the migrants' new countries and their process of integration into the new cultural environment can be studied in its different aspects and dimensions. In one of the novels in this study, *A Range of High Mountains and* ... by Kurdan, the major problem is a moral one, which first and foremost touches

on the sensitive issue of female sexuality and sex before marriage. The main theme of the second novel, *Fishing* by Fazil Karim Ahmad, focuses on the thoughts of a refugee who lives physically in Germany but mentally in his lost city, his imaginary homeland.

Diverse economic, social and political factors contribute to the migration of people from one part of the world to other parts. The direction of displacement varies over time, with geographical variations as well. Most of the migrations, especially those with only social and economical motivations, take place from poor countries to rich ones. The forms of these migrations are different and include invitations from the host country to crossing the borders illegally. During the last decades, the globalisation of economic factors and culture and the consequent deepening of differences in life standards between the North and South led to the stepping-up of these kinds of directional migrations. One of the main reasons why different ethnic and national groups appear in the bazars of major cities, e.g. New York, London, Tokyo and Berlin, involves the search for better living conditions.

The motivations behind migration are not bound only to economic reasons. There are many other drives behind the various shifts of places. Reasons which determine migration have a decisive role in defining the purposes of each migration. When a natural catastrophe or a war causes migration, finding a shelter is the ultimate purpose of the move. In the case of political, religious, racial and other ideological reasons for migration, saving one's life is the foremost aim. However, for those migrants the idea of return is as important as saving their lives.

Regardless of the reason, purpose and type of migration, whenever it happens there are dividing factors between the local population and the migrants. Regardless how hospitable, generous and neighbourly the local people are towards the "foreigners", there are many problems in all aspects of life for migrants. Those who leave their homelands usually consider themselves strangers in their new place of settlement. These feelings of being estranged expand, especially among those who have left their lands unwillingly, and due to force. For them there is some hope and nostalgia, mixed with the painful fear of defeat and the pleasure of triumph. The extent of these feelings among those who have been fighting for the building of a national state, an "imagined community", leaves no place in their minds for anything else than imagining the end of the "dark days" and the "rising of freedom" in the "imaginary homeland".

Literature on migration and migrants, written both by migrant and non-migrant writers, is a valuable and detailed source for gathering qualitative data on life in exile, migration and diaspora. In fact, this kind of literature, unlike social scientific research, tends to "portray nostalgia, anomie, exile, rootlessness, restlessness" (King, Connell, White 1995:x). This sort of information, using a cross disciplinary approach, can be a complementary base for the diverse experiments of social scientists in understanding the different dimensions of life far from one's homeland. The works of certain famous writers who have been emigrants include Oscar Wilde, Samuel Beckett, James Joyce, Salman Rushdie, Franz Kafka and Joseph Conrad. Their influence throughout the world is undeniable. One more interesting thing about textual artefacts is that they provide a reliable medium for a wider contextual understanding of migration and emigrants. As literary works are assumed to be read

by almost everyone, it can also be assumed that their influential power as a cultural force in creating opinions and responses towards different issues in society is undeniable.

Migrant literature can have different forms during different periods. While King, Connell and White's (1995:xi–xii) suggested model regarding the evolutionary forms of migrant literature is a reasonable classification, it doesn't include all types of migrant literature, for example, the type which has been chosen for this study. Their model consists of four stages: 1) 'Pre-literatures' such as ethnic newsletters, community newspapers, diaries, letters or songs which are considered an attempt to hold on to past identities. 2) Certain literary genres, such as poems and short stories, written in the mother tongue within the ethnic community. 3) The fully-fledged creative literatures such as novels, plays, films and poetry written in the language of "the dominant metropolitan powers which caused the migration to happen and received the migrations" (ibid. xii). 4) The works of writers born out of the migrant experience but with origins in the migrant homeland or a colonial background. The novels under discussion in this paper belong to migrant literature only in the sense that they are written by migrant writers. The very specific reasons which have contributed to the migration of these two writers, differ from the above. Thus, their message and position cannot be measured by these four categories. The problems of life in exile, reflected in these books can, without a doubt, provide a good interpretative base for social scientists and literary critics. The main function of these works, however, is their mission in the Kurdish national struggle. This is why this form of literature cannot be placed in the "evolutionary" sequences of the above model, which evolves from "simple" forms to "fully-fledged" forms. These novels, despite their aesthetic and artistic shortcomings, are a fully-fledged creative literature written in the author's native language, not in the "languages of metropolitans". The political and geographical situation of the Kurds as a stateless nation strengthens the importance of literary activities by the Kurds of the diaspora. In other words Kurdish literature finds the diaspora a fertile base for its development.

Migrant life in the case of stateless nations, despite its possible similarities to the lives of other categories of migrants, has its own peculiar features. The literary texts of the writers who belong to this category of migrants can provide a medium for finding the reflection of complex and ambiguous realities in the life of the migrants. The works of writers within a particular group of migrants can in many ways reflect the identity of that group. In analysing the Kurdish novels, some of the problems of the Kurdish migrants are identified.

The main theme of Kurdish novels, including the two novels that are subject for this paper, is the question of identity and national belonging (cf. Ahmadzadeh 2003). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1997:19) national consciousness, which is an unsure and suppressed consciousness can necessarily only exist through literature. In the case of the minority literature, language functions as the main medium of identity.[1] Having been suppressed for many decades, most of the Kurdish writers

[1] In this essay "minority literature" is not used in accordance with Deleuze and Guattari's definition. For them, minority literature is not identified by the language of the minority but it written by a minority in the language of the majority. This minority literature has three major features: 1) Its language is influ-

feel a national duty to write in Kurdish. In the case of the Kurds from Turkey, because of a long-standing prohibition of the Kurdish language, it is the diaspora writers who have contributed to the survival of the Kurdish language. Kurdish literature in the diaspora is a good source of the representation of national consciousness and identity, an instrument to create ethnic identity and simultaneously is a valuable source for studying the influences of the diaspora and exile in the works of the writers. As was mentioned earlier, this paper focuses on the problems of adjustment among the Kurds who live in Europe, as constructed in two Kurdish novels.

The created world within an artistic work is shaped and formed in a dialectical relationship with the world outside the artist. Kaviraj (1995:1) refers to the way that Martin Heidegger defines the two separate types of questions regarding the world which is created by an artist:

> In his work an artist creates a world. Two distinct types of questions can be asked about this world of his. First, what kind of a world is this—what is its structure, its limits of possibility, the inner logic of its working? Second, how did this world that the artist created relate to the world in which he lived?

The relationship between the artist's created world and the real one, in other words, the relationship between fact and fiction, is problematic. Fiction is not simply the duplication or mediation of the fact but the reflection of the fact in the mind of the artist who in his turn works on it in a complicated and effected process. Thus, the given reality of a social question, for example the problems of adjustment among the refugees in the host countries, can be traced in a literary work but it cannot be seen as a one to one correlative relationship.

The gift of modernity, with its consequences of individualism, education, the emancipation of women, equal status to the law, etc. did not emerge in colonial and pre-modern societies as the result of internal development in both theory and practice. It was the outcome of external factors instead, which in their early stages challenged the traditional values of these societies provocatively. Kaviraj (1995: 167) compares the opposite results of the Enlightenment for European and colonial writers:

> The Enlightenment, for all its later complexities, had begun with a 'happy' history in Europe. Its authors were happy writers, for its protagonists saw the process of modernity as one which spread liberty across social life. The historical situation of the colonial writer was tragic because of the unjustness of the choices facing him.

Facing modernity as the result of obliged displacement can be considered to be a similar process with much the same results. Migration from a society in which modernity has not established all its material and mental necessities, to a society in which modernity dominates every aspect of it, would create an "unhappy" safety and existence for the migrants. The influence of this objective situation is clearly

enced by a strong deterritorializing coefficient. 2) Everything has a political colour. 3) Everything has collective value. What I mean by minority literature is that literature which is written by a minority, in the minority language. It has only the second and third features of minority literature as defined by Deleuze and Guattari.

seen in the sad choice of being yourself or being assimilated in the tragic themes of the novels under discussion. The demands of an already modern society on a migrant cannot be fulfilled without a high degree of adjustment capacity. This differs from individual to individual but generally it is a difficult and problematic process for all.

Bearing in mind the peculiarities of Kurdish literature in the diaspora, i.e. in the position of the minority literature, acting as a strong medium for national liberty and reflecting some identical problems in the lives of the migrants, one can see the following in these two Kurdish novels, which obstruct the ability of adjustment into the new milieu:

1) A standing ambivalence.
2) The question of morals.[2]
3) The question of not knowing the unwritten laws of society.
4) The feeling of loneliness and considering him/herself outside society.
5) The question of language and communication.
6) The idea of returning home.
7) The appearance of these problems will be discussed in each novel, respectively.

Rawe Masi (*Fishing*)

Fishing is a novel of 92 pages. It is a story of a Kurdish refugee in Germany. The story is from the first and third person points of view. The narrator is aware of everything and knows all the details in the minds of the characters. Aside from the first two pages and the last page, which show that the setting of the novel is in Germany, the whole story is a series of allusions in the form of long monologues and dialogues which take place in Kurdistan. As Rushdie (1991:9) says, "it is my [the writer's] present that is foreign, and the past is home, albeit a lost home in a lost city in the mists of lost time". Sometimes, the reader is reminded of the setting of the story by the author's reference to the physical location of the main character.

The main character of the novel, Nebez, is fishing by the river Main. He has been fishing for a week without any result and the whole problem begins with not being able to catch any fish. The strange appearance of the people who are passing by and starring at him is annoying and cannot be tolerated. He begins contemplating and his memories overwhelm him. He is from a little village by the famous river in the south of Kurdistan, Sirwan, which is thousands of kilometres away from where he is fishing right now.

Why can he not catch any fish? Is it possible that this huge and large river has no fish? He has probably forgotten how to fish or perhaps here the way of fishing is different. He is surrounded by these kinds of thoughts. In his vast stream of consciousness diverse questions, comparisons and their possible answers shift around. He is disappointed; therefore he begins complaining about everything in Germany: "There is no taste in the food here. Nothing is comparable to grilling fish by the Sirwan. I have lost everything and it is impossible to gain it back. Who says that I fit into such a life?" (Ahmad 1986:7)

[2] Principles or norms which are considered as good behaviour in Kurdistan, especially in matters of sex.

As we see, Nebez puts into question his ability to adjust to this way of life. In analysing why he is here and the reason for the change of place of his residence, he finds the answer easily. It is due to politics and being a politician that he is here. "Oh, politics! From where have I been moved just because of you?" He remembers the fishermen, his father and his friends, and those cruel men who used to come to buy the fish by the Sirwan river. What deep discussions they had about politics and the new Kurdish movement. Earlier, when he was fishing by the Sirwan, the idea of leaving his country and going to Europe had struck his mind but he had soon discovered: "Living there is not better than here. Believe me, all parts of this globe are alike. Changing the country does not bring any happiness and comfort" (ibid. 15). What is the cure for the deep wounds of being a migrant? Comparing his own cultural traditions with European ones leads him to egocentric results.

These Europeans are strange, indeed. Neighbours are unaware of each other. Nobody greets one another. All of them are with their noses in the air, and without any humour. They do not like to be social. They are ice cold. Their senses and loves have died. There are no morals. The family system is dissolved. The relationship between sisters and brothers, children and parents, lineage and tribes is in trouble. Here, the life has been formed by loneliness. 'Ich möchte ganz allein sein.' Who is guilty? I or they? (Ibid. 18)

Here he cannot find anything which can satisfy him personally except for the undeniable advantages of this society for the children. "It is only for the sake of the children that I must adjust myself to this society". Nevertheless, the main problem for him is actually the problem of the children. Just imagine that one day his daughter comes and asks:

– Dear father! I want to go to the disco.
– What is a disco?
– It is a nice place where they play music loudly, and boys and girls dance together.
– My daughter, it is shameful for us. In our family nobody has been … Think carefully and know whose daughter you are.
– Why do all my classmates go there except me?
– My child, we are very different. (Ibid. 19)

And now the whole question is if he can protect his children. He is worried and has a sense of fear regarding his children. What shall he do when Xebat, his daughter, grows up and one day will ask his permission to go to the disco with her boyfriend? Even the worst things can happen. Imagine that one night she, i.e. Xebat, stays with her friends and doesn't come home. What is he going to do if he sees Xebat kissing a German boy in the middle of the day in the bazar?

He tries to find the reasons for his being here. If Sheikh Mahmood[3] hadn't been defeated by the Englishmen, he thinks, there would have been an independent Kurdish state and then there would be no reason to be here now. His continued thoughts seek all the possible corners in his past in order to find out a way out of the world of exile. He asks himself if there is any bridge between the West and the East and if there is any, he thinks, it must be exploded. "We are two different worlds".

He remembers the traditions of marriage and the way that a man proposes to a

[3] He was the leader of a popular Kurdish movement in Southern Kurdistan during the years after the World War I.

girl, and how different it is from the way that one does it here. There, at home, you can never think of getting married to one who is richer or poorer than you. There must be a kind of balance. He remembers those many years of having been a guerrilla and the long discussions that he had with his fellow soldiers. One of those old friends, Ashti, is here and lives with a German girl, Monika, who insists on following Ashti to Kurdistan. Nobody is satisfied with his/her own situation. Why should Monika want to follow Ashti when she knows that there is no bridge between the West and the East? She thinks that they can perhaps build it. For Nebez it cannot be possible, because each of them, i.e. Monika and Ashti, are used to living in their own special milieus.

Out all of the wishes and desires that he has had, it is only his children and their future which remain for him. He has failed to obtain the ideal society that he had fought for. It is true that he lives here among the Europeans, but he does not want to imitate them. He doesn't want to forget his culture and his children must be like him. For Nebez discussing sex with the children, in accordance with his traditions, has always been a taboo. It will be intolerable to hear from his daughter that she has been learning it in the school. Through films and coloured pictures she is learning how men and women make love. "These bloody people don't teach the children anything, but immoral things". He must have control over his children in order to bring them up with the Kurdish principles and standards of morals and ethics, otherwise he is going to lose them, too. The main problem is his daughter, Xebat:

> Rizgar [Nebez' son] is a boy and it doesn't matter what he does, because there will be no gossip about him. Xebat is a girl who must, without any doubt, get married. I must know her husband personally and I must be sure that her husband will not stain my honour. … I cannot understand the way of life here. Getting married has lost its meaning and importance. A boy and a girl hire a flat and without any ceremony begin living together. How do their parents agree to this? Why do they not prevent them in every possible way? … I will never let my daughter bring her boyfriend to my home. (Ahmad 1986:47–48)

He is aware of the demands of living in this society. He knows that the intellectuals listen to the symphonies of Beethoven, Mozart, Bach and Tchaikovsky. His children's favourite music is different. He wants to listen to their elected songs but he cannot. He does not understand this types of music and he cannot sleep when he listens to it. He orders his children to listen to their folk music and Kurdish famous singers, e.g. Mamle and Zirak.

The aesthetic criterion in this society is different. Here, the thin women are more admired and are considered beautiful, contrary to his culture in which the fat women are more appreciated. During his stay in Europe he has even lost his love for his wife, who is fat. She must try to lose weight. All evidence shows that he cannot live here any more and he must leave before he is destroyed. He is alone. He, referring to Matthew (27:46), thinks that Jesus was right in complaining about his loneliness: "My God, my God why have you forsaken me?" This loneliness is incredible and the worst thing that one can imagine. Soon, his children will leave him and he will remain alone with his wife. In fact "[t]he sense of loss in an exile is unlike any other sense of loss. It is a sense of having lost a part of inner part of inner self, a part of an inner essence" (Jabra 1988:130). He is even going to lose his wife, who has recently influenced by Western culture. She talks about an independent life and being free in

having any relationship she would like with men. He is a man from the Orient and it is impossible for him to accept something like this.

He has been fishing for seven days without any result. He does not know the reason he cannot catch any fish. Nobody pays any attention to him. The people who pass by him just stare at him without saying a word. An old woman who is walking with her dog tries to make him understand that it is not possible to fish here. It is more than thirty or forty years since any fish lived in this poisoned river. A young girl tries to tell him the same thing while she is smiling:

> No fish lives in this water. If you like fishing, go back to your country. There are plenty of big fish in the waters of your country. There is sweet and clean water in your country, and it has not been deteriorated yet, like here. (Ahmad 1986:92)

Komele Shaxe Berz u ... (A Range of High Mountains and ...)

The change of one's place of residence brings many changes to the different aspects of one's life. One's identity and social position are subject to possible changes, as the results of migration and of the shift of residence. In the first three pages of the novel, the reader becomes familiar with a man who is repeatedly listening to a Kurdish song describing the admired mountains of Kurdistan. The walls of the room are decorated with the pictures of the views of Kurdistan's mountains. There is a gun in the corner of the room. The curtain is down. At the time of his listening to the music, he sometimes moves the curtain a bit and looks through the window at the park of the city where the lovers and young people gather and enjoy themselves. This is not a city in Kurdistan but in Germany and the anxious man is not a guerrilla but a Kurdish refugee in Germany. The presence of the gun does not mean that he is fighting against his enemies. Surprisingly, he has been preparing himself for almost one year to kill his own daughter. A brief summary of the novel gives the background to this dangerous decision and its tragic consequences.

Some years before the Iranian revolution, Fexre, a man from Iranian Kurdistan, co-operated with the Kurdish movement in Iraqi Kurdistan and because of this he is arrested by the Iranian army. He escapes from prison and joins the Kurdish movement in the "other side of Kurdistan". His wife is kept as a hostage by the army and the only condition of her release is Fexre's surrender. But giving up, for Fexre, is out of the question. Instead, continuing the fight is the only possible alternative. In a fight with the army Fexre is obliged to shoot his beloved wife just in order to be sure that the enemy cannot touch her. His infant daughter, Henar, in the absence of her parents, is looked after by her grandparents. After years of fighting, internal conflicts in the Kurdish movement lead to Fexre's decision to leave Kurdistan for a Western country. Fexre and his fourteen-year-old daughter were given a residence permit, after two years of waiting, as refugees in Germany. In the beginning they had a good relationship. Fexre found a job in a factory and Henar was studying successfully in a school. The duration of these days of mutual agreement was not lasting. When Henar started seeing a German boy, it was the beginning Fexre's cultural and traditional backgrounds clashing with the reality of life in the West. The conflicts between them grew and Henar left her father to live with the German boy.

Fexre's dreams about bringing up Henar according to Kurdish traditions and

ideals do not come to pass. The only way of coming out of this disastrous situation in which Fexre's honour has been stained is to kill Henar, because of the stain she has brought on him and on Kurdish traditions. After Henar's brutal death there is no motivation for Fexre to continue living. A few minutes after the shooting of Henar, the amazed people who have gathered around Henar's body hear a second shot from a nearby flat, which is covered in smoke.

The world of *A Range of High Mountains and* ... is full of ambivalence towards the past and the present and it is another confirmation that "a common feature of many migrants and migrant cultures is ambivalence" (White 1995:3). During the events of the novel, things are constantly compared to each other in order to judge and evaluate their goodness. In most cases it is the "past" which is appraised as "better". Henar complains about the people of the West and their ways of life. "I wish I had never come to this country". She thinks that the people of these countries don't have any sorrow and they do not worry about each other. Here the parents don't pay any attention to their child and vice versa but in her land her countrymen care about each other and their parents. When she falls in love with a German boy, Helmut, she remembers those things that her father has told her about the ways that people show their love to each other and it is difficult for her to decide to leave that world by surrendering to Helmut's world. "Nothing can mislead me from the wishes of my father". But how long can she resist her feelings towards Helmut? After a short while she admits that she is too weak to be able to fulfil her father's wishes and chooses her own way of life, i.e. living her father and fleeing from home. This is a painful decision for which she accuses herself hatefully and she confesses her disability of being a part of her father's world of wishful thinking. The time of being committed to the past is finished. "Don't count on me!" The question "who am I?" arises and ambivalence towards identity and its boundaries occupies her mind. The answer is ambiguous. Identity changes as the bases of its definition change. When Henar asks herself "what am I?", she finds herself in a world between her past and her present, between the West and the East. It goes without saying that this world is, indeed, very ambiguous.

When Fexre thinks about the way that he lives and the pain that he is suffering, it is the "past" and the "homeland" which can give him rest. Here he is alone and there is nobody he can turn to in order to talk about his sorrows. He is worried about Henar and he wishes that she were a boy:[4]

> The trees and walls (everything) of these countries are unknown to me. Their society does not fit my heart, my feelings and my breath. How nice and enjoyable the homeland was! There poverty, tiredness, war and even death were tasteful. Even if you didn't have anything to eat there was at least someone that you could rely on and you could turn to him/her in the times of need and sadness. Here, even the people from our own homeland have changed. ... I wish from the bottom of my heart that Henar were a boy, then I could leave him to his dignity, and I could free myself from looking after her constantly. (Kurdan 1993:68–69)

When Fexre sees his daughter with a German boy for the first time, he wishes that what he had seen were not true and he tries to tell himself that it was not Henar. Because if it is true that she is with somebody else, "I cannot live any more ... I will

[4] Note Nebez' same wish in the previous novel.

die. By God I cannot go on living and I'll die!" He does not want to accept his daughter's new identity as a free girl who has turned her back on her roots and wants to choose the path of freedom. Loyalty to the homeland and its values, commitment to the destiny of your own nation and fighting until the day of freedom do not let you act as a Westerner. Fexre reminds Henar of her responsibility towards a "denied nation" and tells her that they do not belong to themselves but to their nation. For Henar, who is growing up in this society and its cultural milieu, the conflict between her individual desires and her father's collective belonging is torment.

Ambivalence is not only limited to the past and the present. It can appear as regards the future as well. Being ambivalent towards the past can possibly be cured by substituting another ambivalence towards the creation of a "myth of return". Fexre's suggestion to Henar, encouraging her to remain loyal to her traditions, makes her hopeful concerning the future. "Let's wait until you finish your studies at university, then there will be hundreds of handsome Kurdish boys who will do everything for you". He reminds Henar of her mother's loyalty and describes the goodness of the homeland regarding pure love and humanity. The concepts of "here" and "there" for Henar are confused. While Fexre insists on returning after she has finished her studies and dreams about seeing her as a teacher in Kurdistan, Henar decides to stay "here". If the spatial dimension of a return to home is impossible for the time being, Fexre is satisfied with the temporal dimension of return. He remembers his love for his wife and those lovely days that they had. This is a kind of re-exploration of personality through the concept of return. He tells Henar that he has lost everything in his life, except her. "Listen to your father! Don't let my last desire vanish! After your studies we will go back to our dear country. Here does not fit us". "He [an exile] is obsessed by the thought that only a return home could do away with such a feeling [feeling of incompleteness], end the loss, reintegrate the inner self" (Jabra 1988:130). Nevertheless, Henar is sure that she will never follow her father.

What happens in *A Range of High Mountains and* ... is quite similar to what happens in *The Veil of Silence*, written by the Algerian singer Djura (1993). Here again we see how an Algerian girl, the daughter of a migrant family in France, suffers from the ambivalence and problems of adjustment to the new social and cultural norms, different from her family's traditions. Djura's brother attempts to kill her and succeeds in killing her French husband. The only reason for this action is because of the stain she has brought on the family by marrying a Frenchman. Henar and Djura are symbols of "the complexities of a generation who move between identities, experiencing the exile's desire to retain cultural roots, whilst at the same time being drawn to assimilation and the abandonment of 'otherness'" (White 1995:12).

If migration has been a metaphor of death in many literary themes, e.g. *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck and *When the Tree Sings* by Stratis Haviaras, *A Range of High Mountains and* ... is another work which provides a good example of using emigration and death effectively as synonyms throughout a novel.

CONCLUSION

Once a migration has taken place, the process of adjustment to one's new place of residence begins. This process, which is a necessity in obtaining any possible suc-

cess in the new society, is determined by individual and social backgrounds. The opportunities an emigrant faces do not always correspond to his/her desires. The question of a new self-identity, different than one's identity within the previous society, produces many continuous problems. Literature is an important discourse which reflects many of these problems, especially the internal ones. These two Kurdish novels show how Kurdish migrants react to the new social and cultural milieu and how their cultural traditions come into conflict with the new society's norms. They especially provide a good indication of the gender and generational differences in the process of adjustment. These novelists have described their protagonists and their ways of facing the problems of adjustment. This is a complicated process. Should migrants refuse the ideas and practices of the new society or should they embrace them? "What are the consequences, both spiritual and practical, of refusing to make any concessions to Western ideas and practices? What are the consequences of embracing these ideas and practices ..." (Rushdie 1991:18). In the case of Fexre, refusing Henar's adaptation to certain Western practices led to the catastrophic and tragic end of their exile lives. In the case of Nebez, ambivalence towards the future and holding to the myth of return lock him in ambiguity.

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A Revitalization of the Azerbaijani Language and Identity?

HELENA BANI-SHORAKA, Uppsala

The literatures on bilingualism and minority-language situations show a variety of approaches. There are a large number of studies on language maintenance and shift, and language and attitude change to mention just a few of them. Most of these studies involve small and endangered languages and/or varieties of languages. In her book *Bilingualism* (1995), Romaine argues that, in order for a minority language to survive, there are a number of key factors that, even though different for every single language situation, may play crucial parts. These are the numerical strengths of the speakers, urbanization, the relation to the majority language, attitudes towards and degree of similarity between the minority and the majority languages, relation to other languages in society, etc. (Romaine 1995:40–46). She further argues that none of these factors is on its own a reliable predictor of the outcome of any particular situation of language contact. Another important issue that I believe should be brought forward in this picture is the extra-linguistic effects influencing attitudes to the languages involved. Baker (1992:108–112) mentions community, parental, peer-group, institutional and mass-media effects as examples of extra-linguistic effects studied in theories of attitude change. The aim of the present study is to give a picture of the sociolinguistic situation of the Azerbaijani-language community in Tehran, looking specifically at language-choice patterns within the home domain and general attitudes to Azerbaijani. The Azerbaijani language belongs to the south-western or Oghuz group of the Turkic language family, and is spoken by the Azerbaijani people. The people are known by several names depending on the location and context, such as *tork* (Turk), *āzari* (Azeri), *tork-e āzari* (Azeri Turk) and *tork-e āzarbāijāni* (Azerbaijani Turk). As Lee discusses (1996:1), these names are used interchangeably; however Azerbaijani is considered the most proper. Azerbaijani, then, has two meanings: "the Azerbaijani people" and "the language spoken by the people". The study of this very large and heterogeneous, language community is based on my field study, carried out between 1998 and 2000. I have focused on the Azerbaijani community in Tehran partly because of the major influence they exercise on the provinces and partly because of the question of availability.

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN IRAN

The language issue has been regarded as an indisputable uniting factor in this otherwise linguistically and culturally heterogeneous country. Efforts to integrate the country's non-Persian-speaking population (about 50% of the total population of 65 million) took off seriously in the 1930s. The ideology dominating the language-

planning efforts in Iran has been based on the idea of linguistic assimilation, which means that everyone, regardless of origin, should learn the dominant language of the society. As a consequence of the Iranian nation-building process, any demands from minority groups for "language rights" were rejected or at best neglected with the argument that they were political issues, not linguistic ones (*New Language Planning Newsletter*, p. 2). The official measures taken in relation to minority languages have therefore been to play down their linguistic functions in society, as well as to limit and sometimes to prohibit the right to use them in public (Hassanpour 1995:126). The general attitudes of the authorities towards bilingualism have mainly been negative, and bilingualism has been regarded as threatening national unity (Nercissians, 2001:59). This situation can be said to have continued more or less until the 1990s, ten years after the abolition of the prohibition against the minority languages. With the slightly "liberalized" internal politics of the 1990s, a movement to preserve the Azerbaijani language and culture has developed in certain groups of this language community. Nowadays, there are a few periodicals and weekly newspapers published in Azerbaijani in Tehran and other large cities. Cultural activities of various kinds are allowed, even though they are still restricted by Iranian law. From a linguistic point of view, another interesting fact is that Persian has had considerable structural and lexical influence on the Azerbaijani varieties in Iran as a consequence of long-term language contact (Kiral 1997; Lee 1996). Before turning to the Azerbaijani community in Tehran, something should be said about the very few studies carried out on this community.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The number of sociolinguistic studies published both in and outside Iran is certainly not large. However, works on bilingualism, as such, are still almost invisible. As an exception to the rule, I shall here mention Bosnali's and Nercissians' sociolinguistic work on linguistic minorities in Tehran. Bosnali (2000) compares the macro-sociolinguistic situation of Azerbaijani speakers in Tehran and the provincial town of Salmas. Of the 146 questionnaires distributed in Tehran among Azerbaijani speakers (which in the case of Tehran perfectly corresponded to ethnic affiliation), 74% answered that their mother-tongue was Azerbaijani, 22% Persian and 4% another language. Of the 22% who had marked Persian as their mother-tongue, 70% had both a Azerbaijani mother and a Turkish father. Bosnali interprets these data as a sign of an on-going language shift. His domain analysis shows that the use of Azerbaijani decreases to half on leaving the home domain. His research question about whether there exists a diglossic, linguistic situation among Azerbaijani bilinguals in Tehran is confirmed in his conclusions. 81% of his 146 informants claimed to speak Azerbaijani at home and 42% outside the home.

Nercissians (2001) has investigated the Armenian and Azerbaijani minorities resident in Tehran from a macro-sociological perspective. For the Azerbaijani group, she describes a situation of "bilingualism with diglossia", even though she points to the complexity of the situation. Her data clearly show that there is an obvious connection between fluency in Persian and educational level. As for the motivational factors determining language behaviour, Nercissians shows that there is a strong de-

sire for the use of Azerbaijani. However, the empirical data show that Azerbaijani is seldom used when parents speak to their children, while it is more often used among parents themselves (2001:66). The conclusion is that language use in the family domain among Azerbaijanis is more a matter of deliberate choice.

Very interestingly, Nercissians' study points to a number of contradictory facts. The role of balancing language choice, she argues, is evidently as strong as the role of compartmentalization; these contradictions are sometimes evident in parent–child interactions. Her data indicate that, even though the use of the minority language is strongly desired within Azerbaijani families, at the same time knowledge of Persian is highly valued, especially for their children. Also, there is evidence for a subtractive bilingualism, referring to Ritzer's definitions (2000), "expressed in an implicit belief that mother-tongue, parent–child interaction could negatively influence the children's mastery of the majority language" (Nercissians 2001:69). So, even though there are signs of an ongoing language shift, there seems to be no threat to the vitality of Azerbaijani owing to the very strong, demographic support. With these background considerations in mind, we now turn to the pilot study.

THE AZERBAIJANI COMMUNITY IN TEHRAN

The members of the very heterogeneous, Azerbaijani, ethnolinguistic group live under the most varying, socio-economic circumstances. I agree with the broad, threefold, socio-economic division of Tehran made by Amir-Ebrahimi (2000), in which the wealthiest citizens inhabit the northern parts of the city and the least well off and newcomers the southern parts. In the central commercial areas in between, we find a wide variety belonging to what we might define as a middle class. The present study has been focused on two major issues: language choice within the family and attitudes towards the use of Azerbaijani and Persian. For the first-language-choice part of the study I have mainly used questionnaires[1] for my data collection, and for the second part informal interviews and participant observation.

Language choice within the family

In this section, the language(s) chosen when speaking with different family members were asked for. The family members are grandparents, father, mother, spouses, siblings and children. As far as the statistical methods are concerned, chi-square tests have been used for the analyses. The probability value was set at 5% ($p<0,05$). For this article, three social variables were used, with which the statistical data were run. These independent social variables[2] are age, education and neighbourhood. It

[1] 650 questionnaires were distributed in all 22 districts of Tehran, of which 521 were returned.

[2] All informants are over the age of twelve and the informants are divided into four age-groups. As for education, the low-level educational category is composed of informants with no education at all and public education lower than high school. The mid-level category is composed of initiated, high-school education, completed, high-school education, and practical/technical training. The high-level category comprises those with initiated and/or completed higher education. As for neighbourhood, I refer to Amir-Ebrahimi's threefold socio-economic division of Tehran, in which the first part is the northern–central one (districts 1–8), the second is the central belt through the city (districts 9–14), and the third is the southern part (districts 15–22).

should be mentioned that age is not regarded as a factor that causes language decline, but an indicator that sums up movement over time. Therefore, it does not reveal the underlying reasons for that movement (for further discussions, see Baker 1992:42). Five options were given to each question: (1) always Azerbaijani, (2) more Azerbaijani than Persian, (3) equally much/both, (4) more Persian than Azerbaijani, and always Persian

Table 1. Language choice with grandparents and parents in percentages.

	Grandparent					Father					Mother				
	A	A>P	A=P	P>A	P	A	A>P	A=P	P>A	P	A	A>P	A=P	P>A	P
Age 1	52.1	17.8	5.5	15.1	9.6	20.5	9.0	11.5	23.1	35.9	24.4	6.4	11.5	24.4	33.3
2	67.7	10.0	2.3	7.7	12.3	46.4	10.9	10.1	13.8	18.8	46.4	13.6	9.3	13.6	17.1
3	77.8	11.1	3.0	4.0	4.0	72.0	15.0	2.8	4.7	5.6	71.3	14.8	2.8	3.7	7.4
4	96.5	–	–	–	3.5	91.2	2.9	2.9	–	2.9	88.9	4.2	2.8	2.8	1.4

A = always Azerbaijani; A>P = more Azerbaijani than Persian; A=P = equally much of both languages; P>A = more Persian than Azerbaijani; P = always Persian

The language chosen with grandparents is clearly mostly Azerbaijani. However, there is a significant difference between the youngest and the oldest groups, as well as between age-groups 2 and 4. The younger the informant, the more Persian is used. As for the parents, no difference is found between language choice with father and mother. There is a sharp line dividing the two oldest and the two youngest age-groups, and again the younger the informant, the more Persian is used with the parents.

The education variable shows an interesting pattern. All informants speak mostly Azerbaijani to their grandparents, and education has no significant relevance for other language-choice patterns. As far as the parents are concerned, a very interesting pattern appears. We can see that there is a significant difference between the low- and mid-educational levels, i.e. the lower the level of education the more Azerbaijani is spoken to parents. There is the same type of pattern between the mid- and high-level educated, where the highest-educated informants use more Azerbaijani with their parents. This leaves us with the mid-level-educated informants, who claim to use the most Persian with their parents. Neighbourhood as a social factor in determining language choice seems not to have any relevance, except that Azerbaijani is generally spoken more often in the southern parts of the capital.

Before turning to the remaining family members, something should be said about some socio-demographic issues regarding the civil status and the spouses of some of the informants. Of all the 80 informants in the youngest age-group (one), only one young woman is married. This is why the youngest age-group is left out in the analysis regarding spouses and children. For the second age-group, the number of married informants is sufficient to carry out statistical tests.

The age-groups show that there is a significant difference in language choice between siblings within different age-groups, i.e. the younger the informant the more Persian is used with the brothers and sisters. As far as the spouses are concerned, a difference was found between the two oldest age-groups, where informants in the oldest age group claim to speak more Azerbaijani to their spouses. As for the chil-

Table 2. Language choice with siblings, spouses and children in percentages.

	Siblings					Spouses					Children				
	A	A>P	A=P	P>A	P	A	A>P	A=P	P>A	P	A	A>P	A=P	P>A	P
Age 1	10.7	6.7	5.3	21.3	56.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2	25.7	13.2	10.3	13.2	37.5	37.1	14.3	8.6	8.6	31.4	20.6	4.8	6.3	30.2	38.1
3	47.7	13.5	11.7	11.7	15.3	38.1	8.8	11.5	17.7	23.9	13.8	9.2	10.1	30.3	36.7
4	50.0	19.5	7.3	8.5	14.6	57.5	17.5	8.8	1.3	15.0	17.3	16.0	7.4	25.9	33.3

A = always Azerbaijani; A>P = more Azerbaijani than Persian; A=P = equally much of both languages; P>A = more Persian than Azerbaijani; P = always Persian.

dren, the majority seem to use more Persian than Azerbaijani or always Persian, no matter what age-group.

The education factor, on the other hand, influences the language choice with spouses, i.e. the higher the education of the informant the more he or she chooses Persian with his or her spouse. There is no significant difference between the language choice of siblings or children, i.e. the choice of language with siblings is quite evenly distributed between the answering alternatives, while the majority choose more Persian than Azerbaijani or always Persian with their children.[3] This is also reflected in the tests involving neighbourhood, where the use of Persian is quite high but where Azerbaijani is used more often exclusively or in combination with Persian in the southern parts of the capital, compared with the central and northern parts.

Attitudes

The interview data and observations concerning attitudes confirm the general picture from the questionnaire study but, at the same time, give a more nuanced picture. In accordance with Nercissians' observations, the Azerbaijani language is heavily stigmatized (2001:63). When answering questions on the use of the Azerbaijani language in the family setting, remarkably positive feelings were uttered. At the same time, many informants spoke of the language as less important or not useful and/or good enough to be used in school education. Answering general questions on children's bilingualism related to self-esteem, identity, new language learning, possible confusion of the languages involved, etc, the majority of the informants did express positive feelings about bilingualism as such. However, it soon showed that many of the informants interpreted bilingualism as two "real" (read "national") languages and sometimes did not even regard themselves as bilinguals. Similar cases have been reported from other studies, where the minority language is considered of low status and is therefore not taken as seriously as the official language (for further discussion, see Martinet in Romaine 1995:28). Baker (1992:2 ff.) very convincingly discusses the possible *double foci* on attitudes towards bilingualism in general and the two languages involved in a specific study in particular. He warns about mixing

[3] A very interesting result appears if we separate mixed Persian/Azerbaijani families from families where both parents are Azerbaijanis. There is no significant difference whatsoever between the language choice of these two family types. They both claim to speak mostly Persian to their children!

these approaches, since they may mean different things to a speech community, something that seems to hold true for a large number of my Azerbaijani informants in Tehran.

Results of the relative relaxation towards minority languages from the mid-1990s have led to the appearance of cultural activities such as concerts, seminars, and language and folklore classes. The interest in the minority language and culture has increased dramatically because of an increase in supply, which, on the one hand, is due to the political and legal conditions and, on the other to the new technological possibilities. Most sectors in Iranian society have been computerized at a fast pace and the access to computers and the Internet has increased as well. These cultural activities obviously fill a need previously not allowed for or satisfied. In addition to the domestic changes that have taken place, there is good reason to stress the mass-media effect on language attitudes and the specific part played by the Turkish satellite broadcasting.[4] These satellite channels are still not legal, but have now, at least temporarily, been left alone after a number of years of down-tracking and persecution during the 1990s. Through these channels, widely spread in Tehran and every major city in northern Iran, people can follow Turkish news, TV shows and other programs, not allowed in Iranian national television. Undoubtedly, these channels have had an immense impact on youth culture and have raised the already high status of Turkey, as the only neighbouring country that Iranian citizens can travel to without a visa. Today and for many young people, Turkey symbolizes modernity and progress, and at the same time a country which has been able to preserve its Islamic heritage.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Given the above discussions on the sociolinguistic situation of the Azerbaijani language in Tehran, can we speak of an on-going, language-shift process, as suggested by some previous studies? There are a number of facts pointing in this direction. There is the urbanization, the official standpoint and long-term actions towards minority languages, the language-choice patterns within families, where the home domain no longer seems to be the domain exclusively associated with the minority language, and the structural similarity between spoken Persian and spoken Azerbaijani, to mention just a few facts. All these facts have been pointed out by Romaine (1995:40–46) as crucial issues. At the same time, we see that, in the case of Tehran, the numerical strength of the Azerbaijanis makes the idea of a *general* language shift quite unrealistic. Pointing again to the heterogeneity of this language community, we can observe that a language shift is likely to occur (and has occurred) in a considerable number of middle-class and upper-class families within the Azerbaijani community in Tehran. We can draw the conclusion that the level of education influences the frequency of use of Persian, as well as the neighbourhood, which in its turn is closely related to the socio-economic status of the family and again re-

[4] In the present article I have chosen to focus on the Turkish influences exclusively, and do not by any means wish to play down the enormous role played by, e.g. the music industry created by exile Iranians living on the American West Coast.

lated to the possibilities of acquiring education. The very important age factor can be interpreted as an effect of the language policy carried out in relation to minority languages during the past seventy years in Iran, which has led to what Nercissians has called subtractive bilingualism. That is, even though the desire and motives for speaking Azerbaijani at home are very high, most parents today in fact choose Persian when addressing their children, because parent–child interaction in Azerbaijani is believed to influence the knowledge of Persian negatively.

What seems to be a far more interesting development is the fact that domestic changes on the legal and technological levels, in addition to the mass-media effects from the Turkish satellite broadcasts, have led to what we might call a revitalization process of the Azerbaijani Turkic language and identity. In line with the above discussions, a redefinition of the Azerbaijani identity—especially among the younger generations—seems to be taking place. The prestigeless Azerbaijani identity, previously associated with provinciality, traditionalism and, for some people, also regression, seems nowadays among many young people to have changed its meaning. The *Turkicness* of the identity (the word *tork* referring to both *Turkic* and *Turkish* in popular speech) now also conveys modern progressive associations.

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When the Image Becomes Real: The TV Broadcast of *Rāmāyaṇa*

HANS BLOMKVIST, Uppsala

In 1987 the Indian state owned TV corporation Doordarshan started to broadcast the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Produced by Ramanand Sagar, with a successful background in Bollywood, the serial borrowed heavily from the aesthetics and techniques of soap opera. It turned out to be a tremendous success. Every Sunday morning between 40 and 100 million Indians sat down to watch the serial. It emptied city streets and markets. Sunday events were advertised "To be held after *Ramayan*". The lower-caste community of Balmiks went on strike in northern India to protest against the termination of the serial without telecasting the last part of *Rāmāyaṇa*, allegedly written by the lower-caste poet Valmiki. Many observers regard the TV serial as an important explanation of the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the militant Hindu movement. How was all this possible? How was it possible for a TV soap opera to "become real"? What can this tell us about modern media technology and politics? And what can it tell us about "text" and "reality"?

Together with the *Mahābhāratha* the epic of *Rāmāyaṇa* forms a discursive frame of reference for most Hindus. The story can be traced back to at least the fourth century A.D. (Pollock 1993:263). Apparently, there are hundreds of versions of the story, but the core narrative of *Rāmāyaṇa* goes like this: The King of Ayodhya, Dashrath, has four sons—Ram, Bharat, Lakshman, and Shatrughan—from three wives. Because of a vow the king had made to Kaikeyi, his favourite wife and the mother of Bharat, Ram has to go into exile in the forest for fourteen years soon after he is married to Sita. Sita and Lakshman insist on following Ram into exile. In the forest Sita is abducted by Ravan, the powerful demon-king of Lanka, but he is defeated by Ram and Lakshman in a battle. After they have returned to Ayodhya, Sita is exiled by Ram because rumours say that she was unchaste when she was a captive of Ravan. Sita finds shelter with a sage in the forest and gives birth to twins. When the twins become teenagers they vindicate her honour and the family is united. But Sita refuses to return to Ayodhya with Ram, the earth splits and she is swallowed by it.

The TV serial *Ramayan* "has taught us a lot about Hinduism, and it has taught us to be proud of our heritage" says Renuka Sengupta, an upper-caste Bengali Hindu woman interviewed by the anthropologist Purnima Mankekar (1999:181). Another Hindu woman interviewed by Mankekar told her that the story, and the TV serial, "represented the history of the nation". This opinion was not shared by the Muslim women she talked with, who either saw it simply as "a story" or in a more hostile way declaring that they had refused to watch it. A secretary in the militant Hindu organisation Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) said that the TV serial created an awakening. "People who were sleeping were forced to wake up. There is not one

Hindu in this country who hasn't seen the serial" (quoted in Mankekar 1999:177). For some, watching the programme on TV was similar to a religious ritual. One young middle-class woman told Mankekar that her mother and grand-mother "would bathe and purify themselves before the serial came on, and would sit in front of the television set with their heads covered and hands folded, just as they would while participating in a Hindu ritual" (Mankekar 1999:202).

How was this unprecedented success with the Indian TV viewers possible? One reason was obviously the cinematic techniques used. Computer-simulated graphics were used to establish Ram's divinity and supernatural powers. Mankekar comments that the TV serial "was also a huge success among the children I interviewed: the adventure and 'action' of the war scenes, narrated with all the special effects of Hindi films, kept them enthralled" (1999:191). But another background was the political symbolism of *Rāmāyaṇa* and how it intervened in politics in India.

The Sanskrit scholar Sheldon Pollock argues that the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic offers two basic, imaginative "resources": divinisation and demonisation. "The first proclaims that the order of everyday human life is regulated by the active, immanent presence of the divine; the second, that those who would disturb or destroy that order must be enemies of God and not really human" (Pollock 1993:281). Pollock traces the rise of the epic to the twelfth century onward. This was the period, he argues, when the story came to be used more fully and used "in reaction to the transformative encounter with the polities of Central Asia" (Pollock 1993:277). In 1008 Mahmud of Ghazni had defeated a confederacy of kings from the subcontinent at Peshawar and in 1018 he had penetrated east of Delhi. Turkic campaigns continued after Mahmud's death till the twelfth century. By 1206 almost all of north India had come under Turkic military domination. In the early fourteenth century the Delhi sultanate was able to appoint governors throughout the Deccan (Pollock 1993:279).

These events represented something new in the history of the subcontinent. Earlier newcomers had been assimilated and largely Sanskritized, but this time they possessed a secure and separate religious and linguistic identity. The incumbent elites were, or felt, threatened by this unfamiliar west Asian culture. The historian John Richards has described this cultural encounter as one of the most complex and prolonged in world history.

Under attack, the tale of *Rāmāyaṇa* provided the Hindu elites with an ideological weapon or *leitmotiv*. It was a narrative that gave meaning and coherence to their own situation. *Rāmāyaṇa*, writes Pollock, "seems to play a role for the kings of middle-period Rajasthan, Gujarat, and the Deccan rather similar to that of Cato and other Roman republicans for the French revolutionaries of 1789" (Pollock 1993: 279f).

A key ingredient in the story is that kings are gods. A passage in *Rāmāyaṇa* says "One must never harm kings, never criticize, insult, or oppose them. Kings are gods who walk the earth in the form of men" (quoted in Pollock 1993:282). The German historians Herman Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund have emphasised how ruling elites met the military challenges from the eleventh century onwards on an ideological level by accentuating the unique relationship the king had with the gods.

And if Ram in the story is of royal descent—thus a god—his enemy Ravan must be worse than an adversary, he must be the devil incarnated. The story is "pro-

foundly and fundamentally a text of 'othering' ", Sheldon Pollock (1993:282) argues. And the other is evil. Al-Biruni writing at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, commented in 1030 that "In all manners and usages they (the Hindus) differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and to declare us to be devil's breed" (quoted in Pollock 1993:284).[1]

Challenged by military conquest and new rulers the erstwhile South Asian kings and elites wanted an ideological weapon and the saga of *Rāmāyaṇa* was the sharpest they could find. From about 1200 to 1600 on the periphery of the Sultanate the story was translated into many regional languages. According to Sheldon Pollock this vernacularisation indicates how the rulers wanted to use the story to build ideological support and broader political alliances against the "invaders". In one late seventeenth-century version the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb is cast as the evil Ravana.

Since I am neither a historian nor a Sanskrit scholar I cannot tell how undisputed professor Pollock's analysis is. But what is crucial here is that his reading of *Rāmāyaṇa* is *one possible* interpretation of it. And several of the Hindu political activists and TV viewers interviewed by Mankekar in her innovative study give strong support to such an interpretation of the story and the TV serial. One of the interviewees, Ms Sengupta, thought Muslims in India were "alien" because of their (allegedly different) sexuality, hygiene, and loyalty to the Indian cricket team in matches with Pakistan. Sexual motives also play an important role in the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. The sexual humiliation done to Ram's wife Sita by the demonized Other, Ravan, is crucial in the story and a reason for war. Another TV viewer wanted to see the televised story as a representation of India's historical—and vastly better—past. "These days everyone clings to their chair [political office]. Those days things were different" (quoted in Mankekar 1999:186). Apart from such a "political" interpretation of the TV serial Mankekar also emphasises its religious meaning to many viewers. One woman told Mankekar that the serial had "reminded her of the power of faith and that she was now a fervent devotee of Lord Ram" (Mankekar 1999:203). Another woman said that watching *Ramayan* on TV was like "getting *darshan* of God".

In 1990, three years after the telecast of *Ramayan*, the present Home Minister and one of the leaders of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party L.K. Advani led a *rath yatra* to demand the destruction of a mosque and building of a temple in Ayodhya. The mobilisation and the march to Ayodhya were a phenomenal political success. In December 1992 this mobilisation erupted in the storming and destruction of the Babri mosque in Ayodhya by thousands of Hindu fanatics. This led to riots in several towns and cities in the country, leaving about 1200 people killed and resulting in one of the most serious political crises in the history of modern India.

[1] Pollock underlines that it is unclear whether the encounter between the Muslim west Asia and the Hindu South Asia provoked "religious wars" or affected the population at large. The issue is "one of the deeper ideological divides in the historiography of the period" (Pollock 1993:285). What is clear, is that the encounter had effects on the elite Sanskrit literature.

The development and increasing political strength of Hindu nationalism[2] is well reflected in the parliamentary power of the BJP (formerly BJS), seen in Table 1. Two things emerge clearly from this table. The first is, for a party claiming to represent all Hindus—80 per cent of the population—the result is close to a political fiasco. But, secondly, the BJP experienced a phenomenal growth in votes and parliamentary seats[3] from 1989—a year after the *Ramayan* was broadcast on TV. Obviously other events also propelled the rise of Hindu nationalism, such as the Shah Bano case or the Mandal Commission's proposals for increased quotas in the public sector. But the TV serial was part of the political equation. One BJP activist said the TV serial "roused the consciousness of Hindus to their religion and definitely led to their pondering over various aspects of their heritage" (quoted in Mankekar 1999: 180). Another part of the picture is the debates and critiques of secularism that took place in India in the 80s and early 90s. There had been an elite consensus in seeing secularism, separating state and religion, as the best way to a peaceful coexistence of the many religious groups in the country. But in the late 1980s this consensus was challenged. And it was disputed not only by the BJP and the Sangh Parivar, but also by "leftist"[4] intellectuals such as Ashish Nandy and T.N. Madan. In a deeply religious country, religion was no longer seen as unsuited for the public sphere.

The questioning in elite circles of secularism as the proper method of dealing with religious diversity converged with the showing of *Ramayan* to millions of TV watchers. The rule of the king, the *Ram Rajya*, in the TV serial symbolised the ideal Hindu state, argues Purnima Mankekar. It symbolised "a recuperation of all that was pristine and glorious about Hinduism before the onslaught of Others, exemplified first by the Turkic and Moghul 'invaders', and later by British colonialism" (Mankekar 1999:185). "A glorified image of national identity emerged in saffron colors", writes Arvind Rajagopal (2001:80f), "as a Hindu heritage that had been prepared for the modern age well ahead of time".

In 1970 the Polish born American author Jerzy Kosinski published the novel *Being There*, a few years later made into a movie with Peter Sellers playing the main character, Mr Chance. The middle-aged Mr Chance has lived all his life inside his house. He knows the world outside only from watching television. Because of the

[2] The terminology is a conscientious issue. Some observers use the term "Hindu right". I think this label is inaccurate, since most of their political issues are of another character than common "left–right" questions. I was convinced by the political scientist Bashiruddin Ahmed, whom I interviewed in the early 1990s, that the Sangh Parivar (the Hindu movement) includes everybody from people with similar convictions to Christian Democrats in Germany to outright fascists who would like to "do away" with the big Muslim minority in the country. Cf also Berglund 2000.

[3] Note that the relative growth of seats in Lok Sabha is not matched by a similar growth of share of the votes. This is explained by the Indian (or British) first-past-the-post electoral system.

[4] The label leftist should be taken with a pinch of salt here. What I want to imply is that neither Nandy nor Madan are "Hindu fanatics" in any sense of the word. Their critique of "modern secularism" was rather a critique of what they saw as a modernist, hegemonic, perhaps neo-colonial, state project. Nandy attributes religious zealotry to modernity, not to "pathology of traditions". Nandy and Madan see tolerance as the alternative to secularism and posit the traditional community as the repository of tolerance (cf Mankekar 1999:196ff).

Table 1: Election Results for the BJS and BJP to the Indian Parliament

Year	Per cent of votes	Number of seats in Lok Sabha
1952	3	3
1957	6	4
1962	6	14
1967	9	35
1971	7	22
1977	41	298
1980	19	31
1984	7	2
1989	12	85
1991	20	120
1996	20	161
1998	26	179
1999	24	182

Comment: The figures refer to the results for the *Bharatiya Jana Sangh* 1952–1971, the Janata alliance 1977 and 1980 and the *Bharatiya Janata Party* 1984–1999. Also note that the number of seats in Lok Sabha, the lower house of the national parliament, was increased during the period from 489 to 542.

death of the house-owner he is suddenly thrown out of his home, and his world. But Mr Chance believes he knows the world since he has already seen it all on TV. And this competence makes him, within a few weeks, to become economic advisor to the American president and candidate for vice-president.

Mr Chance is, I believe, a somewhat exaggerated but not totally implausible symbol of the Modern Person. Television is becoming our window to the world[5] for more and more people on the globe. Entertainment, argues Neal Gabler, is the cosmology of our time, and the only context that gives meaning to the world (Söderqvist 2000). The historian Jenny Björkman (2002) reports about young women in the US who got together to watch the TV serial *Beverly Hills*, sometimes seeing an episode several times to be able to analyse and discuss it more thoroughly. In other words, not unlike Hindu devotees getting together to watch the *Ramayan*.

Another powerful metaphor for politics in our time is the movie (sic) *Wag the Dog*. In the movie the advisors to the American president start a war—but a war that exists only on television—to cover up a potentially embarrassing extra-marital affair by the head of state. In a remarkable turn of events, this movie was released just before President Clinton ordered bombing raids of Sudan and Afghanistan, attempting—critics alleged—to draw attention away from his affair with the White House intern, Ms Monica Lewinsky.

Television, and entertainment generally, is gradually increasing its share of the global economy. I am not aware of any figures trying to quantify how this growing role of television and the entertainment industry affects our lives and our polities. But I believe it is uncontroversial to argue that it is more important today than, say,

[5] Mankekar makes precisely this comment about one middle-aged woman who had never been to school and said she learned a lot from watching TV.

a couple of decades ago. I have no moral point of view on this, but I think that main stream social science ought to take a more keen interest in TV and how it affects our world. If a TV serial can play a part in replacing the government in the world's largest democracy it is time political science gave it a thought.

The increasing role of television and other "imaginations" has led some scholars to question the distinction between "text" and "reality". As pointed out by Jenny Björkman (2002) some see *Star Trek* just as "true" as the TV news. Sheldon Pollock (1993:292) puts it this way: "It's a truism worth repeating that not only don't facts speak for themselves, they're not even facts".[6] Jacques Derrida's eloquent formulation was that "there is nothing outside of texts".[7] The philosophical position I have in mind goes under several names: poststructuralism, deconstructivism, postmodernism (but these names sometimes denote other things). The position is well formulated by J. R. Wheeler:

> The universe does not exist "out there" independent of us. We are inescapably involved in bringing about that which appears to be happening. We are not only observers, we are participators... in making the past as well as the present and the future (quoted in Searle 1995: 158).

Some observers would say that the *Ramayan* TV serial is a wonderful illustration of this quote. The "reality" does not exist independently of us and our brains and we create this "reality" every day. Politics and political discourses are good examples that reality is just imagined, that it is "all in our heads".

But there is a problem with this position. What do we do about the 1200 people murdered in the riots following the destruction of Babri Masjid? Did these 1200 Muslims and Hindus "not exist out there"? Oppression, discrimination, and tyranny—are such phenomena mere mental constructions? Are the demands by extremist organisations in the Sangh Parivar, such as the RSS and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), (only) "text"?

One way to start disentangle the confusion in poststructuralism is to make a distinction between a strong and a weak[8] version of it. The strong version is well formulated by Derrida and Wheeler above: the "reality" does not exist, everything is mental constructs. The weak version, on the other hand, is uncontroversial and close to banal: mental constructions and imaginations are important and sometimes crucial in human communication. Symbols and codes sometimes carry the same meaning to us as physical assault: think of the Star of David Jews had to carry in Germany in the 1930s or the contemporary restrictions for lower castes forbidding them to enter Hindu temples or eat together with higher castes. A.K. Ramanujan (1991: 46) points out that *Rāmāyaṇa* carries a pool of signifiers, "phrases, proverbs, and even sneers carry allusions to the Rama story".

The philosopher John Searle suggests useful labels for the distinction I want to

[6] One is tempted, perhaps maliciously, to ask: "Is that a fact?".

[7] Quoted in Searle 1995:159. Searle points out that in an earlier response to him, Derrida took it all back by saying that what he had meant was that everything exists in some *context*. The latter is of course, as Searle says, a banality.

[8] I owe this terminology to Bo Rothstein.

make; *brute facts* vs *institutional facts*. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi was murdered or that car engines are destroying the environment[9] are brute facts, "facts that are totally independent of any human opinions" (Searle 1995:2). Institutional facts, on the other hand, require human agreement (institution) to exist. If everybody stops believing that a particular piece of paper is money, it ceases to be money. Searle (1995:33f) points out that the attitude we take toward a social or institutional fact "is partly constitutive of the phenomenon… part of being a war is thought to be a war". Part of being an assault on religious minorities in India, the murder of Gandhi was that it was *thought* to be an assault on religious minorities. Part of the Indian TV viewers' understanding of the *Ramayan* as depicting Muslims as "the Other" was that it was *thought* to be just that. "This is a remarkable feature of social facts; it has no analogue among physical facts" (Searle 1995:34).

To me it is largely inexplicable why some historians and social scientists confuse what Searle calls "brutal" and "institutional" facts. It is inexplicable since most of these scholars are politically radical and often want to see their scholarship as part of an emancipatory undertaking. I understand why "historical revisionists" want to question the Holocaust, but I do not understand why politically radical scholars want to extinguish the distinction between brute and social facts.[10]

Politics is full of such social facts or imaginations. Benedict Anderson pointed out that we imagine that we are (e.g.) Swedes and therefore we have something in common with about nine million other people. And the truly remarkable thing is, as Searle says, that this imagination of a community *makes* us into a community. As a matter of fact we can *create* important parts of our world. When Hindu mobs are tearing down a mosque in northern India it must be understood apart from the (brute) fact of a physical building being destroyed; the importance laid in the (institutional) fact of an assault on the Muslim community in India. Such symbols and imaginations—social facts—need to be understood and reckoned with to explain human action. The problem we face as analysts of social and political affairs is that most of the institutional facts are invisible. The earlier attempts by behaviouralists to understand this were incoherent, "because the description of the overt behavior of people dealing with money, property etc,. misses the underlying structures that make the behavior possible" (Searle 1995:5). This is why understanding (*verstehen*) is so important in social and historical analysis, and therefor anthropological methods such as participant observation.

The book *Orientalism* (1979) by the Palestinian-American professor of literature, Edward Said, is often regarded in the literature to be supporting a "strong" version of poststructuralism. Observers who want to claim that there are no important dif-

[9] At this stage in the reasoning poststructuralists often confuse the *language* we need to state a brute fact, and the brute fact itself. "Brute facts require the institution of language in order that we can *state* the facts, but the brute fact *themselves* exist quite independently of language or any other institution" (Searle 1995:27). Of course, the radical retort is ontological solipsism: the only thing that exists is me and my mental state of mind.

[10] Another confusion invoked is to emphasise the preliminary character of all truth and knowledge; again it is not controversial to point out that what we consider as a truth today may be challenged and replaced by better knowledge tomorrow. But this nowadays conventional epistemological position does not make all knowledge into imaginations.

ferences between Western Europe and Asia often refer to Said. It is therefore interesting to read a couple of sentences in the opening pages of Said's book, since he appears to make the same distinction as John Searle. Said points out that "There were—and are—cultures and nations whose location is in the East, and their lives, histories, and customs have a brute reality obviously greater than anything that could be said about them in the West" (Said 1979:5). And he describes his study in this way:

> But the phenomenon of Orientalism as I study it here deals principally, not with a correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient (the East as career) *despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a "real" Orient* (Said 1979:5; emphasis added).

When one reads this sentence one is aghast to see how often his analysis has been used as proof of what Asian "brute reality" is or is not.

As I underlined above, as human beings we are able to create important parts of our world by agreeing about mental constructions. But once agreed upon their meaning is no longer arbitrary. A metre (the measurement) was, of course, constructed (in Paris on 20 May 1875), but its meaning is no longer subjective. "Some of these ontologically subjective features are epistemically objective", says Searle (1995:10). "For example, it isn't just my opinion or evaluation that (a particular object) is a screwdriver. It is a matter of objectively ascertainable fact that it is a screwdriver"[11] (ibid). To make things even more complicated—or fascinating—as human beings we are able to change the physical world, "brute facts", with the help of "discourses" or "social facts". South Asian history provides us with a persuasive example.[12] Confronted with a relatively flexible social system and a fairly "loose" cosmology, Orientalist scholarship, Christian missionaries, and British colonisers wanted to codify and structure what they perceived to be a common religion (which they called "Hinduism") into a "comprehensible whole" (cf Mankekar 1999:174). In the next sequence this European construction of South Asian social reality had an effect on "brute facts" in the subcontinent. During the nineteenth century this Orientalist "imagination" of a common Hindu identity and a strict hierarchy of caste groups affected people to think in such a manner and to act accordingly.

The circumstance that so much in human affairs depend on our agreement about the world, on institutional facts—e.g. money, property, governments, identities, otherness—often makes our scientific tasks more difficult than in the (natural) sciences, but also more challenging. A very important part of being human is to symbolise

[11] At this point in the analysis some make the trivial point that we can give different names to the object we call a screwdriver. We can also choose to give different names to different types of screwdrivers, a practice that sometimes makes us see or evaluate "the world of screwdrivers" in a different light. The classical example is the Eskimo usage of perhaps twenty different names for different types of snow. So far it has not been proved that this more subtle terminology makes the snow in Greenland different from the snow in Scandinavia. All our concepts and our languages are constructions and often imprecise, but normally and especially in every-day life we often strive towards unambiguous language.

[12] The Christian cross is a powerful example of how we are able to completely change the 'epistemically objective' character of an object; from the Roman usage for death penalties to the most important symbol of a world religion.

and imagine, to give emotional and intellectual meaning to the world. And master narratives such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* help us to attach meaning to things and to forge political alliances. This is also how sometimes the "image becomes real", how social facts become brute facts: how pictures on millions of TV screens can be taken advantage of by political entrepreneurs and transformed into political campaigns and pogroms against a religious minority.

One VHP activist exclaimed, after a clash with the police in Ayodhya:

> What you are seeing today is a replay of the battle scenes you have witnessed on the television screen in the Mahabharat epic. Only this time the fight is for who will run the throne of Lucknow and Delhi.

And the leader of the VHP, Ashok Singhal, declared:

> The TV serial *Ramayan* was a great gift to our movement. We owed our recruits to the serial's inspiration.

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Arab Nations and Nationalism: Dangers and Virtues of Transgressing Disciplines

INGA BRANDELL, Uppsala
ANNIKA RABO, Stockholm

Arab nationalism has been a tremendously important movement for almost a century, with repercussions on the political, social, economic and cultural lives of people in the Middle East. The Arab Nation has also been a master-narrative—a discourse—shaping the political language of the region, as well as the perceptions of selves and others. Three or four decades ago, liberal and radical social scientists were, as a matter of course, staunchly anti-colonial and read history through the lenses of national self-determination. The emphasis was on popular rights, justice and change. All people had a right to be free and to decide their own fate. Criticism of French and British colonial interventions in the 19th century and of the creation of mandates after the First World War were legion. Social scientists and researchers in the humanities studying the Arab world could thus hardly avoid having views on, or attitudes to, Arab nationalism.

In the last decade or so, however, social scientists have cast a new, and much more critical, light on the master-narrative of the Arab Nation and on Arab nationalism. In this article we shall discuss this *rethinking*[1] and relate it to both the danger, but also the necessity, of transgressing disciplines when doing research on the Middle East. Here, two examples—Syria and Algeria—will be utilised for a rethinking of the Arab Nation and nationalism, while advocating a conscious and cautious transgression of disciplines.

SYRIANS, ARABS.....AND OTTOMANS?

In official Syrian historiography, the Ottoman period is routinely described as five hundred years of darkness. In Syrian schoolbooks, the period is characterised as "Turkish rule" and likened to colonial exploitation. What is described as the underdevelopment (*takhallouf*) of the country and its close Arab neighbours is, in the mass media and in much scholarship in Syria, explained in terms of the long "Turkish" rule. "The Turks" are said to have fostered feudalism and despotism and never to have developed a functioning bureaucracy. The similarity between this ongoing official discourse and earlier, anti-colonial, social-science analyses is striking. But it is also striking how contemporary, official, Syrian views on the Ottoman empire echoes even earlier European understandings of Oriental despotism; understandings

[1] This is the title of a volume edited by James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni (*Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, New York 1997). See also the issue of *International Journal of Middle East Studies* on "Nationalism and the Colonial Legacy in the Middle East and Central Asia", vol. 34, no.2 (2002).

that were fundamental to European colonial endeavours and interventions in the region.[2]

Not only the five hundred years of "Turkish rule" are described as an obstacle to the natural unfolding of the Arab Nation in the Syrian historiography. The Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour Declaration are also vital ingredients in a narrative of obstacles and disasters facing the Arab Nation. The French mandate period is clearly officially regarded as a period of colonial rule. But the analysis of this period is much less clear-cut than that concerning the Ottoman period. Clearly the short period of the French mandate plays a role. But there are many other possible reasons for ambiguity in the analysis of this period. French efforts are typically described as colonial, where the interests of the mandate population were placed second to those of France. Criticism is also raised against the French policy of dividing Syria into several different (ethnically based) "states". But this very policy also galvanised Syrian and Arab nationalists into action against the French. The divisive policies were important for the propagation and spread of the idea—and ideal—of Syrian (and Arab) unity. Thus Syria unfolded as Syria in this period, an issue that does not sit comfortably with nationalist historiography. Criticism is raised against how the mandated powers (in essence, the French) created "unnatural" borders with Lebanon, and "gave away" the Alexandretta province to Turkey in 1939. The official Syrian view on these borders is still fraught with great ambiguity.[3] But open debates about this ambiguity are shunned, since they also relate to contemporary relations with close neighbours. Hence, all in all, the mandate period is less emblematic than the "Turkish oppression"in official Syrian discourse.

Proponents of Arab nationalism and ideologues of Pan-Arabism, not least the founders of the Ba'ath party, viewed the Arab Nation as eternal. Arabs have persisted throughout history striving towards unity and towards fulfilling their national aspirations.[4] But a closer reading of the early 20th century history of Syria clearly shows that the Arab (and Syrian) nation was not just there to be revealed.[5] Scholars working on the emergence of modern Syria stress, in different and sometimes conflicting ways, the way "Syria" was made. Rashid Khalidi notes that the study of Arab nationalism can be divided into different periods.[6] The scholars of the first period were often witnesses to, or participants in, the early, pre-1920's, nationalistic movements. They generally wrote with a political vision in mind.[7] Scholars in the second period, between the 1950's and the1960's, often built upon the earlier scholarship but also revised and criticised their perceptions and understandings. These scholars, although not always in accord, stressed that Arab nationalism had various sources of inspiration. Finally, there is the third period of scholarship, notably from the 1980's, in which historians have devoted more effort to specific

[2] Cf. Talal Asad (1975).

[3] Emma Jörum (forthcoming 2003).

[4] See Syliva Haim (ed.1976) for examples of Arab nationalist discourses.

[5] Cf. Åsa Lundgren (forthcoming 2003).

[6] Rashid Khalidi (1991 p. 50). In fact his argument covers the Arab Middle East rather than North Africa.

[7] See, for example, George Antonius (1938).

regions or periods in the study of Arab nationalism. The fact that scholars of Khalidi's second and third period are still engaged in direct communication[8] shows us that intellectual vigour is still used in studying and revising the history of the history of Arab (and Syrian) nationalism.[9]

The fall of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of new borders meant that Syrians had to adapt to new political realities. In Aleppo—at the time the largest Syrian city—people had to reorient their markets from links to the north and east to links to the south. Many Aleppians and people in the countryside were poverty-stricken after the war, and Aleppo and other towns in the north also received thousands of Armenian refugees seeking shelter. Some local leaders in Aleppo had unsuccessfully opposed the Damascus-based nationalist government led by Feisal. In the Raqqa province, east of Aleppo, a "state of Hatchem", ruled by the sheikh from the well-known and important Feddan Bedouin tribe, managed to establish itself with local and Turkish support. It lasted only for fifteen months between 1920 and 1921, when the French were able to take control of the area.[10] Important segments of the Syrian land-owning elite, former Ottoman officials and many intellectuals were not uniform in their political views (or economic interests) and had no united vision for the future.[11] This was also true for non-élite views and actions. Many resisted conscription into the new Arab nationalist army, and there were popular demonstrations against Feisal's government in both Damascus and Aleppo, with many dead and wounded in 1920. Yet, only days afterwards people in Damascus willingly, and largely unarmed, joined the nationalist army in a battle against the advancing French army.[12] In the Aleppo region, a revolt against the French mandate, led by Ibrahim Hananu, with fighters largely recruited from the countryside, continued until the fall of 1921.[13] It is obviously only with hindsight that a coherent historical narrative can be constructed by an analysis of the "nationalists"-in-the-making, who, at the time, were manoeuvring within their constraints and resources.

But is this scholarly rethinking, described above, of Syrian and Arab nationalism also found among citizens at large? Here anthropological research-methods, with an emphasis on close encounters in everyday life, may give some indication. Many Syrian citizens, obviously, have been deeply steeped in, and influenced by, the official historiography, with "the Turks" and the Great Powers cast as villains. In Aleppo, situated about 60 km from the present border with Turkey, people will routinely claim that Turks are savages ("look what they did to the Armenians") or that it is the fault of Turkey that Aleppo lacks water in the river Queiq ("the Turks cut it off for us"). But Aleppo is also a city historically more tied to Anatolia and Baghdad than to Damascus, and this is also acknowledged in the city. The local cuisine is

[8] Rashid Khalidi (199, 1 op.cit.).

[9] For debates between scholars of the first period see the interesting article by Tetz Rooke (2000 *a*). Ussama Makdisi (2002) throws new light on contrasting discourses of nationalism in Lebanon in the 1860's.

[10] Sulayman N. Khalaf (1981, p. 85).

[11] See, for example Tetz Rooke (2000 b).

[12] James L. Gelvin (1997, pp. 231–232).

[13] Philip S. Khoury (1987, p. 110).

said to be more Turkish than that in Damascus. The local dialect is said to contain more Turkish words and expressions than other Syrian dialects. Many Aleppians have a Turkish-speaking grandfather or grandmother who was born in today's Turkey. ("We used to be more Turkish here than Arab").[14] On the other hand, though, local lore today portrays the "state" of Hatchem in the north-east as clearly anti-colonial and anti-French, while its links to Turkey are largely forgotten. Hence, on the part of "ordinary" citizens, the "rethinking" of Syrian and Arab nationalism takes other forms than among professional historians.

ALGERIANS, ARABS, MUSLIMS AND BERBERS?

The opening of the French military archives in 1992, thirty years after the independence of Algeria, and the publication of new research have nurtured the current debate on the Algerian nation and its foundations. Even more, the turmoil in the country during the last decade of the century, and specifically the advance of Islam as an encompassing political ideology, have contributed to such debates. The "rethinking" happened in a context of open and violent political and ideological crisis, strong enough to permit the questioning of what for decades had been untouchable.[15]

Unlike the Middle East, the Algerian historical background is altogether dominated by European colonialism, while Ottoman influence is hardly referred to. Algerian beys and deys were formally subservient to the Porte for almost three centuries, but their relations with Istanbul were distant and of low intensity. French military occupation, which began in 1830 and which half a century later resulted in extensive settler colonialism, is, in contrast to "the Ottoman period", the all-overshadowing, historical fact against which individuals, organisations and researchers, have envisioned the Algerian nation. The detailed, sub-national and local studies of nationhood and political connections, which seem to be an important input in the contemporary Middle Eastern debate, are still largely absent in Algeria.[16] In the

[14] This is not counting those who were born in the Alexandretta province and are now residents in Aleppo, and who in many cases have relatives on the other side of the border.

[15] One recent example is the special issue of the NAQD review on the theme of "History and Politics" (*Revue d'études et de critique sociale,* n 14/15). In this, the historian Gilbert Meynier introduces his article "The historic problematic of the Algerian nation" by stating that recently such a subject would have been impossible, and would have been met "in Algeria by ideological condemnation from officials and non-officials, and in France by hardly hidden satisfaction among the many longing with nostalgia for French Algeria".

[16] However, some biographies of important nationalist leaders have been published, to which should be added a series of memoirs by central Algerian political actors. This, of course, is giving a first, deeper understanding of the driving forces in the nationalist mobilisation. Examples are the biographies by Benjamin Stora and Jacques Simon of Messali Hadj (*Messali Hadj: Pionnier du nationalisme algérien*, Paris 1986 and *Messali Hadj: La passion de l'Algérie libre*, Paris 1998), and the one by Stora in collaboration with Zakya Daoud on Ferhat Abbas (*Ferhat Abbas: Une utopie algérienne*, Paris 1995), and of memoirs, e.g., by Ait Ahmed (1983), Belaid Abdesselam (1990) or Redha Malek (1995). To these should be added some biographical dictionaries of nationalist leaders and trade unionists (see Touati for the Oran region). A thorough bibliography research on the war of independence has been presented by Meynier in the issue of NAQD already quoted.

meantime, two issues are under scrutiny. One is the alleged historical continuity of the Algerian nation, and the other concerns the very character of the national movement that ushered independence and founded the post-independent state. Still, in contrast to, for example, Syria, these issues are not limited to debates between (often foreign) researchers but are also part of a larger questioning among Algerians.

The first question, the roots of the Algerian nation, has, as already mentioned, only recently come under close scientific scrutiny and critical discussion. During the first independent decades, there was, instead, a much greater concern with the "nature of the state". Differently put, the lack of a modern state was seen as the reason for the successful French occupation and the underdevelopment of Algeria. In this context, the three centuries of the Ottoman Empire were criticised for causing a fragmented and under-developed state. Abd al Qadr's resistance[17] to the French invaders was described as a first, although crushed, experience of a state with a unified and modern administration and army. The evident existence of an Algerian *nation*, oppressed and denied, was in fact a direct function of French colonialism, and it could not be otherwise. Algeria was *one* French colony, even though it was during late colonialism administratively divided into three French *départements*. The only way to make sense of this unified foreign rule was to assume the existence of one conquered people, i.e. a *nation*. The colonial "other" in its common (unified) "otherness" created the unified national *self*.

Social scientists and reserachers in the humanities thus approached the Algerian society and state almost exclusively from a developmentalist[18] viewpoint during the first decades of independence. The political choices were looked upon as alternative technical solutions: how best to proceed to establish Arabic as the national language, which branch of industry to establish in order to enhance independent economic development? At the most, these political choices were regarded as class issues. Would (and should) the development path chosen favour the peasants, who had fought with arms the war of independence, or the workers, who had fought for independence through their mobilisation and general strikes? Or, were peasants and workers, instead, losing in face of a growing bureaucratic "bourgeoisie"? Gilbert Meynier claims that the nation did not exist at independence, and hence the task was to create it out of the state. But the leaders of the nationalist movement never raised such an issue. Some contemporary authors take a less radical position than Meynier on the (non-)existence of the Algerian nation and claim that there was a pre-colonial, Algerian "proto-nation" or "pre-nation".[19] However, Meynier's criticism of the post-independence debate and action, which, according to him led to a historical failure, remains valid. The issues were not thought of from the viewpoint of the nation, because the nation was thought to be a given.[20]

[17] 1832–47.

[18] It should it be remembered that the political concern with development was firmly based on an often "unstated influence of modernization theory" (Cole and Kandiyoti, in Introduction p. 201, *IJMES* op.cit.).

[19] See for example in the issue of NAQD mentioned in note 15, Merouche & Lemnouer: "Conjonctures intellectuelles et notions de groupe".

[20] The reluctance to even think of a potential issue is, of course, also linked to the forceful denial during colonialism by the pro-colonial forces of the existence of anything like an Algerian nation or state.

The nature of the national movement was also taken for granted by its leaders. Researchers (rightly) considered it part of an international, progressive movement of emancipation of the colonised and oppressed people. Its early history, its programmes and its policies after independence bore witness to influence from the international communist and socialist movements. Furthermore, owing to the large trade-union participation in the national movement, the analyses did not include a questioning of its driving forces and deep ideology.[21] Researchers could address the political conflicts within the movement and identify different orientations, but the very basis of the mobilisation and the institutions were rarely discussed. Such a discussion, in fact, would at the time have meant coming close to taking a stand against independence or the right to independence!

As a consequence, when the crisis came in the late 1980s, the focus was on the reform of the state and the need for economic reforms. Few expected the explosion that was to come with the upheaval in October 1988. Few saw the deep trends in society that were to give an Islamist party the victory in the parliamentary elections in 1991–92.[22] A more careful reading of the historians of the pre-independence period and of a few more subtle studies would have put some question marks around the "national movement" and "nationalism" in the Algerian context.[23] In particular, the difference between the older forms of resistance under the banner of Islam and the modern national movement seems to have been overstated, as was the unification of the movement at the ideological and organisational level. As in the general literature on Africa, a sharp line was drawn in the Algerian literature between "the resistance to colonial penetration" in the 19th and early 20th centuries, considered to be mainly reactive, local and part of traditional forms of thinking and organising, and the modern, national mobilisation, pro-active and drawing on modern ideologies and forms of organisation. While the modernity was certainly part of the early resistance in Algeria, the mobilisation for national liberation, on the other hand, was far from the secular, modern, socialist movement it was understood as at the time.

[21] As an example, this quotation from Hartmut Elsenhans' very important book on the French politics of decolonisation, which, however, addresses only the problem of unity in the national movement and characterises it in the following way: "Erste Ansätze zu einer Konzeption eines algerischen Nationalstaates zeigten sich zwar schon bei Emigranten während des Ersten Weltkrieges, doch enstand die erste Massenorganisation, die die Unabhängigkeit Algeriens als einer *laizistischen Republik* und nicht mehr in der Form der Konservierung der traditionellen Gesellschaft forderte, erst am Ende der 20er Jahre in Frankreich....Ohne den Beitrag des städtischen Proletariats einzuschränken, muss jedoch unterstrichen werden, dass der Erfolg des algerischen Befreiungskrieges auf lokaler Ebene durch das Engagement der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung Algeriens erzielt wurde, die der Befreiungsarmee Soldaten, Unterschlupf und Nachschub stellte." (our italics). (Elsenhans, H. *Frankreichs Algerienkrieg 1954–1962*, Carl Hanser Verlag, Münich 1974, p. 139).

[22] Even those who forcefully analyse the elements of the general crisis to come did not measure its dimensions, see e.g., the interesting contributions in El-Kenz, Ali *L'Algérie et Modernité* (also published in English *Algeria and Modernity*, Codesria, Dakar, 1989).

[23] For example, the works by Mostafa Lacheraf or Bruno Etienne's book *Algeria: Cultures and Revolution* (1977) or later on the contributions by Mohammed Harbi.

PROBLEMS OF DISCIPLINARITY AND INTERDISCIPLINARITY IN THE STUDY OF THE ARAB WORLD

Most social sciences and humanities face a severe dilemma. On the one hand, specialisation within one discipline is necessary to permit the elaboration of scientific results, as these must be based on clear and explicit, methodological norms. Yet, on the other hand, human and social phenomena can seldom be understood and made meaningful if only one aspect or dimension is chosen and studied. The forms and contents of social and human activities, after all, are multidimensional. Interdisciplinarity is often proposed as a solution to this dilemma. But, as Stanley Fish puts it, "being interdisciplinary is so very hard to do".[24] The difficulties are such that many researchers wish to remain within their own discipline.

The tension between disciplinarity and interdisciplinarity unfolds in several ways. It thus also produces different problems that the researcher has to handle. First of all, any specialised research within a discipline needs a social or historical context, which at least partly must be found outside the discipline itself. The anthropological genre, for example, demands a contextualization of "the field".[25] This is typically created by material gathered from other scholars in other disciplines, in order to provide a background to the history, economy or politics of the society under scrutiny.[26] This need goes beyond "contextualisation" and into general background information when the research work concerns regions not familiar to the expected readers and is valid for any of the social sciences and humanities. Western readers, even when academically specialised, cannot be assumed to know much about the context of the research questions of an anthropologist working in Syria or a political scientist working on Algerian issues. Whether as ordinary contextualisation or general background information, the question hence becomes how to read and use the results and approaches from other disciplines, without misinterpreting them.

Secondly, when doing research of an exploratory kind in regions which lack accumulated data and research, scholars, by necessity, have to draw on results from other disciplines, produced by methods and theories other than the ones with which they (and we) are familiar. An anthropologist, for example, working on rural-development issues in Syria, will find few other anthropologists to lean on or to refute, i.e. few to engage in a scholarly, disciplinary dialogue. Instead, the scholarly engagement is perhaps formed with historians or political scientists. Here it is not

[24] Stanley Fish, "Being interdisciplinary is so very hard to do", in *There is no such thing as free speech and it's a good thing too*, Oxford University Press, New York 1994.

[25] In anthropology the concept of context is both essential and problematic. For interesting discussions see Ladislav Holy (1989 pp. 103–110) and volume edited by Roy Dilley (1999).

[26] In her thesis on the effects of a huge development scheme in north-eastern Syria, Rabo, for example, in 1986 used "the history" of the region and Syria in order to give a context (background) for an analysis of this scheme and how it was perceived among groups of people in the region. While the overall analysis of the scheme and regional politics has stood the test of time, her historical contextualisation seems quite dated. That is, the material she collected herself, thought and wrote about in an anthropological manner is still relevant, while the material she used, produced by others from different disciplines, is highly coloured by her—at that time—understanding of those disciplines. See Annika Rabo, *Change on the Euphrates*, Stockholm 1986, pp. 27–32.

only a question of contextualising but transgressing the borders of one's discipline in the scientific work. It cannot be avoided in "understudied" regions. The Arab world is still "understudied". Until recently, this has furthermore been aggravated by the segmentation of the research communities according to language, in particular by the divide between the research published in Middle Eastern languages and in English, but also between other language communities, for example, Japanese, Russian and other European languages. The little available research was not fully used because of language barriers. Fortunately, conscious efforts to enhance communication between these different research milieus and research languages are now taking place.[27]

Finally, there is the problem of the very strong politicisation of many issues in the Middle East and North Africa, in the national and regional fields and in the international arena. It is not uncommon that concepts, such as "honour" or "shari'a" or "genital mutilation" are insufficiently contextualised or explained and instead used as key-symbols for the whole Middle East in international political discourses or policies. Studies of languages, religious minorities, and many other issues always risk an immediate and twisted politicisation by both domestic and international actors, in the governmental and the non-governmental fields.

How then to handle the difficult, necessary interdisciplinarity and at the same time avoid the dangers and not uncritically use and misuse the results from other disciplines as a "context", a "background" or even input and part of the research? How, furthermore, can we prevent an over-simplified use of our research results being made in propaganda in public debate? The answer does not lie in the transgression of one's own discipline or in (the impossible task of) every scholar trying to become a specialist in several fields of science. Instead, progress will come with the enhancement of the interdisciplinary, critical scrutiny of ongoing research and its results. This is anything but easy. It implies conscious efforts to create the institutional possibilities and space. We will come back to that. But it also demands the difficult recognition of the right to discuss and criticise research undertaken in other disciplines than one's own.

It is certainly not an easy task to deal with contributions in other disciplines in the parts that relate to one's own discipline. The common framework and references are generally lacking and are quite unsatisfactorily replaced by arguments based on the empirical "facts". As a consequence, participants in this interdisciplinary exchange will have to make it clear when they are going beyond their own science and mainly asking questions, and when they are making contributions from their own disciplinary background. In this latter case, they will then have to distinguish between the internal, disciplinary debates and the appropriate criticism of, and contribution to, work in other fields. Making available resources and giving legitimacy to interdisciplinary seminars or centres can create a culture like this. The most fruitful way of simultaneously creating an institutional setting and recognising the right to criticise

[27] Nazih N. Ayubi in his important book *Over-stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East* (I.B. Tauris, London & New York 1995) explicitly draws, first and foremost, on authors publishing in Arabic and not translated. Another example of an incipient integration may be the first World Conference of Middle Eastern Studies held in Mainz, Germany, in September 2002.

and discuss, seems, however, to be the multi-disciplinary research project organised around a common theme or an empirical question.[28] This remains fruitful, however, only as long as the researchers continue to be part of the development and debate in their respective disciplines and are able to maintain their identity as scholars in a specific discipline. Otherwise, they merge into area specialists, typified by the much-criticised so-called area studies.[29]

WHAT ABOUT THE ARAB NATION?

So what can be said about the Arab nation half a century after its inception? And could a more conscious, interdisciplinary effort avoid some of the traps of yesterday and result in better research and a better understanding of the Arab world? Syria and Algeria naturally constitute the entry to these concluding lines.

The contemporary rethinking of the Syrian nation and Arab nationalism on the part of ordinary citizens has to be delineated from the *de facto* importance of these ideals, and ideas, and from their everyday-life experiences. Most Syrians, like citizens in other Arab countries, display great ambivalence towards Arab nationalism. On the one hand it is said to have "failed" and only served the ruling élite. On the other hand, most people in Syria also profess to feel close to, and share a common history and fate with, other Arabs, regardless of present territorial divisions. As stated above, open and public debates about conflicting historical interpretations are not allowed in Syria. Many older people complain that the young generation, fostered in the ruling party's historiography, does not know what "really" happened in Syria before the Ba'ath take-over in 1963. They also complain that the popular television serials on the modern political history of Syria falsify history and glorify Ba'ath politics. But there are also young people who claim that they, through the spread of satellite television channels from other Arab countries, are much more knowledgeable than their parents are. Syrians today express varied and often contradictory opinions about "history" in different situations. Like many scholars, they also are rethinking nationalism. When Syrians at large contest Arab nationalism, this, we suggest, can be interpreted as a counter-discourse to the official master-narrative. But perceptions of history can also be related to the success of the hegemonic discourse of the ruling Ba'ath party. Thus both a rethinking of nationalism, and a reiteration of Syrians as victims of foreign schemes, are embedded in, and interpreted through their daily lives as citizens inside or outside contemporary Syria.

In Algeria, as well as in Syria, the power-holders still draw their legitimacy from the explicit and implicit references to the continuous struggle for the nation and its independence. The public debate in Algeria is definitely more open than in most of the neighbouring countries, and in Syria. The April 2001 crisis leading to months of quasi-insurrection in the Berber-speaking region of Kabylia brought into the open most of the issues of the Algerian nation and the national movement. In particular it

[28] The reader may judge from the experience at the basis of this statement described in, Brandell, I. (ed.), *Borders, Boundaries and Transgression*, (forthcoming 2003).

[29] The problems of the so-called area studies are different and take us beyond the topic of this contribution. See, however, Tessler, Mark (ed. 1999), for the debate.

has resulted so far in the inclusion in the Algerian constitution of the Berber language as a "national" language though only Arabic remains the "official" language. There are still, however, clear limits as to what can be contested. When the current president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, for example, blankly refused to consider any reconciliation with the Algerians who fought on France's side during the war of independence, the mass media and public opinion did not question his position. On the other hand, through people's practices, the meaning of the nation as a "home", be it the home of the Arabs, the Syrians or the Algerians, is dissolving. Around a million Syrians work in Lebanon, many more Algerians have settled in France. Most of them retain their Algerian citizenship, but more and more are becoming "French". In spite of all the difficulties and barriers, the desire of young Algerians to join the communities abroad is strong. It is sometimes a realistic option given the extent of family links, i.e. not only a dream to escape the hard conditions that one meets with in the whole region. But the contrary is also true: Algerians in France or elsewhere, sometimes go back with projects to rebuild the country or at least to uphold such a project. Then they refer to a nation—their nation—with its flag and its history.

Criticism of Arab nationalism in its more or less pan-Arab versions (as well as other nationalisms, and master-narratives in general) is clearly part of the *Zeitgeist* among many contemporary intellectuals (and, of course, citizens at large). While it is almost impossible for scholars to totally liberate or disassociate themselves from current trends in academia (and outside), it is important, we believe, not to exchange one narrative for its simple antithesis. In 2003, on the brink of yet another regional upheaval, there are many Western voices stressing the "unnatural" and "recent" character of the various Arab nations, claiming that "older" and "more authentic" identities and forms of organisation are ready to re-emerge, given the chance. In another context, that of the early nation-state building, Eugene L. Rogan has instead pointed to the cohesive factors introduced by the late Ottoman Empire in one of its frontier regions, namely present-day Jordan. His careful, historical investigation of half a century of direct Ottoman rule in this region shows that, contrary to general assumptions about an anarchic and "tribal" society, the British and the Hashemite king did not have to start with a clean slate after the First World War. The state and nation formation was to prove "a long process in Transjordan",[30] but the foundations of a national economy, the infrastructure, the familiarity with the instruments of statecraft, the notion of holding elected office and so on, were already established as the basis for this process. But perhaps, in the context of the early 21st century, we need to be reminded that not only nationalism, but also the nation is something practised every day. If so, there is a whole literature containing many descriptions and analyses of these countries since independence, underlining fifty years of building national economies and infrastructure, development of administration and school systems, establishment of elected representation and political parties, as well as the conscript army and other integrative institutions. Social scientists who earlier overlooked the findings of historians and others concerning the foundation of the Arab nation(s) should thus not now, when they have integrated these analyses, forget about their own, earlier, research results, nor about the lasting impact of the policies

[30] Eugene L. Rogan (1999, p. 253).

and mobilisations they have been studying. Naturally, the strength of a nation or a nationalism cannot be definitively evaluated, except *post hoc*. In order to consider the *pros* and the *cons*, and waiting for the *post hoc*, scholars need the contributions of several disciplines.

The stories and the understandings of Arab nationalism can never be final or coherent but are instead conflicting and *always* in the making. This is contrary to what was assumed during the first few decades of independence, but also contrary to the idea that Arab nationalism has only been an imposition from above. The master-narrative of the past—now seemingly shattered and rejected by many—will continue to be a reference, also because it accompanied a practice that has changed society. The ongoing "rethinking" among citizens must therefore be analysed and understood within the particular context of both the successes and the failures of the different, post-independence regimes, and to do this the tools and models from various disciplines are needed.

Furthermore, the stories and understandings of Arab nationalism are still highly relevant and important, and will remain so, because through them "questions of sovereignty, about who belongs to the national community, about state structure, and about relations with the rest of the world"[31] can be framed. Such questions evidently remain important even in a time of globalisation. Progress would then be made if scholars, by confronting studies undertaken at different levels, using different perspectives and different materials, i.e. belonging to different scientific disciplines, this time could maintain a more comprehensive understanding of the plurality of societies and peoples in their past and present. This, however, would be conditioned by the acknowledgement that the interdisciplinarity has to go beyond the mere borrowing from each other and constitutes a more conscious and cautious process of exchange and debate, which in turn demands institutional recognition and legitimacy.

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[31] Philip S. Khoury (1997, p. 274).

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Khowar Proverbs Collected by Wazir Ali Shah: From the Posthumous Papers of Professor Georg Morgenstierne

GEORG BUDDRUSS, Mainz

1.1. The great Indologist and Iranist Georg Morgenstierne (1892–1978) did his pioneering fieldwork on Khowar, the northwesternmost Indo-Aryan language, in 1924 in Kabul and in 1929 in Chitral, then a princely state, now a part of the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. His collections resulted later in three fundamental linguistic papers: *Iranian elements in Khowar* (1936), *Some features of Khowar morphology* (1947) and *Sanskritic words in Khowar* (1957) (the first and third reprinted in *Irano-Dardica* in 1973).

In later years Morgenstierne kept up contact with Chitral through correspondence, especially with Wazir Ali Shah "who more than anybody else has earned a name in Khowar studies. For Georg Morgenstierne he collected songs and traditions. The manuscripts are now in the Indo-Iranian Institute, Oslo. Points of translation and grammar were discussed in more than sixty letters, the first of which dates from April 1953. Many of them are in Romanized Khowar. Some of this information was utilized in the edition of *Some Khowar songs* by Wazir Ali Shah and Georg Morgenstierne (1959)" (Endresen, Kristiansen 1981, 217).

Wazir Ali Shah was Government Treasurer in Chitral and, later, as a member of the Pakistan Civil Service was temporarily posted in Peshawar. He and Morgenstierne knew each other only through correspondence. They met personally for the first time in 1970 at the Hindukush Cultural Conference held at Moesgård, where Wazir Ali Shah contributed two lectures (Jettmar 1974, 68–80, 118–119).

Wazir Ali Shah was no professional scholar, but a man of vast knowledge with experience in the politics of his homeland. His special interests included the Khowar language (he translated parts of Persian classical works like Saᶜdī's *Bustān* and *Gulistān* into his mother-tongue), regional history, and folklore. Though severely overburdened with administrative work, he found the time to help scholars in various ways. I had the chance of working with him on problems of Khowar for a few days in Chitral (1975) and Peshawar (1980) and he put me in contact with other informants for my studies.

Wazir Ali Shah passed away on 15th September 1990. The *Proceedings of the second international Hindukush cultural conference*, held in Chitral 1990, are dedicated "to the memory of the late Wazir Ali Shah, in grateful recognition of his pioneering contribution to Hindukush studies, and his continuing support and encouragement to the younger generation of researchers" (E. Bashir, Israr ud-Din, 1996).

1.2. In their *Khowar Studies* (1981,218) Endresen and Kristiansen have included a "list of Khowar manuscript material, for the most part unpublished, bequeathed to The Indo-Iranian Institute of the University of Oslo by Georg Morgenstierne".

Among the material sent by W. (= Wazir Ali Shah) one finds under classification number "W. V̲." "Chitrali proverbs 1–74. Text and translation. Received Dec. 1954". In the early 1980s, after beginning work on two corpora of Khowar proverbs (in the meantime published as "Z." = Zograph Commemorative Volume, 1995, and "N." = Festschrift Nespital, 2002), I became interested in seeing the Oslo material. Knut Kristiansen was kind enough to send me a xerox copy (four typewritten pages) of the text which I received on 4th July 1983.

The typescript (ts.) comprises 74 numbers, 71 and 42 are identical. 18 proverbs overlap with those in corpus Z. or N. or both. That means 55 items out of 73 are not attested to in the other two corpora. Therefore, I found it worthwhile to examine the ts. more closely.

As at the time of my fieldwork on Khowar (1975, 1980) the ts. had not yet come into my hands, I never had a chance to go through the text with Wazir Ali Shah (henceforth: WAŠ.) himself or with any other native speaker of Khowar. In general, I had no serious difficulties in reading and understanding the Khowar text. But the ts. is in some parts not clearly legible, and in a number of details I was not able to clear up the doubtful points. In 1993 I sent a copy of the ts. to my colleague Elena Bashir (EB.), who has longer and more intensive field experience than any other scholar now working on Khowar. I asked her to discuss some of the doubtful passages of the ts. with her informants in Chitral. As I have already done in my paper N., I want to thank Elena Bashir and her informants once again for their painstaking efforts in clearing up several problems in WAŠ.'s ts. Without EB.'s help parts of the text would have remained obscure or doubtful. I have quoted verbatim passages from her letters of 1993 and 1998 below.

Morgenstierne has obviously studied the ts. In numbers 61 and 63 he added hand-written notes, in both cases misunderstanding the text, but in 70 correcting WAŠ.'s translation.

1.3. In the course of their correspondence, Morgenstierne and WAŠ. had devised "a simple phonemic orthography … suitable for an ordinary type-writer. Accent and tones have not been denoted, although it must be admitted that they are phonemically relevant" (Morgenstierne in *Acta Orientalia* 24, 1959:30). This "orthography" was also used by WAŠ. in his ts. of the proverbs. The writing of consonants is phonemic (a useful preliminary phonological analysis of Khowar is found in Endresen and Kristiansen 1981, 232–242). I have rewritten WAŠ.'s letters in keeping with common Indological practice as follows:

c = / *ċ* /; ch = / *č* /; chh = / *čh* /; sh = / *š* /; j = / *ǰ* /; the underlined letters:

<u>zh</u> = / *ž* / or / *ẓ* /; <u>ch</u> = / *ç* /; <u>chh</u> = / *çh* /; <u>sh</u> = / *ṣ* /; <u>t</u> = / *ṭ* /; <u>d</u> = / *ḍ* /; <u>gh</u> = / *γ* /; <u>kh</u> (sometimes replaced in ink by <u>x</u>) = / *x* /; <u>l</u> = / *ḷ* /.

In writing the vowels / a, e, i, o, u / there is no distinction short : long, stressed : unstressed, nor any marking of tones. Morgenstierne, after some hesitation, was con-

vinced, that there is no relevant vowel quantity in Khowar (*Acta Orientalia* 24,30). In earlier publications of mine I followed him, though always with doubt, as did other scholars (cf. my remarks in Z. 163 about the former *communis opinio* regarding the vowel system of Khowar). Now I have adopted EB.'s method of distinguishing stressed short vowels (*á*) from long ones with falling (*áa*) or rising (*aá*) contour. WAŠ. sometimes writes (anglicized) *oo*, *ee* for stressed / long u, i (e.g. in proverb 33), but not systematically. In cases of doubt concerning stress and vowel quantity in some words I have asked EB.'s advice and have based my statements on the information she provided.

1.4. WAŠ.'s English translations are often very free and more of a paraphrase of the Khowar text. In many cases a more literal rendering of the proverbs would be desirable for better understanding. Therefore, I have edited the Khowar text in Indological transcription with an interlinear gloss. Then follow WAŠ.'s English translation and elucidations. After that I offer, where necessary, comments of my own. In quoting some similar or identical proverbs from other sources I have restricted myself to neighbouring languages (e.g. Shina, Burushaski, Wakhi, Kalasha, Pashto). Obvious typing errors in WAŠ.'s English text have been silently corrected, but his style of English has been retained throughout.

1.5. As no scientifically adequate Khowar-English dictionary is available, I have (as in Z. and N.) appended a glossary with short grammatical and, where feasible, etymological or comparative notes, for the most part, references to Turner's Comparative Dictionary or Morgenstierne's writings. Grammatical terminology is essentially that of GM. 1947, e.g. "aorist" for the "tempus gnomicum", which goes back to the Ancient Indo-Aryan present tense. Where I have dealt with a Khowar word or morpheme in a previous publication my comments, in most cases, are not repeated, reference being given only to the glossaries in KhT., Z., or N.

2. TEXTS

1 *berio* *xaḷáu* *duró* *xalawo* *daḷeéir.*
outside OBL mouse house OBL mouse OBL expel AOR 3 SG

WAŠ.: "The outer mouse turns out the inner mouse. The new arrival elbows out an older and rightful person."—The same idea is expressed in Shina (MAZ. 167): *dariíno kāā́kaċ-se ariíno kāā́kaċ çoṭéi* "The outsider partridge will chase away the insider partridge" (informants exemplified this by the economic role of Hunza people in Gilgit). In Burushaski this proverb is given a different meaning: "Like the country rat who beckoned the town rat out". According to Tiffou (1993, no. 4056) this is a form of apology and said chiefly to visiting friends one cannot receive at home.

2 *čhaní ki* *nisái* *basíro* *wáaγ* *kam* *boi.*
kid when come out PRET 3 SG goat OBL value less become AOR 3 SG.

WAŠ.: "The value of the mother decreases on growing up of kid. Younger generation looking down on the older generation". – The corresponding Shina proverb (MAZ. 190) mentions the role of the father: *čhatíilei dā́āi áali-t, mugaréi gáaç čhíǰei* "when the beard of the young he-goat comes out the value of the old he-goat will be broken".

3 *woxíko biyáar díko hunóte xaṣáp.*
wakhi OBL rear seat give INF OBL saddle DAT snatching
WAŠ.: "If you give a woxik a lift on your horse he will try to get the saddle. Used when someone tries to get advantage of one's kindness." The same is asserted about a Shin man in a Wakhi proverb (text in Buddruss 1998, p. 36, no. 83) and in a Bur. proverb (Tiffou 1173): "If you take a Shin behind you on your horse, he will steal your saddle (*γaṣáp éči)*".

4 *ǰu khongór i hanó no bíni.*
two sword one sheath not go AOR 3 PL
WAŠ.: "Two swords will not go into one case. That is two kings cannot rule in one country". – Khushwant Singh quotes this "Hindustani proverb", as he calls it, three times in his novel "Delhi" (English 1989, at present not available to me, German translation Hamburg 1995, p. 75, 168, 287.) It is also attested to, e.g. in Kumauni (Upreti 1894, 327) *dui talwára eka myána meṇ ní rai sakaní* "two swords cannot be kept in one sheath". The "Hindustani" version is in Roebuck 1824, no. 169: *ek myān mẽ do čhuri* "two knives in one sheath". Also in Pashto (Benawa 1979, no. 148): *pə yawə tēki kē dwē tūri na jāeǧī* (translated into Dari: *dar yak γelāf du šamšēr na mēgonǰad*) "Two swords will not go into one scabbard".

5 *seró múḷo úuγ af šoxċítai bas.*
bridge OBL beneath water downward pass PRET 3 SG enough.
WAŠ.: "When water flows down the bridge it is all over. (No use crying over spilt milk)". Literally: "The water has flown on (downward) under the bridge". That is, the (moment of) opportunity has passed by / been lost. EB. aptly remarks: "The English proverb 'Don't cry over spilt milk' suggests regret over loss of something already existing, whereas the meaning of this proverb, although similar, suggests failure to capture the moment to do something as yet not done." The same imagery of water and bridge is found in the English expression "That's water under the bridge". The meaning according to Hugh van Skyhawk is like the German "Schnee von gestern" ('snow of yesterday').

6 *noγóor uluíka kherum.*
fort fall INF LOC ?
WAŠ.: "The fort once falls down goes for ever. The falling of a fort is bad omen". – EB. reports that none of her informants had heard this as a proverb, and its interpretation was not a matter of common traditional knowledge. The problem was with the word *khérum* (*kherúm* ?). One opinion was that it means "fragrance". Another was that it is equivalent to *ṣaxérum* "waste dump where trash / garbage is burned." Another informant suggested that the correct version might be *noγóor uluíka xair* meaning something like (even) in the falling of a fort, normally a cause of financial loss and grief, there is good to teach patience and tolerance for apparent misfortunes and acts of God. Prof. Israruddin after much discussion within his family preferred another possibility: *noγóor uluí xérum* "a fort having fallen down is a pile of decay / dust". "Even a fort, if it is not looked after properly, will decay and become just a pile of dust". *xérum* then would be the same as *ṣaxérum*.

9 ma nánga dreé ma warángo aleṣísan.
my honour LOC put CP my leather cape OBL tear PRES 2 SG
WAŠ.: "You are tearing / taking my leather coat by flattering me. Used to point out undue flattery." EB. remarks "That is you are trying to get / extract something from me by flattering me. Instead of *aleṣík* the verb *atreçík* 'to tear' was mentioned as a commonly used alternate in this proverb".

14 γaríbo roói ṭéka ki no astái bo khyo
poor OBL people *ṭek* LOC if not be PRET much any OBL
pušúur di no taruúr.—[The ts. has *bokio*, which must be a typing error for *bo khyo*]
meat even not reach AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "If one's own/favouring person is not at the head of distribution one cannot receive any meat on feasts". – EB.'s informants objected to the word *roói* "people" and insisted on using the word *nan* "mother" instead. Literally: "If a poor man's mother is not on the *ṭek*, he will not get a share of meat even if there is a lot of it". – "That is, for a poor man, if his mother (i.e. one who will favour him / give him priority) is not in charge of distributing the food (or any other valuable desired thing by extension) he won't get anything even if there is a great deal of it. Refers to a situation where one gets benefits only when he knows someone in power. – *ṭek* refers to the raised platform at the interior/upper end of the house. This is the place reserved for the mistress of the house, who is in charge of the distribution of food. Here it symbolizes the seat of authority."

18 šamó ḷóow halál.
evening OBL fox lawful
WAŠ.: "The fox at evening time is halal (fit for eating by Muslims). It refers to the story of a mullah who on being told that his son ate the meat of a fox said that it was alright if he ate it at evening time. Used when some one justifies his actions".

19 šamáar áči ma ažéli dangéinian.
evening after my child speak nonsense PRES 3 PL.
[The ts. has *d*, but in 1980 WAŠ. gave *ḍangeéik* "to talk nonsense". – WAŠ.: "My children speak rubbish after evening time. Used to express dislike of something said by somebody".

20 kahák dudéri kaháko poç dudéri.
hen far hen OBL feather far
WAŠ.: "Away with the hen and away with its feathers. I have nothing to do with you or those connected with you / your works".

21 i iṣpoóḷo sum γeč níki i žúuro sum γeč níki.
one abscess OBL with eye is not one daughter OBL with eye is not
WAŠ.: "Of the two things which have no eyes one is a carbuncle / boil and one is a daughter. It is so said because the boils usually appear on very unseemly places of the

body while the daughter demands everything from her father without considering his difficulties and poverty".

22 *naṣk riçó rúum asmán-tu.*
beak filth OBL tail sky LOC
WAŠ.: "Beak into filth and tail in the air = a bird called *kiṣípi* which usually feeds on filth with its tail up. Used for proud people whose real condition is very low but who make tall talks". – A similar proverb is current in Wakhi about a goat: "The goat is sunk in mud, but the tail is up (*bičkám-i cuγ*)". (Text in Buddruss 1998, p. 31, no. 45)

23 *weréγa órċma kasiír pačháani róoima.*
visible LOC bear like walk AOR 3 SG hiding place LOC man like
WAŠ.: "Walks like bear (on four legs) in public and like men (on two legs) secretly. Used for hypocrite people".

24 *moóš boókante ṭong çhána žaγá boi.*
man wife PL DAT pear leaf LOC place become AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "Man and wife can accomodate even on a pear leaf = A single family can live better. One can't sleep with any other person so comfortably as with own wife". [WAŠ does not use hyphens; *moóš-boókante* and *ṭong-çhána* are probably compounds with two accents?]

25 *ṣagóγu tan náno γéča ṣieéli.*
black insect own mother OBL eye LOC beautiful
WAŠ.: "The black insect looks handsome in the eyes of its mother = Nobody cries his milk is sour".

26 *ḍang ki taléh no hoói xarwáara čustí abás.*
strong when luck not become PRET 3 SG ass-load LOC beauty useless
WAŠ.: "If there is no luck a bag full of beauty is useless. = A wife is not particularly liked for her beauty but it is luck. = If you have no luck a lot of cleverness will not do any good".

27 *laákawa kimério šax wexál.*
leave IMPF PPL woman OBL vegetable tasteless
WAŠ.: "The vegetable dish prepared by a woman whom one intends to divorce is tasteless = when one does not like his wife and wants to get rid of her, he finds fault with everything she does". – This is a proverb common in the area, e.g. Shina (MAZ. 61) *híieṭ neé áali čéiyei šáa ga nilaálo* "Even the vegetable of an unloved wife ('who did not come to the heart') is tasteless". – Bur. (Tiffou 1144) "The vegetables cooked by the woman you intend to divorce (*móoras gúsmo hói*) are always bitter". – Wakhi "The vegetable (*γazg*) of a man who wants a divorce is bitter" (text in Buddruss, 1998, p. 37, no. 103).

28 *boγák royó çakeéi angaár mo dopháwe!*
go NAG man OBL apply CP fire not (see below) IMP.
WAŠ.: "Do not let a person who is leaving (early morning) put the fire in order (before going to bed). *dopheéik* means keeping the red hot coal and wood etc. under ashes in such a manner that they do not die out in the morning. The one who is leaving at dawn would however not care what happens next morning and warm himself to the full during the night".

32 *tuṣó múḷo úuγ.*
straw OBL under water
WAŠ: "Water under the straw = something which goes unnoticed." Persian has *āb zēr-e kāh* "water below the grass", which, according to Roebuck no. 5 means "deceit or a deceiver".

33 *gordóoγ šuγúra mik.*
donkey sand LOC urinate INF
[In the ts. *mik* has been crossed out and *meek* superscribed by hand in ink—in order to indicate vowel length? (cf. above under 1.3)].
WAŠ.: "The donkeys make water on sand = Someone does a thing which goes unnoticed". – EB. has the variant: *gordóoγ šuγúro mií tóonǰ*
sand LOC urinate CP lost
"the donkey urinates in the sand, and (it) is lost". She adds:"This applies to a situation when someone does something, even something like a major crime important, and it goes unnoticed, i.e. vanishes into the sand".

34 *pálum šuγúr lámbur batiír.*
soft sand barrage bind AOR 3 SG.
WAŠ.: "Thin sand raises a barrage = A slow and crafty man is more dangerous than one who expresses anger".

35 *sabró khongór no pherkiír.*
patience OBL sword not cut AOR 3 SG
nekío úuγ no alói.
goodness OBL water not take away AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "Sword cannot cut patience and water cannot carry away a good deed".

36 *máal xáċmi ki no nisái harám.*
property owner LOC if not come out PRET 3 SG forbidden
WAŠ.: "If the property does not follow /is not similar to its owner it's not genuine = A bad man's son is same as his father".

37 *no istoníru žau no boi , no kreníru*
not sigh PERF PPL son not become AOR 3 SG not buy PERF PPL
maristaní no koói.
slavery not do AOR 3 SG

WAŠ.: "One for whom one has not sighed in pain (borne pain at his birth i.e. born of your own self and not adopted or stepson) can never be a son and one who has not been purchased can never be a real servant. None who is <not> born of yourself can be a son and someone engaged temporarily will not serve you faithfully".

38 góor andréni kumáaḷa polóγ.
demon inside smokehole LOC hedge
WAŠ.: "The devil is in and the hole on the roof is barricaded (say barbed wired) = Away with the devil. Used to express satisfaction at getting rid of disliked person".

39 asmá(a)n ẓang zemín ḍang.
sky high earth rough
WAŠ.: "The sky is high and the earth rough = One is in great difficulty and has no resources to ease it". The corresponding proverb in Wakhi was accompanied rather by shrugging the shoulders: *zemín-i saxt, osmón-i baländ* "the earth is hard, the sky is high (one cannot change it and has to put up with it)" (Buddruss 1998, p. 32, no. 74). Cf. in Bur. (Tiffou 1008) *asmáan tháanum, birdí ḍaη* "the sky is high and the earth hard (things are what they are)".

41 Gul Xatún šarána haái.
courtyard LOC come PRET 3 SG
WAŠ.: "G.X. has arrived at your lawn / door. = Your wish has come true". – EB. writes " 'Gul Xatún has come (in)to the courtyard' is a very common and well-known proverb. It refers to a situation when something for which one has been searching unsuccessfully suddenly appears / is found of its own accord, or the solution to a problem which one has been working on suddenly appears of itself. Gul Xatun refers to a woman, symbolizing the desideratum, but my informants were not able to identify G.X. with any specific character, either real or from the folk tradition. I suspect that the proverb also has metaphorical meanings with sexual connotations, but none has stated this explicitly yet".

42 gordóoγ muṣíčo xalo kya huṣ koói ?
donkey lucerne? OBL taste what understanding do AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "The donkey does not know / cannot appreciate the vegetable / long grass. Low people cannot value good things". [In no. 71 this text is repeated with the addition "putting pearls before a swine"]. – This is probably from Pashto (Mackenzie 1982, p. 40, no. 139) *xar da xīdo pa xwarāk cə poheğī* ? (Variant: *xwīd pa xwaṛəlo*) "what does an ass understand of eating green corn? (fine things are wasted on some people)". In Persian corresponds: *qimat-e zaᶜfarān če dānad xar*? "What does an ass know about the value of saffron?" (Roebuck 1824 Part I, section II, no. 1633). The Wakhi version is less metaphorical: *xúr-ep čiz dišt xálge qadr*? "what will an ass know about a man's rank?" (Buddruss 1998, p. 32, no. 71).

43 nang náng-e Badaxšán.
honour Iẓāfat

WAŠ.: "A Badaxšani will honour his Badaxšan = Every person will honour his own country and think good of it".Literally "honour is the honour of B". The same proverb is attested to in Shina, but without the Persian Iẓāfat (MAZ 299): *nang nang Badaxšáan*. MAZ. was not sure about the meaning and tentatively paraphrased in Urdu: *apnī apnī γairat* "(everybody has) his own honour".

45 *goró lúo díko góor nisiír.*
demon OBL word OBL give INF OBL demon come out AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "You talk of the devil and he is here". The same experience is expressed in Shina about a witch (MAZ. 175): *rúuyei čága thoóikyer rúui wáai.*
witch GEN story do INF LOC witch come FUT 3 SG
"when one is telling a story about a witch, the witch will come".

46 *xuró bok γéča ṣieéli.*
other OBL wife eye LOC beautiful
WAŠ.: "Another man's wife looks beautiful in one's eye".

47 *Ṭúṭio qahró Muṭúṭio sóra neéik.*
OBL anger OBL OBL on take out INF
WAŠ.: "To take revenge from Muṭuṭi when Ṭuṭi does something wrong". – The same fictitious names are used in Shina (MAZ. 108): *Ṭúuṭyei róoṣ Maṭuṭyeǰ* "Ṭuṭi's anger at Maṭuṭi".

48 *ǰam royó gosnáḷi maṣké!*
good man OBL rubbish heap LOC look for IMP
WAŠ.: "Look for a good person in filthy places = Someone you think common and unimportant may be a good person / saint".

49 *ṭhiínsk pholók žibói bahrtí báan žibói.*
small bird grain eat AOR 3 SG partridge stick eat AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "*Ṭhiínsk* (a small bird) eats the grain and *Bahrti* (partridge) gets the beating = The real culprit goes free while an innocent gets into trouble".

51 *he froxó sum puší wa xaḷáu dasiír-a ?*
this snout OBL with cat again? mouse catch AOR 3 SG – Q.
WAŠ.: "can a cat with that mouth catch a mouse? = Used for one's worthlessness".

52 *wesíru sayuúrǰo sáar dosíru kiṣípi ǰam.*
wait PERF PPL hawk OBL from catch PERF PPL magpie good
WAŠ.: "The *kiṣípi* (ordinary bird) in hand is better than the king hawk you hope to catch = A bird in hand is worth two in the bush."

53 *branó karén tan žaíni ma kaṭíni.*
ram OBL saying? self fuck AOR 3 PL me castrate AOR 3 PL
[The ts. has *kat-* instead of *kaṭ-* by mistake] WAŠ.: "As the sheep said – they them-

selves fuck and make me *khasi* [= *xaṣi* "eunuch"] = Used by someone punished unjustly." This interpretation is certainly too general. The proverb "applies to a situation where someone enjoys doing something himself but tries to discourage or actively prevents you from doing the same thing" (EB.) [EB's informant replaced the unclear *karén* (see the glossary) by the participle *branó raárdú* "the ram said".

54 orċó poší loṭ ṭiríko paráṣ uluṣiír.
bear OBL see CP big shit INF OBL arse be torn AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "If you shit very big imitating the bear your bottom will tear up. = Do not imitate big people". – A similar Shina proverb was recorded by Lorimer (original text unpublished)
loĩ-se "içé samaár çhikám" theé pran bílin
fox ERG bear OBL like shit FUT 1 SG say CP burst become PERF 3 SG
"the fox, having said 'I'll shit like the bear' has burst".

55 ċeq losí pálum çakháwe!
little take morsel CP soft chew IMP
WAŠ.: "Put less in your mouth and chew it thoroughly = Do something which you can swallow or do easily".

56 xonzó gambúrian dik.
queen OBL flower OBL PL beat INF
WAŠ.: "Hitting the princess with a flower = Used in case of one who shows over-delicacy".

58 kimeéri biċó kutéer.
woman bosom OBL knife
WAŠ.: "Woman is the knife of the bosom, should not tell women secrets".

59 ǰu-boóki moóšo mux ṣa.
two-wifed man OBL face black
[In the ts. *ša* wrong for *ṣa*] WAŠ.: "A two-wifed man's face is black: One with two wives is ever in trouble". – Lorimer has a similar Shina proverb: *du čéyoo baráu siǰóono han* "the husband of two wives is known (to everybody, because he is always in anxiety about them and occupied with problems)" (English translation in Müller-Stellrecht 1980, 144; Shina text still unpublished).

60 šun ṣaí mux ṣaí.
lip blackness face blackness
[compounds with *ṣaí*?] WAŠ.: "The period when moustaches first appear is the period of blackening the face: youngsters do anything in youth irrespective of consequences. Youth is shameless".—[With *mux-ṣaí* cf. Persian *siyāh-rū* "criminal, unlucky, disgraced"].

61 pai di poṣí téra pariír.
goat also dig CP there lie down AOR 3 SG

[over *poṣí* Morgenstierne has superscribed "dung", he thought it was the locative of *poṣ* "dung"; *poṣí* is, however, here from *poṣ-* "to dig"]. – WAŠ.: "The goats also clear the space before sleeping there. One should make things comfortable where he lives". – EB. explains "Even a goat will dig (its place) and lie down there. Used in a situation where somebody is criticized for being dirty, messy".

62 duṣmanó wélṭi korí bayeéiko di hardiáar nisiír.
enemy OBL direction do CP fart INF OBL even heart ABL come out AOR 3 SG
WAŠ.: "Even if one bombards towards the direction of the enemy it is good". – More exactly:"it will come from the heart".

63 qam zoxó múḷa di bai.
kinsman thorn OBL below even be OPT
[As the *b* in *bai* is hardly legible, Morgenstierne read *ai* and added the gloss "snake", which makes no sense here].—WAŠ.: "Be there a kinsman even under a thorn. A kinsman / relative is useful wherever he is". EB.'s informants gave *birú* "kinsman" instead of *qam*. "The kinsman, no matter how poor he is (thornbush is a symbol of poverty), can be a help in time of need".

64 lilóṭan poší šárum hoói, ċiċéqante žan
elders OBL see CP shame become PRET 3 SG youngers DAT soul
puluítai, ẓaróḷi páza prai.
burn PRET 3 SG bastard breast LOC fall PRET 3 SG
WAŠ.: "I was shy of the elders and took pity on the youngers. The result is I had to have an illegitimate child. Used in cases when one has to carry out the wishes of everyone or they become angry". – EB. states that WAŠ.'s interpretation was not agreed to by her informants. She gave the following comments: "(She) felt shy of the elder (men), (but) took pity on the younger (men) (i.e. agreed to their sexual advances). (As a result) she is stuck with an illegitimate child". – "The sense is that one should feel / express both shyness and pity at appropriate times, and judiciously, not at times when it will bring trouble to one. One should not take pity on someone when it is liable to become a liability to oneself".

65 gordóγo peḷíngi gordóγote wez.
donkey OBL kicking donkey DAT medicine
WAŠ.: "The kicking of donkey is medicine to the donkey. Everybody knows his business best".

66 tažío tan čamáxo ištikheéik.
Tajik OBL own flint OBL praise INF
WAŠ.: "The Tajek praises his matchstone. Everybody praises his own things. Nobody cries stinking fish". – In Shina and Bur. the same is said about one's buttermilk. Shina (MAZ. 2) *toóm meléṭ koós čúrko théen* "who calls his own buttermilk (*meél*) sour?", Bur. (Tiffou 1049) "no one says that his own buttermilk (*diltar*) is sour". This is nearer to Persian *kas na gōyad ke dōγ-e man torš ast* or Hindi *apnī čhāč ko koī khaṭṭā nahī̃ kahtā* (Roebuck 1824, Nr. 323 and Nr. 21).

68 γečháar puthúri hardiáar dudéri [the ts. has *ch* with a second *h* added by hand in the first word]
eye ABL hidden place LOC heart ABL far

WAŠ.: "Out of sight out of mind". There are many corresponding proverbs in neighbouring languages (e.g. Buddruss 1986, 32). The opposite statement seems to be rarer, it occurs e.g. in Lorimer's papers (Shina text unpublished):
açhíiyeṭ káči híiyeṭ ga kač
eye DAT near heart DAT also near
"near to the eye, near also to the heart".

69 póna dúur host angaári.
road LOC house hand fire LOC

WAŠ.: "A house on the road means hands warmed by fire. At a house in the road you cannot expect good entertainment all the time but even if you warm your hands it is enough".

70 xukhó sáar droó di bo.
pig OBL than hair even much

WAŠ.: "Even a hair is better from the swine: From a bad master get what you can" [In the ts. Morgenstierne has written "much" over "better"]. Literally: "From a pig, even a hair is a great deal". According to EB.'s informants this refers to the quality of miserliness. "From a miser even a tiny bit is good. The pig is associated with and used as a figure of speech for qualities of miserliness or of extreme cleverness, depending on the context". In the corresponding Persian proverb the bear is the symbol of miserliness: *az xers muy bas ast* "from a bear one hair is enough" (Roebuck 1824, part I, section II, no 98, where the explanation is given: "to describe a miser, from whom the merest trifle is a great matter").

72 aqílote išará.
wise DAT sign, hint

WAŠ.: "A word to the wise". This proverb normally consists of two parts, in the second part the fool is mentioned, so also in Khowar, cf. Z. 22 *aqílote išārá gordóγote báan* "for a wise man a hint (is sufficient), a stick for the donkey". Besides the Pashto proverb quoted there a Tajiki parallel may be mentioned: *oqilonro išorát, nodónro kaltak* "To the wise a hint, to the fool a stick" (Mackenzie 1982, 28) or a more positive saying in Bur. *šuwá haγúrar han thur, suwá sísar han bar* (Tiffou no. 1170).
good horse DAT one whiplash good person DAT one word

This is probably a translation of an Indian proverb like Hindi *bhale ghoṛe ko ek čābuk, bhale ādmī ko ek bāt* (Roebuck 1824, no. 337).

74 čanó máal nasén kasiír.
poor OBL property around walk AOR 3 SG

WAŠ.: "The property of the poor circles in the out. The poor man's property is in dan-

ger first". – The same proverb, probably a loan from Khowar, is found in Kalasha: *čánas mal nasén kásiu* "a poor person's belongings walk around (meaning: people readily steal from the poor)" (Trail 1999, 54 b s.v. *čan*).

The following 18 numbers of WAŠ.'s typescript are identical or nearly identical with Khowar proverbs in the corpus Z. or N. or both and have been edited there:

7 = N4; 8 = N8; 10 = Z 1; 11 = Z 32; 12 = Z 12, N 10; 13 = Z 31, N 13; 15 = Z 9; 16 = Z 44; 17 = Z 15; 29 = Z 37, N 7; 30 = Z 27; 31 = Z 11, N 3; 40 = Z 10; 44 = Z 34; 50 = Z 7; 57 = N 12; 67 = N 15; 73 = Z 14.

3. GLOSSARY KHOWAR-ENGLISH

-a ending of loc. – 1, unmarked for verticality or horizontality. – [N.]
-a question marker; *dasiír-a* "will catch?" (51)
-áar ending of ablative (19 etc.). – [N.]
abás "useless, barren" (26). – [Ar.-P. *ᶜabaṣ*]
áči "after", with abl. (19). – [KhT.]
af "down(ward)" (5). – [T. 246, ID. 257]
al- "to carry away" (U. *le-jānā*); inf. *alík*, aor. *alói* (35). – [cf. T. 1362, 1541?]
aleṣ- "to tear" trans.; 2. sg. pres. *aleṣísan* (9). – [T.2062]
andréni "inside" (38). – [ID. 258]
angaár "fire" (28); loc. *angaári* (69). – [T. 125]
aqíl "wise"; dat. *aqílote* (72). – [Ar.-P. *ᶜāqil*]
as- "to be"; 3. sg. pret. *astái* (14). – [N.]
asmá(a)n "sky" (39); loc. *asmán-tu* (22). – [P.]
atreç- "to tear"; inf. *atreçík* (9), variant for *aleṣik*.
ažéli "child" (19). – [KhT.]
b- "to become"; aor. *boi* (2, 24, 37); opt. 3. sg. *bai* (63). – [Z.]
b- "to go"; 3. pl. aor. *bíni* (4). – [KhT.]
báan "stick"; *báan žib-* "to be beaten" (49). – [Z.]
bartí, bahtí WAŠ. *bahrti* "a bird", O'Brien "quail", WAŠ. "partridge" (49). – [ID. 260, T. 11361]
bas "enough" (5). – [P.]
basíir "goat (male and female)"; obl. *basíro* (2). – [T. 11604]
bay- "to break wind", inf. obl. *bayeéiko* (62). – [T. 11524]
béri, obl. *berio* "outside"(1, stress not noted). – [T.9227]
biċ, obl. *biċó* (EB. also *biċ/ó*) "bosom" (58); O'Brien (110) "in the bosom, i.e. twixt shirt and skin"; LW. 56 "piece of cloth inserted under armpit", Berger YB. *biċ* "armpit"; Kho. *biċ korík* "to take child in arms". – [Shughni *bist* "bosom"?]
birú "kinsman" (63). – [Kal. (Trail 45) *birú* "relative of any kind"]
biyáar "opposite bank; place on horse behind the saddle"; *biyáar d-* "to let somebody sit behind oneself on a horse (3)". – [T.11796]
bo "much" (14, 70). – [T. 9187]

boγ- "to go" nomen agentis *boγák* (28). – [KhT.]
bok "wife" (46); *moóš-boókante* (24) "for husband and wife"; *ǰu-boóki* "having 2 wives" (59). – [T. 11250]
bot- "to bind, attach"; 3. sg. aor. *batiír* (34). – [T. 9126]
bran, obl. *branó* "ram" (53). – [T. 12230]
ċeq "small, little, less" (55). – [KhT.]
ċx̌éq, dat. pl. *ċx̌éqante* (64) "younger". – [KhT., cf. *lilóṭ*]
čamáx, obl. *čamáxo* "flint" (66). – [KhT.]
čan, obl. *čanó* "naked, poor" (74). – [Kal. *čan*, T. 143]
čustí "beauty" (26). – [P.]
čhaní "kid"(2). – [T. 4961]
çakeéi "through, by", indicates the agens of the causative; *royó çakeéi* "by a man" (28). – [cp. of *çakeéik* U. "*lagānā*", causative of *çok-* "be attached"; KhT.]
çakh- "to chew"; inf. *çakheéik*; imp. *çakháwe* (55). – [different from *çoçh-* "to gnaw a bone", T. 4556, where *čhoč-* was misheard by Lorimer]
çháan, loc. *çhána*, obl. *çhanó* "leaf"(24). – [T. 4979, doubtful because of *çh*]
d- "to give, beat"; inf. *dik* (56), obl. *díko* (3, 45); *lúo dik* "to speak" (45); *biyáar d-* see *biyáar*. –[KhT., T. 6141]
daḷ- "to turn out, expel"; 3. sg. aor. *daḷeéir* (1). –[T. 6751]
di "also, even" (14, 61, 62, 63, 70). –[T. 200]
doph- "to put the fire in order"; inf. *dopheéik*; imp. *dopháwe* (28). – [hardly the same as *dapheéik* "to crush", T. 6173?]
dos- "to catch"; 3. sg. aor. *dasiír* (51); perf. ppl. *dosíru* (52). – [N.]
dr- "to pour out, put on"; inf. *dreéik*; cp. *dreé* (9); *nánga dr-* "to flatter" (9). – [ID. 247, T. 6634]
droó "hair" (70). – [T.6623]
dudéri "far" (20, 68). – [T. 6495]
dúur, obl. *duró* "house" (1, 69). –[T.6423]
duṣmán, obl. *–ó* "enemy" (62). – [P. *dušman*]
ḍang "hard, rough, strong" (26, 39). – [Kal., Bur. *ḍang*; Berger 1998, 130 suggests connection with T. 5524]
ḍang- "to talk nonsense"; inf. *ḍangeéik*; 3. pl. pres. *dangéinian* (19) with *d* instead of *ḍ*. – [different from *ḍangeéik* "to cover, shut, bury", T. 5574? C.P. Zoller suggests connection with Panjabi *ḍhangā* "crooked word", *ḍhange lāuṇe* "to fabricate a story, to speak or act in a crooked manner" (Bhai Maya Singh, 1895, 297)]
-e Persian Iẓāfat in *nang-e* (43).
-eéir in some dialects *–eér* ending of 3. sg. aor., e.g. *daḷeéir, daḷeér* (1) etc. –[N.]
frox, obl. *froxó* "animal's mouth, snout, muzzle" (51). – [T. 14710]
gambúri "flower"; obl. pl. *gambúrian* (56). – [T. 4015]
góor, obl. *goró* "demon" (38, 45). – [T. 4522]
gordóoγ, obl./dat. *gordóγo(te)* (33, 42, 65) "donkey". – [T. 4054]
gosnáaḷ, loc. *gosnáḷi* "heap of rubbish" (48); EB. from Mastuj has *gosnéeḷ*, obl. *gosnéḷi*. – [*gósun* "litter, rubbish", related with Bur. *γus*, Kal. (Trail

110) *gózdum* "trash, rubbish"? Pashai *gasawá* "rotten"? *–áaḷ, -éeḷ* <*ālaya-*, T. 1366?]

γaríb, obl. *γaríbo* "poor" (14). – [P.]

γeč "eye" (21); loc. *γéča* (25, 46); abl. *γečháar* (68). – [T. 43]

h- pret. of *b-* "to become"; 3. sg. *hoói* (26, 64). – [Z., T. 9416]

h- pret. of *g-* "to come"; 3. sg. *haái* (41). – [Z., T. 2534]

halál "legal, suitable for food" (18). – [Ar.-P. *ḥalāl*]

háano, obl. *hanó* "sheath, scabbard" (4). – [T. 1163]

harám "unlawful, illegitimate" (36). – [Ar.-P. *ḥarām*]

hardí "heart"; abl. *hardiáar* (62, 68). – [T. 14064]

he demonstr. pronoun (51). – [GM. 1947, 17]

host "hand" (69). – [T. 14024]

húun, obl. *hunó*, dat. *hunóte* "saddle" (3). – [Kal. *hun*]

huṣ korík "to know, understand" (42). – [Z.]

i "one" (4, 21). – [T. 2462]

-i ending of loc. – 2 "horizontal relation, same level as speaker". – [N]

-i ending of the cp. (= absolutive). – [N.]

-iír morpheme of 3. sg. aor. – [N.]

-íru (also *–irú*?) morpheme of perf. ppl., *dosíru*, *wesíru*, *istoníru*, *kreníru* (37, 52). – [N.]

iston- "to sigh"; perf. ppl. *istoníru* (37). – [T. 13668]

išará "sign, wink, hint" (72). – [P. *isāra*]

ištikheéik "to praise"; inf. (66). – [KhT. *ištik-*; Waigali (Degener 1998, 439) *ištikā-*, doubtful T. 13691]

iṣpoóḷ, obl. *iṣpoóḷo* "boil, carbuncle" (21); EB.'s informants from Mastuj have *oṣpoól*. – [T. 13854]

ǰam "good" (48, 52). – [N.]

ǰu "two" (4); *ǰu-boóki* (59) "having two wives". – [T. 6648?]

ka "who, anybody" (53?). – [T. 2574]

kahák, obl. *kaháko* "hen" (20). – [cf. KL. 113 s.v. *kahawák*]

kam "little,less" (2). – [P.]

karén (53) form of *reék* "to say" not clear to me: *ka* "anybody", *ren* for *ren hoói* "was said"?

ki "if, when" (2, 14, 26, 36). – [P.]

kimeéri, obl. *kimério* "woman" (27, 58). – [T. 3303]

kiṣípi "magpie" (22, 52). – [ID. 246, 252]

kor- "to do"; inf. *korík*; cp. *korí* (62); 3. sg. aor. *korói* = *koói* (37, 42); *huṣ kor-* "to understand" (42). – [T. 2814]

kos- "to walk about, wander"; 3. sg. aor. *kasiír* (23, 74). – [T. 2981]

koṭ- "to crush, castrate"; inf. *koṭík*; 3. pl. aor. *kaṭíni* (53). – [T. 3241.2, where read inf. *koṭik*, with *ṭ*, not *t*]

kren- "to buy"; perf. ppl. *kreníru* (37). – [T. 3594]

kumáaḷ, loc. *kumáaḷa* "smokehole" (38). – [Z.]

kutéer, obl. *kutéro* "knife" (58). – [cf. T. 2860, KL. 117]

kya "what" (42). – [N.]

kherum (6) see *xérum*.

khongór "sword" (4,35). – [KhT.]
khyo, obl. of *kya* "what" (14). – [Z.]
laák- "to leave, divorce"; inf. *laákik*; impf. ppl. *laákawa* (27). – [Endresen – Kristiansen 1981, 230 also *lakh-*; cf. YM. 223 *la-ken-*; for the form in *–awa* see GM. 1947, 27 and Bashir 1988, 120]
lámbur "barrage, dike" (34). – [Kal. (Trail) *lámbur*, T. 10957]
lilóṭ, obl. pl. *lilóṭan* (64) "elders". – ["augmentative redublication of *loṭ*", GM. 1947, 16]
los- "to take morsels"; cp. *losí* (55); caus. *laseéik*.
loṭ "big" (54). – [T. 11076.2]
lu "word"; *lu dik* "to speak (in general)"; obl. *lúo dik* "say a specific thing" (45). – [T. 10934?]
ḷóow, obl. *ḷowó* "fox" (18). – [T. 11142]
ma "my, me" obl. of *awá* "I" (9, 19, 53). – [GM. 1947, 17]
-ma suffix meaning "like": *órċma*, *róoima* "like a bear / man". – [P. *mān(ā)*"like"?]
má(a)l, obl. *maló* "property" (36, 74). – [Ar.-P. *māl*]
maristán "slave"; *maristaní* "slavery, slave-work" (37). – [T. 9874]
maṣk- "to search"; imp. *maṣké* (48). – [N.]
mí- "to urinate"; cp. *mií* (33), inf. *mik*. – [KhT. 75, T. 10338]
mo "not" with imp. (28). – [N.]
moóš, obl. *moóšo* "man" (24, 59). – [T. 9828]
mux, mox "face" (59, 60). – [T. 10158]
múḷa (63), *múḷo* (5, 32) "under". – [*muḷ* + loc. *-a*, *-o*; T. 10250.2]
muṣíč (EB. *muṣíç*, obl. *muṣíço*) (42), O'Brien 1896, 155 has "lucerne", Kal-(Trail 207) and KL. 125 translate "vetch".
n- "to take out"; inf. *neéik* (47). – [ID. 267, T. 7079, 6966]
nan, obl. *náno* "mother" (14, 25). – [T. 14661]
nang "honour, pride" (43); loc. *nánga dr-* "to flatter" (9). – [P.]
nasén "around" (74). – [Kal. (Trail 213) *nasén(d)*; cf. Z.; T. 7089?]
naṣk "beak" (22). – [ID. 252]
nekí, obl. *nekío* "goodness, good deed" (35). – [P.]
níki "is not" (21)
nis- "to come out, emerge"; 3. sg. aor. *nisiír* (45, 62); 3. sg. pret. *nisái* (2, 36). – [T. 7270, addenda 1985]
no "not" (14, 26, 35, 36, 37). – [T. 6906]
noγóor "fort, castle" (6). – [T. 6924, 14656]
-o ending of obl. sg. = loc. –4, (which encodes location or direction downward from the agent). – [N.]
orċ, obl. *orċó* "bear" (54); *órċma* "like a bear" (23). – [=*ohċ*, T. 2445]
-ote ending of the dat. sg. –[cf. *-o* and *te*]
pačháan, loc. *-i* (23) "hidden (place), disappeared". – [T. 2169]
pai "goat" (61). – [N.]
pálum "soft, thin" (34, 55). – [Kal. (Trail) *pálum*, ID. 252]
paráṣ, obl. *paraṣó* "buttocks" (54)
paz, loc. *páza* "breast" (64). – [ID. 234, 246, T. 8118?]

peḷínge (so WAŠ. 1975; ts. *peḷingi*) "kicking" (65); *peḷínge dík* "to kick". – [Kal. (Trail 235) *peḷingan tyek* "to kick"]
poç "feather" (20). – [T. 7627]
polóγ "hedge" (38). – [hardly belongs to T. 7969?; cf. Pashai *pal'ā* "briar"?]
pon, loc. *póna* "way, road" (69). – [T. 7785]
por- "to lie down"; inf. *poríḱ*; 3. sg. aor. *pariír* (61). – [T. 7722]
poš- "to see"; cp. *poší* (54, 64). – [T.8012]
poṣ- "to dig"; cp. *poṣí* (61). – [W. *pïṣ-* "dig", Steblin-Kamenskij 1999, 285]
prai pret. "fell, befell" (64). – [probably different from *prai*, pret. of *d-* "to give", GM. 1947, 24, T. 8655?]
pulu- "to burn"; 3. sg. pret. *puluítai* (64); *žan puluík* "soul to burn" = "to take pity on". – [T. 8397]
puší "cat" (51). – [T. 8298]
pušúur "meat" (14). – [Z.]
puthúr, loc. *-i* "hidden / buried place" (68); p. *korík* "to bury" (EB.)
pherk- "to cut"; 3. sg. aor. *pherkiír* (35). – [Kal. *pherkik*]
pholók "grain" (49). – [T. 9051]
qáhar, obl. *qahró* "anger" (47). – [Ar.-P. *qahr*]
qam "kinsman" (63). – [Psht. *qām*, Ar.-P. *qaum*]
raárdú perf. ppl. of *reék* "to say"; when used as a finite verb the agent is in the obl. (53). – [N.]
riç(h), obl. *riçó* "filth, excrements" (22). – [ID. 269, T. 10731]
róoi, *roói*, obl. *royó* "man" (14, 23, 28). – [T. 10860]
rúum, obl. *rumó* "tail" (22). – [T. 11096, 6419, 14610; cf. ID. 253]
sáar "from, than" (70); *sáar … ǰam* (52) "better than". – [N.]
sábur, obl. *sabró* "patience" (35). – [Ar.-P. *ṣabr*]
sayuúrǰ, obl. *sayuúrǰo* "hawk" (52). – [ID. 253]
séer, obl. seró "bridge" (5). – [T. 13585]
sóra "on" (47). – [loc. of *sor* "head", ID. 253]
sum postpos. "with"; *sum … níki* "has not" (21). – [T. 13173]
šam, obl. *šamó*, abl. *šamáar* "evening" (18, 19). – [P. *šām*]
šarán, loc. *šarána* "courtyard" (41). – [T. 12326]
šárum "shame" (64). – [P. *šarm*]
šax "vegetable" (27). – [T. 12370]
šoxċ- "to pass"; 3. sg. pret. *šoxċítai* (ts. *shoxsitai*) (5). – [KhT., ID. 253]
šuγúr, obl. *šuγúro*, loc. *šuγúra* "sand" (33, 34). – [T. 13386]
šun "lip" (60). – [T. 12516]
ṣa "black" (59). – [Z.]
ṣagóγu "black insect" (25). – [Kho. *goγ* "worm, insect", T. 4104? KL. 102: better T. 4286]
ṣaí "blackness" (60). – [cf. *γéčo ṣaí* "pupil"; *hayá moóš ma γéčo ṣaí asuúr* "this man is the blackness of my eye = I hate him"]
ṣaxérum (6) see *xérum*
ṣieéli "beautiful" (25, 46). – [KhT.; Sh. *ṣieélo* "beautiful": *šiéelo* "generous, liberal"]
taléh "luck" (26). – [Ar.-P. *ṭāleʿ*]

tan "self, own" (25, 53, 66). – [T. 5766]
taží, obl. *tažío* "*Tajik*" (66).
te "to, for", after *-o* ending of the dat. *-ote*. – [N.]
téra "there" (61). – [*te* = obl. of pronoun *se* "that", GM. 1947, 17]
tor- "to reach"; 3. sg. aor. *taruúr* (14). – [KhT., T. 5702]
tóonǰ "lost, disappeared" (33). – [ID. 271]
-tu ending of loc. –3 („ + vertical, upward"); *asmán-tu* (22). – [N.]
tuṣ, obl. *tuṣó* "straw" (32). – [T. 5892]
ṭek, loc. *ṭeka* "raised platform" (14). – [N.]
ṭong "pear" (24); *ṭong-çháan* "pear leaf". – [T. 5429]
ṭir- "to defecate"; inf. obl. *ṭiríko* (54).
ṭhiínsk, EB. *ṭiínsk* "small bird, sparrow-sized, lives on ground in fields, comes in spring and fall, when sitting moves tail up and down" (49).
úuγ, obl. *úuγo* "water" (5, 32, 35). – [T. 1921]
ulu- "to fly, fall"; inf. loc. *uluíka* (6); cp. *uluí* (6). – [T. 2061.5]
uluṣ- "to be torn"; 3. sg. aor. *uluṣiír* (54). – [T. 2062]
wa(a) "again" (51?). – [ID. 254]
wáaγ "value, price" (2). – [ID. 246, 248]
waráng, obl. *-o* "leather cape, posteen" (9). – [ID. 254]
wélṭi, wólṭi "side, in the direction of" (62). – [KL. 150 has Kho. *wal-ṭi*]
weréγ, loc. *weréγa* "visible" (23). – [Kal. *werék*, Trail 334]
wes- "to wait"; inf. *wesík*; perf. ppl. *wesíru* (52).
we-xál "tasteless" (27). – [ID. 254]
wez "medicine" (65). – [KL. 151: Kal. *wes*]
woxík, obl. *-o* "Wakhi speaker" (3).
xáċum, loc. *xáċmi* "owner" (36). – [Z.]
xal, obl. *xalo* (stress not noted) "taste" (42). – [cf. *we-xál*, ID. 254]
xaḷáu, obl. *xaḷawo* (stress?) "mouse" (1, 51). – [ID. 272, T. 3840]
xarwáar, loc. *-a* "ass-load" (26). – [P. *xarwār, xarbār*]
xaṣáp "grabbing" (3); *xaṣáp korík* "to snatch". – [N.]
xérum (6) according to EB. "something that results from decay or decomposition in place"; *ṣa-xérum* means "ashes / dust resulting from burning trash / refuse" (6).
xonzá, obl. *xonzó* "queen" (56). – [Kal. (Trail) *khonzá*, W. of Hunza *xonzá*; Steblin-Kamenskij, 1999, 412 quotes Badaxš.-P. *xonzó* "žena pravitelja" ← P. *xānzād(a)*]
xuk, obl. *xukó* (ts. *xukho*) "pig" (70). – [P. *xūk*]
xúur, obl. *xuró* "other" (46). – [Kho. *hōr* "other", T. 434, was denied by my informants, misheard for *xúur* ← Iran.? ID. 255]
zemín "earth" (39). – [P. *zamīn*]
zox, obl. *zoxó* "thorn" (63). – [Z. ← Iran., W. *zaǰ, zax*]
žaγá "place" (24). – [YM. 217 ← Iran.]
žan "soul" (64); *žan pulu-* "take pity" (64). – [KhT., T. 5098]
žaróḷi (so WAŠ 1980, ts. *ẓaroḷi*, EB. *ẓaróḷi*) "bastard, illegitimate child" (64). – [T. 5207 *ǰarōḷi*, Kal. (Trail) *ǰaróa*]
žau "son" (37). – [T. 10446]

žib-	"to eat"; 3. sg. aor. *žibói* (49). – [Z.]
žo-	"to copulate"; inf. *žoík*; 3. pl. aor. *žaíni* (53). – [T. 10418]
žuúr,	obl. *žúuro* "daughter" (21). – [Z., T. 6481]
ẓang	"high" (39).

ABBREVIATIONS

a) grammatical

abl. ..... ablative
aor. ..... aorist
caus. ..... causative
cp. ..... conjunctive participle (= absolutive)
dat. ..... dative
erg. ..... ergative
f. ..... feminine
fut. ..... future
gen. ..... genitive
imp. ..... imperative
impf. ppl. ..... imperfective participle
inf. ..... infinitive
loc. ..... locative
nag. ..... noun of agency, nomen agentis
obl. ..... oblique
opt. ..... optative
perf. ppl. ..... perfect participle
pl. ..... plural
postpos. ..... postposition
pres. ..... present
pret. ..... preterite
q. ..... question marker
sg. ..... singular
trans. ..... transitive

b) languages

Ar.-P. Persian from Arabic
Bur. Burushaski
Iran. Iranian (without specification)
Kal. Kalasha
Kho. Khowar
P. Persian
Psht. Pashto
Sh. Shina
U. Urdu
W. Wakhi
YB. Yasin-Burushaski
YM. Yidgha-Munji

c) others: see "References"

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Once again, I thank my colleague Dr. habil. Hugh van Skyhawk for polishing my English in the present paper.

Copied Features of Turkic Reflexives

ÉVA Á. CSATÓ, Uppsala

CODE COPYING

Pronominal systems are closed systems and as such are less susceptible to copying. Nevertheless, examples of copied properties of pronominal items have been described, e.g. pronominal possessives copied from the dominating language English in East Southerland Gaelic (Dorian 1993). The aim of this paper is to show that, in the development of reflexive items in Turkic languages, copying has not been an exceptional phenomenon but rather a decisive factor. These copying processes are of special interest to the linguist investigating language contact phenomena.

In describing contact-induced processes, I will use the terminology applied in the model of Code Copying presented in Johanson (2002). Code Copying is a cover term denoting all types of contact-induced changes due to the fact that one language, the basic code, copies elements from another language, the model code. The copies are adapted to the system of the basic code and thus are never identical with the original model. In the following, examples of different types of copying will be given.

Global copying means that an item is copied together with its phonological form and its distributional, semantic and frequential properties. By contrast, selective copying means that only individual properties of an item—material (phonological), distributional, semantic and frequential properties—are copied.

EXPRESSIONS OF REFLEXIVITY

Turkic languages apply both verbal and nominal strategies to signal reflexivity. The verbal strategies—the diathetic modification of the verbal argument structure by means of a bound morpheme, the suffix *-(I)n*—in some languages, also *-(I)l*—will not be discussed here. The nominal strategy is based on anaphoric devices, reflexive pronouns, with specific referential properties. Reflexive pronouns are typologically characterised as specific pronominal forms, whose antecedents must appear in a restricted syntactic domain.

The first part of this paper will present some structural features of Turkic reflexive items and show that certain properties have developed through copying from contact languages. In the second part, some aspects of the grammaticalisation of Turkic reflexive items will be addressed. The aim will be to call attention to the role of contact-induced processes.

THE ITEM *KENDİ*

Modern Turkish employs a reflexive particle *kendi* meaning 'self, own'. Reflexive pronouns are formed with possessive suffixes, e.g. *kendi+m* 'myself', *kendi+si* 'himself, herself'. For the other forms, see Table 1. Emphatic reflexives are combinations of the particle and the pronouns, e.g. *kendi kendisi* 'himself, herself'.

In Standard Turkish, the reflexive pronoun *kendisi* does not observe the strict syntactic restrictions of local boundedness. It has certain properties that are more compatible with a nominal or a free pronoun analysis. Thus it is used both as a reflexive and an emphatic pronoun with an antecedent in a restricted syntactic domain and as an honorific or discourse-prominent third person pronoun without any firm restriction concerning its syntactic relation to an antecedent.

Standard Turkish

(1)

Babam$_i$	*bir*	*bankada*	*çalışıyor*
father:1POSS	a	bank:LOC	work:PRES

kendisi$_i$	*bankanın*	*müdürü.*
self:3POSS	bank:GEN	director:3POSS

'My father$_i$ works in a bank; he$_i$ is the director of the bank.' (After Ersen-Rasch 2001: 73)

(2)

Tarkan$_i$	*şarkıcı.*	*Ayşe*	*kendisine*$_i$	*bakıyor.*
Tarkan	singer	Ayşe	self:3POSS:DAT	look at:PRES

'Arkan$_i$ is the singer. Ayşe looks at him$_i$.' (After Ersen-Rasch 2001: 73)

(3)

kendisini$_i$	*seven*	*adamı*	*öldüren*	*kadın*$_i$
self:3POSS:ACC	love:PART.AN	man:ACC	kill:PART.AN	woman

'the woman$_i$ who killed the man who loved her$_i$' (After Kornfilt 1997: 304)

In Turkish, there are no specific third person personal pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns are used as anaphoric devices referring to third persons. See the relevant items of the Standard Turkish pronominal system in Table 1.

Table 1. *Standard Turkish pronouns*

Pronouns	Personal	Demonstrative	Reflexive/ emphatic	Honorific / Discourse prominent
First person singular	*ben*		*kendi-m*	
Second person singular	*sen*		*kendi-n*	
Third person singular		*o, bu , şu [±human]*		*kendi-si [+human]*
First person plural	*biz*		*kendi-miz*	
Second person plural	*siz*		*kendi-niz*	
Third person plural	*on-lar, bun-lar, şun-lar*		*kendi-leri*	

COPIED FEATURES IN SOUTHEASTERN TURKISH DIALECTS

The pronominal systems of certain Turkish dialects exhibit properties which deviate from the Standard Turkish system. The dialects to be represented here are spoken in multilingual environments and have selectively copied non-Turkic semantic and combinational features on the native reflexive item *kendisi*.

In the Turkish dialect formerly spoken in Urfa by multilingual Syrian Christians, *gendi* had lost its honorific and discourse prominent function and was used as an unmarked third person pronoun referring to humans. Turkic languages typically lack a

corresponding item, i.e. a third person pronoun of the type 'he, she'. Thus, as shown in Table 2, the paradigm of the personal pronouns in this dialect has been supplemented with a new category.

Table 2. *The Urfa dialect of Syrian Christians*

	Personal pronouns	Demonstrative pronouns
First person singular	*ben*	
Second person singular	*sen*	
Third person singular	*gendi* [+human]	*o, bu, şu*
First person plural	*biz*	
Second person plural	*siz*	
Third person plural	*gendiler*	*onlar, bunlar, şunlar*

The distinction between [+ human] and [–human] reference was grammaticalised in the Urfa variety of Armenian as well. This variety, which is almost extinct today, applies the personal pronoun *ink'* 'he/she' for [+human] and *asi* for [±human]. This distinction is also typical of the pronominal system of Persian. Thus the pronominal system of the Urfa dialect reflects an areal tendency in this respect.

Another interesting feature of certain Turkic varieties spoken in East Anatolia and Iran is that the personal pronouns of the first and second persons are used instead of reflexives pronouns. *Tarama sözlüğü* gives several examples. I quote one of them here in the transcription applied in the dictionary.

(4) *Fuzuli*

Aşka	*saldım*	*ben*	*beni*
love:DAT	throw:PAST:1SG	I	I:ACC

'I threw myself into love.' (*Tarama sözlüğü* 1: 502)

Thus *ben beni* 'I me' conveys the same meaning as Standard Turkish *kendi kendimi* 'I myself'.

Bulut (in press) mentions examples from the Diyarbekir dialect in which the doubled forms of the personal pronoun apparently represent the dative of the reflexive pronoun, e.g. *ban bân* (< *ban bahan*), *san sân* 'to myself, to yourself'. Armenian also employs two personal pronouns in corresponding constructions. 'Pour indiquer une action réfléchie, on emploie en Arménien, comme en Français deux fois le pronom de la même personne, une fois comme sujet et une fois comme complément' ['In order to mark a reflexive action, Armenian just like French, employs the personal pronoun of the same person twice, once as a subject and once as a complement'] (Feydit 1935: 89).

(5a) *Armenian*

jés	*indzi*	*esil*
I	me	said

'I said to myself'. (After Feydit 1935: 89)

The very same constuctions is used in the above mentioned Armenian dialect of Urfa.

(5b) *Armenian dialect of Urfa*

Jes	*indzi*	*əssi*
I	me	said

'I said to myself.' (Joseph Saouk, personal communication, in his transcription.)

Thus, we can coclude that Armenian might have provided the model for the copied Turkish construction with the double personal pronoun. Armenian was before the first world war spoken by large communities in East Anatolia (see, e.g. Adjarian 1909). Even if it is difficult to reconstruct exactly the history of the copying processes which have taken place in the varieties of Iranian (Persian and Kurdish), Turkic, Armenian spoken in the area, it is clear that they have converged due to a long history of selective copying.

TURKISH DIALECTS OF CYPRUS

In certain dialects spoken in Cyprus—in a previously bilingual Greek-Turkish linguistic community—*gendi* is used as a third person pronoun referring to both humans and non-humans. In all other Turkish dialects known to me, the pronoun *kendi* is restricted to human reference. The use in some Cypriot dialects maybe supported by the use of the Greek strong personal pronoun of the third person which can refer to both inanimates and animates (though making gender differences which are not expressed in Turkish): αυτός 'he', αυτή 'she', αυρό 'it'.

(6) *Turkish dialect of Cyprus*

Al	*gendini,*	*almaycaysan*	*ben*	*alacayım*	*gendini.*
take:IMP	it:ACC	take:NEG:FUT:COP.COND:2SG	I	take:FUT:1SG	it:ACC

'Take it, if you don't take it, I will do it.' (*gendi* refers to an inanimate object) (Öztürk 2001)

Table 3. *Turkish dialects of Cyprus*

	Personal pronouns
First person singular	*ben*
Second person singular	*sen*
Third person singular	*gendi* [± human]
First person plural	*biz*
Second person plural	*siz*
Third person plural	*gendileri* [± human]

It is interesting to observe that the northern Siberian Turkic language Yakut has a similar paradigm of personal pronouns. Yakut has a third person pronoun *kini* 'he, she, it' which is etymologically related to Turkish *kendi*. It is not clear whether this development in Yakut is a result of internal changes or is contact induced.

Table 4. *Yakut*

	Personal pronouns
First person singular	*min*
Second person singular	*en*
Third person singular	*kini* [± human]
First person plural	*bihigi*
Second person plural	*ehigi*
Third person plural	*kiniler* [± human]

These dialect data illustrate the role of selective copying processes. No non-Turkic phonetic material has been copied into these dialects. Nevertheless, their pronominal systems have been influenced by features of non-Turkic pronominal systems, such as the distinction between [+human] and [–human] reference (Urfa), the introduction of a third person pronoun (Cyprus), the use of personal pronouns of the first and second person instead of reflexive pronouns (Irano-Turkic varieties).

COPIED REFERENTIAL PROPERTIES IN KARAIM

Karaim, a Turkic minority language in Lithuania, employs the Turkic reflexive pronoun *öz'*. The syntactic properties of the Karaim reflexive pronoun have been influenced by non-Turkic languages, Russian, Polish and Lithuanian, spoken in the Karaim community. Some non-Turkic properties have been selectively copied. Example (7) illustrates one copied referential property.

(7) *Lithuanian Karaim*

Bardïm	*b'iz'n'in'*	*g'ȯl'*	*üs'n'ü*	*öz'*	*yův*	*katnï,*	*anda*	*tutma.*
go:PAST:1SG	we:GEN	lake	on	own	house	by	there	catch:INF

'I went to catch (fish) at our lake by my own house.' (Own data recorded in Trakai.)

A corresponding typical Turkic expression would necessarily contain a possessive suffix to indicate 'my'. The lack of the possessive suffix in the expression *öz' yův katnï* 'by own house' can only be explained if the referential properties of the Russian pronoun *svoj* 'own' have been copied on the Karaim item *öz'* 'own'. In Russian, the corresponding item *svoj* is normally coreferential with the subject and is thus interpreted as 'my, your, his, her, its, our, your, their' depending on the subject. Karaim has selectively copied this syntactic rule of co-indexation and employs the native reflexive item *öz'* according to this rule. Thus *öz' yův* in example (7) is interpreted as 'my house' because the subject is 'I'. The copying has again been selective.

GRAMMATICALISATION OF REFLEXIVE ITEMS

There are clear universal tendencies as to what items develop into referential pronouns. For instance, nominal items denoting 'body' and 'head' have been grammaticalised as reflexive pronouns in many languages. Heine & Kuteva report that in African languages "nouns for 'body' constitute by far the most common source for reflexive markers" (2002: 60). The grammaticalisation of reflexive pronouns in Turkic languages seem to correspond to such universal tendencies, but also manifest evidence for copying of areal features.

The Standard Turkish reflexive *kendi* goes back to an Eastern Old Turkic form *kendü* or *kentü*. There is no consensus regarding its etymology. Altaists such as Gustav John Ramstedt and Nikolaus Poppe tried to connect it with Mongolic words such as *gendü(n)*, e.g. Kalmuk *gendü(n)* 'male animal'. But this is very uncertain. Ramstedt referred to the corresponding semantic relation between the Russian reflexive form *sam* 'self' and *samec* 'male animal'. Doerfer (1963) rejects this etymology, but his argumentation is not quite convincing. The same semantic relation is observed in Tungusic. The Even reflexive pronoun *bey* also denotes both 'person, human being, man', 'person', 'body', 'self' and 'male animal' (Cincius 1975. I: 122). Some Turcologists

have seen a relation between the Turkic *kendi* and, for instance, the Hungarian word *kendü* meaning 'Großfürst des Bundes der ungarischen Stämme vor der Landnahme' or the Mongolic word *kündü* meaning 'dignity' (German 'Ehre, Würde'). The Hungarian word is known from Arabic sources, though the reading of its vowels is controversial. These etymological relations are not well established. Nominal items denoting 'man', 'male', 'person', have served as sources for the grammaticalisation of third person pronouns in some African languages. Heine & Kuteva consider this case to be restricted to a specific area in Africa (2002: 210).

As already mentioned, the Yakut form *kini,* which is etymologically related to East Old Turkic *kendü,* has become a third person personal pronoun. The Yakut reflexive pronoun *beye* is a global copy from the Mongolic language Buryat. As mentioned, global copying means that an item is copied together with its phonological form, and with its distributional, semantic and frequential properties. The Buryat model *beye* has the lexical meaning 'body', 'stature', and a grammaticalised meaning 'own', 'self'. This word has cognates in other Mongolic languages with meanings such as 'body', 'essence', 'self'. The word *beye* 'human being', 'male' is also well known in various Tungusic languages of Siberia. The Even word *bey* also denotes both 'person, human being, man', 'essence', 'male animal' and 'self' (Cincius 1975. I: 122). It is thus sure that the wide distribution of the item is a result of areal processes, although the exact history of copying has not yet been reconstructed. The Mongolic pattern, however, fits the Turkic one.

The East Old Turkic word **bōð*, which originally meant 'stature, the size of a man' (Clauson 1972) (cf. Turkish *boy)* was grammaticalised as a reflexive pronoun in South Siberian Turkic languages. South Siberian languages have reflexives of this type, Altay *boy*, Shor, Khakas *pos*, Tuvan, Tofan *bot* plus possessive suffixes, sometimes with an additional *bile*, e.g. Altay *boyïm*, Khakas *pozïm*, Tofan *bodum bĭle* 'myself'.

Chuvash employs a reflexive pronoun which seems to be a global copy of an Iranian item. According to Benzing (1959: 738), the forms, e.g. *χam* 'myself', may go back to an Ossetic *χi* 'sich, sein'. The Persian lexical item *χod* < *χwad* 'self' was copied into the Turkic literary language Chaghatay and was used as an item denoting 'self' in addition to *öz* and the less frequent *kendü*. The copied element is an indeclinable particle used only as an emphatic element: *öz* or *özχod* means 'own' (cf. Eckmann 1966: 116). It is interesting to note that some Kurdish dialects, e.g. the Kürtdağı dialect, have copied the Turkish item *gendi* and exclusively employ it as a reflexive particle, like *χod* was used in Chaghatay (Behrooz Shojai, personal communication).

In most Turkic languages the reflexive item is *öz*. Its original meaning seems to have been 'the intangible part of human personality or 'spirit' as opposed to the tangible body (Clauson 1972). From this it usually came to mean 'self' (generally with possessive suffixes), but sometimes 'the interior part of an organism, pith, marrow', etc. Note that this meaning of 'essence' or 'the best part of a thing' is also an element in the semantics of the most wide-spread reflexive items in Mongolic languages.

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List of abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negation
PART.AN	Participle in *-(y)An*
PAST	Past
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present

Transcendent Hermeneutics of Supreme Love: Rūmī's Concept of Mystical "Appropriation"

ASHK P. DAHLÉN, Uppsala

The intellect sets out on pilgrimage longing for the moment of unity.
In love, it travels like a homeless fool. (D 2989)

Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī (d. AD 1273) has been read and admired by numerous intellectuals, scholars and freethinkers throughout the centuries. The British Orientalist Reynold A. Nicholson called him "the greatest mystical poet of any age" and Pope John XXIII declared in 1958: "In the name of the Catholic world, I bow in respect to his memory". Gandhi used to refer to Rūmī's *Masnawī-i maʿnawī* (spiritual poem in couplets) in his preaching on human peace and understanding. He inspired Rembrandt in his painting and Hegel in his philosophy. Emerson and Goethe composed poetry in Rūmī's footsteps. The purpose of the present article is to describe the Sufi concept of love that permeates Rūmī's poetry and to elucidate in what way this is related to his mysticism in general. Initially, I will give a brief presentation of my methodological point of departure and also attempt to clarify the question of the ontological foundation of mystical poetry. The main part of my study focuses on Rūmī's idea of love and likewise examines the tension between love and intellect in his poems. My analysis basically involves questions of an epistemological and hermeneutical nature and is specifically grounded on a close reading of his lyrics.

PHENOMENOLOGY AS A METHOD OF STUDYING SUFISM

My study is based on a phenomenological approach, which has been adopted in Islamic studies by, for instance, Annemarie Schimmel, Henry Corbin and to some exent Louis Massignon.[1] The philosophical phenomenology, which springs out of Husserl's (d. 1938) philosophy and his idea of *Wesensschau* (observation of essence) and the distinction between *experience* and *the experienced*, has some notable points in common with modern hermeneutics after Schleiermacher. In contrast to scientific positivism or empiricism, which emphatically objects to metaphysical speculation, the fundamental idea of phenomenology is that the phenomena/experienced are more or less directly "given" (i.e. synthetic a priori). Rudolf Otto, van W. Brede Kristensen, Friedrich Heiler, C. Jouco Bleeker and Mircea Eliade are the most prominent phenomenologists of religion in modern times. Even if these philosophers have different definitions of the concept of phenomenology, they adopt in

[1] For Massignon's study of early Islamic mysticism, cf. *La Passion de Husayn Mansūr Hallāj: Martyr et mystique de l'islam*, 4 vols., Paris, 1975.

general a comparative, historical and empirical method in order to understand the essence of the religious phenomena. In an epistemological sense, the most disputed question of phenomenology perhaps concerns the normative aspects of science, i.e. whether the approach of phenomenology remains faithful to a purely descriptive scientific discourse or whether it has normative implications. This question is especially relevant in the study of "alien" religious traditions and, with reference to modern hermeneutics after Hans-Georg Gadamer, I presume that all knowledge proceeds from certain presuppositions which are characteristic of man's existential, cultural and historical state.

According to Schimmel (1994*a*:xiii), the methodological point of departure of phenomenology is to study religion and the human experiences of the divine as phenomena, in order to gradually understand the inner holy essence, *deus absconditus*, which is the heart of every religion. She explains in her book *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* that the phenomenologist ought to formulate his or her approach by considering that religion represents a holy sphere for the believers themselves and she argues that no research at all is unbiased. Nevertheless, Schimmel does not categorise phenomenology as an internalistic perspective but refers to the German scientist Friedrich Heiler's (d. 1967) idea about "the objective world of religion" to demonstrate that the phenomenologist can transcend his or her pre-understanding of the phenomena by examining the relationship that exists between the inner and the outer dimensions of religion. While she questions the possibility of achieving a completely "objective" study of "alien" religions, owing to the significance that "understanding" and "explanation" have within the humane sciences, she suggests that phenomenology, by being sensitive to the researcher's own givens and relating these to the intrinsic structure of religion, provides him or her with the most useful, methodological approach:

> Nevertheless, I believe that the phenomenological approach is well suited to a better understanding of Islam, especially the model which Friedrich Heiler developed in his comprehensive study *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart 1961), on whose structure I have modelled this book. For he tries to enter into the heart of religion by studying first the phenomena and the deeper and deeper layers of human responses to the Divine until he reaches the innermost sacred core of each religion, the centre, the Numinous, the *deus absconditus* (Schimmel 1994*a*:xiii).[2]

In contrast to Schimmel, who is especially interested in Heiler's phenomenological descriptions of the relationship between spirit and materia with regard to the inani-

[2] Schimmel's phenomenology is closely akin to the ideas that have been presented by Mircea Eliade (d. 1986), who from his Jungian vantage point attempted a psychological analysis in the study of religion. Eliade's point of departure is that the holy exist as an object for human worship and that man in his experience of the holy encounters *hierophanies*—physical manifestations or revelations—mostly in the form of symbols, myths and rituals. According to this view, every phenomenon is an intrinsic hierophany that connects man with non-historical time: what he calls *illud tempus* (Lat. "that time"). It is also interesting to note that Eliade co-operated with Corbin and Gershom Scholem after the Second World War in the establishment of religious studies at Ascona University (Switzerland). The main philosophical theme of the discussions at their annual gatherings, which have been published in the journal *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, may be construed as phenomenological (Wasserstrom 1999).

mate objects (for instance, objects in nature or of everyday life), Corbin has particularly developed the hermeneutical approach of phenomenology. Corbin was influenced by German phenomenology and Heidegger's existence philosophy in his early career but became deeply attracted to Shiah theosophy (*ʿirfān*) after his encounter with the Iranian sages, in particular, Shihāb al-dīn Suhrawardī (d. 1191), whose work he translated into French. In his book *En Islam Iranien*, which was published in four volumes in 1971–72, he describes the ontological foundation of traditional hermeneutics in connection with the symbolism of religious language. In the view of Corbin, who studies Sufism in his capacity as a comparative philosopher, hermeneutics has a specific, ontological basis and aims at exposing the "inner reality" that is concealed by the external phenomena.[3] Corbin (1998:26) considers religious science as a hierology, a knowledge of the holy, which with phenomenology aims at achieving a hermeneutic of sacred phenomena—symbols and texts. Inspired by Heidegger's metaphysical explanations of *Dasein* ("life") according to which existence can be understood only in relation to itself (that is, as a form of presence), Corbin constructs the traditional Sufi hermeneutic with reference to and by comparing it with Christian medieval thinking. By emphasising the symbolic and intuitive foundation of phenomenology, Corbin (1998:24) suggests that hermeneutics cannot be formulated according to positivistic, deductive method but only with reference to the "transparency" of phenomena:

> The phenomenological method is exactly that: to hold and unveil consciousness just as it reveals itself in the object it reveals. This object, believed to be visible and perceptible, is only unveiled inasmuch as it is revealed as consciousness of the object. It is *through* this revelation *of* itself, that it is revealed *to* itself. The *logos* which composes the word "phenomenology" means: *to show what is revealed in the apparent*. [...] However, this presence-oriented understanding, or science of presence, is not structured along the lines of a *deductive* science, an explanation by genetic reduction, nor a reconstitution based on a pattern of material causes. It is, instead, a call towards light, a progressive *transparence* of the phenomenon. This is why phenomenologists characterize it as *hermeneutic*.

By following Corbin's and Schimmel's approach in the description of Islam, the following study aims at adopting the fundamental features of phenomenological method in the examination of Rūmī's Sufi concept of love. In contrast to Corbin and Schimmel, who observe Islamic mysticism from the outside, my perspective represents an internal Sufi (Muslim) position that is connected with philosophical hermeneutics. With my point of departure in a direct, descriptive and non-analytical description of the central, structural aspect of Rūmī's lyrics, i.e. love, it is my view that a deeper understanding of the spiritual meaning of the poet's work can be grasped. Modern man is no longer attuned to the traditional forms of expression but immersed in a world that grants very little reality to the religious dimensions of life. The keywords of my reading of Rūmī's poems are hence "openness" and "empa-

[3] Corbin suggests that the Arabic words *zāhir* and *bātin* express exactly the contrast between the outer and the inner dimensions of religion. The relationship between the outer and the inner is, in his view, not of an allegorical sort but symbolic, in the sense that the inner essence is mediated through the external phenomena, which by definition are transparent. Corbin (1938) in fact wrote large portions of his commentary on his French translation of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time) in Arabic and Persian.

thy", through which understanding equals participation and re-experience of the hermeneutical horizon of the text, the life of which it is an expression. Through this process, I presume that I may transcend my own hermeneutical situation, modernity, and its cultural, historical, linguistic and social symbols, in order to bring forth a fragment of the truth of which Rūmī considers himself a bearer. However, it should be emphasised that my definition of such a mediated understanding is different from Gadamer's (1989) idea of the "fusion of horizons", i.e. between the horizon of the text and that of the reader, which, according to him, is related to historicity. To sum up, I wish to dwell upon the timeless and the archetypical in Rūmī's thought.

THE FOUNDATION OF LYRICAL POETRY: MYSTICAL APPROPRIATION AND PRESENCE

Rūmī's literary production consists principally of the two poetical works *Masnawī-yi maʿnawī* and *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī*, together with the prose work *Fīhī mā fihī* ("In that exists what exists"). While the prose work is arranged as an intimate discourse, a kind of "table talk" on spiritual subjects between Rūmī and his disciples, poetry is the form of literature with which we commonly associate Rūmī. *Dīwān-i Shams*, the work in which Rūmī reaches his most sublime as far as poetical elegance is concerned, consists primarily of his *ghazal* lyrics. It consists of around 40,000 couplets in 3230 poems.[4] An invocation to Shams al-dīn is to be found at the end of the poems, where Persian poets generally mention their own *noms de plume*. This is something that reveals a facet of Shams al-dīn's significance for Rūmī's spiritual and literary creativity. The affectionate friendship between Rūmī and Shams al-dīn is commonly seen as an illustration of how the mystic is capable of opening his heart to a kindred soul, the master, and let it be reflected in his heart, so as to surrender it to God. Rūmī emphasises that mysticism contains earthly *hamdamī* (*sympathia*), in that the mystic cannot do without a friend with whom to share his experiences of the states (*ahwāl*) of love.

The friendship between Rūmī and Shams was unique in the sense that it involved not the customary Sufi adoration of the beloved in the shape of a young virgin but a meeting between two experienced men, which is why their meeting is called "the merging of the two seas" (*majmaʿ al-bahrain*) in the classical sources. Their friendship was a mystical experience and a meeting of lovers lost in the profound mysteries of the divine, between two men as one soul, intimate friends within the unity of the divine. By depicting his divine love in human terms, Rūmī follows an established tradition in Persian poetry of describing spiritual love by the use of erotic imagery. He is perfectly aware of the psychological nature of the love relationship, i.e. it is only possible to love someone sincerely whom you know loves you. The human and metaphysical dimensions of love coincide, since, even if Rūmī expresses his love to Shams (literally "sun") and the sorrow over his absence, he eventually draws

[4] The *ghazal* is probably a heritage from the pre-Islamic love and wine songs of Persia that from the 11th century onwards were also used to communicate mystical experiences. The *ghazal* consists of 5–20 couplets, in which the lines in the first couplet rhyme in pairs. This rhyme is afterwards repeated at the end of every line and the last couplet rhymes, like the first, in pairs.

our attention to the true, hidden meaning; the love of God, the Sun of suns. For Rūmī, Shams assumes the function of the personal divinity:

> A world slumbers in the dark night of forgetfulness,
> but for me it is bright day and sunrise.
> The one deprived of love lives in darkness.
> The one who is filled by the passion of love dwells in the light. (D 816)

In hermeneutical terms, Rūmī's poetry is concerned with the mysteries of God and it reflects his inner tension between tranquillity and bewilderment, sorrow and joy, and anxiety and courage. Each of the lyrical poems in the *Dīwān-i Shams* represents a symbolic realisation or delineation of the spiritual modes or stations (*maqām*) that spring from his divine love. The poems were composed when Rūmī was in a state of rapture (*hairānī*) and are typically musical and ecstatic. His style is spontaneous and lucid. His language is ingenuous, vigorous and expressive. He "lived" his verses and recited them in the divine inspiration of the moment, while his disciples wrote them down. The book is permeated by ecstatic love and does not primarily consist of rhymed and versified philosophical ideas but of words, open in many directions. His experience or unveiling (*kashf*) of the divine is direct and personal and, as a true portrayal of human existence, the poetry cannot be the object of a literary critique in the profane and modern sense of the term. Rūmī's hermeneutics is transcendent and trans-historical and includes a movement up the celestial ladder of divine symbolism that culminates in unity with the beloved. This is, in his view, the true meaning of the Arabic term *taʾwīl*, "to replace something with its origin and archetype". In its *furor poeticus*, the poetry is that of inspiration *par excellence*. The meaning predominates so much over the form that in rare cases the *ghazal*s even violate the rules of classical Persian prosody while still maintaining a strong rhythm and melody (Schimmel 1994*a*:403).[5]

The ontological foundation of Rūmī's lyrics and their abundant use of images which originate from the symbolical world (*ʿālam-i misāl*), *mundus imaginalis*, is the presence of a cosmological hierarchy. As Henry Corbin (1971:138 and 159) puts it, traditional hermeneutics operates in a permanent hierarchical space, *une spatialité qualitative permanente et hierarchisée*, and also points towards an *intériorisation* rather than a *historicisation*. In contrast to the focus of modern hermeneutics on the so-called hermeneutical circle, the continual reciprocity that takes place in understanding between the whole and parts of a text, Rūmī's verses are concerned not with the historical but with the symbolism that originates in the transcendent. In fact, Sufi symbolism includes an ontological hierarchy of reality and meaning and also, therefore, of knowledge and understanding, in order to serve as keys to divine truth. Through the symbols, the mystic gains an intimation of what the images represent on a spiritual level, as if each object of love were a window into paradise.

[5] The Persian metre resembles the Greek and Latin in being quantitative, i.e. it is based on an alternation of long and short syllables and demands a strict observation of rhyme and arrangement of syllables. Rūmī is fascinating in his definite predilection for word formations and artistic turns and devices. Even if he cannot match Shams al-dīn Hāfiz in his *ghazal* poetry as far as ambiguity is concerned, it is clear that he treats words and phrases more liberally than many other classical poets.

William Chittick (1983:248, 1996:74) agrees with Corbin and stresses that the concept of *mundus imaginalis* belongs to the common Sufi frame of reference, in the sense that the mystics adopt a range of diverse symbols to describe God's self-manifestation. He also argues that Rūmī, in contrast to, for instance, Ibn al-ʿArabī (who develops a systematic teaching based on that concept), only touches upon the existence of an intermediate, symbolic world in veiled, poetical language. In Sufi symbolism, the transparency of the cosmos consists in the belief that creation as a whole is symbolic in terms of being a manifestation or reflection of the metacosmic reality, which is realised through the inner power of the heart, man's inmost reality. The archetypes are manifested in symbols or representations, like the Platonic ideas: a number of ideal forms or patterns that lie "behind" the fluctuations of existence, accessible only through intellectual contemplation, aesthetic awareness and spiritual participation.[6] As Corbin (1998) emphasises, Rūmī's imagery has a *noetic* (cognitive) function in its capacity as a ladder and an intermediate between the sensory world of pure objects and the angelic world of pure spirits without being enclosed by the cognitive (as in Kant's division between *noumenon* and *phenomenon*):

> We observe immediately that we are no longer reduced to the dilemma of thought and extension, to the schema of a cosmology and a gnoseology limited to the empirical world and the world of abstract understanding. Between the two is placed an intermediate world, which our authors designate as *ʿālam al-mithāl*, the world of the Image, *mundus imaginalis*: a world as ontologically real as the world of the senses and the world of the intellect, a world that requires a faculty of perception belonging to it, a faculty that is a cognitive function, a *noetic* value, as fully real as the faculties of sensory perception or intellectual intuition. This faculty is the imaginative power, the one we must avoid confusing with the imagination that modern man identifies with "fantasy" and that, according to him, produces only the "imaginary" (Corbin 1995:9).

In the sense that esoteric imagination is a relatively subjective state, which reveals *sens spirituels* (spiritual meanings) beyond material existence, imaginative perception and consciousness are endowed with a cognitive dimension or value. As the signifier in the signified, the term *misāl* designates thus an "image", an intermediary, which is neither the thing that it images nor completely different from it. Rūmī's work of literature has a distinctive *symbol system*. His aesthetic mysticism, which constantly amplifies eternal archetypes in constantly fresh images and symbols, adopts the profane and religious imagery of earlier Persian poetry in turning the elements of derivative love, such as the attributes of a beautiful woman, into reflections of divine beauty. The function of the symbols is to transform the loving

[6] In Corbin's terminology, the concept of *ʿālam-i misāl* is identical with *mundus archetypus*, the world of archetypes, which corresponds to Plato's theory of ideas. Corbin was influenced by the German phenomenology and Heidegger's philosophy of existence in his early career, but converted to the Shiah theosophy (*ʿirfān*) after his encounter with the Iranian sages, in particular Shihāb al-dīn Suhrawardī (d. 1191), whose works he translated into French. In his book *En Islam iranien*, which was published between 1971 and 1972 in four volumes, Corbin describes in an extraordinary and comprehensive manner the ontological foundation of traditional Islamic hermeneutics with reference to the symbolic essence of religious language.

mystic into the beloved's image and reality, since, while the poetical images, in Rūmī's view, correspond to the beloved's transcendent reality, these conceptual representations ultimately only veil the beloved's face. In the sense that understanding is a form of *modus essendi*, intellective imagination cannot describe the infinite attributes of love in any exhaustive manner. Rūmī explains that the poetical images serve as channels to the divine simply in the sense of revealing inner meanings beyond the phenomenal world:

> Everything save my beloved is appearance and impression.
> Imagination is like the thorn, if you can perceive love's rose-garden. (D 1156)
> Love's image is hidden and manifest all at once.
> I have never witnessed an equal to you in concealment and revelation.
> The world seeks you and the soul as well.
> Behold the image. The soul outshines the world. (D 2701)

Rūmī likens his poetical metaphors to the smell of the fruit-trees of paradise or shining stars that ultimately reflect the light of God. In his hermeneutical concept of "appropriation", he claims the absolute sovereignty of the text over the human soul and stresses that the soul's noble thrust is to be absorbed by the paradisal *ambiance* (*hāl*) that surrounds the living vocalization (*qāl*) of the text. Since truth and reality are like two sides of the same coin understanding is always dependent on the existential state of the reader. The reader must not, so to say, stand "outside" the text and test its value analytically as a collection of hypothetical propositions but appropriate it in a contemplative sense:

> Listen to love's word and behold its life-giving breath.
> Love acts in the world of the spirit and grants you a pure heart. (D 601)

According to Chittick (1983:358), the distinct ambivalence between love and reason in Rūmī's poetry results in his symbolic language and his description of "imagination" having a broader scope than those of other contemporary mystics, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī. In addition, Rūmī's terminology contains an almost limitless spectrum of images that are used to concrese his spiritual and aesthetic vision. His lyrics present a distinct *symbol system* made up of images, which, as Amin Banani (1996:38) expresses it, "point towards a transcendence of speech itself". Rūmī's mystical hermeneutics is essentially a listening (*samāʿ*), in which the divine breaks through the structural process and composition of understanding. His work is truly Platonic, as *mimesis* (the highest form of "imitation") of the divine archetypes or ideas, truth, beauty and good, with which man can come into contact through gnosis when the symbolism is placed in the light of theophanic illumination (*ishrāq*). As a speaking artist, Rūmī is unsurprisingly also creative and observes everything as a creator. His art is the realisation of the divine, in that man is by his theomorphism a work of art, an image of the divine image, and at the same time an artist. By letting the spirit enter into the formal structure of the text, which consists of metres and syllables, Rūmī gives, in the words of Amin Banani (1996:31), also new life to the formal arrangement of the *ghazal*:

> It is no mere coincidence that this prime period of Persian *ghazal* is also the time when it was the preferred vehicle for expressing the high mystical aspirations of the soul. Of the three su-

preme practitioners of the art [Rūmī, Sa'dī and Hāfiz], it was Rūmī who fused the mystic vocabulary and the language of the *ghazal*, the predominant ethos of mysticism as well as the intricate fabric of symbolism, to such an extent that *ghazal* as a form takes on a unitary vision of the universe. It could be argued, for example, that it was Rūmī's conflating of the purest mystical spirit with the most corporeal sensuality that paved the way for Hafez's tantalizing irony and ambivalence. This inherent affinity between the *ghazal* form and the mystic vision cannot be overemphasized.

In fact, Islamic mystics consider Rūmī's poems not as literature in the common sense of the word but as a revelation (*qur'ān dar zabān-i pahlawī*) that originates in the eternity that belongs to the uncreated. Mysticism is essentially a mode of revelation and its means of expression are, therefore, different from the verbal language of the mind. Poetry is divine, similar to music and dance, which for Rūmī are fused into an artistic synthesis, a mode of invocation (*zikr*) that brings man close to God, who is, therefore at once the supreme musician and poet.[7] The body is only a witness, while it is the eye of the heart that turns the symbols into poetical communication. Rūmī's poetry is truly literature as *catégorie spirituelle*:

O essence! I am the poetry's servant. My verses belong to you.
You who embody the angel of resurrection and the tone of the trumpet! (D 3073)

GOD IS LOVE AND BEYOND LOVE

Divine love (*'ishq*) is the thematic heart of the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī* and, on the whole, forms the central element of Rūmī's mysticism. This *magnum opus* is essentially a love letter written to his unseen beloved. From the beginning to the end, the book is permeated by longing and melancholy over the separation from the beloved, and the joy and rapture over the beloved's presence or immanence. Rūmī's love of God is personal; it overwhelms him and burns him; it is colourful and flaming. He is not primarily interested in the theoretical problem of love but seeks rather to communicate his spiritual experience of the divine love and its states. With an outstanding fullness, he accomplishes something so significant as to uncover the intrinsic life-giving and genuinely transforming potential of love in his personal relationship to the divine:

I am the moon's servant; Say nothing but the moon!
Say nothing but sweet and pleasant things to me.
Do not speak about pain but only about fortune.
Do not bother with all this stupidity; Say nothing!
Tonight I was bewildered. Love saw me and whispered:
"I am here, don't lament but tear off your dress. Say nothing."
I answered: "O love! I fear something else."
Love said: "Nothing else exists, say nothing." (D 2219)

[7] Compare the *zikr* ceremony of the Maulawīyah order that unites music and dance, symbols of the celestial sphere, as instruments for the human presence, insight and absorption into the divine. This order, which was founded by Rūmī's son, Sultān Walad, is commonly known in the West as "the whirling dervishes". In Islamic mysticism, *zikr* constitutes a sanctification of the divine names, an aspect of the timeless wisdom of Providence, through which the Sufi places himself in situations that produce visionary experiences or *mukāshafāt* ("unveilings"), i.e. enlightening symbols coming from higher worlds that bring about union with God's presence and beauty.

In Rūmī's view, God is the nucleus and source from which all spiritual beauty and joy has its origin. Love is a divine attribute (*sifat-i khudāʾī*) and, hence, as sublime as God Himself.[8] God is absolute love, but God possesses not only love but also other qualities, such as compassion (*rahmat*), grace (*lutf*), forgiveness (*ghufrān*) and wisdom (*hikmat*), since only the divine essence (*zāt*) transcends His names. In this respect, there exists a sympathetic union among the divine names insofar as while all the names refer to one and the same named one, each one of them refers to an essential determination, different from all the rest. Each name has its own "reality", by which it is distinguished from the rest of the names. While all the names point to one single reality, they do not stand on an equal level. By considering a difference of degree among the names, Rūmī explains that love is of a higher order than other names, such as will or knowledge:

> I travelled from far away from city to city,
> but I have never witnessed a city like the city of love! (D 1509)

Rūmī is hence more interested in the divine names than His essence, in God as an artist and a performer. In order to elucidate the significance of God's names, he adopts the ancient Greek myth of the *hieros gamos*, the loving, alchemical wedding between heaven and earth (Schimmel 1994*a*:5). He meditates upon the cosmic drama of man, in the sense that it is a reflection (*ʿaks*) of a higher existence, a realm of love (*jahān-i ʿishq*), in which the human, contemplative eye (*chishm*) can experience the uncreated love and behold its celestial beauty. Love is the quintessence of life that encloses the world and constantly descends, manifests and realises itself as an epiphany. God reveals Himself in some aspects of the world in the same way as the human lover expresses his love in words, tears, laughter or dance. The world is, in other words, a theophany of the divine names that can be said to represent the immanent aspect of the divine. The divine names, which are mentioned in the Qur'an (41:53) as the beautiful names (*al-asmaʿ al-husna*), are keys by which the mystic can perceive God. The world is, in other words, a sum of the signs of God (*āyātullāh*), by which man breathes and acts in a universe where the *vestigia Dei* are reflected within himself as well as in the external reality:

> Since you have not the endurance for His essence,
> Turn your eyes toward the attributes. (D 386)

The virgin nature of our world is, in Rūmī's view, not a temptation to the sensual but a reminder of the realm of love, a mirror of the divine signs (*āʾīnah-yi tajallī*). He is in this sense a true inheritor of Plato, since his main theme, similar to Plato's descriptions of *eros* in his dialogue *Symposia*, is love as aesthetic longing and creative intuition: a spiritual love, which is the foundation of all physical love and

[8] Islamic mystics frequently refer to the descriptions of love in the Qur'anic revelation. According to the Qur'an (85:14), God, the most loving (*al-wadūd*), guides man *by* and *through* His love: "He is the Oft-forgiving, the Loving". Love offers no compromise, because without love there can be no being. If man turns away from the divine love, no guidance is to be expected (Qur'an 7:57 and 19:96).

beauty.[9] While Rūmī and Plato unite in emphasising the musical beauty of love, our poet differs from the Greek truth-seeker in an important way. Rūmī's aim is not only to evoke reflection in philosophical inquiry and excursus but also to transcend the courteous beauty of love by integrating love with bewilderment, something that bears a resemblance to madness (*dīwānigī*). He seeks not only to evoke man's aspiration towards immortality in union with the good, to the procreation and the breeding of the beautiful, but also to the arousal of the fervour and passion of love. For Rūmī, there is only one truth (*haqq*) and man can attain this truth only on the path of love, not of knowledge. It is, nevertheless, significant that, to denote his spiritual love in one verse, he adopts the Greek–Christian word *agape*, which corresponds to the Platonic *eros* (D 2542).[10]

Rūmī formulates this eternal and emanating love with a remarkable credibility and expressiveness. Love is eternal and *ab aeterno*; it is the all-embracing transcendence that transcends the ultimate outpost of human consciousness (D 391, 388 and 937). Love is the soul of the world-soul (*jān-i jān-i jahān*) that transcends the two worlds, and its cause (*ʿillat*) is beyond and separate from all causes, with all individual creatures participating in divine love as true lovers concealed in external forms (D 908 and 3026). Love is the direction of prayer (*qiblah-yi dil*) and the enigma of God (*sirr-i khudā*) (D 29 and 1097). Rūmī's friendship with Shams al-dīn leads him to make abundant use of sun symbolism. Rūmī suggests that the sun of true knowledge (*khurshīd-i haqīqat*) shines through the spirit, the east of love (*mashriq-i ʿishq*), and tempts the lover's heart to depart for daybreak. The herald of dawn brings the cup of love and its intoxicant liquor that has no aftermath in hangover (*khumār*). But geographical definitions, such as east and west, are wholly insignificant compared with the abode or "no-place" (*lā-makān*) of the pure, divine self. For the true sun is God, something that Rūmī touches upon in a poem in which he compares the light of early morning to a true testimony of the Islamic confession that rises above the dark night of the individual mind (D 2408).

Love is inherently immanent in Rūmī's poetry and at the same time absolutely transcendent. It is the most distinctive, integrative force in the world and is present in each little piece of God's creation, from the lowest particle of dust to the highest spiritual substance. Rūmī finds imagery for various aspects of the immense supremacy of love in the most trivial and ordinary, since for love there is no superior or inferior, grandiose or petty, high or low. Love is like a dragon (*izhdihā*) in its power and repentance (*taubah*) is like a petty worm (*kirm*), but even the dragon will eventually succumb to love that is brought forth by the blow of Moses' staff and incantation (D 27). Love is like a bloodthirsty lion (*shīr-i khūnkhwār*) that thirsts for the hearts of the divine lovers, and the mystic must make his heart a fair game, so that

[9] Cf. Plato 1999. A number of authorities on Rūmī, such as R. A. Nicholson, underline the eclectic character of Rūmī's poetry and point to a distinct Neoplatonic feature in his work. However, Rūmī's terminology does not include any well-defined idea of emanation or concept of the grades of emanation similar to that of the Neoplatonists.

[10] It should, however, be mentioned that Rūmī's description of love differs from the modern definition of the profane concept of *amor* (love), which belongs to the mundane order, the sensuous organism of the individual and, in contrast to *agape*, lacks a vertical, transcendent anchorage.

the wild beast can feel the pulse beat of desire and the smell of passion. When the lion swallows the heart, it becomes one with the beast and is granted entrance and eternal life in the realm of love (D 747, 919, 1072, 1814). Love is the lion in the jungle of every lover of God and is not intended for cowards (*nāznāzān*) but for the courageous (*purdilān*). Love is the pursuit of heroes (*kār-i shīrmardān*), since not even the two worlds can beat the power of love (D 556). The lion represents, like the dragon, the mystical ability to act in contrast to mystical contemplation.

According to Rūmī, the true mystic is a "son of the moment" (*ibn al-waqt*) who exists in a state beyond time and space. Even if Islamic mysticism transcends the world of forms, his transcendence is not a "beyond" but a "here and now". In rich, metaphorical imagery, he describes man's anticipation of the eternal attribute of the spirit and regeneration as a spiritual being *in divinis*. He praises the unconstrained intoxication and inner rapture that springs from love, the rapture that induces "the housewife of the spirit to rush out into the sunshine and tear her veil apart" and makes "the shepherd of the self abandon his sheep flock in enchantment to count the shining celestial bodies of the night" (D 1198). In a word, the drama of the human soul is the nostalgic longing to embody the continuity of love that God has established between Himself and His creation.

Rūmī does not merely describe mystical love but manifests it linguistically for the reader. Instead of explaining love verbally, he embodies it in his poetry. The written word is, therefore, something more profound than the individual expression of the subject. The word is an impregnable endowment, which means that faithfulness to the word is truthfulness to God. Considering spirituality as an immediate, inner vision of transcendent truths rather than theoretical learning and speculation, he does not recognise the limits of methodological reason, since it cannot be contained within the norms and postulates of logic. Love can describe and elucidate itself in the same sense, as man can comprehend God only if absorbed by the divine. Rūmī's mysticism is, in other words, a form of ontological theomonism, in which love is the object of knowledge in itself but in which the secret and intrinsic presence of love in the world never implies that the divine essence loses its transcendence. In the hermeneutical sense, his ontology indicates that the reader cannot understand or appreciate his romantic verses if he or she does not possess a spiritual heart. Since love transcends everything intelligible, its *mysterium tremendum* is endlessly expressive and at once entirely indefinable:

> Love's description can only be brought into being by love.
> The lover is a mirror; Speaking and speechless at once. (D 192)
> My soul reveals a thousand mysteries in love, but none
> of these secrets is enclosed in phrases and words. (D 1733)

In Rūmī's lyrics, as in all other, Persian, mystical poetry, the intellectual aspect of mysticism is always connected with the phenomenon of love, and divine knowledge is always dependent on the ontological experience of God as personified love. By relying on *kashf* (unveiling) as not only the corrective but also the substitute of reason, his conception of love emerges as a lively participation in God's presence, which is not processed by sensory data or discursive reasoning, but a priori mediated by the "imaginative" vision of the mystic's spiritual heart:

The intellect possesses great ability and much wisdom
but looses its mantle and turban in love's ecstasy. (D 1288)

As far as love in the true sense is the only, reliable, epistemic source, it acquires a cognitive function, a *noetic* value, which is fully as real as the faculties of sensory perception or intellectual reason (*ʿaql*). Intellection in terms of *l'intelligentia spiritualis* is, in Rūmī's view, a corollary of love, which pertains to the immediate and concrete realisation of the divine in the heart. His epistemology is, in other words, based on a theory of knowledge through love and mystical union between subject (lover) and object (beloved), where the relative knowledge of creation is ultimately identical with the Absolute. While Rūmī formulates no structural philosophical system on his belief that love transcends the intellect insofar as it brings about man's annihilation in God, he believes that love and intellect as symbolic names and divine reflections are complementary. In one poem, for instance, he declares that both of them serve as celestial ladders (*nardibān-i haqq*) that lead man from the world of multiplicity to the divine unity:

Reason, love and knowledge are ladders to heaven's truth! (D 384)

As far as its *ethos* is concerned, Rūmī's mysticism differs essentially from the complex theoretical speculation of Islamic philosophy (*falsafah*), notwithstanding the central function of love for a philosopher such as Ibn Sīnā. Rūmī's lyrics find utterance in the language of emotion and imagination rather than in that of the intellect. As Corbin puts it, his mysticism is "une soufisme des fidéles d'amour", rather than a religion of knowledge, and represents living experience rather than theoretical abstraction. Rūmī overturns the order of reason in order to move to life and its divinations, at the same time as he repudiates life as a concealment of the true life:

My heart of now is love. My heart of tomorrow is the beloved.
My heart of now rests in the heart, my heart of tomorrow somewhere else. (D 594)
I do not seek reason, science or learning.
The light of the friend's face suffices in my home-less night.
Here and now, I do not care about position or etiquette.
I don't seek the exterior; Love is my dwelling. (D 2062)

Finally, Rūmī's conception of the boundlessness of divine love is also reflected in a universalism and philanthropy that reconcile and overcome all religious creeds and doctrines. His poems are in this respect a testimony of the transcendent unity that the Islamic mystics refer to as the inner wisdom (*ʿilm al-ladunnā*) or the religion of love (*mazhab-i ʿishq*). Similar to the meaning of these concepts, Rūmī's epistemological foundation is characterised not by a subjective, emotional experience but by an experienced aspect of gnosis and knowledge of the transcendent reality of existence. As transcendent mysticism, his spirituality represents a tradition within the perennial wisdom (*jāwīdān khirad*) that may be considered to be present at the heart of Islam, as well as every other religion *per se*. In his poetry, the religion of love signifies the common ground on which the world religions meet, regardless of exoteric articles of faith and rituals. The religions are united in their transcendent dimension,

insofar as they ultimately lead towards the universal source of love. Rūmī's assertion that love is the true measure of all things includes the religions, insofar as they belong to the world, the transient and finite:

> O lovers! The religion of love is not found in Islam alone.
> In the realm of love, there is neither belief, nor unbelief! (D 758, Quatrain)

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I have attempted to give an account of the love that permeates Rūmī's lyrics in *Dīwān-i Shams* with my point of departure in Corbin's phenomenology. Rūmī's love is not only of a profane or allegorical nature but can be characterised as transcendent, metaphysical and, in his own words, all-embracing, all-present. Being concerned with the mysteries of God, he formulates an esoterism that focuses on the most beautiful names. His lyrics describe the symbolic foundation of the phenomenal world or what Corbin calls "transparency". This world is characterised as transparent in the sense that it represents a reflection of a metacosmic reality to which man is exposed through his spiritual heart. Since the phenomenon reflects the divine on the level of imagination as a sort of symbolic representation, whatever Rūmī comes upon and puts into words is for him an object manifesting an aspect of the divine reality. For him, the world exists only as an image and the relationship between the transient and the Absolute is created and ultimately accomplished through love.

The metacosmic reality that Rūmī calls "the realm of love" or "the soul of the world soul" represents, in other words, like the Platonic world of ideas, a collection of transcendent archetypes that are located beyond the variability of the external phenomena. In the light of Rūmī's description of the concept of *misāl*, one may observe that his poetical images are related to the symbolic world (in Corbin's terminology, *mundus imaginalis*), which functions as an intermediate between the material world and the transcendent. In Rūmī's view, the transparency of the symbols facilitates man's imaginative perception and ultimate identification with the divine, as love is directed towards the symbolical. His poetical imagery in *Dīwān-i Shams* has hence a rational function without being enclosed by the cognitive, as in Kant's philosophy, which questions our ability to perceive *das Ding an sich* (the thing-in-itself). By emphasising the symbolic and imaginative aspects of love, Rūmī not only guarantees the objective certitude of contemplative discernment but also restores the spiritual ambience of intellectual intuition in order to bridge the chasm that today divides being from knowledge. In other words, he not only ensures the metaphysical continuity of imaginary perception but also guarantees the ontological objectivity of love itself. His religion is quite rightly a religion of love (rather than a religion of knowledge), since he identifies love as the kernel of mysticism and gives precedence to love over reason. He maintains that man must advance beyond his rational capacity in order to merge with the uncreated world of love, the inner sacred core (in Heiler's words, *deus absconditus*), which in his view is the genuine essence of religion. Rūmī centres this view on the mysterious triad—love, lover and beloved—which principally is of an ontological rather than an epistemological sort. By giving prominence to the aesthetic and spiritual imperative of faith, the immor-

tality of the spirit and the inner joy that springs from love's desire, his poetry is inspiring in the most positive sense of the word and a passionate and vivid *confession* of love.

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Arabs in Central and Eastern Iran

SVEN-OLOF DAHLGREN, Gothenburg

The purpose of the following travelogue is to provide new information and update already available reports about speakers of Arabic in Iran. It is based on two trips to Iran, one in the spring of 2000 and the second during the same season a year later.

IN ARABKHANE

In May 2000 I arrived in Birjand, half-way between Mashhad and Zahedan in the very east of Iran. Having heard reports of Arabic-speaking communities in the area, I went there to find out more about these rather unknown dialects; could they be something to which I could devote a large part of my research on Arabic dialects in Iran?[1] Already on the way from the airport, my Iranian friend asked the taxi-driver if he had any information. He suggested a shop to visit, and there, in the afternoon the same day, we found an Arabic-speaking person. He invited us to his home town in Sar Bishe, 70 km south of Birjand.

The next day we sat down in his house, enjoying the usual Iranian hospitality and making some recordings. We were told that there are about ten families in the town who speak Arabic. Their origin, however, is Arabkhane, "the Arabic house", about 100 km out in the desert from Sar Bishe. They came to Sar Bishe about forty years ago.

The following day we went to the municipal office to get permission to go to Arabkhane. The person in charge told us that the area was not under their jurisdiction, but that he could write a letter of recommendation to his father, who lived in Arabkhane! After the short and quick but very helpful visit at the municipal office, we were already in the early forenoon prepared to set out for our destination. From Birjand, the distance is longer, 130 km; we travelled for about three hours through the desert. Coming closer to Arabkhane, the road winds up into the mountains; later we learned that Arabkhane is located on a tableland. It consists of about 100 villages, of which some are Arabic-speaking.

Our host turned out to be very friendly and helpful. He told us that he also had children in Minnesota and usually went there for one month every year at Christmas time. A good example of the globalization of our times! He himself did not speak Arabic, but after a nice lunch, he was eager to take us to another village, where they do speak Arabic. There they invited us to the mosque. We sat down on the floor chatting, asking questions and recording for about two hours. A couple of older

[1] This article is a result of my being a partaker in a project on linguistic diversity in central and western Asia. I feel very obliged to the Swedish Research Council for having provided me with this opportunity.

women could not help but lie down flat on the floor and lift the curtain that divided women from men, to have a look at the unusual guests.

One year later, we went to Birjand and Sar Bishe again. Our friends in Sar Bishe were very happy to see us and told us that we had come at a very suitable time. It was April and also Ashura, the important Shi'ite Islamic holiday to commemorate the martyrdom of Hossein in the battle of Karbala, when people from Arabkhane who are scattered all over Iran return to their place of origin to spend a few days with their relatives. We accepted their invitation to Arabkhane, although we had not planned to go there this time, and the next day we were able to visit two other villages. The houses were of very simple construction, but they enjoyed electricity since the first years of the Islamic Revolution. We left Arabkhane with the addresses of people living in Mashhad, Teheran and Kerman, where we visited one of them on our way to Bandar Abbas.

BANDAR ABBAS

Our trip in the year 2000 continued towards the Persian Gulf. We stopped for a couple of days in Kerman and then went on a nightly bus trip, as is common in Iran, to Bandar Abbas. I wanted to find out whether there was an indigenous Arabic dialect in the town. We asked quite a few taxi-drivers and others, but the answer was about the same; there are no Arabic-speaking people, except the refugeees from the war, who live in a separate area. The Arabs of Bandar Abbas had obviously switched to speaking Persian. We went to the present Arabic quarters; a drug-infested place, we were told. We met one helpful young man, whose family, because of the war between Iran and Iraq, twenty years ago had moved to Bandar Abbas from their home in Khuzistan, close to the Iraqi border. He took us to his friend's place where we were able to do some recordings; their speech proved much easier to understand, but less interesting, since the area of Khuzistan is fairly well documented in Arabic dialectology.

KHAMSE ARABS

There was also information about Arabic-speaking nomads in the province of Fars, around the city of Shiraz. In *Nomads of South Persia*, Fredrik Barth wrote about the Arab nomads of Fars, who belonged to the Khamse confederation of five tribes, the Basseri tribe, which was the main object of Barth's study, the three Turkish tribes (Ainalu, Baharlu and Nafar) and Arabs under Shaybani and Jabbare khans.[2] Barth reported that some of the Arabs of Fars were still Arabic-speaking at the time when he made his field studies.[3] According to the Arabic dialectology, the Arabic-speaking area ends in Khuzistan, on the western side of the Zagros mountains, the dividing line between the Semitic and the Aryan worlds; although there are isolated Arabic-speaking communities in Uzbekistan and Afghanistan.

At the bus station in Shiraz I found the slogans on the buses quite charming:

[2] Barth, *Nomads*, p. 86. Cf. also Barth, "Bāṣerī", p. 844.

[3] Barth, *Nomads*, p. 2.

"Beautiful Bus", "God Remember", "Life is Love", "God Speed", "Welcome to my Bus", "Is Sad Sorry Love", We Go to Trip Good By". In this town we got in touch with a local guide. He regularly takes tourists to the Turkish nomads but did not have any information about Arabic ones. He picked up some information, however, and we started the search in the outskirts of Shiraz, but without any tangible success. Then we followed a track to Marvdasht, 40 km from Shiraz and 10 km from Persepolis. After some searching around there without results, I suggested that we drop the search and go to Persepolis instead. Fortunately our guide had more patience and soon we reached a quarter where several Arabic families of newly settled nomads were living. Their dialect proved to be quite different from that of Arabkhane; at variance with Arabkhane, their verbal and pronominal morphology is very reduced. For the third person singular they have identical forms for masculine and feminine, just as in Persian.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to Barth, the Arab population of Fars has, in its own traditions, maintained itself without further transplantations of Arabs for more than 1000 years.[4] The historian Ṭabarī mentions that "Sābūr", i.e. Shapur II (309–379), displaced Arabs of the tribe of Bakr b. Wa'il to Kerman, Ahwaz and Tawj.[5] Hushang Seham Pur regard the ancestors of the Arabs of Fars to be Bedouins from Najd, Oman and Yamamah, who arrived under the Ummayyads and Abbasids, in the wake of the early conquests, to pursue their ordinary nomadism.[6]

In the anthology entitled *Diyāre āftāb* Ḥabībullah 'Abbāsi treats the history of the Arabs of Arabkhane. He first quotes two Iranian sources; the *Iranian Geographical Dictionary*, which claims that the Arabs came to the area under Nadir Shah in the eighteenth century; and *Bahāristān* by Ayatullah Āyāti Birjandi, who asserts that they came from Khuzistan under the Safavids *or* under Nadir Shah. Ḥabībullah 'Abbāsi rejects the claims for several reasons, on the grounds that they have no tangible support for them and that there are other conclusive indications pointing to much earlier times. He actually claims that the Arabs came from the Basra area in Iraq during the first centuries of the Islamic era. He points to the presence of castles and cemeteries in the area that are more than a thousand years old. Furthermore, their own, widespread, oral traditions speak of their having been in the area for at least a thousand years. Also, personal names, such as Dair Aql and Burghan, have been transmitted through the years and were originally place-names in the Basra area. Another indicator is their dialect itself, which is not similar to the Khuzistani dialect. His last evidence is their many old words, expressions and proverbs, of which many are not understood in common speech today but are known from older written sources.[7]

The argumentation of 'Abbāsi is in accordance with the historical sources. As early as 672–3, fifty thousand warriors, with their dependants, went to Khurasan; half of them were Arabs from Basra, and the other half Kufans. The numbers point to an aggregate figure from the migration of two hundred thousand. Khorasan with its desert was congenial to the Arabs. In 683–4, another group of tribes went to Khorasan. Some of the immigrants stayed in the cities, whereas others continued their Bedouin way of life.[8]

That there should be Arabs from the earliest Islamic period in central and eastern Iran is also to some extent supported by the findings of Otto Jastrow concerning Uzbekistan Arabic. After having studied the innovations in Iraqi dialects, he concluded that Uzbekistani Arabic belongs to the Mesopotamian type before the dialect split into *qeltu* and *gelet* types, and, hence, very likely the language of the Arabs who settled in the Bukhara region in the 7th and 8th centuries. Isolation from the Arabic-

[4] Barth, *Nomads*, p. 131.

[5] Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*. vol. I, p. 402.

[6] According to Steingass's *Persian–English Dictionary*, Yamāmah is the "name of a large district in Arabia very fruitful in palm-trees, and which comprehends Najd, Tihāmah, Bahrain, and Omān".

[7] 'Abbāsi, *Negāhi*, pp. 31–35.

[8] Zarrinkub, *Arab Conquest*, p. 28.

speaking area in the following centuries contributed to the preservation of several archaic traits which, along with many traits from the neighbouring Tadjiki and Turkic languages, make the dialect appear today as a quite bizarre variant of Arabic.[9]

THE KHORASANI ARABS TODAY

Ulrich Seeger is obviously the first western scholar in modern times to confirm the existence of Arabic-speaking Arabs in Khorasan. He went to the area in 1996. During his first weeks of stay in central Iran, nobody seemed to know anything about the subject. But with information from *Razmārā farhang-e joghrāfiā'i-ye Irān,* the Iranian geographical encyclopedia from 1950, and some maps, he came to the area of Zir Kuh, 100 km north east of Birjand, in the border areas with Afghanistan, where he could make recordings and hold interviews in the two villages of Sarab and Khalaf. He also went to the area of Sarakhs in the far North East of Iran, on the border with Turkmenistan, where he made a few recordings. Seeger reports that these two areas are two of the three main areas harbouring villages where Arabic-speakers are to be met with in Khorasan, the third being Arabkhane—an area which Seeger himself did not visit. In the area of Zir Kuh, Seeger reports four villages with Arabs: Khalaf is altogether Arabic and has 120 families; Darey Charm is also exclusively Arabic with 100 families; Muhammadiye is a very small Arabic village; and Sarab has about 50 Arabic families, which constitute about half of the village population. The Arabs in Zir Kuh are Sunnites of the Hanafite school and consider themselves to belong to the tribe of *'Arab al-'Anāni*. Their language is characterized by a "lispsound", in which the phoneme /s/ becomes a voiceless /th/, which we did not meet with in Arabkhane.

The very centre of the Arabs in the south of Khorasan seems, according to Seeger, to be Arabkhane. They call themselves *'Arab al-Khazā'i*. In the northern area, in Sarakhs itself and its environment, scattered Arab families live. They also call themselves *'Arab al-Khazā'i* and say that they came from Arabkhane 100–150 years ago. They are mostly Shii'ites. In the Sarakhs area, a change to Persian appears to be nearly complete; Seeger reports that only the elderly people understand Arabic but are not able to use it actively.[10]

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[9] Jastrow, *Reassessment,* pp. 95, 98.

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IE **re* 'back, away'

GEORGE E. DUNKEL, Zürich

To lamentations that all the major discoveries in IE linguistics were made long ago and that, aside from integrating Tocharian and Anatolian, little remains to be done until the discovery of more material, I reply that this certainly does not hold true for the morpheme-class *particle*. On the contrary, the reconstruction of new (i.e. previously unknown) particles can help to clarify unresolved problems of IE linguistics on all levels of grammar. To the cases of resultative **es* and the opposition between inclusive **me* and exclusive **u̯e* treated elsewhere[1] I add here a further instance which I hope will please Prof. Gren-Eklund because it builds on the ideas of one of her predecessors in Uppsala.

1. Both allomorphs of the Latin preverb *re-/red-* 'back, away' have served as starting-points for speculations as to its origin.

1a. *red-* was taken as original by K. Brugmann.[2] He began from an adverb **u̯ret* 'sich zurückwendend', which he saw as either an **-et*-adverb from the simple root **u̯er-* 'turn'[3] or as a Schwebeablaut variant of the extended root **u̯er-t-*. As a parallel for both the Schwebeablaut and for the development of the initial cluster[4] he cited the comparison Lith. *verpiù*—Latin *repens*, Greek (ϝ)ῥέπω 'sink, incline'. Brugmann saw an *o-* or zero-grade of the same adverb in the final element of Greek δεῦρο < **de-u̯r(o)t*, originally 'turned hither'.

But in that same year R. Günther clearly established that the earlier allomorph was *re-*.[5] For the final *-d* two complementary explanations are available: while antevocalic *red-* is due to the influence of the antonymic *prō(d)-*[6] and *sē(d)-*, anteconsonantal *red-* arose by a metanalysis of syncopated reduplications such as *reddit repperit reppulit rettulit*.[7] This effectively vitiated any etymology starting from *red-*.

1b. R. Thurneysen set up an IE adverb **re* 'wiederum' to account for Latin *re-*, Greek ἄρα ἄρ ῥα and Lithuanian *ir̃* 'and'. The only problem he saw was the differing full-grade found in the Hesychian gloss Nr. 1668 κατ ἐρ ⟨ἔζ⟩εαι· κάθισαι. Πάφιοι (*KZ* 44 (1911) 113). But these forms do not belong together at all: Greek

[1] Dunkel forthcoming b and c; for phonology see 'The sound-systems of Proto-Indo-European' in the *Proceedings of the 12th UCLA IE conference*, ed. M. Huld, K. Jones-Bley *et al.* (Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Nr. 40), 1–14.

[2] *IF* 24 (1909) 158–60 (as well as in his two previous etymological attempts, §2d); both Osthoff (*Etymolog. Parerga* (1901) I.42ff.) and Meillet (*Mélanges Havet* (1909) 274ff.) had thought likewise.

[3] But *t*-adverbs are not a generally recognised category. A modern alternative would be an instrumental (type Hitt. *-ed*, Ved. *pradakṣiṇít*), 'mit einer Wendung'.

[4] For this cf. also *rādīx* < **u̯rād-* (though cf. §10a!).

[5] Günther 1909, with *Forschungsgeschichte*; Sommer 1914:207f.; Leumann 1977:560.

ἄρα 'as expected' (Grimm, *Glotta* 40 (1962) 3ff.) continues an old adverb *$h_1$ar-a* 'fitting(ly)' (cf. Hitt. *a-a-ra*,[8] Ved. *áram*), while in Lithuanian *ir̃* the well-known adverbial ending *-*r* follows a suppletive variant *h_2i* of *h_2o* 'beside'.[9]

H. Pedersen set up a pre-form *rHe- so as to be able to combine Latin *re-* and Hittite *arḫa* 'away'. His argument that 'away' could have been the original meaning of Latin *re-* remains convincing to this day.[10] However, Pedersen's pre-form is unacceptably vague. Since the laryngeal is most likely *h_2, which colors *e, Latin *re-* is a phonologically impossible outcome. Also, the correct syllabification *$\underset{\circ}{r}h_2e$- would have given Latin *ora-*. And Hittite *arḫa* is now seen as a directive of *irḫa-* 'border', beside the instrumental *araḫza*.[11]

1c. M. Leumann disqualified Latin and Umbrian *re-* as an object of comparative discussion, seeing it as an innovation of Latin or at the earliest, since Umbrian *re-* is unlikely to have been borrowed from Latin, of Proto-Italic. For Leumann the preverb arose in the single perfect stem *reliqu-*, which in turn was dissimilated from a regularly reduplicated **leliqu-*.[12] The meaning 'back' was evidently abstracted out of this particular root as well. Leumann would have seen a full circle in hexametric *relliquiae*.

Unfortunately for a hypothesis, however clever, which starts from one single root,[13] there is no trace of *$le\underset{\smile}{i}k^{u}$- 'leave (behind)' in Italic outside of Latin. If accepted nonetheless, this derivation would vitiate any pursuit of further comparanda at all.

1d. I contend on the contrary that the assumption that Italic *re-* 'back, away' is inherited as such offers a solution for various long-standing etymological obscurities.

2. Greek δεῦρο has also inspired a variety of explanatory strategies.

2a. We leave aside attempts to take δεῦρο as a verbal form with an *r*-ending;[14] these are most implausible given the total absence in Greek of any other traces of this dialectal characteristic.

2b. Ruijgh began his analysis from the Mycenaean prefix *de-we-ro-*, the functional opposite of *pe-ra-* (περᾱ-) This he interpreted as *δεϝ-ερω, a directival contrast-

[6] So Sommer 1914:207 after Lindsay; an obvious case of *obscurum per obscurius*. On *re-* and *pro-* see further fn. 10.

[7] Günther 1909; F. Sommer 1914, *Krit. Erläuterungen* 78.

[8] Whereas an ablative-instrumental *$h_1$ar-$\underset{\circ}{m}$* would have given Hittite '*arun*'.

[9] Suppletive *h_2i* is also found in e.g. the root *$h_2e\underset{\smile}{i}$-sd-* 'revere', cf. Sanskrit *upa sad-*.

[10] *Mursilis Sprachlähmung* (1934) 76f., citing *recido, removeo* etc. Note also that Latin *re-* is antonymic to *pro* (*re-/pro-pello, -fugio* etc.; on *reciprocus* see *IF* 84 (1979) 184–195 and cf. the currently popular back-formation *proactive*), thus competing with **apo* 'away, back' (see Dunkel 1983a and §3 and compare *resolvo* = *absolvo* and *recludo*, *retego* 'uncover' beside earlier *aperio*).

[11] Melchert 1994:84 (though *-h_2o/e* is locative, not 'directive'). Puhvel combines this etymology with Pedersen's by further connecting Latin *ōra* (*Hittite Etymological Dictionary* s.v. *arḫa*; *Analecta* 354–5).

[12] 1926:92fn., 346; 1977:560.

[13] Shades of Bartholomae's θηκ-, ἡκ- (see Dunkel forthcoming a §3a), Sommers *fuv-ī* (1914:558f.), and Jasanoff's **preḱ-* (see Dunkel forthcoming b, §4).

[14] Whether mediopassive, impersonal or third plural, see Bezzenberger (*BB* 2 (1878) 270), Pisani (*Ist. Lombard.* 73:531ff.) and Beattie (*TPS* 1949:1–21); rejected by E. Neu, *StBoT* 6 (1968) 5 fn. 31.

formation to an adverb *δευ 'here'; he saw another contrast-formation in δευτερος 'second'.[15] *δευ 'here' consists of near deictic -δε plus far-deictic -υ. A pre-Homeric syncope of *δεϝ-ερω led to the hapax δεύρω, from which δεῦρο arose through prevocalic shortening (in e.g. δεύρω ἴθι).[16] But *vocalis ante vocalem* shortenings at word-end, though detectable in verse, are never explicitly written. Furthermore -δε was not originally near-deictic but rather directive, see Dunkel 1983b:190–3. And *de-we-ro* itself is generally taken as a hyperform for the expected *de-u-ro* on the model of alternations such as *wi/u* and *wa/u*.[17]

2c. I previously suggested deriving δεῦρο by metathesis from **de-r-u*, a particle-chain I compared with Hittite *karū* < **k̂o-r-eu̯* and Gothic *hiri* < *k̂e-r-ei̯*, in which ablauting deictic **i* and **u* followed **-r*-adverbs from the well-known near-deictic pronominal stem **k̂o-* (Dunkel 1988:109, 111–2). The final -o was ascribed to the influence of directival preverbs such as πρό ἀπό ὑπό, an ending which hd been even more frequent before vowel-harmony affected the earlier *παρό (cf. Myc. *pa-ro*), *ἀνό (cf. ἄνω), *κατό (cf. κάτω), *χαμό etc. (Dunkel 1994:26–9). This systematic approach was certainly more coherent than the totally *ad hoc* etymologies reported in Feist, Tischler and Puhvel; however, it can be improved still further (§7–8).

2d. K. Brugmann had made two previous attempts on δεῦρο before eventually arriving at on the solution of §1a, neither of which however connected Latin *re(d)*-. In *Grdr.*[1] II.462 (1892) he had proposed **de-u̯rop*, with not an adverb but the root of ῥέπω 'sink, incline' as the final element (cf. ὑπόδρα, ὄφρα). Before he refined this into the solution of §1a he had first tried something completely different: deriving the final element[18] of δεῦρο from a neuter pronoun **u-r-o-d*, comparing Umbrian *uru* 'ab illo' and Lith. *aurè* 'look there!' < **au̯-ro-* beside **au̯-o-* in Iranian *ava-*, Slavic *ovŭ* (1909:98–9)—comparanda which his final theory abandoned.

2e. Brugmann's last-mentioned approach was modified and further developed by H. S. Nyberg 1932, who added Armenian *ure-k^c* and Avestan *auuarə* 'downward'[19] (first in *Y.* 29.11) to the comparanda. As to Armenian *ure-k^c* see §6; Avestan *auuarə* is however unrelated since it is, like Ved. *avár*,[20] a derivative of the preverb **au̯o* rather than an adverb to the far-deictic stem *ava-*.[21] Nyberg finished by reconstructing an ablauting adverbial ending **-r/-re/-ro* and an adverb **u̯-ro* or **au̯-ro* meaning 'hither' (1932:260–1).

Nyberg's work was an impressive advance over its predecessors due to its

[15] But δεύτερος belongs rather to a root **deu̯-* 'far', cf. the extensions **du̯-eh₂-* (δηρός, *dūrá-*) and **deu̯-s-* 'lack' (δεύω, *doṣa-*). For the word-formation cf. ved. *yájiṣṭha-*, *vediṣṭha-*, gr. φέριστε, etc. (G. Cardona, *ABORI* 72/3 (1991/2) 409–22).

[16] *Scripta minora* I.113–7: slightly differently on pp. 586f.

[17] See also L. Palmer, *Introduction to Mycenaean Greek Texts*[2] (1969) 27.

[18] There is virtually no disagreement that the first element is the directival particle -δε.

[19] Which Nyberg took to mean 'hither'; but this can easily be derived from 'downward' interpreted personally, as in Hittite *u-* (opposed to *pe-* 'away'). See Dunkel 1988:115–6.

[20] Only at RV 1.133.6; *avás* (11 times in the RV) is probably a hyperform, compare the neuter singular "*adas*" for *ado* < **ad-au̯* and, with deictic order reversal (§7), Avestan *auuaṯ*.

[21] Nyborg 1932:246, 254. Nyberg's etymological identification of far-deictic *ava-* and the preverb *ava* (1932:248) is, even ignoring the semantic discrepancy, formally possible only so long as one remains within Aryan; comparative evidence shows that **ou̯-o-* (from far-deictic **u*) is unrelated with **au̯-o*.

broader material basis and more systematic approach. His proposals were therefore accepted by Schwyzer 1939:632 and Frisk; I too think they come closest to being correct. However Nyberg, Schwyzer and Frisk are all notably vague as to the structure of their adverbial **(a)u̯ro*, offering no further analysis.

3. In my opinion the true pre-form of the underlying adverb is not **au̯ro* but rather **u-re*. This consists of an adverb **re* 'back, away' as the syntactic head to which far-deictic **u*[22] has been prefixed. The original meaning of the particle-combination would have been something like 'far back, far away'. The double aspect of the original meaning 'back, away' put **re* into direct competition with **apo* and **ato* (cf. fn. 10)—which, in prehistoric times, it evidently lost.

4. While the variants δεύρω (only *Il.* 3.240), δεῦρυ (cited by Herodian as 'Aeolic'), δευρί (in Aristophanes[23]) are easily comprehensible as secondary developments of the usual δεῦρο,[24] Attic inscriptional δεῦρε is not. Nyberg took δεῦρε as modeled after φέρε. This sounds plausible in isolation but the study of perseveration shows that it is more often verbs than adverbs that are thus affected.[25] Even less likely is Schwyzer's idea that δεῦρε was modeled after δεῦτε (1939:632), since δεῦτε itself is surely a secondary pluralisation, as are e.g. τῆτε, Latin *cette*, Slavic *nu-te*, Gothic *hirjiþ* etc.[26]

I suggest on the contrary that inscriptional Attic δεῦρε preserves the oldest form of this adverb. It is in any case the only form epigraphically attested in classical Attic at all (4 times before 450 BC, once shortly after 400),[27] while δεῦρο makes a first appearance in Roman times (first in 220 AD).[28] δεῦρε thus seems to be an addition to the array of archaisms which survived exclusively in Attic, such as ὡς with the personal accusative, ἑστία (elsewhere ἱστ-), ἤνεγκα (elsewhere -εικα), ἥκω (elsewhere ἵκω), and so on.[29] The final vowel of common (not Proto-!) Greek δεῦρο must be due to the influence of all the directival preverbs in *-o*—which as we remember used to be more frequent (§2c).

[22] Not local **h₂u* (suppletive to **h₂o* 'beside'), see fn. 32.

[23] Attested 18 times, as opposed to δεῦρο (93 times) and δεῦρ' (72 times).

[24] δεύρω as hypercharacterised (double directive), δευρυ as Lesbian or Arcadian in origin, and δευρί with deictic *-í*.

[25] Compare the already pre-MIE creation of imperatival **h₁i-dʰí* beside **h₁éi̯-Ø* by perseveration from locatival adverbs like **i-dʰi*, **u̯oi̯k̑o-dʰi* etc. (see Dunkel forthcoming a) and in Late IE of voluntative **h₁ei̯-oh₁* 'I want to go' after the emphatic pronoun **eĝH-oh₁* (see my contribution to *Indogermanische Syntax—Fragen und Perspektiven*, ed. H. Hettrich (forthcoming)).

[26] See *Studies … W. Cowgill* (ed. C. Watkins 1987) 32. Schwyzer 1939:632 saw δεῦτε itself as a contamination of δεῦρο ἴτε, while Brugmann 1909:99 took **de-ute* as a particle-chain (cf. Vedic *utá*, Greek αὖτε) which had been metanalysed into a second plural imperative. But today we know that **de-h₂u-te* (as we would now have to write, see Dunkel 1983b:179f., 198f., 1988:107–9 and *IF* 102 (1997) 158–63, 170–3) would have given 'δαῦτε' (not to be confused with the regular contraction from δηὖτε 'yet again' (as in Sappho 1)).

[27] In addition there are 4 cases of elision.

[28] See L. Threatte, *Grammar of Attic inscriptions* II.409.

[29] On syntactic archaisms of Attic see E. Schwyzer, 'Syntaktische Archaismen des Att.', *Abh. preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1940:7 = *Kleine Schriften* 443–56.

The meaning 'back here, hither' for 'back there' must be ascribed, in agreement with all other proposals, to the effect of initial directival (or already deictic?) δε-, which evidently overpowered the totally isolated υρε.[30] Although greek -δε is normally postposed, IE word-structure formulas allow a particle to precede or follow a word.

5. Lithuanian *aurè* '(look) there, voilà' cannot contain **re* after the root **au̯* 'see' (Hittite *uḫḫi*, Vedic *uvé*) because a structure *Root + Particle* would be unparalleled; in IE, adverbs were derived from roots only by means of adverbial endings (as in **ă̆u̯-is*, **deḱ-s*, **du̯eh₂-m*, **h₁ar-a*). Thus it more likely preserves a combination of **u-re* 'back there' with a different particle as first element. The additional meaning 'later, afterwards'[31] underlines the semantic parallelism of **re* with **apo*, on the temporal use of which see Dunkel 1983a.

The parallel of Greek **de-u̯-re* suggests that Lith. *aurè* contains a directival first element, i.e. **o*.[32] Furthermore, the lack of hiatus in either form (and of vowel-coloring in δεῦρε) excludes **h₂u* 'beside' as the second element.

I cannot follow Stang 1966:414–6 in further connecting with *aurè* the verbum existentiae *yrà*, whose extended form *ȳrot(ės)* implies an original **īrā́*. Stang saw here an interjection, while Gauthiot and Bammesberger saw (totally unrelated) nominal forms.[33] If Lithuanian *ir̃* originally meant 'near' (§1b), then **īr-ā* could be a collective/ abstract formed to a typically Baltic neo-long-grade, originally meaning something like 'nearness', which has faded into a neo-*verbum existentiae*.

6. Another witness for **u-re* is Armenian *urekʿ* 'somewhere', with generalising **-kʷe* (cf. *ur* 'where').[34] This form's association with the inherited relative/interrogative stem and its meaning are both entirely secondary, and a simple consequence of formal identification due to the reduction of **kʷo-s*, **kʷi-d* to Arm. *or*, *i*.[35]

A pre-form **ku-tre*[36] would also have given Armenian *ure-kʿ* but is inadmissible because the adverbial ending involved must be reconstructed as **-tro*. Any argument on this matter must necessarily be indirect, since Vedic locatival and directival *´-tra* and *-trā́* (e.g. *anyátra, purutrā́*), Latin *aliter* and Greek ἀλλότριος do not allow identification of the final vowel of the adverbial formant **-trV̆*, while in Gothic both

[30] Laconian πέδευρα· ὕστερα (Hesychius) might show the typically Dorianising -α for -ε in adverbs (οκα ποκα etc., although cf. πέδευρον· ὕστερον. πάλιν. ὀπίσω) but is not necessarily related at all.

[31] See the *Litauisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* of F. Kurschat (1883) and A. Kurschat (1968) s.v.

[32] Thus excluding **h₂o* 'beside' as first element. For directival **de* see Dunkel 1983b:190–3 and for **o* see Dunkel 1994.

A dialectal equivalent to *aurè* with a different first element **an* 'on the other side' (for this I must refer to the forthcoming *Lexicon of IE Particles and Pronouns)* is **anrè*, implied by East Lithuanian *unrèkui* and *unrākui* (Stang 1966:236, 286).

[33] A. Bammesberger in *Baltistik: Aufgaben und Methoden* (ed. A. Bammesberger 1998) 302–3; on Armenian *ir* see also B. Olsen, *Noun in biblical Armenian* (1999) 884f. For a survey of other etymologies see W. Schmalstieg, *Historical Morphology of the Baltic Verb* (2000), 72–5.

[34] Meillet 1936:88f.

[35] Meillet 1936:34, R. Schmitt 1981:123.

[36] R. Godel, *Introduction to the Study of Classical Armenian* (1975) 77, 79; Schmitt 1981:201f.

directival *-dre* and ablatival *-þro* have obviously been remade. The length of Vedic *-trā́* must be secondary as well, since the elision seen in the classical languages rules out a long final vowel.

In fact, the only agreement to be found among the attested forms is functional: both Gothic *-dre* and Vedic *-trā̆* are directival (*-trā̆* locatival as well). This suggests that an originally directival **-trV̆* was univerbated and contracted with the well-known emphatic postposition **ḗ*, whose accent induced voicing by Verner. In contrast, ablatival *-þro* must have been created[37] as a *Gegensatzbildung* to the original **´-þrV̆* < **-trV̆* before its univerbation with **ḗ*, as its lack of Verner-voicing (implying the retention of the original stem-accent) shows. If, as seems likely from the Gothic-Vedic functional agreement, the original value of **-trV̆* was directival, then given the well-established directival ending **-o* (Dunkel 1994), the vocalism was most likely **-tro—q.e.d.* For the addition of directival **-o* to contrastive **-ter*, compare the sequences of adverbial endings seen in *-ti-m*, **-ti-h₁*, **-dʰe-m*, etc.

7. The well-established phenomenon of deictic order reversal among particles[38] suggests the possibility of a variant **re-u̯*. This may be recognised in Hittite *karū* 'long ago, previously', whose preform should therefore be segmented as **k̂o-re-u̯* (rather than as in §2c). The local meaning of **re-u̯* 'back there' has simply been situated on the temporal axis, whereby prefixed **k̂o-* evidently had little effect (like **k̂i-* in Hittite *kinun* 'now' and in Luvian *zila(t)* 'in the future').

The same particle-sequence **re-u̯* also survives, emphasized by the same element seen in Latin *idem, egom-et* or Vedic *idám, ahám* in the Hieroglyphic Luvian[39] equivalent *ru-wa-na*—one of the few Anatolian words to begin with *r-* (compare Melchert 1994:67, 248, 256). Since **re-u̯-em* would presumably have given '*rawan*', this must reflect **re-u̯-Hem*.[40] The pre-forms **h₁ĝreu̯* and **k̂reu̯* which have been suggested for *karū* and *ruwan* are desperately *ad hoc* in comparison with the coherent structures here proposed.

With near-deictic **i* instead of distant **u*, the preform of Gothic *hiri* can now be segmented as **k̂e/i-re-i̯* rather than the usual **k̂e/i-r+ī́* or as in §2c. Here the two near-deictic particles semantically overpowered the isolated **re*-avatar (as did the first element in Greek δεῦρε).

Seeing **re* 'back, away' plus postposed deictic **u* and **i* in *karū, ruwan* and *hiri* rather than adverbial **-r* plus the full-grades of the deictics (as in §2c) is preferable because of the structurally simple connection it allows of **re-u̯* and **re-i̯* with the **u-re* of δεῦρε, *urekᶜ*, and *aurè*.

8. We thus arrive at a symmetrical scheme for the extensions of **re* in which the deictic elements immediately precede or follow the head, while any further particles are one step removed:

[37] On the model of the thematic ablative.

[38] See Dunkel forthcoming b §5.

[39] Its equivalent in Cuneiform Luvian is *puwa(t)*, which V. Ivanov has taken as a frozen form of the root **bʰuH-* (*Proceedings, 12th UCLA IE Conference*, ed. M. Huld et al. (2001) 80–106).

[40] Thus the laryngeals in **eĝHom* and **tuHom* may belong to the postposed emphatic particle, not to the pronoun.

**de-*	**u-*		**-u̯*	**-kᵘe*
**o-*	**k̂o/i/e-*	****re***	**-i̯*	**-Hem*
**an-*				

Such a symmetrical grouping of shells around a kernel is reminiscent of syllable-structure (onset, coda), astrophysics (planetary orbits), chemistry (electron shells), and the like.

9. The question now arises whether the particle **re* can shed any light on roots in initial **re-* plus a suspicious or evocative consonant-cluster. That a sequence **reK-* could after univerbation become capable of ablaut is suggested by the behavior of other transparently secondary roots such as **u̯ĕdʰH-* 'strike' < **u̯e dʰeh₁-* 'put away' (cf. Vedic *antar dhā-*)[41] and **bʰĕgᵘ-* 'flee' < **bʰe gᵘeh₂-* 'go away'.
9a. With **re-* in the meaning 'away':
i.) **rezg-* '(weg)flechten, (ab)winden' (*IEW* 874, *LIV* 507): to **seg-* 'heften, sich anhängen, berühren' (*IEW* 887–8, *LIV* 516); opposed to **mezg-* 'zusammenflechten' (*IEW* 746, on inclusive **me* see Dunkel forthcoming c);
ii.) **rēd-/rōd-* 'schalen, kratzen, nagen' (*IEW* 854): originally 'bite away', to **h₁ed-* 'beissen';
iii.) **ret(H)-* 'run' (*IEW* 866), **roth₂-o-* 'wheel': to **teH-* 'fliessen' (*IEW* 1053);
iv.) **reu̯p-* 'break, rip' (*IEW* 870): to **u̯ep-* 'strew, scatter' (while **seu̯p-* 'strew' is de-preverbal, from **supo*);
v.) **rei̯dʰ-* 'ride, drive' (*IEW* 861): from **re h₁i-dʰi*; for other de-imperativals cf. ἐσθίω, *śrudhīyāmi*, Lith. *veizdéti*;
vi.) 1.**rēdʰ-* 'undicht, trennen, sondern (aks. *rĕdŭkŭ*) (*IEW* 333): **re dʰeh₁-* 'do away with (on 2.**rēdʰ-* see fn. 42)
9b. With **re-* in the meaning 'back (Lat. *re-*, Gmn. *ent-*), in reverse, un-':
i.) **rendʰ-* 'zerreissen (*IEW* 864): to **nedʰ-* 'knoten, binden';
ii.) **re-u̯s-mn̥-* 'wiederkäuen (*IEW* 873): to **u̯es-* 'graze'.

10. Adverbial **re-* is in my opinion not involved in:
10a. The Old Persian and Slavic postposition (Gen. +) /*rādī*/ 'because of'. This has long been derived from the verbal root 2.**rēdʰ-* 'attain, achieve, succeed' (*IEW* 59–60, *LIV* 499f.),[42] the only controversy concerning whether it was the locative or dative of a root-noun or the instrumental of an *i*-stem.[43] But it can also be seen as an extension with the common adverbial ending **-dʰi*[44] (> Old Persian *-di-ya* = /*-dī*/?) of the (otherwise unattested but systematically impeccable) *o-*[45] or long-grade[46] of

[41] On exclusive **u̯e-* see Dunkel forthcoming c.

[42] This root may itself have arisen by univerbation of **re dʰeh₁-* 'put away (as finished)'.

[43] O. Szemerenyi, *Die Sprache* 12 (1966) 212–4 = *Scripta minora* IV 1877–9.

[44] Cf. **n̥-dʰi* 'within', **me-dʰi* 'in the middle' and **ĝʰz-dʰi* 'yesterday' (Dunkel forthcoming b §9). However, these clear cases show neither *o-* nor long-grades, nor are **-dʰi*-extensions otherwise found in Old Iranian (Chr. Bartholomae, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie* I.1 (1895) 142f.); *-dĭ (*yadi), -dă (ida, ada, yada, kuda), -θă (kaθa kuθa)* have various other sources.

[45] Brugmann's Law is generally thought to have worked in Proto-Iranian since it predates the merger of **o* with **e* and **a*.

[46] Monosyllabic lengtheningin open syllables has long been generally admitted; for closed syllables cf.

**re* in the meaning '(going) back to'. Yet this leaves the peculiar construction with the genitive unexplained, whereas P. Thieme's equation with Latin *rādī+k-* 'root'[47] solves all difficulties at one stroke and is therefore preferable.

10b. Nor is there any connection between **re* and the adverbial ending **-r*. Not only would the different full-grade of **(s)up-er* 'above' and **sn̥n-er* 'without' have to be ascribed to secondary ablaut (cf. **di̯eu̯-* : **dei̯u̯-o-*), but the meaning 'back, away' is difficult to reconcile with the adverbial ending's vaguely locatival value. Nor does any other adverbial ending of the proto-language go back to a local adverb, although this would be relatively banal, as shown by such developments of originally independent particles such as **ĝʰi*, **bʰo/i* and **o* in some IE dialects.

The assumption of an adverb **re* 'back, away' thus allows a plausible connection between various derived adverbs which previously seemed isolated and reveals some new structural principles of particle-combination.

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e.g. **ă̆t*, **ĝʰĕ̆s-* 'yesterday' (cf. Dunkel forthcoming b §9), **ŏ̆l*, **(s)ŭ̆p* and the pronouns **ĕ̆ĝH*, **nŏ̆s*, **u̯ŏ̆s*; and for polysyllables cf. **ă̆u̯is*, **ĕ̆nu*, **sĕ̆mi*.

[47] *Studia grammatica iranica* (*FS H. Humbach*, ed. R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjaervo 1986) 493ff. = *Kleine Schriften* II 1078ff.

The Oldest Detective Story in World History

JOSEF ELFENBEIN, Cambridge

I am honoured by the invitation to contribute to this issue dedicated to my old friend and colleague Bo Utas, and offer a revised version of a lecture delivered to the Department of Asian and African Languages at the University of Uppsala in March, 2001.

Herodotus, in Book I of his *History*, "The Persian Empire up to the Death of Cyrus in 529 B.C.", purposefully attempted to explain to his Greek readers how the powerful Achaemenian Empire developed and thus to make clearer to them how the great wars between the Greeks and Persians had come about.

Book III, "The Persian Empire under the Kings Cambyses and Darius up to the Conquest of Babylon in 519 B.C.", is certainly the most impressive part. Beginning with §61, Herodotus recounts how the Achaemenian throne was usurped by the False Smerdis. He further relates the death of Cambyses, and the conspiracy of the Six with Darius to assassinate the usurper and to put Darius on the throne. In this enterprise they were entirely successful, and Darius "the Great" ruled for thirty-six years, from 522 to 486 B.C.

A key role in the story is played, of course, by Darius' great monument at Behistan, on his orders chiselled into the rock face. The impressive inscription, one of the longest and most elaborate ever carved, is incised in three languages: Elamite, Babylonian, and, for the first time, also in Old Persian, Darius' own language. All three versions use the cuneiform script. The trilingual inscription was first copied by the British officer Henry Rawlinson in the nineteenth century. One of the three versions, the Old Persian, was the first to be deciphered and formed the basis upon which it became possible eventually to decipher the cuneiform writing used in western Asia. The foundation for the decipherment of Old Persian had already been laid in 1802 by the German philologist Georg Grotefend. As a result, it was possible to use the text to help decipher the Babylonian version as well, and by 1850 the science of Assyriology was born.

In the Behistan inscriptions several notices about Smerdis do not agree with Herodotus' report. This discrepancy is remarkable. The question arises whether Herodotus is credible or not. Up to today, surprisingly, historians do not agree on this point. Some maintain that the events described in Herodotus really took place, so that what Darius says is false. Even though the two accounts, Herodotus' and Darius', are in agreement on many points, it is their discrepancies which claim the attention.

Why, on the one hand, cannot historians believe in the truth of the False Smerdis as related in Herodotus and Darius? The answer is that the story is riddled with contradictions and discrepancies, and, not least, it is clear that it would have been a very shrewd story for Darius himself to invent, to serve as persuasive propaganda legitimising his claim to the throne.

Why, on the other hand, cannot historians believe that the story of the False Smerdis, which we find in both sources, is false? Again, simply because no serious historian likes to deny what his sources are all agreed upon.

My teacher of Iranian studies at Cambridge, Ilya Gershevitch, pondered this problem at length, and many years ago now it occurred to him that it just might be possible to reconcile these different stories and show that they were all true, all of them variations on a basic theme, each with its own truth. The present account is essentially based on the detective work of Ilya Gershevitch, but the following reflections of it are my own. I have only added to it here and there for additional clarity. It remains a gripping and breathtaking tale, which—I think—is based on the soundest scholarship.

The main stumbling block is this: that the whole story of the False Smerdis seems so very improbable that it cannot be taken seriously. In order to help unravel the intricately woven fabric of this case, many well-known facts will have to be repeated, while other details, for the sake of brevity, can only be summarised here and there.

The following facts are not in dispute. Cyrus the Great met his death in 530 B.C. during a campaign against the Dahai, or perhaps the Massagetae, in the extreme north of his kingdom. Cyrus' heir and successor was his elder son Cambyses. His younger son was called Brdiya in Persian, mentioned in many Greek sources as well, and there called Smerdis or Merdis.

In Egyptian sources we read that five years later, in 525 B.C., Cambyses attacked Egypt. We know that it is the same Cambyses because he is named as Cambyses II, King of Iran. Cambyses remained in Egypt for three years and, as fate willed it, never returned alive to his homeland in Persis. Beside these Egyptian documents there also exist some Babylonian ones, and these are especially important because they bear a date. As is normal, the dates correspond to the dates of the reigning king. Thus, for the first months of 522 B.C. they are dated "in the reign of Cambyses", and thereafter, for about six months, they are dated "in the reign of Brdiya". However, after October 522 B.C., the Babylonian tablets carry the dates "in the reign of Darius", and they remain "in the reign of Darius" for the following thirty-six years. These dates also agree with those found in other primary sources.

It is important to remember that the Achaemenian capital city during the reigns of Cambyses, Brdiya, and the first years of Darius, was the great ancient city of Susa (Shushan in Biblical Hebrew), which did not lie in Persis but in Elam, the present-day Persian province of Khuzistan, the large oil province in southwestern Iran. Therefore, the ancient sources state that one travelled to the Persian capital *from* Persia.

The population of Susa had grown very large since it became the Persian capital and, although Susa was located in Elam, only a minority of its inhabitants were Elamite. Susa had been the Elamite capital for over 1,500 years, and after its conquest by Cyrus the Great, Persian immigrants had flocked into it and become the majority of its residents in less than one generation. The royal court, the imperial administration, army headquarters, as well as a very large merchant community were settled in Susa. The languages used in Susa were both Elamite and Persian, but the sole written language was Elamite, and later Aramaic. The administrative language of the early Achaemenians was Elamite.

Of paramount interest in our pursuit is, as mentioned, Darius' great Behistan inscription. He composed this text in the second year of his accession to the throne (520 B.C.). Two loci are of particular interest for our purpose. In the first of these, DB I, lines 26–35, Darius says that Cambyses, *after* he became king, but *before* he attacked Egypt, had his brother Brdiya killed. However, according to Darius, the people had no knowledge of this murder because the information was kept from them. Darius proceeds to say that the people were very restless while Cambyses was *in Egypt, until on 11 March 522 B.C., a certain Magus named Gaumāta organised* an uprising, in which he proclaimed himself publicly to be Brdiya. Then, Darius continues, the people rebelled against Cambyses and went over to Gaumāta, who became king on 29 June 522 B.C. After this, Cambyses died, and Gaumāta remained as king—the False Smerdis.

The second locus is found in lines 48–61. Here, Darius states that everyone had the greatest fear of Gaumāta, since people were sure that everyone who learned the truth of the matter—that Gaumāta was a usurper without legitimacy—would find himself liable to an accidental death. The False Smerdis could easily eliminate anyone who knew that he was not the brother of Cambyses. Darius continues: "Nobody dared to say anything against Gaumāta until I came. Then I prayed for the help of Ahuramazda. Ahuramazda came to my aid, and on the tenth of the month Bagayadìš (29 September 522 B.C.) I, together with some companions, slew the Magus Gaumāta and his most important followers. This took place in the fortress Sikayahvati in the Nisaya district, in Media." And so Darius became king.

The first mentioned Behistan locus agrees in most details with what we know from Herodotus, who received his information about seventy years later from informants. It is certain that these informants did not know anything of what Darius had written in his inscription. If they had known, they would have told Herodotus that Darius had called the Magus usurper "Gaumāta". They must, however, have mentioned to Herodotus that the usurper had borne the same name as Prince Smerdis, although it cannot be concluded from this that they did *not* know that the Magus also had another name: Gaumāta. Nevertheless, we *can* be sure that Herodotus' informants did not know that Darius had called him "Gaumāta" in his inscription.

Equally important is the fact that they told Herodotus that Cambyses had Prince Smerdis, his younger brother, killed *after* he went to Egypt. Darius contradicts this; he says that Cambyses had Smerdis killed *before* he went to attack Egypt. It can, therefore, be concluded that the source of information of Herodotus' informants certainly was not the Behistan locus.

Of further interest regarding the present case is still another Behistan locus, which certainly was not known to Herodotus' informants either. This is DB III, 21–25, which describes a rebellion organised by a certain Persian named Vahyazdāta a few months after Darius with his six companions had killed the Magus Gaumāta. It reads thus: "A man named Vahyazdāta lived in a village called Tarava, in the Yautia district in Persis. This Vahyazdāta organised a *second* rebellion in Persis." He told the people: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." How could the followers of Vahyazdāta believe that Brdiya was still alive, and had not been killed by order of Cambyses? Or did they perhaps believe that the Brdiya whom Darius had killed was a

false Smerdis? It is clear that any solution of the general puzzle must also explain how it was possible that Vahyazdāta could deceive his followers.

It is worthwhile to consider the reliefs carved above the texts. Darius is seated in front of a troop of bearers who have come to bring him tribute. He places one foot on the belly of a man who lies on his back before him in profile. This man is captioned as Gaumāta, and he stretches his arms and legs out towards Darius in a gesture of supplication. This picture is, of course, only symbolic, but it contains a very important detail, which up to the time of Gershevitch nobody had noticed, namely, the extraordinary size of Gaumāta's belly, which arches upwards in a very distended fashion.

The next witness is Herodotus. According to Book III, §§61–66, Prince Smerdis stayed with his brother Cambyses in Egypt for a while, and during this time he performed some kind of physical feat which caused a sensation. Nobody had ever seen such an exhibition of strength before, and it frightened Cambyses so much that he sent Brdiya in all haste back to Susa. The interesting point is that the real Smerdis, the Prince, was a man of huge physical strength.

Herodotus goes on to say that Cambyses had a dream, in which he was warned that Smerdis would rob him of his throne. Cambyses had a councillor named Prexaspes, a man whom he trusted entirely, and who among all Persians throughout his whole life enjoyed the reputation of a person of sterling character and honesty. Herodotus makes the following comment about Prexaspes: he says that Cambyses sent him from Egypt to Susa after Prince Smerdis, with the command to secretly murder the Prince. The "honest" Prexaspes travelled to Susa, carried out the order, and returned to Cambyses in Egypt.

Just as in Darius' notice, Herodotus remarks that nobody noticed that Prince Smerdis had disappeared. How is it possible that the Prince, the only brother of King Cambyses and his presumed heir apparent, the second man in the kingdom, living in Susa, and moreover a man of huge physical strength, had disappeared, been murdered, and nobody had noticed?

However that may be, one man *did* notice, namely, the Magus Patizeithes. This poses another puzzle: before his departure for Egypt, Cambyses, for unknown reasons, made the unknown Magus Patizeithes his palace major-domo, in charge of all administration (§63). The office might be called that of viceroy, nothing less than the Chief Officer. The obvious question is why Cambyses chose this completely unknown person for such an important office—he appears in Herodotus out of nowhere—and not the heir apparent, the king's own brother, Prince Smerdis.

Is it possible that when Cambyses left for Egypt, he no longer had a brother, as Darius claims in DB I, 30–33? He says: "The brother of Cambyses, with the same mother and father, was Brdiya. Him Cambyses had killed. But the people did not know that Cambyses had killed Brdiya. *After* Cambyses had killed Brdiya, he went off to Egypt."

That would explain some things, but not all. Cambyses needed a viceroy in his absence, the real Brdiya being dead. But why choose Patizeithes? The whole matter becomes even more complicated when we read further in Herodotus that Patizeithes himself had a brother with the same name as the Prince—Smerdis! This brother, Herodotus says, also resembled the Prince in appearance. Perhaps the insignificant

Magus Patizeithes was elected just *because* he had a brother named Smerdis! If that was the case, it could be supposed that Cambyses did not name Patizeithes himself as his viceroy, but rather Patizeithes' brother. In other words, Cambyses himself proclaimed the False Smerdis as king, because the real Smerdis was already dead.

The problem remains, of course, that everyone could still *see* that this viceroy was not the real Smerdis. Cambyses had in fact appointed a viceregal viceroy, so to speak, and one whom he could trust absolutely not to betray a False Smerdis. Whom could he trust better for this purpose than the False Smerdis' brother Patizeithes? He therefore commissioned Patizeithes to be viceroy in charge of the court and state in the name of his brother, and furthermore that Patizeithes would ensure that the False Smerdis would never show himself in public to be recognised, restricting any unavoidable appearance to a view of himself in semi-darkness, at a great distance, and where his voice would be hard to hear. This suggestion will be followed up later.

According to the same paragraph in Herodotus (§63), Patizeithes knew that Cambyses' brother was dead, and that his own brother had been set up on the throne as king, the False Smerdis. So he sent out the heralds to announce to the army that as of that moment the rightful king of Persis was not Cambyses, but Smerdis.

At this time, Cambyses was in Syria, about halfway home between Egypt and Susa. It can be assumed that he now became extremely concerned about the state of affairs. The Prexaspes in Herodotus knew that Patizeithes had a brother who could pass as Prince Smerdis. It seems logical to conclude that Cambyses knew this as well. Upon receipt of this news, Cambyses ordered his army immediately to resume their march onwards to Susa. Before the march could get under way, though, Cambyses had a serious accident: the point of his great spear pierced his thigh with a deep wound. Blood poisoning set in, and he died twenty days later, according to Herodotus (§§64–65).

Corresponding to this, Darius says in DB I, 43: "After that, Cambyses died *hvāmršyuš*, i.e. a natural death (from his wound)." A number of scholars want to see in this word a meaning in the sense of 'suicide', but this is not correct. As Wilhelm Schulze showed long ago, this expression, literally 'self-death', means 'natural death' in all Iranian languages.

One might imagine from Herodotus' information that Cambyses died in Syria, but Herodotus does not specifically say that. In fact, for the first nine of the twenty days of the march he was able to carry on with his army. Perhaps he was carried on a bier as far as the city of Babylon, where many competent doctors were to be found, but upon examination they saw that his case was hopeless, and very likely told him so. Eleven days after his arrival in Babylon, Cambyses was dead.

This account of the last twenty days in the life of Cambyses is, of course, not to be found in Herodotus. It has been taken from the works of Ktesias, whose witness is of great importance (see below). The division of the twenty days into nine plus eleven in Ktesias does not contradict Herodotus, but only makes his account more detailed.

In Book III, lines 65ff., Herodotus describes the last days of Cambyses. On his deathbed, the king called in some close and trusted friends and made a confession to them. He said: "Long ago I sent Prexaspes to Susa to murder my brother Prince Brdiya, and the man presently on the throne is a fraud." Up to this moment, none of

the generals present had known about this. They all thought that they were marching to dethrone a True Smerdis, who had usurped the throne from his brother.

It is worth noting that among these generals Darius was probably also to be found. He was an officer under Cambyses in Egypt, but of no particularly high rank. If indeed Darius was not personally present at this deathbed confession, it seems very likely that he was told by one of the generals who had been a witness to what Cambyses had revealed. It must be kept in mind that Darius was the son of Hystaspes, the governor of Persis, and the heir apparent of a sideline of the Achaemenian royal house, as he himself says in DB I, line 10. The word he uses is Old Persian *duvitāprnam* 'in two lines', referring to the two lines of descent from the founder of the Achaemenian royal line. The word does not mean, as formerly thought, 'in succession'. This point has now been settled by the discovery of the Elamite equivalent, *šamakmar* 'in two lines'.

How did the general officers react to Cambyses' disclosure? By doing nothing at all. They probably did not believe a word of the confession, thinking it only the effusion of a madman in his death throes. It also served their purposes not to believe him, for by Cambyses' death the rebellious brother in Susa became the rightful king, and it seems likely that the generals had been actually looking forward to the death of Cambyses after his wound, for his death meant that, instead of arriving home and having to fight a civil war for the succession, they could look forward with joy to laying their arms down at last, and taking up the arts of peace, such as viticulture, after three years of war in Egypt under the pyramids, sphinxes and crocodiles. It seems logical that they were by no means inclined to deprive themselves of the chance of settling down to a quiet life simply because of the deathbed confession of a crazed man.

This point should be emphasised because it clearly seems to be true, even though Herodotus does not tell us so. If we suppose that the army was not willing to concern itself with the possible illegitimacy of the man on the throne, then it becomes clear that it would require a rather sensational event to get the people aroused—a sort of mass upheaval incited by some expert agitator—if a False Smerdis was to be driven from the throne.

Herodotus, though, says only: "In fact, Prexaspes always denied most vehemently that he had murdered Smerdis, since after the death of Cambyses it became very dangerous for him that a son of Cyrus the Great could have died under his hand." It has always seemed to me very strange that this Prexaspes, killer of Prince Smerdis, and then betrayer of the dying Cambyses, could have been held in such high esteem among his countrymen. We will return to this problem later.

Herodotus states furthermore that a certain noble named Otanes at the court in Susa had become suspicious about the new king. He found it very odd that he never left the palace, and never called in any of his courtiers to see him. It occurred to Otanes that the new king was perhaps not who he seemed to be, quite possibly not the son of Cyrus the Great at all—and then it dawned upon him who the new king really might be.

Otanes decided to find out more, and to this end he wrote several very dangerous letters to his daughter, who was a member of the king's harem. Otanes asked her: "What does your husband the king look like?" The daughter answered: "I do not

really know; he visits me only at night when it is pitch-dark." Otanes asked her: "Reach for his ears when he is asleep." The brave daughter did so and wrote to her father (Herodotus, §69): "My goodness, he has no ears!" This confirmed for Otanes what he had already suspected, namely, that the new king was in reality a Magus whose ears had been cut off as long ago as Cyrus' time, as punishment for a serious crime. Unfortunately, Herodotus does not mention anything about the nature of this crime.

Otanes acted quickly. He arranged a meeting with five other leading nobles, his friends, and revealed to them what he had discovered (Herodotus, §70). In this way, the *Conspiracy of the Six* was born, with the aim of liquidating the Magus and his brother. It is quite possible that this little group would have remained as it was, with six members, had not Darius—the son of the governor of Susa—arrived in Susa just at this time and been told of the conspiracy. He decided to join them, and they became seven.

The following section in Herodotus, §72, has not received the attention which it deserves. He quotes Darius: "I thought," says Darius, "that I alone knew that the real Smerdis is dead, and just for that reason I hurried back here to Susa, to do away with this Magus usurper. But I see that you six men are also aware of the true state of affairs. Let us all therefore work together to make a plan, and quickly!"

Otanes, however, hesitated. "It will not be easy," he said. "The royal residence is heavily guarded. How are we to pass the guards?" Darius had a most interesting answer, as quoted in §72: "There are some things which are best not mentioned, but when known should be immediately acted upon. Do not worry, we shall get in!" Exactly as Darius had predicted, we read in Herodotus §76 that, when the Seven arrived at the royal residence, the guards allowed them to pass into the palace without a single question, as if, Herodotus says in §77, they had a "divine safe-conduct". Inside the private rooms of the king, the Seven found the two Magus brothers in council discussing Prexaspes (Herodotus §78). Immediately there broke out a wild fight, ending with the stabbing of both Magus brothers by the Seven. It is worth mentioning that it took seven men to kill two Magi.

What was this council about Prexaspes that the two Magi were holding? They were talking about an event that had already taken place. In Herodotus' account, §74, we read: "The two Magi had summoned Prexaspes before them, promising him huge rewards in gifts, gold, etc. if he would undertake to do what they were about to propose to him. Prexaspes must mount a high tower in the palace wall in Susa, when the Magi would get all Persians to assemble in the great square below to hear Prexaspes make a solemn announcement to all present, assuring them that the new king was Cyrus' second son, Prince Smerdis." The object was to scotch once and for all the evil rumours which purported to say that the new king was a usurper and therefore illegitimate. If Prexaspes were to do that, he could put an end to all rumours, since he was known for incorruptible honesty.

In the next paragraph (§75), Herodotus tells us that Prexaspes climbed to the top of the tower and made a solemn announcement, but it was not the one agreed with the Magi brothers. It was, rather, that he himself had actually murdered the real prince in Susa, that he especially had been sent by Cambyses to carry out the deed, that Cambyses had confessed to the fact on his deathbed, and that he, Prexaspes,

coward that he was, later had denied what Cambyses had confessed. "The fact is," Prexaspes shouted from the tower, "that the present king is not Smerdis son of Cyrus, but Smerdis the Magus!" Then he gave a great cry, calling on the people to rise up and kill the usurping Magus, and threw himself down from the tower, killing himself as an earnest of what he had said. The crowd was petrified with horror and stood as if rooted to the ground, not knowing what to do.

One might think that this was the real reason why Prexaspes was held in such high honour among the Persians, that he regretted his lies at last, decided to make a confession, and then killed himself. While this is not in itself unlikely, attention should first be given to the following. It is quite certain that Prexaspes knew nothing of the conspiracy of the Seven. For, had he known, his self-sacrifice would have been entirely unnecessary. In Herodotus, §75, we read that the Seven were astounded at what Prexaspes had said and done when they came to know of it.

Herodotus believed that the palace in which the two Magi were killed was the palace in Susa, from the tower of which Prexaspes had made his announcement, but this is not the case. As Darius reports in DB I, 48–61, the two Magi were killed in the fortress Sikayahvati in Media. Herodotus' error can be explained by noting that for a huge public demonstration, only a large city like Susa would be suitable.

Most probably, the following happened. After Prexaspes' horrifying deed, there must have ensued a riot, in the confusion of which the two brothers fled hastily. They jumped on their horses and galloped towards their home fortress in Media, and we note with interest that it is there that the Seven found them, and not in Susa. It was very likely the habit of the False Smerdis to hide himself away as often as he could in Sikayahvati, very distant from Susa, and there he would have received only his brother Patizeithes and a few very trusted retainers.

On their way to Sikayahvati, the Seven could not, however, have foreseen that *both* brothers would have been together in Susa before they fled. They must have been together in Susa to make the whole scene with Prexaspes more convincing, with the False Smerdis in person standing beside Prexaspes, who would put his arm around his shoulder, declaring him to be Cyrus' son. Very likely the False Smerdis was surrounded by bodyguards together with his brother, so as not to be too visible to the crowd below.

In this way we can explain why Herodotus says that, halfway to Sikayahvati, the Seven stopped when they received news of what Prexaspes had done, in order to take necessary council. Now they could not be sure that the false king would be in Sikayahvati upon their arrival, but it seems that Darius had better information and insisted that they kept to their original plan.

The last witness in this story is Ktesias, a Greek doctor, personal physician to the king at the Achaemenian court for some eight years (in some accounts, seventeen years). The time is now roughly one hundred years after the events described above. In his leisure time, Ktesias collected material for a projected world history, and after his return to Ionia he wrote it up in no less than twenty-three books. This *History of the World* we know about only from references by other classical writers, for it is all lost. Something of it, though, has been saved for posterity in the extracts made later by the Greek Byzantine patriarch Photios, who used them as a basis for his own

History of Persia. As it happens, these extracts contain a fairly complete narration of the Smerdis events.

It is certain that Ktesias read what Herodotus had to say, since he never loses an opportunity to blame Herodotus for what he calls his errors and oversights. Most historians have dwelt on the major discrepancies between Ktesias and Herodotus, to the detriment of the former. Yet we read in both accounts that there was a False Smerdis and that Cambyses had the real Smerdis murdered. Otherwise, Ktesias' and Herodotus' accounts differ almost completely.

Ktesias has never enjoyed much of a reputation among historians, largely because he contradicts Herodotus, but it also seems possible that he has not been properly understood. Ktesias agrees with Darius against Herodotus that the murder of the real Smerdis took place *before* Cambyses marched off to Egypt. In fact, Ktesias gives the date of the murder much earlier, in 527 B.C. A much more serious objection to Ktesias is that he did not even know the right name of the Prince, Smerdis or Brdiya. He calls him Tanuoksarkes (Τανυοξάρκης), a name which makes sense only as a Greek rendering of an Old Persian word meaning 'Bigbody'. Many historians, though, question the use of such a long stay at the Achaemenian court if the 'historian' Ktesias did not even know the correct name of the third ruling monarch in a list of only six reigning kings of Medo-Persia.

This is very odd, and needs an explanation. It is impossible that Ktesias did not know that his Bigbody was the same as Herodotus' Smerdis. We need to look at the matter from another angle. Could it be possible that Ktesias, living in Persepolis, knew something that Herodotus' informants did not know? Perhaps Ktesias could not resist the opportunity, so to speak, to outdo Herodotus with special knowledge which he knew was not available to outsiders, but only to intimates of court circles in Persepolis. Ktesias states repeatedly that his information is much better than that of Herodotus, precisely for this reason. It is most puzzling that Ktesias on the one hand maintains the greater accuracy of his information, and on the other allows apparently blatant mistakes in his narrative, such as the wrong name of the Prince Smerdis.

How can this seeming contradiction be resolved? Let us suppose that the real Prince Smerdis had grown to a very heavily built man of uncommon physical strength. Perhaps, also, his father Cyrus called him by a nickname which referred to his appearance, and that nickname stuck in the family, and only in the family. If this is so, then it would not only be possible, but even likely, that Ktesias got his nickname for Smerdis from some intimate of the family circle, as well as the date 527 B.C. for the murder of Smerdis. This was very sensitive information, even after a hundred years, and would be dangerous to make public: dangerous, because it could call into question the legitimacy of Darius and his successors, thereby opening the door to all sorts of claims by pretenders who might claim direct descent from Cyrus. That this actually did happen is shown by the case of Vahyazdāta, as will be seen.

Ktesias, as quoted by Photios, says: "A certain Magus named Sphendadates had been severely beaten by Bigbody." As mentioned earlier, the Magus in Herodotus had his ears cut off as a punishment for some crime. Many historians have maintained that it is not necessary to be a concubine in the royal harem to find out that the king has no ears. Perhaps indeed, it was not the king's ears that the brave harem

lady was to check, but rather the scars and welts on the body of the Magus, which would be the remains of a severe whipping. Then it would be Darius who, a year afterwards, persuaded Otanes to alter the information he had received from his daughter from a scar-test to an ear-test. Darius had learned from the Vahyazdāta episode that it was essential to conceal the true identity of the Magus, whom he called Gaumāta. He knew very well that his name was Sphendadates, as Ktesias calls him, a very good name for a Magus since it is a typical Zoroastrian priestly name.

After the whipping, Sphendadates was very angry and wanted revenge. As an unprincipled liar he then told Cambyses that Bigbody was organising a conspiracy to make himself king. The king's mother and the Prince begged Cambyses not to believe it. Cambyses reassured them not to worry, but his suspicion was aroused. He invited Bigbody to an audience, embraced him and spoke kindly to him, and at the same time wondered how he could have him disposed of without their mother finding out. This Sphendadates was a simpleton, Ktesias says, but he got an idea (probably not his own, but suggested to him by his brother Patizeithes, although Ktesias does not even mention the existence of the latter). So, Patizeithes might have said to Cambyses: I look a lot like Bigbody. Why don't you issue an order that I, Sphendadates, am to be beheaded for my plot against the Prince? But what we really do is to cut off the head of Bigbody and I, dressed in his clothes, will substitute for him afterwards. And so it happened, says Ktesias.

At first glance, this seems a perfect solution, and all those who believe Ktesias thought so, but the next sentence in Ktesias ruins everything: "And so Bigbody died by drinking bull's blood." Greek literature of this period does occasionally mention "death by drinking bull's blood", and it invariably means 'death by drinking poison'. What does this mean? I do not know of any explanation by a classicist. It is clear that if Bigbody died by being beheaded, he could not have died by drinking poison.

In case the two Smerdis were of more or less equal size, or rather of equally very large size, it is conceivable that a substitution could have been arranged, namely, a public execution before a large crowd of people, at a sizeable distance so as to prevent any close look. Naturally the whole affair would have to be organised with the greatest care. The victim could be beheaded wearing a black hood covering his whole upper body, and thereafter the living False Smerdis must keep himself entirely out of public gaze, seen only from a distance. For this purpose the high tower of the palace in Susa would suit exactly—the same tower from which Prexaspes would jump to his death five years later.

The mother would be seated on the balcony reserved for the noble ladies of the court, and watch with pleasure how the hated traitor was beheaded. According to Ktesias, she did not know that the head which rolled down was actually the head of her own dear son. She found out the truth five years later, when she went quite mad with fury, and put an end to her own life out of grief.

The weakest point in all this narrative is: how can we know that the Magus Sphendadates had a big body? Neither Herodotus nor Ktesias mention anything about his stature. This problem occupied Gershevitch and myself for some time, and a possible answer occurred to Gershevitch quite unexpectedly one day. He was looking again at the relief of the prone captive—named 'Gaumāta'—which Darius had incised in the rock at Behistan. This name had never been examined etymologi-

cally by Iranianists, and now Gershevitch thought that the meaning in Old Persian could very well be 'bull-size', namely *gau-* 'bull', and *māta-* 'measured, sized, size', the expected past participle of the verbal root *mā-* 'to measure'.

At this point, we can remind ourselves of the profile of Gaumāta in the Behistan relief, showing his very large belly. Not only was he of great size, but he was also very strong. Herodotus states that it needed seven armed men to overcome the two Magi. In Ktesias, we read that Sphendadates defended himself like a lion with a heavy chair leg which he had ripped off from a nearby chair.

It remains to explain how Bigbody could have died by drinking poison, as Ktesias says. This riddle occupied Gershevitch for some time, when the solution became apparent quite unexpectedly. There is a well-known Hungarian wine called Bikavér, 'Bull's Blood'. Perhaps herein lies an explanation of how the real Prince Smerdis allowed the conspirators to clothe him in the clothes of the Magus and lead him to execution, his mouth probably covered with a cloth, as is the custom with Magian priests. In other words, when Ktesias tells us that Bigbody died from drinking Bull's Blood, might he not simply mean that he died of an overdose of Bikavér?

The physician Ktesias lived at the Persian court for many years. If he did not know that the Persians/Elamites had a wine with the local name 'Bull's Blood', he would naturally think that the expression only meant poison. Here, and only here, he is wrong.

Would Ktesias, however, think without further enquiry that, to a Persian as well as to a Greek, 'bull's blood' meant 'poison'? Would he not take the obvious precaution of asking an informant if 'bull's blood' might simply mean the blood of a bull? Or, as an answer to his question "What do you mean by 'bull's blood'?" he would get the answer "It is a wine."

Assuming that he got the answer "It is a wine," would it be possible that, in accordance with Greek custom, he still thought that it was poison? Why should Ktesias believe that Greek expressions were the same as Persian? The answer to this question must be that bull's blood could be both a wine *and* a poison. So when he was told that Bigbody's drink had been "a wine," he could still believe it to have been a poison.

There are several well-known loci in Greek literature where one speaks about suicide by drinking "bull's blood", e.g. in Aristophanes' *Knights*, lines 82–85. One character says: "There is nothing left for us to do, but to lie down and die; what is the most manly (ἀνδρικώτατα) kind of death?" The other character answers: "Let us do what Themistokles did, and drink a cup of bull's blood."—"No thanks," the first character replies, "I like unmixed wine (ἄκρατον οἶνον)."

Can this mean that, even if it was the usual practice in ancient Athens to mix water with wine, the reference here is to wine to which poison has been added? If so, which poison is meant, and why should it kill "in the most manly way"?

Thinking about poisons can lead the mind down very strange byways, and purely by chance and with a mind for possible wordplay, Gershevitch suddenly hit upon the poison arsenic. The English word 'arsenic' is borrowed from the Greek ἀρσενικόν, itself a loanword from Old Persian **zarnīka-* 'yellow efflux, arsenic', through Arabic. In Greek, it suffered a popular etymology, which connected it with *arsen-*

(ἀρσεν-) 'powerfully masculine, virile'. So, 'arsenic' became in Greek the 'manly, virile poison', and all arsenic-poisoned red wines got the name 'Bull's Blood'.

In this way, the whole story is clear. Summarising, we can conclude the following. In Ktesias, it is generally agreed that his Izabates is to be equated with Prexaspes. (Although there is great confusion of proper names in this tale, it is not impossible to sort out the tangle.)

Reading a little between the lines of Ktesias' story of the last days of Cambyses in Babylon, it can be noticed that Cambyses actually betrayed his deathbed secret to only three men, but of these three, only one—Prexaspes—came to know of the murder *after* it had been carried out. The other two men, named as Artasyras and Bagapates by Ktesias, had been in the plot much earlier, from the beginning.

Although Ktesias does not mention Cambyses' confession—this is found only in Herodotus—it seems almost certain that he did not confess to what Herodotus claims he did, i.e. to sending Prexaspes to murder the real Smerdis. Rather, Cambyses confessed that in the public execution five years earlier in Susa, an exchange had taken place, and that only two men knew this: his intimates Artasyras and Bagapates. It was these two who perjured themselves for their master in Babylon, and for this reason Ktesias was right to say that "It was these two who made the Magus king."

Prexaspes, however, furious as he was about the pollution of the throne by such an unworthy man, and also generally angry about this whole filthy affair, was quite helpless. He could do nothing to reveal the perjury, especially not in Babylon, because he had not been personally present when the exchange of men had taken place.

We see him in Ktesias' narrative, as he sorrowfully accompanies the royal corpse on its long journey back to Pasargadae for burial. On arrival, we can imagine a conversation between Prexaspes and Darius. Prexaspes mentioned to Darius that Cambyses had told him of the deed immediately after it was done, that the two scoundrels had lied in Babylon, but that there was absolutely no way that anything could be proved. Now there was nothing to be done, since both were very high officials in the court of the False Smerdis, the Magus. Bagapates was in fact so powerful that all the keys of the palace were entrusted to him, as Ktesias tells us.

Darius was so furious when he heard these things that he immediately set out for Susa to kill the Magus, even though he had no more proof than Prexaspes had, that the two Magi had committed perjury. Later he found out from the Six about what Otanes' daughter in the harem had discovered—and he had his proof. He did not, however, tell the Six everything he knew, because he was quite determined that the Six should nominate him as successor king, should their conspiracy bear fruit, even though he, strictly speaking, was not in line for the succession.

So Darius runs as fast as he can to Bagapates and tells him this: there are seven of us who know that the man on the throne carries the scars and welts of a whipping he has received, and is no rightful king. Now, either you open the doors and let us into the palace, or we shall expose not only the Magus on the throne, but also you and Artasyras.

This is how entry of the Seven to the palace in Sikayahvati was guaranteed, exactly as Ktesias tells us. But Darius mentioned nothing of this to the other six, allowing them to think that he had "divine safe-conduct". This is the real reason why

the Six made Darius king, and not at all the absurdity propounded in many histories, that it was Darius' horse which was the first to neigh in the morning. This feeling, carefully nurtured by Darius, of somehow having divine protection, was very important to him, and he never told his co-conspirators or anyone else why it was that the palace guards let them in so easily. He could also be quite sure of the silence of both Bagapates and Artasyras, too, and that they would live the rest of their lives as faithful servants of king Darius, as Ktesias also states. They never revealed the secret to anybody, with the single exception of the man whose grandson was Ktesias' informant. This man, most probably a grandson of Bagapates, had heard it in the greatest confidence after Darius' death, from the 90-year old Bagapates. It cannot be an accident that Ktesias knew that Bagapates survived Darius by seven years, but also knew where he had lived during those seven years.

Gershevitch was very pleased to think that his investigation had rehabilitated Prexaspes, whose former honest and decent reputation is wholly deserved, that he committed suicide rather than allow the truth to be concealed any longer, doing it in such a way as to achieve maximum effect. If these facts had been known in classical times, we should certainly have had tragedies about him by all three Greek tragic playwrights, perhaps even by Shakespeare.

Finally, a last word about Darius. What was he to say when he prepared the text for his great inscription at Behistan a year later? Everybody would know the never-to-be-forgotten Prexaspes version of events. Would it have been wise of Darius to contradict it, except for a tiny detail, namely that the murder of Brdiya had taken place *after* Patizeithes was installed in office by Cambyses? The answer is assuredly, "No." To contradict what Prexaspes had proclaimed would have been very unwise, as well as dangerous. Unwise, because Darius had a great deal to gain from the silence of Bagapates and Artasyras, and the silence on his part about the dreadful role they had played would ensure their perpetual silence as well and bind them into a role as his most faithful servants. Whereas, should he reveal the truth about them and confess his debt to their cooperation, he would certainly get into serious difficulties. Furthermore, the revelation of the complete truth could be dangerous not only for himself, but also for all of his successors, because it would bring their legitimacy into question.

This problem for Darius arose already in the first year of his rule, in the guise of a rebellion by the pretender Vahyazdāta. It was not only from worldly motives that Darius decided to defend and propagate the false version of events proclaimed by Prexaspes. He carefully did everything in his power thereafter to conceal that the Magus Bullsize/Gaumāta whom he and the Six had murdered, brother to the Magus Patizeithes, was identical to the Magus Sphendadates, whom the entire population of Susa believed to have seen executed five years before at Cambyses' command.

Perhaps the most interesting general moral to be drawn from this rather complicated story is that the three apparently contradictory accounts of the same events do not really contradict each other but, when looked at carefully, are seen rather to supplement one another.

We can readily imagine Vahyazadāta preparing his insurrection, telling his followers: For a whole night in the wine cellar Cambyses, Bagapates, and Artasyras filled my glass, as well as their own, with Bull's Blood/Bikavér. Their plan was to

bring me, when I was properly drunk, to Sphendadates' cell, exchange our clothes and leave me alone there until morning. Then the executioners were to lead me to the block and cut off my head before the entire population of Susa. But what I did in the wine cellar was in fact just what the others did, too: I poured almost all my wine on the ground and only pretended to be drunk. I had previously made an agreement with the guards that after the four men—the three plus Bullsize in my clothing—had left me alone in the cell, the guards should bring in a huge man, a slave called 'Big-body', I think, and bind him. We had dressed him in the Magus' clothes and they brought *him* to the block, not me. I, your rightful king, stand now before you.

On the Uses of *nā́bhi-* in the *Ṛgveda*

T.Y. ELIZARENKOVA, Moscow

In this article, I offer some considerations concerning the functioning of *nā́bhi-* in the Ṛgveda (RV), one of the key-words in the vocabulary of this ancient religious text. Though its meanings are well known and fixed in the dictionaries approximately in the same way (*nā́bhi-* being a polysemantic substantive), its inner motivation, revealing its role in the ritual and mythology of the RV, seems to be not quite evident to the investigators of this text.

Nā́bhi- is a feminine substantive found in the hymns 56 times. Its meanings are most exactly enumerated in the dictionary of Monier-Williams: 'the navel' (also navel-string); 'a navel-like cavity' (RV etc.); 'the nave of a wheel'; 'centre', 'central point'; 'point of junction or of departure'; 'home'; 'origin', esp. 'common origin'; 'affinity'; 'relationship'; 'a near relation or a friend'—the rest of the meanings being post-Ṛgvedic (Monier-Williams 535). The sequence of the meanings is principally the same in the Böhtlingk dictionary (Böhtlingk, 3.Th., 195). Some other dictionaries give 'the nave of a wheel' as the first meaning (Grassmann, 723; Mayrhofer, EWA, II.Bd., 14). It is Monier-Williams who drew attention to the fact that *nā́bhi-* means both the cavity of the navel and the navel-string. The importance of this observation will be demonstrated later.

The word *nā́bhi-* is of Indo-European origin and has parallels in many other languages with the words meaning 'navel' or 'nave of a wheel'. The etymological connection of *nā́bhi-* with the Vedic verbal root *nabh-* 'to burst asunder' is not evident (Mayrhofer, ib.).

The paradigm of the substantive *nā́bhi-* consists of the following cases: in the sg. N. 19, Acc. 11, Instr. 1, Abl. 1, Loc. 22; in the pl. N. 2. The predominance of the singular forms (54 sg, 2 pl.) cannot be accidental; it is well grounded by the single character of the main lexical meaning of this word 'navel'. The two occurrences of the plural forms have a figurative meaning: I, 139, 9: *téṣāṃ devéṣv ā́yatir / asmā́kaṃ téṣu nā́bhayaḥ*, 'They have a connection with the gods. We have kindred relations'; and IX, 73, 1: *ṛtásya yónā sám aranta nā́bhayaḥ* 'The (celestial and terrestrial) lines of parentage (of Soma) have united in the home of Order'. Geldner translates it: 'An der Wiege der (Opfer)ordnung haben die Geschlechter einen Bund geschlossen' (Geldner, 3.Teil, 66). Neither of the occurrences is found in the "family" maṇḍalas.

More than one-half of all the occurrences of the N. sg. of *nā́bhi-* are found in nominal sentences or sentences without a verbal predicate (10 cases out of 19). *Nā́bhi-* can function as a subject of these sentences, e.g., I, 164, 33: *dyáur me pitā́ janitā́ nā́bhir átra*, 'The sky is my father, (my) progenitor. There is my navel'; X, 61, 19: *iyám me nā́bhir ihá me sadhástham*, 'This is my origin, here is my place' (see also I, 164, 34; IV, 10, 8; X, 10, 4; X, 61,18). Sometimes the N. Sg. *nā́bhiḥ* is found in enumeration in sentences with anacoluthons devoid of a predicative con-

struction, e.g., VIII, 101, 15: *mātā́ rudrā́ṇāṃ duhitā́ vásūnāṃ / svásādityā́nām amṛ́tasya nā́bhiḥ*, 'Mother of the Rudras, daughter of the Vasus, sister of the Ādityas, navel of immortality …' (also VI, 47, 28).

The N. sg. of *nā́bhi-* can also function as a predicate of nominal sentences, e.g., I, 164, 35: *ayáṃ yajñó bhúvanasya nā́bhiḥ*, 'This sacrifice is the navel of the universe' (also I, 59, 2).

The N. sg. of *nā́bhi-* is connected in a few cases with the verbal copula *as-*, 'to be', or *bhū-*, 'to become', functioning as a nominal part of the predicate or as a subject, e.g., I, 59, 1: *váiśvanāra nā́bhir asi kṣitīnā́ṃ*, 'O Vaiśvanāra, you are (always) the navel of (human) settlements' (also IV, 58, 1); X, 46, 3: *nā́bhir yúvā bhavati rocanásya*, 'The young one becomes the centre of light' (Agni).

There is another small group of sentences, in which the verb in the perfect expressing state is used with *nā́bhi-* as a subject, e.g., I, 104, 4: *yuyópa nā́bhir úparasyāyóḥ*, 'The kindred relation with Āyu who followed is obliterated'; IV, 44, 5: *sáṃ yád dadé nā́bhiḥ pūrvyā́ vām*, 'because the old near relationship with you two is established' (also VIII, 41, 6).

Once the predicate has a passive meaning: I, 105, 9: *tátrā me nā́bhir ā́tata*, 'My origin is extended there', being expressed by a past participle. There is one context, in which the verb in the present med. is used with *nā́bhi-*: IX, 74, 4: *ṛ̥tásya nā́bhir amṛ́taṃ ví jāyate*, 'The navel of the Order, the beverage of immortality is born'. The connection of *nā́bhi-* with *jan-* is not a casual one, as will be shown later.

In analysing the uses of *nā́bhi-* in the N. case, one should say that this word never occurs as a subject of an active verb with a full lexical meaning. *Nā́bhi-* exists by itself, being in a certain state and drawing to itself the activities of various forces. It is passive in a certain sense, serving as a place, where some important events happen[1] or as a point towards which some actions are directed.

The functions of *nā́bhi-* as the direct object of an action in the Acc. are somewhat limited, in that that *nā́bhi-* is not created, established or the like (for it already exists), but some deities can be made *nā́bhi-*, that is can get its qualities, e.g., II, 40, 1: *jātáu víśvasya bhúvanasya gopáu / devā́ akṛ̥ṇvann amṛ́tasya nā́bhim*, 'The moment you two were born (and became) shepherds of the whole universe, the gods made you the navel of immortality' (Soma-Pūṣan); III, 17, 4: *tvā́ṃ dūtám aratíṃ havyavā́haṃ / devā́ akṛ̥ṇvann amṛ́tasya nā́bhim*, 'The gods made you (their) messenger, emblem, the one who carries away the sacrifices, the navel of immortality' (Agni).

Twice the Acc. of *nā́bhi-* is governed by the verb *ví si-* 'to untie': II, 3, 9, *prajā́ṃ tváṣṭā ví ṣyatu nā́bhim asmé*, 'Let Tvaṣṭar untie the navel for us, the progeny' and II, 40, 4: *ví ṣyatāṃ nā́bhim asmé*, 'Let they two untie the navel for us!' (Soma-Pūṣan). So the ability to give birth and progeny is concentrated in *nā́bhi-*, but the realization of this ability depends on the gods. The verb *ví si* is once used with the Loc. of *nā́bhi-* too (I, 142, 10).

Gods greet the *nā́bhi-* (*abhí sáṃ navanta*), which is the place of sacrifices and riches (VI, 7, 2). Heaven and Earth, the blood relatives, who have a common bor-

[1] There is the same situation with *védi-*, 'the altar'; cf. Т.Я. Елизаренкова, В.Н. Топоров. 2002.

derline and who unite in the lap of their parents, kiss the *nā́bhi-* (just in the place where they unite) (I, 185, 5).

The Acc. Sg. of *nā́bhi-* is also used as a place of destination of the verbs of movement: *i-* 'to go' (X, 124, 2), *ā́ sthā-* 'to climb up' (V, 47, 2).

The Acc. Sg. of *nā́bhi-*, meaning 'relationship' can be governed by *ā́ dā-* med. 'to take possession of'—it is desirable to unite one's relationship with the divine one: IX, 10, 8: *nā́bhā nā́bhiṃ na ā́ dade / cákṣus cit sū́rye sácā*, 'He united our relationship to (his) relationship: even the (human) eye (is united) with the sun'. The same verb *ā́ dā-* is also used once with the Loc. of *nā́bhi-* (IX, 79, 4).

The Instr. Sg. is found only once in the hymns with the concrete meaning 'nave of a wheel'. Indra is riding on horses yoked in a chariot with a nave which finds the sun (*svarvídā nā́bhinā* (VI, 39, 4)).

The Abl. Sg. is also found only once, in the Puruṣasūkta: X, 90, 14: *nā́bhyā āsīd antárikṣam*, 'From his navel the atmosphere arose'.

Most frequent in the paradigm of cases is the Loc. Sg. (22 times). It denotes the place where the most important activity is going on. If it is the *nā́bhi-* of the earth, it is the usual metaphor for the place where sacrifices are made—the centre of sacredness, oriented in the direction of the sky. The subjects who perform the actions are mostly the devotees of the gods. They establish the hotar (*ní sad-, ní dhī-*), anoint the sacrifice (*sám añj-*), speak (*vad-*) and clarify their prayer (*sám pū-*), and their prayer is concentrated upon the god (*sáṃ dā-*). The divine hotar Agni blazes up (*dyu-*) and takes care (*pā-*) of the sacrifice. If the celestial *nā́bhi-* is meant, it is the gods who are the subjects of actions: Soma is looking far away (*ví cakṣ-*), Agni performs the functions of a hotar (*ní sad-*), Aditi establishes blood relations between the Maruts and their worshipper (*dhā-*).

It should be noted, however, that it is not always clear where the events are taking place: on the terrestrial or on the celestial navel. There are contexts in which both are mentioned at the same time, e.g., it is said that one should drive on Agni: *yám eriré bhṛ́gavo viśvávedasaṃ / nā́bhā pṛthivyā́ bhúvanasya majmánā*, 'the omniscient one, whom the Bhṛgus confirmed in his greatness on the navel of the earth (and) of the universe' (I, 143,4). The vertical axis is uniting both the sacred centres (= navels) which form a unity, e.g., III, 4, 4:

ūrdhvó vāṃ gātúr adhvaré akāry
ūrdhvā́ śocī́ṃṣi prásthitā rájāṃsi /
divó vā nā́bhā ny ā́sādi hótā
stṛṇīmahi devávyacā ví barhíḥ //

'Directed upwards is made the way for you two during the ceremony, directed upwards—the flames that move in the space. Or the hotar (Agni) took his place on the navel of the sky. We are spreading the sacrificial straw (so that it should) reach the gods' ('the two' in *pāda a* are Agni and the sacrificial straw). The celestial navel is only a replica of the terrestrial one. What is important is that they are both centres of sacredness united by a vertical axis.

It is worth noting that the paradigm of *nā́bhi-* lacks the genitive case, which usually does not belong to rare case grammemes. As is known, the main meanings

of the G. are possession and part of a whole. But *nā́bhi-*, the centre of sacredness, is self-sufficient and nothing belongs to it; it does not form part of anything and cannot be regarded as one among many similar objects. And it is just this figurative meaning that is most frequent with *nā́bhi-* in the hymns.

The substantive *nā́bhi-* is determined only a few times by adjectival epithets: *pūrvyā́ nā́bhi-*, 'an old, close connection' (IV, 44, 5), *nā́bhi- paramā́*, 'the highest origin' (X, 68, 18) and *áraṇi- nā́bhi-*, 'somebody else's kinsfolk' and in the concrete meaning about Indra's chariot: *svarvíd- nā́bhi-*, 'the nave of a wheel finding the sun'.

Typical of *nā́bhi-* is the construction with the G. of a substantive (or a pronoun) explaining the kind or the appurtenance of *nā́bhi-*. Most frequent is the phrase *nā́bhi- pr̥thivyā́ḥ*, 'the navel of the earth' (10 times), followed by *amŕ̥tasya nā́bhi-*, 'the navel of immortality' (4), *bhúvanasya nā́bhi-*, 'the navel of the universe' (3), *nā́bhi- yajñásya* or *yajñā́nām*, 'the navel of the sacrifice(s)' (3), *divó nā́bhi-*, 'the navel of the sky' (2), *r̥tásya nā́bhi-*, 'the navel of the Order' (2) and *rócanasya nā́bhi-*, 'the navel of the bright sky' (1). Eleven times the genitive construction denotes the connection of *nā́bhi-* with a person, the latter being expressed mostly by a pronoun. The meaning of *nā́bhi-* in these constructions is usually 'close relationship', 'common origin' and the like, e.g., X, 10, 4: *gandharvó apsv ápyā ca yóṣā / sā́ no nā́bhiḥ paramā́ṃ jāmí tán nau*, 'Gandharva and the woman of the waters, this is our origin, our highest blood relationship'.

All the figurative, metaphorical meanings of *nā́bhi-* have developed from the concrete meaning of the anatomical term 'the navel'. Another concrete meaning, 'nave of a wheel', is found in the hymns only three times. V, 43, 8: *gantáṃ nidhíṃ dhúram āṇír ná nā́bhim*, 'Go, you two, to hold the treasure tightly, like the linch-pin (holds) the nave (of a wheel)'[2] (the Aśvins). The syntax of this sentence and the interpretation of *dhúram* are rather dubious, the only thing that is clear is the comparison, which is just important for our aims. The context shows that the *nā́bhi-* of a wheel is only a cavity, a hole, and one needs a kind of pin or pivot to make the wheel turn. VIII, 41, 6: *yásmin víśvāny kā́vyā / cakré nā́bhir śritā́ / tritáṃ jūtī́ saparyata*, '(Him) in whom all the poetic abilities are fixed like the nave in a wheel — worship (this) Trita with enthusiasm!'. The third occurrence (which is not informative for our aims) was mentioned above (VI, 39, 4).

Nā́bhi- as a purely anatomical term, without any metaphorical connotations, is found in the hymns also only a few times. The clearest example is in the Puruṣasūkta X, 90, 14 (see above). That *nā́bhi-*, 'navel', is not only a hollow, a cavity, but also the navel-string (as Monier-Williams noticed), filling that hollow, is clear from the request to the gods to *untie* the *nā́bhi-* for the worshippers so that they may get progeny.

It is only natural that *nā́bhi-* should be connected with birth. But this double representation of *nā́bhi-* as a cavity and a string going through that cavity calls forth an erotic association, the union of the female and male principles, which forms the ba-

[2] The form *dhúram* remains ambiguous. Here Geldner's interpretation is accepted (Geldner 2. Teil, 45). Renou's translation is "venir (conférer votre) trésor, aussi (naturellement) que la cheville (vient s'ajuster) au joug, au moyen (de la roue)!" (Renou, EVP V, 24).

sis of the Vedic ritual. It should be recalled that the altar, the *védi-* (also a feminine substantive), reveals the essence of this "pan-eroticism" (*védi-*: *agní-*) (cf. Елизаренкова, Топоров, 2002, ib.).

This is the semantic motivation of *nā́bhi-* as the centre of the universe, the place of birth (a concept which penetrates the whole, archaic, world model), of progeny, increase and continuation of life. But, for the acquirement of this new life, one should know the sources: one's origin, generation, kin, the place of birth, the secret names, etc. Suffice it to say that the knowledge of these things about a person was believed in the charms of the Atharvaveda to be equal to getting complete power over this person. The semantic volume of the word *nā́bhi-* encompasses all these meanings, which are often indistinct.

This double nature of *nā́bhi-*, the centre and at the same time the vertical axis of symmetry going through that centre, is revealed in some metaphorical uses of this word as well, e.g., I, 59, 1: *váiśvānara nā́bhi asi kṣitīnā́ṃ / sthū́ṇeva jánāṅ upamíd yayantha*, 'O Vaiśvanara, you are the navel of (human) settlements, you have always been holding the people like a supporting pillar'. In this context, Agni plays the part of the vertical axis; IX, 72, 7: *nā́bhā pṛthivyā́ dharúṇo mahó divó / 'pā́m ūrmáu síndhuṣv antár ukṣitáḥ*, 'On the navel of the earth, the support of the great sky (Soma) was poured into the wave, inside the rivers'. Soma acts here as the male vertical principle. Both of them, Agni and Soma, function in the RV as mediators between men and gods. The same phrase, *nā́bhā pṛthivyā́ dharúṇo mahó*, is repeated in IX, 86, 8.

Nā́bhi- is a place of junction, where all the beings meet and where human beings establish their connection with gods. In X, 64, 13, the poet says to the Maruts: *nā́bhā yátra prathamā́ṃ saṃnasāmahe / tátra jāmitvám áditir dadhātu naḥ*, 'On the navel, where we first met, there let Aditi establish our blood relationship (with you)'. Or in the cosmogonic hymn to Viśvakarman, it is said: *ajásya nā́bhāv ádhy ékam árpitaṃ / yásmin víśvāni bhúvanāni tasthúḥ*, 'On the navel of the Unborn was set the One on whom all the creatures rest' (O'Flaherty, 36).

Nā́bhi- is the source of common origin to which the worshippers apply, when they need special attention and benevolence from their gods. To find out and proclaim this common origin (which was a kind of *satyakriyā-*) was regarded as divine protection and the fulfillment of all wishes. For instance, when Trita got into a well, his only hope of being released was connected with his claim to kinship with Trita Āptya (I, 105, 9):

amī́ yé saptá raśmáyas
tátrā me nā́bhir ā́tatā /
tritás tád vedāptyáḥ
sá jāmitvā́ya rebhati
vittám me asyá rodasī //

'The seven rays over there—up to them, my origin has stretched. Trita Āptya knows it. He raises his voice in favour of (our) kinship. O Heaven and Earth, find out about me in such (a state)!'

This abstract meaning of 'kinship' can be personified in some contexts and denote a kinsman or a close friend. For instance, it is said in connection with the horse that

was to be sacrificed: I, 163, 12: *ajáḥ puró nīyate nā́bhir asya- / ánu paścā́t kaváyo yanti rebhā́ḥ*, 'The goat is led ahead, his relative; the wise singers go behind'. But this is a comparatively rare case.

I mentioned above that the most frequent G. construction with *nā́bhi-* is *pr̥thivyā́ nā́bhi-*, 'the navel of the earth'. This is mostly the realm of Agni, where he functions as a messenger who carries the sacrifice to the gods, flames up and demonstrates his greatness. It was noticed by the interpreters of the hymns that in many contexts the phrase *pr̥thivyā́ nā́bhi-* is synonymous with *yajñásya nā́bhi-*, e.g., II, 3, 7: *devā́n yájantāv r̥tuthā́ sám añjato / nā́bhā pr̥thivyā́ ádhi sā́nuṣu triṣú*, 'Worshipping the gods at a fixed time, let the two hotars completely anoint (the sacrifice) on the navel of the earth, on the three hills!' (the āprī-hymn). *Nā́bhā pr̥thivyā́ḥ* designates the place of the sacrifice in this liturgical hymn, and the three hills are a metaphor for the three sacrificial fires.[3]

The phrase *nā́bhi- bhúvanasya*, 'the navel of the universe' can also be the name of the place of the sacrifice. There is a direct indication of it in the Riddle Hymn in the form of a *brahmodya* dialogue (when one participant priest asks a question in the form of a riddle and another priest is to answer it): I, 164, 34: *pr̥chā́mi tvā páram ántam pr̥thivayā́ḥ / pr̥chā́mi yátra bhúvanasya nā́bhiḥ*, 'I ask you about the farthest end of the earth; I ask you about the navel of the universe'; I, 164, 35: *iyáṃ védiḥ páro ántaḥ pr̥thivyā́ / ayáṃ yajñó bhúvanasya nā́bhiḥ*, 'This altar is the farthest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the navel of the universe' (O'Flaherty, 79).

As is well known, both the sacrifice and the prayer are the means by which the worshipper influences his gods, hoping to have his wishes fulfilled and to get from the gods all that will make his life stable and guaranteed. The way of the worshippers' gifts to the gods leads upwards. Therefore the *nā́bhi-* of the earth is directly connected with the cosmic *nā́bhi-*, forming the starting and the finishing points of the vertical axis of symmetry. Soma, for instance, is characterized like that: IX, 79, 4: *diví te nā́bhā paramó yá ādadé / pr̥thivyā́s te ruruhuḥ sā́navi kṣípaḥ*, 'In the sky is your highest navel, which is connected with (our navel); your shoots have grown on the back of the earth'.[4] There are contexts in which it is impossible to localize the *nā́bhi-*, e.g., III, 5, 9: *úd u stutáḥ samídhā yahvó adyaud / várṣman divó ádhi nā́bhā pr̥thivyā́ḥ*, 'All of a sudden the famous young (Agni) blazed forth, owing to the fuel on the top of the sky on the navel of the earth'.

The place of the sacrifice is regarded by the poets as the most sacred place equal to the supreme values in the model of the world. *nā́bhi-* is the centre of the most precious and esteemed—hence the uses of such phrases as *r̥tásya nā́bhi-* and *amr̥tasya nā́bhi-*, e.g., the most important stage of the Soma ritual, when ambrosia is born from the pressed-out Soma juice, is described like that: IX, 74, 4: *ātmanvā́n nábho duhyate ghr̥tám páya / r̥tásya nā́bhir amr̥taṃ ví jāyate*, 'Butter and milk are milked from the living cloud; the navel of Order, the ambrosia is born' (O'Flaherty, 122).

As *nā́bhi-* is the centre of the universe that unites worshippers with their gods, the

[3] Geldner translates it as "(Feuer)erhöhungen" (Geldner, 1. Teil, 280), Renou as "sur les trois plateaux (de l'aire sacrale)" (Renou, EVP XIV, 43).

[4] Renou's interpretation of these lines is followed here (Renou, EVP IX, 27).

gods that are mediators (Agni and Soma) are most frequently mentioned in connection with *nā́bhi-*. As to the other gods, it is first of all Tvaṣṭar, the creator of all forms, who functions in the sphere of *nā́bhi-*, the source of new life and progeny.

The idea of "centre", *nā́bhi-*, which is characteristic of both the concrete, primary meanings of this word ('navel (of a human body)' and 'nave (of a wheel)'), is retained in all the abstract, semantic developments of *nā́bhi-*, acquiring new shapes and surrounding itself with new ritual and mythological connotations. This idea became fundamental also for the spatial orientation in ancient India. The wheel served as a model to it, the circle with its centre. The centre was opposed to the periphery (a kind of privative opposition). Everything was determined by the position of the centre and the degree of remoteness from it. The concept of a circle with its centre played a special part in the further development of the old Indian cultural and social tradition (cp. *maṇḍala*, *cakravartin*).

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Das nordische Ortsnamenelement *vin* 'Weide' und die indogermanischen Wurzeln **u̯en-*, **u̯enH-*

LENNART ELMEVIK, Uppsala

Ortsnamen, die das Element *vin* enthalten (meistens als zweites Glied einer Zusammensetzung, selten als Simplex), welches sowohl formal als auch hinsichtlich der Bedeutung dem got. *winja* und ahd., mnd. *winne* 'Weide' (urgerm. **wenjō-*) entspricht, sind mit einigen wenigen Ausnahmen in Norwegen und Schweden zu finden (Dänemark kann, so nimmt man an, zwei Namen dieses Typus aufweisen). Die hierhergehörenden schwedischen Namen haben hauptsächlich eine deutlich westliche Verbreitung. Siehe z. B. Pamp 1988 S. 29 f.

Das in Frage stehende Ortsnamenelement wurde in der etymologischen Literatur meistens auf eine u.a. in den germanischen Sprachen reichlich vertretene Wurzel idg.**u̯en-* zurückgeführt, deren ursprüngliche Bedeutung nach Pokorny (1959 S. 1146) 'streben' war, woraus 'wünschen, lieben, befriedigt sein', 'erarbeiten, Mühe haben', perfektiv 'erreichen, gewinnen, siegen'. Als derselben Wurzel zugehörig betrachtet man gewöhnlich auch u.a. as., ahd. *wini*, afries., ae. *wine*, awn. *vinr* 'Freund', schwundstufig u.a. ahd. *wunnia*, *wunna*, *wunnī* 'Lust', dt. *Wonne*, as. *wunnia* 'ds.' („mhd. *wunne* 'Weideplatz', nur in der Formel *wunne und weide* Ersatz für das alte *winne*"; Pokorny S. 1147), und dehnstufig, mit der Bedeutung 'hoffen, erwarten', u.a. got. *wēns*, as., ahd. *wān*, awn. *ván* 'Hoffnung, Erwartung', awn. *vænn* (< **wēnia-*) 'worauf man hoffen kann, schön, angenehm' (wozu awn. *vænd* < **wēniþō-* 'Hoffnung, Erwartung'). Die Bedeutung 'arbeiten, leiden, streiten, gewinnen' zeigt sich nach Pokorny (S. 1147) u.a. in den Verben got. *winna* 'leiden' (*-nn-* < *-nu̯-*), awn. *vinna* 'arbeiten, ausrichten, überwinden', as. *winnen* 'streiten, kämpfen' und in den Substantiven got. *winnō*, *winna* 'Leiden, -schaft', awn. *vinna* 'Arbeit'.

Aus semantischer Sicht ist die Annahme, dass sich aus einer Grundbedeutung 'streben (nach)' sowohl die Bedeutung 'lieben' u.ä. als auch '(durch Streben) erhalten, erreichen, gewinnen' hat entwickeln können, kaum überzeugend. Neuere Forschung hat auch gezeigt, dass die oben genannten Wörter zu zwei verschiedenen Wurzeln gehören, nämlich **u̯en-* 'überwältigen, gewinnen' (vgl. z. B. ai. *vanóti* 'gewinnt') und **u̯enH-* 'liebgewinnen' (vgl. z. B. ai. *vātá-* 'geliebt' (< **u̯n̥tó-*). Siehe Gotō 1987 S. 283 ff., Mayrhofer 1995 S. 499, 501, LIV S. 622 ff.

Got. *winja*, ahd., mnd. *winne*, awn. *vin* 'Weide' hat man also als Ablautformen von Wörtern wie ahd., as. *wunnia*, ae. *wynn* 'Lust, Freude' (urgerm. *wunjō-*) betrachtet. Es ist auch angenommen worden, dass die Grundbedeutung von *winja* usw. dieselbe war. Siehe z. B. Olson 1916 S. 168, 378 und Lehmann 1986 S. 404.[1] Die

[1] Jedoch hegt Elof Hellquist (1948 s. v. 2 *vän*) Bedenken angesichts des Gedankens, es bestehe Verwandtschaft zwischen *vin* und *vinr*: „Dieselbe Ablautstufe [wie in *vinr*] liegt im isländischen (usw.) *vin*,

Frage, wie die Bedeutung 'Weide' zu erklären ist, ist wenig diskutiert worden. Vermutlich hat man die Erklärung akzeptiert, die der norwegische Forscher Magnus Olsen (1926 S. 164) gegeben hat. Nachdem er festgestellt hat, dass *vin* usw. mit ahd. *wunnia* usw. nahe verwandt ist, schreibt er: „Mit *vin* haben unsere Vorfahren das für das Auge ansprechende Grasland bezeichnet, die natürliche, nicht künstlich (durch Roden) zustandegebrachte Wiese, wo es gut war, sich mit dem Vieh niederzulassen."

Per Hovda (1978 Sp. 78) modifiziert Olsens Auffassung darüber, was *vin* ursprünglich bezeichnet hat. Es gehört, so meint er, nicht nur mit den genannten Wörtern für 'Lust, Freude' zusammen, sondern auch mit dem Substantiv awn. *vinna* f. 'Arbeit, Erdarbeit'. „Bei einer solchen Anknüpfung werden auch alte Namen wie *Ryen* (**Rug-vin*), *Ryen* (**Ruð-vin*), *Røte* (**Rót-vin*), *Støveren* (**Stufr-vin*) und *Line* (**Lín-vin*), die mit Weide nicht zusammenhängen, leichter zu verstehen." Es wäre seiner Meinung nach auch nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass es „zu ein und derselben Wurzel zwei verschiedene Stämme (Wörter) gegeben hat, einen (eines) für 'Weide' und einen (eines) für 'Erdarbeit', die später zusammenfielen".

In NSL (S. 493) wird angenommen, dass *vin* 'natürliche Wiese, Weide' bedeutet hat. Was den Ursprung des Wortes betrifft, wird festgestellt, dass er umstritten und sehr unsicher ist, und dass er sowohl mit awn. *vinr* 'Freund' als auch mit awn. *vanr* 'gewohnt' zusammengestellt worden ist.

Olsens Auffassung, dass *vin* eine natürliche Wiese bezeichnet hat und – so hat er es wohl gemeint – die Grundbedeutung 'etwas, was Lust bereitet, Freude schenkt' oder so etwas Ähnliches hatte, kann schwerlich richtig sein – dies unabhängig davon, dass die allermeisten offenen Flächen in alten Zeiten höchstwahrscheinlich nicht „natürlich" gewesen, sondern durch Roden entstanden sind. Siehe z. B. Fridell 1992 S. 244 und die dort angeführte Literatur. Vgl. auch de Vries a. a. O.: „Es ist [...] nicht anzunehmen, dass ein wort für 'wiese' eine so abstrakte bed. gehabt hätte."

Die Grundbedeutung von *vin* war meiner Meinung nach 'etwas, was (durch Arbeit) erzielt wird', woraus sich die spezialisierte Bedeutung 'etwas, was man durch Arbeit im Walde, durch Weghauen von Wald, Rodungsarbeiten erzielt' > 'offener Platz im Walde' > 'Weideland'. Man kann davon ausgehen, dass das durch Roden entstandene Neuland ursprünglich zum allergrössten Teil Wiesen betraf, nur zu einem kleinen Teil Äcker (siehe z. B. Widmark 2001 S. 65). Vgl. awn. *vinna skóg* (= *vinna i skógi*) 'im Walde arbeiten (hauen)' (Norr. ordb. S. 502), was vermutlich die Existenz eines Substantivs **skóg(ar)vinna* 'Waldarbeit' voraussetzt, sowie, dass die Entsprechung von awn. *vinna* 'Arbeit' in mehreren norwegischen Dialekten 'Arbeit

Weide [...] vor, wenn dies wirklich verwandt ist." Vgl. später auch de Vries (1962 s. v. *vin*), der schreibt: „Nimmt man als grundbed. an 'streben, erstreben' und leitet man daraus einerseits 'wünschen, lieben', andrerseits 'arbeiten, mühe haben' ab, so gelangt man zu einer papierenen konstruktion, die mit lauter abstrakten begriffen wirkt." Eher hat, meint de Vries, germ. **wenjō-* die Bedeutung 'ein eingehegtes Grundstück' gehabt, „und die idg. wzl **u̯en* wird 'zaun, zaungeflecht' bedeutet haben". – Hinsichtlich einiger weiterer Vorschläge zur Herleitung von *vin* – u.a. dass es mit dem Adjektiv awn. *vanr* 'gewohnt' zusammengehörig ist – siehe de Vries a. a. O.

auf Acker und Wiese' bedeutet, z. B. *vårvinna* 'das Frühlingspflügen', *høvinna* oder *sumarsvinna* 'Heuernte' (Aasen 1873 S. 936 f.). Aus einer Gegend im westlichen Norwegen ist *vinna* mit der Bedeutung 'die durch längeren Anbau entstandene Ackererde' belegt (Ross 1895 S. 913).

Wie oben vermerkt, meinte Hovda, dass gewisse mit *vin* zusammengesetzte norwegische Ortsnamen dafür sprechen, dass dieses Wort sich auch auf bebauten Boden hat beziehen können. Meiner Meinung nach kann man sich bei einer solchen Annahme aber auf keines der von Hovda angeführten Beispiele berufen. Dasjenige der beiden *Ryen*, das er auf **Rug-vin* zurückführt, kann ebenso gut als eine Zusammensetzung mit anorw. *(h)rúga* 'Haufen (von zusammengehäuften Dingen)' gedeutet werden (siehe NSL S. 373). Das andere *Ryen*, 1316 *(a) Rydini* geschrieben, kann 'die Weide an der Rodung' (awn. *ruð* n.) bedeuten, aber es besteht auch die Möglichkeit, dass das erste Glied die Ablautform *ruð-* zu *rauð-* in awn. *rauðr* 'rot' enthält, die u.a. in awn. *roðna* 'erröten' und *roðmi* 'Röte' vorliegt. Vgl. den schwedischen Kirchspielnamen *Rödene* (in Västergötland) < **Rauð-*, sowie den Dorfnamen *Vittene* (zwei Fälle) im westlichen Schweden, der das Farbadjektiv schwed. *vit* (awn. *hvítr*) 'weiss' enthält' (siehe Jansson 1951 S. 60 f., Linde 1982 S. 46). *Line* braucht nicht als eine Zusammensetzung mit dem Pflanzennamen awn. *lín* n. 'Flachs' gedeutet zu werden; das erste Glied kann stattdessen das von *lín* abgeleitete Wort awn. *lína* f. 'Tau, Seil' (eigentlich 'das von Flachs Gemachte') sein, das sich darauf bezogen hat, dass es sich um eine Wiese von ausgeprägt langgestreckter Form gehandelt hat (vgl. NSL S. 290 s. v. *Linesøya*).[2] *Røte* und *Støveren*, mit awn. *rót* 'Wurzel' bzw. awn. **stufr* (urgerm. **stuþra-*) 'Baumstumpf' als Vorderglied, erfordern in diesem Zusammenhang keinen weiteren Kommentar.

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[2] Der schwedische Dorfname (und ehemalige Kirchspielname) *Höra* (in Västergötland) ist als eine Zusammensetzung mit aschw. *hør*, awn. *hǫrr* 'Flachs' gedeutet worden (siehe Jansson 1951 S. 81, Linde 1982 S. 45), bietet aber trotzdem keine klare Stütze dafür, dass *Line* das Wort awn. *lín* 'Flachs' enthält. *Höra* ist nämlich 1430 als *Hyrene* erstbelegt, eine Form, die als Grundlage einer völlig plausiblen Deutung des Namens dienen kann.

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Judges 7: 5–8. A Discussion

MATS ESKHULT, Uppsala[1]

In Judges, Chapter 7, it is related how Gideon and his levy troops camp at the spring of Harod before attacking the Midianite camp. Surprisingly, the Lord tells Gideon to announce to the people that anyone who is afraid should go home; and so twenty-two thousand turn back, while ten thousand remain. But still, the troops are too many in the eyes of the Lord. Therefore, Gideon is told to bring the people down to the water, and those who lap the water like a dog are chosen for the attack, while those who kneel down to drink are sent home. By this procedure only three hundred men are chosen for the assault on the Midianite camp.

There is a problem in verses 5 and 6. In v. 5, Gideon is told to separate "everyone who laps the water with his tongue (*bilšōnō*) as a dog laps" from the rest of the people. But in v. 6, the men separated are characterized as lapping "with their hand to their mouth" (*bᵉyādām 'æl-pīhæm*). Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS) suggests that in v. 6 *bilšōnām* should be read instead of *bᵉyādām 'æl-pīhæm,* which means that this phrase is out of place here and should be removed to the end of the verse, where it refers to the rest of the people, that is, to those who bend down on their knees to drink the water.[2] By this suggestion, which is partially supported by the Septuagint Codex Alexandrinus, the contrast between the two groups is made more distinct: those who lap with their tongues like a dog, and those who kneel down to drink. The connecting point between the three hundred men chosen and dogs in general is nevertheless very problematic. The tertium comparationis might actually be *fear*—the three hundred men only lapped since they dared not kneel down to drink, and dogs in the Bible are not characterized as brave.[3]

However, on the assumption that the procedure of taking the water with the hand and lap into the mouth in v. 6 is only a more distinct way of expressing the lapping with the tongue as a dog in v. 5, the Massoretic text may be correct. Its meaning is then that the chosen fighters lap the water *by raising the water with their hands*, in contradistinction to the bulk of the people who fall down on their knees to drink. The interpretation of this may be that not *fear* but *carefulness* is the concept in focus, and that the chosen fighters are careful and on their guard, while the bulk of the people are characterized as being rather careless in the presence of the enemy, since they put their mouths into the water like cattle. Long ago, A. Mez[4] pointed out that

[1] I wish to thank Professor Emanuel Tov, Jerusalem, for his comments on an earlier draft of this article.

[2] This suggestion was originally presented by K. Budde, *Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel*, Giessen 1890, p. 112, and the idea was elaborated by Moore, *Judges* (ICC), Edinburgh 2nd ed. 1908 (1895), *ad loc.*

[3] Josephus, *Antiquitates* V, 6, 3, apparently thinks that Gideon chose those who raised the water with their hands "with fear and trembling", because God could give victory even through a cowardly army. See Josephus, *Antiquitates* in H. St. J. Thackeray's edition (*Loeb Classical Library* 1934).

[4] See A. Mez, "Nochmals Ri 7,5.6", *ZAW*, 21, 1901, pp. 198–200. The short article refers to B. Stade "Zu Ri 7,5.6", ZAW, 16, 1896, pp.183–186.

the Arabic counterpart of Hebrew *kāra'* "fall down", namely *kara'a*, is used for the drinking of cattle, that is, with their muzzles in the water.

In v. 8 there is a piece of information of importance for the subsequent story, namely:

wayyiqḥū 'æṯ-ṣēḏā hā'ām bᵉyāḏām wᵉ'et šōfᵉrōṯēhæm wᵉ'eṯ kol-'īš Yiśrā'ēl šillaḥ 'īš lᵉ'ohālāw ūḇišlōš-mē'ōṯ 'īš hæḥᵃzīq ūmaḥᵃnē Miḏdyān hāyā lō mittaḥaṯ bā'emæq
And they took the victuals the people (sic) in their hands and their horns, whereas he sent away all the men of Israel, each to his home, retaining the three hundred men, having the Midianite camp below him in the valley.

If one avoids any emendation in the first clause, one seemingly arrives at the rendering: "So the people took victuals in their hand",[5] making *hā'ām* the subject of the clause; but the obvious meaning, supported by the Septuagint,[6] is that the subject of *wayyiqḥū* is the three hundred men, to whom the provisions are handed over. This requires the translation: "And they took the victuals of the people in their hand". Apparently, this rendering is based on an emendation of *ṣēḏā hā'ām* into *ṣēḏaṯ hā'ām,* that is, to a grammatically correct construct form of *ṣēḏā*.[7] The same rendering is, however, arrived at if one presupposes that the first *hē* should be deleted as a dittography, and that in comparison with Josh 9:5 and 14 the noun in question is the construct state of *ṣayiḏ* "provision, food", a solution that results in *ṣēḏ hā'ām*. It would seem, thus, that the self-evident meaning of the clause either demands an alteration of the *hē* into a *tāw* or the deletion of it.

Other parts of this verse, too, have been brought into question. To some, the plural *wayyiqḥū* seems awkward in relation to the singular *šillaḥ* "he sent, which refers to Gideon. The word *bᵉyāḏām*, too, has been questioned, since *miyyāḏām* "from their hand" (each of them), seems more preferable in view of the context.[8] However, it should be borne in mind that v. 8 shows a chiastic pattern: verb object *vs.* object verb, and two clauses standing in a chiasm need not have the same subject. Accordingly, the plural *wayyiqḥū* may very well refer to the three hundred men mentioned in the first part of v. 7, while the singular *šillah* refers to Gideon. The Vulgate interprets the three hundred men as the subject of *wayyiqḥū,* "they took", and supports the Massoretic text, though the phrase *pro numero* probably has its origin in a metathesis *bᵉdayyām* "according to their need" instead of *bᵉyādām*.[9]

Another objection takes its point of departure in the fact that at this point in the story it is essential to explain where Gideon got so many jars as well as the horns, and quite irrelevant to comment on his supply of provisions. On the grounds of this observation, Moore arrived at the emendation *kaddē hā'ām* "the pitchers of the

[5] Thus the Authorized Version.

[6] καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν ἐπισιτισμὸν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῶν (*Codex Vaticanus* ἐν χειρὶ αὐτῶν).

[7] A corruption between *tāw* and *hē* is attested in, e.g., Num 28:3, צלה; Isa 42:25, חמה, 1QIsᵃ חמה, and Jer 52:21, קומה, but Qr קומת. See F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*, Berlin–Leipzig 1920, p. 107.

[8] See further J.A. Soggin, *Judges* (OTL), London 1981, p. 138, who actually defends the Massoretic text, taking the preposition *b* in the Ugaritic sense of "from".

[9] The Vulgate of the beginning of 7:8 runs: "Sumptis itaque pro numero cibaris et tubis". The reading *bᵉdayyām* is presented as probable in BHS.

people",[10] which is also put forward as a possibility in BHS: *wayyiqqaḥ 'æṯ-kaddē hā'ām miyyādām: "So he took the jars of the people from their hands"(thus the Re*vised Standard Version).

Certainly, v. 16 states that Gideon gave horns to the three hundred men and empty jars (*kaddīm rēqīm*) with torches inside the jars. The jars are not explicitly mentioned in v. 8, yet it is possible that the function of mentioning the provisions, beside the horns, is to explain how Gideon's three hundred men had a sufficient number of jars available to put the torches in.[11] The word *kaḏ* may be used for an earthenware jar employed for containing food (see e.g., 1 Kings17.12ff.), but this does not infer that jars, *kaddīm*, necessarily must be mentioned in v. 8. If Gideon's troops carried their food in earthen jars, and the narrator intended to intimate how the three hundred men got all their jars, it is by no means impossible that he did so by relating how the food was obtained, not explicitly mentioning the jars. Accordingly, there is little reason, just on the basis of contents, to change *ṣēḏā hā'ām* into *kaddē hā'ām*. Also, from a graphical point of view there is little similarity between צדה and כדי.

So far, except for the incorrect genitive *ṣēḏā hā'ām*, the Massoretic text *wayyiqḥū 'æṯ-ṣēḏā hā'ām bᵉyāḏām* can be defended. If one concentrates on the larger context, one still dares to test the suggestion that Moore was actually right in his supposition that *ṣēḏā* is not the original word. Looking for another word—which is not *kaddīm* then–and granted that a feminine word in the construct state is indispensable, the letter *dālæṯ* might be a corruption of the letter *rēš*. By this, one arrives at a word *ṣrh,* which could then be a *nomen unitatis of ṣōr* "flint"—however not attested elsewhere. The meaning of this noun would be "a piece of flint used as a tool for making fire", or a "firestone" in other words. Whether the form *ṣrt* stands for the singular or plural construct is not clear, though. A certain support for this idea may be found in the generally supposed corruption between the letters *rēš* and *dālæṯ* in Josh 9:4 and 12, which read *wayyiṣṭayyārū* for the expected *wayyiṣṭayyāḏū* "they supplied themselves with provisions". If the Massoretic text is correct in these verses, there may be a verb **hiṣṭayyer* hidden there with the meaning "to supply oneself" (originally with utensils for making fire).

"Firestones" suit well in Gideon's plan to surround the Midianite camp, blow the trumpets, dash the jars and let the torches flame up. Yet, out of 376 attestations of *'ēš* "fire" in the Hebrew Bible, only one gives any hint of how fire was kindled, namely Isa 1:31: "And the strong shall be as tow and the maker of it (the idol) as a spark, and they shall both burn together".[12] A spark, *nīṣōṣ,* and tow, *nᵉ'oræṯ* (fibres shaken off when dressing flax), are mentioned, but no firestone, neither here nor

[10] G.F. Moore, *The Book of Judges* (The Sacred Books of the Old Testament 7, ed. P. Haupt), Leipzig 1900.

[11] Burney relates that in Cairo, in the middle of the 19th century, night watchmen were equipped with a kind of torch that blazed forth only when waved through the air. The burning end was concealed in a small jar, when not required to give light. See C.F. Burney, *The Book of Judges,* London 1919, p. 216.

[12] Other passages worth consideration are: Gen 22:6: "And he took the fire", on which E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (New-York 1964, p. 163) comments "What is evidently meant here is equipment for producing fire", adding "Akk. uses analogously *(aban) išāti* 'fire (stones)'", plus Judg 16:9: "And he snapped to the cords as a string of tow snaps when it touches fire".

anywhere else. In Judg 7:8, none of the versions give any hint that firestones were involved, nor is such a word as *ṣrh* "firestone" to the best of my knowledge to be found in the Northwest Semitic dialects.

Still there is another and more possible solution. Bearing in mind that the third masculine singular suffix *-ō* is written with *hē*, and not *wāw*, in epigraphic Hebrew, one may interpret *ṣdh* as *ṣēdō* "its provisions", aiming at the people as a body. At this point, it seems wise to take the concept of *litteræ compaginis* into consideration. Looking upon the phenomenon of *yōd* and *wāw* as suffixes of connection, one is struck by the fact that *yōd* in this function is fairly common in poetic passages, but examples with *wāw* are very infrequent—actually it stands primarily with three words, viz., *b^e^nō*, three times, and *haytō*, eight times,[13] plus *ma'y^e^nō*, once.[14] It has been suggested that *-ō* derives from the nominative ending *-u*, but if derived from a case ending at all, a lengthened accusative ending *-a* suits better.[15] As was pointed out by Bauer-Leander,[16] however, a derivation from *ā* is contradicted by the fact that there is no trace of a supposed Hebrew accusative in those few nouns that have a vocalic ending in the construct state; that is to say, that there are no such construct forms as *'^a^bō* and *'^a^ḥō*. Also, the idea that the *litteræ compaginis* represent a remnant of a case system, is gainsaid by the fact that the ending *-ī* in these cases does not serve a genitive function, but rather it serves to emphasize the construct state.[17] It may be the case that *-ō*, too, serves to emphasize the construct state; but, on the other hand, this function is expressed by *-ū* in compound names, such as *M^e^ṯūšælaḥ*.[18] From the evidence given, it seems reasonable to follow Bauer-Leander in explaining the isolated *b^e^nō Ṣippōr*, Num 23:18, and *b^e^nō B^e^'ōr*, Num 24:3,15, as an anticipatory suffix with a noun in apposition,[19] or, perhaps better one might perceive a determining function with the suffix "his son, Sippor's", or, alternatively, "*the* son of Sippor".

By analogy with *b^e^nō Ṣippōr*, the curious *ṣēḏā hā'ām* could be read *ṣēḏō hā'ām*. To this suggestion may be objected that the noun, following a *yōd* or *wāw* as a suffix of connection, should be indeterminate—if not a proper name, or a noun determined by a suffix[20]—whereas the noun in apposition generally is determinate,[21] and that

[13] Num 23:18; 24:3,15; and Gen 1:24, Ps 50:10; 79:2; 104:11, 20; Isa 56:9 bis; Zeph 2:14, respectively

[14] Ps 114:8, *ma'y^e^nō-māyim*, is perhaps to be corrected into *ma'y^e^nē-māyim*.

[15] See J. Barth in ZDMG, 53, 1899, p. 598.

[16] Bauer, H.-Leander, P., *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes*, Halle 1922, § 65*i*, see also GKC (*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch*, 2nd English edition by A.E. Cowley, Oxford 1910) § 90*k-o*.

[17] Also, similar forms in the Amarna letters suggest *-ī* in this case is not a genitive ending, see Waltke, B.K. and O'Connor, M., *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake 1990, § 8.2*e*.

[18] See Joüon, P.-Muraoka, T., *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Roma 1993, § 93*s*.

[19] After the meaning of the suffix had fallen into oblivion, it spread even to a feminine word, such as *'æræṣ* in the phrase *ḥaytō-'æræṣ*, Bauer-Leander maintain, *loc. cit.*

[20] Compare *ḥaytō-'æræṣ* to *ḥayyaṯ- hā'āræṣ*.

[21] See Joüon-Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, § 146*e*. Thus, in Ezek 10:3, the second noun is determined by the article: *b^e^ḇō'ō hā'īš* "when the man went in", see also Ezek 10:42 and Job 29:3. It should be observed, whether this affects the discussion or not, that these three examples have an *inf. cst.* in the first part of the construction, cf. Brockelmann, C., *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen 1956, § 68*b*.

the two constructions, *wāw compaginis* and *wāw* as an anticipatory suffix, differ on this point. Nevertheless, there are examples of *ḥīræq compaginis* with a following noun, determined by the definite article, e.g. Zech 11:17, or a preposition with syncopated *hē*, e.g., Gen 15:6; Ex 49:11; Jer 10:17. Moreover, it is true that this uncommon kind of genitive belongs to poetry and is hardly to be found in narrative prose. In answer to this may be suggested that the particular genitive in Judg 7:8 could be a remnant of an poetic version of the battle against the Midianites, in the same way as the Song of Deborah, Judges chapter 5, is a poetic version of what is told in chapter 4.

If an anticipatory suffix is to be recognized in Judg 7:8, one may also notice that the employment of this kind of prolepsis in the Balaam narrative suggests a dialectal feature, perhaps of Aramaic provenance. Balaam's homeland is located in the Aramaic area, and the Deir 'Allah inscription, which refers to him and dates to about 700 B.C., has many Aramaic elements. Also, one should notice the determining function of the anticipatory suffix in the 10th century B.C. Gezer Calendar, line 1: *yrḥw 'sp* "its (=the) two months of harvest".[22] Perhaps Gen 9:4 *bᵉnafšō dāmō* "(meat) with its (the) lifeblood", and Prov 13:4 *nafšō 'āṣēl* "the soul of a sluggard" are to be counted to this category.

To sum up, in Judg 7: 5–6, the tertium comparationis, as presented in the Massoretic text seems to be that Gideon's fighters do not behave like cattle, but rather are on their guard in the presence of the enemy. The fact that jars, *kaddīm*, are mentioned in 7:16 does not necessarily infer that these have to be mentioned in 7: 8 as well. Moreover, in v. 8 a metathesis *bᵉdayyām* "according to their need" from *bᵉyādām* "in their hands" cannot be ruled out, but it has no evidence in the oldest translations of the text. The reading *ṣrt h'm*, however enticing, is based solely on reasoning from the context and Josh 9:4 and 12. If there is any alternative to the emendation *ṣēḏaṯ hā'ām* to be reckoned with, it would seem possible to change the vocalization of the *hē* in *ṣēdā hā'ām* and read *wayyiqḥū 'æṯ-ṣēdō (ṣdh) hā'ām*, which is then to be translated: "they took the provisions of the people". This solution leaves the Massoretic consonant text unaltered, and simultaneously accepts the interpretation of the versions.

[22] See Beyer, C., "Althebräische Syntax in Prosa und Poesie", *FS Kuhn*, 1971, pp. 76–96, with reference to p. 89, note 61; see also Bauer-Leander *loc. cit.*

What Do We Learn from *Shāhnāme*?

M.A. ESLAMI NODOOSHAN, Tehran

What is there to be learnt from *Shāhnāme*, the book of myths, epics and history of the Iranians, one thousand years after its creation? What are the attractions of this book of verses that has rightfully obtained the honourable title of "The Book of Iranian Identity"? These are the questions that come to mind as an unprecedented curiosity about and enthusiasm for *Shāhnāme* is observed among the Iranian people, in particular, the young generation.

A SUMMARY OF WHAT CAN BE LEARNT FROM *SHĀHNĀME*

Our forefathers lived in the land they affectionately called *Iran-vaeja* for many millennia. They were a people known for their spiritual and physical strength, who later founded one of the greatest civilisations of the world in this land. They continued to dominate half of the known world for more than 1000 years (known to the Western world as the Persian Empire). They had a strong conviction that good will always overcome evil and that their country was the "Chosen Land", where this victory was to be achieved. The revelation of this constituent of our past remains the major attraction of *Shāhnāme*.

As well as gaining historical insight from *Shāhnāme*, one can also find a thorough understanding of the ancient Persians and their way of life, their fears, and their outlook on life in general. This is achieved not only through the actions and words of the characters of *Shāhnāme*, but also from Ferdousi's own reflections upon those events. One thousand years later, the lessons that can be learned from *Shāhnāme* are endowed with freshness, strength and vitality. It is this superior characteristic of *Shāhnāme* that remains unparalleled in the immensity of Persian literary works.

Although Persian literature is rich, with masterpieces such as the *Maṯnavi-ye Moulavi* of Rumi, the *Bustān* and *Golestān* of Sa'di and the *Divān* of Ḥāfeż, no other literary work provides us with a resolute guide to our past with such clarity as that of *Shāhnāme*. This clear portrayal of the beliefs and ancient way of life of the Persians was created in an era of relative political autonomy, and as a result, an era of efflorescence of Persian literature. The illustration of the social and cultural identity of the Iranians in ancient times can be considered as the second most important aspect of *Shāhnāme*.

In addition to deriving historical, social and cultural insight from *Shāhnāme*, one can acquire a humane spirituality through the life of the poet himself. Ferdousi's life is a model of awareness of humanity and its noble causes. Despite all the usual traps of wealth and material gains, he chose a simple life and at times sheer poverty. Ferdousi chose against all odds to dedicate his life to recording his people's history and their cultural heritage.

Ferdousi rejuvenated the language of his people in some of the most awe-inspiring, simple and yet rich poems ever seen. If not for his immense contribution to the saving of the Persian heritage and history, he will always remain the true hero of the Iranians for his life-long labour to guard and preserve the Persian language. He salvaged his people's heritage from the oblivion resulting from 400 years of violation and destruction. He saved this heritage in such a way that, after 1000 years, Persians owe the survival of their identity and language to no one but Ferdousi. The last, but certainly not the least, attractive characteristic of *Shāhnāme* remains in its tremendous literary and poetic calibre, arguably superior in every aspect to any literary work created so far.

With the collapse of the Sassanid dynasty came the loss of political leadership and one thousand years of Persian superiority in the known world. After many ups and downs and soul-searching, the Iranians founded and replaced their lost dominance with that of their new superiority in literature. The successors' platform was found in the realm of culture.

The creation of *Shāhnāme* motivated a sort of reclamation and re-identification of the Iranians as a nation, which resulted in new self-confidence. All this began with the onset of the creation of *Shāhnāme*. The Iranians, with their newly found self-confidence, were able to retain their Iranian identity as an independent and proud nation.

The *Shāhnāme* is not an ordinary book of epics covering particular events in a certain framework of time. Had this been the case, it would have lost its appeal to people in all the harsh events of history. Rather, *Shāhnāme* is a vast humane literature with deep roots in the existence of human beings, and with strong ties to the depths of human life. From a worldly viewpoint, *Shāhnāme* can be considered as a source from which four major streams of Iranian thought originate. These four streams of thought are as follows:

1. Iranian nationality; the preservation of national identity and character,
2. A Khayyāmistic concept; the art of seizing time (*carpe diem*) and enjoying life,
3. Ethics,
4. Gnosticism and a Gnostic outlook; a certain positive mysticism.

PRESERVING NATIONAL IDENTITY

Shāhnāme does not promote blind nationalism but aims at national originality and the historic achievements of a nation. It reminds a nation of its noble and humane characteristics and leaves it for the people to decide whether these characteristics are apt to be kept and nurtured or not. If a particular set of national characteristics is perceived by its inheritors as righteous and worthy of being adhered to, then a nation is able to draw moral strength from it and is able to meet the challenges of the present and the future.

Shāhnāme looks at our past, examines old memories, reminds us of who we were, rejuvenates national characters and, in short, blows life, spirit and magnanimity into a country and its people. It gives meaning to human life and vivacity to the people who live in this land, a land that, as a result of multiple invasions, has become the home of a people who in their defeat had lost their self-confidence.

A KHAYYĀMISTIC CONCEPT: THE ART OF SEIZING TIME AND ENJOYING LIFE

Quatrains attributed to 'Omar Khayyām and hundreds of others who versified, imitating his style and following his thoughts, invite people to pause and reflect upon life, to treasure life and take pleasure from it, and to value the time they have on earth. Khayyām had found the principal root of all these concepts in *Shāhnāme*.

The origin of these thoughts dates back to times immemorial, and, before Ferdousi, other poets had mentioned it too. But it is *Shāhnāme* that sets forth a vivid "graveyard of powers and beauties" lost and gone, and through the life stories of its heroes, clearly reminds one to take advantage of life to the full. Equally, throughout the book, Ferdousi's personal reflections that stemmed from the *Shāhnāme* itself have added to the richness of these thoughts.

ETHICS

The universal outlook of *Shāhnāme* is based on the conflict of good and evil, the war of light and darkness, represented by events and incidents and the many wise reflections made upon them. It can be said that the totality of all human experiences is summed up in this book, and in this regard it is perhaps only comparable to the writings of William Shakespeare.

In *Shāhnāme*, life is considered the most precious and invaluable possession of human beings, but not at any cost. Death is the worst of demons, but not always. There is a balance between life and death. Where the preservation of human dignity is at stake, blood should be shed without any hesitation. Hence, there is something more precious than life, and that is the "essence of life", which is called *nām*.[1] One who dies with a good name has indeed overcome this most fierce of demons, death. One should attain dignity, as the body is to perish. It is only then that one can claim that one's obligation towards humanity has been fulfilled.

What is *xerad* 'wisdom' in *Shāhnāme*? It is the standard and set of rules by which human values and merits can be verified and evaluated. It is the understanding and the ability to differentiate between good and evil that have been attained through the practical experience, acquired knowledge and spiritual findings of our ancestors. It is linked with practical life and is apt to moral and humane values. It is the Creator who has a direct and non-mediatory relationship with human beings and watches over them and their deeds. The Creator is the crystallisation of universal intellect, higher than the 'essence of life', beyond all and above everything.

The next word that is frequently repeated in *Shāhnāme* and carries an immense importance with it is *dād*, which can be translated as 'justice', 'uprightness', and 'fairness'. However, this word in *Shāhnāme* has a vast meaning, beyond that of the same word found in other Persian literary works. Its meaning is not only the conventional perception of justice, the granting of one's right by rejecting injustice, but also preserving the balance in all life and living. This means that one should receive

[1] *Nām* literary means 'name', but it implies the "fame" of having been good and having lived a glorious life.

according to one's right and capability in all aspects of life, be it economically, socially or judicially. In *Shāhnāme*, it is not only the recognition that is significant, the delivery of correct judgement is also of more importance.

It is a fortunate coincidence that *Shāhnāme* was created in an era when the Iranians as a nation were not morally defeated, but energy, hope and vigour were still present amongst them. It was shortly after that time, with the coming of the Ghaznavids and Seljuks[2] that Iran fell under Turkish domination. The union of rulers and clerics created such an intolerable atmosphere that people were forced to find comfort in mysticism and Gnosticism. The Gnostic literature with all its excellence and commendable teachings is not free from negative propositions and suggestions of effortlessness. It is *Shāhnāme*, a book of direct response, that calls upon all the powers of life and existence of the time to resist, oppose and stand against the forces that had united to destroy the stature of Iran.

A third way in opposition to religious dogma and mysticism, both of which suffered from extremism and were proposing a withdrawal from the inherent nature of life was needed. *Shāhnāme* proposes the way of wisdom. This invitation to wisdom was both adapted to the nature of human beings and deeply rooted in the Iranian culture. It is because of such proposals that *Shāhnāme* cannot be considered as only a book of events of the past millennium. It is a record of life and a register of time with direct links to the essence of living and life's positive aspects and necessities.

The proposals and ethical advice given in *Shāhnāme* bring back all the philosophical thought of pre-Islamic Iran, which is the product of thousands of years of evolution and development among the Iranians through the ups and downs of their history. It can be said that these pieces of advice were the precursers of those that followed in the next 1000 years of Persian literature, after the writing of *Shāhnāme*. However, there exists one difference, i.e. later on, a note of detachment from life and individual discipline can be detected. Similarly, in other great works of Persian literature which were produced at times of fatigue and exhaustion in the history of the Iranians, signs of negativity and pessimism are apparent. Among all Persian literary works it is only *Shāhnāme* that provides us with a healthy way of living, quite suitable for modern life. It encompasses everything. It notes the importance of body and soul and recognises their role in wholesome living. *Shāhnāme* teaches us the ability to live on this earth without undermining our desire to lead an enjoyable life within the framework of a set of principles and without searching for an impossibility.

GNOSTICISM

Gnosticism, with its major impact on Iranian thought, derives one of its most important aspects from *Shāhnāme*, but on a delicate and positive path that does not inflict the slightest harm on practical life. Its teachings involve the idea of living on this earth without losing the desire for a life that is superior to this life. The real

[2] Two dynasties of Turkish origin that ruled Iran from the late 10th to the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

Gnosticism does not promote the search for an unrealisable life. It urges the pursuit of an ideal within the framework of a certain set of principles.

Many of *Shāhnāme*'s teachings are repeated in the revelations of Sufi saints, one example of which is the direct relationship of human beings with the source of life, the Creator. Many of the expressions and phrases in Persian Gnostic literature that have found metaphorical meanings have roots in *Shāhnāme*.

It is on the principle of "wisdom" that the gnostic literature departs from *Shāhnāme*. Here "intellect" and "wisdom", the sense of inner inspiration and inner movement in *Shāhnāme*, are replaced by "love". Such substitution is a result of the social consequences in which *Shāhnāme* and Gnostic literature were created. *Shāhnāme* was composed in an optimistic society, in an environment where earthly solutions to social problems were not yet exhausted. Gnosticism, however, disappointed at the workability of such solutions in social affairs, migrates to "heaven".

Another distinguishing characteristic of the teachings of *Shāhnāme* is the principle of doing good for the sake of goodness. Although the recompense of the hereafter is in consideration, *Shāhnāme* advises us to do good for the improvement of the predicaments of this world. *Minu* 'heaven' in *Shāhnāme*, is a domain endowed with happiness and light, not a world with an unlimited supply of good food and drink and other delicacies that human beings experience in their earthly existence. Even the superstitious beliefs of the latter part of the Sassanid era have been eliminated from *Shāhnāme*. Judgement is mentioned, but there are no references to horror and torture such as are found in *Ardāvirāfnāme*.

Ferdousi is impartial when he suggests that pure wisdom is above all creeds, political systems and beliefs. He promotes universal wisdom in agreement with human nature and contemporary life directed towards the fair side of the human spirit. There is no hesitation about disapproving of the evil in friends and commending the good in foes in the wisdom that he promotes. The war between Iran and Turan (Turkestan) is more a war based on righteous principles and values than a war based on nationalistic and racial grounds. Therefore, civilians and soldiers are not condemned, and evil deeds are attributed to their leaders.

Another way in which Ferdousi expresses his impartiality is in his portrayal of women in *Shāhnāme*, which will be briefly mentioned here. Rudābeh, Farangis and Manijeh are the ideal women created by Ferdousi with his own personality reflected in their characters. These women are strong, brave and duty-conscious. They are all of non-Iranian origin, a proof of Ferdousi's impartiality. It is very rare in ancient literature that one finds such representation of women, a perfect balance between spiritual virtues and physical beauty. These ideal women of *Shāhnāme* are created and placed in real situations. Ferdousi's account of women in this fair and unbiased way is unparalleled in ancient literature. This can be confirmed in a comparative study of the women in the *Iliad* of Homer and in the rest of the Greek literature. The conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles over their slave maidens, the behaviour of Clytemnestra, Agamemnon's wife, towards her husband, and also the way in which Menelaus' daughter acted towards Andromache, Hector's widow, are all proof of the claim made here about the nobility of Ferdousi's view of women in ancient classical literature.

Another noteworthy aspect of *Shāhnāme* is the dominant principle and spirit of

nobility. Bloodshed is not tolerated, unless it is a matter of good and righteous principles, before which even the closest of relations also lose their value. Fereidun in this respect gives consent to the death of his two sons. In contrast, Ferdousi also reveals the principles of evil. Afrāsiāb wanted to kill his daughter in order to preserve his monarchy and his country, but he also showed enough flexibility to reverse his wish with the intervention of the elders. These flexibilities, from time to time presented in both good and evil camps, are not viewed in *Shāhnāme* as against acuteness.

The inclination to plunder is not seen in any of the wars in *Shāhnāme*. Although plunder comes with all wars, the heroes of *Shāhnāme* kill and are killed in a manly style, in order to preserve their honour and dignity and not for the purpose of looting. These heroes are earthly personalities, just like other human beings. Their outstanding character and glory are the results of their own efforts and hard work. There are no heroes in *Shāhnāme* who are not prone to make mistakes and therefore criticisable. Their value lies in this human character. They belong to their land and perform their duties towards it. This is the basic concept of Ferdousi's originality, which has taken over the totality of *Shāhnāme* and flows like a spring breeze throughout its pages.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ferdousi possessed a great soul and a noble spirit, and this, in combination with an unspoiled folk culture, allowed him to create this fascinating, real and earthy atmosphere in his book, an environment in which men and women, dead for many centuries, were re-created by Ferdousi and by his breath of life became immortal. The following few lines, whether from Ferdousi or attributed to him, indicate the factual contents of *Shāhnāme* and his power of immortalising the heroes of his people.

> All these famous and vigorous people
> Of whom I have given account and abode
>
> All being dead for a lengthy time
> Became alive again by my word
>
> To them I am the Messiah
> Who showed the way of life to their souls

The greatest value obtainable from *Shāhnāme* is the realisation of man's vastness of soul and warmth of heart. No other book is so abundant in wisdom in such a natural way. *Shāhnāme* revolves around human beings and life. Its characters have serious responsibilities and have to perform their duties to life and humanity. Furthermore, life is a worthy gift to all that has to be cherished. This is done by benefiting from all the beauties and the goodness of life. Also, the hardship that gives meaning to life should be shared amongst all, and one should be ready to tackle it in such a way that all men share the load of humanity.

Decent Drugs for Decent People: Further Thoughts on the Nature of Soma

HARRY FALK, Berlin

The identity of names for a sacred plant and sacred drink in Avestan and the Vedic language shows that soma and haoma have a common origin. The absence of any comparable term in other languages of the Indo-European language family seems to indicate that a beverage using this plant was confined to a certain geographical area. This leads to the vexed question about the home of the Indo-Europeans, to which many answers have been proposed. In the present state of our knowledge, most scholars would subscribe to the itinerary of the Indo-Iranians outlined by G. Mallory (1998:180–184): the Indo-Iranians came from the steppes of the north, encountering the Bactria–Margiana archaeological complex (BMAC) in the early 2nd millennium B.C. and, proceeding from there south-east and south-west, a split took place in or near the present Afghanistan.

At least for the Iranian branch, two pieces of textual evidence can be adduced to strengthen this view. In the Avesta, we have rather precise accounts of a long-term transition from the northern countries. Videvdād 1 lists places of settlements in a sort of historical succession. The beginning is the Arian *vaējah* of the good *dāityā*. This was abandoned because of the climate: after two months of summer followed 10 months of winter. We need not take the time brackets too literally, but it is clear that the text speaks of an area where for two months living was pleasant, whereas for the rest of the year it was not. The next place mentioned is where the Sogdians live, followed by Margiana, Balkh, Nissa, etc. In the tenth place follows Arachosia with its river Sarasvatī, then comes the Hilmand area, and some more regions, including (north-western) Pakistan. The movement is clearly from north to south; and the further south the more it branches.

Parallel to this list of settlement places, we get a second account of the population shift in Vid. 2, which argues on the basis of the overfilled earth. For 300 years, people lived in the primeval place with Yima as their king (Vid. 2.8), who directed them at noon in the direction of the sun (2.10). They stayed at the new location for 600 years, overpopulated the earth and moved south again (2.14). They stayed in the new location for 900 years (2.16) and moved south again (2.18), where they built an *oppidum* filled with all sorts of animals and the best of people, and this *oppidum* helped them to live on dry ground when the waters of the spring floods arrived (2.24).

Nobody will expect that each reported direction and time span corresponds completely to reality. But the overall picture is clear: from the original settlement, people moved south in several steps. They needed about 1500 years to reach the final area. The numbers 300, 600 and 900 are much too schematic to be true, but 1500 as the sum of the wandering years sounds at least likely for a shift in location from somewhere north of Soghdiana to Arachosia and beyond.

Even if the time of translocation was much shorter, it is still long enough to encompass that period for which we expect the later Iranians to have lived alongside the later Vedic Indians.

Now, what do the Indians tell us about that phase? The oldest literature, the Vedic Saṃhitās, are generally silent about any sort of population shift. One notable exception is RV 3.33, where we learn that the Bharatas moved across the confluence of Śutudrī and Vipāś. The poet claims to have come from far (*dūrā́d*) and we see him moving out of the Punjab. All references to a homeland outside the Indus valley and the Punjab are of an indirect nature, like imported river names or the knowledge of tributaries. Some examples from later times show that the Indians are not unwilling to report on large-scale movements. The ŚB 1.4.1 has the well-known story about king Videgha Māthava's trek from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā river, the border between Kosala and Videha. The report is not particularly lavish in its details, but at least it gives the names of persons, the starting-point and the aim.

More interesting is the report in the JB. 3.238, where we learn that the Bharatas expelled the Ikṣvākus from a site west of the Indus. If we take the *nadīsūkta* from the RV into account, we can say that a shift from east of the Indus is attested across this river, and across the five rivers into the Kuru and Pañcāla countries, later also into Kosala and Videha. However, no Vedic author recollects a former habitat west or north of Afghanistan.

The oldest, so-called Śrautasūtra, the *pravacana* attributed to one Baudhāyaṇa, tells us (BŚS 18.44:397),[1] in its version of the Purūravas and Urvaśī legend, how this semi-divine woman gave birth to two sons, Āyu and Amāvasu. The first one moved eastward (*prāṅ āyuḥ pravavrāja*). His descendants are the Kurus and Pañcālas, the Kāśis and the Videhas. The second son moved towards the west (*pratyaṅ amāvasus*).[2] His offspring became the Gandhārayas, the Sparśus, and the Araṭṭas. The starting-point for both movements could be located somewhere along the Indus. It is dangerous to use this legend for any sort of historical reconstruction, but at least it shows that Indian traditions have little that can be used to prove the recollection of an immigration from the far west or north.

We see that there are reports about people on the move, but, apart from the linguistic material, there is no direct reference whatsoever to a common history with the Zoroastrian community. On the contrary, when the Avestan people settled in Arachosia, they disliked it there because there were too many foreign people, who buried their dead (Vid. 1.12). Burying dead bodies or piling up a tumulus over them were utterly despised practices from the Avestan point of view (Vid. 3.8+9). These burial activities are sometimes connected with the *deva* followers, who are connected in Vid. 18.15–16 and 22–24 with the people speaking a bad language, who call a cock *kahrkatāt*, instead of *parō.dərəs*. Now, *kahrkatāt* seems to represent or to be related to the Sanskrit term for cock, *kurkuṭa* or *kukkuṭa*. This again shows that peoples speaking Indian vernaculars were living close by and were quite well

[1] For a translation, see Krick 1982:214, Gotō 2000: 99–110.

[2] For this episode, cf. Witzel 1995:320f., who interprets differently: "Āyu went eastwards (...) (His other people) stayed at home in the West", without supplying the verb for the second, parallel phrase; cf. Gotō 2000:102f. for both views.

known, including their daēvic and dreaded gods, like Indra, Śarva, one Nāsatya and many more unknown to the Vedic pantheon (Vid. 19.43). Despite their familiarity with India-related communities, there is no word in the Avesta about a common past.

It would be interesting to collect all the major differences between the Iranian and the Indian way of seeing things. The killing of cows in some Vedic sacrifices, e.g., contrasts sharply with Avestan feelings; the attachment to dogs in the Avesta contrasts sharply with the disgust that these animals encounter in India. In spite of the cognate languages, the mentalities are wide apart. Apparently, soma and haoma present a counter-example, being sacred beverages in both cultures. However, as was observed by Brough (1973) long ago, both drinks are used in completely different, mythological contexts.

The question arises whether one culture gave the plant or the practice of its sacerdotal use to the other. To get nearer to an answer, we have again to take a look at the vexed, botanical identities of soma and haoma.

SOME RECENT PROPOSALS

The search for soma and haoma is fascinating and, judging from the current practice, will never cease. The wide range of earlier proposals is suitably listed and annotated in Doniger O'Flaherty (1968); the basics, now including the fly agaric, are reiterated in Staal 2001:758–763; eight recent contributions are listed in Oberlies 1995:237f. A few comments on some of these and other publications seem necessary from our point of view.

In 1989, David Flattery and Martin Schwartz pleaded for the *wild rue*, *Peganum harmala*.[3] The plant resembles *Ephedra* in being a shrub with many branches radiating from a common stem. Its pharmacological effects are significant. The psychoactive alkaloids reside in the red seeds, which burst when thrown into fire, emanating a thick smoke. In folk religion, this smoke is believed to scare away all sorts of evil spirits. The beads are worn as amulets against negative forces. Swallowing the seeds is considered to lead to madness. Islamic *materia medica* describe its effects as vomiting, sleep, intoxication and an inclination toward coitus (Flattery & Schwartz 1989:59). A girl who had swallowed some medicine containing a harmel decocion said that she "saw everything moving in front of her and beheld wells in the earth". Though she could understand, she was herself unable to speak during the entire day, most of which she spent asleep (1989:31, fn. 1). The process of preparing a liquid resembles the soma process, in that the seeds are pounded, watered and sifted (1989:33).

The authors present just two stronger arguments which make an identification with the haoma of old possible: (a) the local names are reminiscent of Avestan *spənta*, meaning "holy", and (b) some South American Indian tribes consume a drink prepared from a vine to visit the spirits outside the human world (1989:24). They experience a "vivid imagery contemplated with closed eyes (1989:25). Identical psychoactive alkaloids are said to be present in this vine (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) and in *Peganum harmala* (1989:24).

[3] For the same idea in the 19th century, cf. Doniger O'Flaherty 1968:108f.

This common shrub may well have been used for ritual and spiritual practices in times before the Haoma of the Yazds came into use. Gherardo Gnoli was in 1989 prepared to accept it as the original plant (1989:321*a*) but seems to have withdrawn his agreement later (1993:235). I have the greatest difficulties with the part used, the red seeds: their shape does not correspond to anything used in Vedic ritual.

A second problem is the fatigue arising from the consumption. This contradicts the sober rituals presented in the Avesta and the Ṛgveda. The vomiting part may occur in connection with the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual, but also *Ephedra* drinks are said to have the same effect, if taken in excess. *Peganum harmala* was in use in Iran in later times, and it may have been used earlier by groups of priests introducing some of their habits and terminology into the mainstream religion.

Hemp was in use in ancient India and is in wide use today. In a confusing row of arguments, S. Mahdihassan in 1986 saw "soma later misidentified as the hemp plant itself".

The thornapple tree, *Datura*, was proposed by R.L. Jones in 1995, *sugar cane* by Bh. Singh in 1980/81, and the genus of Asclepiacea by C.R. Karnick in 1969, because it rejuvenates and resembles the skins of snakes. *Water* as a life-giving principle was focussed on by S.A Dange (1988–89) and P.V. Sharma (1996). Soma was connected with fermented drinks by G. Rausing in 1987–88; and contrasted with alcoholic beverages by Ch. Malamoud (1991) and M. Oort (1995). S.N. Ghosal (1980–81) deals with deification in the Avesta; J. Gonda (1994) stresses an apparent name tabu; diverse cultures are touched by H.W. Bailey 1985 (Iran), E. During Caspers 1993 (Indus Valley) and V.I. Sarianidi 1990 (Margiana).

Lehmann (2000) has opted for *honey* as soma and he has not received much credit for this. But he points with full justice to the terms *madhu* for soma, to the rhetorical figure of the ten sisters, i.e. the fingers, milking the juice. This is too plain to be neglected and we may interpret these expressions as relics from a time when honey was in fact ritually milked.

THE FLY AGARIC THEORY

Most of the latest proposals, theories and ideas have not received wide acclaim. There are just two ideas which seem to be attractive to a great number of scholars: one concerns *Ephedra* and the other the fly agaric. In several publications, Th. Oberlies pleaded for the mushroom (1995:237), in any case for a hallucinogenic drug (1998:150). Already in 1975 (201–204), Fr. Staal was convinced of the same idea, repeated in 2001. Elizarenkova (1996:27) is at least expecting a hallucinogen and would not be surprised if it were *Amanita muscaria*.

The arguments in favour of the fly agaric are not numerous. They can all be traced back to the epochal work of R. Gordon Wasson, published in 1968 and thought to contain the best theory because no other came with "the same amount of seriousness and detail (Staal 1975:204), although without any definite proof. After the refutal by John Brough and others, the case looked open again for most. In 1985, however, Iravatham Mahadevan had a look at the Indus Valley culture and put the question: "The cult object on unicorn seals: A sacred filter"? He answered this question in the affirmative and confessed to believe in the fly agaric as the plant in question.

After him, Oberlies defended the fly agaric as the most probable (1995:237) candidate. He felt backed by a posthumously published review by K. Hummel which has just one argument in favour of the mushroom, i.e. its red colour (1997: 81,82,85,86). We shall revert to this.

The next argument for the mushroom is the nature of the intoxication of the poet of RV 10.119, the *labasūkta*. He describes a winged being in the sky. If the poet were to have the feelings expressed by the speaker of the hymn, he might be in a state of hallucination. Some people subscribe to this interpretation, others, including me, reject it. It is futile to collect the arguments again. The case is a matter of belief and all disputants are convinced of the validity of their belief.

More down to earth is a new argument brought forward by Staal in 2001. He looks for the spot in the Himalaya which occurs as Mount Mujavat in the RV as the site of "the best Soma" (2001:769). This place has been sought for many times; his proposal is Muztagh Ata, on the border of Tajikistan and China's Xinjiang: "The most important fact is that Muztagh Ata is the mountain that is located close to the source of both the Oxus and Tarim rivers" (2001:770). The argument is adapted from Witzel 1999:344f., who was himself less explicit, thinking of three possible places: (a) Munjān, north of the Hindu Kush, (b) the said Muztagh Ata, translated as "Ice Mountain-Father and (c) Hunza with its inhabitants called Burušo, traced back to **mruša/mruža*. Staal, strongly attached to the Muztagh Ata, points to the mummies found in the adjoining Tarim basin, dating to a long period from 2000 B.C. to A.D. 200, some of them found in possession of bags containing *Ephedra*. Now, because *Ephedra* is "ubiquitous", this has no impact on the soma question (771). How the Muztagh Ata can help us in this matter is still open. Will a Turkish name ("Ice Mountain") explain a Vedic toponym? Staal opts for an intensified cooperation between Indologists and botanists, taking into account all the plants growing on that mountain. There are several mountains called Muztagh, there are even mountains with similar names which could likewise be connected with Vedic *mūjavat*. To add one more: We could think of the *girimuñja* of Mbh 3.80,102, also called *muñjavat* in Mbh 18.8, one of the holiest sites in Gandhāra, being known as the "town of Ahura Mazda (*horamayzanagara*) in several inscriptions of the middle of the first millennium A.D.[4] In short, *muz*, *mūja*, *muñja*, etc. is likewise ubiquitous and, although important in itself, it will only open another front between believers and heretics with no means of ever deciding the case.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE FLY AGARIC

The attractive red mushroom can be found in the area concerned. Some people still make use of it. Mochtar & Geerken (1979) have reported about users in the Schetul valley in eastern Afghanistan.[5]

[4] This place is better known as the Kashmir Smast. A series of articles is in the press both by M. Nasim Khan and myself (forthcoming). The identity of *horamaysanagara* with that place is proved by inscriptions on pots found there. The term is also found on graffiti in the Indus Valley in the volumes published by the Heidelberg Academy.

[5] See also Jürgen Frembgen (Rez.), "K. Jettmar: The Religions of the Hindukush", *IIJ* 31 (1988):329–32. On page 330, he states, "I heard that this mushroom is still taken in certain parts of the North-West Frontier Province as an intoxicant."

They tell us that the fly agaric is called "crow's bread", *nān-e-saghta*.[6] It is found in late spring in rainy years, growing in loess soil in clefts of rocks. It is dried in the sun. After that, it can be kept for long periods, as long as it does not draw humidity. People grind the dried mushroom to powder. They boil it in sour whey, together with *Impatiens noli tangere* (*Bergspringkraut*), and occasionally with some more plants.

There are only a few people who have confessed having taken it regularly. I translate their statements as verbally as possible, because they seem to show that a person under the influence of the fly agaric would not be in a position to practise a solemn ritual.

One person, 60 years of age, said: "About 15 minutes after a drink, I feel fatigue and I long to go to sleep. Although alone in the room, I hear voices. I laugh about these voices and about myself." Another old man said: "First I am very tired, then I feel good. I forget sentences. Once I thought I was a tree." The third man, 65 years old, said: "I drank for years, but once I had a very bad time. I felt frightened. I ran into the mountains and did not know where I was or who I was. People told me later that I shouted and yelled. Of this, I know nothing."[7] The oldest man interviewed said: "We are poor people, but we have raven's bread. We turn it into grey powder and mix it. We drink it in winter, when it is impossible to leave the house."

Thus far, these four short reports. In addition, people said they used the drink also to remedy frost-bites. As the general results of *Amanita* drinking, the article lists also the following effects:[8] a strong urge for motional activity; dizziness; disturbance of vision and speaking; hallucinations; frenzy; prophetical vision; sexual energy; physical strength. The pupils of the eye are enlarged, and therefore some cultures call it "eye opener".

Some of the effects would go well with the known effects of soma, e.g., motional activity, strength and sexual desire; others, however, make it completely unlikely that any Zoroastrian householder or any Vedic priest would ever have touched it: hallucinations, speech blockage, frenzy and indecent behaviour like shouting, laughing, running away, losing self-control.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS MUSHROOMS IN GENERAL

The Vedic Sūtras, fully aware of all the sacrificial practices, give rules about allowed and forbidden food. Mushrooms are forbidden, without any exception, and without any reference to soma as an exception. The Vāsisthadharmaśāstra 14,33 lists mushrooms in one line with garlic, onion, hemp and food touched by dogs or crows. Almost the same series is found in Manu 5,5 and Gautama 2.8(17),32 and Viṣṇu 51,34. The oldest reference seems to be contained in ĀpDhS 1.17,28, where

[6] It may be tempting to see a parallel to the Ṛgvedic story of the *śyena* who brought soma from the mountain. But a footnote seems to point in the proper direction: also in Egypt, mushrooms are called "crow's bread", *'eisch-al-ghorāb*.

[7] For more horrifying descriptions of the effects of *Amanita muscaria*, see Leuner 1970:283.

[8] Unfortunately, the article does not make it clear whether these results were reported in the Schetul Valley or in other parts of the world.

we read *kyākv abhojyam iti hi brāhmaṇam*, which means, that mushrooms are forbidden food wherever they occur. Not a single reference leaves room to doubt this.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST EPHEDRA

Disregarding the said negative effects of *Amanita muscaria* completely, the adherents of the mushroom theory point to serious flaws in the *Ephedra* theory instead. Oberlies has assembled most of them:

1. *Wrong colour*. *Ephedra* does not show "die charakteristische rot-gelbe Farbe" (1995:236). This argument is verbally repeated from Hummel (1997:86), and it is the only substantial one in which Hummel not just guesses but takes up a position in a clear way. What the red-colour argument is worth has been shown by Brough before, but let us have another look. The RV speaks about a plant that is used in the ritual. It is a dried plant in any case. Any plant with chlorophyll in its outer coating will look brownish when dry, and any watery solution won from the crushed plant will be light brown to orange.[9]

The term used for the colour of soma is *aruṇa* or *aruṣa*, also *babhru*, but never *rohita* or *rudhira*. *Aruṇa* is the tawny-orange colour of Uṣas, of fire and of cows. The haoma of the Avesta is repeatedly called golden-coloured, going well with tawny-orange or beige (*babhru*) in the RV. As long as there are no red cows in the market and no soma is described as being *rohita* or *rudhira*, I refuse to accept *aruṇa* as an argument in favour of the fly agaric, which is really red, crimson red, at least when fresh.

Soma's colour is also apparent on the "twig of a tree", *vṛkṣasya śākhā*, in RV 10.94.3*cd vṛkṣásya śā́khām aruṇásya bápsatas*; or of the filament, *aṃśu*, in 7.98.1*a ádhvaryavo 'ruṇáṃ dugdhám aṃśúṃ juhótana vṛṣabhā́ya kṣitīnā́m*, "Adhvaryu's! Opfert den ausgemolkenen rötlichen Stengel dem Bullen der Völker!" (G).

This tawny plant is anointed with milk, in 9.45.3*ab utá tvā́m aruṇáṃ vayáṃ góbhir añjmo mádāya kám*, "Und dich, den Rötlichen, salben wir mit Milch zum Rauschtrank" (G).

Instead of being a strong argument against *Ephedra*, the colour argument is absolutely in line with this possibility and adds nothing in favour of the fly agaric. On the other hand, the terms *vṛkṣa*, *śākhā* and *aṃsa* make it absolutely clear that, whatever soma may have been, it was certainly not a mushroom. Oberlies never touches any of these sentences in his argumentation.[10]

2. *No milk*. Oberlies misses "die milchige Beschaffenheit" (1995:236) in *Ephedra*. Anyone who has ever soaked dry mushrooms for kitchen purposes knows that the liquid produced from a dried and soaked mushroom is as little "milky" as is the liquid from a dried and soaked branch of a shrub. The language of the poets admits

[9] This answers also Staal 2001:767, who dismissed Nyberg's plea for *Ephedra equisitina* on the ground that "the colour of that species is blue-green—a color the Vedas never attribute to Soma".

[10] Instead, he also sees "red" where there is neither: *bradhná* in RV 9.113.10*b* is translated as "rotleuchtendes Roß" (Oberlies 1998:463); in our method of description, the reddest a horse can get is a browny orange, pretty much similar to *aruṇa* or *babhru*.

many interpretations of this "milk", being used either metaphorically or as a reference to the final product containing the added milk of cows.[11]

3. *Wrong effect*. The most important argument in Oberlies' eyes is the physiological effect of ephedrine. He repeats[12] the vague statement of Hummel (1997:86f.) that ephedrine has "eine ganz andere Wirkung" as the one to be expected on the basis of Ṛgvedic evidence. Without specifying this effect, he refers to Stuhrmann, who had argued on the basis of just one hymn in which the poet claims to have changed into a *laba* bird, filling the whole atmosphere. I have argued before (Falk 1989:78f.) against this naturalistic interpretation. It would need at least some[13] more allusions to hallucination in other hymns to deserve discussion. The number of adherents[14] to this interpretation is not decisive. With the same right, the hymn may be explained on a cosmological basis.

4. *No sleep*. In 1989, I emphasised the term *jāgṛvi*, "awake, alert", and also "keeping awake". Ephedrine is still very much in use to overcome sleepiness. The most encompassing argument against *jāgrvi* was put forward by Elizarenkova in 1996:19, saying that the term is used for Agni as well as soma, so that we have to do with a metaphorical expression for something "awake", which would not necessarily allow us to infer anything about the nature of soma. In fact, soma is called intransitively "awake" in 20 cases, and "making awake", transitive, in only three. I still think that any drug which induces sleep would not be called "awake" so constantly. Oberlies denies the possibility that a person taking any hallucinogenic drug would be inclined to sleep (1995:237). Apart from the statements which I will cite below, there exists a description by de Ropp (1987:50*a*) with regard to the fly agaric:

> (It) begins to act in fifteen or twenty minutes, and the effects last for some hours. The first effect of the fungus is soporific. The sleep it induces lasts about two hours, and in this state colored visions are sometimes experienced. After waking, subjects enjoy a feeling of elation that may last three to four hours; in this state they are capable of unusual physical feats. Finally, as in Mexico, the spirits of the mushroom speak to those who ingest it.

As usual, these effects depend largely on the psyche of the individual user, but it must not be forgotten that the comsumption of soma happens right in the middle of ongoing rituals. If there were a danger of any partaker going to sleep after consumption, we would have more than one hint about that in Vedic literature. Note that Elizarenkova (1996:27) expects the effects of the drug to take place immediately after its consumption, judging from the frequency of the aorist forms in the 9th *maṇḍala*.

[11] What value there is in the "Biestmilch", which I am said to have overlooked (Oberlies 1995:236f.), escapes me.

[12] This article was known to him before its publication in 1997; see Hummel 1997:79 n. *.

[13] Another hymn with alleged "visions is the *keśisūkta*, RV 10.136. The *munis* are called "girded by wind", *vātaraśanāḥ* (2), and move through the sky. Staal (1975:204–208) deals extensively with these ascetics consuming a hallucinogenic (201) drug. Other interpretations may seem possible when we compare the description of the planets in the Sūryasiddhānta (2,2), which are tied to some fixed points in their orbits by winds, *vātaraśmibhir baddhāḥ*.

[14] Elizarenkova 1996:25, 27; Oberlies 1995:237; Staal 2001:751–752.

Thus far, the strongest arguments against *Ephedra*, all of which are not conclusive. This does not prove that *Ephedra* must be the sole candidate, but a final elimination from the candidates' list would need more substance.

At this point, I would like to express a general critique of Oberlies' approach. He tells us (1995:237) "(n)icht die Substanz Soma hat uns zu interessieren, sondern die Interpretation des Soma-Rausches seitens der (ṛg)vedischen Dichter". First, outside German Indology it is not customary—for good reasons—to tell others what they should be interested in and what not. Secondly, if we do not know which sort of drug we are talking about, we cannot specify how far the interpretation of the poets depends on their experience.

EPHEDRA REVISITED

There are a few basic and undeniable arguments in favour of *Ephedra*:

1. The term *soma* or *haoma* or some modern derivative is given to *Ephedra* in many parts of Afghanistan and neighbouring areas. I cite from Flattery & Schwartz (1989: 70) only those authors who as botanists are not part of the soma discussion.

Ephedra gerardiana is called *oman* in Pashto; *Ephedra intermedia* is called *hum/huma* or *um/uma* in Baluchistan and *sumani* in Chitral; *Ephedra pachyclada* comes as *hum/huma* in Afghanistan and as *som* in Gilgit; *Ephedra ciliata* is named *hum-ibandak* in Afghanistan. Some unidentified species are called *hom* in Brahui and *hum/ humb* in Baluchi. The forms with initial *s-* in Gilgit and Chitral show that the term is not a recent loanword from Iranian.

2. The plant is used as *haoma* by the Zoroastrians in Iran, and since the 14th century also and again by the Parsees in India. In Iran, there is no tradition that a different plant once preceded *Ephedra*. In India, most Vedic brahmins today use surrogates, assuming that the "true" soma is something else. In Kerala, things are noteworthy, as Frits Staal wrote in 1975: "the Numbudiri Brahmans of Kerala to the present day use *Ephedra vulgaris* for their Soma sacrifices. They obtain the plant from the territory of the former Raja of Kollangod in the Anaimalai Hills, where I accompanied them, found the creeper, and later had it identified" (Staal 1975:203, n. 1).

3. Soma is a means of arousing sexual desire. This idea is found in the RV 8.91,1, and is very prominent in the Avesta. In Yasna 9, haoma reports who pressed him first. Vīvahvant was the first and as an immediate result a son was born to him (9.4), named Yima; Āthvya was second, and a son was born to him, Thraētaona (9.7). Thrita was next, with the result of two sons (9.9). Pourušaspa was fourth and a son was born, Zarathuštra (9.13). In Yasna 9.22, we learn about the effects of haoma: it gives strength to the fighters, it then gives offspring to the women, and it gives holiness and wisdom to the scholars. In Yasna 11.3, we learn that those who keep haoma for themselves will be without offspring.

At least today, the twigs of *Ephedra* are cooked and the juice consumed by couples in Afghanistan as an aphrodisiac (Falk 1989:87).

4. The effect of haoma is manifold. Prominent is the excitement, the feeling of victory, the feeling of health, of prosperity, of growth, of strength and of knowledge

(Yasna 9.17). Haoma is called "master of knowledge" in Yasna 9.26, "speedy in Yasna 10.8. Even a poor man feels proud or elevated after its consumption (Yasna 10.13).

The effects of *Ephedra* would go very well with this. Because of its energizing properties, it is taken in secret by the professionals in the Tour de France. For what reason the Tarim mummies had *Ephedra* with them will remain unknown.

5. The Avesta knows that there are several sorts of haoma; it praises all of them wherever they may grow (Yasna 10.12+17). It is difficult to say whether this text refers to different classes of plants or just to different members of the same family of plants. *Ephedra* would at least also permit the latter interpretation.

6. The Avesta tells us that there are some other sorts of drugs to be drunk, but all others are connected with the nature of Aēšma, i.e. they produce aggressivity, whereas the true haoma is connected with "*aṣ̌a*, producing a happy mood" (Yasna 10.8).

There is nothing unhappy or unpleasant in the consumation of *Ephedra*; the feeling of an elevated mind would in fact go along with the idea of *aṣ̌a/ṛta*.

How one can conclude from these and other well-known arguments that any identification of soma with *Ephedra* is "in hohem Maße unwahrscheinlich (Oberlies 1998:166, n. 95) or "least likely (Staal 2000:759) escapes me. The identification may be factually wrong or only partially correct, but the evidence makes it nonetheless much more probable than any other one proposed so far.

DRUGS AND THE STATE OF SOCIETY

There seems to be an inner connection between the state of a society and the drugs allowed, tolerated or despised. The connection looks linear: the more civilised a society is, the more it will restrict or ban the use of drugs. Wild drugs are for wild people, no drugs the ideal for the civilized. It may be rewarding to look at the soma question also from this angle.

Of the many candidates, the *fly-agaric* seems to belong to a rather low state of civilisation. The uncouth Norsemen took it for their raiding sprees, the poorest villagers took in in Afghanistan. It is a powerful hallucinogen. Whoever takes it does not care for other people's estimation.

Another widespread drug, *opium*, does not lead to visions. It simply calms the mind and the body, leading to a happy sleep with colourful dreams. It was and is in use among poets and other sensitive people in the Orient (Gelpke 1975). It was used by intellectuals in Europe not long ago and it is still used for marriages in Rajastan. Because of its soporific potential, it was never earnestly considered for soma, yet it was used about the same time, at least in the Mediterranean world. One seal from Minoan Crete shows a goddess holding three poppy seed-heads in her hand. A small clay statue from a cave at Gazi, dating to late Minoan times around 1350 B.C., depicts a goddess with both hands raised, wearing a diadem "embellished with three carefully depicted poppy-seed heads, and they have been cut as if for the extraction of opium" (Castleden 1990:142). Why "as if"? Cutting the skin of the seed-con-

tainers can only serve one purpose, i.e. of helping the milk to ooze out. The Minoan culture's making use of opium is of great importance for understanding the interrelationship between drug use and the character of a society. Since the Minoan culture was highly organized and on a high level of civilisation, with a strong sense of aesthetics of art production, we can safely state that the use of opium in state cults does not undermine the nature of a "decent" culture. On the contrary, Castleden (1990:143) expected for Crete "that opium was used to heighten the states of meditation during long vigils and bouts of prayer, the curious seclusions which the ancients called 'incubation'." Needless to insist: such effects would perfectly fit the requirements of Vedic poets.

Hemp, another of the early-used[15] drugs, changes the perception of optical and acoustic sensations. The feeling for time is disturbed; the physical and psychical effects vary from person to person, but one effect is inevitable: having taken a hemp product until it displays its full potential leads to a changed perception of ordinary, daily life: whoever is busy fulfilling his civil duties looks ridiculous and stubborn in the eyes of a stoned spectator. This experience is difficult to reverse: having once felt the senselessness of civil occupations, the addict will tend to drop out of the social routine, regarding himself as superior in the possession of what appears to him as "wisdom". Thus, hemp is a potentially unsocial drug. Sādhus, standing outside the householder's world, smoke it intensively. Others partake of it occasionally. A Rajastani brahmin's reputation is untouched by his taking bhang on holidays (Carstairs 1957). Also some of the otherwise reputable, Maithili brahmins revert to the use of bhang. Moser-Schmitt (1978) described the process: home-grown, hemp leaves are plucked and dried for some days. Then the leaves are ground in a stone mortar with a wooden pestle, adding water, black peppers, aniseed and cardamom (10/203). When the mixture has the desired consistency, balls are shaped from the dough. These balls are then placed on a strainer above a pot and sweetened water is poured on the balls. With their hands, the brahmins press the dough inside the filtering cloth, sieve it several times and pour it from one vessel to another. It would not be difficult to equate some of the steps of this process with the usual procedure for soma, and, in fact, some influence may be there, either way. The said brahmins hold that the consumption of bhang improves meditation, whereas Moser-Schmitt would not exclude a certain addiction (7/200).

This shows that the use of hemp may lower the status of even a brahmin, but it does not put society at stake.

Ephedra is good for sportsmen and thinkers and has absolutely no social side-effect. If we would rate these drugs according to their social implications, we would get the series *Ephedra*, opium, hemp and fly agaric, sliding from positive to negative implications. It is hard to imagine that the drug valued the lowest was ever regarded as befitting the most intimate contact with the gods in a ritual.

[15] The term (Skt. *śaṇa*, Middle Persian *śan*, Greek *kánnabis*, Khotanese *kaṃha*, etc.) itself is Indo-European, showing a *śatam-centum* divide. Witzel (1999:343, fn. 26) considers the Indo-Iranian sibilants to be the result of a particular local pronunciation concerning only non-Indo-European words (1999:344).

THE NATURE OF THE AVESTAN AND VEDIC SOCIETIES

Cultures are like people; they have characters which can be described. These cultural characters arise from the contacts of the individuals, but they are only partially comparable to the characters of the individuals. The Avesta makes it very easy to define the character in the time of the Yašts: sobriety rules the day, orderliness comes next with social responsibility and a high regard for pollution and purity. Social contracts are strictly defined, given to the god Mitra for protection (Y 10,17ff.). The central point of the religion of the Yašts was agriculture (Vid. 3.30–33); the man who did not plough the earth was bound to become poor (Vid. 3.28).

It is significant what the texts say about another, neighbouring culture. They are abhorred because of their veneration of the godlings called *daiva*. They are famous for robbings and the theft of cows (Yasna 12.1–2, Y 10.38+86; 11.6); they also abduct women for their pleasure (Y 19.80); their adorers are only useful as guinea pigs for young physicians (Vid. 7.37). The *daiva* adorers have a ritual, performed at night (Y 5.94) which includes fumigation with juniper (*hapərəsī*) and bloody killings of cows (Y 14.54–56). The *daiva* adepts may be recruited from the despised members of the communities. We are not told if these people use any sort of sacred beverage.

In Yašt 5.92–93, we are told that bodily deformation is another sign of inferiority which leads to expulsion from the sacred libations. The handicapped persons listed include the leper, the blind, the deaf, the dwarfs, the mentally disturbed and the hunchbacked.

On the positive side, we can easily define Zoroastrianism by its own rules: act correctly in ways of thinking, speaking and doing (Yasna, Intro. 4); be friendly and generous to those who need valuables, a wife or spiritual instruction (Vid. 4.44); strive for purity and obey the gods, chiefly Ahura Mazda and Mithra.

Zoroastrianism is so sober that only the "clean" *Ephedra* alkaloid can serve as a suitable drug for rituals. It is possible that this community had different habits in the centuries or millennia before Zarathustra, including different approaches to drugs for rituals, but this is something we will never know. For the time being, we can safely state that the use of *Ephedra* by the Zoroastrians today and the local names of *Ephedra*, such as *hom* and *som* from Baluchistan to Chitral, make a perfect match also for the early times.

Let us have a look at the *Indian* side. The character of Vedic society, as apparent from the Vedic texts, is remarkably different from the Iran counterpart. Soberness and responsibility in Iran as the major traits in social interaction are replaced by psychology in India. The noble gods of the RV, like Mitra and Varuṇa, gradually lose their importance. In Brāhmaṇa times, the priests deal and barter with the gods, they are busy constructing the *varṇa* society; for their own advantage, they forge the ties between their own class and the rulers.

The RV and the Brāhmaṇas contain lots of details about the gods but say very little about social interaction (cf. Karnik 1958/59). The Gṛhya- and Dharmasūtras, on the other hand, give copious rules on how someone should behave who has finished his Veda studies and as a *snātaka* is about to become an ordinary member of the landed society. Moral rules, like speaking the truth or abstention from killing human beings or adultery, are not given prominence in this connection. Instead, we

find rules which are aimed at shaping a personality profile, particularly by preventing any situation which could make our *snātaka* an object of ridicule.

For example, he should not climb a tree (ĀśGS 3.8,32; ŚGS 4.12,27), not climb into (ĀśGS 3.8,33) or look down a well (ŚGS 4.12,28) and not swim across a river (ĀśGS 3.8,34). Decency forbids him to bathe or sleep naked (ĀśGS 3.8,28–29) or walk naked (ŚGS 4.12,13). He should never run (ĀśGS 3.8,31, ŚGS 4.12,16) and he should not walk alone (ŚGS 4.12,12). He should not spit (ŚGS 4.12,17) nor scratch himself (ŚGS 4.12,18).

There are many more rules (cf. Viṣṇu 60 for a late but extensive list), but these few examples show how important it was to be positively evaluated by those who might be watching him. If ridicule is avoided by following these rules, how much more important must it have been not to be caught in any state of intoxication. The relatively young Viṣṇusmṛti tells us that, after encountering some *matta* or, worse, *unmatta* on one's way, one has to turn back home (63,33). The same holds true on meeting someone with a limb missing (*vyaṅga*, 63,33) or a dwarf (63,34). All sorts of speech spoken while in a state of intoxication are regarded as the speech of the *rakṣas*, the forces of darkness, according to AB 2.7,8 (*yāṃ vai dṛpto vadati yām unmattaḥ, sā vai rākṣasī vāṅ*).

If a negative appearance is so carefully avoided within the code of Vedic behaviour, then drugs which produce a state of intoxication will certainly not make an exception.

Ancient India and Iran were different in many ways. Their theological systems show great discrepancies, as well as common traits. Both cultures know sets of mostly different gods; however, above these gods rules one supreme figure (Insler 1993:596*a*), Varuṇa or Ahura Mazda, who is ethics incarnate; together with a second god, Mitra or Mithra, he promotes the social reliability of all prominent parts of the communities.

For these reasons, it seems completely impossible to expect a drug, in use for the most solemn contacts with noble gods, which leads to any sort of uncontrollable behaviour. The attitude towards drugs is a major feature of every social character to be described. Therefore it is not true that the question of the botanical identity of soma is "faktisch irrelevant" (...) "für den religionswissenschaftlich orientierten Vedisten" (Oberlies 1995:237, 1998:166, n.96). When we have to decide between a harmful drug and a harmless drug, then we have also to decide between two sorts of societies with very different inner structures.

Acknowledgments

An earlier version of this paper was read at a conference on soma at Leiden in the summer of 1999. I am very thankful to Jan Houben for the invitation and for the fruitful discussions I had with him and with many of the participants and visitors.

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Impressionistic Views of Ancient Iranian History

RICHARD NELSON FRYE, Cambridge, MA

Since my first visit to our common "*fosterland*" in 1946 I have tried to maintain contacts with scholars in Uppsala, and it is a pleasure to dedicate a few thoughts to them.

In the history of Iran, land of *tabaki*, *taqiyeh* and *kitman*, frequently records are not what they seem to be. This is not to imply that misrepresentations do not exist elsewhere, even petty instances. For example, who would think that some one with a good Anglo-Saxon name like Richard Frye, had a mother from Motala and a father from Malmö with an original name Freij? Simple, sometimes obvious, generalities may be forgotten, and here I hope to present or repeat some suggestions, with the hope that they may prove a guide in the forest for those studying the trees.

Iran, with one face to the Semitic world of Mesopotamia, and another to an eastern Indo-European realm, not to mention the Altaic regions of Inner Asia, has absorbed, and been influenced by, many cultures in its long history. Yet in the Middle East only the Jews have also maintained an unbroken identity for more than two millennia. What was the '*aṣabiyya*, or 'irrational solidary complex,' as Helmut Ritter translated, which maintained Iranian identity?

In my opinion, changes in identity began with the spread of 'universal' religions in the second century of our era. In earlier times many deities were recognized by most people, and not only recognized but more than simply tolerated. When Cyrus entered Babylon and 'took the hands of Marduk', he did this not only as a political act, but also religious, in recognition of the need to propitiate and honor the local god. Later Christianity and Manichaeism, followed by Judaism and Zoroastrianism, instituted orthodoxy and heresy, with concomitant intolerance. The creation myths of the Jews, as found in the Old Testament were accepted by Christians and, to a lesser extent in a syncretic form, by Manichaeans, and these replaced the older 'pagan' myths in Egypt and the Semitic speaking world. The identity of people was now based primarily on religion, and the old allegiances as a Roman citizen, or subject of king so-and-so, lost their former overriding importance. The Roman Empire, however, became identified with the new religion of Christianity, and persecuted non-Christians as enemies of the state. On the other hand the secular history of the Greco-Roman past was not rejected but became only an antiquarian interest in the new Christian world view.

When conversions to Christianity or Manichaeism increased in the Sasanian Empire the Zoroastrian religious establishment reacted, and persecutions began in the time of Shapur II. The creation and sustaining myths of the foreign faiths challenged those of the Iranians, based on the Avesta.[1] The ancient history of their enemies was

Cf. R, N, Frye, "Notes", *Name-ye Iran-e Bastan*, 3 (Tehran, 2002), in press.

rejected, and only the old Iranian world view was accepted as true. Attempts to reconcile the Iranian and the Western views of the past achieved no success, and so it remained until the coming of Islam. Two accounts of the beginning of the world, the Judeo-Christian and the Zoroastrian, remained separate, and we have no evidence that attempts were made to reconcile them. In the Hellenistic world of syncretism, however, such attempts might have occurred.

Christianity had almost wiped out the memories of the Egyptians and people of the 'Fertile Crescent', and Islam delivered the *coup de grace*. Pharaohs and ancient Mesopotamian rulers were forgotten, except as vague names in the Old Testament. Christianity had failed to replace the past in Iran, but its successor Islam, with the reworked creation and sustaining myths of the Old Testament, as now found in the Quran, seemed destined for success. Islam, with its feeling about the pagan *Jahilīyah*, continued the process of forgetting. But the Iranian world view was resilient, and new converts sought to reconcile the old and new, by identifying figures in their myths with those of Islam. Sulaiman was another name for Jamshid, Yima with Adam, and others. This endeavor, together with the recovery of the Sasanian past by Firdosi and his Shahnameh, probably did more than anything else to save Iranian identity. It was now possible to glorify Iranian identity and remain a good Muslim.

The words of Ibn Khaldun, living in Tunisia, on the role of Iranians in the formation of Islamic culture, though oft quoted, in my opinion have not been appreciated, because of the overwhelming importance of the Arabic language in that process. He said,"It is a remarkable fact that, with few exceptions, most Muslim scholars both in the religious and in the intellectual sciences have been non-Arab.[2] After enumerating the many Iranian scholars, he continues, "Thus, the truth of the following statement by the Prophet becomes apparent: if scholarship hung suspended at the highest parts of heaven, the Persians would (reach it and) take it."[3] Iranians (Persians and Central Asians) made such a contribution to Islam that it can be claimed that they created the intellectual basis of that civilization. The Iranians broke the equation of Muslim equals Arab, not limited by Arab bedouin mores, and made Islam a universal faith and culture.

The intellectual dominance of Iranians in Islamic thought continued down to the 19th century, for both the Ottoman and Moghul Empires were greatly influenced by Iranians in many ways. One may truthfully say that Islamic philosophy and religious fields stagnated after the establishment of those states, and only in Iran of the Safavids was a tradition of innovation and exploration in those realms maintained.

To return to a more distant past, the Iranians, who spread over the plateau which bears their name at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., encountered remnants of past invaders as well as native peoples. The former were older Indo-Iranians, such as some of the Mitanni, and probably even earlier centum Indo-European speakers, such as some of the Guti. The Manneans, Caspians and Elamites were settled indigenous folk with settled cultures, who mixed with the Iranians. By the

[2] *Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah*, trans. By F. Rosenthal, Bollingen Series, Pantheon Books, New York 1958, vol. 3, p.311.

[3] *Ibid.*, p.313.

time of the Median state and Cyrus, the Iranians already were abandoning their tribal organizations for an imperial identity, in many cases with stronger allegiances to an emperor than to tribal chiefs.

Rule of the family of Cyrus in the Persian Empire was replaced by that of Darius the Achaemenid, and I have suggested elsewhere that Cyrus was no Achaemenid.[4] The Achaemenids were part of Near Eastern history until the coming of Christianity, when, as usual with new faiths, real history begins anew, since theologically one is re-born and the past is a time of ignorance unworthy to be remembered. As noted, the ancient histories of the Near East and the Greco-Roman world were replaced in importance by the Old Testament. Why were the Achaemenids forgotten by the Persians? Shapur Shahbazi has given a plausible explanation, that in the middle of the Sasanian period a deliberate policy of the religious authorities substituted the east Iranian Avestan version of the past in place of the Medes and Achaemenids.[5] As suggested above, the motive for this was the competitive view of the past of Christianity and Manichaeism, both of which were gaining converts in the Sasanian Empire.

Questions of legitimacy were always important in the history of Iran, and the pattern of a noble who flees from court and takes refuge among common folk, later to be recognized as descended from previous royalty, and then leads a successful revolt against the tyranny of the reigning monarch, recurs again and again. It is best seen with the Cyrus saga, the rise of Ardashir founder of the Sasanid dynasty, and of Ismail the Safavid. One may ask whether the historians of the time recorded these stories because the pattern had become established, and everyone both knew and expected the sequence of events, or whether the new rulers themselves followed tradition in acting as their predecessors had done. How much can we believe in the reconstruction of what actually happened, as Leopold von Ranke would have it? Or should we consider what I have said elsewhere, that Iranians in recording their past frequently are prone to believe as true not what occurred, but what should have happened?

In following the precepts of Zoroastrianism, the early Sasanians were more interested in the fruits of agriculture than in trade, unlike their relatives in the oasis states of Central Asia. This changed in the time of Chosroes I when commerce became more important in the economy and Persian traders ventured far in competition with their neighbors. The Sasanians had an advantage in their coinage, which maintained a purity of silver contrary to the practice of others to debase coinage. Finds of Sasanian coins and silver objects in north Russia, and as far as China, attest to both the prestige of Persian craftsmen and the trust of others in the quality of the silver. Supply and demand were now dominating commerce, for the former gold objects of the Scythians were replaced by silver, since gold flowed to India, where its higher price than elsewhere has persisted down to the present. Many enigmas still remain in re-

[4] R. N. Frye, "Cyrus was no Achaemenid." in *Religious Themes and Texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli*, ed. C. Cereti, etc., (Wiesbaden, Reichert), 2002.

[5] A. Shapur Shabazi, "Early Sasanians' Claim to Achaemenid Heritage," *Name ye Iran-e Bastan*, 1 (Tehran, 2001), 61–73.

constructing the history of that part of the world, and young scholars should not lament that all has been done and they have nothing to contribute. Less than a generation ago the Bactrian language of the Kushans and their successors was known only by coins and a few brief inscriptions. Today it is a much better known Middle Iranian language, and new finds reveal much to be explained.

Much more could be elaborated by me, but the hopefully excusable ruminations of age prevent investigation of details.

Une liste du calendrier zoroastrien en pehlevi tardif

PHILIPPE GIGNOUX, Paris

Dans un récent article[1], où W. Sundermann publie deux listes de mots sogdiens, restées jusqu'à présent inédites et intitulées « Le livre de la tête » (*sar nāme*) et « Le livre des membres » (*anδame nāme*), l'auteur a bien mis en évidence d'une part la grande variété de ce type de textes, et d'autre part la fonction de ces listes et l'origine de ce genre de littérature, remontant à la Mésopotamie et notamment aux listes bilingues suméro-accadiennes. Ebeling, pour expliquer la genèse du *Frahang pehlevi*[2], avait très justement mis le doigt sur ses ancêtres mésopotamiens. Comme le remarque Sundermann[3], ces listes sont essentiellement le fait des Manichéens, qui l'importèrent de la Mésopotamie en Asie Centrale, mais il souligne également la rareté de telles listes en moyen-perse. Par ailleurs, le but de celles-ci n'était pas, comme on l'a pensé jusqu'à présent, de servir à des exercices d'écoliers, mais de constituer des outils pédagogiques pour les maîtres.

Dans la nouvelle et importante collection de textes économiques en pehlevi de l'Université de Berkeley[4], dont je prépare la publication, j'ai découvert sur un parchemin un texte de dix-huit lignes qui est clairement un enseignement sur les noms des douze mois du calendrier zoroastrien, suivi des noms de jours dont la liste est incomplète, s'arrêtant au 15ème jour (*Day pad Mihr*) qui est effacé[5].

Ce document n°38[6] est fait de deux morceaux de peau, attachés ensemble probablement à date ancienne à en juger par le procédé de fixation utilisé. Il mesure approximativement 9 et 17 cm de hauteur, et 12 de largeur.

Les mots sont souvent effacés, ce qui peut faire penser à un usage fréquent du document, mais il est évidemment aisé de les restaurer. Comme sur beaucoup d'autres documents, un cercle sépare chacun des noms de mois et de jours.

Le texte commence apparemment par une formule de souhait, dont il manque le (ou les) premier(s) mot(s). Puis le calendrier zoroastrien débute par le premier mois

[1] Sundermann 2002.

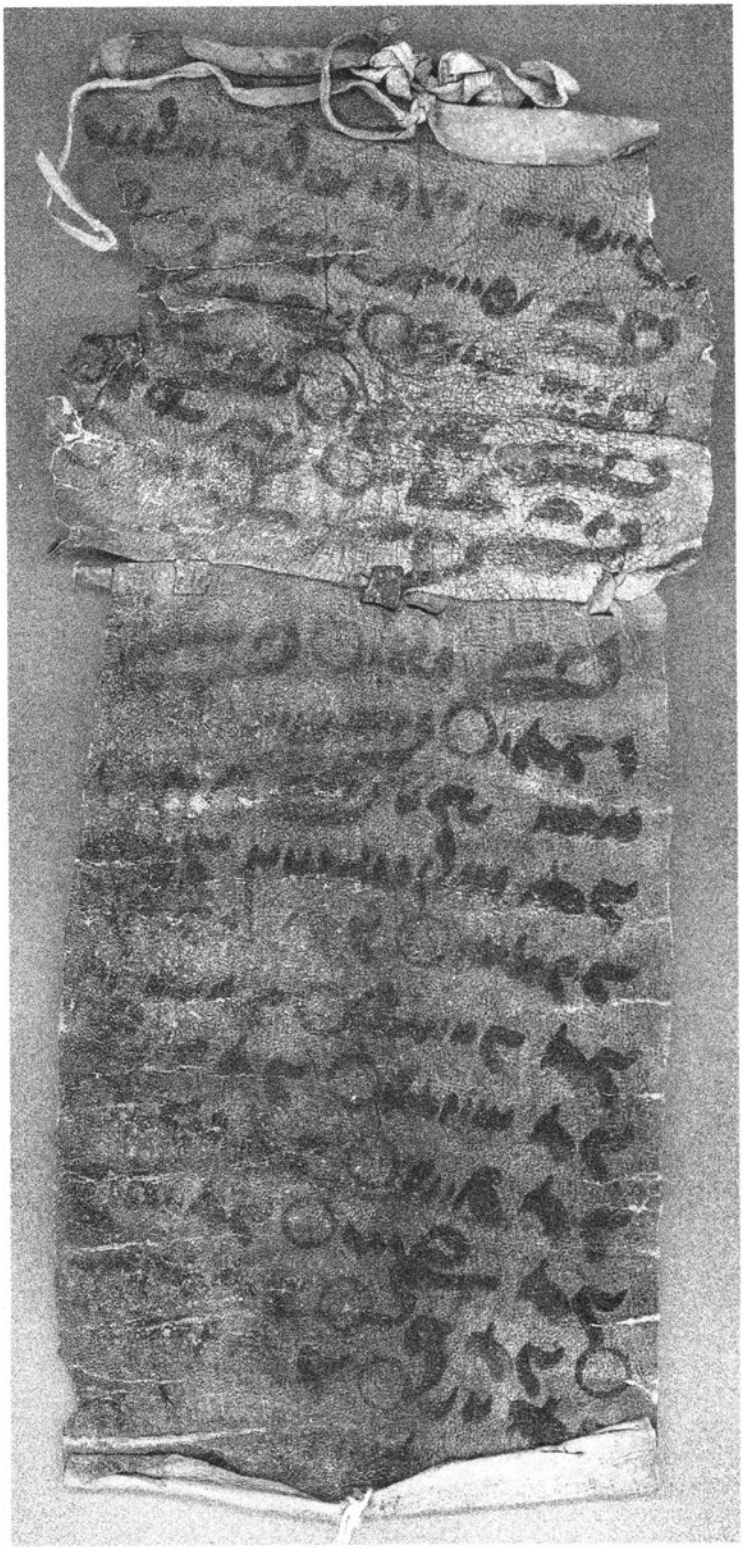
[2] Comme on le sait, c'est à partir du *Nachlass* de son maître H.S. Nyberg que Bo Utas a produit une excellente édition critique du *Frahang*, cf. Utas 1988. Je lui dédie ce modeste article, en hommage à ses qualités scientifiques et à ses dons d'organisateur que j'ai pu apprécier lors de notre travail commun au sein de la *Societas Iranologica Europaea* et qui nous a valu de nombreuses et agréables rencontres.

[3] Sundermann 2002, p. 155 sq.

[4] Voir la présentation de cette *Archive pehlevie* dans ma communication à la Conférence de Budapest (2–3 octobre 2002) en l'honneur du 85ème anniversaire du professeur Janos Harmatta.

[5] Un autre document n°47 comportant dix lignes, dont chacune mentionne cinq à six mots séparés par un cercle, pourrait appartenir au même « genre littéraire », mais je ne puis le publier ici, n'ayant pas encore pu en obtenir un déchiffrement suffisant lors de mon dernier séjour à Berkeley (en août 2002).

[6] Selon la numérotation de Berkeley qui n'a été faite que pour ranger de manière commode les manuscrits et qui ne correspond en aucune façon ni au contenu des textes ni non plus à leur support (peau et tissu). C'est pourquoi la publication future de ces documents devra tenir compte de ces deux critères.



de l'année, *Frawardīn*. Voici la translittération et la transcription de ce document de dix-huit lignes :

1- ..... Y nywkyh plhwyh W	..... ī nēkīh farroxīh ud
2- BYRḤ prwr[ṭyn] ○ BYRḤ 'rṭ[whšṭ ○]	māh Frawardīn māh Ardwahišt
3- BYRḤ [hwrdṭ] ○ BYRḤ ṭyl ○	māh Hordād māh Tīr
4- BYRḤ ['mwrdṭ ?] ○ BYRḤ šṭ[rwr ○]	māh Amurdād māh Šahrewar
5- BYRḤ mtr ○ BYRḤ 'p'n ○	māh Mihr māh Ābān
6- BYRḤ ['ṭwr] ○	māh Ādur
7- BYRḤ ddw' ○ BYRḤ	māh Day māh
8- whwmn' ○ BYRḤ [spndrmṭ ○ ?]	Wahman māh Spandarmad
9- (ḤD / 3)[7] 12 BYRḤ ○	(ēw/sē) 12 māh
10- YWM 365 YW[M]	rōz 365 rōz
11- 'whrmzd ○ YWM whwmn	Ohrmazd rōz Wahman
12- YWM 'rṭwhšṭ ○ YWM šṭ[rwr]	rōz Ardwahišt rōz Šahrewar
13- YWM spndrmṭ ○ YWM [hwrdṭ ○ ?]	rōz Spandarmad rōz Hordād
14- YWM 'mwrdṭ ○	rōz Amurdād
15- YWM 'ṭwr' ○ YWM 'p'n	rōz Ādur rōz Ābān
16- O YWM hwl ○ YWM [m'h ○]	rōz Xwar rōz Māh
17- YWM ṭyl ○ YWM [gwš o]	rōz Tīr rōz Gōš
18- YWM [.....	rōz .....

Traduction

« … bonté (et) prospérité, et le mois de Frawardīn, mois d'Ardwahišt, mois de Hordād, mois de Tīr, mois de Amurdād, mois de Šahrewar, mois de Mihr, mois de Ābān, mois de Ādur, mois de Day, mois de Wahman, mois de Spandarmad, une douzaine (?) de mois / trois (fois) douze mois (font) trois cent soixante-cinq jours[8]; jour d'Ohrmazd, jour de Wahman, jour d'Ardwahišt, jour de Šahrewar, jour de Spandarmad, jour de Hordād, jour d'Amurdād, jour de Ādur, jour de Ābān, jour de Xwar, jour de Māh, jour de Tīr, jour de Gōš, jour de … »

Il semble bien que ce document, au milieu de la masse des textes économiques, ait pu servir d'aide-mémoire pour un maître d'une grande maison qui aurait conservé ses archives, ou peut-être aussi ait pu aider un (ou des) scribe(s) à écrire correctement les datations qui apparaissent sur la grande majorité des documents.

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Utas 1988 : Bo Utas (ed.), *Frahang i Pahlavīk, ed. with transliteration, transcription and commentary from the posthumous papers of H.S. Nyberg*, Wiesbaden.

[7] La lecture ici est douteuse car l'une ou l'autre lecture sont possibles selon la paléographie.

[8] La deuxième traduction que je propose ici semble peu plausible, puisque 3 × 12 mois de trente jours donne 360 jours !

A Note on the Sanskrit Word *kopa*

MINORU HARA, Tokyo

In his paper dedicated to the Festschrift for Professor R. Gnoli, the present writer had an opportunity to discuss the Hindu concept of anger, in which he tried to elucidate the semantic differences between the Sanskrit words *krodha* and *manyu*, but there he had neither space nor time to deal with other words expressive of anger such as *kopa* and *roṣa*.[1] Though our most respected friend, Professor Gunilla Gren-Eklund, is far from having an angry temperament, the reason why the present writer takes up the word *kopa* here is the fact that the word in question originally did not mean "anger" as such,[2] but "a state of unrest" physical as well as psychological,[3] and the meaning "anger" is a result of semantic confinement at a later time to the sphere of emotion. Yet, since it is true that in classical Sanskrit literature *kopa* is used synonymously with *krodha* and *manyu*, sharing similar expressions with each other,[4] let us first quote a few examples to illustrate its synonymous aspect with *krodha* and *manyu*, and then elucidate the extention of its own meaning, distinctive from and independent of these two words.

(0-1) *kopa* and *krodha*.
In the following example, both words alternate in the same context.

> *na hy avijñāya tattvena doṣaṃ kupyet kathaṃ cana*
> *bhujaṅgam iva manyante nirdoṣa-krodhinam janāḥ* (*Nītisāra 8.80*)

> By no means should one get angry (*kup-*) with anyone, without ascertaining fault (*doṣa*). People regard such a person who gets angry with the faultless (*nir-doṣa-krodhin*) as a venomous serpent.

Furthermore, in the following example, such outward signs as red eyes (*aruṇa-locana*) and contracted eye-brows (*bhrū-bhaṅga*) are attributed to *kopa*.

> *sura-dviṣopaplutam evam etad vanaṃ balasya dviṣato gata-śrī*
> *itthaṃ vicintyāruṇa-locano 'bhūd bhrū-bhaṅga-duṣprekṣya-mukhaḥ sa kopāt* (*Kumāra-saṃbhava 13.34*)

[1] Cf. Hara 2001.

[2] In the Vedic texts, the verbs *kup-* and *kop-* mean "quake"(Jamison 140) and "zittern, beben, aufwallen"(Mayrhofer 402–3).

[3] Then, the meaning is close to *kamp-* (tremble). As a matter of fact, Sāyaṇa in his commentary on RV.1.54.4 paraphrases *kopaya-* as *kampaya-*. Though the author might have been unaware of the etymological relation, the construction of *kup-* and *kamp-* is found in the Hitopadeśa 3.15, prose.

> *dūta uvāca---yady evaṃ tad atra sarasi kopāt kampamānaṃ bhagavantaṃ śaśāṅkaṃ praṇamya prasādya gaccha.*

[4] Cf. also Amarakośa 1.7.26: *kopa-krodhāmarṣa-roṣa-pratighā ruṭ-krudhau striyāṃ.*

Thinking about this forest of Indra, the enemy of Bala, thus bereft of beauty, being plundered by the Asura (Tāraka), his face became fearful to look, due to anger (*kopāt*), with red eyes and contracted brows.

However, these are ordinarily attributed to *krodha* as we have shown on another occasion.[5]

(0-2) *kopa* and *manyu*.
Though rejected by Kauṭilya, Bhāradvāja seems to have held a view that *kopa* is virtue, which is essential to the Kṣatriya caste.

neti bhāradvājaḥ (8) "sat-puruṣācāraḥ kopo vaira-yātanam avajñā-vadho bhīta-manuṣyatā ca (9) nityaś ca kopa-saṃbandhaḥ pāpa-pratiṣedhārthaḥ (KAS.8.3.10)

"No," says Bhāradvāja. "Anger (*kopa*) is behaviour proper for a good man, (a means of) requiting enmity, extirpation of insults and keeping men in dread. And resort to anger is ever needed for putting down evil." (Kangle)

This passage of Bhāradvāja[6] reminds us of the Epic passages, where Kṣatriyas are said to be *manyu-mat* (MBh.12.79.27) and *satya-manyu* (MBh.3.182.25), while the warriors destitute of *manyu* (*nirmanyu*) are severely condemned.

na nirmanyuḥ kṣatriyo 'sti loke nirvacanaṃ smṛtam (MBh.3.28.34ab)

There is no *kṣatriya* without *manyu*. It is a proverbial saying in the world (van Buitenen).[7]

(0-3) In addition to the semantic field which is shared, and thus overlaps with *krodha* and *manyu* as we have seen above, *kopa* has its own extention beyond this com-

[5] Cf. Hara 2001 422 note 18 (*krodha-saṃrakta-locana* etc.) and note 22 (*bhrū-kuṭī*). As a matter of fact, the compounds *krodha-saṃrakta-nayana* (MBh.1.73.33, 2.68.38, etc.) and *krodha-saṃrakta-locana* (MBh.1.78.23, 4.54.20, etc.) are freely replaced by *kopa-saṃrakta-nayana* (MBh.1.37.10, 3.158.21) and *kopa-saṃrakta-locana* (MBh.2.64.17, 3.11.32).

As for the contracted eye-brows, a stage-direction telling how to play an angry man (*kruddha*) in the Nāṭya-śāstra can be compared to a verse in the Amaru-śataka which contains *kopa*.

bhrū-kuṭī-kuṭilotkaṭa-mukhaḥ saṃdaṣṭoṣṭhaḥ spṛśan kareṇa karaṃ kruddhaḥ (Nāṭya-śāstra 7.14)
kopo yatra bhru-kuṭi-racanā nigraho yatra maunaṃ
yatrānyonya-smitam anunayo dṛṣṭi-pātaḥ prasādaḥ
tasya premṇas tad idam adhunā vaiśasaṃ paśya jātaṃ
tvaṃ pādānte luṭhasi na ca me manyu-mokṣaḥ khalāyāḥ (Amaru 38)

Cf. also, Hara 1996 249–250 (*adyāham anṛṇas tasya kopasya*: MBh.7.39.7, *adyāham anṛṇaḥ … krodhasya*: MBh.8.52.23).

[6] Wilhelm 42, 47–48.

[7] Cf. Meyer 501 22–37 and Hara 2001 431–433. Bhāravi also speaks of the same purport.

avandhya-kopasya vihantur āpadāṃ bhavanti vaśyāḥ svayam eva dehinaḥ (Kirātārjunīya 1.33ab)
People become subservient by themselves to him who becomes angry effectively (*avandhya-kopa*) and removes calamity.

mon semantic field, distinguishing itself from the other two words. This distinctive semantic field of its own can be ascertained by examining contexts in which *kopa* is construed with certain words in the absolute exclusion of other words expressive of anger such as *krodha* and *manyu*. Though a more extensive and systematic study could be carried out by a more competent scholar in future, below are listed the contexts of this sort that the present writer has been able to collect so far.[8] Generally speaking, these contexts fall into three categories, that is, its usage in medical texts, in political treatises[9] and finally in lyrics. We shall examine these three in due order.

I. MEDICAL TEXT

To begin with, it is to be noted that the word *kopa* is used in the sense of "disturbance in the human body" in the medical literature.

Unlike other words expressive of anger such as *krodha*, *manyu*, and *roṣa*, the word *kopa*[10] is unique in its construction with *dhātu* or *doṣa* in the medical treatises.

(1-1) An example is quoted from a general context in Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita.
(1-1-1) In the well-known story of the prince's perturbation, the charioteer is forced to explain to the young Buddha what the disease (*roga*) is.

> *tato 'bravīt sārathir asya saumya dhātu-prakopa-prabhavaḥ pravṛddhaḥ rogābhidhānaḥ sumahān anarthaḥ śakto 'pi yenaiṣa kṛto 'svatantraḥ (Buddhacarita 3.42)*[11]
>
> Then the charioteer replied to him, "Good Sir, it is the mighty misfortune called disease, developed in full force from the disorder of the humours (*dhātu-prakopa-prabhava*),[12] that has made this man, once so competent, no longer master of himself."[13] (Johnston)

Here, the so-called humours in the human body are meant by the word *dhātu*, which is replaced often by another word *doṣa*. It is composed of the three elements, wind (*vāta*), bile (*pitta*) and phlegm (*śleṣma* or *kapha*), and as long as they are well-balanced (*dhātu-sāmya*) one can enjoy health, whereas disease is caused by their disorder (*dhātu-vaiṣamya*).[14]

[8] The word in the verbal form appears already in the Rigveda in the causative form *kopaya-*, and is used in the sense of "to shake" (Grassmann: in Bewegung setzen, erschüttern, erbeben machen, Geldner: erschüttern [RV.1.54.4, 10.44.8], bringen in Aufruhr [5.57.3]). Its participle form *pra-kupita* is translated by Geldner as "tobend" (RV.2.12.2). Sāyaṇa paraphrases *kopaya* as *kampaya* (RV.1.54.4) and *saṃkṣobhaya-* (RV.10.44.8). Cf. also Renou 231 ("mettre en mouvement").

[9] It was J.J. Meyer, who noted the use of the word in Sanskrit treatises, medical as well as political. Cf. Meyer 553.35, as will be discussed later.

[10] We meet also *prakopa* as we shall see later.

[11] Cf. Scharfe 617.

[12] The word *prakopa* is not only construed with the medical term of *dhātu*, but further with such words as *citta-*, *vidhi-*, *raṅga-*. We shall discuss these later in chapter IV (4–1).

[13] Death is also caused by the disturbance (*pakopa*) of the eighty sorts of worm (*kimi-kula*). Cf. Visuddhimagga 235 8–10 (*svāyaṃ tesam pi kimi-kulānaṃ pakopena maraṇaṃ nigacchati yeva*).

[14] Cf. Dasgupta 328.

(1-1-2) Thus we read in another work of Aśvaghoṣa.

prayānti mantraiḥ praśamaṃ bhujaṃgamā
na mantra-sādhyās tu bhavanti dhātavaḥ
kvacic ca kaṃcic ca daśanti pannagāḥ
sadā ca sarvaṃ ca tudanti dhātavaḥ (13)
idaṃ hi śayyāsana-pāna-bhojanair
guṇaiḥ śarīraṃ ciram apy avekṣitaṃ
na marṣayaty ekam api vyatikramaṃ
yato mahāśīviṣavat prakupyati (Saundarananda 9.14)

Snake can be lulled by charms, but the elements (*dhātu*) are not amendable to them.
Snakes only bite at times, and then not everyone, but the elements do harm to everyone at all times.
For this body, though cherished for a long time with actions such as lying, sitting, drinking and eating, will not forgive a single trespass; it becomes diseased therefrom as a venomous snake grow angry when stepped on (Johnston).

The word *prakupyati* is used here both for snake to get angry and for body to be disturbed.

(1-1-3) The word *kopa* is construed with *doṣa* elsewhere.

yathā bhiṣak pitta-kaphānilānāṃ ya eva kopaṃ samupaiti doṣaḥ
śamāya tasyaiva vidhiṃ vidhatte vyadhatta doṣeṣu tathaiva buddhaḥ
(Saundarananda 16.69)

As the physician prescribes the treatment for the cure of disease according to which one (*doṣa*) of the three humours it is that has become deranged (*kopa*), so the Buddha prescribed the treatment for the faults.

Here again, the word *doṣa* is used in the sense of the element and fault, as well.

(1-2) As is elucidated by H. Scharfe, the association of *kopa* with these three humours is referred to as early as in Kātyāyana's Vārttika and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. In the Vārttika to Pāṇini-sūtra 5.1.38 we read,

tasya-nimitta-prakaraṇe vāta-pitta-śleṣmabhyaḥ śamana-kopanayor upasaṃkhyānam

Under the topic "its effective purpose," (the meanings) "calming"(*śamana*) and "riling"(*kopa*), must be additionally enumerated, (when the suffix) follows (the words) *vāta, pitta and śleṣman.*

Patañjali paraphrases the *vārttika* and exemplifies it,

vātasya śamanaṃ kopanaṃ vā vātikam; paittikam; ślaiṣmikam

(A medicine or procedure) that serves to calm (*śamana*) or rile (*kopana*)[15] *vāta* is termed a "*vāta*-calmant" or a "*vāta*-rilant" (procedure) (*vātika*); one that serves to calm or rile *pitta* is termed a "*pitta*-calmant" or a "*pitta*-rilant" (procedure); one that serves to calm or rile *śleṣma* is termed a "*śleṣma*-calmant" or "*śleṣma*-rilant" (procedure.)

(1-3) A similar concept which is indicated by *prakopa* appears in some early Buddhist texts.

(1-3-1) First, in the so-called Bower Manuscript, we read,

śleṣmā sa-vāyuḥ … prakopaṃ yāti (101)

Phlegm together with wind … goes into anger (disturbance.)

(1-3-2) Furthermore, in the Vyādhi-praśamana-parivarta, the sixteenth chapter of Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra, thrice we meet the verb-form *kup-* and the nominal form *prakopa*. Four seasons, summer, autumn, winter and the rainy season, are apparently responsible for the disturbance of these three humours.

kiṃ-kālaṃ kupyate vātaḥ kiṃ-kālaṃ pitta kupyate
kiṃ-kālaṃ kupyate śleṣmā yena pīḍyanti mānavāḥ (16.4: SV.177, 12–13)

At what time is wind disturbed, at what time is bile disturbed, at what time is phlegm disturbed, so that men are oppressed? (Scharfe).

vātādhikā roga bhavanti varṣe pitta-prakopaḥ śaradi prapadyate
hemanta-kāle tatha saṃnipātikam kaphādhikā roga bhavanti grīṣme (16.9: SV.179, 7–10)

Illnesses due to excess of wind occur in the rainy season. Disturbance of the bile takes place in autumn. Likewise, (illness) due to a combination (arises) in wintertime. Illnesses due to excess of phlegm arise in the hot season (Scharfe).

Also, the stages of digestion have a connection with the eruption of these three.

kaphādhikaḥ kupyati bhukta-mātre pittādhikaḥ kupyati jīryamāṇe
vātādhikaḥ kupyati jīrṇa-mātre ity eṣa dhātu-tritaya-prakopaḥ (16.11: SV.180, 1–4)

Excess of phlegm erupts as soon as one has eaten. Excess of bile erupts during digestion. Excess of wind erupts as soon as one has digested. That is the excitement (*prakopa*)[16] of the triad of elements (Scharfe).

(1-4) Needless to say, the medical texts proper such as Caraka-saṃhitā, Suśruta-saṃhitā and others are replete with the terms *kopa* and *prakopa*. For brevity's sake, we shall quote only a few examples of these references here.

[15] The contrast of these two *kopana-śamana* is inherited in later medical literature (*prakopa-śānti,*) etc. Cf. Scharfe 616.

[16] "Erregung," Nobel 5 and 11. "poussée (hotsu)" or "surabondance (sei)," Demiéville 252.

(1-4-1) In the oft-quoted passage of the Caraka-saṃhitā we read,

> *vāyus tantra-yantra-dharaḥ, prāṇodāna-samāna-vyānāpānātmā, pravartakaś ceṣṭānām uccāvacānāṃ niyantā praṇetā ca manasaḥ … āyuṣo 'nuvṛtti-pratyaya-bhūto bhavaty akupitaḥ/*
>
> *kupitas tu khalu śarīre śarīraṃ nānā-vidhair vikārair upatapati bala-varṇa-sukhāyuṣām upaghātāya, mano vyāharṣayati, sarvendriyāṇy upahanti … bhaya-śoka-moha-dainyātipralāpāñ janayati, prāṇāṃś coparuṇaddhi (Caraka-saṃhitā1.12.8)*
>
> In the healthy constructive process (*akupita*) the *vāyu* (is said to to perform physiological functions as follows: it) sustains the machinery of the body (*tantra-yantra-dhara*), it manifests itself as *prāṇa*, *udāna*, *samāna*, *vyāna* and *apāna* and promotes diverse kinds of activities; it is the force which controls (*niyantṛ*) the mind (from all that is undesirable) and directs (*praṇetṛ*) it (to all that is desirable), … (in short) it is the real agency of the continuity of life (*āyuṣo 'nuvṛtti-pratyaya-bhūta*). But when it is in undue proportion (*kupita*) it brings about all sorts of troubles, weakens strength, colour, happiness and life, makes the mind sad, weakens the function of all the sense-organs, … brings about fear, grief, delirium, dejection and tolkativeness, and arrests the functions of the *prāṇas*.[17]

The three humours circulate through the human body and are responsible for health and disease. Another passage of the Caraka-saṃhitā reads as follows,

> *sarva-śarīra-carās tu vāta-pitta-śleṣmāṇaḥ sarvasmiñ charīre kupitākupitāḥ śubhāśubhāni kurvanti, prakṛti-bhūtāḥ śubhāny upacaya-bala-varṇa-prasādādīni, aśubhāni punar vikṛtim āpannā vikāra-saṃjñakāni (Caraka-saṃhitā 1.20.9)*
>
> (Three elements,) wind, bile and phlegm circulate through the whole body. In each and every part of the body they cause good and bad conditions, either being riled (*kupita*) or unriled (*akupita*). When they are in their normal state (*prakṛti-bhūta*) they bring about serenity, etc., of growth, strength, and colour, but falling into disorder (*vikṛtim āpanna*) they bring about the bad state called disease (*vikāra*).

Here the word *kupita* is translated by such words as "riled" (Scharfe), "excité" (Filliozat), "gestört" (Jolly) and "disturbed, excited" (Meulenbelt), and this disordered state should be restored to the normal state (*śamana* [Scharfe 615], or *avyāpanna* [625]), if one wishes to become healthy again.

Furthermore, the disease is ordinarily classified into two categories, viz., that which is produced from within and that which is brought about from without. Of these two, that which is caused from within is due to the disorder of *dhātu* and is called *nija* (innate) and that which comes from outside is called *āgantu* (external) in the Caraka-Saṃhitā 1.18.4ff., and 1.20.3.[18]

[17] Cf. Dasgupta 332–333, Scharfe 621, Filliozat 163–166, Roşu 206–7.

[18] Cf. Jolly 46.

(1-4-2) According to the Suśruta-saṃhitā 1.21, a disease is said to pass through the six stages called *saṃcaya*, *prakopa*, *prasara*, *sthāna-saṃśraya* and *vyakti*, before it becomes chronic (*bheda*).[19] The text reads as follows,

> *saṃcayaṃ ca prakopaṃ ca prasaraṃ sthāna-saṃśrayam*
> *vyaktiṃ bhedaṃ ca yo vetti doṣāṇāṃ sa bhaved bhiṣak (Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.21.36)*
>
> The symptoms of accumulation (*saṃcaya*) of the *doṣas*, their excitement (*prakopa*), their spread (*prasara*), their appearance as the localized disorders (*sthāna-saṃśraya*), the appearance of the fully manifest signs of particular diseases (*vyakti*) and their development as the disease's chronicity (*bheda*). He who knows these (six stages) could be (called) a (good) physician.

It is natural that a disease is better cured, when *doṣas* are eliminated in the first stage,[20] and a partitially excited (*kupita*) *doṣa* may get more excited when it comes into contact with an (already fully) excited (*kruddha*) one.[21]

(1-5) In Pali texts, we meet similar usages.
(1-5-1) In the Buddha's discourse of the efficacy (*mahapphala* etc.) of the death-contemplation (*maraṇa-sati*) where he enumerates various causes of death (*paccayā maraṇassa*) we read,

> *so mama assa antarāyo. upakkhalitvā vā papateyyaṃ, bhattaṃ vā me bhuttaṃ byāpajjeyya, pittaṃ vā me kuppeyya, semhaṃ vā me kuppeyya, satthakā vā me vātā kuppeyyuṃ, manussā vā maṃ upakkameyyuṃ amanussā vā maṃ upakkameyyuṃ; tena me assa kāla-kiriyā (AN.4.320.12–16)*
>
> This may be my death: I may stumble and fall. The food I have eaten may kill me. My bile (*pitta*) may get angry (*kuppeyya*), my phlegm (*semha*) may get angry, my cutting winds (*vāta*) may get angry. Men may attack me, demons may attack me; in this way my end may come (Scharfe).[22]

(1-5-2) So also we read in the Milindapanha.

> *Vāto kho mahārāja kuppamāno dasa-vidhena kuppati: sītena uṅhena jighacchāya pipāsāya atibhuttena ṭhānena padhānena ādhāvanena upakkamena kamma-vipākena. … Pittaṃ mahārāja kuppamānaṃ ti-vidhena kuppati: sītena uṅhena visama-bhojanena. Semhaṃ mahārāja kuppamānaṃ tividhena kuppati: sītena uṅhena anna-pānena. Yo ca mahārāja vāto yañ ca pittaṃ yañ ca semhaṃ tehi tehi kopehi kuppitvā missī-hutvā sakaṃ sakaṃ vedanaṃ ākaḍḍhati (Milindapañha 135. 17–27)*

[19] Cf. Meulenbelt 214–215.

[20] *saṃcaye 'pahṛtā doṣa labhante nottarā gatīḥ*
te tūttarāsugatiṣu bhavanti balavattarāḥ (1.21.37).

[21] *saṃsarge kupitaḥ kruddhaṃ doṣaṃ doṣo 'nudhāvati (1.21.38cd)*
It is to be noted that both the words, *kupita* and *kruddha*, are used together here.

[22] The phrase is repeated in AN.4.321.13–17. Cf. also, Visuddhimagga 235.21–25.

Wind (*vāta*), sire, itself being disturbed (*kuppamāna*), is disturbed (*kuppati*) in a tenfold way: through cold, heat, hunger, thirst, over-eating, resting, striving, running, effort, the maturing of kamma … Bile (*pitta*), sire, itself being disturbed, is disturbed in a threefold way: through cold, heat, unwholesome food. Phlegm (*seṃha*), sire, itself being disturbed, is disturbed in a threefold way: through cold, heat, food-and-drink. And, sire, that which is wind, and that which is bile, and that which is phlegm, each being disturbed (*kopa*), or disturbed (*kuppitvā*) together, attract sensation of their own.

(1-5-3) In the following Jātaka passage, the *vāta* is further specified as *udara-vāta*.

ath' eka-divasaṃ theriyā udara-vāto kuppi, putte daṭṭhuṃ āgate tassa dassanatthāya nikkhamituṃ nāsakkhi (J.2.392.24–393 2)[23]

One day, the Sister was afflicted with flatulence (lit.: the wind in the stomach is angry); and when her son came to see her, she could not get to see him.

(1-5-4) Not only humours, but sense-organs are also riled, hence the compound *kupitindriya*.

vibbhanta-citto kupitindriyo si netthehi te vāri-gaṇā savanti
kin te naṭṭhaṃ kiṃ pana patthayāno idhāgamā brahme tad iṃgha brūhi
(J.3.344.19–22)

You are confused in thought and disturbed in your senses. Tears stream from your eyes. What have you lost? What do you wish to gain by coming here? O, Brahmin, give a plain answer.[24]

II. POLITICAL TREATISES

Beside the ordinary sense of anger, the word is often used in the sense of "revolt," or "revolution" in political treatises.

(2-1) *kopa*: To begin with, Kauṭilya defines the word as follows,

svajana-vikāraḥ kopaḥ (KAS.9.7.3)

A deformity among one's own people is revolt (*kopa*).[25]

(2-2) *kopa*, *prakopa*: These two words appear in the concluding verses which explain how to frighten the enemy.

dūṣya-prakopair go-yūthaiḥ skandhāvāra-pradīpanaiḥ
koṭī-jaghana-ghātair vā dūta-vyañjana-bhedanaiḥ (49)
durgaṃ dagdhaṃ hṛtaṃ vā te kopaḥ kulyaḥ samutthitaḥ
śatrur āṭaviko veti parasyodvegam ācaret (KAS 10.6.50)

[23] Cf. J.2.433.
[24] Cf. J.4.459.19–22 which reads *patthayānā* in c and *idhāgatā nāri* in d.
[25] Cf. Meyer 553.35 (*kopayati*: "empört, bringt in Aufruhr").

> He should strike terror in the enemy … by rousing the treasonable (*dūṣya-prakopa*), through herds of cattle, by setting the fire to camps, by attacks on the tips and in the rear, by creating dissensions through agents appearing as messengers (saying),
>
> "Your fort has been burnt down or captured; a revolt (*kopa*) by a member of your family has broken out; or, your enemy or a forest chietain has risen (against you)." (Kangle)

Here, *kopa* is used in the sense of a revolt and *prakopa* is the act of instigating, or enticing the seducible members of the enemy (*dūṣya*).[26]

(2-3) *kupita*:[27] The word means those who are rebellious or have risen in revolt as the result of dissatisfaction with the king's regime. Two passages are quoted here to illustrate this.

> *ye cāsya dhānya-paśu-hiraṇyāny ājīvanti, tair upakurvanti vyasane 'bhyudaye vā, kupitaṃ bandhuṃ rāṣṭraṃ vā vyāvartayanti, amitram āṭavikaṃ vā pratiṣedhayanti, teṣāṃ muṇḍa-jaṭila-vyañjanās tuṣṭātuṣṭatvaṃ vidyuḥ (KAS.1.13.15)*
>
> And spies appearing as ascetics with shaven heads or with matted hair should ascertain the contentedness or discontentedness of those who live on his grains, cattle, or money, who help him with these in calamity or prosperity, who restrain a rebellious (*kupita*) kinsman or region, (or) who repel an enemy or a forest chieftain (Kangle).
>
> *dūṣya-mahāmātram aṭavīṃ para-grāmaṃ vā hantuṃ kāntāra-vyavahite vā deśe rāṣṭra-pālam antapālaṃ vā sthāpayituṃ nāgarasthānaṃ vā kupitam avagrahītuṃ sārthātivāhyaṃ pratyante vā sapratyādeyam ādātuṃ phalgu-balaṃ tīkṣṇya-yuktaṃ preṣayet (KAS.5.1.20)*
>
> He should despatch the treasonable high officer with a weak army containing assassins, for destroying foresters or an enemy's town or for establishing a district officer or frontier officer in a region separated by a wilderness or for suppressing the domain of city-officer that has risen in revolt (*kupita*) or for seizing a caravan-route on the frontier along with land easily recoverable (by the enemy) (Kangle).

(2-4) *kopaka*, *prakopaka*:
In KAS 9.4.10–15, Kauṭilya contrasts *(pra-)kopaka* with *prasādaka*.[28] Though the meaning is not completely free from obscurity,[29] the text reads as follows,

[26] For the definition of *dūṣya*, cf.
rājyopaghātaṃ kurvāṇā ye pāpā rāja-vallabhāḥ
ekaikaśaḥ saṃhatā vā dūṣyāṃs tān paricakṣate (NS.6.9)
Cf. also NS.6.10–13.

[27] Cf. Kangle's note ad KAS 1.15, p. 32.

[28] "pleasing and rousing to anger" (Kangle) and "den Gunst erweckende" and "den Zorn erweckende"(Meyer).

[29] Cf. Kangle's note on 9.4.12 p. 484.

adhārmikād dhārmikasya lābho labhyamānaḥ sveṣāṃ pareṣāṃ ca prasādako bhavati (10)viparītaḥ prakopa iti (11)

The gain (*lābha*)[30] being obtained by a righteous (king) from an unrighteous one becomes pleasing to his own people and to others. (10) The reverse rouses to anger (*prakopa*). (11)

He goes on to say,

mantriṇām upadeśāl lābho 'labhyamānaḥ kopako bhavati 'ayam asmābhiḥ kṣaya-vyayau grāhitaḥ' iti (12)

dūṣya-mantriṇām anādarāl lābho labhyamānaḥ kopako bhavati 'siddhārtho 'yam asmān vināśayiṣyati' iti (13) viparītaḥ prasādakaḥ (14)

A gain, not being obtained from the advice of ministers, leads to a rising, (as they think), 'He has been made to undergo losses and expenses by us.' (12) A gain, being obtained in disregard of treasonable ministers, leads to a rising, (as they think), 'Having achieved his object, he will destroy us.' (13) The reverse is the gain that pleases.[31]

(2-5) *kopa-kāraka*: The word means that which brings about an uprising or revolt.[32] The concluding verse of the strategem using secret agents reads as follows,

pakvaṃ pakvam ivārāmāt phalaṃ rājyād avāpnuyāt
ātma-cheda-bhayād āmaṃ varjayet kopa-kārakam (KAS.5.2.70)

The king should pick up a ripe fruit from time to time out of his kingdom, as one take from a garden; he should not pick up an unripe (fruit) that causes an uprising (*kopa-kāraka*) for fear of his own destruction.[33]

(2-6) *prakṛti-kopa*: This compound means revolt among the constituents of the state.

prāyaś ca kopa-vaśā rājānaḥ prakṛti-kopair hatāḥ śrūyante … (KAS.8.3.7)

And mostly kings under the influence of anger are known to have been killed by risings among the subjects … (Kangle)[34]

This *prakṛti-kopa* is further classified into two groups, *abhyantara*[35] and *bāhya*, that is, revolt from within and that from without.

[30] "Gewinn," oder in diesem Fall genauer: Eroberungen, Annexionen (Meyer 538 42).

[31] The compound *kopa-prasādau* also appears in NVA.6.39 and 29.92.

[32] Meyer "Aufruhr verursachend".

[33] I followed Kangle's reading here. Meyer evidently reads here *āma-cheda-bhaya* for *ātma-cheda-bhaya*, and translates "out of the fear that a green (unripen) fruit may be ruined by itself (before its being fully ripen)." Cf. his note 380.31ff.

[34] *tathāpi pratiṣṭhamānasya prakṛti-kopam asya kārayed … (KAS.12.2.8).*

[35] It is also called *(kopa) kulya* in KAS.10.6.50. Cf. also
saṃdhāya yuvarājena yadi vā mukhya-mantriṇā
antaḥ prakopanaṃ kāryam abhiyoktuḥ sthirātmanaḥ (Hitopadeśa 3.93=IS.6813).

(2-6-1) *abhyantara-kopa*:

mantri-purohita-senāpati-yuvarājānām anyatama-kopo 'bhyantara-kopaḥ (KAS.9.3.12)

A revolt by one of (the following), the minister, the chaplain, the commander-in-chief and the crown prince, is a revolt in the interior (Kangle).

Kāmandaka uses the word *prakopa* instead of *kopa*, speaking of the same matter.

purohitāmātya-kumāra-kulyāḥ senābhigoptāra ime pradhānāḥ
eṣām hi madhye 'nyatama-prakopam antaḥ-prakopaṃ samupādiśanti (NS.16.20)

They (the experts) define the internal revolt as any revolt among the preeminent (members of the royal court), that is, chaplain, ministers, princes, members of royal family and the commander of the army.

(2-6-2) *bāhya-kopa*:

rāṣṭra-mukhyāntapālāṭavika-daṇḍopanatānām anyatama-kopo bāhya-kopaḥ (KAS.9.3.22)

A revolt by one of (the following), the chief of the countryside, the frontier officer, the forest chieftain and the vassal surrendering to force, is a revolt in the outer regions (Kangle).

Kāmandaka also speaks of it in verse, using the word *prakopa* instead of *kopa*.

rāṣṭrānta-pālāṭavikānatānāṃ bāhya-prakopo 'nyatama-prakopaḥ
utpādyamānaṃ nipuṇa-pracārais taṃ satribhiḥ samyag upādadīta (NS.16.21)

Any revolt among regional officers (*rāṣṭrapāla*), frontier-guards (*antapāla*), foresters and those compelled to surrender (to the ruler) is (called) the external revolt. The ruler should take proper measures to pacify it through skilful spies as soon as it takes place.

(2-6-3) Of these two, the former is said to be more malign (*pāpīyas*).

abhyantarakopo bāhyakopāt pāpīyān ity uktam (KAS.9.3.11).

It is said that the internal disturbance is more malign than the external disturbance.

Kāmandaka also speaks of the two, using the word *ābhyantara* instead of *abhyantara*.

ābhyantarād bāhya-kṛtāc ca kopād ābhyantaras tv eva tayor garīyān (NS.16.18ab)

Between a disturbance from within and that caused from without, the former is more serious (*garīyas*).

He goes on to say,

sāmādibhiḥ saṃśamayet prakopaṃ parasparāvagraha-bhedanaiś ca
tathā ca dhīraḥ śamayet prakopaṃ yathā bhajeran na parān prataptāḥ (NS.16.22)

He should appease revolt (*prakopa*) by means of conciliation etc., and also by creating disunion and dissension among them. The wise man appeases anger (=revolt) lest they should resort to the adversaries as the result of their affliction.

(2-7) *paścāt-kopa*: revolt in the rear.
He who is ambitious of conquest (*vijigīṣu*) should not be negligent of the rear while advancing in front. Thus, the compound *paścāt-kopa* is often contrasted to *purastāl-lābha*.

alpaḥ paścāt-kopo mahān purastāl-lābhaḥ iti, alpaḥ paścāt-kopo garīyān (KAS.9.3.1)

As between a small disturbance in the rear and a large gain in front, the small disturbance in the rear is of greater importance (Kangle).[36]

Such a dangerous element in the rear is called *pārṣṇigrāha*.[37] Somadeva in his Nītivākyāmṛta gives a defintion of it as follows.

yo vijigīṣau prasthite pratiṣṭhamāne vā paścāt-kopaṃ janayati sa pārṣṇigrāhaḥ (NVA.29.25)

He who creates trouble in the rear after the king ambitious of conquest (*vijigīṣu*) has left or when he is about to leave (for conquest) is an enemy in the rear (*pārṣṇigrāha*).[38]

A similar compound *paścāt-prakopa* occurs in the Nīti-sāra.

abhyunnatānām aṇur apy udāraṃ paścāt-prakopaṃ janayed arīṇām
taṃ cāpramattaḥ prasamīkṣya yāyān na nāśayed dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭa-hetoḥ (NS.16.14)

Even the insignificant among the uprising enemies may provoke a significant revolt in the rear. Investigating it, a careful man should advance. One should not destroy the seen for the sake of the unseen.

What is meant here is that no risk should be taken in staking what is seen, that is the territory in possession, for that what is unseen, that is uncertain of acquisition.

paścāt-prakopaḥ purataḥ phalaṃ ca paścāt-prakopas tu tayor garīyān (NS.16.15ab)

[36] Cf. KAS.1.1.11 (*paścāt-kopa-cintā*), 9.1.1, 9.3.2, 4, 6, 8.
[37] For *pārṣṇiigrāha*, cf. KAS 7.13.
[38] Cf. NVA.29.47: *guṇātiśaya-yukto yāyāt yadi na santi rāṣṭra-kaṇṭakāḥ, na bhavati vā paścāt-kopaḥ.* Cf. also NVA.29.81.

Between a disturbance (revolt) in the rear and a fruit(-ful success) in front, the former is more serious.[39]

The same compound appears also in the Hitopadeśa.

deva, kim iti vinā saṃdhānaṃ gamanam asti/yatas tadāsmat-paścāt prakopo 'nena kartavyaḥ (Hitopadeśa 4.93 prose NSP. text 130 12–13)

O Lord, what is advance without negotiation? For, then, he may cause a revolt in our rear.

(2-8) *janapada-kopa*: insurrection in the country.
A ruler is expected to know whether his subjects are contented (*tuṣṭa*) or not (*atuṣṭa*) through his agents, and to endeavour to please (*toṣaya-*, *pūjaya-*, *prasādaya*) his subjects. But when he fails to please them, he must resort to a strategy.

tathāpy atuṣyato daṇḍa-kara-sādhanādhikāreṇa janapada-vidveṣaṃ grāhayet (19) vidviṣṭān upāṃśu-daṇḍena janapada-kopena vā sādhayet (KAS.1.13.20)

If they are even then discontented, he should make them incur the odium of the country by (appointing them to) the office of collecting fines and taxes. When they have incurred the odium, he should bring about their end by silent punishment or by an insurrection in the country (Kangle).

(2-9) Comparable to the Sanskrit *janapada-kopa*, we have in the Pali Jātakas the oft-recurring phrase *paccanto kup-*, which indicates a revolt in the border land of a king's territory. Two examples are quoted below, the one having the aorist form (*kuppi*) and the other the past-participle-passive (*kupita*).

B-assa satta-vassika-kāle rañño paccanto kuppi (J.4.446.1)

When the Bodhisatta reached the age of seven, the border land of the king was disturbed.[40]

ath' eka-divasaṃ rājā paccantaṃ kupitaṃ vūpasametuṃ gacchanto … (J.1.304.10=3.497.28)

Now, one day the king was on his way to quell a disturbance on the frontier …[41]

[39] Cf. also NS.16.18ab (*avaśya-yātavyatayodyataḥ san paścāt-prakopāhitayāna-śaṅkaḥ*).

[40] Cf. J.1.437.15 (*ath' assa paccanto kuppi*, 2.74.3 (*kosala-rañño paccanto kuppi*), J.2.315.2 (*bārāṇasi-rañño paccanto kuppi*).

[41] Cf. J.3.8.22 (*so "paccantaṃ kupitaṃ vūpasamessamīti …* , J.2.274.2 (*ath' ekadivasam rañño pacchanto kupito*), J.4.150.20 (*paccanto kira kupito*), J.2.96.17 (*so rājā "paccanto kupito" ti sutvā …*), J.2.74.21 (*atha rañño paccante kupite*).

III. POETICAL TEXTS

Unlike *krodha* and *manyu*, *kopa* appears in the belle-lettres, particularly in lyrics, and it portrays a woman in the sulks toward a unfaithful lover, particularly the hero (*nāyaka*) of the *śaṭha*-type.[42]

(3-1) This jealous anger takes various forms according to the type of woman (*nāyikā*). We shall see below some examples from the Amaru-śataka.

(3-1-1) In the case of the *vidagdhā*-type she knows how to deal with her *kopa* courteously.

ekatrāsana-saṃsthitiḥ parihṛtā pratyudgamād dūratas
tāmbūlā-racana-chalena rabhasāśleṣa-kramo vighnitaḥ
saṃlāpo 'pi na miśritaḥ parijanaṃ vyāpārayantyāntike
bhartuḥ pratyupacārataś caturayā kopaḥ kṛtārthī-kṛtaḥ
(Amaru 17=SRK 639)

By rising to greet him from afar she circumvents their sitting on one seat; by the pretext of fixing betel she prevents his quick embrace. She makes no conversation with him; instead, gives orders to the servants; her skill is such that by politeness she satisfies her wrath (*kopa*) (Ingalls).[43]

(3-1-2) A woman of the *pragalbhā*-type knows how to conceal her *kopa*. She never shows her resentment openly, even when she notices his jealousy-provoking signs (*kopa-vidhāyi maṇḍana*) printed by another woman upon his body, by using a pretext.

lākṣyālakṣama lalāṭa-paṭṭam abhitaḥ keyūra-mudrā gale
vaktre kajjala-kālimā nayanayos tāmbūla-rāgo 'paraḥ
dṛṣṭvā kopa-vidhāyi maṇḍanam idaṃ prātaś ciraṃ preyaso
līlā-tāmara-sodare mṛga-dṛśaḥ śvāsāḥ samāptiṃ gatāḥ
(Amaru 71=IS.5844)

A mark of lac-dye all over the forehead, the impress of the arm-band on the neck, the dark spots of collyrium on the face, the colour of the betel standing prominent on the eyes--- looking long at this jealousy-provoking ornament of lover in the morning, the sighs of the gazelle-eyed one found their full vent in the chalice of the lotus which she gaily sported in her hand.

By the act of smelling the fragrance of the flower, she conceals her deep sighs in chagrin.[44]

[42] Cf. Daśarūpa 2.9b (*gūḍha-vipriya-kṛc chaṭhaḥ*), Sāhitya-darpaṇa 74 (*śaṭho 'yam ekatra baddha-bhāvo yaḥ darśita-bahir-anurāgo vipriyam anyatra gūḍham ācarati*). For further references, see Schmidt 155–157 and Haas 43. The word also appears in the Raghuvaṃśa 8.49 and 19.31.

[43] She is *vidagdhā* according to the Rasikasaṃjīvinī, but the Śṛṅgāradīpikā styles her as *pragalbhā dhīrā*. The former glosses *kopa* as *īrṣyā-māna*.

[44] *anena saurabhāghrāṇaṃ vyapadiśya kṛtena roṣa-vikāra-śvasa-gopanena nāyikāyā dhairyaṃ vyajyate: Śṛṅgāradīpikā* and *īrṣyā-vikāra-saṃvaraṇārtham āghrāṇa-chadmanā … (: Rasikasaṃjīvinī).*

(3-1-3) But the woman of the *madhyā* type is upset, when she realizes that her anger had more effect on her lover than she had expected.

ekasmin śayane vipakṣa-ramaṇī-nāma-grahe mugdhayā
sadyaḥ kopa-parāṅ-mukha-glapitayā cāṭūni kurvann api
āvegād avadhīritaḥ priyatamas tūṣṇīṃ sthitas tat-kṣaṇaṃ
mā bhūt supta ivety amanda-valita-grīvaṃ punar vīkṣitaḥ
(Amaru 23=IS.1379)

At the utterance of the name of a rival beloved, reposing on one and the same bed, she suddenly turns her back on him in jealous anger (*kopa*). Despite his flattery she rejects him impetuously. When, however, he keeps quiet, she immediately turns her neck briskly and looks at him lest he should grow languid (in sleep).

(3-1-4) An innocent girl of the *mugdhā*-type responds to her lover of the *anukūla*-type as follows,

paśyāmo mayi kiṃ prapadyata iti sthairyaṃ mayālambitaṃ
kiṃ māṃ nālapatīty ayaṃ khalu śaṭhaḥ kopas tayāpy āśritaḥ
ity anyonya-vilakṣa-dṛṣṭi-cature tasminn avasthāntare
savyājaṃ hasitaṃ mayā dhṛti-haro muktas tu bāṣpas tayā
(Amaru 22)

I assumed a serious mien, thinking to myself "I shall see what she will do toward me." She, too, resorted to jealous anger (*kopa*), thinking to herself "Why does this deceitful one not speak to me?" In this predicament agreably designed for embarassed glances with each other, I pretended to laugh, while she shed tears which removed her firmness.[45]

(3-2) Under such circumstances, the woman occasionally plays at feigning anger. Hence, the compound *krīḍā-kopa*.

katham api sakhi krīḍā-kopād vrajeti mayodite
kaṭhina-hṛdayaḥ tyaktvā śayyāṃ balād gata eva saḥ
iti sarabhasa-dhvasta-premṇi vyapeta-ghṛṇe spṛhāṃ
punar api hata-vrīḍaṃ cetaḥ karoti karomi kim (Amaru 14)

Oh dear friend, when I had spoken somehow in playful anger (*krīḍā-kopa*) "go away!", the hard-hearted one left the bed, and went away perforce. Thus, my love being violently trampled on and deprived of pity, my shameless heart yearns after him, wondering "what shall I do?"[46]

(3-3) But if a loving couple is apt to get angry and quarrel with each other, this quarrel should end up in reconciliation, unless they want a real catastrophe. Hence, the alternation of *kopa* with *prasāda* and the like.

[45] *bāṣpo mukta ity anena kopa-bhāva-śāntiḥ (: Vemabhūpāla).* Cf. also IS.5717c (*kopopāhita-bāṣpa-bindu-taralaṃ ramyaṃ priyāyā mukham*).

[46] Cf. *krīḍā-kopāt= praṇaya-mānāt (Vemabhūpāla).*

kathaṃcin naidāghe divasa iva kope vigalite
prasattau prāptāyāṃ tad anu ca niśāyām iva śanaiḥ
smita-jyotsnārambha-kṣapita-viraha-dhvānta-nivaho
mukhendur māninyāḥ sphurati kṛta-puṇyasya surate (SRK.674)

Truly he is blessed with merit that like summer's day her heat of anger (*kopa*) passes and on her growing kind (*prasatti*), as with the coming of the night, her face, a moon, lighting with smiles for moonlight the heaped up darkness of their altercation, shines forth upon his amorous exercise (Ingalls).[47]

Occasionally, *māna* appears in place of *kopa*.

parimlāne māne mukha-śaśini tasyāḥ kara-dhṛte
mayi kṣīṇopāye praṇipatana-mātraika-śaraṇe
tayā pakṣma-prānta-dhvaja-puṭa-niruddhena sahasā
prasādo bāṣpeṇa stana-taṭa-visīrṇena kathitaḥ (Amaru 55)

When her anger (*māna*) had faded and she had rested her moon-like face in her hand, and when on my part, having exhausted every means (of conciliation) and singly resorted to prostration, she communicated all of a sudden her favour (*prasāda*) through (a stream of) tears, which, until then held back in the cavity of the thick border of her eye-lashes, presently split asunder on her high bosom.[48]

(3-4) The way of pacifying a woman in the sulks often takes the form of her lover's prostration.

sutanu jahihi maunaṃ paśya pādānataṃ māṃ
na khalu tava kadācit kopa evaṃ-vidho 'bhūt
iti nigadati nāthe tiryag-āmīlitākṣyā
nayana-jalam analpaṃ muktam uktaṃ na kiṃcit (Amaru 34=/=SRK.678)

"My slender one, give up your silence. See where I lie before your feet (*pādānata*). Your anger (*kopa*) never yet was such as this." As thus her husband

[47] Cf. *dīrghocchvāsa-vikampitākula-śikhā yatra pradīpāḥ kule*
dṛṣṭir yatra ca dīrgha-jāgara-guruḥ kope madīye tava
visrambhaika-rasa-prasāda-madhurā yatra pravṛttāḥ kathās
tāny anyāni dināni muñca caraṇau saivāham anyo bhavān (SRK.691)
In our house the lamps had flames that trembled with your long-drawn sighs, and your eyes were heavy from the vigils at my anger (*kopa*), until our words came sweet with reconciliation (*prasāda*) and perfect confidence. But those are days long past. Now leave my feet; for I am still the same, but you have changed (Ingalls).
Cf. also, Amaru 33, SRK.652, 660, 668.

[48] Cf. Hāla's Sapta-śataka for another sort of alternation of anger (*kopa*) and pacification (*prasāda*).
ullola-karā-rāṇa-khaehi tuha loaṇesu maha diṇṇaṃ
rattaṃsuam pasāo, koveṇa puṇo ime na akkamiā (A.13)
(ardrārdra-karaja-radana-kṣatebhiḥ tava locaneṣu mahad dattam
raktāṃśukaṃ prasādaḥ kopena punar ime na ākrāntāḥ?).

spoke she closed her eyes and let fall many tears but answered not a word (Ingalls).[49]

The word *māna* also appears in the same context.

cetasy aṅkuritaṃ vikāriṇi dṛśor dvandve dvipatrāyitaṃ
prāyaḥ pallavitaṃ vacaḥ svaparatā-pratyāyamānādiṣu
tat tat kopa-viceṣṭite kusumitaṃ pādānate tu priye
māninyāḥ phalitaṃ na māna-taruṇā paryanta-vandhyāyitam (SRK.679)

The tree of jealousy-anger (*māna-taru*) sprouted in her heart, sent forth its cotyledons in her two proud eyes, came fairly into leaf in what she said and flowered in the gestures of her anger (*kopa-ceṣṭita*). But when her love then fell before her feet (*pādānata*) it bore no fruit but proved a barren tree (Ingalls).[50]

(3-5) The alternation of *kopa* and *prasāda* is even considered necessary. Indeed, lovers' quarrels are so many renewals of love!

yadi kupyasi nāsti ratiḥ kopena vinātha vā kutaḥ kāmaḥ
kupya ca kopaya ca tvaṃ prasīda ca tvaṃ prasādaya (Mṛcchakaṭika 5.34)

Where anger is, there love is not; or no! except for anger hot, there is no love.

Be angry! make him angry then! Be kind! and make him kind again ---The man you love (A.W.Ryder)[51]

(3-6) As we have seen above, the word *kopa* is often replaced by *māna*.[52] We shall quote a few examples.

sphuṭatu hṛdayaṃ kāmaḥ kāmaṃ karotu tanuṃ tanuṃ
na khalu caṭula-premṇā kāryaṃ punar dayitena me
iti sarabhasaṃ mānāṭopād udīrya vacas tayā
ramaṇa-padavī śāraṅgākṣyā saśaṅkitam īkṣitā (Amaru 79=/=SRK.666)

[49] Cf. also, *kopaḥ sakhi priyatame nanu vañcanaiva*
tan muñca mānini ruṣaṃ kriyatāṃ prasādaḥ
prāṇeśvaraś caraṇayoḥ patitas tavāyaṃ
saṃbhhāṣyatāṃ vikasatā nayanotpalena (SRK.652)
pādāsakte suciram iha te vāmatā naiva kānte
mandārambhe praṇayini jane kopane ko 'parādhaḥ
itthaṃ tasyāḥ parijana-girā kopa-vege praśānte
bāṣpodbhedais tad anu sahasā na sthitaṃ na pravṛttam (Amaru 75)
kandarpa-kandali salīla-dṛśā lunīhi
kopāṅkuraṃ caraṇayoḥ śaraṇātithiḥ syām
paśya prasīda caram ācalacūlacumbi
bimbaṃ vidhor lavala-pāṇḍuram astam eti (SRK.668).

[50] For *c*, cf. Ingalls' note on p. 515.

[51] HOS 9, (1905) 86. The commentary of Pṛthivīdhara even says as follows,
īrṣyā-kṛta-kopena vinā śṛṅgāra-rasotthaṃ sukhaṃ nāstīty arthaḥ
Without anger caused by jealousy, there is no pleasure caused by love-flavour. Such is the meaning.

[52] For the compoud *praṇaya-māna*, cf. Schmidt 102–104. Cf. also my paper on *praṇaya* to be published in Rome, note 41–42.

"My heart may burst and Love may waste my limbs, but never will I have to do with such a fickle lover." She spoke thus strongly in the passion of her anger (*māna*), but even as she spoke, she glanced with fawn-like eye uncertainly at his retreating steps (Ingalls).

Here *mānāṭopāt* is paraphrased by Vemabhūpāla as *kopātiśayāt*.

bhrū-bhaṅgo guṇitaś ciraṃ nayanayor abhyastam āmīlanaṃ
roddhuṃ śikṣitam ādareṇa hasitaṃ maune 'bhiyogaḥ kṛtaḥ
dhairyaṃ kartum api sthirī-kṛtam idaṃ cetaḥ kathaṃ cin mayā
baddho māna-parigrahaḥ parikare siddhis tu daive sthitā (Amaru 95=/=SRK 645)

Long have I practised frowning; I have trained my eyes to close and taught my smile restraint. I have applied myself to silence and strengthened all my wits to keep me obdurate. Such angry preparations have I made, but whether they succeed or not depends on fate (Ingalls).

Vemabhūpāla paraphrases here *māna-parigraha* as *kopa-parigraha*.[53]

[53] *ekasmiñ śayane parāṅ-mukhatayā vītottaraṃ tāmyator*
anyonyasya hṛdi sthite 'py anunaye saṃrakṣator gauravam
dampatyoḥ śanakair apāṅga-valanān miśrībhavac cakṣuṣor
bhagno māna-kaliḥ sahāsa-rabhasa-vyāvṛtta-kaṇṭha-grahaḥ
(Amaru 21=/=SRK.667)
Here *māna-kali* means quarrel caused by jealous anger (*mānena praṇaya-kopena kṛtaḥ kaliḥ kalahaḥ/ … atra bhāva-śāntiḥ, praṇayakopasya śāntatvāt:* Vemabhūpāla).
anālocya premṇaḥ pariṇatim anādṛtya suhṛdas
tvayākāṇḍe mānaḥ kim iti śarale preyasi kṛtaḥ
samākṛṣṭā hy ete viraha-dahanodbhāsura-śikhāḥ
svahastenāṅgārās tad alam adhunāraṇya-ruditaiḥ (Amaru 84=SRK.659)
Here also *māna* is paraphrased as *kopa* by Vemabhūpāla.
Other examples of *māna* are listed below,
caraṇa-patanaṃ sāsrālāpā manohara-cāṭavaḥ
kṛśatara-tanor gāḍhāśleṣo haṭhāt paricumbanam
iti bahu-phalo mānārambhas tathāpi ca notsahe
hṛdaya-dayitaḥ kāntaḥ kāmaṃ kim atra karomy aham (Amaru 96)
gata-prāyā rātriḥ kṛśatanu śaśī śīryata iva
pradīpo 'yaṃ nidrā-vaśam upagato ghūrṇata iva
praṇāmānto mānas tyajasi na tathāpi krudham aho
kuca-pratyāsattyā hṛdayam api te caṇḍi kaṭhinam (SRK.654)
kiyan-mātraṃ gotra-skhalitam aparādhaś caraṇayoś
ciraṃ loṭhaty eṣa grahavati na mānād viramasi
ruṣaṃ muñcāmuñca priyam anugṛhāṇāyatihitaṃ
śṛṇu tvaṃ yad brūmaḥ priyasakhi nakhaṃ mā kuru nadīm (SRK.680)
śravasi na kṛtās te tāvantaḥ sakhīvacanakramāś caraṇa-patito 'ṅguṣṭhāgreṇaapya ayṃ na hato janaḥ kaṭhina-hṛdaye mithyā-mauna-vrata-vyasanād ayaṃ parijana-parityāgopāyo na mānaparigrahaḥ (SRK.687)
dṛṣṭe locanavan manāṅ-mukulitaṃ cāgre gate vaktravan
nyagbhūtaṃ bahir āsthitaṃ pulakavat saṃsparśam ātanvati
nīvī-bandhavad āgataṃ śithilatām ābhāṣamāṇe tato
mānenāpasṛtaṃ hriyeva sudṛśaḥ pāda-spṛśi preyasi (SRK 699).

(3-7) The word *kopa* is also characterized by its construction with *praṇaya*, which is never construed with *krodha* and *manyu*. As is discussed elsewhere,[54] the Sanskrit word *praṇaya* is a complex of meanings which consists of affection (*preman*), trust (*viśvāsa*) and request (*yācñā*). When it is construed with *kopa*, the compound *praṇaya-kupitā* portrays a lady who resents her lover's inconstant behaviour. Since it has been discussed in detail on another occasion, here a few examples suffice to ilustrate the situation.

(3-7-1) *praṇaya-kopa*

praṇaya-kopa-bhṛto 'pi parāṅ-mukhāḥ sapadi vāri-dharārava-bhīravaḥ
praṇayinaḥ parirabdhum athāṅganā vavalire vali-recita-madhyamāḥ
(Śiśupālavadha 6.38)

Though filled with love-anger (Liebeszorn: Hultzsch) and thus having the face turned away, suddenly filled with fear of thunder, these ladies hastened to their beloved for embrace, while their waist was free from folds.

(3-7-2) *praṇaya-kupita*

tvām ālikhya praṇaya-kupitāṃ dhātu-rogaiḥ śilāyām
ātmānaṃ te caraṇa-patitaṃ yāvad icchāmi kartum (Meghadūta 101ab)

With earthen dyes I sketch on a rock thy form in loving pique, but when I try to limn myself fallen at thy feet … (Edgerton)

(3-7-3) *praṇaya-kalaha*

praṇaya-kalaha-kupita-kāminī-prasādanopāya-caturaḥ (Kādambarī 25.4–5)

(He is) skilled in the means of conciliating the loving woman, angry because of a love-quarrel.

(3-8) In these contexts of lovers' quarrels, it is remarkable that only the word *kopa* appears, but never the other words such as *krodha* and *manyu*.

IV. OTHER USAGES (*PRAKOPA(-NA)* AND *VIKOPA(-NA)*)

In addition to the three sorts of contexts which we have classified above, there remain some other usages of the word which could not be included in any one of the above categories. Finally, we examine these contexts.

(4-1) *prakopa*
(4-1-1) Beside its construction with the three humours (*dhātu*) as we have seen above in chapter 1, *prakopana* in its Pali form is compounded with *citta*.

anattha-janano moho moho citta-ppakopano
bhayam antarato jātaṃ taṃ jano nāvabujjhati (Itivuttaka 84.21–24)

[54] See my article to be published in RSO, entitled "Hindu Concept of Friendship".

Delusion (*moha*) brings about misfortune, and it perturbs the mind (*citta-ppakopana*). People are not aware of that danger born within.

(4-1-2) The word *prakopa* further stands as the second member of a Tatpuruṣa-compound. We have *raṅga-prakopa* in Droṇa's warning to Aśvatthāman.

vārayaitau mahā-vīryau kṛta-yogyāv ubhāv api
mā bhūd raṅga-prakopo 'yaṃ bhīma-duryodhanodbhavaḥ (MBh.1.125.4)

"Stop those two champions, highly trained as they are, or else there will be a riot in the arena over Bhīma and Duryodhana." (van Buitenen)

Meyer notes this occurence long ago, and suggested a translation of this compound as "infringement of the laws holding for the stage."[55]

(4-1-3) We have also a compound *vidhi-prakopa*. In speaking of a cause of battle, Vāsudeva says as follows,

yadā gṛdhyet para-bhūmiṃ nṛśaṃso vidhi-prakopād balam ādadānaḥ
tato rājñāṃ bhavitā yuddham etat tatra jātaṃ varma śastraṃ dhanuś ca
indreṇedaṃ dasya-vadhāya karma utpāditaṃ varma śastraṃ dhanuṣ ca
(MBh.5.29.27)

When one cruelly covets the land of another and, angering (*vidhi-prakopād*) destiny, seizes power, then this shall be a cause of war for the kings; For that were sword, bow, and armour created; by Indra were warfare, weapons, and bows and armour created to slaughter the Dasyus. (van Buitenen)

Despite the translation of van Buitenen, the compound would be better taken as above in the sense of "infringement, or violation of the fixed rules."[56]

(4-2) *vikopana*
(4-2-1) The word means more than simple "disturbance," and sometimes implies "injury." In the discussion of the two standards of defilements given in the Milindapañha, that which is blamable by the world and that which is blamable by the regulation of the Vinayas, we read.

bhūta-gāma-vikopanaṃ mahārāja lokassa anavajjaṃ, taṃ Jina-sāsane vajjam (Milindapañha 266.26–7)

[55] Cf. Meyer 1971, 58 note 3.

[56] Cf. Meyer loc. cit. Other instances which Meyer collected there are as follows,
araṇye sāya-pūrvāhṇe mṛga-yūtha-prakopitā
vidhijño mṛga-jātīnāṃ nipānānāṃ ca kovidaḥ (MBh.12.133.4)
Morning and evening he used to excite the wrath of groups of wild animals. He knew the practices of wild animals and was well conversant with places of shelter.
apratyakṣaṃ bahu-dvāraṃ dharmam āśrama-vāsinām
prarūpayanti (l.v. prakopayanti) tad-bhāvam āgamair eva śāśvatam (MBh.12.64.3)
The duty of those who live in certain stages of life is not obvious, but has various outlets. People always vitiate its real nature by advocating various (false) doctrines (*āgama*).

Injuring the growth of vegetation (*bhūta-gāma-vikopana*), sire, is blameless in the world, but it is blamable in the Dispensation of the Conqueror (Horner).

(4-2-2) The word stands as the second member a a Tatpuruṣa-compound, the preceding member of which is expressive of moral concept. In blaming woman-folk, the word is construed with *brahmacariya*.

āvaṭṭanī mahā-māyā brahmacariya-vikopanā
sīdanti naṃ viditvāna ārakā parivajjaye (J.2.330.10–11=4.471.19–20)

Enticing, greatly deceitful and (thus) causing the violation of the livelihood of purity, they sink. Knowing them as such, one should avoid them from afar.

(4-2-3) In the Vinaya-text the way of deportment (*iriyā-patha)* appears in a similar position, standing in the accusative case as the object of *vikopayamāna*.

ādiyamāno 'ti ādiyamāno haramāno avaharamāno iriyā-pathaṃ vikopayamāno ṭhānā cāvayamāno saṃketaṃ vītināmayamāno (Vinayapiṭaka 3.47.16–18)

"Taking" means: taking, stealing, thieving, interrupting the mode of movement, moving from a place, waiting at a rendez-vous. (Horner)

(4-2-4) Vikopana is also compounded with *santati*. Though the meaning is not entirely free from obscurity, it seems to mean "destroying."

niggaho nāma bhante Nāgasena hattha-cchedo pāda-cchedo vadho bandhanaṃ kāraṇā māraṇaṃ santati-vikopanaṃ (Milindapañha 185.1–3)

Restrain, revered Nāgasena, means the cutting off of the hands, the cutting off of the feet, torturing, imprisoning, punishing, slaying, injuring the continuity.[57]

(4-2-5) Its verb-form (*vikopeti)* means "to bring to naught." Thus, construed with one's footsteps (*pada*), it is almost equivalent to "efface," or "obliterate."

M. tassā asaññī-bhāvaṃ ñatvā padaṃ vikopetvā araññaṃ pāvisi (J.6.68.1–2)

The Bodhisatta, perceiving that she was unconscious, plunged into the wood, carefully obliterating his footsteps (destroying his tracks).

(4-2-6) Sometimes *vikopeti* means "to blame." Some people are critical of prince Vessantara's act of over-giving.

anupubbena tassa kitti-saddo paramparāya ajj' etarahi idha amhākaṃ samayaṃ anuppatto, taṃ mayaṃ dānaṃ vikittentā vikopentā nisinnā; sudinnaṃ udāhu duddinān ti (Milindapañha 276.3–6)

Gradually and by successive tradition his renown has reached our meeting here today. We sit together defaming and disaparaging that gift, questioning whether it were well given or ill given.

[57] For the compound *santati-vikopana*, cf. Horner's note 3 on her translation p. 262.

(4-3) Two more usages are worthy of note, the one from MBh. and another from the Pali Jātaka.

(4-3-1) *a-kopayan*: Comparable to the oft-recurring phrase in Pali *rāja-dhamme akopetvā* (without disturbing the royal rules), MBh. has *rājye sthitim akopayan*. It is a privilege of a king to take wealth from the unworthy people and to give it to the worthy.

suroṣeṇātmano rājan rājye sthitim akopayan
adattam apy ādadīta dātur vittaṃ mameti vā (MBh.12.130.5)

Without disturbing (or violating) (*akopayan*) the established rule of kingship, O monarch, one may take possessions from the owner which are not given to him, saying indignantly 'This is mine!'

(4-3-2) *a-vikopin*: It seems to means "indestructible." While introducing the radical theory of the Ājīvikas we read,

satt' ime sassatā kāyā acchejjā avikopino
tejo paṭhavī āpo ca vāyo sukha-dukhañ c' ime
jīvo ca, satt' ime kāyā yesaṃ chettā na vijjati
n' atthi hantā vā chettā vā haññare vāpi koci naṃ
antaren' eva kāyānaṃ satthāni vītivattare (J.6.226.10–14)

These seven aggregates which are eternal are neither to be severed, nor to be destroyed,[58] --- fire, earth, water, air, pleasure and pain, and the soul. These are the seven aggregates of which there exists neither anyone to sever, kill, nor sever. Nobody is killed either. Weapons pass through among these aggregates.

(4-4) These instances of *prakopana* and *vikopana* indicate a nuance of "purturbation, disturbance" being discernable in the root *kup- (citta-, brahmacariya-, iriyāpatha-)*. It may develop into the meaning of "infringement, transgression" of the rule (*raṅga-, vidhi-*), or "destruction" (*bhūtagāma-, pada-*) and even "blame" according to the nature of the context. Originally, the semantic content is not "anger" as such, but rather its cause which eventually becomes responsible for the rise of mental unrest, that is anger.

V. CONCLUSION

All these compounds, *dhātu-kopa* in medical texts, *prakṛti-kopa* (*paccanta kup-*) in political treatises, *praṇaya-kopa* in lyrics and others show that the word *kopa* meant originally " unrest, disturbance or disorder." In medical texts it implies "disorder" within one's body, and in political treatises "disturbance" within the royal family or one's territory, and thirdly in the romantic context "dissonance" between the loving couple. Throughout all these, a sort of "insideness or interiority" is evident and it al-

[58] CPD. I. 465: not destructive (or indestructible?). Apparently, the meaning is similar to *a-cchejja*.

ways expects some sort of "deviation from the normal state," which, in its turn, evokes a sense of "unexpectedness." Thus, in medical literature *kopa* means "unrest or disorder of humours (*vaiṣamya*)" within one's body, which does not take place in its normal and healthy state (*sāmya*). In political treatises, it is "unexpected revolt" within the royal family or one's state (*prakṛti-kopa*), or in the rear (*paścāt-kopa*). And thirdly in lyrics it means "unrest or dissonance originating from love" (*praṇaya-kopa*) within loving couple, which is hardly expected in the normal state. All these are caused by abnormal disorder (*vaiṣamya*), physical, political as well as emotional.

Despite the fact that most of the modern dictionaries list under the word *kopa* the meaning of "anger" first, "anger" is apparently the result of confining the original meaning of the word to the narrow sphere of "emotion." The meaning which is attested in the Vedic texts of *kup- (kop-)*, that is, "to quake,"[59] is discernable even in later times. Originally, its semantic field was far more extended and it was used in a general sense of "deviation from the normal state," that is, "unexpected disorder, or unrest within the organic whole," as is attested in the medical and political treatises.

Yet, once it is confined to the emotional sphere, and established as such, it is used synonymously with *krodha* and *manyu*, as is evident in the indigenous dictionaries and commentary-literature. But even there it apparently retains its original meaning of the emotional "quake, or unrest," which distinguishes it from *krodha* and *manyu*.

We may then conclude that the Sanskrit word *kopa* indicates the aspect of anger characterised as "irritation within (one's heart)" which is hardly the original implication of *krodha* and *manyu*.

That is to say, among the three Sanskrit words expressive of "anger, " *kopa* means "unrest"or "inner agitation," which is caused by disturbance of the normal state of mind. Probably, *kopa* comes first in the form of "irritation," but at this stage it is still possible for the former normal state to be restored by appeasing (*śam-*) it. When the normal state becomes irrestorable, the same state of mind develops into *krodha* and takes an outward manifestation. Then it bursts out instantly. However, prior to its actual explosion as *krodha*, the "anger" can also be suppressed (*pā-*, *nigrah-*, *titikṣ-*) by the effort of one's will. Yet, this suppression is different from appeasement (*śam-*), for the "disturbed mental state" (*kopa*) disappears without trace when it is appeased, but when it is suppressed by force, the same mental state remains inside without finding free vent. Then, irritation (*kopa*) develops into *manyu* without finding inner appeasement (*śam-*) or outer explosion (*krodha*).

Thus each one of these three words in Sanskrit seems to represent aspectual differences of "anger" in English.

[59] Cf. our notes 2, 3 and 8 above. It is to be noted that this original meaning is preserved in Pali *a-kuppa* and BHS *a-kupya*, which is translated as "unshakable," "indisputable (Nolot)," "imperturbable (Norman)," and even sometimes "resolute." However, in order to discuss the problem, another paper is necessary to be written.

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Entangled Music

JAN HJÄRPE, Lund

During the last few decades of the 20th century, we witnessed a remarkable development of mixed forms of music in the world, in which we can see the impact of new media, migration and new techniques as channels for mutual influences on composers, artists and listeners. We can see the phenomenon of what we might call a "musical syncretism", music and texts to music, with elements from very different traditions and various linguistic and religious environments, constituting that vast field of contemporary cultural life that is sometimes called "world music". A considerable part of this "world music" has its origin in the Muslim world and in the musical traditions of the Islamic religious environment.

Examples

We can experience some of these phenomena in our academic work. I take the liberty of beginning by mentioning a personal experience in this respect.

In 1995, at the public defence of Mattias Gardell's Ph.D. thesis in History of religions at Stockholm University, entitled *Countdown to Armageddon; Minister Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam in the Latter Days*,[1] I served as faculty opponent. Those participating in the disputation were astounded by the throng of youthful listeners. The reason for this unusual interest in an academic work was obvious. In the dissertation, Gardell analyses (among other things) the phenomenon of "message rap", the hip-hop and rap music which plays a considerable role in the spreading of the ideas and attitudes of the American Black Muslim movement. This kind of music was evidently very well known to the youths of Stockholm. That made me curious, so I asked a considerable number of persons, in different environments and of different profession, and of very different ages, if the following names meant anything to them: Divine Styler, Queen Latifah, Lakim Shabazz, Poor Righteous Teachers, Brand Nubian, Public Enemy, Ice Cube, KAM, Professor Griff, MC Ren, Big Daddy Kane, Paris, Mister Cee, K-Solo, Skinny Boys, Defiant Giants, Sister Souljah, Afrika Bambaata, Prince Akeem, Kool-Aid, Rapp-Operaman, Ice T, West Coast Gangsta Rap, Niggaz With Attitudes[2]—and so on. I could see that there was a distinct difference depending on the age of the person. All the youngsters I asked, regardless of social affiliation, education or fields of interest, recognized at least some of these names and very often had opinions about them. To almost all persons roughly of my own age or older, these names were entirely unknown. (So even to

[1] Published in the USA as *In the Name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam* (Duke University Press, Durham 1996).

[2] The names are taken from Gardell's thesis, pp. 251ff.

two professors of musicology.) The exceptions were some teachers who had to do with teenagers. The only significant parameter was age. When asked how they had come across these hip-hop and rap groups and artists, the common answer was: "on the MTV music channel".

A typical example of the syncretistic character of "world music" is the Pakistani *qawwali*-singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who died in 1996. *Qawwali* is a common traditional form of the Islamic Sufi *samâ'*, in the Indian subcontinent and in central Asia. Nusrat Fateh represents an interesting synthesis of jazz and *qawwali*. We find his music in Martin Scorsese's film *The Last Temptation of Christ*. He has cooperated with Jan Garbarek, Bruce Springsteen and Eddie Vedder. Joan Osborne has taken singing lessons from him. His voice can be heard in the film *Natural-Born Killers*, and he has gained world status by some of his songs.His concerts drew huge audiences in Europe. His connection with Peter Gabriel's WOMAD has been of special importance.[3] A simple search on the Internet web yields several thousand hits.

The disastrous development in Algeria from 1989 onwards meant that the last decade of the 20th century was characterized by the violent deaths of perhaps 100,000 people. The violence included Islamist extremists' actions against *rai*-singers. The "king of *rai*" Chab Hasni was shot in 1994, and Lunes Matub was kidnapped. He was released, owing to the massive Kabyle popular rage against the kidnapping, but was murdered on June 25, 1998. Bab Ahmed (=Rachid) was shot the same year. The North African *rai* has certainly become very much a part of "world music", and the artists in exile have a huge popularity also outside the Maghribi communities in Europe, as a part of the youth culture.[4] In a metropolis like Marseilles, with its huge immigrant communities, its outlook on the Mediterranean and its character as a centre of music "entanglement", we can see the three global "flows" of rap, reggae and *rai* melting into the youth culture. These three styles are heard from the car radios everywhere in town. We meet here with both French and Algerian rap, reggae and *rai*, Cheb Chaled being a star of the Oran-Marseilles axis. As an example, one only of many, I can mention a record from 2001 of "Algerap" (*al-jazâ'irâp*), in a mixture of French, English, Arabic and Tamazight, protest music being a part of the struggle in the Algerian situation and the texts expressing frustration over this situation. Simultaneously, it is music of high quality, pertinent to the texts, and done with a high degree of professionalism.[5] Here we have the characteristic synthesis-mixture of different styles and musical traditions, the new techniques, and the entanglement of this music with the actual, political, social, and ethnic conditions in a situation of conflicts, going beyond the local into the global community of young listeners.

Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan can be seen as a representative of a more traditional *qawwali*, although used in untraditional ways, and mixed with other musical styles and

[3] Cf. Rick Glanvill's presentation in the booklet to the CD *Rapture Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan* (NSCD 013; 1997).

[4] For the *rai* culture in North Africa, see Marc Shade-Poulsen, *Men and Popular Music in Algeria: The Social Significance of Raï* (University of Texas Press, 1999).

[5] *Algerap; Ta'shîrât*. s.a.

with the use of new techniques. But what we see, too, are untraditional mixed forms, the skilful syntheses, both spontaneous and planned.

May I refer to another personal experience? When the special committee on *Global Processes* within the Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN) prepared an international conference on "Globalizations", to be held in Stockholm in the autumn of 1999, up came the question of "globalized music". Could we perhaps include an example of the phenomenon in the program of the conference? We made contact with a group in Malmö whose music was characterised by a connoisseur as Iraqi-American-Swedish techno. Its name was *Natik City*. The group was an *ad hoc* constellation, only existing for some time and changing and substituting members. It consisted on that occasion of an Iraqi refugee in Sweden, Natik Awayez, as composer-vocalist and *'ûd*-player, and three Swedish musicians, with drums (and drum-loops), bass and saxophone. They were engaged for the conference, as they proved to have a very high standard. We noticed especially, as an example of a transition of a special genre, an elegy (in Arabic) to the memory of the murdered Swedish prime minister Olof Palme, in which one could recognise elements from the Shia Islamic *ta'ziya* tradition expressing sorrow for the martyrdom of Husayn ibn Ali. The synthesis did not convey any feeling of being strange or unusual. The music functioned in a very well-integrated way.

Youth culture

As a historian of religion, I have noticed the phenomenon of youth-culture cults, rituals very spontaneous in their origin and development. One example (among many) is what happened after the disastrous conflagration in 1998 in a hall in Göteborg, where a great number of young people, with different ethnic backgrounds, lost their lives.[6] Immediately we saw those spontaneous rituals that are well known from all over the world: flowers on the pavement in front of the site of the disaster, and dolls, teddy bears and other soft-toy animals, pictures of the dead comrades, letters to them expressing grief, lighted candles. In a church in the neighbourhood young people met, regardless of religious affiliation, to find expression for their feelings in symbolic acts of solidarity. Regardless of religious affiliation, the comrades of the deceased and their families attended the (different) funerals. Four years later, the families of the victims still are in touch, and a new ritual symbol has developed: the graves of the victims are now connected with each other by chains placed there by the mourners. I am prepared to use the term "spontaneous cult" for what has happened. It did not have any specific, confessional character, using traits from different religious traditions, but could be said to represent a constellation of the typical, today global, elements of a youth culture, its signs and symbols. It is to this youth culture that the musical syncretism evidently belongs.

In the autumn of 2000, we had a special seminar at the Department of the History of Religions at Lund university, in our series for the Ph.D. students of Islamology. The initiative was taken by other researchers, in musicology and theology, with an interest in religious music. The seminar discussed Islamic religious music. The re-

[6] Cf. *Göteborgsbranden 1998*, SPF rapport 179 (Styrelsen för Psykologiskt Försvar, Stockholm 2000).

port that was a result of the seminar has now been published separately,[7] but I will give some hints of what we noticed on this occasion.

The *entanglement*, the mixed origin of music styles, praxis and musical theories, has a long history, as well as the entanglement in another respect, the connections between music, anthropological ideas, theological and philosophical cosmologies, and in medical-therapeutical practices. It has also to do with the question of "legal" and "illegal", "moral" and "immoral" music. More important is perhaps the actual use of music in religious acts, as part of the interpretation and expression of existential conditions, and as an instrument for meditation, as well as its use both as entertainment and as a tool in propaganda for mobilization purposes. One example from the material presented at the seminar was propaganda songs from Hamas and Hizbullah. I can also mention the role of music in the religious education of children.[8] Radical Muslim youth music can be found too, especially in the USA.[9]

Islamic musical tradition

In traditional Islamic praxis, we meet with the recited call to Prayer (*adhân*), the recitation of the Qur'an (*tilâwa*) and the hymns connected with meditation and spiritual concerts (*dhikr*, *samâ'*, *qawwâlî*).[10] But, combined with these or as a development from these, we find a huge variety of advanced, Sufi, artistic music, even with full orchestra, of the kind we meet on TV, in concerts, on the Web, and available on CD and cassettes—and with the aid of the parabola antennas.[11]

Musical theories[12] among Arab and Persian philosophers in the Middle Ages developed on a foundation of the heritage from Greek philosophy, not least from the Pythagorean tradition. The most renowned of these was al-Farabi (d. 950) and his Great Book on Music (*kitâb al-mûsîqî al-kabîr*). There is a difference between the "Aristotelian" tradition and the Neoplatonic, represented mainly by the *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ'*, where the connection between music and mathematics, and with the har-

[7] Jan Hjärpe, Islam och musik, in *Tro & Tanke 2001:1* (Svenska Kyrkans Forskningsråd, Uppsala). For the Muslim music tradition in general, see Amnon Shiloah, *Music in the World of Islam: A socio-cultural study* (Scholar Press, Aldershot 1997), D. Parsons, *The Music of Islam* (Celestial Harmonies, Tucson, Arizona, 1997), and O. Wright, art. *Mûsîḳî* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition*, VII, pp. 681 ff.

[8] The Islamic Foundation in Leicester has edited material, including songs and music, for children.

[9] The easiest way to find examples is on the Web. See e.g. *http://islamicchants.hispeed.com* or *www.anasheed.com*. One can also look for the phenomenon in the catalogue on *www.godstore.com* (the part under the title "Islamic").

[10] Cf. Antoon Geels, "A Note on the Psychology of Dhikr: The Halveti-Jerrahi Order of Dervishes in Istanbul", in *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 6(4), 1996, pp. 229–251, esp. pp. 238 ff.

[11] One example is the festivals of religious music (of different origins, arts and styles) in Fez, Morocco (*Mihrajân Fa's li-l-mûsîqî al-'âlamiyya al-'arîqa/ Festival de Fès des Musiques Sacrées du Monde*); cf. *www.morocco-fezfestival.com*. As for both the ancient and the recent history of Sufi music, see the Acta of a conference at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul in 1997, in which almost all of the more renowned specialist researchers in that field participated: *Sufism, Music and Society in Turkey and the Middle East* (edited by A. Hammarlund, T. Olsson and E. Özdalga), SRII Transactions, Istanbul, Vol. 10, 2001).

[12] For the sources, see O. Wright, art. *Mûsîḳî i EI* VII, pp. 681 ff.

monious structure of the Universe, the harmony of the Spheres, is a central idea, as is the idea of the "sympathy" between the different parts of the Universe and the different parts of the human body. This cosmological speculation on the connection between metals, colours, planets and melodies has evidently influenced the Sufi ideas and cosmology and has been connected with the praxis of meditation; thus, for instance, the different stages in the spiritual development of the soul are symbolised by different colours. We can relate this to some of the ideas in the Sufi musical praxis as well.

The ideas on the "entanglement" of soul, body, the elements, and the harmonious, musical-mathematical universe have played a role also in the tradition of medical theory and practice.[13] Music can influence religious experience, but it can also be used as a therapy. The so-called Greek-Islamic medical tradition, long prevalent also in Europe, was founded on the humoral pathology, the idea of the four elements, the four characteristics, the four corporal fluids and the four temperaments. As they were all connected, the influences were mutual, and thus music, influencing the balance of the corporal "humours", also influenced the health. Here we can speak of "entangled music" in a very special sense.

The role of globalization

We see today the phenomenon of musical syncretism, both in profane music and in religious music (and in the mixture of both), a globalization (and "glocalisation") of music. There is the development of new instruments and new channels for distribution, but also a global interest in reviving traditional instruments, styles and practices (the search for authenticity). On the other hand; there are the new combinations. As a historian of religions, I have, for instance, noticed the strange fact that all the religions on the Indian subcontinent have one common feature: the use of the harmonium, a 19th-century, European invention. In the religious Sufi music in the Balkans, we may hear the accordion. The wonderful, but feeble tone of the *nay*, the reed flute, so important in the Mevlevi music, has got its electric amplifier, and the human voice makes use of it too.

There is a global availability. CDs with anthologies of "world music" are easy to find.[14] Even a very random visit to a record store yields a large harvest. The popularity of the spiritual music has to do with its function as entertainment, but also with its psychological effects, sung provoking feeling and engagement. One of the main channels is the TV. We can find the very simple song *a cappella* and we can find very advanced music. As regards the Islamic tradition we find *samâ'* and *dhikr* with famous artists, choirs and grand symphony orchestras.[15] The already mentioned

[13] Cf. Irmeli Perho, *The Prophet's Medicine: A Creation of the Muslim Traditionalist Scholars* (*Studia Orientalia*,Vol. 74, Helsinki 1995), pp. 44 ff. For the medical tradition, see M. Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine* (Islamic Surveys No. 11, Edinburgh 1978) and F. Klein-Franke, *Vorlesungen über die Medizin im Islam* (Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 23, Wiesbaden 1982).

[14] See for instance, the series entitled *Anthology of World Music* published by the International Institute for Traditional Music in the USA, Rounder Records Corp.

[15] For one example, see the video with Yusuf Islam in Sarajevo: *Jusuf Islam Vecer najljepsih ilahiya*

qawwali from central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, especially Pakistan is very much appreciated all over the world.[16] There are certainly very few record shops that cannot provide the music of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan or the Sabri Brothers. Likewise, very few that cannot offer records by famous *rai* artists.

A novelist's analysis of contemporary musical entanglement

There is one author who, perhaps more than any other, has used the entanglement, the syncretisms, the mixed forms of the contemporary human conditions for literary purposes: Salman Rushdie. In his novel *The ground beneath her feet* (1999), the main theme is the role of popular music as a global phenomenon and as entangled in our existential problematics. Now I shall try to use, in my turn, this novel as a tool in an attempt at an analysis.

The novel is a variation on the Orpheus-Euridice myth, in the form of the love story of the Indian composer-musician Ormus Cama and the singer Vina Aspara, and it ends in a description of the global popular music, with its texts, movements, lifestyles, as the substitute of our time for that which *religion* once was. The phenomenon of global popular music as that which gives the interpretational patterns for our existential experiences, feelings, spirituality, the new form of mystical cults, the vehicle of perception and meaning: "world music" as the mythology and rituals of our time.

My interest in this novel had primarily to do with a study I was pursuing on Rushdie's general use of categorisations and themes from the academic discipline of comparative religion,[17] but I soon saw that these themes, as well as his use of religious and mythological elements in general, in that novel were connected with the theme of popular music.

Rushdie's art is in general very *palimpsestic*, the intertextual arrangements being very complicated. The more the reader is oriented in old and modern literature, myths, legends and sagas of all times and all continents, in music and art history, in film, in actual politics, in the trends and jargons of contemporary cultural debates, the more he can appreciate the texts.[18]

Modernity has meant that the individual has got a multitude of identities which have difficulties in coming together, in being combined. There is a web of belongings: profession, ethnicity, local connections, family, religious affiliation, nationality, friendships, all these belongings having their jargons, norms, observances, loyalties, categorisations. We experience daily a cognitive heterogeneity. The cognitive universe, the experienced world, is falling apart—as it literally does in the

(VHS PAL GHM009), distributed by Therma Med, Nürnberg, with Gazi Husrevbegova Medresa's choir and the Mjesoviti orchestra (Conductor: Mehmed Bajraktarevic). Gazi Husrevbegova medresa has edited several videos of Bosnian Islamic spiritual music, esp. hymns (Ilahija).

[16] A search on the web for *qawwali* yielded more than 4,000 hits.

[17] "Rushdie och religionshistorien", in *Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Anders Hultgård zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 23.12.2001* (ed. by Michael Stausberg, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York 2001), pp. 381–393.

[18] Cf. Margareta Petersson, *Unending Metamorphoses* (Lund University Press, Lund 1996).

novel, the ground beneath her feet dissolves. I would call this the main theme in Rushdie's entire literary production, the question of the diversity of identities and how the individual can cope with this problem, in a schizophrenic way or in a new synthesis.

Existence is a complex, having many alternative interpretations simultaneously. The individual must fight for his right to decide himself, not be included in any objectified categorisation. This is expressed by the narrator in the short story entitled "The Courtier":

> But I, too, have ropes around my neck, I have them to this day, pulling me this way and that, East and West, the nooses tightening, commanding, *choose*, *choose*.
>
> I buck, I snort, I whinny, I rear, I kick. Ropes, I do not choose between you. Lassoes, lariats, I choose neither of you, and both. Do you hear? I refuse to choose.[19]

In the novel, *The ground beneath her feet*, one of the persons, Sir Darius Cama, is obsessed by the subject of comparative Indo-European mythology, by the works of Max Müller, Andrew Lang and Georges Dumézil (pp. 42f). And he "was particularly drawn to the so-called tripartite theory of Dumézil" (p. 43), but

> "Three functions aren't enough", he said feverishly. "There must be a fourth." ... ... what about outsideness? What about all that which is beyond the pale, above the fray, beneath notice? What about outcasts, lepers, pariahs, exiles, enemies, spooks, paradoxes? What about those who are remote?"[20]

This idea has to do with the representatives of popular music, the outsiders, in the novel:

> Darius Cama's "fourth function" added, to the tripartite system of Indo-European culture (religious sovereignty, physical force, fertility), the necessary additional concept of the existential outsider, the separated man, the banished divorcé, the expelled schoolboy, the cashied officer, the legal alien, the uprooted wanderer, the out-of-step marcher, the rebel, the transgressor, the outlaw, the anathematized thinker, the crucified revolutionary, the lost soul.[21]

Only the one who steps out of the frame can see the entire picture.

The Popular music, especially rock music, has been that which formed a whole generation's cultural identity, transcending all boundaries, expressing existential conditions, uniting and mixing with all traditions, everywhere, perhaps uniting with them, but in that process creating something new, of its own. The *I* of the novel says:

> Rock music, the music of the city, of the present, which crossed all frontiers, which belonged equally to everyone—but to my generation most of all, because it was born when we were children, it spent its adolescence in our teenage years, it became adult when we did, growing paunchy and bald right along with us: this was the music that was allegedly first revealed to a Parsi Indian boy named Ormus Cama...[22]

[19] Salman Rushdie, *East, West* (Vintage, Reading 1994), p. 211.

[20] Salman Rushdie, *The ground beneath her feet* (Vintage, Reading 2000), p. 44.

[21] Id. p. 222.

[22] Id. pp. 103 f.

For just that reason rock music was hated by all kinds of fundamentalisms, religious or nationalist, cultural or elitist.

Yes, rock music belongs especially to that generation—my generation—those born in the 1940s. But for those born in the 1970s and 1980s, the music is a synthesis of much more complicated art, "world music", in which the distinctions between classical and popular, Western and Eastern, regional and global, have disappeared for new syntheses.

The USA has had a special role in the new music on the global level, as well as in the contemporary linguistic vehicle of world communication, the English language. In the novel this is expressed thus:

> … all that yearning, hope, greed, excess, the whole lot adding up to a fabulous noisy historyless self-inventing citizenry of jumbles and confusions; all those variform minglings of English adding up to the livingest English in the world; and above everything else, all that smuggled-in music. The drums of Africa that once beat out messages across a giant landscape in which even the trees made music, for example when they absorbed water after a drought, listen and you'll hear them, yikitaka yikitaka yikitak. The Polish dances, the Italian weddings, the zorba-zithering Greeks. The drunken rhythm of the salsa saints. The cool heart music that heals our aching souls, and the hot democratic music that leaves a hole in the beat and makes our pants want to get up and dance. But it's this boy from Bombay [the Ormus Cama of the novel] who will complete the American story, who will take the music and throw it up in the air and the way it falls will inspire a generation, two generations, three.[23]

Ormus stands in the novel for the new synthesis, the new music, which developed after the trauma of the American defeat in Vietnam. The music of postcolonialism:

> And that America which by losing certitude has newly opened itself to the external world responds to the un-American sounds Ormus adds to his tracks: the sexiness of the Cuban horns, the mind-bending patterns of the Brazilian drums, the Chilean woodwinds moaning like the winds of oppression, the African male voice choruses like trees swaying in freedom's breeze, the grand old ladies of Algerian music with their yearning squawks and ululations, the holy passion of the Pakistani qawwals.[24]

In a passage of the novel, in which Ormus Cama is working as a disc jockey on a pirate radio ship broadcasting to England, it is said:

> The music is extraordinary. Keening slow-hand guitar playing, the old wise voices of ridiculously young blues rockers, the hard-edged raunch'n'roll women and the soft ethereal crystal-voiced maidens, the screaming feedback swirls of psychedelia, the ballads of war and love, the hallucinated visions of the great troubadours. By clinging to the music Ormus can keep a hold on what's real. The music tells him truths he finds he already knows.[25]

I think that this expresses the thesis of the novel, that the new "world music" (including the lyrics) constitutes the contemporary vehicle of mythology, the vehicle that has taken over the role of religion as the way to interpret and express the existential conditions of life. The channel today for the motives of ancient myths and sa-

[23] Id. p. 276.
[24] Id. p. 416.
[25] Id. p. 306.

gas consists of the film, the video, the cassettes, the Web, the parabolas. And there is an affinity between religion and music. In the novel, Mira Celano (*sic!*), points to the medieval poet Tomas Celanos' wonderful and frightening *Dies Irae*, and she turns to the *I* of the novel, Ray, and adds:

"Sufi music, for example, it could be Azerbaijani or Uzbek or Moroccan, I mean, I'm not au courant with the belief system, okay?, but there's this incredible drumming, and amazing layered syncopation, and trumpets, and dancing like you're possessed. But it's not just Sufi, there's so much of this music crossing frontiers now, music from all over, Yoruba drumming, the old songs of the expelled Jews from Spain, Persian-Iraqi maqam concerts using mystical poems, Shinto drumming, gospel, Buddhist chants, and do you know the work of Arvo Pärt, sort of minimalist meets New Age? Have you heard Fatty Ahmed, he's played with the Ruby Goo? ..." [Ray laughs.]

"What's funny, she wants to know. "People really want this, they want the magic and the security, the idea that there's something beyond, something greater, something more. Meditation, celebration, supplication, that's ... fuck you, Rai, why is this making you laugh?

"No, it's really okay, I say. I'm sorry, it's only nostalgia. I knew someone else who talked like this once."[26]

The everyday consumption

Finally one small personal experience. Some time ago, I went to the usual Jazz Brunch session in our neighbourhood in Lund, to listen to a concert by a group consisting of three South Indian musicians (Selvaganesh, percussion, Umashankar, ghatam, and Uma Mahesh, vocalist), one Swede (Jonas Hellborg, bass) and one American (Shawn Lane, guitar). The concert, a mix of South Indian tradition and new compositions by Jonas Hellborg, had brought together a full house of listeners. I mention this example not as something extraordinary, but for the opposite reason: it was something rather common. Music today transcends ancient identities, boundaries, categorizations, in new syntheses, in new combinations, and is entangled—and very much a part of—ongoing changes in the world, in conflicts, in the fast technical changes, entangled in the global processes, experienced individually and collectively on the local arena as well.

[26] Id. pp. 589 f.

"The One Who Was, Who Is and Who Shall Be" — An Indo-European Formula of Divine Omnipotence?

ANDERS HULTGÅRD, Uppsala

The present paper is a preliminary investigation into the problems posed by an intriguing formula of divine omnipotence, which is based on the scheme of past, present and future. The source material that is to be dealt with here is drawn from religious traditions of ancient Europe, and western and southern Asia. The possible occurrence of the formula (in written or oral form) in a wider cultural context has not been examined. Commenting upon an inscription from Eleusis, Otto Weinreich discussed the formula in 1919 against the background of similar expressions from the Greek tradition.[1] The origins and the context of the formula need to be discussed on a broader basis, however.

In his reference to the Peleiades, the priestesses of the oracular sanctuary at Dodona, Pausanias (X,12,10) reports that they were the first women to sing the following verses:

> Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστί, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται, ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ
> Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε ματέρα γαῖαν.
> "Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be, o mighty Zeus,
> Earth sends up fruits, therefore call ye Earth mother."[2]

The two verses have been transmitted together, but they do not necessarily have a common origin (cf. Parke 1967 p. 160).[3] The goddess invoked as Mother Gaia may be Demeter or Dione, the female associate of Zeus at Dodona. Be that as it may, both verses are in general considered to be of a later date, that is to say the Hellenistic period.[4] The question of date is intimately bound up with the origin of the tripartite formula in praise of Zeus. It is argued that the content of the verse, as well as its formulaic expression, would be unfamiliar to classical Greek thought, Zeus never being regarded as independent of time.[5] According to this line of interpretation, the formula belongs rather to the sphere of Oriental theology, and Jewish and Mazdean analogies suggest that the Dodonean priesthood composed their address to Zeus under the influence of some Oriental source.[6]

The issue seems to me more complicated than that, however. Three questions

[1] Weinreich 1919.

[2] I have used the translation of Parke 1967 p. 158.

[3] Cf. Parke 1967, p. 160.

[4] Parke 1967, p. 160, suggests that their composition dates from the time of Pyrrhus and he concludes his discussion on the origin of the verses by stating that "It is best, therefore, to regard these two verses as a late product of Dodonean theology". A later origin of the verses is also proposed by Petersman 2002.

[5] Parke 1967 pp. 159–160.

[6] As evidence, Parke (1967, p. 159) cites only the Revelation of John 1,8 in the New Testament.

which are interrelated must be addressed. First, in which particular contexts and religious traditions does this theological formula occur? Secondly, is the application of the past—present—future scheme restricted to divine beings only? Thirdly, should it be interpreted as a formula characteristic of a specific group of cultures or is it to be seen as a more or less universal way of expressing the idea of an unlimited time period? In order to answer these questions I shall begin by looking more closely at the structure and variation of the formula in the cultures in which it occurs.

EARLY GREEK TRADITION

Returning to Dodona and its oracular cult, the formula recited is intended to express the all-embracing character of the supreme sky-god, especially in his time aspect. Zeus is praised as the sovereign of the past, the present and the future. In Dodona, the formula was not part of the responses conveyed to the enquirers,[7] but it had nevertheless an apparent ritual setting as a doxological element in the worship of Zeus. The structure of the formula is tripartite; a verb meaning "to be, to exist" is given in three time aspects and the name of the deity is repeated also for the second and third element.

The tripartite praise-formula at Dodona addressed to a supreme deity is not without analogies in early Greek literature. In particular, the early Greek religious thinkers offer good parallels.[8] Heraclitus maintains that the universe was not created by gods or by humans, "but it always was and is and shall be: everliving fire…", ἀλλ' ἦν ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται πῦρ ἀείζωον… What is called "everliving fire" by Heraclitus probably takes on the function of a supreme cosmic principle, (Heraclitus B 30).[9]

Melissus of Samos and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, who belong to the Milesian school of naturalists, make use of the tripartite formula when characterizing the highest cosmic principle. Melissus believes that it had not come into existence but that notwithstanding it "exists, and always was and shall always be", ἔστι τε καὶ ἀεὶ ἦν καὶ ἀεὶ ἔσται and he goes on to say that it has no beginning and no end but that it is boundless, ἄπειρον (Melissus B 2). Anaxoagoras is reputed to have said of God that he controlled "that which was, is and shall be" (Anaxagoras A 48). The corresponding passage (Anaxagoras. B 12), in which his own words have been preserved, refers to a divine Mind arranging "all such things as were to be and were (that is, the things which now are not), and such as are at present".[10] Empedocles assuming the highest divine reality to be composed of four principles (personified as four deities),[11] says that from them come everything "which was, which is and which shall be", ἐκ τούτων γὰρ πάνθ'ὅσα ἦν, ὅσα τ'ἔστι καὶ ἔσται (Empedokles B 21).

[7] Cf. Parke 1967 p. 159.

[8] The citations of Greek passages from the early philosophers are taken from the edition of H. Diels 1951, to which also the numbering refers.

[9] For a discussion of this fragment, see Jaeger 1967, p. 122–123.

[10] English translation after Jaeger 1967, p. 161.

[11] See for this, Jaeger 1967, p. 137.

In describing the primordial creation process, Plato states that in order to produce a certain movable imitation of the immobile eternity, the supreme deity, the Father, fashioned forth an eternal image αἰώνιον εἰκόνα which, he says, "we call Time because He was and is and shall be", χρονός λέγομεν γάρ δὴ ὡς ἦν ἔστιν τε καὶ ἔσται (Timaeus 37d–38a). The wording indicates that the formula is a traditional one, which most probably concerned a supreme divine being or principle, but this use is criticised by Plato in the following text. The past and the future are categories born out of Time (χρόνου γεγονότα εἴδη) and should consequently not be applied to what is eternal. To the eternal substance (ἡ αἴδιος οὐσία) only the present can in truth be applied (τῇ δὲ τὸ ἔστιν μόνον κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον προσήκει). Another passage of Timaeus echoes the tripartite formula, but here it is used to emphasise the unity of the universe as represented by the sky. The creator has not made two worlds or an infinite number of worlds but, "this sky is one, unique in its kind, as it has become, is and will ever be", ἀλλ' εἷς ὅδε μονογενὴς οὐρανὸς γεγονὼς ἔστιν καὶ ἔτ'ἔσται (Timaeus 31 b).

The examples of the formula so far presented are linked to a supreme deity or a highest cosmic principle, but the earliest attestation of the formula, though in a slightly different wording, is found in Homer, *Iliad* I,70, and applied to the soothsayer Calchas Thestorides. He could foretell "that which is, that which shall be and that which was before" τά τ'ἐόντα τά τ'ἐσσόμενα πρό τ'ἐόντα. The formula has nevertheless a religious setting, it deals with the divine inspiration of a seer connected with Zeus and Apollo who are mentioned in the preceding verses (*Iliad* I,63–64). It is noteworthy that an early scholion connects the formula with the tripode of Apollo at Delphi: διὸ καὶ τρίποδα τίθησι τῷ θεῷ (Erbse, p. 31).

THE HELLENISTIC–ROMAN WORLD

The most illuminating example of the Greek tripartite formula from the Hellenistic–Roman period is no doubt the inscription at Eleusis (Sylloge Inscr. Graec. No. 1125), which prompted Otto Weinreich to publish his important article. The inscription, on the base of a statue which was set up by three Roman brothers in honour of the god Aion and for the persistence of the Roman Empire, has received further treatment by Günther Zuntz in his monograph on Aion.[12] The image of Aion is lost but the inscription is well preserved and dates in all probability from the time of Augustus. The unchangeable and eternal nature of Aion is emphazised in a number of assertions,[13] one of which runs: ὁποῖος ἔστι καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔσται This is followed by a statement attributing to Aion no beginning, or middle or end: ἀρχὴν, μεσότητα καὶ τέλος οὐχ ἔχων. The phrasing of both statements recalls earlier formulaic expressions found in the early Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle.[14]

A new feature is that the formula can be combined with divine "I am" predications. Plutarch reports that there was a statue of Athena in Saïs, identified with the Egyptian Isis which had the inscription: ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ

[12] Zuntz 1989, pp. 37–55.

[13] The analysis of Zuntz (1989, pp. 37 and 43) records seven different statements.

[14] As noted by Weinreich 1919 and partly also by Zuntz 1989, p. 43.

ἐσόμενον. The pantheistic coloration is apparent. The mystery of the divinity is underlined by adding the words "and my robe no mortal has yet unveiled" (*De Isid. et Osir.* 9). The formula adduced by Plutarch is certainly of Greek origin, since the Egyptian concept of time and divinity is a different one for which the tripartite formula would be alien. In another treatise Plutarch comments upon the formula of Homer in the *Iliad*, which he also cites when discussing the question of why the present comes first. He seems to apply the formula to Apollo stating that the god is a prophet (μάντις) and prophetic art is concerned with the future that is to result from things present and past: περὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἢ παρωχημένων (*De E Apud Delphos* c. 6). In the same treatise, the nature of God is discussed by Plutarch in terms of being and unity (c.19–20). Alluding to the tripartite formula, he emphasises the present, ἀλλ'ἔστιν ὁ θεός and God exists for no fixed time, the categories of past and future are irrelevant to apply to him, since, being one, he has completely filled the "for ever" with his "Now" εἷς ὢν ἑνὶ τῷ νῦν τὸ ἀεὶ πεπλήρωκε.

As in the *Iliad* I,70 the connection of the formula with prophecy appears also in Vergilius:

> *novit namque omnia vates, quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahuntur* (Georg. IV,393).

The Revelation of John offers perhaps the best-known example of the formula, both in its tripartite and bipartite variants, in all cases placing the present as the first element and connecting the formula with the concept of the all-ruling God. After the introductory doxology the Apocalypse opens with an "I am"statement (the declaratory "I") followed by the omnipotence formula: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, says the Lord God, who is and who was and who is to come (ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος), the sovereign Lord of all" (Apoc. 1,8).

The bipartite formula occurs in two other passages of the Revelation. In 11,17 the twenty-four elders who sit on their thrones before God prostrate themselves and praise Him with the following words: "We thank Thee, Lord God, the All-Ruling, who is and who was" ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν (Apoc.11,17). The same formula reappears in 16,4 but without the epithet pantokrator and the quality of divine justice and holiness is emphasized: δίκαιος εἶ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, ὁ ὅσιος.

There are further attestations of the formula or similar expressions in the early Jewish, Christian and Gnostic traditions. A study of these formulas and the question of their origins is being prepared by Marc Philonenko to which I refer the reader.

ANCIENT IRAN AND INDIA

In ancient Iranian tradition[15] the formula appears already in the Gāthās.The tripartite form is found in *Yasna* 33,10: *vispāstōi hujītaiiō yå zī åŋharə yåsca həṇtī yåsca*

[15] To my knowledge, the only scholar who has dealt with the formula in Iranian tradition, although very briefly, is Geo Widengren (Widengren 1952, p. 103 and 1969, p. 478). He quotes the formula as *ke hast, būt ut bēt* without giving the source references to Pahlavi passages, and cites the Avesta Yasna 51,22 which he compares with Yasna 47,2. He considers the formula to be Indo-Iranian referring to the Upanishads in general. In the article of 1952, he cites the Atharvashira Upanishad I,1 (cf. above).

mazdā buuaiṇtī .. "All thy (goddesses) well alive, who were and who are and who shall be, oh Mazdā..." It is not explicitly stated to whom the formula refers, but the forms in the feminine plural show that female beings or categories are intended. The context suggests that these are divine female entities or goddesses. A further attestation is the bipartite variant of *Yasna* 51,22 which asserts that Ahura Mazdā is the supreme deity, to whom it is most appropriate to bring sacrifices, but that the other deities, denoted "those who were and are" *yōi å̊ŋharəcā həṇticā tą yazāi*, also have a claim to sacrificial worship.[16] In *Yasna* 45,7 it is said that "the living who were and shall be", *yōi zī juuā, å̊ŋharəcā buuaṇticā*, desire the happiness produced by the right ritual performance. In some passages, the tripartite formula is connected specifically with the *ašauuan-*. *Yasna* 21,4 has the following statement: *vīspəm aṣ̌auuanəm həṇtəmca bauuaṇtəm bušiiaṇtəmca*,"every truthful who is, who was and who shall be". The Pahlavi version runs *harwispēn ahlāwān kē-z hēnd kē-z būd hēnd kē-z bawēnd*, which suggests that the *bauuaṇtəm* of the present Avestan text should be taken to refer to the past, as expected from the structure of the formula.[17] The same formula reappears in the *Visprad* 18,2 and similar formulas occur in *Yašt* 19,9 and *Yasna* 52,1 and 68,22. In *Yašt* 13,150 we find the expression *paoiriiąn ṯkaēšə̄ yazamaide ... yōi å̊ŋharə .... yōi bābuuarə... yōi həṇti* "we worship the first teachers...those who have been ... who have become ... who are".

Passing to the Pahlavi tradition, the formula is in the first place used in praise of the supreme god, Ahura Mazdā (in Middle Iranian: Ohrmazd) or connected with him in some other way. The Pahlavi texts give the formula in slightly different wordings, but the variants can be grouped in two main categories depending on which time aspect comes first. The order past–present–future varies with the order present–past–future, and in addition there are bipartite formulas. The full formula applied to Ahura Mazdā is found in the first, cosmogonic part of the *Bundahišn*, more precisely in the theological introduction (*Bundahišn* I, § 1). The primordial situation before the cosmogonic process begins is described and the essence of the supreme deity is characterized: Ohrmazd is said to be on high in omniscience and goodness (*pad harwisp-āgāhīh ud wēhīh*), and for infinite time (*zamān ī akanārag*) he was ever in light. This light is the space (*gāh*) and place (*gyāg*) of Ohrmazd and the omniscience and the goodness is his totality (*hamāg*) but this totality is also the infinite time; it is then repeated that the deity is the goodness, the religion (*dēn*) and the time.The passage is concluded by the following doxological formula: *Ohrmazd būd, ast ud hamē bawēd* "Ohrmazd was, is and shall ever be".[18]

The cosmic place and character of Ahreman, the power of Evil, is then described with categories that are entirely opposite of those applied to Ohrmazd. The Evil Spirit moves in the depths of darkness, he is slow in knowledge (*pas-dānišnīh*) and filled with lust to kill (*zadār-kāmagīh*). In taking up the formula for Ohrmazd, the

[16] For this passage, see Kellens 1994, p. 117.

[17] Bartholomae AirW 933 notes the discrepancy between the Avestan *bauuaṇtəm* and the Pahlavi *būd hēnd*. Is the Avestan form corrupt?

[18] The last part of § 1 has not been correctly understood, and this goes in particular for the formula itself, for which the correct text has been preserved by one manuscript branch only; for the passage, its manuscript evidence and interpretation, see Hultgård 1990, p. 179.

author gives it a characteristic turn, however: *Ahreman...būd ud ast kē nē bawēd* ", Ahreman...was and is but he shall not be"[19] (*Bundahišn* I, § 2). The soveignty of the supreme deity will always exist, but the past and present existence of evil, though real, will come to an end. For Zorostrianism this is the crucial point, when world-history is fulfilled, the evil power will be definitely eliminated and Ahura Mazdā and the powers of Good will exist for ever in a renewed world.

The connection of the formula with Ahura Mazdā is likewise manifest in *Pand Nāmag ī Zardušt*, a Zoroastrian catechism edited probably in the late Sassanian period. The most important thing for man is to think of Ohrmazd in his capacity as "the one who is, who has always been and who always shall be" *Ohrmazd pad astīh, hamē būdīh, hamē bawēdīh.... menīdan* (*Pand Nāmag ī Zardušt*, § 3). A shorter variant of the same idea and formula occurs in § 10, where it is said that one is the way of "the creator Ohrmazd, who always was and shall ever be", *dādār ohrmazd ī hamē būd ud hamē bawēd.*

The application of the formula to the semi-divine beings denoted *frawahr* (Avestan *fravaši-*) appears in the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, composed in the ninth cent. C. E. by the high priest Manuščihr. Question 27 deals with the *drōn*-ritual of Srōš for three days to help the soul of the deceased to pass into paradise. On the fourth day, the ritual (*yazišn*) of the frawahr of the righteous and of "the frawahrs of those who are, and were, and shall be, from the bountiful Gayōmard to the victorious Sōšans", *frawardān ī astān, būdān, bēdān az gayōmard ī abzōnīg ō sōšāns ī pērōzgar*, must be performed.[20]

The extension of the formula to other spheres than to divine or semi-divine beings is attested in the *Dēnkard* Book 7. In describing the outstanding qualities of Zarathustra the author emphasises his superiority over every one of "those who are, who were and who shall be", *astān, būdān ud bawēdān* (*Dēnkard* VII, 3, 49).

Knowledge of God and the other world is a weapon (*abzār*) "that was and is and shall be", *kē ast, būd ud bēd* (Pand Nāmag, § 58). Referring to pious co-religionists of all times the faithful are exhorted to strive to preserve constantly the same virtue (*hamkirbag*) and the same (religious) opinion (*hamdādestān*) as "any of those who have been, who shall be and who are", *ēč kē būd hēnd ud ēč kē bawēnd ud ēč kē hēnd* (*Pand Nāmag* § 21).

The Vedic tradition (taken in a wide sense) presents the formula in different variants and contexts. A closer scrutiny of Vedic literature would certainly yield further attestations, the passages here cited are to be seen as a selection which is nevertheless intended to convey an idea of the formula's usage in ancient India.

The hymn to Puruṣa in the *Rigveda* says of this primordial being that he is "this entire world, that which has been and that which shall be", *púruṣa evédáṃ sárvaṃ, yád bhūtáṃ yác ca bháviyam* (RV X, 90, 2; ed. of van Nooten & Holland). The hymn to time, Kāla, as transmitted in the *Atharva Veda* 19,53, describes the primordial god of time with the words that in him all "that has become and shall be" is contained, *kāle ha bhūtaṃ bhavyaṃ ca* (AV 19,53,5) and it is further stated that "through Time that which has become and that which shall be" was brought into existence, *kālena bhutaṃ bhavyaṃ ca* ... (AV 19,54,3).

[19] For the text, see Hultgård 1990, p. 179.

[20] Text as edited by Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998.

The *Kaivalya-Upanishad* (belonging to the *Atharva Veda*) presents a similar formula in the passage describing the characteristics of the all-pervading supreme deity: *sa eva sarvaṃ yad bhūtaṃ yac ca bhavyam* "he is all, what has been and what shall be" (*Kaiv. Upan.* 7–9). As in *Rigveda* X,90 the aspect of the present is expressed through a nominal sentence with the particle *eva*.[21] and in most of the Sanskrit attestations the nominal sentence together with a predicative referring to the deity seems to perform the function of the present of the verb "to be, to exist" as in the full formula of divine omnipotence. In the above passage of the *Kaivalya-Upanisad* we find another way of expressing the eternity of the divine, by invoking "Him who is without beginning, middle or end" *tam ādimadhyānta-vihīnam*. In the *Atharvaśira Upaniṣad* I,1 an "I am"-predication of Rudra is combined with the omnipotence-formula: *aham eka prathamam āsaṃ ca vartāmi ca bhaviṣyāmi*, "I am the One, in the beginning I was and I exist and I shall be".[22]

ANCIENT SCANDINAVIAN TRADITION

Against the early Greek and Indo-Iranian background, the problem of the origin of the group of three female divinities called in Old Norse *nornir* should be reconsidered. In describing the cosmic tree, the ash Yggdrasill, Snorri reports in his *Edda* that near the spring under the ash tree there is a beautiful hall from which three maidens come and they bear the names *Urð, Verðandi* and *Skuld*; they shape the lives of men and are called Norns (Gylfaginning chapter 15). The source of this statement is apparently stanza 20 of the eddic poem *Vǫluspá*, dating in all probability from the late tenth century. The stanza runs as follows:

þadan koma meyiar, margs vitandi
þriár, or þeim sæ er und þolli stendr;
Urð héto eina, aðra Verðandi
– skáro á skíði—Skuld ena þriðio

"From it (the ash tree) three maidens come, deep in knowledge,[23] out of the waters[24] that are under the tree. They named one Urðr, another Verðandi,—they carved on the wooden stave—the third one Skuld".

Since Jakob Grimm and his Deutsche Mythologie, the names of these three Norns have usually been interpreted as symbolizing Fate in its three aspects of time, the past, the present and the future.[25] Usually the two latter names are interpreted as being of later date.[26] Of these three goddesses of fate, only Urðr, associated with the past form of the verb *verða*, is firmly rooted in tradition and has been interpreted as

[21] See for this Gren-Eklund 1978, pp. 106–117.

[22] The Sanskrit text in Tubini 1952.

[23] The rendering in English of the expression *margs vitandi* (lit. "much knowing") is that of Dronke 1997 p. 12.

[24] Two different readings have been transmitted in the manuscripts. I have adopted the *sæ* ("lake, waters)" of Codex Regius against the *sal* ("hall") of Hauksbók; this variant is taken up by Snorri (see above). The meaning of *sær* here would be "waters"; cf. Sigurður Nordal 1980, p. 52.

[25] See also F. Ström, 1954, p. 86, Weber, 1969 pp. 149–150, Dillmann 1991, p. 158 and 2002, Dronke 1997, p. 128.

[26] Cf. de Vries §192.

a personification of the notion of divine fate contained in the first element of the mythic Urðarbrunnr. The second, Verðandi, representing the present participle of the same verb, is not attested elsewhere and is commonly interpreted as an *ad hoc* innovation of the poet[27] or of his source.[28] The third, Skuld, linked to the verb *skulu* "shall, must", is also used by the poet of *Vǫluspá* as a Valkyrie name. Since there are no other analogies in Old Norse tradition to this group of three Norns and to their connection with the three time aspects, scholars have regarded them as a product of the mythic imagination of the poet.[29] In addition, some interpreters go further and see the inspiration of *Vǫluspá* stanza 20 in medieval Christian erudition. The motif of the three Parcae or Μοῖραι in Greco-Roman mythology, which was taken up and used by medieval Christian writers, may be the origin of *Vǫluspá* 20.[30] It would be plausible to admit such an influence on the *Prose Edda* of the learned Snorri, but not on the poet of *Vǫluspá*, whose world-view is the inherited mythic tradition of ancient Scandinavia. It is noteworthy that the poet uses the image of goddesses carving marks or runes on wooden pieces, which reflects autochthonous practices of divination and time-reckoning.[31] I suggest that the three goddesses Urðr, Verðandi and Skuld derive from genuine, Scandinavian, mythic tradition and that there is a connection with the tripartite formula of the Indo-Iranian and Greek traditions.

DISCUSSION

Looking at the structure of the formulas we find a variation between the tripartite and the bipartite expressions. In the latter case, the elements of past and future are stated by verbal forms, whereas the aspect of the present seems to be contained in the preceding mention of the deity or highest principle. The order of the time aspects varies but the evidence points to the sequence of past, present and future as the primary order, since most of the early attestations are tripartite and present this sequence. The Vedic tradition seems to be an exception, showing in most cases the structure: name of deity followed by nominal sentence(s) with a past participle and a gerundive in the neuter.

To the tripartite "formula of divine omnipotence" corresponds a tripartite "formula of divine unlimitedness", which is sometimes joined to the former, as in the inscription from Eleusis and in the *Kaivalya Upanishad*. This formula states that the

[27] Holtsmark 1952, F. Ström 1954, p. 86.

[28] Dillmann 2002.

[29] Holtsmark 1951, p. 88, Ström 1954, p. 86, Weber 1969, p. 150.

[30] So Mittner 1955, p. 85, and in particular Weber 1967, pp. 149–150.

[31] Anne Holtsmark (1952, p. 88) stresses the contrast with the activity of the Norns, as stated in the heroic poem of *Helga Hundingsbana* I, stanza 3, where they are said to "twist the threads of fate". The idea of the weaving Norns is usually explained as an influence from late antiquity and medieval concepts of the Parcae or Moirai (Holtsmark 1951, p. 88; Weber 1969, p. 150; cf. also Dronke 1997, p. 128). The image may well be of ancient origin, however (cf. de Vries, § 191, Dillmann, 2002). In support of this, attention should be drawn to the *Atharva- Veda*'s image of two maidens who weave the fabric of Time, one inserts the threads and the other takes them up (AV 10,7,42). It is also said that the one who knows the great thread into which the beings are woven, will know the great mystery (AV 10,8,37).

deity or supreme divine principle is boundless in time, having no beginning, no middle and no end.[32] In Greek tradition the formula is found among the early religious thinkers, in Plato and Aristotle, and is subsequently used in various Hellenistic–Roman currents of thought. As pointed out by Weinreich, the formula can be expressed without negation, "God is the beginning, the middle and the end of all things" (cf. *Orph. Fragm.* B 6, ed. Diels; Plato, *Laws* 715 E and further passages listed by Weinreich).[33]

The use of the formula in the different traditions surveyed above shows its close connection with a supreme deity or divine principle, sometimes with female deities or entities within the surroundings of the highest god. In Greek tradition, there is the attribution to Zeus, and among the early religious thinkers, including Plato, it is linked to some supreme divine entity or higher cosmic principle variously denoted θεός, νοῦς, χρόνος, ἄπειρον, οὐρανός. In the Hellenistic–Roman world the formula is applied to Aion, god of time and of the Roman Empire,[34] and to the Greco-Egyptian goddess Isis. Ancient Iranian tradition uses the formula predominantly with reference to the supreme god Ahura Mazdā or divinities close to him. In Vedic tradition it is Puruṣa, Kāla, Brahmā and Rudra who are characterized by the formula of divine omnipotence.

In general, the application to other subjects is uncommon and can be regarded as an extension of the primary function of the formula to other domains yet still in a religious context.

The problem of how to interpret the relationship between the parallel formulas of divine omnipotence transmitted in different and sometimes widely distant cultures is complicated. Theoretically three main solutions can be considered: (*a*) diffusion from one centre of origin (*b*) a common Indo-European heritage or (*c*) independent polytopic origins, the formula being considered as a universal. In the two latter cases, cultural contacts may subsequently help to spread the formula to further contexts.

The early Greek tradition, as represented by the religious thinkers of the 6th and 5th centuries and Plato, certainly exercised an influence on the various religious traditions of the Hellenistic–Roman world. The use of the formulas of divine omnipotence and unlimitedness at Eleusis, in Plutarch, in Gnostic and Hermetic texts, as well as in early Christian tradition could thus be explained as being inspired by the earlier Greek tradition. Even the statement of Josephus that the god of the Jews "is the beginning and the middle and the end of all things", ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων *Contra Apionem* II, 190, which has no precedent in the Hebrew Bible, was no doubt borrowed for apologetic purposes from the Greek tradition. Taking ancient Iran into account, the issue becomes more intricate. Geo Widengren

[32] There are also many examples of a formula with only the two elements of "beginning" and "end" (see Weinreich 1919, pp. 181–182).

[33] In the first case, where the formula is expressed together with a negation, the emphasis is on the eternity of the supreme deity, whereas the second variant may be intended to underline the idea that God is the totality or that he is the beginning, middle and goal of everything (see for this Weinreich 1919, p. 182).

[34] Zuntz 1989 emphazises that function of Aion and suggests that the cult of Aion was instituted by Augustus.

suggested an influence of the Iranian tradition on the formula in *Revelation* 1,8 and on the statement of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies (3 and 13) that the Saviour is able to behold things past, present and future.[35] Parke admitted Oriental influence on the formula recited at Dodona (see above) referring vaguely to Jewish and Mazdean sources but citing only *Revelation* 1,8.

The occurrence of the formula of divine omnipotence in early Greek, Iranian and Indian traditions together with a possible reminiscence in Scandinavian tradition leads me to a different assumption, viz. that of an Indo-European origin. The term "Indo-European" is here used in the sense of a tradition or formulaic expression shared by at least some, early, Indo-European-speaking peoples. Such formulaic phrases referring to myths, divine predications and heroic life and used especially in poetic diction have been shown by comparative linguists of the latter half of the 20th century to belong to a common Indo-European stock of formulas.[36] This would imply that the formula in praise of Zeus at Dodona is not a creation of the Hellenistic period under Oriental influence but is deeply rooted in ancient Greek and Indo-European traditions. The concept of Zeus as an all-embracing sky-god has an Indo-European background and it would be too simplistic to adopt a linear development from the Homeric Zeus down to the "pantheistic" Zeus of the Stoics. The image of Zeus as a supreme deity also associated with unlimited Time may have survived alongside with other more "mythological" images. The famous lines of Aiskylos regarded as an innovation of 5th-century religious thought,[37] may instead reflect ancient notions of Zeus as the supreme sky god:

> Ζεὺς ἔστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ'οὐρανός
> Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χῶ τε τῶνδ'ὑπέρτερον
> "Zeus is the Ether, Zeus the Earth, and Zeus the Sky;
> Zeus is the All, and what is higher yet than this".[38]

There is moreover a specific concordance between the early Greek philosophers and the Upanishad tradition in their application of analogous omnipotence and unlimitedness formulas to a supreme deity or cosmic principle. Sometimes the resemblance is striking and detailed, as can be exemplified by the comparison of the Eleusis-inscription and the Kaivalya-Upanishad, where the omnipotence formula is directly followed by the unlimitedness formula:

ἀρχὴν,	μεσότητα καὶ	τέλος	οὐχ ἔχων
ādi-	*mádhya-*	*ánta-*	*vihīna-*

The particular use of such formulas in early Greek and Indian religious philosophy is not fortuitous but can be explained from a parallel development of religious thought, in which inherited, Indo-European formulas proved their usefulness in the process of rethinking mythic traditions.

The Scandinavian image of the three Norns representing past, present and future

[35] Widengren 1969, pp. 478 and 535 respectively.

[36] I refer particularly to the studies of Schmitt 1967 and 1968, Watkins 1995, Jackson 1999; for "I am" formulas of divine predications, see Hultgård 1998.

[37] This is the position of Jaeger 1967, pp. 71–72.

[38] *Trag. Graec. Fragm.* 70. English translation of Jaeger 1967, p. 71.

destiny may ultimately derive from Indo-European tradition and be related to the time and fate aspect of a supreme deity (Heimdallr or Odin?). Female divine beings close to Ahura Mazdā are linked to the omnipotence formula in ancient Iran (*Yasna* 33,10), and in early Greek tradition the connection of the Moirai with the supreme sky-god is mythically expressed in the way that they are daughters of Zeus (Hesiod, *Theogonia* 901–905).

The Indo-European character of the omnipotence formula would be further strengthened if it could be shown that the tripartite time formula is absent from the religions of the ancient Near East.[39] My hypothesis is that it is alien to ancient, Near Eastern theologies. In fact the Hebrew Bible does not know it but presents another fomulation based on the verb היה *hāyā* "to be" which is linked to the name of Jahve. In *Exodus* 3,13–14 Moses asks God what his name is and God answers אהיה אשר אהיה "I am who I am" or "I will be what I will be", playing on the divine name יהוה itself. This formula had a strong impact on Jewish tradition, as well as on popular religion of late antiquity. It recurs frequently in the Aramaic amulets and magic bowls of that period[40] and is also found in the Greek magical papyri. In the Aramaic texts the "he who was, is and shall be" formula is conspicuously absent and seems to be so also in the corresponding Greek collections.

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[39] To demonstrate this a thorough investigation of West Semitic, Mesopotamian and Egyptian source materials would be needed. This is beyond the scope of the present article, however.

[40] See the collection of Naveh & Shaked.

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The Notion of Diachrony and the Modern Arabic Dialects

BO ISAKSSON, Uppsala

Man has possessed languages as long as he has existed. And as far as man has changed and developed his means of life, his expression of that life by way of a language has changed and developed. Diachrony may simply be defined as a part of human history. Diachrony is that part of human history that pertains to the history of language, the history of how language has changed through history. Language change may be caused by a lot of factors, of which only a few can be described as internal development. Another main factor is linguistic contact. There may be a dominant, koine language with high prestige, the features of which are more or less unconsciously adopted by the speakers of less prestigious dialects. Let me say from the beginning that I can see no linguistically valid distinction between the terms "language" and "dialect". The distinction is purely conventional, a language being backed up by political or cultural circumstances, while a dialect is usually not backed up by an army, nor by a state, nor by a written literature, nor by mass media. A dialect may be very old, in fact, quite as old as a national language or older. But more often than not, we possess no written or other tangible evidence from the historical stages of a dialect. What we may hope to know about the diachrony of such a dialect, about its pre-modern stages, must be inferred from its internal structure and by comparison with other related dialects.

So diachrony is that part of human history that pertains to the historical development of a language, of a dialect. It seems inevitable that a language changes, as also there is a continuous change in human life and thought from generation to generation. It may seem to be a problem that language as a system for transmitting information is constantly changing, thus hampering the mutual understanding that is the goal of all communication. The Swedish linguist Bertil Malmberg has written that

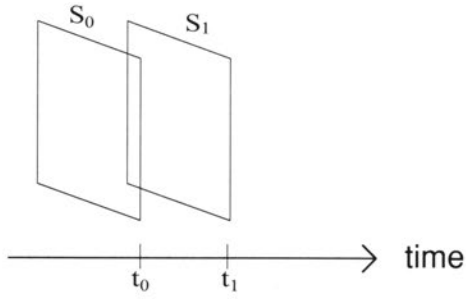
> If you consider language as a code for transport or transmission of information, then the changes that occur in a language appear as an anomaly. A transmission tool, a means of contact, that successively changes does not seem to be able to fulfil its function. If the relations between the linguistic expressions and the corresponding contents in the linguistic signs all the time are successively being transformed, then language is deemed to stop functioning. If "horse" some day were suddenly to mean something else than it did before, understanding would be impossible and contact disappear. Thus, language change from this point of view threatens its own nature. And likewise language continually changes, although with different speed in different periods of time and in different linguistic domains.[1]

So linguistic change must be slow and pertain to small parts of language at a time. Linguistic change is a more or less slow historical process. It may be illustrated by

[1] Malmberg 1970, 163.

two planes, S_0 and S_1, in a metric space, representing two synchronic stages of the same dialect, the language systems at the time spots t_0 and t_1 respectively. The adjective "synchronic" is a pendant to diachronic. "Synchronic" refers to the state of a language or dialect at one specific time. In the illustration of language change an axis of time is drawn horizontally from left to right, representing the flow of time in history. By the way, the notion of a metric space is not so far fetched as it may seem. I have shown in another article that central parts of a Semitic language—for example, the pronominal system—may be construed as a metric space in a strictly mathematical sense.[2]

Language change



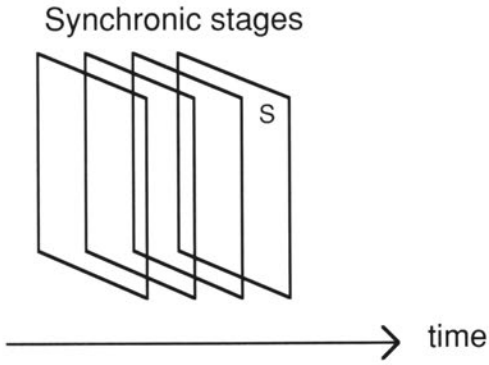
Linguistic change is something that happens in physical time (Lass, xiv). If a change has occurred in a given language, we may a priori suppose that there is a point of time t_0 when the language has not changed in this respect, and another point of time t_1 when the process of change has taken at least a small step.

During the time interval from t_0 to t_1 the language system has changed. It is no longer exactly the same language. I disregard for the moment the fact that language change in its first stage usually appears only in a sociolect and that it takes some time for the new feature to be commonly accepted by all or nearly all speakers, if it ever is. Be that as it may, I call this change a historical process and we may argue that the term "diachrony" is unnecessary. Why not simply talk of chronology? The reason is that the speed of the process may vary. Language development may be quick or slow. Some languages are conservative, perhaps because of isolation. Others develop rapidly, for example, because of an intensive contact influence. Again I simplify the description, since languages may be conservative in relation to one part of the language system, e.g. the pronominal system, and innovative in other parts, e.g. in the aspectual system. In either case, the term "diachrony" primarily refers to the process of change within a language, whereas chronology refers to a universal historical time.

My picture illustrates that language should be considered a unified system. The basis of this unity of all different parts is the fact that they are all contained in the competence of the speakers. If a linguistic feature is not part of some speakers' competence, it is not part of their language, at least not in that specific synchronic

[2] Isaksson 1992–1993.

stage of the language. So the parts of a language form parts of the competence of its speakers and, because of the nature of the human mind, those parts form a system with mutual influences and dependences.



The notion that language at every single point of time is a unity or, with Saussure, a united system of signs, is illustrated as in the preceding picture by one single, flat, synchronic plane, and language development may be illustrated by a successive series of flat planes through time. The Arabic dialect we encounter in our field studies is an end product S of a long series of earlier synchronic stages. Every living language—and by living I mean a language transmitted as a mother tongue from generation to generation—every living language has usually a long prehistory. The users have not created their own language, they have just taken over, or received, its final stage so far. Every generation receives language as something given until the new generation changes—or let us say is forced to accept changes in—its language and a new synchronic stage is created.

Since the distinction between diachrony and synchrony stems from the structuralist school, let us say that language is a system of signs, although this terminology is less obvious in the field of syntax and text linguistics. Every change in this system contained in the human mind influences the other signs, at least it influences a subsystem of the signs. I shall give an example of this from my own field in a moment: a small change that moves the whole system.

As I have mentioned already, the notion of diachrony involves the notion of speed or velocity, in a linguistic development, especially if we consider the different branches of a specific language tree, illustrating the development of a family of languages. The separate languages in the family may represent different levels of development. For my own field, this idea has been discussed by the Russian linguist Diakonoff, who has written a comparative grammar of the Afro-Asiatic languages.[3] Diakonoff is critical of much comparative work in my field—Semitic languages—since comparisons are made between languages with very different levels of development. In order to avoid methodologically disputable comparisons between "early" and "late" Semitic languages, he classifies them not only geographically, a point of view that is represented by the columns in the figure below, but also ac-

[3] Diakonoff 1988.

cording to diachronic levels, represented by the rows in the figure. There are three diachronic levels in this scheme: ancient, middle and late.[4]

Semitic						
Stage	(e) **Ethio-Semitic**		(d) **Southern-peripheral** (South Semitic)	(c) **Southern-central** (Southwest Semitic)	(b) **Northern-central** (Northwest Semitic)	(a) **Northern-peripheral** (Northeast Semitic)
	Northern branch	**Southern branch**				
Ancient			*ESA*: Sabaic Minaic Qatabani Ḥaḍrami	"Old Arabic" Classical Arabic MSA	*2000–1000*: Eblaite *1000–0*: Canaanite Amorite Ugaritic	Assyrian Babylonian
Middle	gəʿəz			Modern Arabic dialects	Classical Hebrew Phoenician Punic Aramaic	Late Babylonian
Late	Tigriña Tigrē	Amharic Argobba East Gurage Harārī North-west Gurage Ġafat	*Modern South Arabian*: Mehri Ḥarsūsī Ǧibbāli Šḫauri Baṭḥārī Soqotrī	Modern Arabic dialects	Modern Hebrew Neo-Aramaic	

The creative idea in this table presented by Diakonoff is represented in the rows. It is understood that, although the attested Semitic languages tend to undergo similar stages of development, those stages are not synchronized but occur at different times. Diachrony is not the same as synchronousness.

In the upper row, we see the *Ancient Stage*, in which we encounter languages that have retained obvious, archaic, phonological and morphological systems, that is, those languages which in this respect are closest to the languages attested in the oldest written sources and are close to the language structures that can be reconstructed by the comparative method. In the Southern-Central Semitic column, we find here Old Arabic and Classical Arabic. In the *Middle Stage*, we encounter languages with phonological systems that are reduced, compared with most ancient languages and that have partly lost the old inflexion with short endings. In the *Late (Modern) Stage* are languages that exhibit a thorough restructuring of the phonological and morphological systems.

Please note that some of the modern Arabic dialects have been placed on the same middle stage as Classical Hebrew and Aramaic. I will give some concrete reasons for this in a moment. But first I want to point out that although Diakonoff's model for the Semitic languages represents a certain step forward from the traditional, family-tree model of Semitic languages originating from a common mother

[4] Diakonoff 1988, 17 f.

language called Proto-Semitic, it still presupposes that there exists—and especially existed in ancient times—well-defined, linguistic entities called Semitic languages with sufficiently well-defined borders in between. It is precisely this presupposition that has recently been questioned by Jan Retsö and Lutz Edzard.[5] They convincingly contend that a single Proto-Semitic language has never existed, nor were there in ancient times well-defined borders between separate Semitic languages. On the contrary, even in pre-history we should reckon with a linguistic diversity replete with dialects constituting a continuum, where different isoglosses criss-cross like that which we find in the Germanic languages, with no sharp borders between dialectal regions. As Retsö puts it: "A traveller between these places, moving slowly from village to village, while picking up the linguistic differences, would not (or at least, very rarely) notice passing from one main dialectal area to another. But if he took the plane from Nouakchott to Masqat he would of course immediately be aware of the linguistic difference between the two and probably consider the speech at these two spots two different languages".[6] Edzard goes a step further than Retsö and talks of a linguistic chaos. With his words, we might regard reconstructions of historical linguistics as tracing a development from chaos to chaos. Edzard even introduces the famous concept of "entropy" from the field of thermodynamics and adduces chaos theory to handle the problem, but neither the entropy concept nor chaos theory leads him any step further.

In this instance, it is important to realize that the notion of a continuity of Semitic—including Arabic—dialects in ancient times, does not in any way imply that a specific, modern, Arabic dialect would lack a specific history. If we accept the idea of an ancient, Semitic, dialect diversity as the origin of the modern Arabic dialects, we should at the same time assert that every modern, Arabic dialect has undergone a historical development from a specific ancient dialect. This historical process may have involved migration from one place to another, it may have involved heavy influence from adjacent prestige dialects or even from completely unrelated languages like Turkish or Persian, but we are obliged to assume the existence of a specific origin in as much as there exists a final, modern stage of a dialect. So linguistic reconstructions are permissible and advisable, if only we bear in mind that we cannot reconstruct one common proto-language for all dialects.

I shall now try to be more specific as to the nature and consequences of linguistic change and my first example of the importance of a diachronic perspective is taken from my own mother tongue Swedish. In the sentence "han sprang till skogs" meaning approximately "he ran into a forest", we encounter a phenomenon that is only superficially explainable by a synchronic perspective. The prepositional expression "till skogs" forms as a whole an adverb giving the direction and aim of the verb. However, the expression consists of a preposition succeeded by a noun in the genitive which seems to indicate that prepositions—at least some of them—as in Classical Arabic, require the following noun to be in the genitive case. In a synchronic perspective, this would be a premature conclusion, of course. The view of language as a unified, synchronic system of mutually dependent signs must be supplemented

[5] Edzard 1998, Retsö 2000.

[6] Retsö 2000, 113.

with the insight that a synchronic system always contains residues, or fossils, of earlier stages. In this specific example, we have before us an important hint at the earlier history of the Swedish language. In classical Old Swedish (from about 1225–1375), the genitive case was used after the preposition *til*.[7] After another preposition, *ur*, meaning "out of", the dative case was used, and this syntactic feature is retained in the linguistic fossil "gå man ur huse", where *huse* is the dative of *hus* "house". In later stages of the Swedish language, case is not determined by prepositions. And the dative and accusative endings have completely disappeared from the inflexion of the noun in modern Swedish.

The attested, early, linguistic varieties of Arabic are often confused and misconceived. The traditional view of the origin of the Arabic dialects is that they have developed out of a linguistic stage which is commonly called Old Arabic. Neo-Arabic is the term for the linguistic type of Arabic that constitutes all modern Arabic dialects, in spite of all diversity. The idea behind the term Neo-Arabic is that all Arabic dialects have some characteristic features in common. And the most characteristic feature of all is that the modern Arabic dialects, compared with Classical Arabic, have no case endings. Those historical dialects that possessed case markings in some ancient past went through a development similar to the Swedish language and as a consequence the whole case inflexion has disappeared in the modern Arabic dialects.

The traditional view that the origin of all Arabic dialects is to be sought in a reasonably uniform language close to Classical Arabic can no longer be upheld. Before we go further, however, it is important to reassess what we know about the ancient stages of Arabic.

Pre-Classical Arabic dialects are attested from the beginning of the 2nd century BC through the 3rd century AD in the form of inscriptions from Qaryat al-Fāw, near modern Sulayyil on the trade route linking Naïrān with the eastern Arabian coast. Already at this stage, case endings and the nunation have disappeared. But we know from other sources that dialects with case endings and a full case inflexion existed side by side with those that had lost them.

The consonantal text of the Koran is probably the literary expression of the urban dialect of Mecca and Medina in Muhammad's time. Here the feminine ending is represented by the mater lectionis *-h* in the absolute state and by *-t* in the construct state. According to Lipinski, at this stage there was no longer a fully functioning case system in nouns, and the case endings, when indicated in script, had probably lost their functional effect. So the consonantal text of the Koran deviates from Classical Arabic.[8]

Classical Arabic is the language of pre-Islamic poetry, based on an archaic form of the dialects of Najd and adapted to the need of a poetical diction.[9] It was standardized in the Abbasid Empire, in the schools of al-Kūfa and Baṣrāʾ. Classical Arabic was used as early as about AD 500, by poets whose vernacular differed

[7] Bergman 1984, 57 f.
[8] Lipiński 1997, 74.
[9] Lipiński 1997, 75.

greatly from the archaic Najdi dialects, which testifies to the existence of a very early Arabic diglossia. The case system of Classical Arabic is archaizing and is derived from conservative dialects.

Besides these ancient varieties of ancient Arabic, there existed at the rise of Islam a continuum of living Semitic vernaculars on the Arabian Peninsula, as well as in the so-called Syrian desert, in the Syro-Palestinian area in Lebanon and in Iraq. Within this continuum, we should reckon with a blend of Arabic and Aramaic features in the Syro-Palestinian area, as well as features of Arabic and South Arabian in the south-western part of the Arabian Peninsula. The linguistic state of this continuum in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula has been called Old Arabic by traditional Arabic dialectologists. This term can be retained only if the dialectal diversity is kept in mind.

To make the development concrete, I shall discuss for a moment the fate of the case endings in Arabic dialects. We know that some dialects already in Old Arabic had retained a case inflexion similar to that which we encounter in Classical Arabic. Other dialects did not possess a system of case endings at the rise of Islam, some of them because of a loss of short, final vowels, others maybe because they had never possessed a regular case inflexion. There is at present no evidence for assuming that all ancient Arabic dialects once ever possessed a case ending system. Be that as it may, a common distinguishing feature of the modern Arabic dialects is the absence of any functional case endings.

Even those Ancient Arabic dialects that once had case endings eventually lost them. We may imagine that the beginning of such a development might have been a simple and seemingly unimportant change in the pronunciation habits. The speakers began to pronounce all words without short final vowels. This process, of course, might have been initiated by a prestigious urban dialect lacking a case inflexion. In pausal position, a short, final vowel was regularly dropped also in the classical language, and so we may imagine that the impetus of the development was a tendency to pronounce the context word forms as in pausal position. The final result was that all short final vowels were lost in Neo-Arabic, including those with the indefinite marker *-n*.

Ancient Arab. *kitābun* "a book" became in Neo-Arabic *kitāb* (or similarly):

Nominative	*kitābun* "a book"	↘	
Genitive	*kitābin* "of a book"	→	*kitāb* without ending
Accusative	*kitāban* "a book"	↗	

Here we see an example of a language made up of a system of mutually dependent subsystems. A small, seemingly unimportant change in the pronunciation, that is, in the phonological subsystem, causes a fundamental change in the whole system. The loss of short, final vowels forced the whole case inflexion to disappear in the modern Arabic dialects. As a consequence, important syntactical relations like those between subject and object had to be marked by word order or by prepositions, instead of by case markers.

As we could expect, we find in modern Arabic dialects residues and traces of the

old case inflexion, just as we do in modern Swedish. In the dialect of al-Xātūniyye in north-eastern Syria, close to the border of Turkey and Iraq, we encounter:[10]

əḥna əxwətən šḥūḥ
We are just poor sisters

Here, *əxwətən* with a following adjective has retained a former, regular case ending with an indefinite marker *-n*, now just a residue in a specific, syntactic construction. Today the ending *-ən* is not perceived as a case marker in al-Xātūniyye, nor is it perceived specifically to indicate an indefinite state of the noun. It is a syntactic fossil, the formation of which must be diachronically reconstructed to be fully understood.

I mentioned at the beginning of this article that Classical Hebrew and Aramaic may be positioned on the same diachronic level as many modern Arabic dialects. The reason is that Hebrew and Aramaic have in many respects gone through the same changes as can be detected in Neo-Arabic. All three language types have lost short final vowels and so the whole case marking system. All three have also adopted the old oblique case ending in the external masculine plural, in a process similar to this (example: "peasant", Ancient Arabic *fallāḥun* > Neo-Arab. *fallāḥ*). In the plural:

fallāḥūna (nom.) ↘
Neo-Arab. *fallāḥīn* "peasants" in all cases
fallāḥīna (gen./acc.) ↗

These three characteristics form one reason why Diakonoff placed the modern Arabic dialects, Classical Hebrew and Aramaic on the same diachronic level.

We may try to reconstruct in one, two or three steps the phonological and morphological changes over thousands of years, but the historical chronology in physical time during a period of perhaps 1500 years is most often hidden from us. By the technical term *convolution*, we may express one of the challenges of dialectology: to extract a useful picture out of the multiplicity of data that are collected in field studies.[11] All history is constructed from given data. And all history is an interpretation, more or less founded on a theory. This also pertains to historical linguistics.[12] Structurally, "How is the language under consideration put together? /.../ How much of what looks like (synchronic) structure really is, and how much is rather detritus left behind in the historical processes, that even if they leave notable residues have no particular present relevance".[13] Historically, "How did the language come to be the way it is? What did it look like when it began, or at least as far back as we can get?" This is the challenge of Semitic dialectology for the future.

[10] Talay 1999, 73. Further examples are given by Ingham 1982, 53–56, and by Ablahad Lahdo in his forthcoming dissertation on the dialect of Təllo (Siirt region of Turkey).
[11] Lass 1998, 2.
[12] Lass 1998, 5.
[13] Lass 1998, 11 f.

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Allusions to the Vala-myth in Yasna 44

PETER JACKSON, Uppsala

1. THE GĀTHAS AND THE ORIGINS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

Few religious texts have been more subject to scholarly controversies than the Gāthās. The elliptic and poetic style of this limited corpus has caused severe problems of interpretation among contemporary scholars, yet no other part of the extant Avesta is so closely associated with the preachings of Zarathustra. The five Gāthās (hymns or groups of hymns), which in their turn fall into seventeen discrete hymns (or Hāitis), were composed in an archaic, eastern Iranian dialect referred to as Old Avestan. In addition to the Gāthās, five short, sacred formulas and the prose text Yasna Haptaŋhāiti may also be termed Old Avestan, whereas the remaining and much more extensive parts of the Avestan corpus were composed in a later dialect termed Young Avestan.

Although Zarathustra's authorship has been called in question,[1] the Gāthās should still be considered the oldest, authentic testimony of Zarathustra's religion. This is due not only to their archaic language, but also to the biographical details contained in them. Even if the date and geographical origin of the Gāthās cannot be determined with any certainty, there are both historical and linguistic reasons to assume that they were composed somewhere in eastern Iran or on the borders of modern Afghanistan sometime between 1000 and 800 BC. Spoken by tribes originating from the linguistically and culturally once more homogenous Indo-Iranians, Old Avestan is also closely related to the oldest, attested, Indo-Aryan dialect, that of the Vedic hymns. These hymns (especially those of the Rigveda) are usually considerably older than the Gāthās—some may even precede them by more than half a millennium—and have often been attributed to individual poets belonging to certain priestly families. As in the case of Zarathustra, these poets may occasionally express personal religious feelings and unyielding devotion to a specific god, but none of them stand out as the founder of a new religion. Nevertheless, the abundance of religious concepts and stylistic features common to the Vedas and the Avesta gives us no reason to doubt that the traditions of Vedic India and the preachings of Zarathustra belonged to the same Indo-Iranian continuum.[2] The critical issue is rather to what extent Zarathustra himself reformed or remodeled the tradition which had been handed down by his ancestors. It is a well-known fact that some essential, religious concepts have developed in opposite directions in the two traditions, while others have remained fairly unchanged, but the nature of this development (such as the cognates Ved. *devá-* "god" and Av. *daēuua-* "demon") is all the more problematic.

[1] Kellens & Pirart 1988:17 f.

[2] It is generally accepted that the Vedic and Avestan texts were composed and transmitted orally long before they were written down.

According to a widely accepted theory, promoted by Paul Thieme, Émile Benveniste and Johanna Narten,[3] among others, competing cultic communities in the world of Zarathustra had developed from the veneration of different groups of gods (*daēuua-/devá-* and *ahura-/ásura-*) in a less differentiated, Indo-Iranian society, and the role of Zarathustra was to reform one of these communities (the cult of Ahura Mazdā and the other Ahuras), while simultaneously condemning the other (the cult of the Daēuuas).

In some cases, prohibitions found in Vedic hymns appear as pious duties in the Avesta[4] and the namesakes of Vedic gods (such as the Avestan Indra (= id.) and Nåŋhaiθiia- (= Nāsatya)) appear as untruthful demons. No matter if these semantic and ethical shifts were the result of Zarathustra's own preachings, it is still an inevitable fact that some beliefs and cultic practices closely associated with those attested in the Vedas were familiar to and condemned by the author(s) of the Gāthās and other Avestan texts. In so far as the Gāthās contain polemic instances, it thus seems reasonable to look for their target among traditions attested in the Vedas. If such polemic instances can be further highlighted by these means, they will bring us closer to the history of early Zoroastrianism and favour the interpretation of both Avestan and Vedic texts. The hymns of the Rigveda have particular interest in this regard, because in one of the Gāthic stanzas (Y 33,6), the author bears the title Zaotar, i.e. a priestly title etymologically matching that of Vedic *hótar-* (Indo-Iranian **ǵʰau̯-tar-*), the priest who invokes the gods at the sacrifice by reciting mantras selected from the Rigveda.

The purpose of this paper is to pay particular attention to mythical allusions in the Gāthās, more precisely to a strophe in Yasna 44 which seems to contain polemic allusions to the Vedic, so-called "Vala-myth". Characterizing this myth as "Vedic" is merely a matter of convenience: it simply means that its major sources are Vedic, not that it was by any means exclusively Vedic or that any reference to it implies a reference to the Vedic hymns as they have come down to us. A successful fulfillment of the purpose given here would, on the contrary, be to prove the opposite.

2. FORM, CONTENT AND PURPOSE OF THE VEDIC VALA-MYTH

The Vala-myth is not restricted to a single version with regard to its course of events or its *dramatis personae*, nor has it been sharply marked off from other myths. Nevertheless, some of its conspicuous themes should allow us to sketch the broad outlines.

A group of hostile beings, the Paṇis, possess herds, which they have hidden in a remote cave known as Vala (this is also the name of the demon who dwells in the cave, perhaps conceived as the chief of the Paṇis). Indra's dog, Saramā (the messenger of the gods), discovers the cave beyond the river Rāsa, hears the cows' bellowing inside and lays claim to them on behalf of Indra. As Saramā is scornfully turned away by the Paṇis, Indra himself sets off for the cave, accompanied by a group of poet-priests known as Aṅgiras or Uśij. According to some versions, Indra smashes

[3] Narten 1996:67 (with references).

[4] Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø 1991/1:22.

open the cave and releases the cows. According to other versions, however, the Aṅgiras (sometimes only a single representative of this group, usually Bṛhaspati/ Brahmaṇaspati ("lord of the *bráhman* (= sacred formula)") smash open the cave and release the cows "with divine words", "with truth" or the like, i.e. they achieve their goal by performing rituals. As the herds are driven out of the cave, the Paṇis (who once laughed at Indra's request) now shed bitter tears. Closely associated with this action is also the release of the light of dawn or the sun, which is either imprisoned in the dark cave beside the cows (sometimes in a separate myth) or identified with the ruddy cows emerging from the rock.

A number of alternatives may be to hand as to the purpose of the myth, depending on the version used and the intention of the interpreter. A first glance at the story in its coarsest form suggests an aetiology of ritual as the foundation of society. The myth would explain how and from where mankind (read: the Indian cattle-tenders) derived cattle as its primary nourishment, why light emerges out of darkness at dawn and why rituals have been and should be performed in order to maintain these conditions of existence (i.e. they bring light, cattle and nourishment to mankind). Furthermore, the discovery of the cows and the light of dawn by the first poet-priest is occasionally identified with the discovery of poetic language or poetic inspiration,[5] so that the means by which the cave was originally smashed open becomes identical with its ends. The Vala-myth thus seems to develop from the very core of Vedic sacrificial ideology, capable, as it is, of producing an almost endless chain of heuristically potent, ritual metaphors. As we shall see below, a more mundane, socio-economic interpretation of the myth may also involve the notion of the *dákṣiṇā-*, i.e. the reward given to the priests by the sacrificial patron (*yájamāṇa-*) for their service, often in the form of movable wealth. Behind the myth, one also discerns a pastoral society in which cattle raids constituted a justified means of stealing from other tribes. A story like this could authorize such activities by projecting them on to an idealized past and by demonizing or defaming the neighboring tribes.[6]

Let us now take a closer look at the formal aspects, because it would be misleading to study a myth independently of the traits of its performance. Many important clues to myths often lie in the language of their performance, by means of which they pass from host to host and from which they cannot be neatly separated. These formal aspects will also prove vital to the understanding of the Gāthic strophe to be treated below.

The poet-priests in the Vala-myth are referred to as either *áṅgiras-* or *uśíj-*, the latter being a priestly epithet of obscure bearing, but with a commonly accepted, Old Avestan cognate (*usij-*). They prepare a way to immortality through their pious acts (cf. RV 3,31,9) and thereby obtain divine status (this is particularly clear in the

[5] Cf. Watkins 1995:72.

[6] In one of his monographs on the Nilotic pastoralists, Evans-Prichard relates a Nuer myth that would support this hypothesis. The Nuer explained why they had raided the neighboring Dinka by referring to a myth in which "Nuer and Dinka [...] were both sons of God, who had promised to give an old cow to Dinka and a calf to Nuer. Dinka came by night to God's byre and deceived him by imitating Nuer's voice, and God gave him the calf. When God found that he had been deceived, he charged Nuer to raid the herds of Dinka to the end of time. In other words, the Nuer may be robbers but the Dinka are thieves" (Evans-Prichard 1956:11).

case of Brahmaṇaspati (cf. RV 1,190,8)). One should not exclude the fact that there were actual classes of persons known as Uśij among the early Indian tribes. As a matter of fact, they are even mentioned in a remarkable stanza (1,131,5) preserving a memory of the Indian migration across the Punjab.[7] Their role in Vedic literature should, however, first of all be understood in strictly mythical terms, by means of which they appear as poet-priests descended from the gods and as model forerunners of the Vedic ritual specialists. Another epithet, which also deserves attention as regards the poet-priests in the Vala-myth, is *kaví-* "seer" (cf. Greek κοέω "mark, perceive, hear" and Latin *caveo* "to be on one's guard, to take care"). Brahmaṇaspati is "highest-famed seer of seers"[8] (*kavíṃ kavīnā́m upamáśravastamam* (RV 2,23,1*b*)). As bearers of this epithet, the Aṅgiras (or Uśij) are also associated with truth (*ṛtá-*) (*ṛtā́vānaḥ … kávayo* "truthful seers" (2,24,7*ab*)). Brahmaṇaspati is a "destroyer of falsehood (and) holder of great truth" (*druhó hantā́ mahá ṛtásya dhartári*) (2,23,17*d*)), and it is "by means of truth" or "with truth" (*ṛténa*) that the poet-priests smash open the cave. An obvious instance of this notion is RV 4,3,11 (*ab*: *ṛténa ádriṃ ví asan bhidántaḥ ˈ sám áṅgiraso navanta góbhiḥ* "with truth, splitting (it), they have battered the rock to pieces; the Aṅgiras rejoiced together with the cows") (cf. also RV 10,62,2), but a more complex figure occurs in RV 4,23,9, which will be further discussed below. One notices in these latter instances that the struggle between truth and falsehood, between *ṛtá-* and *drúh-*, was indeed a concern of the Vedic poets who passed on the tradition of Brahmaṇaspati and the Aṅgiras[9] and that this antagonism is presented in a manner vaguely reminiscent of the struggle between good, Ahurian principles (notably Aṣa) and evil, Daēvic principles (notably Druj) in the Gāthās.

Having briefly treated the characteristics of the poet-priests and the manner in which they released the cows, I now turn to the cave from which the cows were released. This place is usually referred to as *valá-*, in which case it is sometimes difficult to decide whether Vala is the name of the cave's demon or the name of the cave itself (perhaps in an elliptical sense), or *ádri-* "rock". We learn that the cave has been carefully locked (*dṛdhrám ubdhám … ádrim* "the closed, fettered rock" (RV 4,1,15*ab*)), but it is also spoken of in terms that will prove particularly significant in the following: it is described as being "abusive" or "defying" (*pīyant-* (√*pī*)). Except for the stanza in question (RV 10,68,6), this unusual verb (attested only four times in the Rigveda) is applied to those who *insult* the gods (8,21,14) or *reject* the priestly commitments (10,28,11 (concerning the priestly reward, the so-called *dákṣiṇā-*) and 1,147,2 (concerning the performance of a hymn)). In 10,68,6, however, this abusive character is ascribed to the Vala enclosure:

a. yadā́ valásya *pī́yato* jásum bhéd bṛ̥haspátir agnitápobhir arkaíḥ |
c. dadbhír ná jihvā́ páriviṣṭam ā́dad āvír nidhī́m̐r akṛ̥nod usríyāṇām ||

[7] Watkins 1995:55.

[8] I borrow this translation from Calvert Watkins (1995:242), who discusses this and similar figures in a chapter of his book.

[9] Particular attention should be paid to RV 2,23 (to Brahmaṇaspati), where a number of stanzas are devoted to this topic.

a. When Bṛhaspati split the *defying* dwelling-place of Vala with fire-glowing songs,
c. he ate[10] (them, i.e. the cows) as the tongue with the teeth (eats) the *páriviṣṭa-* (?). He made visible the treasures of the ruddy ones (= the cows).

If this stanza is read in the light of one of the few other stanzas containing the verb √*pī*, a new context presents itself as a possible basis of interpretation. Towards the end of the dialogue hymn 10,28, the poet emerges out of his own composition in order to dwell upon the role of the patron. This is done according to the well-attested pattern of closing a Vedic hymn with a "praise of the gift" (*dānastuti-*), a short coda of thanks, seldom linked up with the previous verses in terms of content or metrics, to the patron who commissioned the poem.[11] This pattern can still be maintained if the poet is unsatisfied with his reward, in which case he may take the opportunity of using subtle irony. In this case, however, we would rather be dealing with a clear-cut warning directed towards tight-fisted patrons:

11*a*. tébhyo godhā́ ayáthaṃ karṣad etád yé brahmáṇaḥ *pratipī́yanti* annaiḥ |
11*c*. simá ukṣṇó avasṛṣṭā́m̐ adanti svayám bálāni tanúvaḥ śṛṇānā́ḥ ||

a. From them, this *godhā́* (= *varan* or some other kind of large lizard (?)) will drag away the foot, those *protesting against* (rewarding) the priests (*brahmáṇas*) with food.
c. They (= the patrons) all eat the released ox, having crushed their own bodily powers.

The stanza seems to be dealing with persons rejecting their duties as sacrificial patrons by refusing the poet/priest his legitimate reward. The latter half of the stanza (*cd*) is more obscure, but one may speculate that the ox is conceived as a part of the expected reward. By keeping the ox for themselves and eating it, the patrons would commit a twofold felony, for not only do they hold back what does not belong to them, but they also slaughter the ox in ignorance of the necessary ritual observances. We should not exclude the possibility that something similar was intended in 10,68,6: the Vala enclosure is *rejecting* in the sense that it keeps the cows back from their legitimate owner. Thus, Vala resembles the patron who keeps the *dáṣkṣiṇā-* for himself.[12] Needless to say, this interpretation is far from certain, nor does it have to reflect more than a casual thought in the mind of the poet. It should also be stressed that such intentions are not to be understood as a necessary motive force of the myth, which had probably been told for a very long time, in many different versions no longer known to us and for a number of different reasons. As we shall see below, however, it does seem possible to regard the verb √*pī* as one of the keywords in the performance of the Vala-myth at a time and in an environment common to the poets of the Rigveda and the author(s) of the Gāthās.

The last topic to be treated with regard to its formal aspects is the weeping Paṇis. The author of 10,68 expresses this event by means of a simile: Vala misses the lost cows as the trees miss their foliage, lifted by the frost (10). The same topic is expressed more bluntly in RV 10,67,6, where it is said that Indra, together with the

[10] The intended meaning of *ā́dat*, "he ate" is unclear, since it forms a part of a rather obscure simile comprising the whole *pāda*, but it should probably not be taken literally.
[11] Discussion in Watkins 1995:73ff.
[12] Cf. also RV 2,23.

"sweat-adorned (or 'sweat-smeared')" (*svédāñji-* (= the Aṅgiras[13])), "caused the Paṇis to weep" (*árodayat paṇím*). Yet another instance of the likewise uncommon verb *√rud* in RV 1,33,7 probably refers to the same event, at least if we are to follow Geldner's interpretation.[14]

We have now considered some formal traits of the Vala-myth, all of which will serve as clues to the interpretation of Yasna 44,20. For the sake of convenience, these may be listed in turn:

uśíj-
The poet-priests assisting Indra in releasing the cows are known as either Aṅgiras or Uśij (names (or epithets) probably to be taken as synonyms in this connection).

kávi-
The Aṅgiras or Uśij bear the title *kávi-* (the most prominent representative of this group, Brahmaṇaspati, is even "highest-famed seer of seers").

ṛtá-, *ṛténa*
The Aṅgiras or Uśij possess truth (*ṛtá-*), destroy falsehood (*drúh-*) and split open the cave "by means of truth" (*ṛténa*).

√pī (→ *gó-*, *dákṣiṇā-*)
The cave of Vala is "defying" (*pīyatas*), i.e. it keeps the cows (= *dákṣiṇā-*) back from their legitimate owner.

√rud, *árodayat*
When the cows have been released, the Paṇis weep (*√rud*) or are "caused to weep" (*árodayat*) by Indra.

3. ALLUSIONS TO THE MYTH IN YASNA 44

Yasna 44, or the *Taṯ.θβā.pərəsā Hāiti*, was early assumed to be the account of Zarathustra's first conference with Ahura Mazdā (V 19,10 ff. and Dēnkard 7,3,22). The greater part of the hymn (but especially the first five stanzas) conveys an archaic impression with regard to its style and content, comparable, as it is, with the riddles forming a part of a brahminical contest (best exemplified by the so-called "riddle song" (RV 1,164)) and a similar Old Norse genre.[15] All but the final stanzas (20) are introduced by the phrase *taṯ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā*, "this I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura" (Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø). Most of the questions that follow are of a cosmological, cosmogonic or ethical nature (1–17),

[13] The performance of sacrifice is occasionally described in metonymic terms as "to sweat" (*√svid*). This would consequently be a fitting epithet for the Aṅgiras, prototypical sacrificers, as they are.

[14] Geldner (1951) translates "Du Indra stelltest jene Weinenden und Lachenden zum Kampfe am anderen Ende der Welt" and comments on the same page "Wohl die Paṇis, die vorher im Übermut Indra verlachten und nachher aus Reue weinten (vgl. 10,67,6)".

[15] Discussion in Schmitt 1967:§573 ff.

but towards the end of the hymn (18–19) the author goes on to ask about the sacrificial fee. This theme may be forestalled in stanza 17, where the author asks (I paraphrase Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø) how he is to proceed towards his goal in accordance with Mazdā, so that his voice may be vigorous enough "to adorn, to (serve as) shelter, both integrity and immortality with that formula which (is) dependent on truth". The author thus seems to mean that the voice of the worshipper, as long as it utters a formula (*mąθra-* (cf. Vedic *mántra-*)) dependent on truth (*aṣ̌a-*), may lead to integrity (*hauruuatāṯ-*) and immortality (*amərətāṯ-*). The two following stanzas are explicitly concerned with the reward (*mīzda-*) for such an undertaking. Not only a reward of the more profound kind (such as immortality), but a reward quite similar to the gifts enumerated in a typical Vedic Dānastuti:

18. This I ask thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
Shall I deserve that prize through truth,
(namely) ten mares with a stallion, and a camel,
which secures for me, O Wise One, integrity
(and) immortality, just as Thou takest these for Thyself.

19. This I ask thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura:
He who will not award such a prize to him who deserves it,
to the man who shall obtain it for himself on account of a plain statement:
what chastisement for that will befall him in (his) primal (existence)?
(This I ask Thee) knowing that (chastisement) which will befall him (as) final.
(translation by Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø)

It was early recognized that these (and other Gāthic) stanzas resemble the call for an appropriate sacrificial fee in the Vedic hymns. Herman Lommel, who once wrote an interesting article on the topic, referred back to Joh. Hertel (1924) in stating that "Zarathustra nun spricht von dem Lohn, der ihm zugesprochen wird und den wir, der Dakṣinā entsprechend, für Priesterlohn halten, zweifelnd und kritisch gegenüber dem Lohngeber".[16] Lommel argued that the last stanzas of Y 44 (including st. 20) reflected actual historical circumstances, for, according to the Zoroastrian legends, Zarathustra at the beginning of his career sought the protection and support of different princes (or Kavis) before he eventually reached the court of Kavi Vištāspa, who was to become his patron. Lommel saw this legendary background as an analogue to the situation of the Vedic priests, who turned to mighty rulers in order to win them as patrons, to perform rituals at their request and to receive bounteous gifts in return.[17] Towards the end of this hymn, so Lommel argued, Zarathustra suspects that he will be denied his appropriate fee and begins to threaten his partner, because going back on one's word in this matter brings about a cruel penalty, i.e. the very opposite of "Heilsein" (so Lommel translates the word *hauruuatāṯ-* in st. 18) and immortality. Lommel concluded his argument by turning to the last stanza. It begins with the question "Have there ever been Daēvas of good rule?", and Lommel took the following lines to mean that "sie (i.e. the Daēvas) günstig blicken auf die Opferpriester (*karpan* [*sic*!]) und Usij-Priester, welche das Rind dem Blutdurst

[16] Lommel 1970 (1955):204.
[17] Ibid. 201.

übergeben, und den Kavi, der das Rind weinen macht".[18] The stanza would thus be dealing with the Daēvas demanding bloody sacrifices and the priests (the Karapan and the Usij) who performed these reprehensible rites at the Kavi's request. The Kavi is understood to be a particular prince, who refuses to pay Zarathustra for his duties and who persists in supporting the Daēvic priests.

Lommel's interpretation may not be commonly accepted today, but the notion that the figures in the last stanza (the Karapan, the Usij and the Kavi) should be understood in historical or quasi-historical terms is still maintained. Just as in the younger legends, the Kavis (with the exception of Kavi Vīštāspa) are usually interpreted as a class of rulers and enemies of Zarathustra, and since the Kavis are presented in connection with Karapans, Grəhma and Usij, it has been assumed that "all these three [...] denote classes of persons similar to the Kavis".[19] The names Karapan and Usij also recur in association with ethnonyms (such as Tūr ī Urvāitādēng ī Usixšān and Karap Vaēdvōišt ī Ahāxtān ī Ohrmazd) mentioned in the Pahlavi literature, referring to persons not converted to Ahura Mazdā.[20] The names are, first of all, taken to denote classes of worldly rulers, not as mythical priests or seers as some of their Vedic counterparts (*kaví-* and *uśíj-*) would suggest.

Let us now take a closer look at the last stanza. It is reproduced as follows in Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø, whose 1991 edition and translation should be considered the least idiosyncratic:

ciθənā mazdā # huxšaθrā daēuuā åŋharə
aṯ īṯ pərəsā # yōi piśiieiṇtī aēbiiō kąm
yāiš gąm karapā # usixšcā aēšəmāi dātā
yācā kauuā # ąnmənē urūdōiiatā
nōiṯ hīm mīzən # aṣā vāstrəm frādaiŋhē

Their translation reads:

Have there ever been Davas of good rule, O Wise one?
But let me ask that (of those) who block pleasure, in accordance with those (words)
(with which the Karapan and the Usij seize the cow for wrath(ful) (treatment)
and which the Kavi laments to the wind.
They do not foster her (the cow) to promote (herds in) the pasture with truth.

Except for the single clause *yācā kauuā ąnmənē urūdōiiatā*, I see no reason to deviate from this translation. Bartholomae[21] took *yācā kauuā ... urūdōiiatā* to mean "und wie der Kavi es (das Rind) jammern (the root *raod/rud*) macht". Although he translated *ąnmənē* by "unaufhörlich", not taking it as a cognate of Latin *animus* "mood" and *anima* "breath, respiration, wind, soul, conscience, self" (cf. Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø), he still found it justifiable to interpret the clause in the light of 29,9 (*aṯcā gəuš uruuā raostā* "and the soul of the cow laments (*raod/rud*)"). Furthermore, Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø do not preserve the causative sense of

[18] Ibid. 206.
[19] Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø 1991/1:11.
[20] Ibid. 10.
[21] Bartholomae 1904, s.v. *ąnmən*.

urūdōiiatā[22] in their translation, nor do they interpret *ąnmən-* as a reference to the cow's soul (which would indeed seem tempting), but in the unmarked sense of "wind". Instead of rendering *ąnmənē* (dative singular) like Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø, one may base one's opinion on Geldner's edition (Avesta III, 141), where the noun is rendered *ąnmənī* (locative singular) "in the wind" or "in the soul".[23] As far as I can see, the translation "and which the Kavi laments to the wind" does not make much sense in this context. If, on the other hand, one relies on Bartholomae's translation, *kauuā … urūdōiiatā*, "the Kavi causes (the cow) to weep", the comparison with 29,9 would be further justified by the interpretation of the word *ąnmən-* as a cognate of Latin *animus*, *anima*. I take the relative pronoun *yā* to be a masculine singular instrumental referring to *aēšəma* "wrath" in the preceding line. The new translation of the whole stanza would thus run:

Have there ever been Daēvas of good rule, O Wise one?
But let me ask that (of those) who block pleasure, in accordance with those (words)
with which the Karapan and the Usij seize the cow for wrath(ful) (treatment)
and with which (wrath) the Kavi causes (the cow) to weep in (her) soul (*ąnmənī*).
They do not foster her (the cow) to promote (herds in) the pasture with truth.

We are now ready to compare Y 44,20 with the Vedic passages treated above. As we shall see, there are a number of striking similarities concerning both form a nd content, but the differences between the two traditions are no less conspicuous. According to the Rigveda, there have indeed been Daēvas of good rule (cf. RV 1,19,3-5 *yé … sukṣatrā́saḥ … devā́saḥ*[24]). The Karapan and the Usij seize the cow (*gąm … dātā*) just as we might expect the Uśij to find, release and finally seize the cows in the Vedic Vala-myth, but the Gāthic Karapan and Usij seize the cow "for wrath" (*aēšəmāi*) or "wrath(ful treatment)", i.e. they have no good intentions whatsoever. They "block (*paēš/piš*) pleasure" (*piśiieiṇtī kąm*). As pointed out by Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø, however, this verb could also be taken as a future of the root *pai/pī*, the Avestan equivalent of Vedic √*pī*. The latter interpretation implies that the Karapan and the Usij reject wealth or hold it back, just as Vala held the cows back from the Uśij or as the sacrificial patrons kept the appropriate fee for themselves, eating the oxen without performing a sacrifice. The Kavi "causes (the cow) to weep" (*urūdōiiatā* (*raod/rud*)), but in the Vedic Vala-myth, the Kavi would rather be a companion to Indra (perhaps even the foremost Kavi, namely Brahmaṇaspati), who "caused the Paṇis to weep" (*árodayat paṇím*). Finally, the Karapan, the Usij and the Kavi do *not* foster the cow to promote herds in the pasture "with truth" (*aṣā*). On the contrary, it was "with truth" (*ṛténa*) that the Uśij smashed open the cave and released the cows. In RV 4,23, we find another example of this instrumental usage in a stanza (9) devoted to the promotion of the herd, perhaps with an implicit reference to the Vala-myth:

[22] Causatives are expected to show the full-grade of the root, but cases of zero-grade are attested as well.
[23] This translation was favoured bu J. Duchesne-Guillemin (1948). And also recently by Lennart Olsson (1994: 283: "… som får *kavi*'n att jämra sig *i själen*"), who curiously still renders *ąnmənē*.
[24] Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø 1991/2:161.

a. ṛtásya dr̥ḷā́ dharúṇāni santi purū́ṇi candrā́ vapuṣe vápūṃṣi |
c. ṛténa dīrghám iṣaṇanta pŕ̥kṣa ṛténa gā́va ṛtam ā viveśuḥ ||

a. Firm are the foundations of truth, the many shining wonderful (?) wonders.
c. With truth the aliments will be kept in motion for a long time, with truth the cows have entered the truth.[25]

Let us once more list the formal traits of the Vala-myth, but this time by adding the keywords in Y 44,20:

RV: *uśíj-*
The Aṅgiras or Uśij have found and released the cows.
Y 44,20: *usij-*
The Karapan and the Usij have seized the cow for wrathful treatment.

RV: *kávi-*
The Aṅgiras or Uśij bear the title *kávi-* (the most prominent representative of this group, Brahmaṇaspati, is even "highest-famed seer of seers").
Y 44,20: *kauuaii-*
The Kavi causes the cow to weep in her soul.

RV: *ṛtá-*, *ṛténa*
The Aṅgiras or Uśij possess truth (*ṛtá-*), destroy falsehood (*drúh-*) and split open the cave "by means of truth" (*ṛténa*).
Y 44,20: *aṣa-*, *aṣā*
The Karapan, the Usij (and the Kavi) do *not* foster the cow to promote herds in the pasture "with truth" (*aṣā*).

RV: √*pī* (→ *gó-*, *dákṣiṇā-*)
The cave of Vala is "defying" (*pīyatas*), i.e. it keeps the cows (= the *dákṣiṇā-*) back from their legitimate owner.
Y 44,20: *paēš*/*piš* (or *pai*/*pī*) (→ *kąm-*, *mīzda-*)
The Karapan, the Usij (and the Kavi) "block" (*paēš*/*piš*) or "defy" (*pai*/*pī*) pleasure (*kąm-*).

RV: √*rud*, *árodayat* (causative)
When the cows have been released, the Paṇis weep (√*rud*) or are "caused to weep" (*árodayat*) by Indra.
Y 44,20: *raod*/*rud*, *urūdōiiatā* (causative)
The Kavi "causes (the cow) to weep" (*urūdōiiatā*) in her soul.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

If Y 44,20 is to be understood as an allusion to the Vala-myth, one may assume that its author was familiar with the myth in a version very similar to those we have en-

[25] The anaphora (with polyptoton) should be added to the figures compared in Watkins 1995:22.

countered in the Rigveda.[26] One may also assume that the author (Zarathustra or not) employed this profound knowledge in order to remodel the whole plot, turning the heroic deeds of the Uśij/Usij into felonies.[27] The stanza does not have to imply dissociation from ritual slaughtering (as Lommel thought). One may rather speculate that, just as in the Vala-myth, the underlying theme of the stanza (as in the two previous ones) is the default of payment for the execution of ritual duties. The Karapan, the Usij and the Kavi may still be understood in mythical terms, but they now appear in the roles of unrighteous, sacrificial patrons, who keep the cows (= the prize or *mīzda-*) for themselves. They slaughter the cow in ignorance of the proper ritual observances, hence causing the animal to weep in its soul.

In so far as we are dealing with polemics here, it does not necessarily imply a radical remodelling of a tradition from a completely new angle but may also represent a different tradition emerging from another social stratum in the same environment. Even if such social tensions are less pronounced in the Vedas, they are at least vaguely discernible, and it should not be ruled out that the final compilation of the Vedic hymns was preceded by contradictory (if not even incompatible) theological and ritual attitudes within the same society. Interestingly enough, one such conflict may be hinted at in the pretensions to divine royal power of the Vedic gods Varuṇa and Indra. In a famous dialogue between the two gods (RV 4,23,1–7), Varuṇa (st. 1) lays renewed claims to the "royal power" (*kṣatríya-* (cf. the noun *huxšaθra-* in Y 44,20)), seemingly having left it in the hands of Indra for a period of time. He claims to be the lawful king (st. 2), because the "lordly offices" (?) (*asuryā̀ṇi* (cf. Vedic *ásura-* and Avestan *ahura-*)) belonged to him in the first place (*prathamā́*). He even claims to incorporate Indra (*ahám índro váruṇas* (st. 3*a*) "I, Varuṇa, am Indra"), because he is the creator of all things. According to truth, he is the truthful (ruler) (*ṛténa … ṛtā́vā* (st. 4*c*)). Indra (st. 5–6) tries to justify his power by boasting about his strength and the praise he receives from bellicose men. Varuṇa willingly acknowledges the heroic deeds of Indra (st. 7), but if the statement in st. 3*a* is to be taken seriously, this does not imply a change in attitude (because Varuṇa still *is* Indra). It is interesting to compare this monotheistic tendency with the description of Zarathustra's Ahura Mazdā in the Gāthās.

In the Avestan texts, Indra appears as a Daēva, and it is not unlikely that some of the religious attitudes condemned as being Daēvic were particularly associated with his cult. Furthermore, the events alluded to in Y 44,20 are particularly associated with Indra's mythology. The god favored in the preachings of Zarathustra is not unlike Varuṇa, and it has often been assumed that Zarathustra's Ahura Mazdā

[26] Acquaintance with the Vala-myth in the Gāthās has been suggested by others, but to my knowledge only with reference to other passages and intentions (cf. James Darmesteter (1877:146), who saw such a reference in Y 51,5.

[27] Irrespective of the particular reasons for the inversion of this myth, it may still deserve consideration that the phenomenon, as such, has occurred elsewhere. As noted by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1978 [1958]: 184) in one of his studies of Amerindian myth, a myth may be inverted when transmitted from one population to another: "When a mythical schema is transmitted from one population to another, and there exist differences of language, social organization or way of life that make the myth difficult to communicate, it begins to become impoverished and confused. But one can find a limiting situation in which, instead of being finally obliterated by losing its outlines, the myth is inverted and regains part of its precision."

emerged from a pre-Zoroastrian counterpart of Varuṇa. Although some have raised objections to this hypothesis by stressing that Ahura Mazdā mutually embodies the features of different Indo-Aryan gods,[28] the new arguments recently brought forward by Narten to support the old idea stand out as well taken. It is unlikely that the god behind the epithet *mazdā- ahura- / ahura- mazdā-* was completely unheard of before the time of Zarathustra, and many of the features of Ahura Mazdā correspond to those distinguishing Varuṇa from other Vedic gods. Both gods appear as protectors of "truth" (Ved *ṛtá-*, Av *aṣ̌a-*) and the personal relationship between Ahura Mazdā and Zarathustra has an interesting parallel in the Rigveda.[29] The fact that the Indo-Aryan divine names in the Šattiwaz(z)a treaty are all attested in the Avesta, with the exception of **u̯aruna-*, does not exclude the possibility that there once was an Indo-Iranian god carrying the name **u̯aruna-* but that Zarathustra evoked this god by using the epithet Ahura Mazdā ("Lord Wisdom"), instead of the old appellation, and that the old name was therefore lost at an early date.[30] Noteworthy is also the Avestan compound *miθra.ahura*, which could be a hereditary variant of the frequent Vedic dvandva *mitrā́varuṇā*.[31]

Despite the obvious theological differences between the Gāthās and the hymns of the Rigveda, it would be simplistic to derive all of them from the preachings of Zarathustra. The traditions recorded in the Vedic hymns do not give a conclusive picture of the society in which they emerged, nor do the Gāthās allow us to grasp more than a limited and seemingly personal version of the Old Iranian religious heritage. Nevertheless, the texts compared in this paper clearly indicate that the mythical heritage shared by the Vedic poets and the authors of the Old Avestan texts was perhaps more profound than was earlier assumed. For purposes not altogether clear to us, the author of Y 44,20 presented interpretations of this heritage directly contrary to those of the Vedic poets, but such interpretations did not necessarily lack a tradition of their own.

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[28] Humbach, Elfenbein & Skjærvø 1991/1:20.

[29] I am referring to a comparison between Vasiṣṭha and Zaraθuštra in Josephson 1995 (cf. also Gotō 2000:161).

[30] Narten 1996:85.

[31] Ibid. 79ff.

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Bilingualism in Sweden: The Example of a Swedish-Iranian Family[1]

CARINA JAHANI, Uppsala

INTRODUCTION

In the present article in honour of Bo Utas and Gunilla Gren-Eklund, whom I have known for more than 20 years and who have been of invaluable help and encouragement in my academic development, I would like to report on a sociolinguistic subject that is not unknown to either of them, namely the linguistic situation in my own family. Several researchers have studied the bilingualism of their own children (see e.g. Romaine 1995: 187–205), and this article is to be seen as another contribution to the study of bi- and multilingualism acquired from childhood, and here especially its impact within the social network of the child after the actual stage of language acquisition.[2]

When my husband and I married, both of us knew our "first" language (Armenian versus Swedish), Persian and English. My husband, an Armenian from Iran, had learnt Persian during childhood and knew it far better than I, who had learnt it during a one-year stay in Iran between the ages of 20 and 21. The opposite situation was true for English, which I had learnt at school and practised during several trips abroad, whereas my husband had to rely solely on what he had learnt at school. In addition to these languages, we also knew a limited amount of the other person's first language, my husband more and I less. Learning Swedish versus Armenian then continued until our first child was born, four years after our marriage.

My husband's present language use is as follows:[3]

* Swedish spoken in the home, at work, on occasions of default assignment in society[4] and with friends, as well as employed as the main language for acquiring oral and written information (TV, newspapers, books, etc.) and for writing.
* Persian used in worship,[5] spoken with friends, and used as an auxiliary language

[1] Many thanks to Professor Linda Thompson, University of Manchester, and Associate Professor Leena Huss and Ph.D. candidate Helena Bani Shoraka, Uppsala University, for encouraging me to write this article.

[2] Cf. also Huss (2000), who presents a very interesting and insightful study of the linguistic situation of her own family.

[3] Only the four languages Swedish, Armenian, Persian and English are treated, since these are the languages of major importance in our family. Occasional use of other languages, such as French and Balochi, is not discussed in this study. The languages are enumerated according to their degree of importance, as evaluated by the speaker at present.

[4] I.e. when the interlocutor cannot be identified as non-Swedish-speaking.

[5] I prefer the term "worship" instead of "religion". Worship means to me something personal and self-chosen, religion something imposed on the individual. Our worship is in an Iranian Christian church with persons from different ethnic groups in Iran, where Persian is the common language.

for reading (books, newspapers, etc., especially in connection with worship) and occasionally for writing.
* Armenian spoken in the home, with relatives and friends and occasionally used for reading and writing (Christmas cards and the like).
* English used as an auxiliary language for acquiring oral information (TV) and for reading (newspapers, books, etc.).

My own present language use is as follows:

* Swedish spoken in the home, at work, on occasions of default assignment in society, with relatives and friends and also used as one of the two main languages for acquiring oral and written information (TV, newspapers, books, etc.), as well as for writing. Swedish is also the most important language for worship.
* English used as the other main language for acquiring oral and written information (TV, scientific books, etc.) and for writing (especially scientific work). Also spoken as an auxiliary language in the home and at work, as well as with English-speaking friends.
* Persian spoken at work and with friends, used in worship and as a language for reading (books, newspapers, scientific articles, etc.), and occasionally for writing. Persian grammar and literature are also the subjects of the main part of my teaching, but the language of teaching is Swedish or English.
* Armenian spoken in the home, with relatives (of my husband's) and friends. No command of written Armenian.

With this as a background, the purpose of the article will be to describe our children's present language competence and in what domains they use these languages. The study is based on extensive participant observation, as well as on interviews with each child individually (see Fasold 1984: 147–152). My hope is that the study will contribute to a better understanding of multilingualism as a dynamic force which opens up different cultures and ways of thinking to the children, enables them to relate meaningfully to relatives and equips them with an extra tool in their social interaction.

DEFINITIONS OF BI- AND MULTILINGUALISM

Different researchers have made various definitions of what bilingualism actually is. These definitions vary from being very narrow and requiring "native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield 1933: 56) to the other end of the scale with definitions of beginning bilingualism as "the point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (Haugen 1953: 7).

The degree of bi- or multilingualism[6] may not only vary considerably for each individual during his or her lifetime, but may also at a particular point in time vary considerably between different language domains. Mackey (1967: 555) discusses

[6] Several theoretical frameworks, e.g. Mackey (1970: 555), include the use of more than two languages in the term "bilingualism".

this as the function of bilingualism and finds that the degree of proficiency, the patterns of alternation between the different languages and the interference between them are important factors to be taken into account.

Hoffmann (1991) discusses the problems involved in defining and describing bilingualism and points out the importance of the "relationship between sign and meaning" (*ibid*: 19–21) already introduced by Weinreich (1968). A second language can be learnt via another language or directly without any intermediate language. At a certain point, it is also possible that a language learnt from the beginning via another language will be detached from its subordinate position to that language.[7]

In this study it will be useful to talk about "overlapping multilingualism", overlapping both in time, in degree of proficiency and in function. At any particular point in any informant's life, there may be an almost "native-like control" of two languages in some domains, whereas in other domains one of these languages may predominate and function together with a third language, which is then used alongside another language in another domain. It is thus very important to pay attention to the different domains one by one in a comprehensive study of any one individual's degree of bilingualism. It is also necessary to take into consideration that the language domains, as well as their relative importance, vary between different individuals and over time for any one individual. A certain domain, e.g. education, may be present or more important in the life of one individual but absent or given less attention in the life of another person, or it may be present for one particular individual at a particular time but absent at another time.

Thus, the different languages included in the repertoire of any individual's multilingualism may vary considerably from one point of time to another. Such changes may be abrupt, e.g. when the person moves from one country to another and changes linguistic milieu, or gradual, e.g. when the person acquires a new language only gradually by learning it as a subject at school. Changes of this kind may sometimes, but not always, be attributed to a change in the language domains in a person's life.[8]

The degree of proficiency is, of course, closely tied to function. A language used in several domains is normally better mastered than a language more marginally used. Likewise, the command of languages used in domains of considerable importance in a person's life at any particular time is likely to be better than that of languages used in less important domains.

[7] In my own language acquisition, English and other languages acquired at school were learnt through Swedish, and Persian at an initial stage through English. But during a one-year stay in Iran, Persian was more and more detached from English, and, as for Armenian, it was acquired without any intermediate language, since my "teachers" were my parents-in-law, who never used Persian (a language known both to them and to me at the time) to explain the meaning of words or grammatical constructions in Armenian.

[8] Consider, e.g. a young Azerbaijani man from north-western Iran who had not gone to school in traditional Iranian society (until a few decades ago) and had had no exposure to Persian until he met this language in the military service (new language, new domain). As an example of a new language without a new domain, consider an Iranian child moving to Sweden who used Persian as the language of education in Iran but now meets a new language in the same domain.

The definition for this "overlapping multilingualism" used in the rest of the paper is that it is a *functional mastery of several languages in an overlapping and complementary way, involving both the written and the spoken form of the languages,*[9] *where, at any particular time, different languages are used in different language domains, with different interlocutors and in different settings in a more or less structured way. Any one language must be irreplaceable with at least one interlocutor or in at least one domain or setting.*

A crucial factor here is replaceability, and as soon as a language is irreplaceable in a certain domain, with a certain interlocutor or in a particular setting, that language is an inseparable part of the linguistic repertoire of the individual. If replaceability is taken as a prerequisite for bilingualism, as in this study, any person may know one or more languages that are not part of the bi- or multilingual repertoire of that person.

However, there may also be degrees of replaceability, just as there are degrees of proficiency. One indisputable reason for irreplaceability is if a certain interlocutor does not know any other language in the person's linguistic repertoire. In order to acquire meaningful communication, be it written or oral, with that person, a specific language is necessary and thus irreplaceable. There may be other occasions where the interlocutors actually have a second language to resort to, but where information needs to be kept secret from people around, which means that the communication would not have taken place if a specific, "secret" and in this situation thus irreplaceable language had not been known. This is often the case with persons knowing a minority language. Likewise, the interlocutors' attitudes towards a certain language may put constraints on where it can and cannot be used. Examples of these criteria for irreplaceability will be discussed below.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF OUR CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Maria, now 17, heard only Swedish during her first eight months. Then my parents-in-law moved to Sweden, and she was from that time onwards exposed to Armenian and Swedish in almost equal shares, spending many hours per day with her grandparents and sometimes also staying overnight with them, especially after the age of two. At this time, my husband's brother and his family also settled in Sweden. Two years later, also his sister and her family came, and half a year later, when Maria was four, Tamara, our second daughter, was born. Tamara was almost monolingual in Armenian up to the age of four, spending more time with her grandparents than Maria had ever done, mainly due to the fact that both I and my husband continued working and also since grandmother became a widow when Tamara was two. My husband's other relatives also all spoke only Armenian at the time.

When Tamara was four, Natalie was born, which meant that I was able to work less during the two years that followed. Afterwards my husband started working night shifts and was at home during the days. Natalie spent considerably less time

[9] Bo Utas recognises a difference between written, read and spoken language. He has outlined a theoretical model for these separate levels and their interaction which he has presented to colleagues in seminars and workshops. The model will be presented in a forthcoming article.

with grandmother than the other two children, but even so she acquired both Armenian and Swedish, though Swedish has always been the stronger language in her case. At this point, also the cousins and their parents had started learning Swedish and were keen on practising the new language.

Our contacts with my husband's relatives have always been more intense than our contacts with my own relatives. However, when Tamara was two, my elderly parents moved to Uppsala. When Natalie was newborn, my father passed away, but my mother lived for another seven years. The linguistic interaction between the children and my parents took place entirely in Swedish.

Unlike many parents, we have never tried to speak one language each consistently to our children. Rather, it was the grandparents who were identified as the "owners" of the two languages respectively. Armenian was always talked about and regarded as the language of my husband's parents, and Swedish the language of my parents and society outside the home. Our children met this society gradually, e.g. at church and playing with neighbouring children, but definitely at the age of six, when they started pre-school. As for my husband and myself, we have switched between speaking Swedish and Armenian to the children, depending on the subject of the conversation, where it took place and who else was present at the time.

The two eldest children also learnt to read and write Armenian, at least to a certain extent. Classes in Armenian used to be organised by the Armenian cultural association in Uppsala every Saturday morning, and our children took part, Maria for six years and Tamara for four years. Maria never liked it, though, and often felt ill on Friday nights. This was obviously a true feeling of stress, because she was not able to perform as well as those who got extensive help with their homework. At one point, she said that if she was forced to go to Armenian Saturday school, she would never speak a word of Armenian any more but rather hate this language for the rest of her life. Then we removed her, but Tamara continued and liked it. However, after a dispute between one of the persons in charge and a relative of ours, the rest of the cousins were all taken out of the school at once. That was before Natalie had a chance to start. Maria and Tamara can read simple texts in Armenian, e.g. carefully written letters, whereas Natalie is totally unfamiliar with the Armenian script.

The children have been exposed to English ever since they were small, both through television (mainly American serials and films) and during journeys abroad, or when English-speaking persons have visited our home. Especially Natalie acquired English to a considerable degree before starting English at school in August 2002, to such an extent that her English teacher once asked her if English was her home language. Much of this can be attributed to the television habits of her older sisters. All the children started studying English formally at the age of nine and now we occasionally speak English together at home.

The Persian language has been of increasing importance in our home ever since we were reunited with the Persian-speaking Christian fellowship that both of us had taken part in during our year(s) in Iran. This was in 1992, a year before Natalie was born. However, three years ago we got the opportunity of having Persian-speaking children living with us, some for a short period of time, but one girl, Mersedeh, now 15, on a permanent basis. This input in our family, especially the presence of a small

boy who knew only Persian, caused the children to start using Persian actively, and after that the status of Persian was changed from a language at best passively understood to a language actively used in its spoken form. Sometimes the children also attend the Persian worship service at church, and once a year we spend a week at an Iranian Christian camp, where, however, the children's meetings are in Swedish. Maria has also shown some interest in learning to read and write Persian. She started learning the script on her own and was somewhat successful. She can now identify and read a certain number of familiar words. Tamara and Natalie cannot read Persian.

It may also be interesting to study Mersedeh's acquiring of English and Armenian, two languages that were totally unfamiliar to her when she came to us. English was introduced to her at school in the fifth grade, two years later than to her classmates, but she is now in the eighth grade and one of the top students in English. She has also gained some, mainly passive[10] competence in Armenian.

THE CHILDREN'S PRESENT USE OF SWEDISH, ARMENIAN, PERSIAN AND ENGLISH

For all the four children in our household, Swedish is the predominant spoken language. When it comes to written language, Swedish is predominant for the three younger children. Language use in different domains will now be described for each child individually with comments on their oral linguistic interaction with different interlocutors, followed by remarks on their language use in special situations.

For her higher secondary studies, Maria chose to study for the International Baccalaureate, in which all the teaching, except in the subject Swedish (individually chosen mother tongue), is in English. Her main language for reading and writing has thus, for the last year, been English. At school, outside the classroom, she mainly speaks Swedish to Swedish-speaking friends and English to others. All oral interaction in the classroom and with the teachers outside the classroom is in English. At home, at work and with other friends, she mainly uses Swedish for oral interaction, and with cousins she uses Swedish or Armenian. With older relatives of her father's, she speaks Armenian. Her main use of Persian is during conferences and seminars organised by the Persian church, one week every summer and approximately once a month throughout the year. She prefers to worship in Swedish or English.

As for Mersedeh, her main oral and written language is Swedish. She speaks Swedish at home, with friends and at work. Her use of English is mainly as a subject at school, for watching films on TV, and during occasional journeys abroad. She interacts with her mother in Persian, and with her own sister and brother in Swedish and Persian. She takes a somewhat more active part in Persian worship than Maria but also attends the Swedish church. Furthermore, she studies Persian as a subject at school, which also means that she at least once a week reads and writes Persian. Her main exposure to Armenian is when we visit Armenian speakers, e.g. my husband's

[10] Note, however, that she can sing "Happy Birthday" in Armenian without hesitation.

relatives, or when they visit us. She interacts with Armenian speakers in Swedish if they are of her own generation, otherwise in Persian.

Also Tamara's main oral and written language is Swedish. She speaks Swedish at home and with friends, Swedish and Armenian with cousins, and with older relatives of her father's she speaks Armenian. Like Maria, she hears and speaks some Persian during conferences and seminars organised by the Persian church, but prefers to worship in Swedish. Like Mersedeh, her use of English is mainly as a subject at school, for watching films on TV and during occasional journeys abroad.

Natalie's only written language is Swedish, and when it comes to oral language, her use very much follows that of Tamara. However, Natalie is particularly interested in speaking English, and often starts conversations in English, both with me and with her sisters.[11]

For all the children, the main home language is thus Swedish, but both my husband and myself sometimes use Armenian with Maria, Tamara and Natalie. The reason for this may be that other Armenian-speaking persons are present.[12] For myself, Armenian also marks some kind of emotional distance, and I find it easier to show anger and indignation in Armenian than in Swedish. With Mersedeh, I occasionally use Persian in that connection. For my husband, there seems to be just an arbitrary choice of Swedish or Armenian.[13]

A situation in which I normally address the children in Armenian[14] rather than in Swedish is when we need a secret language. Common situations of this kind are in public places, e.g. in shops when we need to decide whether to buy something or not, or for making comments which we don't want people around us to understand.[15] The same applies to my husband, and also to the children, who normally speak Swedish to each other but prefer to speak Armenian on such occasions. I have also noted that Maria and Tamara sometimes speak Persian with Mersedeh as a secret language.

It is also interesting to note that the children prefer to speak Armenian when they are at grandmother's house. Very often, they negotiate the language of the conversation with me until we settle for Armenian if we are at grandmother's or if they are there and we speak on the phone. Before I understood their preference, we sometimes exchanged three or more turns in which I spoke Swedish and they Armenian,

[11] It may be mentioned in this connection that, when Natalie was only about three years old, a very interesting incident happened. She once answered the phone and started talking incomprehensible words but with English pronunciation and intonation pattern. She then quickly hung up and I asked who had called. She answered, "Someone speaking English who wanted to talk to you, but I told him you were busy and couldn't talk just now".

[12] Note that the presence of Persian-speaking persons does not cause a language switch.

[13] With Mersedeh, Swedish or Persian, even though he prefers Persian for long conversations.

[14] This applies to Maria, Tamara and Natalie. I have also recently started to address Mersedeh in Persian as a secret language.

[15] One interesting thing happened in a shop a while ago. A young woman who was standing in front of us in the queue had bought a lot of nice dresses for a newborn baby, and I started to comment on the dresses in Armenian to Tamara, who was with me. Suddenly the woman started smiling. It turned out that she was Armenian. Fortunately enough, I had not said anything negative about the dresses, just commented on how nice they were.

but now I try to respect their choice of language. However, when I forget and start speaking Swedish, they mainly answer in Armenian and then the whole conversation continues in Armenian. This negotiation does not normally take place at my brother-in-law's or sister-in-law's.[16]

In my brother-in-law's family, where both parents are Armenians, a very interesting observation has been made about language between parent and child. The first child of the family was born shortly after their arrival in Sweden, and the second child six years later. Now, when the family has lived in Sweden for 15 years, it is notable that the mother interacts with the elder child almost totally in Armenian,[17] but with the younger child more frequently in Swedish. If she starts a conversation with him in Armenian, he often negotiates until the conversation is totally switched over into Swedish.

SOME EXAMPLES OF LEXICAL INSERTION

Lexical insertion within another basic frame is very common,[18] especially between the two languages Swedish and Armenian. This lexical insertion is not limited to the children, who have learnt the two languages simultaneously, but is also very frequent in my own and my husband's speech habits. Lexical insertion is not restricted to any particular semantic field. However, concepts associated with Armenian habits (cooking, celebrations, family relations, etc.) and/or grandmother are very often found in Armenian, even if the general frame is Swedish. For some of these concepts, there is no Swedish term or the Swedish term is unknown to the children, and sometimes even to me, but for some there is a familiar Swedish term known to the children which they for various reasons (or without any logical reason) prefer not to use. Some examples in this category are given below:[19]

Example no. 1:

On the phone from grandmother's:

Natalie: *Mama, yerp es-galis indz vert^{h}sn-es*?
mum, when pres.2.sg-come.ind me take.subj-pres.2.sg
'Mum, when will you come and pick me up?'

Mother: **Hur så**?
how thus
'Why do you wonder?'

Natalie: *Axe*, **vi skulle gå till** *getin*-**en**.
well, we would go to plot-def
'Well, we were going to the plot.'[20]

[16] The linguistic interaction between the cousins is nowadays mainly in Swedish owing to the presence of a Swedish-speaking boyfriend, something which also Mersedeh can profit from. Thus, the children feel comfortable speaking Swedish at their aunt's and uncle's. At grandmother's, though, it seems that they feel a need to prove that they have mastered Armenian and like to use it.

[17] Unless there are Swedish friends of the child present or in other special situations.

[18] Except for Mersedeh, in whose speech lexical insertion very seldom occurs.

[19] All these examples have been recorded during the past few months. Italics indicate Armenian, bold roman type Swedish. The Armenian, which is colloquial rather than literary, is represented in Latin transcription. Aspiration of voiceless plosives and affricates is marked by ^{h}. The Swedish is written according to standard orthographic rules.

[20] Grandmother cultivates a plot of land, from where we get most of the greens and vegetables needed for Iranian cooking.

Here, first of all, there is a language negotiation going on. The tendency to speak Armenian at grandmother's is strong, but this time Natalie gives in. However, the concept of "plot of land" is so strongly associated with grandmother that, even though Natalie knows the word for it in Swedish, the Armenian term is inserted within a Swedish framework. It is also interesting to note that there is no phonological constraint of the kind that Sankoff and Poplack report for Spanish-English.[21] Here the word *getin* is not phonologically integrated into Swedish, since it contains an unaspirated plosive /t/, not found as a phoneme in Swedish. Note also the interjection *axe* 'well', very frequently used even when the children speak to Swedish friends. Its insertion seems almost automatic and it is also pronounced in a way that it is generally not observed by Swedish interlocutors. There seems to be no suitable Swedish substitute.

Example no. 2:

Natalie: **Min svenska älsklingsmat är pannkakor, det vet du, men min armeniska älsklingsmat är** *ašomast*.
my Swedish favourite.food cop.3.sg pancakes, it know.pres you, but my Armenian favourite.food cop.3.sg yoghurt.soup
'My favourite Swedish food is pancakes, you know that, but my favourite Armenian food is yoghurt soup.'

In this case, there is no word in Swedish for *ašomast*.[22] A translation (**yoghurtsoppa**) could, of course, be provided, but such a word would not convey the concept in a satisfactory way. In cases like this, it is therefore rather the rule to use the Armenian word inserted in a Swedish framework. The opposite is true of concepts which are not common within the Armenian cultural framework, such as **dagis** (day care)[23] and **jul** (Christmas).[24]

Example no. 3:

Maria: **Om vi köper**[25] **en fruktpress kan vi pressa** *nuř*, **du vet, pappa ville köpa en**.
if we buy.pres one fruit.press can.pres we squeeze.inf pomegranate, you know.pres, dad want.past buy.inf one
'If we buy a fruit press, we can squeeze pomegranates. You know, dad wanted to buy one.'

[21] The phonological constraint rule established for Spanish-English is that "a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme" (see Romaine 1995: 126).

[22] Originally *āš-e māst* 'soup of yoghurt', a Persian term also used in Armenian and integrated into the Armenian phonological system, in which there is no distinction between /a/ (half-open central vowel, historically short) and /ɒ/ (open back vowel, historically long).

[23] For children, when their parents are at work.

[24] The birth (and baptism) of Jesus is celebrated on 6 January in the Armenian tradition. This day is called *djrošnek* 'water blessing'.

[25] Most Swedish verbs take the ending **-r** in all persons in the present tense. There are no personal endings on the verb in Swedish and the person is marked by the compulsory pronoun. In Armenian, the pronoun is facultative, generally denoting emphasis, and the person is marked by the personal ending on the verb.

This is another example of a concept (pomegranate) for which there is a Swedish term (**granatäpple**), but the word is so strongly associated with Armenian/Iranian culture that the Armenian word is much more easily accessible than the Swedish one. Pomegranates are, furthermore, generally purchased from an Iranian store and are thus strongly dissociated from "the Swedish world". Other concepts for which there are Swedish terms, which the children, however, do not normally use, are greens cultivated by grandmother (parsley, basil, etc.). In some instances, the Swedish term is even unknown to them, and me, since these greens are always associated with Iranian dishes and are never talked about in a Swedish setting.

Often, however, there is no logical explanation, such as association with Armenian habits or lack of the concept in Swedish, of why a certain Armenian word is inserted in a Swedish framework. Here are two examples of totally arbitrary insertions:

Example no. 4:

Maria: **Var är** *bambak*-**en**?
where cop.3.sg cotton-def
'Where is the cotton? = Where are the cotton pads?'

Tamara: **Va**?
what
'What?'

Maria: **Bomull-en**!
cotton-def
'The cotton!'

Tamara: **Jag vet inte, kolla på toa**.
I know.pres not, check.imper in loo
'I don't know, check in the loo.'

Here the Armenian insertion, totally at random as it seems, even causes confusion and a need to ask for clarification. Not that Tamara did not understand the word *bambak*, which incidentally also contains an unaspirated plosive /k/ unknown to the Swedish phonological system but still gets a Swedish ending for the definite form, but it seems that the way it suddenly appeared within a Swedish framework was totally unexpected to her, and that was probably why she didn't get the message. The restoration strategy that Maria chose on this occasion was to give the word in Swedish. On other occasions, the opposite strategy may be used, i.e. change of frames to Armenian.[26]

Example no. 5:

Natalie: *Xoz*-**en ser inte så bra, den luktar sig mest fram**.
pig-def see.pres not so good, it smell.pres refl.pron most ahead
'The pig doesn't have such good eyesight, it mostly smells its way ahead.'

This example of lexical insertion is even more remarkable than the previous one, since the background to this statement was that the children had been studying animals and their behaviour at school, i.e. in a setting that is strongly associated with

[26] If that strategy had been used here, Maria would have repeated the whole question in Armenian, *Bambak-ən ur-a*? The answer could then have been given by Tamara either in Armenian or in Swedish.

the Swedish language. However, it may be noted that, between the end of the school day and the statement, Natalie had been to a swimming class together with her cousin, with whom she mainly speaks Swedish but who somehow belongs to her "Armenian world", and she was taken there by her uncle, with whom she speaks Armenian.

Another example of lexical insertion is when "compound verbs" are made in Armenian, using the strategy copied from Persian (noun/adjective + *anel* 'to do'). This strategy is not typical of Armenian, but it is very common in Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages, and occurs as a strategy adopted from Persian also in the Armenian spoken in Iran.[27] In the Persian spoken in Sweden, a Swedish verb is often inserted in the place of the noun/adjective. The same strategy of inserting a Swedish verb is often found in an Armenian frame in the speech habits observed here:

Example no. 6:

Tamara: *Spasi, me kitš^{h} heto* **bädda** *k-an-em*!
wait.imper, one little afterwards make.bed.inf fut-do-1.sg
'Wait, I will make my bed a bit later!'

Here the Swedish verb **bädda** 'to make the bed' is used as the nominal part of the compound verb **bädda** *anel* 'to make the bed' together with the Armenian verb *anel* 'to do, to make'. This kind of insertion is very frequent, and numerous examples can be given. Note also the following ones, where the Swedish verbs **duscha** 'to take a shower' and **fika** 'to have coffee' are inserted in the same way as **bädda** above.

Example no. 7:

Natalie: *Karoġ-em hima* **duscha** *an-em*?
can.ind-pres.1.sg now take.shower.inf do.subj-pres.1.sg
'Can I take a shower now?'

Example no. 8:

Maria: *Mama, yerp žamanak un-es k^{h}aġak^{h}*[28] **fika** *an-enk^{h}*?
mum, when time have.ind-pres.2.sg town have.coffee.inf
do.subj-pres.1.pl
'Mum, when do you have time for us to have coffee in town?'

SOME EXAMPLES OF SEMANTIC AND STRUCTURAL INTERFERENCE

Just as with vocabulary insertion, the semantic and structural interference that has been observed is often between Swedish and Armenian. During the language acquisition, this interference was very common and was observed both as Armenian interference in Swedish and as Swedish interference in Armenian. At present, this interference is almost invariably limited to Swedish interference in Armenian and also sometimes in English.

Phonological interference was very restricted after the sound system of each language was properly acquired. The only phonologically related interference that has

[27] For a discussion of this phenomenon in Punjabi, see Romaine (1995: 131–141). How this insertion may express itself in Persian spoken in Sweden can be seen in Naseh (2002: 110–115).

[28] Note the missing locative case ending here. The proper locative is *k^{h}aġak^{h}-um*.

been of a more persistent character is to use the Armenian pattern of rising intonation to form a question in Swedish, where the Swedish language structure would demand a change in word order. In examples nos. 9–15, the speaker is kept anonymous in order not to embarrass any of the girls by pointing out their "mistakes".

Example no. 9:
Ni går? (With a rising intonation pattern)
you go.pres
'Are you going?'
(Ought to be: **Går ni**?)

Morphosyntactic interference has been noted, e.g. between the Armenian case system with six cases (nominative,[29] genitive, dative,[30] instrumental, ablative, locative) and the Swedish system of expressing other semantic roles in the clause than the genitive attribute[31] by means of prepositions and word order. The Armenian case system was from the beginning harder to master than the Swedish system, but the main interference still observed is that of the comitative (in Armenian expressed by the postposition *het* 'with' and in Swedish expressed by the preposition **med** 'with') instead of the instrumental (in Armenian expressed by a case-form ending in *-ov* but in Swedish expressed by the same preposition as the comitative).[32] The comitative is therefore often wrongly used in Armenian instead of the instrumental.

Example no. 10:
Es kʰtʰal-i het tšʰ-em-karoġ ut-em.
this spoon-gen with neg-pres.1.sg-can.ind eat.subj-pres.1.sg
'I cannot eat with this spoon.'
(Ought to be: *Es kʰtʰal-ov tšʰ-em-karoġ ut-em.*)

Example no. 11:
Hanrakark-i het em-ertʰum.
bus-gen with pres.1.sg-go.ind
'I go by bus.'
(Ought to be: *Hanrakark-ov em-ertʰum.*)

Another structure that differs between Armenian and Swedish and that has proved to be difficult to master is that of impersonal verbs. The verb expressing permission ('to be allowed to') is in Swedish expressed by means of a finite verb **att få**, but in Armenian it is expressed by the adjective *kareli* 'allowed' + copula 3rd person singular. The person is seen in the personal ending of the following verb, which takes the subjunctive mood. Thus, 'May I go?' is in Armenian expressed (with a rising intonation to mark the question) as:

Kareli-a ertʰ-am?
allowed-cop.3.sg go.subj-pres.1.sg

[29] Also accusative, especially to denote inanimate and unspecified animate direct objects, and vocative, but in the vocative a change in word stress occurs from the last to the first syllable in the word.
[30] Also accusative, mainly to denote specified animate direct objects.
[31] For pronouns, three cases (nominative, genitive, accusative/prepositional).
[32] Note, however, also the missing locative in ex. no. 8 above.

but in Swedish (with VS as the word order in questions) as:

Får jag gå?
can I go.inf

By analogy with the Swedish structure, often the copula added to the Armenian *kareli*, contrary to the Armenian syntactic pattern, is declined in all persons.

Example no. 12:
Kareli-em ert^h-am?
allowed-cop.1.sg go.subj-pres.1.sg
'May I go?'

Another modal verb, 'to have to', is constructed in the same way as 'to be allowed to' in Armenian, *petk* 'necessity' + copula 3rd person singular[33] with person marking in the following verb. But here Swedish, too, uses an impersonal construction **måste**, which has no infinitive (***att måsta**) and no present tense (***jag måstar**). No observations of copula in other persons than the 3rd person singular have been made in this construction. Another reason for this may be that in *petk-e* the form of copula in the written language *-e* is also used in the spoken language, whereas the form normally used in the spoken language is *-a* (see above). Thus, *petke* is a frozen form,[34] in which the identification of *-e* as the copula is not immediate.[35]

Petk-e ert^h-am?
necessity-cop.3.sg go.subj-pres.1.sg
'Do I have to go?'
(Never: **petk-em ert^h-am*?)

A construction which is impersonal in Swedish but in which the copula agrees with the subject in Armenian is to express pity. In Swedish, this construction contains a "dummy subject" in the 3rd person singular and an agent known only from the context:

Det är synd om oss.
it cop pity about us
'It is a pity for us = I (or we, or anybody else) feel sorry for us.'

In Armenian, this construction is not impersonal:

Mexk-enk^h.
pity-cop.1.pl

This construction can be seen as the model for sentences not fitting the Swedish syntactic pattern, e.g.:

[33] Note, however, that *kareli* is an adjective and *petk* is a noun.
[34] Also occurring even more reduced as *piti*.
[35] If a main verb does not directly follow, the copula *-a* is used also after *petk*, e.g.:
K-ert^h-am yet^{h}e petk-a
fut-go-1.sg if necessity-cop.3.sg
'I will go if (it is) necessary.'

Example no. 13:
Vi är synd om.
we cop pity about

Nowadays, the construction in example no. 13 is sometimes used consciously for fun among the children, but during the language-acquisition process it was used without the speaker being aware that it was syntactically wrong in Swedish.

An example of semantic interference is, e.g. the concept of 'assuming, supposing, thinking' versus 'believing'. In Swedish, there is only one word covering both these semantic domains, **att tro**, whereas in Armenian, as in English, the verb *karts^{h}el* denotes 'to suppose, to assume, to think' and *havatal* 'to believe'. Often *karts^{h}el* is used, nowadays mainly by Natalie, instead of the correct *havatal* in Armenian in sentences like:

Example no. 14:
Karts^{h}um-es indzi?
think.ind-pres.2.sg me
'Do you believe me?'
(Ought to be: *Havatum-es indzi*?)

Example no. 15:
Karts^{h}um-es asttso-n?
think.ind-pres.2.sg God-dat
'Do you believe in God?'
(Ought to be: *Havatum-es asttso-n*?)

Another area of semantic mismatch is words denoting various relatives, e.g. the term for grandparents, where Swedish distinguishes between maternal and paternal relatives, but Armenian doesn't. This has proved to be unproblematic, but the issue of the cousins is more difficult. Armenian has no general term for cousin, but rather eight different words describing the actual relation (paternal uncle's daughter, maternal aunt's son, etc.). One day I was asked by Tamara: "How do you say cousin in Armenian?" On my answering, she made the comment: "Oh yeah, I had forgotten, complicated, isn't it?" In normal conversation, the Swedish word **kusin** is normally inserted in an Armenian framework when talking about the cousins.

Example no. 16:
Natalie: *Edvart^h im* **kusin**-*əs-a*.[36]
NP my cousin-pron.suff.1.sg-cop.3.sg
'Edward is my cousin.'

AN INVESTIGATION OF MASTERED VOCABULARY IN DIFFERENT LANGUAGE DOMAINS

In this part of the paper, the results of an investigation of mastered vocabulary items in different language domains are presented. The words were chosen to represent

[36] Note the double expression of 'my' both by means of a full pronoun and a pronominal suffix. This is very common in Armenian and does not indicate extra emphasis.

the domains relevant in the children's life at present, mainly home, relatives, friendship, school and worship. The languages in which the words were to be produced were Swedish, English, Armenian and Persian. Special attention was paid to choosing items for which the Persian word is not employed among Armenians in Iran[37] and to selecting concepts that are relevant both at the age of 9 and at the age of 17. The words, divided into seven different categories, will be found in an appendix at the end of the article.

Categories no. 1 and 2 (items found at home and food & eating) are mainly related to home, but also to a certain degree to relatives, e.g. when the children stay over at grandmother's, whereas category no. 3 (relatives) is more strongly oriented towards contacts with relatives. Categories no. 4 and 5 (things to wear and feelings) represent both what is discussed with friends and at home, and also with relatives, especially since the cousins are also close friends of the children. In no. 7, words associated with Christian worship are investigated, and in no. 8, words associated with school and education.

For all the categories, except no. 5 (feelings), the word was elicited, first in Swedish and then in the three other languages (English, Armenian and Persian), either by showing or describing the object or the action. The adjectives in no. 5 were provided in Swedish and the children were asked to describe "how you are when this adjective is used about you" to make sure that they had mastered the item in Swedish. They were then asked to provide the same adjective in the other three languages.

The results in percentages are shown in the tables below. The first figure shows words mastered actively, and the second figure in brackets words recognised only passively.[38]

Table 1. Items found at home: mastered words in percentages.

	Swedish	English	Armenian	Persian
Maria	100	90 (5)	95 (5)	80
Mersedeh	100	55 (30)	5	95 (5)
Tamara	100	85 (10)	85 (15)	50 (20)
Natalie	100	40 (10)	80 (15)	(25)

Table 2. Food and eating: mastered words in percentages.

	Swedish	English	Armenian	Persian
Maria	100	100	100	75 (10)
Mersedeh	100	70 (25)	15	100
Tamara	100	95	100	55 (10)
Natalie	100	55 (25)	95 (5)	25 (20)

[37] In the end, a couple of such words did find their way into the investigation, e.g. the Persian word for trousers, *šalvār*, which is commonly employed also in an Armenian framework, instead of the Armenian word *tapat*.

[38] It could, of course, be the case that the child, in order to "get the credit" would say: "Oh, I would know what it meant if someone told me the word". However, knowing the children and what words they nor-

Table 3. Relatives: mastered words in percentages.

	Swedish	English	Armenian	Persian
Maria	100	100	91 (9)	91
Mersedeh	87 (13)	52 (13)	57	91 (9)
Tamara	100	91	83	61 (9)
Natalie	100	52[39]	83	26 (31)

Table 4. Things to wear: mastered words in percentages.

	Swedish	English	Armenian	Persian
Maria	100	100	95	70 (20)
Mersedeh	100	65 (10)	10 (15)	95
Tamara	100	85 (10)	90	45 (30)
Natalie	100	60 (10)	95	10 (10)

Table 5. Feelings: mastered words in percentages.

	Swedish	English	Armenian	Persian
Maria	100	100	60 (40)	90 (10)
Mersedeh	100	60 (20)	–	100
Tamara	100	90	50 (30)	40 (30)
Natalie	100	80 (20)	40 (30)	30 (30)

Table 6. Words associated with worship: mastered words in percentages.

	Swedish	English	Armenian	Persian
Maria	100	100	80 (20)	100
Mersedeh	85 (15)	60 (10)	(10)	80 (20)
Tamara	100	85 (10)	50 (25)	65 (30)
Natalie	95	50 (25)	35 (10)	25 (15)

Table 7. Words associated with school and education: mastered words in percentages.

	Swedish	English	Armenian	Persian
Maria	100	100	30 (15)	15 (20)
Mersedeh	100	60 (20)	(5)	100
Tamara	100	90 (10)	20 (10)	20 (10)
Natalie	85	30 (25)	10 (10)	5 (5)

mally hear and recognise, I felt that I was able to trust them when they expressed passive knowledge of a word. They also often said: "I have heard that word, but I didn't know what it meant", in which case they did not get any credit at all.

[39] The actual score was 74, owing to the fact that Natalie picked up the expression "-in-law" during the test and was able to use it by analogy, once she was given the word "son-in-law". All the "-in-law" words she got credit for (5 items) were later omitted, since, when she was asked to produce the word "sister-in-law" a few days after the investigation, she had forgotten the expression.

The tables are quite instructive, but some comments will not be out of place. School is a much newer world to Natalie than to the others, and it is therefore only natural that her general figures in this category are lower than in the other categories. The same is true of the category of worship for Mersedeh. It may also be noted that the world of school and education is strongly associated with Swedish and English, and in this category knowledge of Armenian and Persian vocabulary is very limited, except in the case of Mersedeh, who has a background of going to school in Iran.[40]

On the other hand, worship is a category in which the Persian language is somewhat stronger than in the other categories. However, I was surprised at the number of Armenian words associated with worship that the children knew—far more than school vocabulary. A reasonable explanation is that several of the pastors in the Iranian church are Armenians, and when they visit our home, we speak about spiritual matters in Armenian. Several of the children's friends from church are also Armenians.

If the amount of worship-related vocabulary known in Armenian surprised me, I was equally surprised by the limited knowledge of words for feelings in Armenian. However, also here there is, on second thoughts, a feasible explanation, namely that often Persian words are used in Armenian in this category.[41] Note also the very high score for Natalie regarding English in this category. A plausible explanation for this is that the main source of English for Natalie up till now has been TV, and in the films and serials she watches, feelings are a major component.

It is also noteworthy that the only category in which Mersedeh has acquired a considerable amount of actively mastered vocabulary in Armenian is that of relatives. In fact, this is only logical, since talking with and about relatives more often takes place in Armenian in our home than talking about any other subject.

AN "OVERLAPPING MULTILINGUALISM" PROFILE: THE EXAMPLE OF MARIA

With the definition of overlapping bi- and multilingualism given above, all our children can be described as bilingual. In the case of Mersedeh, Tamara and Natalie, there is a similar, individual picture of bilingualism. Swedish is used as the basic language mastered in all domains, but with certain interlocutors and in certain settings a second language is irreplaceable. In the case of Mersedeh, this second language is Persian and for Tamara and Natalie it is Armenian. Their use of English and other languages is mainly as subjects at school or in settings where these languages are not irreplaceable, such as a Persian worship service, where the children could have chosen to go to a Swedish service instead and in fact very often do.

However, English is also more and more becoming an irreplaceable part of the linguistic repertoire for Mersedeh and Tamara, especially during journeys abroad, and for communication with friends who do not know Swedish or Persian/Armenian. It is also interesting to study to what degree Swedish serves as the basic lan-

[40] Maria made the following comment when she knew the word 'break' in Armenian: "At least one word from Armenian Saturday school has stuck in my mind".

[41] Such as Pe. *rāzi* for Arm. *goh* 'satisfied' and Pe. *jeddi* for Arm. *lurtš* 'serious'.

guage, "the language to think and formulate oneself in", for communication in English. This is still very much the case for Mersedeh, whereas Tamara has more and more started to "think directly in English". This can be observed by the number of literal translations from Swedish versus idiomatic English expressions used in speech and writing. It is thus quite clear that English is more and more emerging from being learnt through Swedish for Tamara. In the case of Natalie, it is also interesting to note that English seems to be much more detached from Swedish than it has been for the other children.

For Maria, English is by now an irreplaceable language, especially at school, where most of the teachers and also several students do not know Swedish. In order to illustrate Maria's overlapping multilingualism, a diagram could be drawn of linguistic interaction in different domains and settings and with different interlocutors playing a part in her life.[42] A complete diagram would be very complex, but here is an attempt to draw a somewhat simplified diagram to present Maria's spoken linguistic interaction. Only linguistic interaction taking place regularly is included; thus, language use during e.g. holidays abroad, one week per year or less, is not included (see opposite page). A similar diagram, which in the case of Maria would include only Swedish and English, could be drawn for written language.

Thus, for all these languages, there are interlocutors or settings in which the language is not replaceable with another language. If Armenian is taken as an example, it could definitely not be replaced[43] for communicating with grandmother with retained linguistic interaction. In its functions related to father, mother, Tamara and Natalie, it is somewhat harder to judge whether it is replaceable or not. It would probably be easier to replace Armenian with Swedish at grandmother's and in other Armenian settings than as a secret language. Maria could here speak Swedish and retain communication, possibly with some feeling of embarrassment, if she knew that grandmother would have wanted her to know Armenian.

Also as a secret language, Armenian could, as far as competence is concerned, be replaced by Swedish with retained communication. Many of the conversations taking place in shops would, however, probably never take place if there was no secret language to resort to. Some conversations would have required whispering or walking away from the shopkeeper or some other compensation. One may easily think of settings where it would be impossible to make such a compensation without causing suspicion.

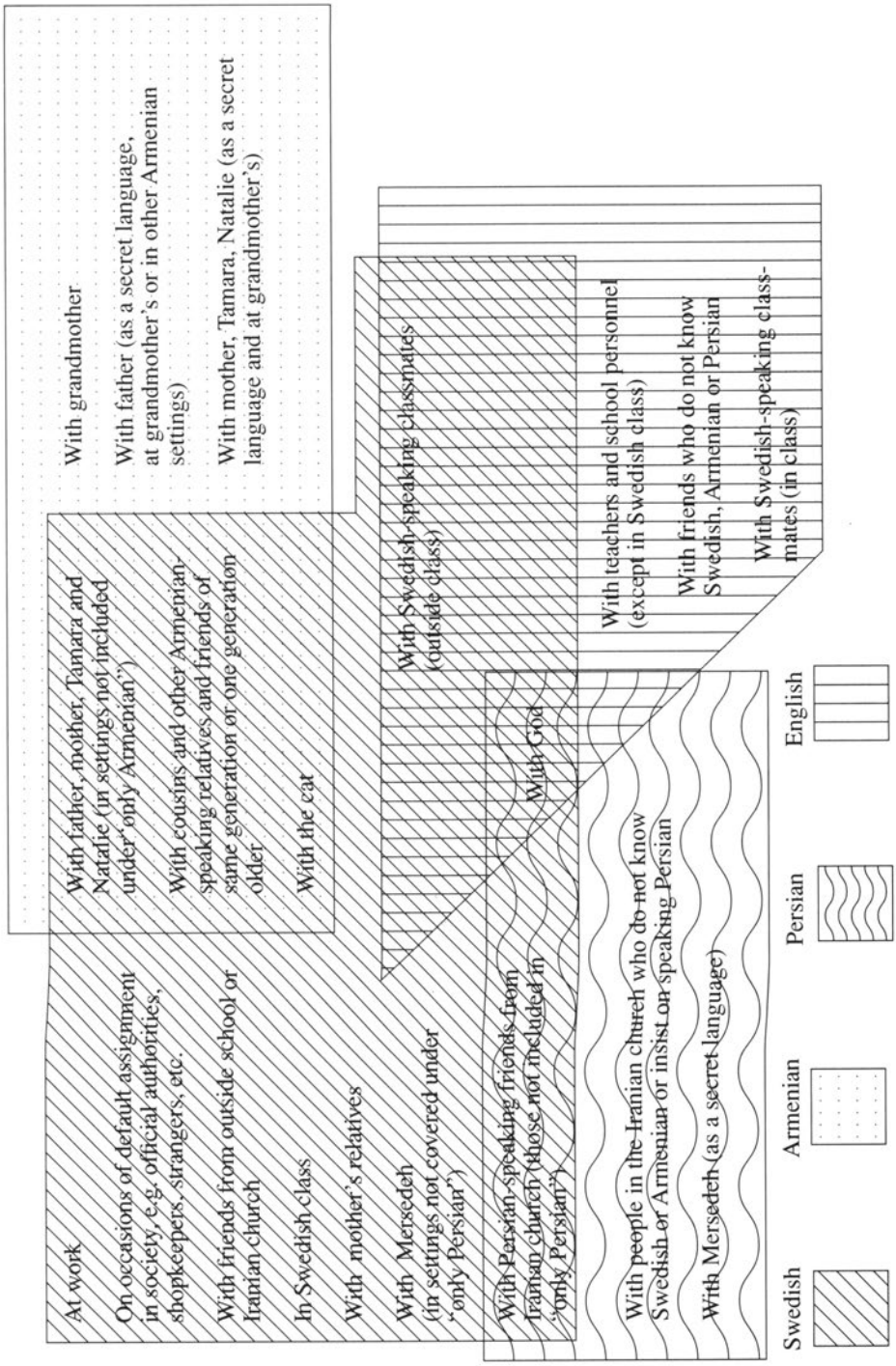
English, and to a more marginal degree Persian,[44] are also irreplaceable with some interlocutors where zero communication would occur if she didn't know the language. It can thus be stated that, with the definition of bi- and multilingualism given above, where replaceability is seen as a crucial factor, Maria's multilingual repertoire at present consists of Swedish, Armenian, English and, to a lesser degree, Persian.

[42] Inspiration for such a diagram was received from interlocutors' profiles drawn up by Linda Thompson and presented at the 8th Nordic Conference on Bilingualism, Stockholm, November 2001.

[43] Except with Persian, which would be culturally unacceptable and also totally irrational, since Persian was learnt later than Armenian.

[44] Linguistic interaction with Persian-speaking persons who do not know Swedish is not very common in Maria's case.

Diagram 1. Maria's overlapping multilingualism for spoken language.



OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TO SWEDISH, ARMENIAN, PERSIAN AND ENGLISH

Attitudes to a language may be expressed in different ways. Either they are overtly stated or they can be observed indirectly by the decisions which the individuals take regarding language-related matters. Sometimes, on the other hand, a statement which on the surface seems to give an opinion on language may have a different, underlying motive.[45] However, with these factors in mind, it may be stated beyond all doubt that our children are interested in learning as many new languages as they can and that they see each new language as a new opportunity. This attitude can be observed in many ways. Maria is interested in learning to read and write Persian, studies French at school, and at one point started learning Portuguese on her own.[46] Tamara studies French and would like to improve her ability to read and write Armenian, and Mersedeh added Spanish to her languages, even though she had recently started English and several teachers discouraged her from taking Spanish.

It is also typical that neither of the languages acquired from childhood (Swedish and Armenian for Maria, Tamara and Natalie, Persian for Mersedeh) is valued as better, more prestigious or more important to know than other languages. This is quite clear from the decisions and choices made in relation to language, which are mainly founded on what the children feel will be useful to them in the future. As examples, it can be mentioned that Maria chose to continue her secondary education in English rather than in Swedish, since she intends to go abroad after finishing high school and that Mersedeh was very hesitant about taking part in the Persian mother-tongue education offered her at school, feeling that "she would not use Persian in the future".

It is rather English that is seen as the more prestigious language which opens new doors in today's globalised world. Recently Maria was talking about her future plans and suddenly said: "I really doubt that my children will ever learn Armenian. By the way, I don't even know if they will learn Swedish. Maybe I will speak English or some other language to my husband and children."

There is thus a time aspect in this study that is not to be ignored. This article is an attempt to describe the present situation, and is thus a synchronic study, even though a diachronic background is given. If a similar study is made in e.g. ten years' time, it is highly likely that the languages found in the multilingual repertoire of the children, especially Maria, who will then be 27, will be different from now. Maybe she will have no functional use for Armenian or Persian at that time, and her use of Swedish will possibly also be marginal. It is, however, highly likely that English will be an important language for her also in the future, maybe together with other languages, depending on where she lives at that time. The same, of course, is true also for the other children. He who lives will see!

[45] In our case a statement like "Let's talk Armenian today, we will forget it if we don't" could e.g. be an attempt to exclude Mersedeh from the conversation rather than a genuine concern for Armenian.

[46] Maria has for several years been interested in going to Brazil after finishing school.

List of abbreviations

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
def	definite
fut	future tense
gen	genitive
imper	imperative
ind	indicative
inf	infinitive
neg	negative
NP	proper name
past	past tense
pl	plural
pres	present tense
pron.suff	pronominal suffix
refl.pron	reflexive pronoun
sg	singular
subj	subjunctive
VS	verb-subject (word order)

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APPENDIX: LISTS OF WORDS USED IN THE INVESTIGATION OF MASTERED VOCABULARY IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS

1. Items found at home (20 items):

window, table, mirror, tablecloth, bed, photo, candle, pillow, flower, drawer, hanger, chair, bedspread, door, staircase, refrigerator, washing machine, vacuum cleaner, WC, sink

2. Food & eating (20 items):

knife, fork, spoon, plate, glass, cup, pot, salt, sugar, flour, egg, meat, chicken, potato, onion, garlic, carrot, milk, yoghurt, water

3. Relatives (23 items):

father, mother, sister, brother, son, daughter, grandmother (paternal), grandfather (paternal), grandmother (maternal), grandfather (maternal), grandchild, uncle (paternal), uncle (maternal), aunt (paternal), aunt (maternal), niece, nephew, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law (wife's mother), mother-in-law (husband's mother), father-in-law (wife's father), father-in-law (husband's father)

4. Things to wear (20 items):

socks, hat, shoes, trousers, gloves, skirt, pyjamas, dress, tights, slippers, glasses, ring, bracelet, necklace, earring, shirt, jacket, watch, hairpin, coat

5. Feelings (10 items):

angry, sad, happy, disappointed, nervous, hopeful, tired, serious, worried, satisfied

6. Words associated with worship (20 items):

cross, Bible, hymn, worship, angel, baptism, prayer, fellowship, the Holy Spirit, sin, heaven, hell, devil, temptation, salvation, to heal, to bless, to repent, to forgive, to preach

7. Words associated with school and education (20 items):

triangle, square, addition, subtraction, chemistry, physics, map, capital, break, physical education, pencil, rubber, ruler, dictionary, homework, test, grades, teacher, principal, student

Old Uyghur, Eastern Turki, Modern Uyghur

LARS JOHANSON, University of Mainz

THE OBJECT OF STUDY

In the first half of the twentieth century, Swedish Turcologists came to play an important part in the linguistic discovery of what was then called 'Eastern Turkistan'. The pioneer in the field was Gustaf Raquette (1871–1945), a medical missionary who after many years of work in that region of the world was active as a lecturer at the University of Lund. Raquette's work was continued by his pupil Gunnar Jönsson, later known as Gunnar Jarring (1907–2002) (cf. Johanson 1977, 2001, 2002; Jarring 1994). Since the latter eventually acquired a high degree of international fame as a top diplomat, his linguistic interests also came to be widely known, even to a general non-scientific public.

But what was the actual object of Raquette's and Jarring's investigations? It is obvious that this has largely remained unknown or misunderstood outside the narrow circle of Turcological professionals. The following remarks are not intended to add any substance to the specialist knowledge, but simply aim at clarifying some points regarding the studies on which the linguistic reputations of the two Swedish Turcologists resides.

MODERN UYGHUR

The language investigated by Raquette and Jarring is commonly said to have been 'Uyghur'. This is the designation of a modern Turkic language (*uyɣur tili* or *uyɣurča*) used by the majority of the Turkic-speaking population in northwestern China. It belongs to the southeastern group of Turkic languages and is closely related to Uzbek.

The homeland of the Uyghur population was formerly known in Europe as Eastern Turkistan. In China it has been referred to as 'the new borderland' (Sinkiang, Xinjiang) since the eighteenth century. Since 1955 it has been officially called the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China. It constitutes the largest province of China, covering a fifth of its entire territory, and it possesses numerous neighbours. The province borders Kirghizstan and Tajikistan in the west, Kazakhstan in the northwest, Mongolia in the north and northeast, the Russian Federation in the north, Afghanistan, Jammu and Kashmir in the southwest, Tibet in the southeast, and the Chinese provinces Gansu and Qinghai in the east.

At least ten million native speakers of Uyghur live in today's Xinjiang, predominantly north of the Tarim river, on the southern side of Tianshan, and south of the desert Taklamakan, on the northern side of Kunlun. About half a million speakers of Uyghur live in other countries, particularly in Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Other languages spoken in Xinjiang include Chinese, Kazakh, Kirghiz, etc. The region has thirteen officially acknowledged 'national minorities', but is the home of considerably more linguistic minority groups.

OLD UYGHUR

As a matter of fact, however, both Gustaf Raquette and Gunnar Jarring would have objected if somebody had claimed that they were working on 'Uyghur'. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this designation exclusively referred to a dead literary language that had once been used by the élite of Turkic-speaking so-called Uyghur tribes, first on the territory of today's Mongolia and later on the territory of today's Xinjiang and Gansu. (For detailed information on the old Uyghur, see Golden 1992.)

EASTERN OLD TURKIC STEPPE EMPIRES

Around the middle of the sixth century, a Turkic steppe empire had been founded by the so-called Türk, a confederation of nomadic tribes that succeeded in conquering an almost unconceivably large territory. Their realm, which consisted of an eastern and a western part, soon extended over the entire steppe region from Lake Irtysh and Lake Baikal in the north to Pamir and Tibet in the south, from the Amur river and the Chingan mountains in the east to Lake Aral and the Volga Basin in the west.

Later on, this empire was divided. Its western part was weakened by attacks from the Arabs. During the second part of the eighth century it was destroyed by the Turkic-speaking Karluk. The eastern part, which had been forced to accept Chinese supremacy, was reestablished at the end of the seventh century. This success is celebrated in the so-called Orkhon inscriptions, created in the first part of the eighth century and providing the first known written specimens of a Turkic language.

THE NOMADIC UYGHURS

The dynasty that celebrated itself through these inscriptions was, however, superseded in 741. In 744, their realm was conquered by another Turkic confederation, the so-called Uyghurs, former subjects of the Türk empire. The language of the Uyghur was very close to the one found in the Orkhon inscriptions. Their realm expanded further, in the east to Gansu. The oases of the Tarim basin and the Ferghana valley were incorporated into the Uyghur empire.

The Uyghurs entertained close contacts with China and gave support to the T'ang dynasty. However, their empire did not exist for more than one century. At the beginning of the ninth century, it began to fall into decay. In 840 the Uyghurs were swept away by a new mighty tribal confederation, the Kirghiz. The latter, described in Chinese sources as blond and blue-eyed, were, as witnessed by their own inscriptions, another Turkic-speaking group.

One remarkable process in the history of the nomadic Uyghurs is their adoption of a high religion, namely Manicheanism, as their state religion in the second half of the eighth century. The Türk had embraced an animistic kind of nature religion con-

nected with shamanist practices. The Uyghurs had made acquaintance with Mānī's religion, which was persecuted in the west, through Soghdian mediation. They soon acted as the protective power of Manicheanism, even outside their own territory.

THE SEDENTARY UYGHURS

The breakdown of their steppe empire forced the leading Uyghur tribes to escape in various directions. Most of them migrated down to the Chinese borderlands and never returned to the steppe again.

In their new territories, the Uyghurs founded two states. In the east, in today's Gansu province, they established a state in 850 which, however, never became really important and finally succumbed to the Tanguts.

Larger groups settled in the Tianshan region. The important state of Kocho was founded in the Turfan area in 866. From here the realm expanded over large parts of the Tarim basin. The very comprehensive Tianshan state—the so-called Western Uyghur Kingdom—emerged. It existed up to the Mongol invasion, i.e. until the Yüan dynasty seized the power after the middle of the thirteenth century. Even after this event it existed for some time as a semi-autonomous state. After the collapse of the Yüan dynasty, this empire was destroyed by the wave of Islamization coming from the west.

UYGHUR SEDENTARY CULTURE

A rich sedentary culture emerged in the Uyghur state. The Uyghur language was used for a comprehensive literary production which is mostly of a religious nature. Some products are Manichaean, some reflect Nestorian Christianity, but Buddhism is the dominant element, especially after the second half of the eleventh century. The kingdom of Kocho functioned as an important link between west and east. For example, the Uyghurs played an important intermediary role in the expansion of Buddhism to China.

All this is known to us thanks to the great expeditions that were sent out from Europe and Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. They found very comprehensive materials that provided crucial knowledge concerning Uyghur and the literature written in this Turkic language. We possess rich treasures of Uyghur documents, written in various scripts up to the fifteenth century.

THE ISLAMIC ERA

The predominantly Buddhist culture of the old Uyghurs was finally extinguished through the advancement of Islam. The break-down of the Uyghur steppe empire had made the expansion of Islam easier. The empire of the Karakhanids, which had succeeded the destroyed Karluk rule, became the first Islamic Turkic state in the east in the middle of the tenth century. Kashgar developed into the leading Islamic center in the east. The Karakhanid realm soon extended over the entire region of Eastern and Western Turkistan. Islam finally took root almost everywhere. From the

second half of the tenth century onwards, a large part of the western Tarim basin was Islamicized, even the predominantly Buddhist regions of the Uyghurs. The development was slower in Khotan and other places south of Taklamakan. The complete Islamization of the Turfan-Qomul region is even thought to have taken place in the late seventeenth century.

Here I will not try to summarize the further history of Eastern Turkestan, but only emphasize two points. First, the population of this region was far from exclusively Uyghur. It consisted of non-Turkic groups of Indo-European origin and many other Turkic-speaking groups such as the Karluk. Secondly, the literary language of the Islamic era was Chaghatay, which differed considerably from Old Uyghur and whose centers were situated far more to the west.

'EASTERN TURKI' DIALECTS

At the time when Gustaf Raquette and Gunnar Jarring visited Eastern Turkistan, there was no Uyghur in the old sense left to study there. What they were interested in was contemporary southeastern Turkic dialects spoken in the oases, varieties which only had a relatively loose connection with the old language. Raquette became the unrivalled expert in a language referred to as 'Eastern Turki'. His student went to Eastern Turkistan in 1929 to collect more materials concerning the oasis dialects and spent almost a year in Kashgar carrying out intensive linguistic field research.

A set of Turkic dialects had developed in the region: western dialects in Kashgar and Yarkand, more central dialects in Aqsu and Kucha, eastern dialects in Turfan and Qumul, southern dialects in Khotan, and the southeastern dialect of Lopnor, which is nearly extinct today. A particular variety was Taranchi, spoken in the Ili valley by groups that had emigrated from Eastern Turkistan at the end of the eighteenth century. This Ili dialect was, and is still, also spoken by groups in Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan.

PREDECESSORS

The 'Eastern Turki' dialects are not pure Uyghur dialects in the historical sense. Their Turkic predecessors are spoken Old and Middle Turkic varieties more or less corresponding to the written idioms Old Uyghur, Karakhanid and Chaghatay. Their area of distribution was once populated by groups speaking Indo-European languages. Thus the local populations that emerged here in the Turkic period consisted to a great extent of non-Turkic elements. But already from the sixth century on, various Turkic groups had settled in the region, in particular in the colonies of the Türk empire in the Tarim basin. Large parts of the traditionally Tokharian and Iranian areas in the south had been Turkicized long before the Uyghur exodus from the steppes. Later on, large Turkic-speaking groups of Karluks, Uyghurs and others settled in the western part of the Tarim basin. The Uyghurs in the strict sense cannot have been the quantitatively dominant element. Karluk groups had settled early in the northern part of the Tarim basin and the Kashgar area. After the Karluk conquest of the western Tarim basin, this region was predominantly populated by Karluks.

Turkic elements thus mixed with the non-Turkic local populations and exerted a strong linguistic influence, particularly by triggering language shift. In this way, this borderland eventually developed into an Eastern Turkistan. The southern Tarim area, the oases north of Kunlun, was mostly populated by Saka speakers. Their region, which had its center in Khotan, essentially remained untouched by Turkicization up to the Mongol era.

In ethnographic works published prior to World War II, at a time where one still felt free to talk in racial terms, it was claimed that the population of Xinjiang constituted a diversified mixture. The Kashgar population in the west could be regarded as a predominantly 'Arian tribe', it was said, whereas Turkic and Mongolic 'blood' prevailed in the east.

There were also clear linguistic differences. When preparing his 'Eastern Turki Grammar', Raquette as a rule transcribed his texts and marked the accents according to the dialect spoken in the district of Yarkand, because, as he wrote, 'I have found that this dialect is purer than that of Kashgar, which has more or less been influenced by the Western Turki' (1912–1914: 1).

One reason for Raquette's and Jarring's interest in the contemporary oasis dialects was that these promised answers to essential historical questions. It was important to investigate them synchronically, as they were actually spoken in the twentieth century, to draw conclusions regarding the development of the southeastern Turkic world.

Gunnar Jarring may rightly be considered the first modern dialectologist in this region, which became inaccessible soon afterwards. After his 'Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre' (1933), between 1946 and 1951 he published a comprehensive collection of unique texts from Eastern Turkistan in four volumes, 'Materials to the knowledge of Eastern Turki'. In 1964 he published the first version of his 'Eastern Turki–English dialect dictionary'.

THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

How do the oasis dialects of Eastern Turki relate to the modern standard language called Uyghur? This relationship has often been misunderstood. In Sweden, it has sometimes even been claimed that Gunnar Jarring's foremost scholarly achievement consisted in that 'he gave the Uyghurs a written language' through his linguistic research.

This is a totally groundless claim. The old Uyghurs had, as we have noted, possessed their own highly developed literary language. In the Islamic era, Eastern Turkistan was first the birthplace of the written Karakhanid language, and later part of the huge area of validity of the transregional literary language Chaghatay.

With the diffusion of Islam, works written in Arabic script had begun to appear in Eastern Turkistan. 'Qutaðɣu bilig', written in the eleventh century by Yūsuf of Balasaɣun, is a literary monument reflecting the recent influence of Islam and the 'Karluk-Uyghur' language of the eastern part of the Karakhanid state (Dankoff 1983). Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī presented this language in his famous compendium of the Turkic languages (Dankoff & Kelly 1982–1985). The Kashgar dialect also became the basis of the eastern variety of Chaghatay.

Robert Shaw's sketch of 'the Túrkí language as spoken in Eastern Túrkístan' (1875–1880) was the first book intended to present modern Eastern Turki. It was based on the dialects of Kashgar and Yarkand, but essentially reflected the norms of the literary language. Gustaf Raquette, who worked in Eastern Turkistan from 1896 to 1921, tried, in his 'Eastern Turki grammar' (1912–1914), to provide foreigners, missionaries and others, who lived in the region, with a practical tool by which they could learn the 'the dialect of Eastern Turkestan as it is spoken now-a-days'. He also wanted to provide useful information for those who wished to study the languages of central Asia 'for more or less scientific purposes'.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MODERN UYGHUR

The twentieth century saw the birth of a new 'Uyghur' standard language. In May–June 1922, an assembly of Soviet delegates in Tashkent decided to adopt the historical designation 'Uyghur' for the groups of speakers of Eastern Turki in Russian Turkistan. This name was officially accepted in Xinjiang in 1934. The groups in question had so far always referred to themselves by the respective place-names, e.g. *turfanlïq* 'inhabitant of Turfan'. Other names such as Chanto and Huizi had been used since the establishment of the Manchu (Qing) dynasty. The decision to revive an old forgotten ethnonym eventually had the consequence that all speakers of Eastern Turki began to consider themselves direct descendants and heirs of the old Uyghurs.

Now the establishment of an eastern Turkic standard language started, particularly on the basis of the very special dialect that was spoken in the Ili region. This standard language was called 'Uyghur'. It became one of the Turkic so-called national languages that succeeded Chaghatay as written media in Turkistan at the end of the 1920s and at the beginning of the 1930s. These languages also included Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Karakalpak and Kirghiz.

The Uyghur standard language was thus mainly developed on the basis of varieties spoken on Soviet territory. The Taranchi dialect of Ili was elaborated in order to serve as the standard language of Eastern Turkistan. After the formation of the so-called 'Three Districts Government' in Ili, and especially after the establishment of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in 1955, this dialect began to exert an increasing influence.

Thus, a bold straight line was drawn from the old Uyghur language, which had ceased to be used as a written language almost half a millennium earlier, to a new language with rather different properties. The relationship between Old Uyghur and Modern Uyghur is far from unequivocal. In particular, many speakers of Uyghur may have shifted to the closely related variety of the Karluks. How the spoken language developed is largely unknown.

MODERN UYGHUR FEATURES

In Modern Uyghur, complex processes of interaction between the dialects and the standard variety have been taking place. The language displays a number of features that are lacking or uncommon in other Turkic languages.

Turkic word structure is normally regular and transparent: invariable primary stems assume suffixes with predictable shapes. In modern Uyghur we find phenomena that are better known from Indo-European languages, e.g. vowel mutations of various kinds and other phonological irregularities that are alien to Turkic. Thus, whereas Turkish *başım* 'my head' is regularly formed from *baş* 'head', the vowel of the stem is changed in Uyghur: *baš* 'head' → *bešim* 'my head'.

Features of this kind can partly be interpreted as non-Turkic, mainly Indo-European substratum phenomena, i.e. to the effect that non-Turkic groups have abandoned their old languages and shifted to Turkic, 'carrying over' certain linguistic elements from their old languages to their new Turkic varieties.

The currently valid pronunciation of the official standard language was fixed in a dictionary first published in 1987 and revised in 1997. It deviates a good deal from the pronunciation heard in the standard variety of the capital Ürümchi—and still more from the pronunciation in most dialects.

VOCABULARY

Modern Uyghur is, of course unlike Old Uyghur, a language with numerous Arabic and Persian lexical elements copied from Persian. This is a heritage from the Karakhanid-Chaghatay literary tradition. A large part of the modern vocabulary was copied from Russian at an early stage of the modern development. Later on, the lexical influence of Chinese became increasingly stronger.

The strong Arabic-Persian influence has now decreased. Since the middle of the 1990s there has also been a tendency to replace Chinese words by means of innovative indigenous word formation, with loan translations or with internationalisms copied from Russian, e.g. *tilpun* 'telephone' instead of *dyänxua*.

SCRIPT

Modern Uyghur was originally, like Chaghatay, written with Arabic script. From the middle of the 1960s until the beginning of the 1980s it was written with the so-called new script, *yėŋi yėziq*, based on the pinyin transcription. Since the experiment was unsuccessful, the so-called old script, *kona yėziq*, is in use again. It is based on the Arabic alphabet but is provided with certain diacritic signs that make it less ambiguous. The return to the old script means that written communication with other Turkic-speaking groups has become more difficult.

LITERATURE

In the 1930s, the era of Chaghatay literature was concluded and a modern Uyghur literature began to develop. Up to this time, the few printed books had mainly consisted of lithographed works imported from Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara, mostly books of religious, romantic and heroic content. Raquette's 'Eastern Turki grammar' (1912–1914) still contains reading exercises that are extracts from Eastern Turki books, or folklore stories written down by native mullahs.

When Gunnar Jarring visited Xinjiang for the second time, in 1978, he observed

that the Islamic literature and the old romantic narratives had disappeared altogether. (The two visits are described in Jarring 1979 and 1986.) The new literature was strongly politically oriented and influenced by Chinese literature. On the other hand, the rich popular literature still existed as it had done for centuries. Jarring advised his hosts to save, through literary fieldwork, as much as possible of this old popular culture, which is based on memorial tradition. The response was positive, since everybody knew Jarring's own eminent contributions to this rescue feat through his early linguistic fieldwork.

DIALECTOLOGY

Jarring also pleaded for a continuation of the study of dialects. In 1956–1957, the dialects and 'subdialects' of the region had been studied by the Institute for the study of national minority languages of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. But there was much more to be done.

As always, Jarring set a good example himself. In 1997, at the age of 90, he published a huge volume on Turkic place-names collected by Sven Hedin in the Tarim Basin from 1896 to 1935. Since much of the lexicon is reflected in the toponyms, this book is even a kind of dictionary of the central Tarim dialects. During the last years of his life, Jarring's scholarly interest focussed on one single goal: a new essentially enlarged version of his 'Eastern Turki–English dialect dictionary'. This goal was actually attained a short time before his death in 2002.

In the last decades, Uyghur dialectologists have carried out admirable work on most oasis dialects. New researchers have proceeded further on the paths cleared by Jarring and others. During the 'Cultural Revolution' in China, field research had been impossible, and much genuine Uyghur material had been destroyed. Comprehensive materials collected from the 1960s onwards had also remained unpublished. The last decades have seen a considerable development of Turkic linguistics, with remarkable activities of indigenous field researchers. Foreign, e.g. Japanese, scholars have also taken a growing interest in field research in the region. Some dialect materials thought to have been lost during the Cultural Revolution have been found again. However, systematic descriptions of the dialects and comparative studies on their interrelations are still missing.

THE EYNU VARIETY

Recent research has led to many interesting discoveries. The so-called Eynu variety, spoken in various places of settlement in the southwestern part of Xinjiang, is characterized by a vocabulary almost completely different from that of normal modern Uyghur. Its speakers, all adult men, use a special vocabulary of non-Turkic, partly Persian, origin when they want to make their conversation unintelligible to outsiders. Whenever this is unnecessary, for example at home, they use normal modern Uyghur. The Eynu may be compared with various 'Abdal' groups in Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey, formerly nomadic groups that combine a local Turkic morphosyntax with a vocabulary that is partly of Persian and partly of unknown origin (see Wurm 1997, Hayasi et alii 1999, Hayasi 2000).

THE TURFAN DIALECT

Highly interesting results have been achieved by Abdurishid Yakup, a Humboldt researcher active at the University of Mainz, who has, on the basis of long field research, written a major summarizing work on the historically important Turfan dialect: 'The Turfan dialect of Uyghur' (see Yakup forthcoming). Turfan is, as mentioned above, known as the most important cultural and political center of the Uyghur Kingdom of Kocho. Thus the local Uyghur variety spoken in this area is of special interest.

Yakup offers a synchronic description of the phonology, morphology and lexicon of the Turfan dialect. The most interesting aspect of this work is its indications that the Turfan dialect actually stands in a genuine and rather direct historic relationship with Old Uyghur. The vocabulary contains numerous archaisms. Especially, many interesting lexemes used in Old Uyghur literary texts are preserved, including some unique words not attested in other dialects. The fact that ancient Turfan was a convergence area of different cultures, languages and religions of the Silk Road is also clearly mirrored in the lexicon.

In Yakup's work, the dialect materials are compared with older data recorded in Turfan and with materials found in older documents. As stated above, we know very little about the development of the spoken language of Eastern Turkistan. The Japanese Turcologist Masahiro Shogaito, Kyoto, has, however, shown that the Uyghur materials found in Chinese vocabularies of the Ming and Manchu dynasties reflect the variety of Uyghur that was spoken in Turfan from the fifteenth century on (1999). Turcology is finally beginning to discern more details concerning all the crooked paths connecting the three complexes Old Uyghur, Eastern Turki and Modern Uyghur.

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Dādestān or 'Judgement' in Middle Persian

JUDITH JOSEPHSON, Gothenburg

In order to compile a comprehensive dictionary of Middle Persian (MP), as was proposed at the Conference on Middle Iranian Lexicography held in Rome in April 2001, it will be necessary to review the vocabulary of MP and to establish the range of usage of each word. With this in mind I would like to discuss the word *dādestān* with emphasis on some aspects of its usage which have hitherto received little attention. The semantics of this word with its extremely wide field of usage is well-known in MP. *dādestān* is defined by Mackenzie (1973, 23) as 'judgement, justice, law, case, process'. Nyberg (1974, II, 60) adds the meanings 'circumstances, matter, story' to those listed above. Shaki (1997, 549) notes that the word takes on different meanings depending on the context in which it is used.

The basic meaning of the word is 'judgement, justice, law'. It is formed from *dād* 'law' and the suffix *-estān,* which expresses 'a collection' and thus basically means 'collection of laws, rules' (Tafazzoli, 1995, 297). This word does not occur in the imperial inscriptions where one finds only the related word *dādwar* 'judge' but there are two occurrences in the Manichean Middle Persian texts, namely in Mani's *Shābūragān* which has been dated to the third century A. D. Both occurrences are found in the section on the last judgement, the first being part of the title and the second a report of the words of Xradēšahr Yazd. In this usage it collocates with the verb *kardan* 'do, make'.

> 1. *ʾbr dʾystʾn ʿy myrdʾn pwsr* (Boyce, 1975, text z, title). Concerning the judgement by the Son of Man
> 2. *ʾnʾy ky pd ʾšmh wnʾst hʾd, hʾntʾn dʾystʾn qwnʾn* (Boyce, 1975, text z, #4)
> "Besides, whoever may have harmed you, him I shall bring to justice for you."

This usage occurs also in the Book Pahlavi (BP) texts within the context of the Mazdean religion and forms part of discussion about the fate of different individual souls in the following passages.

> 3. *u-t pad ruwān dādestān cē būd ahlaw būd hē ayāb druwand?* (Gbd 225.13–14)
> What was the judgement of your soul? Were you (found) righteous or evil?
> 4. *zarduxšt guft kū-š cē kard jam ī wiwanghān kē-š dādestān ēdōn wad?* (PR 31a8)
> Zardušt said, "What did Jam, son of Wiwanghan, do that his judgement was so bad?

Most frequently, however, the main field of usage of the word *dādestān* is within the judicial sphere. Shaki (1997, 549) notes that in general and with few exceptions it refers to civil law as opposed to canon law (*dād*) and traditional orthodox law (*kardag*). It indicates the decision handed down by a judge (ex. 5) as well as the place in which judgement is passed (ex. 6). It is the usual word for indicating the legal procedures within the framework of which a case is brought before a court and judgement pronounced. In this context it always collocates with the verb *rāyēnīdan*

'lead, direct, organize' (ex. 7 and 8). In all of these usages the context gives the clue as to the exact meaning of *dādestān*.

> 5. *ud ka hērbad-iz gugāy-ē abāg ud hāwišt gugāy abāg dādestān be ō hērbad kunēh pad ēn cim* ... (PR 29.4) And if the herbad also has one witness on his side and the pupil one witness on his, give the decision in favour of the herbad for this reason ...
> 6. *pad jādag-gōwīh nāmag ō dādestān āwurd* ... (MHD 93.17) For his advocacy he brought the document to the court...
> 7. *cē mard ī rāst-xwāh ka-š dādestān rāyēnēd ud andar dādestān *rāyēnīdan ud *guftan *mustīhā garzēd ud dādestān āhōgēnīhā rāyēnēd ā-š ān *akōmandtar ciyōn mardōm ī wad-xwāh kē dādestān xūb rāyēnēd* ... (PR 4.2) For if a man of good faith conducts his case, and during the conduct and delivery of the case complains bitterly and conducts the case incorrectly, then that is more harmful for him than for a man of bad faith who conducts his case well.
> 8. ... *pasēmār pādixšāy ka ān ērangīh nē padīrēd bē xwēš passaxw gōwēd dādestān rāyēnēd* (MHD 7.9–10) ... (then) the defendant is authorized not to accept the condemnation but to answer and conduct his own case himself.

Further *dādestān* is used to indicate a set of laws or a legal system as in ex. 9. It is used to indicate the rules governing the tying of knots on amulets fastened to the arm in order to avert a fever in ex. 10. In ex. 11 *dādestān* refers to the procession of states characterizing the movement of time in *gētīg* existence. It could equally as well be rendered by 'order' or 'proper function' with Zaehner (1957, 248) and Shaki (1997, 549).

> 9. *ciyōn ka šahryār be ō šahr āyēd ud dō dādestān dahēd ēk ī rāst ēk ī arzānīgīhā* ...(WZ 35.55) comme lorsqu'un roi vient dans un pays et donne deux lois, l'une égalitaire, l'autre pour les privilégiés ...
> 10. *u-š sē grih abar mayān abgandan sē grih az dādestān-ē ud dō az dādestān-ē* (PR 63.4) and three knots are to be tied in the middle of it, according to one rule three knots, and two according to one rule...
> 11. *u-š dādestān zamān az akanāragīh bunīg pad brīn kanāragīh ī kārīg rawišnīg ud sazišnīg abāz ō akanāragīh ī frazāmīg paywastan* (DKM 282.19–21) its rule is that time is from basic infinity through determined limitation involving action, motion, and passage and finally rejoins ultimate infinity.

It denotes the concept of 'justice' in ex. 12. From this example one can deduce that justice is here conceived of as the establishing of a functioning social order in which every matter is treated according to its own rules and every individual occupies his or her own allotted position in the structure of society.

> 12. *mihr rāy ēn-iz gōwēd kū pad hamāg dehān dahibed kū pad har tis be rasēd har kas be rasēd dādestān be bawēd* (Gbd 172.9–11) It is said about Mihr that he is the ruler over all the countries and that there will be justice for every object he approaches and for every person he approaches.

Further discussion of the concept of *dādestān*, especially as the idea is developed in *Dēnkard III*, strengthens the impression that while it was a system of civil law governing and forming civil society, it had its origin in Ohrmazd himself and was part of his overall plan in the struggle leading to the final defeat of the forces of evil. Some of the issues touched upon in different chapters of *Dēnkard III* will be mentioned here.

First it is pointed out that Ohrmazd chooses the justice that man is familiar with as a guide in matters which he is unable to see. In this passage *dādestān* is clearly seen as a guiding hand in both the spiritual and material aspects of man's life.

> 13. *ud dādār mardōm rāy pad dast-ʾšlkyh ī abar ān ī nē wēnēnd dādestān wizīd ī-šān āgāh būd* (DKM 325.18–19) and for men the creator chose the law with which they were acquainted as a guide[1] of that which they do not see …

This is further confirmed by the discussion by the righteous Sēn in *Dēnkard III* of ten aspects of life which are included in the concept of law. I will only mention a few here in order to illustrate its comprehensive character. It concerns the control of violence, it regulates all aspects of ownership and protects the rights of those involved in litigation. It strives for high quality in the fairness and honesty of judges, it is operative in the material world but is an extension of the *mēnōg* world. Its basis is firmly established in royalty. It aims at destroying the opposition (*ēbgad*) of the adversary and bringing about the perfection of man.

> 14. a) *winnārišn ī azadārīh andar gēhān rāy dādīg abāz zad* (DKM 213.19–20) … in order to bring about non-violence in the world (one should) strike back legally.
> b) *xīr andar dārišn ī dādīg xwēšān ōstīgānēnīdan* (DKM 214.2–3) to assure legal owners in the possession of their goods
> c) *rāst dādwar wābar gugāy* (DKM 214.7) (the necessity for) honest judges and trustworthy witnesses
> d) *en ī gētīg dād pad-iz rad pānagīh ī ō ān ī mēnōg dād stāyīdan, ōstīgānēnīdan ud waxšēnīdan* (DKM 214.10–11) to praise, assure and make the law of the world grow in the direction of the spiritual law through the protection of the *rad*.
> e) *dād pad fragān ī gēhān stūn ī xwadāyīh ud winnārišn ī dēn* (DKM 214.13–14) through its foundation in the world, the law is the pillar of sovereignty and the rule of religion.

The importance of *dādestān* in overcoming evil and furthering the good can be seen in many passages like the following one.

> 15) *paydāgīh ēd-iz ī-š andar gumēz rawāgīh ud wehīh waxšēnīdan ud wattarīh tarwēnīdan ī dādestān zōrīh* … (DKM 237.11–13) The revelation is this which is the strength of the law in causing goodness to increase and overcoming evil during its progression in the mixed state …

A central point in the system of thought not only of *Dēnkard III* but also of the other BP texts is that the sovereign of the land plays a central role in establishing *dādestān* 'law, order' in the land and ensuring that it is upheld. This point is reiterated time and again in different chapters of the *Dēnkard III*. Here I have quoted the *Bundahišn* to illustrate thought on this matter (ex. 16).[2] It is even said that when the

[1] Although the word is unrecognizable, the meaning of *ʾšlkyh* as 'guide' is cléar and is supported by *dast* 'hand'. It is written *ʾšlk* in Ms B and de Menasce (1973, 421) considers MacKenzie's suggestion that it could represent Arabic *išāra* 'indication' as a possibility in spite of the rarity of Arabic loanwords in BP texts.

[2] Other legal systems are discussed in *Dēnkard III* and that of the *sāstār* 'tyrant' is termed illegal (*adādīg*). Adherents of Judaism are accused of abandoning the world to desolation by refusing to strengthen worldly law on the grounds that this would be harmful to religion. The claim attributed to

army is well organized it assures that many social institutions including *dādestān* 'justice' reach all the inhabitants of the land (ex.17).

> 16) *pad dēn yazišnīh … dādestān wistarišnīh ī xwadāyān ud abārīg harwist nēkīh bawēd* (Gbd 176.6–9) Through worship within religion … there will be the spreading of law by kings and all kinds of other good things.
> 17) *artēštārīh … ka hangīrdīg ī xūb rāyēnīdārīh … ud winnārdārīh ī dādestān…* (DKM 205.10–13) The army … when it is the sum of good organisation will (be instrumental) in … and the bringing about of justice …

Along with the discussion of the position of *dādestān* in the material world there is also discussion on a deeper level of the position of this concept in relation to other key concepts in the development of the worldview of the Mazdean community. It is closely associated with *paymān* 'mean' defined as lack of excess or deficiency. It is said to be engendered by *paymān* (ex. 18) in the sense that every time *paymān* overcomes *waran* 'lust', which is the root of all excess and deficiency in the world, *dādestān* becomes more firmly established in the world (ex. 19). Likewise when *waran* has the upper hand *paymān* disappears and *dādestān* cannot function.

> 18) *paymān dādestān zahāg …* (DKM 297.9) the mean, engenderer of the law. .
> 19) *ud hamē ka andar mardōmān āsnxrad yazadīg abar waran dēwīg cēr paymān dādestān andar mardōm pērōzīh ud frēhbūd ud abēbūd nizārīg ud dahišn xūb astišnīh bawēd* (DKM 295.11–13) Among men whenever divine innate wisdom is triumphant over demonic lust, the law of the mean[3] is victorious among men and excess and deficiency are enfeebled and creation becomes well-stabilized.

This system of laws or social order is not only established in the material world but is also indicative of a state of mind, an attitude to the law which can be interiorized in the soul of each individual. It can be developed in that one takes it to heart and makes one's own the precepts and principles ordained by Ohrmazd for governing society. It is by means of cultivating the *dādestān* that a man is able to increase the presence of the *āsn-xrad* 'innate wisdom' of the creator in his soul. (ex. 20).

> 20) *hād dādestān pad zahagīh ī āsnxrad abāg wehdēn ēw-kardagīh … ud pad ān ī dādestān āsnxrad pad mardōm …* (DKM 44.10–13) The law is united with the good religion through its birth from innate wisdom … and through the law innate wisdom is found in humans …

It is one of several qualities which regularly collocate with the verb *wirāstan* ' arrange, order, develop, cultivate' in speaking of disciplining the soul in different ways.[4]

them in *Dēnkard III* that strengthening royal authority through law would be evil is deemed heresy (DKM 217.13–14). Mani is accused of wanting to abolish *dādestān* (the court), *dād* (the law) and *dādwar* (the judge) (DKM 214.15–16).

[3] Zaehner (1957, 250), de Menasce (1973, 281) and Shaki (1997, 250) have interpreted the two nouns *paymān dādestān* as coordinated 'the mean and the law'. As it is stated that *paymān* first defeats *waran* and that subsequently *paymān dādestān* becomes current in the world, I have interpreted their relationship as genitival and construed *paymān* as a preposed genitive.

[4] Other aspects of the inner life of an individual which can be developed and which collocate in this sense with *wirāstan* are *xēm* 'nature, character' and *xwēš tan* 'the self'.

21) *ēd rāy cē kas-iz āhōg az handāz ī ōy wēnēd kē dādestān wirāst ēstēd* (Dk 6 224) The reason for this is that a person sees a fault by the measure of one who is disciplined according to law.
22) *ka mard dādestān be wirāyēd pad kardan ud andar ō kār kunēd* … (Dk 6 315) When a man disciplines (his adherence to) the law by action and puts it into action …

A man derives dignity and worthiness from the law by harmonizing his behaviour with the pattern of ideal behaviour prescribed by the social order based on Ohrmazd's teachings.

23) *hād ān ī har kadār padiš arzānīg dādestān ud ān ī ēc padiš nē arzānīg a-dādestānīh* (DKM 277.8–9) That from which everyone derives dignity is the law and that from which no one derives dignity is illegality.

From the passages quoted above it would appear that the semantic field of the word *dādestān* had been extended beyond the limits of a code of laws relevant in the material world to denote a social order and a way of life for this world and the next. In the process the boundaries of meaning were blurred in many contexts with a corresponding loss of exactitude in some usages.

Another source of information on the usage of the word *dādestān* is provided by the Pahlavi translations of Avestan texts. There are two words which were regularly rendered by *dādestān*, Avestan *arəϑa-* 'objectif du désir ou du culte' (Kellens-Pirart, 1988, 205–6) or 'purpose' (Humbach, 1991, I, 138) and Avestan *ṯkaēša-* 'doctrine'. The choice of *dādestān* to render *arəϑa-* seems justified when one observes that *dādestān* occurs in the sense of 'intention, purpose' in a passage from the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*. This meaning has so far been noted only by Gignoux/Tafazzoli (1993, 392). Ex. 24 illustrates this usage in the Pahlavi translation of the Yasna while ex. 25 contains the passage from the *Wizīdagīhā*.

24) *arəϑā vōizdiiāi kāmahiiā tām mōi dātā* (Y 43.13) … to take heed of the (dutiful) purposes of (my) desire. This you have imparted to me:
ān ī ōy dādestān niwēyēnīdār kāmag (…) ān ō man dahēd (mizd) (PY 43.13)
the wish of that announcer of the intention (…) he will give that to me (reward).
25) *u-š pad ēn dādestān kard kū tā ō ham-cihrīh ī awēšān wardād* (WZ 11.7) Et il avait par là l'intention de transformer (Zoroastre) en leur même nature.

As regards the other Avestan word, *ṯkaēša-* 'doctrine, dogma' the Pahlavi translators frequently confused it with the similar *ṯkaēša-* 'teacher' usually rendered by *dādwar* 'judge'. When these words were interpreted to mean the dogma of Ohrmazd they were always rendered by *dādestān*. There are two contexts in which they commonly occur and they are treated somewhat differently depending on the function of the word in the sentence construction of the original Avestan. In those cases in which *ṯkaēša-* is contiguous with *ahura-* and is interpreted as qualifying a noun it has been rendered as a compound adjective *ohrmazd-dādestān* 'belonging to Ohrmazd's law'.

26) *frauuarāne mazdaiiasnō zaraϑuštriš vīdaēuuō ahura. ṯkaēšō* (Y 1.23)
I profess myself to be a Mazda-worshipper, follower of Zaraϑuštra, opposing the demons, accepting the dogma of Ahura.

franāmom mazdēsnīh ī zarduxšt … jud-dēw… ohrmazd-dādestān (*kū-š dādestān ān ī ohrmazd*) (PY 1.23)
I profess the Mazdean religion of Zardušt … anti-demonic … adhering to the law of Ohrmazd (whose law is that of Ohrmazd).

In the other context the contiguous *ahura-* and *ṯkaēša-* have been understood to be the object of the verb and *ṯkaēša-* interpreted as something possessed by Ohrmazd. In these cases the inserted gloss always refers to his position as judge or the quality of his judgements.

27) *āhūirīm ṯkaēšəm aṣauuanəm aṣahe ratūm yazamaide* (Y 71.12) We worship the truthful Ahuric dogma and the judgement of Aša.
ān ī ohrmazd dādestān ī ahlaw ī ahlāyīh rad yazom (wizīr ud dādwarīh) (PY 71.12) I worship the righteous law of Ohrmazd which belongs to the spiritual master of righteousness (decision and judgement).

ṯkaēša- is never rendered by the etymologically related MP form *kēš* 'dogma, faith', often used to denote faiths other than the Mazdean, and is always rendered by some word relating to the law, such as *dādestān* or *dādwar* 'judge'. It can also be noted that in the two passages of the Gathas where *ṯkaēša-* 'teacher' in Y. 49.2 and *ṯkaēša-* 'doctrine' in Y. 49.3 are used in a negative sense both words have been rendered by the noun *dādwar* 'judge' and qualified by the adjective *druwand* 'evil'. This suggests that Avestan *ṯkaēša-* 'dogma' was interpreted as instruction revealed by Ohrmazd about the ordering of life in the material world together with the rules which would govern this and that *dādestān* was considered to be the nearest equivalent.

Already at a very early stage *dādestān* appears to have developed such a wide range of usages that the meaning of the word is nearly obliterated in some contexts. *dādestān* as 'order, system, process' involves the idea of a sequence of things or events, hence an account of something which has happened or a matter in which there are several factors or stages of development. Thus it is used to indicate 'circumstance', procedure', 'account of events' or 'matter'.

28) *ka ō ān gyāg mad hēnd porušasp dādestān ciyōn būd pēš ēk karap ī az ān ī panj brādarān guft* (WZ 11.5) Quand ils furent arrivés au lieu, Porušasp raconta l'histoire telle qu'elle était, devant un karap, l'un des cinq frères.
29) *cē was ān mardōm kē gōhr ōwōn wināhīd ud wišuft ēstēd kū pad-iz abēr abēr kōdag dādestān abzār ud frahang was andar abāyēd …* (Dk 6 104) For there are many people whose substance has been so much damaged and harmed that even in an extremely small matter much talent and education are necessary …
30) *ud ahlawān andar wahišt dādestān cē ud nēkīh az cē?* (DMX 6.5) And what are the circumstances of the righteous in paradise and from what does goodness come?

On the basis of the material presented here it will be possible to add 'order' and 'intention' to the already lengthy list of meanings and usages recorded for *dādestān*. It was obviously a word of central importance in the organizational life and social system of the late Sasanian empire which in my opinion is reflected in the discussion of these matters in *Dēnkard III*. The choice of *dādestān* to render the Avestan term *ṯkaēša-* is also indicative of its centrality but the question of why the term expressing Ohrmazd's dogma and its cognates were translated by *dādestān* and related legal terminology remains unanswered.

In conclusion it can be noted that the study of the vocabulary of the BP texts is a complicated matter. The texts were composed during the three hundred years following the Arab invasion (650 to around 950) for different purposes but they contain older material which has been reworked and edited for contemporary purposes. During the long period that MP was a living language the meaning of many words evolved naturally while other terms expressing traditional concepts frequently received new layers of meaning to express popular ideas of the day. Only the latest redaction of each text has been preserved and it is difficult to identify older stages in them. The study of the range of usage of *dādestān* reflects this reality.

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List of Abbreviations

Dk 6 *Dēnkard 6*
DKM *Dēnkard*, ed. by Madan
DMX *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad*
Gbd *Greater Bundahišn*
MHD *Mādiyān ī Hazār dādestān*
PR *Pahlavi Rivāyat*
PY *Pahlavi Yasna*
WZ *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*
Y *Yasna*

Le Monde Oriental, 1906–1946

SIGRID KAHLE, Uppsala

Le Monde Oriental, "A journal for the history and ethnography, the languages and literatures, religions and traditions of Eastern Europe and Asia", was founded in 1906 by four professors of Uppsala University: K.F. Johansson, Professor of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics, J.A. Lundell, Professor of Slavic Languages and editor-in-chief; K.B. Wiklund, Professor of Fenno-Ugrian, and K.V. Zetterstéen, Professor of Semitic Languages. In 1909, Zetterstéen became editor-in chief and in 1923 the sole editor. In 1928, H.S. Nyberg became his successor.

The project was financed by eight private sponsors. The journal was open to international and Scandinavian scholars writing on subjects falling within the area studies of the above-mentioned professors, with the aim of making Swedish Orientalist research known internationally, at the same time as keeping Swedish scholars abreast with international Oriental scholarship. The articles were to be written in French, German or English or in one of the Scandinavian languages with a summary in French, German or English.

Le Monde Oriental (MO) appeared in thirty-six volumes before it was combined with *Acta Orientalia* in 1942. These volumes stand out as a monument of Swedish Orientalism in the first half of the 20th century. They are a tribute to the idealism and endurance of its editors, chiefly K.V. Zetterstéen and H.S. Nyberg, who kept it going against all the odds through two world wars, in spite of financial difficulties and with great personal sacrifices of time and effort. The following is a brief description of a strenuous effort by scholars whose knowledge, devotion and discipline should be an inspiration to us all. By invoking their names, I hope to keep their memory alive.

Glancing through the first four volumes between 1906 and 1910 we notice articles by several young scholars who remained faithful to the journal all their lives: the Semitist Axel Moberg, the Indologist Jarl Charpentier, the Semitist Emanuel Mattsson (later Morbeck), the Danish Iranologist Artur Christensen and the Ethiopologist Johannes Kolmodin, who reports on his pioneering study trip to Abyssinia ("Meine Studienreise in Abessinien 1908–1910"), introducing Tigrinja and Tigré into Semitic studies.

Among the legendary old generation, the Sanskritist K.F. Johansson and the Graecist O.A. Danielsson are still active contributors. K.V. Zetterstéen evokes the memory of early Sanskrit studies in his edition of the papers of O.F. Tullberg (professor, 1843–53). A homage to the eminent Semitist and historian C.J. Thornberg (1807–1877) on his 100th anniversary carries the Orientalist tradition of Uppsala University still further back.

Foreign contributors are not so many yet and there are few book reviews. It is interesting to note that the German Islamic scholar Martin Hartmann's works are al-

ways reviewed in MO, starting in 1909 with *Islam: A Handbook*, and *The Woman in Islam*. K.B. Wiklund's ethnographic articles on Samic (Lapponic) culture and language take up a lot of space in these earlier issues.

Zetterstéen, Z. (Zeta) as his pupils used to call him, was appointed the editor-in-chief of MO from 1910 onwards. He was known to encourage the publication in MO of text editions in all the Oriental languages. Thus, we get Pali texts by Charpentier, Tigré texts by Sundström or a Druse text by E. von Döbeln. In the 1911 issue, there are lengthy reviews on Semitic works by Carl Brockelmann, Peter Thomsen and Leonard Bauer written by Moberg and Zetterstéen. Pontus Leander's Hebrew grammar is examined. He will be a frequent contributor in the future.

The 1912 issue contains "Legends about the Prophet Muhammed's Calling" by Tor Andrae, a book review by Nathan Söderblom denouncing the astrological interpretation of religious myths, a grammatical study in Tigré by Johannes Kolmodin, a long and learned contribution on the etymology of ancient Indian languages by Jarl Charpentier, and a text edition in dialectal Arabic by Emanuel Mattsson. The *comptes-rendus*, as the book reviews are called in MO, are written by Zetterstéen and Leander on Semitica, by Artur Christensen on Iranica.

The 1913 issue is almost filled with important, Arabic, text editions by Pontus Leander and O. Rescher. Owing to the delay of the German publishers (!), two epoch-making works by Brockelmann from 1908 are reviewed only in 1913! Ernst von Döbeln's Swedish Oriental bibliography, 1911–1912, is well received. A review of the Eastern Turki grammar by G. Raquette is examined by Z., who has written most of the other reviews also. With two exceptions, the language is German. Works on Fenno-Ugrica are prominent.

In the 1914–1918 World War, the 1914 issue appears with difficulty in 1915. It opens with some transliterated and translated Tigré texts by Sundström, followed by a dialectal Arabic text transcribed and translated into French by E. Mattson; the edition of an Arabic text of an 8th-century Maqama by O. Rescher; some observations by Johannes Kolmodin on the Bilin language of the Bogos tribe of Abyssinia, as studied by M. Reinisch, and Zetterstéen presents Carradori's Italian–Nubian dictionary. A new name is H.S. Nyberg (later the journal's editor), who reviews *Islam, Mission and Politics* and *Five lectures on Islam* by Martin Hartmann.

In the 1915 issue there are almost no foreign contributors. Uralica and Slavica take up a lot of the space. Zetterstéen examines the transliteration of Semitic words in the new edition of *Nordisk Familjebok*. Z. can no longer count on his disciples, who are doing their military service, except on P. Leander who produces a long edition of an Arabic text. Thorough book reviews of works by Goldziher, Knut Tallqvist, Karl Marti, Contenu and Brockelmann's Syrian grammar are handled by Zetterstéen and Leander. In the 1916 issue, there is an Arabic text edition by P. Leander. Johannes Kolmodin has delivered an Abyssinian book list from Constantinople, Ethnographic studies by Swedish authors fill this and the next issue.

In the 1917 issue, Zetterstéen regrets that the *Festschrift* for Professor Andreas in Göttingen on his 70th birthday on 14 April 1916 was delayed by the war and many scholars therefore could not contribute. O. Rescher's translation of *al-Tha'alibi* was posted from a military camp in Germany in December 1916. The editor falls back

on Latvian and Serbian linguistic studies, texts of Ethiopian prayers and his own book reviews. Both the 1917 and 1918 issues were delayed by a year.

The 1919 issue (Vol. XII) has one foreign contributor, Franz Babinger, but is full of local talent. Axel Moberg publishes documents on the medieval topography of Cairo, Sigurd Lindquist establishes that Tocharian is an Iranian language used by the Manichaeans, Charpentier examines an Old Javanese version of the *Mahabharata*, and Z. calls Hjalmar Bergman's new Swedish translation of *A Thousand and One Nights* a total failure but praises P.M. Sykes's *A History of Persia* and admires Artur Christensen's study of a Persian dialect. Kolmodin praises Erik Stave's *History of Israel* and Zetterstéen's Koran translation is hailed by E. Perséus.

The borders were opened. New books kept coming in. Z. was aided in reviewing them by Axel Moberg, H.S. Nyberg, E. Mattsson and O. Rescher. The latter also produced a critique in depth of *Kitab Baghdad* by Taifur, edited by Harrassowitz. Notice was taken of Artur Cristensen's *Journey to Persia* and Stéphanie Beyel's book on modern Turkey. (The first woman mentioned in MO.) Zetterstéen examined a translation by Erik Hermelin of *al-Bustan* by Sa'adi of Shiraz. K.F. Johansson and Charpentier offered etymological and linguistic Sanskrit studies.

Financial scarcity in the war years made it extremely hard to keep MO going for the remaining three editors after Lundell had died. When Wiklund died in 1919, there were only two editors left: Johansson and Zetterstéen. By printing the 1920 and 1921 issues cheaply abroad, Zetterstéen managed to keep MO alive through the post-war years, depending on the assistance of his disciples to help him with the editorial work. One of them was Henrik Samuel Nyberg, Ph.D., a scholar in Semitic languages.

MO provided an opening into the international academic world for the younger Swedish Orientalists. Nyberg's article on "Word formation with prefixes in the Semitic languages" occupied more than half of the 1920 issue and his reviews of works by Theodor Nöldeke, Richard Hartmann, Julius Lewy, Marcel Cohen *et alia* put him on the map of Semitic linguistics abroad. The rest was occupied by Zetterstéen's edition of fragments of al-Azhari's *Tahdib al-lugha*, a linguistic controversy between Enno Littmann and Johannes Kolmodin and a contribution about two Ottoman documents by Franz Babinger.

The 1921 issue contains an edition by Zetterstéen of an Arabic manuscript in the Sparwenfeldt collection at the University of Uppsala and a study on the dialectology of the West Iranian Turfan texts by Paul Tedesco. The 1922 issue has a critique of the Swedish translation of Isaiah by Emanuel Morbeck and the rest is almost filled by a Turkish text in Swedish by Ahmed Refik on "Demirbasj Charles in Turkey" (Charles Ironhead, i.e. Charles XII of Sweden in Turkey). Fenno-Ugrica disappeared. Arica, Semitica, Turcica and Africana were left. MO had survived the war.

K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN, EDITOR (1922–1929)

From 1922 onwards, Zetterstéen was the sole editor of MO. K.F. Johansson had retired and died in 1923. The Swedish state would not subsidize the journal, unless it was printed in Sweden. From now on, it was printed by Almqvist & Wiksell in Uppsala. The interest in the Orient had grown among the general public. A Swedish

Orient Society was founded on 7 March 1921 by Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, the Vice-Chancellor of Uppsala University and the Archbishop of Uppsala with a whole line of experts from various fields. In the 1923 issue, Zetterstéen criticises the Society's yearbook as superficial and its editor as unqualified and not interested in pure philology.

Obviously, the philologists preferred to reproduce themselves in MO. Where else could, for instance, Nyberg have published "Pahlavi Documents from Avroman" or his important criticism of R. Reizenstein's article "The Iranian Mystery of Salvation", expecting to be heard in the international debate? These articles appeared in the 1923 issue just before Nyberg left for a year in Egypt. Zetterstéen added to the Iranica by some observations on a new collection of translations from a Persian anthology. Turcica also got their due: an edition of three dialectal Turkish, shadow plays in Arabic script by Theodor Seif.

In the 1924 issue, Jarl Charpentier developed his research on Indo-Iranian philology in a big article and wrote eight major reviews on what were still called Arica (Iranica). An edition of *Kitāb al-adab d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz* was offered by the Russian Orientalist Kratchkovsky. Emanuel Morbeck wrote a study on Isaiah 53 and the word *nabi* (prophet) in Israel. A long article by W. Planert examined the development of moral ideas from a linguistic point of view. Zetterstéen reviewed works by Lammens, Grimme, Margoliouth, Ignatio Guidi, Thomas Arnold, Johannes Pedersen, Enno Littmann *et alia*.

Zetterstéen was getting tired of bearing the brunt of the editorship and was beginning to look for a successor. Nyberg was away in Egypt in 1924–25. None of his disciples stepped forward, alleging that they could afford neither the time nor the money to run such a difficult business as MO, involving correspondence with foreign scholars and waiting endlessly for their manuscripts to arrive long overdue. "Nyberg is getting as materialistic as Pontus Leander", he grumbled in a letter. "I suppose I have to compose it all myself!"

The main part of the 1925 issue was devoted to the lexicography of dialectal Arabic, according to the posthumous works of Prof. Herman Almkvist (1863–1918). The great Brockelmann began his critique of an edition of a dogmatic work by Abd al-qahir al-Baghdadi with a reference to H.S. Nyberg's recent discovery in Egypt of *Kitāb al-Intisār* by Ḥayyāt, "one of the most important sources for our knowledge of Islamic dogmatic history." Zetterstéen and O. Rescher dealt with works by an impressive list of authors, such as Friedrich Rosen, Bruno Meissner, Carl Brockelmann, Axel Moberg. G.H. Becker, Ignaz Goldziher, Rudi Paret, Max Weisweiler and Enno Littmann.

There is a critical article by Nyberg in the 1926 issue on "Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire as Described by Ernst Herzfeld". For the first time in MO, we hear about the problems of the ancient Persian languages and read about Arcacid, Parthian, Sassanian Pahlavi and Aramaic ideograms. A monograph on modern Persia by Friedrich Rosen is recommended by A. Christensen. A contribution by B.S. Rao on a family of Muslim Sanskritists in Bombay casts an interesting sidelight. The issue begins with an article about nonplosive stops in Oriental languages by Olof Gjerdman.

In 1926, Julien Lewy's *Studies on the Old Assyrian Texts from Cappadocia* is

discussed by Nyberg. "As far as the reviewer is in a position to judge, his works on Old Assyrian are absolutely basic." Zetterstéen and Leander share the task of judging works by Josef Horowitz, Johann Fück, Frédéric Hrozny, Theo Bauer, Israel Eitan, Ernst Ehrentreu, P.J. André and, Baron Carra de Vaux. Books about Averroës, Muhammed Abduh and Kurd Ali are handled by Z. A new edition of Burchhardt's last journey through South Arabia by Eugen Mittwoch is recommended. An introduction to Arabic literature by H.A.R. Gibb and Longrigg's *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* are given scant attention.

A penetrating study of "primitive ideas of the soul" in Indian religions by Ernst Arbman started in the 1926 issue and continued in 1927. In the latter issue, there is a review by H. Wohlstein of *Babylonian Myths and Tales with a Cultural-historical Introduction* by Efraim Briem, with a discussion of the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epos (the Flood story) in the light of Assyro-Babylonian myths. Modern students of Arabic will appreciate Ign. Kratschkovky's study of the literature of Arab emigrants in North and South America 1895–1915, with al-Raihani and Kahlil Gibran in focus.

H.S. Nyberg would have had every reason to be happy about the 1927 edition, in which his respected teacher K.V. Zetterstéen reviewed *Le Livre du triomphe et de la réfutation d'Ibn er-Rawendi l'hérétique*, the edition of a book that Nyberg had found in Cairo and published in 1925. It contains the refutation by al-Khayyāt of the Shi'ite ideas of the heretic Ibn Rawendi, a former member of the Mu'tazilite sect, who later became its enemy. The little-known ideas of the Mu'tazila are stated by al-Khayyāt before refuting them. "In publishing *Kitāb al-intisār*, H.S. Nyberg has done a great service to science. He has fulfilled his task with the scrupulous accuracy that such an important work demands ... The typographic execution is excellent."

A collection of Kurdish texts in the Kurmani dialect by Hugo Makas is well received by Zetterstéen. Artur Christensen finds that, in introducing his translations into French of the Persian poet Jami, Henri Massé might have said more about Jami's loans from other poets. He also discusses an Ossetic–German–Russian dictionary, Ossetic being an Iranian language. Zetterstéen reviews Ottoman–Turkish folk songs from Macedonia by Tadeusz Kowalski, an English–Turki dictionary by G. Raquette and *The Mecca Pilgrimage* by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, and Nyberg writes about Theodor Nöldeke's *History of the Koran* and, as so often, about M. Hartmann on Islam.

The 1928 volume is exclusively devoted to a catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the University of Uppsala that Zetterstéen had undertaken thirty-five years earlier, a work of the utmost importance. Among the book reviews, we find the names of Carl Johan Lamm, Paul Mohn and E. von Döbeln in connection with the *Yearbook of the Swedish Orient Society*, the activities of which seem to have ceased, and Z. doubts whether the *Yearbook* will ever be published again (and he was right).

TRANSFER OF POWERS, 1928

In spite of Zetterstéen's heroic efforts and government subsidies, MO had been in deep economic trouble ever since the war. The question of its survival was raised at an international congress of Orientalists in Copenhagen in 1928. It was deplored

that MO, "with its highly qualified articles in French, English and German, mostly by Scandinavian authors", had fallen on hard times, like so many scientific periodicals. It was suggested that some Orientalist society somewhere, without a voice of its own, would be willing to sponsor it.

The chairman of the Dutch Oriental Society proposed that MO be transferred to an international consortium. The representatives of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European philology in Uppsala and Gothenburg showed great interest. When Zetterstéen heard that a new, internationalized MO would not publish Oriental text editions, he got annoyed, said that he could never support "such authoritarianism" and decided to keep the journal to himself. (This international project did come into being until a much later stage and was then called *Acta Orientalia*.)

And Zetterstéen indeed "kept *Le Monde Oriental* to himself", hoping that the legendary Carlo Landberg, an Italian count and Orientalist thought to be fabulously rich, would come out with a donation which would solve all the financial problems, "but then the state would probably withdraw its subsidies, jealousy being so rampant and my journal being such a thorn in the flesh of many colleagues!", he wrote in a letter. However, he was beginning to look around seriously for a successor.

In 1928, H.S. Nyberg took over the editorship of MO from Zetterstéen. This happened as he was leaving for a sabbatical year at the Sorbonne in 1928–1929 and was moving with his family into the Quartier Latin. In that situation, he had to make preparations for Volume XXI of MO in 1929.

"I let myself be persuaded, in a weak moment, to take over the editorship of *Le Monde Oriental* from the year 1929", Nyberg was to write to his friend Enno Littmann in 1930. "The reason is that the present editor-in chief of *Le Monde Oriental*, my revered teacher Professor Zetterstéen is retiring next year and now wishes to devote himself fully to his own research, which is wholly understandable. "

"I have an unusually laborious and upsetting time behind me. You can hardly imagine the troubles this task has cost me. In the art of editing a journal, I am a total beginner!" he continued. What bureaucracy! In order to transfer the journal, he must have a certifcate of no objection issued by the General Post Office in Stockholm. That was obtained by Zetterstéen, who forwarded it to Paris to be signed. From there, Nyberg had to send it back from Paris to the Uppsala Post Office. Licences and certificates went to and fro by the grace of the Royal Swedish Post Office at an agonizingly slow speed.

A certificate for the subscription list was sent to Paris, with the editor's licence added, to be signed and duly returned. Unfortunately, the licence turned out to be valid for Zetterstéen only. In order to get his own licence for the 1929 issue, Nyberg had to write to the Minister of Justice in Stockholm, enclosing an attested certificate of no objection. Then only could he apply for a state subsidy of 3500 crowns in a letter to His Majesty the King through the Faculty of Philosophy of Uppsala University .

"The devil be editor of a journal!" he sighed. In his Christmas letter of 1928, an exasperated H.S. Nyberg was finally able to state: "The certificate of no objection was obtained by the Minister of Justice on November 6th. Because of the tardiness of the commissionary, I did not receive it here until the beginning of December. I immediately sent an attested copy to the Uppsala Post office to be forwarded to the

General Post Office in Stockholm, which makes me hope that the correspondence part of the transfer is now over."

But where were the finances going to come from? The government subsidy was extremely slow in coming. Zetterstéen dangled his constant carrot: a donation from Count Landberg would soon arrive "and then you can get the printing paid; anyway, here are pages 33–47 from Leningrad, all set and proof-read and after that I have absolutely nothing to do with the journal and you can take care of sheet number 3 when you return home!" The correspondence between master and disciple has been kept and is quite amusing.

The worst task was to fill the journal with written matter! Nyberg realized what Zetterstéen had gone through. Communications were difficult in the aftermath of the war; how would he get an article from Kratschkovsky in Leningrad or a review from Arthur Christensen's protegé Ivanov in Calcutta? The latter wrote that he had given his article to another journal but would deliver one next year. Nyberg replaced him with Robert Eisler, whom he met at the Société Asiatique. Articles were due from Löfgren and Caradori. His own article he had not even thought about.

To Littmann, he wrote: "The editor-in-chief of MO must alone carry out a great amount of functions for which German journals have their own staff members. The burden of proof-reading rests entirely on the editor, and what is worse, all book reviews are written by him alone. Swedish scholars are extremely hard to persuade to review books. For Indology I rely on my constant helper and friend J. Charpentier but all the rest I must be ready to execute myself." Mrs. Fanny Nyberg complains in letters to her parents that "Henrik is constantly sitting over his *comptes-rendus*!"

In early 1929, Nyberg was invited to give a series of lectures on ancient Iranian religion at the Sorbonne. The result was that the MO of 1929 appeared in 1930. "I am, as you can see, rather late, not altogether through my own fault, and, as you see, I had to write 34 book reviews myself!" he wrote to Littmann. "I must beg your indulgence of printing errors and other shortcomings which towards the end are present in unpleasantly high numbers, but I was too much in a hurry and had not grown into my task quite yet."

According to MO tradition, every book is to be reviewed in the European language in which it is written, apart from Russian, Italian and Spanish, Nyberg explained. "That means that the editor must wrestle with both English, German and French. Zetterstéen did so with apparent ease, but I have to limit myself to French and German. I never studied English before going to the university. I have had my English and French texts checked. My German is entirely my own, and I count on the indulgence of my German colleagues." Before long, his French would be equally good.

The state subsidy for 1929 arrived at last, just as the printing cost for each article and author was raised by Almqvist & Wiksell. On 31 December, he was served a notice of termination from the printers; on 30 June 1930, there was another notice and on 21 October, a final claim for 6774.87 crowns arrived from Almkvist & Wiksell. How did these costs occur? H.S. Nyberg kept all the (paid) bills in a big cardboard box.

The biggest expense was caused by the 65-page-long manuscipt of Robert Eisler, to which the Israelite community in Frankfurt am Main contributed 130 RM. An es-

say by Karsten Rönnow (61 pages) cost 305 crowns extra, and 22 pages by Oscar Löfgen 282.90 extra. The extra costs for the authors Kratschkowsky and Ivanov amounted to 50 crowns per person. All authors received offprints at a cost of 223.50 crowns. Proof-reading against manuscript made 1,138.25 crowns. The final bill was 7070.60, as against the subsidy of 3500 crowns. How was an academic without a steady income and a family of four (soon five) to cope with this?

H.S. NYBERG, EDITOR (1929–1941)

"A partir de ce volume, on ne trouvera plus le nom de K.V. Zetterstéen sur la couverture du *Monde Oriental*." (From this volume onwards, you will no longer find the name of K.V. Zetterstéen on the cover. As one of the founders of the journal and its sole editor since 1922, Monsieur Zetterstéen has found it suitable to leave the heavy task imposed on him by the editorship in order to devote himself to his own scholarly work.) These were the opening words of the new editor H.S. Nyberg in the 1929 issue (Vol. XXIII)—after his Paris year, he likes to express himself in French.

Having expressed his profound gratitude to Monsieur Zetterstéen, whose general directives would, of course, always be honoured, the new editor announced a change of policy (15 September 1930):

"From now on, *Le Monde Oriental* will be dedicated to the study of the Orient in the most strict sense of the word. We will not accept anything but articles pertaining to the study of the Orient proper. Slavonic and Fenno-Ugric languages have long been absent and will not return. The Semitic, Indian and Iranian languages, religions and cultures will constitute the object of our activities."

"We will focus our attention on the advancement of *Iranian studies*. Their importance in the totality of Oriental studies is becoming ever more evident ... Byzantine studies have been neglected in general and among Orientalists. We wish this state of things to change. *Le Monde Oriental* is prepared to give to this new orientation the full importance that these studies deserve in the history of the Orient." There is more to the point in a private letter: "Slavonic and Tungusian languages will come to an end, Byzantine articles will be welcomed and Iranian studies given special attention!"

How did Docent H.S. Nyberg fulfil these ambitions in a situation in which he also had to work hard in order to win the professor's chair after Zetterstéen? Let us call Vol. XXIII (1929) a test case. Is there anything that might be of interest to present-day students and what happened to MO in the end? I will try to give an impression of the subject matter of the Nyberg volumes without going too much into detail, entirely without scholarly pretensions.

The book reviews are of increasing importance. These *comptes-rendus* can be seen as samples of European Orientalist research in the 1920's. German books were reviewed in German, French books in French. English books were few. It was as hard as before to get colleagues to undertake a book review. Nyberg, like Zetterstéen before him, mostly had to "compose it all himself", as he complained in a letter to Littmann. His reviews give the impression of unfathomable breadth and depth, and sometimes of haste. He is even more adamant and critical than Zetterstéen. He is as lavish in praise and gratitude for a good piece of work as he is disdainful of an unworthy piece of work.

Delays were unavoidable. The 1929 issue appeared in 1930. The Kratschkovsky

article on Arabic poetics in the 9th century and "A Description of a Sinai Tribe" by Robert Eisler did arrive in the end, but not in time. A list of Abyssinian manuscripts, a critique of an Ethiopian Bible edition by Oscar Löfgren, an article on a problem of Turkish phonetics by N.K. Dmitrijev and a study of pre-Vedic rituals by Kasten Rönnow are in. *Comptes-rendus*, however, fill more than half of the volume; many were left over from the previous volume which was taken up by the catalogue of manuscripts in the Uppsala University Library. The editor promises to deal with all books that have been sent in the next volume.

The volume begins with an abstract of the Russian periodical *Zapiski*. The editor pays his respect to the Russian contribution to European Oriental scholarship. Then follows a review of Lindblad's *World History* of 1927, with chapters about ancient Egypt by Pehr Lugn and pre-historic Greece by Axel Boëthius, and a grand exposé on the ancient Near East by Johannes Kolmodin, who thinks that the growth of knowledge about the ancient world might have as profound an effect on the world view of modern man as the widening of perspectives in the era of Columbus and Copernicus!

The review is written by Sven Dedering. Nyberg must have considered himself unqualified to criticize his friend Kolmodin, since he had also just written on the ancient Near East in Bonnier's *World History*. It is interesting that Kolmodin, in a letter to his father, now available in the Uppsala University Library, expresses his secret conviction that his chapter on the ancient Near East will be considered superior to that of his friend Nyberg!

Sven Dedering admires Kolmodin for holding his vast subject matter together without drowning himself in details and for keeping abreast with recent discoveries, in particular, the newly unearthed relics of Hittite civilisation—"another great culture next to that of Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, Phoenicia and Judaea", Nyberg writes, while discussing Hittite monumental and glyptical art in connection with E. Pottier's *Hittite Art and Ethnography* (Paris 1926) and *Syro-Hittite Glyptic Art* by G. Contenu (Paris 1922), two books which he finds very elucidating indeed.

The Egyptologist Per Lugn, who is said to have done more than anybody else to popularize the knowledge of ancient Egypt in Sweden, reviews *Magic in Antique Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the Coptic Epoch* (Paris 1925) by F. Lexa, reminding us that a great part of the magical practices in ancient and modern Europe descend from these ancient Egyptian, magical texts. Finally, Axel Boëthius epitomizes, among other things, the discovery of the Minoan culture on Crete by Sir Arthur Evans and is praised for his elegant style.

Semitic linguistics come next. Johannes Pedersen's edition of Semitic inscriptions from the Ustinow collection are very much appreciated by Nyberg, who takes special interest in a Samarian inscription. An epoch-making work by Marcel Cohen on the Semitic verbal system and the expression of time is discussed linguistically by Nyberg over six pages, the basic point being that verbs in the European languages have fixed past, present and future forms, while in Semitic verbs the idea of time is almost always an accessory only.

Nyberg welcomes Sven Dedering's dissertation, the edition of a book by Ibn Ishak ibn Manda of the so-called *rijāl* literature, describing a learned family in Isfahan (1927). Nyberg finds the text meagre and dry, but Dedering has enriched it by

consulting many other sources. Dedering's work was painstaking but he did not encounter any serious problems of textual criticism, since only one, really reliable text existed.

A propos Feghali's *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban* (Paris 1928), Nyberg states: "Syntax and syntax alone can reveal the internal structure of a language to us; it alone provides us with the key to the morphological system. But in the modern dialects the syntax is the least known. Only a native speaker who masters the language in a certain and vital manner can investigate the syntax of a language. Not even after years of training can a foreigner do that. Oriental scholars familiar with the principles of linguistics therefore have a great mission to fulfil."

In a critique of Taufik Canaan's: *Belief in Demons in the Land of the Bible* (Leipzig 1929), Nyberg gives the author the following advice: "Trust oral traditions more than local, theological, coloured, printed versions, but it is important to be critical of oral personal sources. How educated is an informant? What does he know of Islam? Avoid comparing popular beliefs in one cultural sphere with those of another ... comparative ethnography is wrought with dangers, only the strictest critique and the greatest caution can protect the researcher from falling victim to them."

G. Ferrand's *Introduction to the Nautical Astronomy of the Arabs* (Library of Arab Geographers, Paris 1928) features the pilot Ahmed ibn Majid, who brought Vasco da Gama across the Indian Ocean from the Maldives to Calicut in 1498. Nyberg regrets that, in spite of our efforts to throw light on Islamic culture, our knowledge of Muslim natural science and technique is still a dark area. "The reason is clear. The ordinary Orientalist seldom has the scientific and technical know-how or experience in theory or practice, while those who possess the practical knowledge lack the perspicacity that only a diligent study of the language, history of ideas and literature can provide."

A great exception is Léopold de Saussure, the sailor, astronomer and sinologist who dominates Ferrand's book. Few persons have taken a greater interest in the history of astronomy and attached greater importance to the science of navigation. Geography is not done in the study room but on journeys. The great travellers are the ones who best teach us about the old geographers, their points of view and ways of explaining what they see. Congratulations to "Bibliothèque des géographes arabes" to have been put under the guidance of M. Ferrand!

Hans von Mzik is thanked for what he has done for Orientalist research in his *Library of Arabic Historians and Geographica* (Leipzig, 1926–28). It contains political literature from the Sassanian era, quotations from its fiction, letters from Persian kings, maps by Huwarizmi and reproductions of old manuscripts by Ibn Muqaffa, who translated Indian and Pahlavi literature into Arabic, and Nyberg is pleased:

European Orientalism can never refrain from the task of making the Oriental sources available in European editions to a broader scholarly audience. The Orientals have been taught by their authors to make good editions. But the collaboration of European philology is needed in the fields of history, geography and science. The advantage that Oriental scholars have over us in the immediate understanding of the language is outweighed by our superior method and our better understanding of historical realities.

Always a champion of the introduction of a chair of Assyriology at his university, Nyberg praises Julius Lewy's publication of Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe in

1926 which made the complete, Cappadocian, cuneiform texts from the Stamboul Antique Museum available, and Le Comte Du Mesnil Du Buisson's excavation report from the ancient town of Katna near Homs "with its very successful photographs", yet he has astonishingly little to say here about Campbell Thompson's new hexameter translation of *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (London 1928).

In *The Babylonian Akitu Festival* (1926) by Svend Aage Pallis, we are concerned with Babylonian religions and Akkadian philology, in which, according to H.S. Nyberg, "every translation and interpretation of a text is only a preliminary attempt, and so it will remain long after us, as long as old Mesopotamian life, thought and culture are so imperfectly known as they actually are, and probably always will be." Nyberg's critique of this monograph on the Babylonian New Year's Feast is, however, very harsh.

Pallis was Professor of Iranian Philology at the University of Copenhagen, the only Nordic university with a chair of Iranian studies, but Nyberg accuses him of not knowing more about Persian religion than is found in West's *Sacred Books of the East*. He gratefully acknowledges, however, that Pallis is not a "naive pan-Babylonian constructing vague analogies betweeen the Marduk Drama in Babylon and the Passion of Christ. Dr. Pallis makes a resolute effort to explain the Akitu festival from itself, reducing it to what it actually is, a primitive cult drama."

Both stringency and penetration of the problems are missing. "In general, there is too much such spurious scholarship in Dr. Pallis's book. His prolixity is enormous, but his mode of arguing is weak. He lacks accuracy and often contradicts himself. His arguments sometimes have the taste of sophistry." Nyberg's fourteen pages on the 1926 edition of Svend Aage Pallis's *Mandaean Studies* of 1919 fares not much better. Here we are in the orbit of Aramaic studies: "It is important to investigate the relationship betweeen Manichaeism and Mandaeism, especially after the discoveries of Turfan, but Pallis' results are meagre; he follows his predecessors and has no new viewpoints."

The way Pallis speaks of Gnosticism is simply "wrong". "Nobody can doubt that Gnosticism and Mandaeism have sprung from the same faith. Gnosticism is like Proteus, it changes its face in every sect." After fourteen pages of close scrutiny of the book comes the final verdict: "Its leading ideas are partly confused, partly preposterous, its discussions futile and useless, and as for the material utilized, it is little more than a superficial compilation, not to say something still worse. This work disappoints in every respect!"

In contrast, unmitigated praise is lavished on the Hebrew scholar Paul Kahle, "whose magnificent work devoted to the history of the Hebrew punctuation is drawing ever wider circles." Already in 1917, Kahle outlined the basic traits and historical development of the punctuation of the Bible text within three systems (Palestinian, Babylonian and Tiberian). In *The Masorahs of the West* (*Die Masoreten des Westens*) of 1927, he concentrates on the history of the Palestinian and Tiberian systems. He speaks of Ahron Ben Asher, whose complete Bible codex has remained the most precious treasure of the Sephardic Jews in Aleppo. Nyberg sums up: "The conclusion of Kahle's work is far-reaching on many points … and we look forward to his further publications with excitement."

Under "Hebraica" we also find a review of Jacob Hoschander's *The Book of*

Esther in the Light of History (Philadelphia 1923), this time by an old MO acquaintance, Emanuel Morbeck, who is somewhat critical when Hoschander wants to prove that Esther was the wife of Artaxerxes and identifies the Iranian goddess Anahita with Ishtar. Nyberg finds that Julien Lewy's *Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Juda* (Giessen 1927) throws new light on the complicated chronological problem of the Books of Kings and is written with "his usual brilliant perspicacity."

Nyberg's critical review of E. Lévi-Provençal's collection of unpublished documents from the Almohad period (Paris 1928) ends with felicitations to the author "de la manière brillante dont il a su les rendre accessibles au monde savant" (it had to be said in French!), while Rudi Paret's treatment of a manuscript from Alf Leyla wa Leyla creates "rather a sketchy impression." J. Rosintal's study of Oriental architecture is welcomed, even though "the author seems to know the architecture of the Orientals better than their history and languages." Georges Marçais' research on the ceramic plates of the mosque in Kairouan has confirmed their Mesopotamian origin. A final sigh: "Dans la transcription des noms orientaux règne partout la plus grande confusion."

Rudolph Strothmann's study of the Twelver Shi'a in the Mongol era (Leipzig 1926) is praised for its religio-psychological empathy and understanding of Shi'a mystical passion and for its portrait of Nasir al-din al-Tusi, the court astrologer at the Mongol court of Hulagu, who helped to defeat the sect of the Assassins. Nyberg writes: "The Mongol assault against Iran was Twelver Shi'a's great moment. They threw themselves into the arms of the Mongols with their inherent religious fervour, their hopes, leading ideas and secret motives. They supported the Mongol ruler even when he destroyed Baghdad, much as the Jews hailed Cyrus when he conquered Babylon."

The Mongol invasion inspires Nyberg to a comparison with the catastrophe of the recent World War: "We Europeans are well equipped to understand the harrowing Mongol times which tore the human soul out of its deepest depths and to feel empathy with its moods. These were times when darkness covered all, when Rashid's and Ma'mun's thrones were sunk in darkness and inexorable fate hammered into people that every day is a day of grace."

Sharp polemics were typical of the learned discussions of the times. One feud was about mysticism. It had started already in 1924, when, in *Philosophy of Islam*, Dr. Max Horten in an abusive tone refuted certain opinions on Arabic Sufism in Nyberg's doctoral thesis *Minor Tracts of Ibn al-'Arabi* (*Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi*). Horten had postulated an Indian origin of Sufism which Nyberg, supported by his Indologist friend Jarl Charpentier, had rejected in an insulted tone and scolding manner. The feud had been carried on in German periodicals, with H.H. Schaeder and Louis Massignon on Nyberg's side.

In a new book entitled *Indian Currents in Islamic Mysticism* (Heidelberg 1928), Max Horten attacked Louis Massignon's *Passion of al-Hallaj* (Paris 1922). He denied that the mystic al-Hallaj's pronouncements were monotheistic and called him "a Brahmanic thinker of the clearest water"; indeed, Islamic mysticism was to Horten nothing but Brahmanic mysticism. He disliked Massignon's method of research, which was based on *expérimentation mentale* and *loyauté de pensée*—mental experimentation and honesty of thought (Einfühlung). He despised Massignon's

subjectivism: "Empathy is the path away from objective observation … the road to a truly scientific outlook goes through exact logical formation of concepts and does not concern itself with peripheral circumstances but directs itself to the matter itself. … Science will be grateful to Massignon for his rich material about al-Hallaj, but more than that can never be conceded. Scientific penetration must follow. al-Hallaj is not an old-fashioned, believing Muslim!"

Horten's book was sent in for review and Nyberg decided to retort once and for all, which he did in no uncertain manner:

It is only with the greatest reluctance that the reviewer will deal with this book. First of all, it is part of a highly unrefreshing bulk of literature, of which the reviewer has not read a single line and never will. Secondly, it is written in a tone which does not make the task of the reviewer particularly difficult. Thirdly, it is all so wrong that there is no point in arguing. Because the publisher has sent us a copy, a few words will have to be said about it.

The title of the book, *Indian Currents in Islamic Mysticism*, gives us the impression of an essay on the history of ideas. M. Horten, however, does not have sufficient knowledge, either about ideas or about history. The hard work done within Islamic research during the last four decades in order to understand the different types of Islamic thought and to elaborate them clearly has in the case of M. Horten been done in vain.

Nyberg now regretted having been foolish enough to start a little dispute with Max Horten about the concept of "non-being" in the introduction to his thesis on Ibn al-Arabi. He would have been willing to listen to Horten's theory of an Indian influence but had been disappointed. Horten had taught him nothing about the relationship between Indian and Islamic mystic speculation. No true and rational confrontation between the two ideological worlds had taken place.

I don't mind giving M. Horten the pleasure of knowing that I myself am very critical nowadays of my first work in the field of Islamic history of ideas, the introduction to *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi*. I was at that time insufficiently and partly wrongly informed about Islam's history of ideas. The reason for that I will also confess to M. Horten: it was because I read his fat books, mistakenly believing him to be the great German authority on the subject, instead of going directly to the Islamic sources, al-Sharastani, al-Baghdadi, etc. independently.

Unfortunately I have fought with his wrong questions and that is the weakness of my introduction. Since then I have thoroughly made up for it by analysing Islam's own books about the sects and added some new works which were then unknown to M. Horten and which he probably still doesn't know. I think that I now know enough of Mr. Horten's methods and I can sincerely assure him that it will never happen again and that our circles will never meet again, insh'Allah. And with this the reviewer says goodbye to M. Horten. He will never again be mentioned in *Le Monde Oriental*.

"You are right in administering justice in the cases of Pallis and Horten", Émile Benveniste wrote from Paris, impatiently waiting for Part Two of Nyberg's treatise on Mazdean cosmogony and cosmology. Professor Benveniste is not altogether pleased with Nyberg's "Gargantuan appetite when it comes to devouring books of many varying appetites. I knew it would not leave you a free minute." Nyberg excuses himself; he cannot find reviewers, and his friend answers: "The difficulty in finding scholars willing to review scholarly works is not particular to Sweden; here at the Société Asiatique we have constant problems both with reviewers and editors, and one always ends up by doing it all oneself; but who would be capable of making personal observations in so many different fields as those you have dealt with?"

Nyberg was now alone in writing about Abyssinica or Ethiopian studies. His friendship with the Ethiopologist Enno Littmann was an incentive to advance his own Ethiopian studies. Here he devoted a close scrutiny to an Ethiopian translation of the Book of Daniel with which Oscar Löfgren earned his doctor's degree and "proved himself a skilled ethiopologist and very astute text critic". He also corrected the Ethiopian inscriptions in Kammaerer's essay on the antique history of the kingdom of Aksum and its neighbours Arabia and Meroë in Sudan (Paris 1926).

Our foremost Ethiopian expert, Johannes Kolmodin, was in exile in Constantinople and on his way to Addis Ababa, leaving his friend H.S. Nyberg behind in Uppsala as the sole heir of Zetterstéen's chair, since Morbeck had retired to a vicarage. *Le Monde Oriental* might almost have been thought of as Nyberg's private workshop; his solitary editorship was not his choice, however, and he would gladly have had many, more willing colleagues to count on. Luckily, his friend Jarl Charpentier could be relied upon to fill the rest of the book with Indica.

Jarl Charpentier reviewed many books by Indian authors, *Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century* by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *Mr. Crindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories* and *Exposition of Kautilya's Social Ideal and Political Theory* by Bandyopadhaya and *History of Indian Philosophy* by the learned Sanskritist Belvalkar and the philosopher Rabnade ("and it should be said at once that it fulfils even very severe claims on a work like this"). He goes through Bhattacharya's foreword to *Tattvasamgraha* of an 8th-century Budhist philosopher, not to mention other works.

Charpentier looks into works by German, English and French Indologists, such as Dumont on the Hindu horse sacrifice, Hauer on the non-Brahmanic religions of ancient India, Hillebrandt on Vedic mythology, a critical essay on the text of the Puranas by Kirfel, Senart on the Hindu caste system. Helena Willman-Grabowska on Shatapathabrahamana, (the second time a work by a woman occurs in *Le Monde Oriental*!). Doing justice to Charpentier's pages and pages of Indological reviews is impossible, unless we quote what he says about Steherbatsky's *On the Conception of the Buddhist Nirvana* (Leningrad, 1927): "We cannot here review the contents of a book that must be read all through, and read with the most profound attention."

Keeping his promise to emphasise the Iranian languages and religions, Emil Abegg's *The Messianic faith in India and Iran* is analysed and investigated by Nyberg in sixteen pages, foreboding his great work on pre-Islamic, Iranian religions in 1936. The Buddhist texts of the Iranian Sogdian fragments from Turfan in the British Museum, as edited by Hans Reichelt, are given ample space by Charpentier.

Nyberg's philological and penetrating critique of E. Waldschmidt & W. Lentz: *The Position of Jesus in Manichaeism* (Berlin 1926) points to his growing interest in Manichaean studies, both as a philologist and a historian of religions, and occupies nineteen pages. "Concerning Waldschmidt-Lentz, who are doing much meritorious work, I would have reservations touching on the very principle of Manichaean studies, but it would take a whole article to develop it", Émile Benveniste comments.

LE MONDE ORIENTAL IN THE 1930s

Space does not allow of a detailed resumé of the eight remaining volumes of *Le Monde Oriental*. In Volume XXIV(1930), the number of Russian books is conspicuous. It bears witness to the editor's conviction that an Orientalist *must* know Russian. A volume in honour of the 25th anniversary of the career of Ignaz Kraschkovkij contains a bibliography of 235 items and states "... la nouvelle tendance pour l'étude de l'Orient: celle de baser ces études sur les méthodes résultant de la conception matérialiste de l'histoire et de scruter les problèmes actuels de nos jours."

The volume is loaded with *comptes-rendus*. For the first time, Professor Björn Collinder is found among the reviewers on a subject of general linguistics. There is a stress on Aramaica: Pontus Leander's grammar of Egyptian Aramaic, the Bauer–Leander grammar of Bible Aramaic, and a recent work by M. Schlesinger on the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmuds are taken on by Nyberg. Arabica, Islamica and Turica are very present and the promise of Byzantine studies is fulfilled. K.V. Zetterstéen is back in strength and the indefatigable Jarl Charpentier fills a lot of space with penetrating Indological studies.

In September 1930, Benveniste thanks Nyberg for "an impressive series of *comptes-rendus* in which the most varying problems are being exposed to the same penetrating analysis and a learned and original discussion. I envy you the ease with which you handle such different and even difficult texts. On most points one cannot help agreeing with you! If there were any doubts among your learned colleagues abroad regarding your competence for the chair of Semitic languages at Uppsala, the book reviews in *Le Monde Oriental* would be enough to disperse them."

On 3 February 1931, H.S. Nyberg was installed as Professor of Semitic languages at Uppsala University. What could be more suitable than to devote the whole of the 1931 issue of *Le Monde Oriental* to his predecessor K.V. Zetterstéen, who was one of its founders in 1906 and sole editor 1922–1928? "Without your labour and very palpable personal sacrifices as editor during the harsh years after the World War, when more than one scholarly journal had to give up its spirit, *Le Monde Oriental* would have long vanished ...", Nyberg writes.

Jarl Charpentier's essay on the enigma of Indra opens the homage volume. Johannes Kolmodin reappears after a long absence on the quixotic figure of Dr. Fundgruben, who was chaplain to the Swedish Embassy at the Ottoman Porte in a novel by James Morier. Nyberg writes on an Iranian word in the Book of Daniel, Moberg on the Tower of Babel, and there are articles by Tor Andrae, Arthur Christensen, Sven Dedering, Anton Friedrichsen, Ivar Hylander, Carl Johan Lamm, Sven Linder, Johannes Lindblom, Oscar Löfgren, Axel Moberg, Hugo Odelberg and Kasten Rönnow, names that are still with us today, and other names which today's students will never have heard of.

The material contribution to the Festschrift (Volume XXII) was 10 crowns. Forty copies were handed over for sale to the Lundequistiska Bookshop. A year later, 27 copies were still unsold. *Le Monde Oriental* was never a bestseller! In February 1933, Nyberg writes in pencil in his account book: "The state subsidy of 3500 crowns is not enough by far in order to cover the costs of MO; even less last year's

subsidy, which was reduced to 2975 crowns. Should yet another cut occur, the whole enterprise will be in danger. The bills for the issues of 1930 and 1932 have not yet come in."

A donation of 100 crowns from the Otto and Charlotte Mannheimer Foundation helped over the worst low ebb. In the bookshop, MO was sold for 15 crowns. For the gift copies to foreign contributors, Nyberg got away with 9 crowns per copy. These were the years of depression and in Germany there was little money for books. The general practice between colleagues was to exchange books. Secretary of State Börje Knös proposed that the issues of 1932 and 1933 should be bound together into one volume. This was done and the 1934 issue appeared in 1935.

All through the 1930's and during World War II, Nyberg was the sole editor; without a secretary, without an office and, of course, without remuneration. He wrote every letter by hand, bought every stamp himself, made up every parcel and cycled with each parcel to the post office, visited the printers, and did most of the proof-reading of these extremely difficult texts and their many Oriental scripts. At the same time, he devoted himself to his regular duties and scholarly work. The book-reviewers were hard to persuade, the foreign contributors had to be admonished, and many letters were needed before an article was duly written and proof-read. But it might also be the editor himself who delayed the process.

"Warte mit Schmerzen auf meine Korrekturen!" (Waiting in pain for the proofs!); "Bitte doch die Drucker kräftig anzutreiben! Meine Mäzene sind schon sehr verschnupft!" (Please put the printers under pressure! My sponsors are sour already!). Such telegrams might arrive. But the texts are written in difficult alphabets and some of the clichés used for illustrations are a pain in the neck for the printers at Almqvist & Wiksell, such as "a round wall like a dented wheel with a kneeling prisoner as a hieroglyph in the middle with hands bound behind his back"!

H.S. Nyberg's big brown box with correspondence pertaining to *Le Monde Oriental* was full of (paid!) bills. The financial difficulties increased year by year and culminated during World War II. The understanding of the importance of the Orient in the days of Charles XII and the Ottoman Empire had long been dead but returned with the political events in connection with World War I. The modern cultural interest in the Orient was at its peak when Gustaf VI Adolf travelled to the Orient in 1931 as Crown Prince. It was at its lowest ebb in the 1940's, grew with the interest in oil in the 1950's and was revived in the 1960's with all its wars. It was often sparked off by Nyberg himself.

In the 1930's, Nyberg's most active years as a professor and scholar, it was increasingly difficult to bring out MO. Volumes 1932 and 1933 appeared in 1934, with major articles on Indian philology by Jarl Charpentier and Kasten Rönnow. Émile Benveniste wrote about Théodore bar Konay on Zoroastrianism, Oscar Löfgren on Ethiopian anaphora and Axel Ahlmark on Ben Sira in Ethiopian translation. Zetterstéen provided a text-critical edition.

It was as hard as ever to get friends and disciples to write reviews. Of sixty-three book reviews, Nyberg himself composed fifty and the others were written by Charpentier, Löfgren and Zetterstéen. Nyberg wrote on the ancient Orient, Biblica and Iudaica, Arabica and Islamica, Abbessinica, Iranica, Turcica and various subjects, such as Old Georgian, Bantu and the Mongolian Black Sea. The 1934 volume was

issued in 1935. It had three major articles, one by Hjalmar Sundén on the Exodus tradition, Charpentier on Irano-Scythian names in the Rigveda, Hubert Grimmem on Thamud inscriptions and Leo Strauss on Maimuni. All these articles were written in German.

In the 1934 volume, we meet for the first time in MO the linguist and turcologist Gunnar Jarring, taking charge of the new linguistic literature on Eastern Turki. Our knowledge of the Central Asiatic peoples, Jarring writes, is sporadic. Therefore we greet the Russian–Tartar turcologist N.F. Katanov's ethnographic texts from 1890–92, edited by Karl Menges, with the greatest gratitude. With regard to their contents, these texts are of the highest value: "Hinsichtlich des Inhalts sind diese Texte von allerhöchstem Werte." In a Russian book, Jarring sounds sceptical when the linguist Sergej Malov writes that he wants to introduce the name "Uigur" for a variety of Eastern Turki dialects, something the Turki speakers themselves would hardly do after the 1932–34 revolts, Jarring thinks. He gives Malov the merit of being the first ever to publish a text in the Lob-nor dialect.

Jarring also refers to a book on Eastern Turki dialects by Sir Denison Ross and his co-author Rachel Wingate. Together with Gertrud Mélamède ("The Meetings at al-'Akaba"), they are the third and fourth women to be discovered so far in MO. Jarl Charpentier is more prolific than ever. Most of the reviews dealing with Indica are written by him. Great changes are taking place in all the Orientalist sciences; they are reflected in the articles in MO and should be studied.

A novelty is the chapter entitled "Revue des Revues", where foreign periodicals, such as *al-Andalus*, *Jeune Asie*, *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* (with an article on the dancing dervishes by Helmut Ritter), Russian and Italian journals are presented. "Il Duce nous dit que c'est Rome en coopération avec l'Orient qui a créé la base de notre civilisation ..." These words, picked out of an Italian journal, point to the need for placing all the Orientalist publications of the thirties under the pocket lens.

The generation that was young when the pioneering professors gave birth to *Le Monde Oriental* was now the mature middle generation. Some had an early exit. The sudden and tragic death of Jarl Charpentier on 5 July, 1935 was a severe shock both for the editor and for *Le Monde Oriental*, to which Charpentier had contributed with ease, speed and immense learning since 1906: "Scribens mortuus est". He left six book reviews, which were published in Vol. XXIX. Shortly afterwards, on 12 August, Pontus Leander, Professor of Semitic Languages at Gothenburg, died on the island of Capri.

The sudden death of Johannes Kolmodin in Addis Ababa on 9 October 1933 was not honoured by Nyberg, his friend from student days, owing to the irregular publication of the MO issues. The admirer of Atatürk and the councellor of Emperor Haile Selassie had been absent from Sweden since 1914. He had been an active contributor on Turcica and Abbessinica, in spite of his assignments abroad. Zetterstéen mentions his death in the introduction to his new catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the Uppsala University Library, which practically fills the 1935 volume.

"Two outstanding German Orientalists have entered 'the club of the 60-year olds', Paul Kahle and Enno Littmann" in 1935 and their Festschriften are presented

in a *Literaturübersicht,* a literary survey which had replaced all the book reviews in the 1936 volume (printed with state subsidies in 1937): "Since I have to write practically all the reviews in MO myself, I have to cut down this department much more than before. For exhaustive reviews I nowadays have neither the time nor the energy. I have to limit my reports on incoming books in the form of literary surveys from now on."

These surveys look modern and sum up the recent Orientalist research. The findings in Tell Halaf and the discovery of the Hittite texts of Boghazköj have given the history of the ancient Orient a new face. J. Lewy has continued the publication of the Kültepe texts. In Finland, Knut Tallqvist has founded a vital Assyriological tradition.The most important events in Old Testament studies were Johannes Pedersen's monumental work *Israel*, Johannes Lindblom's *Prophetism in Israel* and Hugo Odeberg's *Trito-Isaiah*. In Aramaica, the tragedy of the sudden death of G. Bergsträsser was mitigated by his recent publications of new Aramaic material.

It is remarked that Volume XXX(1936) was sold both in London, Paris and Leipzig. It had many brilliant articles by younger scholars, chiefly Gudmund Björck, who wrote about Greek animal medecine in Arabic tradition, and an article by the Oriental art historian Carl Johan Lamm entitled "Some Woollen Tapestry Weaving from Egypt in Swedish Museums" with fine illustrations rarely seen in MO. Further collaborators were Oscar Löfgren, Ragnar Frisk, Kasten Rönnow and two Norwegians, P.A. Munch and, Albert Brock Utne.

The 1937 issue was printed in 1938, after a chain of unfortunate delays that began to look like a farce. With 98 pages, it is the thinnest MO so far. H.S. Nyberg contributes remarks on the pronunciation of spoken Arabic in Egypt and a philological study of the flexion of Iranian verbs. Harris Birkeland introduces himself with an analysis of Sura 95 in the Koran and the discussion of a problem in the Book of Jeremiah. G. von Grünebaum discovers Persian words in Arabic poems, A. Procopé-Walter describes in an illustrated article a hunting scene engraved on a precious stone from Asia Minor in the Leningrad Hermitage.

K.V. Zetterstéen is still there. He reviews *Kitab Ansab al-Ashrat* by al-Baaládurí edited by Goitein, and Gunnar Jarring writes about a facsimile edition of the Codex Cumanus introduced by K. Grønbech and points to the necessity of publishing learned works in facsimile to avoid their destruction in a war, reminding the reader about the destruction of the University of Louvain in the 1914–1918 war. Professor Gunnar Ekholm writes about the technique of excavations. This time, H.S. Nyberg has had no time even for a "Litteraturübersicht" but his "Revue des Revues" has been resumed.

DURING WORLD WAR II

The 1938 issue did not appear until 1944. It was shared between Meïr Bravmann's essay on Semitic philology, dedicated to his teacher Carl Brockelmann on his 70th birthday in 1938, and Carl Johan Lamm's illustrated article on the ever-increasing number of fragments of textiles discovered in Egypt bearing Arabic inscriptions of historical purport, of which 33 specimens are preserved in Sweden: "Dated on Datable Tiraz in Sweden". The one and only book review is written by Sture Lagercrantz.

"Revue des Revues", however, is still present. In 1944, in the midst of World War II, the following *revues* dating from 1937 are presented: *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research society*; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*; *Journal of Indian History, Madras*; *Oriental Literary Digest, Poona*; *Annales de l'Institut d'études Orientales d'Alger*; *Revue internationale des études balkaniques*; *O Oriente Portuges*; *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen* (1937–38); *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*; *En terre de'Islam*.

During the war, it was impossible to get anybody to take an interest in MO. H.S. Nyberg was deeply involved in the freedom of the Nordic universities. He was in the Home Guard. Everybody was called up.When the 1939, 1940 and 1941 issues were not published until Febuary 1947, "Kungl Maj:t" (the Swedish King) received an application to cancel the state subvention ("en ansökan om att häva statsanslaget") and MO's fate was sealed. A donation of 2000 crowns from Vitterhetsakademien (the Academy of Arts and Letters) had saved the three final volumes and *A Galla Grammar* by M. Nordfeldt, published in Lund in 1939–1947 by Håkan Ohlssons Tryckeri. The editor's postscript was written in October 1946:

> A most troublesome task is now ended. The author of the grammar was absent in Africa almost during the whole time of the impression, and I had to read the proofs quite alone, without any aid, verifying forms of language of which I knew nothing before I got the author's manuscript in my hand. The printing office had a very limited stock of Ethiopic types at its disposal … The war made it impossible to procure more types from abroad. The impression has therefore lasted for years, besides being interrupted now and then by other duties which I had to fulfil. Fortunately, the author returned from Africa in 1946 …

A letter from Sven Dedering expressed concern for the future of MO:

> The journal ought to be reformed and edited by scholars of the great Oriental languages who have made themselves the guardians or historians of Iran, Turkestan and Hindustan: Arabic (Nyberg and Dedering), Chinese (Karlgren). The latter ought to be big enough as co-editor or successor of a giant like Nyberg, and with his interest in the Sven Hedin material, he ought to be able to find for MO some archaeological and ethnographical financing, which might prove more effective than appealing to 'high gods and male societies' (*höggudar och ariska mannaförbund*)!

This alluded to works by Geo Widengren and Stig Wikander and was a gibe at the so-called Uppsala school of the history of religions. Zetterstéen forwarded the letter to Nyberg. Nyberg had been talking for years about handing the journal over to a new editor, as Zetterstéen had done long ago. "But may Nyberg give the journal to whom he wants? And will Nyberg let the stuck-in-the-mud MO go before he has shown himself to be man enough to get the vehicle going?", Helmer Smith, Professor of Sanskrit, wrote to Gunnar Jarring on 1 June, 1939.

What ought H.S. Nyberg to do, in order to "get the vehicle going"? In 1938, the Copenhagen publishers, E. Munksgaard, had suggested a fusion between MO and *Acta Orientalia*, the international journal founded in Copenhagen in 1921. It was owned by the Danish–Dutch Orient Society, whose Nordic distributor and commissioner Munksgaard was. The correspondence with the Dutch editors carried on into the 1939–1945 war and was not made easier by the censorship.

"It is annoying that we did not manage the fusion between *Monde Oriental* and

Acta Orientalia after our last meeting two years ago, but hopefully it will come about one day, so that the Oriental Literature may yet again be collected and work collectively in Acta!", Munksgaard wrote in 1940, renewing his offer after hearing the rumour that Nyberg had transferred MO to the book publisher Thule in Stockholm. On 23 February 1942, Nyberg wrote to Professor Morgenstierne in Oslo that as far as MO was concerned, he intended to liquidate it (*"MO ämnar jag avveckla!"*). "I have hade an offer of fusion with *Acta Orientalia*, and it will probably come through once times have changed, so that we may communicate more closely and co-operate without disturbances from the outside. One cultural journal from this area should be enough." Munksgaard replies in 1942 that he is "happy about your promise to let MO fuse with *Acta Orientalia* so that the latter can become really and truly Nordic. Without your valuable entry, this would not have been possible."

A swastika-stamped card from Professor Sten Konow in Oslo agrees with this. "The Dutch co-operation being essential for us, it would be unwise for us to stress that it should be a Nordic journal. I have no authority to co-operate with anybody but Sweden. The decision to enlarge the journals's title should be delayed until Volume 20 is out. And then my part in the editorship will naturally cease."

On 18 August 1943, H.S. Nyberg finally consented to Swedish co-operation in the redaction of *Acta Orientalia*. In January 1944, Johannes Pedersen informed those concerned that the Danes would place the necessary amount at the journal's disposal, so that the printing at Brills in Leiden could start at once: "Could you Swedes get hold of 1500 crowns or should our co-operation wait until Volume 21?"

Pedersen to Nyberg in November 1945:

> I was happy to hear that the Swedes are entering the editorial committtee, so that it will represent the three Scandinavian nations and the Dutch, assuming that they still want to carry on?

And in 1947:

> I have always thought it a disadvantage that only two of the Nordic countries were part of this journal. We may now take the Swedish co-operation as assured. The luxuriousness of Oriental studies in your country is such that we may be certain of many contributions from your side.
>
> Unfortunately, the Danes, including myself, have not been diligent in writing, and for my own part it has to do with the many other tasks that monopolize my time. That MO had to vanish I understood already when you were here. I understand that you find this sad, but I hope for compensation in a greater *Acta Orientalia*. And now we have more than thirty issues of *Monde Oriental* standing there as a beautiful monument to Swedish Orientalism!

ACTA ORIENTALIA AND ORIENTALIA SUECANA

On 30 August 1947, the constituent meeting of the fused *Acta Orientalia* took place in Copenhagen. Brill Publishers were extremely unwilling to let go of *Acta Orientalia*, which they had been publishing for so many years but eventually had to give it up to Munksgaard. All the further correspondence between the parties concerned, lasting up to February 1949, has been preserved.

The Scandinavian editorial board consisted of Johannes Pedersen, Arthur Christensen and Poul Tuxen (Denmark), Harri Holm (Finland), Sten Konow (Norway),

H.S. Nyberg (Sweden) and J.H. Kramers (Holland). The editor-in-chief was Georg Morgenstierne until Kaare Grønbech could make himself free for the task.

"Well, now I have transferred *Le Monde Oriental*!", H.S. Nyberg is supposed to have sighed with deep satisfaction to Sven Dedering in Lund on his way back from Copenhagen.Two persons who were not satisfied were Geo Widengren and Sten Wikander. The former told the present writer that he could never understand how H.S. Nyberg could sell out *Le Monde Oriental*, rather than letting them take over the editorship and let it remain Swedish. Helmer Smith retorted in a letter that this was not a matter for Nyberg to decide on his own.

Orientalia Suecana was started as a replacement for *Le Monde Oriental*. In 1986, Geo Widengren pointed out that *Orientala Suecana* was still going strong, so why should *Le Monde Oriental* not have been able to survive? I personally think that H.S. Nyberg wanted to save his gifted pupils from tearing themselves to pieces trying to get funding, articles, reviews and facilities for an international journal in a country with a limited cultural budget for these areas, at very high cost from the point of view of the main task of the scholar.

Acta Orientalia was a new adventure. How did it go? Well, that is a long, long story, and it will not be told here. In many ways, it was the same old story all over again, with one important difference—*Acta Orientalia* was never again one man's responsibility. Lots of material about these events is lying in the same box that contains the details of the above correspondence in the Uppsala University Library for use by any future researcher. What I have attempted here is a sketch without references or notes.

I had promised the late Professor Tryggve Kronholm, who was proud to occupy H.S. Nyberg's chair of Semitic philology, to write about *Le Monde Oriental* in *Orientalia Suecana*. Now I am doing it to honour Gunilla Gren-Eklund and Bo Utas, who were among the last of H.S. Nyberg's disciples. When I look at the 36 issues of *Le Monde Oriental* standing in front of me, I cannot help feeling that they should not be considered as a monument of past scholarship, but as a hidden source, where modern Orientalists may have a lot to consider, contemplate and continue.

Yāska and the Meaning of *upasargas*

EIVIND KAHRS, Cambridge

As is well known, the semantic aspect of *upasargas*, preverbs or prepositions, is a topic widely discussed by the Sanskrit grammarians. The earliest discussion we meet with is in the introductory chapter of Yāska's *Nirukta* in a section that deals with the four classes of words: noun (*nāman*), verb (*ākhyāta*), preverb or preposition (*upasarga*), and particle (*nipāta*). The passage on *upasargas* runs as follows (Nir 1.3; ed. Lakshman Sarup 1927):

na nirbaddhā upasargā arthān nirāhur iti śākaṭāyanaḥ / nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti / uccāvacāḥ padārthā bhavantīti gārgyaḥ / tad ya eṣu padārthaḥ prāhur ime taṃ nāmākhyātayor arthavikaraṇam / ā ity arvāgarthe / pra parā ity etasya prātilomyam / abhi ity ābhimukhyam / prati ity etasya prātilomyam / ati su ity abhipūjitārthe / nir dur ity etayoḥ prātilomyam / ni ava iti vinigrahārthīyau[1] */ ud ity etayoḥ prātilomyam / sam ity ekībhāvam / vi apa ity etasya prātilomyam / anu iti sādṛśyāparabhāvam / api iti saṃsargam / upa ity upajanam / pari iti sarvatobhāvam / adhi ity uparībhāvam aiśvaryaṃ vā / evam uccāvacān arthān prāhuḥ / ta upekṣitavyāḥ //*

Lakshman Sarup (1921:7) translates the passage in the following way:

'Unconnected prepositions', says Śākaṭāyana, 'have no meaning, but only express a subordinate sense of nouns and verbs'. 'They have various meanings,' says Gārgya; 'hence, whatever their meaning may be, they express that meaning (which brings about) modification in the sense of the noun and the verb.' The word *ā* is used in the sense of 'hitherward'; *pra* and *parā* are its antithesis: *abhi*, 'towards'; *prati* is its antithesis: *ati* and *su*, 'approval'; *nir* and *dur* are

As a student I was fortunate enough to spend the academic year 1976–77 in Uppsala, and to visit there regularly in subsequent years. This gave me the opportunity to attend numerous Thursday-evening Sanskrit seminars. These seminars had a profound impact on me, conducted as they were in an atmosphere in which it was perfectly permissible to express very tentative ideas, ideas that were then severely scrutinized but in the most friendly and generous manner. The present paper is offered in honour of Gunilla Gren-Eklund and Bo Utas in the spirit of those seminars. My sincere thanks are due to Ashok Aklujkar and Saroja Bhate for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. The ideas explored in it are of course my own responsibility.

[1] Sarup reads *vinigrahārthīyā / ud ity°*, indicating the reading adopted above as a *varia lectio* met with in several MSS and in Sāyaṇa's commentary on *Ṛgveda* 1.124.11. Both Durga (D 60,16) and Skanda-Maheśvara (SM 40,12) understand the form to be *vinigrahārthīyau*. Certainly, a feminine in *-ā* makes no sense at all. Rudolph Roth (1852:32) reads *°vinigrahārthīyā ud ity°* without the *daṇḍa* inserted by Sarup. This is the reading preferred also by H.M. Bhadkamkar (1918 = D 57,8) and V.K. Rājavāḍe (1921:31). Rājavāḍe (1940:20), however, reads *vinigrahārthīyau / ud ity°*. The only way I can account for this situation is to assume that 'archaic' sandhi has been applied to the dual form *vinigrahārthīyau* followed by *ud*, the resulting form being *vinigrahārthīyā ud°*. If this is the case, it would raise questions about the dating of this passage, possibly indicating that the meanings attributed to *upasargas* here are part of an older tradition. However, the order in which the *upasargas* are given here differs from that of the *gaṇa prādayaḥ* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.58), which differs from the order in which they are listed in the *Ṛkprātiśākhya*, which, again, differs from that of the *Taittirīyaprātiśākhya*.

their antitheses: *ni* and *ava*, 'downwards'; *ud* is their antithesis: *sam*, 'combination'; *vi* and *apa* are its antithesis: *anu*, 'similarity' and 'succession': *api*, 'contact': *upa*, 'accession': *pari*, 'being all around': *adhi*, 'being above', or 'supremacy'. Thus they express various meanings to which attention should be paid.

Numerous problems present themselves in this passage of the *Nirukta* and also in Sarup's interpretation of it. Following Sarup, several scholars have commented on the passage, notably V.K. Rājavāḍe (1940:228–32), whose cursory treatment fails to shed much new light on it, and K.C. Chatterji (1964:398–432), who presents a lot of useful material concerning our understanding of *upasargas*. More recently, Ashok Aklujkar (1999:93) has offered his basic understanding of the *upasarga* passage in an appendix to his penetrating discussion of the *nipāta* section of the *Nirukta* (Nir 1.4):

Following the earlier interpreters to a large extent, I understand Yāska's statement on the upasargas in this way: Śākaṭāyana takes the working relationship between upasargas, on the one hand, and nāmans and ākhyatas, on the other, to be so close that he does not ascribe an independent or certain meaning capability to the upasargas. Gārgya, on the other hand, finds so much variation in the comprehensibility of the meanings of the upasargas ... that he does not generalise. Another difference between the two thinkers is that Śākaṭāyana thinks of an upasarga as nāmākhyāta-karmopasaṁyoga-dyotaka—as an indicator of the precise connection that a verb or noun has with (its meaning or meaning part in the form of) action—and Gārgya as an expressor of nāmākhyātārtha-vikaraṇa—as a signifier of the transformation that takes place in the meaning of a verb or noun.

Since Yāska does not tell us which view he prefers, Aklujkar (ibid.) goes on to entertain the following possibilities:

(i) Yāska found it impossible to adopt either view exclusively. (ii) He found the difference between Śākaṭāyana's view and Gārgya's view insignificant, at least as far as his purpose in composing the Nirukta was concerned. (iii) He adopted the view he stated later, namely Gārgya's view..., for he does not argue against it and specifies at least some meanings of the upasargas in the following lines.

As pointed out by Aklujkar (ibid.: 94), I do believe that it is possible—at least tentatively—to take these deliberations a step or two further.

The first difficulty that presents itself in this passage is the meaning of *nirbaddhāḥ*. Sarup (1921:7) takes it to mean 'unconnected'. Rājavāḍe (1940:228) remarks: "when prefixes are detached from their fixtures, that is, when they are used by themselves, they have no meaning whatever". Similarly, Chatterji (1964:399): " 'The upasargas', says Śākaṭāyana, 'dissociated (from nouns and verbs) cannot fully express any sense; they, however, indicate the modified sense of the noun and the verb' ". These interpretations of *nirbaddhāḥ* are possibly based on Durga who remarks (D 58,16–17): *neti pratiṣedhe / niṣkṛṣya nāmākhyātamadhyāt padavākyarūpeṇa viracitāḥ santaḥ*, "*na* [here] has the sense of a denial; that is to say, when they are composed in the form of word-statements (*padavākya*), taking them separately from nouns and verbs". Clearly, Durga takes *niḥ* in the sense of *niṣkṛṣya* 'having separated' and *baddha* in the sense of *viracita* 'composed', when they are composed separately. This, incidentally, is how *upasargas* are analysed by Sanskrit commentators. Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara too take *niḥ* in a privative sense (SM 33,13–34,1): *niḥ pṛthagarthe, bandhiḥ prayogārthe*, "*niḥ* in the sense of separate;

the root *bandh* in the sense of use", when they are used separately. So also Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Niruktaślokavārttika* (NŚV 1.1.818cd): *pṛthagarthe nir ity eṣa dvitīyo 'py avadhāraṇe*, "this *niḥ* [of *nirbaddhāḥ*] in the sense of separate; but the second one [i.e., the *niḥ* of *nirāhuḥ*] in the sense of a limitation".

In the *Erläuterungen* to his edition of the *Nirukta*, Rudolph Roth (1852:5) too talks of prepositions that are unconnected (with a corresponding German expression),[2] but it is noteworthy that he did not include this meaning of *nirbaddha-* in the *Petersburger Wörterbuch*. In fact, to take *nirbaddhāḥ* in the sense of 'unconnected' seems rather artificial if we look at the Sanskrit lexica. The pw entry for *√bandh* with the *upasarga nis* runs: "1) *nirbaddha* geheftet —, gerichtet auf (Loc.).—2) sich an Jmd klammern, heftig in Jmd dringen, Jmd stark zusetzen Naish. 9,12. *nirbaddha* in den man heftig gedrungen ist". The larger *Petersburger Wörterbuch* has the same meaning entries. The entry for *nir√bandh* in MW runs: "to fix or fasten upon, attach one's self to, insist upon, persist in, urge, MBh.; Pur.", and for *nirbaddha*: "mfn. fixed or fastened upon (loc.), BhPur.; clung to, pressed hard, urged, Daś.; Naish.". For *nirbandh*, Apte gives: "1. To press, urge, importune.—2. To insist upon, persist in", and for *nirbaddha*: "1. Fixed or fastened upon.—2. Urged, importuned, pressed". These entries all point to a meaning opposite to 'unconnected', namely 'connected; attached', in other words, a meaning not very different from what we would have without the *upasarga*. This is supported also by the meaning of *niḥ* in combination with other verbal roots, for example *nirāhuḥ* in the same sentence which means much the same as *āhuḥ*; similarly *nir√jñā* means 'to know', *nir√diś* 'point to, indicate', *nir√bhid* 'cleave, split asunder, divide'. The sense added by *niḥ* here is perhaps rather like the English 'out and out' or 'thoroughly, utterly'.

One problem remains, namely why the commentators chose to take *nirbaddha* in the privative sense of 'un-bound'. Leaving this unanswered for the time being, let me proceed on the assumption that we may be talking not of unconnected *upasargas* but rather of *upasargas* that are connected or attached to nouns or verbs. The first sentence of the passage could then be translated: "Prepositions that are attached [to nouns or verbs] do not express meanings, according to Śākaṭāyana."

According to Sarup, the immediately following phrase *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti* is a continuation of Śākaṭāyana's statement. In view of Yāska's general syntactic style, the words *iti śākaṭāyanaḥ* would then be in the wrong place. Moreover, the particle *tu* indicates an objection to what has already been stated, and although the objection may be Śākaṭāyana's own, it is perfectly possible that it is Yāska's. It is therefore conceivable that *na nirbaddhā upasargā arthān nirāhur iti śākaṭāyanaḥ* presents Śākaṭāyana's view and that the following words rather constitute Yāska's response to that view.

As we have seen, Sarup takes *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti* in the sense of "but [they] only express a subordinate sense of nouns and verbs". I can only agree with Aklujkar (1999:94) when he remarks: "How Sarup derives the meaning '[the upasargas] express a subordinate sense of nouns and verbs' from *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṁyoga-dyotakā bhavanti* is not clear in this

[2] "Çâkaṭâjana ist der Ansicht, dass die Upasargas am Haupt- und Zeitwort zwar eine Nebenbeziehung ausdrücken, ausserhalb dieser Verbindung aber keine Bedeutung haben."

otherwise faithful translation. Did he confuse *upasaṁyoga* with *upasarjana* of the Pāṇinian tradition?"

Sarup takes *karman* to mean 'sense'. This is how Durga understands it as well (D 58,24–59,2):

tuśabdo 'vadhāraṇārthaḥ / nāmākhyātayor eva yo 'rthaḥ karma tatraiva viśeṣaṃ kaṃ cid upasaṃyujya dyotayanti / sa eṣa nāmākhyātayor evārthaviśeṣa upasargasaṃyoge sati vyajyate / yathā pradīpasaṃyoge dravyasya guṇaviśeṣo 'bhivyajyamāno dravyāśraya eva bhavati na pradīpāśrayaḥ /

The word *tu* has the sense of a restriction. That meaning, [that is to say, that] *karman*, which belongs to nouns and verbs alone (*eva*), as far as that [meaning] is concerned (*tatraiva*), they (= *upasargas*) indicate (*dyotayanti*) something specific, providing [as they do] a precise connection (*upasaṃyujya*) [with that meaning]. [And] it is this specific meaning which belongs to nouns and verbs alone that becomes manifest when there is a connection with an *upasarga*. Just as a specific quality of a thing that becomes manifest when there is a connection with a lamp rests only in the thing, not in the lamp.

Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara also take *karman* in the sense of *artha* here (SM 34,4–6): *nāmākhyātayor eva karmaṇo 'rthasyopasaṃyujyata ity upasaṃyogo viśeṣaḥ prakarṣādis tasya śabdagaḍumātreṇa sannidhānād dyotakā bhavantīti*, "[an *upasarga*] provides a precise connection with the *karman*, that is to say, with the meaning of a noun or a verb alone, [and] hence there is a precise connection which is specific, such as *prakarṣa* 'excellence' [in the case of the *upasarga pra*]; [and] as a result of the presence of this [precise connection] (*tasya* = *upasaṃyogasya*) through the mere excrescence of a sound, [*upasargas*] are indicators".

Still, I think it should be kept in mind that the basic meaning of *karman* is 'action'. As is well known, Yāska uses this term as the final member of a masculine *bahuvrīhi* compound to indicate what finite verbs, finite verb substitutes or verbal roots convey. There are a few instances where *karman* is employed to indicate what non-verbal elements convey, for example *pañcamīkarman*. In the words of Aklujkar (1999:96): "In their case, *karman* seems to have acquired a second technical sense of the form 'function, grammatical meaning, semantic role'. This sense can be seen as an extension of the first and foremost technical sense 'action'. Thus, *pañcamī-karman* is that which performs the action (or role) of the fifth triplet of case endings; *cit* is *aneka-karman* in the sense that it performs more than one (semantic) action (or function)". One reason why I think this basic meaning of *karman* as 'action' should be kept in mind here is the link it provides to the *vyākaraṇa* tradition. In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *nipāta* class of particles includes the subgroups *upasarga*, *gati*, and *karmapravacanīya*. Rule A 1.4.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* assigns the name *upasarga* to the members of the *gaṇa prādayaḥ* (A 1.4.58) when there is a connection with an action. And Patañjali, commenting on A 1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyaḥ*, interprets the technical term for these *nipātas* as (Mbh I:346,16–17): *karma proktavantaḥ*, 'which have expressed an action'.

The statement *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti* I take to mean: "But they indicate (*dyotakā bhavanti*) that a noun or a verb has a precise connection with [its meaning in the form of] an action".[3] It is, of course, attractive to

[3] Incidentally, if *nāmākhyātayos tu karmopasaṃyogadyotakā bhavanti* really are the words of Yāska,

take *upa* in *upasaṃyoga* in the sense of *upajana* because that is the sense attributed to it later in the *Nirukta* passage, but the question remains what sense to attribute to *upajana*. If we take it in the sense of 'addition', *karmopasaṃyoga* could be interpreted as 'additional connection with an action', that is to say, with an action other than that conveyed by the noun or verb without the *upasarga*. However, must one read 'addition' in the meaning of *upajana*? Could not 'occurring near, coming to exist near' be a description of what the state of affairs already is, rather than a description of what happens to a certain state of affairs?

Next in our passage follows the view of Gārgya: *uccāvacāḥ padārthā bhavantīti gārgyaḥ*, "there are diverse (*uccāvacāḥ*)[4] word-meanings [for attached *upasargas*], according to Gārgya". Once again, I think the subsequent statement may be Yāska's: *tad ya eṣu padārthaḥ prāhur ime taṃ nāmākhyātayor arthavikaraṇam*, "accordingly, the word-meaning that [is given] among these [word-meanings that are now to be listed], that [word-meaning] these [*upasargas* that will be listed] express as a modification of the meaning of a noun or a verb".

I am not entirely satisfied with the syntax between *nāmākhyātayoḥ* and *karmo°* and between *nāmākhyātayoḥ* and *artha°*. The present interpretation requires that these phrases be understood as *sāpekṣa-samāsa*s such as *devadattasya guru-kulam*. If Yāska uses such *samāsas* elsewhere, there is no problem, but if he does not, we should at least explore other syntactic possibilities. So far, I have not been able to come up with any that is better than the one currently understood.

To sum up, under the possible interpretation that I am exploring, the passage would be understood in the following way:

> *Upasargas* that are attached [to nouns or verbs] do not express meanings, according to Śākaṭāyana. However, [says Yāska,] they do indicate (*dyotakā bhavanti*) that a noun or a verb has a precise connection with an action [outside the noun or the verb]. According to Gārgya, there are diverse word-meanings [for attached *upasargas*]. Accordingly, [says Yāska,] the word-meaning that [is given] among these [word-meanings that are subsequently to be listed], that [word-meaning] these [*upasargas* that will be listed] convey as a modification of the meaning of a noun or a verb.

In this way, Yāska has, at least to some extent, succeeded in harmonising the views of the two authorities he quotes. Śākaṭāyana's view is that connected *upasargas* do not have meanings. Yāska then modifies this view by saying that *upasargas* have no direct sense, except in relation to verbs and nouns, and that they intimate that a noun or a verb has a precise connection with an action outside the action directly expressed by the noun or verb. That is to say, *upasargas* inform you of a prior action that has created a relation between the meaning of a verb or a noun and this action.

dyotaka would be part of Yāska's own vocabulary. This would lend some additional support to Aklujkar's interpretation of the *nipāta* section of the *Nirukta*; see Aklujkar 1999:43–46, 94.

[4] Most scholars render *uccāvacāḥ* here as 'various'. However, Aklujkar (1999:21) remarks on it as follows: "It is not accurate enough to translate *uccāvaca* simply as 'various'—as if it were an exact synonym of *aneka* or *bhinna/vibhinna*. The adjective means 'various' in the specific sense 'some elevated, standing out, bold or salient and some lying low, not raised, subdued, not easy to detect or recumbent' ". He subsequently (ibid.:23) resorts to the meaning 'differentially perceptible' for *uccāvaca*. I am not so sure one can read that much into the term.

Gārgya's view is that there are various meanings for attached *upasargas*, and Yāska takes this to mean that they provide an alteration to the meaning that a noun or a verb already has, whereby the latter meaning is modified.

However, there are genuine difficulties with this interpretation. First and foremost there is the fact that the *Nirukta* passage goes on to list specific meanings for unconnected *upasargas*. This may be the reason why the commentators felt obliged to interpret *nirbaddhāḥ* as 'unconnected; separated', deeming such a meaning to be demanded by the context. However, I do not think we are obliged to follow suit. Assuming that when we reach Gārgya's statement, we are still talking of *upasargas* that are connected with a verb or a noun, Gārgya says that there are diverse word-meanings for attached *upasargas*. Accordingly, the word-meanings that will be listed for *upasargas* in what follows, those word-meanings the *upasargas* express as a modification of the meaning of a noun or a verb. It seems unlikely that the locative in *ā ity arvāgarthe* would be anything other than the usual locative employed for specifying the meanings in which language items occur. In other words, *ā ity arvāgarthe* does attribute a word-meaning to the *upasarga ā* but only when *ā* is connected with a verb or a noun: "*ā* occurs when the meaning 'hitherward' is to be denoted". The same would go for the rest of the passage.

Although I think that the point about *nirbaddha* having the sense of 'attached, thoroughly connected' is valid, it does create certain other difficulties as well, notably how to apply it to the *nāman* class of words. And although *nirbaddha* is not attested in a negative meaning, some other words evince the use of *niḥ* in the negative sense, for example, *nirvāṇa*, *nirmama*, *nirbhakta*, so a negative meaning cannot be ruled out completely only because it is not attested in this particular form. However, Yāska does not list a negative meaning for *niḥ* unless that is what is intended by *anabhipūjitārtha* 'the sense of disrespected'. If we accept the traditional interpretation, we can justify it by arguing that it is for *upasargas* as independent items in a sentence. That appears to be Yāska's concern; he is explaining *upasargas* in the context of the four classes of words, *catvāri padajātāni*. And even if *nirbaddha* is taken in the sense of 'attached, thoroughly connected', this does not seem to *necessitate* that the text be divided as Śākaṭāyana > Yāska > Gārgya > Yāska, as suggested. In fact, with the observation on *nirbaddha*, we can understand Śākaṭāyana as saying: "Thoroughly tied [to the verbs and (verb-derived) nouns], the *upasargas* do not express or convey meanings in an identifiable way, but they do intimate how the nouns and verbs have a close contact (a very specific relationship) with an action". Then Gārgya says: "There are diverse word-meanings (that is, not all of them are equally or readily identifiable). The *upasargas* express the meanings that reside in them [not in an easily identifiable way but only] as a modification of the meanings of nouns and verbs." Thus the difference between the views of Śākaṭāyana and Gārgya would be that the former denies *vācakatā* to the *upasargas*, while the latter sees no need to do that.

The concluding statement of the *upasarga* passage raises a final difficulty. Sarup translates *evam uccāvacān arthān prāhuḥ / ta upekṣitavyāḥ* as "thus they express various meanings to which attention should be paid". As is well known, in Classical Sanskrit it is *apa√īkṣ* which means 'pay attention to' whereas *upa√īkṣ* means 'disregard, ignore'. In other words, normal usage would imply that *ta upekṣitavyāḥ* means

'these we can ignore' or 'these we can leave aside', maybe in the sense that these have now been sufficiently dealt with, and it is time to move on.

An additional problem is that the words *evam uccāvacān arthān prāhus ta upekṣitavyāḥ* are missing in the commentary of Durga. I may have exaggerated when I described Durga's commentary as "a word-for-word commentary which thus contains the whole text of the *Nirukta* as it existed for Durga" (Kahrs 1998:23). Durga does not generally repeat what he has said earlier, nor does he comment on words or phrases that any ordinary knower of Sanskrit would have understood in his time. Still I think it is reasonable to claim that Durga reproduces most of the *Nirukta* text as known to him. Accordingly, there is still every reason to be suspicious of a passage that is not met with in the commentary of Durga. But matters are rendered even more complicated by the fact that the phrase *ta upekṣitavyāḥ* occurs elsewhere in the *Nirukta* in contexts where it creates exactly the same problem as in the passage above and where Durga does comment on it. For example, we meet with an identical construction at *Nirukta* 1.11, at the end of the section dealing with *nipātas*: *evam uccāvaceṣv artheṣu nipatanti / ta upekṣitavyāḥ*, which ought to mean: "in this way [*nipātas*] appear in diverse meanings; these can be ignored". Somehow this does not seem right. Another instance occurs at *Nirukta* 1.15, the section where Kautsa states that Vedic Mantras are meaningless. This statement is followed by the phrase *tad etenopekṣitavyam*, which ought to mean 'this can be ignored because of the following'. But what follows is Kautsa's arguments. Durga takes the statement to mean (D I:117,11): *upagamya vedaṃ śāstraṃ cekṣitavyam*, "having approached the Veda and the [*nirvacana-*]*śāstra*, this will be considered", thus, incidentally, taking the *upasarga upa* as intimating an action prior to the one expressed by the verbal root.[5] It may, of course, well be that my reluctance to take *upa√īkṣ* in any other sense than 'disregard, ignore' is due to my own ignorance. It may well be that Yāska's language is pre-Classical and that *upekṣitavya* means what the commentators say.

More interesting, perhaps, is the first part of the concluding statement of the *upasarga* passage: *evam uccāvacān arthān prāhuḥ*. I take this to mean: "In this way (= according to this interpretation) they (= *upasargas*) express diverse meanings". But thereby it has not been stated that these meanings are the meanings of the *upasargas* themselves, or indeed that *upasargas* have meanings. It seems to me that whatever the details of its interpretation, the entire passage puts forward the view that the meanings provided by the addition of *upasargas* are related to the verbal action expressed.

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[5] The same phrase occurs at Nir 1.17, where it is not commented upon by Durga, and at Nir 2.6, where Durga gives a similar explanation to the above. At Nir 7.5, the word *upekṣitavyam* occurs in a context where it would also be difficult to take *upa√īkṣ* in the sense of 'ignore' and where Durga again gives a similar explanation to the above.

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Jamshid and the Ultrahuman Power of Creation[1]

DARIUSH KARGAR, Uppsala

According to Iran's mythological, history the origin of the creation of countries lies in the rain that Tištar, the god of wind and rain, poured on the earth "wherefrom the seas arose, the land, having seized the damp everywhere, broke into seven pieces." (*GBd.*: VIII:2) Of these seven pieces "One-piece, as-much-as one-half, is in the middle, and six pieces are around it; [...] the name *kēsvar* was applied to them, that is, they had circumference." (*GBd.*: VIII:6–7). Xwaniras—later *ērānuvēĵ* > *ērānšahr* > *ērān*—which is the country in the middle of the seven countries, is the largest, is the end of the best things, the largest population and the greatest strength. (ibid: 6–7) The king of Xwaniras is Jam/Jamshid/Jamshad[2] (Avestan: *yima-*; Sanscrit: *yamá-*; Middle-Persian: *Ĵam*, *Ĵamšēd*) who simultaneously is the king of the whole world (*Yt.*: 19:31).

Jamshid is the king with the greatest *farr* among Iran's mythological kings (*Y.*: 9: 4) and "the ruler of the seven countries of the earth, over daēvas and people, over magicians and witches" (*Yt.*: 19:31). Jamshid is the king of the Golden Age, particularly the peace-seeking king. (Widengren, 1965: 55) The era of his rule is an era without any signs of cold or heat, of sickness, old age or death. (*Y.*: 9:5) Jamshid is the pious king who has been taught God's wisdom and whose virtues are bound to be spread in his generation. (*Dēnkart III*: 229:5) And the consequence of all this is that Jamshid is an ideal king.

The Golden Age lasted for most of Jamshid's long life. According to Ferdowsi he lived for seven hundred years:

> "Seven hundred years passed him
> by bringing him much good and evil." (Firdaūsī: 1:33:210).

Iranian and other sources have registered the length of his reign from five-hundred twenty years (Ṯa'ālibī: 17) and six-hundred sixteen years (Isfahāni: 20) up to nine-hundred years and six months. (Mas'ūdī: 1:218). Among these, there are two sources, one old Iranian source (*Yt.*: 9.10–11) and one of the post-Islamic sources (*T.t.*: 2:403), which speak of the thousand-year reign of Jamshid. The appearance of the first implements and the most basic tools of life and likewise the conquering of the half-hidden and hidden resources of nature are among the phenomena of mythical history. In addition to this, the formation of initial beliefs, conventions and traditions of humanity too, are said to have arisen during this period of time, and in this manner their antiquity is confirmed.

[1] I am thankful to Mrs. J. Josephson and Mr. R. Rezvani for their help.

[2] Jamshid's name has been registered in the following ways in Iranian and non-iranian history books of the Islamic period: *Ĵamšīd*, *Ĵam* (Ṯa'ālibī: 10); *Ĵam-Šāh* (Mas'ūdī: 1:604); *Ĵamšād* (Ya'qūbī: 193); *Ĵamšāz* (Muqaddasī: 1–3:500); *Jamšad* (*Tārīx i Sīstān*: 201).

The creation of phenomena and the formation of conventions and traditions on the one hand, and the extinction of probable dynasties and kings who stand for seven hundred years of reign over Xwaniras on the other, have caused the long life of Jamshid to become the best possible cup. It has also become the most necessary medium for transforming his era into the greatest era of creations and discoveries in mythical history: "The outcome of his (= Jamshid's) deeds and experiences during his long-lasting life was the invention of traditions and the manufacturing of products" (*Muĵmal.*: 39).

The significance of Jamshid's initial role in the creation of the first phenomena, discovery of the unknown and, parallel to this, formation of conventions and traditions have resulted in an Indo-European belief in which he is entitled "the people's first father"[3] This also represents a very ancient Iranian belief, which knows him as "the first human being and the first king on earth". (Christensen: 2:344).

Whether Jamshid was the first king on earth or not does not change the fact that many original creations and discoveries by Iranian and other historians are attributed to Jamshid himself. The importance and large number of these products lead him to become intoxicated by power and make him so enchanted by his own capability that he, at last, calls himself the creator and life-giving force of the world: "And [Jam] said: 'I created the waters, I created the earth, [...] I created the beneficent animals, I created humanity, I created all the creations of the material world.' [...] But how they were created, this he did not know." (*Pahl.Riv.Dd.*: 31a10) Because of this rebellion his name is recorded, in both books and memories, as that of the first rebel and thus the first one to be forced to leave heaven: "Ohrmazd said: [Jam] stood on the path of Ahriman and the demons. [...] And through that false speech, his glory and lordship were then taken away from him, and his body fell into destruction at the hands of the demons." (*Pahl.Riv.Dd.*: 31a9–10)

The creation of a major part of phenomena and the discovery of a large number of unknown matters by Jamshid is, with regard to both their diversity and their extraordinariness, impossible unless by force of a magical and ultrahuman power.

By using this magical and ultrahuman power Jamshid converts the world of his era from "been" and "is" into "become" and "made", filling it with extraordinariness as the becoming continues. In order to reach the era in which Jamshid is able to perform his creative work he has to go through an era of subjugating all countries of the world:

"And from his one hundred and fiftieth to his two hundred and fiftieth year [of reign] [Jamshid] was occupied by fighting against the Satans and jinns whom he subjugated and forced to obey. Consequently they became humiliated and abided his orders." (Ṭabarī: 1:180)

Considering the fact that Jamshid with his "body full of glory" (*Pahl.Riv.Dd.*: 10r1) is one of the five things that Ohrmazd has created "to be beautiful" (ibid.), this victory should not have been very demanding and costly for him. Nevertheless his

[3] "According to Indo-Iranian mythology, that has left its footprints in the Vedas and in Iranian mythology, one can accept as true that Indo-Iranians believed that this brother and sister (*yama* and *yami*) were the first father and mother of the mankind." (Bahār, Mihrdād, 1375: *Piĵūhišī dar aṣāṭīr-i īrān* (*A survey in Iranian mythology*). P. 225).

ultrahuman power must have shown itself under these circumstances. The greatness of this victory must have caused him to appear to mankind as the world's magician par excellence and the commander of the greatest supernatural power with which he defeated the demons, those bizarre holders of magical power. It is therefore not surprising that in part the greatest Jamshidian discoveries and products that changed the world took place just in the aftermath of this conquest. Thus Jamshid "from the two hundred and fiftieth to the three hundred and sixteenth year assigned duties to the Satans" (Ṭabarī: 1:180) in order to utilize their knowledge and power. The result of this is the transformation of the world. In another version he "subdued the demons and Satans [...] and suppressed them and assigned them to hard work, to which they attended, such as cutting stone out of mountains and winning chalk, limestone, *sāruj*,[4] copper, zinc, tin, lead and crystal from corresponding mines." (Ibn al-Balxī: 31–2). Thereafter the time is ripe for utilization of these new gains:

> "He ordered the evil demons
> To blend earth and water.
> If any known things should appear in the mud
> The mud should be freed of them.
> The demons built walls of stone and chalk,
> Following the geometricians work." (Firdaūsī: 1:26:34–36)

And then he ordered the "Satans to build colossal buildings and high palaces." (Ṯa'ālibī: 12) after which "he coerced the Satans to build small and large bridges." (ibid.). After this "following Jamshid's order the jinns and the Satans started to cut stones and prune trees and [...] dig canals." (*Taĵārub al-'umam.*: 54)

The totality of these activities provide the setting for the foundation of cities: "Ibn-al-Muqaffa' says in *Siyar al-'Aĵam* that Hamadan was founded by a king whom the demons obeyed before Salomon, of which it follows that the king [in question] was Jamshid." (*Muĵmal*: 521) The next step was to attain clothes in order to preserve and protect the human body: "He taught people how to fabricate silk [and other textiles] and ordered the people to weave and dye clothes [...] and wear them." (Ṭabarī: 1:179–80) He also ordered the demons to "weave brocades, for which reason brocade used to be called *dīv-bāft* (= Demon-woven)." (Xayyām: 8) When it comes to the decoration of clothes with jewellery, this too was based on use of the demons' work who were coerced to "win jewels out of stone and sea." (Ibn al-Balxī: 32). He "ordered the demons to dive down the seas and to win jewels." (Bal'amī: 1:130) Without mentioning the significance of the explorers' expertise in gaining gold and silver, Jamshid is said to have "ordered the Ahrimans to excavate mountains and masses, digging for metal and winning gold and silver. (Ibn al-Aṯīr: 15) Then the turn comes to spices and perfumes: "He gave order to the jinns and Satans to obtain musk, ambergris and other scents and they carried out the order." (*Taĵārub al-'umam*: 54) After that the time was ripe for building baths for the hygien of the people: "He had locked up the Satans and told them to build baths." (Ṭabarī: 1:180). Another issue, this too with the demons' help, is the issue of colour

[4] A mixture of limestone and ash.

and making the world picturesque: "And he ordered the demons to bring forth chalk, ceruse/cinnabar and colours." (Bal'amī: 1:130) and "He was the one who ordered golden plates to be used. And he mixed different colours in order to use them in colourful wall-paintings." (Ibn al-Balxī: 32) And he used all of this in the re-creation of the real world in the form of paintings: "And he was the first person to start painting and sculpting." (ibid.)

At last the time has come for the knowledge of writing, which he also learns from Iblis who is among them who obey him: "As he conquered the earth and subjugated both jinns and humans and Iblis started to obey him, he ordered him (Iblis) to make visible and apparent whatever he had in mind and heart. And he (Iblis) taught him (Jamshid) to write." (Ibn al-Nadīm: 12) All these deeds and many others that had changed the world around Jamshid led him to be so enchanted by his own greatness and capability that he started to call himself the creator of the world: "After having given existence to all sorts of artefacts, buildings and professions he claimed to be God." (Mas'ūdī: 1:218)

Even a short consideration of a world without the above-named phenomena and a comparison with a world in which cities have emerged, the nakedness of man has been remedied, food has been spiced, means have been provided to keep the body clean and fragrant; a world enriched by different metals and metallic artefacts—even within their early limitations—as well as gems and jewels brought to the surface from the depths of seas and mountains; a world in which both the host and the guest can be painted and where the walls of houses were decorated by pictures, sparkling with numerous colours, a world finally evolved with the knowledge of writing. All of this inevitably forces the mind to think of the ultrahuman power of Jamshid, the inventor and maker of this astounding world.

This was made possible by utilization of the knowledge and experience of "others", and the *The Seven Wonders Tools, invented by Jamshid*—as said in a Persian-Zoroastrian text from the next millennia—are based on Jamshid's "wisdom" (Burzū Qavām-al-Dīn: 86b). In the eyes of the onlookers and in the minds of the contemporary men of wisdom, the making of such a world is nothing more nor less than the result of Jamshid's magical power with its infinitely strange, visible and invisible, manifestations.

This magical world does not become complete until Jamshid, once again as the first man, and once again with the help of demons, implemented man's desire to fly: "Then [Jamshid] ordered to build a wagon of wood and ivory and to spread brocade on it. He then bestrode it and ordered the Ahrimans to shoulder it and to bear it in between heaven and earth in order to carry him from Damawand to Babylon in one day." (Ta'ālibī: 13). The result of this great accomplishment is not only the realization of mankind's desire to fly but it also becomes the basis for the control of time and its measurement. "And this [flight] took place on Ohrmazd's day in the month of Farvardin, that is, the first month of spring and the first day of the year when times turn young and the earth comes to life after having been dead. [...] This day was regarded as a day of great festivity and was called Nourūz." (ibid.)

It is not surprising that the people of such a world should raise a king like this to the level of a god-king (Bahār, 1375: 227) and give him such powers as remains af-

ter several millennia: "...he was worshipped as a god by such Iranians who had not accepted the Zoroastrian reform right down into Muhammadan times." (Al-Baghdādī: 213)[5]

A large number of the inventions assigned to Jamshid, both because of their variety and their strangeness, are only possible through an ultrahuman and magical power. The attainment of this power by Jamshid can be attributed to three fundamental factors:

The first factor is to be sought in Jamshid's wisdom which is not an ordinary one. As mentioned before, Jamshid has been taught the wisdom of Gods. (*Dēnkart III*: 229:5) Hence he must have been the wisest human being of his time: "His knowledge, reason and judgement were at the level of perfection." (Ibn al-Balxī: 30) The greatest proof of this extraordinary wisdom was the collection of Jamshid's creations and discoveries, regardless of whether they are seen as a whole or each by itself. "And God the Almighty had given him a *farr* and an insight that enabled him to bring many things into existence." (Xayyām: 9)

To this wisdom two things are to be added that likewise were given to Jamshid by Ohrmazd. By granting him these two gifts Ohrmazd bestows a creative appearance upon Jamshid's wisdom in order to make it more tangible to the people—i.e. the people of the primal, mythical period—which enables him to demonstrate his ultrahuman power for the people of the country under his rule.

"Thus I bestowed upon him two instruments: a golden *suwrā* and a gold-ornamented *aštrā*." (*Vendidād*: 2:7) Granting him these two instruments, of which *aštrā*, is a gold-ornamented whip and the other, *suwrā*, a golden ring, Ohrmazd wishes for Jamshid to enlarge his world. (ibid: 2:4) As to Jamshid, by proclaiming Ohrmazd's wish to "enlarge the world" (ibid: 2:5) and by receiving two gifts from him, he achieves two basic goals: he firstly makes the people of Xwaniras believe that he has a close relation to Ohrmazd, a belief that also leads the people to accept as true that these gifts possess an ultrahuman power. In addition he causes the people of Xwaniras to help him to expand the earth, in other words to conquer new countries and occupy more land to add to Xwaniras.

The second pillar of Jamshid's extraordinary power must be sought in his magical power that is the result and function of one of his three *farr*s, or an aspect of his three *farr*s which are: "Godly-*mubad* (= Godly-pristly) *farr* (*Yt.*: 19:35) kingly *farr* (*Yt.*: 19:36) and a hero's and warlord's *farr* (Yt.: 19:38). These are *farr*s that pass over to Mihr, Frēdōn and Garšāsp after Jamshid has fallen into disgrace. "The three-sidedness of Jamshid's *farr* that, aside from its character of giving plenitude, stands for his presiding over the government, the religion and the warriors, perhaps signifies the primeval structure of the Indo-European tribes in which the tribal chief at the same time appears to be the tribe's medicine man and warrior as well." (Bahār, 1375: 227–8)

A peculiarity worth thinking about is the fact that, according to a Persian Zoro-

[5] I have quoted Al-Baghdadi from Zaehner: *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*. P. 135. But in another edition of Al-Baghdādī's book, revised by Mohammad Badr and published in Cairo in 1910, this part could not be found.

astrian script, Ohrmazd doesn't give the priestly *farr* to any other king after having taken it away from Jamshid: "A question to ask is to whom the Great God gave Jamshid's light after having taken it back. The answer is that he gave it to three: one to Mihr-Yazd, one to Zarātošt Sfitāmān and one to Zarātošt's children as Ōušēdar, Ōušēdarmāh and Sūšānš." (*M52*: 176b)

Eventually the third and the most important of Jamshid's power-generating pillars that has a completely material form consists of the demons and their strength that he uses in order to create, cultivate and discover things. Even though the demons' drive plays the most prominent role in the creations and discoveries of Jamshid's era it is not mentioned as a creating and discovering power. This is because in the usual method of organising mythological history all of the findings and inventions are related to the king/ruler and not to the inventors and finders, who are subjugated to the king. In our case negligence in naming the demons has strengthened our argument as the demons not only were subjugated to but also captured by the king. Thus the role that the demons' power play is, according to all existing narratives, nothing but that of defeated beings who obey Jamshid in implementing his orders.

But who are these demons, the worldliest power to assist Jamshid?

The essence of the demons can only be one of two: it is either heavenly or earthly.

In examining the first alternative we have to mention that the myth of Jamshid is as old as the life of the Indo-Iranian people in the Iranian highland. (Christensen: 2: 327–9) In other words it is a myth that belongs to the oldest period of Iranian history, i.e. the period of joint beliefs in the Indo-Iranian ethnic groups. This is the period in which "Various collective terms were used by the Indians and Iranians for their divine beings. One was Vedic deva, Avestan *daēva*" (Boyce: 23). Zarathustra calls their flock *daēva.yasna* (worshippers of demons). (Widengren, 1965: 115; Bartholomae: 670). "These then appear to have been the divinities of pagan Iran who were accepted by Zoroaster as beneficent. Of those whom he rejected as false gods, the daevas..." (Boyce: 83) "*Yatu*", a common Indo-Iranian word "appears to denote primarily a class of demons, but came gradually in Iran to be used for the men who were able to control them, the sorcerers or magicians." (Boyce: 85) Within the context of these proto-Zoroastrian teachings the demons became part of the evil forces in Iran while in India man's belief in these divinities kept its old and original form, and they kept their ancient name of *Déva*. (Widengren, 1965: 55)

With regard to the divine status of the *daēvas* in the pre-Zoroastrian period it cannot be assumed that they were forced to become Jamshid's helpers in building Xwaniras/the world, because this would imply that Jamshid must have fought the gods of his country in the very beginning and must have defeated them. There is no possibility whatsoever for such an assumption to be true. This would also imply that the demons must—though only reacting to Jamshid's assumed assault—have waged war against Jamshid who "For the ancient Iranians [...] was [...] a god among men." (Zaehner: 135) The impossibility of such an assumption is so obvious that there is no need to prove it.

The only remaining possibility is that the demons of the Jamshidian myth have been used for the sake of their names in order to make them appear in the manner that the semi-Zoroastrian teachings wanted: beings that were manifestations and

symbols of evil and malevolence. Therefore it is not farfetched to believe that the labelling of the demons in the Jamshidian myth happened much later, in the era of consolidation of Zoroastrism in Iran. It could be for the reason of presenting them as the worst manifestations of evil that these beings who hoisted their hostility and boldness to the level of waging war against Jamshid, Xwaniras's King, were called demons. This is why the demons in the ancient scripts, next to the sorcerers and paries that were other manifestations of the evil forces (Sarkārātī: 18–20) were regarded as subjects of Jamshid, "the ruler of the earth's seven countries" (*Yt.*: 19:31)

Considering this, it is quite possible that the Iranian and other writers of the Islamic period, in the same way have lined up the demons with other Islamic manifestations of the evil such as jinn, Iblis, Satans and sometimes paries and ahrimans. Doing this, they may have sorted the demons as evil beings subjugated to Jamshid on the one hand, his inevitable helpers in the creations and discoveries of his era on the other.

Following the above discussion we must reject the heavenly (divine) nature of the demons' essence and consider the other possibility.

According to *Vendidād/Vi.daēva.dāta* Jamshid enlarged the world three times, i.e. he invaded other countries and expanded Xwaniras in order to make place for cattle, horses and people. (*Vendidād*: 2:10; 2:14; 2:18) The *Vendidād* does not mention clearly which territory was annexed to Xwaniras, thus making it larger. All three times the text mentions only that Jamshid went "toward the lights, toward the zenith, toward the sun" (ibid.) But in *Pahl.Riv.Dd.* once, when talking about the demons, one of their possessions that does not exist in Xwaniras is mentioned: "The demons said to men to kill sheep and obtain elephants instead as these are of much use. [...] And Jam, so that men would not kill the sheep and obtain elephants, fought against the demons so (=furiously) that they were defeated." (*Pahl.Riv.Dd.*: 31b2–3) The same subject matter can be found in *Mēnōg ī Xrad*: "And the fourth [of Jamshid's advantages was] that he did not give the sheep to the demons for elephants." (*Mēnōg ī Xrad*: 26:33a)

From these quotes we can understand that the demons owned elephants, or, to speak more clearly, they were inhabitants of a country where elephants could be found, i.e. of India. Therefore it is not improbable that India was one of the three countries that were invaded by Jamshid, a country that lies "toward the lights", i.e. in the east, wherefrom the sun rises.

In Gardīzī's report about Jamshid's attack on the demons, he also claims that their country lies to the south: "And Ajamiyan (= Iranians) say: On this day (= Nourūz) Jamshid mounted a calf and went toward the south where he would fight the demons and the blacks, which means the Zangis. He waged war against them and he subdued them all." (Gardīzī: 514) What is meant by toward the south here is the same as toward the zenith and as we have seen in *Vendidād* Jamshid goes to the south/toward the zenith. We also know that the country of the Zangis is the Isle of Ceylan or today's Sri Lanka, which is the same as the country of Fradadafš (Bahār, 1376: 22) which, according to *Bundahišn* lies to the south of Xwaniras. Therefore Jamshid had to go southwards to go into battle against the demons and the blacks, who, according to Gardīzī are the same as the Zangis. He had to pass "Frāxwkart's sea [that] is the same as the Indian Ocean" (ibid.) in order to reach the Zangis' coun-

try, Fradadafš, which is to the south of India. From this it follows that the attack that Gardīzī names may be different from the one Jamshid aims against India, the country of those who own elephants.

Among the historians of the Islamic period Al-Bīrūnī is the only one to mention what the *Vendidād* says about the three-fold enlargement of the earth. However by omitting the part about the two magical instruments that Ohrmazd had given to Jamshid, the enlarger of the earth is not Jamshid, but God: "As no animals died during the reign of Jam and they increased so much in number that the earth's surface, in spite of its vastness, became small, God enlarged the earth to three times as much." (Al-Bīrūnī: 217)

In addition to this, Al-Bīrūnī also reports on Jamshid's campaign against the south in order to defeat Iblis and his followers. But Al-Bīrūnī's report on this matter is not as detailed as Gardīzī's: "The disgraceful Iblis had deprived the people of plenitude so that they had not enough no matter how much they ate and drank. He also prevented the wind from blowing and making the trees grow. The world was close to being destroyed. So Jam, by God's order and guidance, headed toward the south in an attempt to destroy the dwelling of Iblis and his followers. He stayed there a long time until he rid the country of the rebellion. Thereafter the people reached a state of balance, plenitude and abundance and got rid of the calamity." (Al-Bīrūnī: 218)

It is not easy to accept that "disgraceful Iblis" who made a rebellion in the south in Al-Bīrūnīs report, is the same as the "demons and blacks/Zangis" who lived in the south in Gardīzīs report. Because Al-Bīrūnī tells in one of his other works about Jamshid's attack against blacks/Zangis in the south, which is an other report than "rebellion of Iblis in the south". Although Gardīzī reports that this is according to Iranians "belief": "Iranian belives that Jamshid went in a carriage on this day (=Nourūz) and travelled towards the south to battle against the demons who probably according the Iranian are the blacks and Zangis. And about the Great Nourūz (Farvardīn the 6:th / March the 26/27:th) they have told that Jamshid returned victorious on this day". (Al-Bīrūnī, (b): 1:261)

The differences between Jamshids two attacks are clear, although both attacks were against the south. In one of the them he goes to defeat the rebellion of Iblis and in the other he goes to fight the "demons: blacks/Zangis". Similarities between the reports of Gardīzī and Al-Bīrūnī show an agreement between their sources. There is, however, a difference between the vehicle that Jamshid used in both attacks.

By studying the reports of Jamshid's attacks on other countries, reports that in the Avestan text have the euphemistic form "enlargement of the earth" and in the texts of the Islamic period are represented by not very specific reports on Jamshid's attacks on the demons' country, we can conclude that the demons had human faces and that the demons in the Jamshidian myth are human beings. We are here concerned with human beings who lived in the countries upon which Jamshid wages war, his aim being to occupy them and add them to Xwaniras, thus enlarging the earth. We are dealing with human beings who have deeper and greater knowledge, perhaps resulting from an older or more developed civilization than that of Jamshid's country Xwaniras. As evidence Gardīzī can be quoted, saying that Jamshid "waged war against the demons [...] and ordered them to carry out heavy tasks that

people could not fulfil." (Gardīzī: 32)

Faced by the attack of Jamshid and the army of Xwaniras on their countries, it seems all but natural that the "demons" inhabiting them confront them and fight against them. After having been defeated they suffer the same destiny as other defeated people in history: they have to obey the conquerors. Therefore the captured "demons" are coerced into assisting Jamshid with their knowledge in creating and discovering new phenomena.

It is quite possible that the reason for Jamshid's campaigns against these countries lies in a rebellion of the demons. The only support for this assumption is the report on "the rebellion of Iblis and his followers" to the south of Xwaniras by Al-Bīrūnī. Unfortunately Al-Bīrūnī's report on this matter is unclear and quite implicit, which can be explained by the nature of the source he has used. Al-Bīrūnī's and Gardīzī's reports on Jamshid's attack against the south does name the category of the people of the region: "blacks, which means Zangis" but unfortunately doesn't say anything about the reason for this attack. Therefore it doesn't seem easy to examine "the rebellion of Iblis and his followers".

The strange thing about the demons and their assistance to Jamshid is that this assistance is not mentioned in the ancient Iranian texts. This raises the question of which sources were used by Iranian and other historians of the Islamic period on the matter of the demons assisting Jamshid. This is because one cannot even imagine that all the traditions written down in this matter can be just products of the writers' imaginations. Are their sources those parts of the ancient Iranian works that have been destroyed and have not reached us? Have these historians perhaps taken their traditions from e.g. the complete text of *Čihr-dād nask*, that is, the lost twelfth nask (=book) of *Avesta*, that deals with the genesis of the Iranian human being and "the increase in the number of human beings in the central country of Xwaniras and the story of penetration and propagation of humans in the other six countries"? (Maškūr: 90) Has their source been *Sūdagar nask*, the first lost *Avestan nask*, containing "different mythological themes, including the story of Jamshid" (Tafaḍḍolī: 139) of which, as in the case of *Čihr-dād nask*, only a selection has survived in *Dēnkart*? Have there been other sources in this field of which there is no sign, not even the name, left? It can be said that the difference in length of the traditions of the Islamic period on the matter of the demons' assistance to Jamshid suggests that they have used different sources.

There is another intriguing piece of evidence for this assumption and this is the fact that Firdaūsī's account of some parts of the Jamshidian myth differs from other historians. What gives Jamshid assistance is, according to Firdaūsī, not the same as in other historical writings which are otherwise in agreement. E.g. Jamshid's vehicle for flying to the sky was, according to Ṭabarī, Muqaddasī and Ṯa'ālibī, built by "demons" that actually are manifestations of evil. But Firdaūsī believes that this implement was built with the help of "*farr-i Kyānī*" that is, the manifestation and symbol of the good:

> "By *farr-i Kyānī* he built a throne
> to which he attached many jewels" (Firdaūsī: 1:27:49)

While Ibn al-Balxī, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Aṯīr and Xayyām consider the winning of gold and silver from stones to be the demons' work, Firdaūsī believes that Jamshid has gained gold and silver by magic:

> He once sought to win precious stones from ordinary ones
> He demanded light and brightness from them
> Thus he found different sorts of precious stones
> Such as ruby, amber, gold and silver
> He pulled them out of ordinary stone by magic
> He became the key that opened those ties (Firdaūsī: 1:26:38–40)

Do these differences not imply that the historians' sources in revealing the Jamshidian myth differ from those ancient Iranian texts that have reached us? And is it not possible that those sources could have contained much more extensive, in some cases perhaps even different, reports on Jamshid and his times than the extant ones?

The reports on Jamshid's campaigns against the countries of "the demons", "the blacks/Zangis" and "Iblis and his followers" paint another portrait of him than the ancient texts as to one of his most important characteristics: "the king of the Golden Age, particularly the peace-seeker king". The latter seems to be the result of the stance taken by the Indo-Iranian narrative on the nature of kings' characters: "There are two sorts of kings: those who seek peace and those who seek war. In Iran as in India the sun-kings such as Jam seek peace, while the moon-kings seek war." (Widengren, 1965: 55)

Jamshid's wars against the demons give rise to questions from two different viewpoints. From one viewpoint the question is whether we can look upon Jamshid as a peace-seeking king in spite of different but congruent reports on his attacks against the demons' territories. Is it so that the mere fact of his campaigning against the territories of the demons does not place him among the war-seeking kings? And does this imply that war against demons and imprisoning them is not regarded as seeking war just because of the fact that they are demons? Should the answer to this question be positive then we would have to study and analyse Jamshid and all of his functions on the one hand, the demons and their situation in every respect on the other.

From the other viewpoint the question is whether or not we are getting tied up in contradictions if we regard Jamshid as a sun-king/peace-seeking king (Widengren, 1955: 46 [32]) as he not even "wages a real war against Aži Dahāka (Pahlavi: Aždahāk), but he runs away and hides himself in the vast world." (Widengren, 1965: 55) while we, on the other hand, admit that he is a war-seeking king, even if his wars were against the demons for the sake of oppressing the forces of evil. In other words, perhaps we have to admit that "There is scarcely a figure in Zoroastrian literature that presents us with more problems than does Yima, the son of Vivahavant. The difficulty in his case is not lack of evidence but the conflicting nature of a whole mass of evidence." (Zaehner: 131–2) And as regards the conflicting character of the records: doesn't this in itself indicate that Jamshid, according to records that are based on "the authentic Indo-Iranian tradition **as it developed independently of the Zoroastrian reform**" (Zaehner: 134. my emphasis) and in opposition to the plentiful reports within the Zoroastrian literature, was an innocent king-human being?

It is necessary to come to a conclusion on the questions raised from these two viewpoints in order to understand Jamshid and, moreover, to attain more accurate knowledge of the Iranian mythological history.

In spite of their immensity, the moments of the demons' assistance cannot make us overlook the power that was generated by Jamshid's wisdom. His own knowledge and wisdom was such that he could well create extraordinary tools.

The ancient text of *The Seven Wonders Tools, invented by Jamshid* in Zoroastrian-Persian, that, in revised prose and verse form, will make up the next part of this paper, will give us greater acquaintance with the Jamshidian myth and his magical and ultrahuman power.

Because there were limits for the length of contributions to this *volume honouring Bo Utas and Gunilla Gren-Eklund*, the division of the article that I first planned into two parts was necessary and unavoidable. The second part will follow in a forthcoming publication.

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Le problème avec Anāhitā

JEAN KELLENS, Paris

Après les interventions concordantes, mais si contrastées dans leurs nuances, de Gnoli (1974, 126–131 et 137–139), de Boyce (1982, 29–31 et 201–204) et de Malandra (1983, 117–120), il semble que l'idée du syncrétisme entre la déesse iranienne Anāhitā (pour l'appeler comme Artaxerxès) et certaines grandes déesses du Proche-Orient ait acquis statut de dogme. Elle vient d'être réaffirmée, dans la version Boyce, par de Jong (1997, 103–110), dans la version Gnoli, par Panaino (2000, 36–39) et se trouve inscrite dans la somme de Stausberg (2002, 175–176)[1]. C'est une hypothèse plus ancienne, mais qui ne s'était pas véritablement imposée jusque-là. Elle a été formulée, non en termes de syncrétisme, mais carrément d'emprunt, par Lommel (*Die Yašts des Awesta*, 1927, 26–32) et Benveniste (*Persian Religion*, 1929, 27–28, 38–39 et 61–63), qui se fondaient sur les analyses de divers spécialistes du Proche-Orient antique, dont la plus ancienne, à ma connaissance, est due à E. Meyer (ZDMG 31, 1877, 716–722). Elle repose sur un ensemble de détails fugaces et hétérogènes, mais qui semblent converger vers la conclusion que le culte d'Anāhitā a pris une importance particulière dans l'Iran occidental après que sa personnalité eut été assimilée à celles de déesses mésopotamiennes comme l'accadienne Ishtar et la suméro-élamite Nana.

1. Artaxerxès II (regn. 404–359) est le premier (et le seul) souverain achéménide à mentionner explicitement, dans ses inscriptions, les noms d'Anāhitā et de Miϑra après celui d'Ahura Mazdā.

2. Bérose (ca. 345–270), via Clément d'Alexandrie, rapporte qu'Artaxerxès II fit ériger des statues d'Anāhitā (en grec Anaïtis) dans plusieurs provinces de l'empire et en promut le culte.

3. Dans la « Vie » qu'il a consacrée au souverain achéménide, Plutarque raconte qu'Artaxerxès II fut couronné dans le temple d'une déesse guerrière qui serait, à son avis, Athéna.

4. Dans la tradition mazdéenne d'époque sassanide, la planète Vénus s'appelle *Nāhīd*, forme moyen-perse de *Anāhitā*. Cette dénomination pourrait dater de l'époque achéménide et témoigner d'une ancienne équivalence Ishtar-Aphrodite-Anāhitā.

5. La déesse Nana de la religion sogdienne et kouchane résulterait de l'assimilation d'Anāhitā à la suméro-élamite Nana avec substitution du nom.

[1] Bibliographie dans l'ordre chronologique : Gherardo Gnoli, « Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides », Acta Iranica 2, Téhéran-Liège 1974, 117–190; Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. II, Leiden 1982, (aussi « Anāhitā », *Encyclopaedia Iranica I*, London–New York 1985, 1003–1006); William W. Malandra, *A Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion*, Minneapolis 1983; Albert de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi*, Leiden 1997; Antonio Panaino, « The Mesopotamian Heritage of Achaemenian Kingship », *Melimmu Symposia I*, Helsinki 2000, 35–49; Michael Stausberg, *Die Religion Zarathushtras*, Band 1, Stuttgart 2002.

Les deux derniers points, qui ne sont documentés qu'au premier millénaire de l'ère commune, doivent être tenus pour particulièrement scabreux. Il est difficile de tirer quelque conclusion que ce soit du nom des planètes, qui n'ont pas un statut clair dans la tradition mazdéenne : l'Avesta les ignore et les livres sassanides les démonisent (à ce sujet, Panaino, *Tištrya II*, 1995, 64–65)[2]. Quant à la Nana sogdienne et kouchane, elle n'est pas sûrement une métamorphose d'Anāhitā et sa personnalité, comme le panthéon dont elle fait partie, demande de plus amples investigations (Fussman, JA 286.2, 1998, 582–594). On voit que les données qui ont servi à reconstruire une somptueuse histoire du culte d'Anāhitā se résument à deux faits convergents, mais livrés par des sources fondamentalement différentes. Un document original témoigne du fait que deux personnalités divines émergent du panthéon anonyme des « tous dieux » traditionnels à l'époque même où, selon les sources grecques, le décor matériel du culte change radicalement, avec l'édification de temples et l'érection de statues. On peut légitimement douter que les deux faits soient liés et il est conjectural de considérer l'un ou l'autre comme l'effet d'un syncrétisme, même si le second l'est sûrement d'une influence. Il n'existe aucun signe probant qu'Anāhitā ait assimilé des traits proche-orientaux avant l'époque hellénistique.

La position de Benveniste est la plus radicale parce qu'elle est inspirée par Hérodote, selon qui les Perses auraient appris des Assyriens et des Arabes à sacrifier à Aphrodite Uranie, qu'ils appelaient « Mitra ». Ce témoignage est doublement délicat. Le nom de « Mitra », quelle que soit la manière dont on explique son intrusion, a pour effet décisif d'empêcher l'identification de la déesse en cause. S'il est presque unanimement admis qu'il s'agit d'Anāhitā, c'est par une propension figée et non nécessairement justifiée à reconnaître Anāhitā dans toute déesse mazdéenne attestée par l'image ou la lettre sans être explicitement étiquetée. Le panthéon de l'Avesta, tant ancien que récent, fourmille de divinités féminines. De la plupart d'entre elles, nous ne connaissons que le nom et quelques épithètes. Les seules dont nous ayons un aperçu de la personnalité et de la mythologie sont celles dont nous possédons le Yašt, c'est-à-dire Anāhitā (Yt 5) et Aṣi (Yt 17), auxquelles on peut joindre Daēnā, grâce au Hādōxt Nask, et Ārmaiti, grâce à V2, mais qui est de toute façon exclue, puisqu'elle est la terre. Non seulement les trois candidates sont sélectionnées par le hasard de la préservation des textes, mais elles ne font figure d'Aphrodite Uranie que si on le veut bien, tant *l'interpretatio graeca* est défectueuse, et sans que rien de décisif les départage. Toutes trois sont de jolies filles qui arpentent le ciel, à pied ou en char, et à qui il est possible de prêter des connotations érotiques[3]. Pas plus que l'identification de la déesse n'est sûre l'information que son culte est emprunté au monde sémitique. De Jong (pp. 103–104 et 106–107) a très justement fait remarquer qu'elle peut refléter l'hypothèse, propre à Hérodote ou à certains milieux grecs, que diverses déesses proche-orientales représentent la même personnalité divine (une interprétation que de Jong appelle « diffusionist view »).

[2] Pour cette raison, le culte de la planète Vénus, que Boyce (p. 29) attribue aux Mèdes et aux Perses « prézoroastriens », apparaît comme une conjecture sans fondement.

[3] Mais discrètes et pas totalement sûres : ce sont respectivement la possession de quatre mâles (Yt 5.120), le massage de Zarathushtra (Yt 17.17–21) et le rapport au mariage incestueux (Y 12.9).

Benveniste considère donc Anāhitā comme un emprunt, mais c'est avec des variations déconcertantes selon les trois passages où la question est abordée. Le caractère iranien de l'adjectif *anāhita-* est implicitement entériné par la traduction « immaculate » (p. 63) et le nom *arəduuī-* qualifié d'un vague « ancient » (p. 62). En dépit de cela, la déesse est « a recent introduction into the Avestic Panthéon » (p. 39), mais tantôt elle tient ses origines d'Asie Mineure (p. 29), tantôt elle est l'adaptation « probable » d'une déesse babylonienne non précisée (p. 38). Il s'ensuit que le Yašt 5 de l'Avesta ne peut pas être antérieur au IVe s. (p. 63). Cette remarque constitue, à ma connaissance, la seule prise de position de Benveniste sur la chronologie avestique.

L'interprétation des auteurs contemporains est forcément plus nuancée. Tous sont partisans d'une datation haute de l'Avesta (sauf Panaino?) et convaincus de l'équivalence, établie par Lommel en 1954 (dans la *Festschrift Weller*, 405–413), entre Anāhitā et la déesse indienne Sarasvatī. Ces deux données fondamentales les ont conduits à substituer l'hypothèse du syncrétisme à celle de l'emprunt. Le réaménagement comporte deux corollaires. Le premier est que le témoignage d'Hérodote n'est plus guère utilisé[4], car il perd de sa signification dans le cadre d'un processus syncrétique, comme l'a explicitement et justement noté Panaino (p. 37). Le second est qu'il faut évaluer avec prudence l'autorité documentaire du Yašt 5, présumé plus ancien que le pensait Benveniste.

De Jong est sans nul doute l'auteur le plus négatif envers la personnalité indo-iranienne d'Anāhitā et l'originalité de son Yašt. Selon lui, la déesse du Yašt 5 peut se définir en termes de « partly » : elle est une ancienne déesse rivière qui a acquis ses principaux traits de certaines déesses sémitiques. Ces traits peuvent être identifiés comme les fonctions qui ne découlent pas logiquement de sa nature fluviale : reine guerrière, déesse de l'amour et guérisseuse (p. 106). L'ennui est que ces fonctions, sauf la dernière, n'existent pas. Anāhitā guérit, mais en accord avec sa personnalité aquatique, car la doctrine avestique constante est que la guérison émane de l'eau fraîche (ainsi, très clairement V 21.3 : « Quand il pleut à flots, neuve devient l'eau, neuve la terre, neuves les plantes, neufs les remèdes et neufs ceux qui vont cueillir les remèdes »). Par contre, elle ne peut pas être définie comme « warrior queen ». Pour ne rien dire du mot « reine », qui traduit une notion étrangère à l'Avesta[5], Anāhitā n'a pas de rapport direct avec la guerre. Simplement, comme toutes les autres divinités mazdéennes, elle accorde à ses sacrifiants ce qu'ils lui demandent et qui est ou non de nature guerrière (Kellens, Annuaire du Collège de France 1999–2000, 722). Elle n'est pas non plus une déesse de l'amour. Je ne connais aucune mise en relation précise d'Anāhitā avec les choses de l'amour qui ne soient pas réduites à la reproduction. A cet égard, ses rivales au rang d'Aphrodite Uranie ont plus de titres qu'elle à faire valoir. La satisfaction physique des femmes est placée sous l'auspice d'Aṣi (Yt 17.10). Le verbe aimer (*kan*) et la notion de plaisir sexuel (*šāiti-*) structurent l'évocation de Daēnā (H2).

[4] Gnoli en fait un bref item de son argumentation (p. 127).

[5] Dans le même ordre d'idées, on peut aussi reprocher à Boyce d'appeler Anāhitā « *the yazatā* » alors que l'Avesta ne le fait jamais. Quelle que soit la manière dont on interprète cette abstention, force est de constater que *yazata-* n'est pas utilisé au féminin.

L'argument par lequel de Jong minimise l'originalité du Yašt 5 n'est pas plus recevable. Il est faux que la « main part » du Yašt soit la compilation d'extraits du Yašt 17 (p. 104). Je ne vois pas que de Jong puisse entendre par « main part » autre chose que le catalogue des sacrifiants[6]. Or, non seulement le catalogue du Yašt 5 ne constitue que la moitié de ses 132 strophes – le solde est plus long que tout le Yašt 17 ! –, mais il est beaucoup plus détaillé que tous les autres et son formulaire lui est strictement propre (Kellens, Annuaire du Collège de France 1999–2000, 723–724). Si l'on veut faire du Yašt 5 une compilation achéménide tardive de matériel ancien (c'est la conception de Malandra, pp. 119–120), il faut du moins souligner que ce matériel ne se trouve nulle part ailleurs dans l'Avesta que nous possédons.

A l'inverse de de Jong, Panaino (pp. 37–38) met fortement l'accent sur l'origine indo-iranienne d'Anāhitā et ne reconnaît dans le Yašt 5 qu'un seul trait de syncrétisme : le fameux passage 126–129 où, de manière récurrente depuis une communication orale de Halévy à Darmesteter (*Zend-Avesta* II, 1883, 53), on a proposé de reconnaître la description d'une statue de la déesse[7]. L'hypothèse est indémontrable et n'a jamais été unanimement acceptée. Il pourrait tout aussi bien s'agir, par exemple, de la description d'une apparition. Le contraste est frappant entre la description physique (126), brève et convenue, dont une variante formulaire a servi pour Daēnā (H 2.9), et celle des vêtements (127–129), longue, profuse et sans équivalent dans le reste de l'Avesta. Ceci me donne à penser que le texte relève d'un genre rhétorique particulier, le catalogue, dont il existe d'autres exemples, le catalogue des sacrifiants bien sûr, mais aussi celui des armes de Miϑra (Yt 10.35–43 et 128–132 : Kellens, Annuaire du Collège de France 1998–1999, 695). Le catalogue des vêtements d'Anāhitā n'implique évidemment pas plus la présence d'une statue *habillée que le sacrifice de Miϑra ne comportait un étalage d'armement.*

Nous n'aurions pas de raisons de nous interroger sur les origines d'Anāhitā plus que sur celles de Miϑra et de les déclarer « unclear » ou « unknown » (de Jong, pp. 104–105) si la déesse ne paraissait mal intégrée au panthéon avestique et si nous n'ignorions son nom. Nous allons commenter successivement ces deux singularités.

Je pense qu'il ne faut pas accorder une importance démesurée au fait qu'Anāhitā soit absente des Gâthâs, contrairement à Aṣi et à Daēnā, et très rarement mentionnée dans l'Avesta récent en dehors de son Yašt. Les Gâthâs, contrairement au Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, n'accordent pas de place à la mythologie des eaux (ce qui ne répond pas nécessairement à une particularité doctrinale)[8]. Quant à la situation d'Anāhitā dans l'Avesta récent, il faut tenir compte d'un effet de perspective très fréquent.

[6] Il semble que de Jong ait repris cette idée à Boyce (p. 203), qui l'avait assortie de beaucoup de nuances dans une version antérieure (*A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. I, 1975, 73), sans non plus se référer explicitement au catalogue des sacrifiants.

[7] Aussi Boyce (pp. 203–204) et Malandra (p. 118). Cette hypothèse pose de manière aigüe la question de la datation du texte. Seule Boyce l'a affrontée et admis que ce passage avait pu être composé au Ve s., n'importe où dans le domaine zoroastrien, comme l'on composait en latin dans l'Europe médiévale.

[8] La voyelle longue finale du nom. -voc. sing. *arəduuī* n'est pas l'héritage d'un emploi vieil-avestique, mais correspond à l'allongement secondaire de *i* final après *uu-* (de Vaan, *The Avestan Vowels*, 2002, 184–186).

L'Avesta que nous possédons est une anthologie de textes consacrés à des sujets spécifiques. Il produit l'impression que telle personnalité ou tel concept n'ont d'importance que dans le texte qui leur est consacré. Que saurions-nous de Haoma, de Vāiiu, de Tištriia, pour ne rien dire de Druuāspā, sans leur Yašt? Schlerath a noté que Zarathushtra lui-même était d'une extrême discrétion dans le Yasna récent, à l'exclusion du Hōm Stōm (dans *Festgabe deutscher Iranisten zur 2.500 Jahrfeier Irans,* 1971, 136–138). Ce qui est néanmoins singulier, c'est la très réelle solitude d'Anāhitā. Elle n'est pas mentionnée dans les Yašts des autres dieux et aucun de ceux-ci ne l'est dans le sien. On peut au moins en conclure qu'elle ne fonctionne pas en équipe. Elle n'appartient pas au cortège des dieux *yazatas* qui parcourent le ciel à la suite de Miϑra[9]. Par contre, ses quatre mâles, le vent, la pluie, la brume et la grêle (Yt 5.120) établissent un lien ténu, mais solide, avec le groupe des divinités qui, sous la direction de Satauuaēsa, prend la relève de Tištriia pour assurer la répartition de la pluie (Yt 8.33). L'action d'Anāhitā est à la fois distincte et complémentaire de la leur. Elle ne consiste pas à vider le réservoir céleste des eaux (la mer Vouru.kaṣa) pour faire pleuvoir, mais à le remplir (Yt 5.4). La déesse rivière, qui est peut-être la Voie lactée (Witzel, BEI 2, 1984, 226), est seule à assumer cette fonction, qui est le préalable de celle dévolue à Tištriia et est donc dialectiquement intégrée au processus de production et de distribution de l'eau.

Un autre dogme semble s'être constitué au sujet d'Anāhitā : que les trois adjectifs qui lui tiennent lieu de nom dans le Yašt 5 signifient indiscutablement « humide, forte, immaculée »[10]. On est pourtant loin du compte.

1. *arəduuī-*, longtemps considéré comme le véritable nom de la déesse, est de toute évidence le féminin d'un adjectif **ardu-*. Sa traduction par « humide » remonte à K.F. Johansson (IF 2, 1893, 27) et a été entérinée par Bartholomae (AIW 195). Elle est induite d'un ensemble de formes védiques dérivant d'une parcimonieuse racine *ard*[11], principalement le causatif *ardáya-* et le premier terme de composé *ṛdū°*, dont nous savons aujourd'hui que le sens exact est, respectivement, « disperser » et « jus » (Mayrhofer, EWA I, 117–118). L'adjectif *ārdrá-*, qui signifie bel et bien « humide », n'appartient pas sûrement à cette famille (Wackernagel et Debrunner, AIG II 2, 850) et, de toute manière, ne correspond pas directement à *arəduuī-*. Le sens le plus communément reçu est donc hautement improbable.

Oettinger, dans son étude inédite du Yašt 5 (*Untersuchungen zur avestischen Sprache am Beispiel des Ardvīsūr-Yašt*, München 1983, 350), propose de substituer **ardh* « stimuler » à *ard*, ce qui fait de Arəduuī « die Fördernde ». Cela non plus ne va pas de soi. L'iranien *ard* n'est attesté qu'en avestique et par trois hapax

[9] Anāhitā est complètement étrangère au département fonctionnel et cultuel de Miϑra (Kellens, Annuaire Collège de France 1999–2000, 743–744), ce qui interdit de considérer les deux divinités comme parèdres (interprétation de Nyberg, *Religionen des alten Iran*, 1938, 370, justement critiquée par de Jong, p. 109). Artaxerxès II est le premier à les associer, du moins formellement.

[10] Boyce (p. 202) : « moist, mighty, pure »; Malandra (p. 117) : « the Moist Strong Untainted »; de Jong (p. 104) : « moist, strong, undefiled », Stausberg (p. 175) : « Feuchte, Starke, Reine ». Panaino (p. 37) diverge à propos de la première épithète : « lofty, mighty, undefiled ».

[11] Elle a été évoquée comme étymologie de m.-p. *ayārd-* (**abi-ard*) « s'agiter » par Henning (ZII 9, 1933, 188).

seulement : la forme vieil-avestique Y 50.11 *arədaṯ*, dont le statut morphologique n'est pas clair (Kellens et Pirart, TVA III 1991, 256), le nom-propre Yt 13.145 *arədaṯ.fəδrī-*, qui pourrait être un nom de citation gâthique, et l'adjectif Yt 10.120 *ərəϑβan-*, qui s'analyse soit en **r̥dhu-an-*, soit en **r̥dh-u̯an-*. Ce dernier, qui serait le synonyme masculin de *arəduuī-*, met en lumière la seconde difficulté. L'adjectif d'agent en *-u-* se construit avec le degré zéro et, que la déesse soit désignée comme humide ou stimulante, la forme requise serait **ərəδβī-*[12].

« La verticale »[13] ne conviendrait pas trop mal à une rivière qui monte dans le ciel depuis le sommet de la Harā jusqu'à la mer Vouru.kaṣa (Dādestān-ī dēnīg 91.6). La féminisation en *-ī-* d'un adjectif thématique est admise lorsqu'il sert à désigner une femme divine (Wackernagel et Debrunner, AIG II2, 369–370). La difficulté est que l'initiale de *arəduuī-*, avec son degré plein apparent, correspondrait à celle de scr. *ūrdhvá-* et non à celle de av. *ərəδβa-*. Il est difficile d'en évaluer l'exacte gravité, car cette discrépance phonétique indo-iranienne s'inscrit dans une délicate question de grammaire comparée (Mayrhofer, EWA I, 244–245).

La seule solution phonétiquement irréprochable consisterait à poser un adjectif *arədu-*, variante dialectale (ou non technique) de v.- av. *arədra-*, à condition de l'analyser par la racine scr. *rādh :* av. *rād* (**r̥Hdh-ró/ú-* : Kellens et Pirart, TVA II 1990, 206). Arəduuī serait alors « la compétente », « celle qui réussit ».

2. *sūra-* est un mot bien connu. Du point de vue des études religieuses, il importerait cependant de savoir pourquoi c'est la puissance *sauuah* qui est attribuée à la déesse plutôt qu'une des nombreuses autres. Plus personne, depuis Geldner (KZ 25, 1881, 378 n.1), ne s'est posé la question.

3. L'adjectif *āhita-* (V16.16), dont *anāhita-* est la forme négative (outre l'épithète de la déesse, Yt 8.2, Yt 10.88, F5), et le nom *āhiti-* (Y 10.7, Yt 10.50, V 5.27, V 11.9, V 20.3) se rapportent, dans le Vidēvdād, à l'impureté qui émane de la matière organique en décomposition (*nasu-*) et définissent, dans les Yašts, une propriété des dieux Tištriia, Haoma et Miϑra ou de leurs attributs (rayons de Tištriia, libations faites par Haoma et demeure de Miϑra). Le premier emploi a suggéré que l'idée de base était la souillure. Le traducteur pehlevi, qui rend *āhiti-* par *āhōgēnišn* « en état de faute » et *anāhita-* (*āhita-* n'est pas traduit) par *anāhōgēnīd* « qui n'a pas été fait fautivement » ou *avinast* « qui n'a pas été détruit », ne le confirme que de façon évasive. Outre cette approximation, les deux étymologies que nous avons à disposition supposent chacune que ce sens est dérivé, voire métaphorique.

L'équivalence avec scr. *ásita-* « noir » est l'hypothèse la plus fréquemment retenue, quoiqu'elle soit affectée de deux défauts graves. Le premier, lourdement visible, mais qui ne parut pas gênant tant que l'on crut à la théorie d'Andreas, est la quantité différente de la voyelle initiale. Oettinger (pp. 353–360) a cru pouvoir reconnaître dans *anāhita-* l'allongement secondaire de *a* à l'antépénultième des mots de quatre syllabes, l'importance du nom de la déesse ayant ensuite suscité analogi-

[12] Le degré plein initial de *arəduuī-* n'est pas une apparence graphique, car *r* doit être consonne pour prévenir la spirantisation de l'occlusive.

[13] C'est l'interprétation qui inspire la traduction prébartholoméenne par « haute », qu'a reprise Panaino. Il y a évidemment laxisme sémantique.

quement l'initiale longue de *āhita-* et de *āhiti-*[14]. Or, ce ne peut être le cas. Nous savons à présent que cet allongement exige que la voyelle des deux syllabes suivantes soient *a* ou *a* et *e* (de Vaan, *The Avestan Vowels*, 2002, 44–48). L'autre défaut est que, *ásita-* étant un adjectif de couleur en *-ita-* (*$*H_2ṓs$-ito-*) sans relation directe avec une racine verbale (Mayrhofer, EWA I, 146), le nom d'action *āhiti-* est invraisemblable. Oettinger (p. 367) a fait l'hypothèse d'une création analogique, mais en concédant que « Vergleichbare Rückbildungen scheinen kaum vorzukommen ». Il faut bien reconnaître que l'explication par *ásita-* se heurte à deux obstacles insurmontables, envers lesquels Oettinger s'est montré trop indulgent [mais voir à présent MSS 61, 2001, 163–167].

En 1927 (*Die Sonne und Mithra*, p. 20 n.1), Hertel avait proposé d'analyser *āhita-* comme le verbal en *-ta-* de *ā* + *hā* « lier ». Cette hypothèse n'a rencontré aucun écho parce que la vocalisation de la laryngale interconsonantique ne paraissait pas admissible. Ce verrou a aujourd'hui sauté. A la suite de Tichy (MSS 45, 1985, 230–231), on considère qu'une forme secondaire *hi* (*$*sH_2i$*) de la racine s'est constituée par absorption de la sonante initiale du suffixe de présent (scr. *syá-* : av. *hiia-* < *$*sH_2$-i̯é-*). Elle est remarquablement observable dans la 3ème sing. ind. Parf. A. *ā* + *hišāiiā* du vieil-avestique (Y 29.1) et elle explique la variation du verbal en *-ta-* qui oppose les noms-propres *vīštāspa-* (*°$sH_2$to°) et *hitāspa-* (*sH_2ito°)[15].

Dans un article récent (de *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik*, Wiesbaden 2000, 160–161), Gotō a entériné le fait que l'interprétation de Hertel était phonétiquement impeccable et fait remarquer qu'elle offrait à Anāhitā une origine indo-iranienne fort différente de celle qu'avait proposée Lommel. Le nom d'Anāhitā devient directement comparable à celui d'Aditi, nonobstant une variation synonymique d'ordre dialectal. *anāhitā-*, dérivé de *ā* + *hā* / *hi*, et *áditi-*, dérivé de *dā* : *dyáti*, expriment pareillement le fait d'être libre de lien. La perspective ainsi ouverte ne résout pas le problème des origines d'Anāhitā, mais en inverse les termes. Alors que l'équivalence avec Sarasvatī repose sur des considérations d'ordre fonctionnel qui manquent de tout fondement linguistique, à l'inverse, celle avec Aditi découle de l'analyse linguistique et laisse béante la question fonctionnelle (ce dont Gotō est parfaitement conscient : p. 161 n. 45). Que peuvent bien avoir ou avoir eu en commun ces deux personnalités divines? Avant d'envisager la question, il faut encore en commenter deux autres.

La première est celle du sens exact qu'il faut attribuer à *anāhitā-*. Gotō a fait l'hy-

[14] On ne peut accorder aucune confiance aux quantités vocaliques du mot vieux-perse. Les graphies *a-na-ha-i-ta* et *a-na-ha-ta* renvoient à un thème *ǎnaha/ita-* dont chaque voyelle fait problème. Nous n'avons pas plus de raisons de donner autorité à la brièveté de la deuxième que de voir dans la troisième une justification de la brève d'*anāhitā-* contre la longue de *(a)nāhīd* et dans la dernière un nouveau témoignage de transsexualité divine dans le mazdéisme.

[15] L'état *$*sH_2i$* de la racine a pu être affecté d'une métathèse qui en fait *$*siH_2$* et produit des dérivés avec *-ī-* (Eichner, dans *Die Laryngaltheorie*, Heidelberg 1988, 134). Dès lors, il convient d'accorder une certaine considération au *ī* de m.-p. (a)*nāhīd*, qu'Oettinger ne juge pas significatif (p. 369) et que Boyce attribue à un allongement consécutif à la chute de la voyelle finale (p. 29 n. 92, d'après Back AI 18, 1978, 70). L'abrègement de *ī* serait en principe atypique dans *anāhitā-* (de Vaan, pp. 175–176), mais serait cependant analogue à celui que l'on observe dans les dérivés de *frī huuāfrita-*, *friti-* et ses composés, *friϑa-*. Une forme originale **anāhītā-* n'est donc pas totalement exclue.

pothèse que le passage de « non lié » à « exempt de faute », effectif aussi pour *áditi-* s'était produit dans le cadre de considérations juridiques et éthiques dont l'origine indo-iranienne serait ainsi avérée. C'est une conjecture comme une autre. On pourrait aussi faire celle, plus « magique », que le lien évoque l'impuissance à remplir sa fonction qui frappe celui qui a commis une faute religieuse. A mon avis, la difficulté est que nous sommes incapables, avec le matériel dont nous disposons, d'évaluer dans quelle mesure le sens a dérivé. Il est sûr que *āhiti-* n'a été compris comme « souillure » que parce qu'on a exploité sa coordination fréquente avec *pūiti-* « putréfaction » au détriment de celle, concomitante, avec *axti-* « douleur ». L'emploi de cette famille de mots oscille entre deux pôles, V 16.16, où *āhita-* exprime la salissure des cuisses par le sang des règles, et Yt 8.2, où *anāhita-* qualifie les rayons de l'étoile Tištriia, ce qui ne fait pas forcément penser à « immaculé ». En admettant que l'épithète de la déesse est à ranger avec l'un ou l'autre de ces emplois extrêmes, on est conduit à poser une alternative assez violente. Dans la perspective de V 16.16, *anāhitā-* désigne la déesse comme une femme qui n'a pas de règles (ce qui, du point de vue mythologique, ne la rend pas nécessairement stérile). Cette propriété concorderait avec la notation de Yt 5.5 qui lui attribue, en tant que rivière, un cours estival et un cours hivernal identiques. Anāhitā aurait pour caractéristique, exceptionnelle, je crois, parmi les divinités mazdéennes, de n'être liée à aucun cycle naturel (*ratu-*), alors que l'alternance du jour et de la nuit joue un rôle essentiel dans l'activité de Miθra et de ses collaborateurs. Yt 8.2, par contre, est à ranger dans une série de passages qui attribuent l'absence d'*āhiti-* ou la qualité d'*anāhita-* à des divinités qui agissent pareillement dans l'espace céleste qui va du sommet de la Harā à la mer Vouru.Kaṣa. C'est aussi le domaine d'Anāhitā. Cette observation ne débouche sur aucune traduction particulière, mais met en lumière le rapport de la déesse avec un secteur cosmographique précis de la mythologie mazdéenne.

La deuxième question est celle du véritable nom d'Anāhitā, étant admis que *arəduuī-*, *sūrā-* et *anāhitā-* ne sont que des épithètes. Il me semble que nous avons aujourd'hui le choix entre trois hypothèses raisonnables. Chacune à ses faiblesses, mais chacune aussi ouvre des perspectives intéressantes.

1. Stausberg (p. 175 n. 60) veut bien m'attribuer l'hypothèse que le nom d'Anāhitā est *āp-* au singulier, donc la « Rivière » par excellence (Annuaire du Collège de France 1999–2000, 722 n. 1), mais je ne crois pas être le premier à y avoir pensé, quoique je ne l'aie jamais lue dans une formulation ferme. Ceci dit, il convient de faire quelques nuances. Qu'Anāhitā soit appelée *āp-* n'est pas une hypothèse, mais une certitude. Y 65.1, qui est une variante de Yt 5.1, ne laisse aucun doute à cet égard : *yazāi āpəm arəduuīm sūrąm anāhitąm*. Mais ce n'est pas une dénomination très solide, car il est usuel en avestique de donner un nom aux rivières en les désignant comme telles, par le mot *āp-* au singulier, et en appliquant à ce nom des qualifications spécifiques (matériel chez Bartholomae, AIW 328). Oettinger (p. 372) a justement fait observer que la dénomination de la rivière *arəduuī sūrā anāhitā* était analogue à celle de la rivière *vaŋᵛhī dāitiiā*. Un tel usage, où ce n'est pas le nom, mais les épithètes qui particularisent, permet-il vraiment de parler de nom propre? Si Anāhitā n'est pas appelée autrement, on peut juger que, dans une certaine mesure, elle n'a pas de nom particulier et que c'est admissible parce qu'elle partage le statut onomastique usuel des rivières. Dans un autre ordre d'idée, il con-

vient de relever que si *āp-* au singulier et dépourvu d'épithètes désigne parfois Anāhitā, celle-ci est beaucoup plus présente dans l'Avesta qu'il y paraît, car elle est mentionnée dans les litanies du Yasna (Y 1.5 etc.).

2. L'hypothèse d'une déesse *Anāhiti, formulée par Boyce (p. 29), a été reçue avec sévérité (la réaction de Humbach, dans son compte-rendu de ZDMG 134, 1984, 200, en donne un exemple caractéristique). Stausberg (p. 176 n. 61) la juge « fraglich » et seul de Jong (p. 106) lui accorde du crédit. Ce qui est effectivement fantaisiste dans cette hypothèse, ce n'est pas la supposition du nom *Anāhiti, c'est celle d'une déesse distincte d'Anāhitā et propre à l'Iran occidental. L'idée que le nom original d'Anāhitā a pu être *Anāhĭti se retrouve fréquemment dans les études antérieures à la dernière guerre mondiale, chez Bartholomae (AIW 125) ou chez Lommel (1927, pp. 27–28), et remonte peut-être (je ne suis pas en mesure de le vérifier) à l'étude fondatrice de Windischmann (*Die persische Anahita oder Anaïtis*, München 1858). En tout état de cause, il me paraît plausible, mais bien entendu incertain, qu'il y ait eu une déesse Anāhĭti, allégorie du fait de ne pas être lié, dont *āp-anāhitā-* est la version naturaliste (un peu comme Ārmaiti est à la fois une allégorie de la pensée et la terre). L'inconvénient est que le nom **anāhĭti-* n'est pas attesté par ailleurs et que l'adaptation grecque *Ἀνάϊτις* n'est pas un témoignage suffisant pour certifier son existence. Mais il convient de signaler que si cette hypothèse était correcte, nous serions linguistiquement plus proches encore de l'indienne Aditi.

3. Selon Pirart (dans *Syntaxe des langues indo-iraniennes anciennes*, Barcelona 1997, 156–159), le nom d'Anāhitā est *hī-*. Cette opinion, elle aussi reçue avec sévérité lorsqu'elle fut émise au colloque de Sitges en mai 1993, n'a jamais été citée. On ne peut cependant l'ignorer, car elle a pour elle toutes les apparences de l'évidence formelle. Dans la formule de base du Yašt 5, qui apparaît dès la première strophe, *yazaēša mē hīm... yąm arəduuīm sūrąm anāhitąm, hīm* ne peut normalement être un pronom enclitique, la succession de deux pronoms enclitiques n'étant pas admise, et c'est le seul antécédent possible de *yąm*, ce qui vaut vérification, car il est exceptionnel qu'un pronom enclitique soit antécédent (Kellens et Pirart, TVA II 1990, 53). Ce qui rebute dans cette hypothèse, c'est que *hī-* n'aurait laissé aucune trace hors du Yašt 5. Comme il est aussi apparemment évident que *hī-* occupe dans Yt 5.1 la place dévolue à *āp-* dans Y 65.1, si Pirart a raison, nous nous trouvons confrontés à une nouvelle singularité du culte d'Anāhitā. Elle concerne l'usage qui est fait de ses noms : sa désignation comme « ma fille Hī » serait réservée à Ahura Mazdā, tandis que le fidèle a le choix entre le nom *āp-*, la série épithétique *arəduuī- sūrā- anāhitā-* ou l'assemblage des deux. Une autre chose est que *hī-* est linguistiquement mal élucidable, malgré toute la peine que Pirart s'est donnée pour arriver à une solution acceptable. Mais, après l'article de Gotō, on se prend à constater que *hī-* pourrait être le nom racine de l'état *hī* du verbe dont dérive *anāhitā-*, de telle sorte que *hī-... anāhitā-* serait une figure étymologique signifiant « lien dénoué ». Nous sommes arrivés aux confins que seule l'imagination peut dépasser.

Tant l'équivalence avec Aditi que la collision avec des déesses proche-orientales ou hellénistiques nous confrontent à la question de savoir quelle place Anāhitā occupe dans les configurations familiales du monde divin. Or, les représentations théogoniques ou cosmogoniques du mazdéisme, centrées sur l'inceste, rendent vaine la définition d'une déesse comme mère, épouse/amante ou fille, car chacune est tout

cela à la fois. La perspective « mazdacentrique » des textes avestiques en général et du Yašt 5 en particulier, qui est un discours tenu par Ahura Mazdā, le père universel, a pour effet que toutes apparaissent le plus souvent comme filles. Anāhitā est presque uniquement « ma fille Āp » ou « ma fille Hī ». Mais le quatrième chapitre du Yasna Haptaŋhāiti, qui est prononcé par le chantre, nous rappelle fermement l'irrémédiable trivalence des femmes divines (*gnā-*) du mazdéisme et plus spécialement des eaux, filles-épouses d'Ahura Mazdā (Y 38.3 *ahurānīš ahurahiiā*) et aussi mères (Y 38.5 *mātərəšcā*). Cet aspect de sa personnalité, Anāhitā ne le doit à aucune rencontre faite en Mésopotamie ou en Asie Mineure et ne le tient de ses origines que si le modèle théogonique iranien est conservateur par rapport au modèle indien. Comme nous n'en avons pas la certitude, disons qu'Anāhitā est une déesse typiquement iranienne, ce qui est après tout très normal.

Le mètre du *Draxt asûrîg*

GILBERT LAZARD, Paris

1. INTRODUCTION

La question des principes de la versification de la poésie iranienne préislamique excite depuis longtemps la curiosité des iranistes. Bo Utas n'a pas manqué de s'y intéresser. Il a brillamment soutenu la thèse que la versification de la poésie persane classique n'est pas sans rapport avec celle de l'Iran ancien. Contrairement à l'opinion traditionnelle, selon laquelle elle est purement et simplement imitée de la versification arabe, il pense qu'elle résulte d'une combinaison de la tradition iranienne avec le principe quantitatif du modèle arabe. Il écrit notamment : « It may be stated that it is not a question of *either* Arabic *or* Iranian elements in New Persian prosody but certainly of Arabic *and* Iranian. It is obvious [...] that the origin of many of the New Persian metres must be sought in earlier Iranian rhythmic patterns that were formally adapted to a quantitative structure » (Utas 1994 : 140). Une opinion semblable avait été énoncée antérieurement par Benveniste (1932 : 293).

Persuadé de la justesse de cette thèse, j'ai moi-même tenté, dans plusieurs articles de la série intitulée « Études sur la versification dans les langues irano-aryennes »[1], de préciser les règles de la versification en moyen-iranien occidental et de dégager sur quelques points des correspondances entre les rythmes de la poésie préislamique et ceux de la poésie persane. Je voudrais ici, en hommage à l'éminent savant suédois, rappeler les résultats que j'ai cru obtenir par l'examen de plusieurs textes moyen-perses et parthes et appliquer la même méthode au texte pehlevi connu sous le nom de *Draxt asûrîg*.

2. RÉSULTATS DES ÉTUDES ANTÉRIEURES

Il m'a semblé que les principes de la versification en parthe et en moyen-perse sont les suivants :

– Le rythme est accentuel, c'est-à-dire donné par le retour à intervalles réguliers de temps forts ou ictus, mais le nombre des syllabes par vers est variable entre certaines limites, comme démontré il y a longtemps par Henning (1950).

– Les ictus coïncident autant que possible, mais pas nécessairement, avec les accents de mots.

– On distingue deux sortes de syllabes : les légères et les lourdes. Les syllabes légères sont les brèves et les longues appartenant à des mots accessoires (prépositions, conjonctions, etc.) ou en position faible (prothèse, anaptyxe). Les syllabes lourdes sont les autres longues.

– L'ictus tombe toujours sur une syllabe lourde.

[1] Abréviation : EVLIA (voir les références en fin d'article). Le présent article est EVLIA 12.

– L'unité rythmique de base, qu'on peut appeler « pied », est faite d'une syllabe lourde portant l'ictus précédée d'un nombre variable de syllabes indifférentes, mais, pour un mètre donné, le nombre des syllabes lourdes par pied est limité.

Il m'a paru possible d'identifier plusieurs types de mètres et de les mettre en rapport, selon certaines règles, avec des mètres usuels de la poésie persane. Les règles de correspondance sont les suivantes :

a/ Le nombre de syllabes du mètre persan est égal au nombre de positions qui peuvent être occupées dans le mètre préislamique, mais dans celui-ci ces positions ne sont jamais occupées toutes à la fois.

b/ Les brèves du mètre persan correspondent à des syllabes facultatives dans le mètre préislamique, mais la réciproque n'est pas vraie : les facultatives préislamiques peuvent correspondre à des longues persanes.

c/ Les syllabes portant l'ictus du mètre préislamique correspondent à des longues du mètre persan, mais la réciproque n'est pas vraie : les longues persanes peuvent correspondre à des syllabes sans ictus du mètre préislamique.

Je crois utile de rappeler ici les correspondances proposées entre des mètres accentuels et des mètres quantitatifs.

1) Le motaqâreb catalectique, vers narratif, est en rapport avec le vers pehlevi de l'Hymne à la Sagesse (EVLIA 9) et aussi avec le mètre épique baloutchi, qui pourrait être lui-même l'héritier du vers épique iranien; l'hypothèse d'une filiation est confirmée par le fait que les syllabes du motaqâreb les plus favorables à la présence d'un accent de mot correspondent à celles qui portent l'ictus dans la « formule structurale » préislamique[2] (EVLIA 8) :

(x) (x) X (x) x X (x) (x) X x X
v — — v — — v — — v —

2) Le motaqâreb acatalectique, vers non narratif, est en rapport avec le vers parthe de l'Hymne au Moi-Vivant (EVLIA 11) :

(x) x X (x) x X (x) x X (x) x X
v — — v — — v — — v — —

3) Une variété de hazaj, vers narratif, est en rapport avec le vers d'un autre poème moral pehlevi (EVLIA 10) :

(x) X (x) (x) X (x) X (x) (x) X
— — v v — v — v — —

4) Le robâï dérive d'un quatrain populaire en un mètre accentuel, forme attestée en persan préclassique par le distique *Âhu-ye kuhi* (EVLIA 1) :

x X x x X x X x x X x x X
— — v v — v — v — — v v —

[2] X : syllabe marquée de l'ictus, — x : syllabe indifférente, — (x) : syllabe facultative.

3. LE TEXTE DU *DRAXT ASÛRÎG*

Le *Draxt asûrîg* est un texte en parthe transmis par des manuscrits pehlevis, où il est présenté comme de la prose et sous une forme peu correcte. Benveniste (1930) le premier y a reconnu un poème; il a cru y déceler une versification de type syllabique. Henning (1950) a transcrit divers fragments du texte et démontré que la métrique n'est pas fondée sur le nombre des syllabes, mais probablement sur la répartition des accents.

Je reproduis ici le texte fragmentaire de Henning avec sa transcription, son découpage en vers et sa numérotation. En interligne je donne la quantité des syllabes, longues ou brèves, et la place présumée de l'accent de mot. Sigles : — longue lourde, ÷ longue légère, v brève, v̲ longue ou brève, ' accent de mot.

1	draxt-ē rust est	tar ō šahr asūrīg
	—' —' —' —	v̲ ' ÷ —' v — —'
	bun-aš hušk est	sar-aš est tarr
	v ' — —' —	v ' — — —'
	warg-aš nay mānēd	bar-aš mānēd angūr
	—' — —' — —'	v ' — — —' — —'
	šīrēn bār āwarēd	mardōhmān wasnād
	— —' —' — v —'	— — —' — —'
15	tābistān sāyag hēm	pad sar šahrdārān
	— — —' — —' —	÷ —' — — —'
16	šīr hēm warzīgarān	angubēn āzādmardān
	—' — — — v —'	— v —' — — — — —'
17	tabangōg až man karēnd	dārōgdān wasnād
	v — —' ÷ —' v —'	— — —' — —'
	šahr ō šahr barēnd	bižišk ō bižišk
	—' ÷ —' v —'	v —' ÷ —'
18	āšyān hēm murwīžagān	sāyag kārdāgān
	— —' — — — v —'	— —' — — —'
19	astag bē abganēm	pad nōg būm rōyēd
	— —' ÷ — v —'	÷ —' —' — —'
	kad hirzēnd mardumag	ku-m bē nē wināsēnd
	÷ — —' — v —'	÷ ÷ —' v — —'
20	bašn-um est (?) zargōn	kad ō rōž yāwēd
	—' — — — —'	÷ ÷ —' — —'
	hawiž mardumag	kēš nēst may ud nān
	v —' — v —'	÷ —' v̲ ' ÷ —'
	až man bār xwarēnd	yad amburd ōštēnd
	÷ —' —' v —'	÷ — —' — —'
27	wāžēnd-um pad afsān	pārsīg mardōhm
	— —' — ÷ — —'	— —' — —'
	kū wāš a'i ud wadxrad	abē-sūd draxtān
	÷ —' v v ÷ — —'	v — —' — —'
28	yad tū bār āwarē	mardōhmān wasnād
	÷ —' —' — v —'	— — —' — —'
	gušn-at abar hirzēnd	pad ēwēn čē gāwān
	—' — v — — —'	÷ — —' ÷ — —'
29	xwad gumānīg ahēm	ku rūspīg-zādag a'i
	— v — —' v —	÷ — — — —' v v

30 abēžag Dēn Māzdēsnān — čē čāšt xwābar Ohrmazd
v — —' —' — — —' — ÷ —' — v —' — —'

31 yud až man kē buz hēm — yaštan nē šahēd keč
v ÷ —' ÷ —' — — —' — v — —'

32 čē jīw až man karēnd — andar yazišn yazdān —
÷ —' ÷ —' v —' — — v —' — —'

Gōš-urwa, yazd — harwīn čahārpāyān
— — v' —' — —' v — — —'

hawiž Hōm tagīg — — nērōg až man est
v —' —' v —' — —' ÷ v' —

33 hawiž bār-yāmag — čē pad pusť dārēm
v —' — — —' ÷ ÷ —' — —'

yud až man kē buz hēm — kardan nē šahēd
v ÷ —' ÷ —' — — —' —' v —'

35 mōžag hēm saxtag — āzādān wasnād
— —' — — —' — — — —' — —'

anguštbān husrōgān — šāh hāmhirzān
— — —' — — —' —' — — —'

36 mašk-um karēnd ābdān — pad dašt ud wiyābān
—' — v —' — —' ÷ —' ÷ v — —'

pad garm rōž ud rabīh — sard āb až man est
÷ —' —' ÷ v —' — —' —' ÷ —' —

39 nāmag až man karēnd — frawardag dibīwān
— —' ÷ —' v —' v — —' v — —'

daftar ud pādaxšīr — abar man nibēsēnd
— —' ÷ — — —' v — —' v — —'

42 ambān až man karēnd — wāžārgānān wasnād
— —' ÷ —' v —' — — — —' — —'

kē nān ud pust ud panīr — harwīn (?) roɤn-xwardīg
÷ —' ÷ —' ÷ v —' — —' — — —'

kāpūr ud mušk syā(w) — ud xaz tuxārīg
— —' ÷ —' —' ÷ —' v — —'

was yāmag šāhwār — padmōžan kanīgān
—' — —' — —' — — —' v — —'

pad ambān āwarēnd — frāž ō šahr čē Irān
÷ — —' — v —' — ÷ —' ÷ — —'

49 kad buz ō wāžār barēnd — ud pad wahāg dārēnd
÷ —' ÷ — —' v —' ÷ ÷ v —' — —'

harw kē dah drahm nē dārēd — frāž ō buz nē āsēd
— ÷ —' —' —' — —' — ÷ —' —' — —'

amrāw pad dō pašīz — kōdakān xrīnēnd
— —' ÷ —' v —' — v —' — —'

dān ud astag tō šowē — fraž ō kōy murdān
—' ÷ — —' —' v —' — ÷ —' — —'

4. LA PLACE DES ICTUS

Le texte ci-dessus compte quarante et un vers divisés en deux hémistiches. Pour déterminer le mètre la première tâche est de placer les ictus et de déterminer le nombre d'ictus que comporte chaque hémistiche. J'ai rappelé plus haut qu'ils coïncident

autant que possible, mais pas nécessairement, avec les accents de mots. Comme on peut voir, un hémistiche peut comprendre de deux à quatre mots susceptibles d'être accentués. Le nombre d'ictus par hémistiche étant obligatoirement constant, certaines syllabes susceptibles de porter un accent de mot ne sont pas affectées de l'ictus. Une autre règle est, comme je crois avoir montré (EVLIA 6), que les enclitiques ne sont pas distingués des mots toniques et généralement font corps avec le mot tonique auquel ils sont adjoints. Cela signifie que, par exemple, dans l'hémistiche 1a les ictus sont sur la deuxième et la quatrième syllabe (*sar-**aš** rust-**est***)[3].

La plupart des hémistiches ne comprennent que deux mots principaux, dont les syllabes accentuées doivent porter l'ictus. Certains hémistiches sont tels qu'il ne peut en être autrement. Ainsi dans 17'b les ictus ne peuvent être situés que sur la deuxième syllabe du mot *bižišk* répété[4], car toutes les autres syllabes sont légères. De même dans 27b les ictus sont sur la deuxième et dernière syllabe de chacun des deux mots. De même encore 32"b ne peut avoir que deux ictus, sur la deuxième et la cinquième syllabe (*nē**rōg** až man-**est***) et 1a (déjà cité) sur la deuxième et la quatrième. Il est inutile de citer d'autres exemples. Ces quelques-uns suffisent à indiquer qu'il y a deux ictus par hémistiche.

De nombreux hémistiches qui ne comportent que deux mots principaux ont des syllabes lourdes intérieures non contiguës à la syllabe accentuée, de sorte qu'on pourrait se demander si ces syllabes lourdes intérieures ne portent pas aussi un ictus : nous avons en effet constaté dans d'autres poèmes l'existence d'ictus sur des syllabes (lourdes) intérieures. Par exemple, en 15b et 16b la première syllabe de *šahrdārān* et la deuxième de *āzādmardān* pourraient être frappées de l'ictus. Mais cette hypothèse est à écarter, puisque, comme nous venons de voir, l'hémistiche ne compte que deux ictus. Par conséquent dans tous les hémistiches qui comportent deux mots principaux seulement, on doit admettre que les ictus se trouvent sur les deux syllabes accentuées (ou finales enclitiques). Ces hémistiches sont les plus nombreux. Par exception, il y a sûrement un ictus intérieur, coïncidant avec un accent secondaire, dans le composé *rū**spīg**-zādag* en 29b.

Il faut maintenant examiner les hémistiches comportant plus de deux mots susceptibles de porter un accent. Il y a plusieurs cas :

1) Lorsque deux des mots accentuables sont un nom et un adjectif contigus, on admettra facilement qu'ils forment un groupe accentuel, qui ne porte donc qu'un ictus. C'est le cas en 1'"a, 19b, 36'a, 36'b, 42"a. Il en va de même d'un groupe formé d'un numéral et d'un nom, en 49'a et 49"a, et aussi de *was yā**mag*** en 42'"a. Il faut peut-être traiter de même le cas de la négation en 31b, 33'b et 49'b : nous avons supposé qu'elle porte l'accent, mais elle peut ne pas recevoir d'ictus; il est probable que, métriquement, elle fait corps avec le verbe. En revanche elle doit porter l'ictus en 19'b.

2) Dans les autres cas, on a le choix entre les deux syllabes (non finales de l'hémistiche) qui peuvent en principe recevoir l'ictus. On peut parfois décider selon de la structure des pieds ainsi délimités. Parfois l'un des choix a pour effet de créer un

[3] a et b désignent le premier et le deuxième hémistiche d'un même vers.

[4] 17' désigne le premier vers (non numéroté) suivant le vers 17. De même 17" désigne le second vers suivant 17, et ainsi de suite.

pied monosyllabique, ce qui semble exclu dans ce poème. Par exemple, en 1b on peut théoriquement scander ***tarr*** *ō šahr asūr**īg*** ou *tar(r) ō* ***šahr*** *asūr**īg.*** Mais la première solution aboutit à un pied d'une syllabe et un autre de cinq. On retiendra donc la deuxième scansion. De même en 17'a, la scansion ***šahr*** *ō šahr ba**rēnd*** donne naissance à un pied monosyllabique; on préférera *šahr ō* ***šahr*** *ba**rēnd.*** Pour la même raison on exclut un ictus sur *dān* en 49'''a.

4) Dans quelques cas une des scansions théoriquement possibles aboutit à un pied trop long. C'est déjà le cas de 1b, mentionné ci-dessus : un pied de cinq syllabes *semble exclu par le mètre. De même en 17a, la scansion tabangōg až* ***man*** *ka**rēnd*** aboutit à un pied de cinq syllabes : on choisira donc *tabang**ōg** až man ka**rēnd**.* 30a peut être coupé avant ou après *dēn*. La première solution aboutit à un deuxième pied de quatre syllabes lourdes, ce qui semble aussi exclu ou en tout cas exceptionnel. La deuxième solution (*abēžag* ***dēn*** *māzdēs**nān***) sera donc préférée. De même en 1''b couper l'hémistiche après *bar-**aš*** a pour effet un pied de quatre syllabes lourdes : on coupera donc plutôt après *mā**nēd**.*

5) Dans une douzaine d'autres cas les deux solutions sont également admissibles, p. ex. en 20'b, 28a, 32''a, 42'a. Quelquefois une raison de symétrie fait pencher la balance d'un côté. Ainsi on scandera 32a *čē* ***jīw*** *až man ka**rēnd*** plutôt que *čē jīw až* ***man*** *ka**rēnd*** à cause du parallélisme avec *tabang**ōg** až man ka**rēnd**.* Pour la même raison on choisira 39a *nā**mag** až man ka**rēnd*** et 42a *am**bān** až man ka**rēnd**.* On préfère couper 36a après *maš**kum***, car on lui donne ainsi une structure symétrique à celle de 36b.

Restent quelques vers litigieux. 27'a, transcrit comme il l'est, comporte un pied de cinq syllabes. Mais on n'est pas obligé de suivre le choix de Henning et on peut lire *ē* au lieu de *a'i* (de même en 29b) et tout rentre dans l'ordre. En 29a, plutôt qu'un pied monosyllabique portant l'ictus (***xwad***) il vaut mieux admettre que le verbe enclitique ***ahēm*** forme un pied à lui seul.

D'autres cas sont plus délicats. En 35'b on n'évite pas un premier pied monosyllabique, à moins d'admettre que l'ictus porte ici sur la première syllabe du trisyllabe qui suit, ce qui ne semble pas rigoureusement impossible. 32'a semble aussi avoir un second pied monosyllabique : texte altéré? Inversement, trois vers présentent. des pieds trop longs. En 49a, qu'on coupe le vers après *buz* ou après *wāžār*, on n'évite pas un pied de cinq syllabes : faut-il admettre que le préposition *ō* (syllabe légère) est escamotée dans la récitation? 16b et 42b comportent des pieds de quatre syllabes lourdes : faut-il supposer des abrègements par licence poétique? Au total, 5 hémistiches seulement sont réellement problématiques sur un ensemble de 41 vers, soit 82 hémistiches : cette proportion est faible et ne paraît pas suffisante pour mettre en cause les conclusions que l'on peut tirer sur la structure métrique du poème.

5. LA STRUCTURE DU VERS

La place des ictus ayant été déterminée, on peut faire apparaître la structure du mètre en réduisant chaque vers à la succession des syllabes légères et lourdes et en disposant l'ensemble des syllabes en colonnes de telle sorte que celles qui portent l'ictus soient placées les unes au–dessus des autres. Il est nécessaire de distinguer seize positions, qui sont, dans le tableau ci-dessous, numérotées en commençant par la

fin, les ictus se trouvant dans les positions 1, 5, 9 et 13. Les sigles sont : L syllabe lourde, o syllabe légère, " ictus.

	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
1			L	L"			L	L"		o/L	o	L"		o	L	L"
			o	L"			L	L"			o	L"			L	L"
		L	L	L"			L	L"	o	L	L	L"			L	L"
		L	L	L"		L	o	L"		L	L	L"			L	L"
15		L	L	L"		L	L	L"			o	L"		L	L	L"
16			L	L"	L	L	o	L"		L	o	L"	L	L	L	L" ?
17		o	L	L"	o	L	o	L"		L	L	L"			L	L"
		L	o	L"			o	L"			o	L"		o	o	L"
18		L	L	L"	L	L	o	L"			L	L"		L	L	L"
19			L	L"	o	L	o	L"		o	L	L"			L	L"
		o	L	L"		L	o	L"		o	L	L"		o	L	L"
20			L	L"		L	L	L"		o	o	L"			L	L"
			o	L"		L	o	L"			L	L"		o/L	o	L"
			o	L"	L	o	L"			o	L	L"			L	L"
27		L	L	L"		o	L	L"			L	L"			L	L"
		o	L	L"		o	L	L"		o	L	L"			L	L"
28			o	L"	L	L	o	L"		L	L	L"			L	L"
			L	L"	o	L	L	L"		o	L	L"		o	L	L"
29	o	o	L	L"			o	L"		o	L	L"		L	L	L"
30	o	L	L	L"		L	L	L"	o	L	L	L"			L	L"
31		o	o	L"		o	L	L"			L	L"	L	o	L	L"
32			o	L"	o	L	o	L"	L	L	o	L"			L	L"
		L	L	L"				L" ?			L	L"	o	L	L	L"
			o	L"		L	o	L"			L	L"		o	o/L	L"
33			o	L"		L	L	L"		o	o	L"			L	L"
		o	o	L"		o	L	L"			L	L"		L	o	L"
35		L	L	L"			L	L"		L	L	L"			L	L"
		L	L	L"		L	L	L"				L"		L	L	L" ?
36			L	L"	o	L	L	L"			o	L	o	o	L	L"
		o	L	L"		o	o	L"			L	L		o	L	L"
39			L	L"	o	L	o	L"		o	L	L"		o	L	L"
			L	L"	o	L	L	L"		o	L	L"		o	L	L"
42			L	L"	o	L	o	L"	L	L	L	L"			L	L" ?
	o	L	o	L"		o	o	L"			L	L"		L	L	L"
			L	L"		o	L	L"			o	L"		o	L	L"
		L	L	L"			L	L"		L	L	L"		o	L	L"
		o	L	L"		L	o	L"		L	o	L"		o	L	L"
49	o	L	L	L"			o	L" ?	o	o	o	L"			L	L"
	L	o	L	L"		L	L	L"		L	o	L"		L	L	L"
			L	L"	o	L	o	L"		L	o	L"			L	L"
	L	o	L	L"			L	o L"		L	o	L"			L	L"

La structure métrique du poème qui se dégage de ce tableau semble bien être la suivante (nous négligeons ici les quelques hémistiches problématiques signalés dans le tableau par un point d'interrogation). Le vers est composé de deux hémistiches dont chacun comprend deux pieds. Le pied est fait d'une syllabe (lourde) portant l'ictus, précédée d'une à trois syllabes, qui peuvent être lourdes ou légères, avec un maximum de deux lourdes; en d'autres termes le pied ne peut comprendre plus de trois lourdes. L'effet de ces règles est que, comme l'a bien vu Henning, le nombre de syllabes par vers varie entre certaines limites, qui sont ici 10 et 14, avec une seule exception au vers 1', « which is sufficient to render the text suspect » (Henning 1950 : 645). On soupçonne que des règles subtiles, qui nous échappent, commandent cet équilibre. Mais un fait apparaît clairement : c'est que les syllabes facultatives ne sont jamais présentes toutes ensemble; autrement dit, les seize positions que nous avons distinguées ne peuvent pas être toutes occupées dans un même vers.

On peut représenter la structure du vers par la formule structurale suivante :

(x) (x) x X (x) (x) x X (x) (x) x X (x) (x) x X

formule qui doit être complétée par les deux conditions suivantes :
- le pied comprend trois syllabes lourdes au maximum;
- les syllabes facultatives ne sont jamais présentes toutes ensemble.

6. CORRESPONDANCES

Du moyen-perse (et du parthe) au persan la langue n'a pas subi d'évolution phonétique importante. Tout au plus peut-on tenir compte de l'emprunt de nombreux mots arabes, qui ont augmenté en persan le nombre de syllabes brèves. A cela près les rythmes naturels du persan doivent être à peu près les mêmes que ceux du moyen-perse. Or, s'il est vrai que tout système de versification est en quelque mesure artificiel, il n'est pas possible qu'il ne soit aussi en quelque mesure en relation avec les rythmes naturels de la langue. C'est pourquoi il est raisonnable de penser, avec Bo Utas, que la versification persane classique reste d'une manière ou d'une autre en rapport avec celle du moyen-iranien occidental.

J'ai rappelé plus haut (§ 2) les similitudes que j'ai cru trouver entre certains types de vers préislamiques et certains mètres persans classiques, ainsi que certaines règles de correspondance entre les uns et les autres. Ayant établi le type du vers du *Draxt asûrîg*, nous pouvons maintenant nous demander, en tenant compte de ces règles, de quel(s) mètre(s) persan(s) il peut être rapproché. A la formule structurale (accentuelle) de 16 positions doivent correspondre un ou plusieurs mètres classiques comportant 16 syllabes, de telle sorte qu'aux ictus de la première correspondent des longues et que les brèves des seconds correspondent à des syllabes facultatives de la première. On trouve les suivants, que je fais figurer ci-dessous en parallèle à la formule structurale :

(x) (x) x X (x) (x) x X	(x) (x) x X (x) (x) x X
v v — — v v — —	v v — — v v — —
— v — — — v — —	— v — — — v — —
v — — — v — — —	v — — — v — — —

Le premier est dit *ramal maxbun*, le second *ramal sâlem*, le troisième *hazaj sâlem*. Les mètres persans que nous avons précédemment mis en rapport avec des vers iraniens préislamiques étaient fondés sur des séquences de trois (ou deux) syllabes (v. ci-dessus § 2). Pour la première fois nous sommes ici amenés à rapprocher un mètre préislamique de mètres persans ayant pour base des séquences de quatre syllabes. Ce résultat est intéressant, car les mètres quantitatifs à base quadrisyllabique sont parmi les plus fréquents dans la poésie persane.

Un second point mérite d'être relevé. Les mètres persans cités ci-dessus, ramal et hazaj, figurent assurément parmi les plus souvent utilisés par les poètes persans. Cependant ce n'est généralement pas sous la forme où nous les avons ici évoqués, à savoir celle de mètres acatalectiques (*sâlem*), où la séquence quadrisyllabique est répétée plusieurs fois intégralement. Ils se présentent plus souvent amputés de la dernière syllabe, c'est-à-dire sous la forme catalectique (*maqsur* ou *mahzuf*)), par exemple dans ce distique de Daqiqi en ramal (Lazard 1964 : 165) :

man bar ân-am ke to dâri xabar az râz-e falak
na bar ân-am ke to az râz-e rahi bixabar-i
⏑̆ – – ⏑⏑ – – ⏑⏑ – – ⏑⏑ –
« Je crois que tu connais le secret des cieux,
Je ne crois pas que tu ignores le secret de ton serviteur. »

Contrairement au mètre préislamique, ces mètres catalectiques n'ont pas de césure médiane.

On saisit donc ici non seulement une parenté, mais aussi une différence notable entre le mètre préislamique et les mètres persans les plus usuels, indépendamment de celle qui sépare une métrique accentuelle d'une métrique quantitative. Les vers préislamiques que nous avons analysés, à l'exception de l'hypothétique mètre épique (v. EVLIA 8) et de celui du robâi, ont une césure médiane, c'est-à-dire une structure symétrique. La poésie persane, sans ignorer les mètres symétriques, préfère les mètres catalectiques.

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On the Semantics of 'Terrorism' in Arabic and How the Word is Used in the Press[1]

TORKEL LINDQUIST, Uppsala

The political term *"terrorisme"* appears for first time in 1798 in *Le Grand Livre de l'Académie Français* with reference to the revolutionary terror of 1793–4.[2] In the industrialised world, the dominant view is that "insurgent terrorism" is the major expression of terrorism.[3] My interest here is in whether the semantics of the term 'terrorism' in Arabic would be in agreement with this view or not. In modern Arabic the following terminology is used for the European term 'terror' and/or 'terrorism': *ʾirhāb, ʾirhābiyya* and *ʾirhābī*. The first form is the abstract noun of 'terror' or 'terrorism', the second is the adjective used attributively such as *ʿamaliyyatun ʾirhābiyya*.[4] Finally, the last form above is the perpetrator of 'terrorism', the 'terrorist'. None of these forms exist in the Koran. The radicals *r-h-b* are found twelve times in other forms, however, in the meaning of (1) isolating oneself to serve God in solitude, like the monk *ar-rāhib* **9: 34** (2) to fear **7: 154** (3) to scare someone, make someone afraid *ʾarhaba-hu* **8: 60** (4) to invoke someone's fear until he is afraid **7: 116.** This last sense of the term is the closest to the modern meaning. Both the dictionaries *Lisān al-ʿarab* and *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* recognize the element of 'fear' in this root, but neither of them encompasses the modern (political) term 'terrorism'.[5] *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, however, acknowledge all the above meanings together with 'intimidation', 'frightening', 'threatening' and 'sabotage'.

Now, if the words *ʾirhāb* and *ʾirhābī* are the equivalents of 'terror/terrorism' and 'terrorist' in Arabic we will now examine in what context we find *ʾirhāb* and *ʾirhābī* or 'terror/terrorism' and 'terrorist' in the Arab press.

ʾirhāb is found in a context when a small group (3–10 persons) of irregulars take (Arab and Iranian oil-ministers) hostage with the threat of using violence against them (to kill them) if the demand of these irregulars (that the Austrian government gives them money and a plane) is not met.[6] In the first example, we see this in the case of the OPEC conference in Vienna.[7] We should note that the perpetrators here, at least some, were Arabs. This means, first of all, that an Arab, as depicted in the Arab press, may be described as a "terrorist". The case above has, however, two ad-

[1] "Semantics" is here defined as *the study of the meaning of words.*

[2] Cettina 2001:11.

[3] According to a major collection of definitions of scholars (Schmid & Jongman 1988).

[4] A terrorist operation.

[5] *Lisān l-ʿarab: ḫawf, fazaʿ ; Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ:(ʾarhaba) ʾar-raulu rakiba r-ruhb. Wa-fulānun ṭāla.* See also Benarafa 1994:45ff.

[6] 'Irregulars' is here defined as *individuals or groups of individuals operating independently of any staty.*

[7] Material, case 1.

ditional, interesting, special circumstances: the victims were not only Arabs but also represented the Muslim and oil producing states that support the poorer states; and, more importantly: the victim was not an Israeli.

ʾirhāb is also found in a context in which much larger groups (about a hundred persons) of irregulars take hostages (Muslims) and do not present demands. We see this in the case of Shiite Muslems capturing the holy site of Mecca and taking hostages.[8] This second case also presents a rather special context, as the perpetrator was either an Arab and/or a (Shi'a) Muslim and the victims were Muslims. It goes without saying that the place also has an effect on the choice of term describing the perpetrator and the act. This place is the holiest of holiest. This is *dār al-ʾIslām* and *dār as-salām*. The newspaper decides, as a paradox in the religious context, to use the modern, and secular, term for "terrorism" when writing on it and condemning it. As in the first case, the victim here was not an Israeli either.[9]

ʾirhāb is further found in a context when irregulars plant a bomb in a building or a vehicle with the intent of killing civilians (unarmed persons) and without presenting demands. We examined the case in which Neo-fascists placed a bomb in the train station at Bologna.[10] Here the victims were Italians (that is, neither Arab nor Israeli) and the perpetrator was also Italian. That is to say that an act can be described by the term *ʾirhāb* even with no relation to the conflict between Arabs and Israelis and without the victim being Arab. We note the same term in the case of the explosion in an Air India plane, as well as in the case of 'the Oklahoma bombing'.[11]

The above cases are all acts of violence in which both the perpetrator and the victim were neither Arab nor Israeli. After the beginning of the peace process, civilian Israelis may, in similar circumstances, be called victims of *ʾirhāb* in the Arab press. In our investigation, we examined one case in which Palestinian irregulars, suicide bombers, killed Israeli civilians.[12] It must be emphasized here that violence with Israeli victims, as in the case above, is presented as *ʾirhāb* only after the signing of the 'Declaration of Principles'.

We furthermore find *ʾirhāb* in a context in which irregulars (Lebanese) kill themselves and friendly, non-Israeli (French and U.S.) soldiers with explosives. The case we examined was the attack on the US marines and the French parachutists in Lebanon.[13] In this case, we learn that not only unarmed civilians, but also foreign soldiers on Arab soil can be the victims of *ʾirhāb*. These foreigners were neither Israelis nor Arabs.

Of most interest, from a Western perspective, is perhaps that *ʾirhāb* is also found in a context in which the army of a state (Israel) kills unarmed civilians on occupied territory.[14] Here, the perpetrator was the Israeli state and the victims were Arabs

[8] Material, case 2.

[9] We find that, depending on who the victim is, the label for the violence changes. Similar violence, with Israelis as victims, is not described by the term *ʾirhāb*.

[10] Material, case 3.

[11] Material, cases 4-5. Also here, neither Arab nor Israeli is found among the perpetrators or victims.

[12] Material, case 6.

[13] Material, case 7.

[14] Material, case 8.

(Palestinian) and this kind of violence is labelled *ʾirhāb*. The label belongs to the specific context of Palestinians under occupation.

Likewise, *ʾirhāb* furthermore appears in a context in which the air forces of states bomb areas populated by (Arab) civilians and/or attempt to kill national representatives.[15] We examined the case of the Israeli air attack on the PLO HQ in Tunis. The perpetrator here was the Israeli state and the victims were mostly, but not all, Palestinian. Among the victims were many civilians but also PLO officials close to the leadership. The leadership was possibly the main target. The same terminology may, however, be used also in a context in which the victims were Arab but not Palestinian and the perpetrator was a state other than Israel. In our examination, we studied the case in which the USA bombed Tripoli and Benghazi.[16]

In our investigation on 'terrorism' in Arabic, we thus find that, while the Arabic equivalent, *ʾirhāb*, in several cases appears where the term 'terrorism' should, perhaps, from a Western perspective, appear. But we also find the term in contexts in which states are the perpetrators of violence, and in which the choice of terminology for a Western reader may be surprising.

MATERIAL

Case 1. The OPEC conference in Vienna

Al-Ahram 22/12 1975, p.1: *ʾinna* ***l-ʿamala l-ʾirhābiyya*** *l-laḏī qāmat bi-hi* ***mamūʿatun mina l-musallaḥīna*** *ḍidda* ***ʾaʿḍāʾi munaẓẓamati l-ʾūbiki*** *l-mutamiʿīna l-ʾāna fī Fiyennā,* ***ʿamalun ṭāʾišun*** *lā yumkinu ʾan yakūna maqbūlan…* (Verily, **the_____act** that **a group of armed men** executed against **members of the OPEC organisation,** is a **reckless act** that cannot possibly be accepted …)

Translation: **terrorism**

Case 2. The holy site in Mecca

Al-Ahram 21/11 1979, p.1: *mamūʿatun mina* ***l-ʾirhābiyyīna*** *taʿtadī ʿalā l-masidi l-Ḥarāmi fī Makkata wa-tastawalī ʿalay-hi. Suqūṭu ʿadadin mina* ***l-qatlā*** *wa-****l-arḥā*** *baʿda tabāduli n-nīrāni bayna* ***l-ʾirhābiyyīna*** *wa-l-ḥarasi s-saʿūdiyyi … ʾiḥtimālayni:* ***ʾanṣāru l-Ḫumaynī*** *yuḥāwilūna* ***l-ʾintiqāma*** *mina S-Saʿūdiyyati li-ʿadami ʾidrāǧi l-ʾazmati l-ʾīrāniyyati fī muʾtamari Tūnis… wa-l-iḥtimālu t-tānī ʾan yakūna* ***l-ḥādiṯu*** *min tadbīri* ***ʿanāṣira filasṭīniyyatin ʾirhābiyyatin*** *li-ḍ-ḍaġṭi ʿalā S-Saʿūdiyyati kay tastaība li-masāīʿ Yāsir ʿArafāt* (A group of _____ attacked the sacred mosque in Mecca and took control of it. A number of **killed** and **wounded** after the exchanging of fire between _____ and the Saudi guards … Two possibilities: **Supporters of Khomeini** trying to take **revenge** on Saudi Arabia for not including the Iranian crisis in the conference in Tunis… and the second possibility is that **the event** was organised by _____ **Palestinian elements** in order to pressure Saudi Arabia to show interest in the efforts of Yasir Arafat).

Translations: **terrorists … the terrorists … terrorist**

[15] Material, case 9.

[16] Material, case 10.

Case 3. Bologna railway station

Al-Ray 3/8 1980, p.1: *waqaʿa ʾamsi nfiārun hāʾilun fī l-maḥaṭṭati r-raʾīsati li-sikkati l-ḥadīd fī madīnati Būlūniyyā l-ʾĪṭāliyyati fī ma yumkinu ʾan yakūna ʾaswaʾa* ***ʿamaliyyatin ʾirhābiyyatin*** *fī taʾrīḫi ʾĪṭāliyā wa-āʾa fī bayānin rasmiyyin ʾanna l-ʿadada ġayra nihāʾiyyi li-* ***l-qatlā*** *balaġa 76* ***šaḫṣan*** *fī ḥīnin ǧuriḥa mā yuzīdu ʿalā 180* ***šaḫṣan,*** *ʾiṣābātu baʿḍi-him ḫaṭira.* (Yesterday a huge explosion occurred in the central railway station in the Italian city of Bologna in what could be the worst _____ **operation** in the history of Italy. In an official statement, the not final number of **killed** reached 76 **persons,** while at the time more than 180 **persons** were **wounded**, some of them seriously.).

Translation: **terrorist**

Case 4. Air India

Al-Ahram 24/6 1985, p.1: ***maṣraʿu*** *325* ***šaḫṣan*** *fī* ***kāriṯatin ǧawwiyyatin*** (**Death** of 325 **persons** in **air disaster**); *fī ḥīni ʾaʿraba masʾūlun bi-s-sifārati l-hindiyyati bi-Landana ʿani-ʿtiqādi-hi fī ʾanna-hu tūadu* ***ʿamaliyyatun ʾirhābiyyatun*** *warāʾa suqūṭi ṭ-ṭāʾirati* (whereas an official at the Indian Embassy expressed his belief that there was _____**operation** behind the crash of the plane).

Translation: **terrorist**

Case 5. Oklahoma city:

Al-Ahram 20/4 1995, p.1: *wa-lam yastabʿid mutaḥaddiṯun bi-smi l-mabāḥiṯi qiyāma ǧamāʿatin ʾirhābiyyatin bi-tanfīḏi-hi…* (… The spokesman of the secret service did not consider it unlikely that a _____group executed it …*);* … *waṣafa Klīntūn - ʾal-laḏī kāna mutaahhiman - munaffiḏī l-ḥādiṯi bi-ʾanna-hum ' ubanāʾu ʾašrārun ' hāǧamū l-ʾaṭfāla wa-l-muwāṭinīna l-ʾabriyāʾa, wa-ʾanna-hu lan yasmaḥa la-hum bi-ʾirhābi l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati wa-šaʿbi-hā…*(… Clinton who showed grim face described the perpetrators of the event as evil cowards that attacked children and innocent citizens and that he would not allow them to terrorize[17] the USA and its people …);…. *wa-qāla d-duktūru Buṭrus Ġālī l-ʾamīnu l-ʿāmmu li-l-ʾUmmami l-Muttaḥidati ʾinna l-huǧūma l-ʾirhābiyya fī ʾŪklāhūmā qad rawwaʿa-hu wa-ʾinna-hu yutābiʿu taṭawwurāti l-ḥādiṯi ʿan kaṯabin.* (3. Dr. Butrus Ghali the General Secretary of the UN said that _____attack in Oklahoma alarmed him and that he was following the developments of the event at close range.).

Al-Baath 20/4 1995, p.1: …*fī maktabi t-taḥqīqāti l-fīdirāliyyati qawla-hum ʾinna-hum lā yastabʿidūna* ***huǧūman ʾirhābiyyan*** *muḥtamilan lākinna-hum ḥaḏḏarū min ʾanna-hu mina s-sābiqi li-ʾawāni-hi l-battu fī ḏālika* (1. …in the office of the federal investigation they are saying that they do not consider a possible_____ **attack** unlikely but they warn that it is too early to be sure about that.).

Al-Nahar 20/4 1995, p.1: *wa-ʾawqaʿa* ***l-ḥādiṯu*** *l-laḏī lā yustabʿadu ʾan yakūna* ***ʿamalan ʾirhābiyyan*** *bi-ḥasabi ʾarqāmin rasmiyyatin 20* ***qatīlan*** *bayna-hum sittatu* ***ʾaṭfālin*** (It is considered not unlikely that **the event** is **an act of** _____ that, according to official figures, *left 20* **dead** *among them six* **children**).

Translations: **terrorist…terrorist…terrorist…terrorism**

[17] Here the sense is "to frighten", "to generate fear".

Case 6. Bus in Tel Aviv

Al-Ahram 25/7 1995, p.1: *baʿaṯa r-raʾīsu Ḥusnī Mubārak masāʾa ʾamsi barqiyyatay ʿazāʾin… ʾilā kullin mina r-raʾīsi l-ʾisrāʾīliyyi ʿĪzra Vayzman wa-raʾīsi l-wuzarāʾi ʾIsḥaq Rābīn fī* ***ḍaḥāyā l-iʿtidāʾi l-ʾirhābiyyi*** *l-laḏi ʿawdā bi-ḥayāti ʿadadin mina* ***l-ʾabriyāʾi*** *wa-****ʾiṣābati*** *ʾāḥarīna ṣabāḥa ʾamsi…* (President Husni Mubarak yesterday evening sent telegrams of condoleances to the Israeli President, Eizra Weizman, and the Prime Minister, Yitzhaq Rabin, for **the victims** of **the_____ hostility** that destroyed the lives of a number of **innocent people** and **wounded** others yesterday morning).

Al-Ray 25/7 1995, p.1: *šaabati l-Mamlakatu l-ʾurdunniyyatu l-hāšimiyyatu wa-ʾadānati l-ʿamaliyyata l-ʾirhābiyyata l-latī waqaʿat ʾamsi fī Tal ʾAbīb.* (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan criticized sharply and condemned **the _____operation** that took place yesterday in Tel Aviv.).

Translations: **terrorist…terrorist**

Case 7. US-Marines and French Parachutists

Al-Nahar 24/10 1983, p.1: *lan naḥḍaʿa li-****l-ʾirhābi*** *d-duwaliyyi li-ʾanna-nā naʿlamu ʾiḏā faʿalnā sa-yuʿānī l-ʿālamu l-mutamaddinu wa-sa-yastabīḥu qiyamanā* ***ʾulāʾika llaḏīna*** *yuḥāwilūna* ***tadmīra*** *kulli mā nuʾminu bi-hi ʿ.* (2. We will not yield to international _____ because we know that, if we do, the civilised world would suffer and **those who** try **to destroy** everything we believe in will harm our values).

Translation: **terrorism**

Case 8. Curbing the Intifada

Al-Ray 10/12 1987, p.1: *bayna* ***l-muqāwamati****… wa-****l-ʾirhābi****: ʾamsi iqtarafat* ***quwwātu l-ʾiḥtilāli l-ʾisrāʾīliyyi****, fī Ġazzata wa-muḥayyami Ǧabāliyya,* ***ǧarīmatan ʾirhābiyyatan ǧadīdatan****, ḥīna ʾaṭlaqati n-nāra, ʿalā* ***mutaẓāhirīna l-ʿazli****… ʾinna* ***l-ʾirhāba huwa ʾāliyatu l-muʿtadīna l-ʾisrāʾīliyyīna****… miṯlamā ʾanna* ***l-muqāwamata hiya ʾāliyatu l-ʾahli ṣ-ṣāmidīna*** (Between **Resistance** and _____: yesterday **the Israeli occupation forces**, in Ghaza and the camp of Jabalia, committed **a new _____crime**, when they opened fire on **unarmed demonstrators** … Verily _____ is **a tool** for **the Israeli aggressors** … likewise **resistance** is **a tool** for **the people defying it**).

Translations: **terrorism…terrorist…terrorism**

Case 9. PLO-HQ

Al-Ahram 2/10 1985: *ʾaʿlana r-raʾīsu Ḥusni Mubārak ʾanna* ***l-ġārata*** *l-ʾisrāʾīliyyata ʿalā maqarri* ***munaẓẓamati t-taḥrīri l-filasṭīniyyati*** *tuʿaddu* ***ʿamalan ʾirhābiyyan*** *faẓīʿan yaqūḍu ʿamaliyyata s-salāmi yuṣību-hā fī* ***maqtalin*** *wa-ʾanna-hu min al-ġarībi ʾanna-hu bi-tawāfuqi* ***l-ʿudwāni*** *l-ʾisrāʾīliyyi ʿalā* ***l-filasṭīniyyīna*** *fī Tūnis maʿa mā tašunnu-hu Sūriyā min ḥarbin ḍidda l-filasṭīniyīna wa-ḥulafāʾi-him fī arābulus.* (President Husni Mubarak announced that the Israeli **raid** on the HQ of **the Palestine Liberation Organisation** is considered a horrible _____**act** that wrecks the peace process, damaging it with **killing** and that it is strange that the Israeli **hostility** against **the Palestinians** in Tunis is to coincide with the war that Syria is waging against the Palestinians and their allies in Tripoli) *…wa-ʾasfara l-qaṣfu ʿan suqūṭi 60* ***qatīlan*** *wa-miʾāti* ***l-ǧarḥā*** *mina l-****filasṭīniyyīna wa-t-tūnīsiyīna****…* (…and the bombardment resulted in 60 **dead** and hundreds of **wounded** among **Palestinians and Tunisians**…).

Al-Nahar 2/10 1985: *ʿArafāt: šaʿbī sa-yaruddu ʿalā* ***l-ʾirhābi*** *r-rasmiyyi… wa-tasāʾala kayfa tastaṭīʿu hāḏihi l-ʾidāratu l-ʾamrīkiyyatu ʾan taqbala bi-****l-ʾirhābi*** *r-rasmiyyi? Kayfa yastaṭīʿu l-mutamaʿu d-duwaliyyu ʾan yaqbala bi-hā? Wa-man yaqbalu bi-****l-huūmi*** *ʿalā madaniyyīna wa-ʿalā siyādati dawlatin ʾuḫrā?"* (Arafat: My people will respond (retaliate) to the official _____ ….. he asked himself "How is it possible for the American administration to accept the _____. How can the international community accept it? Who accepts **the attack** on civilians and on the leadership of another state"; … *sa-tadfaʿu* ***ʾIsrāʾīlu*** *ġāliyan ṯamana hāḏa* ***l-ʿamali l-ʾirāmiyyi l-ḫāʾini*** (2. **Israel** will pay dearly for this **criminal treacherous act**); … *Dīkūlār ʾistankara* ***l-ġārata*** *l-ʾisrāʾīliyyata* (3. De Cuellar condemned the Israeli **raids**).

Translations: **terrorism … terrorism … terrorism**

Case 10. Tripoli and Benghazi

Al-Baath 16/4 1986: *tawaahati* ***l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu*** *ʾamsi* ***ḥamlata-hā l-ʿaskariyyata l-ʾistifzāziyyata*** *ḍidda l-amāhīriyyati l-ʿarabiyyati l-lībiyyati bi-šanni* ***ʿudwānin waḥšiyyin ġādirin*** *ʿalā l-manāṭiqi l-madaniyyati fī kullin min arāblusa wa-Binġāzī ʾaddā ʾilā wuqūʿi ḥasāʾira bašariyyatin kabīratin fī ṣufūfi l-****madaniyyīna*** *wa-ʾilā ʾiḥdāṯi damārin kabīrin fī l-ʾahdāfi l-madaniyyati* (**The USA** directed yesterday its **provocative, military campaign** against the Libyan Arab masses with the launching of a **savage deceitful aggression** on civilian areas in both Tripoli and Benghazi that led to heavy losses in human lives among **civilians** and to major destruction of civilian targets.); … *ʾinna hāḏa* ***l-ʿudwāna*** *yušakkilu ḥaṭwatan ʾuḫrā ʿalā ṣaʿīdi* ***l-ʾirhābi d-duwwaliyyi r-rasmiyyi*** (… this **aggression** takes another step towards official **international** _____); …*ʾinna* ***siyyāsata Rīġān ʾal-ʾirhābiyyata*** *hāḏihi l-latī yatbaʿu-hā ḍidda waṭani-nā l-ʿarabiyyi tataṭallabu mawqifan muwaḥḥadan wa-āddan* (… this _____ **policy of Reagan** pursuted against our Arab fatherland demands a united and serious stand.); … *ʾinna* ***l-ʿudwāna*** *l-laḏī ʾamara bi-hi r-raʾīsu l-ʾamrīkiyyu Rīġān ʿadā ʿan ʾanna-hu yumaṯṯilu qimmata* ***l-ʾirhābi*** *l-munaẓẓami wa-yaḍaʿu Rīġān šaḫṣiyyan fī maṣāfa Hitlar wa-Mūsūlīnī* (… verily **the aggression** that the American President ordered goes way over organised _____ and places Reagan personally in the same league as Hitler and Mussolini.).

Al-Nahar 15/4 1986: . *ʾaʿlana l-baytu l-ʾabyaḍu fī ṯ-ṯāniyati wa-ṯ-ṯulṯi fara l-yawmi bi-tawqīti Bayrūta ʾanna* ***l-quwwāti l-ʾamrīkiyyata*** *naffaḏat* ***ġārātin*** *ġawwiyyatun ʿalā mā waṣafa-hu* ***bi-ʾahdāfin murtabiṭatin bi-l-ʾirhābi*** (The White House announced at dawn today, 2:20, Beirut time, that **the American forces** had executed air **raids** on what it described as **targets connected** with _____).

Translations: **terrorism … terrorist … terrorism … terrorism**

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Bozorg Alavi als Wissenschaftler
(Erinnerung an gemeinsame Arbeit)

MANFRED LORENZ, Berlin

Im Juni 1953 reiste Bozorg Alavi nach Europa, um in Budapest die „Goldmedaille des Internationalen Friedensrates" entgegenzunehmen. Damit wurde das Werk des 1904 geborenen iranischen Schriftstellers gewürdigt. Durch seine Erzählungen (in den Bänden *Čamadān* 1934; *Waraqpārehā-ye zendān* 1941; *Nāmehā wa dāstānhā-ye digar* 1951) sowie den autobiographischen Erinnerungen *Panǧāh-o se nafar* 1942 und dem Roman *Čašmhā-yaš* hatte er sich internationale Anerkennung errungen.

Als im August 1953 durch den Staatsstreich des Generals Zāhedi die rechtmäßige Regierung Mossadegh entmachtet, die „Nationale Front" zerschlagen und die Gegner des damaligen Schahregimes starkem Druck ausgesetzt wurden, zog Bozorg Alavi es vor, nicht in seine Heimat zurückzukehren. Er war aber im echten Sinne kein Flüchtling sondern ein Iraner, der sich freiwillig, im Besitz seines iranischen Passes, im Ausland aufhielt.

Da er in jungen Jahren deutsche Schulen besucht und an deutschen Universitäten studiert hatte, nahm er seinen Wohnsitz in Deutschland, genauer in Ost-Berlin, in der damaligen DDR.

Und hier beginnt die zweite bedeutende Schaffensperiode Alavis.

Mit der Eröffnung einer Fachrichtung Iranistik an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin unter der Leitung von Prof.Dr. Heinrich Junker im Januar 1954 beginnt seine Tätigkeit als Hochschullehrer und Wissenschaftler. Mit zunächst 2 Studenten begann am damaligen „Institut für iranische und kaukasische Sprachen" der Unterricht in Iranistik, wobei Prof. Junker den Bereich Alt- und Mitteliranisch vertrat, Alavi übernahm das Gebiet Modernes Iran, persische Sprache, klassische und moderne Literatur und Geschichte Irans. Mit Energie und pädagogischem Geschick wußte er seine Studenten – es wurde im September des gleichen Jahres eine weitere größere Gruppe immatrikuliert – für Persisch und Probleme der Geschichte und Kultur seiner iranischen Heimat zu begeistern.

Alavi war stets bemüht sein iranistisches Wissen zu erweitern. So wie sein Freund Sādeq Hedāyat sich eingehend mit dem Mittelpersischen befaßt hatte, nahm auch er, wie ich mich erinnere, gemeimsam mit uns Studenten an einem Seminar von Prof. Junker über den Pahlavi-Psalter teil. Er hatte ja schon früher sein Interesse an literaturwissenschaftlichen Fragen bekundet. Davon zeugt seine Übersetzung von Nöldeckes *Das iranische Nationalepos* im Jahre 1941 (*Hamāse-ye melli-ye Irān*). Als eine seiner Hauptaufgaben sah er es an, wie er uns Studenten immer wieder versicherte, in der Welt Kenntnisse über Kultur und auch die politischen Verhältnisse seiner iranischen Heimat zu vermitteln.

In diesem Sinne entstand sein Buch *Kämpfendes Iran*[1]. Hier beschreibt er die Lage der iranischen Werktätigen, die Arbeiter- und Bauernbewegung und auch die Tudeh Partei, der er sich seit seiner Gefängniszeit (1937–1941) bis in die 70-ger Jahre hinein verbunden gefühlt hatte.

Von besonderem Wert erscheint mir sein nächstes Buch *Das Land der Rosen und der Nachtigallen. Kreuz und quer durch Iran*[2]. In 16 Kapiteln schildert er seine iranische Heimat, die Lebensweise ihrer Bevölkerung, Sitten und Brauchtum. Im Kapitel „Wie komme ich nach Schah-Tscheragh?" findet man z.B. eine Beschreibung verschiedener Gebräuche, insbesondere jener anläßlich des Nouruz-Festes. Im Kapitel „Zarathustra und Mohammed" behandelt er das Problem der Religionen, in „Von Ferdausi bis Nesami" die klassische Literatur, unter der Überschrift „Europäische Einflüsse" findet man Erinnerungen an seinen Freund Sādeq Hedāyat, wie überhaupt das ganze Buch Sachfragen verbunden mit persönlichen Eindrüken und Erinnerungen vermittelt.

Aufmerksam verfolgt er das Geschehen in seiner Heimat und nimmt dazu in verschiedenen Artikeln Stellung („Blutiges Erdöl", Urania-Verlag 1956; „Der nationale Befreiungskampf in Iran". Wiss. Zschr.HUB 1960; „*Sepāh-e dāneš* oder das Lehrerkorps in Iran", Wiss. Zschr. HUB 1965 u.v.a.).

Sein besonderes Interesse gilt der Entwicklung der persischen Sprache und Literatur. In Rezensionen nimmt er zu Neuerscheinungen und Übersetzungen Stellung („Dshamālzādeh. *Sar-o tah-e yek karbās yā Esfahān-nāme*". Wiss. Zschr. HUB 1959; „W. Eilers. Deutsch-Pers. Wörterbuch. Lf.1", OLZ 1/2,1961; „Der Gatte der Āhu- Chānom – ein beachtenswerter persischer Roman", Wiss. Zschr. HUB 1963; „*Ketābšenāsi-ye melli*", MIO 2, 1969; „Rypka, J. History of Iranian Literature, engl. ed. von K. Jahn", OLZ 11/12 1970 u.v.a.).

Auf dem 25. Internat. Orientalistenkongress in Moskau 1960 hält er einen Vortrag zum Thema „Die wesentlichen Züge der modernen persischen Poesie"[3]. Dieser fließt ein in eine seiner bedeutendsten Arbeiten als Literaturwissenschaftler, das Buch *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*[4]. Wenn auch, wie R. Khorb in einer Rezension[5] bemängelt, einige Vertreter der neuesten Literatur wie F. Farroxzād, S. Kasrā'i, S. Sepehri u.a. fehlen, so ist es m.E. doch die beste Gesamtdarstellung der modernen persischen Literatur bis 1961 in einer europäischen Sprache[6]. Dass Bozorg Alavi selbst darin nicht behandelt ist, gehört zu seinen Eigenheiten. Er hat es prinzipiell abgelehnt, über sich selbst zu schreiben.

Bereits seit Ende der 50-ger Jahre lief am damaligen Vorderasiatischen Institut, zu dem die Iranistik gehörte, ein Projekt der Erarbeitung eines Persisch-Deutschen Wörterbuchs. Für unseren Unterricht fehlten Lehr- und Wörterbücher. Außer dem Persisch–Russischen Wörterbuch von Miller, dem 2-bändigen Persisch–Englisch

[1] Berlin, Dietz Verlag 1955, 192 S.

[2] Kongress-Verlag Berlin, 1957, 213 S.

[3] *In: Trudy XXV. Mezhdunarodnogo kongresa vostokoved. Vol. II, Moskva 1963.*

[4] Akademie-Verlag Berlin, 1964, 254 S.

[5] *Rajabali Khorb (Halle), in: Deutsche Literaturzeitung, H. 12, 1965 Sp. 1070 ff.*

[6] Das spätere Werke von Alavis Freund und Kollegen D.S. Komissarov *Puti razvitija novoj i novejšej persidskoj literatury*, Moskva 1982, hat eine andere Ausrichtung.

Wörterbuch von Chaim, sowie dem Wörterbuch von Steingass hatten wir keine Hilfsmittel. So entstand unter der Leitung von H. Junker und B. Alavi bei gleichzeitiger Beteiligung aller Mitarbeiter der Iranistik das große Persisch–Deutsche Wörterbuch[7], das nun in der 9. unveränderten Auflage vom Verlag Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, übernommen wurde. Die wesentliche Arbeit bei der Auswahl und der Kontrolle leistete Bozorg Alavi. Es war mir immer bewundernswert, mit welcher Energie und Akribie mein Lehrer arbeitete. Bei auftretenden Fragen wurde nicht eher entschieden, ehe nicht der *Borhān-e qāte'* oder das 5-bändige Wörterbuch von Nafisi, später auch das große Wörterbuch von Dehchodā, befriedigende Antwort gegeben hatten. Die Leistung hat sich bewährt, wenn das Wörterbuch heute auch einer Überarbeitung bedarf. B. Alavi wußte das. Wir diskutierten immer wieder Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeiten einer Überarbeitung. Noch 1988 publizierte er zu dieser Frage einen Artikel „Neologismen in der modernen persischen Schriftsprache"[8]. Sein Tod 1997 brach alles ab.

In den 60-ger Jahren begann B. Alavi mit mir die Arbeit an einem Lehrbuch der persischen Sprache[9], in dem wir unsere gemeinsame Unterrichtserfahrung verwerten wollten. Es war eine echte Zusammenarbeit. In oftmals heftigen Diskussionen erarbeiteten wir uns ein Lehrmittel, in dem ich versuchte, den Weg vom Bekannten zum Unbekannten einzuhalten, Alavi als Muttersprachler kämpfte für eine saubere persische Sprache. In einem akzeptierte ich seine Einstellung: Er lehnte es kategorisch ab, einen Unterschied zwischen der heutigen modernen persischen Sprache und der Sprache der persischen „Klassik" (9.–15.Jh.) zu machen. Aus diesem Grunde wurden übrigens viele Wörter aus dem großen Schāhnameh-Wörterbuch von Fritz Wolf mit in das obengenannte Wörterbuch aufgenommen.

Nach der Wiederherstellung der Einheit Deutschlands empfahl sich eine Überarbeitung des Lehrbuchs, das auf die Bedürfnisse der damaligen DDR ausgerichtet war. Mit der Abänderung vieler Texte, der Aufnahme von Beispielen aus der modernen Literatur und der Anfügung von Textproben (aus der klassischen und der modernen Literatur) erhielt das Lehrbuch – seit der 8. Auflage (1999) als *Langenscheidts Praktisches Lehrbuch. Persisch. Ein Standartwerk für Anfänger* – eine neue Gestalt. Selbstverständlich war die Auswahl und Kommentierung der Texte die Leistung Alavis.

In den 70-ger Jahren arbeitete der am Vorderasiatischen Institut tätige Turkologe G. Hazai an der Herausgabe einer Arbeit von Lajos Fekete[10]. Wenn in einer – ansonst kritischen – Rezension[11] hervorgehoben wird, daß es G.Hazai und seinen Mitarbeitern anzurechnen ist, „diese Urkunden zu Feketes Nachlaß geborgen und für

[7] *Persisch–Deutsches Wörterbuch* von Heinrich F.J. Junker und Bozorg Alavi. Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig 1965, ab 7. Auflage übernomen von Verlag Langenscheidt, 8. Auflage Langenscheidt 1997.

[8] A Green Leaf (Asmussen-Festschrift), Acta Iranica, J.E, Brill, Leiden, 1988, S. 189–198.

[9] Bozorg Alavi. Manfred Lorenz *Lehrbuch der persischen Sprache*. Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig 1967; 7. durchgesehene Auflage gemeinsam mit dem Verlag Langenscheidt, Leipzig. Berlin. München. Wien. Zürich. New York 1994.

[10] L. Fekete. *Einführung in die Persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente*. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest 1977, 594 S. u. 242 Faksimiles.

[11] Von Bert Fragner, WZKM, 71, Wien 1979.

die Forschung erschlossen zu haben", so gebührt B. Alavi ein großer Teil des Verdienstes, an der Entzifferung der schwer lesbaren Handschriften mitgewirkt zu haben. Die mir zugeteilte Aufgabe der Übersetzung der 101 Dokumente (ziemlich komplizierter Kanzlei-Stil!) konnte ich nur mit tätiger Hilfe meines Lehrers und Freundes Alavi bewältigen.

Überhaupt konnte man immer wieder junge Wissenschaftler bei ihm vor dem mit Büchern überladenen Tisch antreffen, die für ihre Arbeit Rat und Hilfe suchten. Es ist mir nicht möglich, die lange Liste von Dissertationen und wissenschaftlichen Artikeln hier vorzulegen, die von deutschen und ausländischen jungen Kollegen – darunter vielen Iranern – mit Hilfe Bozorg Alavis angefertigt wurden.

Ein anderer Bereich von Alavis Tätigkeit in Berlin war die Initiierung und Betreuung von Übersetzungen aus dem Persischen. In Zusammenarbeit mit dem Verlag Rütten und Loening, Berlin, erschien eine ganze Reihe von Werken moderner und klassischer persischer Literatur, deren Auswahl von Alavi getroffen wurde und zu denen er meist auch ein Vor- oder Nachwort geschrieben hat. Übersetzer waren seine Schüler, die bei dieser Arbeit ständig seiner Hilfe sicher sein konnten. So erschienen: *Die Legende von der Schöpfung* (1960), *Die Prophetentochter* (1960), *Hādschi Āghā* (1963), alle von Hedāyat. Zu jedem dieser Bände, auch zu der Übersetzung von A. Nuschins *Der Chān und die anderen* (1961), schrieb Alavi ein Nachwort, ebenso wie zu Hedāyats *Die blinde Eule*[12].

Zu dem von Alavi herausgegebenen Band *Die beiden Ehemänner. Prosa aus Iran.*[13] hat zwar sein Schüler Werner Sundermann die Einleitung geschrieben („Bozorg Alavi und wir"), die Bemerkungen zu den Autoren und die Anmerkungen stammen aber vom Meister selbst.

Auch um die Publikation von Werken der persischen „Klassik" war Alavi bemüht. Ausgewählt, aus dem Persischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen von B. Alavi erschien 1961 ein Band von Vierzeilern Omar Chajjāms[14]. Er enthält im Anhang Nachworte von J. Rypka („Wege zu Omar Chajjām") und B. Alavi („Omar Chajjām im modernen Iran").

Mit einem Nachwort von Werner Sundermann erschien 1980 eine weitere Übersetzung Alavis, und zwar Nezāmis *Haft peikar*[15].

Zu dem wunderbaren Band Klassischer persischer Dichtung *Lob der Geliebten*, den W. Sundermann 1968 herausgab[16], schrieb er in seinem Nachwort: „Meinem verehrten Lehrer, Professor Bozorg Alavi, danke ich, der mir bei der Auswahl und Übersetzung bereitwillig und geduldig seine Hilfe lieh ..." (S. 249).

Nachdem Alavi bereits 1963 für das *Lexikon der Weltliteratur*[17] die Artikel zur

[12] Übers. aus dem Französischen von G. Henniger, Berlin 1961, Verlag Karl H. Henssel. Bearbeitet und Nachwort von B. Alavi.

[13] Rütten & Loening, Berlin 1984, 449 S.

[14] „Durchblättert ist des Lebens Buch", Vierzeiler von Omar Chajjām. Nachdichtung von Martin Remané, Berlin 1961, 2. Aufl. 1983.

[15] Iljâs ben Jûssuf Nisâmi. *Die sieben Prinzessinnen.* Freie Nacherzählung in Versen von Martin Remané. Rütten & Loening Berlin 1980, 161 S. (Ausgewählt und aus dem Persischen übersetzt von Bozorg Alavi).

[16] 2. Auflage Rütten & Loening Berlin 1983.

[17] Weimar 1963, 3. Aufl. 1966.

persischen Literatur verfaßt hatte, bearbeitete er am dreibändigen *Lexikon fremdsprachiger Schriftsteller*[18] Vertreter der modernen und klassischen persischen Literatur.

Die gleiche Aufgabe erfüllte er für das große 22-bändige *Kindlers Neues Literaturlexikon*[19], das als „Werkenzyklopädie" nach Autoren geordnet deren Werke in den Mittelpunkt der Beschreibung stellt.

Das letzte größere Projekt, das er als Herausgeber und z.T. auch als Übersetzer betreute, war in den 90-ger Jahren die Veröffentlichung neuester persischer Prosa in der Zeitschrift *Spektrum Iran*[20], wo Werke moderner Schriftsteller im Original mit angefügter Übersetzung erschienen. Alavi schrieb dazu einen Artikel „Zur zeitgenössischen persischen Erzählprosa"[21].

Eine Auflistung der Werke Bozorg Alavis als Wissenschaftler würde noch viele Artikel und Rezensionen sowie zahlreiche Vorträge im In- und Ausland enthalten. Seine endgültig letzte Arbeit ist das am 24. Januar 1997 fertiggestellte Vorwort zum Buche von F. Schirazi-Mahmoudian *Literarische Verwendung persischer Termini und Redewendungen im Werke Sādeq Hedāyats*[22].

Bozorg Alavi, Professor em. der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin starb am 16.2.1997. Seine Schüler und Freunde werden ihrem Lehrer ein ehrendes Andenken bewahren.

Nachbemerkung:

Trotz aller Belastung als Wissenschaftler und Hochschullehrer, als Herausgeber und Übersetzer fand Alavi immer noch Zeit für seine schriftstellerische Arbeit. Mehrere Erzählungen erschienen in dieser Zeit in der Zeitschrift *Kāweh*[23]. Sein Roman *Sālārihā* kam 1978 im Verlag Amir Kabir in Teheran heraus. Sein letztes literarische Werk war der Roman *Muriāne* 1989 (Tehrān 1368).

[18] VEB Bibliograph. Institut Leipzig, Bd. I, 1977, Bd. II, 1979, Bd.III, 1980.

[19] Hrsg von Walter Jens, Kindler Verlag München, 1988–1992.

[20] *Spektrum Iran*. Zeitschrift für islamisch-iranische Kultur. Hrsg. Kulturabteilung der Botschaft der Islam. Rep. Iran.

[21] In *Spektrum Iran*, 4/1993, S. 63–83.

[22] Harrassowitz Verlag . Wiesbaden 1999, S. XI–XII.

[23] Herausgegeben von M. Assemi, München. Mehrere Erzählungen erschienen als Buch u.d.T. *Mirzā*, 1978.

Three Persian Poems by the Turkish Poet Nash'at

ALI MUHADDIS, Uppsala

Sulaimān ibn Aḥmad Rafī' (1148–1222/1735–6 – 1807–8) from Istanbul, with the assumed pen name of Nash'at, was a Turkish man of letters and poet. He was thoroughly fluent in Persian and taught Persian literature and the *Mathnavi* by Rumi in Istanbul. His teaching sessions and *mathnavi*-recitals were famous and attracted a wide public in Istanbul. Not only large numbers of his students and lovers of literature from Istanbul, but also travellers from Iran and Europe sought to take part in his sessions. Beside his collected works of poetry he authored another book in Persian called *The Flood of Knowledge (Ṭūfān-i Maʿrifat)* containing witticisms and tales composed in both poetry and prose.

The poetry of his collected works is mainly in Turkish but there are also relatively many poems in Persian. Based on the extant manuscript of his collected works he has four distich poems (*mathnavi*), a bilingual poem and a large number of *ghazals* in Persian. A remarkable feature of his collected works of poetry is the existence of several verse compositions in Turkish and Persian entitled *Treatise on the Pen Name* (*Makhlaṣ-nāma*). The subject of these treatises on the pen name is the awarding of a licence or diploma of poetry and the granting of a poetical pen name to his students. In these treatises, while granting a pen name to his student, he gives advice and stresses the mission of the pen and the responsibility it entails. He tells the student he should use the pen in praise of the prophet and that he should avoid unsuitable jests and satire. Furthermore, in the essay on the pen name written for Mīr 'Āmir he also comments on the eloquence of the sultan (and not eulogy of him). These treatises on the pen name constitute his own special style invented by him. In the words of Gibb,[1] it is not possible to find other examples of this kind of discussion in any of the poetry written by other poets. Here follow further comments by Gibb on the life of Nash'at.

> Khoja Nesh'et was as skilled in the use of arms as he was in the interpretation of the Mesnevi. He was moreover the owner of a fief, and therefore liable for military service. So when war broke out with Russia in 1768, the Khoja shut up his school, buckled on his trusty sword, and, joining the Imperial forces, took part in the defence of his fatherland. When, after having distinguished himself by his valour on the field, he returned to Constantinople, he reopened his classes and began again to expound the subtleties of the Mesnevi. But henceforward he adopted the extraordinary habit of always appearing when he delivered his lectures with his sword by his side, fully armed and equipped for battle. This practice was the more strange as it was against the

[1] Gibb 4, 215–216.

custom for any Turk to wear a sword except when on a compaign or a journey.[2]

From a consideration of Nash'at's life and manner of behaviour it can be deduced that his Sufism was mixed with an ethics of bravery of the 'Ayyār model and that he lived according to the behaviour of young men's organizations like the *javān-mardān* and *fityān* of old. According to their customs, when a person joined their group there were initiatory ceremonies during which he would enter into an agreement which stipulated that he would accept the behaviour of the prophet and purity and nobility as his standard for the rest of his life and that he would help the poor and the needy .... These points are precisely those which Nash'at recommends to his students in these treatises on the pen name.

THE POEMS IN PERSIAN UNDER PRESENT CONSIDERATION

As has been said, in the present manuscript of the complete works of Nash'at there are four Persian poems composed of distichs (*mathnavi*), three of which are treatises on the pen name while the fourth is a treatise on fur (*pūstīn nāma*). The Treatise on Fur is an interesting distich poem (*mathnavi)* consisting of 27 distichs with the following opening verses.

پوستینی خواستم از گرگ دهر پوستم بر کند از سردی قهر
من نگفتم که بپوشانم سمور که شوم از ناز و نخوت پر غرور

I requested a fur from the wolf of time
(But) in the coldness of its rage it tore off my skin.
I did not say "Clothe me in sable!"
so that I would become proud of coquetry.

In other words he requested a fur coat from time, but not an expensive fur like sable, rather a less expensive one like rabbit or cat. But, even in giving him this, time has been stingy. Unfortunately I am not able to publish the whole poem here since the manuscript is illegible and erroneous.

However, in the other three poems, all of which are treatises on the pen name, one can find insightful descriptions of literary gatherings and night-sessions in Istanbul a few centuries ago. There are descriptions of the gardens, wine and sweets, the sugar-coated nuts and foodstuffs, the short-stemmed pipe, the long-stemmed pipe. In short all the things necessary for entertainment like fine food, wine, beautiful nature and stimulating conversation, with jokes, viewpoints, and laughter exchanged between men of letters. While tasting the wine and sweets the students would read poems describing their master and their sessions with him. Their master would also read his treatise on the pen name as part of the bestowing of a pen name on the student who was the object of consideration. The aim of the festivities and the gathering was to emphasize the "mission of the pen".

[2] ibid.

The present manuscript has no date and is from the thirteenth century A. H. It is characterized by poor writing and is full of errors. For this reason it was not possible to edit the distichs which I recalled in discussing each *mathnavi*. The number of the manuscript in the library of the University of Uppsala is ONOV-668.

For the Persian text of the three *mathnavis* on the pen name, the reader is referred to the following ten pages.

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مَخلَص نامه وحیی سلیمان افندی (نقشبندی)

این مثنوی دراصل ۷۷ بیت‌بوده‌است، که ۷۱ بیت‌آن دراینجابه‌چاپ می‌رسد.

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یک طرفی روضه ولدان حور

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بزم بهشتی‌و شراب طهور — هست‌درآن‌طوبی‌وحوروقصور

ساقی زچاه ذقن آورد آب
یافت‌گل‌وساغرازآن‌آب‌وتاب

نغمه‌سنطورو نی‌وارغنون — گه‌خردافزای شده،گه‌جنون
نشأه‌می ذات‌وصفاتم‌گرفت — مستی‌من دامن ذاتم گرفت
بلبل‌وگل‌گشت‌همین‌جازراغ — گریه‌وماتمکده‌شدجوی‌وباغ
نایب‌میناو پیاله همان — دیده‌ودل‌گشت‌همین آن‌زمان
صبح‌شدآن‌شام‌من اماچنین — صبح قیامت سحر یوم دین
بردسبق اشک روانم زجو — باغ زراغم خجل‌و زرد رو
باغ‌ارم‌بودم‌و ویران‌شدم — گشت خرابیم فزون دمبدم
هاتف‌غیبم در دل‌را زده — گفت‌که ای آگه غفلت زده

این‌چه‌غم‌وسوزش‌وشیدایی‌است؟
ازره هشیار چه‌سودایی‌است؟

نیست کدویی سربزم جهان — زین می کهنه نشود سر گران
درغم شادی مشو وشادباش — بگذر ازآزادی و آزادباش
گفتم این دردسر واین خمار — نیست ز مستی می ناگوار
ازغم رفتن نه تهی رفتن است — رفتن وگمنانی وگم گشتن است
سرو روان عدم آزادی است — او بربی برگی وبی زادی است
کن به نسب نامه گردون نگاه — قصه خیرالخلف مهرو ماه
بی پسری مانده تهی خاندان — گه بگشاید بریارانش خوان
حضرت یاران چودهندش سلام — باکه کند باز در احترام

یاکه رساند بریاران من
عشق ونیاز دل سوزان من

تانفروزد چوچراغ آفتاب — شب خوش یاران نکند ماهتاب
سروکهن رخت به تابوت بست — سرو جوان بخت بجایش برست
برق تحسر شدن است آه آه — رفتن ازین خرمن چون شعله گاه
من به دگر عالم وعالم دگر — باخودیم بیخودی گشته مگر
گلرخ غیبیم شده دستگیر — جام دگرداد وبگفتا بگیر
غم مخور ازخوانچه خسروان — نیست خمار ازمی جام جنان
گر پسرت نیست پسر خوانده هست — گر نشود دل چه غمت؟ جان که هست
چون غرض از نغمه ونی خوش دمی است — نای گل ونای نیین یک دمی است
توبه عزیزان بهشت همنشین — نام توبر مجلس یاران همین

تو به جهان دگری شادمان
می رسدت فاتحه رحمت هرآن

این چه حساب است تراکم زنند[1] — حضرت یارانت فرامش کنند
زان یکی ازحضرت یارانت این — ملک سخن راکه سلیمان همین
گر ز تخلص کنیش نامدار — ساید برمه کله افتخار
پور هنرپرور وروشن روان — ذات وصفاتش چوزمین وآسمان
علم الأسما[2] به سرش سرنوشت — حرف به هرلوح دلش برنوشت
آتش دست است و هم آتش زبان — آتش طبع است وچه روشن روان
لطف سخن لطف طبیعت چنان — کوثروگلزار جنان این وآن
چرب زبان، چرب سخن، چرب دست — چربی وشیرینی خودذاتی است

-کم زدن: دست کم گرفتن، به حساب نیاوردن، ناچیز شمردن.
- اشاره به آیه ۳۱ سوره بقره: وعلم آدم الأسماء کلها....

با همه فن و هنر آن زاده مرد
دامن آزادگیش نیست گرد

بنده مقبول شه نقشبند[1] نسبت از ایشان شده اش نقشبند
بنده خاص است به خاصان حق برده به پاکی ز سر و شان سبق
داغ غلامی به جبینش عیان حلقه بگوش در احراریان[2]
گفتمش: آخر چه تخلص دهم؟ هر چه بفرمایی همان آن نهم
گفت که «وحیی» لقبی ز آسمان وحیی گفتند همه قدوسیان
گشته چو تبشیر تباشیر می های و هویی در دل من شد چونی
تافت شهابی ز سماوات ذات سوخت چو او هام شیاطین صفات
آتش از این می به دلم در گرفت چرخ ز دو جان و خرد بر گرفت
مستیم آخر شده فریادرس بیخودی ما را بخود آورد پس
خواندم و پیشش بنشاندم همان دادم منشور و بگفتم که هان

ای پسر جان و پسر خوان[3] من
چه پسرم؟ یعنی دل و جان من

اینک منشور تخلص به تو فیض خدا باد ترا نو به نو
هان که منشور تخلص چنان آمده از عالم روحانیان
وحییت نامند از آن قدسیان تا بودت وحی دل عارفان
گر سخنت هزل بود همچو لاف وه که شود گفته قدسی گزاف
غیر حق از کان گهر شد روان کذب بود گفته روحانیان
نعت و مناجات رسول خدا بس بتو این دولت هر دو سرا
شهد شفا ساز چو یعسوب[4] باش خرمگسی بین که چه رسواست فاش
چون غرض نشأت از این قیل و قال نیکی و خوبی است بهر وضع و حال

شیوه اخلاق کریمان بیار
تا که بوی شاد به دار القرار

۱- خواجه بهاءالدین محمد بخاری مشهور به «نقشبند» (درگذشته ۷۹۱ هجری/ ۱۳۸۹ مسیحی) صوفی معروف و مؤسس طریقه نقشبندیه.

۲- مقصود خواجه عبیدالله احرار است، که از بزرگان مشایخ طریقهٔ نقشبندیه بوده، و در ۸۹۵ ق/ ۱۴۹۰ م وفات یافته است.

۳- یعنی پسرخوانده.

۴- یعسوب: زنبور عسل، ملکه زنبور عسل.

مَخلَص نامه شیخ مشتاق افندی

(و ستایش عبدالقادر گیلانی)

این‌مثنوی دراصل ۱۳۳ بیت‌بوده‌است، که‌دراینجا ۹۲ بیت‌آن به‌چاپ می‌رسد.

مشکینه‌شبی چوکاکل حور — روشن سرمه ز دیده‌خور
پروانه‌شده‌است‌کرم‌شب‌تاب — روشن‌شده لیک‌شمع‌مهتاب
در قلزم نورکون غرقاب — سیاره شناوراست‌مرغاب
انجم شده‌اند انجمن‌ساز — بایکدگری به‌عشوه‌دمساز
درخانه بدیم درشبستان — چون‌دربصدف،صدف‌به‌عمان
درخانه‌و من چگونه‌وچون — دربیت محبت‌است مضمون
یک‌حیرت‌و صدهزار خلسا[1] — یک‌خوابم‌و صدهزارمعنا
ناگاه بلول[2] صبح آهنگ — شدبلبل‌باغ هفت اورنگ
ناهید سحر خروس بلبل — نالیدو گشاد صبحدم‌گل
یلدا شب‌تیره ماه‌دیجور — نوروز شده ز عالم‌نور
دراشک وضوی توبه سازی — کردیم‌نیازو پس نمازی
آیین پرستش سحرگاه — بسته به‌ختام حمد لله

صهبای‌یمن به‌ساغرچین
بانقل‌و مفرحات‌مشکین

خوردیم‌ودماغ‌چاغ‌شدچاغ — شددودتوتن چوسنبل‌باغ
با غلغل نارگیل زرسر — خاموش شد آبشارکوثر
در عالم نشأه سحرگاه — نی‌گشته‌هنوزچاشت‌ناگاه
آوازخوشی خوش‌آمدازدر — یعنی‌که‌منم‌چوحلقه‌بردر
دیدم‌که‌ستاره‌سفته‌گوشی — دانش منشی‌و تیز هوشی
غنچه‌دهنی‌و بلبل آواز — هدهد خبری‌و محرم راز
آورد نویدگل به باغی — خونین‌جگری چولاله‌داغی
آمد ز دیار آشنایی — آورد پیام روشنایی

۱- اصل: «خلیا» ؟ وخلسااحتمالاً همان خلسه است.

۲- لول: سرمست‌وبانشاط، بی‌شرم‌وبی‌حیا.

آورد ز جـــنت او ســلامی
درگـــاه‌نیاز،خـــوش‌پیامی

بـــــانازونیاز کـــرده‌آغاز — می‌گفت‌چونی‌زعشق‌دمساز...
کـــردند ســران رکـــابداری — من‌جلوه‌گری به شـهسواری
درپیش رونـده پـیش‌خدمت — بـــراسب صبا چـمانه نشأت
شـــاطر بـــچگان از ســرناز — بـــاعشوه‌گـــری فسانه‌پرداز
بـــــردندمرا بـــه‌شان‌وشوکت — تـــا ســایه آن ســرای دولت

تـــــادرگه آن‌بـــــلندایـــوان
درگـــلشن‌پاک بـــاغ‌رضوان

ازخـانه‌برون‌شد اهـل‌خانه — چـــون‌ازدل شـــعرعاشقانه
ازباد نسـیم دست تـعظیم — خـــم‌گشته نـهال‌قدتکریم
سلمای سلام عشوه‌گر شد — عالم‌زعلیک عشـق‌اثـرشد
نـازک‌پسران بـغل گـرفتند — تـــاصدرسرا مـــرابـــبردند
یـــاران‌هـمه‌ایستاده‌بودند — دســـــتارادب‌نـــهاده‌بودند
اجرای رسوم دست بوسی — گـــردید بـــه‌عزوچاپلوسی

دیـــدم‌چه‌سرای‌دولت‌آبـــاد
ایـــوان‌بـــهشت آمـده یـاد

چـون‌دیده‌به‌روزنش‌تماشا — در بـحرسیه سـپید یکـجا
طاقش برواق‌چرخ پیوست — ازعرش بـلند انـدکی‌پست
در طـاقچه لاجـورد زریـن — آویـخته‌زآسـمان‌چوپروین
مـــرغان هـــزار نـغمه‌پرور — در برج‌قفس چـومرغ‌اخـتر
مـرغان‌فرنگ ارغـنون‌ساز — بـــانغمه بـــلبلان هـــم‌آواز
در گـــلشن او ارم تـــجلی — سنبل‌به‌رخش کشیده‌نیلی
ازنـــــهمت‌سرووقمری آزاد — سرسبز زطـوطیان دلشـاد

بـــایاسمن‌و گـل‌و گـلستان
سیمین‌تن‌وگل‌عذارخـوبان

لاله‌زگـــل‌عطرداروخـــوشبو — خـــــوش‌نغمه‌زبلبلان‌کوکو
شـــدآب‌روان،روان‌بـــهرسو — چـــون‌چشمه‌آفتاب دلجـــو
گـــــلزارچـــنین،ســـرادل‌آرا — مـــی‌کردم‌مست‌می تـــماشا
آن اطـــــلسیان بـــرج‌دولت — ســـیاره‌سعد شـــان‌وشوکت
نـــوکر بـــچگان نـــازنینان — صف‌بسته‌و دست‌نـاز یـازان
هرگلبن‌ناز شـادو سـرمست — شاخ‌سمن توتون به‌دودست
هریک به‌تلاش‌کار در پیش — مهمان‌بنوازوخدمت‌انـدیش

ناگه پسران اشاره کردند — صهبای یمن اداره کردند
تنباکوی خوش دماغ‌پرور — شد نشأه‌فزا و شوق‌آور
دادند برای خیرمقدم
شیرینی و قهوه خوب در دم

آبشخور میهمان کیانی — دادند به رسم میزبانی
برگشت تهی چو جام مینا — وز راح نوازش احبا
هنگام، از آن عشق آمد — مطرب بطرب چنین درآمد
از نی شکرین نغمه می‌خواست — نی زن به نیاز و ناز برخاست
چون نای همی‌زد آتش دم — گویا شده چوب خشک ابکم
سررشته عشق تار طنبور — می‌داد به همزبان سنطور
نالید چو دف زر جلاجل
از سیلی اوستاد کامل

کردیم اشاره بادبیری — از نای قلم گرفت تیری
بوسید زمین و کرد خدمت — در پیش نشست او به عزت
گفتم که ز درعنبرآمیز — از کان دلم جواهرانگیز
منشور تخلصش بیارای — گویم بنویس باهش و رای
از نام و نشان تاجداران — منشور بنه به لوح دوران
آغاز سخن کن از خداوند — کو داد به جان ز عشق پیوند
بفرست درود عاشقانه — بر فخر رسل شه یگانه
سلطان سریر قاب قوسین (۱) — شاهنشه تخت ملک کونین
بنویس ایا ز نسل اکرم
ای پور نجیب غوث اعظم!

اورنگ‌نشین ملک معنی — شاهنشه اولیاست یعنی
سلطان ولایت عبدقادر (۲) — از حکم قدیر اوست قادر
هر بنده‌اش از ریاض جنت — کرده بسرش گلی کرامت
گلبن تویی از ریاض گلشن — گلشن ز تو هست چشم روشن
گلزار ترا که باغبانی — من کردم و تو چنانکه دانی
آباد شده به وفق دلخواه — آراست ز فیض حمد لله
گلهای شکفته حسن اخلاق — بلبل سخنش گرفته آفاق

۱- از آیه ۹ سوره نجم: فکان قاب قوسین أو أدنی.

۲- عبدالقادر گیلانی (۴۷۱- ۵۶۱ ق / ۱۰۷۸- ۱۱۶۶م) صوفی معروف و بنیانگزار طریقه قادریه، در گیلان زاده شد، در بغداد زیست و درگذشت.

دیـــدم به جمال عشق مشتاق — مـخلص بتو داده ایـم مشتاق
ای عـــال[1] تـــبار پور دلبند — فـــرزندی وار جـــمند فرزند!
ای آل شـــریف کـعبه جان — فـرزند خـلف ترین عـرفان
دادیـــــم ترا بـــه یادگاری — گـنج گـهری بـه سازگاری
گـــوهر نه برای زیب اطـفال — روشن کن چشم جان کـحال
سوداگر خوش قماش جانان — کالای فروش حسن خوبان
شـایسته تـاجران قـلاش — شـهبندر[2] این گروه او بـاش
ســـــرمایه مکن تو سیمبر را — رخســـاره زرد عشـــق زر را

درنـعت شـه سـروش لشکر
اورنگ نشـــین هـفت پیکر

نـقدینه جانت صرف او کـن — اوصـاف خـدایگانه خـوکن
زیـر علم جناب حسان[3] — مـحشور شوی به حشر و میزان
از هـــجو و مزاح و هـــزل پرهیز — در دامـــن خوشدلی درآویـز
پند پدری بگوش هش کوش — خشنودی خلق و خالقت کـوش
تـوفیق کـلاه بـر سرت بـاد — هـمت چو لباچه[4] در بـرت باد
عـالی نسـبی بـلند فـطرت — از تـــو به چنین امـــید نشأت

یـــادم بنما بـــه خـیر یادی
بـــا خـــیر دعا و خـیر بادی

۱- عال: عالی.
۲- شهبندر: شاه‌بندر، رئیس بازرگانان، رئیس بندر، بندرآزاد.
۳- حسان بن ثابت: شاعر مشهور پیامبر، که در سال ۵۴ ق / ۶۷۴ م وفات یافت.
۴- لباچه: بالاپوش.

مَخلَص نامه میر عامر افندی

این مثنوی دراصل ۶۵ بیت بوده‌است، که ۵۸ بیت آن دراینجا به‌چاپ می‌رسد.

بیا ای صبای صباح حیات — روان‌بخش جان‌پرور کائنات
بفرمابفرما مناز و مناز — همین‌است‌ازمن یک عرض‌نیاز
بسوی‌گلستان خرامان‌خرام — سواره‌به‌اسب سلیمان[1] خرام
بگوباغبان‌را برآرای‌باغ — بران‌ازگلستان‌توکابوس‌زاغ
ز جلاب ترکن رخ گلستان — نوآرایشی ده زگل بوستان
بشوبلبلان‌را دهان‌ازشراب — که‌مستانه‌آیدفغانشان‌خراب
به‌طاوس‌نرگو که‌تادست‌ورو — به‌خون تذروی کند شست‌وشو
بگوسروبن‌را شود حله‌پوش — که‌عرش‌گلستان‌بخواهدسروش
ز زلف بنفشه گره برگشا — پریشانش کاکل‌شود از صبا
بگیسوی‌سنبل بگو شانه‌زن — شود عنبرین‌بو دماغ چمن

بروب‌وبگستر بزیرچنار
نمدهای‌جامی‌شکوفه‌نگار

زاستبرق‌و سندس نورباف — چمن‌را چوفردوس‌سازو ملاف
به‌دراج‌وطوطی‌وکوکو بگو — به‌ققنوس‌و قمری‌وبلبل‌بگو
که‌آیندبزم‌من صف‌زنان — به‌قانون‌سازندگان‌مطربان
چمانه کنی بزمی‌آراسته — به‌گلزارشاهانه ناکاسته
روان‌خواهم‌آمدسحرگاه‌من — به‌گلگشت‌گلشن به‌بزم چمن
به‌شبدیزطبعم‌سواره‌روان — سلیمان، وبراسب‌بادوزان
سپاه‌سخنور قطارو قطار — زایران‌وتوران‌همه‌نامدار
همه‌قهرمانان‌وگردنکشان — ز صاحب‌قرانان دور زمان
زصبروتحمل به‌درع‌و سپر — ز آداب غیرت کلاه و کمر

بسرازهمه عذرخواهی‌کلاه
ببرکاغذین‌جامه‌دادخواه

علمهای‌مخلص برافراخته — درفشم‌زمه مهچه‌ای‌ساخته
زشان‌و شکوهم درکره‌نای — زغریدن کوس شهرت صدای

۱- نام نشأت، سلیمان است.

زمین پرطنین وزمان ولوله ثرا و ثریا شود زلزله
برانیم اشهب برسم وبراه ولی عهدمن هم عنانم چوماه
بهان بزرگان پوران من همه وارث تخت وبخت سخن
چوسیاره گردفروزنده ماه چوخورشیدبرسرزشهرت کلاه
بدین دولت و فراسکندری برسم کیانی، بدین داوری
بملک گلستان کنم خیمه زن
چونوروز شاهم بصحن چمن

کنم بزم جم را نو آرایشی زمانی گذارم به آرامشی
مغنی بساز آورد چون سرود بمالد چومطرب همی گوش عود
می ارغوانی ابا ارغنون تن آسوده ازمکر دوران دون
کنم کامرانی بفرهنگ وهوش زدست نگارین شوم باده نوش
نشینم بآیین بدان انجمن سخن چون به دیوان اهل سخن
بلنداختر ازدودمان سخن پسر خوانده فرزانه فرزندمن
ز شهزادگان سخن زای من ز پوران روشن روان سخن
یکی سرفرازو سرآمدجوان جوان بخت دولت، سعادت نشان
هنرورخردمند بافروهوش توگفتی که آمد زبالا سروش
یک اقلیم بخشم زملک سخن
دهم نام عامر درآن انجمن

به فیض تخلص رسانم به ماه شوددولت افسر، زشهرت کلاه
به تشریف خلعت کنم کامگار به منشور مخلص کنم نامدار
همه سروران و سران سخن زمین بوس تحسین کنان پیش من
بفرمایم آنگه نویسنده را که منشور دولت نویسد سزا
بگویم: چنین کش رقم نامدار شودلوح کافور مشکین نگار
پس از نام پاک خداوندجان که گنجور عرش اوکندشاعران
ایا پورهشیار روشن روان بلنداختر و بختیار مهان
امیر عامر عالی تبارونژاد چنین نام نامیش فرخنده باد
یک اقلیم دادم زملک سخن
همه گنج گوهر زعلم لدن

مرآن گنج گوهر تراداده اند نه بهر تلف ناسزاداده اند
شود صرف نعت رسول خدا گرانمایه گوهر که داری شها
دعای شهنشاه عالم بگو همین فرض عین است برماوتو
بانصاف وداد وبآیین وساز به احسان بکوش و رعیت نواز
مکش تیغ الماس گوهرنگار مکش نام و ناموس مردان کار

به‌تاج‌تواضع شوی سرفراز — به‌تخت‌نوازش شوی دلنواز
سزاوار را هم سیاست‌مکن — چه‌مجرم‌نوازست شاه سخن!
تویی افتخارو مباهات‌من — شوی یادگارم به دورکهن
چوگل‌تازه‌روباش‌وبلبل‌نوا — شودزنده‌نامت به‌هردوسرا

نگهبان‌تو باد پروردگار
هزاران‌بهاران‌بشادی‌گذار

A Historical Poem on the Attack on Iran by the Afghans

TAHERE RAHMANI, Uppsala

Durr-i Najaf[1] is a poem consisting of 1500 distichs on the subject of the attack on Iran by the Afghans. It was composed in 1137 A. H. (1724/5) by Nadim of Mashhad, renowned statesman of the period of King Sultan Husayn, the Safavid, and of Nadir Shah. He was present in Isfahan in 1134(1721) at the time of the attack by the Afghans on the city and made the greatest effort to defend it. However he was left alone by his soldiers and it was only with difficulty that he managed to save his life in this dangerous situation and reach Najaf where he composed the present poem.

The background to these events is that the army of the king, Sultan Husayn, had fled to Isfahan after being defeated by the Afghans who had then placed the city under siege. The siege dragged on for a long time and nine months passed. Famine, starvation and fear held sway over the population. In these circumstances Nadim stepped forward and took measures for a military attack. According to his own words, if he had not taken those steps, the whole population of Isfahan would have been massacred (p. 57).

نیست نهان بر همه کس هست فاش — در ره این خلق نمودم تلاش
گر نبدی سعی من اندر میان — زنده نماندی کسی از اصفهان
جمله ز افغان چو فراری شدند — رفته در آن شهر حصاری شدند
مدت نه ماه گذشت از میان — رفت ز مردم همه تاب و توان
لطف تو یا شاه چو توفیق داد — جرأت من پای به میدان نهاد
می زنم از فضل تو شاها صلا — حق حیات است به مردم مرا

It is not hidden as everyone can see
the pains I took for the sake of these people.
If it hadn't been for my efforts
no one would have been left alive in Isfahan.
When everyone fled from the Afghans
they entered that city and were besieged.
A period of nine months went by;
All fortitude and strength departed from the people.
O King, your benevolence gave divine guidance!
My courage came forth into view.
I advertise through your excellence, O King!
The population is in debt to me for their lives.

[1] *Durr-i Najaf*, composed by Nadim of Mashhad, edited by Tahere Rahmani, Iran (Mashhad) 1379 (2001).

He states, "It is not a secret from anyone since everyone knows that I exerted myself for the sake of these people. If I had not made these efforts no one would have remained alive in Isfahan. When the regiments had fled from the Afghans they took refuge in Isfahan and were put under siege. This seige lasted nine months and exhausted the endurance of the people. At that time I began to take action." Here he emphasizes that the people of Isfahan are indebted to him for their lives. In another place he adresses himself, saying, (p. 49).

پیشروجنگ‌قزلباش‌تو بادیه‌گرمترازآش‌تو

O you, leader of the Qizilbash at war,
you were a bowl hotter than soup!

or in paraphrase: "You were the commander of the Qizilbash in battle and it was you who strove and exerted yourself more than all the rest in this war."

In reality *Durr-i Najaf* is a collection of reminiscences of the war and the fall of Isfahan, the heartache and a description of the mood and not an official historical account in which the author has undertaken to give a report of everything that happened. In this respect it has special characteristics of its own. In recalling his own memories, the poet is seeking to establish the cause of the defeat of Isfahan and the conquest by the Afghans. He points out political and social corruption and the splittered and disrupted state of affairs in the government and the army as the cause of the defeat (p. 70).

درپی‌بازی‌همه‌شاه‌ووزیر درسرحیله‌همه‌برناوپیر
عالم‌وفاضل‌همگی‌جاهلند بس‌که‌بدنیای‌دنی‌مایلند
رفته‌به‌بیدادهوی‌گرددین نیست‌اثردردلی‌ازدرددین

The king and his minister devote themselves to play;
Young and old devote themselves to trickery.
The learned and the erudite are completely ignorant;
Indeed they aspire only to the base world.
They have circumscribed religion with the injustice of desire
There is no trace of respect for religion in their hearts.

In other words the king and his minister are only interested in play while young and old are all in pursuit of fraud and trickery. The jurists and the religious authorities are all ignorant because they devote all their care and attention to their own material lives. They follow their inclinations to desire and lust and in their hearts no one gives a thought to religion.

In the two distichs below the author considers the king to be a sinner and expresses the hope that he will repent of his sins or, in other words, that he will turn away from his past behaviour so that he will be able to get the disrupted state of government back into order (p. 96).

هست‌سگ‌کوی‌توسلطان‌حسین گشته‌گرفتاردرین‌شوروشین
یاولی‌اللهخلاصیش‌ده توبه‌زمجموع‌معاصیش‌ده

(O 'Alī) Sultan Husayn is the dog of your neighbourhood;
He is caught in this disgraceful tumult.
O Friend of God give him redemption!
Give him remorse for all his sins!

In the chapter in which he describes the social situation of the people of Iran he says that there is no trace of religion, cooperation, or aid to the indigent and that everyone only thinks of commerce, constructing buildings, the glitter and gaudiness of life, and fine clothing for the wife. People have forgotten tolerance and forbearance. In exchange bribery is current. (p. 70).

ترک زاغماض شده عین شرع　　رشوه بود واسطه مابین شرع

Abandonment of toleration became the essence of religion
And bribery is the mediator within religion.

Even men of letters are only interested in money. There is no sign of friendship and cooperation in any group and hypocrisy and strife have gotten the upper hand everywhere. Usury is prevalent everywhere (p. 70).

متصلاً در پی اکل ربا　　جمله ربا بینده تر از کهربا

Continually for usury
Everyone is more attractive than the magnet.

After describing the corruption and decadence of the king, the minister and society he describes the disruption of the affairs of the goverment and the army (p. 71).

همچو صراحی همه گردنکشان　　بسته به اندام و نزاکت میان
جملگی آماده برای شکست　　گوش بر آواز صدای شکست
فوج قزلباش گریزان ز جنگ　　رفته ز خاطر همه را نام و ننگ
در پی انعام و مواجب تمام　　در سفر و معرکه غایب مدام

Champions, like the long-necked flask
have put on their stylish girdles,
the whole crowd is prepared for defeat.
With ear attuned to the call of the voice of defeat,
the troops of the Qizilbash are fleeing from war.
with all thought of reputation and honor gone.
They are always in pursuit of reward and pensions,
while continually absent from expedition and battlefield.

He says that the uniforms of the soldiers are impeccable and their appearance is comely but all of them have their ears attuned to defeat and flight. The army of the Qizilbash is fleeing from battle and they have forgotten reputation and honour. All of them are looking for rewards and monthly wages but they are absent from expeditions and battles.

All of these circumstances are signs of the disruption of the conditions of government and the non-existence of capable leadership in the army. And an army in this condition has no other future than defeat.

On the other hand the situation of the people is also upset. The people have all become rebellious and insurgent and it is as though sedition and insurrection had become commonplace (p. 71).

خلق ز عصیان همه یاغی شده ماده فتنه دماغی شده

The people rebelled because of disobedience
The substance of sedition has become proud.

A discussion of the social conditions in the final years of the Safavid dynasty, which are similar to those of contemporary Iran, and an examination of the political and economic conditions of the time is too big a subject for one or two hasty lines or even one or two articles; rather this topic requires volumes based on research. Here the poet merely refers to the situation in the form of allusions.

King Sultan Husayn surrendered the crown and throne of his sultanate to Mahmud, the Afghan, on the 12th of Muharram 1135 (24 October 1722) and was killed shortly afterword. But in the year 1134, before the siege of Isfahan, the crown prince and heir apparent, Tahmasp, had left Isfahan and set out for Qazvin and Tabriz with the aim of gathering an army. Nadim is aware of the departure of the crown prince and probably he has also heard news that the king has been killed. Therefore he has pinned his hopes on the crown prince and desires his victory (p. 107).

دوده فرخنده این دودمان گوهر ارزنده این بحر و کان
مهر سپهر فلک عز و جاه بنده درگاه تو طهماسب شاه
چشم امیدش به تمنای تو روی به او دارند اعدای تو
شیر دل یک تنه چون آفتاب گرم تلاش است درین انقلاب
حفظ کن از چشم بدش یا علی باش همیشه مددش یا علی

The oldest son of this family,
that valuable jewel of this sea and mine,
that sun of the sphere, heavenly sky of greatness and pomp,
that servant at your court, Tahmaspshah!
His eye sees hope in your wish
while your enemies fix their attention on him.
Lion-hearted, alone like the sun,
he struggles in this upheaval.
O ʻAlī, preserve him from the evil eye!
O ʻAlī, always be his supporter!

He explains that the oldest son of the Safavid family, that is, the heir apparent and valuable jewel of this dynasty, Tahmaspshah is single-handedly engaged in an attempt to find an army and his enemies are ready to hunt him down. He addresses a prayer to ʻAlī, "Preserve him from the misfortune of the times!"

Nadim of Mashhad was a clear-sighted politician. Today, when some three hundred years have passed since these events took place, history shows us clearly that at this time the Afghan leader, Mahmud, was instigating an uprising with Aurangzeb, the king of India, on the one hand and plotting with the Ottomans on the other.

However Nadim, with his political clear-sightedness, understood already then that this was exactly what was happening and refers to it in his poem (p. 95).

دشمن دین بسته به هم جمله عهد در تلف شیعه‌ات از روی جهد

The enemies of religion have all entered into agreement
For the destruction of the Shi'as through toil.

In other instances he also makes similar allusions.

When Nadir appears on the scene, Nadim gives him his support and Nadir shows him great honour. In fact it has been reported by the historians that no one beside Nadim had permission to be seated during the counsel assemblies with Nadir. This indicates that he was the most dearly esteemed politician at the consultations and that Nadir highly approved of him. According to statements by Indian biographers it was at the request of Nadim of Mashhad that Nadir stopped the massacre of Delhi, although Iranian historians attribute the suspension of the massacre to the request of the king and influential men of India.

Documents which I have recently come upon and which will be published as an appendix to the book contain the political correspondence of Nadir with the Ottoman government during the siege of Baghdad. They are written in the hand and style of Nadim and illustrate what a great Nadim's importance had in Nadir's government.

In 1156 Nadir resumed his heavy attacks on the Ottomans and after a number of military encounters he massively crushed the armies of that country and finally oblige the Ottomans to make peace in the signing of an agreement in 1158. Nadim supported Nadir up until 1156 and in his collected works of poetry there is a bilingual distich poem (*mathnavi)* in Turkish and Persian which refers to the guilding of the dome of the mausoleum of Ali in 1155 and 1156 through the agency of Nadir. For this reason he gives him praise. This same year he retired from the service of Nadir and settled in Najaf.

While in Najaf Nadim followed the suggestion made to him by a Sufi named Nur al-din Gilani to compose a recounting in verse of the story of the life and martyrdom of Husayn, son of 'Alī. He called it the *Tasbīḥ-i Karbalā* (the Rosary of Karbala). In 1158 he completed work on the versification which contains 4570 distichs.

It was also there in Najaf that Nadim received news that Nadir had been killed on the 11th of the Second Jumada 1160 (23 July 1747). How quickly he met his end!

In 1163 (1750) Nadim died in Najaf, exhausted from all oppression and bloodshed and in despair over the political and social conditions of the country.

In addition to the two poems which have been mentioned, the collection of complete works which Nadim has left us contains ghazals, qasidas and mathnavis. Much of his poetry is related to the disaster which affected society in his day, namely the attack by the Afghans and also other difficulties of the period. I have already presented the manuscripts of these three works in my introduction to the book *Durr-i Najaf* and I need not repeat it here.

The contents of Nadim's poetry

Nadim's profession was that of counsellor and adviser to the powerful men of the realm. Usually when such persons write poetry, their collections of complete works are naturally full of eulogies dedicated to members of the court, but there is no trace of the panegyrist in his poetry. At the first level of reading, his poetry is concerned with explaining the socio-political situation in Iran at that period, especially the attack by the Afghans which was the social catastrophe of the age. And at the second level it has an ideological aspect in which Nadim describes his own beliefs and praises those who guide him in his faith, especially 'Alī, son of Abī Ṭālib.

That which is of outstanding interest in the Persian poetry of Nadim is his use of ordinary words, proverbs and expressions. He has applied them in large quantities in his poetry and integrated them with ease. Because of this the poetry which Nadim has left behind is a treasure-trove for lexicographers and researchers of popular sayings and expressions in Persian.

The personality of Nadim

In the political, diplomatic and military history of Iran he represents an outstanding personality. His great brilliance can be grasped on two occasions in his life. The first is in the massacre of the population of Isfahan in which he himself was responsible for the main plan in the defence of the city. It is likely that the extraordinary honor in which he was held by Nadir had its roots in this very occasion. The second is that, according to statements by Indian biographers, the massacre of the population of Delhi was stopped at his request.

He was a great man, a bold commander, a sincere patriot, an honourable Sufi, man of letters and a poet strongly anchored in reality. Universal personalities of his quality have been few in the political history of Iran as well as that of the whole world.

In 1155–6 Nadir had the dome of the tomb of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib repaired and guilded. If we consider the life of Nadim we see that he supported Nadir until that year but that after this he distanced himself from him. And, as we have seen, there is in his collection of poetry a macaronic distich poem in praise of 'Alī which makes an allusion to the guilding of his dome and as a result also contains words of praise for Nadir.

On the basis of this information one can ask whether these measures were undertaken as a result of the persuasion and encouragement of Nadim. Nadim, who understood that sooner or later Nadir would die, knew that all those jewels which had been looted in Delhi would be dispersed by the wind after his death. What then could be better than persuading Nadir to spend a portion of the price of those jewels on the rebuilding of the tomb of 'Alī. If indeed he reckoned in this way, history has shown that his calculations were correct.

Experience has shown that many of the charitable works which were accomplished through the agency of kings and powerful men were in reality the result of persuasion and encouragemnt by the lovers of culture and benevolent thinkers and not measures of the powerful men themselves who were most often only thinking of their own material benefits and power. Therefore could it perhaps be presumed that

the repairs and guilding of the dome of the mosque of Ali can also be counted among Nadim's cultural measures, especially in view of the fact that Nadir was devoted to 'Alī and compared his own arm and battle-axe with Ali's hand and sword (*dhū-l-faqār*).

The circumstances of the printing

The Iranian publisher has omitted about 30 distichs of the book, among them one of the most important sequences. Furthermore, since the editor was not in Iran, he entrusted the proofs to a person with the name of 'administrative editor' (*wīrāstār)* instead of sending the proofs by mail to the editor for proof-reading so that the work could be done correctly and without fault. This 'administrative editor' interfered with everything without the knowledge of the editor and changed the way of writing words from that of the original. As a result, many errors were made because there was no limit to his encroachments. He even sometimes changed the name of a source upon which the editor has relied.

Fortunately, at the suggestion of the editor, the proofs were at last sent to us prior to printing. With these at hand the editor once again proof-read the entire book, even though this was done in some haste, and corrected the new errors which had appeared. However, some remaining traces of the 'administrative editor' can still be found. For example, you can see that the title of page 85 of the edition printed in Iran reads thus: "Acquiring grace with a thousand and one (*hazār u yak*) origins… ." while the original manuscript has (*hazār yak*) which means 'one thousandth'. But since the 'administrative editor' has not understood the meaning he has added a *vav* and you can see that the difference is as great as between heaven and earth. It is amazing that, when the last set of proofs had been returned, the 'administrative editor' did not keep them safe from further encroachments but interfered once again with the sentences and comments of the editor.

Over and above all of these matters the publisher has published the book without indices. For the reasons given above it will be necessary for the editor to print a new edition with an appendix containing some points about the life of Nadim and difficulties in the vocabulary of the book which will prove useful to researchers.

Styles of Expression in Women's Literature in the Gulf

GAIL RAMSAY, Uppsala

Since the early 1970s, when the Gulf states of Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Sultanate of Oman (Oman) emerged as independent states, they have been involved in the process of establishing a modern cultural identity.[1] For roughly thirty years, these countries have made a dash towards modernisation, involving immense societal changes through technological development, industrialisation and urbanisation. One result of this modernisation process and the introduction of modern schooling that came with it is that a first generation of authors of modern literature, born between the 1940s and the 1970s, is establishing itself (Ramsay, 2003).[2] Today, these Gulf states provide primary and secondary schools for girls and boys, and universities and institutes of higher learning are open to both men and women.

The abolition of illiteracy has affected the situation of the women in these states dramatically. Their well-educated women have now acquired an instrument with which to express themselves and, what is more, to make their voices heard publicly. With their pens, they have an outlet for their thoughts, feelings and fantasies, something which has been denied to them previously (Khaṭīb, 1992, p. 31).[3] Furthermore, unmarried women, living with their families and sometimes confined to spending much of their time within or near to the home, as well as married women, assisted by high-standard household equipment and domestic servants, may well find that they have the time and capacity to write. In fact, in Qatar, where only a very small number of literary works by women appeared before the 1990s, women's writing

[1] Bahrain and Qatar gained independence in 1971 and the United Arab Emirates became independent in the same year and emerged as a federation of seven emirates in 1972. The Sultanate of Oman is usually said to have been held back from modernisation until July 23rd, 1970, when the present ruler, Sultan Qābūs bin Saʿīd, in a coup overthrew his father Saʿīd bin Taymūr. Saʿīd bin Taymūr had been opposed to any sort of change and attempted to isolate Oman from the modern world. He had opposed education, which he saw as a threat to his power. Carol J. Riphenburg, *Oman: Political Development in a Changing World*, Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger, 1998, p. 45.

[2] Bahrain has the longest history of modern literature among these Gulf states. One important reason for this is that Bahrain has provided compulsory elementary schooling for boys since 1919 and for girls since 1928. In Bahrain, the earliest fictional prose works, from the mid-1960s, were written by Khalaf Aḥmad Khalaf, Muḥammad al-Mājid and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik.

In "Cross-currents and Cross-cultures: New Literature in the United Arab Emirates and Oman" (2003), *Literature and Literary History in Global Contexts: A Comparative Project*, Margareta Peterson (ed.,) a research project (1999–2004) funded by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet), forthcoming, I have discussed the early developments of modern prose fiction in the UAE and Oman.

[3] Anwar Khaṭīb is speaking specifically about the well-educated generation of women in the UAE here.

has since then increased to such an extent that at present it represents at least half, if not the greater part, of this country's fictional literary output (Mabrūk, 1998, pp. 13–14).

In this article, I shall analyse samples of women's literature from the four Gulf states mentioned above with the intention of shedding light on three literary styles which at present are developing in women's fictional writing in this region. These styles will be referred to as realistic, magical realist and modernist.

The theoretical base of my analysis of the realistic style is largely modelled on the post-structural concept of cultural representation, as delivered by Stuart Hall and applied by Kristina Fjelkestam in her dissertation on Swedish women's literature during the interwar decades of the twentieth century. I assume that identity can be constituted in cultural representations such as literature and that literature can reshape us as subjects.[4] Fjelkestam emphasises cultural representation as having the force of remodelling rather than being mimetic and concludes that "... fiction does not reflect an established reality but is part of creating it" (Fjelkestam, 2002, p. 11).[5]

These novels will be analysed thematically from the historical and social vantage points of Thomas Hylland Eriksen's thesis on the search for cultural purity within a given society, which he summarises as follows: "One must lose one's culture in order to save it" (Eriksen, 1993, p. 46). The interpretation of this is that the grandparent generation in a given society enjoys an indigenous and undefiled culture according to which it lives without reflecting on whether its lifestyle is culturally pure. The next generation brings with it modernity and does everything to rid itself of the backward ways of the former generation. The third generation, represented in this study by the present, young, Gulf-state authors, is growing up in the modern age and losing touch with what is thought to be the pure and unadulterated culture of the past. Nevertheless, this generation is impressed with a nostalgic longing for a 'true' culture with which, in reality, it is not acquainted and does everything possible to establish what the true expressions of this culture are. All of this is represented in the realistic style under discussion here. This literary style takes after western realism in form and usually carries on a critical commentary on imported, western-consumer society, globalisation and neocolonialism.[6] Eriksen's point is underscored by

[4] Kristina Fjelkestam, *Ungkarlsflickor, kamrathustrur och manhaftiga lesbianer* (Bachelor Girls, Companionate Wives and Mannish Lesbians), Stockholm: Symposion, 2002, p. 11. Also consult Stuart Hall, "Kulturell identitet och diaspora" in *Globaliseringens kulturer* (Cultures of Globalisation), Catharina Eriksson, Maria Eriksson, Baaz, Håkan Thörn (eds.), Falun: Nya Doxa, 1999, pp. 242.

It is Alain Touraine's definition of subjectivisation which prioritizes "... the individual's right to live an individual life, to be different from others, and above all to be truly self-consistent...", which I relate to this discussion on women's realistic short stories and their role in cultural representation in the Gulf states (Touraine, 2000, p. 65).

[5] The postcolonial strategy under discussion here is largely derived from Edward Said's books, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979 (1978)) and *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993) and Mary Louise Pratt's, *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992) and is informed by poststructuralist theories with their emphases on deconstruction. A central idea here is that literature expresses not only that which is written in the printed text but also projects, unwritten views and ideas, 'fundamental truths' which are taken for granted in a given social context and therefore need not be put down in writing.

[6] Neocolonialism in this article entails a situation in which the formerly colonised remain dependent,

the findings of the sociologist Bryan S. Turner, who maintains that "The pressing awareness of cultural globalism has brought with it a necessary consciousness of regional opposition, fundamentalist faith and anti-modernism" (Turner, 1994, p. 95). This realistic literary expression, with its critical tendency, may also express what Arjun Appadurai calls "armchair nostalgia", a "nostalgia without lived experience or collective historical memory" (Appadurai, 1998, p. 78).

A supplementary theoretical tool in my analysis of this style will be found in Hisham Sharabi's theory of societies influenced by the processes of modernisation, simultaneously and to varying degrees regulated by the norms and values of traditional society, entitled neopatriarchy (Sharabi, 1988).[7] Neopatriarchy entails, among other things, growing up and obtaining an education in a technologically advanced and modernised society, which superficially conforms to the standards and developments of the industrialised world. Simultaneously, people's lives are governed by the norms of traditional tribal and patriarchal society, a situation which we are confronted with, to varying extents, in the Gulf societies today.

The realistic style will be exemplified by Asmā' az-Zarʿūnī's short story *Ḥabīsan fī waṭanī* (Locked-up in my Homeland) (1995), Fāṭima Muḥammad's short story *Fātūra* (The Bill) (1995), and Umniyāt Sālim's, short, essayistic novel, *Ḥulm ka-zurqat al-baḥr* (A Dream as Blue as the Sea) (2000), (these three are all Emirati woman writers) and Amīna al-ʿImādī's short story *ash-Shams al-bārida* (The Cold Sun) from her short story collection *Nisā' lā yaʿrifna al-bukā'* (Women Who Do Not Cry) (Qatar, 2000).

My analysis of the second style is closely affiliated to what has been called magical realism in the UAE by ar-Rashīd Abū Shuʿayr (Abū Shuʿayr, 1998, pp. 42–96).[8] Abū Shuʿayr suggests that this style has been propelled by an "allergy to modernity"—*ḥassāsiyyat al-ḥadātha*—which has resulted in a trend in Arabic literature visible since the 1970s (Abū Shuʿayr, 1998, pp. 43–4). This trend occasioned an effort to reshape the classical, western, literary schools, such as the romantic and the realistic, and crystallised in a search for an Arabic literary style and tradition independent of that of the West. According to Abū Shuʿayr, Spanish American magical realism and the works of Gabriel García Márquez have been especially influential in this quest (Abū Shuʿayr, 1998, pp. 44–5).

controlled by a global system of economic relations and intellectual practices and dependent on former colonisers to learn the organisation of state and public administration. Cf. Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, London, New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 6–7; Peter Childs & R.J. Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-colonial Theory*, Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall, 1997, p. 7; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 190.

[7] Hisham Sharabi's reasoning is further clarified by Arjun Appadurai, who states that "The megarhetoric of developmental modernization (economic growth, high technology, agribusiness, schooling, militarization) in many countries is still with us", among which countries, we may add, are at present the Gulf states. Consult Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: Public Worlds, Vol. 1, Univ. of Minnesota Press, fourth impression, 1998, p. 10.

[8] Abū Shuʿayr discusses the issue of magical realism in the Gulf in the chapter entitled "Tajribat al-wāqiʿiyya as-siḥriyya fī al-qiṣṣa al-qaṣīra al-Imārātiyya" (The experience of magical realism in the Emirati short story), 1998, pp. 42–96.

An important analytical tool with respect to this style is intertextuality, which in this article refers to the diverse modes by which a present text, the target text or the hypertext, interrelates, interacts or establishes a dialogue with other literary texts, the source texts or hypotexts (Kristeva, 1980, p. 36; Culler, 1981, pp. 103, 111–12, 115; Genette, 1982, pp. 8, 12–13, 16–19; Plett, 1991, p. 8). More specifically, intertextuality here entails 're-presenting', bringing up to the present, themes, motifs and images from the more than a thousand-year-old, Arabic, literary heritage and incorporating such elements in a realistic style, in contemporary contexts, all of which results in a magical (Gulf) realism. This magical realist style, with its elements of intertextual imagery impinging on the plot and the existence of the characters, will be exemplified by Salmā Maṭar Sayf's short story *ath-Thuʿbān* (The Snake), included in her collection entitled *Hājar* (The UAE, 1991) and Badriyya al-Wahaybī's short story *at-Tuffāḥa* (The Apple), published in *Jarīdat ʿUmān* (Oman, 2000).

The third literary style constitutes the expression of a modernist, avant-garde, narrative trend in Arabic literature. It reflects the fact that contemporary, national, Gulf identity is shaped to a considerable degree by the ambivalence between striving after modernisation and at the same time retaining traditions and reacting to western influence, globalisation and neocolonialism. The modernist Gulf writers embracing this style seem inclined to recapture a concept that traditionally has held a central position in Arabic literature, namely that the question "How should we write?" has precedence over the question "About what should we write?", as expressed by Samir el-Youssef (Youssef, 2002, p. 13). In other words, while these writers take advantage of a traditional aspect of Arabic literature, such as the precedence of form over content, including a poetic, linguistic style, they simultaneously display a reaction to realism, something originally imported from the West. As is the case in reading poetry, this style demands "an active partnership between the reader and the text in the construction of the meaning of the text", as Ibrahim Taha has succinctly pointed out (Taha, 2000, p. 68). Furthermore, their works are preoccupied with important aspects of modernism, such as the complexity of the form and "freeing the narrative from the determination of the plot" (Meyer, 2001, p. 3).

Guided by these aspects of modernistic literary expression in modern Arabic literature, as based on the findings of Stefan G. Meyer (Meyer, 2001), I shall analyse Fawziyya Rashīd's novel *Taḥawwulāt al-fāris al-gharīb fī al-bilād al-ʿāriba* (The Metamorphoses of a Strange Knight in Arabising Lands), 1990, and Dr. Munīra al-Fāḍil's novel *Li-ṣ-ṣawt, li-hashāshat aṣ-ṣadā* (To the voice, to the Cheerfulness of the Echo), 2000 (these woman authors are both from Bahrain) and Khawlā Ḥamdān's short story *Masāfa* (Distance), from the collection entitled *Aṣwātu-hunna* (Their [Female] Voices), Oman.

Translation and selection of corpus

The translations in this article are mine and as little deliberate editing as possible has been done. In the section entitled "Modernists", the Arabic original has been given in conjunction with the translation because of the poetic character and intricacy of the texts discussed.

It should be made clear that the gathering of contemporary works of literature

from the small Gulf states under discussion here is no simple task. Because of the lack of an efficient system of distribution, the interested party has to rely on the co-operation of various national and semi-private cultural establishments and literary institutions and, most importantly, on the authors themselves. Some of the authors readily present their works and some make neither themselves nor their works available. Only a very few works from this region are available in Europe or even in the Arab world outside the country of origin. It has therefore been impossible to avoid an element of randomness in the selection of the corpus for the present study. Nevertheless, this fact in itself underscores the relevance of the findings with respect to the literary styles which are introduced to the reader of modern literature by women authors in the Gulf. Owing to the difficulties in obtaining the majority of the works which I have studied in this article, I will, in some instances, present the texts with a liberality that would have been uncalled for, had they been readily available to most readers.

CRITICISM OF MODERNISED SOCIETY

Locked-up, stored away and forgotten

Asmā' az-Zarʿūnī is one of the UAEs' pioneer woman writers. She has published a number of children's books, besides two short-story collections, *Hams ash-Shawāṭī'* (Whispering of the Seashore), 1994, and *ash-Shawāṭī' al-fārigha* (The Empty Seashores) (n.d.). Her short story, *Ḥabīsan fī waṭanī*, included in *Hams ash-Shawāṭī'*, evolves around household problems in the domain of the family. An elderly man, formerly known as the sheikh of the neighbourhood and now living in an old people's home, used to live in an environment where people knew him and respected him. But his children, who in accordance with their industrialised, urban lifestyle, have pursued careers and are leading independent lives, lack the time to care for him and therefore he cannot live with them. In the strange environment of the institution, he is confused and alienated from his social network and has become a stranger in his own country.

Amīna al-ʿImādī, one of Qatar's young woman authors and academics, has published a study on Qatari women, *Masīrat al-mar'a al-qaṭariyya* (The Journey of the Qatari Woman), 1999, besides a short-story collection, *Nisā' lā yaʿrifna al-bukā'*, 2000. Her short story, *ash-Shams al-bārida* (The Cold Sun), from *Nisā' lā yaʿrifna al-bukā'*, published six years after Asmā' az-Zarʿūnī's story *Ḥabīsan fī waṭanī,* presented above, also revolves around the theme of being forced to adjust to the nuclear-family lifestyle of industrialised society, entailing, among other things, the institutional care of the elderly. In this story, it is a question of the grandmother, the mother of several sons, being confined to an institution. The young physician responsible for the establishment believes that the people obliged to live there have no one to care for them. He is surprised to learn that "most of them are among those who have sons living in the big city, inhabiting large chateaux, who move around in luxurious cars and spend the summer on the beaches of France or in the shopping malls in London" (al-ʿImādī, 2000, p. 96). The protagonist in this story becomes in-

creasingly secluded and in the end she finds herself cooped up in her bed, gazing through the single window of her room.

Both *Ḥabīsan fī waṭanī* and *ash-Shams al-bārida* speak of the breaking of the strong bonds between family members and kinship ties, something heretofore unheard of in traditional Gulf societies. The problem lies in the fact that the family in the Gulf region has traditionally constituted a person's "reservoir of economic security, political influence, social support and psychological succour", as explained by Soraya Altorki (Altorki, 1988, p. 67). The situation of family members being confined to the services of institutions rather than being cared for in the family household represents an incursion of a foreign lifestyle brought about by urbanisation and a welfare-state economy.

The dichotomy illustrated in these stories lies in the fact that it is neither lack of space nor cramped finances that prevent the older generation from being cared for in the home, but stress and lack of time. The working hours that the family head has to put into keeping up the (high) living standard prevent the younger generation from visiting the elderly, and nuclear-family life bars the older generation from residing with their children. These stories offer less than positive but nevertheless realistic visions of ultimate consumer society, as depicted by Zygmunt Bauman, in which consumers are never allowed to rest and where attempts to render the city-space logical and functional result in "the disintegration of protective nets woven of human bonds, in the psychically devastating experience of abandonment and loneliness – coupled with that of an inner void ..." (Bauman, 1998, pp. 46, 83). As far as stress is concerned, Fayad E. Kazan has demonstrated that, of the Gulf states, the UAE, Kuwait and Bahrain rank at the top regarding stress related to development and modernity, followed by Oman, Saudi Arabia and Qatar. His study showed that the levels of stress correspond to the degree of modernity and development, "thereby confirming what is already known about the stressfulness of the modernity and development experience", as he concludes (Kazan, 1993, pp. 111, 116).

Fāṭima Muḥammad, belonging to the first generation of authors in the UAE, also treats realistically the pressures of the changing ways of life since the introduction of the oil economy. In her story *Fātūra*, written during 1993–4, in her collection *Āthār ʿalā nāfidha*, we find the heroine feeling lonely and estranged in her luxurious villa in spite of the fact that she has several children to care for. The magnificent villa exhibits the new material wealth of its owners, symbolising material security and a high standard of living. But it also entails higher expenses, which necessitate long periods of absence from the home for her husband. This situation has a familiar ring to the western reader from the urban, middle and high-class residents of suburbia. As for the heroine, she suffers as she sees the changes taking place in her husband and children. He becomes harsh and irritable, she feels increasingly lonely and isolated, and, worst of all, the children feel rejected by their father. When she tries to bring up these problems with her husband he reminds her of the material luxury she possesses and fails to understand her feelings of dejection. In this tragic story the bill for the family's high standard of living is paid not only with the heroine's increasing loneliness and seclusion due to her husband's prolonged absence from the home. The ultimate price is the life of their son, who dies from drug abuse.

A specific problem connected with the Gulf region is related to what is not ex-

pressed in words in this story, but which nevertheless throws its shadow over the action, namely, that women feel that they lack the strength and capacity to combat the situation illustrated in *Fātūra*. We sense that there is a profound contradiction at the root of the evil; women learn to read and write, but they are not allowed to tackle the wider problems. Although the situation is improving, women are largely barred from the possibilities of participating in political life. Oman granted women the right to stand for election and make nominations to the National Consultative Council, *Majlis ash-Shūrā*, during the *Shūrā* elections in 1994. Two women took their place in the Council that year.[9] Qatar and the UAE have similar consultative bodies, but neither includes women.[10] In Bahrain, women were able to stand for municipal elections in 2002. None were, however, elected in this first poll, which included women candidates. As for the heroine in *Fātūra*, she perceives that there are ills in her environment and in the arrangement of the family lifestyle, but she is unable to do much about them and makes only feeble attempts to speak to her husband about them.

It is this situation which permeates the atmosphere in *Fātūra* and affects both the male character, the father, and the mother, the heroine. It is also this situation that we refer to the state of neopatriarchy with rapid, economic expansion and modernisation, all of which is subject to pre-oil, tribal structures and norms.

Besides these general problems of stress and isolation facing industrialised and urbanised societies globally, a particular dilemma for the present Gulf generation is that breaking norms and stepping outside the lines laid down by tradition may expose a family to public criticism and are actions which should be avoided. At the same time, urbanised Gulf society requires a re-organisation or at least an adjustment of the traditional ideals. As Hisham Sharabi says: "Neopatriarchal society, as 'modernized', is essentially schizophrenic, for beneath the immediately encountered modern appearance there exists another latent reality" (Sharabi, 1988, p. 23). In other words, these stories underscore the ambivalence of a society governed by pre-oil, traditional, Gulf ways of life interlocked with a rapid process of modernisation. It is this ambivalence which makes people uncertain how to live in and cope with contemporary Gulf society.

The critical question that lingers with Asmā' az-Zarʿūnī's story *Ḥabīsan fī waṭanī*, Amīna al-ʿImādī's short story *ash-Shams al-bārida* and Fāṭima Muḥammad's story

[9] In 1996, the "Basic Law" was promulgated in Oman. This law provided for the creation of an upper chamber, "The Council of State", which with the "Consultative Council" forms the "Council of Oman". Sultan Qaboos announced the appointment of 37 men and four women to the "Council of State" in December, 1997. Cf. Ahmad Mardini in (www.oneworld.org/ips2/jul/gulfwomen.html); (www.arab.net/oman/on_govtintro.htm).

[10] In May, 1998, the first election of the 18-members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry was undertaken in Qatar. The prestigious positions of this body had previously been subject to the emir's appointment alone. This marked Qatar's first exercise in democracy. Women not only cast their ballots but ran for office in these elections. Although all six women candidates lost, they managed to usher in a new political era. Cf. (www.lonelyplanet.com/destinations/middle_east/qatar/history.htm). In March 1999, Qatar held nationwide elections for a 29-member "Central Municipal Council", which has consultative powers and is aimed at improving the provision of municipal services. Cf. (www.typeqatar.com); (www.arab.net/qatar).

Fātūra is which course will the necessary reformulation of the traditional culture take? The irony of these stories is that, contrary to the common belief that urbanisation and modernisation imply freedom of movement, especially for women, these women authors choose to focus on the fact that the nuclear-family lifestyle of western-style consumer societies may impose less freedom and more isolation on some of their members, at least in neopatriarchal societies. Formerly, people lived close together, in extended families in the Gulf. This meant that the female and elderly members of the household would always have company. In the oil-economy society, each nuclear family lives sharply marked off from close relatives, sometimes even far away geographically. To this are added the new demands of making a career and gaining a high income and status, all of which requires the family head to spend long hours away from home. This has brought material security to the family but may become a source of loneliness and isolation for the women at home and the elderly in institutions, all of which is underlined and realistically depicted in *Ḥabīsan fī waṭanī, ash-Shams al-bārida* and *Fātūra*.

Nostalgic dreams as blue as the sea

Ḥulm ka-zurqat al-baḥr (A Dream as Blue as the Sea), by the Emirati writer Umniyāt Sālim, born in the UAE in 1971, represents another line of criticism than that which we have encountered in the themes of the short stories discussed above. This 93-page, medium-script collection of essays divided into chapters under headings such "On the shores of my life, confused voices", "The sea is milk and I am the cookie", "Desolation", "Rust, dreams" and "Return", to mention the five first headings out of a total of 16, was published in 2000.

While reflecting the social and cultural developments which have taken place in the Gulf societies during the last three decades from the viewpoint of a young woman, *Ḥulm ka-zurqat al-baḥr* embraces the dimensions that Eriksen and Appadurai cover in their theories on globalisation and modernisation. "What remains when memories fade away and become a dream?" is the question with which the first chapter opens (Sālim, 2000, p. 28). It is this question which remains the pivot around which the rest of the book turns. The key to recollection of the past, the narrator in *Ḥulm ka-zurqat al-baḥr* poetically proposes, is the sea, seemingly stable and unchangeable. "The sea is the only safe refuge … the last dream which has not sung the anthem of cement …" (Sālim, 2000, p. 54).

The narrator of *Ḥulm ka-zurqat al-baḥr* nostalgically remembers an idyllic childhood, in which one could "enter the houses without asking permission. There was no doorbell …" (Sālim, 2000, p. 37). This narrator's contemplations may well reflect most ordinary metropolitan settings and lifestyles around the globe, lifestyles which usually require that we lock our doors and request to be let into other people's homes by ringing a doorbell.[11]

[11] "The city", says Bauman, "has become associated more with danger than with safety … In our postmodern times the fear factor has certainly grown, as indicated by the growth in locked cars and house doors and security systems …". Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, Cambridge: Polity Press 1998, p. 47.

"Grandmother", one of the essential characters in the book, epitomises the stability, tranquillity and peace of mind of the past. She is unmoved by the changing times and circumstances because she "knows exactly what deprivation and hunger mean". She is also the person to whom the narrator clings when in need of a refuge and support when she is frustrated by sensing the loss of the life of bygone days (Sālim, 2000, p. 28). The narrator's parents adjust to modernised society, move from the old living quarters to a modern, suburban environment and do everything possible to erase the poverty and 'backwardness' that they link to the past.

In other words, we are able to trace the three generations essential to Eriksen's thesis. First, there is "grandmother", who lived in and according to the 'pure' culture which was unadulterated by modern and globalised ways of life and circumstances. She was poor, pious and illiterate. The next generation, epitomised in the narrator's parents, enters the society of the oil era and uproots itself from this traditional and old-fashioned society, relinquishing its lifestyle. This generation remembers the poverty of the past, is literate and is intent on settling in an affluent present. The following generation, then, is represented by the narrator herself, whose opinion of big-city life is summarised in the following lines: "These cities are so difficult, drenched as they are in crowds, gasps and tooting horns ... are we truly living in the comforts of the city?" (Sālim, 2000, p. 59). This generation hardly has personal, vivid recollections of the hardships of the past but is faced with the drawbacks of the present society.

The observations of the narrator in *Ḥulm ka-zurqat al-baḥr* have a familiar ring to most city dwellers. Furthermore, reminiscences of a time when no doorbells were necessary, when the panorama of the sea sufficed as entertainment and when the beach with date palms swaying in the evening breeze constituted the sole place of recreation and leisure assist in conjuring up a picture of an idyllic and idealised past of the Gulf region. This "armchair nostalgia", however, to use Appadurai's expression, also serves as a critical comment on the stress, isolation and fears wrought by the recently introduced, oil-era economy and the westernised consumer society that it has produced.

MAGICAL REALISM IN THE GULF

Jinns and humans

In *ath-Thuʿbān* (The Snake), by the Emirati woman author Salmā Maṭar Sayf, included in her short-story collection entitled *Hājar* (1991), the protagonist seems to be an ordinary person, albeit in a state of bewilderment. In fact, the reader may well presume that he is mentally ill and confined to an institution: "I don't know this place and I don't know who brought me here" (Sayf, 1991, p. 9). While drinking his coffee and puffing on a cigarette, all of a sudden, he finds himself stretched out on the green grass in an arbour. He becomes acquainted with "the caretaker" of the garden. This man tells him about the miserable life he used to live until he met his beloved, the *jinniyya* to whom he is now happily married.[12] The protagonist and his

[12] Tord Olsson, Professor of the History of Religion at Lund University, has observed that 'marriages' between *jinns* and humans are not exclusive to the world of fairytales or *A Thousand and One Nights*, but

new-found friend become entangled in a quarrel and the garden caretaker tries to knock down the protagonist who flees. Hearing the sobs of the caretaker who is abandoned by his *jinniyya* wife, the protagonist disappears hissing among the trees and, making his abode in holes in the ground. The reader is given the impression that he has been changed into a snake (*thuʿbān*).

Abū Shuʿayr's opinion is that *ath-Thuʿbān* is an exponent of magical realism in Gulf literature, inasmuch as it "presents reality through a world of wonders which resists logic and laws of nature" (Abū Shuʿayr, 1998, p. 42).[13] It is not difficult to agree with Abū Shuʿayr on the latter proposal. In this story, the locus is the indeterminate no man's land between the world of the *jinn* and humans. That the paths of *jinns* and humans cross is nothing new in Arabic literary tradition. Who cannot recall numerous stories from *A Thousand and One Nights* which centre on themes of encounter and intercourse between jinns and humans? Consider a story such as "The merchant and the genie" (*Ḥikāyat at-tājir wa-l-ʿafrīt*), in which one of three brothers marries a seemingly poor girl dressed in rags, who turns out to be a *jinniyya* (*Alf laylā wa-laylā*, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 13–18). Not to mention the stories about the adventure-loving goldsmith, Ḥasan, from Basra, who marries the beautiful daughter of the powerful *jinn* king.

The protagonist of *ath-Thuʿbān* finds himself in an urban, global context, one of the aspect of globalisation defined by Eriksen. He has succinctly pointed out that "It is easy to argue that many Norwegian city residents have more in common with the inhabitants of other European cities than with farmers and fishermen in the Norwegian countryside" (Eriksen, 1993, p. 15). This means that the institution or hotel in *ath-Thuʿbān*, in which the protagonist finds himself smoking and bewildered and in which there is "A properly made bed, fruit and all kinds of foods and means of relaxation" (Sayf, 1991, p. 9), a tidy garden and a gardener, could fit into any global, urban setting. In other words, the protagonist, situated in the global context, is confronted with intertextually recycled, Arabic-folktale imagery in the textual domain; he turns into a snake and his companion is married to a *jinniyya*.

The Omani writer Badriyya al-Wahaybī, published her story *at-Tuffāḥa* (The Apple) in *Jarīdat ʿUmān* (2000). This story also exhibits a mingling of traditional beliefs with everyday, down-to-earth business and treats them as essential to the development of life's affairs, all of which may be in keeping with a magical realist style. The crucial problem in the life of the female protagonist is that, while her sisters and girlfriends get married, she does not. She suffers from an incurable disease and the reader understands that this is why she is shunned by prospective suitors. Her illness does not, however, prevent her from experiencing natural sensations of

are considered as normal, as part of the 'realities of life', in some contemporary societies and religious contexts. Consult Tord Olsson, "De rituella fälten i Gwanyebugu" (Ritual fields in Gwanyebugu) in *Svensk Religionshistorisk Årsskrift*, Catharina Raudvere (ed.), (Svenska samfundet för religionshistorisk forskning, 2000), pp. 49–51, and Janice Boddy, *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men and the Zār Cult in Northern Sudan*, Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

[13] For a description and bibliography of magical realism consult William Rowe, "Magical Realism", *Encyclopedia of Latin American Literature*, Verity Smith (ed.), London, Chicago: Fitzroys Dearborn Publishers, 1997, pp. 506–7.

sexual desire and yearning for passion. It is the dilemma of being aware that she is unable to attain her dreams of marriage and yet not being able to withstand them, that seems to frighten her to such an extent that it becomes a psychological complex.[14]

Traditional, popular myths and legends, including the belief in *jinns*, are to a high degree part of this story. Here the reader learns about the Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ, who is swept away, leaving no trace behind, when a violent storm blows across his yard. Several years later, rumour has it that he is alive and well and has married a *jinniyya*. The story also has it that he has been endowed with the power of making himself invisible.

A parallel to Salmā Maṭar Sayf's *ath-Thuʿbān* is that of union between a human and a *jinn*. Furthermore, Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ has been endowed with the power of making himself invisible, something we usually refer to the magical world of wonders, such as that of *A Thousand and One Nights*. The cycle of events for Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ is: (1) natural human existence and presence, (2) disappearance in a storm of wind, and (3) reappearance as an esoteric (mythic) figure. As for the events in *ath-Thuʿbān* they may be summarised as follows: (1) natural human existence and presence (the protagonist and his companion), (2) union between human and *jinn* (the companion) and (3) magical transformation (the protagonist).

Although magical realism—*realismo mágico*—is predominantly associated with Spanish American fiction,[15] the two short stories by women writers in the UAE and Oman that I have discussed above indicate the existence of a literary style which recycles traditional folktale imagery, myth and popular superstitions in a warp of contemporary backdrops, all of which are held in place by a realist attitude and a modern genre framework. This points to the relevance of Abū Shuʿayr's findings with regard to a literary style which he calls a magical realist, Emirati style. It may be worth while reminding ourselves that the writers of the Gulf states under discussion here have experienced great social and historical transformations during a period of roughly thirty years. It would hardly be strange if they were to feel that the current social reality, the pressures of rapid globalisation and the overall changes that have taken place cannot be adequately described in terms of traditional, western realism. As Fawziyya Rashīd, the woman author from Bahrain, disclosed with great acumen when speaking about her compatriots, readers and writers alike, commenting on her novel *Taḥawwulāt al-fāris al-gharīb fī al-bilād al-ʿāriba* (The Metamorphoses of a Strange Knight in Arabising Lands): "We live in both the past and the present. Both are inside us and this is what I want to express in my novel."[16]

The point here is not that of linking one specific story from *A Thousand and One Nights* with any particular short story from the Gulf, but rather of focussing on the fact that both corpora may employ tools from the same caches, namely that of the

[14] Barbara Michalak-Pikulska writes about Badriyya al-Wahaybī's story saying that the protagonist "suffers from epilepsy and is very unhappy" in her study on modern literature in Oman entitled *Modern Poetry and Prose of Oman: 1970–2000*, Krakow: The Enigma Press, 2002, p. 369.

[15] David Lodge suggests that magical realism is also to be found in novels by a number of writers such as Milan Kundera, Günter Grass and Salman Rushdie. *The Art of Fiction*, London: Penguin, 1992, p. 114.

[16] Interview in Manama, Ramada Hotel, Bani Otbah Av., and Candles Café, Oct. 22, 2001.

magical world of folktales and myth. In short, *al-wāqiʿiyya as-siḥriyya*, magical realism, which treats myths, legends and superstitions as realities of life and juxtaposes such features with modern perceptions of events, marks the stories we have just discussed.

MODERNISTS

Poetry in favour of realism

The Bahraini author and literary pioneer Aḥmad Khalaf Aḥmad suggests that it is possible to discern two major tendencies with respect to the present literary creativity in the Gulf. "There is a kind of struggle between the realistic literary form on the one hand and new modernistic and poetic forms of expression in fiction on the other", he says. According to him, those employing a modernistic literary style are concerned with the language (Khalaf Aḥmad, Oct. 31, 2001). A salient element in their works is the poetic style in which they make use of the rich vocabulary and rhetorical aspects of the Arabic literary language and required idiom in Arabic poetry, *al-faṣīḥa*.[17] Their fictional writings are marked by characteristics typical of lyrics, such as rhetorical ornaments, figures of speech and metaphors, a symbolic, implicit language, ambiguity and multiple meanings, giving indirect messages and hinting in one direction or another (al-Lawatiyya, June 11, 2000).[18]

Fadia Faqir has found that the rift between male and female literary expression is reinforced by the fact that the Arab world is divided into one formal, written Arabic, *al-faṣīḥa* and many local, spoken varieties, a situation usually referred to as diglossia (Faqir, 1998, pp. 21–2). This division of the world reinforces the traditional social divisions between those who use the formal language and those who articulate their daily experiences in an everyday vernacular, that is to say, the women. Women, in their capacity as the sex which is usually occupied with household chores and the family sphere, are not called upon to use the formal Arabic. Their tasks, such as shopping, child care and dealing with domestic servants, in the Gulf usually foreign guest-workers, call for the use of the colloquial idiom. However, when they write, they must use the written idiom, a language that is not adapted to the female sphere and everyday female experiences. The young, well-educated, women writers in the Gulf are therefore part of what Faqir suggest is a movement to create a tradition of self-representation for women within the Arab culture, and possibly a new language (Faqir, 1998, p. 22).

Fawziyya Rashīd has taken great pains to separate her text from a linguistic style and range of themes traditionally ascribed to women, such as household intrigues, family affairs, rearing of children and tragic romance in her novel *Taḥawwulāt*

[17] An exception to this is, for example, contemporary, Bedouin, vernacular poetry, so-called *nabaṭī* poetry. Consult Clive Holes, "The dispute of coffee and tea, a debate-poem from the Gulf", *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, J.R. Smart (ed.), London: Curzon, 1996, pp. 302–315.

[18] The Omani writer Ṭāhira al-Lawātiyya's response to the question: "What distinguishes the Omani writer from other writers?" was that "a poetic spirit dominates the authors". This response was received on 11th June 2000 and the question was included in a questionnaire which I had prepared in Arabic and requested the Omani authors to fill out.

al-fāris al-gharīb fī al-bilād al-ʿĀriba, 1990. This novel exemplifies that it is no longer a question of staying within the range of the aforementioned topics thought appropriate for women or using an inferior language with regard to vocabulary and linguistic style. She demonstrates that women writers are equipped to deal with the universal questions of humanity, in a modernist, avant-garde narrative style. In fact, she makes a point of producing an intricate text in her works and says: "I don't want to use a plain and simple language. This would only create a superficial story. I need to use all that which the language has to offer" (Rashīd, Oct. 22, 2001).

Taḥawwulāt al-fāris al-gharīb displays the tremendous efforts that Fazwiyya Rashīd has made in order to transcend the traditional demarcations of literature by Arab women with respect to content as well as to narrative structure and linguistic style. This novel gives a panoramic view of the brutality imposed by corrupt and tyrannical leadership, military force and secret informants in the service of the regime. The reader is whisked between scenes and characters and points in time, all of which is done in a complicated, narrative strategy. Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā (1919–1994) celebrated Fazwiyya Rashīd's work, saying that he found that her novel, as an accomplishment, was one in a million and that she had created a "modernist novel, indeed" (Jabrā, 1993, pp. 5–6). [19]

Taḥawwulāt al-fāris al-gharīb opens with the narrator speaking to the protagonist, who is contemplating whether to turn back or to continue a journey:

> You often think about turning back to where time stands arrogantly, dispersing all things. But you listen anxiously and like an ancient tree reach into the depths of life. You roam around the city quarters and wander through the alleys, seeing what the eye is unable to retain, while the words remain sceptres of fading sadness.

> تفكر كثيرا أن تلتفت إلى الوراء حيث الزمن يقف متعجرفا يبدد كل شئ ، لكنك
> تتوجس وكشجرة هرمة توغل في انحدارات العمر، تطوف الحواري وتجوب
> الأزقة، ترى ما تعجز عين عن حفظه وتبقى الكلمات أطياف حزن تضمحل (Rashīd, 1993, p. 11).

These lines, indeed the opening lines of the novel, are filled with metaphors and give the reader very little direct information about the stage upon which the story is set. Only much later do we understand that we are confronted with the hero, aṭ-Ṭāhir, here. As is usual in poetry, the reader is made to figure out what is intended by metaphors and other rhetorical devices. In this passage, the reader must interpret what is meant by "time stands arrogantly, dispersing all things" and to imagine what a person who is "listening anxiously and like an ancient tree reaching into the depths of life" is like.

As the novel closes, a scene opens in which the protagonist and his beloved, Jullanār, who is imprisoned in enemy ground, try to unite. The narrator's voice rings out, addressing the protagonist:

[19] This text is originally from Jabrā's book *Muʿāyashāt an-namira wa-awrāq ukhrā*, 1992.

A sea and a roaring waterfall separate you. You try to pass through the delusive barrier, but fail. In a spot between the low plain by the mountain foot and the cloudy sky, twilight sheds its purple-coloured arrows over the friezes and windows (Rashīd, 1993, p. 273).

بحر وشلال هادر يفصل (sic) بينكما. تحاولان اجتياز الحجز الوهمي وتفشلان. في
بقعة بين سفح واطئ وسماء ملبدة بالغيوم يتسلل الشفق بسهامه الأرجوانية على
الأفاريز والنوافذ(Rashīd, 1993, p. 273).

The narrator continues:

The two apparitions unite, melting into the foot of the mountain as if white cotton balls combed from the horizon. You stretch out your hand and the cotton-like form collapses, spreading its tassels as far as the stretch reaches (Rashīd, 1993, p. 273).

يتوحد الطيفان، ذائبين في السفح، يندفان من الأفق أشكالا قطنية بيضاء. تمد يدك
فيتساقط الهيكل القطني ناثرا ندفه على طول المدى (Rashīd, 1993, p. 273).

Finally, Jullanār escapes from the enemy by turning into a "raging tempest":

People said that she fled from the grounds after having been transformed into a raging tempest. And they also said that they had seen a figure embracing another figure and they were certain that it was aṭ-Ṭāhir (Rashīd, 1993, p. 274).

وقالوا أنها هربت من الدائرة بعد أن تحولت إلى ريح عاصفة. وقالوا أيضا أنهم
رأوا شبحا يخاصر شبحا اخر أكدوا أنه الطاهر (Rashīd, 1993, p. 274).

From these passages we understand that great obstacles separate the couple from each other. Things as difficult to overcome as "a sea and a roaring waterfall" stand between them. The protagonist fails to reach his beloved at first. Later, though, the reader is made aware that "two apparitions unite". We also learn that the hero's beloved manages to flee either by fighting like a "raging tempest" or by being as swift as "a raging tempest". This illustration may also express her death, which, figuratively speaking, may have been as violent as a "raging tempest". In other words, the finale can be interpreted as either happy or sad, the positive note telling about the couple's union, while the sad note suggests that it took place in the after-life.

Munīra al-Fāḍil has, like her compatriot Fawziyya Rashīd, also chosen a modernist narrative strategy in her novel *Li-ṣ-ṣawt, li-hashāshat aṣ-ṣadā* (To the Voice, to the Cheerfulness of the Echo), 2000. This author also expresses herself in a lyrical, intricately woven narrative and convoluted linguistic style. To Munīra al-Fāḍil, the art of writing literature demands the use of a language different from that of a realistic or journalistic, matter-of-fact report. Realism is to her a blunt literary tool and she feels that it is important to make the most of the language. To her, literariness is best attained by a complex narrative structure, combined with a linguistic style employing rhetorical and lyrical items (al-Fāḍil, Oct. 23, 2001). In other words, form is at least as important as content and the content is determined by the reader's ability to decode the poetic narrative and its rhetorical devices within a textual context. The text in her novel *Li-ṣ-ṣawt, li-hashāshat aṣ-ṣadā,* emerges as a complicated mesh in

which the reader is led far away from the central facts of plot and action. The main thread of the story is revealed momentarily, only to be buried again in a lyrical weave of words. Consider the introductory lines of the novel:

It was not impossible, while we were sitting scattered about in the place we had closed off with an old iron lock, the way we usually did once every lunar month, that her arrival, which she kept hidden, would escape us. Her hope was that it would be stored in surroundings that caressed her gently in her endless departure. She would gaze at the splendour of surprise, or perhaps of arrival, which disappears while wrapping itself in a shroud of stillness (al-Fāḍil, 2000, p. 11).

لم يكن متعذرا علينا ونحن نجلس مبعثرين في المكان الذي أوصدناه بالمزلاج
الحديدي القديم هذا، كعادتنا كل شهر قمري، أن يفوتنا قدومها الذي خبأته،
وأملت أن يظل مخزونا في محيطات طبطبت عليها بحنو في ذهابها الدائم. كانت
ترنو لزهو المباغتة، أو ربما لمجئ يتوارى محوطا نفسه بغلالة السكينة
.(al-Fāḍil, 2000, p. 11)

Here we are faced with a number of eloquent formulations such as "surroundings that caress", "her endless departure" and a "splendour of surprise or … arrival, which disappears …". As was the case with Fawziyya Rashīd's introductory lines in her novel, all factual information must be carefully extracted and assembled by the reader. Only by pondering and interpreting each phrase and filling out the missing information as we read on, are we able to make out the action in any given sequence. Here the narrator speaks to us giving us, a lyrical description of the scene in which the story is set. We understand that a group of people are waiting for a woman in a secluded place, expecting her to arrive at the time at which she usually appears in the place in question. However, they are not sure whether or not she will arrive. She likes to surprise these people—her friends we take it—and she wants to keep her comings and goings secret.

On page 13, the protagonist's name, Wisān, is introduced. She is the person expected to arrive and for whom the four individuals in the introductory scene are waiting:

At the moment we had decided to stand up to that which had been hidden from us, Wisān's feet surprised us as she stepped over the threshold of the front door, carrying with her the echo of other steps which appeared heavy and hesitant (al-Fāḍil, 2000, p. 13).

في اللحظة التي ارتأينا وقوفنا على ما خفي علينا: فاجأتنا قدما وسان وهما تتخطيان
عتبة الباب الخارجي، حاملة معها (sic) صدى لخطوات أخرى بدت ثقيلة مترددة
.(al-Fāḍil, 2000, p. 13)

We may interpret these lines as meaning that Wisān arrives at the moment when the party is preparing to depart, tired of waiting for her. Wisān steps through the door accompanied by "the echo of other steps", which are heavy and hesitant. This, we later learn, indicates that she is in the company of another person, Foster. It is the relationship between Wisān and Foster and its complications that constitute the central theme of this novel.

A final example of this modernist, poetic, narrative style is the short story *Masāfa*, 1998, by the Omani authoress Khawla Ḥamdān. This is not a coherent story but emerges as a mosaic of fragments and sequences and in most of the scenes the protagonist undergoes various trials. In the opening scene, we are confronted with the protagonist's desperate cry for help to gain inspiration in order to put his longing down in words. Sitting on a smooth rock by the sea, he implores a sheikh for guidance:

I beg of you, I beg of you, most respected sheikh, to instruct me. I implore of you to give me my consonants and vowels that you have seized. Set them free, set me free or send your bullet to my heart, to my pen, which is forever moist from longing and your comeliness (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 167).

أرجوك، أرجوك أيها الشيخ الوقور، أرجوك أن تخبرني، استجديك حرفي المعتقل
لديك .. اطلقه، اطلقني، أو اطلق رصاصتك على قلبي، على قلمي المبتل أبدا
بالحنين وملوحتك (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 167).

After this plea, the narrator informs us that

His hand falls on the smooth rock on the brim of the sea. His blood falls like open letters on the pages of the wave. The sea stretches out its long blue fingers and conceals them (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 167).

وتهوي يده فوق الصخرة الملساء على حافة اللجة. يتساقط دمه رسائل مفتوحة
على صفحات الموج. يمد البحر أصابعه الزرقاء الطويلة ويطويها (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 167).

This scene and the poetic, narrative style of the sequence set the tone of the story. Although a number of comments could be made about the lyrical and rhetorical character of these phrases, it may suffice here to point to the following examples. The learned person, the sheikh, has "seized the letters" of the protagonist. In other words, in one way or another, it seems that he has hampered the protagonist's ability to express himself verbally or in writing. And if the sheikh refuses to help the protagonist to regain his inspiration, he is requested to "send a bullet" to the protagonist's heart or to his pen. The exact interpretation of these utterances is difficult, indeed. However, we should probably presume that it is not a question of a wish to be shot, literally, but a metaphorical indication of the urgency of the situation, something like: "Unless you help me, I will not find a way out of this predicament. I will be very, very sad."

From the shattered scenes and fragmentary information given in a poetic, metaphorical style, such as in this example, the reader gathers that it is a question of the protagonist longing for and trying to travel to his beloved. She is a person of humble circumstances, the servant of a demanding mistress in a foreign country. At one point, the protagonist is miraculously wafted away in an aeroplane and manages to land on the roof of the building in which his beloved is located.

The pilot set out again towards the strange city. His route was looking glasses, through which he entered the one after the other. He circled over its cold rooftops, slackened his wings when on the roof of a small room on the watch for the flocks of

migrating birds. He shut its cracked door and he found her waiting for him on the chair … (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 173).

وعاد الطائر منطلقا في الفضاء قاصدا المدينة الغريبة، وكان طريقه مرايا يدخل بها الواحدة تلو الأخرى. حوم فوق سطوحها الباردة، وأرخى جناحيه على سطح غرفة صغيرة تترقب أسراب الطيور المهاجرة. أغلق بابه المشروخ، وعلى الكرسي وجدها تنتظره … (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 173).

And when the protagonist finds his beloved waiting for him in the story's final scene,

He opened his arms to her and she fell into his arms and their mouths had the fragrance of laughter and on her brow emerged a city (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 174).

فتح لها ذراعيه، ارتمت في حضنه وكان لفمهما رائحة تضحك، وعلى جبينها بزغت مدينة (Ḥamdān, 1998, p. 174).

In these passages, we must imagine an aeroplane making its way through the clouds as if passing through reflections in a mirror. It settles on a particular roof and the hero steps out and passes through a ramshackle door to his beloved's room. It is up to each individual reader to imagine what "a small room on the watch for the flocks of migrating birds" looks like. When the couple are united in a loving embrace, the reader can take a deep breath of relief and it does not present a major problem to figure out what mouths that have "the fragrance of laughter" might sound like. It is more difficult to interpret the metaphorical phrase "and on her brow emerged a city". The reader, however, senses that something positive, maybe even wonderful, is taking place. The story seems to tell us that the distance between the two lovers, however difficult their circumstances, can ultimately be bridged with the determination of passion and love. It also seems to be a metaphorical pointer to the reality of the guest-labourers residing in the Gulf states who lack security and welfare. Remember, the protagonist's beloved is the servant of a wealthy mistress and lives in a small room, with a ramshackle door, on the top of a roof.[20]

CONCLUSION

The Gulf states are at present with great energy endeavouring to fashion a modern cultural heritage in an increasingly globalised world. One aspect of this project is that of developing a contemporary literature. The fact that women in the Gulf states today have access to education and have gained entry to the literary arena, a forum

[20] In "Cross-currents and Cross-cultures: New Literature from the United Arab Emirates and Oman", 2003 (forthcoming), I have analysed the situation of the guest-labourers and their stereotypisation in the contemporary literature of the UAE and Oman. The high percentage of foreign guest-workers influences the emerging literature of the present. This is linked to the process of consolidating a modern, national culture in which the foreign labourers are caught in their conflicting capacities of being necessary as working hands and at the same time unwanted as citizens. It is this ambivalent position which is reflected in the literary texts.

in which they may make their voices heard, provides an opportunity for women to participate in shaping and consolidating the emerging cultural and national identities of these countries.

Some women authors choose to write realistically. Building on a base of western-style realism, they are venturing into the field of literature and laying the foundations for innovative and unique, literary strategies for Gulf women. Their literary works are founded in the new, oil-economy society and their writings question some of the social changes and effects of modernisation and globalisation which have taken place. The ubiquitous question lingering between the lines in the realistic stories we have studied here is whether the price of the new material wealth and high standard of living which has come with the oil is too high.

Depicting the negative sides of modern, metropolitan life realistically by making major welfare issues, such as the institutional care of the elderly and drug addiction, into central themes, makes a critical comment on the newly developed, industrialised society of the Gulf. Isolation, stress and insecurity are common denominators of these realistic works and problems such as these support the concept of an "armchair nostalgia" looming behind the lines. This "armchair nostalgia" involves a longing for bygone days and an ideal(ised) past, contrasted with what is believed to be a decadent present. While the texts grapple with problems facing neopatriarchal society, they hardly provide constructive answers as to the direction in which to search for solutions. Rather, it is the critical attitude reflected in these novels that provides the basis for a discussion and for reshaping women as subjects and possibly as agents of change and improvement in society.

Another form of expression is the magical realist style. This style reinforces the idea that the ambivalence between an attraction to traditional Arabic literature, indigenous folklore, myth and superstition, on the one hand, and western literary forms of expression, on the other, has continued unabated in the rise of contemporary literary styles in the region. Rather than commenting realistically on the context, it is the question of social and global realities pressing on the textual expression and resulting in a fusion between Arabic folktales, popular myth and realism in the framework of the modern short story.

In Bahrain, both men and women have had access to schooling since the 1920s, and the earliest works of modern literature appeared in the 1960s. This first generation of Bahraini authors today has a literary base which includes a variety of styles to operate from, including a modernist style which shuns western-style realism. This literary style takes advantage of traditional, Arabic, literary and linguistic techniques, including the concept that form is at least as important, if not more important, than content. The linguistic style of the narrative demands that the reader shall collect, assemble and interpret fragmentary and metaphorical information about the plot and the characters, in order to make sense of the text. The result is a modernistic literary expression which alienates itself from the vestiges of traditional, western realism. That this modernistic approach is not restricted to Bahrain was demonstrated in the work of Khawla Ḥamdān from Oman.

Throughout, the various forms of literature are shaped to some degree by the ambivalence between striving after modernity and simultaneously retaining tradition and reacting to western influence and domination.

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From "Do and Die" to "Do or Die"

Semantic Transformations of a Lethal Command on the Battlefield in Īḻam/Laṃkā

PETER SCHALK, Uppsala

This paper[1] is about a martial situation in Īḻam/Laṃkā.[2] Both fighting parties, the Liberation Tigers of Tamiḻ Ealam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan Armed Forces (SLAF), tried in a furious and extremely fierce battle in 1997 to eliminate each other in the northern parts of the island. From May 13th, 1997, the SLAF tried to recapture the 76 km stretch of road between Vavuṉiyā and Kiḷinocci along the Yāḻppaṇam/Kanti (Jaffna/Kandy) A-9 highway. Both parties had to mobilise their last forces. In this desperate situation, a command, a battle cry, "do or die", appeared on the battlefield. According to the SLAF, it was launched by the LTTE as the name of an offensive military operation. The outsider could interpret it as a counter-slogan to the designation of the SLAF's own military offensive in Siṃhala called *jaya securui*, "victory secured/assured". Tamilised, this name appeared as *jeyacikkuṟuy*. I shall use this incident to study how martial connotations based on vested interests, enclosed in the command "do or die", are spread and semantically transformed on the winding roads of ideas in a modern, South Asian, post-colonial context of war. This is a study of a limited section of the modern history of martial ideas in 20th-century South Asia.

THE BATTLE

Shortly after the beginning of the SLAF's military offensive called *jaya securui*, "victory secured/assured", in June 1997, the media reported that the LTTE had launched the command "do or die", which they allegedly used as the official name for an offensive operation. The SLAF's own battle cry, "victory secured/assured", in its character similar to an enforcing and self-fulfilling divination, anticipated boldly victory.

According to a journalist observer in Colombo, Iqbal Athas, five LTTE attacks during the offensive on the security forces came when the troops were in a defensive posture. However, Operation *Do or Die Six* was staged when troops began their advance from Puttūr towards Māṅkuḷam. The move prompted the troops to make a tactical withdrawal from areas that they had entered earlier.[3]

[1] I thank Dr. Astrid van Nahl for valuable comments on this paper.

[2] Īḻam is Tamiḻ. Laṃkā is Sanskrit and Pāli. Both are more than 1500 years old and refer to the whole of the island. Īḻam has to be distinguished from Tamiḻīḻam, which refers to the Tamiḻ-speaking parts of Īḻam and which was coined in the 20th century.

[3] I. Athas, "Worst-ever Commando Debacle", *Sunday Times*, December 7, 1997.

We learn from Iqbal Athas that, with *Do or Die 6*, Operation *jaya sikurui* surpassed the 1000 mark of Lankan soldiers killed (in one and the same battle).[4] The number of Lankan soldiers injured exceeded 5000, although the majority of the cases were of a minor nature.[5] We also learn that the LTTE has not made public its total list of casualties since the ongoing military operation began on May 13. A military report containing statistics up to September 4 contains three separate accounts of LTTE casualties: (*a*) ground troops estimated 858 killed, (*b*) estimated 1305 killed, (c) transmissions 515 killed.[6] A further 59 Tiger cadres had been killed in Puliyaṅkuḷam during the same period by snipers. The report also said that 1469 Tiger guerrillas were injured up to September 4.[7] Even if we take off 50% as political exaggerations in the psychological warfare launched by the enemy, the LTTE killed many soldiers, but also many young women and men of the LTTE died in resisting the advance of Lankan troops. Finally, in May 1998, the LTTE celebrated *jeyacikkuṟuy veṟṟināḷ*, "day of conquest over 'victory secured/assured' ". The LTTE sent a video to the Tamiḻ exiles all over the world, showing triumphantly dancing LTTE fighters and civilian Īḻavar.[8] Īḻavar are those who anticipate the independent state of (*tamiḻ*)*īḻam*.

THE MARTIAL COMMAND, ITS ORIGIN AND SEMANTIC TRANSFORMATIONS

The media spread the statement that the LTTE frequently used this command as its master symbol and the name of an offensive, but it is not so. There is no official publication of the LTTE in Tamiḻ in which this command is referred to. The only source is an interception of the LTTE's clandestine radio by the SLAF.[9] The LTTE has coined unique labels of offensive operations earlier and later, like "leaping tiger", but "do or die" was never made an official label of any offensive by the LTTE. What was said over the clandestine radio could be interpreted as a common saying in Tamiḻ by an individual belonging to the LTTE, which, however, does not have Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ, the *talaivar* or "head", of the LTTE, as author. *Cey allatu cettu maṭi*, "do or die", is a common saying in Tamiḻ and only very few are aware of its origin (see below).

Having been wrongly informed by the SLAF's intelligence, this saying by some individuals over the clandestine radio was lifted up to the level of a designation of a military offensive operation. I have gone through the LTTE's official news in Tamiḻ called *tamiḻīḻam ceytikaḷ*, their monthly reports on video called *oḷiviccu*, and their

[4] Athas, loc. cit.

[5] loc.cit.

[6] loc.cit.

[7] loc.cit.

[8] *oḷiviccu, mē* 1998. Video Magazine from Niedarshanam of the Liberation Tigers of Tamiḻ Eelam. [No date or place of issue].

[9] Written communication to the author by Iqbal Athas from 6 April 1998: "The name was first discovered during LTTE radio intercepts by the military. The Tamil name used was (*sei allathu seithu madu* or 'do or die'). Thereafter there were repeated references to it in broadcasts by the Voice of Tigers Radio. This has been confirmed both by civilian and military sources".

official monthly paper *viṭutalai pulikaḷ*, but I have not found *cey allatu cettu maṭi*. The journalist Iqbal Athas has also confirmed that he could not find it anywhere in written official documents by the LTTE. I neglect here publications of LTTE supporters. In spite of this absence, Iqbal Athas' presentation, based on the mentioned radio interception, having been wrongly informed by the SLAF's intelligence concerning the context of this command, made it the official name of an offensive operation by the LTTE.

I have found only one written similar statement by the LTTE of a similar command, but in another context than an offensive operation. The source is an English release of news. On August 3 1997, the LTTE issued a release in English called "Ours is a life or death struggle --- new LTTE recruits". The release's title is not exactly "do or die" but is similar. I take it as a paraphrase of the command "do or die". The English title makes clear that "do" is "live". The release said that new recruits have realised that the Sinhala army's intentions are clearly genocidal. It goes on saying that confrontation in full strength is the only route to salvation for Tamils. This is a life or death struggle where the very existence of the Tamil people is at stake. Independence for the Tamil nation is the only guarantee of survival.[10]

On August 7, the LTTE reported that, as the Tamiḻ people's desperation grew, they were flocking to join the LTTE's fighting wing.[11] Therefore, the context in which "do or die" was used is not an offensive operation, but a recruiting campaign. What the offensive was called, the LTTE kept secret, if it had a special name at all.

Coming to the origin of this command, Margret Trawick, from New Zealand, has pointed out a non-Tamil and modern influence on the martial ideology of the LTTE. Let us test her statement that Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ had Lord Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade" from 1854 in mind.[12]

The relevant passage of the poem runs:

"*/----/Their's not to make reply,*
Their's not to reason why,
Their's but to do and die:
Into the Valley of Death
Rode the six hundred/----/."

I want to add the following remarks. Already in 1882, Tennyson had published another poem called "The Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava" that ends almost in disaster for the heroes also. To this poem was added an "Epilogue" in 1885 in

[10] *Press Release*. News from Tamil Eelam. LTTE Headquarters. Tamil Eelam. 3 August 1997. Release by LTTE International Secretariat. London: LTTE, 1997.

[11] *Press Release*. News from Tamil Eelam. LTTE Headquarters. Tamil Eelam. 7 August 1997. Release by LTTE International Secretariat. London: LTTE, 1997.

[12] M. Trawick, "Valley of Death", Internet, circle@Tamil circle.com, 11 July 1997, Digest V97, #1153. Professor Margret Trawick, from New Zealand, tried to trace the name of the operation "Do or Die" to Lord Tennyson's poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade" from 1854. She said that Pirapākaraṉ may have had this poem in mind when he coined the phrase "Do or Die". She also finds this phrase gloomy and pessimistic, an image of desperation, because the poem ends in disaster for the heroes.

which Tennyson promoted the warrior's war "to make true peace his own" and he also thinks that

"*/----/Though the realm were in the wrong*
For which her warriors bleed,
It still were right to crown with song
The warrior's noble deed/-----/".[13]

Margret Trawick's statement implies that Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ had a direct relation to his English source. I have to modify her statement a little. Tennyson has a different and highly interesting rendering. He created "do *and* die",[14] which gives a completely different meaning. He composed a tragic poem that ends in disaster for the heroes. Tennyson teaches that in certain hopeless situations you have to kill *and* die. No other option, the option to live, is left.[15]

We face a complex situation in interpreting the command "do and/or die". We should note that the slogans "do or die" and "do and die" are formerly so close that it is difficult to distinguish them, especially in oral communication. Even if a journalist correctly reproduces "do or die"from an LTTE source, having inflated it as the name of a martial offensive, the reader associating it with Tennyson's poem may apprehend it as "do *and* die". He may get upset about the allegedly Fascist ideology of the LTTE. Then, the reader may ask himself how one can motivate fighters to kill with the perspective of personal defeat and even without promising a glorious life after death. This question has been put many times and has also been answered by glorifiers of war. Their answer is that ultimate victory is death itself. The poem can be interpreted as a glorification of death as against life. Death was the ultimate victory in the ideology of decline of the third Reich. Nazi ideologists taught that ultimate victory is death itself. The command is interpreted as a glorification of death as against life, which became an ideological cornerstone of Nazi militarism. The LTTE's command is interpreted in the light of this interpretation and is ascribed to the LTTE as its authentic view.

It so happened that a female LTTE supporter, known to me, came to know about this command. In her mind she also read "do or die" as "do and die". Her reaction was a complete denial that her respected leader, Tiru Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ, could have said such a thing. She was right. He has not. The LTTE has not said "do *and* die", but "do *or* die". It has not blended "do *or* die" with "do *and* die". It has not made this saying the official name of an offensive operation. There is no sanction for it by Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ or by the Central Committee of the LTTE. No

[13] See [Tennyson, Alfred]. *The Poems of Tennyson*, edited by Christopher Ricks (London: Longmans: 1969), pp. 1305–1309.

[14] loc.cit., p. 1035.

[15] Another possible interpretation of the poem is that it is neither a praise of war nor a glorification of fighting itself even if it might easily be used for such statements and messages. The homage to those fighting and dying (last stanza) can been seen as a merely human one: they decided to fight knowing they had to die. What is praised and glorified in these lines is not death but an inner greatness: accepting and meeting one's fate by doing one's very best—and knowing that all is in vain. Whichever of the two interpretations one adopts, neither gives an option to live. "Do *and* die" is not "do *or* die".

member of the LTTE has invented this command, but an anonymous member has picked it up as a common saying. It fitted the situation of a recruiting campaign and it was not against LTTE martial thinking. Now we take the next step and ask where this common saying is comes from.

Let us stipulate that Tennyson's version "do *and* die" is the starting-point in a colonial situation from the 19th century. Furthermore, let us presume that "do *and* die" went through several semantic transformations before it became acceptable to the mind of the LTTE. Let us also note that the LTTE reproduced it in accordance with its own core value. It is evident from its release that "do or die" means "survive by fighting—or die" and that the motto was intended to mobilise new recruits who were promised life if they fought. If they did not fight, they would not live but die. "Do or die" was therefore neither in rendering nor meaning consistent with Tennyson's poem, which left no room for survival. I doubt that the LTTE has ever heard about Tennyson or that the LTTE cares about what Tennyson actually said. The common Tamiḻ saying has another source. This is Gandhi's "Quit India" resolution from 1942. Gandhi had already in 1930, in connection with the salt march, been inspired by Lord Tennyson's poem "The Charge of the Light Brigade" from 1854, where we find the wording "do and die". It was, however, changed consciously by Gandhi into "do *or* die". He also gave the slogan another, and in fact not martial meaning. He made it the slogan of those who were non-violent satyāgrahis. When they "do", they should not use violence, but non-violent, civil disobedience. If they do so, they will not die.

Gandhi wanted all his satyāgrahis to write this slogan on their clothes to mark them out. Still today, "do or die" is used in a Gandhian context, as when opposition is mobilised against the Narmada project. We learnt in 1999 that 12,000 people in 60 villages were at risk of losing their homes and land during the current monsoon to the resulting submergence. With no plans for their rehabilitation, the ādivasis, in addition, peasants of the Narmada Valley, decided to stay on. In addition, they faced the rising water rather than let their lands, rivers, culture and lives be destroyed in the name of development. The people went on a "do *or* die" monsoon satyāgraha on June 20, 1999.[16] "Do" here implies the unfolding of non-armed militancy in response to a command to live.

Gandhi's interpretation of Tennyson's "do and die" was deviating radically from the original, but still we have not reached the interpretation of the LTTE. The LTTE does not address satyāgrahis, but armed fighters who kill to live. They do not practise resistance to the SLAF in organised sit-downs. To them, the Gandhian interpretation must appear absurd.

There is one link missing between Gandhi and Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ. This link is Subhash Chandra Bose. We notice that Gandhi's interpretation was taken up by Subhash Chandra Bose, who rightly believed that Gandhi and Bose were united with regard to the aim of the "Quit India" program, but who also wrongly believed that Gandhi with this slogan had put himself on his side. Bose interpreted the slogan

[16] Report by S. P. Udayakumar, "[Report on the Narmada Project], <spkumar@tc.umn.edu>Subject: CWGM Digest 7/9/99.

in the sense of "freedom at any price" (including the use of violence).[17] One close follower of Bose, the leader-to-be of the Raṇi of Jhānsi Regiment of the Indian National Army, Ilakkumi Vicuvanātaṉ (Lakshmi Vishvanathan), noticed in her diary from August 11, 1942, that Gandhi had declared "Do or Die" to all patriots. She interpreted his declaration as "Do not wait for a lead from leaders, do what you think is right, do what you think will bring us freedom". She also wrote that Gandhi also (now) realises "that today is the opportune moment to snatch our freedom [in armed struggle]".[18] It is evident that Ilakkumi Vicuvanātaṉ in 1942 was not aware of the link with Tennyson. She, like her mentor, thought that Gandhi was the author and she thought wrongly, like her mentor Bose, that Gandhi was on their side.

"The Tennyson case" above confirms what I have tried to say elsewhere, namely that Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ does not produce an "outpouring" of pre-colonial martial traditions from the Caṅkam age.[19] He was, of course, not "impelled" by "history". He selected ideas consciously. He did not select only pre-colonial Tamiḻ martial traditions, but also anti-colonial, martial, Indian ideologies like Subhasism and Dravidism,[20] that were channelled by radical elements of the Federal Party[21] and by people like "Netaji of the Ceylon Tamils"[22] and especially by Pal Neṭumāraṉ. He is an elderly, South Indian politician in whom these two trends of ideas, Subhasism and Dravidism, converge in a reflected synthesis and who saw this synthesis expressed by the LTTE, in whom he put his trust and hope. He was not only an observer of, but also a mentor to Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ during the latter's formative years in Tamiḻnāṭu, especially in 1981, when Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapakaran stayed with him in Maturai.[23]

"Live (through fighting) or die", this is the Subhasist interpretation of "do or die". This twisted interpretation by the Indian National Army (INA) of Gandhi's twisted interpretation of Tennyson's poem became popular in India among freedom fighters and reached in this shape Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ.[24]

It was not Gandhi's interpretation that reached the LTTE, but Bose's. Tennyson's poem ended in disaster for the heroes. They "did"(= killed) and "died". This is not the case with Subhash Chandra Bose and Pirapākaran. The latter has also, through the mediation of Bose, cut an important link with Gandhi, with his non-use of violence. When reading about Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ's "do or die", the reader should associate it with "Quit India", but substitute it with "Quit Tamiḻīḻam" and in-

[17] For this controversy between Gāndhi and Bose, see D. Rothermund, *Mahatma Gandhi. Der Revolutionär der Gewaltlosigkeit. Eine politische Biographie* (München & Zürich: Piper, 1989), p. 378.

[18] Anon. *Jai Hind. The Diary of a Rebel Daughter of India with the Rani of Jhansi Regiment* (Bombay, Janmabhoomi: Parhasan Mandir, 1945), p. 16.

[19] For the LTTE as a modernist movement, see P. Schalk, "Historisation of the Martial Ideology of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)", *South Asia* 20 (1997), pp. 35–72.

[20] P. Schalk, "Inte bara tigern gemensam. Total hängivenhet och martyrkult förbinder Tigrarna med Netajis ideal", *Sydasien* 2, 1996, pp. 26–28. Id., "Historisation …".

[21] P. Schalk, "A.J. Wilson on Tantai Celvā", *Acta Orientalia* 1996: 57, pp.113–115.

[22] P. Schalk, "Historisation …".

[23] See neṭumāraṉ, *tamiḻīḻam civattātu*(no place of issue: no publisher or year of issue, copy by the author of this paper).

[24] P. Schalk, "Historisation …".

terpret the slogan in accordance with Bose's "freedom at any price" or his own "survive through fighting or die". The background is the fundamental evaluation of Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaraṉ that the struggle of the LTTE is a protraction, prolongation or extension of the Indian freedom struggle in which the Lankans take the position of colonisers. The expression "do or die" refers to an experience in the last phase of a battle when the last forces have to be mobilised. Then complexity is reduced to two options only, to do (kill to live) or to die. This experience is, of course, not specific for the LTTE. What is specific is the use of a specific context that connects this experience with the context of the Indian freedom struggle.

CONCLUSION

In the martial situation described above, an anonymous member of the LTTE used a common command in Tamiḻ and quoted it in the LTTE's clandestine radio sendings and in a news' release in English. This could be done by the LTTE without hesitation, because the interpretation of this command had already been prefigured in a Gandhian tradition that again had twisted a poem by Tennyson. Then it was twisted once more in a contemporary, martial, Subhasist tradition that was known also among Indian freedom fighters. In this shape it became a common saying and was picked up at random by the LTTE in a recruiting campaign, not as the name of an offensive operation. In the physical, ideological, and psychological warfare, however, between the LTTE and the SLAF, this command was then inflated in Lankan media and lifted to the level of the official name of a military operation by the LTTE. The use of the expression had some propagandistic value, because the media implied that "do *or* die"as name of an offensive operation by the LTTE was synonymous with "do *and* die".

Now, we have reached the end of the winding roads of martial ideas in a modern South Asian, post-colonial context of physical, psychological and ideological warfare.

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My Soul is Intoxicated and my Body is Ruined by a Goblet of Love

Life for a Kurdish Poet in Exile

FARHAD SHAKELY, Uppsala

In the early 1970s, I studied in the Kurdish Department of the University of Baghdad. Whenever I travelled back to Kurdistan from the bus terminal of Al-Nahda, I felt that I was leaving behind homelessness and nostalgia. This was merely a feeling. Devoid of both geographical and psychological roots, it could not reflect itself in my writing. The Kurdish Department was a small Kurdistan in the heart of Baghdad. I could never believe that one day I would leave the homeland and spend the greater part of my life in exile. I did not know that life in exile would be too long and mingle my thoughts, writings and dreams with the colours of sorrow that could not be removed even by death.

When I was younger, terms like "exile" and "nostalgia" were simply abstractions. I remember the end of the 1960s when Abdul-Wahab al-Bayati published a book devoted to his experience as a poet. He too wrote about his experience of exile. Through his writings, I came to understand that experience is something akin to looking at a picture of an airplane and thinking about its passengers without ever having seen or flown in a plane. In those years and even afterwards, I read the works of Nazim Hikmat, James Joyce, Hemin Mokryani, Pablo Neruda and many others who allude to the same experience.

CROSSINGS

The first time I crossed a border illegally was in the summer of 1974. By crossing "the span that the enemies have called border", I did not became a poet in exile. I did not write a book of poetry on exile. I found homeless, deprived and disunited Kurds on both sides of the border. I visited Iranian Kurdistan and Iran as well. A year later, I crossed the border once again and went, also illegally, to Syria. In those years, I became accustomed to the game of crossing borders, usually with false travel documents.

When, for the poet or for any person, does the moment of exile begin? Is it at the moment when he crosses the border of "his country?" What are the borders of exile and in what colour are they drawn on the map of thought and imagination? I, for one, could not make these distinctions as long as I was in the Middle East. It is true that I was not in Kurdistan, that I lived in Damascus and Beirut. But it was not exile for me. I had a similar feeling when I lived in Germany from autumn 1977 to summer 1978. It seems to me that the nostalgia surrounding exile is a state of mind rather than a condition of geography.

Although I left politics at the end of 1976, my mind was still obsessed with politics for more than a year, both in the Middle East and in Europe. I was obsessed with the notion that, if there was a good organization somewhere, I could become involved. But, by the end of 1978, I had completely relinquished the idea and promised myself that never again would I participate in politics. I have kept that promise. Instead, the Kurdish situation has given another colour to my thinking and experiences.

AN ENTANGLED BEGINNING

I visited Sweden twice with fake documents in 1977 and 1978. On the day following my arrival for the third time, I was admitted to a hospital for an operation and remained for more than two months. It was an entangled, confused and strange beginning in my life and in my experience as a poet. Doctors were not optimistic about my condition. I was near death. I was obsessed with two issues: the first was who am I? According to my false travel documents, I was from a different country in the Middle East and ten years older. I was told not to tell the truth unless and until I knew that something was being done for my case. My second obsession was language. I needed no interpreter because I could speak English and did so with doctors and nurses. But my English was an obstacle to learning Swedish and I needed Swedish to remain in Sweden.

SILENCE AND WANDERING

Neither in the hospital nor in the few months after my discharge did I write as I wished. What poetry and prose I did write I destroyed before completing. Stunned and depressed, I observed those around me and contemplated my own existence, past, present and future. At such times, a writer lives in a world of slumber, often punctuated with nightmares. There is always in mind a question, a question that he wants to avoid. The question gives birth to doubt, and the doubt to an internal war that sends pain throughout the body into the nervous system.

At first, he refuses to admit that he is no longer living among his own people. His attitude and behaviour are unchanged, as when he lived in his own country, where he had an intimate relationship with his reader and his own cultural circles. Later, he comes to realize that what he could not have dreamed would happen has happened. He comes to understand that his bridge is burned and that there is no way to return to the past. But this is a rational realization. Emotionally, he still harbours his old dreams and his old norms. It takes time for the writer to find his character and to harmonize his inner and outer worlds to prepare for his new life and his new experiences. The transformation is not mechanical; it is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It is not necessary to think that all writers should arrive at similar conclusions. This period was the most difficult time for me. I could not write for three years. More precisely, I could not write anything that I really wanted. What I did write, I framed in the third person. It was the only way I could describe my deeper sentiments.

The new society that had become mine without my choosing was completely dis-

tinct from Oriental or Kurdish society. My social, cultural and intellectual background had prepared me to live and to have a place in Kurdish and Oriental society. But now everything was different. All my troubles and disharmony were rooted in this transformation, which I had not planned. And although, on the surface, physical and geographical changes were taking place, they were also historical, cultural and psychological. I carried with me ideas, views, values and, most importantly, prejudices which clouded my vision. And so I had to rely on reasoning to fight myself and my doubt. It was at once a painful and a useful exercise. Later, I read about the life and experiences of the Islamic philosopher Al-Ghazzali (AD 1058–1111). It was a consolation. I compared my life with his. It was like comparing a drop of water with an ocean.

What I encountered in Sweden I likened to fascination with a high-rise building. When I tried to understand, I realized that there were many unknowns. I wanted only to know the cultural life and aspects of daily life. It was not important for me to know the functions of the banking system, multinational companies or political institutions. Learning Swedish was the key to what I needed to know. But I did not devote sufficient time and energy to learning Swedish; first, because I knew English and further more, because I was ill, I was fatigued and I was desperate. I could not easily manage to attend language courses and studied for only four or five months. What I learned, I learned through reading.

TRANSFORMATION

After several years, I returned to a mental state in which I remembered my writing. It did not happen suddenly. And it raised many questions: What should I write? To whom should I write? In which language should I write? A writer inevitably thinks about his audience. In Kurdistan, I wrote for most of the journals and newspapers, recited my poems at literary meetings and participated in seminars, radio and television programs. Now the situation had changed. There was neither a good journal in Kurdish nor were the Kurds in Europe interested in reading Kurdish material: hundreds of elegant newspapers, journals and books were published daily in foreign languages. I did not intend to deceive myself. I decided to write in Kurdish and then to do whatever I could to introduce my country, my people and their culture and history in other languages. This idea appeared at that time to be premature and meaningless, but it materialized in the Swedish-Kurdish Journal. Published between 1985 and 1989 this was the richest and best publication on Kurdish culture in a foreign language.

For me, writing poetry is not pre-planned or pre-ordained. The crisis and my internal conflict of the last few years prevented me from writing. When I began again to write, I felt as if I had found an old and dear friend, but we were unable to recognise each other. When we were reunited, we were no longer the same; we were different. I understood that I could not write as before. The frameworks and the yardstick I had formerly used were not skin-tight against the rosy body of my poems. I would have to write in another way. I would have to find a new, a different style. And that was what happened. Beyond content and theme, I began to worry about form and language.

Goran (1904–1962) modernized Kurdish poetry. Among his achievements was the introduction of several new Kurdish metres. In the last years of his life, he attempted also to "break down" the metres and to re-arrange the traditional order of the metrical foot. This change was known as "free verse" in Iraq and other countries of the Middle East. Goran probably took his inspiration from Iraqi Arab poets. Contemporaries of Goran and even those who followed—Kâmarân Mukrî and Jamâl Sharbazhêrî—established this form. Our generation followed the same pattern. Some poets of my generation mixed two metres, but I did not follow suit. I found it artificial, because they did not mix the the entire poem. I scattered metre in another manner. Rather than ending a line run on the eight-syllable metre, with a four-syllable word, I ended with a three- or two-syllable word. This could be seen also as a mixture of seven- and eight-syllable metres. But given my new experiences and my life in exile, I came to dislike even that style.

It was then that I adopted prose poetry, destroying many poems on the road to perfecting it. A prose poem is not simply "a poem without metre or rhythm—an oversimplification and misunderstanding of the concept. Writing a prose poem that maintains the harmony between the internal music and the aesthetic value of the words is more difficult than writing a poem with rhythm.

Language presented an even greater problem. The literary language developed in the 1970s in Kurdistan was too narrow and infertile to have room for my new experiences. Whenever I used it, I felt that I was short of breath, that the words were insufficient for expression. That shortcoming was not in the language itself, the Kurdish language, but from the boundaries that were created around us or those we created around ourselves.

I resolved to solve the problem by changing the form of my writing and needed to adopt a long-term strategy of reading and study. Learning the vocabulary of Kurdish dialects, studying old and new Iranian languages, gaining familiarity with linguistics, and teaching Kurdish to Kurdish and other students lit the way for me to solve my problem.

To elaborate, I raise two points: the first is the concentration of language. In the 1970s, the use of language in poetry was naive and quite liberal. While for some poets it was a new, horizontal vision, it lacked vertical progression and depth. This phenomenon is still found in many writers. The use of language and the wealth of words used to express some ordinary and superficial experiences is, I believe, no more than a kind of foolish generosity. For example, to repeat a metaphor two, three or ten times to express some trivial experience, to enlarge it by adding unnecessary branches, to take a long rout of expression to say something simple: these things characterized the immaturity of texts written by many poets of the 1970s.

Then there is the exploding of language. When we look at the treasury of words and language in a traditional manner with traditional logic, our evaluation is inappropriate. We condemn the language as infertile and barren. My experience in this context is twofold: first a great many words are capable of adopting new dimensions. To achieve this, a poet must have a good command of his own language and deal with it through the logic of his own poetic thinking. Another consideration is the rejection of the traditional way of understanding and using language. A poet must have a knowledge of language sufficient to use it properly and to deal with

syntactic semantics. Knowing one's own language is not enough. One must understand the structure of language and study language as a science. It is important also to become familiar with the poetic experiences of poets writing in other languages and with the standardization process. At times, a poet departs from the semantic boundaries of words and the morphology of language and takes refuge in his own logic and rules, either of his own invention or as revealed to him by some metaphysical or divine source. The best example is the poet Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî (1207–1273).

All this and more has influenced my vision of the world and my writing of poetry. Today, poems that I appreciate totally and comprehensively are few. My demands have grown. I have come to expect more. The thirst of my heart cannot be quenched by mediocre works. I want to change things from the roots. In politics, this is called radicalism.

In my book of poetry *Zhê* (String) which was published in Sweden in 1985, the traces of these new ideas can be detected in many poems. The poem Zhê itself, which is the longest in the book, is the product of a rich and long-term, aesthetic and psychological experience. I think that, if there is to be a competent critic in Kurdish literature, he or she will deal with this poem as the source of a new dimension and a new framework in modern poetry. Before that, I published a small book entitled *Hawrâz* (Ascent) in 1981 with five poems. They were written before I came to Sweden and were the extension of the poems in my second book *Rûbâra Tîshkêk La Hatâw-î Sûrawa* (A River of Light Running from the Red Sun), which was published in Beirut in 1977.

A POET AND THE ACADEMIC LIFE

Academic life and study at universities in Western Europe are totally different from those in our countries. The academic life here is a multi-dimensional world, calm, wide, deep and very special.

In 1981, after studying for one year at the University of Stockholm, I went to Uppsala University with the intention of studying something close to Kurdish. But I could never escape from it. I was an inexperienced bird; I did not know that the food kept for me was a trap (Wafâyî, 1844–1914). After several years, I began to work for my doctorate and later to teach. Although my inner, poetic self was not happy about my academic position, from the beginning I felt that it would provide me with a great experience. That conflict is still there and I want it to remain. Academic discipline creates parameters for the indifferent, lazy, rebellious character of a poet. A poet brings freshness and a sense of youth to dry routine and difficult academic life. I do not say that this relationship has always been friendly or always been followed by happy endings. If I were to draw a statistical comparison between the quantity of my writings now and earlier, I would have to say that I write fewer poems than before. At the same time, poetic inspiration and cultural activities have affected my academic work and delayed my plans and projects. I have finished two works during my academic years. *Kurdish Nationalism in Mam u Zîn of Ahmad-î Khânî,* in English in 1983 (later translated into Swedish in 1985, into Arabic in 1995 and into Turkish in 1996, and a second edition in English published in Brussels in 1992) *and*

Kurdish Artistic Prose in Swedish in 1989. Moreover, I have published a few academic and popular scientific papers.

ALL IN ALL

Whatever I have mentioned here is a small part of my experience in exile. I have emphasized those points about which little has been written in Kurdish. It is also important for me to see that other writers recognize their own experiences, for I have mainly discussed the artistic aspects of my experience. Indeed, there are many other aspects which have influenced my poetry, including marriage and fatherhood. Freedom and freedom of expression have occupied a significant place in my thinking for the last twenty years. I think that the experience of life in exile is not connected with the time and place in which the writer lives outside his homeland. The effect and influence of that experience remain in the mind of the writer or poet till death, whether he is in exile or in his homeland. Thinking about the years of my life in exile, I remember this beautiful line by Maulana Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî:

Look at the house of the body and look at my soul
From a cup of love to Him, this has been drunk and that lies in ruins.

Ali Akbar Dehkhodâ: Author, Philologist and Unique Encyclopaedist

ZAHRA SHAMS-YADOLAHI, Stockholm

When one speaks about encyclopaedias, it is usual for people generally to think of them as "systematic works of reference on science, the arts and crafts".[1] In order to summarise all knowledge in a comprehensive way, it is necessary to engage the services of at least a group of learned men. The great French reference work, *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers,* edited by Diderot and d'Alembert, consists of 35 volumes (1751–1780) compiled by about 150 encyclopaedists, including Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire and other renowned scientists and authors. The encyclopaedists of the English *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (first edition 1768–1771) included a committee made up of highly educated persons from the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Edinburgh, a committee at the University of Toronto and a committee of scholars from the University of Tokyo:

"The Encyclopaedia Britannica is published with the editorial advice of the faculties of the University of Chicago; a committee composed of persons holding academic appointments at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London and Edinburgh; a committee at the University of Toronto; and a committee drawn from members of the faculty of the University of Tokyo."[2]

The *Dehkhodâ Encyclopaedia*,[3] or so-called *Loqatnâmeh*, is a gigantic and magnificent work that attempts to include all knowledge in a vast series of volumes (50 volumes, 342,743 words).[4] Dehkhodâ, the Iranian author, philologist and poet, wrote in his Testament[5] that he had devoted fifty years of his life to preparing, writing and revising the hundreds of thousands of words in Persian and Arabic which his magnificent encyclopaedia finally came to comprise.[6]

Over and above the cultural and literary aspect of the work, Dehkhodâ's encyclopaedia, *Loqatnâmeh-ye Dehkhodâ*, contains a collection of 200,000 lines of poetry from the beginning of Islam up to our time. In this reference work, each word is documented and the author quotes examples from literary works in prose and verse, in order to establish the correct meaning of a word. In order to describe the correct

[1] From *CDROM FOCUS 98,* v. 7.4 C. Norstedts Multimedia.

[2] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1973, 14th edition.

[3] The National Advisory Assembly, *Majles-e shôrâye Melli,* called this work an encyclopaedia. This was proposed by members of the assembly in 1945 (*loqat* = word, *nâmeh* = letter/writing).

[4] *Dehkhodâ Encyclopaedia*, CDROM, Mashhad, Prochest Software Co. 2000–2001, no. 6826, introduction.

[5] Testament, 1954. See *'Âbedi, K., Sur Esrafil va Ali Akbar Dehkhodâ, yek barresi-e târikhi va adabi*, 1st edition, Tehran, 1990, p. 114.

[6] He was inspired by Littré's Dictionnaire de la langue française. See *Dehkhodâ Encyclopaedia*, CDROM, introduction, Dr. Moin, M.

pronunciation, he uses phonetics, a method that differs from previous ones. Previously, words were reported as rhyming with each other, so as to demonstrate the correct pronunciation as, for example, *pand* and *band*. Dehkhodâ used diacritical marks instead. *Loqatnâmeh* also provides illustrations of Persian grammar. The work quotes synonyms in different dialects from different provinces and reports the origin and derivation of each word, including suffix and prefix. Regarding different scientific disciplines, he reports the correct terminology of different technical fields. The great Iranian personalities and celebrities are presented. In order to facilitate understanding and get a complete understanding of matters, there are pictures, tables of statistics, economic tables, etc. Various alphabets from the countries of the world have been included in this reference work. The work treats practically everything with entries about well-known and less well-known phenomena from all corners of the world, such as the animal and plant kingdoms, our galaxy and the planets of the solar system, etc.

A wonderfully strong passion, will and motivation were necessary for one person alone to accomplish a work of such magnitude. In 1945, the Assembly voted in favour of printing the *Loqatnâmeh*. Dehkhodâ renounced all the author's rights and bequeathed the work to the Iranian people.[7] The purpose that motivated him was the happiness and joy of ordinary people, as well as their general education and knowledge. It was, in fact, a driving force during his whole life. In the introduction to the work, he wrote: "Neither fame nor lack of livelihood drove me to undertake this painful work but Oriental modesty (*mazlumiyat*) in combating Western tyranny. [...]. I understood that the Orient must become armed with the new weapon, the new civilisation."[8]

In an article he wrote:

> When I saw how weak my nation was, I became convinced of the fact that we must arm ourselves with the weapon of today and that it is important to learn and acquire all current knowledge. Otherwise we will be regarded as a developing nation that they will be able to dominate. [...] Therefore we must translate and amass knowledge about science and technology in order to provide it to schools and institutes of learning. This is an impossibility if we have not mastered our own words. Therefore I felt the need to write a complete encyclopaedia.[9]

Another gigantic work by Dehkhodâ is the four-volume "Proverbs", *Amsâl va Hekam*, that appeared during the period from 1929 and 1932. This is a collection of 3000 proverbs in Persian, considered to be one of the greatest works in Iranian folklore. *Amsâl va Hekam* has no introduction. The reason for this is explained in the following words:

> In the French language I found seventeen words, all of which are translated by the word "proverb" (*masal*) in all the Persian and Arabic books of reference. The existing explanations which can be found in French dictionaries are not convincing and as a result one cannot be distinguished from the other. With the help of a French professor in the Faculty of Law, I wrote a letter to the French Academy and asked them for an exact description of the differences in meaning of these seventeen words. The answer was precisely a repetition of what

[7] *Dehkhodâ Encyclopaedia*, Tehran, 1955, introduction, p. 468.

[8] Dabir-Siâqi, M., *Maqâlât-e Dehkhodâ*, vol. II, Teheran, 1985, introduction, p. 18.

[9] *Ibid., p. 16.*

was written in the French dictionaries and they did not convince me at all. This is why I refrain from writing an introduction and giving a definition of *masal*.[10]

Dehkhodâ's work was far from earning him any money. His first thought was for the Iranian nation and people. The Minister of Education at that time agreed to publish the first edition of *Amsâl va Hekam* and also to give Dehkhodâ 80 % of the printed books as remuneration. In a letter to the Commission for Education, Dehkhodâ wrote that he would give half of his share of the books to the Minister of Health and Welfare and that the money from the sale of these books was to be spent on health care for the poor. The other half he gave to the Commission for Science. The money from the sale of these books was to be used for the publication and printing of books that would be useful and beneficial to ordinary people.[11]

Who was Dehkhodâ? Ali Akbar Dehkhodâ was born in Tehran in 1879. Already at an early age he began studying philosophy, theology and other relevant subjects in the Islamic traditions. He pursued these studies as well as studies of Arabic with two of the most foremost scholars in the world of Islamic learning, Sheikh Gholâmhoseyn-e Borujerdi and Sheikh Hâdi. Later, he learned French at the École des Sciences politiques in Tehran. In this way, Dehkhodâ found himself with one foot in the traditional world and the other in the modern: "Par sa formation, Dehkhodâ se situe donc au centre de deux systèmes qui s'affrontent: la tradition et la modernité."[12]

After completing his studies, Dehkhodâ began a career as a diplomat and went to Europe. He lived in Vienna for two years. His return to Iran coincided with the explosion of the constitutional revolution (1906):

In July 1906 an unbloody revolution broke out [...]. On the 5th of August 1906, the Shah issued a law that turned Iran into a constitutional monarchy. According to the new constitution, legislative power was transferred to the National Advisory Assembly or *Majles-e Shôrâ-ye Melli*, which had been elected by the people. Even the ministers were to be held accountable to it.[13]

During the period of the constitution (1905–1911), there was an increased interest in a less closed society, not least regarding cultural and political matters. Newspapers played a big role in spreading information among the people:

During the period that has been called "the awakening of the Iranians", that is, the constitutional period and the events preceding it, literature became directly engaged in politics, above all through the role of the newspapers. It was not the form of the prose that was essential, but the new contents that directly reflected society.[14]

Among the most influential newspapers of this period, the following can be mentioned: *Majles newspaper* (1906), *Mosavvat newspaper* (1907), and *Sur Esrafil's*

[10] Dehkhodâ, A. A., *Amsâl va Hekam*, vol. I, Tehran, 1982, editor's introduction, pp. 8–9.

[11] Dabir-Siâqi, M., *Gozideh-ye Amsâl va Hekam*, Tehran, Introduction, pp. 8–9.

[12] Balay, C., "Ali Akbar Dehkhoda, 1879–1956", in *Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures*, Didier, B., Paris, 1994, p. 925.

[13] Nordberg, M., *Det persiska världskriget, Asiens historia: från forntiden till 1914*, Stockholm, 1971, p. 391.

[14] Utas, B., "Om modern persisk litteratur- och klassisk", in *Iran genom seklerna*, edited by Anders Ådahl, Stockholm, 1971, p. 70.

newspaper (1907).[15] The title of the last-named is satirical and alludes to the idea that the inhabitants of the country, who have been asleep for an eternity, must awaken today to the sound of the trumpet or, in other words, with the help of the newspaper. *Sur Esrafil* was published by Mirzâ Jahângir Khân-e Shirâzi, Mirzâ Qâsem Khân-e Tabrizi and Dehkhodâ. The newspaper was famous for its supplement called *Charand-o-Parand* (Nonsense Talk). The supplement was written by Dehkhodâ, who was an adherent of the constitution, and it included satirical articles that were critical of society. Demands for political freedom and patriotism were the predominating themes in his articles. Dehkhodâ struggled against the oppression of the Qajar dynasty (1779–1926) and pictured the miserable conditions in society. The articles were written under the pseudonyms *Dakhau,* [16] *Happy Barefoot, Chairman of the association of vagrants, Owl, the Brakes* and many others. These satirical articles reflected events in society and gave information and necessary support to people who strove for freedom.

Sur Esrafil was a political and satirical weekly newspaper and its motto was "Freedom, equality and brotherhood". The newspaper played a significant role in increasing people's knowledge and in preparing the way for the constitutional movement. Its goal was: "to complement the significance of the constitution and support parliament and help villagers, the poor and the oppressed."[17]

The first issue appeared on the 30th of May 1907 in Tehran and some maintain that it was the first newspaper to be sold on the streets; it was sold mainly by children.[18] Dehkhodâ introduced and treated current social topics and wrote about the needs of ordinary people, their complaints, poverty and the injustice that prevailed in society. Through his articles, he supported the oppressed and their rights. Through his satire and ironical undertone, he was able indirectly to criticise the authorities and members of the assembly. He also criticised the gap between the rich and the poor, as well as religious fanatics. He also treated questions concerning the rights of women and a number of other important subjects. As a result, the newspaper was suppressed a number of times during the years it was published. Dehkhodâ's aim was to call the attention of the nation to the injustices that prevailed, namely the issues and problems which people met at every turn and which made their lives difficult. Dehkhodâ was an unbelievably learned man who was just as aware of the past history of the country as of contemporary events, and he was very committed on social questions. He wanted to liberate ordinary people from ignorance and, like other authors of this period, felt that it was his responsibility towards them to accomplish this.

The satirical style of *Charand-o-parand* led to a renewal of style and it can be

[15] "Israfil's trumpet. Israfil is the name of the angel who will announce the day of resurrection by blowing his trumpet and was a symbol of the political renaissance that everyone hoped for." See Utas, B., *Persisk litteratur, I Utomeuropeiska Litteraturer,* Stockholm, 1966, p. 275.

[16] Dakhau was used more than the other pseudonyms. It means an easily duped person who comes from Qazvin (in northern Iran), where Dehkhodâ's family originally came from. All kinds of ridiculous and funny stories are attributed to him. It is also a diminutive form of Dehkhodâ.

[17] The editor's aricle in *Sur Esrafil*, number 1, p. 1. See Dabir-Siâqi, M., *Divân-e Dehkhodâ*, 3rd edition, 1983, introduction, p. 9.

[18] Dabir-Siâqi, *Divân-e Dehkhodâ,* op. cit., introduction, p. 9.

said that Dehkhodâ "founded a new school in Iranian journalism, authorship and contemporary prose."[19]

On the back cover of *Charand-o-parand*, Said Nafisi writes: "the articles that Dehkhodâ wrote under the title *Charand-o-parand* not only benefited Iranian society but they also ground to pieces the old traditional written language that was so difficult to understand."[20] Dehkhodâ's style, which renewed the prose of the press, is believed by many to have been an innovation in Persian literature. The articles are written in the old form but within a new frame: "Ces chefs-d'œuvre de satire politique et social, tout en s'inscrivant dans une tradition multiséculaire, renouvellent de fond en comble la prose persane moderne et constitue une étage majeure dans la genèse du récit persan moderne."[21]

Âryânpur describes Dehkhodâ's special position in Persian literature in the following words:

> Regarding literature during the constitutional revolution, Dakhau is considered to be an important person. He is the most intelligent and meticulous of the satirical authors of this period. His manner of writing prose in his critical articles in the newspaper *Sur Esrafil* resulted in his now being considered the creator of satirical and critical prose.[22]

The renewal which Dehkhodâ brought about in satire-writing cannot be denied or belittled: "After Obeyd, Dehkhodâ was the only person who had the ability to give new life to satire in the Persian language."[23]

The articles were written in the spoken language, which was understood by ordinary people. Dehkhodâ's familiarity with classical literature, popular culture and his enormous knowledge of proverbs and sayings, in combination with his characteristically simple and eloquent style of writing, brought him closer to the people and resulted in a large circle of readers:

> Even Charand Parand, which was filled with puns, ambiguities, allusions, and intimations (*ihamat, kenayat, talmihat*), owed its success to the fact that it was intelligible to ordinary folk and at the same time entertaining to the intellectual elite and sophisticated men of letters.[24]

His desire was to renew the connection between popular and classical Persian. Dehkhodâ's prose was simple and therefore popular and it was his way of writing which paved the way for folklore within Persian prose. The following text illustrates how the satire which Dehkhodâ created was effective and vital. In fact, it was a means which allowed him to get to the bottom of problems and made it possible to criticize the prevailing political and social situation.

New invention

When an Austrian dentist by the name of Schneider learned that in Tehran bread often con-

[19] Ibid., p. 10.

[20] Nafisi, S., *Charand-o-parand*, Ali Akbar Dehkhoda, mostakhraj az Shâhkârhâ-ye nasr-e-fârsi, 3rd edition.

[21] Balay, C., "Dehkhodâ, Ali Akbar", in *Dictionnaire universel des Littératures*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 925.

[22] Âryânpur, J., *Az Sabâ tâ Nimâ*, vol. II, Tehran, 1978, p. 79.

[23] 'Obeyd Zâkâni, who passed away around 1354, was the poet who wrote *The Cat and the Mice*. See 'Âbedi, K., *Sur Esrafil va Ali Akbar Dehkhodâ*, op. cit., p. 129.

[24] Saidi Sirjâni, A. A., "Dehkhoda, A. A.", in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VII, edited by Ehsân Yârshâter, Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University, New York, 1996, p. 218.

tained little pebbles, he invented a protective coating crown of steel which would protect the enamel on the teeth. Thanks to this invention, teeth will now be as resistant as a mill working with as much energy as a 4-horsepower motor. As a result, they will easily be able to grind pebbles and similar items to pieces.
Address: Gase Fengu Hilaschtal Lasarett 21.[25]

Sur Esrafil was published in Tehran and 32 issues of the newspaper managed to appear before the Iranian Parliament was bombarded by cannon in the year 1908. It is interesting to note that this was accomplished with the help of Russian troops, who were acting under the orders of Mohammad Ali Shah:[26]

This man, who had a pronounced despotic character, had sworn an oath to uphold the constitution but began to work against the *Majlis* and the reformers in agreement with the Russians. In 1908 he carried out a *coup d'état* with the help of Russian troops and blew up the parliament.[27]

When Mirzâ Jahângir Khân, the director of *Sur Esrafil*, was murdered in 1908 by order of Mohammad Ali Shah, the newspaper was closed and all further publication was forbidden. Dehkhodâ was exiled to Europe, together with many other liberals. He settled in Switzerland (Yverdon), where he continued his journalistic activities, which included the publishing of three more issues of *Sur Esrafil*. In 1909 Dehkhodâ went to Turkey and continued his struggle against the tyranny of Mohammad Ali Shah. In Istanbul, Dehkhodâ became the main editor of the newspaper *Sorush*. The aim of the newspaper was to publish material that was beneficial for the Iranian nation. *Sorush* was a Persian-language, weekly newspaper, of which fifteen issues appeared and were distributed also to Iran.[28] Dehkhodâ's articles urged development in Iran. He also wrote about Russia's intervention in Iran. Through the newspaper, Dehkhodâ demanded that the state provide subventions for culture and education and that education should be made obligatory. He also urged that recipients of scholarships from the state should be given the opportunity to go abroad with the aim of developing and deepening their understanding of modern science.

Dehkhodâ returned to Iran from Istanbul after Mohammad Ali Shah had been deposed in 1909. He was elected as representative for Kerman and Tehran in the National Advisory Assembly.[29] During World War I and the flight of the liberals abroad, Dehkhodâ lived on lands which belonged to the Bakhtiari tribe. It was here that he began his research in philology and it was also here that he began work on the *Loqatnâmeh* and *Amsâl va Hekam*. At the end of the war, he returned to Tehran and continued his research with the help of the large resources to be found in the capital.

During the first part of the 20th century, illiteracy was a problem. In his struggle against illiteracy and ignorance, Dehkhodâ founded an organization in 1950 in order

[25] Nafisi, S., Dehkhodâ A. A. *Charand-o-parand*, op.cit., p. 10. Text translated by D.D.S. Yari Taghavi.
[26] Mozaffar od-Din Shah's son and king from 1906 to 1909.
[27] Nordberg, M., op. cit., p. 392.
[28] Dowlat-Abâdi, J., *Hayât-e Yahjâ*, vol. III, Tehran, 1952, p. 101.
[29] See the letter of the National Advisory Assembly in Yaequbi, R., *Zendeginâmeh-ye Allâmeh 'Ali Akbar Dehkhodâ, bâ ta'kid bar janbeh-ye siâsi-e ân*, Tehran, 1998, p. 208.
[30] Dabir-Siâqi, M., *Maqâlât-e Dehkhodâ*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 292.

to try and reduce illiteracy in his country. In a proclamation in 1951, he appealed to citizens who could read and write to devote one or more hours per week to teaching those who could not read and write. In an interview, he says: "It would be better if we carried out this measure ourselves without help from the state, because otherwise a new way will be paved for those who steal from the tax-payers' money."[30]

Dehkhodâ devoted the last years of his life to supporting Mosaddeq[31] and his measures to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. As a result, he was arrested a number of times.

Dehkhodâ also wrote poems in the classical style. He introduced spoken language into poetry and combined eloquent words with popular language in a harmonious blend. Proverbs can also be found in his poetry. Also in this area his work was dominated by satire. His belief in mankind and justice marked everything he undertook to do. Writing poetry was like a hobby for him and he liked to test his ability by writing imitations: "Some of these 'imitations' are actually superior in lucidity, expository power, and elegance of expression to the originals, including even some from Sa'di's Bustan."[32]

In his poems, he used allegories and other rhetorical figures of speech, in order to expand and explain his social commitment and his thoughts around this. His poem "Remember the extinguished candle, remember" (*Yâd âr ze sham'-e mordeh yâd âr*)[33] was inspired by the tragic fate of Mirzâ Jahângir Khân. In this poem, we find a kind of literary innovation. In the poem, the poet wishes to evoke the flame that has been extinguished but notes that light appears after the disappearance of darkness.

Dehkhodâ's humorous poems are also written in simple language, with a satirical tone and are sorrowful in content. In the poem "Leaders and the people" (*Ro'asâ va mellat*),[34] we meet a child who is dying of starvation in his mother's arms.

> [...] "O mother, I am dying of hunger!"
> "Don't cry, tomorrow I'll give you bread."
> [...] "Alas! Look, his body is cold now.
> What a wretch I am, why has his colour changed to yellow now?"
> [...]

Liberal-minded people (*mardom-e âzâdeh*) were influenced by Dehkhodâ's patriotism.[35] Throughout the poem, he appeals to people with liberal views among the population. He informs them that liberty is in danger and encourages them to unite. He invites them to step forward in order to combat social misery and injustice.

Beside the above-mentioned works, Dehkhodâ also produced works in other fields during his lifetime. During the Qadjar dynasty, French was the language of commerce and trade. Therefore he elaborated a French–Persian dictionary (unpub-

[31] Mossadeq, Mohammad, 1875–1957, Iranian politician, prime minister 1951–53. Mossadeq brought about the nationalization of the assets of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. in Iran, which gave rise to a serious British–Iranian conflict. Mossadeq was overthrown by a military *coup d'état* and spent 1953–56 in prison. See *Focus Uppslagsbok*, Stockholm, 1958, Vol. III, p. 1404.

[32] Saidi Sirjâni, A. A., op, cit., p. 219.

[33] Dabir-Siâqi, M., *Divân-e Dehkhodâ*, op. cit., pp. 7–9.

[34] Ibid., pp. 4–5.

[35] Dabir-Siâqi, M., *Divân-e Dehkhodâ*, op cit., pp. 154–156.

lished) in order to meet the need of the people. This dictionary includes geographic, historical, literary, medical and scientific words in French and their corresponding words in Persian and Arabic. Dehkhodâ translated Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (unpublished), and his *l'Esprit des lois* (unpublished).

Among other works by Dehkhodâ are the following. Most of these works consist of editions of earlier poetry and prose texts:

The biography of Abu Reyhân-e Birouni, 1945
The *Divân* of Naser Khosrow, 1925–1928
The *Divân* of Seyyed Hassan-e Qazvini, 1949
The *Divân* of Hâfez (Khalkhâli), 1927
The *Divân* of Manouchehri is the result of correction and collation based on 20 manuscripts and published books.
The *Divân* of Farrokhi
The *Divân* of Masoud-e Sa'd-e Salmân
The *Divân* of Souzani
Loqât-e Fors-e Assadi
The dictionary of Sahâh-Al Fors
The *Divân* of Ebn-e Yamin

Dehkhodâ's life was marked by love for his fellow human beings and patriotism until his last breath. He passed away in 1955. On his deathbed, he mumbled some words from the famous *ghazal* by Hâfez, "Do not ask me" (*Keh mapors*).[36] The poem treats of love and the pain a lover endures in order to reach the one he loves. In the last verse, Hâfez says, "As Hâfez, I am alone on the path of love. I have reached a position, so don't ask me". As this poem seems like a metaphor for Dehkhodâ's life and everything he went through for the sake of his love, I quote it below.

> Hélas! quelle douleur d'amour j'ai supporté! – Ne m'interroge pas!
> Que j'ai bu le poison de notre éloignement! – ne m'interroge pas!
> J'ai parcouru le monde entier; finalement, – j'ai fait choix de l'objet qui m'a ravi le cœur. – Ne m'interroge pas!
> Je convoite si fort la terre de son seuil – que je verse des pleurs. – Ne m'interroge pas!
> Sur ce que mon oreille entendit de sa bouche, – cette dernière nuit, ne m'interroge pas!
> Pourquoi donc te mords-tu la lèvre pour me dire: – "Tais-toi"? J'ai tant baisé sa lèvre de rubis … – Ne m'interroge pas!
> Privé de toi, dans mon réduit de mendiant, – j'endurai tant de maux… Ne m'interroge pas!
> Comme Hâfiz, égaré sur la voie de l'amour, – j'ai gagné tel séjour … Ne m'interroge pas![37]

Dehkhodâ's magnificent and instructive work is a valuable heritage of Persian culture and literature. With *Loqatnâmeh,* Dehkhodâ ensured his immortality. His inner strength, love of humanity and his belief in justice and patriotism drove him in his struggle against tyranny and ignorance.

Dekhodâ's role in restoring and maintaining the Persian language is comparable

[36] Khânlari, P.-N., *Divân-e Hâfez*, Vol. I, Tehran, 1980, p. 546.

[37] Massé, H., "Vingt poèmes de Hafiz", traduit du persan, in *Extrait du cinquentenaire de la faculté des lettres d'Alger (1881–1931)*, Algiers, 1932, pp. 7–8.

with that of Ferdowsi[38] in his attempts to save the language. The one has preserved the Persian language through his *Loqatnâmeh,* which maintains and protects the language from the influence exercised by European languages like English and French. The other rescued the language by means of his *Shâhnâmeh* and preserved and guaranteed it against intrusion from Arabic. These two great men are regarded as the true saviours of the Persian language. Their magnificent works are eternal, just as Ferdowsi wrote in his poem:

> With this poem I have created a majestic tower,
> Which neither weather nor wind can shake.[39]

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[38] Abol-Qâsem-e Ferdowsi (934 – *c.* 1025).

[39] Mohl, J., *Shâhnâmeh-ye Ferdowsi*, introduction by Dr. Riâhi, M., vol. I, 3rd edition, Tehran 1992, p. 9.

Rumi's Deliberate Obscurity: Ghazal 466

WOJCIECH SKALMOWSKI, Leuven

dar γazal-am jabr o qadr hast az-in do be-goδar
z-ān-k az-in bahs̱ be-joz šur o šar(r)-i mi na-šavad
Rumi, *ghazal* 545

The subject of this paper is an analysis of a short and seemingly simple *ghazal* by the 13th-century Persian poet Jalāloddin Rumi. The aim of this "exercise in hair-splitting" is to show how many difficulties await the reader who tries to understand his poems even at the very lowest level of interpretation, i.e., in their literal sense. One of the reasons for their obscurity is the fact that the author of *Divān-e Šams-e Tabrizi* was fond of word-plays and poetical licences demanding the reader's full attention, ingenuity and extended knowledge of Persian and Arabic vocabulary. These prerequisites are necessary in order to resolve the frequent ambiguities and grammatical puzzles which appear during a casual reading. Ghazal No. 466 (according to Foruzānfarr's edition) is a good example of Rumi's apparently deliberate obscurity, which already begins at the graphic level, when the reader has to decide how to transpose the often polyvalent written forms into meaningful phonetic expressions. In order to illustrate the consecutive stages of this "deciphering" procedure, it seems useful to present first the original text in Arabic letters, then its proposed Latin transcription with a brief commentary on the reasons for the choice of the given readings and, finally, a (nearly) literal translation into English.

۴۶۶

باز در آمد بیزم مجلسیـان دوست دوست — گر چه غلط می دهد نیست غلط اوست اوست
گاه خوش خوش شود گه همه آتش شود — تعبیهـای عجب یار مرا خوست خوست
نقش وفـاوی کنـد پشت بما کی کنـد — پشت ندارد چو شمع او همگی روست روست
پوست رها کن چو مار سر تو بر آور زیار — مغز نداری مگر تا کی ازین پوست پوست
هر کی بجد تمام در هوس ماست ماست — هر کی چو سیل روان در طلب جوست جوست
از هوس عشق او باغ پر از بلبلست — وز گل رخسار او مغز پر از بوست بوست
مفخر تبریزیان شمس حق آگه بود
کژغم عشق این تنم بر مثل موست موست

The first step towards a correct transcription is to establish the metric pattern of the poem in question. In this case, the scansion of a few lines shows that the metre is *munsariḥ muṯamman maṭwī maksūf* in its "doubled" version, i.e., a pattern in which the second part of a *meṣrāʿ* divided by an internal caesura is an exact repetition of

the pattern of the first part of it. In Elwell-Sutton's code this metre bears the number 4.4.07 (2) and can be represented as: **– v v – | – v – || – v v – | – v –** (Elwell-Sutton, p. 104). An important trait of this metre is the fact that the second foot **– v –** appearing before the internal caesura may end either with a regular long syllable (cf. the second *meṣrā'* of the first *bayt* of the *ghazal* under consideration: *mi-de-had*) or with an overlong one (cf. the first *meṣrā'* of the same *bayt*: *(ā)mad be-bazm*^{a}), as if it were an actual final syllable of a line. For this reason, in the transcription given below, the so-called *nim-fatḥa* sign **x**^{a} marking the overlong syllables (which have the metric value **– v**) will be used only in the case of words appearing in the interior of the pattern.

Transcription:

(1)	*bāz*^{a} *dar āmad be-bazm*	*majlesiyān dust*^{a} *dust*
	gar ce γalaṭ mi-dehad	*nist*^{a} *γalaṭ-ust*^{a} *u-st*
(2)	*gāh*^{a} *x*^{v}*aš-e x*^{v}*aš šavad*	*gah hama(h) ātaš šavad*
	ta'biya(h)-hā-ye 'ajab	*yār*^{a} *ma-rā xu-st*^{a} *xu-st*
(3)	*naqš-e vafā vay konad*	*pošt*^{a} *be-mā kay konad*
	pošt^a *na-dārad co šam'*	*u hamagi ru-st*^{a} *ru-st*
(4)	*pust*^{a} *rahā kon co mār*	*sar to bar āvar ze yār*
	maγz^a *na-dāri magar*	*tā kay az-in pust*^{a} *pu-st*
(5)	*har kı be-jed(d)-e tamām*	*dar havas-e mā'-st*^{a} *mās-(a)st*
	har kı co sayl-e ravān	*dar ṭalab-e ju-st*^{a} *ju-st*
(6)	*az havas-e 'ešq-e u*	*bāγ*^{a} *por az bolbol-ast*
	va-z gol-e roxsār-e u	*maγz*^{a} *por az bu-st*^{a} *bust*
(7)	*mafxar-e tabriziyān*	*Šams-e <u>h</u>aq(q) āgah bavad*
	k-az γam-e 'ešq in tan-am	*bar ma<u>s</u>al-e mus-t*^{a} *mu-st*

This transcription is an attempt to overcome the numerous verbal traps set by the poet in order to confuse his readers and to invite them to a search for solutions which would result in a grammatically correct text. Although these "traps" (i.e., forms whose intended readings diverge from those suggested by the Persian text at first glance) can be easily discerned by comparing the transcription with the original, a few comments seem necessary.

Ad 1: The reader is at first inclined to interpret the first hemistich as containing a seemingly obvious nominal group *bazm-e majlesiyān,* plus the substantive *dust* repeated twice for emphasis. However, the metric pattern of the *ghazal* does not allow of such a reading, because the *iẓāfat* may not overbridge the internal caesura of the *meṣrā'*. For this reason, the word *majlesiyān* reveals itself as a part of a quasi-compound *majlesiyān-dust* (= *dust-e majlesiyān*), which has the function of a qualifier of the second *dust*, the actual subject of this sentence. Thus, the apparently emphatic repetition of the same word in the rhyme position is only a red herring presented to the careless reader. Although in this case the juxtaposed substantives are indeed the

same lexical items, their syntactic functions are completely different. The realization of this principle has important consequences for the interpretation of the rest of the poem, because whenever two seemingly identical forms appear at the end of a line, the reader should be aware that they in fact are *not* truly identical and that they either represent two homonyms or, at least, fulfil two different grammatical and/or semantic functions. In my opinion, this is the case with the second *meṣrā'* of the first *bayt*. Although the metre also permits the reading *nist^a γalaṭ u-st^a u-st*, which might be translated as 'there is no mistake: it's Him, it's Him!', it seems preferable to choose an *interpretatio difficilior* without repetition, namely a "poetically" shortened compound *γalaṭ-ust(ād)*, 'master/teacher of error'.

Ad 2: In spite of the fact that the adjectivally used noun *'ajab* immediately follows the substantive *ta'biya(h)-hā*, it cannot be regarded as its seemingly obvious simple qualifier, because in that case the word *yār* would remain without any syntactical function. For this reason it has to be treated as a member of a quasi-compound *'ajab-yār* (= *yār-e 'ajab*) which is the actual qualifier of *ta'biya(h)-hā*. The general principle of non-identity of the members of the pseudo-repetitions at the end of the line is particularly conspicuous in this *bayt*. Although the substantive *xu* appearing in it twice is indeed the same lexeme, its semantic value in both cases is different; the first time it refers to the 'custom/habit' of the narrator (*ma-rā xu-st*), while the second time it describes the behaviour of the Friend.

Ad 3: The same semantic differentiation of identical lexemes is visible at the end of this *bayt*: the first occurrence of the word *ru* has the literal meaning 'face', while the second one is an abbreviation of the familiar expression *ru-(v)o-riyā* 'showing off/hypocrisy' and refers to the Friend's insincerity.

Ad 4: This *bayt* features two real homonyms in its rhyme-foot: the noun *pust* 'skin/shell' and a substantivized present stem of the verb *puyidan*, meaning 'to examine, search' (cf. Steingass, p. 261, s.v.), the final *-y-* of which has been dropped as in the similar application of the stem *ju(y)*, 'seeking' (cf. Steingass, p. 380, s.v.), in the following *bayt*. Concerning the metaphorical meaning of the word *pust*, cf. Rumi's *ghazal* 325, line 12: *soxon dar pust mi guyam ke jān-e in soxon γayb-ast* …—'I am speaking (these) word(s) (enclosed) in a "shell" because the soul/content of the(se) word(s) is absence (of habitual meaning)'.

Ad 5: My interpretation of the first *meṣrā'* of this *bayt* will certainly raise a few eyebrows because of its disagreement with the apparently obvious reading *mā-st mā-st*, which might be fitted into a mystically sounding, though meaningless phrase 'everybody … who is longing for us—is (identical with) us', and, moreover, because this reading seems to form a parallel with the ending of the following *meṣrā'*: 'who … is in the need of a stream—is a stream'. However, these two readings are not only at odds with the principle of non-identity of the elements of the pseudo-repetitions, but also do not give any clear sense to the whole *bayt*. In my opinion, this distich is a continuation of the preceding *bayt*'s appeal to the reader to 'shed the shell' and to look for the 'core' of the enigmatic text. This task requires constant effort, which the poet compares here with other activities: searching for water (Ar. *mā'*) by a man made 'active/busy' (Ar.-Pers. *mās*; cf. Steingass, p. 1140) by thirst or for a 'chan-

nel'—probably symbolizing meaningful order—by somebody who is overwhelmed by an apparently chaotic 'flood' of words and images.

Ad 6: The ending of this *bayt* displays a particularly ingenious pseudo-repetition of the forms represented by the spelling *b-u-s-t*. A closer scrutiny of the phrase *maγz por az bust bust* makes it clear that it cannot be simply translated as 'the core/brain is full of fragrance', because in that case the seemingly repeated form *bu-st* would not have any definite grammatical function. For this reason, it is advisable to treat the second *bust* as a playful shortening of the noun *bustān*—in this case the discussed phrase reveals itself as a perfectly correct transposition of the expression *bust(ān)-e por az bu*.

Ad 7: Here again the ending of the *bayt* is misleading, because the "obvious" reading *bar maṯal-e mu-st mu-st* would lead to a pleonastic expression, 'is like a hair—is a hair'. For this reason, it is preferable to interpret the first appearance of *must* as the Ar.-Pers. *mus*, 'razor' provided with a short form (permissible in poetry; cf. Elwell-Sutton, p. 4) of the enclitic pronoun *-(a)t*.

Translation:

(1) The company-loving Friend came again to the feast:
Although He (often) misleads, He cannot (truly) deceive (lit. 'is not a master of error/deception')—it is Him!

(2) Sometimes He becomes extremely nice, sometimes He becomes a fire …
I am accustomed to the (changing) postures of (this) strange Friend—it is (His) custom(ary behaviour).

(3) He makes a display of faithfulness (assuring us that) He will never [lit. 'when?'] turn (His) back on us,
(But) He has no back (at all) like a candle, He entirely consists of face—(thus) it [his assurance] is only hypocrisy [lit. 'show(ing off)'].

(4) Put the skin/shell away as a snake (sheds its skin), raise your head for the sake of (seeing) the Friend!
Haven't you got any core/content (or 'brain') (yet)? How long still (will continue) the (futile) examination of this skin/shell?

(5) Everybody who in all seriousness longs for water is active/busy (in order to find it);
Everybody who like a rising flood is in need of a channel/stream is searching (for it).

(6) Because of the striving after His love, (this) garden is full of nightingales
And because of (the longing for) the rose of His countenance, the brain (or 'core/content') is an orchard full of fragrance.

(7) The pride of the Tabriz-dwellers, Šams-e ḥaq(q), is (or 'shall be') aware (of the following fact):
'Because of love's trouble this body of mine resembles your razor('s blade)—it is a (thin/subtle) hair.'

It could be argued with some justification that the "purified" text of *ghazal* 466 presented above remains nearly as obscure as before and thus that the whole preceding discussion is useless. I would agree with such a statement, provided that it referred only to the traditional view of Rumi's poetry as the personal, "mystico-erotic" confessions of an individual—in that case the obscurity indeed remains impenetrable. There is, however, an alternative: my hypothesis that the *ghazals* are self-referent riddles whose narrator (the "I-person", i.e., the personified discourse of the poem itself) addresses *any* given reader of the text (the "you-person", the Friend) and tries to induce him to find out what all these enigmatically sounding statements really mean (cf. Skalmowski). From this point of view, the discussed *ghazal* becomes clearer. Its initial three *bayts* are an ironical description of a confused and exasperated reader who does not understand that it is he himself who is the Friend and cannot make any sense of the poem's words. *Bayts* 4 and 5 switch to a harsher tone, reprimanding the addressee for his slow progress and urging him to make a serious effort to get a result. *Bayt* 6 describes the poem's own beauty enhanced by the nearness of the—potentially—comprehensive receiver of its message, while *bayt* 7 states that an actual "good" reader (*Šams-e Tabrizi*) will grasp all the "hair-like" subtleties of this elusive game of hide-and-seek.

While mentioning this "alternative" here smacks of immodest self-advertisement, it is in fact an act of friendly defiance directed at my learned colleague, Professor Bo Utas, to whom this article is dedicated in pleasant remembrance of the thirty years of our acquaintance. During this long period, I have often had the opportunity to discuss with him my "heretical" views on the meaning of classical Persian *ghazal*-poetry. Though I have greatly profited from many of his critical remarks, I do not fully subscribe to his overall rejection of my approach as—in his view—"too mechanical". The present article is thus a kind of paraphrase of the famous exclamation *"Hier stehe ich und kann nicht anders"*. Its point is not in "making the point" but in stressing that we both share a common ground, even if our ways do not always cross each other in the obscurity enveloping this area of Iranian Studies. Perhaps it is good so, too, since Rumi himself states in the *maqṭa'* of his *ghazal* No. 550, *dar ẓolomāt-e ebtelā ṣabr kon o ma-kon abā' / k-āb-e ḥayāt Xezr-rā dar ẓolomāt mi-rasad*, "Be patient in the midst of trying obscurities and do not protest, because it is (precisely) in the darkness that Khezr finds the Water of Life". The legendary *āb-e ḥayāt* is a welcome final note in a paper written on the occasion of a birthday celebration. Thus, *ad multos annos*, Bo! The same good wishes are also extended to Professor Gunilla Gren-Eklund, the co-addressee of this *Festschrift*.

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Braving the Bangalinis: Women's Kingdoms in North Indian Vernacular Literatures

WILLIAM L. SMITH, Stockholm

Indian literatures are rich in accounts of kingdoms of women. Several Sanskrit texts mention such *strī rājya*s, most notably the *Jaiminī Bhārata* which describes a kingdom of Amazons visited by Arjuna.[1] The medieval vernaculars, ranging from Rajasthani to Bengali, also possess accounts of *strī rājya*s, but these tend to be of somewhat different character and are described in much more detail. We can start our survey with two episodes from the *Dharma Maṅgals* of medieval Bengal, more precisely the 16th century version of Maṇikarām Gaṅgulī and that of Ghanrām Cakrabarttī from the beginning of the eighteenth century.[2] *The Dharma Maṅgals* are Bengali folk epics glorifying Dharma, a regional deity of obscure origins largely worshipped by the lower castes. His *maṅgal* relates the adventures of Lāusen and his brother Karpūr who undergo various trials and survive various perils thanks to their firm devotion to the god Dharma. The episodes of interest to us here take place during the journey of Lāusen and Karpūr to Gauṛ, i.e. Bengal. During the course of their travels they eventually come to a land called Jāmati or Jāmatinagar. When they arrive, the two heroes sit down to rest in the shade of a tree by the side of a tank. This seems to be the standard procedure for travelers in these tales since there they can get information about the village from women who come to fetch water. The inhabitants of Jāmati are *baruī*s, that is, members of a caste whose occupation is the cultivation of the betel leaf.[3] According to their caste legends, the *baruī*s were created by the god Brahmā in order to relieve Brahmans from the chore of cultivating betel so that they could occupy themselves exclusively with religious activities. The *baruī*s are in Risely's words, a "respectable" caste. Most are *śākta*s. Their caste occupation is a highly specialized one: betel is grown inside enclosures within which the plants are cultivated on poles. The leaves are harvested throughout the year but are most plentiful in July and August. Most of the work is performed by the women of the caste.[4]

As Lāusen and Karpūr repose in the shade of a tree, the *baruī* women of Jāmati come to the tank to fetch water, see the two young men and are immediately filled

[1] See W.L. Smith, *Strīrājya: Classical Accounts of Kingdoms of Women*, *Vidyarnavavandanam: Essays in Honour of Asko Parpola*, Klaus Karttunen and Petteri Koskikallio, eds., Studia Orientalia, 94, Helsinki, 2001.

[2] The versions of the *Dharma Maṅgal* used here are Maṇikrām Gāṅguli, *Dharmamaṅgal*, ed. by Bijitakumār Datta and Sunandā Datta, Kalikātā Biśbabidyālaẏ, Kalikātā, 1960 and Ghanrām Cakrabarttī, *Śrīddharmamaṅgal*, ed. Pīyu, Kānti Mahāpātra, Kalikātā Biśbabidyālaẏ, Kalikātā, 1962.

[3] In the Dharma Maṅgal of Maṇikrām all the women bear the caste name Bāruī. Jāmaṭi is also referred to as Bāruī Pāṛā, the Bāruī quarter or neighborhood.

[4] Herbert H. Risely, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 66–71.

with desire for them. The Jāmati wives (their husbands do make an appearance until the end of the story) are very much interested in young men from foreign climes. Speaking of Jaẏā, the wife of one Janārdana Bārui, the poet says,

> If she gets hold of a foreign male, she never lets him go.
> She leers at him with side glances and smiles from the left
> side of her mouth.
> It is as if she castes a poisonous net on the life on the life of the youth.[5]

All the woman share Jaẏā's predilection for foreign men; as the wives of Jāmati gaze longingly at the two heroes, they compare them unfavorably to their own husbands who are old, fat, bald, stupid, hunchbacked or otherwise undesirable.[6] The leader of the Jāmatīs is one Naẏānī or Naẏanī, wife of Nārāẏaṇa Bārui and the mother of three sons.[7] Aflame with the thought of Lāusen, Naẏānī goes back to her home, makes herself up, decks herself out in her finest jewelry and starts back to the tank where Lāusen and Karpūr are sitting. As she sets off, her youngest son runs after her crying, but Naẏānī is so intent on seducing Lāusen that she doesn't even turn round. When the child catches up to her and tugs on her sari, she slaps him in the face, knocking him down; and, leaving him lying in the dust, she goes on her way.[8] She is not only a bad wife, but a bad mother as well.

Naẏānī's advances, however, prove unsuccessful in the face of Lāusen's impregnable virtue. "I have never touched a woman in my life", he explains to her, "It is not right for me to stay here a moment more with you, I am not one of those men with depraved morals".[9] He reminds Naẏānī that a proper wife's place is at home with her husband and he urges her to do so, pointing out that women who behave like her go to hell. Lāusen then tells her the story of Sāvitrī in the hope that this inspiring example of wifely fidelity will bring Naẏānī to see the error of her ways, but Naẏānī knows her scriptures too. She counters by citing the example of another woman in the *Mahābhārata*, Kuntī whose five children were fathered by different deities; she also mentions Āhalyā, the wife of the sage Gautama, who had the god Indra as her lover, and Mandodarī of the *Rāmāyaṇa* who had two husbands. "I have heard all this in the *Bhāgavata* and the *Mahābhārata*" she explains.[10] Nothing, however, avails against Lāusen's unassailable virtue and Naẏānī is at last forced to give up. Then, according to the *Dharma Maṅgal* of Mānikrām, she is so enraged at her failure that she reports Lāusen to the king of Jāmati who orders him to be thrown into prison; in Ghanrām's version, the spurned Naẏānī goes home, fetches her son, throws him in a well and drowns him. She starts weeping and tells the people of

[5] *bideśī puruṣa pāile chāṛe nāi āra* | *baṅkima naẏane cāẏ bāmamukhe hāsi* || *yubaka jībane yena māre biṣaphāsi* || Maṇikrām Gāṅguli, *Dharmamaṅgal*, p. 223.

[6] This literary convention is known as the *patinindā*, "husband abuse". See W.L. Smith, *The Pati Nindā in Medieval Bengali Literature*, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 99, 1979.

[7] According to Ghanrām, p. 262.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *janame yubatī āmi nā kari paraśa* || *anucita ekhāne thākite eka tila* | *āmi nai temana puruṣa bhraṣṭa śīla* ||; *ibid*. p. 266.

[10] *bhāgabata bhārate esaba śuneci*; Mānikrām, p. 133.

Jāmati that it was Lāusen who had murdered the boy. And here, too, Lāusen finds himself chained in a dungeon with a great stone weighing down his chest. Then, as always when he finds himself in danger, Lāusen prays to Lord Dharma who sends Hanumān, his faithful assistant, to help his devotee. Hanumān comes to the prison, releases Lāusen from his bonds and then appears to the king in a dream, warning him that if he harms the servant of Dharma, he will burn down his city to the ground the same way he burned down Laṅkā. In Ghanrām's *Dharma Maṅgal*, Lāusen brings Naẏānī's son back with the help of Dharma and the revived boy tells the people of Jāmati that it was his own mother who murdered him. Naẏānī's nose and ears are then cut off and she is banished from Jāmati.

Lāusen then proceeds on his journey; his problems with women, however, are far from over. Just as he warned him about the dangers of Jāmati, his companion Karpūr warns Lāusen about those of the next region they will pass through. This is a place called Golahāṭ, a land completely run by women.

A woman is king [there], courtesans live in that city.
They know many [occult] arts and yoga.
They dance and sing and enjoy thousands of pleasures.
They have gained their wishes at a *pīṭha* in Kāmrūp.
They can bewitch the world with their glances.[11]

These women, whose leader (*nāẏikā*) is named Surikṣā, are referred to as courtesans or harlots (*dārī, beśyā, beuśyā*). Lāusen is confident that Dharma will protect him and insists on preceding despite Karpūr's warning. When they arrive, Karpūr warns Lāusen against eating the food the women offer them.

If one takes food and water from the hands of these women,
one's body falls and one is transformed into a dog.[12]

In Golahāṭ the same thing happens as in Jāmati: as soon as the women lay their eyes upon Lāusen they fall madly in love with him. His presence is reported to Surikṣā and she sets out to seduce him, first by describing the pleasures of Golahāṭ and then by offering him a bribe of a million rupees. She fares no better than Naẏānī. Surikṣā presses Lāusen to dine at her home and he eventually agrees under a number of conditions that he believes it will be impossible for her to fulfill: the food will have to be served on tamarind leaves, it will have to be served at night and so forth. However with help from Durgā, Surikṣā fulfils all the conditions and cooks a sumptuous meal. Lāusen is aghast at the prospect of this fatal repast and appeals to Lord Dharma who again sends Hanumān to save him. This time Hanumān rescues him by commanding the sun to rise a few hours early, and thus night ends before the meal can be served and Lāusen escapes. This; however, does not solve his problems since

[11] *nārī rājā dārī tāẏa baise ai pure* || *nānā guṇagrāma jāne nānā yoga* || *nāṭagīte lakṣera bilāsa kare bhoga* || *kāmarūpe kāmanā kareche siddhapīṭha* | *saṃsāra mohite pāre ceẏe diṭhe diṭhe* || Ghanrām, p. 276.

[12] *beuśyā māgīra hāte anna jala khābe* || *śarīra patana haẏe śvānrūpa habe* || Mānikrām p. 255.

he agrees to a riddle contest with Surikṣā with the proviso that if he fails to answer her riddle, he will become her slave. Then Surikṣā asks a impossibly difficult riddle (*biṣama samasyā*):

Kāmikṣā Caṇḍī in Kāmarūpa comes to Kāmatā|
In what part of the body is the essence (*dhātu*) of a woman.[13]

Lāusen again appeals to Dharma, asking him for the answer. Dharma doesn't know it so he sends Hanumān to ask the other gods. Brahmā tells Hanumān he's to old to be of any help and sends him on to Viṣṇu; Viṣṇu says he has no idea and suggests that Hanumān go to Śiva. Hanumān, now getting more and more desperate, asks Śiva and Śiva replies that he has consumed too much hashish (*siddhi*) to be able to think straight and can't help either. He advises Hanumān ask his wife Gaurī, and it from her that Hanumān gets the answer: *bāma cakṣe*, (the essence of a woman) is "in her left eye". Surikṣā is vanquished and Lāusen goes his way.

If we look at literatures in other North Indian languages we find similar descriptions of kingdoms of women and these, too, tend to be located in or near Bengal. One such kingdom is described in an episode of the Lorik-Candā, a popular oral epic which has been recorded in a number of Hindī dialects.[14] The Bhojpuri version of the epic tells us how its hero Lorik is required to fetch a box of vermillion[15] hidden in a fortress in a kingdom of women (*rāj strī kā*) called Piṛanāpur, This land is ruled by three women: Jiriyā, Hiriyā and Jāso. Jiriyā and Hiriyā are Bengalis: *Baṁgālin* and Jāso is a *kalavārin*, a member of a caste that sells distilled liquor. In order to protect Lorik from Jiriyā, Hiriyā and Jāso, Durgā outfitted him in a sort of chastity belt, *barhamcarj* (i.e. *brahmacarya*) *ke laṃgoṭā*, a loincloth which the goddess tied tightly around his waist impossible to untie or to cut away. Then as night descended, Durgā took Lorik to Piṛānpur in her aerial car and they entered a jungle where ghosts (*bhūta*) and vampires (*baitāl*) played drums and danced. Durgā then took the further precaution of transforming Lorik into a small boy. She then met the goddess Banasattī who warned her of the dangers that awaited them: Jiriyā and Hiriyā possessed the "knowledge of Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa" (*kaṃvarū̃ kamaicchā kā bidā*), and as soon as the sun came up, would do their best to steal Lorik from her. The three women, she explained, were very powerful sorceresses (they are referred to as *jogin* and *jādugarin i.e.* Sanskrit *yoginī*) who could even transform the gods into sheep and make them drink from clay dishes (*khapaṛī*).[16] Durgā then changed Lorik into a yogī (*jogī*) who sat invisibly on her head. Jiriyā, Hiriyā and Jāso soon appeared, were smitten by his charm and attempted his seduction. When they failed, the three women tried to transform Lorik into a sheep (*bheṛā*) but they were foiled in this by Durgā. After a series of adventures we cannot follow here, the three women changed him into a parrot but he managed to preserve his chastity in-

[13] *kāṅure kāmikṣā caṇḍī kāmatāẏ āsye* || *aṅgamadhye aṅganāra dhātu kothā raẏ* || *ibid.*

[14] Several of these versions, including the Cainanī and Lorikāyan, have been edited by Shyam Manohar Pandit, however the story dealt with here only seems to be found in the Bhojpuri version.

[15] *amara siṃdhaur:* this is necessary for the marriage of Satiyā, the heroine of the epic.

[16] A small clay pot with a wide mouth.

tact until he was rescued by the goddess. Then, finally Durgā discovered the location of the magic box of vermillion and Lorik retrieved it.[17]

Another, similar, story can be found in the oral literature of Rajasthan. The protagonist in this tale is well-known Nātha figure, Gopī Cand, the king who gave up his throne to become a wandering Nātha yogī. According to this tale, Gopī Cand decided to visit his sister in Bengal in spite of his mother's warnings about the seven dangerous sorceresses who lived there. Inevitably, soon after he reached Bengal, Gopī Cand found himself surrounded by the seven women, each of whom belonged to a different caste. When they realized that Gopī Cand possessed no magic and was defenseless against them, the queen of the magicians transformed him into a parrot. Later the woman from the oil-presser caste asked for the parrot and changed it into a young ox which she hitched to her oil press. Passed from one woman to the other, Gopī Cand was subsequently turned into a donkey, rooster and various other creatures until his guru Jalinder Nātha turned up to rescue him. He soon defeated the sorceresses in a magic duel and transformed them all into donkeys.[18]

There are many other stories about kingdoms inhabited by *yoginī*s who use their occult powers to transform men into beasts. One such tale appeared in the Panjab in a biography, *Janam sakhī*, of Gurū Nānak, the founder of Sikhism. According an episode found in several variants, Gurū Nānak and his companion Mardānā came the land of women during their wanderings. Even though Gurū Nānak warned Mardānā not to enter the place, he disregarded his teacher and went to a house to beg. A woman invited him inside and tied a magic thread around his neck, instantly transforming him into a sheep. Gurū Nānak, however, recognized his metamorphosed disciple and rescued him and when the women tried their magic against him, it proved ineffective and they were so impressed by his power that they converted to Sikhism.[19] According to this story the kingdom of women is located in Kavarū or Kārū, that is, Kāmrūp, i.e. Assam. Another example of the motif is found in the unpublished *Dharma Maṅgal* of Sahadeb Cakrabortī, a work which combines material from Nātha material with that of the Bengali Dharma cult. According to this text, when Matsyendranāth, the legendary founder of the Nātha cult, spoke disrespectfully to the goddess Gaurī, he was sent to Kadalī Pāṭan where the women transformed him into a sheep. Later Mīnanāth was saved from his ovine state by Gorakṣanāth.[20] A similar story from North India tells how once Gorakṣa's disciples were turned into bullocks in the land of Kārū. Gorakṣa rescued them and turned the women responsible into asses.[21]

[17] Shyam Manohar Pandey, *The Hindī Oral Epic Tradition Bhojpurī Lorikī*, Sahitya Bhawan, Allahabad, 1995, p. 151–185.

[18] *A Carnival of Parting; The Tales of Bharthari and King Gopi Chand as sung and told by Madhu Natisar Nath of Ghatiyali, Rajasthan*, Munshiram Manoharlal, reprint Delhi [1992] 1993 pp. 226–264.

[19] W.H. McLeod, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*, reprint, Oxford University Press, Dehli, [1968] 1988, p. 110.

[20] Shashibhushan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, Firma KLM, reprint, Calcutta, [1946] 1976, p. 368, note 2.

[21] George Weston Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphata Yogīs*, reprint, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi [1938] 1973, p. 187.

We are now approaching more familiar territory, namely the well-known story of the enchantment of the founder of the Nātha cult, Mīnanāth (who is also known as Matsyendranāth and Macchendranāth), in the land of women. This story appears in various forms all over India in many different languages.[22] Perhaps best known are the Middle Bengali poems often titled *Gorakṣa* (or *Gorkha*) *Bijay*, "The Triumph of Gorakṣa". None of these Bengali works are earlier than the seventeeth century.[23] The earliest datable appearance of the story itself can be found in a play, the *Gorakṣa Vijaya*, written by the famous Maithili poet Vidyāpati who flourished in the first part of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately the text, which is in Sanskrit and Prakrit with songs in Maithili, is extremely fragmentary, but enough of it has survived to let us know that it tells us basically the same story as in the Bengali *Gorakṣa Bijaya*. The play describes how Gorakṣa Nāth and a companion enter the land of Kadalī (*kadalī pura pāṭana nagara*) in disguise and sings songs in order to break the spell on their guru, Mīnanāth, has fallen under. In the play Mīnanāth has a vizier named Mahāmantrī Mahāmati.[24]

The Bengali story goes as follows: one day while sitting on the seashore, the god Śiva told his wife Pārvatī the secret of the Great Knowledge (*mahājñāna*). Unfortunately Pārvatī fell asleep during the explanation and missed everything, while Mīnanāth, who was hiding in the sea in the form of a fish, overheard it. As a result he was cursed by Śiva to loose his memory and "become subject to women".[25] Thus Mīnanāth found himself king of the land of Kadalī, which was populated by sixteen hundred women.[26] Mīnanāth ruled with two queens, Maṅgalā and Kamalā, and became the father of a son, Bindunāth. According to Nātha doctrine, male sexual depletion leads to death and as a consequence Mīnanāth's days were soon numbered because of his indulgences and he had only three days to live when his disciple Gorakṣa (or Gorkha) learned of his plight and set out to rescue him. Gorakṣa entered the land of Kadalī with two companions and sat by a well until some of the Kadalī women came to fetch water. The first woman who did so saw him and was immediately pierced by the arrows of the Love God. From her Gorakṣa learned that Mīnanāth had ordered that any *yogī*s who entered the country be impaled, so in order to gain entrance to Mīnanāth's palace, he and his companions disguised themselves as female dancers (*nāṭuẏā*). Once they gained an audience with him, they sung songs in enigmatic language in an attempt to break the spell over the befuddled king; when this failed, Gorakṣa killed Bindunāth and brought him back to life again. Stunned by the miracle, Mīnanāth regained his memories and left Kadalī and its weeping women.[27]

[22] For these see *ibid.*, pp. 179–207, and Hazarīprasād Dvivedī, *Nāth Sampradāy*, Naivedya Niketan, Vārāṇasī, 1966.

[23] For the dating see Sukhmay Mukhyopadhyāya, *Bāṃlā Nāth-Sāhitya*, Subarṇarekhā, Kalkātā, 1994, pp. 6–12.

[24] Vidyāpati, *Gorakṣavijaya-Nāṭaka*, ed. Umeśa Miśra and Jayakānta Miśra, Akhila Bhāratīya Maithilī Sāhita Samiti, Ilāhābād, 1961.

[25] *haibeka nārīra adhīna*.

[26] The same number of *gopī*s sport with Kṛṣṇa in Vṛdāvana.

[27] Here the account in *Gorkha-bijaẏ*, ed. Pañcanan Maṇḍal, Biśbabhāratī Granthālaẏ, Kalikātā, Bengali year 1356, is followed.

Kadalī is both the name of the country where Mīnanāth is held captive and the name of its female inhabitants who are called *Kadalī-sabe*, "the Kadalī-s". *Kadalī* is a Sanskrit word denoting the banana tree and its fruit used alongside the Bengali *tadbhāva* equivalent *kalā*. Apparently Kadalī as the designation of a land of women is only found in the Bengali literature and others, like Vidyāpati's play, which was influenced by it. The origin of the name is unclear and a number of widely differing explanations of it are found. The lexicographer Haricaraṇ Bandopādhyāya suggests connections with the passages in both the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* and the Bengali rendering of Kāśīrāmdās. The basis for his suggestion is simply the mention of banana groves in the two works.[28] Another possibility is suggested by the nature of the *kadalī* itself. The banana tree is not much of a tree; it bears a much greater resemblance to a gigantic asparagus since is stalk is not hard or woody but soft and can be easily felled with a single blow from a machete. Poets make very frequent use of the fragility and instability of the *kadalī* in similes: one shakes in fear like a *kadalī* leaf or a *kadalī* tree and collapses like a *kadalī* in a windstorm; the equivalent of a bull in a china shop is an elephant in a *kadalī* grove. Finally we have the Sanskrit compound *kadalī-sama*, "like a banana tree", which corresponds to "ephemeral". This shallow-rooted plant, so much unlike the sturdier trees of the forest, is a symbol of fragility and impermanence and thus might seem an appropriate name for a land preoccupied with the ephemeral pleasures of the flesh. The Bengali scholar Shashibhusan Dasgupta suggests a connection with the *kadalī-gṛha*, a hut made of banana tree stalks was used by kings for love making and points out a wedding custom described in the Middle Bengali *maṅgal* literature during which women threaten to seduce the bridegroom in a *kalā-ban*, a thicket or grove of banana trees. Dasgupta ends his footnote explanation with a question mark.[29] Finally it can be noted that the banana tree is widely used as a fertility symbol. For this purpose banana plants are placed outside temples and are displayed at various religious rites and festivals.

This Nātha tale proved to be extremely popular and variants of it appeared all over India. The most remarkable indication of its popularity is the fact that a version of it found its way into biographies of the famous philosopher Śaṅkara. According to it, Śaṅkara, was challenged to a debate by the female philosopher Ubhaya Bhāratī who selected erotics as its subject. As this happened to be the one subject that Śaṅkara had no knowledge of, the philosopher asked for a postponement and set out to do a quick study. Using his yogic powers, he occupied the body of the recently deceased king Amaruka and then set about mastering the subject in the dead king's harem and soon forgot his original purpose. When he failed to appear, his worried pupils set out in search of him and, just like Gorakṣa Nāth and his companions, gained entry to the palace disguised as dancers who sang songs to remind Śaṅkara of his true identity.[30] The oldest occurrence of this episode in a Śaṅkara biography is in the *Śaṅkara*

[28] See the comments after the entry *kadalī* in *Baṅgīya Śabdakoṣ*, Sāhitya Akādemī, Niu Dillī , reprint 1966.

[29] S. Dasgupta, op. cit. p. 378 note 2.

[30] For one version see Madhava-Vidyaranya: *Shankara Digvijaya. The Traditional Life of Sri Sankaradeva*, trans. Swami Tapasyananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras, 1986, pp. 110– 124.

vijaya of Anantānandagiri, a South Indian work from the fourteenth century. Since it is generally held that the Nātha cult was founded in Bengal around the twelfth century, this indicates that it spread throughout India quite rapidly.

These tales share a number of common motifs. They feature virginal male protagonists like Lāusen or Lorik, or ascetics like Gorakṣa, who, despite warnings, insist on entering the land of women. The women inhabiting these countries are sexual predators who, thanks to their possession of occult powers, find these innocent young men easy prey, and often change them into animals or birds, with an apparent preference for sheep. Their victims are only saved thanks to powerful protectors whose magic is even more potent than theirs: Durgā rescues Lāsen and Lorik, Gurū Nānak Mardānā, Jalinder Nāth Gopī Cand, and Gorakṣa Nāth his enchanted disciples and guru. These kingdoms tend to be located in Northeastern India. The most likely reason for this are the strong associations of the region with Śaktism, Tantricism and the occult. Guwahati in Assam is the location of the famous shrine of the goddess Kāmākhyā where Surīkṣā of the *Dharma Maṅgal* as well as Hiriyā and Jiriyā of the Lorik Epic learned their skills. A contributing feature is the existence there, as in neighboring regions, of matriarchal societies. One suspects that in the minds of Indians in distant provinces like Rajasthan and the Panjab, Assam and Bengal tended to merge into a single indistinct entity. Scholars have made many serious efforts to locate the Land of Women; Nepal, the Himachal region and Central Asia have all been suggested. In the end, perhaps we should perhaps admit that the Land of Women is to not be found in Central Asia, or Assam or Nepal or any other geographical location. The most likely place to look for the Land of Women is in the fears of men.

Stig Wikander: Four Kurdish Tales

JAN STOLPE and MARITA WIKANDER, Stockholm

THE EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

On the 8th of June 1953 the Swedish Orient Line's ship *Vegaland* left the harbour of Göteborg. It called at Antwerpen, Alger and Haifa and arrived at Beirut on the 2 of July. On board the ship was Stig Wikander, who was 45 years of age and newly appointed professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics in Uppsala. With the help of a grant from the Swedish foundation Kungafonden, he was on his way to study the Kurdish language and collect Kurdish texts, especially folk tales and folk songs.

He continued on to Damascus from Beirut and it was here that the real work began. In a letter to his wife in Sweden dated the 7 of August he recounts:[1]

> Today it is 36 [degrees centigrade] in the shade and there will be a new heat wave but so far it is not too bad. (...) After a shower and shave I take tea in the drawing-room from 7 to 8 o'clock during which Mrs. Jamgotchean and I have a lesson in Armenian. (...) On two days a week at 9 o'clock in the morning I go to the Kurdish section of the city for a lesson in conversation with a Kurd who teaches English in a high school. Every day at 2 P. M, Osman Sebri, another Kurd, comes here and gives me a one or two-hour lesson. He is truly a remarkably gifted person about whom I shall have much to tell you later. He does not know any other languages than Kurdish, Turkish and Arabic so we speak Kurdish with each other and, when words fail, he explains first in Kurdish and then in Arabic. I know enough Arabic for us to manage. I have learned an unprecedented amount through the double study of Armenian and Kurdish, which have much in common, and I take lots of notes every day.
>
> So far I have not got hold of many folk tales or poems but O(sman) S(ebri) has recited some of his own poems on my Dictaphone. (...) Yes, the machine has been a problem child. (...)
>
> Ordinarily in the mornings I work at the Institut français, which has some Kurdish literature. (...) I intend to stay here for more two weeks and then, if possible, I will travel to the hinterland. There I hope to meet Kurds who will know lots of folk tales and popular songs. In a big city like Damascus they no longer remember [them].

In a letter to his ten-year-old daughter dated the 15 of August of the same year he wrote,

> I would have included some tales as well, but I do not have time. I will do that before I go to Aleppo in a week or so. Ask Mommy (...) to show you Aleppo on a map of Syria. Now draw a line straight east from that city. In September I shall travel that route and follow the road as far as it goes. In other words I shall go to the other border of Syria and back again.

Four days later in a letter to his wife, he says: "I haven't yet acquired much popular poetry."

[1] All the letters quoted here belong to Stig Wikander's collected papers which are in keeping at the University Library of Uppsala.

It will be necessary to search for it in the villages of northern Syria (...). Osman Sebri does not think I know Kurdish at all and he is probably right, but it is not that easy to get a couple of more months [extension]! I have made observations that are very important for my studies in comparative languages. However, I really must collect longer, substantial items of popular poetry and not only the short pieces that I have so far sent you and the children. (...) Even if I don't collect very much orally tradited verse I will present a large collection of tales translated from publications that are unknown in Europe. Besides, I have got hold of completely unique books for Carolina [University Library, Uppsala].

On the 28 of August he travelled from Damascus to Aleppo in a seven-person taxi together with ten other persons. He gives a lively description of the countryside and the people:

Among the Arabs, formalities are observed with good humour and a light manner. I know of no country where people become acquainted so fast and without ceremony. Or is it I who have a special disposition for living among these people? In the afternoon I had time to visit a dealer in Arabic manuscripts and to look in on a wedding in the Armenian cathedral; priests in extremely splendid [vestments] officiated.

After his return to Damascus he writes about his expedition into the hinterland of Syria in a letter dated 24 September.

On the 23rd (yesterday) I came to Damascus from Qamisliye by plane after a 10-day trip into the remote area of "darkest" north-eastern Syria. It was a perfectly fantastic visit with unique experiences and a brilliant result in the form of many tape recordings of songs and poems. [I have material for] a wonderful radio program and maybe several! I don't have time to tell [you] about it since I am as tired as a corpse. Besides, I shall spend a Kurdish evening this night with my friends here and travel to Beirut tomorrow by car. (...) Excuse me for writing so badly but I am so tired that I can hardly sit up straight. I must rest for a while now in order to have the energy to be witty (?) in Kurdish (??) this evening. May God have mercy on us! However, I feel healthier than I have for ages even though I have just been in the worst malaria district of Syria, without mentioning even worse sicknesses that devastate the area.

The trip resulted first and foremost in the edition of Kurdish texts in the original which Stig Wikander published in 1959, *Recueil de textes kourmandji*.[2] The book contains 39 texts in different styles of Kurmandji. There are poems by contemporary poets, popular poetry, some Kurdish translations from other languages (selections from the Gospel of St. Luke, from the *Anabasis* by Xenophon and a tale by H. C. Andersen), and texts about the language. A large part of the material had been published in Kurdish magazines from Syria and Lebanon, but, as Wikander writes in French in the foreword,

Le recueil contient aussi de l'inédit. Les morceaux sans indication de source, pourvus seulement d'un nom d'auteur, m'ont été dictés en 1953 à Damas ou à Qubūr al-Bīḍ.

His two informants in Damascus were Ibrahim Mullah and Osman Sebri, two well-known Kurdish intellectuals. Ibrahim Mullah is only mentioned briefly in Stig Wikander's letters. He is the "high school English teacher" who is mentioned in the first letter we quoted and who lived in the Kurdish section of Damascus. Osman Sebri contributed to Wikander's anthology in several different ways. He provided some of his own poems as well as a hitherto unpublished essay on the orthography

[2] Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1959:10, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1959, 108 pp.

and phonology of Kurmandji and contributed a number of fables that he had recorded on tape.

Osman Sebri appears to have made a strong impression on Wikander who spoke of him as "truly a remarkably gifted man". On the 19 of August he wrote to his wife: "I understood from your last letter that my longest letter (...) must have got lost—the two closely written pages where I spoke of Osman Sebri as well as other things?" It is a pity that exactly that letter seems to have been lost because Sebri was indeed an interesting personage. He was born in Turkey and was obliged to flee to Syria because of persecution. There he worked as an author and intellectual and among other activities collaborated in the magazine *Hawar*. Beside Cegerxwîn, he is the only modern poet who is represented in Wikander's anthology of texts. Later he had difficulties of a political nature also in Syria. During a time he was obliged to live in Madagascar and in the sixties he spent several years in prison in Syria. He died some time in the 1990's. Several of his children live and work in Sweden today.

Stig Wikander had planned to make further use of his Kurdish material. Among his remaining papers there is the typed manuscript of a book of nearly 60 pages entitled *Kurdiska sagor*. It contains twelve stories in his own Swedish translation.[3] We thought it would be appropriate as homage to two of Stig Wikander's foremost disciples to publish some of the translations. It is exactly fifty years since they were written down in their original form and they have never been published before. Here is our reproduction of four tales. They are numbered in the same way as in Wikander's edition of the original text in Kurmandji.[4]

Fyra kurdiska djurfabler

Översättning från kurmandji av Stig Wikander

1. Fladdermusen och kung Salomo

Det sägs att när kung Salomo gifte sig med Bilkis skulle hon ha bett honom att få en madrass stoppad med fågelfjädrar. Salomo skickade ut order till alla fåglar och befallde dem att rycka ut sina fjädrar för att göra en fin madrass åt drottningen. Fladdermusen satte genast igång, ryckte fort av sig alla fjädrarna och flög sin väg. Men de andra fåglarna tyckte det var en underlig befallning och sade till kung Salomo:

[3] He treated Kurdish subjects also in the articles "Un témoignage kurde sur les Yézidis du Djebel Sindjar", *Orientalia Suecana* II, 1953, pp. 112–118, and "Ein Fest bei den Kurden und im Avesta", *Orientalia Suecana* IX, 1960, pp. 7–10. In an article in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* the 7th of April, 1956, entitled "Modernistisk dikt och primitiv", Wikander discusses in detail the characteristics of Kurdish poetry on the occasion of a recently published book by C. S. Lewis.

[4] The manuscript of Wikander's translations is also kept with his letters in the Uppsala University Library. They are reproduced here with the permission of the holders of the rights.

– Är det inte synd att du vill ha oss plockade allesammans för din gemåls skull? Fjädrarna skulle ju skydda oss mot kölden!

Salomo fann att de hade rätt och gav upp sitt företag. Men fladdermusen, som redan hade plockat av sina fjädrar, han skäms sedan den dagen så att han inte vill visa sig bland sina vänner. Och därför kommer han bara fram om nätterna.

Osman Sebri

Damaskus den 5 augusti 1953

2. Hur åsnan lurade lejonet

Det var en gång en åsna som lyckades rymma från sin ägare. Hon fann en stor betesplats som låg långt borta, dit ingen varelse vågade gå, för det bodde i trakten ett förskräckligt lejon. Några dagar gick åsnan omkring där och betade och sedan flyttade hon till en annan äng.

Tidigt en morgon fick lejonet syn på åsnan och iakttog den gömd bakom en klippa.

– Vad kan detta vara för ett djur? tänkte han. Det känner jag inte till. Lejonet gick sakta fram till åsnan så han kom alldeles i närheten, hälsade artigt och sade:

– Var god tala om vad du heter, det vet jag inte!

Åsnan galopperade stolt omkring på ängen så att eld och gnistor sprang fram under hennes hovar och ropade:

– Lejonåsnan heter jag!

Lejonet blev rädd för det ståtliga namnet och sade:

– Skulle vi inte kunna slå oss ihop och bli vänner?

– Gärna det! sade åsnan.

Så levde de ihop en tid. En dag sade åsnan till lejonet:

– Gå bort till berget och skräm upp fåglarna åt mig, så skall jag jaga fågel åt dig!

Lejonet gick och skrämde upp fåglarna. Alla fåglarna flög upp utom en som var sjuk och som bara kunde flyga ett litet tag och sedan föll ned framför åsnan. Åsnan ropade genast tillbaka lejonet och sade:

– Är det inte en stor fågel jag fångat åt dig!

Lejonet kom fram och fick se den stora fågeln som låg där och åsnan som trampade stolt på dess vingar. Lejonet tog fågeln, men blev mycket ängslig och sade för sig själv: Det var då ett märkvärdigt djur! Han kan fånga himmelens fåglar!

En annan dag sade lejonet till åsnan:

– Skall vi inte ta oss en simtur?

Åsnan blev mycket rädd, men vad skulle hon göra? De gick ned till vattnet tillsammans. Lejonet störtade sig i floden och var snart uppe på andra stranden. Men åsnan dröjde länge i vattnet, än på ytan, än under den. Efter en stund kom hon upp och skakade öronen värre, och då föll fiskar ned från dem.

– Ser du, sade hon till lejonet, jag var så länge i vattnet för att skaffa några fiskar åt dig!

Lejonet blev väldigt rädd och tänkte: Jag måste nog ge mig iväg från det här vilddjuret, som kan fånga fåglar i himmelen och fiskar under vattnet! När natten

kom gav sig lejonet iväg och sprang allt vad det kunde över stock och sten, och alla djur som där fanns, vargar, rävar och björnar, följde med. Men räven steg fram till lejonet och frågade:

– Vad springer du så för?

Lejonet svarade:

– Det var också en fråga. Det finns ju en lejonåsna i närheten, och det är ett djur som jagar himmelens fåglar och fiskarna i vattnet.

Men räven svarade:

– Det är ju bara en stackars åsna, jag skulle kunna döda den.

– Om du vågar, sade lejonet, binder vi ihop våra framtassar och så går vi gemensamt dit.

Och så gjorde de och gick tillbaka till åsnan. När åsnan såg dem på långt håll tänkte hon: Nu har räven förstås förklarat allt för det dumma lejonet! Men åsnan galopperade iväg så gnistor och eld sprutade fram under hovarna och skriade det värsta hon kunde.

Då blev lejonet rädd och sade till räven:

– Nu kommer lejonåsnan, nu gäller det att rädda sig!

Och så satte lejonet av över stenar och berg, men den stackars räven slog emot överallt och slog ihjäl sig. Lejonet räddade sig till en avlägsen plats, men av räven blev ingenting kvar utom det där benet som han bundit fast vid lejonets.

Ibrahim Mullah

Damaskus den 27 juli 1953

4. Räven och vargen

Det var en gång en räv som var sjuk och eländig. Han strövade en morgon före soluppgången förbi en sjö. En hungrig varg gav sig på honom för att äta upp honom. Den stackars räven sade till vargen:

– Låt mig bara gå hem och se till mina ungar en sista gång, jag skall komma tillbaka och då kan du gärna äta upp mig.

– Vad gjorde du här så tidigt på morgonen? frågade honom vargen.

Räven svarade.

– Jag kom för att fiska i den här sjön.

Vargen frågade:

– Hur kan du få fisk ur den här sjön?

Räven svarade:

– Det är så lätt så, jag skall visa dig. Får jag bara gå och ta avsked av mina ungar och komma igen, så skall du få se hur många fiskar du kan fånga.

– Nej, sade vargen, visa mig genast hur det går till, så jag kan få några fiskar!

– Sätt dig bara vid stranden, sade räven, och sträck riktigt ut svansen i vattnet! Efter en stund fastnar fiskarna i din svans, du drar den ur sjön och fiskarna vid svansen faller ner på landbacken. Då kan du äta fin, färsk fisk.

Vargen satte sig vid stranden och lät sin svans hänga ned i vattnet för att få fisk. Han sade till räven:

– Spring nu och se till dina ungar och var snart tillbaka.

Räven närmade sig en by och gjorde så att han blev synlig för hundarna. Hundarna störtade efter räven för att äta upp honom. Räven tog vägen åt det hållet där vargen satt. Nu var det mycket kallt den morgonen, vattnet hade genast frusit till is och vargens svans hade fasnat i isen. Han kunde inte göra sig fri. Räven gick fram till vargen, hälsade och sade:

– Vad har du för dig?

– Jag fiskar, sade vargen.

– Nej men, ropade räven, har du blivit fiskare själv, eller brukade redan dina förfäder fiska eftersom du kommer så här tidigt och söker fisk?

Och så kilade han bort från vargen, men hundarna, som var efter räven, fick syn på vargen, och genast gav de upp förföljelsen av räven och rusade fram och slet sönder vargen och åt upp honom.

Ibrahim Mullah

Damaskus den 3 augusti 1953

6. Åsnan, räven och storken

Storken hade blivit sjuk och hans fjädrar hängde så trötta. Han gick sakta vägen fram – flyga kunde han inte längre. En räv kom emot honom och störtade sig genast på honom. Med ens satt storken fast i rävens tänder! Storken sade till räven:

– Jag hoppas bara att du äter upp mig fort!

Räven släppte sitt tag med tänderna och frågade vad han menade med de orden.

– Jag vill veta, sade han, vad du menar med att jag skulle äta upp dig fort.

Storken svarade:

– Jo, saken är den att jag är på vallfärd, och man säger ju att den som dör under en vallfärd, den går direkt till himmelen.

Räven sade:

– Då hoppas jag att du vill ta mig med också på vallfärden.

Storken svarade:

– Kom gärna med mig, men då måste du hålla fasta, inte äta upp några levande varelser och inte jaga och plåga andra djur.

Räven sade:

– Från och med nu skall jag fasta ända tills vi kommit fram till vårt mål och tillbaka igen.

Så slog de följe på färden och fortsatte resan. Plötsligt mötte de en stark och duktig åsna. Åsnan hälsade och frågade vart vägen gick.

Storken svarade:

– Vi är på vallfärd och håller fasta, så att Gud skall finna behag i vår vallfart.

Åsnan sade:

– Får jag bli er vän? Jag skall också hålla fasta!

Så färdades de alla tre tillsammans. Dag för dag blev storkens vingar starkare. Han började kunna flyga korta stycken. Och varje gång han avlägsnade sig litet från sina vänner passade han på att stoppa i sig maskar och vete och korn, och så putsade han tänderna med fjädrarna.

Men åsnan och räven blev allt hungrigare och släpade sig fram tills de hann ifatt

storken. De var så trötta, för de höll verkligen fastan och åt ingenting. Men när räven till slut blev riktigt hungrig sade han till sina vänner:

– Vi får inte äta någon levande varelse, men vi måste äta upp den av oss tre som är yngst!

Storken sade:

– Jag är väldigt gammal, äldre än alla sultaner i Turkiet och Arabien.

Räven sade:

– Men jag är ännu äldre, jag kom till världen före de tre profeterna!

Då lyfte åsnan huvudet, pekade upp med sina långa öron och sade:

– Vad min mor hette och vad jag heter och hur gammal jag är, det står alltihop skrivet under min fot. Jag tror att jag är äldre än ni bägge.

Räven svarade:

– Jag förstår mig på att läsa, låt mig bara se på din fot!

Då lyfte åsnan på foten och räven stack försiktigt fram sitt huvud. Åsnan gav honom en fruktansvärd spark så huvudet gick i bitar och hjärnan blev en enda gröt … Räven dog på fläcken, men åsnan gick till en grön äng och började beta, och storken lyfte vingarna och flög bort till sitt bo.

Ibrahim Mullah

Kurdiska kvarteret i Damaskus den 28 juli 1953

Pseudo-Ḥåfeẓ: A Reading of Wilberforce Clarke's Rendering of *Divån-e Ḥåfeẓ*[1]

FINN THIESEN, Oslo

Lieut.-Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke's rendering of *Divån-e Ḥåfeẓ*, first published in Calcutta in 1891, reprinted by Samuel Weiser in New York in 1970 and again by Ibex Publishers/Iranbooks in Bethesda, Maryland, in 1998, remains so far the only attempt to make a complete translation of Ḥåfeẓ into English. In his short discussion of English translations of Ḥåfeẓ from 1920, E. G. Browne has surprisingly only this much to say of Wilberforce Clarke's work: "English prose translations (are given) by Wilberforce Clarke".[2] One wonders whether he politely chose to say nothing at all because he had nothing positive to say about it. Writing in 1928, E. Denison Ross describes it as a "complete prose translation with copious notes and an exhaustive commentary" and adds: "This translation is so slavishly literal as to be almost unreadable, except as a crib".[3] From this, one gets the impression that Wilberforce Clarke's translation is reliable, albeit unreadable, so that, if someone wants to get to know what Ḥåfeẓ actually says without having to learn Persian first, he should be able to work it out from Wilberforce Clarke. Indeed, David Cloutier's *Hâfiz of Shiraz: News of Love, Poems of Separation and Union* (1984) was "freely adapted from the literal prose translation of the complete *Divan-i Hafiz* by Wilberforce Clarke",[4] and for *Hâfez, Dance of Life* (1988), Mage Publishers in Washington D.C. commissioned English versions by Michael Boylan based upon Wilberforce Clarke.[5]

The purpose of the present paper is to establish to what degree Wilberforce Clarke's rendering can be considered a competent, literal translation and hence to

[1] My transcription differs from that of *Encyclopaedia Iranica* on the following points: I write *j* and *c* without *haček*; *x* and *xw* for *ḵ* and *ḵˇ*; *ġ* for *ḡ*; *ei* and *ou* for *ey* and *ow* (but *ey* and *ow* before enclitics); *å* for *ā*. (The use of *å* for *ā* as suggested in Hans Jensen, *Neupersische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1931, p. 17, is not only a great time-saver for anyone working with a Scandinavian keyboard, but also phonetically well founded.) A high point marks compounds. A hyphen indicates enclitics including, perhaps not quite consistently, enclitic verb forms. A macron indicates *alef-e maqṣure*, and plus marks assimilated *låm*, as in *'alā·'d+davåm*.

[2] Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia III*, Cambridge (repr.) 1956, p. 302.

[3] *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz translated by Gertrude Lowthian Bell with a preface by E. Denison Ross*, London 1928, p. 18.

[4] Page "F" in Michael Craig Hillman's introduction to Ibex Publishers/Iranbooks 1998 reprint of Wilberforce Clarke. The long-winded title of the original edition has been shortened to *The Dīvān-i-Hāfiz*. In the goldlettering on the back the second hyphen has been transferred to the translator's name, which has become Wilberforce-Clarke.

[5] Ibid.

what extent poetic versions based on this translation can hope to convey the spirit of the original. Let us begin by comparing Wilberforce Clarke's No. 134, a rendering of the beautiful ġazal *ånån ke xåk-rå be·naẓar kimiå konand*, with the original Persian, as given in the text which he used, namely the one edited by Major H. S. Jarrett.[6]

آنان که خاک را بنظر کیمیا کنند آیا بود که گوشهٔ چشمي بما کنند
دردم نهفته به ز طبیبـــان مدعي باشد که از خزانهٔ غیبـــش د وا کنند
چون حسن عافیت نبرندي وزاهدیست آن به که کار خود بعنایت رها کنند
معشوق چون نقاب زرخ برنمي کشد هرکس حکایتی بتصـــور چرا کنند

حالی درون پرده بسي فتنه مي رود تا آن گهي(ا)که پرده برافتد چها کنند
گر سنگ ازین حدیث بنالد عجب مدار صاحب دلان حکایت دل خوش ادا کنند
بے معرفت مباش که در من یزید عشق اهل نظر معـــامله با آشنـــا کنند
مي خور که صد گناه زاغیار درحجاب بهتـــر ز طاعتي که بروی و ریا کنند
پیراهنـــي که آید ازاو بوي یوسفم ترسم برادران غیـــورش قبـــا کنند
بگذر بکوي میکده (۲) تا زمرهٔ حضور اوقات خود زبهر تو صرف دعا کنند
پنهان ز حاسدان بخودم خوان که منعمان خیر نهـــان بسي ز براي خدا کنند

حافظ درام وصل میسر نمي شود
حاشا کم التفات بحال گدا کنند

In the following pages, my own "slavishly literal" translations of each verse are compared with Wilberforce Clarke's (italicised) renderings. The competent reader should compare both of them with the above reproduction of Jarrett's text.

1. Those who with a glance make alchemy of dust;
Is it (to be hoped) that they will make an eye-cornering (oblique glancing) at us?[7]
Those murshids, who (from exceeding firmness), with their glance alchemy of the dust (of the traveller's existence) — make,
At us, eye-cornering (oblique glancing), do they — make?

This rendering has one serious shortcoming: *murshids*, "spiritual guides", should have been enclosed in brackets. The Persian text allows both a mystical and a temporal interpretation, but the addition of *murshids* forces the reader to think that this

[6] *Diwan-i Hafiz for the Degree of Honor Examination in Persian for Officers in the Military & Civil Services Edited by Major H. S. Jarrett, Secy., Board of Examiners. Published by Authority. Printed by Malvi Kabir-uddin Ahmad, at the Urdu Guide Press*. Calcutta 1881.

The numberings of the ġazals are identical in Jarrett and Wilberforce Clarke. In the rest of this paper, "No." therefore refers to both Jarrett and Wilberforce Clarke, while Roman numerals refer to Wilberforce Clarke's preface.

[7] *In order to facilitate comparison, I try to keep my wording close to Wilberforce Clarke's, and thus* translate "eye-cornering (oblique glancing)" here.

line and so the whole ġazal must necessarily be interpreted mystically. In his preface, Wilberforce Clarke himself says: *Sometimes, to save space and expense, words necessary for the understanding of a passage have been inserted in the couplet. Such words are invariably inclosed in brackets, and come after the word (or the sentence) that requires amplification or explanation. The student can see at a glance what is the literal rendering and what is the explanation* (p. xiv).

2. My pain (is) better concealed from the pretentious physicians.
It may be that from the treasury of the hidden they make its remedy.
My pain concealed from the claimant's physician, — best:
It may be that, its remedy from the treasury of the hidden, they (Fate and Destiny) — make.

Wilberforce Clarke's absurd rendering of the first hemistich shows that he has not understood the syntax of the sentence. In addition to that, he has for no good reason changed the plural "physicians" to singular.

3. Since the beauty of salvation is not upon roguery and austerity (i.e. does not depend upon whether one observes the orthodox rules of religion or not),
It is better (simply) to leave one's affair to (Divine) Grace.
Since they carried not away the beauty of ease; and austerity is, —
That best that, as a favour, release of their own work, they — make.

Wilberforce Clarke has not understood the verse at all and the "translation" is meaningless. It is unnecessary to go into the details of this glaring nonsense. It may be noted in passing that he appears to have read <*brndy*> as *bordandi* (instead of *be·rendi*).

4. *Since the (true) Beloved uplifteth not the veil from His Face,*
Why doth every one, in imagination, a tale — make?

Correctly translated.

5. Now, inside the screen, much wickedness is going on,
(Continuing) until that time when the screen disappears. (And then) what will they do? (i.e. how will they excuse themselves when their wickedness is exposed?)
Now, within the screen, many a calamity goeth:
At that time when the screen falleth down, let us see what they — make.

bar oftad cannot mean *falleth down*, but otherwise the rendering may pass.

6. Do not be surprised if the stone weeps over this tale,
For those of heart make (relate) the heart's story (so) well!
If of this tale the stone bewail, hold it not wonderful;
Utterance of the tale of the happy heart, those of heart — make.

Those of heart is very good as a literal translation of *ṣåḥeb·delån*, but *the happy heart* is a real howler. The scansion clearly shows that *xwaš* (today pronounced *xoš*) is an adverb here, and Wilberforce Clarke's common sense should have told him so, even if he did not know how to scan Classical Persian verse, for it is the tale of an unhappy heart, well told, that may make stones weep. Why should *the tale of the*

happy heart make them weep? At least, if it did, we would have every reason to *hold it wonderful*. We may pedantically add that, according to Wilberforce Clarke's own principles, *it* and *utterance of* should have been *inclosed in brackets*.

7. Be not without discrimination; for in love's auction
People of vision make deals with the friend.
Be not without divine knowledge; for in the excess of love:
Bargains with the friend, people of vision — make.

It would have been better to bracket *divine* since *ma'refat* in itself only means "knowledge". (In my own rendering I have preferred "discernment", as I think this verse is one of those instances where Ḥåfeẓ tells us not to waste our love upon unworthy objects,[8]) *Excess of love* is another howler. The Arabic phrase *man yazi:d°* "who gives more" has become *man·yazid* "auction" in Classical Persian. (Today *mozå'ede* is used for "auction".) Apart from being incorrect, *excess of love* can hardly be said to make sense in the context. Wilberforce Clarke also goes wrong in the only other occurrence of *man·yazid* in the Divan. In No. 383,8, he translates *dar man yazid-e fażl,* "in the auction (competition) of excellence", by *towards me increased his favour,* as if *yazid* were from a Persian verb **yazidan*.

8. Drink wine. For a hundred sins in hiding (hidden) from (the eyes of) strangers
(Are) better than the devotion which they do with ostentation and hypocrisy.
Drink wine. For within the screen, a hundred crimes on the part of strangers
(Are) better than a devotion which, with dissimulation and hypocrisy, they — make.

In the first hemistich, the translator again shows an obvious failure to understand the text.

9. The shirt from which comes to me the perfume of Joseph
I fear his jealous brothers will tear. (I fear his jealous brothers will tear the shirt wherefrom comes ...)
The garment (of faith and of divine knowledge) wherefrom cometh the perfume of Yusûf (God, great and glorious)
It, I fear, the proud brothers (Shaiṭâns) rent — make.

The omission of "to me" in the first hemistich is of slight importance, but the substitution of *proud* for "jealous" is not only inexact, but also inappropriate in the context. Has Wilberforce Clarke confused *ġayur* with *maġrur*? "Yûsuf" may well be preferable to "Joseph" here, but why does Wilberforce Clarke write *Yusûf* both here and in the accompanying footnote? (Elsewhere, e.g., in No. 284,1, he correctly writes *Yûsuf*.)

10. Pass to the street of the tavern so that the present crowd[9]
May spend their time in prayer for you.

[8] Cf. Finn Thiesen, *Is Divån-e Ḥåfeẓ a religious text?* in *Proceedings of the Symposium 'Religious Texts in Iranian languages'*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, København, forthcoming.

[9] This is not the place for a discussion of the possible interpretations of *zomre-ye ḥożur*, so I accept Wilberforce Clarke's *present crowd* as an emergency literal translation.

Pass to the street of the tavern: since the present crowd,
For the sake of thee only, at their own times, prayer — make.

Wilberforce Clarke translates *tå* by *since*, but that would require a different tense in the verb. In the second hemistich, he must have read *ṣerf do'å konand,* instead of *ṣarf-e do'å konand*. This is not only metrically impossible, but also results in a meaning which, if not completely absurd, is at least very odd. It may be noted that *ṣerf* as an adverb meaning "only" is extremely rare in Persian, but very common in Hindustani (pronounced *sirf* or *siraf*).

11. *Secretly from the envious ones, call me to thyself. For the affluent ones*
For God's sake much secret good — make.

Acceptable translation.

12. Ḥåfeẓ, permanence of union (permanent union with the beloved) is not possible. [Kings pay scant attention to the beggar's state.]
Ḥāfiẓ! union (with the true Beloved) is ever unattainable:
God forbid! to the beggar's state, less attention they should — make.

Wilberforce Clarke reads *davåm vaṣl,* instead of *davåm-e vaṣl,* and translates *davåm* as if it had been *'alā·'d+davåm*. In the second hemistich, Jarrett's text has a bad misprint, *ḥåšå* for *šåhån,* so Wilberforce Clarke may be partially excused for the misleading translation of the second line. However, comparison with any of the editions listed by him on p. vi should have made him correct the misprint as he has done elsewhere (e.g., No. 136,9 with less obvious justification).

Wilberforce Clarke has only one *critical and explanatory remark* (p. iii) on this ġazal, namely on verse 9. In order to show his style I quote it in full:
barådarån-e ġayur[10] *(the proud brothers) signifies:—*
(a) the crowd of devils, whose chief is Shaiṭān, whose creation (as man's creation) was for worshipping God.
The things of the world are, as brothers, in partnership with man.
(b) the desires of lust who (in being God) are partners with God Most High.
In ġayur-aš *the* šin *may refer:—*
(a) to the garment.
(b) ,, Yusûf.
According to (a):—
The faith and divine knowledge, which (through God's grace) both appeared in my heart; and, by whose aid, my heart hath recollected God,—I fear lest, like devils, they should rend it from my nature.
According to (b) the second line will be:—
I fear that the desires of the lust—which, in God's name, are partners with God—may prevail over me and plunder me (of the recollection of God).

It will not be unfair to say that the mistranslation and misinformation contained in the above specimen of Wilberforce Clarke's work considerably outweigh the

[10] The romanized words in this quotation were printed in Persian script.

amount of correct translation and information to be found in it. As for the "critical and explanatory remark", it certainly tells us something about Wilberforce Clarke's understanding of the text, but, as we can see from the translation, this understanding is so faulty and distorted that it can hardly be taken seriously. Of course, it also reflects the views of a certain school of traditional Ḥåfeẓ scholarship, but how can we be sure that Wilberforce Clarke's understanding of this school is not as poor as his understanding of the Ḥåfeẓ text itself?

The shortcomings of the Wilberforce Clarke's translations may be classified as follows:

1. Inconsistent use of brackets as seen in verse 1 above.

Wilberforce Clarke's use of brackets to show *what is the literal rendering and what is the explanation* is unreliable throughout. The reader can never be certain that Wilberforce Clarke has remembered to bracket explicatory additions. Thus, in No. 572,1, *Yet, every day, my soul cries to me:— "Come and die!"*, the words *"Come and die"* are Wilberforce Clarke's own addition to the text, but are not indicated as such by brackets. In the following examples chosen at random, square brackets indicate brackets wanting in the text: No. 93,10 *for the path* [*of austerity,*] *found not;* No. 350,8 *to one* [*contemptible*] *like me;* No. 204,5 *wash* [*white*] *the leaves;* No. 208,1 [*his*] *sin;*[11] No. 191,11 *a* [*great*] *grief;* No. 394,2 *the corner of* [*Thy*] *prayer-arch;* No. 375,3 [*sacred*] *charges are covenants.* The number of missing brackets is probably not less that one thousand. Cf. the comment on 329,3 below.

Not infrequently, Wilberforce Clarke even brackets words which are actually in the Persian text. Thus, in No. 128, 4 *vaqt vaqt-ast* is rendered *this (very) time (is) the time (of remedy)* instead of *(this very) time is the time (of remedy).* In No. 350,5, *la'l-e negår* is rendered *the ruby lip (of the true Beloved),* instead of *the ruby (lip of the true) Beloved,* and in No. 470,1 *the musk (dark fragrant) tress* should have been *the musk dark (fragrant tress).*

2. The endeavour to be absolutely literal often defeats its own purpose and makes the translation less exact than a freer translation would be.

As pointed out by the Ancient Indian grammarians 2000 years ago the meaning of a compound cannot be inferred from its parts. Notwithstanding, Wilberforce Clarke prefers to translate the constituent parts of a compound separately and leave it to the reader to guess the meaning of the whole. In verse 6 above, the translation of the compound verb *'ajab mådår* by *hold* [*it*] *not wonderful* is less exact than "be not surprised", because the addition of the pronoun *it* suggests a syntactic relationship not found in the original. This is at least intelligible.

The commonest Persian equivalent of "to love" is the compound verb *dust dåštan.* Wilberforce Clarke insists upon splitting it up and writes *yet with heart, friend I hold — thee,* instead of "yet with (my) heart I love thee" (No. 83,1). This, too, is intelligible but apt to be misunderstood.

pei bordan is a frequent compound verb meaning "to discover, come to know".

[11] It is not at all certain whether Ḥåfeẓ in this place refers to the sin of the wine-seller, *(his) sin,* or that of the wine-drinkers, *(their) sin.*

Wilberforce Clarke splits it up and translates *To the water of life I have taken my — foot* instead of "I have discovered the water of life" (No. 562,1). This can hardly be said to convey the meaning.

nešån dådan is the commonest Persian equivalent of "to show", but, of course, Wilberforce Clarke must needs render it *giveth trace*, thus in No. 29,2, *giveth trace of the Friend's grandeur and grace,* instead of "sheweth the Friend"s …'

jån bordan is another frequent compound verb meaning "to save one's life, to escape death". In No. 449,3, *moškel baram jån* is translated *with difficulty, I bear life*. The reader will not understand it. Did Wilberforce Clarke?

(a)z ånjå ke is a common locution meaning "because". In No. 374,2 Wilberforce Clarke translates *from that place where is the (common) bounty of the cup of happiness of thy splendour* instead of "since (such) is the bounty of thy happiness-irradiating cup",[12] though elsewhere he deigns to be less literal and translates *on that account that* (No. 311,2) or *for the reason that* (No. 289,10).

sar·xwaš (today pronounced *sar·xoš*) "intoxicated" is everywhere translated *happy of head* or *merry of head*, thus in No. 409,3, *Happy of head forth (from the world) we (lovers of God) will leap*. Only in No. 318,9 Wilberforce Clarke has the kindness to write *merry of head (intoxicated)*. In 408,1, he translates *sar-am xwaš-ast* with *happy is my head*. How is the reader to understand that it really means "I am drunk"?

Ḥåfeẓ repeatedly tells us not to worry about "more or less", i.e. whether we have been destined to receive a larger or a smaller portion of worldly goods. In No. 375,7 Wilberforce Clarke translates *The cup, bring; and suffer no grief, more or less*. And then he is not even literal as the text has *ze kam-o biš* "from more or less". Cf. No. 70,7.

When Wilberforce Clarke translates *ġam·xwår-e xwiš båš ġam-e ruzgår cist* in No. 55.3 by *Be thy own grief-devourer. Time's grief — is what?* it looks rather like a parody on Iranians beginning to learn English.

3. Strange to say, Wilberforce Clarke's rendering is not only slavishly literal, but also very free when it pleases him to be so. Thus, in No. 374,6 *havå·xwåh-e ġorbat-am* is rendered *desirous of travelling am* instead of "desirous of exile am". This would be fine, were it not that the strange word order makes the reader believe that the translation is absolutely literal. In No. 374,8, *shattered and battered* is a fine poetic rendering of *xaste-wo ża'if*. In No. 322,8, *ån širin pesar* "that sweet boy" becomes *that sweet one*, perhaps an instance of bowdlerizing. In No. 494,1 *veṣål-e u* "union with him/her" is strengthened to *union with the Beloved,* whereas in No. 494,5 *dåġ-e bandegi* "brand of slavery" is weakened to *mark of service*. In No. 1,4 *maḥmelhå* "camel-litters" is translated *chattels of existence*.

Nos. 130 and 131 are probably variants of one and the same ġazal. The distribution of the verses between them varies from manuscript to manuscript and some lines may occur in both. Wilberforce Clarke must have felt that these two ġazals ought somehow to be kept apart and proceeds to do so by arbitrarily making the be-

[12] His inability to scan has led Wilberforce Clarke to read *sa'ådat-e foruġ* for *sa'ådat·foruġ* and to produce a meaningless translation.

loved male in No. 130 and female in No. 131. Thus, *u xwod go̱zar be·må co nasim-e saḥar nákard* is translated by *Like the morning-breeze, passing by me, He — made not.* in No. 130,3 and by *Like the morning-breeze, passing by us, she — made not.* in No. 131,5. *Keine Hexerei, nur Behendigkeit.*

Wilberforce Clarke's word order is often exceedingly strange and the reader will, of course, imagine that this reflects the word order of the original, but very often it does not. In No. 400,2, we read *For if ascendant be my fortune, Will be in my hand, — the cup and the Beloved's tress — also.* But the natural English word order, "For if ascendant be my fortune the cup will be in my hand and the Beloved's tress also", is much closer to the word order of the Persian original which reads *ke ṭåle' agar ṭåle'-e man-ast, jåm-am be·dast båšad-o zolf-e negår ham.* Similarly, in 356,7 the natural English word order in "Where shall I go? What shall I do? How shall I go? What remedy shall I make?" is closer to the text's *kojå ravam ce-konam cun šavam ce cåre konam* than Wilberforce Clarke's *I go — where? I do — what? I am — how? Remedy, I make — what?* (and *I am - how?* is blatantly wrong). I cannot find a better word to describe this method of translation than "perverse".

4. In his preface (p. viii), Wilberforce Clarke recommends the student to study Persian prosody, but his translations clearly show that he himself has not the slightest idea of the subject. His ignorance of the prosody leads him astray in almost every ġazal.

In 125,1, he reads <*bsr j'm jam*> as *be sar-e jåm-e jam* and translates absurdly *At the head of Jamshīd's cup, at that time thy glance, — canst thou make*. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Persian prosody would know that the second syllable must be long and that we must therefore read *serr*, "secret, mystery", not *sar*, "head", and even without this knowledge common sense would suggest that Ḥåfeẓ wants us to behold the mystery of Jamshīd's cup, not to make our glance at its head. Inversely, in No. 476,10 where prosody shows that <*sr*> should be read *sar*, he reads *serr* and translates *bå må sar-e ce dåšt bíå ei ṣabå bégu* "What had he/she in mind for us? Come, breeze, (and) tell." as *O breeze! come, what mystery those (two tress tips) had, — utter.*

Persian *bovad* "is" and *bud* "was" are both spelled <*bwd*>. Prosody always shows whether to read *bovad* or *bud*. The context may or may not show it. Wilberforce Clarke again and again[13] translates *bud* where Ḥåfeẓ says *bovad*, mostly with only slight consequences for the overall sense of the passage, but sometimes seriously affecting it, as in No. 367,2: *On the first day (of eternity without beginning) when, of profligacy and of love, we boasted, Its condition was that, (no path) save the Path of this way (of love), we tread.* Here the misreading of <*bwd*> causes Wilberforce Clarke to misinterpret <*cwn*> as well. The translation should be corrected to "Since on the first day we boasted of profligacy and love, The condition is that we tread not but (i.e. we have to tread) the path of this way (of love)."[14] Less often Wilberforce misreads *bud* as *bovad*, e.g. in No. 350,4.

[13] I have not counted the instances, but I guess that he misreads *bovad* as *bud* in more than 50% of the cases.

[14] "profligacy" and "boasted" are not the words I would have used here, but I have kept them in order not

Prosody very often tells us whether a particular word should be followed by *-e* (*kasre-ye eżåfe* or *kasre-ye vaṣfi*) or not, but Wilberforce Clarke in his ignorance repeatedly adds or omits an *-e* against the prosody and often against common sense as well: In No. 25.2, he translates *the pearl of our tears* reading *dorr-e ašk-e må,* instead of *dar ašk-e må* "in our tears",[15] and in No. 55,6, *what knoweth the silent sky*? reading *ce dånad falak-e xamuš* instead of *ce dånad falak xamuš,* "What knoweth the sky? Silence!". In No. 70,7, he absurdly translates *Happy time urgeth the intoxicated one*, reading *xwaš vaqt rånad mast* for *xwaš vaqt-e rend-e mast*, "happy (is) the time of the intoxicated rogue",[16] and in No. 293,5, *O luminous morning of the heart* reading *ei ṣobḥ-e roušan-e del* for *ei ṣobḥ-e roušan·del*, "O enlightened morning", forgetting to translate the following *xodå-rå,* "for God's sake".

Of course, the absence or presence of an *-e* is not the only information to be had from the Persian prosody. Had Wilberforce Clarke studied those books which he tells the students to study (p. viii), he would not have confused *xwaš·nafas* "sweet of breath" with *xwaš·nafs* "sweet of soul" (No. 474,3) or *ḥajr* "prohibition" with *ḥajar* "stone" (No. 293,3). Nor would he have mistaken *rasånd* for *rasånad,* translating *Ḥāfiẕ may cause his standard of victory to reach the sky* instead of "Ḥåfeẓ caused his victorious standard to reach the sky"[17] (No. 167,8).

5. Often the translations reveal insufficient knowledge of Persian grammar. In No. 327,3, Wilberforce Clarke confuses *mi-zanad* with *mi-zad* and translates *For, from the concealing of them, seetheth the caldron of the heart,* instead of "From the concealing of which, the caldron of the chest[18] used to seethe". In 374,1 he reads the adjective *do'å·guy* as the noun *do'å·guyi* and translates *Of Thy service, and of prayer-uttering for Thy fortune, desirous I am,* instead of "I am desirous of thy service and uttering prayers for thy fortune". In 430,6, he again confuses adjective with noun and produces the uncouth *Excuse, mine, if* ..., instead of "I am excused if ..." (*ma'ẕur-am agar* ...). In 429,8, he does not understand that *feribi* is the 2nd pers. present of *feriftan* and translates *tå kei ei zåhed feribi* by *O Ẕahid! ... how long (practisest thou towards me*[19]*) deceitfulness*, instead of "O Zāhid, how long wilt thou deceive me". In 390,7, the fact that the verb *raḥm-kon* intervenes between the relative marker *ke* and its antecedent *kas-i* prevents Wilberforce Clarke from understanding the grammatical structure of the passage and he translates, *On one's expectation show pity. For night, all night, The heart's blood travelleth to the face from the window — of the eye.* A correct translation would be "Show pity on the expectation of someone who at night, all night, sendeth (his) heart's blood to (his) face via

to obscure the point in question. (See my discussion of Wilberforce Clarke's excessive use of "to boast" to render *dam zadan* below in **6.**) As for the explanatory bracket in *first day (of eternity without beginning),* it is difficult to see how eternity without beginning can have a first day.

[15] The context requires the translation "at our tears".

[16] Or *xwaš·vaqt rend-e mast* "having a happy time (is) the intoxicated rogue". (Wilberforce Clarke would have translated *rend* by *profligate* if he had understood the passage.)

[17] The passage could also be interpreted to mean "His victorious standard caused Ḥåfeẓ to reach the sky"

[18] The text has *sine* "chest". For Wilberforce Clarke's mistranslation of this word, see **6.** below.

[19] Moreover, *me* ought to be outside the brackets, as it translates *-am* at the end of the second hemistich.

the window of the eye".[20] In the same verse, *ravåne-konad* cannot be intransitive (*travelleth*). It is transitive "sendeth" and therefore *xun-e del* (*the heart's blood*) is not the subject but the object of the verb. A number of elementary grammatical blunders are listed in **7.** below. Cf. also the example in fn. 26.

6. In his choice of English equivalents Wilberforce Clarke evinces a number of strange idiosyncrasies and he seems to have persistently misunderstood a number of Persian words.

sine means "chest", but Wilberforce Clarke normally translates it by "heart" although *sine* does not have that meaning, thus in Nos. 5,5, 20,2, 22,11, 109,10, 148,2, 163,8, 185,9, 186,4, 285,7, 299,3, 327,3, 365,7, 429,5, 425,5, 429,11, 451,8, 473,3, 518,7, 508,3, 540,1. Only in 8 cases have I found it translated *chest*.

saman means "jasmine, jessamine", but Wilberforce Clarke translates it "lily" in Nos. 63,4, 197,1, 213,2, 484,4 and elsewhere.

The primary meaning of *jelve* is "appearance, manifestation, showing oneself" normally with the implication "showing oneself in all one's beauty, grace, splendour, greatness or majesty". It has therefore acquired the secondary meanings "beauty, grace, splendour, greatness, majesty". Wilberforce Clarke seems to be aware of the secondary meanings only and translates *jelve* by *splendour* or *greatness* regardless of the context. Thus, in No. 205,5, *co 'aks-e både konad jelve dar rox-e såqi,* "When the reflection of wine shows itself in the cup-bearer's face" becomes *When in the Sāḳī's face, wine's reflection displayeth splendour.* In 394,3, *ruy-e negår dar naẓar-am jelve mi-nemud v az dur buse bar rox-e mahtåb mi-zadam,* "The face of (my) beloved appeared before my (inner) eye And from afar I placed a kiss on the face of the moonlight" becomes *In my sight, the form of the idol (the true Beloved) displayed grandeur; from afar on the cheek of the moon, a kiss, — I dashed.* (The inapt translation of *ruy* by *form* is another idiosyncrasy of his. Cf. No. 329,7.) No. 378,6, *be·har naẓar bot-e må jelve mi-konad liken kas in kerešme nábinad ke man hami-negaram,* "Our idol (beloved) shows himself /herself to every eye, but No one sees the blandishment that I see" to me expresses the common experience that other people tend to see nothing extraordinary in the beloved who to the lover seems the most extraordinary person in the world, but Wilberforce Clarke translates *On every side, our idol (divine beauty) displayeth splendour, but This glance that I keep glancing, none seeth.* Cf. Nos. 74,5, 212,3, 236,2, 424,9 and 509,6.

The compound verb *faråz kardan* means "to close", but to Wilberforce Clarke it means *to open*. Thus in No. 122,6 *ṣan'at mákon ke har ke maḥabbat na råst båxt 'ešq-aš be·ruy-e del dar-e ma'ni faråz kard,* "Do not use tricks for whoever played foul in love, Love closed the door of (spiritual) reality on the face of his heart" becomes *Do no trick (of deceit). For, whoever, truly played not love, Open, on the face of his heart, the door of reality (trouble), love — made*. I cannot imagine a less Hafezian and less *ṣūfīistic* translation of the central Ṣufi term *ma'ni* than *reality (trouble)*. Cf. No. 231,2.

The compound verb *dam zadan* has the primary meaning "to breathe" and the

[20] This not very impressive verse is probably spurious and is rejected by most editors.

common secondary meaning "to talk" and a number of less common secondary meanings, as "to smell, to resist, to boast". For Wilberforce Clarke it appears to have the last meaning only. Thus, in No. 186,1, *dar azal partow-e ḥosn-at ze tajalli dam zad 'ešq peidå šod-o åtaš be·hame 'ålam zad,* which Elizabeth Gray translates "On the eve of creation the ray of your beauty broke forth. Love appeared and fire burned all the world",[21] is rendered by Wilberforce Clarke *(O true Beloved!) in eternity without beginning (the day of miṣāḳ), of glory, the splendour-ray of Thy beauty — boasted. Revealed became love; and, upon all the world, fire — dashed.* In No. 58,2, *dar ån zamin ke nasim-i vazad ze ṭorre-ye dust ce jåy-e dam zadan-e nåfehå-ye tåtåri-st,* "In that land where a breeze from the beloved's tress is blowing, What room (need) is there for smelling the musk-pods of Tartary?" becomes *In that land (the holy traveller's abode) where bloweth the fragrant breeze from the (true) Beloved's tress (divine attraction), For boasting of the fragrant musk-pods of Tātār, what room — is.* Similarly, in No. 217,9, *ze xåk-e kuy-e to har gah ke dam zanad Ḥåfeẓ nasim-e golšan-e jån dar mašåm-e må oftad* "Whenever Ḥåfeẓ inhales the dust of your street A breeze from life's garden falls into (enters) our olfactory sense",[22] is translated *Whenever Ḥāfiẓ boasteth of the dust of Thy "street," The breeze of the rose-bed of the soul into the perfume-place — of ours falleth.* Cf. Nos. 67,3 and 374,9.[23]

bahåne means "pretext, excuse", but in No. 21,8 it is translated *pastime* by *Lieut.-Col. H. Wilberforce Clarke, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers*, who may have been confusing it with the Bengali verb *bahāna* "to cause to flow, to pass time".

7. Some of Wilberforce Clarke's errors are so elementary that they would make a second-year student of Persian blush. Thus, in No. 685,22, he mistakes the very common word *tanhå* "lonely" for the plural of *tan* "body" and mistranslates *magar Xeżr-e mobårak·pei tavånad ke in tanhå bed·ån tanhå rasånad* "Perchance, Xeżr, auspicious of foot, can bring this lonely (person) to that lonely (person)," *Perchance, Khiẓr, auspicious of foot, can so do That, to those bodies (of those gone), these bodies (of ours) he may convey.*[24]

In No. 29,4, he mistranslates *bar ḥasb-e årzu-st hame kår-o får-e dust,* "according to desire are all the affairs of the friend" as *All my work is to the desire of the friend.* In 231,4, *mi-guyand* is mistaken for imperative and "The rebeck and the harp are saying aloud" becomes *(The sound of) the stringed instrument and of the harp (cometh); with shout, speak ye.* In No. 241,2, *ṣad modarres* "a hundred teachers", is misread and mistranslated as *ṣad madåres* "a hundred schools". In No. 547,4, he apparently confuses *zabur* "psalms of David" with *zur* and *ze·bar·dasti* and mistranslates it as *power.* In No. 105 *'elm-e hei'at* "science of astronomy" becomes *science of form.* In No. 402,4, *mi-busam lab-e jåm,* "I kiss the lip of the cup (I drink)" becomes *the cup of the lip, I kiss*, a blunder worthy of a complete tyro. In No. 458,6,

[21] Elizabeth T. Gray, *The Green Sea of Heaven,* Ashland, Oregon 1995, p. 93.

[22] Other interpretations are possible.

[23] Nos. 29,9 and 203,3 are exceptions. Here *dam zadan* is translated *speak/utter.*

[24] Read in isolation, Wilberforce Clarke's translation is at least theoretically possible, but it is impossible in the actual context.

béngar be·rang-e låle, "look at the tulip's colour" is translated *At the (want of) colour of the (white) lily, gaze.* One is again astounded by the translator's outrageous incompetence. All texts, including Jarrett, have *låle* "tulip". Even if *låle* may sometimes refer to the poppy or to other flowers they are always red flowers. *låle* is derived from *lål* "red", obsolete already in Classical Persian, but surviving as a loanword, indeed the commonest word for "red", in Urdu, Hindi, Bengali and several other modern Indian languages. In this verse, the red colour of the tulip clearly alludes to the wine's red colour, but Wilberforce Clarke translates *lily* and rubs it in with his explanatory brackets. It is simply incredible. *šåx dar åvardam.*

8. It is not possible to say, of course, to what extent the defects listed above, are merely the results of carelessness and to what extent they reflect the translator's ignorance. However, obvious instances of carelessness are not wanting. Wilberforce Clarke sometime forgets a verse, e.g., No. 355,9, or part of a verse, e.g., No. 463,2, and quite often a single word as in No. 45,8 where *ka'be-ye del,* "Ka'ba of the heart" is simply translated *Ka'ba.* Cf. Nos. 335,5, 354,8 and 464,6. The meaningless *My eye* for "no one's eye" in 494,10 is certainly the result of inattention. A typical example of the translator's carelessness may be seen in his handling of *agar hamdars-e må-'i* "If thou art our fellow student" in No. 204,5. First, he correctly translates *agar hamdars-e må* as *If, our fellow student, thou,* but then he misreads *må-'i* as *måni* "remain" and forgets that he has already translated *må* once and ends up with *If, our fellow student, thou, remain.* Cf. No. 685,36.

In his Preface (p. v) Wilberforce Clarke bewails the defects of Jarrett's text, among them *that, in it, are many uncorrected misprints.*[25] There is certainly no dearth of misprints in Wilberforce Clarke either. A few specimens:

No. 93,5	*In the small (hope)*	Read	*In the smell (hope)*
No. 116,8	*If (the breeze) drew aside*	Read	*It (the breeze) drew aside*
No. 298,1	*O work-door*	Read	*O work-doer*
No. 425,7	*the bud of little resolution*	Read	*the bird of little resolution*
No. 449,6	*Thy head in the chest*	Read	*Thy heart in the chest*
No. 518,1	*the light of ancient society*	Read	*the right of ancient society*
No. 685,4	*Hath not a pastime place*	Read	*Hath not a pasture place*

(All these seem to be the result of the typesetters' misreading of Wilberforce Clarke's handwriting. To what extent they and other misprints were *uncorrected* in the original edition I cannot say, since *The List of Corrigenda ... xlv & xlvi* shown in the *Table of Contents* (p. xxi) has tacitly been left out in the Ibex Publishers/Iranbooks reprint.)

In a table showing the *differences between Brockhaus' text and Jarrett's text* (p. v) we read: *5. Lines of Sūdi (201) Brockhaus: Omitted Jarrett: Inserted.*

[25] There are few bad misprints (like the one in No. 134,12 above), but a rather large number of the kind that the competent reader is able to discover and correct himself. In spite of these misprints, Jarrett's edition is a competent work, not far from representing the state of the art in 1881. The text follows Sudi very closely and persons without access to Jarrett's text may use Sudi if they want to make an independent comparison of Wilberforce Clarke's translations with the original.

This is not without interest, for it shows that Wilberforce Clarke was not a very good reader of English either. H. S. Jarrett says in his preface: "Two old manuscripts, one without date, the other of A. H. 978, both carefully and beautifully written, and closely agreeing with Brockhaus' text, have been collated with it, and additional lines omitted from the odes of Sudi, found in them and other copies of Hafiz have been inserted. They will be found marked by an asterisk and are two hundred and one innumber. ... If a punctilious criticism might hesitate to affirm their undoubted genuineness, it may nevertheless be forgiven to the fond idolatry of the East, if it chant the worship of its idol in numbers which seem to breathe his own inspiration."

Apparently, Wilberforce Clarke has read this to mean that these *Lines of Sūdi,* as he calls them, were found in Sudi, omitted by Brockhaus and then re-inserted by Jarrett, and he has, of course, not marked them in his translation.

9. I shall not discuss the contents of Wilberforce Clarke's explanatory brackets at any length, since the reader will know that these are not found in the original text. Three specimens will suffice. The words *deråz·dasti* and *dast·deråzi,* literally "long-handedness" (and "hand-longness") mean "highhandedness, oppression, injustice, thievishness" and *deråz·dasti* has the latter meaning in No. 455,2, but Wilberforce Clarke translates *long-handedness (loftiness of spirit)* and in Nos. 492,3[26] and 511,7, he refers the reader to 455,2 for this explanation of the word.

No. 460 is unique in the divan as the poet here describes himself as seriously ill (physically). It has been suggested that this ġazal was the last that Ḥåfeẓ wrote, only days before he passed away.[27] In 460,7, Ḥåfeẓ with grim humour says: *ån ke modåm šiše-am az pei-e 'eiš dåde-ast šiše-am az ce mi-barad piš-e ṭabib har zamån,* "He who has always given me the bottle (of wine) for the sake of enjoyment, Why does he now take my bottle (of urine) to the physician all the time?" Wilberforce Clarke interprets it in the following way: *That one (the holy traveller) who, for the sake of rest, me, the wine bottle (the heart) had given, Momently, to the physician, my bottle (the heart), wherefore taketh he?* and explains in a footnote that *the physician is the murshid.*

In no. 369,2, Ḥåfeẓ simply says "To tell the truth, I cannot tolerate to see Others drink and just look on myself", *soxan dorost béguyam námi-tavånam did ke mei xworand ḥarifån-o man naẓåre-konam.* Wilberforce Clarke manages to get the opposite meaning out of it: *True speech, I utter: — I cannot see (that this state is very difficult); For the companions drink wine; and looking on — I make.* In other words: Let the others drink. No problem. I simply look on. That's just fine with me. Cf. also No. 484,3 quoted in **10.** below.

10. I have to admit that the above classification of defects is not quite satisfactory, since categories such as grammatical faults, elementary faults and carelessness are

[26] Wilberforce Clarke reads *ke karde dast·deråzi-o åstin·kutåh* and translates *"[say: —] Long-handedness and short-sleevedness, — who hath practised?"*, grammatically impossible since *åstin·kutåh* can mean only "short-sleeved". The correct reading is *ke karde dast deråz-i-o åstin kutåh* "[say] that thou hast made thy hand long and thy sleeve short".

[27] S. Niru, *ganj-e moråd*, [Tehran] 1362 [1983], p. 524.

not mutually exclusive, but all the same it serves my purpose, which is to show the nature and quality of Wilberforce Clarke's work. The various defects that I have described often combine in one and the same verse and as a result this "most popular English translation of the whole of Hâfez's *Divân*"[28] is honeycombed with completely misunderstood verses,[29] several of which have already been quoted.

Further examples: No. 2,6, *kas be·dour-e narges-at ṭarf-i nábast az 'åfiat beh ke náfrušand masturi be·mastån-e šomå,* "During the age (reign) of your narcissus (beautiful eyes) continence was of no avail to anyone. Better not to flaunt one's continence in front of your intoxicated ones (languishing eyes)".[30] *By the revolution of Thy eye, none obtained a portion of enjoyment: Best, that they sell the veil of chastity to the intoxicated ones of — Thine.*

No. 4,5, *pirâne·sar mákon honar-e nåm-o nang-rå* "In old age, do not make a virtue of your respectability (when you have become physically incapable of sinning)". *Elderly of head, show skill (in permanence) of name and fame (in supplication and lamentation to God).*

No. 27,1, *máṭalab ṭå'at-o peimån-o ṣalåḥ az man-e mast,* "Do not ask for devotion and covenant and rectitude from me intoxicated one". *From me intoxicated is the desire of devotion and of covenant, and of rectitude.*[31]

No. 130,6, *har kas ke did ruy-e to busid cašm-e man kår-i ke kard dide-ye må bi naẓar nákard,* "Everyone who saw your face kissed my eye (as a sign of approval of my superb taste). The work that our eye accomplished was not done without circumspection". *(O true Beloved) every one kissed Thy face who saw my (weeping) eye! Without value, the work that our (weeping) eye did, it — made not.*

No. 136,4, *goftam ṣanam·parast mášou bå ṣamad nešin,* "I said: Be not an idolator. Sit with the Lord. (Walk in God's way)". *I said: — "In the society of the lofty-sitter, be not idol worshipper?"*

No. 139,8, *ġolåm-e hemmat-e dordi·kašån-e yak·rang-am,* "I am the slave of the highmindedness of (I deeply respect) the one-coloured (sincere) dreg-drinkers". *The slave of resolution, dreg drinking one of colour, — I am.*

No. 150,7, *honar bi 'eib-e ḥermån nist liken ze man maḥrumtar kei så'el-i bud,* "Skill is not without the drawback of deprivation (artistic skill is not obtained without sacrifice), but When was a beggar more deprived than I?" *Without the drawback of this appointment is no skill. But, More disappointed than I, a beggar when — was?*

No. 235,7, *ce jåy-e ṣoḥbat-e nå·maḥram-ast majles-e ons,* "What room is there for communion with outsiders in the assembly of love?" *The assembly of affection is the place of society of the excluded — what!*

No. 239,6, *bégoftam-aš be·lab-am buse-i ḥavålat-kon be·xande goft key-at bå*

[28] See page "F".

[29] In some cases, Wilberforce Clarke may well have understood the passage, but all the same translated it in such a weird way as to make it practically impossible for the reader to get at the meaning.

[30] *mastån-e šomå* may refer to the languishing eyes of the beloved as well as to those intoxicated by them. Either: You should not flaunt your chastity in front of those eyes, because you may soon fall prey to them. Or: You should not vaunt your constancy in front of those intoxicated lovers, because you may soon become one of them.

[31] Wilberforce Clarke must have read *maṭlab-e* for *máṭalab* and tried to make meaning out of that.

man in mo'åmele bud, "I said to him: Place a kiss on my lip. He said with laughter. When did you (ever) have this (kind of) affair with me?" *To Him, I said: — "On my lip, place a kiss." With laughter, He spake:— "On my part this thus — was."*

No. 322,2, *ze roknåbåd-e må ṣad louḥaš·allāh ke 'omr-e Xeżr mi-baxšad zolål-aš,* "A hundred God bless you! to our Roknåbåd, whose limpid water gives (us) the (long) life of Xeżr." *For our Ruknabad, a hundred praises, Whose limpid water life to Khiẓr gave.*

No. 329,7, *šokråne-rå ke cašm-e to ruy-e botån nádid må-rå be·'afv-o lotf-e xodåvandgår baxš,* "In thankfulness that your eye did not see the idols' (beauties') faces (and was therefore not seduced by them). Leave us to God's forbearance and grace. [Or:] Forgive us for the sake of the forbearance and grace shown by God (to you)". *In thanks that the form of the idols thy eye beheld not, To us, by the pardon and the favour of the Lord, work — give.*

No. 402,10, *sar-i dåram co Ḥåfeẓ mast liken be·lotf-e ån·sari ommidvår-am,* "As Ḥåfeẓ (being the person I am) I have a drunken head, but I am hopeful of the Yonder grace (God's grace in the world to come)". *A head like intoxicated Ḥāfiẓ, I have: But, Hope, in the grace of that chief I have.*

No. 451,5, *bíå-wo ġabn-e in sålusiån bin ṣoråḥi xun·del-o barbaṭ xorušån,* "Come (to the tavern) and see the loss suffered by these hypocrites. (See) the goblet with bloody heart (sorely afflicted) and the lute wailing (at the thought of how much those poor hypocrites are missing)". *Come; and the deceit of these hypocrites, behold: (Like) the flagon, (they have the) heart of blood (ruddy wine); (like) the harp, they are a-)twanging.*

If the beloved's indifference appears cruel to the lover, the lover's insistence may appear no less cruel to the beloved. This may be what Ḥafeẓ is referring to in No. 470,10, *dar piš-e xwåje 'arż-e kodåmin jafå konam šarḥ-e niåzmandi-e xwod yå malål-e to,* "Which cruelty shall I report before the Lord? (Shall I) describe my own supplication(s) or your indifference?" Wilberforce Clarke translates *Before the Khwāja, which hardship shall I represent — The explanation of my own need; was the displeasure — of thine.*

No. 471,8, *delå ṭama' mábor az lotf-e bi·nehåyat-e dust,* "O heart, do not give up hoping for the boundless grace of the friend". *O heart! for the boundless grace of the Friend, have no greed,*[32] Similarly, in No. 469,9, *ṭama' mábor ze 'enåyat,* "do not give up hoping for (Divine) Grace" is translated *favour, desire not.*

No. 484,3, *'ezår-e moġ·baccegån råh-e åftåb zade,* "the cheeks of the Magian children (have) waylaid the sun (are more radiant than the sun itself, outshine it in beauty)". *The path of the young magians to the sun (the splendour of the glory of unity) the cheeks (of the holy travellers, possessed of excellence, joined with the qualities of God), — waylaid.*

No. 518,7, *nádidam xwaštar az še'r-e to Ḥåfeẓ be·qor'ån-i ke andar sine dåri,* "I have not seen more beautiful than thy verse, Ḥåfeẓ, (So I swear) by the Qor'ån that thou hast in thy breast (knowest by heart)." *Ḥāfiẓ! I have not seen (verse) more beautiful than thy verse, Which, in thy heart, — by the great Ḳuran (I swear), — thou hast.*

[32] Exactly the same words occur in No. 20,6. Here they are translated correctly: *O heart! of the endless kindness of the friend – hope, sever not.*

No. 572,4-6, *ke hamcun mo-t bébu tan·del va'irah ġariq^{o}·'l·'ešq^{e} fi baḥr^{e}·'l·vedådi be·peimåjån*[33] *ġaråmat bésphariman ġar-at yak viravašti*[34] *to z*[35] *amå di ġam-e in del bévåt-at xward nåcår vaġarna vå beni ån·ce-t nášådi,* "So that,[36] like me, your heart and body (?) would be completely Drowned in love in the ocean of friendship. We should entrust (your) penalty to the shoe rest,[37] If you saw any transgression from our side.[38] You would necessarily have to sympathize with this heart (of mine) Or else you would see that which would not suit you (Or else something very unpleasant would happen to you)(?)". *To the (true) Beloved, wholly and completely, surrender, like me, thy heart, — O drowned in the sea of friendship! Subsequently, to thee, our soul, we shall have to advance; For stubbornly, hast thou fought with lovers; and their heart taken. Grief for thee wholly devoured this heart, helpless; Me, the news of the good fortune of my verse deceiveth.*

The examples could easily be multiplied many times, but *By this tale, I pass. For long, becometh the matter.* (No 248,3 *z in qeṣṣe bógẕaram ke soxan mi-šavad boland.*)

Since I have till now focused upon the shortcomings and defects of Wilberforce Clarke's work, there is a risk that the reader may consider it to be even worse than it actually is. Though it may not contain one single ġazal that is correctly translated throughout, successions of four or five correctly translated verses are quite common. The best of the lot is No. 1, where I find no other fault than the one pointed out in **3.** above. (That I would have preferred a different wording and mostly disagree heartily with the contents of the brackets and footnotes is a different matter.) No. 326 is another specimen of a comparatively good translation. It has a bad mistranslation in verse 10, where Wilberforce has mistaken *azraq* "blue" for *zarq* "hypocrisy". But otherwise the translation is acceptable. (In many places I would have chosen other English equivalents, but Wilberforce Clarke's choices are defensible, even *the moth of your desire* in verse 7, where I would have translated "the royal grant of your desire".) However, the great majority of the ġazals are of a much lower standard. To give an idea of the overall standard, I would say that No. 134, which was examined in its entirety at the beginning of this paper, falls only slightly below the Wilberforce Clarke mean. It may be noted that there is a perceptible fall in translation standard throughout. As we progress through the work, the translations become worse and worse. Even so, studying them is not a complete waste of time. Wilber-

[33] Read *peimåcån*.

[34] Jarrett's text has <*dyrwšny*> with *våv* mistaken for *dål* and *nun* for *te* by *taṣḥif*.

[35] *to* repeats *-at* and *to z* should therefore be emended to *az*, as in most modern editions.

[36] In continuation of "you should have seen that beautiful face" in the previous verse.

[37] *pei·måcån* or *påy·måcån* (today *kafš·kan*) which I have translated "shoe rest", is the place where shoes and slippers are deposited before entering. Here it alludes to a humiliating, disciplinary punishment in which the delinquent had to stand on one leg holding his right ear with his left hand and his left ear with his right hand amid all the shoes of the shoe rest. Cf. M. Mo'in, *farhang-e fårsi-e motavasseṭ I*, Tehrån 2536 [1977/78], p.694, and M. Qazvini & Q. Ġani, *Divån-e Ḥåfeẓ*, Tehrån 1320 [1941/42], p. 305.

[38] I.e. you would deserve punishment, if after yourself seeing that beautiful face, you would still consider our love sinful.

force Clarke sometimes hits upon a felicitous rendering of a Persian phrase and in some rare cases even has an original interpretation worth considering. In No. 311,2 *jorm-i nakarde 'afv-kon-o må·jarå mápors* is normally taken to be a sarcastic request to the beloved to pardon an offence of which we have been wrongly accused: "Pardon an offence not committed and stop asking about it". Wilberforce Clarke translates it *A sin not done, pardon: and the past circumstance, — ask not.* Read in this way, it becomes a prayer to God to forgive not only our past sins, but also those sins that we shall willy-nilly commit in the future. In Persian *må·jarå* normally means "matter, affair", but the original meaning is "that which has passed". Hence Wilberforce Clarke's interpretation is quite possible and well worth pondering. However, such pearls are few and far between.

Until a few months ago, I used to believe that Wilberforce Clarke's *Dīvān-i-Hāfiz*, although "so slavishly literal as to be almost unreadable, except as a crib", was nevertheless a reliable translation with a useful commentary. But, as the reader will have understood, the quality of the translation is such that general readers wanting to get some idea of Ḥåfeẓ's lyrics should be positively warned against it. Persian scholars, too, should be warned not to use it except with the greatest circumspection. As for the commentary, I have found it to be no better than the translation. It is full of irrelevant matter, inexact or plainly wrong information and obscure rant and rhapsody mingled with some interesting anecdotes and seemingly useful information. I write "seemingly useful" because, even when the information given happens to be correct, it cannot be trusted until it has been checked against other sources. The following specimens will show the nature of the commentary:

In explanation of the word *qaråbe* in No. 511,7, we read *<qr'bh> signifies:— a two-handled, spouted, glass flagon wherein to refine, wine resteth four days*. This seemingly exact information is no doubt derived from the same source as Steingass' definition, "A large flagon or vessel having two handles and a spout (made of glass, in which wine is left standing forty days in order to refine)",[39] but in Wilberforce Clarke the number of days has dwindled. Cf. No. 533,2 and note on No. 326,1.

The purport of No. 25,5, *Speechless, Thy tress (the attraction of divine grace) draweth my heart; Against Thy heart-alluring tress, — the way of speech whose — is?* is elucidated by the following note, *In Sikandar Nāma (see Wilberforce Clarke's translation), N'iẕāmī saith: — "in this path (the world), even the angel erreth: "When one demon (lust, avarice) cometh, ten (laudable qualities) take fright (and go)"*, but the reader is none the wiser.

Commenting upon 189,2, Wilberforce Clarke says: *For the story of Sulaimān and the dev Sakhr, who, by deceit, obtained both his ring and his kingdom, see the Ḳurān, xxxvii. 33,* but the story is neither revealed in xxxvii. 33 nor anywhere else in that revelation.

The fatuous translation of 130,6 quoted above in **10.** is embellished with two comments. The first one shows his inability to understand whatever sources he was using:[40] *Observe the ṣana' at-i-iltifāt in the use of "my eye" and "our eye"*. It is true

[39] F. Steingass: *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*, London 1892 [5th impression 1963].

[40] One supposed merit of Wilberforce Clarke's work is that it has acquainted the West with traditional in-

that the figure *eltefåt* occurs here, but not *in the use of "my eye" and "our eye"*. It is effected by addressing the beloved in the second person after referring to him/her in the third person in the first five verses. (By a slavishly literal translation of *ṣan'at-e eltefåt* Wilberforce Clarke refers to it as *the figure of courtesy* in No. 381,7.) The second comment is utterly irrelevant, but quite amusing. I therefore quote it in full in spite of its length: *In the remotest ages, men saluted the sun, moon, and stars by kissing the hand, a superstition to which Job never subscribed, as he states, xxxi, 26. The earliest Christian bishops gave their hands to be kissed by the ministers at the altar. The custom declined, as a religious ceremony, but continued as a Court ceremony, the kissing of the hand of the Sovereign being regarded as a mark of the highest favour in Christendom. The beautiful Duchess of Devonshire bribed with a kiss many a voter for Fox in the famous Westminster election, and the equally beautiful and bewitching Lady Gordon, when the Scottish regiments had been thinned by reverses, used to tempt lads by placing the recruiting shilling in her lips, whence he who would might take it with his own. In Finland, the women consider a salute upon their lips as the greatest insult even from their own husbands. At one time English duellists used to kiss each other before firing. Muhammadans to Mecca kiss the black stone and the four corners of the Ka'ba. The Romish priest on Palm Sunday kisses the palm. The tradition about kissing the toe of the Pontiff is that one of the Leos substituted the toe for the right hand because his own right hand had been mutilated. In Iceland, kissing is repressed by civil laws, and the consent of the lady does not release the transgressor from heavy punishment. In Russia, the Easter salutation is a kiss. Chance acquaintances kiss when they meet. Principals kiss their employès; the general kisses his officers; the officers kiss their soldiers; the Czar kisses his family, retinue, court, and attendants, and even his officers on parade, the sentinels at the palace gates, and a select party of private soldiers. In short, Eastertide in Russia is a carnival of "kisses"*.

Commenting upon *moḥiṭ-e fanå* in No. 288,2, Wilberforce Clarke writes: *The iẓāfat between muḥīṭ and fanā is — the ṣifat (adjective) to the mauṣuf (the noun described)*. This is not only exceedingly commonplace and superfluous, but incorrect as well. *fanå* is not an adjective. It is a noun describing the material of which the *moḥiṭ* is made and the correct term is *eżåfe-ye bayåni*. (Wilberforce Clarke might have called it *the iẓāfat of the bayān*.)

A typical example of a futile comment is *"Be not righteous overmuch"* on No. 329,3 *Excessive austerity that the lovely one and the zāhid purchase not, In the sward's ring (time), to spring's fragrant breeze, — give*. To boot, *excessive* is his own addition and should have been bracketed; the text has *såqi*, not *zåhed*; and *ḥalqe* "ring" here stands for "gathering" not *time*.

No. 148,5 receives the following, both childish and arrogant comment: *In the words: — mārā āb-i-dīda mājarā rah guẓar sar-i-kū are graces that are not*

terpretations of Ḥåfeẓ. However, this note on *eltefåt* and innumerable other details in his commentary strengthen one's suspicion that he may have misrepresented that tradition as badly as he has misinterpretated the *divån* itself. His written sources are listed on p. vi, and *Maulavī Mīrzā Muḥammad-i-Biṣrāvī, a Persian who rendered me great help in this work* is mentioned and heartily thanked on p. xvi. A certain *Mirzā Ulfat of Iṣpahān* is mentioned in the commentary on No. 183,10.

concealed to the understanders of subtleties of truths of words, Arabic and Persian.

The following are examples of Wilberforce Clarke's (deliberate?) obscurity: No. 55,8, *Mudda'ī signifies: — Philosopher, whose sun of the stages is Revelation.* No. 74,2, *Affright me not of being a lover; for prohibited will reason and enraptured my body, whereto is no returning. For reason is the watchman who has been dismissed.* No. 375,3, *In the opinion of the Lords of reason, the covenant verily is the Lord of respect and honour (is sacred and honourable). Who breaketh a covenant becometh heart-shattered. In trueness of covenant is surety; the coming out from his covenant is his charge. Whoever for something established a covenant, its surety he became; and from it he must come out.* No. 292,7, *In straitedness is the end of the work of separation.*

In his note on *daftar-e bi·ma'ni* in No. 508,1, he says *"The meaningless book" may signify: — (a) Ḥāfiẓ's verse. (b) a book wherein is no mention of truths and of divine knowledge.* But he does not mention the not irrelevant fact that *daftar* is quite often used with reference to the *Qor'ån*.[41]

No. 429,2, *Within the limits of excellence, is the (lawful) portion of beauty. Me, alms give; for miserable and faḳīr, I am.* is correctly translated, but unintelligible in the absence of a note explaining the implications of *neṣåb, zakåt* and *faqir*.

No. 451,2, *In this khirḳa (of the austere zāhids), is many a stain: O happy the time of the ḳabā of the wine-drinkers (void of stain)* is elucidated with the following edifying note: *Than devotion, the deceit and treachery of profligacy is better.*

The word *ifåġ* in No. 348,5 is a scribe's error for *eiġåġ* "slanderous", so Wilberforce Clarke may be excused for not understanding it, but instead of stating in a note that the word is obscure, he translates it [*man*] *of two women* and explains in his cocksure manner that this (non-existent) *ifåġ* means either *two women connected with one man* or *any woman connected with a man who has more than one wife*. Through all the 1011 pages of his translation, he nowhere expresses even the slightest doubt as to his own perfect understanding of the *divån*.[42]

In his note on *nim buse* "half a kiss" ("a slight kiss" as I understand it) in No. 169,3 he says that it *signifies: — (a) a kiss given by one, not by both; (b) a little kiss, not completed; (c) ... smell.* One wonders whether this enumeration represents a genuine tradition or merely his own whimsical ideas.

In No. 557,3 Ḥåfeẓ says *gar ṣobḥdam xomår to-rå dard-e sar dahad pišåni-e xomår hamån beh ke béškani* "If at dawn wine-sickness gives you headache It is better that you break the forehead of the wine-sickness". This is undoubtedly to be accomplished with the *ṣabuḥ* "morning cup" mentioned in No. 557,1. Wilberforce Clarke mistranslates *If, at dawn, thee, wine-sickness give headache, Verily, best, that the forehead of the vintner, thou shatter.* reading *xammår* "vintner" for *xomår* "wine-sickness" against the metre. The suggested violence against the vintner is very unlike Ḥåfeẓ. The accompanying note says: *<xm'r> Khamār, wine-sickness.*

[41] B. Xorramšåhi, *Ḥåfeẓ·nåme*, Tehrån 1366 [1986/87], p. 1199, rejects the interpretation of *daftar-e bi·ma'ni* as the *Qor'ån* with the simplistic argument that a person knowing the *Qor'ån* as well as Ḥåfeẓ did could not possibly have considered it a meaningless book.

[42] For a discussion of *eiġåġ*, see Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen II*, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 187–189.

Khammār, a vintner. This will mislead the general reader to believe that we have to do with a wordplay between *Khamār* and *Khammār*. To the Persian scholar it merely underlines the translator's incompetence: In addition to the wrongly scanned *xammår*, *xomår* is wrongly vocalised. In Wilberforce Clarke's system of transcription it should have been *Khumạr*.

A large portion of the "exhaustive" commentary is not a commentary upon Ḥåfeẓ, but upon Wilberforce Clarke. His translation of No. 572,4-6, which *in no true sense of the word can be called a translation at all* since neither *the language* nor *the style of thought of the original* is *reproduced, or even suggested* (p. ix) was quoted at the end of **10.** above. It is elucidated with the following profound notes: *4. To the true Beloved, thy heart wholly and completely surrender; O drowned in love, bring the pearl of friendship for Him. Having reached the sea of friendship; and therefrom to love drawn thyself, surrender like me thy heart to the true Beloved, that, to thy hand, thou mayst bring the jewel of purpose. 5. In Shīrāz, men often use only the dominant (the initial, or the final) letters of a word <cš> may signify <cšm> <'wš> may signify <'wšn> <qzt> may signify <qzwt> <yk dy> may signify <yk dlh> Whether Thou desirest, or desirest not, my life, I surrender. Thou, sincere with lovers broughtest their heart into bonds; and again, from the insolence of the insolent, Thou escapedest. No need, that thou shouldst display superiority. Obedient to the heart, is the soul. When Thou taketh the heart, in its pursuit, is the soul. 6. Grief for Thee wholly devoured my heart, helpless (whether Thou desirest, or desirest not); Yet the news of the fortune of my verse hath made proud my heart, which is the cause of iniquity and error*. The commentary on the last two verses continues in this strain for one and a half pages more. No. 572 is from the point of view of its language the most difficult ġazal in the entire divan, but the good Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal (late Bengal) Engineers, author of *The Transverse Strength of a Railway-Rail,* keeps a stiff upper lip and translates undaunted *comme si de rien n'était*.[43]

On the reverse of the title page Wilberforce Clarke has printed the following motto: *mei xwor ke 'åšeqi na be·kasb-ast-o extiår in mouhebat rasid ze mirås-e feṭrat-am* rendered *Drink wine (of love for God). For neither by acquisition nor by choice is the being a lover (of God); Me, this gift reached from the heritage of creation*. No *ṣūfīistic* commentary worth the name should fail to explain the word pair *kasb-o extiår, which* really means "predestination and free will".[44] Turning to No. 374,5, we find no explanation of the term. Wilberforce Clarke obviously did not know the theological signification of *kasb-o extiår*. Here his translation is not wrong, only superficial. Had he known the technical meaning of *kasb-o extiår,* his motto would have received a different wording.

At the end of his preface, Wilberforce Clarke pens the customary apology: *Full well I know that grave defects must have their place in a work so long and so arduous as this. All endeavours to translate a Persian poem … must fall short of their*

[43] Methinks, this may be what G. M. Wickens had in mind when he said that Wilberforce Clarke's translations have "interesting merits of their own". (*Encyclopædia of Islam III*, Leiden & London 1986, p. 56).
[44] See M. Mo'in, *farhang-e fårsi-e motavasseṭ III*, Tehrån 1357 [1968/69], p. 2970, and *Encyclopædia of Islam IV*, Leiden & London 1997, pp. 692–694.

aim … of producing a translation … at once literal, idiomatic, and faithful to each thought of the original. Of my faults, I am very sensible, but I doubt not that those who discern them and know the difficulty of the undertaking will give me fair quarter (p. xvi).

Before deciding whether to give the Lieutenant-Colonel quarter or not, we might take a look at his judgement of translators before him. *(Mr. Fitzgerald) has shown as a poet, his capacity; and his incapacity as a translator* (p. ix). *John Nott — valueless* (pp. 12 & 14). *John Hindley — valueless* (pp. 12 & 14). *Samuel Robinson — apparently taken from the German translation by Rosenzweig … no explanations of any importance* (pp. 12 & 14). *Hermann Bicknell — valueless to the student* (pp. 13 & 14). *Sir W. Jones made a translation of this Ode* [No. 8], *— expanding the eighteen lines of the original into fifty-four lines of English; and giving neither the metre, nor the rhyme, nor the sense* (note on No. 8,8).[45] With this we may compare Wilberforce Clarke's description of his own work as he intended it to be: *the Persian text of* ***Ḥāfiẓ*** *with useful notes, and with an accurate translation — every word weighed, every thought truly expressed, and the spirit as well as the meaning preserved* (p. x).

It may be asked why I would want to waste my time and tax the readers' patience with a detailed scrutiny and crushing critique of a century-old translation. My answer is that this must be done, for the Lieutenant-Colonel's translation is not only hopelessly bad, it has also, in its own perverse way, been a success. It has, so to speak, become the English Ḥâfeẓ. If an English-speaking person of the less superficial kind happens to become curious about Ḥâfeẓ, he is likely to prefer this supposedly faithful and literal "most popular English translation of the whole of Hâfez's *Divân*" with its "exhaustive commentary" to some free poetic re-creation that might be more Bell or Bicknell than Ḥâfeẓ. He will be excused, if, having read a few of the ġazals he puts Wilberforce Clarke away saying, God knows what the Iranians see in that *daftar-e bi·ma'ni* "meaningless book" (No. 508,1). Add to this that this English Pseudo-Ḥâfeẓ has now been reprinted with a fancy introduction by the well-known Ḥâfeẓ scholar, Michael Craig Hillman, Professor of Persian Studies, University of Texas, an introduction that would seem a warm recommendation to all others than trained philologists. "Persian poetry lovers", he says, "can feel justifiable frustration that the *ghazal* poems of Hâfez … remain virtually unknown to poetry lovers in the English-speaking world" (p. E). To my mind Wilberforce Clarke must bear some responsibility for this state of affairs, but not so Professor Hillman: "Wilberforce Clarke's versions continue to inspire Iranians who know English and English-speaking translators and who would like to know Hâfez" (p. F). He even says that "Elizabeth T. Gray, Jr., cites Wilberforce Clarke's translations as a source in her new translations called *The Green Sea of Heaven: Fifty Ghazals from the Diwan of Hafiz*" (p. G). That is probably not true. She includes Wilberforce

[45] But in a footnote on p. viii we read: *As … a translator few excelled him.* A thorough discussion of William Jones' translation of No. 8, including a description of how it was made, will be found in Ahmad Karimi Hakkak's *Beyond Translation: Interactions between English and Persian Poetry* in Keddie & Matthee, *Iran and the Surrounding World*, Seattle & London 2002, pp. 37–48.

Clarke in a list of translations at the last page of her book, which is natural, since his is the only complete translation into English. But there is no indication that she has used him at all as one of the sources for her very competent translations. In a footnote (p. F, fn. vi), Professor Hillman discloses that he once reported to the Mage publishers "that the Wilberforce Clarke and Boylan translations [presumably translations by Boylan based upon Wilberforce Clarke] (did not reflect) essential features of the form and content of the original Persian text". The following 23 pages have nothing to do with Wilberforce Clarke, but "sketch features of the Persian *ghazal* tradition" and after that "conclude [on p. EE] with a suggestion about how readers might use Wilberforce Clarke's translations to advantage" (p. G). One must pity the reader who after this tasty apéritif will have to feed on Wilberforce Clarke's translations. But the professor shows no pity. He recommends them. First, he correctly states that "almost any hypothetical English translation of a Hâfezian *ghazal* will fail to communicate important facets of the poetic experience which the original text communicates" (p. DD). "Poetry lovers ... need to approach Hâfez translations warily ... recognizing that the essential Hâfez remains untransmitted" (p. EE). Then, without even the tiniest hint that Wilberforce Clarke in his incompetence more often than not fails to transmit perfectly transmittable aspects of Ḥåfeẓ, he produces a brilliant piece of casuistry in praise of our Lieutenant-Colonel: "In the case of Wilberforce Clarke's translations, readers not expecting to hear Hâfez's real voice can nevertheless expect a sense of being transported to a poetic world of experience not unlike the sense which Iranian readers often describe as their experience of Hâfez. [This is the closest we can get to Ḥåfeẓ in English.] Readers can enjoy [chacun à son goût] the mystery which Wilberforce Clarke's emphasis of "symbolic" imagery communicates as a parallel to the cultural richness and suggestiveness with which the original Persian tantalizes readers. [Laugh ye not. It, he meaneth.] Hâfez's seriousness and almost breathless attachment of importance to relationships and engagement of life's questions come across in Wilberforce Clarke's versions. [Indeed: *Than devotion, the deceit and treachery of profligacy is better*. No. 451,2] ... Even Wilberforce Clarke's notes (the arguments in most of which I disagree with) [!], become part of a legitimate experience of Hâfezian verse for English-speaking readers today, ... [If such a thing as an illegitimate experience of Hâfezian verse for English-speaking readers exists, it must be the Wilberforce Clarkian renderings.] In short, the trip on which Wilberforce Clarke's translations take readers is worth the fare and leads readers eastward, perhaps even to the Iranian plateau in centuries past, no matter that it may not bring readers to Hâfez's doorstep" (p. EE).[46] I beg to differ. The reader is only taken to Victorian Calcutta, to the quarters of an eccentric British officer fancying himself to be an outstanding Orientalist.

[46] Following the introduction Professor Hillman has added a table showing the correspondence of Wilberforce Clarke (and Jarrett) with Nåtel·Xånlari and Qazvini & Ḡani. It is useful but could have been prepared with more care. Nos. 189, 248, 282, 323, 387, 402, and 421 in Wilberforce Clarke correspond to 156, 173, 240, 277, 347, 318, and 333 respectively in Nåtel·Xånlari (not to the numbers given in the table), while No. 413 corresponds partly to 357 and partly to 358 in Nåtel·Xånlari.

Sudi has an amusing comment on the following verse: *nåṣeḥ be·ṭanz goft ḥaråm-ast mei máxwor goftam be·cašm-o guš be·har xar námi-konam*, which Wilberforce Clarke renders *In reprehension the admonisher said: — "Wine is forbidden: drink not:" I said: —"On my eye (be it); but to every ass, the ear (of attention) — I make not.* (Actually, *námi-konam* in the second hemistich governs both *be·cašm* and *guš*, so the meaning is really "I said: I do not say 'aye' nor listen to every ass" (No. 430,7). Sudi: *hâce vâizi har eyledi. ol zemânıñ vâizlerini har eyliyen, bu zemâneniñ vâizlerini görse, aceb ne derdi ola?*, "Ḥåfeẓ dubbed the preacher 'ass'. What would he who dubbed the preachers of that age 'ass' have said if he had seen the preachers of our times?"[47] We might add *Sudi Wilberforce Clarke'ıñ tercümesiyle Hillmann'ıñ mukaddimesini görse, 'aceb ne derdi ola?*

DIWAN-I HAFIZ

FOR THE

DEGREE OF HONOR EXAMINATION

IN

PERSIAN

FOR

OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY & CIVIL SERVICES,

EDITED BY

MAJOR H. S. JARRETT,

Secy., Board of Examiners.

Published by Authority.

PRINTED BY MALVI KABIR-UDDIN AHMAD, AT THE URDU GUIDE PRESS.

CALCUTTA.

1881.

The title page of Jarret's Håfez text.

[47] *šarḥ-e Sudi bar Ḥåfeẓ III*, Eskandarie [Bulåq] A. H. 1250 [1834/35], p. 87.

A Persian Astrolabe from A.H. 1203 / A.D. 1788–1789 by Ḥâǧǧ ᶜAlî

CHRISTOPHER TOLL, Stockholm

In 1933, the Swedish archaeologist, Professor T. Arne (1879–1968), bought two astrolabes from the antique dealer Sulayman Naǧât Rabbî in Tehran. In *Orientalia Suecana* 38–39/1989–1990,[1] I described one of them, from A.H. 1187 / A.D. 1773–74 by Muḥammad Hâsim Narâfî(?), belonging to the Sjöhistoriska Museum (Museum of Naval History). This astrolabe had had a certain connection with Lund, which made it appropriate to dedicate its description to Professor Gösta Vitestam, of Lund, on his 70th birthday.

The other Persian astrolabe, by Ḥâǧǧ ᶜAlî and dated in A.H. 1203/A.D. 1788–1789, was sold by Dr. Arne in 1934 to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences in Stockholm.[2] A typewritten description in Swedish from 1936 by Th. Wåhlin (1864–1948), architect at the cathedral of Lund, is in the University Library at Lund.[3] A photograph of the front of the astrolabe with its spider and alidad (wrongly placed, since the alidad should be on the back of the instrument) and with a short caption was published in *Daedalus* 1967.[4] A short description and a picture were published by Gunnar Pipping in 1977.[5] My description of the astrolabe follows the general description of the Islamic astrolabe by W. Hartner.[6]

1(a) [Figs. 1–2]. The *kursî* is decorated with foliage in embossed work and open-work. A similar work by Ḥâǧǧ ᶜAlî is reproduced by R. T. Gunther.[7]
1(b–c) [Fig. 7] Handle and ring as usual.
(d) [Figs. 7–8]. Through the ring runs a woven silk ribbon, length 1250 mm with tassels, 820 mm without tassels, with embroidered inscriptions: *yâ samân ¤ yâ dunyâ ¤ bismi llâhi r-raḥmâni r-raḥîm ¤ wa-in yakâdu lladîna kafarû la-yuzliqûnaka bi-abṣârihim lammâ samiᶜa* (l. *samiᶜû*) *ḏ-ḏikra wa-yaqûlûna innahû la-*

[1] *Festskrift till Gösta Vitestam*, pp. 163–170: "A Persian Astrolabe from A.H. 1187/A.D. 1773–74". The Museum also has an Andalusian astrolabe from A.H. 729/A.D. 1328–29 by Aḥmad b. ᶜAlî aš-Šarafî, described by me in the *Festschrift to Ulla Ehrensvärd* 2002.

[2] Inventory Number 3079. The astrolabe is in one of the Institutes of the Academy, the Centre for the History of Science. Ḥâǧǧ ᶜAlî is known as the maker of seven astrolabes, according to L.A. Mayer, *Islamic astrolabists*, Geneva 1956, p. 39, who mentions this astrolabe as Ḥâǧǧ ᶜAlî's second work. It is also mentioned in D.J. Price's international checklist of astrolabes in *Archives intern. d'hist. des sciences*, 8/1955:243–263, 363–381, p. 370.

[3] "Beskrivning av ett Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien i Stockholm tillhörigt persiskt astrolabium från omkring år 1788".

[4] *Daedalus*, Tekniska museets årsbok, 1967, p. 155.

[5] *The chamber of physics*. Instruments in the History of Science collection of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Stockholm, 1977, 2nd ed. 1991, p. 94, No. 46 and pl. 5.

[6] "The principle and use of the astrolabe", *Survey of Persian art*, ed. A. V. Pope, 3, Oxford 1939, ch. 57, pp. 2530–2554; cf. also W. Hartner, "Asturlâb", *Encyclopaedia of Islam / Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd ed. (= *EI2*), s.v.

[7] *Astrolabes of the world*, London (1932) 1976, p. 142, fig. 69.

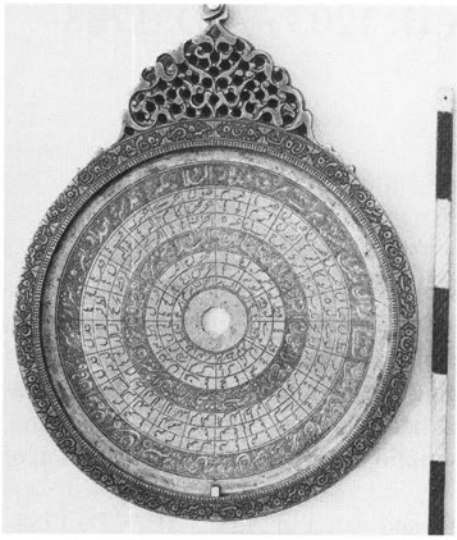


Fig. 1

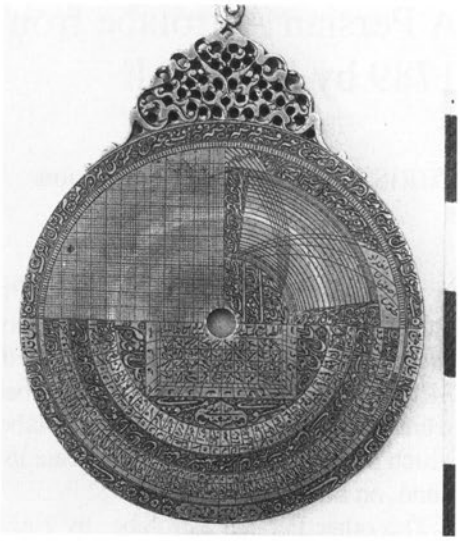


Fig. 2.

maǧnûn ¤ *wa-mâ huwa illâ ḏikrun li-l-ᶜâlamîn* ¤ *yâ dunyâ* ¤ *yâ ḥanân* "o heaven ¤ o world ¤ in the name of God ¤ and those who disbelieve would almost have caused you to stumble with their looks when they heard the reminder, and they kept saying 'Surely he is mad'. But it is nothing short of a reminder to all the world (Sura 68: 51–52) ¤ o world ¤ o compassion!"

2(a) [Fig. 1]. The diameter of the astrolabe is 92 mm. The inscriptions are in *nasḫî* script. The outer rim is graduated from 0° to 360°, each degree being marked by a stroke at the innermost part of the rim. Every 5th degree is marked by a small dot over the stroke. The outer part of the rim is divided into 24 fields, each one corresponding to 15 degrees and marked by *abǧad* numerals in cartouches with a decorative background in foliage: 5–10–5, 20–5–30, 5–40–5, etc., clockwise from 12 o'clock (S), beginning again after 200–5–10 and after 90–5–300.

The *umm* contains 10 circular bands, here numbered from the outermost one inwards I–X. I has no inscriptions. II–V are divided by 24 radii and VI–IX by 12 radii, resulting in 36 × 4 fields. The 9 fields to the left of the S.-centre radius contain the captions II and VI *al-bilâd* "the towns", III and VII *ṭûl*, "longitude" (reckoned from the Eternal Islands, the Canaries, "from which Ptolemy began the determination of geographical longitude",[8] IV and VIII *ᶜarḍ*, "latitude", and V and IX *inḥirâf*, "inclination" (the arc of the horizon between the meridian of the town and a vertical circle passing through the zenith of the town and that of Mecca[9]). Band X has no inscriptions.

[8] Ibn Ḫaldûn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, 1–3, London 1958, 1, p. 116; see al-Bîrûnî, *K. at-Tafhîm li-awâ'il ṣinâᶜat at-tanǧîm, The book of instruction in the elements of the art of astrology*, reprod. & tr. by R. R. Wright, London 1934, § 215, and D. M. Dunlop, "al-Djazâ'ir al-ḫâlida", *EI*² s.v.

[9] Morley, W. H., Description of a planispheric astrolabe, constructed for Sháh Sultán Safawí, London etc. 1856, reprod. in R. T. Gunther, see above, n. 7, pp. 1–50.

The towns with these data are, against the clock from the captions, bands II–V:[10]

		Longitude	Latitude	Inclination	
1.	Makka	77 10	21 40	00	
2.	Madîna	75 20	25 00	27 10	
3.	Baġdâd	82 00	33 25	12 13	
4.	Baṣra	84 00	30 00	37 59	
5.	Šîrâz	88 00	39 37	23 28	
6.	Šûstar	84 30	31 30	35 24	
7.	Ǧarfâdaqân	84 30	34 15	38 00	*EI*[2] Gulpâyagân, Arabic Ǧarbâḏakân, 34 15 also Šâh ᶜAbbâs' astrolabium, Morley, p. 26, No. 99.
8.	Iṣfahân	87 40	32 25	40 39	
9.	Kâšân	86 00	34 00	34 31	
10.	Qum	85 40	34 45	31 54	
11.	Rayy	86 20	35 00	37 26	
12.	Qazwîn	85 00	36 00	37 24	
13.	Sâwa	85 00	35 00	39 36	
14.	Hamadân	83 00	35 10	22 36	
15.	Simnân	88 00	36 00	36 17	
16.	Dâmġân	18 15 or 58 15	36 20	18 15 or 58 15	Long. = inclin. seems to be a confusion; other astrolabes have long. 18 15, 88 15 and 108 15; Morley, p. 24 No. 15 has 88 55 and same lat. and inclin. 38 05.
17.	Baṣṭâm	19 30 or 59 30	36 10	39 23	Here, too, the long. is dubious; Morley, p. 24 No. 18 has long. 89 30.
18.	Sirwân	91 30	36 05	44 42	
19.	Nîsâbûr	92 30	36 21	46 25	
20.	Mašhad	92 30	37 00	45 06	
21.	Harât	94 30	34 30	14 08	
22.	Marw	87 00	37 40	12 30 or 52 30	
23.	Qandahâr	87 40	33 00	75 05	
Bands VI–IX:					
24.	Tabrîz	82 00	38 00	15 40 or 55 40	Lat. 38 has been entered here instead of the wrong 18 or 58.
25.	Ardabîl	82 30	38 00	17 18 or 57 18	Also here the astrolabe has lat. 18 or 58 for correct 38.
26.	Îrwân	89 15	38 30	36 20	Erivan
27.	Šîrwân	84 30	40 50	20 09	
28.	Marâġa	82 00	37 20	36 17	For Marâġa the astrolabe has Marâqa which in Persian gives the same pronounciation.
29.	Ganǧa	83 00	41 20	55 49	The astrolabe has Kanǧa.
30.	Bardaᶜ	83 00	40 30	36 27	*EI*[2] Barḏaᶜa.
31.	Lâhîǧân	84 00	36 10	29 00	
32.	Astarâbâd	89 35	36 50	38 58	
33.	Âmul	87 20	36 55	35 00	
34.	Sârî	88 00	37 00	32 14 or 32 54	

[10] The longitudes and latitudes given in this list could for several of the towns mentioned be compared with those in the comprehensive compilation in Sh. Gibbs & G. Saliba, *Planispheric astrolabes from the National Museum of American History*, Wash. 1984 (Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology 45), pp. 192–206.

The preponderance of Persian town names, the names Madîna and Baṣra without article, and the spellings Iṣfahân (Arabic Iṣbahân), Marâqa and Ganğa (Arabic Ğanza) show the astrolabe to be a Persian one.

2(b) [Fig. 2]. The *ẓahr* is divided into quadrants. The outer rims of quadrants I and II are each divided from 0° to 90° beginning at E. and W. As on the front, every 5th degree is marked by a dot. Above every 5th degree are the corresponding *abğad* numerals 5–10–15 etc., ending with 90 on both sides of S., interspersed with foliage and other decorative elements.

Quadrant I is divided by 60 horizontal and 60 vertical lines corresponding to the cosines and sines of the related angle, every 5th line being marked by dots.[11]

Quadrant II contains 28 concentric quadrants of circles, every 5th marked by dots representing the equatorial circles of every 5th degree of the zodiac—the names of the signs being in the horizontal and vertical radii[12]—crossed by curves from centre to W. giving the azimuth of the *qibla* for the towns Šîrâz, Baġdâd, Iṣfahân and Ṭûs, with the caption between the concentric circles and the centre: *ḫuṭûṭ sumût al-qibla fi l-bilâd al-marqûma ᶜalâ aṭrâfihâ* (the astrolabe has *aṭrafihâ*) *bi-rtifâᶜ al-ġarbî*, "the lines of the azimuths of the qibla in the towns marked at their ends in Western altitude".[13] Another set of curves, ending at N., indicates the altitude of the sun at midday for the latitudes [2]8°, 30°, 32°, 34°, 36°, 38°, 40° with the caption in a band between the concentric circles and the outer rim containing the words *dawâ'ir anṣâf an-nuhûr fi l-ᶜarḍ al-marqûma ᶜalâ aṭrâfihî*, "the circles of the middays in the latitude [which are] marked at its ends".

Quadrants III and IV contain the shadow squares surrounded by 7 semicircular bands leaving spaces below and to the left and right of the squares. To the left is engraved *ẓill aqdâm*, "*umbra* of [the gnomon reckoned in] feet", repeated in the outermost band, and to the right *ẓill aṣâbiᶜ*, "*umbra* of [the gnomon reckoned in] fingers", likewise repeated in the outermost band. The space below the squares is divided into two fields by a cartouche. To the left and right of the cartouche is engraved the word *muštawî*, "recta", referring to the *umbra*. The cartouche is inscribed *ḥâ[ğğ] ᶜAlî ṣanaᶜahû*, "Ḥâğğ ᶜAlî manufactured it", corresponding to which can be read in a cartouche at the bottom of the outermost band *ᶜumila fî 12[?]3*, "it was made in 12?3".

Ḥâğğ ᶜAlî is known as the maker of several astrolabes during the years 1203–1208,[14] which makes it probable that this astrolabe was made in 1203 A.H. = 1788/89 A.D.

To the left, below and to the right of the shadow squares runs a band divided into sections numbered in *abğad* numerals, to the left corresponding to the feet of the *umbra versa*, numbered 2, 4, 6, 7, below left to the feet of the *umbra recta*, with the same numbering, below right corresponding to the fingers of the *umbra recta*, numbered 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and to the right to the fingers of the *umbra versa*, with the same numbering.

[11] Cf. W. Hartner, "Principle", quoted above in n. 6, p. 2546.
[12] Cf. Hartner, "Principle", pp. 2545 f.
[13] Cf. Morley, *Description* (n. 9), pp. 29 f.
[14] See n. 2 above and Mayer, p. 39.

The shadow squares are headed by the caption *aṭ-ṭabâ'iᶜ* (should read *ṭabâ'iᶜ* without the article) *al-muṯallaṯât bi-arbâbihâ bin-nahâr wa-arbâbihâ bil-layl*, "the natures of the triplicities with their lords by day and their lords by night". The shadow squares are divided into 4 horizontal bands headed by the captions *nârî*, "fiery", *turâbî*, "earthy", *hawâ'î*, "airy", and *mâ'î*, "watery", indicating the four triplicities, which in their turn are divided into altogether 9 vertical bands: the captions, the signs of the zodiac of the triplicities, the planets which are lords by day, and those which are lords by night, in the same way as on the Persian astrolabe from A.H. 1187/A.D. 1773–74 by Muḥammad Hâšim Narâfî in the "Sjöhistoriska Museum" (Museum of Naval History).[15] On that astrolabe, however, the names of the signs of the zodiac and of the planets were abbreviated, but on this astrolabe they are written in full.

Of the 7 semicircular bands of quadrants III and IV the outermost one, I, contains against a background of foliage and other decorative elements the numbers 5–10–15 ... –30 in quadrant III, and 5–45 in quadrant IV in *abǧad* numerals, besides the short inscriptions already mentioned above as captions (*ẓill aqdâm* and *ẓill aṣâbiᶜ*).

Band II is graduated with a projection of the division of the shadow squares in feet (quadrant III) and fingers (quadrant IV), every 5th foot and finger, respectively, being marked with a dot, referring to the numbers in the outer rim. By means of the alidad, the number of feet or fingers could be projected on the opposite rim (of quadrants I and II), giving the altitude in degrees.[16]

The following bands III and IV are connected with band V, which has the caption *al-burûǧ*, "the signs of the zodiac" at E. and W. and contains the names of the signs against a decorative background. Band III with the caption *al-kawâkib*, "the planets" at E. and W. contains for each sign the five planets (i.e., without the sun and the moon), and band IV their degrees of each sign, with the caption *al-ḥudûd*, "the limits"[17] at E. and W. For *ḥamal* "Aries", the following planets and degrees are given: *muštarî* "Jupiter" 6, *zuhara* "Venus" 12, *ᶜuṭârid* "Mercury" 20, *mirrîḫ* "Mars" 25, *zuḥal* "Saturn" 30. With the exception of 6 for Jupiter, these numbers are all wrong—the sum of the five limits for each sign should, of course, be 30. The correct numbers of degrees for the limits are shown by Hartner.[18]

Band VI has the caption *al-wuǧûh* "faces" or "decans", three to each sign,[19] with the names of their lords in abbreviation. Thus, the "faces" of *ḥamal* "Aries" are *ḫ* = *mirrîḫ*, "Mars", *s* = *šams* "sun", *h* = *zuhara(h)*, "Venus"; those of *ṯawr*, "Taurus": *d* = *ᶜuṭârid*, "Mercury", *r* = *qamar*, "moon", *l* = *zuḥal*, "Saturn"; those of *ǧawzâ*,' "Gemini": *y* = *muštarî* "Jupiter", etc.

The last band, VII, has the caption *al-manâzil*, "the mansions [of the moon]" and contains the names of the 28 mansions, as given by Ullmann and Kunitzsch[20] but

[15] See p. 167 of that description, quoted in note 1 above.

[16] Hartner, "Principle", p. 2547.

[17] M. Ullmann, *Die Geheim- und Naturwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden & Cologne 1972 (Handbuch der Orientalistik Erg.-Bd. 6:2), p. 354; al-Bîrûnî, *Tafhîm*, quoted above in note 8, § 453 f.; Hartner, "Principle", pp. 2548 f.

[18] "Principle", p. 2548, fig. 851.

[19] Ullmann, ib., with reference, inter alia, to al-Bîrûnî, *Tafhîm*, § 449; Hartner, "Principle", pp. 2548 f.

[20] Ullmann, p. 352; P. Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 55 f.

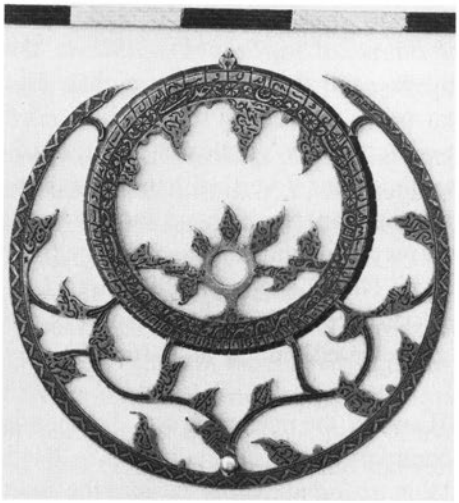


Fig. 3

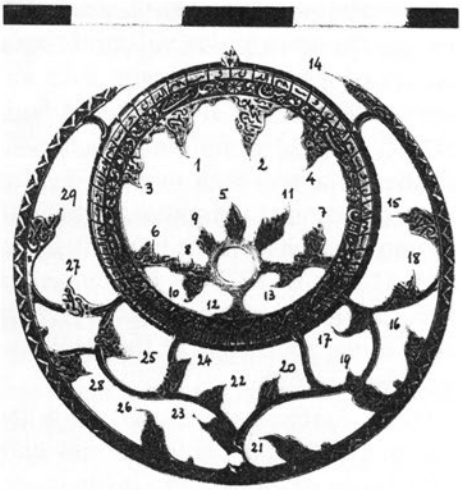


Fig. 4

without articles. The last name, for β Andromedae, is not *baṭn al-ḥût*, as in Ullmann, but *rišâ*, mentioned as a variant in Kunitzsch.[21]

3(a) [Figs. 3–4]. On the *ᶜankabût*, each sign of the zodiac is divided into five subdivisions marked in *abǧad* numerals 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, each subdivision thus consisting of 6 degrees, showing a sexpartite (*sudsî*) astrolabe. The following fixed stars are found on the *ᶜankabût*:

1. *nasr ṭâyir* = α Aquilae (Kunitzsch, *Sternnamen* p. 81, No. 54).
2. *ra's al-hawwâ'* = α Ophiuchi (p. 81, No. 51).
3. *fam al-faras* = ε Pegasi (p. 83, No. 58, pp. 162 f., No. 98).
4. *ᶜunuq al-ḥayya* = α Serpentis (p. 217, No. 196).
5. *nasr wâqiᶜ* = α Lyrae (p. 81, No. 53, p. 218, No. 198).
6. *mankib al-faras* = β Pegasi (p. 84, No. 62, p. 203 No. 177).
7. *râmiḥ* (al. *as-simâk ar-râmiḥ*) = α Bootis (p. 79, No. 41).
8. *kaff al-ḫaḍîb* (for *al-kaff al-ḫaḍîb*) = β Cassiopeiae (p. 66, No. 2).
9. *ridf* = α Cygni (p. 143, No. 61).
10. *ġûl* (al. *ra's al-ġûl*) = β Persei (p. 69, No. 14, p. 115, No. 10).
11. *nayyir fakka* = α Coronae borealis (p. 79, No. 45).
12. *ᶜayyûq* = α Aurigae (p. 71, No. 20).
13. *ẓahr ad-dubb* = α Ursae maioris (p. 158, No. 89).
14. *qalb al-ᶜaqrab* = α Scorpionis (p. 80, No. 48, p. 169, No. 110).
15. *simâk al-aᶜzal* = α Virginis (p. 79, No. 36, p. 166, No. 103).
16. *qâᶜida* (al. *qâᶜidat al-ka's*, Latin *Fundus Vasis*[22]) = α Crateris (cf. p. 125, No. 33).

[21] Cf. also Morley, *Description*, p. 30, and Hartner, *EI*², s.v. "Minṭaqa".

[22] Allen, *Star names, their lore and meaning*, N.Y. (1899) 1963, p. 184.

17. *qalb al-asad* = α Leonis (p. 76, No. 30, p. 168 No. 109).
18. *ǧanâḥ al-ġurâb* = γ Corvi (p. 78, No. 36, p. 166 No. 103).
19. *fard aš-šugâ*ᶜ = α Hydrae (p. 76, No. 29, p. 130, No. 42).
20. *ša'âmî* (al. *aš-šiᶜrâ aš-ša'âmîya*) = α Canis minoris (p. 73, No. 25, p. 160, No. 93).
21. *šiᶜrâ yamânî* (for *yamâniya*) = α Canis maioris (p. 72, No. 23, pp. 117 ff., No. 26).
22. *yad yumnâ* (al. *yad al-ǧawzâ'*) = α Orionis (p. 63, No. 15, p. 72, No. 22, p. 150, No. 72).
23. *riǧl al-yusrâ* (al. *riǧl al-ǧawzâ'*) = β Orionis (p 70, No. 19).
24. *ᶜayn at-tawr* = α Tauri (p. 70, No. 18) or ε Tauri (p. 104, No. 9).
25. *fam qayṭus* = γ Ceti (p. 63, No. 19).
26. *masâfa* (al. *masâfat an-nahr*) = γ Eridani (p. 70, No. 17).
27. *ḏanab qayṭus* = ι Ceti (p. 66, No. 4).
28. *ṣadr qayṭus* = π Ceti (p. 63, No. 18).
29. *sâq ayman* (for *yumnâ*) = δ Aquarii (p. 84, No. 60).

3(b) There are four discs, engraved on both sides.

I(a) [Fig. 5]. *li-ᶜarḍ ld*, "for latitude 34" is engraved between the true horizon and the northern tropic to the right of the meridian. To the left of the meridian is engraved *sâᶜâtuhû yd yw*, "the hours of which are 14 16". Between the true horizon and the straight horizon the words *al-maġrib*, "sunset" and *al-mašriq*, "sunrise" are inscribed to the right and left. These inscriptions are against a decorated background. In the bottom half, the hours are marked from W. to E. 1–12 with *abǧad* numerals for the unequal hours, and 1–14 for the equal hours, the lines of the equal hours being dotted.

The degrees of the almacantars are marked from E. and W. from the true horizon 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, and from S. along the meridian 36 etc., every 6th degree, to 90 in the zenith. Every 6th degree being indicated, the astrolabe is a sexpartite (*sudsî*) one.

The azimuths are numbered below the straight horizon from E. and W. along the true horizon 10, 20 etc. to 90 in *abǧad* numerals, and higher up again 10, 20 etc. to 90, ending at S. on both sides of the meridian.

I(b)	*li-ᶜarḍ lb*, "for latitude 32"; *sâᶜâtuhû yd z*, "the hours of which are 14 07". The captions have no decorative background and the lines of the equal hours are not dotted. Otherwise as I(a).
II(a)	*li-ᶜarḍ lz* "for latitude 37"; *sâᶜâtuhû yd lḥ*, "the hours of which are 14 38" (read 14 33). Otherwise as I(b).
II(b)	*li-ᶜarḍ lḫ* "for latitude 38"; *sâᶜâtuhû yd lṭ*, "the hours of which are 14 39". Otherwise as I(b).
III(a)	*li-ᶜarḍ l*, "for latitude 30"; *sâᶜâtuhû yǧ nw*, "the hours of which are 13 56". Otherwise as I(b).
III(b)	*li-ᶜarḍ lw*, "for latitude 36"; *sâᶜâtuhû yd kḥ*, "the hours of which are 14 28". Otherwise as I(b).
IV(a)	*li-ᶜarḍ kṭ*, "for latitude 29"; *sâᶜâtuhû yǧ nb*, "the hours of which are 13 52". Otherwise as I(b).
IV(b)	[Fig. 6]. A disc of horizons similar to that belonging to the Persian astrolabe from A.H. 1187/A.D. 1773–74 by Muhammad Hâšim Narâfî in the Sjöhistoriska Museum (Museum of Naval History).[23]

[23] See pp. 169 f. of that description, quoted in note 1 above.

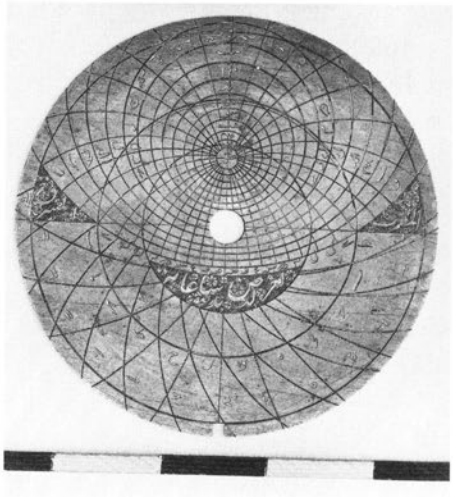


Fig. 5.

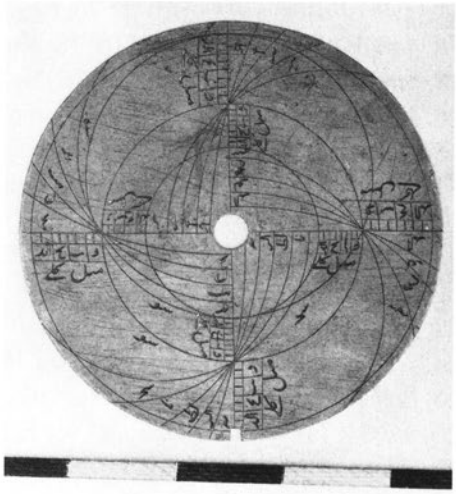


Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Quadrant I (bottom left) has in the outermost band under the horizontal diameter a division into 8 parts, numbered two and two 6, 12, 18, 24 in *abǧad* numerals, and below this the words *mayl kullî*, "total obliquity". At the bottom, the outermost band is crossed by 5 curves numbered in *abǧad* numerals from the vertical diameter eastwards 15, 27, 39, 51, 63. The circle separating the outermost band from the middle band is marked 66. The middle band has along the vertical diameter the same division into 8 parts with the numbers 6, 12, 18, 24 and the words *mayl kullî* as mentioned in the outermost band. The middle and innermost bands are crossed by 5 curves ending at the vertical diameter and there marked from the centre downwards 18, 30, 42, 54, 66.

Quadrant II (top left) has the same engravings, the series in the outermost band being 18, 30, 42, 54, 66, and the one in the innermost band 21, 33, 45, 57.

Quadrant III (top right) has in the outermost band 21, 33, 45, 57, and in the innermost band 24, 36, 48, 60.

Quadrant IV (bottom right) has in the outermost band 24, 36, 48, 60, and in the innermost band 15, 27 39, 51, 63.

3(c) [Fig. 7]. The alidad seems to have been made for another astrolabe, as Wåhlin observes, and this is made probable also by the engraving being made by another hand. It is marked along one side from the centre outwards 5, 10, etc. to 60 and, once again, from the centre outwards 1, 5, 9, ?, 77 (in numerals), ?, 9. The other side is crossed by curves marked along one side from the centre outwards 8 (in numerals), *asad* "Leo", *sunbula* "Virgo", 6 (in numerals), the letters *fw d*? and *ḥ*, and along one side from the centre outwards 1, 1, ?, 11, 10, 9.

3(d–e) The pin and the horse seem also not to belong to the instrument or even to each other, according to Wåhlin. The horse is decorated with the picture of a bird.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The illustrations were kindly put to my disposal by Mr. Gunnar Pipping, MA, Keeper at the Museum of Technology (retired), Stockholm, and Ms. Christina Halldén, BA, Conservator at the Centre for the History of Science, Royal Swedish Academy of Science, Stockholm, to whom my thanks are due.

Zoroastrian Myth and Constellations: *Hauma* and Zarathushtra

GERNOT WINDFUHR, Ann Arbor

This is *ein kleiner Festgruss* for my dear colleague Bo Utas, who, together with his students, has brought so much light to Iranian Studies in so many fields, and who always extends the most gracious collegiality and hospitality to his fellow travelers.

THE HŌM YASHT

The main Zoroastrian ritual, the Yasna, involves the preparation of an elixir called *parahōm*, that is oblated to the waters at the end of a complex sequence of actions and the recitation of a total of 72 chapters of liturgical texts. The main ingredient of the *parahōm* is *hōm*, Avestan *hauma*, which is ephedra.

This plant is hailed in the so-called Hōm Yasht, which is the principle text of the second main ritual act when the head priest takes sips of consecrated *parahōm*-drink that was prepared in a preceding ritual, and pieces of consecrated bread. Formerly, this section also involved animal sacrifice, *ātaš-zōhr* (Boyce 1970).

Structurally, the hymn consists of three loosely connected sections that deal with three presumably crucial aspects related to the sacred plant *hauma*, and evidently preserves ancient lore: (1) In Y. 9, the priest Zarathushtra, who is just beginning the purification of the ritual area, admires the beauty of the body of the radiant apparition, which is the divine sacrificer *Hauma*, and asks him about his identity, and about the first four pressers of *hauma*. (2) In Y. 10, the salient features of the terrestrial *hauma*-plant are described. (3) In Y. 11, the cow, the horse, and the *hauma*-plant curse those who ritually do not handle them properly.

JAWS AND LEFT EYE

This third section of three spells includes a rather enigmatic specification of the parts of the sacrificial animal that are due to the divine *Hauma*, in Y. 11.4a, and Y 11.5a, following Judith Josephson's splendid edition (1997, 113 and 114):

us mē pita haomāi draonō *frərənaoṯ ahurō mazdå*
aṣ̌awa haŋʷharəne maṯ *hizwō hōyūm.ca dōiθrəm*
'Righteous Ahura Mazda, [my] father, bestowed upon me, Haoma, a share, both jaws with the tongue and the left eye.'

This seemingly disjunct specification, two jaws and left eye, loses its enigmatic nature when sought in the sky: It is the head of Taurus. Specifically, there is a well-known celestial Jaw, which is the V-shaped outline of the Hyades. Inside it is a well-known left eye, which is the *lucida* of the celestial Bull, α Tauri, Aldebaran.

The Hōm Yasht, thus, simply reflects ancient astral mythology, that correlates the mundane with the celestial. Such knowledge of the sky must have been crucial. This is because Ahura Mazdā, who in the passage just cited is specifically identified as the father of *Hauma*, created the sky and the luminaries, according to Zarathushtra's *Gāthā*s (Y. 44.1–7), and more significant, because Ahura Mazdā's own incremental spirit is wearing the sky as a vestment made of hardest stones (Y. 30.5).

However, strangely, in the entire Avesta there are only very few stars and constellations that have been clearly identified. They were conveniently listed by Panaino (1999, 540): *Paoiraēinī* = Pleiades; *Upa.paoirya* = Aldebaran; *Tištryaēinī* = Procyon; *Tištrya* = Sirius; *Wanaṇt* = Vega; *Satawaēsa* = Fomalhaut; *Haptō.iriṇga* = Ursa Major; *Hapta.srū* = Ursa Minor. The identification suggested above adds *Haŋʷharəne* 'Jaws' = Hyades to that list, while the "left eye" can be identified with *Upa.paoirya* = Aldebaran.

HAUMA-SACRIFICERS AND MYTHOLOGICAL HEROES

While Ahura Mazdā's incremental spirit wears the sky as a vestment, it is *Hauma* who is said in the first section of the Hōm Yasht, Y. 9.26, to wear a star-adorned sacred girdle, which is curiously identified with the Mazdayasnian *dayanā*, later *daēnā* 'religion'. To note, this girdle was given to *Hauma* by Mazdā himself (Josephson 1997, 70):

> a) *frā tē mazdå baraṯ paurwanīm aiβiyåŋhanəm stəhrpaēsaŋhəm mańyu.tāštəm waŋʷhīm daēnąm māzdayasnīm*
> b) *āaṯ aŋ́he ahi aiβyāstō baršnuš paiti gairinąm drājaŋ́he aiβiδāitīš.ca *grawūs.ca mąθrahe*
> 'Mazda invested you with the (?) girdle, the star-adorned, good Mazdayasnian religion created by the spirit,
> and you have been girded with this on the mountain tops to hold the bridle and sticks of the holy word.'

The specifications "star-adorned" and "mountain tops" support the correlation of the sacrificial animal with a celestial constellation. In fact, Taurus stands right in front of the best-known girdle-wearer in the sky, the mighty Orion. To note, Orion does not only wear his own girdle, but also touches the supreme cosmic girdle, which is the Milky Way.

The brilliant, and girdled,[1] constellation Orion, then, would appear to be here identified with the radiant apparition of the divine *Hauma*, facing the head of his sacrificial Bull. The fact that the Avesta seems not to name that most majestic constellation in the sky at all has always been puzzling. The reason appears to be the narrative genre, and the adherence in those texts to astral myths where one and the same constellation may be part of a number of overtly different myths. Indeed, it is suggested here that *Hauma* is only one of the mythological beings that have been connected with mighty Orion.

Thus, the divine *Hauma* is said to have been the first mortar priest, *hāwanan*, who elevated the *hauma*-stalk, as narrated in the Yasht to Mithra, Yt. 10.90 (Gershevitch 1959, 116–117):

[1] The untranslated adjective *parwanya-* in Y. 9.26a ("?") probably derives from *parwan-* 'knot' (cf. Watkins 1995, 162); thus 'knotted' or 'studded' girdle, referring to the three girdle-stars.

yō paoiryō hāwana haomą, uzdasta
haraiθyō paiti barəzayå;
stəhrpaēsaŋha mainyutāšta
haraiθyō paiti barəzayå;
bərəjayaṯ ahurō mazdå
bərəjayən aməša spənta
yeńhå kəhrpō huraoδayā
yahmāi hwarə aurwaṯ.aspəm
dūrāṯ nəmō baoδayeiti

'Who (=Haoma) was the first mortar-priest to elevate the star-decked, supernaturally fashioned Haoma-stalks on the high Harā; (even) Ahura Mazdāh praised (his) well-grown body which the incremental Immortals were praising; whom (Haoma) from afar the swift-horsed sun causes to perceive his reverence.' Alternatives include, e.g., "who was the first to offer up *haoma*s with a star-adorned, spirit-fashioned mortar upon high Harā" (Boyce 1975, 160).

The divine *Hauma*-Orion was thus the first *hauma*-priest. It is not known what his reward was, other than the parts of the sacrificial animal specified above. He is joined by four mythological human figures. All four were rewarded for their *hauma*-service with illustrious sons, as spelled out in the first chapter of the Hōm Yasht, Y. 9: (1) Wiwahwant and son Yima khshaēta; (2) Āthwya and son Thraētaona; (3) Thrita and the two sons Urwakhshaya and Keresāspa; (4) Pourushaspa and son Zarathushtra.

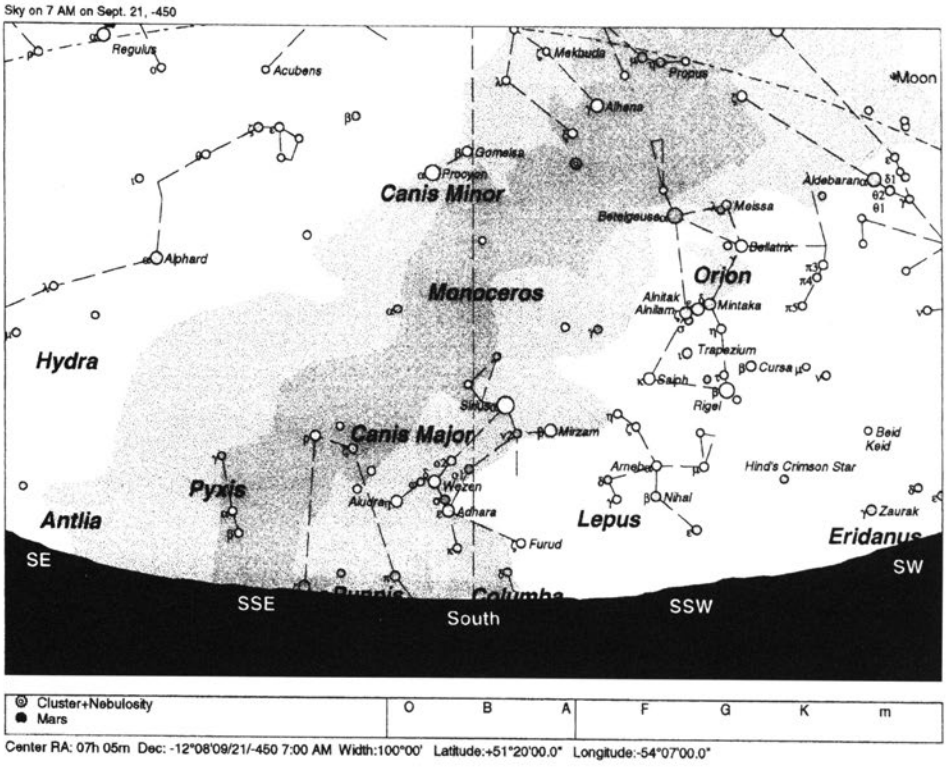
In fact, these four father-son sets play a significant role in Zoroastrian mythological history. They represent, respectively, the initiators of the four millennia following the attack of evil in the middle of limited time, the year 6000. In view of the discussion above, it would appear that both fathers and sons also continued to have *Hauma*-Orion as their celestial correlates, facing the sacrificial bull, and it was probably because of this mythological pattern of successive replacements, or tabu, that no single term for Orion is mentioned in the Avesta.

ZARATHUSHTRA

In terms of mythological lore, then, there is a celestial Zarathushtra who is identified with Orion. This identification should not come as a surprise. Just as in Mesopotamian astral sciences, the Hyades were identified as the "Jaws of the Bull of Heaven", so Orion was the "True Shepherd of Anu" (e.g., Hunger and Pingree 1999, 270 and 276). Indeed, this celestial "shepherd" recalls the last section of the most sacred Zoroastrian manthra, Y. 27.13: *yam drigubyah dadat wāstāram* 'whom they/he gave/set as pastor for the humble', and suggests astral correlation in that most ancient manthra as well.

BULL, HORSE, AND *HAUMA*

Multiple correlations, or replacements, may explain another enigma in the Hōm Yasht, the curses in its third part, Y. 11, by the "three truly righteous ones", *θrāyō haiθīm.aṣ̌awanō*: the cow, the horse, and the plant *hauma*. The cow curses the priest



Pre-dawn western sky, fall equinox, 450 B.C., at Filippovka kurgans, southern Ural steppes. Produced with The Sky © Astronomy Software 1984–1998; with assistance of Professor Guenther Elste, University of Michigan.

who keeps the roasted meat for himself and his family. The horse curses the rider/groom who does not seek the horse to be swift at the assembly of the populous clime. The plant *hauma* curses the drinker who keeps him un-pressed.

The inclusion of the horse, after the reference to the bovine sacrifice, would seem to be a distant echo of the earlier horse sacrifices. Accordingly, the third and final curse by the plant *hauma* implies that the *hauma*-ritual was also considered a "sacrifice", not just a means of producing the elixir of immortality. In fact, all three can be seen in the V-shape of the Hyades and the left eye of Taurus: (1) the shape of a bovine head; (2) the shape of a horse's head (see below); and even, (3) the idealized shape of the knotted branches of the plant ephedra (cf. the illustrations in Flattery and Schwartz 1989, 71), as distinct from the human-shaped kind of *hauma* plant.

DOG'S SHARE AND GAZE

Hauma's share is now presented in the Yasna in reduced form by the tongue of the sacrificial animal, which is roasted, and then ritually offered to a dog. As discussed by Mary Boyce (1975, 163), this rite exemplifies the common Indo-Iranian belief in a link between the dog and the souls of the departed, also found in the Vedas. A sep-

arate, particularly curious rite is the rite called in Persian *sag-did* 'dog-gaze', which involves the obligatory exposure of a corpse to the gaze of a dog, presumed to be beneficial for the celestial passage of the soul of the deceased. This dog, as specified in Vd. 8.16–18, should be "four-eyed" or white with yellow ears. Boyce (1975, 116–117) noted the similarity to the hounds of the lord of death, Yama, in the Indian tradition, and related it to a "common old belief in some dangerous crossing-place, possibly of an underground lake or river", and the "myth of a pair of four-eyed dogs by whom the spirit must pass to reach the kingdom of death." Already Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (1922, 61) remarked that "Some connect the idea of the *sag-did* with the symbolic idea of two dogs—the Canis major and the Canis minor in the Orion at the Chinvad bridge, which is the Milky Way." Indeed, just like the sacrificial jaws and left eye correlate with Taurus at one side of a major stretch and complex of constellations, so Canis major with its *lucida* Tishtrya/Sirius and Canis minor with Procyon on the other side correlate with the two celestial dogs. Astronomically, these two are stationed on the southern and northern side, respectively, of the narrows of the Milky Way in Gemini, and are apt models for the universal interpretation of the two guardians dogs at this *pṛθu*/ford (where the souls' deeds are put on the scales by the *cinwant* 'weight piler'), and for the equally universal and ancient belief that the Milky Way is the higher path of the souls. The other ancient "ford" is located opposite Gemini, in Sagittarius. To note, these locations are actually the intersection of the Milky Way with the ecliptic, that is, with the apparent path of the Sun, the Moon, and the planets.

The identification of the left eye of the sacrificial animal with the Moon, which is known in Zoroastrianism as the left eye of Ahura Mazdā as opposed to right eye, the Sun (e.g., Duchesne-Guillemin 1948, 25, following others), and particularly the post-Vedic close association of *soma* with the Moon and the lunar cycle, may be partially explained by the location of Aldebaran relative to the ecliptic. As noted by Richard H. Allen (1963, 386): "Aldebaran is slightly south of the ecliptic, and, lying in the moon's path, is frequently occulted, thus often showing the optical illusion of projection. As one of the lunar stars, it is much used in navigation."

The preceding notes can only be brief sketches, and are glimpses into what this writer has been fascinated with for some time. It should be noted that the objective here was not to search for the identity of the *hauma*-plant, which is said to be of many kinds, *paru.sardā-*. Such attempts have been many, including one by this author (Windfuhr 1985), where the human-shaped Orion/*Hauma* was correlated with the human-shaped plant ginseng, partially based on the identity of the ancient Chinese sign for both, an observation made much earlier by Andreas Eckhard (1928), as duly noted by David Flattery and Martin Schwartz (1989, 61).

It should be noted that the identification of Hauma's Mazda-given girdle in Y. 9.26 with the girdle of Orion, and thus of Orion with Hauma, was first suggested by Haug (1889, 182 n. 3). He noted that this constellation, or rather its head which is known in India as the third lunar mansion *mṛga-śiras* 'head of antelope', is presided over by Soma, and that it forms a unit with the first and second lunar mansions: the Pleiades, *kṛttikā*, and the Hyades with Aldebaran, *rohiṇī* 'the red (doe)'. He was followed by Tilak (1883, repr. 1916, spec. 143–144), who elaborated on both the astral myth of Prajāpati = Orion in the shape of a stag pursuing his daughter in the shape

of a doe = Hyades and Aldebaran (cf. also Scherer 1953, 154–155), as well as on the correlation of the Zoroastrian four-eyed dog with the two celestial dogs of Orion. In turn, Tilak's work is the source of the observations by Modi mentioned above, and others. The identification of Hauma's three portions of the sacrificial animals with Hyades and Aldebaran suggested here would seem to provide further support for these astral connections implicit in the Zoroastrian ritual.

Finally, reference should be made to the Hyades and Orion in different sets of astral mythologies, such as the "Jaw of the Bull" that Marduk used as his weapon; the "jawbone of an ass" that Samson used in Judges 15, 15ff; or Indra's *vajra*, made of the bones of Dadhyañc's horse-head (RV 1.84.13–14); and rulers of the Golden Age such as the Sumero-Akkadian Enki, Iranian Yima, or Germanic Freyr. All of these are features in the great "fuge" of time that was so well, if somewhat enigmatically, explored by Giorgio de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend in their *Hamlet's Mill* (1969; 1994). In fact, they took the Persian *Shāhnāmeh*, and prominently Jamshid, as one of the main starting points of their inquiry.

The accompanying figure shows the assembly of constellations discussed above, looking south. It is centered on the Milky Way and the two celestial guardian Dogs. The time is the pre-dawn sky at 7 a.m. at fall equinox, which is the month of Mithra in the Zoroastrian calendar. The year is 450 B.C., and the location is the Early Sarmatian kurgan complex in the southern Ural steppes near Orenburg, Russia (cf. Windfuhr, forthcoming). The resemblance of the ephedra plant with the stick figure of Taurus on the modern sky chart illustrates what people of the Achaemenid age may have perceived. To note, the fall equinox was the time of the Mithrakāna festival, when the king was ritually bound to get intoxicated, celebrating a host of cosmic events, including the creation of the Moon (cf. Soma), and the victory over the dragon-serpent Azhi Dahaka (most likely Hydra, also shown) by the greatest Iranian warrior and son of the third hauma-presser and healer, Thraetaona (in this case, Orion seen as facing east).[2] Note also the royal Leo with Regulus high in the East.

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[2] Biruni, in his Chronology of A.D. 1000, trans. Sachau, 1979 (1879), 207–208.

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On the Theory of *qāfiya* in Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī and Shams-i Qays

RICCARDO ZIPOLI, Venice

Like other rules of verse-making of Arabic origin applied to Persian, the rules for *qāfiya*[1] have in the transition undergone a process of adaptation.[2] A basic feature of this process is its contrived, incongruous aspect as an attempt to impose on the Persian linguistic code a set of graphic, phonetic, morphological and syntactic rules which are unnatural, since they were devised and elaborated for Arabic, a "foreign" language structurally different from Persian.

Describing and studying the Arabic system of *qāfiya* applied to Persian thus does not mean primarily analysing directly Persian verse endings. Rather it means focusing on how the endings of Persian lines can be interpreted in the light of the related Arabic theory of *qāfiya*. This implies, above all, an inter-linguistic study to compare elements and features of one language (Persian) with the corresponding features of the other (Arabic) by means of—and within—the same interpretative framework (the *qāfiya* system), originally devised only for Arabic and thus leading to the features of Persian being neglected in the field in question.

Persian has a number of features which are not found in Arabic and they exercise a direct influence on *qāfiya*. We need only consider, for example, the possibility of having two or three quiescent *ḥurūf* in succession in any part of the line, the abundance of suffixed elements, the construction of the *kasra-yi iḍāfa*, and the *radīf*. The Persian situation is further complicated by the fact that some graphemes which in Arabic correspond to different phonemes have been "normalized" and given the same pronunciation (cases like *ṭā* and *tā*). Moreover, there is a different sensibility as regards some endings of lines in the Persian and Arabic worlds. Thus, some sequences of *ḥurūf* and *ḥarakāt* are acceptable for the purposes of *qāfiya* in one language but not in the other. This is the case, for example, with two words which share only the last of two final consonants. In Arabic, these words, if followed by the ending of the same case, can give rise to the same *qāfiya* (for example, *makrī/baḥr-ī*), whereas in Persian this kind of sequence never generates a *qāfiya* (for example, *raft-ī* can never be combined with *rast-ī*). Similarly, in Arabic *qāfiya*, unlike Persian *qāfiya*, the sounds *i/u* and *ī/ū* can be alternated in some positions, whereas in

[1] The conventional translation of the term *qāfiya* as 'rhyme' is not only simplistic but also misleading since it tends to conceal the differences between the two concepts. I have thus preferred to leave this term in transliteration.

[2] As far as the relations between Arabic *qāfiya* and Persian *qāfiya* are concerned, a number of basic principles have been described and analysed from a technical point of view in Fashārakī (1972). Some linguistic comments can be found in Jeremiás (1997, 1999), while Elwell-Sutton (1976: 223–242) makes some general remarks.

Persian, unlike Arabic, the presence of only a final *yā* is not enough to qualify as *qāfiya* (in this case, other previous sounds must be repeated).

The overall picture of the two linguistic contexts of *qāfiya*, however, reveals not only differences and contrasts but also similarities. Some Persian words, for example, have a syllabic pattern like that of Arabic words, with which, therefore, they share graphic and phonetic rules (for example, *kamar* and *qamar*). Moreover, the Arabic lexicon assimilated in Persian (words, syntagmas and, at times, hemistiches or even whole lines) can give rise to cases of *qāfiya* perfectly in keeping with the original theory.

In the light of these complex relations, two independent but complementary, research paths dedicated to *qāfiya* appear to be of particular interest. The first, basically theoretical path should describe the relation between the original Arabic model of *qāfiya* and its Persian re-interpretation, to identify the common features, gaps and discrepancies (this would initially require the study and comparison of the *qāfiya* handbooks in the two languages); the second, more practical and textual approach involves assessing if and to what extent the Persian adaptation of the original Arabic model of *qāfiya* is appropriate and functional for the purposes of a scholarly description of Persian verse endings (this path should obviously focus on the study of the Persian *qāfiya* theory, checking it out against the poems).

No matter which path is given priority, in both options, reading the classical Persian texts dealing with the *qāfiya* theory is obviously of crucial importance.

The unchallenged reference work on the subject is *al-Muʿjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿajam*[3] by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qays al-Rāzī, a handbook of poetics dedicated to metre, *qāfiya* and rhetorical and compositional issues written at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. Although rather late compared with similar works on *qāfiya* in Arabic, this text contains the earliest surviving treatise in Persian on the subject. Indeed, the *Muʿjam* has always been the fundamental reference work for anyone studying Persian *qāfiya*.

It is equally true, however, without wishing to call into question the central importance of Shams-i Qays's text and the value of its model, that a deeper knowledge of other, classical Persian works on *qāfiya* is a necessary step for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon in question. In this context, there is a particularly important treatise by the great philosopher and scientist from the Ilkhanid period, Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī (597/1201–672/1274) entitled *Miʿyār al-ashʿār*.[4] The treatise was composed in 649/1251[5] and, in addition to dealing widely with Arabic

[3] There are various editions of Shams-i Qays's work (Shams-i Qays 1909; 1935; 1959–60; 1991; 1994–5*a*) and a partial translation into Russian (Shams-i Qays 1997).

[4] Although never satisfactorily, the *Miʿyār al-ashʿār* has been published four times: Ṭūsī (1902–3; 1984; 1990; Iqbālī 2000: 159–306). For some remarks on the first edition, see Musul'mankulov (1989: 161); for the second and third editions, see the respective reviews by Waḥīdiyān Kāmyār (1984–5; 1991); the fourth edition, too, is not without lacunae and errors. A new edition of the *Miʿyār al-ashʿār*, edited by Muḥammad Fashārakī, is now being printed in Iran (Iṣfahān). The reference text for this paper is the edition by Iqbālī (2000: 159–306). For the life and works of Ṭūsī, see Mudarris Raḍawī (1991–2) and Iqbālī (2000); a recent series of papers on Ṭūsī (with a comprehensive bibliography) can be found in Ṭūsī (2000). On the importance of the *Miʿyār al-ashʿār*, taken together with the *Muʿjam* as regards *qāfiya*, see Fashārakī's remarks in Shams-i Qays (1994–5*b*: 8).

[5] Shams-i Qays (1959–60: *hā*).

and Persian metre, contains ten chapters dedicated to the analysis of *qāfiya*: the first chapter is a general introduction (accompanied, however, only by Arabic examples), whereas the next four are dedicated to Arabic *qāfiya* and the last five to Persian *qāfiya*.

The parallel treatment of *qāfiya* in the two traditions (Arabic and Persian) deserves attention *per se*, because it provides an opportunity to observe at first hand the relations that a scholar of the calibre of Ṭūsī found in the two contexts.[6] The analysis he undertakes in the two different, linguistic universes reveals, however, different shades of novelty and value.

The treatment of Arabic *qāfiya*, albeit with some original observations, basically goes back, in fairly clear and precise, general terms, over what had previously been theorized on the subject. The chapters in question are thus important not so much from an Arabistic point of view as for the purposes of closer and more informed interpretation of the section dealing with Persian *qāfiya* (which includes frequent cross-references to the corresponding Arabic section).

The analysis of Persian *qāfiya*, on the other hand, is much more interesting. First of all, this text is more or less contemporary with that of Shams-i Qays (Ṭūsī's text is considered to be slightly later) and is therefore one of the earliest known, Persian treatises on *qāfiya*. From the theoretical point of view, moreover, Ṭūsī's exposition varies in several places from the *qāfiya* rules proposed by Shams-i Qays. Evidence of these differences is provided by the fact that Ṭūsī acknowledges Yūsuf-i ʿArūḍī (4th/10th century) as the authority and founder of the theory of Persian *qāfiya*,[7] while omitting the name of Shams-i Qays, of whose theoretical model, however, he describes (and criticizes) some important elements. Ṭūsī's system, in other words, is a kind of alternative to that proposed by Shams-i Qays, which came to dominate.

In fact, major classical theoreticians who wrote on Persian *qāfiya* after Shams-i Qays, such as Shams-i Fakhrī-yi Iṣfahānī and Muḥammad al-ʿAṣṣār in the 8th/14th century, and Waḥīd-i Tabrīzī, Jāmī, Wāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī, and ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī in the 9th/15th century,[8] re-present more or less the same model and terminology for *qāfiya* as that found in the *Muʿjam*.[9] Indeed, one of these authors, ʿAṭā

[6] Evidence of a widespread interest in the two linguistic fronts is that Shams-i Qays also speaks of the need for a "parallel treatment" in this direction (Shams-i Qays 1959–60: 3) and refers to his analysis of the metre and *qāfiya* phenomena in Arabic, which, however, has not come down to us (Shams-i Qays 1959–60: 4, 217, 273).

[7] See Iqbālī (2000: 296).

[8] Only the treatises on *qāfiya* by the authors mentioned for the 9th/15th century exist in printed form: Waḥīd-i Tabrīzī (1959: 105–119 of the section in Persian; 2001), Jāmī (Blochmann 1970: 1–7 of the second section in Persian), Wāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī (1977: 143–164; 1990–1: 177–194), ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī (2001). The texts on *qāfiya* by Waḥīd-i Tabrīzī and Jāmī have been translated, respectively, into Russian (Waḥīd-i Tabrīzī 1959: 77–86) and English (Blochmann 1970: 75–86).

[9] There is a useful, comparative survey of the major classical treatments of Persian *qāfiya* by Musul'mankulov (Musul'mankulov 1989: 95–116), which also includes a list of the most important printed editions and manuscripts on the subject (Musul'mankulov 1989: 5–6). Musul'mankulov considers ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī to be the last definitive authority on Persian *qāfiya* (Musul'mankulov 1989: 116). He omits, however, to analyse the work by Muḥammad al-ʿAṣṣār entitled *Kitāb al-wāfī fī tiʿdād al-qawāfī*, which includes a treatment of added (*zāyid*) *ḥurūf* in line—although less detailed and with no verse examples—with that of Shams-i Qays (al-ʿAṣṣār MS: 5*b*–11*a*).

Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī, is well aware of Ṭūsī's *qāfiya* scheme, whose innovative solutions he mentions but refuses to take into account, even unequivocally writing some of them off.[10] Moreover, Shams-i Qays's theories form the guidelines for two major treatises on *qāfiya* in the modern age: the works by Siphir,[11] in the late 13th/19th century, and Najafqulī Mīrzā (Āqā Sardār),[12] in the early 14th/20th century. One last corollary confirming the authority and dominance of Shams-i Qays's theory is the fact that many of the *qāfiya* handbooks printed today (also those used in schools) more or less slavishly follow the ideas in the *Muʿjam*.

This historical prevalence of Ṭūsī's "rival" Shams-i Qays, certainly played a part in relegating Ṭūsī to the background, as regards the theory of Persian *qāfiya*,[13] and led to his treatise being neglected by scholars.[14]

[10] In his treatise on *qāfiya*, ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī in fact draws attention to (and criticizes) the same differences between Ṭūsī's system and that of Shams-i Qays which I shall deal with below. These differences concern the number of *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya* (ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī 2001: 15–16), the *ridf* (ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī 2001: 20, 21), the *rawī* (ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī 2001: 17, 20), the *waṣl* (ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī 2001: 22–23), the *khurūj* (ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī 2001: 23), and the *radīf* (ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī 2001: 23, 41). The same picture of discrepancies is summed up by Musul'mankulov in his comparative study of the treatment of *qāfiya* by the classical Persian theoreticians (Musul'mankulov 1989: 95–116, especially 98, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 114, and 115). Fashārakī makes some interesting remarks on this subject in Shams-i Qays (1994–5*b*: 8–14).

[11] Sipihr (1973: 1–23).

[12] Najafqulī Mīrzā (1984–5: 64–95).

[13] In this context, it is important to mention two countercurrent voices which follow the Persian model of *qāfiya*, as set forth by Ṭūsī. Here I am referring to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, the mid-8th/14th-century author of the encyclopaedic text entitled *Nafāʾis al-funūn fī ʿarāyis al-ʿuyūn*, which includes a section on *qāfiya* (Āmulī 1958–1960: I, 155–167), and the text by Yūsuf-i ʿAzīzī, who, very probably in the first half of the 9th/15th century, devoted some paragraphs to *qāfiya* in his commentary on the *qaṣīda-yi maṣnūʿ* by Salmān-i Sāvajī. The similarities between the theories of Yūsuf-i ʿAzīzī and Ṭūsī have already been identified by Musul'mankulov (Musul'mankulov 1989: 106, 114, 163, 190), who, on the other hand, does not mention the first and more important re-interpretation of Ṭūsī by Āmulī. In fact, Āmulī not only reflects in general the approach of Ṭūsī (also studying *qāfiya* in both the Arabic and the Persian contexts) but in some sections he even follows him to the letter (without mentioning the source). These two examples, however, rather than attenuating Ṭūsī's isolation, tend to reinforce it; his theories seem only to have attracted attention in later centuries from minor theoreticians on Persian *qāfiya* (such as Āmulī and Yūsuf-i ʿAzīzī). Some of Ṭūsī's heterodox theories did, however, continue to receive attention in later periods: see Gladwin (1798: 151, 164–165), Tahānawī (1967: I, 407, 576; II, 1504), Garcin de Tassy (1970: 350), and Blochmann (1970: 81). There are also some commentaries on the *Miʿyār al-ashʿār*, the most authoritative being the 19th-century work entitled *Mīzān al-afkār* (Murādābādī 1883) by the erudite Indian Muḥammad Sa'd Allāh-i Murādābādī: a critical edition, by Muḥammad Fashārakī, of this text and an Italian translation of the chapters in it on *qāfiya* by Stefano Pellò are forthcoming.

[14] Doubts expressed by some critics on the attribution of the *Miʿyār al-ashʿār* to Ṭūsī have certainly partly inhibited studies of this text; see Ethé (1974: 344), Qazwīnī (Shams-i Qays 1959–60: *hā*), Tauer (Rypka 1968: 433), and Storey (Storey 1984: 179). On the other hand, arguments claiming to demonstrate the certain attribution of the *Miʿyār al-ashʿār* to Ṭūsī have been adduced by critics such as Mudarris Raḍawī (Shams-i Qays 1959–60: *lām.ba-lām.dāl*; Mudarris Raḍawī 1991–2: 531–534) and Ṣafā (Ṣafā 1954–1991: III, 2, 1205). On this subject, there is no mention of the fact that when ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī cites and criticizes Ṭūsī's ideas, he describes (at times literally quoting) some passages from the *Miʿyār al-ashʿār* mentioning his source and thus at least referring those key sections to Ṭūsī (see the quotations in note 10, to which may be added some comments on the *radīf*, this time accepted by ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī: ʿAṭā Allāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī 2001: 41). On the subject of the ne-

But Ṭūsī's treatise on Persian *qāfiya* is of undeniable importance. On these grounds, we are currently working on a project dedicated to his contribution in this field. On the basis of the first of the two research paths mentioned above, this project is theoretical in approach and aims to test Ṭūsī's hypotheses on Persian *qāfiya*, compared with those of Shams-i Qays, against the background of the original Arabic model.[15]

Here I wish to provide an example of this comparative analysis. The example focuses on some basic questions concerning the three areas in which Ṭūsī's re-interpretation has a critical relationship with Shams-i Qays's model: the number, names, and functions of the *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya*.[16] To make the comparison clearer, I provide a brief summary of the nomenclature and definitions of the *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya* given by Shams-i Qays:[17]

rawī: is the last radical *ḥarf* of the word containing the *qāfiya* (*pisar*);
ridf-i mufrad: is the prolongation *alif*, *wāw* or *yā* preceding the *rawī* (*kār*);
qayd: is the quiescent *ḥarf* other than a prolongation *alif*, *wāw* or *yā* preceding the *rawī* (*dast, qays*); if this quiescent *ḥarf* is preceded by a prolongation *alif*, *wāw* or *yā*, it takes the name of *ridf-i zāyid* (*kārd*) and the antecedent prolongation *ḥarf* is called *ridf-i aṣlī* (*kārd*); *ridf-i aṣlī* and *ridf-i zāyid* together take the name of *ridf-i murakkab* (*kārd*) and are thus distinguished from the *ridf-i mufrad* (*kār*);
ta'sīs: is the *alif* followed by a moving *ḥarf* and then the *rawī* (*qātil*);
dakhīl: is the moving *ḥarf* following the *ta'sīs* (*qātil*);
waṣl: is the *ḥarf* following the *rawī* (*pisar-am*);
khurūj: is the *ḥarf* following the *waṣl* (*pisar-at-am*);
mazīd: is the *ḥarf* following the *khurūj* (*pisar-at-ast*);
nāyir: is the *ḥarf* following the *mazīd* (*raft-an-ī st*); there may also be more than one *nāyir* at the end of the line after the *mazīd* (*parwar-īm-itān*).

I begin with some general remarks concerning the number of *ḥurūf*. Ṭūsī cuts Shams-i Qays's nine down to five (*ridf*, *rawī-yi mufrad*, two *rawī-yi muḍā'af* and

glect of the *Mi'yār al-ash'ār* in the literature, it is also worth mentioning that the two scholars from outside Persia who have recently spoken of Ṭūsī as a theoretician of metre and *qāfiya* did not use the most recent editions of this text for their works (Shams-i Qays 1997: 20, 431; Musul'mankulov 1989: 5, 161). Today there is a greater interest in the *Mi'yār al-ash'ār* in Persia: in addition to the above-mentioned works in this note, see also various writings by Fashārakī in Fashārakī (1972), Blochmann–Fashārakī (1993: 73), and Shams-i Qays (1994–5*b*: 8–14).

[15] The project will soon lead to other publications. The first, by myself, will be a book entitled *Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī's contribution to the Arabic-Persian theory of qāfiya* and will include a new, critical edition of the chapters on Persian and Arabic *qāfiya* in the *Mi'yār al-ash'ār* edited by Muḥammad Fashārakī. These chapters, which are part of a forthcoming new edition of the entire *Mi'yār al-ash'ār* (see note 4), will be translated and commented on (the chapters dealing with Arabic *qāfiya* will be translated and commented on by Stefano Pellò). The last section of the book will be devoted to a comparison between Shams-i Qays's and Ṭūsī's theories of *qāfiya*. Some of the subjects tackled in the following pages will be dealt with in greater depth in that book. The second publication, a paper by myself and Stefano Pellò, is in Italian and will be entitled: *La teoria della* qāfiya *araba e persiana in Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī e in Muḥammad-i Āmulī* (see note 13). A third publication is mentioned at the end of note 13.

[16] For the relevant passages by Ṭūsī, see Iqbālī (2000: 293–298). A similar treatment of the *ḥarakāt* will be described in the book (*Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī's* ...) mentioned in the previous note.

[17] For a description of these elements, see Shams-i Qays (1959–60: 204–267).

waṣl). Compared with the system proposed by Shams-i Qays, Ṭūsī has two new *ḥurūf*, i.e. the two *ḥurūf* of the *rawī-yi muḍāʿaf* (the *rawī-yi mufrad* corresponds to the *rawī* also described by Shams-i Qays), but he ignores six: *qayd*, *taʾsīs*, *dakhīl*, *khurūj*, *mazīd* and *nāyir*.

As regards the two new *ḥurūf* of the *rawī-yi muḍāʿaf*, they are effectively only a change of name rather than real additions. The *rawī-yi muḍāʿaf* described by Ṭūsī (two radical *ḥurūf* following a prolongation *ḥarf*, as, for example, *st* in *pūst* and *dūst*) are the equivalent in Shams-i Qays's system of the set of the *ridf-i zāyid* (which obviously follows the *ridf-i aṣlī*) and the *rawī*. Basically, the two authors offer two different revisions and extensions of the Arabic terminology to describe the same three-letter, Persian sequence (*ūst* in *pūst*) not found in Arabic. Both are inspired in this case by the *ḥarf* in the original *qāfiya* system (the *ridf* for Shams-i Qays and the *rawī* for Ṭūsī), considered to be more appropriate in representing the Persian "novelty", i.e. the intermediate *ḥarf* in a similar, three-letter sequence (the *s* in *ūst*). This intermediate *ḥarf* is a quiescent *ḥarf* preceding the *rawī* and Shams-i Qays, by adopting the Arabic *qāfiya* pattern (as interpreted below on the question of *qayd*/*ridf*), associates it with the concept and therefore the name of *ridf* (albeit with a specification, *zāyid*, at the terminological level). By deciding to call the same *ḥarf* by the name of *rawī*, Ṭūsī also adopts as a reference point the Arabic system of *qāfiya*, but from a different point of view: he refers in particular to the Arabic concept, whereby, after the *ridf* (in our case, the *ū*) the only possible *ḥarf* is the *rawī* (even though he must inevitably conceive and define the *rawī* as being composed of two *ḥurūf*).

Let us now look at the six *ḥurūf* omitted by Ṭūsī, compared with Shams-i Qays's scheme. In the case of the *qayd*, again Ṭūsī simply changes the name. Shams-i Qays separates the quiescent *ḥurūf* preceding the *rawī* into prolongation *ḥurūf* (*alif*, *wāw* and *yā*, which he considers to be *ridf*) and other *ḥurūf* (which he calls *qayd*). Ṭūsī has a different approach. He accords an almost identical status to all the quiescent *ḥurūf* immediately preceding the *rawī* and defines them, irrespective of type, only by the name *ridf*. The two authors offer different solutions, but both aim to fill the gap they found in the original *qāfiya* system: in Arabic, while the prolongation *ḥurūf* (and, according to most scholars, the *wāw* and *yā* in cases like *aw* and *ay*) immediately preceding the *rawī* are part of a *qāfiya* and are called *ridf*, no other kind of quiescent *ḥarf* immediately before the *rawī* is considered one of the *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya*.[18] It may thus be argued that, in the structural and terminological framework of Arabic *qāfiya*, the *ridf* coincides with all the possible quiescent *ḥurūf* immediately preceding the *rawī* (in practice, however, this applies to only the three weak *ḥurūf*). Starting from this interpretation of the Arabic concept of the *ridf*, Ṭūsī applies the term in Persian to all the quiescent *ḥurūf* immediately preceding the *rawī* (seemingly on the same grounds as those suggested above for the name of *ridf-i*

[18] If there is a word, such as, for example, *baḥr*, terminating with two consecutive *ḥurūf* at the end of a line, the two *ḥurūf* will be followed by the prolongation *waṣl* of the case *ḥarakat* (as, for example, in *baḥrī*) and, therefore, the *qāfiya* (*rī*) will begin with the *rawī* (*r*) or alternatively an internal *ḥarakat* will be created, giving rise to a form, for example, in the case of *baḥr*, like *baḥur* (see Fleisch 1961: I, 175–178, 191), in which the *qāfiya* is composed of the new, internal *ḥarakat* followed by the *rawī* (*ur*).

zāyid given by Shams-i Qays). Ṭūsī, therefore, highlights the similarities between the two situations and avoids extending the nomenclature. Shams-i Qays, on the other hand, chose to stress the difference between the two situations: he identified as *ridf* only the three *ḥurūf* considered to be such in Arabic (*alif*, *wāw* and *yā*)[19] and resorted to the term *qayd* unknown in Arabic theories to identify the new element. The terminological discrepancy between the two critics thus reveals a different approach to the phenomenon.

Turning now to the other five *ḥurūf* ignored by Ṭūsī, compared with Shams-i Qays's list, we see that in this case the five have actually been eliminated. As for the set of the *ta'sīs* and *dakhīl*, Ṭūsī describes his choice not to include them with the *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya* as a kind of "purist", i.e. de-Arabizing, operation, since these elements technically reflect linguistic structures (such as *fāʿil*, *mufāʿil*, *mutafāʿil*, etc.) that belong to Arabic and entered Persian through words of Arabic origin.[20] On the other hand, the elimination from the list of the *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya*, of the *khurūj*, *mazīd* (called *zāyid* by Ṭūsī) and *nāyir* (which Ṭūsī defines as a second *zāyid*), reflects Ṭūsī's different understanding of the function of the elements following the *rawī*, as we shall now see.

Ṭūsī's rules on the elements of a *qāfiya* following the *rawī* are what mark out his theory from Shams-i Qays's corresponding system. The key issue in this case is the question of the *waṣl* and *radīf*. For a better understanding of this point, it is useful to bear in mind Arabic theories about the elements following the *rawī*. The original *qāfiya* theory, reflecting the structural features of the Arabic language, showed the presence of one or at most two *ḥurūf* after the *rawī*, the first being called *waṣl*, the second *khurūj*. In this case, both the *rawī* and *waṣl* must be moving, with their *ḥarakāt* being called *majrä* and *nifādh*, respectively. The *khurūj*, on the other hand, can only be quiescent. It is immediately striking how a theory based on the final linguistic structures of words, and therefore of lines of verse, of this kind is unsuitable for representing the corresponding features of Persian. Actually, in Persian, the *rawī* may be followed not only by segments formed by various *ḥurūf* with related *ḥarakāt* (verb endings, pronouns, etc.), but also, after these segments, by a possible refrain made up of one or more words (the *radīf*). In short, the structure of the line after the *rawī* has different features in Persian from Arabic, and trying to bring together the two different systems in the same descriptive frame, originally devised for only one of the two languages, is clearly a dubious operation. In fact, the problems eventually emerge, and Shams-i Qays and Ṭūsī are forced to introduce a series of changes and adaptations which are once more different in the two authors.

Shams-i Qays opts for a solution bearing in mind the equivalent Arabic theory only as a formal model and terminological starting-point. In fact, he simply gives a

[19] Note that Shams-i Qays considers these *ḥurūf* to be *ridf* only when they are prolongation *ḥurūf*. According to his theory, the *w* in *aw* and the *y* in *ay* are similar to all the other non-prolongation *ḥurūf* in that position and he thus defines them as *qayd* rather than *ridf*, departing, in this way, from the Arabic theory.

[20] Shams-i Qays adopts an ambivalent stance on this question, by speaking of the *ta'sīs* both as one of the *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya* (Shams-i Qays 1959–60: 261) and as an optional device along the lines of the *luzūm mā lā yalzam* (Shams-i Qays 1959–60: 262). Shams-i Qays, moreover, refers also Persian words like *āhan* to the paradigm *fāʿil*, characterized by the presence of the *ta'sīs*.

name to all the *ḥurūf* (and all the *ḥarakāt*) in a *qāfiya* that follow the *rawī* in Persian, incorporating the only two "Arabic" *ḥurūf* after the *rawī* (i.e. the *waṣl* and *khurūj*) as the initial names of a similar chain. At the same time, he identifies and defines the features of the typically Persian element, the *radīf*, describing it as that independent word or words repeated in identical form and meaning after the *qāfiya* in each line.

Ṭūsī's solution, on the other hand, seems to be influenced by the Arabic model in a much more substantial way. Indeed, he adopts and accepts as a model of the *waṣl* in Persian the most common Arabic type of *waṣl*: an added, quiescent *ḥarf* which, joined to a moving *rawī*, completes and ends the word to which it has been suffixed, thus creating a single syntagma.[21] But the closer the Arabic theory is followed in trying to describe and explain typically Persian phenomena, the greater the contradictions. In his view of the Persian *waṣl*, Ṭūsī seems to have in mind a series of very common, single-letter endings and suffixes, which *de facto* may be considered as forming a single set with the related words. In the examples provided by Ṭūsī, in fact, the *waṣl* is made up of a single *ḥarf* representing either verb endings (such as the *mīm* for the first person) or derivation suffixes (such as the abstract *yā*) or other elements closely linked to the word concerned (such as the *shīn* of the third-person-singular pronoun). In all of these cases, we can speak—following the guidelines of the prevalent Arabic model—of a single syntagma ending with the *waṣl* (Ṭūsī's rule that the *waṣl* is inevitably quiescent also seems to move in this direction).

With this *waṣl* theory, however, Ṭūsī creates a hybrid situation: on the one hand, he fails to recover completely the Arabic model and, on the other, is unable to give a complete account of the Persian situation.

In the Arabic model, in fact, the *waṣl* can also be moving, and, in that case, it is followed by the *khurūj*. Ṭūsī believes that this is not possible. Considering the *waṣl* as an added, final, quiescent *ḥarf* which (joined to a moving *rawī*) completes and ends a *qāfiya* (everything that may possibly follow is considered *radīf*), he rules out the possibility of the *khurūj* (and, consequently, other subsequent letters).[22]

If all of this implies denying the validity of part of the Arabic model, at the same time it creates serious difficulties in representing and describing the corresponding, Persian, linguistic situation. Ṭūsī's position, actually, turns out to be neither explicit nor comprehensible (if we follow the logic he adopts) in cases in which the moving *rawī is followed not by one but by several ḥurūf constituting endings or suffixes in*tegrated in the word in a similar way to the single-letter endings or suffixes mentioned above. See, for example, cases such as *kitāb-and, guftīm* and *asīrān*, where the first *ḥurūf* (*nūn, yā* and *alif*) after the various moving *rawī* (*bā, tā* and *sīn*) are indeed quiescent and therefore potential *waṣl*, but, despite being part of a single syntagma with the words they are connected to, they do not complete and end those

[21] Ṭūsī's theory is partly contradicted by his examples, which include a quiescent *rawī* followed by the *waṣl* (see the *muqayyad* and *mujarrad qāfiya* with the *waṣl*, as in *duʿā-t/ thanā-t*: Iqbālī 2000: 299).

[22] Note that, when the *rawī* is followed by a moving *ḥarf*, the latter, according to Ṭūsī, should not be considered as a *waṣl*, i.e. as a *ḥarf* in the *qāfiya*, but as a *ḥarf* in the *radīf*. Ṭūsī's isolated position on this subject is stressed by Musul'mankulov, who points out that all the major, classical Persian theoreticians of *qāfiya* acknowledged the existence of the *khurūj*, except Ṭūsī and Yūsuf-i ʿAzīzī (Musul'mankulov 1989: 105).

words and thus fail to have one of the basic requisites of the *waṣl*, as theorized by Ṭūsī. Another example that does not comply with the *waṣl* theory presented by Ṭūsī is that of syntagmas like *kitāb-ishān*, in which the first *ḥarf* (*shīn*) after the moving *rawī* (*bā*) is also moving and, moreover, does not complete and end the word to which it is connected. This *shīn* then, according to Ṭūsī's definition, cannot be a *waṣl*, even though, like all *waṣl*, it is part, albeit with other *ḥurūf*, of a single syntagma, together with the word to which it is connected. We may well obviously wonder if and how the cases listed here can be distinguished, in terms of *qāfiya*, from examples like *kitāb-am, guftam, kitāb-ī, kitābī* and *kitāb-ash*, which, according to Ṭūsī, are all clear cases of words followed by the *waṣl*.[23] Lastly, we must consider cases like *ghamhā, khudā-st* and *mihtar*, in which the *rawī* (*mīm*, *alif* and *hā*) are quiescent, and, therefore, according to Ṭūsī, the *ḥurūf* which follow cannot be defined as *waṣl*.

There are problems also with some more elaborate cases, in which the *rawī* is still followed by several *ḥurūf*, divided this time, however, between various suffixes. Thus, a syntagma like *zadam-ash*, in which the *ḥurūf* (*mīm* and *shīn*) after the *rawī* (*dāl)* cannot be considered from Ṭūsī's point of view as part of a *qāfiya* (given that the *waṣl*, i.e. the *mīm*, is moving) but rather part of the *radīf*. This means that the *mīm* of the ending *am* attached to *zad* should be defined as *waṣl* or not, according to whether it ends the syntagma (which is the case with *zadam*) or whether it is followed by another suffix (the case with *zadam-ash*). This clearly illustrates the distinguishing function that Ṭūsī accords to the *waṣl*, but also the contradictory consequences of its practical application: the value and function of the *mīm* in *zadam*, in terms of linguistic structure, are in fact the same in both cases.

Thus, by applying in a consequential and rigorous way Ṭūsī's logic and rules for the *waṣl*, we find various lacunae (none of the cases of several-letter endings and suffixes mentioned above is included in the 14 types of *qāfiya* described by Ṭūsī) and some contradictions.

The uncertainty in this case is not cleared up by Ṭūsī's theory about the *radīf*, which is defined in very loose terms as regards its structure. Indeed, according to Ṭūsī, the *radīf* need not coincide with graphically independent words but may be identified by a single *ḥarf* or a sequence of *ḥurūf* suffixed to a *qāfiya* (in this way, several-letter endings or suffixes like those mentioned above may very easily be considered as *radīf*). On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the various samples of *radīf* advanced by Ṭūsī (apart from the exceptions in Chapter 9) are effectively in line with Shams-i Qays's traditional, canonic model. Consequently, Ṭūsī's heterodox theory is not corroborated by adequate examples that could have made it clearer. In short, the overall picture gives rise to various uncertainties and is unsatisfactory in terms of coherence.[24]

[23] A useful indication in this context is that in Arabic the *waṣl* only occurs a few times as the first element of a suffix: this may have led Ṭūsī to overlook similar structures in Persian, i.e. endings and suffixes of several letters.

[24] Incidentally, Ṭūsī pertinently remarks that the status of the *radīf* is linked to the repetition of the signifier and not the signified and, therefore, it may have several meanings in the same poem (Iqbālī 2000: 296): this is corroborated by normal verse-making practice (see the cases of *tajnīs-i tāmm* in the *radīf* po-

This brings to an end our example of a comparative analysis of the *ḥurūf* in a *qāfiya*, as described by Shams-i Qays and Ṭūsī. As we have seen, both adopted the guidelines of the Arabic system, and then, according to their own personal sensibility and attitude, introduced changes to make up for the differences between the two languages. Clearly both of their revisions are key moments in reconstructing the historical development of theories about the *ḥurūf* in Persian *qāfiya*. But it is equally clear that, given the differences in the two approaches, it would have been impossible, for the scholarly community, to accept both at the same time. As we know, Shams-i Qays's system won the upper hand in history to the present day, establishing itself as the dominant model and a reference point for theory on Persian *qāfiya*. Probably the specific key reason underlying the failure of Ṭūsī's theory was the unsolved or at least obscure issue of the substance and function of the *waṣl* and *radīf*. But Ṭūsī was also hindered by his exposition which, compared with Shams-i Qays's didactic and systematic style, is characterized by a difficult and less immediate manner, at times also involute, thus discouraging any revival or re-presentation of his work.[25]

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sition). Shams-i Qays's corresponding definition, whereby the *radīf* implies the repetition, after the *qāfiya*, of words identical both in form and meaning (Shams-i Qays 1959–60: 258), is clearly restrictive and misleading, compared with actual usage.

[25] For a similar view, see Fashārakī in Shams-i Qays (1994–5*b*: 8–14).

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Medical Sanskrit. An Exercise in Translating and Interpreting Sanskrit Medical Literature

KENNETH G. ZYSK, Copenhagen

This paper, which is extracted from a larger, on-going study of potency-therapy in traditional Indian medicine, focuses on medical recipes in Sanskrit and a way in which they can be translated and interpreted. It is divided into three parts. The introduction presents the problem and the source materials. This is followed by a translation of a medical recipe, and finally an interpretation based on philological and historical analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Originally preserved in Sanskrit, Vaidyakaśāstra or the traditional system of Indian medicine, has held an important place in brahminic literature and has received the attention of learned men for the past one and half millennia. The scholars of this traditional system of knowledge (*śāstra*) were a unique type of savant, who combined the knowledge of Sanskrit with practical training in medicine. This blending of scholarship and practice has given rise to a form of Sanskrit composition that can best be described as medical Sanskrit and in certain respects has affinity with the medical writings preserved in ancient Greek and Latin. Both verse- and prose-passages tend to be very terse, including only the most essential information and sometimes challenging the generally accepted boundaries of grammatical correctness.

With a special interest in exploring how Sanskrit medical literature can be used to provide a window into the culture surrounding the life of a healer in ancient India, I have chosen to study potency therapy (*vājīkaraṇam*), which, traditionally, is reckoned as the second of the eight limbs (*aṣṭāṅgam*) Āyurveda. The way in which potency therapy cuts across the boundary of medicine and culture opens the possibility for a wider scope of interpretation.

The selection comes from the second chapter in the book of medical treatment (*cikitsāsthānam*) in the medical compendium attributed to Caraka (*Caraka Saṃhitā*). The chapter is divided into four quarters (*pādam*), each of which contains a set of potency-formulas. The first recipe in each quarter serves as the basis for the remaining formulas and is therefore the most important recipe of that quarter.

The passage I have chosen for illustration deals with the formula for the preparation of potency pills made from sixty-day rice. Since it is the first recipe in the second quarter, it has received special attention from the commentators. The way in which they present their material gives an opportunity to observe different literary styles, and the information contained in their commentaries provides a basis for interpretation.

Sources

The source for the original formula is the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, whose date is uncertain; but it is generally accepted that it was known as a medical compendium in the early centuries A.D. The edition published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press (1941) serves as the standard Sanskrit text. Variant readings from other printed editions have been noted. Wherever possible the preferred reading follows that found in the earliest commentary by Jejjaṭa. Caraka's root text is translated below together with the four extant commentaries. Both the Sanskrit text and the text-critical notes are found in the endnotes.

The commentaries themselves fall into two distinct categories: older and younger. The former are those of Jejjaṭa and Cakrapāṇidatta; and the latter are the commentaries of Gaṅgādhara Kavirāja and Yogīndranāthasena.

The early commentators.

Jejjaṭa's commentary, *Nirantarapadavyākhyā*, relies on numerous authorities whose works are no longer extant. After careful examination of the data, Jan Meulenbeld places Jejjaṭa in the seventh, or at the latest, in the eighth century A.D.; he is said to have been a student of Vāhaṭa, who may have been the same as the celebrated medical author Vāgbhaṭa, to whom are attributed two compilations of medicine, the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya Saṃhitā*. It is possible, however, that the two texts were composed by different Vāgbhaṭas.[1]

Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary, *Āyurvedadīpikā*, relies heavily on the *Nirantarapadavyākhyā* but also draws on other authorities and offers opinions that differ from Jejjaṭa. Cakrapāṇidatta or Cakra was the son of Nārāyaṇa, the minister of king Nayapāla of Bengal. As it is known that the king's reign was from 1038–55, the most likely period of Cakra's literary activity is the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D.[2]

The later commentators.

Gaṅgādhara's commentary, *Jalpakalpataru*, relies on Cakra's *Āyurvedadīpikā*, and an extensive knowledge of the living tradition of āyurveda; yet the author also quotes, among others, from the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, an early Sanskrit medical treatise whose special focus is surgery. Gaṅgādhara was born in 1798 or 1799 in the village of Yaśohara or Māyurā in the district Jessore, which, now, lies in Bangla Desh. He learned Sanskrit and āyurveda, and became a renowned physician. Before his death in 1884 or 1885, he was a key figure in the āyurveda's revival movement in nineteenth-century Bengal.[3]

Yogīndranāthasena's commentary, *Carakopaskāra*, depends on both the *Āyurvedadīpikā* and the *Jalpakalpataru*, and quotes, among others, from both the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* and the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha*. Yogīndranāthasena was born in 1871

[1] HIML, 1A: 191–94, 597–602; 1B: 295–300, 677–81.
[2] HIML, 1A: 182–85; 1B: 284–86; 2A: 92–93; 2B: 110–11.
[3] HIML, 1A: 186–87; 1B: 287–89.

in Bengal and was a pupil of Gaṅgādhara. He learned āyurveda in the traditional manner from his father; and before his death in 1931, he was a renowned physician, on whom the Government of India bestowed the title "Jewel of Physicians" (*vaidya-ratna*) in 1922.[4]

In their explanations of potency-therapy, all the commentators employ a kośa-style method of glossing the names of drugs. The examination of the vernacular names of different plants reveals that the four probably lived in the region corresponding to 19th-century Bengal, although the exact location of Jejjaṭa is uncertain. The manuscript tradition seems to favour South India. In general, grammatical explanations and discussions of opposing points of view are not common in this literature. However, when they do occur, they are found more in the earlier than in the later commentators.

Jejjaṭa is especially important because he provides information about his surrounding culture and society from a distinct period and place, while Cakra's comments tend to be summaries of Jejjaṭa, quotations from other sources, alternative opinions or mere glosses. Gaṅgādhara offers the crucial missing details for the preparations of the various formulas, while Yogīndranāthasena condenses Gaṅgādhara, supplements him or outright disagrees with him, and offers his own explanation. The striking difference between the old and the new commentaries is that the latter two provide all of the steps necessary to complete the preparation of the formulas, while the former two give only the most essential information that is wanting in Caraka's original.

As in the recipe for chocolate cake, the quantities of ingredients, along with the sequence in which they are added, are crucial for a successful cake, so also were they in the medical formulas. Therefore, the medical commentators often engaged in discussions about these issues. Since Jejjaṭa was closest to the original sources of the recipes, wherever possible, his opinion is preferred. However, it should also be noted that variations offered by subsequent commentators were not always matters of language or textual interpretation, but reflected often change and innovation based on many years of experience.

TRANSLATION

To date, no full translation of all the commentaries exists. P.V. Sharma provides only a summary of them, and R.S. Sharma gives a clumsy rendering of Cakra alone.[5] Since the guiding principle in this exercise has been the presentation of both the style and the content of the original in the form of a translation, a certain amount of patience and persistence is required in the reading of the translation. The challenge facing any translator is to offer an accurate rendering in the manner intended

[4] HIML, 1A: 199–200; 1B: 307–08.

[5] See Priya Vrat Sharma, editor-translator, *Caraka-Saṃhitā*, Vol. IV (Cikitsāsthāna to Siddhisthāna), (Varanasi and Delhi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1994) p. 36; and Ram Karan Sharma and Vaidya Bhagavan Dash, trans. *Agniveśa's Caraka Saṃhitā*, Vol. III (Chikitsāsthāna Chapters 1–14), (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1988. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 94), pp. 82–83.

author. In the case of medical Sanskrit, the translator's job is complicated, he is faced with the additional task of conveying both the author's literary quality and his practical knowledge.

The English names of plants are provided where there is a reasonable certainty of correct identification, otherwise they remain in the original Sanskrit. Plant synonyms offered by the commentators are also kept in the original Sanskrit. Insertions found in the translation derive, wherever possible, from the early commentators.

Caraka Saṃhit, Cikitsāsthāna, 2.2.3–9:

{Offspring-Producing Pills Made of Sixty-day Rice, etc.
(*apatyakarī ṣaṣṭikādiguṭikā*)}

Having pounded, in a mortar, clean [i.e., white] sixty-day rice (*ṣaṣṭikaḥ*), which is moist, swollen, and on which milk has been poured, [the physician] should squeeze [it], after it has been mashed in the milk. Having obtained that extract, after it has been filtered, the physician should boil [it] with cow's milk, combined with an [equal] amount of cowage-seeds (*ātmaguptā*) and an extract of coriander (*dhānyam*) and black grams *māṣaḥ*) [and an equal (i.e., small) amount of each of the extracts of the following]:

heart leaved sida (*balā*)
both three lobed kidney bean and māṣaparṇī (*śūrpaparṇī*)
cork swallow wort (*jīvantī*)
jīvakaḥ (*jīvakaḥ*)
ṛddhiḥ
ṛṣabhakaḥ
kākolī
small caltrops (*śvadaṃṣṭrā*)
liquorice (*madhukam*)
asparagus (*śatāvarī*)
milky yam (*vidārī*)
grapes (*drākṣā*)
dates (*kharjūram*).

After that, he should scatter into [it equal amounts of] powdered *tugākṣīrī*-mineral,[6] powdered black gram (*māṣaḥ*), powdered śāli-rice, powdered sixty-day rice [grain] (*ṣaṣṭikaḥ*), and powdered wheat (*godhūmaḥ*), by means of which the decoction should become thick.

He should now form the thickened [decoction], after [it has been sweetened with] ample honey (*madhu*) and ground white sugar (*śarkarā*), into large pills equal in size to jujubes (*badaram*), and should fry them in clarified butter (*śarpiḥ*). Even an old [man], who uses them according to his digestive fire, [and then] consumes milk

[6] At CaCi 2.1.24cd–33ab, Jejjaṭa explains that tugākṣīrī is a mineral substance; Cakrapāṇidatta, confirms this, but also explains that it is also known as bamboo manna (*vaṃśalocanā*), which is followed by the two later commentators. Jejjaṭa's understanding is maintained, as being the earliest. Moreover, it reflects possible alchemical influences.

and meat-broth, sees abundant offspring; and [his] self-generated [semen] is not lost.[7]

J: Some declare that it is boiled with milk and not with water. That is not so: āsiktakṣīrāḥ [means] those on which milk has been poured. Thus, folk (*lokaḥ*), on their part, say that sixty-day rice grains are saturated in milk (*pītadugdhāḥ*). With respect to "clean sixty-day rice, which is moist, swollen, and on which milk has been poured" (*āsiktakṣīram āpūrṇam aśuṣkaṃ śuddhaṣaṣṭikam*), it is said that this is the meaning: One should press in milk, moist, i.e., young; and clean, i.e., white, sixty-day rice gains, which have been crushed, i.e., pulverised, i.e., pressed between the thumb and forefingers (*kūrcanena*); [and] after filtering it, "he should thoroughly boil (*sādhayet*)"—here, the verb is sidhyate [from root *sidh*]—the extract with an equal quantity of cow's milk along with the extracts, in equal, which is supplied [in the text], i.e., in small quantity, of those beginning with the heart leaved sida and ending with dates. And [then], he should scatter into [it], in insignificant quantities, the powders of those beginning with black grams. [This] has not been mentioned, because it is already expressed in the word "scattering" (*āvāpaḥ*). They address [it, saying]: the scattering is [like] moon-

[7] CaCi 2.2.3–9:

āsiktakṣīram āpūrṇam aśuṣkaṃ śuddhaṣaṣṭikam/
udūkhale samāpothya pīḍayet kṣīramarditam// 3
gṛhītvā taṃ rasaṃ pūtaṃ gavyena payasā saha/
bījānām ātmaguptāyā dhānyamāṣarasena ca// 4
balāyāḥ śūrpaparṇyoś ca jīvantyā jīvakasya ca
ṛddhyarṣabhakakākolīśvadaṃṣṭrāmadhukasya ca// 5
śatāvaryā vidāryāś ca drākṣākharjūrayor api/
saṃyuktaṃ mātrayā vaidyaḥ sādhayet tatra cāvapet// 6
tugākṣīryāḥ samāṣāṇāṃ śālīnāṃ ṣaṣṭikasya ca/
godhūmānāṃ ca cūrṇāni yaiḥ sa sāndrībhaved rasaḥ// 7
sāndrībhūtaṃ ca kuryāt tu prabhūtamadhuśarkaram/
gulikā badarais tulyās tāś ca sarpiṣi bharjayet// 8
tā yathāgni prayuñjānaḥ kṣīramāṃsarasāśanaḥ/
paśyaty apatyaṃ vipulaṃ vṛddho 'py ātmajam akṣayam// 9
(ity apatyakarī ṣaṣṭikādiguṭikā)

VP: 53–59, G: 2, Y: 2–8.
3d, G: kṣīramoditam, "mixed with milk." (The word moditam in this compound is from the tenth class root mud, "to mix").
Added line (as 4a), NSPC (var), VP (54ab), G, Y(2cd replaces 3cd), GK (g), J (var): kṣuṇṇaṃ [GK (g): ślakṣṇaṃ] vimarditaṃ [G, Y, GK (g): vimṛditaṃ] kṣīre [GK (g): kṣīraṃ] pīḍayet susamāhitaḥ, "The very steadfast [physician] should [again] squeeze the pulverised [GK (g): soft] [rice], after it has been mashed in milk." The repetition they create with 3d points to textual corruption. Since J does not indicate the correct reading, NSPC's version, which omits the line, has been retained.
4a (54c), VP: gṛhītvāntarasaṃpūtaṃ, "having obtained the internally pure [juice]."
5a, G: sūpyaparṇyoś ca; GK (t): śūrpaparṇyāś ca.
5cd (55cd), NSPC (var), J (edition: var): ṛṣabhasya ca kākolīmadhukānāṃ rasena ca; VP: ṛddhārṣabha-ka-; Y: ṛddhyṛṣabhaka-; GK (ga, tha, gha): -kākolīmadhukānāṃ rasena ca; GK (pa): -kākolīmadhukasya rasena vā.
7a, G: tugākṣīryāḥ samānānāṃ.
7d (57d), VP: yaḥ sa (mistake ?).
8a All editions: sāndrībhūtaṃ ca taṃ kuryāt; NSPC: taṃ is wanting. Reading follows J.
8b, G(var): pratatamadhuśarkaram; JV: sarpiṣi sādhayet, "should cook [it] in clarified butter."
8c (7c, 58c), VP, GK (gha): guṭikā; G, Y: guḍikā.
9b, JV: kṣīramāṃsarasāyanaḥ, "[and then] has milk and meat as rejuvination-therapy" (?).
Title, Y: ity apatyakarī ṣaṣṭikāguḍikā.

ıers, on their part, consider it as a precept, that as soon as there is scattering, it be-
ɜr too thick nor too runny. This is the formula of pills.

C: "On which milk has been poured" (*āsiktakṣīram*) [means] enlarged by moistening with milk. To wit, it is mentioned in the *Jatūkarṇa*, beginning: "cooked sixty-day rice grain enlarged by moistening with milk" (*kṣīrasekavṛddhaṃ ṣaṣṭikaṃ pakvam*). "Clean sixty-day rice" (*śuddhaṣaṣṭikam*) is white sixty-day rice. In this [formula], there is equal quantity of the extracts beginning with that of the heart leaved sida;[9] or else, because the word "quantity" (*mātrā*) means little (*alpa*), there is a small amount of the extracts beginning with that of the heart leaved sida. After they have been scattered into [the decoction], [Ātreya] mentions the reason (*pramāṇam*) for the powders, [with that beginning with] "by means of which the decoction becomes thick" (*yaiḥ sa sāndrībhaved rasaḥ*). It means that the thickness of the decoction depends on the amount of powder used.[10] Abundance (*prabhūtatvam*) means that the excessive sweetness is to be determined by the amount of honey and ground white sugar [added].[11] And, in this case, only because of the formula's superiority, is there no opposition to the use of fire during the frying-process of the formula, even though it includes honey, [for normally, honey is never to be subjected to fire or high heat]. Thus, indeed, also in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* [at Ci 10.11–12], honey is brought into a very close association with fire in the iron preparations with the three myrobalans (*triphalāyaskṛtiḥ*). "That born of itself" (*ātmajam*) is the self-generated semen produced from sexual excitement.

G: [Now] that beginning "has been poured" (*āsikta*). "That on which milk has been poured" (*āsiktakṣīram*) means [this:] Having cut, i.e., having fetched from the field only sixty-day rice, i.e., sixty-day rice grain, which was not cut in the field; which is plump, i.e., a little full; [and] moist, i.e., fresh grain that resembles the [colour] of milk,[12] pure, i.e., free from dust, [and] that has been soaked, i.e., tossed in cow's milk, [and] when it is mixed with the milk (reading: *kṣīramoditam*), i.e., when it becomes full as if it were fomented with milk, then, after pounding, i.e., grinding, it in a mortar, [the physician] should squeeze [it]. [Following his textual reading which adds a line:] Having squeezed it to obtain the extract, after that, having once again and additionally crushed that pulverised sixty-day rice, i.e., which has already been crushed, in cow's milk, the very steadfast [physician] should again, squeeze, i.e., strain, the extract through a cloth. The physician should cook, i.e., boil, it over a low fire, after having obtained the pure extract, and combined it with cow's milk in equal quantity to the extract of that [rice], along with the following: the extract, i.e., the decoction, of cowage-seeds equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of coriander equal to the [rice-]extract, a decoction of black grams equal to the [rice-] extract, a decoction of heart leaved sida equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of both three lobed kidney bean and māṣaparṇī (*sūpyaparṇyoḥ= mudgamāṣaparṇyoḥ*) equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of cork swallow wort equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of jīvakaḥ equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of ṛddhiḥ equal to the

[8] There is difficulty in the J's reading: āvāpaś candrapāda ity āmananti. The verb āmananti is unattested in Sanskrit lexicons, but it many be based on a Prakrit form of the denominative of mantra + ā, cf. Pāli, āmanteti, which would mean, "they address," "they speak to." The word candrapādaḥ is attested only two times, and has the metaphorical and poetical meaning "the moon's foot," i.e., moonbeam. Because of the use of candrapādaḥ, the meaning of āmananti may also fit the poetic context. P.V. Sharma misunderstands the phrase, and explains the meaning as "āvāpa is taken as a quarter" (*Caraka Saṃhitā*, Vol. 4, p. 36).

[9] The translation is free. G reads (better?): mātrā balādirasānāṃ tulyamānatā, "the quantity of juices beginning with that of the heart-leaf sida (*balā*) is the same amount."

[10] The translation is free. G reads: yāvatā tena cūrṇena…bhavati, tāvan mātraṃ….

[11] The translation is free. G reads: pratatatvaṃ madhuśakarayor…tāvaj jñeyaṃ, "extensiveness … means…".

[12] Reading: īṣat pūrṇaṃ kṣīrābhaśasyam for īṣat pūrṇakṣīrābhaśasyam.

[rice-]extract, the extract of ṛṣabhakaḥ equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of kākolī equal to the [rice-] extract, the extract of small caltrops equal to the [rice-]extract, the decoction of liquorice, i.e., yaṣṭīmudhakam, equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of asparagus equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of milky yam, i.e., bhūmikuṣmāṇḍaḥ, equal to the [rice-]extract, the extract of grapes equal to the [rice-]extract, and the decoction of dates equal to the [rice-]extract. Into one fourth of it that remains [after boiling], he should, scatter, i.e., toss, the powder of śāli-rice equal to (reading: *samānānām*) tugākṣīrī, i.e., vaṃśalocana, the powder of sixty-day rice grain equal to the tugākṣīrī, and the powder of wheat equal to the tugākṣīrī. The meaning of "by means of which" (*yaiḥ*) is that he should toss into that decoction an equal amount of each of tugākṣīrī, etc., that is required to thicken the decoction. Next, he should sweeten the thickened decoction with ground white sugar equal to abundant honey. Next, he should form pills (reading: *guḍikāḥ*) equal in size to jujubes. Finally, he should fry the pills in fresh clarified butter. He, who uses three, four, or five pills, according to his digestive fire, should be in the habit of consuming milk and meat-broth, nothing else. Even an old man, who uses this [formula], and, being one who [then] consumes milk and meat-broth, sees abundant, i.e., many, i.e., numerous [and] self-generated, offspring, who are undiminished, i.e., long-living. By means of this [formula], longevity is proclaimed to be an the old man's power to generate such [long-lived] sons. Otherwise, how should he procreate? This is not mentioned but implied in the word "he sees" (*paśyati*). The pill made from sixty-day rice, etc. is a formula that brings about offspring.

Y: [Now] beginning with "[that] on which milk has been poured" (*āsiktakṣīram*), [Ātreya] explains the first formula. āsiktakṣīram means that on which there is milk. The meaning is "enlarged by moistening with milk." It is stated by Jatūkarṇa, beginning with "cooked sixty-day rice grain, enlarged by moistening with milk." [Following Y's text]: The physician, being very steadfast, should press in the milk (*kṣīre=dugdhe*) plump, i.e., slightly full; non-dry, i.e., moist; [and] clean sixty-day rice; that is, white sixty-day rice, that has been pulverised, i.e., mashed together, [and] crushed (*vimṛditam=virmarditam*) in a mortar. Next, after having squeezed, i.e., having obtained the extract, purified; that is, having strained it through a cloth, the physician should cook, i.e., boil, that extract together with milk over a low fire, [and] after it has been mixed with [the following:] the extract of the seeds of cowages, i.e., śūkaśimbī, the juice of coriander, i.e., dhanyākam, and of black gram, as well as [the extract] of the sum total of [the following:] heart leaved sida, three lobed kidney bean and māṣaparṇī (*sūpyaparṇyoḥ = mudgamāṣaparṇyoḥ*), cork swallow wort, jīvakaḥ, ṛddhiḥ, ṛṣabhakaḥ, kākolī, small caltrops, and liquorice, i.e., yaṣṭīmadhu, and the extract of asparagus, milky yam, grapes and dates; that is: along with the extracts of the thirteen drugs beginning with heart leaved sida and ending with dates, in an equal amount, i.e., the quantity is the same amount.[13] Into one fourth of that decoction that remains [after boiling], he should scatter, i.e., toss, as much powder of the following that is required to thicken the decoction: the powder of tugākṣīrī, i.e., vaṃśalocanā, black grams, śāli-rice, sixty-day rice, and wheat. After that, he should mix that thickened decoction with ample honey and ground white sugar. Next, having formed it into pills (reading: *guḍikāḥ*) equal in size to jujubes, he should fry them in clarified butter. In this case, because of the formula's superiority and because of the use of different drugs, there is no opposition to the use of fire during the frying process of the formula, even though it contains honey. After that, taking daily those pills fried in clarified butter, according to the power of his digestive fire; i.e., in a quantity corresponding to the power of his digestive fire, and [than] consuming milk and meat-soup, even an old man sees abundant, i.e., numerous or many, undiminished, i.e., long-lived, self-generated offspring; or else, he sees abundant offspring, and also, semen is not lost, i.e., it is self-generated because it is generated from himself, the man, who is sexually aroused.

[13] Here Y follows G's reading of C, i.e., mātrā tulyamānatā. See above note 9.

INTERPRETATION: PHILOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Although there is agreement in 75–80% of the readings from the various textual sources cited in the different editions, Caraka's root text is far from perfect. In this regard, the various commentators discuss difficulties arising from a disputed reading and differences in the identification of plants and in the interpretation of parts of the recipe. Some of these problems may eventually be resolved by a close examination of the manuscripts, which will be part of the next phase of the project. At this point, 75–80 percent textual clarity is more than sufficient to venture a reasonable interpretation of the root text and its commentaries.

In terms of the steps and procedures for preparing the formula, the early commentators provide only essential information, leaving the responsibility of supplying the majority of the details to the later commentators. However, when seen as a process of recipe formulation and presentation, each commentator's contribution in turn gives a little more information, so that when taken together the commentators have provided a reasonably clear recipe.

The older commentators supply the following information: J explains that the milk saturates the rice grains and directs that these saturated grains should be crushed by squeezing them between the thumbs and forefingers. C, citing the ancient medical authority, Jatūkarṇa,[14] shows that the milk makes the grains swell. J states that "equal" should be inserted into the text, to make "equal quantity;" and that it ultimately refers to a small amount. C, follows J, but mentions another possibility: either the meaning is that the quantities are equal or combined it is a small amount. J specifies that the powder is scattered into the liquid in small amounts to the accompaniment of a mantra that compares the powder to moonbeams. When done in this way the resulting decoction is neither too thick nor too thin. The use of the mantra points to a kind of ritual procedure, which traditionally is thought to imbue the substance with a special power. C refers only to the scattering and the quantity of the powder, but also provides an explanation why honey can be subjected to heat in this case, when it is generally not to be heated.

Among the younger commentators, G gives the missing details necessary for making the formula. It would appear that this information was passed down to him from his guru, as he cites no textual authority. He spells out the process by which the rice is to be collected, all the quantities to be used, and each and every step in the processing of the ingredients. Y follows both C and G.

In addition to providing details, the later commentators also offer variations in the preparation of the formula. Both G and Y understand that the rice is crushed and squeezed twice, before it is purified by straining. This crucial step is due to the reading of an extra line in the root text, which is not mentioned by the early commentators. The result of the twofold pressing is that the rice is turned into pap.

In the middle part of the formula, J understands there to be a small quantity of each of those plants beginning with the heart leaved sida. C acknowledges this, but prefers an alternative: there is an equal amount of the total extract collected from all

[14] From C and Y, it is clear that the book and the author bear the same name. According to Meulenbeld, Jātukarṇa was a celebrated author of a medical textbook and one of the six principal disciples of Ātreya. Medical treatises bearing the names *Jātūkarṇyatantram* and *Jātūkarṇyasaṃhitā* only occur in manuscripts (HIML, 1A: 161–62; 1B: 253–54).

the plants. G tries to clarify this by showing that each of the extracts is in a quantity corresponding to that of the rice-extract or pap. Y follows C and explains that the plants include those beginning with heart leaved sida and ending with dates. From these commentators' discussions it is clear that the quantities of the secondary ingredients were in doubt, and that the interpretations they offered relied most likely on practical experience. G's formulation would result in large quantities of secondary constituents whose excess would have the final effect of overpowering the rice-pap, which by design is the recipe's principal ingredient. C, followed by Y, provides a plausible alternative; but because of J's proximity to the original source of the recipe, his interpretation is preferred.

When viewed over time, the collected efforts of the commentators provide the complete recipe. J and C offer clarification about the squeezing process, the thickening process, and the quantities of the ingredients; C, G and Y explain why honey can be exposed to heat; and G gives quantities used and describes the process of filtration; while Y provides clarification of the amounts of the ingredients. The gradual process of revealing the formula through the commentarial tradition is characteristic of āyurvedic potency-therapy.

An examination of the formula's stated effects offers an opportunity to view potency-therapy in a wider cultural context. This formula is said to give two results. The first is abundant offspring (*apatyaṃ vipulam*) and the second, semen-retention, is explained by the expression: that, which is self-generated (*ātmajam*), is not lost (*akṣayam*).

Because many children and retention of semen appear to be mutually contradictory ideas, C, G and Y took up the problem and presented different solutions. J does not discuss it. C understands "self-generated" to mean semen. In this case, the formula helps a man enjoy sexual intercourse without losing his semen. However, this contradicts the formula's first result, abundant offspring. Therefore, G takes the word *akṣayam* with *apatyam* in the sense of offspring who have a long life-span. Y mentions this, but offers his own explanation, based on C: semen is not lost, because it is self-generated by a sexually aroused man.

Elsewhere in the chapter on potency-therapy, the word "non-loss" (*akṣayam*) implies semen (*śukram*) and refers to the ability to enjoy sexual intercourse without ejaculation. Likewise, in several recipes given in the chapter, coitus without ejaculation resulted from formulas which, among other things, involved alchemical processes. Moreover, they often used as their basic formula, a recipe, which derived from a local tradition and was recognised as giving a man virility.[15]

[15] In addition to the second, each of the other three quarters of chapter on potency-therapy contains formulas that result in the non-loss of semen during coitus:
2.1.33ab, a potency-producing clarified butter that includes tugākṣīrī-mineral: *ya icched akṣayaṃ śukraṃ śephasaś cottamaṃ balam*;
2.1.46cd, a sexually stimulating meat dish made from sparrows: *na tasya liṅgaśaithilyaṃ syān na śukrakṣayo niśi*;
2.3.7cd, a recipe made with milk from a special milch cow: *...prauoktavyam icchatā śukram akṣayam*. Cf. 2.3.11, where this same milk is fortified by boiling it with red-hot gold rings;
2.3.13cd, a sexually stimulating long peppercorn formula, utilising the milk from a special milch cow: *bhuktvā na rātrim astabdhaṃ liṅgaṃ paśyati nā kṣarat*;
2.4.13cd, sexually stimulating meatballs and meat soup: *taṃ pibaṃ bhakṣayaṃs tāś ca labhate śukram akṣayam*; and
2.4.16cd, sexually stimulating buffalo meat soup: *bhuktaḥ pītaś ca sa rasaḥ kurute śukram akṣayam*.

It appears that the formula for pills made form sixty-day rice could well have been one of these formulas from a local tradition. Especially the early commentators, Jejjaṭa and Cakrapāṇidatta, provide several clues that point in this direction, while the later commentators are ignorant of such indigenous origins. First, the earliest meaning of *tugākṣīrī* as a type of mineral, which is given elsewhere by J,[16] indicates that it could have been an alchemical substance. From the time of C onwards, however, it was generally accepted to be a plant product, bamboo manna. Secondly, J states that this important formula was familiar to the "folk" (*lokaḥ*); and thirdly, J instructs that the sprinkling of the powder is to be done while reciting a special mantra. The information provided by J, along with C's understanding that one of the formula's benefits is non-loss of semen during lovemaking, suggests that this formula could have derived from local folk, who considered it to be a powerful potency-therapy. Likewise, it may well have been used both by men who desired coitus without ejaculation and by men who wanted many offspring. Furthermore, it is not inconceivable that in the place from where this formula derived, there were people who were familiar with the potency-causing effects of certain minerals, a knowledge that became the cornerstone of Rasaśāstra or Indian medical alchemy.

As noticed, a crucial component of the formula's preparation required the recitation of a mantra. A similar use of mantras in the context of medical formulas looks back to the medical rituals connected with the *Atharvaveda*.[17] At the time of Jejjaṭa, ritual procedures of the same kind were common among certain groups of ascetics, who where known to worship the god Śiva. Moreover, a characteristic of these ascetics was the ritual practice of coitus without ejaculation.[18] Therefore, after the examination and analysis of the information provided by the early commentators, especially Jejjaṭa, and a certain amount of interpretative licence, we could conceive that the formulas of early Āyurveda's potency-therapy, like the one analysed here, could have derived from the local traditions of folk medicine that incorporated recipes from women's kitchens with knowledge of alchemy utilised, among others, by certain groups of ascetics.

The information obtained from the philological and historical analysis of this passage follows a general pattern of potency-therapy in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, which consists of four characteristics:

1. The commentarial tradition gradually reveals the formulas in their entirety over the course of time. This might indicate that they were originally secret, and only known to the initiated, and eventually lost their exclusivity;
2. The formulas derive from local culinary traditions;
3. Alchemy was an integral part of many of the formulas; and
4. The formulas were used by men who wished to make love without ejaculation of semen and by men who desired abundant offspring. The former points to certain ascetic traditions and the later to influence from the brahminism.

[16] See, above, note 6.

[17] See K.G. Zysk, *Medicine in the Veda. Religious healing in the Veda* (Delhi: Motital Banarsidass, 1996; Indian Medical Tradition, Vol. 1), *passim*.

[18] See among others Mircea Eliade, *Yoga. Immorality and Freedom* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 59, 134, 249, 254–73, and 406.

Furthermore, these characteristics point to important interactions between medicine and the surrounding culture in ways hitherto unknown: Indian medicine owed part of its early development to local, folk and culinary traditions, alchemical traditions, and ascetic traditions. In order to purse this line of interpretation further, two mutually supportive types of investigation are required: a detailed reading and analysis of the parallels and variants in subsequent Sanskrit medical literature and close inspection of the manuscripts of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* currently being collected under the auspices of the Austrian Science Fund. When completed, the two studies will deepen the analysis already begun and hopefully will provide a fine-tuning to the interpretation offered in this paper.

Abbreviations

{ }	Insertions by editors
C	Cakrapāṇidatta
G	Caraka Saṃhitā with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta and Gaṅgādhara
GK()	Caraka Saṃhitā, ed. and published by Gulābkuṇvarbā Āyurveda Society, with variants in parentheses
HIML	Meulenbeld, A History of Indian Medical Literature, 3 Vols.
J	Caraka Saṃhitā with commentary of Jejjaṭa
JV	Caraka Saṃhitā, ed. by Jīnānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācārya
NSPC	Caraka Saṃhitā with commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, edition of Nirṇaya Sāgar Press
VP	Caraka Saṃhitā, edition of Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press
Y	Caraka Saṃhitā with commentary of Yogīndranāthasena
GVDB	Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Bṛhattrayī

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[Gaṅgāviṣṇu Śrīkṛṣṇadāśa, ed.] Śrīmaharṣicarakapraṇītā *Carakasaṃhitā* | sūtra-nidāna-vimāna-śārīra-indriya-cikitsita-kalpa-siddhisthāner(?) vibhāṣitā gaṅgāviṣṇu śrīkṛṣṇadāsa | mālika-"lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara" steam press, Kalyāṇa-baṃbai, saṃvat 1989, śaka, 1854 [A.D. 1931].

[Gulābkuṇvarbā Āyurvedic Society, ed.] Bhagavatā "treyapunavasunopadiṣṭā tac chiṣyeṇa maharṣiṇāgniveśena tantritā carakadṛḍhabalābhyāṃ partisaṃkṛtā *Carakasaṃhitā* | sānvaya-hindī-gurjara, āṅgaleti bhāṣātrayānuvādālaṅkṛtā vividhapāṭhāntaraiḥ saṃyogitā | bhāratvarṣāntargatasaurāṣṭrapadeśe śrī jāmanagare, śrī gulābkuṇvarbā āyurvedik-society ityākhyayā saṃsthayā saṃpāditā prakāśitā ca | tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ | [Jāmnagar: Gulābkuṇvarbā Āyurvedic Society] śakābdaḥ 1871, kristābdaḥ 1949, vikramābdaḥ 2005. Text follows NSPC.

[Śrī Haridatta Śāstrin, ed] Maharṣipunarvasuśiṣyeṇa ṛṣivareṇa agniveśena praṇītā mahāmuninā carakeṇa kāpilabalena dṛḍhabalena ca pratisaṃkṛtā *Carakasaṃhitā* mahāmahopādhyāyacarakacaturānanaśrīcakrapāṇidattaviracitayā Āyurvedadīpikāvyākhyayā (tathā cikitsāsthānataḥ siddhisthānaṃ yāvat) śrīvāgabhaṭaśiṣyācāryavarajajjaṭaviracitayā Nirantarapadavyākhyayā ca saṃvalitā | Āyurvedācāryeṇa Paṇ. Śrīharidattaśāstriṇā saṃśodhitā, pūritajajjaṭaṭīkātruṭitāṃśabhāgā ca | dvitīyo bhāgaḥ lavapurīyapañcābasaṃskṛtapustakālayādhyakṣaiḥ śrīmoltīlāl banārsīdās ity etaiḥ svakīye "mumbai saṃskṛta" ity ākhye mudraṇālaya mudrāpayitvā prakāśitā | (dvitīyāvṛttiḥ) | saṃ 1997, san 1941.

[Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācārya, ed.] *Carakasaṃhitā* | sūtra-nidāna-vimāna-śārīra-indriya-cikitsita-kalpa-siddhisthānātmakā | āyurvedīyā | bhagavatā ātreyeṇa punarvasunā upadiṣṭā agniveśanādheyena

tat śiṣyeṇa viracitā carakābhidhena ṛṣiṇā pratisaṃkṛtā | vi. p. upādhidhāriṇā śrījīvānanda vidyāsāgara bhaṭṭācāryeṇa bahvani ādarśapustakāni samālocya saṃskṛtā prakāśitā ca | sarasvatī yantre mudritā [kalikatānagare] iṃ 1877 śāl.

[Narendranātha Senagupta and Balāicandra Senagupta, ed. and rev.] *Carakasaṃhitā* | mahāmuninā bhagavatāgniveśena praṇītā maharṣicarakeṇa pratisaṃskṛtā carakacaturānanaśrīmaccakrapāṇidattapraṇītayā Āyurvedadīpikākhyaṭīkayā mahāmahopādhyāya-śrīgaṅgādharakaviratnakavirājaviracitayā Jalpakalpatarusamākhyayā ṭīkayā ca samalaṅkṛtā kavirāja śrīnarendranātha senaguptena kavirāja śrībalāicandra senaguptena ca sampāditā saṃśodhitā prakāśitā ca | cikitsita-kalpa-siddhināmakasthānatrayasamanvitaḥ tṛtīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ | prathamaṃ saṃskaraṇam | si. ke. sena eṇḍ kompānī li. 29 naṃ kaluṭolā street, kalikatā | śakābdī 1856 [A.D. 1933]. [Reprinted (from a later edition?) as caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ, Vārāṇasī and Dillī: Chaukhambhā Orientialia, 1991; Vidyāvilāsa āyurvedagranthamālā 1].

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[Rāmaprakāśa Svāmī and Nārāyaṇa Prasādācārya, eds.] *Carakasaṃhitā* | vaidyaratna śrīyogīndranāthasenapraṇītayā Carakopaskārasamākhyayā saṃskṛtavyākhyayā samanvitā (cikitsāsthānam 1–20 avyāyaparyantam) | sampādaḥ vaidyaratna śrīrāmaprakāśaḥ svāmī...vaidyaratna śrīnārāyaṇaprasādācāryaḥ...| sahasampādakaḥ śrībalarāmaḥ svāmī...mohan lāl goṭhecā | prakāśaḥ mantrī "śrīsvāmilakṣmīrāma-trust" saṃsthānaṃ | Jayapuram 1982.

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List of contributors

Hashem Ahmadzadeh, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Helena Bani-Shoraka, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Hans Blomkvist, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Box 514, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Inga Brandell, Dept. of Government, Uppsala University, Box 514, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Georg Buddruss, Institut für Indologie, Universität Mainz, DE-55099 Mainz, Germany.

Éva Á. Csató, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Ashk P. Dahlén, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Sven-Olof Dahlgren, Bondegärdet 19, SE-424 33 Angered, Sweden.

George E. Dunkel, Indogermanisches Seminar der Universität Zürich, Rämistr. 68, CH-8001 Zürich, Switzerland.

Josef Elfenbein, 26 Hamden Way, Papworth Everard, Cambs CB3 8 UG, United Kingdom.

T.Y. Elizarenkova, ul. Sameda Vurguna, d. 5, kv. 49, RU-125315 Moscow A-315, Russia.

Lennart Elmevik, Dept. of Scandinavian Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Mats Eskhult, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

M. A. Eslami Nodooshan, Dept. of Persian Language and Literature, University of Tehran, Enghelab Ave., Tehran, Iran.

Harry Falk, Institut für Indische Philologie und Kunstgeschichte der FU Berlin, Königin-Louise-Str. 34a, DE-14195 Berlin, Germany.

Richard Nelson Frye, Inner Asian and Altaic Studies, Harvard University, 9 Kirkland Place, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA.

Philippe Gignoux, Cahiers de Studia Iranica, 5, allé du Mâconnais, Férolles-Attily, FR-77150 Lésigny, France.

Minoru Hara, International Institute for Advanced Buddhist Studies, 5-3-23 Toranomon, Minato-ku, Tokyo 105, Japan.

Jan Hjärpe, Theologicum, Lund University, Allhelgona Kyrkogata 8, SE-223 62 Lund, Sweden.

Anders Hultgård, Dept. of Theology, Uppsala University, Box 1604, SE-751 46 Uppsala, Sweden.

Bo Isaksson, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Peter Jackson, Svartbäcksgatan 97 B, SE-753 35 Uppsala, Sweden.

Carina Jahani, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

Lars Johanson, Seminar für Orientkunde, Universität Mainz, DE-55099 Mainz, Germany.

Judith Josephson, Mäster Bengts gata 8, SE-412 62 Gothenburg, Sweden.
Sigrid Kahle, Odensg. 5 B, SE-753 15 Uppsala, Sweden.
Eivind Kahrs, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge CB3 9DA, United Kingdom.
Dariush Kargar, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.
Jean Kellens, Collège de France, 11, place Marcelin Berthelot, FR-75231 Paris, cedex 05, France.
Gilbert Lazard, 49, Av. de l'Observatoire, FR-75014 Paris, France.
Torkel Lindquist, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.
Manfred Lorenz, Metzer Str. 35, DE-10405 Berlin, Germany.
Ali Muhaddis, Smålandsv. 3, SE-757 58 Uppsala, Sweden.
Annika Rabo, Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Stockholm University, SE-106 91 Stockholm, Sweden.
Tahere Rahmani, Smålandsv. 3, SE-757 58 Uppsala, Sweden.
Gail Ramsay, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.
Peter Schalk, Dept. of Theology, Uppsala University, Box 1604, SE-751 46 Uppsala, Sweden.
Farhad Shakely, Dept. of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, Box 527, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.
Zahra Shams-Yadolahi, Runöbacken 119, SE-184 41 Åkersberga, Sweden.
Wojciech Skalmowski, 103, Av. des Rogations, BE-1200 Bruxelles, Belgium.
William L. Smith, Indology, Stockholm University, SE-106 91 Stockholm, Sweden.
Jan Stolpe, Reimersholmsgatan 65 NB, SE-117 40 Stockholm, Sweden.
Finn Thiesen, Dept. of East-European and Oriental Studies, University of Oslo, Box 1030, Blindern, NO-0315 Oslo, Norway.
Christopher Toll, Valhallavägen 94, SE-114 27 Stockholm, Sweden.
Marita Wikander, Reimersholmsgatan 65 NB, SE-117 40 Stockholm, Sweden.
Gernot Windfuhr, Department of Near Eastern Studies, The University of Michigan, 2068 Frieze Building, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285, USA.
Riccardo Zipoli, Dipartimento di Studi Eurasiatici, San Polo 2035, IT-30125 Venezia, Italy.
Kenneth G. Zysk, Dept. of Asian Studies, University of Copenhagen, Leifsgade 33, 5, DK-2300 København S, Denmark.

Lazard, Gilbert: *Le mètre du* Draxt asûrîg 327
Lindquist, Torkel: *On the Semantics of 'Terrorism' in Arabic and How the Word is Used in the Press* 337
Lorenz, Manfred: *Bozorg Alavi als Wissenschaftler (Erinnerung an gemeinsame Arbeit)* 343
Muhaddis, Ali: *Three Persian Poems by the Turkish Poet Nash'at* 349
Rahmani, Tahere: *A Historical Poem on the Attack on Iran by the Afghans* . . . 363
Ramsay, Gail: *Styles of Expression in Women's Literature in the Gulf* 371
Schalk, Peter: *From "Do and Die" to "Do or Die". Semantic Transformations of a Lethal Command on the Battlefield in Īlam/Laṃkā* 391
Shakely, Farhad: *My Soul is Intoxicated and my Body is Ruined by a Goblet of Love. Life for a Kurdish Poet in Exile* 399
Shams-Yadolahi, Zahra: *Ali Akbar Dehkhodâ: Author, Philologist and Unique Encyclopaedist* 405
Skalmowski, Wojciech: *Rumi's Deliberate Obscurity: Ghazal 466* 415
Smith, William L.: *Braving the Bangalinis: Women's Kingdoms in North Indian Vernacular Literatures* 421
Stolpe, Jan and Wikander, Marita: *Stig Wikander: Four Kurdish Tales* 429
Thiesen, Finn: *Pseudo-Ḥâfeẓ: A Reading of Wilberforce Clarke's Rendering of* Divân-e Ḥâfeẓ 437
Toll, Christopher: *A Persian Astrolabe from A.H. 1203 / A.D. 1788–1789 by Ḥâǧǧ 'Alî* 461
Windfuhr, Gernot: *Zoroastrian Myth and Constellations:* Hauma *and Zarathushtra* 471
Zipoli, Riccardo: *On the Theory of* qāfiya *in Naṣīr al-Dīn-i Ṭūsī and Shams-i Qays* 479
Zysk, Kenneth G.: *Medical Sanskrit. An Exercise in Translating and Interpreting Sanskrit Medical Literature* 491
List of Contributors

Contents

Ahmadzadeh, Hashem: *From the Mountains of Kurdistan to the Streets of Europe. The problems of adjustment refugees face, as reflected in two Kurdish novels* 5
Bani-Shoraka, Helena: *A Revitalization of the Azerbaijani Language and Identity?* 17
Blomkvist, Hans: *When the Image Becomes Real: The TV Broadcast of* Rāmāyaṇa 25
Brandell, Inga and Rabo, Annika: *Arab Nations and Nationalism: Dangers and Virtues of Transgressing Disciplines* 35
Buddruss, Georg: *Khowar Proverbs Collected by Wazir Ali Shah: From the Posthumous Papers of Professor Georg Morgenstierne* 47
Csató, Éva Á.: *Copied Features of Turkic Reflexives* 67
Dahlén, Ashk P.: *Transcendent Hermeneutics of Supreme Love: Rūmī's Concept of Mystical "Appropriation"* 75
Dahlgren, Sven-Olof: *Arabs in Central and Eastern Iran* 89
Dunkel, George E.: *IE* *re *'back, away'* 95
Elfenbein, Josef: *The Oldest Detective Story in World History* 103
Elizarenkova, T.Y.: *On the Uses of* nā́bhi- *in the* Ṛgveda 117
Elmevik, Lennart: *Das nordische Ortsnamenelement* vin *'Weide' und die indogermanischen Wurzeln* *u̯en-, *u̯enH- 125
Eskhult, Mats: *Judges 7: 5–8. A Discussion* 129
Eslami Nodooshan, M.A.: *What Do We Learn from* Shāhnāme*?* 135
Falk, Harry: *Decent Drugs for Decent People: Further Thoughts on the Nature of Soma* 141
Frye, Richard Nelson: *Impressionistic Views of Ancient Iranian History* 157
Gignoux, Philippe: *Une liste du calendrier zoroastrien en pehlevi tardif* 161
Hara, Minoru: *A Note on the Sanskrit Word* kopa 165
Hjärpe, Jan: *Entangled Music* 189
Hultgård, Anders: *"The One Who Was, Who Is and Who Shall Be"—An Indo-European Formula of Divine Omnipotence?* 199
Isaksson, Bo: *The Notion of Diachrony and the Modern Arabic Dialects* 211
Jackson, Peter: *Allusions to the Vala-myth in Yasna 44* 221
Jahani, Carina: *Bilingualism in Sweden: The Example of a Swedish-Iranian Family* 235
Johanson, Lars: *Old Uyghur, Eastern Turki, Modern Uyghur* 257
Josephson, Judith: Dādestān *or 'Judgement' in Middle Persian* 267
Kahle, Sigrid: *Le Monde Oriental, 1906–1946* 275
Kahrs, Eivind: *Yāska and the Meaning of* upasargas 297
Kargar, Dariush: *Jamshid and the Ultrahuman Power of Creation* 305
Kellens, Jean: *Le problème avec Anāhitā* 317

ISSN 0078-6578

(*continued on previous page*)