

# ON BOTH SIDES OF AL-MANDAB



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# ON BOTH SIDES OF AL-MANDAB

Ethiopian, South-Arabic  
and Islamic Studies

presented to

OSCAR LÖFGREN

on his ninetieth birthday

13 May 1988

by colleagues and friends



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# The Chain of al-Mandab

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All those interested in Yemen's past owe a debt of gratitude to Professor O. Löfgren particularly for his edition of Ibn al-Mujāwir's important *Tārīkh al-Mustabšir*<sup>1</sup>. A few years ago, I published a short note<sup>2</sup> on the passage in that work<sup>3</sup> where the author speaks of Bāb al-Mandab and its 'chain'. I would like here to develop that a little further.

In the early fifties, three Sabaic inscriptions were discovered, containing references to a 'chain of al-Mandab' (*sslt/sšlt Mdb-n*), but epigraphists at the time tended to think that this referred not to a real chain but, metaphorically, to a 'réseau de fortifications' (G. Ryckmans) or a chain of coastal hills (A. Jamme). The purpose of my former note was to suggest that a real chain was meant, having as its object the barring of a harbour entrance against enemy landings, and that the topography of Cape Bāb al-Mandab was congruous with this identification, since immediately beside the cape there is a deep inlet (Arabic *chor*) named the Khor Ghurayra, with an extremely narrow entrance »almost closed by two banks«<sup>4</sup>; while from here northwards as far as Mocha, c. 75 km, the coast is reef-bound and affords no harbourage.

When I submitted that note (a year before it appeared in print), I had not yet seen an article by J. Pirenne<sup>5</sup>, in which she too advocated the reality of the chain, but proposed to site it on the southern coastline at the Khor 'Umayra 75 km east of the Straits of Bab al-Mandab, on the supposition that at some time after the date of the inscriptions (6th century CE), the name al-Mandab had got shifted from an earlier location at Khor 'Umayra to the position at the cape. This has obliged her to say that, when the Greek sources concerning the 6th century Abyssinian invasion of Yemen speak of the invaders arriving 'by sea', this ». . . doit signifier 'par l'océan' . . . il nous faut vraisemblablement chercher al-Mandab sur l'océan et non sur la Mer Rouge«; which is not an argument for the siting at Kh. 'Umayra, but consequential on acceptance of it.

Two difficulties in her hypothesis are, firstly that the entrance to the Kh. 'Umayra is a great deal wider than that to the Kh. Ghurayra, and correspondingly less apt for barring with a chain; secondly that I find it extremely unlikely that the Himyarites should have expected the Abyssinians

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis, pars prior*. Leiden 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Two Bi'r Himā inscriptions re-examined, *BSOAS (Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies)* 48, 1985, pp. 50-1.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 95-6.

<sup>4</sup> (British Admiralty) Geographical Handbook ser., *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Maddab (Bab el-Mandab) et le débarquement éthiopien, *Semitica* 33, 1983 (but not issued until 1984), pp. 133 ff.

to sail outside the Straits into the Gulf of Aden in order to make their landing.

In a more recent publication, A. Jamme<sup>6</sup> adheres to his view of the chain as metaphorical, and discredits the whole of Ibn al-Mujāwir's account as nonsensical. It is, however, my view that when a mediaeval scholar gives us an account incorporating some detail which appears nonsensical, we ought not to dismiss the whole account as nonsense, but to try to detect how an authentic detail has been corrupted either by a misunderstanding, or by a copyist's negligence, or both. The passage in question, derived by Ibn al-Mujāwir from a work named *K. al-Mufīd fī akhbār Zabīd* by Abū Tāmī Jayyāsh b. Najāh, contains three main statements at issue. (a) Ships passed *taht* the chain: Jamme supposes this to mean that they would have needed to be submarines to do so! But when the Quran tells us that rivers flow *taht* the gardens of Paradise, we are not to imagine that they were subterranean streams – they simply flow »beside/past (though at a lower level) the gardens« and this is the straightforward interpretation of what the author meant in relation to the chain. (b) The statement *rufi'ati l-silsilatu wa-baqiyat aṭaruhā* »The chain (fem.) was removed but its vestiges remain« is rightly criticised by Jamme on the score of the difficulty of imagining how the vestiges of a chain that had been removed could remain; but it must be read in its context, where it is immediately preceded by mention of a 'fort' (*ḥuṣn*, masc.), and I proposed in my earlier note that this needs emending to *aṭaruhu* »the vestiges of the fort«, which makes perfectly good sense. (c) The expression in the text, *madda bi-silsilatin min barri l-ʿArabi ilā barri l-Ḥabašati mu'āriḍ* is quoted by Jamme with omission of the crucial last word, thus leaving one to conclude that the author has committed the absurdity of envisaging a chain stretching right across the Red Sea. The word *mu'āriḍ* as it appears in the ms is ungrammatical, since it must be adverbial and should have been written *mu'āriḍan*; but this is a quite common fault in mediaeval mss. More importantly, a frequent feature of Arabic stylistic is the placing of an undefined participial form *after* a defined prepositional phrase which it governs; the natural, and indeed virtually the only, way of understanding the phrase is »opposing/opposite to the Abyssinians' coast«. Furthermore, a common copyist's error in mediaeval Arabic mss is confusion between *min* and *fī*, and the very modest emendation to *fī barri l-ʿArabi* »on the Arabian coast, confronting the African coast« (i.e. on the Red Sea, not the Gulf of Aden) exonerates Ibn al-Mujāwir (or his source) from the charge of penning an obvious absurdity.

The Greek *Martyrion Aretha* also envisages a real chain, and moreover one which barred a harbour entrance, the width of which is given as two stadia, c. 370 m, a perfectly feasible length for a chain. The whole chain was made up of fifty *gonatia*, each weighing 3180 *litra*, c. 1950 kg. All this is dismissed by Jamme as wholly imaginary, because he understands *gonation* to mean 'one link' in a chain; and indeed one link of that weight, and measuring 7.5 m (one fiftieth of 370 m), would strain credulity. But the Greek word is nowhere else attested in the sense 'link' of a chain, so evidently it has some other extended sense. The ordinary senses of the word are (a) 'hip-joint', (b) 'knot' or 'joint of a reed'. In English nautical terminology, a 'knot' is the length of a section of cable marked off by knots, and not af 'knot' *per se*. A transference of this kind would make

<sup>6</sup> *Miscellanées d'ancien arabe XIV*, Washington 1985, pp. 110 ff.



good sense in our passage: the chain was forged in segments measuring 7,5 m each, but each made up of an unspecified number of links.

As for the description of how the chain was anchored, even so distinguished a Byzantinist as Professor Cyril Mango tells me that it contains some very obscure technical terms, and he is doubtful of the correct sense of the passage. It would hence be rash for those having less familiarity with Byzantine Greek to discredit the whole passage as nonsensical.

A crucial point in relation to the location of the chain is that according to the Greek document, there was not one Abyssinian landing but two, in two widely different places. The narrative tells us that the Abyssinian flotilla, consisting of 70 ships, steered in the first instance for the spot where the chain was, being unaware of the existence of the chain. A storm arose, and drove one ship onto the chain, breaking it, so that this ship and nine others were blown forward, into the inlet, and anchored there. Of the other 60 ships, 20 were blown 'backwards' to a distance of 12 or 15 stadia (*circa* 2,5 km), and the remaining 40 were sighted three days later off a point on the coast three 'stations' (*monai*) distant from the chain. The Abyssinian king was in fact on board one of the 20 ships, but the Himyarites, mistakenly supposing him to be with the 40, divided their main forces, leaving a detachment on guard near the chain and marching with their main force along the coast to where the 40 ships had appeared; and it was at this latter spot that the battle was fought in which the Himyarite king perished. The forces under the Abyssinian king, however, effected a landing near the chain, marched inland, and captured the Himyarite capital Zafār.

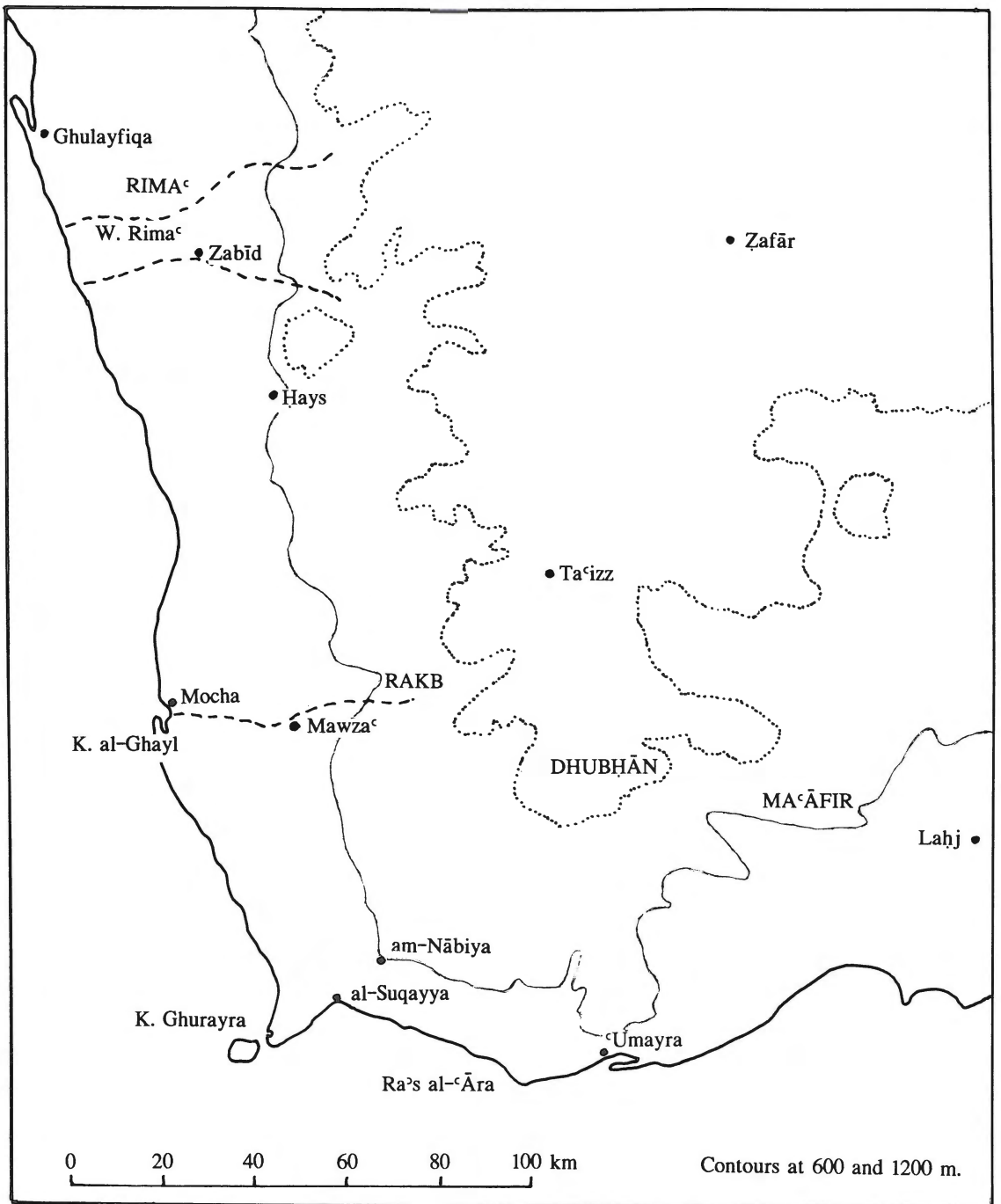
Al-Mas'ūdī<sup>7</sup> gives a succinct account of the career of the Himyarite king Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās, ending with the words »and to him the Abyssinians crossed over, (landing) at Ghalāfiqa (modern Ghulayfiqa), and after a long battle he drowned himself for fear of disgrace (of defeat)«. No mention is made here either of Bāb al-Mandab or of the chain; and it is concordant with the Greek document in which the Himyarite king perished a considerable distance from the chain. Where then was the chain?

Apart from the Khor Ghulayfiqa (where the chain was *not*, and of which the entrance is far too wide to be barred by a chain), there are three of these lagoon-like inlets on the Yemeni coast: one immediately adjacent to Mocha, named (on 1:250.000 Map of the Yemen Arab Republic and neighbouring areas) Khor al-Ghayl; the Khor Ghurayra at Cape Bāb al-Mandab; and the Khor 'Umayra mentioned above. The crowflight distance from Ghulayfiqa to Khor al-Ghayl is 115 km, and to Ghurayra 190 km; the total distance resulting from adding to the latter figure the 75 km from Ghurayra to 'Umayra would thus be 265 km, but this could be shortened to about 235 km by cutting the corner. These three figures yield, for each *monê* of the three involved, distances of the rough order of 40, 60 and nearly 80 km respectively. The first of these is the same as I have elsewhere<sup>8</sup> conjectured as the length of one of Pliny's *mansiones camelorum*; 60 would be possible for unladen beasts; but 80 seems unacceptably large (another indication tending to suggest that the chain is not likely to have been at 'Umayra). I am hence inclined to accept as correct Ibn al-Mujā-

<sup>7</sup> *Murūj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, III, p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> Some Observations on Greek and Latin Data relating to South Arabia, *BSOAS* 42, 1979, p. 9.





wir's clear understanding of the chain as being sited at Cape Bāb al-Mandab.

Al-Hamdānī's *Ṣiḥa* contains only one mention of Bāb al-Mandab<sup>9</sup>, where it is listed as one of the »headlands notoriously dangerous and difficult (for navigators)«, namely, Fartak, Ra's al-Jumjuma<sup>10</sup>, Bāb al-Mandab, Munfahaq Jābir (unidentified), Jāzān (modern Jīzān), . . . (the rest are further north).

He has four references to al-Mandab without the prefix Bāb:

- a) »The towns (*mudun*) of the Yemeni Tihama« are listed<sup>11</sup> as Aden; Lahj; Abyan; al-Ruwāgh; al-Shiqāq and al-Mandab, the two latter belonging to the Banī Majīd and the Farasān, a tribal division of Taghlib; al-Ḥuṣayb, the *qarya* of Zabīd.
- b) »The western parts of the Aden pilgrimage route: the coast is the land (*arḍ*) of the Banī Majīd, (namely) al-Shiqāq and Mawza<sup>c</sup> and Wādī l-Hinnā and al-Mandab and al-<sup>c</sup>Umayra, which is inhabited by the Banī Musih section of the Banī Majīd; it is an extensive country (*balad*), bordering on the north the al-Rakb section of the Ash<sup>c</sup>arites and on the east al-Ma<sup>c</sup>āfir and Dhubbān; the Banī Majīd are mingled in their land with Farasanite folk«<sup>12</sup>.
- c) »The Yemeni Tihama is the country of the Banī Majīd and of the Farasān, lying on the pilgrimage route from Aden to Zabīd; then (come) the settlements of the Ash<sup>c</sup>arites, from the boundaries of the Banī Majīd in the territory of al-Shiqāq and as far as Ḥays and Zabīd, from which the Wādī (Zabīd) gets its name; it is also called al-Ḥuṣayb, being the home of al-Ḥuṣayb b. <sup>c</sup>Abd Shams. This is the administrative province (*kūra*) of Tihama of which the coastal regions are Ghulāfiqa, and al-Mandab and Mocha, both belonging til the B. Majīd«<sup>13</sup>.

Thus al-Mandab was a town in the B. Majīd territory, an extensive one stretching from their border with al-Rakb, who occupied the Tihama between Zabīd and Mocha, south, then eastward as far as the <sup>c</sup>Umayra region. It must be noted that the Jabal Dhubbān on longitude 44° 05' is practically due north of <sup>c</sup>Umayra on 44° 07', and the Ma<sup>c</sup>āfir highlands are southeast and east of there. It is not necessary to suppose that the town of al-Mandab lay actually on the sea (one will recall that in northeast Arabia, the town of Gerrha lay inland from its port). As for the position on the pilgrimage route, I find it hard to imagine that pilgrims would have hugged the coastline so closely as to round the cape of Bāb al-Mandab at the end of its westward projecting promontary; surely they must have cut across the base of the peninsula, passing through either am-Nābiya (25 km northeast of the cape and a little way inland) or al-Suqayya (halfway between am-Nābiya and the cape, and on the actual coastline). Either of these positions would be a plausible situation for the town of al-Mandab.

It is in the light of these data that we must read the fourth passage:

- d) »The sea curves round Yemen westward and northward from Aden,

<sup>9</sup> *Ṣiḥat Jazīrat al-<sup>c</sup>Arab* ed. Muḥ. b. <sup>c</sup>Alī al-Akwa<sup>c</sup>, Sanaa 1974, p. 268; L. Forrer's translation, Leipzig 1942 (repr. 1966), p. 221.

<sup>10</sup> Unidentified; G. Cornu, *Atlas du monde arabo-islamique*, Leiden 1983-5, II, p. 20, writes, »Chez les géographes arabes ce toponyme a des localisations assez fantaisistes et s'applique à des lieux différents«.

<sup>11</sup> Akwa<sup>c</sup> pp. 70-2, Forrer pp. 41-4.

<sup>12</sup> Akwa<sup>c</sup> p. 206, Forrer p. 158.

<sup>13</sup> Akwa<sup>c</sup> p. 258, Forrer pp. 49-50. Forrer's rendering of the last sentence here by »Es [*scil.* Zabīd] ist eine Provinz (*kūra*) der Tihāma«, as if there were more than one *kūra* in the Yemeni Tihama, is not what the Arabic says.

and passes the coast of Lahj and Abyan and Kathīb Yarāmīs, which is a fort, and the coastal areas (*sawāḥil*) of the Banī Majīd, namely al-Mandab and the ʿUmayra coast and al-ʿĀra, and so on (*tumma*) to Ghalāfiqa, the coast of Zabīd, and Kamarān<sup>14</sup>.

Al-Hamdānī here treats first the Aden area, then the Banī Majīd lands, each *en gros*, and the individual names within those areas are not listed in strict east-west order; if they were, it would imply he sited Abyan west of Aden and Lahj, whereas in fact it is east of them both. We thus must *not* infer that he placed al-Mandab east of ʿUmayra. It was somewhere *between* ʿUmayra and Mocha.

The inscriptions referring to the chain are dated in June and July, anterior by four months to the capitulation of Najran and the martyrdoms there, in October–November; the operations recorded in the inscriptions began thirteen months before the writing of the inscriptions (see Ja 1028). These operations are in three parts. There was a massacre of Abyssinians resident in Mocha<sup>15</sup> and Zafār, from which time onward the Himyarites had to be on their guard against Aksumite retaliation. Secondly, the king Yūsuf undertook a massive campaign in the Tihama against the tribes al-Rakb, al-Ashʿar and Farasān, and in the Mocha region, presumably to weaken and intimidate them and thus neutralise support that they might otherwise have given to an Abyssinian invasion. Thirdly, they undertook the *tṣnʿ* of the chain of *Mdb-n*. It is not possible to be certain of the precise signification of this word; elsewhere it is used epigraphically of troops »reinforcing« or »garrisoning« a defensive position, but it might also be understood as »constructing as a defensive measure«.

It is, however, not easy to guess exactly what the Himyarite strategy was. We learn from a 3rd century text (Eryani 29) that Mocha (*Mḥw-n*) was a regular place of embarkation/disembarkation for the Red Sea crossing. *Prima facie*, therefore, one might have been inclined to view a barrage and garrisoning of the adjacent entrance to the Khor al-Ghayl as a natural complement to military operations in the hinterland thereof. But if the chain was there, we are obliged to conclude that the tradition recorded by Ibn al-Mujāwir, placing it at Ghurayra by the cape, is mistaken. If on the other hand that tradition is right, the conclusion would be that Yūsuf deemed the Mocha area sufficiently safeguarded by his operations against the tribes of the area, and felt the need for further defenses in the thinly-populated southwest tip of the peninsula. That he should have envisaged as likely an invasion on the south coast, involving a rounding of the cape of Bāb al-Mandab, seems to me, as I have said above, improbable.

One possibility that should not be disregarded is that al-Hamdānī's town named al-Mandab may have been of Islamic foundation, and that in the 6th century *Mdb-n* was (like *Rkb-n* in the hinterland of Mocha) the name of a tribal area behind Cape Bāb al-Mandab.

In sum, I do not find anything that necessitates discrediting the combined evidence of the Greek *Martyrion* and the Arab traditions of al-Masʿūdī and Ibn al-Mujāwir: there was a real chain, and it barred the entrance to the Khor Ghurayra, while Yūsuf's death took place at Khor Ghulayfiqa.

<sup>14</sup> Akwaʿ p. 57, Forrer pp. 36–7. Both Kamarān and Farasān, nowadays commonly applied only to offshore islands, were in earlier times mainland tribes.

<sup>15</sup> It is possible that the Farasanites of the locality were included in this massacre; see Beeston, *BSOAS* 48, 1985, p. 50.

# The Anaphora of St Cyril of Alexandria in the Liturgical Practice of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Observations on the Text and the Interpretation of the Ge'ez Version

EZRA GEBREMEDHIN, University of Uppsala

There are two Ge'ez anaphoras attributed to Cyril: a short one and a longer one<sup>1</sup>. I shall be dealing with the longer anaphora published and commented upon by Oscar Löfgren, a Swedish scholar and Sebastian Euringer, a German scholar, in the early thirties of the present century<sup>2</sup>. What drew my attention to this anaphora was the fact that it is named after Cyril of Alexandria whose teaching on the Eucharist was the subject of my doctoral dissertation<sup>3</sup>.

Liturgical scholars are agreed that Cyril never wrote a liturgy, although Professor John Meyendorff maintains that Cyril is the author of the liturgical hymn known as the Cherubicon, a hymn sung during the Greater Entrance by the choir in the liturgy of St Mark<sup>4</sup>.

In 1912 Theodor Schermann maintained that our present anaphora, the anaphora of Basilios and one anaphora attributed to Gregorius were translations of The Greek/Coptic liturgy of St Mark which, as we know, is named after Cyril of Alexandria<sup>5</sup>. Ernst Hammerschmidt however challenged this view in his excellent *Study in the Ethiopic Anaphoras* which came out in 1960. He maintains that these anaphoras could at most be described as a very independent development of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St Mark with the emphasis more on independent than development<sup>6</sup>.

What I want to do is make some very simple and unassuming observations on this Ethiopic anaphora on the basis of my studies of the Liturgy of St Mark and my examination of some references to the epiclesis in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria.

If one is to follow the general principle that liturgical texts tend to

<sup>1</sup> E. Hammerschmidt, 'Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras' in *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Griechisch-Römische Altertumskunde. Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten*. Band 24, Berlin 1960, pp. 29-31. - According to Euringer, the shorter anaphora is not supposed to be a complete liturgy but represents a kind of completion and enrichment of the longer anaphora of St Cyril.

<sup>2</sup> 'Die beiden äthiopischen Anaphoren »des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien«' in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, Band 8, Leipzig 1930, pp. 210-234, and Band 9, Leipzig 1933-1934, pp. 44-86.

<sup>3</sup> Ezra Gebremedhin, *Life-Giving Blessing. An Inquiry into the Eucharistic Doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria*. Uppsala 1977. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensis).

<sup>4</sup> *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. London-Oxford 1975, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ägyptische Abendmahlsriturgien des ersten Jahrtausends' in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. Band 6, Heft 1-2, Paderborn 1912, p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> *Op.cit.*, p. 45.



develope from simpler to more elaborate forms, I would suggest that at least one section of the epiclesis in our anaphora is more primitive than the epiclesis which Cyril knew. In his letter Tiberius The Deacon Cyril writes, »But we believe that the bringing of gifts celebrated in the churches is hallowed, blessed and perfected by Christ.«<sup>7</sup> The three verbs that are used are ἀγιόζεσθαι, εὐλογεῖσθαι and τελειοῦσθαι. The epiclesis in our anaphora uses only two verbs in connection with the prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit. Here is part of the invocation<sup>8</sup>:

**እምቅድመ፣**

**ገጽክ፣ ሜሎስ፣ አሳት፣ ዘይነድድ፣ ይትከሠት፣ ወይትረጎው፣ ሰማይ፣ በጽድቅክ፣ ወበፈቃድክ፣ ይትፈነው፣ መንፈስክ፣ ቅዱስ፣ ወሕያው፣ ይምጸእ፣ ወይጎድር፣ ወያዕርፍ፣ ዲቦ፣ ዝንቱ፣ ኅብስት፣ ወጽዋዕ፣ ይባርክ፣ ወይቀድስ፣ ወይኩን፣ ሱታፌ፣ ሥጋሁ፣ ወደሙ፣ ለፍቁር፣ ወልድክ፣ እግዚእነ፣ ወአምላክነ፣ ወመድኅኒነ፣ ኢየሱስ፣ ክርስቶስ ።**

Rendered into English, the above text would read as follows: »Let Melos, the burning fire, be revealed from Thy presence, and let heaven be opened by Thy righteousness, and let Thy holy and living Spirit be sent by Thy will. Let Him come, abide and rest on this bread and cup. Let Him bless and sanctify it and let it become a communion of the flesh and blood of Thy beloved Son our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.«

The two verbs used here **ይባርክ፣ ወይቀድስ** ([Let Him] bless and sanctify) are the Ge'ez equivalents of the Greek verbs εὐλογεῖν and ἀγιόζειν. Dare we not say that this shorter form of the consecratory prayer in our anaphora suggests a more primitive form of the epiclesis than the one which Cyril knew?

The long epiclesis in the Greek/Melkite manuscripts and the Coptic-Bohairic versions of the Anaphora of St Mark analyzed by R. G. Coquin in 1969 contain the verbs ἀγιόζειν and τελεῖν (sanctify and perfect)<sup>9</sup>. One would naturally be tempted to conclude that these versions of the Anaphora of St Mark and our anaphora belong to the same period because they both use only two verbs. But why does our anaphora use the verbs εὐλογεῖν and ἀγιόζειν and not the verbs ἀγιόζειν and τελεῖν as does the Anaphora of St Mark? Is this one more indication of the stubborn kind of independence displayed by our anaphora as compared to the Anaphora of St Mark and the reference to the epiclesis in Cyril as cited above?

In contrast to many manuscripts of the Anaphora of St Mark which contain two epicleses, our anaphora shows no trace of a first epiclesis before The Words of Institution. There is even a vague hint that it has two epicleses *after* The Words of Institution, even though the second epiclesis is not a consecratory epiclesis. I am now thinking of the prayer of the fraction in our anaphora which begins with the words:

<sup>7</sup> PG (*Patrologiae Cursus completus. Ser. Graeca*) LXXVI, Paris 1859, 1097BC. See also P. E. Pusey, 'Epistola ad Calosyrium', *In Ioannem III.* Oxford 1872, 595 1. 19f.

<sup>8</sup> Oscar Löfgren and Sebastian Euringer 'Die beiden äthiopischen Anaphoren »des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien«' in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*. Band 8, Leipzig 1930, pp. 227-228.

<sup>9</sup> 'L'anaphore alexandrine de saint Marc' in *Le Muséon*, 72, Louvain 1969, p. 346.

**ኅዕክ፡እግዚአ፡አንቃዕዶን፡አዕይን፡  
እንዘ፡ንትጫነይ፡ርደተ፡መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፤ ወለከ፡ንሰግድ፡በአ  
ብራክ፡አልባቢን፤ ወለከ፡ናደንን፡አርእስተ፡ሕሊናን፡ወመንፈ  
ስን፤ ቀድሰን፡እግዚአ፡በቅድሳቴክ፡ወአንጽሐን፡በምሕረትክ፡  
ወረስዩን፡ሱቱፋን፡ለነሢአ፡ምሥጢርክ፡ቅዱስ ።**

»To Thee O Lord we lift up our eyes, longing for the descent of The Holy Spirit and we worship Thee on the knees of our hearts and we bow before Thee the heads of our consciences and our spirit. Sanctify us O Lord by Thy sanctity and purify us by Thy mercy and make us worthy to receive Thy holy mystery.«<sup>10</sup>

In this respect too our anaphora appears to be independent not only of several manuscripts of The Anaphora of St Mark, but also of Cyril's formulation of the epiclesis.

Finally, there seems to be no trace of a Logos-epiclesis in our anaphora, whereas Cyril seems to jump back and forth between a Logos-epiclesis and a Spirit-epiclesis in his understanding of the prayer for the descent of The Holy Spirit. Cyril says that it is Christ who sanctifies the elements<sup>11</sup>. He also writes that The Holy Spirit, the »sensible« (or visible) fire, descends on the gifts<sup>12</sup>. Our anaphora on the other hand attributes the consecration of the elements exclusively to The Holy Spirit<sup>13</sup>.

Why then was this anaphora named after Cyril of Alexandria? Are there absolutely no traces or echoes of Cyril in the anaphora? In my opinion this anaphora contains sections which, though written in a poetic and typically Ethiopian manner, send forth echoes of Cyril's Christology. I shall give some examples.

Here, in translation, are some texts which illustrate my point:

»His birth from Thee cannot be searched just as there is no end to Thy being. There is neither end nor termination to Thy Son, as there is no antiquity to Thy days. There is no one who sits at Thy right hand except Thy Son who is born of Thee . . . He is Thy Son, the messenger of Thy council, beloved by Thee, Thy likeness, Thy image, Thy conscience, Thy will, Thy wisdom and Thy power, Thy right hand and Thy arm, true God from Thy being. The One Son was truly born – He dawned forth from

<sup>10</sup> Löfgren and Euringer, *op.cit.*, p. 229.

<sup>11</sup> See note 7 above.

<sup>12</sup> *Contra Julianum* 10, PG LXXVI, Paris 1859, 1029D-1032C.

<sup>13</sup> See notes 8 and 10. A further indication of this trait is discernible in the following words:

**ዝኅብስት፡ዘበላህበ፡መለኮት፡በሰለ፡ዘእ  
<ን>በለ፡እሳት፡ምድራዊ ። . . . . .  
. . . . . ዝጽዋዕ፡ዘበርደተ፡መንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡ተቀደሰ፡  
ወበኃይለ፡መለኮት፡ተቶስሐ ።**

Rendered into English these words would read: »This is the bread which was baked by the fire of divinity . . . This is the cup which was sanctified by the descent of The Holy Spirit and was mixed by the power of divinity.« Löfgren and Euringer, *op.cit.*, p. 232.

Thee, The Word perfect in everything. He was born of Thee, Thy image, Like unto Thee, Thy equal, exalted like Thee, He whom the angels worship with Thee.«<sup>14</sup>

Cyril's understanding of the Incarnation is reflected in the following words also taken from our anaphora:

»He did not lack (the way of) manhood because he did not have a father for (to provide) the seed of procreation. Rather He became man fully from woman alone just as Eve did not lack the traits of womanhood when she was built out of bone from Adam's side – without a mother. Just as there was nothing lacking in the edifice of Adam's previous flesh because the bone of his side was plucked out, in like manner was the stamp of Mary's virginity undiminished when she gave birth to Adam's Father *in her flesh* (italics mine). Just as Adam didn't suffer pain when the bone of his side was plucked out, so didn't the Galilean, *the Mother of God* (italics mine) suffer birth-pains.«<sup>15</sup>

The words in italics, *in the flesh* and *The Mother of God* are not necessarily direct references to Cyril of Alexandria. Nevertheless they remind us of two expressions which are very common in Cyril's Christology. Cyril often qualifies what he says about the relationship of the divine and human natures in Christ with the expression *in the flesh*<sup>16</sup>. The term *Mother of God*, it will be remembered, was one of the main bones of contention between Cyril and Nestorius.

On the relationship between the elements of bread and wine and the Incarnation and Passion our anaphora has the following things to say:

»Thus we believe and thus we confess that this bread which we break is the flesh of Christ, which He took from the daughter of the Hebrews. Furthermore we believe that this cup is the blood of divinity which was drawn from the Lamb of God.«<sup>17</sup> Only a theological tradition with an affinity to Athanasius and Cyril can speak of *The blood of divinity*.

Our anaphora elaborates further on the same theme:

»This is the bread which was sown in the womb of the Virgin by the approval of the Father. This is the bread which came to fruition in the temple and was picked when it became the first-fruits. This is the bread which was born in Bethlehem, out of the golden Manna-basket. This is the bread which was baked by the flame of divinity without an earthly fire. This is the bread which was sacrificed on the tree of the cross at the hands of the Hebrews. This is the bread which was pierced by the lance of a soldier and sent forth, as does a fountain, the cup of pure medicine, for us.«<sup>18</sup>

The expression *the flame of divinity* is without doubt a reference to The Holy Spirit. This line of thought is traceable in Cyril, as we have shown above<sup>19</sup>.

Not only the Bread but also the Cup of the Eucharist is described with rich imagery. Our anaphora continues: »This is the cup which was drawn from the sea of mercy and from the ocean of pure medicine. This is the cup which was sanctified by the descent of The Holy Spirit and mixed by

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>16</sup> A quick look at Cyril's Twelve Anathemas against Nestorius would reveal this fact. See T. H. Bindley, *The Oecumenical Documents of The Faith*. London 1950, p. 136ff.

<sup>17</sup> Löfgren and Euringer, *op.cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>19</sup> See note 7.

the power of divinity. This cup is the articulate blood which accuses the crucifiers. This cup is the blood of the Law and the prescriptions, which sanctifies the unlearned. Only fear it, since it is the blood of divinity, and let your reception of it be preceded by the cleansing of the flesh because it is written, (as it says), »The holy things to the holy«. Be ye holy, as your Father is holy. Be prepared to call upon him saying, »Holy is The Father, pure is The Father, merciful is The Father, The Father of Jesus Christ.«<sup>20</sup>

In concluding, we suggest that the *structure* and *the specifically liturgical parts* of our anaphora display a stubborn kind of independence in relation to the different manuscripts of the Anaphora of St Mark and to the few references to the epiclesis in Cyril's writings. The *theology* of the anaphora however seems to reflect Cyril's Christology.

<sup>20</sup> Löfgren and Euringer, *op.cit.*, pp. 232–233.





# A New Qatabanian Dedicatory Inscription to the God Bašamum, Ja 3198

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To Professor O. Löfgren  
in homage and gratitude for his contribution  
to South-Arabian studies

The Qatabanian text, presently known as NAM (National Museum, Aden) 224, is fragmentary on all sides; its surface is polished as if by usage and covered with an inscription more or less worn out, very often to the extent of being illegible, a challenge even for any epigraphist facing the stone. It is a temerity for any scholar to attempt any decipherment from a mere photograph. A. F. L. Beeston published his attempt in *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes*, Louvain, II (1986), pp. 225–226, and photo on p. 226. The present text is another proof of the error of C. Robin's statement according to which »une publication d'inscription sans photographie est inutile« (cf. my *Miscellanées d'ancien arabe*, Washington, XIV [1985], pp. 271 ff.).

Museographic information. – The following measurements must replace those given by J. Pirenne (p. 225). Maximum height: 29.6 cm; width at the horizontal axis of line 5: 24.5 cm; letter height: 3.1 and 3.3 cm.

Beeston's publication. – Here follows the text of his transcription and translation (p. 225):

## Transcription

- 1) /{W'}MḌ'Ḍ{R} ...
- 2) M/W'ḌḌM/WSLMN ...
- 3) SM/BTM/L{'}Ḍ{TSM...}
- 4) ḌN/YWMN/L'HR/W...
- 5) `L/MR'S[M]/B ...
- 6) LSM/ḌQNYW/WB'L/ḌBŠMM/ ...
- 7) M/WMNDḌHSM/'ḌTR/ḌM ...

## Translation

- 1) and? 'MD'R? ...
- 2) and 'ḌḌM and SLMN ...
- 3) [because He granted] them a daughter for [their] wife..
- 4) [from] this day henceforth, and ...
- 5) their lord, [?the lord of BŠMM?] ...
- 6) for them that which they possess; and the lord of BŠMM ...
- 7) and their *mdḥ* 'ḌTR of M... "

Beeston contradicts himself by considering the beginning of each line as ascertained; the seven lines of his text are well aligned on the left in spite of his statement according to which the stone »is broken on all sides« (p. 225) – He characterizes the text as »?Dedication in thanks for a daughter?« (p. 225; cf. also p. VIII of the *Corpus* . . . ). Such a title is based on the editor's erroneous reading and restoration of line 3. – Beeston's reading of the inscription must be corrected in thirty places and must, thus, be discarded as a whole. Beeston's workmanship is also illustrated by his reading of NAM 2694 (cf. *Corpus* . . . , II, pp. 205–207, and photo on p. 207), viz. of »SQNYTM« in line 2 (p. 205), and his commentary (p. 206) claims that »Jamme's text erroneously omits the *m* from *sqnytm*«. No less than four lines of his commentary are devoted to explaining his expression »*sqnytm/dhbn*« according to Arabic grammar, and the 3 1/2 lines of footnote 1 labor the same question. Unfortunately, that »*m*« does NOT exist on the photo. – As the proof of the »importance of the document« (p. 226), Beeston states that »this is the first time that we have encountered a specific name given to a *mnḏḥ*«. The author eliminates the epigraphical evidence already gathered in *Le Muséon*, 60 (1947), pp. 126–127; cf. also my *Miscellanées* . . . , XIV (1985), pp. 101–106 (Beeston on Qatabanian H 2 c) and 271–274 (on C. Robin's and A. van den Branden's theories).

My decipherment of the original stone to which are added a few restorations is given below. However, the basic handicap being the impossibility of knowing the exact place of the fragment in the original stone and, therefore, the impossibility of knowing the number of letters missing at both the beginning and the end of the lines, the length of the lines in my facsimile remains conjectural although my restoration of the lines 5–6 is based on two published inscriptions.



The text may be read as follows:

- 1 [ . . . / . . . . /w]ḥmḏḥ[n]l/ḥm]. . .  
 2 [ . . .]ḥmḥwḥḏḥbmḥsmm]. . . [ . . . /sqnywḥlsm/w]  
 3 [mrḥ]ism/bšmm/lyḥbḥ/ḥsnḥm/ḥb[n]. . .  
 4 [ /bn]ḥdn/ywmn/ḥḥrḥ. [ . . . /rtḥw]. . .  
 5 [ . . . ]ḥl/mrḥsḥmḥbšmmḥḥnsmḥḥwḥḥdn/bnsm/w]  
 6 [kl/bk]ḥlism/wḥqnyw/wbḥl/bbšmm/b. [ . . .  
 7 . . . s]ḥm/ḥwḥmḥḥḥsm/ḥḥtr/ḥmydḥnḥl]. . .
- 1 . . . and] Mudaḥḥiḥ[ān] ḥAm]. . .  
 2 [ . . .]m and ḥAḥbum ḥAsmum and . . . [ . . . have dedicated to their  
 god and]  
 3 their [lord] Bašamum so that He may keep away an(y) [enemy]  
 fr[om . . .  
 4 [ . from] this day to [the] end. [ . . . Have entrusted . . . ]  
 5 [ . . . ](ḥil) to the care of their lord Bašamum their understanding  
 [and the understanding of their sons and]  
 6 [all] their [affiliates and what they have possessed and owned by  
 Bašamum in . [ . . .  
 7 . . . thelir . . . and their irrigation-deity ḥAḥtar, Him of  
 Maydān(?) [ . . .

Line 1: *mḥḏḥ[n]*, as in Ja 1191/2, a rock inscription from the country of Mukérās; cf. Arabic *ḥayyaha* »vilem reddidit, submisit aliquem« (cf. G.W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, Halles, II [1833], p. 101A).

Lines 2–3: *ḥlsm/wmrḥsm*, as in *RÉS (Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique)* 4336/1, another dedicatory inscription to the god Bašamum; line 2 of this text also justifies the restoration of *mrḥsm* alone before *bšmm* of line 5, the space being too wide for three letters only; it demands four letters; thus, *mrḥs* as restored by M. Höfner, in *WZKM (Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes)* 42 (1935), p. 44, followed by *RÉS*, VII, p. 197.

Line 3: *bšmm*: Bašamum is a god whose attributes still remain unknown (cf. *Le Muséon*, 60 [1947], p. 140). – *lyḥb/ḥsnḥm*, cf. NAM 483/8–9: *lyḥb/kl/ḥsnḥsm* in *Corpus . . .*, II, pp. 141–142, where J. Pirenne translates the verbal expression as »que . punisse«, but G. Ryckmans renders it as »que . livre« (cf. *Le Muséon*, 62 [1949], p. 64). Both translations are made up from the context at the expense of etymology because G. Ryckmans' »livrer« means »to deliver, hand over,« and Pirenne's »punir« »to punish«. The basic meaning of Arabic *ḥāba* (o) is »to return (to the starting point)« (cf. R. Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais*, Paris, II [1970], p. 1252B). The intensive verbal form of the two verbs must have the meaning of the 4th form, viz. »to make (someone) to return (to the starting point)«, viz. the verb may be translated as *to remove away, keep away, send away*.

Line 4: *bn]ḥdn/ywmn/ḥḥrḥ*, cf. *bn]ḥdn/wrḥn/ḥḥrḥ* in Ja 2360/3.

Line 5: *ḥḥdn* is in the plural as referring to the *ḥḥdn* of each person.

Beeston errs on both *nfs* and *ḥḥdn* in Ghul 4/3 (cf. *JRAS (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society)*, 1985, pp. 149–150) where he translates the two words as »soul« and »material faculties«,



respectively. *nfs* simply means *person*; the word »soul«, which is the first translation given to the noun by *Sabaic Dictionary – Dictionnaire sabéen*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1982, p. 93, must be avoided because of its basic meaning referring to an immaterial reality which is completely foreign to the strictly materialistic aspirations expressed in all texts. Furthermore, Beeston's expression »material faculties« is unintelligible. It is also interesting to note that Beeston translates ʾ*dn* of Doe 2/4 (cf. *Raydān*, 4 [1981] 1982, p. 13) as »senses«, and the reader does not know which meaning Beeston gives to the word. At any rate, the last two interpretations given by Beeston to ʾ*dn* are not listed under the word in *Sabaic . . .*, p. 2.

Lines 5–6: for ʾ*dn/bnsm*, cf. NAM 483/5, where ʾ*dn/bnsmy* also follows ʾ*dnsm*; for *wkl/bkls* before *dqnyw*, cf. *RÉS* 4336/5.

Line 6: *dqnyw/wbʿl*, cf. *kl/dm/qny/wbʿl* in Doe 2/4–5.

Line 7: the appellative of ʿAṭtar, the stellar god, is tentatively read as *mydn*; cf. *mwdm* in Wādī Mâsil 1/6.

# Good Form and Polite Phrases among the Turks of Southern Sinkiang

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Good manners and correct behaviour among the Turks of Central Asia is a subject very sparsely dealt with in the existing literature. The first rather detailed information on Central Asian Turki etiquette is to be found in Forsyth's Report on his mission to Yarkand in 1873<sup>1</sup>. He there specifies the rules for good form and proper behaviour, valid in those days. As Forsyth's Report is not easily available today, I permit myself to quote the whole passage dealing with this subject:

»Ceremony is an important feature of Káshghar society and its forms are observed with punctiliousness on the most trivial occasions. Respect and obedience to parents and superiors is held to rank in the first place of duty. The young and inferiors always stand in a respectful and submissive attitude, with the head bowed and hands folded in front, at a distance from their superiors, and always address them with the word *tacsír* = fault<sup>2</sup>, and equivalent in use to our Sir. Children never take the names of their parents so long as they are alive, but speak of them as *Atám* or *Anám* – my father or my mother. On receiving any attention or favour, the recipient carries the right hand to the heart and forehead, and with a bow says, *ashk-ulla* – Gods love<sup>3</sup>; or he takes the thing presented and raises it to his eyes with the same gesture and expression; or if the gift is not placed in his hands he, if seated, rises and with a comprehensive sweep of the arm strokes his beard, either real or more frequently imaginary. When seated at an entertainment this ceremony is gone through on each occasion that he is addressed by a superior, or is handed a morsel from the table cloth<sup>4</sup> and one may be seen constantly getting up and down from and on to his heels in acknowledgment of civilities and commands from a superior. In matters of duty, commands are received standing, and acknowledged by bending on one knee, sweeping the arms in a circle to stroke the beard, and with the words *yakhshi tacsír* = very good Sir.

<sup>1</sup> *Reports of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873, under Command of Sir T. D. Forsyth with Historical and Geographical Information regarding the Possessions of the Ameer of Yarkund*. Calcutta 1875, p. 89; there are a few references to etiquette also in *Dialogues in the Eastern Turki Dialect on Subjects of Interest to Travellers*, collected and edited by E. Denison Ross and Rachel O. Wingate. London 1934.

<sup>2</sup> *taqsir*:r A. *taqsír* 'being deficient, unequal to'; here meaning 'I am subservient to you'; cf. R. B. Shaw, *A Sketch of the Turki Language*. P. 2, Calcutta 1880, p. 68 *taqsir* lit. fault »culpa mea«; but used as a term of respect to a great man, equivalent to »Your Excellency«, »Your Highness« (as if to excuse oneself beforehand for addressing a person of such dignity).

<sup>3</sup> I.e. *ʿišqalla* < A.P. *ʿishq allāh* thank you! Now superseded by *reḥmet* A. *rahmat*.

<sup>4</sup> *dasturḥan* – *dostoḥan* P. *dastār-khḥwān* a table-cloth and all that is placed on it.

The salutation on meeting is *Sálam-álaikum* = Peace be to you, with a low bow, and the hands folded across the stomach. The reply is *a'laikum as-salám* = And to you be peace. A friend passing another on the road says *Hármáng*<sup>5</sup> – Be not fatigued; and the other replies *Yol-bolsun* – may you have the way, or may your way prosper. On parting in the streets, friends bow politely several times with polite expressions for each other's welfare. Visitors are received with more or less ceremony, according to rank, either at the outer gate, or in the court, or at the threshold, and conducted to their seats by the host. After the mutual health enquiries, either tea or the *dastúrkhwán*<sup>6</sup> is invariably brought in, and to omit both is considered a mark of disrespect. The *dastúrkhwán* – Tray of ceremony, varies according to the rank and state of the visitor, and may comprise anything from two or three trays of dry fruits and biscuits, to two or three hundred trays and an elegant and varied dinner. It is customary for the host to help his honored guest to the first morsel with a *Bismillah* – In the name of God, and then the others help themselves. At the conclusion, the sign for the removal of the cloth is a simultaneous move to rise, with a sweeping stroke of the beard and sonorous *Allahu Akbar* – God is most Great by all the guests. The table-cloth is a long sheet of printed cotton, or figured silk, and is spread on the floor.

The recipient of a letter from the king or other superior takes it in both hands, and raises it to the heart and forehead before reading. After reading he faces the direction whence it came, and pressing it to his lips and eyes places it securely in the fold of his turban or in his cap. Women courtesy by bending the knees, and bowing low with the hands folded in front«.

In Raquette's Qasim Akhun's letters to Kamil Efendi<sup>7</sup> there are certain allusions to good form and proper behaviour interspersed in the narrative illustrating the situation around 1912–13. Thus, when greeting each other<sup>8</sup> the hands of the two persons are clasped and the word *salam* »peace!« is uttered. The beard is stroked which is considered to be a friendly greeting although rather non-committal. In inquiring about the health of relatives, the chin is stroked and *allah akbar* »God is Greatest« is mumbled. All these are conventional greetings.

Then follows a more detailed description of good manners at a social party called *mashraf*<sup>9</sup>. I quote: »Upon arrival the guests were received in the customary manner at the gate by the host himself who accompanied them to the banquet-room . . . Upon entering I of course tried to take a seat as close to the door as possible but the host was attentive and conducted me to one of the more distinguished seats. There I sat down and then in accordance with our customs I raised my hands in prayer ending up by stroking my chin or beard and pronouncing *allah akbar*, i.e. God is great. Only thereafter did I rise and greet the host and the other guests

<sup>5</sup> Negative imperative of *har-* to get tired.

<sup>6</sup> V. n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Gustaf Raquette and Qasim Akhun's Letters to Kamil Efendi. Ethnological and Folkloristic Materials from Southern Sinkiang*, edited and translated with explanatory notes by Gunnar Jarring. Lund 1975. (Scripta minora Regiae Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis. 1975–1976:1).

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 15–18; *mēšrēf* < A. *mashrab* 'feast, banquet, party'.

present. Then the host had tea offered to me in the cup which was jointly used by the whole guild. For the sake of politeness he himself tasted the tea before it was offered to me. I on my part, before I raised the cup to my lips, offered the other guests who were sitting around me to drink before me. This they of course declined with polite bows. Only thereafter could I enjoy my tea. After a while when the conversation had begun and it was time to feel a little more unconstrained our host asked us to »sit freely«, which means that we were now permitted to sit crossing our legs or, if we so liked, to pull up one knee under the chin and thus sit directly on the carpet instead of sitting with both knees bent, and using our heels as cushions . . . Before the meal we all had to wash our hands three times over a hand-basin which was placed by a servant in front of the guests, one after another. In front of each guest they put a bowl of soup . . . which was filled to the brim with bread broken into small pieces. The soaked bread was fished up with the fingers and the soup itself drunk directly from the bowl. Then we attacked the mutton . . . We took great care in eating all of it not leaving a trace of it on the bones. It is not considered nice to serve, or eat, any other meat than mutton . . . After we had thoroughly licked both the bones and our fingers one of the guests raised his hands in prayer pronouncing Amen! All the others followed his example. After the prayer we all turned up a part of the table-cloth in front of ourselves as a sign of being satisfied. Thereupon the host came forward and presented his thanks. This implies that the host had been honoured by the guests through their acceptance of what he had offered them. And furthermore, all what had been placed on the table-cloths was the property of the guests and all what was not eaten was a gift from them to the host. So the host had to thank them for it. These are simple and innate views which we have in this connection.«

When it comes to eating the traditional pilaw Raquette mentions that certain rules have to be observed. »Pilaw has to be eaten with one's fingers so that its unique taste will not be lost to a large extent. But to eat with one's fingers is not a skill easily acquired<sup>10</sup>. Europeans do not seem to be able to learn it properly.« After having finished the pilaw the fat which remained on their fingers was used for greasing their boots, i.e., they wiped off the remaining fat on their boots – a very practical act. Then there followed prayers and hand-washing<sup>11</sup>.

As to a man greeting a woman, it has to be done with a bow and with his hands crossed over his belly, as even to touch a woman's hand in greeting is considered improper<sup>12</sup>.

In the collection of Eastern Turkestan manuscripts in the University Library of Lund there is a short essay on good form and proper manners among the Turks of Kashghar written by Gustaf Ahlbert (1884–1943). Ahlbert was a Swedish missionary of Svenska Missionsförbundet (The Swedish Mission Society) who spent most of his active life in Eastern

<sup>10</sup> R. B. Shaw, *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkand and Kashgar* . . . London 1871, p. 171. »Their method of eating requires some skill to convey the rice safely to one's mouth. It is taken up on the united fingers, and when it reaches the lips, a jerk of the thumb sends it into the mouth.«

<sup>11</sup> *Gustaf Raquette and Qasim Akhun* . . . p. 17–18.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 19.



Turkestan, especially in Kashghar. His knowledge of Eastern Turki and of the customs and the habits of the country was very solid. The manuscript, which carries the number Prov. 462, is undated but probably written around 1933 or 1934. It is written in Swedish with all words and expressions in Eastern Turki in the Arabic script and spelling of those days. It adds valuable and important details to our knowledge of the etiquette of the Turks of Southern Sinkiang, just before the great changes which came with the Communist revolution in China in the 1950's.

Here follows a translation of Ahlbert's essay. I have let the words and expressions in Eastern Turki written in Arabic characters remain in the spelling they have in the manuscript but within brackets I have added a phonetic transcription of them according to the system used by me in my previous works. Other additions are also put within brackets.

[Greetings.] When two persons meet the younger or inferior one will greet the other one with السلام عليكم [εs-sela:m æl'ejkum Peace be on you!] and the other one will reply وعليكم السلام [vε æl'ejkum εs-sela:m And on you too be peace!]. Thereafter they ask each other: تنجليق مو [tindzliq mu Are you in good health?] or بلاچارقه لارى تنجليق مو [balācaqalæri tindzliq mu Are you all of your household in good health?] or اوى واقعه لار تنجليق مو [öj va:qælær tindzliq mu Are your house conditions in good order?]. The reply will be: خدا يا شكر [xuda:ja: šükr Thanks to God, yes!], or, خداغه شكر [xuda:γæ šükr Thanks to God, yes!], الحمد لله تنجليق [æh-hæmdulilla:h tindzliq Praise be to God, they are in good health!] or, هاهمه ميز تنجليق [ha hæmεmiz tindzliq Yes, we are all in good health!].

If a man meets a woman in a road or in a street, the woman will usually greet with سلام [sela:m Peace!]. A man will never say *sela:m* to a woman but will reply تنجليق مو سلامت مو [tindzliq mu, sela:met mu Are you in good health? Are you safe and sound?]

[Visits.] If someone is paying a visit to somebody else, he will ask at the gate if the master of the house is home by saying e.g. باى بار مو [baj bar mu? Is the bai<sup>13</sup> at home?] if it happens to be a wealthy man's house. No one will enter another man's house without shaking the ring or lock-chain (locking device) at the door and ask for the owner of the house. If he is at home he will come to the door and say: بويان كليپ لار اويكا كيالى [bu jan kepla<sup>14</sup>, öjge kireli Come this way, let us go inside!] or, اويكا تكليف [öjge tεkli:f Please enter!] or, اويكا كيرسلا [öjge kirsle Please come in!] or, اويكا كيرائنيق [öjge kirenik<sup>15</sup> Let us go inside!].

On return from a journey they say اوبدان كلديلار مو تنجليق كلديلار مو [obdan keldiler mu, tindzliq keldiler mu hamasla<sup>16</sup> Did you arrive safely? Did you arrive in good health? Don't get tired]. The reply is سلامت بولسلا [sela:met bolsla May you be safe and sound!]. Nothing else. If a man returns from a long journey, for instance from travel abroad, he will be greeted with an embrace by another man. A woman will under the same circumstances be greeted by another woman with kisses, usually on the fore-

<sup>13</sup> *baj* 'a rich, wealthy man', scarcely in use any more.

<sup>14</sup> Shortened for *kelipler*.

<sup>15</sup> In the text *kireniq* which must be due to an error.

<sup>16</sup> *hamasla* < *harmasælær*.

head or on both hands. Then دایتی [dejtɪ<sup>17</sup> they say:] بلا بارقه لاری تنجلیق مو [bala barqælæri tindzliq mu, fæla:n tindzliq mu Are you all in your household in good health? Is (Mr., Mrs., Miss) so-and-so in good health?]. Their reply will be تنجلیق دایتی [tindzliq dejtɪ he (they) say (wish) you good health].

[On entering a house.] Upon entering a house the visitor will raise his hands and read the first sura of the Qur'an, the *fātiha*, but usually he will say only آمین [a.mi:n Amen!], move his lips a little, and end up with الله اکبر [alla:hu ekber God is Greatest!] or خیر برکه دولت زیاده آمین الله اکبر [xejri bereke<sup>18</sup> dowlet zia:de a.mi:n alla:hu ekber May you be blessed and your wealth increase! Amen! God is Greatest!] and stroke himself with both hands over his face. Then the guest will rise and again ask تنجلیق مو [tindzliq mu Are you in good health?] and so on. The more this question is repeated by all the other people present the better. The host then says اولتورسلا [oltursla Please be seated!] whereafter all sit down and begin chatting. If the guest is a close friend the host will bring him a cushion saying یولانسلا [jülensla<sup>19</sup> Please, lean against it!] or بر دم آرام السلا [bir dem a:ram alsla<sup>20</sup> Please, take a rest for a moment!] whereafter he leaves the room in order to ask for tea or some other refreshment. A table-cloth is then spread on the floor on which the refreshments offered are placed whereafter the host says قول چاقایلی [qol çaqaılı<sup>21</sup> Let us wash our hands!] قولاری تازه مو [qollæri taze mu Are your hands (recently) washed?]. If the guest has washed his hands a short time ago he says ها قولوم تازه سو لازم ایماس [ha qolum taze su lazem eməs Yes, my hands are clean. There is no need for water]. Otherwise he will say اوبدان [obdan Very well!] and the host or someone else present will pour water on his hands over a hand-basin during which the guest will read the following verse<sup>22</sup> and say عشق الله رحمت [išqallah rəhmet Thank you very much!]. Thereafter the table-cloth is spread and the refreshments are put on it and the host will hold out his hands towards the table-cloth and say - if there is bread on it - محاضر کا باقسلا [mahzergε<sup>23</sup> baqsla<sup>24</sup> Look at the offerings!]. If there are sweets and fruits on the table-cloth, he will say گزاککا باقسلا [gezekke baqsla Look at the sweets!], if there is food (i.e. meat) he will say اشقه باقسلا [aşqε baqsla Look at the food!]. If there is only one guest, the host is not permitted to leave the room when the guest is eating. But if there are several guests, he may either remain with them and partake of the meal or he may hold out both his hands towards the food and drink and say بی حضور [bihuzu:r<sup>25</sup> I will be absent!] and leave. If the guests are specially honoured guests the host will never sit down and eat with them but will attend them at the table-cloth. When all have finished eating and the time comes for clearing the table-cloth, the host or a member of the household will take away cups and dishes. A couple of the guests will then take hold of the end of the table-cloth and shake it so that the crumbs gather in the middle. The crumbs are

<sup>17</sup> dejtɪ a contracted form of *deidür edi*, lit. 'said', but here translated with the present tense.

<sup>18</sup> bereke for A. *barakat* blessing.

<sup>19</sup> < jülenseler > 'if you would lean against it', i.e. make yourself comfortable!

<sup>20</sup> alsla < alsælær if you would take a rest.

<sup>21</sup> çaqaılı < çarqaılı lit. let us rinse our hands.

<sup>22</sup> Omitted in the manuscript.

<sup>23</sup> mahzεr - ma:zε < A. *mā-ħazar* > 'whatever is ready or prepared in haste'.

<sup>24</sup> baqsla < baqsælær.

<sup>25</sup> bi huzu:r < A.P. *bī-ħuzūr* absent.

poured into one of the vessels and then they spread the table-cloth again and read prayers. If the meal is left on the table-cloth and it consists of only a tray of bread, it is covered with a corner of the table-cloth. If, on the other hand, there is some food left on the table-cloth, only an edge of the table-cloth is turned up in front of oneself before the prayers are read. When the host takes away the food left he says 'išqallah »Thank you!«.

During prayers they raise their hands saying Amen! and read half aloud or silently the following verse.<sup>26</sup> After the prayer they say Amen! Allah äkbär! aloud. Thereafter they all rise from their places and say عشق الله رحمت [išqallah *rehmet* Thank you very much!] or, عشق الله خدارحمت قيلسون [išqallah *xuda: rehmet qilsun* Thank you! May God have mercy upon you!] or, خدا برکه برسون [xuda: *berεε bersün* May God bless you!]. The host says بارک الله [barεkallah Bless God!]. If they have eaten pilaw, the fat on their hands is wiped off on their boots. Then water is again carried round and the hands are washed in order that the (benefit of the) prayers should remain inside the house. It is called ثواب اويده قالسون [seva:b *öjde qalsun* Let the merit remain in the house]. Then the less important guests leave اوزايدور [üzεjdür They break up]. The host will accompany them outside the door, اوزاتادور [üzεtädür He accompanies them], and says يانیشام لا [janışamla<sup>27</sup> Please come back together !] or, کلکان قدم لاریغه راضی بولوب یانسونلا [kelgen *qædæmlærivæ ra:zi bolup jansunla* Please come back if you feel content that your steps have brought you here!]. The guests will say خوش [xoş Good-bye!] or عشق الله رحمت [išqallah *rehmet* Thank you very much!] The host will thereafter return to the more distinguished guests. They will remain a little longer than the others and have another cup of tea and eat a little more. After having chatted a while, they depart in the same way as the others. If there has been a banquet, ضیافت [zia:fer<sup>28</sup>] a bowl with food covered with a thin bread is sent to the homes of the more distinguished guests. This is called ضلع قیلماق [zelle<sup>29</sup> *qilmaq* 'to carry home']. Nowadays (i.e. in the 1930's) they have begun to give instead of *zelle* an amount of money wrapped in paper for instance to the imam, the muezzin, the jüz başı<sup>30</sup>, šanye<sup>31</sup> and to the more distinguished aqsaqals<sup>32</sup>.

Postscript. I note a recent work in its entirety devoted to etiquette among the peoples of the Near East, namely *Etiket u narodov Perednej Azii*. Moscow 1988. (264 pp.)

<sup>26</sup> Omitted in the manuscript.

<sup>27</sup> *janışamla* < *janışsæ-m-lær* would you not come back!

<sup>28</sup> In the text erroneously *zia:fer*.

<sup>29</sup> *zelle*, the form ضلع is erroneous; it stands for A. زلة *zallat* 'whatever one carries away from the table of a friend' (Steingass 619). For a full description of the custom of *zelle* v. H. Kindermann, *Über die guten Sitten beim Essen und Trinken*. Leiden 1964, *zalla* 65, 87, 299, 357. Kindermann's treatise is valuable for comparative materials from the Arab world. Cf. further J. Østrup, *Orientaliske Høflighedsformler og Høflighedsformer*. København 1927.

<sup>30</sup> *jüz başı* head of one hundred, the title of an official in command of a hundred men.

<sup>31</sup> *šanye* a Chinese loan-word, usually *šanyï* 'elder' < *šanvej*, cf. T. R. Rakhimov, *Kitajskie elementy v sovremennoj ujugurskom jazyke*. Moskva 1970, p. 194.

<sup>32</sup> *aqsaqal* lit. white-beard, title of an official or a village elder, in some cases acting as an unofficial representative of a foreign power.



# The Ge<sup>c</sup>ez and the Arabic Vocabulary

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In the *Comparative Dictionary of Ge<sup>c</sup>ez* (1987), I examined all the Semitic cognates in relation to the Ge<sup>c</sup>ez vocabulary. It soon became evident that within the Semitic cognates Arabic was frequently represented. Of particular interest is the fact that Arabic alone shares with Ge<sup>c</sup>ez a number of cognates, to the exclusion of the other Semitic languages. In the present article I deal with these Arabic–Ge<sup>c</sup>ez cognates. No definitive conclusion on the relationship between Arabic and Ge<sup>c</sup>ez should, however, be drawn on the basis of lexical cognates. In fact, in both phonology and morphology Ge<sup>c</sup>ez has many features that are different from those of Arabic, among them the lack of interdentalals and of the velar *g*, and the existence of the labiovelars *g<sup>w</sup>*, *k<sup>w</sup>*, *q<sup>w</sup>*, *h<sup>w</sup>*.<sup>1</sup> Ge<sup>c</sup>ez has no marker for the definite article. The only case marker *-a* also serves for the expression of possession. The imperfect has the form *yəqattəl*, whereas Arabic has *yaqtul(u)*. The jussive has two patterns: *yəngər*, *yəlbəs*. The subject suffix of the first and second person perfect is *-k* as opposed to *t* of Arabic<sup>2</sup>. The prefixed *n* in a limited class of verbs is not a morpheme of a derived stem.<sup>3</sup>

This article has three sections. Section 1 deals with lexemes whose phonetic correspondences between Ge<sup>c</sup>ez and Arabic are regular. In section 1.1 the cognates are differentiated through metathesis; in section 1.2 the various cognates are explained through assimilation or dissimilation; in section 1.3 the lexemes of either Ge<sup>c</sup>ez or Arabic are augmented by *r*, *n* and, in an isolated occurrence, by *h*.

Section 2 enumerates the Ge<sup>c</sup>ez cognates that are related to Arabic cognates, as well as a small number of doubtful cognates. The term »related to« implies an etymological correspondence between two roots, even though there is no regular correspondence among all the radicals of the root. This principle applies, among others, to roots in which the consonants are alike but contain a certain laryngeal in one language and a different laryngeal in another language, or to the sibilant *s* in Ge<sup>c</sup>ez and *š* in Arabic (where one would expect *s*), and so on. It may also be applied to roots of the 1.2.2. type in one language and to a root with a laryngeal in another language<sup>4</sup>. In view of the inconsistency in Ge<sup>c</sup>ez orthography<sup>5</sup>, however, the demarcation line between the first and the second sections is not always solid. Thus a Ge<sup>c</sup>ez root such as *mazħa* 'laugh at' as against Ar. *mazaħa* might go back to a spelling *mazaħa*; or G. *qasama* 'season, make

<sup>1</sup> For a possible Cushitic origin, see *Word* 1 (1943). 61–62.

<sup>2</sup> Note, however, *k* in some dialects of Yemen; see W. Fischer and O. Jastrow, *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*. (Wiesbaden 1980) p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> See *JAOS* 63 (1943). 11.

<sup>4</sup> For more details, see Leslau XXII–XXIII.

<sup>5</sup> See Leslau XIX–XX.



tasty' is perhaps to be spelled *qašama* and would be a regular correspondence to Ar. *qašama*; or G. *byš*, *beša* 'become white', Ar. *byḏ*, *beḏa*, is perhaps originally *byḏ*, *beḏa*.

In section 3 the cognates occur mostly in Arabic, but also in Epigraphic South Arabic or in Modern South Arabian.

The lexemes mentioned below are taken not only from A. Dillmann's *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Lipsiae 1865) but also from other Western sources, as well as from the Ge'ez–Amharic dictionaries published by Ethiopian scholars. These sources are not given in the present article, but they are listed in Leslau X–XV. Sources for the various comparisons are only rarely mentioned in this article. For more details the reader is referred to the appropriate entries in the *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*.

Arabic loanwords in Ge'ez and Ge'ez loanwords in Arabic are not discussed here<sup>6</sup>.

The first order of the Ge'ez syllabary is transcribed *a*; the fourth order is transcribed *ā*.

The regular correspondences between the Arabic and the Ge'ez consonants are as follows:

The Arabic consonants ʾ ʿ *b d ḏ f h ḥ ḫ k l m n q r s š t ṭ w y z* are the same as in Ge'ez.

Ar. *ḏ* = G. *z* ; Ar. *ḡ* = G. *g* ; Ar. *ḡ* = G. ʿ ; Ar. *š* = G. *ś* ; Ar. *ṭ* = G. *s* ; Ar. *z* = G. *š*.

The regular correspondence between the Ge'ez and the Arabic consonants is as follows:

The Ge'ez consonants ʾ *b d ḏ f h ḥ ḫ k l m n q r t ṭ w y* are the same as in Arabic.

G. ʿ = Ar. ʿ, ḡ ; G. *g* = Ar. ḡ ; G. *s* = Ar. *s*, *ṭ* ; G. *ś* = Ar. *š* ; G. *š* = A. *š*, *z* ; G. *z* = Ar. *z*, *ḏ*.

## 1. Regular correspondance

G. ʾ*abaya* 'refuse, be unwilling', Ar. ʾ*abā* (ʾ*by*) 'refuse'. This root has in

Hebrew the meaning 'want, desire' (see Leslau 6);

G. ʾ*ah* 'sound produced by the throat', Ar. ʾ*ahḥa* 'cough';

G. ʾ*anqe* 'hawk', Ar. ʾ*anūq* 'vulture';

G. ʾ*arəʿut* 'yoke' (from *rʿw*), Ar. ʾ*urʿuwwa* 'yoke';

G. ʾ*araft* 'wall, partition of boards', Ar. ʾ*arrafa* 'set limits to', ʾ*urfa* 'limit, frontier';

G. ʾ*awl* 'vapor, mist', Ar. ʾ*āl* (ʾ*wl*) 'vapor that rises mornings and evenings';

G. ʾ*yn*, (ta)ʾ*ayyana* 'live well and comfortably', Ar. ʾ*āna* (ʾ*wn*) 'enjoy peacefullness, relax';

G. ʾ*esa* (ʾ*ys*) 'be confounded, groan in distress', Ar. ʾ*ayisa* 'despair of'; related to Heb. *yš* (nif'al), Ar. *yaʾisa*;

G. ʾ*azaba* 'spurt out, squirt', Ar. ʾ*azaba* 'flow';

G. ʾ*azzaza* 'order, command, exercise dominion', Ar. ʾ*azza* 'incite, urge, investigate';

G. ʿ*adaya* 'pay, pay back', Ar. ʿ*adā* (ʿ*dy*) 'pay';

<sup>6</sup> For Arabic loanwords in Ge'ez and Ge'ez loanwords in Arabic, see T. Nöldeke, »Lehnwörter in und aus dem Aethiopischen«, in his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg 1910), pp. 31–66; A. Jeffery, *The foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān* (Baroda 1938); W. Leslau, »Arabic Loanwords in Geez«, *JSS* 3 (1958): 146–168.

- G. *ʿadḏa* ‘rob, take away by force’, Ar. *ʿadḏa* ‘seize with the teeth, bite’;
- G. *ʿgś, (ta)ʿaggaśa* ‘bear patiently, be tolerant’, Ar. *ʿaḡsa* ‘withhold, hold back’ (Dillmann 1014);
- G. *ʿallaga* ‘defeat, vanquish’, Ar. *ʿālaḡa* ‘strive, prevail’;
- G. *ʿalas* ‘spelt’, Ar. *ʿalas* ‘spelt’;
- G. *ʿang* ‘nosing, chain for the neck’, Ar. *ʿināḡ* ‘rope of a basket’;
- G. *ʿqf, (ʿa)ʿqafa* ‘trip someone, make stumble’, Ar. *ʿaqafa* ‘bend, make hooked’;
- G. *ʿaqala* ‘gather, be collected’, Ar. *ʿaqala* ‘collect’;
- G. *ʿaqqaša* ‘impede, entangle’, Ar. *ʿaqša* ‘twist and plait (the hair)’;
- G. *ʿela (ʿyl)* ‘go astray’, Ar. *ʿāla (ʿyl)* ‘lead astray’;
- G. *bəʿasi* ‘man, male’, Ar. *baʿusa* ‘be strong’ (for the passage of meaning, cp. Ethiopic *tbʿ* ‘be strong’, Amh. *tābat* ‘male’);
- G. *bāḥ, bāḥā* ‘greetings!, hail!’, Ar. *baḥ baḥ* ‘bravo!, well done!’;
- G. *bāḥbəḥa* ‘flow roaring, rumble’, Ar. *baḥḥa* ‘have a hoarse voice’, *baḥḥa* ‘grumble (camel)’;
- G. *baḥata* ‘be alone’, *bəḥut* ‘unique, solitary’, Ar. *baḥt* ‘unmixed, anything that is eaten alone without seasoning’;
- G. *baḥʷbaḥʷa* ‘decay, become putrid’, Ar. *baḥw* ‘dates beginning to rot’, *bāḥa* ‘rot’ (Dillmann 517);
- G. *bālaqa* ‘perform a military dance’, Ar. *balaqa* ‘go rapidly’;
- G. *barbarre* ‘pepper’, Ar. *bābāriyy* ‘black pepper’ (see Leslau 102);
- G. *bry, (ta)bārāya* ‘alternate with one another’, Ar. *bārā (bry)* ‘compete with one another’;
- G. *bataka* ‘break, tear apart’, Ar. *bataka* ‘cut off’;
- G. *baṭṭa* ‘make an incision, scratch open’, Ar. *baṭaḥa* ‘level the soil and cover it with gravel’, where the leveling involves cutting the uneven parts;
- G. *baṭaṭa* ‘defecate’, Ar. (Syria) *baṭbaṭ* ‘defecate’, going back to *bṭṭ-bṭṭ*;
- G. *bwh* I, *boḥa* ‘be seen, be revealed’, Ar. *bāḥa (bwh)* ‘be revealed’;
- G. *bwh* II, *boḥa* ‘receive authority, receive permission’, Ar. *(ʿa)bāḥa, (bwh)* ‘permit’;
- G. *bazḥa* ‘be numerous, be abundant’, Ar. *bazḥ* ‘abundance of wealth’;
- G. *dabdaba* I ‘strike, pound, beat’, Ar. *dabdaba* ‘resound (trampling), trample’;
- G. *dabdaba* II ‘be inactive, be feeble’, Ar. *dabdaba* ‘crawl, hesitate in speaking’;
- G. *dabdaba* III ‘be bloated, be blown up’, Ar. (Dat.) *dabb* ‘fill up’;
- G. *dəd* ‘voice, sound’, Ar. *dawdā* ‘cries, noises’;
- G. *dedaya* ‘begin to run (child), toddle’, Ar. *daʿdaʿa* ‘run fast’;
- G. *dəgdəḡ* ‘cock’, Ar. *daḡāḡ* ‘domestic fowls (cocks, hens)’, from an onomatopoeic *dgdg* for which see Šh. *edegdeg* ‘make a tapping noise’;
- G. *dagdaga* ‘whither away’, *dagdag* ‘crumbs’, Ar. (Dat.) *daḡḡ* ‘grind to powder’;
- G. *dəḡʷr* ‘plough beam’, Ar. *daḡr* ‘wood of the plough to which the plowshare is attached’;
- G. *dəḥla* ‘flee, be defeated’, Ar. *daḥala* ‘flee’;
- G. *daḥara* ‘divorce, repudiate’, Ar. *daḥara* ‘drive away, banish’;
- G. *dḥs, (ta)daḥasa* ‘be trampled down, be tread down’, Ar. *daḥasa* ‘search by stirring the ground with the feet’;
- G. *daḥəḥa, dahəḥa* ‘be strong, be solid’, Ar. *daḥūḥ* ‘big, enormous (woman, she-cattle)’;
- G. *dalaqa* ‘be agitated, be shaken, move quickly’, Ar. *dalaqa* ‘dash forward’;

- G. *dammama* ‘close, cover, level’, Ar. *damama* ‘stop up a hole, level’;  
 G. *damaqa* ‘crush’, Ar. *damaqa* ‘hit on the mouth and break the teeth’;  
 G. *damasa* ‘cover, hide’, Ar. *damasa*, same;  
 G. *dəmmat* ‘cat’, Ar. *dəmma-t* (see Leslau 136);  
 G. *dannasa* ‘defile, render unclean’, Ar. *danisa* ‘be unclean, be polluted’;  
 G. *dassa* ‘touch, grope one’s way’, Ar. *dassa* ‘touch, feel with one’s hand’;  
 G. *dwr, dora* ‘stir a fire’, Ar. (Daṭ.) *dār (dwr)*, same;  
 G. *ḏiʔot* ‘low ground, meadow’, Ar. *ḏayʔa* ‘countryside, field’ (but see Leslau 147);  
 G. *ḏabsa* ‘be slack, become withered’, Ar. *ḏabīs* ‘weak’;  
 G. *ḏagʿa* ‘make up a bed, lean upon’, Ar. *ḏaḡaʿa* ‘lie on one’s side, recline’;  
 G. *ḏrr, (ʔan)ḏorara* ‘be distressed, be agitated, be restless’, Ar. *(ta)ḏawwara* ‘wither with pain’ (Fleisch 216);  
 G. *faḥara* ‘dig, bury’, Ar. *faḥara* ‘notch, cut’ (but see Leslau 157);  
 G. *fakkara* ‘explain, interpret, comment’, Ar. *fakara* ‘consider, examine mentally’;  
 G. *falama* ‘split, divide’, Ar. *flm, (if)-ta-lama* ‘cut off the nose’, Ar. (Daṭ.) *falām* ‘notch, indent’;  
 G. *fqq, faqqa* ‘split, cleave’, Ar. *faqqa (fqq)* ‘split, separate’;  
 G. *fasawa* ‘break wind’, Ar. *fasā (fsw)*, same;  
 G. *faṭana* ‘be rapid, be swift’, Ar. *faṭuna* ‘be clever, be discerning’ (see Leslau 171);  
 G. *gabaza* ‘delimit, measure, cut around’, Ar. *ḡabaza* ‘cut, set aside’;  
 G. *gadada* ‘force, compel’, *gədud* ‘serious, severe’, Ar. *ḡadda* ‘appear serious’, *ḡidd* ‘zeal, effort’;  
 G. *gʷədf* ‘sweepings, rubbish’, Ar. *ḡadaf* ‘dregs’;  
 G. *gafʿa, gafa* ‘oppress, press, harm, afflict’, Ar. *ḡafaʿa* ‘bring down an adversary, uproot a tree’;  
 G. *gff, gaffa* ‘strip off’, Ar. *ḡaffa* (VIII) ‘empty a receptacle’;  
 G. *gʷaggʷəʔa, gʷaggʷəʔa* ‘hurry, be quick, hasten’, Ar. *(ta)ḡaʔḡaʔa* (reduplicated ḡʔ) ‘flee’;  
 G. *gahada* ‘be manifest, be revealed, become visible’, Ar. *(ʔa)ḡhada* ‘appear’;  
 G. *gaḥafa* ‘take away, remove, disperse’, Ar. *ḡaḥafa* ‘skin, strip, scrape’;  
 G. *gəḥša* ‘retire, withdraw’, Ar. *ḡaḥaša (ʿan)* ‘go away from someone or something’;  
 G. *galaba* ‘catch fish’, *galab* ‘fishhook’, Ar. (Daṭ.) *ḡalab* ‘catch a fish in a net’, *ḡalab* ‘fish hook’;  
 G. *ḡəlbāb* ‘covering’, Ar. *ḡilbāb* ‘long, flowing outer garment’ (but see Leslau 189);  
 G. *garḥ* ‘merchandise, cargo’, Ar. *ḡaraḥa* ‘gain, acquire’;  
 G. *gayb* ‘cup, goblet, pitcher’, Ar. *ḡawb* ‘basin’;  
 G. *hababa* ‘blow (wind)’, Ar. *habba*, same;  
 G. *haddama* ‘sleep, slumber’, Ar. *hudām* ‘giddiness’;  
 G. *hədmət* ‘a garment of several pieces sewn together’, Ar. *hidm* ‘worn-out garment’;  
 G. *hagʷla* ‘be lost, be destroyed’, Ar. *(ʔa)ḡḡala* ‘lose wealth’;  
 G. *hallawa* ‘exist, be present’, Ar. (Yemen) *hallo* ‘there is’ (Müller, ZDMG 131 [1981] 399);  
 G. *hwk, hoka* ‘stir up, agitate’, Ar. *(ta)hawwaka* ‘be stupefied, be astonished’;  
 G. *hyd, heda* ‘rob, take by force, wrong’, Ar. *hāda (hyd)* ‘distress, oppress’;  
 G. *ḥabaya* ‘give surety, give bail’, Ar. *ḥabā (ḥbw)* ‘grant favor, endow (with a gift)’;  
 G. *ḥagafā* ‘shield’, Ar. *ḥaḡafa* ‘shield made of skins’;

- G. *ḥagaza* ‘help, support’, Ar. *ḥaḡaza* ‘intervene’;
- G. *ḥalbat* ‘Lenten dish consisting of barley, pepper and beans’, Ar. *ḥulba* ‘kind of food which is given to a woman when pregnant’;
- G. *ḥallata* ‘cut off, prune’, Ar. *ḥalata* ‘shave (the head), pluck (wool)’;
- G. *ḥamad* ‘ashes, dust’, Ar. (Daṭ.) *ḥamad* ‘be hot, burn’, or related to Ar. *ḥamada* (with *ḥ*) ‘the fire subsided but its embers remained unextinguishable’;
- G. *ḥamaqa* ‘be stupid, be foolish’, Ar. *ḥamiqa*, same;
- G. *ḥammaṣa* ‘parch grain lightly to facilitate grinding’, Ar. *ḥamaṣa* ‘fry meat’;
- G. *ḥamaya* ‘speak ill against, revile, calumniate’, Ar. *ḥamiya* ‘*alā* ‘be angered’;
- G. *ḥəmz* ‘poison, bitterness, rage’, Ar. *ḥamz* ‘pungency, acridity’;
- G. *ḥaqʿana* ‘churn’, Ar. *ḥaqana* ‘churn’;
- G. *ḥarag* ‘vine shoot, creeper’, Ar. *ḥaraḡa* ‘dense and tangled trees’;
- G. *ḥaśama* ‘be bad, be foul, be deformed’, Ar. *ḥaššama* ‘put to shame, annoy, anger’;
- G. *ḥazaba* ‘think, consider, suppose’, Ar. (*ta*)*ḥazzaba* ‘plot’;
- G. *ḥazaza* ‘swallow a liquid that chokes and causes coughing’, Ar. *ḥazāz* ‘rough’;
- G. *ḥabbāne* ‘fringes, border of a garment’, Ar. *ḥabana* ‘hem, tuck, and sew a garment for shortening’;
- G. *ḥəbr* ‘portion (of land, camp)’, Ar. *ḥubra* ‘portion, share’;
- G. *ḥaḏaba* ‘wash, wash away’, Ar. *ḥaḏaba* ‘dye, color’;
- G. *ḥallada* ‘last long, gather’, Ar. *ḥalada* ‘last long, remain forever’;
- G. *ḥarama* ‘sting, prick’, Ar. *ḥarama* ‘slit, perforate’;
- G. *ḥaraśa* ‘feed, take good care of someone by properly feeding him’, Ar. *ḥarrasa* ‘feed on occasion of childbirth’;
- G. *kabasa* ‘wind around’, Ar. *kabasa* ‘surround a town’, *kabasa raʿsahu fī* ‘muffle one’s head with a garment’;
- G. *kabata* ‘hide, conceal’, Ar. *kabata* ‘conceal’ (see Leslau 275);
- G. *kʿāhilā* (perhaps for *kʿāhilā*) ‘tamarisk, juniper’, Ar. *kuḥaylā* ‘marigold’;
- G. *kʿākʿā* ‘raven’, Ar. *kākā* ‘cluck (hen), cackle’;
- G. *kʿakʿəḥ* (from *kʿḥ-kʿḥ*) ‘stone, rock’, Ar. *kāḥ* ‘ragged face of a mountain, side of a valley consisting of the hardest and roughest stone’;
- G. *karkara* ‘grind coarsely’, Ar. *karkara* ‘cut in big pieces, grind’;
- G. *karama* ‘spend the rainy season’, *kəramt* ‘rainy season’, Ar. *karama* ‘be generous’ > ‘yield rain’ (cp. Ar. *raḥma* ‘rain’, *raḥima* ‘have mercy on’); dialectal Arabic *el-karamāt* ‘mois appelés ainsi parce qu’il pleut alors’ (Landberg 1453);
- G. *kʿasha* ‘defecate’, *kʿəsh* ‘filth, excrement, dung’, Ar. *kaṣaḥa* ‘sweep’ (Dillmann 842), with a possible development ‘sweep > sweepings, filth > dung’;
- G. *kawra*, *kora* ‘steer a ship’, Ar. (South Arabia) *kawwara* ‘place a boat in the water’;
- G. *kawasa*, *kosa* ‘agitate, shake’, Ar. (*ta*)*kawwasa* ‘be thrown upside down’;
- G. *labada* ‘plug, cover with a sticky substance’, Ar. *labida* ‘stick, cleave’;
- G. *laḥaqa* ‘reach by pursuing, adhere’, Ar. *laḥiqa* ‘obtain’ (that is, ‘reach something’);
- G. *lagaga* ‘drool, produce saliva’, Ar. (Yemen) *laḡḡaḡ* ‘drool’, *liḡāḡ* ‘saliva, drivel’ (Müller);
- G. *ləḡʿat* ‘abyss, depth’, Ar. *luḡḡ* ‘depth of the sea, abyss’;
- G. *laḥaqa* ‘stick together, cling’, Ar. *laḥiqa* ‘cling to’;



- G. *lakʿa*, *lakʿa* ‘affix, nail down’, Ar. *lakiʿa* ‘stick to’;
- G. *lakʿama* ‘hit someone’s chest, hit’, Ar. *lakama* ‘punch, strike with the fist’;
- G. *lakaya* ‘touch, anoint’, Ar. *lakiya* ‘stick to’;
- G. *lamʿa* ‘be resplendent, shine’, Ar. *lamaʿa* ‘shine, gleam’;
- G. *laqama* ‘chew on food that is hard and makes noise when it is eaten’,  
Ar. *laqima* ‘eat, swallow up’;
- G. *laqaqa* ‘shackle, strike through and through’, Ar. *laqqa* ‘strike with the hand’;
- G. *laqasa* ‘mourn’, Ar. *laqisu n-nafsi* ‘sad’;
- G. *lašlaša* ‘weigh, measure, move to and fro’, Ar. *lašlaša* ‘agitate, shake’;
- G. *lašqet* ‘lizard’, Ar. (Ḥaḍr.) *lišqa* ‘a kind of lizard’;
- G. *latama* ‘crush, pound, grind’, Ar. *latama* ‘strike’;
- G. *lattata* ‘stammer, stutter’, Ar. *latlata* (reduplicated *ltt*) ‘speak in an incomprehensible manner’;
- G. *māʿs*, *māʿs* ‘skin, hide’, *maʿasa* ‘remove the hide’ (denominative), Ar. *maʿasa* ‘rub (leather) vigorously’ (Dillmann 196);
- G. *madalhəmā* ‘darkness’, Ar. *dalham* ‘dark’;
- G. *maḥana* ‘scrub, soften the hide’, Ar. *maḥana* ‘soften the hide’;
- G. *malləʿa* ‘set out, hurry, pass on hastily’, Ar. *malaʿa* ‘run swiftly (she-camel)’;
- G. *malasa* ‘gleam, shine, polish, smooth’, Ar. *malisa*, *malusa* ‘be smooth, be sleek’;
- G. *maqlamt* ‘knife’, from *qlm*, Ar. *qalama* ‘cut trees, pare (nails)’;
- G. *maqʿara* ‘be tasty, taste good’, Ar. *maqara* ‘macerate (salt fish)’;
- G. *maraga* ‘plaster, cement together’, Ar. *marağa* ‘mix’;
- G. *mašara* ‘stretch out, spread out’, Ar. (*ta*)*maššara* ‘disperse (people)’;
- G. *matha* ‘be deceptive in appearance, appear as a specter’, Ar. *matiha* ‘go astray, err’;
- G. *mwš*, *moša* ‘scrub, wash’, Ar. *māša* (*mwš*), same;
- G. *myʿ*, *meʿa* ‘shout’, Ar. *māʿa* (*mwʿ*) ‘mew (cat)’, onomatopoeic;
- G. *myʿ*, *meʿa* ‘become water, melt’, Ar. *māʿa* (*myʿ*) ‘flow (liquid)’;
- G. *mazmaza* ‘stroke, rub, smear’, Ar. *mazmaza* ‘agitate’;
- G. *mazaza* ‘pull out, snatch away’, Ar. *māzza* (*mzz*) ‘set apart’;
- G. *nabaṭa* ‘boil, boil over’, Ar. *nabaṭa* ‘well, come forth (water)’;
- G. *nadala* ‘pierce, perforate’, Ar. *nadala* ‘pull out, take away’;
- G. *nḍw*, (*ʿa*)*nḍawa* ‘make stiff, decline, dwindle’, Ar. *naḍā* (*nḍw*) ‘dwindle, abate, decline’;
- G. *nakaba* ‘bend, fold’, *mankab* ‘bending (of the arm or leg), articulation’,  
Ar. *nakaba* ‘incline’;
- G. *naqha* ‘wake up, be alert, be attentive’, Ar. *naqiha* ‘convalesce’  
(Dillmann 643);
- G. *nwr*, (*ʿa*)*nwara* ‘stain, blemish, reprimand, disgrace’, Ar. *nāwara* ‘abuse, insult’;
- G. *qadawa* ‘be pure, be neat, smell good’, Ar. *qadā* (*qdw*) ‘be tasty, be savory’;
- G. *qʿəl* ‘bunch of grapes’, Ar. *qulla* ‘mass of people’;
- G. *qalṭafa* ‘hurry’, Ar. *qalṭafa* ‘agility’, also *falqāṭa* ‘hurry’;
- G. *qʿalaza* ‘amputate, hew off’, Ar. *qalaza* ‘hit’, Ar. (Syria) *qalaz* ‘remove’;
- G. *qʿənzāʿt* ‘lock of hair’, Ar. *quzʿa*, *qunzuʿa*, same, Ar. (Daḡ.) *qurzaʿa*;
- G. *qāqel* (from *qlql*) ‘small bell’, Ar. *qalāqil* ‘small bells’;
- G. *qʿaraba* ‘receive Holy Communion’, Christian-Arabic *qarraba* ‘administer Holy Communion’;
- G. *qaraḍa* ‘lacerate, tear away’, Ar. *qaraḍa* ‘cut, sever’;

- G. *qarafa* 'peel off, skin, bark', Ar. *qarafa* 'peel off';  
 G. *q'ārafa* 'cut into little pieces, tear, bite', Ar. (Syria) *qaraf* 'break in two';  
 G. *qarama* 'glean, harvest', Ar. *qarama* 'gnaw, nibble';  
 G. *qarṭāb* 'kind of insect that stings or eats leaves and bark', Ar. *qarṭaba* 'cut, eat entirely';  
 G. *qaśšara* 'peel, scrape', Ar. *qišr* 'rind, fish scales';  
 G. *qašqaša* 'munch, crush, crunch', Ar. *qašqaša* 'cut with scissors';  
 G. *qatr* 'peg, nail, goad', Ar. *qatīr* 'heads of nails in a coat of mail';  
 G. *raddāde* 'stubbornness, obstinacy', Ar. *radda* (*rdd*) 'reject, repel' (Ambros);  
 G. *ragaba* 'fear', Ar. *rağaba* 'fear';  
 G. *ragrag* 'swamp, marsh', Ar. *riğriğā* 'muddy remainder of a pool';  
 G. *rḥrḥ*, (*ta*)*rāḥrāḥa* 'be compassionate, have mercy, be gentle', Ar. *raḥḥa* 'be soft', *raḥraḥ* 'soft';  
 G. *rəḥša* 'be pampered, be tender', Ar. *raḥuša* 'be tender';  
 G. *rakʷsa* 'be unclean, be polluted', Ar. *riks* 'dirt';  
 G. *rmm*, (ʔ)*rmama* 'keep silence, keep silent', Ar. (ʔ)*ramma* 'be quiet';  
 G. *ramsa* 'be moistened, be wet', Ar. *rms*, *irtamasa* 'be dipped into water';  
 G. *rawiḥ* 'affable, kindhearted', Ar. *rawḥ* 'rest, quiet';  
 G. *saʿama* 'kiss', Ar. (Yemen) *saʿam* 'kiss' (Müller);  
 G. *sadala* 'pierce', Ar. *sadala* 'rend a garment';  
 G. *sakak* 'that is crushed, that is broken into small pieces', Ar. *sakka* (*skk*) 'cut off (the ears)';  
 G. *salafa* 'be lined up ready for battle', Ar. *salafa* 'go in front';  
 G. *salaka* 'walk, go', Ar. *salaka* 'travel, follow (a road)';  
 G. *saqaba* 'ignite, set on fire', Ar. *ṭaqqaba* 'make a fire, burn lightly';  
 G. *saraba* 'flood', Ar. *saraba* 'flow';  
 G. *sarafa* 'perforate', Ar. *sarafa* 'gnaw leaves or bark of a tree' (possibly a denominative from *surfa* 'kind of worm');  
 G. *swṭ*, *soṭa* 'unite, mix, stir', Ar. *sāṭa* (*swṭ*) 'mix, stir';  
 G. *šaqsāqa* 'interlace, perforate', Ar. *šaqqā* 'split', Ar. (Syria) *šaqsāq* 'tear, split';  
 G. *šarm* 'abyss, flood', Ar. *šarm* 'canal, main body of water';  
 G. *šarara* 'be high, be tall', Ar. *šarra* 'spread in the sun', that is, 'extend, lengthen';  
 G. *šwʿ*, *šawʿa* 'sacrifice, bring a whole-burnt offering', perhaps Ar. *šayyaʿa* 'burn, burn up' (Dillmann 256);  
 G. *šaʿf* 'new wine', Ar. *šaʿf* 'wine';  
 G. *šabšaba* 'cut', Ar. *šabšaba* 'decide' (for 'cut, decide', cp. G. *matarā*);  
 G. *šadf* 'precipice, abyss, gulf', Ar. *šadf* 'something that is high or lofty, ravine';  
 G. *šafana* 'draw water', *šafnat* 'leather bottle, bag', Ar. *šufn* 'vessel with which one draws water';  
 G. *šafaqa* 'be dense, be compact', Ar. *šafuqa* 'be compact, be thick';  
 G. *šahara* 'break through, shatter', Ar. *šuhra* 'crevice';  
 G. *šāmawa* 'toil, labor, be tormented', Ar. *šamā* (*šmy*) 'incite, urge, force to do something';  
 G. *šanšana* 'be frail, be perishable, be worm-eaten', Ar. *šanna* 'have a bad smell';  
 G. *šərrur* 'cuirass, armor', Ar. *šurra* 'he had a collar around his neck';  
 G. *šatma* 'count, calculate', Ar. *šattama* 'complete a number';  
 G. *tyh*, *teha* 'go uninvited from house to house', Ar. *tāha* (*tyh*) 'behave insolently';  
 G. *ṭabṭābe* 'rod, whip', Ar. *ṭabṭāba* 'stick used to hit a ball';

- G. *təhra* ‘rave, rage’, Ar. *ṭahara* ‘sigh, groan’;  
 G. *ṭalsa* ‘be charred, be blackened (grass)’, Ar. *ṭalisa, ṭalasa* ‘become of a dusty color, inclining to black’;  
 G. *ṭanf* ‘prominence, cornice’, Ar. *ṭanaf* ‘cornice, projection’;  
 G. *ṭaraqqa* ‘crush the testicles of an animal until it has diarrhea’, Ar. *ṭaraqqa* ‘beat, strike’;  
 G. *ṭət, ṭuṭ* ‘cotton’, Ar. *ṭūt*, same;  
 G. *wadafa* ‘hurl by a sling’, Ar. *wadafa* (for which see Leslau 606);  
 G. *walaga* ‘sneak away from a task, slip away’, Ar. *walaḡa* ‘sneak into’;  
 G. *walwala* ‘doubt, hesitate’, Ar. *walwāl* ‘anxiety’;  
 G. *waqaya* ‘cut, cut asunder, hew stones’, Ar. *ʾal-wāqī* ‘green woodpecker’, lit. ‘one who cuts, hits’;  
 G. *waṭṭəha* ‘pile up, heap’, Ar. *(ta)wāṭəha* ‘crowd around water (cattle)’;  
 G. *waṭs* ‘furnace’, Ar. *waṭis*, same;  
 G. *zabzaba* ‘drive away, reject, annoy’, Ar. *ḡabba (ḡbb)* ‘remove, drive away’, *ḡabḡaba* ‘annoy’;  
 G. *zəzf, ʾanzafzafa* ‘spread (wings or branches), agitate (hands)’, Ar. *zaffa, zafzafa* ‘spread (wings)’;  
 G. *zəhla* ‘corrode, rust’, Ar. (Dat.) *ḡaḡal*, same;  
 G. *zəhna* ‘be tranquil, be quiet’, Ar. *zahana* ‘be slow’;  
 G. *zahaqa* ‘peel off, decorticate’, Ar. *ḡahaqa* ‘be peeled off’;  
 G. *zahara* ‘be wide, be stretched out’, Ar. *zahara* ‘become full (sea), become tall (plant)’;  
 G. *zəhr* ‘grave, sepulcher’, Ar. *ḡahara* ‘put in store, reposit in secret’;  
 G. *zalafa* ‘rebuke, admonish, wrangle’, Ar. *zallafa* ‘disquiet, agitate’;  
 G. *zaraba* ‘hit’, *mazrab* ‘hammer’, Ar. (Dat.) *maḡrab* ‘club, thick stick’;  
 G. *zarzara* ‘disperse, scatter’, Ar. *ḡarḡara, ḡarra* ‘scatter’;  
 G. *zwf, (ta)zawwafa* ‘boast, brag’, Ar. *zāfa (zwf)* ‘walk in a proud and haughty way’.

### 1.1. Correspondence through metathesis

- G. *ʾafara, ʾafara* ‘smell nice, give off a good odor’, Ar. *ʾarafa* ‘use perfume’ (with metathesis);  
 G. *arraya* ‘be equal, be even’, Ar. *ʾāyara* ‘make even’ (with metathesis);  
 G. *dāhmama* ‘demolish, destroy’, Ar. *hadama* ‘demolish’, with metathesis and reduplication of the last radical (Praetorius, *ZDMG* 57 [1903], 275);  
 G. *lašha, lašha* ‘be insipid, be unseasoned, be tasteless’, Ar. *salīḡ* ‘tasteless (food)’, with metathesis (Praetorius 369);  
 G. *maḡasa* ‘uproot, rake, pull out’, Ar. *maḡasa* ‘knead, rub (leather)’, possibly Ar. *mašha* (with metathesis) ‘wipe out, erase’, Mh. *maḡōs* ‘wipe’;  
 G. *qanata* ‘put on a belt, gird on’, possibly Ar. *(ta)naṭṭaqa* ‘gird oneself’, with metathesis and emphatization of *t* to *ṭ* by assimilation (Dillmann 443);  
 G. *səhka* ‘be coarse, be rough’, Ar. *ḡasaka* ‘rough thing’ (with metathesis, see Brockelmann 273).

## 1.2. Correspondence through assimilation or dissimilation

- G. *qʷasla* ‘be wounded’, Ar. *qašala* ‘cut’ (Dillmann 431), either from an original *q-s* > *q-š* by assimilation, or from an original *q-š* > *q-s*, by dissimilation;
- G. *šəʕta* ‘be perfumed, be seasoned’, Ar. *saʕīṭ* ‘sweet or pleasant odor’ (Dillmann 1307), with *s* > *š* in Geʿez by assimilation to the glottalized *ʕ*;
- G. *šalaṭa* ‘drink to the last drop, drain dry’; related to Ar. *šalata* ‘empty (a container)’, either by dissimilation of *š-ṭ* > *š-t*, or by assimilation of *s-ṭ* > *š-ṭ*;
- G. *šetala* ‘be unfiltered (beer)’, Ar. *saṭala* ‘intoxicate’ (Dillmann 1283), by dissimilation of \**š-ṭ* becoming *š-t* in Geʿez and *s-ṭ* in Arabic;
- G. *zabd* ‘skin garment’, Ar. *sabad* ‘covering of goat’s hair’ > *zbd*, by assimilation (Dillmann 1050).

## 1.3. Correspondence through augmented *r*, *n*, *h*

- G. *ʔnl*, (*ta*)*ʔantala* ‘be impatient, be irritated’, augmented by *n* in relation to Ar. *ʔatala* ‘walk in a disorderly way (one who lost his temper), get angry’ (Růžička 166);
- G. *badala* ‘do wrong, commit an injustice, inflict pain’, Ar. *badhala* (with augmented *h*) ‘damage’, *badila* ‘suffer pain in the joints’ (that is, ‘be afflicted with pain’), SAr. *bdl* ‘sickness’;
- G. *hanbaba* ‘put forth berries’, from *ḥbb* with augmented *n*, and cp. Ar. *ḥabba* ‘berry’, SAr. *ḥbb* ‘cereal’;
- G. *ḥnṭb*, (*ʔa*)*ḥanṭaba* ‘scratch’, augmented by *n* in relation to Ar. *ḥaṭaba* ‘prune (a vine)’;
- G. *ḥartama* ‘become wretched, be distressed, be upset’, augmented by *r* in relation to Ar. (*ta*)*ḥattama* ‘crumble, break into small bits’ (Růžička 166);
- G. *qaṇṭasa* ‘break off vegetables, nip off’, related to Ar. (Syria) *qaṭaš* ‘cut, break’, with augmented *n*;
- G. *qaṇṭaṭa* ‘strip off, skin’, with augmented *n* in relation to Ar. *qaṭṭa* (*qṭṭ*) ‘cut’;
- G. *šabart* ‘palm, branch’, Ar. *šunbur* ‘solitary palm’ (with augmented *n*).

## 2. Doubtful or »related to« cognates

- G. *ʔabbasa* ‘sin, transgress, do wrong’; perhaps Ar. *ʔabasa* ‘receive badly, despise, offend’;
- G. *ʔafaya* ‘become fat’; related to Ar. *ʕafā* (*ʕfy*) ‘be dense’;
- G. *ʕammala* ‘become moldy’; related to Ar. *ḡamila* ‘be in a corrupt state (plant)’;
- G. *bkk*, *bakka* ‘vanish, disappear, become void’; perhaps Ar. *bakka* ‘tear, break, lower the value of something > being nothing’;
- G. *basbaba* ‘be wet, be drenched’; related to Ar. (Magrib) *m-bašbaš* ‘drenched’;
- G. *byš*, *beša* ‘become white, become yellow’; related to Ar. *bāḍa* (*byḍ*) ‘grow yellow’, *bayyaḍa* ‘make white’;
- G. *bezawa* ‘redeem, ransom’; related to Ar. *bāza* (*byz*) ‘be saved, live’;
- G. *dəḥka* ‘creep, crawl’; related to Ar. *dahaḡa* ‘drag on the ground’ (Dillmann 1084);



- G. *dmdm*, (<sup>ʔ</sup>*a*)*damdama* ‘go together’; related to the meaning of Ar. *damma* ‘make even’;
- G. *daqqasa* ‘be sleeping, fall asleep’; related to Ar. *dukās* ‘sleepiness’;
- G. *darga* ‘be joined together, be united’; perhaps Ar. (<sup>ʔ</sup>*a*)*draḡa* ‘insert something into’;
- G. *dym*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*adyām* ‘area, region, environs’; perhaps Ar. *dawwama* ‘move in a circle, turn’;
- G. *ḏaḥasa* ‘stamp one’s feet, beat the ground with the feet’; related to Ar. *daḥasa* ‘throw about the feet’, *daḥaṣa* ‘agitate the feet’;
- G. *faḥasa* ‘dig, excavate, scrutinize’; related to Ar. *faḥaṣa* ‘scrutinize’;
- G. *fakḥa* ‘be happy, rejoice’; related to Ar. *fakiha* ‘become merry, be gay’;
- G. *faḏawa* ‘burst open’; related to Ar. *fanada* ‘diversify’;
- G. *g<sup>w</sup>adaba* ‘cut with an axe, dig a ditch’; related to Ar. *ḡaḏaba* ‘tear out by pulling’;
- G. *gaḥaft* ‘basket’; perhaps Ar. (Daṭ.) *ḡaḥf* ‘gourd’ (but see Leslau 187);
- G. *galaṣa* ‘reveal, disclose, expose’; related to Ar. *ḡalaṣa* ‘skin an animal’;
- G. *gamasa* ‘divide in two, cut in half’; related to Ar. *ḡamaṣa* ‘remove the hair’;
- G. *ḡanbāt* ‘vessel of skin’; possibly Ar. *ḡubba*, same (Dillmann 1176);
- G. *hābo* ‘dew’; related to Ar. *ḥabāba* ‘dew drops’;
- G. *hadaya* ‘dissolve by overcooking’; related to Ar. *hdy*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*ahdā* ‘boil meat to shreds’ (Dillmann 18);
- G. *haḏawa* ‘be hot’; related to Ar. *hawf*, *hayf* ‘hot wind’;
- G. *harbada* ‘be violently mad, be furious’; related to Ar. <sup>ʔ</sup>*arbada* ‘be quarrelsome, be ill-mannered’;
- G. *ḥalaṣa* ‘be bland, lack seasoning’; related to Ar. *ḥalaṣa* ‘be pure, be free from admixture’;
- G. *ḥly*, (<sup>ʔ</sup>*a*)*ḥlaya* ‘bribe, accept bribe’; related to Ar. *ḥala<sup>ʔ</sup>a* ‘give money to’, or *ḥalā* (*ḥl<sup>w</sup>*) ‘give something as gratuity’;
- G. *ḥamaga* ‘trouble, disturb, render turbid’; related to Ar. *ḥamaḡa* ‘spoil, decay, be corrupt’, Ar. (Daṭ.) *ḥamaḡ* ‘be turbid’;
- G. *ḥmm*, (*ta*)*ḥamma* ‘be swampy, be muddy’; related to Ar. *ḥam<sup>ʔ</sup>a* ‘be swampy’;
- G. *ḥanpin* ‘lizard, tortoise’; perhaps Ar. *ḥanfā<sup>ʔ</sup>* ‘sea tortoise’ (Dillmann 110);
- G. *ḥaraḏa* ‘grind, pulverize, crush’; related to Ar. *ḥaraṣa* ‘split’;
- G. *ḥaraḏa* ‘grind, tear off a leaf from the top’; related to Ar. *ḥaraḏa* ‘pluck (a fruit), cut off (fruit)’;
- G. *ḥasaka* ‘to rain, be cold’; related to Ar. *ḥaṣaka* ‘let fall rain’;
- G. *ḥawwaṣa* ‘glance, observe, inspect’; related to Ar. *ḥāwaṣa* ‘consider, examine’, or *ḥaṣḥaṣa* ‘appear in broad light’ (v. Christian WZKM 54 [1957], 266);
- G. *ḥaz<sup>ʔ</sup>a* ‘prevent, drive, chase away’; perhaps Ar. *ḥaza<sup>ʔ</sup>a* ‘gather and drive camels’ (if the basic meaning is ‘drive’);
- G. *ḥazzaba* ‘tie, bind’; perhaps Ar. *ḥazama* ‘tie up’, with alternance of labials;
- G. *ḥaṣada* ‘twist’; related to Ar. *ḥaṣada*, same;
- G. *ḥayyaḏa* ‘sting, pierce’; related to Ar. (Daṭ.) *ḥād* (*ḥwḏ*) ‘agitate, shake’;
- G. *kamasa* ‘deprive one of food’; perhaps Ar. *kamasa* ‘be stern-looking’;
- G. *k<sup>w</sup>ar<sup>ʔ</sup>a* ‘hit on the head with the fist, strike’; related to Ar. *qara<sup>ʔ</sup>a* ‘knock (at the door), strike on the head’ (Dillmann 840);
- G. *kawwala* ‘form the rearguard’; related to Ar. (*ta*)*kayyala* ‘keep on the rear’ (Dillmann 860);
- G. *kyd*, *keda* ‘tread, trample’; related to Ar. *kadda* (*kdd*) ‘press hard’, *kadīd* ‘ground trampled down’ (Dillmann 872);



- G. *lagaba* 'sew, patch'; perhaps Ar. *lağama* 'sew', with alternance of labials (Ambros);
- G. *lh̄f*, (*ta*)*l̄əḥfa* 'be troubled, worry, have concern for'; related to Ar. *lahafa* 'grieve for';
- G. *l̄əḥma* 'be tender, be soft'; related to Ar. *lahma* 'languidness';
- G. *l̄āḥl̄əḥa* 'become weak, be soft'; related to Ar. *lahi'a* 'be soft, be lax';
- G. *lakafa* 'touch, reach'; perhaps related to Ar. *laqafa* 'catch' (Ambros);
- G. *lam̄ṣ* 'leprosy, scab', related to Ar. *lamaz* 'white spots on a horse's lower lip' (Armbruster 35);
- G. *laqaya* 'open, loosen'; related to Ar. *laqqa* (*lqq*) 'come loose';
- G. *lawlawa* 'move the tongue, yawn, gape'; related to Ar. *la'la'a* 'move, wag the tail' (Fleisch 217);
- G. *ma'aka*, *ma'aka* 'get angry, take offense'; possibly Ar. *ma'aka* 'rub' (that is, 'do something in a rough way'), *mā'ik* 'quarreler';
- G. *mal'a* 'anoint, grease, smear'; perhaps Ar. (Dat.) *mala'* 'smooth away';
- G. *mal'ā* 'one who is inclined to fornication'; related to Ar. *mālağa* 'dally, be wanton';
- G. *mazaga* 'tear, pluck out, snatch away'; related to Ar. *mazaqa* 'tear off (a garment)';
- G. *mazḥa* 'laugh, laugh at, jeer at'; related to Ar. *mazaḥa* 'joke, jest';
- G. *naḍfa* 'be dried up'; related to Ar. *naḍaba* 'dry up' (with alternance of labials);
- G. *nassəḥa* 'repent'; perhaps Ar. *nasaha* 'delete, abolish, abrogate', that is, 'annul a misdeed > repent';
- G. *nat'* 'tent covering, tanned hide dyed red'; related to Ar. *naṭ'* 'leather mat used as a table cloth or gaming board' (Dillmann 660);
- G. *naṭara* 'scintillate, sparkle'; related to Ar. *naḍura* 'be radiant, be brilliant';
- G. *qadafa* 'row'; related to Ar. *ğadafa*, *qaḍafa*, *ğadafa*, *ğadafa*;
- G. *qanaša* 'leap'; perhaps Ar. *qamaša* 'jump' (Dillmann 450);
- G. *qasama* 'season, make tasty'; perhaps Ar. *qašama* 'choose the best dishes, eat the best dishes';
- G. *qəssāme* 'substance'; related to Ar. *qišm* 'nature', Ar. (Syria) *qəšm* 'temperament and constitution';
- G. *qašafa* 'uncover, open'; related to Ar. *kašafa* 'uncover' (Dillmann 422);
- G. *ragaza* 'pierce, transfix, stab'; related to Ar. *rakaza* 'fix in the ground';
- G. *rasna* 'glow, be red-hot'; related to Ar. (Dat.) *rašin* 'burn';
- G. *sababa* 'blow up', *ʿasbaba* 'be joyful'; related to Ar. *šabba* 'be lively, leap briskly';
- G. *safala* 'hit, hammer'; perhaps Ar. (Dat.) *sāfila* 'anvil', that is, 'that on which one hits with the hammer';
- G. *siḥat* 'kind of garment'; perhaps Ar. *sayḥ* 'striped garment';
- G. *səḥwa* 'be extended, be spread out'; related to Ar. *šāḥa* (*šwḥ*) 'be open', *šāḥa*<sup>n</sup> 'large, spacious';
- G. *sak'a* 'thread (a needle), string'; related to Ar. (Dat.) *šaka'*, same;
- G. *sakaya* 'lay an accusation, complain of'; related to Ar. *šakā* (*škw*) 'accuse' (see Leslau 498);
- G. *sarsara* 'bore a hole, saw'; related to Ar. *šaršara* 'split';
- G. *śazaya* 'detach, separate'; related to Ar. *šadḍa* 'separate';
- G. *šabaya* 'swim, be spilled'; related to Ar. *šabba* (*šbb*) 'pour';
- G. *šamata* 'aim'; related to Ar. *samata* 'pursue a right course', *samt* 'aim' (Ambros);
- G. *šaraga* 'sweep, cut'; related to Ar. *ḍarağa* 'split, slit' (Ambros);

- G. *tantana* ‘be shaken, vacillate’; related to Ar. *taltala*, *tartara* ‘shake, agitate’, with alternance of liquids;  
 G. *tosha* ‘mix, mingle’; related to Ar. *wasiha* ‘be dirty’, *ittasaḥa* ‘be dirty’, with agglutinated *t* in Ge‘ez (Nöldeke 87);  
 G. *zababa* ‘hover, soar’; related to Ar. *ḍabḍaba* ‘dangle, move to and fro’;

### 3. Cognates in Arabic, Modern South Arabian and Epigraphic South Arabic

- G. *ʿanama* ‘weave’; SAR. *ʿnm*;  
 G. *ʿanqoqəho* ‘egg’; probably Soq. *qehelihon*, Šh. *qohlət*, Mh. *qoḥalēt*;  
 G. *ʿazeb* ‘south, south wind’; Ar. *ʿazyab*, Mh. *haziēb* ‘south wind’;  
 G. *ʿām* ‘year’; Ar. *ʿām*, SAR. *ʿwm* (?), Šh. *ʿoñ*;  
 G. *ʿərʃ* ‘spoon, handle of a plough’; Ar. *ḡaraḡa* ‘scoop’, SAR. *ʿrʃ* ‘well from which one draws water’, Mh. *ḡarōf* ‘draw water’;  
 G. *ʿasaba* ‘hire for wages’; Ar. *ʿasaba* ‘pay a hire for a stallion’s covering’, SAR. *ʿs<sub>3</sub>b* ‘hiring charge (of beast)’;  
 G. *ʿašad* ‘farm yard, village’; SAR. *ʿ-ʿšd* ‘villages’;  
 G. *ʿataba* ‘seal, bless with the sign of the cross’; SAR. *ʿtb* ‘vow, destine’;  
 G. *badn* ‘corpse’; Ar. *badan* ‘body’, Mh. *bedēn*;  
 G. *badara* ‘be swift, hurry’; Ar. *badara* ‘precede, be first’, Ḥars. *bedōr* ‘outstrip all others’, Tham. *bdr* ‘hurry’;  
 G. *badw* ‘desert’; Ar. *badw*, SAR. *\*bdw*, *bdt* ‘open country’;  
 G. *bəher* ‘region, province’; Ar. *baḥra* ‘coastal region, flatland’, SAR. *bḥr*;  
 G. *balaq* ‘marble’; Ar. *balaq* ‘marble’, SAR. *blq* ‘limestone’;  
 G. *baqalt*, *baqʿalt* ‘date palm’; Mh. *baḡlāt* ‘date palms’;  
 G. *dabala* ‘bring together, gather’; Ar. *dabala* ‘unite’, Soq. *dbl*;  
 G. *daʿa* ‘thrust, push’; Ar. *daʿa* ‘push’, Šh. *defaʿ*;  
 G. *dafana* ‘cover, hide’; Ar. *dafana* ‘hide, bury’, Soq. *defon* ‘bury’, SAR. *m-dfn* ‘corn-storage pit’;  
 G. *dəḡda* ‘glide, slide, slip’; Ar. *daḡda* ‘slip’, Soq. *daḡaḡ* ‘slide’;  
 G. *dəḡra* ‘be behind, be late’; Soq. *tḥar* ‘remain behind’;  
 G. *dammara* ‘kick, tap’; possibly Ar. *damara* ‘destroy’, Mh. *demōr*;  
 G. *dərʿ* ‘coat of mail’; Ar. *dirʿ* ‘breastplate’, Soq. *darah* ‘put on a garment’ (but see Leslau 141);  
 G. *ḡagama* ‘be on the left hand, be distorted’; Ar. *ḡaḡima* ‘be distorted’, Šh. *ḡogum* ‘speak out of the side of the mouth’ (W. Müller);  
 G. *ḡwg*, *ḡoga* ‘be malignant, be perverse’; perhaps related to Ḥars. *šg(g)*, *šeg* ‘cheat, low person’;  
 G. *faḡfada* ‘increase, augment, exceed’; SAR. *faḡd-t-m* ‘reichlich tragend’ (Müller);  
 G. *faḡama* ‘obstruct, close up’; Šh. *fozum* ‘stop someone’s mouth’;  
 G. *fanqala* ‘pry loose, dig up, tear up the ground’; Ar. (Syria) *fanqal* ‘overturn’; probably also SAR. *fql* ‘reap crop’, from the meaning ‘pull out’;  
 G. *gaḡlā*, *gaḡblā* ‘gutter, trough, pitcher’; Soq. *gibʿeleh* ‘hollow place in which there is water’;  
 G. *ḡādā* ‘gift, present, offering’; Ar. *ḡada* ‘gift, bounty’, SAR. *gdy-t* ‘grant of land’;  
 G. *ḡayada* ‘be quick (horse), be fast’; Ar. *ḡāda* (*ḡwd*) ‘be swift (horse)’, Ḥars. *ged* (*gyd*) ‘good, fine’, SAR. *gwd* ‘swift’;

- G. *hadʿa* ‘be tranquil, be quiet’; Ar. *hadaʿa* ‘be quiet’, Soq. *hyode*, Šh. *hedeʿ*;
- G. *hagar* ‘city, town’; Ar. (Dat.) *haġar* ‘village in ruins’, SAR. *hgr* ‘city’;
- G. *hgg*, *haggaga* ‘lay down laws, legislate’; Ar. *haġġ* ‘plead in a lawsuit’, SAR. *hg* ‘ordinance, right’;
- G. *halafa* ‘swear’; Ar. *halafa* ‘swear’. Mh. *š-halef*, SAR. *hlf*;
- G. *halala* ‘be gathered, come in’; Ar. *halla* ‘take up residence, encamp’, SAR. *hll*;
- G. *halqat* ‘finger ring’; Ar. *halqa* ‘ring of metal’, Soq. *halqeh* ‘ring’;
- G. *hanaka* ‘munch, chew’; Ar. *hanaka* ‘chew’, from *hanak* ‘palate’, Soq. *h-t-nk* ‘give food, receive food’;
- G. *harir* ‘silk’; Ar. *harīr* ‘silk’, Soq. *haraheh*. Geʿez *harir* is perhaps borrowed from Ar. *harīr*;
- G. *hašar* ‘straw’; Ar. *hušr*, *hušur* ‘husks’; Soq. *hosir* ‘bad pasture’; unless Soq. *hosir* is to be connected with the root *hsr*, *hsr* ‘be missing’ (see Leslau 266, under *hasra*);
- G. *hwr*, *hora* ‘go, proceed’; Ar. *hāra* ‘quarter of a city’, that is, ‘a place where one settles’; perhaps also Ar. *rāha* ‘go’ (with metathesis), SAR. *hwr* ‘settle in a town’;
- G. *hys*, *hesa* ‘blame, rebuke, vituperate’; related to Ar. *hāsa* (*hys*) ‘act treacherously’, SAR. *hys*;
- G. *həzb* ‘nation, people, tribe’; Ar. *hiżb* ‘party, sect’, SAR. *ʔ-hzb* ‘armed bands’;
- G. *hazana* ‘be sad, be sorrowful’; Ar. *hazina* ‘be sad’, Šh. (*a*)*hzin*;
- G. *habaza* ‘bake’, *habz* ‘bread’; Ar. *hubz* ‘bread’ (see, however, Leslau 257), Mh. *habōz*;
- G. *hadaga* ‘abandon, leave behind’; Ar. *hadaġa* ‘miscarry, cast her young before time (she-camel)’, SAR. *hdg* ‘leave’;
- G. *hallawa* ‘watch, guard’; SAR. *hlw*, *hly* ‘save, deliver’; related to Ar. *hāla* (*hwl*) ‘take care of’;
- G. *kafana* ‘cover, veil’; Ar. *kafana* ‘envelop, shroud’, Šh. (*e*)*kofen* ‘enshroud’;
- G. *karaba* ‘gather, collect’; Ar. *karaba* ‘fasten tightly’; perhaps SAR. (*h*)*krb*, (*s*)*krb* ‘unite a bride with one’s family’ (Müller);
- G. *laʿafa* ‘take a morsel, eat avidly’; Ar. *laʿafa* ‘eat becomingly’, Soq. *Pf* ‘eat’;
- G. *ləgʿ* ‘the milk secreted a few days before and after childbirth’; Šh. *legaʿ* ‘suck (teats)’;
- G. *lakʿa* ‘ascribe, imprint’; SAR. (Qataban) *lkwʿ*, pl. (‘schriftlich’) *festgelegt* (W. Müller);
- G. *lašaqa* ‘adhere, cling to’; Ar. *lašaqa* ‘adhere’, SAR. (Qataban) *lšq* ‘attach oneself to’, Hars. *layseq* ‘stick to’;
- G. *maʿada* ‘counsel, warn’; Soq. *maʿad* ‘intend’;
- G. *mogad* ‘wave’; Ar. *mawġa(t)* ‘wave’, Mh. *mouġit* (see Leslau 332);
- G. *māhraka* ‘take as booty’; SAR. *mhrk* ‘booty’;
- G. *mḥḍn*, (*ʿa*)*māḥḍana* ‘entrust’, *māḥḍan* ‘trust, deposit’; SAR. *mḥḍn* ‘favor, grant’;
- G. *māḥḥafad* ‘tower’; SAR. *mḥfd*, same;
- G. *maqḍut* ‘pot, caldron’; Soq. *mqeyḍah* (Bittner, WZKM 30 [1917–18], 423–4);
- G. *mərgʷəz* ‘staff, rod’; Mh. *markez*, same;
- G. *maret* ‘earth, clay’; SAR. *mrt-m* ‘limestone’ (?);
- G. *masʿ* ‘north, north wind, southwest wind, southeast’; Ar. *mišʿ* ‘north wind’, Mh. *msaʿ* ‘south’;

- G. *mys*, *mesa* ‘serve mead at a banquet’; *mes* ‘mead’; Ar. *māta* (*mwt*) ‘mix well’, SAR. *myt* ‘wine’;
- G. *naḍara* ‘rip off, tear off’; Soq. *n-t-šr* ‘be torn’;
- G. *nāfaqa* ‘care for, be solicitous, long for’; perhaps SAR. *nfq* ‘binding, effective’, Šh. (*e*)*nfeq* ‘manage to do well’;
- G. *nafaṭa* ‘blow the nose’; Ar. *nafaṭa* ‘sneeze’, Soq. *nefoṭ* ‘blow the nose’;
- G. *naknaka* ‘shake, agitate’; Ar. *naknaka* ‘importune a debtor’, *nakka* (*nkk*) ‘pester, annoy’; related to Soq. *negneg* ‘shake’;
- G. *naqša* ‘dry up, dwindle away’; Ar. *naqša* ‘diminish, wane’, SAR. *ḥ-nqš* ‘diminish’, Šh. *nqeš* ‘be a small amount’, Mh. *nqš* ‘decrease’;
- G. *našafa* ‘spread, spread out, strew, scatter’; Ar. *naššafa* ‘cover a young girl with a veil’, Mh. *he-nḍauf* ‘spread’, Soq. *ʿe-nḍef*;
- G. *nazaṭa* ‘exhaust, empty, tear off’; Ar. *nazaṭa* ‘drain, exhaust’, Soq. *nezof* ‘draw water’;
- G. *qabša* ‘collapse, decline’; related to Ar. *qabaḍa* ‘constrict, shrink’, Šh. *qōš* (from *qbs*) ‘not have milk (cow)’;
- G. *qadḥa* ‘draw water’; Ar. *qadaḥa* ‘ladle out’, SAR. *m-qdh* ‘cup, vessel’;
- G. *qʷəns* ‘flea’; probably Ar. *qamaš* ‘small insect’, Šh. *qīeš* (from *qms*) ‘small bug’ (W. Müller);
- G. *qašama* ‘harvest (grapes), pick (fruit, flowers)’; SAR. *qs,m* ‘vegetable plot’, Ar. (Yemen) *ma-qšama*;
- G. *qatawa* ‘pay tribute’; Ar. *qatā* (*qtw*) ‘be in service of someone’, SAR. *m-qtw-y* ‘one who is in service’;
- G. *qyh* (*qeḥa*) ‘be red’; SAR. *qyh* ‘red’;
- G. *radʿa* ‘help’; Ar. *radaʿa* ‘support, help’, SAR. *rdʿ*;
- G. *ragaḍa* ‘kick, trample, stamp’; related to Ar. *rakaḍa* ‘stamp’, Mh. *rikōḍ*;
- G. *raḥala* ‘saddle, harness’; Ar. *raḥl* ‘camel saddle’, SAR. *rhl* ‘equipment (e.g. saddle)’, Mh. *raḥāl* ‘saddle’;
- G. *rams* ‘raft’; Ar. *ramat* ‘raft’, Soq. *remeš*; see Leslau 471;
- G. *raqaya* ‘sprinkle, exorcise, recite incantations’; Ar. *raqā* (*rqy*) ‘enchant’, SAR. *rq-t* ‘female magician’;
- G. *rsy*, (*ʿa*)*rsaya* ‘drop anchor, bring to rest’; Ar. *rasā* (*rsy*) ‘lie at anchor’, Soq. *riši* ‘be fixed, be attached’, Hars. *resā* ‘stand firm’, *ʿarsā* ‘drop anchor’;
- G. *sabʿ* ‘people’; Mh. *habū* ‘people’ (with Mh. *h* corresponding to *s*, *š*);
- G. *sagam* ‘barley’; related to Soq. *škimoh* ‘grain of millet’;
- G. *samra* ‘flourish, grow abundantly’; Ar. *ṭamara* ‘bear fruit’, SAR. *ṭmr* ‘produce crops’;
- G. *sarwe* ‘army, troops’; Ar. *sariyya* ‘military detachment’, SAR. *s<sub>1</sub>rwy-t* ‘camping force’ (but see Leslau 515);
- G. *šhl*, (*ta*)*šāhala* ‘be gracious, be lenient’; Ar. *sahula* ‘be smooth, be level’, SAR. *s<sub>1</sub>hl* ‘plain’;
- G. *šāqaya* ‘vex, afflict, torment’; Ar. *šaqiya* ‘be in distress’, Šh. *šiqi* ‘be tired’;
- G. *šabbəḥa* ‘pay duty, pay tribute’; SAR. (Qataban) *šbh-t* ‘taxes’;
- G. *šabḥa* ‘become morning’; Ar. (*ʿa*)*šbaḥa* ‘become morning’, SAR. *šbh* ‘morning’, Soq. *šabh*;
- G. *šafʿa* ‘slap in the face’; Ar. *šafaʿa*, Šh. *šfaʿ*;
- G. *šaraba* ‘hew, do carpentry’; Ar. *šaraba* ‘cut, remove’, SAR. *šrb-t* ‘cutting (of a road)’, Soq. *šerob* ‘cut’;
- G. *šwr*, *šora* ‘carry’; Soq. *šwr* ‘carry’;
- G. *šyh*, *šeḥa* ‘make level, pave a road’; SAR. *šyh* ‘lay out (plantation), plan a construction’;
- G. *təkʷān* ‘bedbug’; Ar. *kuttān*, Mh. *kettōn*;



- G. *tarfa* 'be left, remain, be excellent'; Ar. *tarafa* 'live in opulence', SAR. *trf* 'remain', Soq. *terof* 'be in good health';
- G. *ṭabawa* 'suck (the breast)', *ṭəb* 'breast'; Ar. *ṭiby* 'teat', Soq. *ʿaṭab*, Mh. *wōṭab*;
- G. *ṭāhl* 'sediment, dregs'; Ar. *ṭuhl* 'dregs', Šh. *ṭaḥel*;
- G. *waddəʿa* 'finish, complete'; SAR. *dʿ* 'already';
- G. *wadqa* 'fall, fall down'; Ar. *wadaqa* 'fall in drops', SAR. *wdq* 'fall';
- G. *waddəḥa* 'cause labor pain'; Soq. *ʿadaḥ* 'have pain';
- G. *wafara* 'go to a field (for any agricultural activity)'; SAR. *wfr* 'cultivate';
- G. *wafaṭa* 'burn, ignite'; SAR. *wft* 'burn';
- G. *wḥs*, (*ʿa*)*wḥasa* 'make a gratuitous loan'; SAR. (Qataban) *s<sub>1</sub>-wḥs<sub>3</sub>* 'give security';
- G. *wakaba* 'so something assiduously, be diligent'; Ar. *wakaba* 'apply oneself perseveringly', SAR. *wkb* 'be carried out (mission)';
- G. *wassana* 'delimit, determine'; Ar. (Yemen) *waṭan* 'stone delimiting the border', SAR. *wṭn* 'delimit';
- G. *wazwaza* 'agitate, shake'; related to Ar. *hazhaza* 'shake, quiver', Šh. *hezz*, *e-hezhez*;
- G. *zəbād* 'civet cat, musk'; Ar. *zabād*, Mh. *zebād*;
- G. *zafana* 'dance'; Ar. *zafana*, Mh. *zefōn*;
- G. *zammara* 'attest, expound'; SAR. *ḍmr* 'initiate a legal process';
- G. *zrr*, *zarra* 'spread in the sun to dry'; Mh. *ḍer* 'spread out', Šh. *ḍerr*.

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## Languages

Amh. = Amharic; Ar. = Arabic; Daṭ. = Daṭina; G. = Ge'ez; Ḥadr. = Ḥaḍramut; Ḥars. = Ḥarsusi; Mh. = Mehri; SAr. = Epigraphic South Arabic; Soq. = Soqotri; Šh. = Šahri; Tham. = Thamudean.

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# Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Muʿtazilism

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The *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ al-kāfī* of the Kufan Zaydī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī (d. 445/1035), a massive summary of the legal doctrine of the four chief authorities of the Zaydiyya in the 3rd/9th century, contains a final section on theological doctrine<sup>1</sup>. In it al-ʿAlawī reports a few views of Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246/860), the grandfather of the founder of the Zaydī imamate in the Yemen, which are not derived from his writings and are significant for defining his position in relation to contemporary Muʿtazilī doctrine. Al-Qāsim stood, as is known, alone among the Zaydī authorities of his time backing views broadly associated with the Muʿtazila, in particular with regard to the justice (ʿ*adl*) of God. While the three other Zaydī authorities whose doctrines are regularly reported by al-ʿAlawī, the ʿAlids Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd, al-Ḥasan b. Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd, and the Kufan scholar Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Murādī, vehemently opposed Qadarī teaching and maintained that good and evil are equally determined by the divine *qadar* and Will, al-Qāsim, like the Muʿtazila, strictly dissociated God from all evil. Yet al-Qāsim's extant treatises also reflect obvious differences with the Muʿtazilī school doctrine in approach and substance of his theological teaching.

Al-ʿAlawī records al-Qāsim's theological views only exceptionally. Although he does not state his own opinions, he no doubt agreed in general with the anti-Muʿtazilī tradition of the Kufan Zaydiyya. His main sources were the books of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Murādī, who in turn quoted the ʿAlid scholars with whom he had associated over a long period, and some independent Zaydī transmissions. In the chapters on the divine *qadar* and Will, on human capacity (*istiṭāʿa*) and the creation of human acts by God (*khalq al-aʿāl*), where al-Qāsim could be expected to have held deviant views, he is not quoted at all. Where he is quoted, his views were clearly in basic agreement with the Kufan Zaydī tradition. They confirm al-Qāsim's deep reservations to Muʿtazilī *kalām* and reveal, more clearly than his writings, their basic motivation.

Al-ʿAlawī quotes al-Murādī as stating in his *Kitāb al-Masāʾil*: »I asked al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm«, namely about someone who says: Whoever is killed dies without appointed term (*ajal*), and if he had not been killed he would not have died, »and I mentioned to him the statement of someone who

<sup>1</sup> On Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlawī and his *K. al-Jāmiʿ al-kāfī* see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, pp. 80 ff. and the biographical notes by al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī in the introduction to his edition of al-ʿAlawī's *Faḍl ziyārat al-Ḥusayn*, Qom 1403/1983. The section on the theological doctrine of *al-Jāmiʿ al-kāfī* is available to me in a microfilm of the copy of the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʿ. See *Qāʾima bi-l-Makhtūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya al-musawwara bi-l-mīkrūfilm min al-Jumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Yamaniyya*, Cairo 1967, p. 13.

says: Surely, when he killed him he cut his appointed term. Al-Qāsim reproved this statement and charged anyone who said this with disgrace (*aqbala ʿalā man qāla bihī bi l-makrūh*). I asked him (further) about whoever said this, and he said: He is doomed to perdition (*hālik*).<sup>2</sup>

The immutability of man's life span appointed by God was a dogma held vital by the Muslim determinists, and al-Murādī must have been gratified to be able to quote al-Qāsim's apparent backing of their view. Al-Qāsim obviously could not have agreed with the wider doctrine of the determinists that the unlawful killing of the man occurred in accordance with the Will of God and must have restricted God's relation to the life span to His foreknowledge. This was also the position of the majority of the Muʿtazila, who, according to al-Ashʿarī held that the *ajal* was the time known to God at which a human being would die or be killed. If the person thus was killed, he was killed at his *ajal* and if he died a natural death, he died at his *ajal*. Only a few of them, described by al-Ashʿarī as being »of their ignorant«, maintained that the time until which a person according to God's knowledge would have lived if he had not been killed was his *ajal* rather than the time of his murder<sup>3</sup>.

More problematic is al-Qāsim's condemnation of someone who states that the killer cuts the *ajal* of the victim. Did he wish to affirm that, if the person had not been killed, God would have caused him to die at the same *ajal*? This was the position of the determinists, consistent with their view that the *ajal* is not only known but also willed by God. Among the Muʿtazila, Abu l-Hudhayl is reported to have held it also, but it is difficult to see how he would have justified it. Some of the Muʿtazila of the school of Baghdad affirmed, on the contrary, that the person would definitely have continued to live, while the majority of the later Muʿtazila maintained that he might either have died or continued to live<sup>4</sup>. Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, who expressly dissociated God from acts forbidden by Him<sup>5</sup>, would also have found it difficult to explain an *ajal* fixed to coincide with the failed murder. It seems more likely that he did not intend to offer any positive doctrine in the matter but rather condemned the statement, which dealt with a hypothetical question, as an example of that discussion of the *qadar* which he, in agreement with the traditionalist position, held to be forbidden<sup>6</sup>. In either case, his polemic is definitely anti-Muʿtazilī.

In his *Kitāb Aḥmad* (b. ʿĪsā) al-Murādī reported on the authority of an informant whom he considered trustworthy that al-Qāsim was asked concerning »the pain (*alam*) which strikes children: How can God, praise be to Him, be other than unjust in regard to what befalls them, yet if anyone else were to do this to them he would be unjust?« Al-Qāsim answered: » . . . The difference in this is for anyone who judges fairly more evident than all explanation, because God, the Powerful and Exalted, is the benefactor of every blessing in the children and is not subject to command or prohibition in anything of that kind. Thus thanks are due to God for every blessing and benefaction in them, and they have no title to any blessing incumbent (*wājiba*) on God. In every pain and harm that reaches them from God, there is a spiritual lesson (*mawʿiza*) for people of insight (*uli l-nuhā*)

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Jāmiʿ*, fol. 301b.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn* ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-1933, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, p. 257, including footnote.

<sup>5</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, p. 118.



and an indication of the power of God. If that could be subject to any blame of injustice or oppression, it would even more so attach to their death which is the most painful of pains, and likewise it would attach to the death of the righteous (*abrār*) who are older than children. There is, praise be to God, no question in this from which any censure (*taʿnīf*) could follow, and only the perplexed (*kull mutahayyir*) will use it as an argument.<sup>7</sup>

The »perplexed« to whom al-Qāsim alludes are clearly the majority of the Muʿtazila. They held that God is obliged to provide a recompense (*ʿiwaḍ*) to children, and even animals, for any pain inflicted upon them. This was a major aspect of the Muʿtazilī doctrine of divine justice, unanimously upheld by the later Muʿtazila<sup>8</sup>. According to al-Ashʿarī, there were some among the early Muʿtazila who disagreed with the majority and held that God inflicts pain on children for no reason (*ʿilla*). They denied that He would recompense them for it, though they also denied that He would torment them in the hereafter. The majority, however, held that God inflicts pain on them only as a lesson (*ʿibra*) for the mature and would recompense them. If not, his infliction of pain would constitute injustice (*zulm*)<sup>9</sup>. Al-Ashʿarī does not name any of the deviators. The later Muʿtazilī sources, however, mention that ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān maintained that it was good of God to inflict pain without recompense if the purpose of it was to provide a lesson<sup>10</sup>.

Al-Qāsim brushes aside this aspect of the Muʿtazilī concept of divine justice. The blessings of God completely outweigh for him any pains. Thanks are due to God for his blessings in children, and they »have no title to any blessing incumbent upon God« on account of pains suffered. He agreed, however, with ʿAbbād and the majority of the Muʿtazila that God inflicts pain on children only as a lesson for people of insight. While there is thus a similarity between his and ʿAbbād's view, it is unlikely that he was influenced by the latter, who was probably considerably younger and whose reasons for denying divine compensation were different<sup>11</sup>. His concept of the justice of God was essentially confined to strict dissociation of God from any evil human acts and the assertion of human free will<sup>12</sup>.

Most revealing about the difficulty of maintaining doctrinal unity within the Zaydī movement in the 3rd/9th century and al-Qāsim's awareness of it is al-ʿAlawī's lengthy chapter on the doctrine of the creation of the Qurʾān<sup>13</sup>. The question of the nature of the Qurʾān, which was turned into a burning political issue by the *miḥna* under the caliph al-Maʾmūn and his successors, evidently also divided the Zaydiyya deeply. There were those, among the ʿAlid leaders as well as their potential supporters, who held the Qurʾān to be uncreated and others who considered it created. Openly admitting their division, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Murādī stressed the need of »sticking to the gist (*jumal*)«, that is the generally agreed principles,

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Jāmiʿ*, fol. 304b.

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, XIII, ed. I. Madkūr and A. ʿAfīfī, Cairo 1382/1963, pp. 226–568; Mānakdīm (pseudo-ʿAbd al-Jabbār) *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿA. ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, pp. 483–507.

<sup>9</sup> *Maqālāt*, p. 253.

<sup>10</sup> Mānakdīm, *Sharḥ*, p. 489.

<sup>11</sup> For ʿAbbād's argument see Mānakdīm, *Sharḥ*, p. 490. For the dates of his life see my art. ʿAbbād b. Salmān in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, 1:1, London . . . 1982, pp. 70f.

<sup>12</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 117–120.

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Jāmiʿ*, fol. 305b–308b.

while avoiding to express support for either controversial position and abstaining from any accusation of unbelief and from dissociation from the opposite camp. He affirmed: »The inquisition concerning the Qur'an is in our opinion a (reprehensible) innovation (*fa-inna l-miḥna 'indanā fi l-Qur'ān bid'a*).«

At the extreme end of those opposed to the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'an stood the Ḥasanid 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan (d. 247/861)<sup>14</sup>. According to reports which al-'Alawī received from informants other than al-Murādī, he affirmed that »the Qur'an is the speech of God, it is not created (*laysa bi-makhlūq*)«, and that »anyone who asserts that the Qur'an is created is an infidel, because God, the Powerful and Exalted, says: If one of the polytheists asks your protection, grant him protection until he hears the speech of God (Qur'an IX 6).« Ibrāhīm b. Maysara asked 'Abd Allāh what he said about the Qur'an, and 'Abd Allāh answered: »The speech of God and His book.« Ibrāhīm said: »There are people among us (*'indanā*) who say that it is created and that whoever does not say it is created is an infidel.« 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā answered: »They are more worthy of unbelief.«

Al-Murādī reported that 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā, when questioned by him, denied that he had met anyone of his family who held that the Qur'an is created. Al-Murādī adds that 'Abd Allāh loathed discussion (*kalām*) of this and other questions which people had innovated (*aḥdatha*). According to another report, al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm wrote 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā asking him about the Qur'an and 'Abd Allāh answered: »We are of the opinion that the discussion about the Qur'an is an innovation (*bid'a*) in which the questioner and the replier share. The questioner raises a question that he is not entitled to raise, and the replier takes upon himself what he is not obliged to undertake. Betake yourself and those who disagree about the Qur'an to its names with which God named it, and you will be among the rightly guided. Do not name the Qur'an with names made up by you, or you will be of those 'who deviate from the straight path concerning His names; they shall be recompensed for what they have been doing (Qur'an VII 180)'.«

Some of the most active partisans and *dā'īs* of 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā were, however, backers of the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'an. Al-Murādī mentions that one of them, 'Amr b. al-Haytham al-Murādī, was a prominent follower of the earlier Zaydī theologian Sulaymān b. Jarīr and held that the Qur'an was created<sup>15</sup>. Although 'Amr strongly insisted on this doctrine (*shaddada fīh*), yet he condemned the Mu'tazilī chief *qāḍī* Ibn Abī Du'ād for his furtherance of the *miḥna* about the Qur'an saying: »May God have no mercy on Ibn Abī Du'ād. The people were united on a general sentence (*jumla*) which conveyed them to God, but he cast division between them.« Al-Murādī goes on to relate that 'Amr<sup>16</sup> b. al-Haytham, Bishr b. al-Ḥasan, and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥajarī were all three *dā'īs* for 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā and were at one about the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'an. Yet 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā sent his two sons<sup>17</sup>, or one of them, together with Bishr b. al-Ḥasan to the *amīr* Ṭāhir b. al-

<sup>14</sup> See on him *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, index s.v.

<sup>15</sup> Sulaymān b. Jarīr seems to have taught that the Qur'an is partly created and partly uncreated. See al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 586, and *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, p. 65-66.

<sup>16</sup> Ms.: 'Umar.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn 'Inaba, *Umdat al-tālib*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Ṭālaqānī, Najaf 1380/1961, p. 116, mentions at least five sons of 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā.

Ḥusayn (d. 207/822) in order to invite him to support the imamate of ‘Abd Allāh (*yad‘ūhu ilā hādihā l-amr*), although ‘Abd Allāh was aware of Bishr’s opinion on the Qur’an and Bishr knew of ‘Abd Allāh’s principle of »holding on to the general sentences (*al-qawl bi l-jumal*)«. Al-Murādī adds: »I did not see anyone of these profess dissociation (*barā’a*) from those who disagreed with him in doctrine.« When Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥajarī was mentioned after his death to ‘Abd Allāh, he said of him: »He was my sincerest friend among the people of Kufa.«

Potential support for the Zaydī cause could also come from the Mu‘tazila, in particular those of the school of Baghdad, who were sometimes described as the Zaydiyya of the Mu‘tazila<sup>18</sup>. Al-Murādī mentions that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854), in spite of his upholding of the creation of the Qur’an, told him: »When this matter (i.e. the rising in support of the legitimate imam) occurs, we shall write on the flags: There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, the Qur’an is the speech of God. By this we want<sup>19</sup> to bring about concord and unanimity and to leave behind disagreement and division.« Al-Murādī goes on to state that he, al-Murādī, had associated with numerous chiefs of the Mu‘tazila, among them Ja‘far b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850–1), Ja‘far b. Mubashshir al-Qaṣabī (d. 234/848–9), and al-Iskāfī. None of them ever questioned him about the matters on which the people disagreed, the Qur’an and human capacity (*istiṭā‘a*), or sought to uncover his opinion (*kashafūnī*) about any of this. »Abū Sahl al-Khurāsānī informed me that he was the messenger of Sahl b. Salāma<sup>20</sup>, one of the eminent men and the worshippers (*‘ubbād*) of the Mu‘tazila, to ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūsā to invite him to take over this matter (the imamate) and (to assure him) that Sahl would be his helper in it (*yakūnu Sahl ‘awnan lahū ‘alayh*).«

The Ḥusaynid Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. Zayd, whose views al-Murādī valued most particularly, took a more uncommitted position than ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūsā concerning the nature of the Qur’an. Al-Murādī reports that he witnessed him asking God’s mercy (*yatarahḥam*) for those who held the Qur’an to be created and for those who did not. »In his view, the upholding of the general sentences (*al-akhdh bi l-jumal*) and abstaining from whatever was a source of division was praiseworthy. This was in his view meant by following the pious ancestors (*ittibā‘ al-salaf*).« ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Bāhili consulted Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā about the disagreement among the people about the creation of the Qur’an. Aḥmad answered that both groups were wrong in attacking each other with pronouncements of dissociation. According to al-Murādī, Aḥmad said in commenting on the discord in religion among the people: »I fear for the imam if he were to rise. If he would go out pretending to each group that they held the truth, he would be the first to cause his own damnation, and if he joined one group, he would spoil the rest for himself.« When Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān wrote Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā asking him about the Qur’an and other questions disputed among the people, Aḥmad answered: »You have

<sup>18</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 41–42, 211.

<sup>19</sup> Reading *nurīdu*. The unpointed word could also be read *yurīdu* meaning: he (al-Iskāfī) desired.

<sup>20</sup> My thanks are due to Professor J. van Ess for suggesting that this Sahl b. Salāma may be identical with the Khurāsānian Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Salāma al-Anṣārī mentioned by al-Ṭabarī (*Tārīkh*, ed. M. de Goeje and others, Leiden 1879–1901, III 1008–12, 1023–26, 1034–36) as the leader of a popular movement to suppress lawlessness in Baghdad in 201–2/816–8. On closer examination, this identity appears almost certain. I hope to discuss its implications for the history of that age elsewhere.



mentioned the disagreement of the people concerning the Qur'an, but they do not disagree that it is from God.« Al-Murādī comments that by this he wanted to point to the need of accepting the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the Qur'an and the general, agreed sentences (*al-jumal al-mujtama'* 'alay-hā). The followers (*rijāl*) of Ahmad b. 'Īsā indeed disagreed in their view about the Qur'an. Among them there was Ḥasan b. Hudhayl, who adhered to the doctrine of Abu l-Jārūd, while 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma'mar openly professed the doctrine of the (created) Qur'an and did not conceal it. Then there was Mukhawwal b. Ibrāhīm and his like who disagreed with these<sup>21</sup>. Ahmad b. 'Īsā, however, did not take the side of any of these groups.

Al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd was also opposed to any theological discussion of the nature of the Qur'an and to mutual accusations of infidelity by those holding opposite views in the question. Al-Murādī states that he had been connected with al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā for forty years, or close to that<sup>22</sup>, and had found him associating with various kinds of pious people attached to different doctrines (*yu'āshir ḡurūban min al-mutadayyinīn al-mukhtalifīn fi l-madhāhib*). Holding on to the gist (*ma'a l-qawl fi l-jumla*) and loathing division, al-Ḥasan had never questioned anyone about his religious views nor flaunted his own. Rather he had given sincere advice to all and offered them kind companionship, and had prayed for God's mercy for all who had passed away of his ancestors and members of his family irrespective of whether he agreed or disagreed with their views. Concerning the Qur'an he said that the family of the Prophet unanimously held that God was the Creator of everything and that the Qur'an was His speech, His inspiration and His revelation (*tanzīl*) and that it should be called only by the names with which God had named it. This was also the view of the early generations of Muslims until the *kalām* theologians deviated relying on their personal reasoning (*ra'y*).

The criticism directed at the *kalām* theologians indicates that al-Ḥasan was primarily opposed to the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'an. This is confirmed by a report of Yaḥyā b. Abī 'Atā' al-Bazzāz, quoted by al-'Alawī with an *isnād* independent of al-Murādī, that he heard al-Ḥasan say: »It (the Qur'an) is not a created thing (*laysa bi-makhlūq*).« This was presumably in answer to a pointed question. Al-'Alawī goes on to report: »Al-Ḥasan said according to what al-Ṣabbāḥ related from him, and that is also the doctrine of Muḥammad (b. Manṣūr al-Murādī) in the *Masā'il*, when both were asked about those who say the Qur'an is created or uncreated, they both said: The Qur'an is the speech of God, His inspiration, and His revelation. We say concerning this what God has said and do not go beyond it. God is the Creator of everything, the First before everything

<sup>21</sup> Al-Ḥasan b. Hudhayl is mentioned as a follower of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Ṣāhib Fakhkh and later as a participant in the rebellion of Abu l-Sarāyā (Abu l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maḡātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, ed. A. Ṣaqr, Cairo 1949, pp. 438, 441-2, 527, 543). Mukhawwal b. Ibrāhīm was a follower of Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh (C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, p. 291).

<sup>22</sup> On the basis of the present text, my statement in *Der Imam al-Qāsim* (p. 84) that al-Murādī does not seem to have transmitted from al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā must be modified. It would seem that al-Murādī did not mention al-Ḥasan's doctrine in his books written during the lifetime of the latter, presumably in order to protect him from suspicion of the authorities. Al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā was considerably younger than Ahmad b. 'Īsā and al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm. He is said to be the author of a book on the doctrine of al-Qāsim and Ahmad b. 'Īsā entitled *al-Jāmi' 'alā madhhab al-Qāsim wa-Aḡmad b. 'Īsā* (M.T. Dānishpazhūh, *Do mashīkhahā-ye Zaydī* in *Nāma-ye Mīnovī*, Tehran 1350, p. 166).



and its Creator, and the One Remaining after everything and its Heir<sup>23</sup>. Everything which is below (*dūna*) God is created.«

At the other extreme end, among those holding the Qurʾan to be created, stood al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm. He kept this view concealed, however, and like the other Zaydī ʿAlids of his time, stuck to the formulation that the Qurʾan was the speech of God without qualification. Al-Murādī reported in his *Kitāb al-Jumla*: »I asked al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm about the Qurʾan. He said: The speech of God, His inspiration, and His revelation. We do not go beyond this to anything else. Likewise did our ancestors.« Al-Murādī adds: »He upheld the creation of the Qurʾan but concealed that (*wa-kāna yaqūlu bi-khalqī l-Qurʾāni yuḍmiru dhālik*). Al-Qāsim told me: We ask those who say the Qurʾan is created: Does God not know that it is created? If they say yes, they should be told<sup>24</sup>: Does not God know that it is created, yet He contented Himself (*ijtazaʿa*) in respect to the creation with telling them that it is rendered (*majʿūl*, Qurʾan XLIII 3)? When they say<sup>25</sup> yes, they are to be told: Then why do you not content yourselves in respect to His creation with what He was content with towards them?« Al-Murādī comments: »This was an incitation on his part to uphold the general sentences (*al-qawl bi l-jumal*) and to forego disagreement and division.«

According to a report independent of al-Murādī, Bunayn (?) b. Ibrāhīm said to al-Qāsim: »Ibn Mansūr (al-Murādī) has told me about you that you have said: Whoever asserts that the Qurʾan is created commits an innovation (*ibtadaʿa*).« He answered: »Yes, these are two innovations. It has not reached us that (the pious ancestors) said created or uncreated. Rather we say: The speech of God and His inspiration.« Aḥmad b. Sallām, a well-known transmitter from al-Qāsim<sup>26</sup>, reported that he asked him about the Qurʾan quoting to him a statement related from Zayd b. ʿAlī: »We do not liken (*nushabbih*) to God anyone and we do not say of the speech of God (that it is) created.« Al-Qāsim answered: »I say likewise.«

Al-Murādī praises al-Qāsim for praying for God's mercy for his brother Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, figurehead of a Zaydī rebellion in the region of Kufa, with whom he disagreed in theological doctrine<sup>27</sup>. »I heard al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm mention his brother Muḥammad. He said: May God have mercy upon him and be pleased with him. I hope that he may have on the Day of the Resurrection a position about which he will rejoice, even though he upheld something of anthropomorphism (*ʿalā annahū kāna yaqūlu bi-shayʾin min al-tashbīh*). Al-Murādī explains, evidently dissociating himself from this accusation: »That was in their view because he did not uphold the creation of the Qurʾan (*wa-dhālika ʿindahum annahū lā yaqūlu bi-khalqī l-Qurʾān*)«. In the light of al-Qāsim's own position, this is probably to be understood as meaning that Muḥammad openly backed the doctrine of the uncreated nature of the Qurʾan. Al-Murādī goes on to mention that al-Qāsim prayed for mercy for his brother »innumerable times« and composed an elegy for his death which al-Murādī wrote down from him. He stresses that al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm had wide support among the ʿAlids as a potential candidate for the imamate even though he held

<sup>23</sup> Reading *wārithuhū* for *w-rāthuhū*.

<sup>24</sup> Reading *qālū . . . lahum* for *qāla . . . lahū*.

<sup>25</sup> Omitting *lahum*.

<sup>26</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, p. 93.

<sup>27</sup> The disagreement of al-Qāsim with his brother Muḥammad is mentioned by Abu l-Faraj, *Maqātil*, p. 553, on the authority of al-Murādī. The specific point of the disagreement, however, is not given there. See *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, p. 89.

the Qur'an to be created. 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā expressed his wish to al-Murādī that al-Qāsim would rise to claim the imamate promising that he, 'Abd Allāh, would be the first to pledge allegiance to him. 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā added that it was said that al-Qāsim upheld the creation of the Qur'an but that he had not heard it from him.

Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm's position in the contemporary conflict about the creation of the Qur'an thus emerges clearly. Within his strictly unitarian theology he could not admit the coeternity of the Qur'an with God. Everything aside from Him, including the Qur'an, must be created. He held, however, that the Qur'an should not be called »created«, but should be named only with designations taken from the Qur'an itself. In his writings he did not discuss the controversial question at all<sup>28</sup>. In this attitude he was motivated partly by solidarity with the majority of contemporary Zaydīs and the desire of not splitting their ranks by adopting controversial formulations and partly by his veneration for the Qur'an which occupied an outstanding place in his piety and religious thought. He did not wish to associate himself in the question with the Mu'tazila and other upholders of the creation of the Qur'an and certainly had no sympathy for the *mihna* against their opponents instituted by al-Ma'mūn and his successors.

\* \* \*

The information provided by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī on al-Qāsim's theological views substantially confirms the analysis of his extant authentic works<sup>29</sup>. Al-Qāsim cannot be considered as essentially influenced by Mu'tazilī school doctrine and as attempting to introduce it among the Zaydiyya. He agreed with the Mu'tazila on several of their basic principles. In one of them, the affirmation of human free will, this involved a radical break with the predominant doctrinal tradition within the early Zaydiyya which espoused divine determinism. His stand in this question was clearly a matter of deep religious conviction. He was reluctant to deviate from the Zaydī tradition and had no desire to associate with the Mu'tazila. It is evident from his discussions and formulations that he tried to minimize his disagreement with the Zaydī tradition. Quite in general he attempted to avoid Mu'tazilī concepts and terminology in his theological treatises. His treatment of the divine attributes differs substantially from Mu'tazilī teaching, and he repudiated major aspects of the Mu'tazilī concept of divine justice as well as the Mu'tazilī principle of the intermediate position of the grave sinner<sup>30</sup>.

Al-Qāsim saw himself, and acted, primarily as a religious leader, not as a systematic theologian. In his writings, he repeats certain basic principles and themes with great conviction while ignoring wide areas of contem-

<sup>28</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>29</sup> I take the occasion to correct my suggestion (*Der Imam al-Qāsim*, p. 168) that al-Qāsim did not transmit the *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet condemning the Rāfiḍa as polytheists. Al-'Alawī quotes the *ḥadīth* on the authority of Aḥmad b. 'Īsā transmitted by al-Qāsim with his family *isnād*, followed by a comment of al-Qāsim affirming that the Rāfiḍa were polytheists in various respects (*al-Jāmi'*, fol. 320a). Al-'Alawī then quotes another report of al-Qāsim about a statement of his father, Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl, made to him in which he severely censured the Rāfiḍa and their imams. These texts reflect the vehement anti-Imāmī sentiments of al-Qāsim (see *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 145-148).

<sup>30</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, pp. 109-114, 121-122.

porary theological interest. In his presentation, he often relies more on emotional preaching on the basis of Qurʾanic texts than on cool rational argument. A few of the gaps left in his treatises, but only a few, were treated in answers to specific questions from his followers. The lack of over-all cohesion and consistency made it difficult to build a school tradition on his teaching. It was only natural that after his death his grandson Yaḥyā al-Hādī ʾila l-Ḥaqq led his followers to much closer association with Muʿtazilī school doctrine. Yet al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm would most likely have disapproved of this development.

This analysis must be reaffirmed in view of a different interpretation of al-Qāsim's theological teaching and its relationship to Muʿtazilī doctrine recently advanced by B. Abrahamov<sup>31</sup>. Abrahamov sees al-Qāsim as »influenced to a large extent by Muʿtazilism«. He bases this view on the acceptance of the authenticity of a number of treatises attributed to al-Qāsim which was contested in my book on him for a variety of reasons<sup>32</sup>. Abrahamov is aware that some of these treatises are much more definitely Muʿtazilī in their concepts, vocabulary and doctrine than the others and in some cases contradict positions upheld in these. This discrepancy is explained by him as a shift of al-Qāsim towards more outright Muʿtazilī doctrine in his later life. He does not explain why al-Qāsim, after having carefully distanced himself from the Muʿtazila and elaborated his own positions in his earlier treatises, would have abandoned these in his old age, when he had gained a wide following among the Zaydiyya, in order to write mediocre Muʿtazilī treatises in faulty Arabic.

Among the treatises accepted by Abrahamov as authentic works of al-Qāsim is the *Kitāb al-ʿAdl wa-l-tawḥīd*, in which the Qurʾan, and all other scriptures of God, are expressly described as created (*makhlūq*) and those who do not affirm this are charged with denial of God and polytheism<sup>33</sup>. Abrahamov thus concluded that al-Qāsim openly taught, like the Muʿtazila, that God does not speak, but creates His speech<sup>34</sup>. The information provided by Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Murādī about al-Qāsim's position does not leave room for any doubt that this is not the case. It is hardly conceivable that al-Murādī, a long-time associate of al-Qāsim and the foremost authority of his age on the doctrine of the Zaydī ʿAlids, would not have been aware if al-Qāsim had affirmed the creation of the Qurʾan in one of his writings or that he would have chosen to ignore it. The *Kitāb al-ʿAdl wa-l-tawḥīd*, which is arranged according to, and backs, the five basic principles of the Muʿtazila rather than those elaborated by al-Qāsim, is no work of his. It was erroneously attributed to him at a time when the Zaydīs had adopted Muʿtazilī theology in every respect except for the doctrine of the imamate and was only then included in the collection (*majmūʿ*) of his treatises<sup>35</sup>.

Here is not the place to discuss Abrahamov's arguments for the authenticity of al-Qāsim's other disputed treatises. Suffice it to say that the case

<sup>31</sup> See his dissertation *The Theological Epistles of al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm* (in Hebrew), Tel-Aviv University 1981; »Al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm's Argument from Design« in *Oriens* 29-30 (1986), pp. 259-284; »Al-Qāsim Ibn Ibrāhīm's Theory of the Imamate« in *Arabica* XXXIV (1987), pp. 80-105.

<sup>32</sup> Abrahamov considers all treatises ascribed to al-Qāsim as authentic with the exception of the *Kitāb al-Kāmil al-munīr*. *Arabica* XXXIV, p. 84.

<sup>33</sup> See the edition of the text in *Rasāʾil al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd*, ed. Muḥammad ʿImāra, I, Cairo 1971, pp. 109, 111.

<sup>34</sup> *The Theological Epistles*, Engl. Abstract, p. VII.

<sup>35</sup> *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, p. 97.

for the authenticity of each one of them is hardly more convincing than that for the *Kitāb al-ʿAdl wa-l-tawhīd*. For all that is known, al-Qāsim remained in his later life as reserved towards Muʿtazilism as he had ever been.



# Ein Himjarischer Satz bei al-Malik al-Ašraf

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In einer Miscelle betitelt »A Medieval Note on the Himyarite Dialect«<sup>1</sup> hat George Saliba von der Columbia University in New York die himjarischen Monatsnamen<sup>2</sup> untersucht, die in dem in einem Unikum in der Bodleian Library, Oxford, erhaltenen astrologischen Traktat *Kitāb at-Tabšira fī ʿilm an-nuğūm* des dritten Rasūlidenherrschers Abū l-Faḥ al-Malik al-Ašraf ʿUmar b. al-Malik al-Muzaffar Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-Manšūr ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Rasūl (regierte 694 h/1295 – 696 h/1297) genannt sind<sup>3</sup>. Das Manuskript enthält auch einige Bemerkungen zum Himjarischen sowie einen Satz in dieser Sprache, welcher Gegenstand der folgenden Erörterung sein soll.

Es wird erzählt, daß ein Mann, welcher korrekt Arabisch redete, in das Land kam, in welchem noch Himjarisch gesprochen wurde, und hörte, wie jemand über einen anderen sagte<sup>4</sup>: *ğssnāh(?) yğsm(?) maʿanā sū saʿimnā dwāsaynāh(?)*. Der Mann dachte, daß jener ein Abessinier sei, bis man ihm auf seine Frage antwortete, daß dies Himjarisch sei und auf arabisch bedeute *iltamasū r-rağula yaʿkulu maʿahum ilā an saʿimū fa-lam yağidūhu*,

<sup>1</sup> In *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105/4 (1985), p. 715–717.

<sup>2</sup> G. Saliba zitiert als Literatur hierzu lediglich A. F. L. Beeston, *Epigraphic South Arabian Calendars and Dating*, London 1956, und von demselben, *New Light on the Himyaritic Calendar*, in *Arabian Studies* 1, 1974, p. 1–6. Es scheint ihm entgangen zu sein, daß die im zuletzt genannten Aufsatz erwähnte *Qašida* von al-Baḥr an-Naʿāmī in-zwischen veröffentlicht und mit einem Kommentar versehen wurde von Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, *Qašidat al-Baḥr an-Naʿāmī fī l-ašhur al-ḥimyarīya wa-mā yuwāfiqhā min ağđiya*, in *al-Iklīl* 1/3–4, Ṣanʿāʾ, Rabīʿ 1401 h/1981, p. 9–17; unter 4 ist dort allerdings der dem Kānūn at-ṭānī entsprechende Monat in *Ḍū d-Diʿāw* (aus *Ḍū d-Dibāw*) zu emendieren und unter 7 der dem Nisān entsprechenden Monat in *Ḍū ṭ-Tāba* (aus *Ḍū n-Nāba*).

<sup>3</sup> Das vom gleichen Herrscher erhaltene Werk *Milḥ al-malāha fī maʿrifat al-filāha* (s. dazu R. B. Serjeant, *The Cultivation of Cereals in Mediaeval Yemen*, in *Arabian Studies* 1, 1974, p. 26 und p. 60, note 5, sowie D. M. Varisco, *Rasūlidische Landwirtschaft und traditionelle Almanache*, in *Jemen. 3000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur des glücklichen Arabien*, hrsg. von W. Daum, Innsbruck-Frankfurt/Main 1987, p. 303–305, englische Fassung *Rasulid Agriculture and the Almanac Tradition*, in *Yemen. 3000 Years of Art and Civilisation in Arabia Felix*, ed. by W. Daum, Innsbruck-Frankfurt/Main 1988, p. 309–311) liegt jetzt vor in einer Edition von Dr. ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Muğāhid von der Landwirtschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Ṣanʿāʾ, *Dimašq 1408 h/1987* (ich verdanke dem Herausgeber ein Exemplar dieses Buches). Das ebenfalls von Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ašraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf b. Rasūl verfaßte genealogische Werk *Turfat al-ašḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, welches von K. V. Zetterstéen in Damaskus 1949 ediert wurde, ist nunmehr wieder in einem Nachdruck zugänglich gemacht worden, der vom Dār al-Kalima, Ṣanʿāʾ, 1406 h/1985 besorgt wurde. Über weitere erhaltene Schriften dieses Rasūlidenherrschers vergleiche man Saiyid ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī [d.i. al-Ḥibšī], *Muʿallafāt ḥukkām al-Yaman. The works of the Rulers of Yemen*, ed. by Elke Niewöhner-Eberhard, Wiesbaden 1979, p. 56–59.

<sup>4</sup> Die Transkription, Punktierung und Vokalisierung folgt dem, was bei G. Saliba, *art. cit.*, p. 716a, 1. –3f, wiedergegeben ist, außer daß ḡ statt j geschrieben wird.

d.h. »sie suchten den Mann, damit er mit ihnen esse, bis daß sie dessen überdrüssig waren; sie hatten ihn nämlich nicht gefunden«.

Der von G. Saliba zu diesem Satz gegebene Kommentar<sup>5</sup> ist spärlich; er vermerkt jedoch, daß er jenen Passus mit Übersetzung in der Hoffnung wiedergegeben habe, daß die genauen Formen der Wörter und ihre Bedeutung durch künftige Forschung aufgehellt werden. Es will mir jedoch scheinen, daß unsere derzeitige Kenntnis des Himjarischen nicht so dürftig ist, daß man nicht schon jetzt noch einiges zu diesem Satz sagen könnte, vorausgesetzt man macht sich die Mühe, die verstreute Literatur zu diesem Thema zur Kenntnis zu nehmen.

Zum ersten Wort, *ḡssnāh*, wird in Anmerkung 11 gesagt, daß es, da das Manuskript nicht systematisch punktiert ist (bzw. Punkte auch da gesetzt sind, wo sie nicht hingehören), ebensowohl *ḡssnāh* gelesen werden könnte. Im Hinblick auf arabisch *taḡassasa* »zu erkunden suchen« verteidigt G. Saliba die Lesung *ḡss*, gibt jedoch noch zu bedenken, daß man bei einer Lesung *ḡss* zum Vergleich arabisch *ḡṣṣa* »drängen« heranziehen könnte, eine Bedeutung, die ebenfalls durch arabisch *iltamasa* gedeckt wäre; wegen der nicht korrekten Lautentsprechung ist dieser Vergleich jedoch unwahrscheinlich. Ich möchte dagegen erwägen, äthiopisch *ḡṣṣa* und Tigrinya *ḡṣṣā* »suchen, wünschen«<sup>6</sup> zu vergleichen, ohne damit entscheiden zu wollen, ob die Verbalwurzel *ḡṣṣ* oder *ḡss* anzusetzen wäre. Im letzteren Fall könnte man zudem auf die arabische Wurzel *ḡss* verweisen, deren V. Stamm, *taḡassasa*, nicht nur wie *talammasa* »befühlen, betasten« bedeutet, sondern auch »zu erkunden suchen«.

Das zweite Wort, *yḡsm*, könnte nach Anmerkung 12 auch *yḡsm*, *bḡsm* oder *bḡsm* gelesen werden, und G. Saliba bietet dazu zwei arabische Verben zum Vergleich an, einmal *ḡaṭama*, welches das Wachsen der Samen oder der Datteln bezeichnet, zum anderen *ḡasuma* »groß, dick sein oder werden«. Beide Vergleiche sind nicht sehr überzeugend, denn während beim zweiten zwar die Lautentsprechung korrekt ist, ist die Erwägung, daß das Groß- bzw. Dicksein oder Dickwerden als ein Resultat des Essens aufgefaßt werden könnte, semasiologisch sehr bedenklich. Meinem früheren Schüler Ibrahim al-Selwi, der aus Ta<sup>ʿ</sup>izz stammt, verdanke ich den Hinweis, daß im Dialekt von as-Sawā<sup>ʿ</sup> und Teilen der Ḥuḡariya das Verbum *ḡasam*, *yḡsam* »essen« und das Nomen *ḡusām* »Essen, Brot« bedeutet; aus diesem Grunde möchte man vorschlagen, *yḡsm* (statt *yḡsm*) zu punktieren und eventuell *yḡsam* zu lesen. Der Ort as-Sawā<sup>ʿ</sup>, inschriftlich als Stadt, *ḡgrn šwm*, belegt, war in der Antike das Zentrum des himjarischen Gaus Ma<sup>ʿ</sup>āfir (*m<sup>ʿ</sup>frm*), des heutigen *qadā<sup>ʿ</sup>* al-Ḥuḡariya; auch der *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, dem wir aus dem ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. neben Plinius die frühesten nichtepigraphischen Nachrichten über die Himjaren verdanken, nennt das drei Tagereisen vom Hafen Muza im Land Mapharites gelegene Sauē (§ 22). Zwar findet sich as-Sawā<sup>ʿ</sup> in al-Hamdānis *Ṣifat ḡazīrat al-ʿArab* nicht erwähnt, wohl aber in Ibn al-Muḡāwirs *Ta<sup>ʿ</sup>rīḡ al-mustabṣir* als *ḡṣn as-Sawā<sup>ʿ</sup>*, wo auch vom *mīḡlāf* der Ma<sup>ʿ</sup>āfir gesagt wird, daß dies ein Stamm der Himjar sei (*wa-mīḡlāfu l-Ma<sup>ʿ</sup>āfiri qaumun min ḡimyara*)<sup>7</sup>.

Es ist kaum anzunehmen, daß die Präposition »mit, zusammen mit« im Himjarischen wie im Arabischen *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>a* gelautet haben soll. Man würde viel eher das im gesamten Altsüdarabischen bezeugte *ʿm* »mit, zusammen mit«

<sup>5</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 717 sub c).

<sup>6</sup> W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, Wiesbaden 1987, p. 266.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Muḡāwir, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis* . . . , edidit Oscar Löfgren. Pars prior, Leiden 1951, p. 72, 18–19.



erwarten, so daß man geneigt ist, das *m<sup>c</sup>*, *ma<sup>c</sup>a*, unseres Textes entweder als einen Arabismus oder aber als eine durch die arabischen Schriftzeichen leicht zu erklärende Verschreibung von *ma<sup>c</sup>anā* aus *\*<sup>c</sup>amanā* anzusehen.

Bei der Partikel *sw*, *sū*, ist sich G. Saliba sicher, daß diese mit dem inschriftlichen *ṭw* gleicher Bedeutung zu identifizieren ist. Nun hat zwar die im Spätsabäischen zweimal belegte Präposition bzw. Konjunktion *ṭw* die Bedeutung »bis, bis daß«<sup>8</sup>, der Übergang von *ṭ* zu *s* jedoch, der zwar für die semitischen Sprachen Äthiopiens die Regel ist, ist für die Sprachen und Dialekte der Arabischen Halbinsel nicht bezeugt, so daß selbst C. de Landberg<sup>9</sup> dafür kein Beispiel anzuführen vermochte. Man könnte mit dem sabäischen *ṭw* allenfalls Mehri *tā*, *tē*, *te* »bis, bis daß, auf daß, als«, Soqotri *to<sup>o</sup>*<sup>10</sup> zusammenstellen, wenn die Herleitung der letzteren aus *hattā* bzw. dessen Nebenform *‘attā* nicht plausibler wäre, zumal daraus entstandene ähnliche Kurzformen auch in arabischen Dialekten begegnen<sup>11</sup>. Ich möchte *sw* vielmehr mit der im Dialekt von Naḍīr am Westhang des Ġabal Rāzih vorkommenden Präposition *sī* »bis, zu, nach« vergleichen<sup>12</sup>, die auch als Konjunktion gebraucht wird, wie sich aus den beigegeführten Texten ergibt, z.B. *sī ḡīk* »bis du kamst«, *sī wuṣilnā* »bis wir kamen«<sup>13</sup>.

Für das Verbum *sa<sup>2</sup>ima* »einer Sache überdrüssig, müde sein« läßt sich außerhalb des Arabischen in den anderen semitischen Sprachen anscheinend keine Entsprechung finden, sofern man nicht erwägt, äthiopisch *sə<sup>2</sup>na*, Tigre *sā<sup>2</sup>ana*, Tigrinya *sā<sup>2</sup>anā* »nicht können, nicht finden, unfähig sein, müde sein« dazu zu stellen.

Auch mit dem Schluß des himjarischen Satzes vermochte G. Saliba nichts anzufangen, sondern vermerkte lediglich, daß er nach der arabischen Übersetzung »sie fanden ihn nicht« bedeuten muß; allerdings muß hier angemerkt werden, daß in der arabischen Version die 3. Person Plural steht, in der himjarischen dagegen die 1. Person Plural. Es findet sich jedoch eine damit fast identische Stelle in Buch VIII des *Iklīl* von al-Hamdānī<sup>14</sup> und zwar in jener angeblich in einem Grab gefundenen himjarischen Inschrift, welche besagt, daß die dort Begrabene königlicher Abstammung in einer Zeit der Hungersnot ihrem Diener aufgetragen habe, ein Mudd Mehl für

<sup>8</sup> A. F. L. Beeston, M. A. Ghul, W. W. Müller, J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1982, p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> *Glossaire daṭīnois*. Vol. I-III, Leiden 1920-1942, p. 244f. (*sub t*) und p. 1882f. (*sub s*). Der Zusammenfall von *ṭ* und *s* aus zwei deutlich unterschiedenen Phonemen in ein einziges Phonem im ḥadramitischen Dialekt des Altsüdarabischen soll hier außer acht bleiben, da es sich dabei um ein *ś* (*s<sup>2</sup>*) und nicht um ein *s* (*s<sup>1</sup>*) handelt.

<sup>10</sup> T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Wordlist*, London 1987, p. 398.

<sup>11</sup> Siehe z.B. *Glossaire daṭīnois*, p. 350; Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Straßburg 1904, p. 64 und n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> P. Behnstedt, *Die Dialekte der Gegend von Ṣa<sup>c</sup>dah (Nord-Jemen)*, Wiesbaden 1987 (*Semitica Viva*, Band 1, hrsg. von O. Jastrow), p. 168.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 170, II,4,12; p. 171, II,22. – Falls die sabäische Präposition *swn* »(in Richtung) nach« (CIH 608,8; Ja 651, 32) in die Bestandteile *sw* + *n* zu zerlegen sein sollte (dankenswerter Hinweis von Dr. Norbert Nebes, Marburg), ist sie höchstwahrscheinlich zu himjarisch *sw*, modern-jemenitisch *sī* zu stellen. Zu den im *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 129, angegebenen beiden Belegen für *swn* sind inzwischen noch nachzutragen YMN 13,4 (s. Yūsuf M. ‘Abdallāh in *al-Iklīl* 6/2, Ṣaif 1408 h/1988, p. 148-153), eine Inschrift, welche vom Bau von Bewässerungswerken berichtet, bei welchen Dammleitungskanäle bis zu Saatfeldern (*swn/mdr<sup>2</sup>m*) angelegt wurden, sowie ferner Garbini ṢY (= Ṣafār Museum 1), A 7, wo nach einem Photo des spätsabäischen Textes, welches ich R. D. Tindel, Chicago, verdanke, *swn* (statt dem *kwn* des Erstherausgebers) zu lesen ist.

<sup>14</sup> Ed. Anastās al-Karmalī, Baḡdād 1931, p. 155,17 – 156,4; ed. Nabīh Amīn Fāris, Princeton 1940, p. 135,7-10; ed. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Akwa<sup>c</sup> al-Ḥiwālī, Dimašq 1979, p. 208,16 – 209,4.

ein Mudd Perlen zu kaufen, er es (d.h. das Mehl) jedoch nicht fand. Der Schluß jenes Musnad, der bereits im letzten Jahrhundert behandelt wurde<sup>15</sup>, heißt in der arabischen Übersetzung *fa-lam yağid*, und die himjarische Version lautete wahrscheinlich *fa-daw ʿasiyahū* oder *fa-daw ʿasāhu*<sup>16</sup>. Der Schluß des hier behandelten Satzes dürfte somit *daw ʿasīnāhu* oder *daw ʿasaynāhu* zu lesen sein, dessen erstes Wort möglicherweise zu *fa-daw* zu emendieren ist<sup>17</sup>.

Die himjarische Negation *daw* findet sich bei al-Hamdānī außer in der angeführten Passage auch noch an anderen Stellen, so in Buch II des *Iklīl*<sup>18</sup>, wo *daw* durch *laysa* bzw. *lam* wiedergegeben wird, und in Buch X des *Iklīl*<sup>19</sup>, wo es mit *lā* übersetzt wird<sup>20</sup>. Über das Weiterleben dieser Negation im Jemenitisch-Arabischen in den Formen *daʿ*, *dawʿ* und *duwwayy* im Südwesten der heutigen Arabischen Republik Jemen, also im einstigen himjarischen Stammland, kann man sich im Atlas von P. Behnstedt<sup>21</sup> informieren. Bei der Partikel *dʿ*, welche in drei spätsabäischen Inschriften vorkommt, handelt es sich wohl ebenfalls um eine Negation, da *d* auch als negatives Element in der Präposition *dkbmw* »ohne« in einer Inschrift aus Radmān begegnet<sup>22</sup>. Auch aus den semitischen Sprachen Äthiopiens lassen sich dafür Belege erbringen, nämlich *dʿ* »nicht« in der altäthiopischen, im altsüdarabischen Alphabet abgefaßten Inschrift des *Wʿzb*, des Sohnes des Kaleb,<sup>23</sup> *-do* als suffigierte Fragepartikel im Tigrinya<sup>24</sup> und *-da* als suffigierte Negativpartikel im Guragedialekt Ennemor<sup>25</sup>.

A. Drewes hat in einem Artikel<sup>26</sup> für eine Reihe von sabäischen, und hier wiederum besonders spätsabäischen Belegen des Verbuns *ʿsy* die Bedeutung »finden« wahrscheinlicher gemacht als die seither gewöhnlich gegebene Übersetzung »schicken, senden«. Muṭahhar ʿAlī al-Iryānī hatte zur

<sup>15</sup> J. Halévy, *Études sabéennes*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 7<sup>e</sup> Série, t. I (1873), p. 447; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Studien*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Band 86 (1877), p. 119; J. H. Mordtmann, Rezension von E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 44, 1890, p. 192.

<sup>16</sup> Zur Rekonstruktion dieses Satzes s. Ibrahim Al-Selwi, *Jemenitische Wörter in den Werken von al-Hamdānī und Našwān und ihre Parallelen in den semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1987 (*Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde. Serie B: Asien*, Band 10), p. 37.

<sup>17</sup> Dadurch erledigen sich die von G. Saliba, *art. cit.*, p. 716, n. 13, vorgeschlagenen Lesungen *dwābynāh*, *dwātynāh*, etc., mit Ausnahme der Alternative *dwāsynāh* (= *dw ʿsynʰ*, \**daw ʿasīnāhu*).

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, al-Qāhira 1967, p. 353,4f.

<sup>19</sup> Ed. Muḥibbaddīn al-Ḥaṭīb, al-Qāhira 1368 h, p. 14,14.

<sup>20</sup> Siehe dazu Ibrahim Al-Selwi, *op. cit.*, p. 89f., wo unter *daw* »nicht« Belege und Literaturhinweise in erschöpfendem Umfang gegeben werden.

<sup>21</sup> *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte*. Teil 1: *Atlas*, Wiesbaden 1985 (*Jemen-Studien*, Band 3), p. 170, Karte 117 »nein«.

<sup>22</sup> A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar*, Manchester 1984 (*Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph*, No. 6) p. 47, § 29:4.

<sup>23</sup> W. W. Müller, *Äthiopische Marginalglossen zum sabäischen Wörterbuch*, in *Ethiopian Studies Dedicated to Wolf Leslau* . . . ed. by St. Segert and A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 278.

<sup>24</sup> W. Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna (Éthiopien septentrional)*. *Grammaire et textes*, Paris 1941, p. 151, § 160f).

<sup>25</sup> W. Leslau, *Ethiopiens Speak. Part V. Chaha-Ennemor*, Wiesbaden 1983 (*Äthiopistische Forschungen*, Band 16), p. 14ff. Man vergleiche zu diesem Abschnitt bereits E. Wagner, *Der Jemen als Vermittler äthiopischen Sprachgutes nach Nordafrika*, in *Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 12, 1966, p. 263 h).

<sup>26</sup> A note on ESA ʿsy, in *Raydān. Journal of Ancient Yemeni Antiquities and Epigraphy* 2, 1979, p. 101-104.



gleichen Zeit in einem Aufsatz<sup>27</sup> das in jemenitischen Dialekten vorkommende Verb *ʿasī*, *yīʿsī* »finden, treffen, stoßen auf« behandelt und darauf hingewiesen, daß *ʿsy* in dieser Bedeutung bereits in den vorislamischen Inschriften begegne. Der Verfasser dieser Zeilen hat sodann weitere Belege beigebracht mit der Schlußfolgerung, daß für das Altsüdarabische ein Verbum *ʿsy* in den Bedeutungen »sehen, erblicken, finden, vorfinden« anzunehmen ist, welches etymologisch mit dem jemenitischen Verb *ʿasī* «sehen, finden» zu verknüpfen ist<sup>28</sup>. An dort noch nicht verzeichneten Belegen sind inzwischen noch nachzutragen das Sprichwort *man ḡā ʿasīnāh*, *wa-man ḡiziʿ nisīnāh*, »wer kommt, den sehen wir, und wer weggeht, den vergessen wir« aus der Stadt Ibb<sup>29</sup>, vier Belege für *ʿasi* »sehen« aus der gleichen Region<sup>30</sup>, sowie *asī*, *yīʿsī* »sehen« für Ġibla<sup>31</sup>. Auch in diesem Fall stammen die neujemenitischen Belege sämtlich aus dem Zentralgebiet des ehemaligen himjarischen Reiches.

Nach den obigen Ausführungen möchte ich den eingangs zitierten himjarischen Satz aus dem *Kitāb at-Tabṣira fī ʿilm an-nuḡūm* des al-Malik al-Ašraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf wie folgt wiedergeben: *ḡssnʿh yḡsm ʿmnʿ sw sʿmnʿ (f-)dw ʿsynʿh*, d.h. »wir suchten ihn, damit er mit uns esse, bis daß wir dessen überdrüssig wurden; wir hatten ihn nämlich nicht gefunden«.

Die bei al-Hamdānī<sup>32</sup>, Našwān<sup>33</sup> und anderswo mit Varianten erzählte Geschichte, wonach ein zum nordarabischen Stammesverband der Tamīm gehörender Dārimit zu Tode kam, weil er die Aufforderung des auf dem Dach seines Palastes befindlichen Himjarenkönigs, *tīb*, nicht als südarabisches »setz dich!«, sondern als nordarabisches »spring!« verstand<sup>34</sup>, war der Anlaß für das Sprichwort *man daḡala Zafāri taḡammara* bzw. *ḡammara*<sup>35</sup>, auf jemenitisch-arabisch *man daḡal Zafār tiḡammara*<sup>36</sup>, »Wer nach Zafār kommt, sollte Himjarisch können«. Der Jubilar, dem dieser bescheidene Beitrag gewidmet ist, ist unter die wenigen zu rechnen, auf welche jene Voraussetzung zuträfe.

<sup>27</sup> Namādiḡ uhrā min mufradāt al-yamanīya al-ḡaṣṣa, in *al-Iklīl* 1/2, Ḥarīf 1400 h/1980, p. 135ff.

<sup>28</sup> W. W. Müller, Altsüdarabische Miscellen. 6. Altsüdarabisch *ʿsy* »sehen, finden«; *hʿsy*, *ʿsy* (II.) »(aus)senden, schicken«, in *Raydān* 3, 1980, p. 71–73.

<sup>29</sup> Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, *Al-Amṭāl al-yamānīya*, Ṣanʿāʿ 1984, Vol. II, p. 1191, nr. 5183, wo im Text allerdings *ʿasaynāh* vokalisiert ist; vgl. das deutsche Sprichwort »Aus den Augen, aus dem Sinn«.

<sup>30</sup> P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte*. Teil 1, p. 196, Karte 142.

<sup>31</sup> O. Jastrow, Alles über Qāt. Ein Text im arabischen Dialekt von Jiblih (Nordjemen), in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 136, 1986, p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> *Al-Iklīl*, Vol. VIII, ed. M. al-Akwaʿ, p. 78, 1–5.

<sup>33</sup> Siehe *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿulūm*, gesammelt, alphabetisch geordnet und hrsg. von ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḡmad, Leyden 1916 (*E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series*, Vol. 24), p. 113, *sub waṭaba*.

<sup>34</sup> Siehe dazu auch Eva Riad, *wṭb* »to sit« and »to jump«, *qfṣ* »to pull together« and »to jump«, in *On the Dignity of Man. Oriental and Classical Studies in Honour of Frithiof Rundgren*, ed. by T. Kronholm and Eva Riad, Stockholm 1986 (*Orientalia Suecana* 33–35), p. 347–353. Für die dort erneut von anderen übernommene Behauptung, daß *mauṭabān* eine arabische Bezeichnung für eine Münze sei, konnte allerdings auch dieses Mal kein Beleg beigebracht werden; zu diesem Problem und zur entschiedenen Bestreitung der angeblichen Herleitung der Wörter Marzipan und *matapan* aus arabisch *mauṭabān* s. W. W. Müller, Arabische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache, in *Mediterrane Kulturen und ihre Ausstrahlung auf das Deutsche*. Fünf Beiträge zum altgriechisch-, lateinisch-, italienisch-, französisch- und arabisch-deutschen Sprachkontakt, Marburg 1986 (*Marburger Studien zur Germanistik*, Band 8), Exkurs über Marzipan p. 87f. und 103f., Anm. 27–39.

<sup>35</sup> So bei Yāqūt, s. jetzt Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, *Al-Buldān al-yamānīya ʿinda Yāqūt al-Hamawī*, 2. ed., Bairut-Ṣanʿāʿ 1408 h/1988, p. 192f.

<sup>36</sup> Ī. al-Akwaʿ, *Al-Amṭāl al-yamānīya*, Vol. II, p. 1210, nr. 5271.



# Childhood in Traditional Ethiopia: Work, Education and Preparation for Adult Life and Literacy

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## Medieval Education

Early historical data on Ethiopian children is so scant that it is almost as though they were neither seen nor heard. We can, however, catch occasional glimpses of a medieval educational system which must have existed for centuries.

Schooling, in the Christian areas, was entirely vested in the Church, and was carried out by the clergy. Education, which was almost entirely restricted to boys, was largely based on the reading and recitation of religious texts. These were written in Ge'ez, and hence more or less unintelligible to those untutored in that language. Many of the pupils were the children of their teachers or other churchmen. The story of the medieval Šāwan saint Täklä Haymanot was in this respect not untypical, for its author declares:

»it came to pass that when the child was seven years old, he learned from his father the Psalms of David, and all the Books of the Church, both of the Old and the New Testaments, and he learned the meaning of the laws that were therein«<sup>1</sup>.

Confirmation that a sizeable portion of students were drawn from clerical families is afforded by the early sixteenth century Portuguese traveller Francisco Alvares who observed that »the sons of priests« were »mostly priests«. Writing specifically of the rural countryside he added: »the clergy teach what little they know to their sons«<sup>2</sup>.

Further evidence of this was apparent when he visited a large church in Angot, for, inquiring why it had so many canons, he received the reply that »all the sons of canons« became canons, for fathers taught their sons, »each his own«, so that the canons had »increased in number«. This state

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Life of Takla Haymanot*. London 1906, p. 52. For the names of the various types of Ethiopian Church schools see I. Giudi, *Vocabolario amarico-italiano*. Roma 1901, cols. 22-4. Twentieth Century accounts of traditional schooling are given in Teshager Wube, *The Wandering Student*, *University College of Addis Ababa Ethnological Bulletin* IX (1959), pp. 52-60, Alaqa Imbakom Kalewold, *Traditional Ethiopian Church Education*. New York 1970, Haile Gabriel Dagne, *Education Magic in Traditional Ethiopia*, *Journal of Ethiopian Education* IV (1971), No. 2, pp. 3-12, *idem*, *The Traditional Ethiopian Curriculum*, *Ethiopian Journal of Education* IV (1971), No. 2, pp. 79-80, and in Amharic: Abba Kidanä Maryam Gétahun, *Tintawi Vekolo Temari*. Addis Ababa 1954 E.C., and Liqa Sulṭanat Habtä Maryam Wārqnäh, *Yaltyopya Ser'atä Temhert*. Addis Ababa 1963 E.C. See also bibliography in Imbakom Kalewold, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Beckingham & G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*. Cambridge 1961, I, p. 120.

of affairs was apparently fairly general for he was assured that it also pertained at the »King's churches«<sup>3</sup>.

Students, however, also came from other sections of the community. A party of Portuguese who visited the monastery of Däbrä Bizän on the northern edge of the plateau in 1520 reported that they saw there »some twelve to fifteen boys of from ten to thirteen or fourteen years of age . . . orphans who had neither father nor mother«. The local priests explained that they were bringing up these youngsters »for the love of God«, and this, Alavares comments, was their custom<sup>4</sup>.

Children of ruling families, and, we may assume, of the aristocracy in general, also received some church education, besides what was perhaps more important for them: training in the arts of war. Occasional brief mention of a monarch's childhood is made in the chronicles written to extol his later life. The future Emperor Susneyos in the late sixteenth century is thus reported to have studied »all the ecclesiastical books«, but also to have learnt hunting, swimming, riding, archery, stonethrowing and musketry.<sup>5</sup> The rulers of the ensuing Gondär period seem to have had a not dissimilar childhood. The seventeenth century annals of Iyasu I for example state that:

»After his birth he was carefully brought up in wisdom and discipline, and taught the holy books, that is to say the Old and New Testaments. Later, having grown, he learnt to throw the spear and draw the bow, as well as riding and swimming«<sup>6</sup>.

Such statements are echoed in later chronicles. Iyasu I was reputedly given a »good education in the study of the Holy Books« and was taught to ride on horseback<sup>7</sup> while Bäkäffa, though as a child placed in detention on the mountain of Wähni, was said to be so well instructed that he was »constantly« reading the Psalter and Scriptures<sup>8</sup>. Iyasu II in the eighteenth century likewise »learnt the Holy Books« in addition to riding, hunting and the use of the bow, spear and rifle<sup>9</sup>.

Though the majority of students were no doubt content with a modicum of education others proceeded to advanced studies in theology and related subjects. Record of such schooling in the medieval period is remarkably sparse, but there are intimations of it, not only in the learned writings and works of literature and art produced by church scholars, but also in the itineraries of visiting Ethiopian ecclesiasties drawn up by the early Venetian scholar Alessandro Zorzi. Embedded in these later accounts are several intriguing references to »universities« – presumably church schools of higher learning, one of which was attended by »many scholars«, while another embraced »every faculty«<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> H. Thomas, *The Discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese in 1520*. London 1938, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> F.M. Estavas Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos, Rei de Ethiopia*. Lisboa 1900, trans. p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> I. Giudi, *Annales Iohannis I, 'Iyāsu I et Bakāffā*. Paris 1903, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 58.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 291.

<sup>9</sup> I. Giudi, *Annales Regum 'Iyāsu II et 'Iyo'as*. Paris 1912, p. 32.

<sup>10</sup> O. G. S. Crawford, *Ethiopian Itineraries circa 1400-1524*. Cambridge 1958, pp. 149, 151, 153, 163.



## Children and the Slave Trade

The records of this period indicate that numerous Ethiopian children were captured as slaves. They either served in a domestic capacity within the country itself or were exported to foreign lands. The ravages of slave-raiders on the northern periphery of the country were described by the seventeenth century Italian traveller Giacomo Baratti who recalls that Turkish soldiers in the area were »pillaging the Christians«. He adds that »noblemen's children were seen, who by their Meen and Garb were distinguishable from the ordinary sort. These poor creatures«, he says, »were led to be sold in Turkey and other places as beasts«, and were »forced to renounce their Religion . . . What a grief«, he exclaims, »it was to their Christian Parents, to suffer such a loss, to have their sons and daughters amongst infidels«<sup>11</sup>.

Slave-raiding, and trading, was also carried out by Ethiopians themselves. At Degsa in northern Tegra for example the Scottish traveller Bruce a century later claimed that the town consisted of both Christians and Muslims whose »only trade« was the »very extraordinary one . . . of selling children«. The Christians thus brought youngsters they had stolen in the interior to Degsa where the Muslims received them, and took them to the port of Massawa whence they were shipped to Arabia and India<sup>12</sup>.

## Children's Work in the Early Nineteenth Century

Ethiopian children's life is much better documented in the early nineteenth century.

In the northern highlands immediately after birth an infant according to the Swiss missionary Samuel Gobat, would be taught to taste butter often mingled with a little honey. As long as the child drew nourishment from the breast it passed the night on the bosom of its mother, or, in the case of the aristocracy, on that of a nurse, for women of the upper class seldom looked after their offspring in person. At the end of the first month the infant had no other cradle during the day than the back of its mother, or nurse, who would take it by both its hands, and place it between her shoulders. It soon learnt to cling with its feet around her sides, and to lay its hands upon her shoulders to sustain its weight. She for her part secured it by passing around her waist and about her neck wide leather straps which served both to support and partly to cover the little one<sup>13</sup>.

In the average home children from the age of seven acted as servants, or assistants, to their parents. Sons, until the age of fourteen or fifteen, were generally occupied as shepherds or herdsmen for their fathers, though if the latter were in straightened circumstances their offspring might leave them at the age of eight or nine, and obtain support by tending other people's sheep or cattle. Daughters, like their mothers, were chiefly engaged in household duties, and, while very young, almost as soon as they could walk steadily, began carrying large jars of water which in

<sup>11</sup> G. Baratti, *The Late Travels of S. Giacomo Baratti into the Remote Countries of the Abyssins*. London 1670, pp. 21-25.

<sup>12</sup> J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*. Edinburgh 1790, III, p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> S. Gobat, *Journal of Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*. London 1834, p. 340. For similarities with the upbringing of Fäläša children see J. M. Flad, *The Falashas (Jews) of Abyssinia*. London 1869, p. 27.

many cases had to be obtained at a considerable distance from the house. Later, when only eight or nine years old, they had to gather and carry firewood. At the age of fourteen or fifteen they began the task of grinding grain. Such menial work, however, usually came to an end after marriage, for unless their families were extremely poor, the responsibility of grinding and carrying wood and water became the responsibility of young female relations – or slaves<sup>14</sup>.

In times of difficulty the upkeep of children was often entrusted to better-off kinsmen or even complete strangers. Such adoption was sometimes induced by abandoning youngsters in the vicinity of the proposed foster-parent's house. During the rains of 1814, when food supplies were scarce, »several children« were thus »dropped at the doors of respectable people« in Adwa, as Nathaniel Pearce, a British resident in the city, reported<sup>15</sup>. He spoke from personal experience, for one dark and rainy night a little boy of about four had been left at his house. He looked after the toddler for about six months, until one day the mother, who came from a village some five miles away, called on him. She explained that her husband, the boy's father, had been killed in battle, and that she had therefore been unable to look after her offspring. In her distress she had placed the child at Pearce's door, and had watched at a distance till he was taken into the house. She had then gone to another woman, to whom she had explained the whole story, and who now came forward to bear testimony to its truth. The mother, having subsequently married again, and become relatively prosperous as a result of a good harvest, now once again felt able to provide for her child whom she wished restored to her. Pearce, who declares that the little mite had by then grown fond of him, took the matter to the local elders. They ruled that it was entirely up to him whether he restored the infant or not, or at least that no one could force him to part with the child until he had been reimbursed for the maintenance he had expended. The mother had »abandoned it«, the elders said, to the »mercy of the hyenas« from whose jaws he had delivered it. The poor woman, however, fell at his feet, and declared that she would »ever pray« for her son's benefactor. Pearce duly acceded to her request<sup>16</sup>.

### Early Nineteenth Century Oromo Childhood Reminiscences

Valuable light on early nineteenth century Ethiopian childhood preoccupations and attitudes is embodied in the dictated correspondence of Akafede Dalle and Otshu Aga, two Oromo slaves, as written down by Karl Tutschek, their tutor in Germany<sup>17</sup>. Akafede, recalling his life as a traditional shepherd boy, and his relations with his parents and other elders, as well as with members of his own age group, observed:

»I used to make my father and mother very angry because as a shepherd boy whenever I saw my *hiria* (i.e. age group) go collecting

<sup>14</sup> Gobat, *op. cit.*, pp. 470–1.

<sup>15</sup> N. Pearce, *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*. London 1831, II, p. 172.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 171–2.

<sup>17</sup> R. K. P. Pankhurst & Adi Huka, Early Nineteenth Century Oromo Childhood Reminiscences, *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 1975, No. 2, pp. 39–47; R. K. P. Pankhurst, Ethiopian Slave Reminiscences of the Nineteenth Century, *Transafrican Journal of History* V (1976), No. 1, pp. 98–110.

sorghum heads I used to go with them and abandon the cattle. Whenever I went collecting the sorghum I never carried home a small quantity because my mother was fond of it, and I was more afraid of my mother than of my father. When she ate them she was pleased with me. One day I and a man from our village took the cattle to the *hora* (i.e. spring); when the animals drank and came up from the spring I saw the other boys asking permission from their brothers to go back to collect sorghum heads. I too asked permission from the man from my village. I said, 'Let me go and collect heads for my mother'. The man said I could go. He was not a bad man. So I went with the other children. When the children of the people to whom the heads belonged saw us they assembled and waited for us. When we came near to them they asked us, 'Where are you going?'. We replied that we were going to get sorghum heads. They replied, 'You can't take our sorghums unless you want to be beaten up. Try your luck another time!' After thinking for a while we egged each other on to go ahead with the plan. One of the farmers in the valley below was cutting sorghum. He called to us, 'Come here. Take some heads', he said. 'I have sown both white and ordinary sorghum. If you cut it for me you can take some heads'. Because we wanted the heads we cut them for him . . . Some children collected too many heads, and when they could not carry them home, they threw some of them away, but those who were strong enough picked up what the other children had dropped. I walked behind and gathered what the others had discarded. After walking for a while I came to a ridge called Hula. I could not climb this ridge. As I was tired I threw away some heads, and said goodbye to the other children. Those children who had thrown away some heads before then turned round and picked up what I had thrown away because their load had become light. We travelled along the ridge and came to a mountain called Tulu Tulam. At the foot of this mountain the children threw away the heads they had collected when I threw them away. I immediately picked up the heads they had thrown away as they had done when I threw them away. Having thus regained my sorghum there was nothing more for me to do that evening but to go home. The heads I brought home I divided between our relatives and neighbours<sup>18</sup>.

The shepherd boys often got into scrapes of one kind or another, for Otshu recalls:

»One day we went to the *hora* (i.e. spring). When we became hungry we went poaching. While I was stealing *bokolo* (i.e. corn) the owners saw me, and caught and beat me. I threw away everything I had taken and fled. I began weeping because I was very angry. I arrived home in no time. The owner of the corn could not run fast because he was very irritated. He came in the evening and accused me to my father. He

<sup>18</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, *Hafuri Kan Agaf Akafede f Amanti*, Akafede to Aga, October 28, 1840.



said, 'Your son stole my grain today', and then my father beat me. He beat me severely«<sup>19</sup>.

On another occasion, Otshu recalls, he secretly went out hunting, and because he had gone away without telling his father, incurred a further beating from the latter. Reverting to his love of this sport the youngster observed, 'In my country I had a good *bode* (i.e. spear). I and my brothers used to take a big dog with us and go hunting together«<sup>20</sup>. He later went on: 'I and the children of the *tumtu* (i.e. blacksmiths) used to go hunting to kill *guge* (i.e. doves) and *weni* (i.e. colubus monkeys). Whenever we killed a *weni* we used to quarrel amongst ourselves as to who had killed it. One would say, 'I struck it first'. Others would say the same. When we could not decide as to who had hit it first we would call a *mangudo* (i.e. elderly man) to arbitrate in our dispute. Whenever we thus quarrelled, and came near to breaking our heads, our mothers would punish us, saying, 'Why are you quarrelling in this way?«<sup>21</sup>.

Akafede shared his friend's passion for hunting, and declared, »When I was in my country I, together with the other children, often used as to hunt partridges. One day while we were hunting them we came upon a wild cat. The big boys ran shouting towards it, but the cat did not run away. It turned on the children and growled. The children stopped because they were afraid. There was nothing to do but to go and bring out a dog. At this point a boy came running across the field. He said, 'Why are you standing there instead of killing it? Give me a spear!' The children replied, 'If you go and strike this cat you will become our hero'. The boy did not take the spear that was offered him, but instead picked up a pointed stick and a club, and then advanced towards the cat. As he moved towards it the animal growled at him as it had done at the other children, but the boy was not afraid. He stood some distance away from the cat, and threw the pointed stick at it, and pierced it in the ear. It immediately closed its eyes and rushed to attack him. When it came near, the boy struck at its feet with the club. The creature fell down screaming. The children who had earlier not dared to approach now came forward and helped to finish it off«<sup>22</sup>.

## The Child Slave Trade in the Early Nineteenth Century

The abundant records of the early nineteenth century show that many children continued to be captured and sold as slaves. »Young persons of both sexes«, Pearce states, were often seized while »attending their flocks«<sup>23</sup>. There were »a large number« of adventurers, according to the French Saint Simonians Combes and Tamisier, whose »sole occupation« was thus to steal children. These men would hide in the forests or by springs to trap young girls coming to draw water or gather firewood. They would

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*, Aga to Akafede, October 23, 1840.

<sup>21</sup> *Idem*, Aga to Akafede, November 1840.

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, Akafede to Aga, October 28, 1840.

<sup>23</sup> Pearce, *op. cit.*, II, p. 9.



then capture the most comely, ride off with them, and sell them to local merchants who would subsequently dispose of them to travelling caravans<sup>24</sup>.

A large proportion of the slave children were taken from the southern provinces. The Protestant missionary J. L. Krapf, describing the seizure of children from the Guragé area, states that though they slept beside their parents they would nevertheless be captured in large numbers. Kidnappers would break into the children's houses at night, place a large stick upon the neck of adult members of the family, and then run off with the youngsters. If they attempted to make an outcry a rag would be stuffed into their mouths. As a precaution children were often made to sleep on beams across the upper part of the houses or had thick sticks placed over them, but the raiders had their ways of overcoming all such obstacles. If they were unable to break into a house, or failed to get at the children within it, they would set fire to the building by night, having first dug a pit around it into which the inhabitants would fall in trying to escape from the fire, and the children would be seized amid the general confusion.<sup>25</sup>

Though most slaves were captured in war, or seized by raiders, some, as several observers report, were sold into slavery by their parents, particularly when the latter were destitute or unable to pay their taxes<sup>26</sup>.

The slave caravans of the period invariably included large numbers of youngsters, many of whom, according to the English traveller C. T. Beke, were »children of eight or nine years at most«<sup>27</sup>. The British envoy Cornwallis Harris states that »caravans, consisting of from one hundred to three thousand individuals of all ages«, passed through Šäwa »during the greater part of the year«. »Three-fourths« of the captives, he says, were »young boys and girls, many of them quite children«. Nine-tenths of the girls were between six and thirteen years old<sup>28</sup>. Describing the slaves in one such caravan which he saw near the Gulf of Aden coast, he states that:

»although the majority were of tender years and many of them extremely pretty they did not excite that interest which might have been expected, for they readily adapted themselves to the will of their new masters whose obvious interest it was to keep them fat and in good spirits. With few exceptions, all were merry and light-hearted. Recovered from the fatigues of the long march, there was nothing but dancing, singing and romping; and although many wore an air of melancholy, which forms a national characteristic, the little victims to a traffic so opposed to every principle of humanity, might rather have

<sup>24</sup> E. Combes & M. Tamisier, *Voyage en Abyssinie, dans les pays des Galla, de Choa et d'Ifat*, Paris 1838, IV, p. 98.

<sup>25</sup> C. W. Isenberg & J. L. Krapf, *Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf*. London 1843, pp. 179-80; J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours*, London 1867, p. 46.

<sup>26</sup> Combes & Tamisier, *op. cit.* IV, p. 97; C. Johnston, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, London 1844, I, p. 310; Isenberg & Krapf, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80; Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> C. T. Beke, Routes in Abyssinia, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XIV, 1844, pp. 20-1. See also R. K. P. Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800-1935*. Addis Ababa 1968, pp. 88-92.

<sup>28</sup> C. W. Harris, *The Highlands of Ethiopia*. London 1844, I, pp. 233, 234, III, p. 308. For other estimates of the size of slave caravans etc., R. K. P. Pankhurst, The Ethiopian Slave Trade in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries: A Statistical Inquiry, *Journal of Semitic Studies* IX, 1964, No. 1, pp. 220-8.

been conjectured to be proceeding on a party of pleasure, than bending their steps for ever from their native land«<sup>29</sup>.

The slave children's own perception of their condition, as evident from the afore-mentioned Oromo child correspondence, seems to have been far less favourable than the British envoy's account would imply. The ex-slave boy Aga, writing to Akafede in fraternal terms, observed:

»My brother, did you say, 'I will be eaten by the *Bulgu* (i.e. cannibals) when you left your country? I myself had water rubbing in my stomach. Were you not seized with fear when you left your country? Were you not much afraid? I was very frightened because I thought I would be taken by the *Bulgu*«<sup>30</sup>.

Describing his experience in the slave caravan he continued:

»I left the country with many Gallas. Many of us left the country, and we were very frightened«.

»I came with a slave merchant. Whenever we ate, our stomach burnt with fire, for we were full of longing; we could not sit and we could not sleep. The sand burnt our feet«<sup>31</sup>.

Akafede likewise declared that many of his compatriots could »do nothing but grieve at the separation from their fathers and mothers«<sup>32</sup>, and Akafede agreed, observing »we have endured separation from our country, our mothers, our fathers, our brothers and our sisters«<sup>33</sup>.

## Church Education in the Early Nineteenth Century

Education, as in the past, was almost entirely limited to boys, and even among them only »a small portion«, according to Gobat, went to school. Most parents are said to have been reluctant to send them for study, lest they became monks. Many would-be students therefore deserted their homes in order to obtain an education through their own unassisted efforts. Such youngsters often served as domestic servants during the day, and received their instruction at night. Others wandered the streets, begging for their daily sustenance. There were, however, some wealthy philanthropists who made a habit of supporting a few children of poor parents, and of providing them with free education<sup>34</sup>. Learning was, however, not universally favoured; a nephew of the *Eçägé*, one of the principal churchmen at Gondär, going so far as to observe to Gobat in 1830 that education was »not so valuable an acquisition«, as some people supposed, for »knowledge corrupts the heart«<sup>35</sup>.

The sons of the nobility were in many cases sent to convents where they

<sup>29</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 233-4. For drawings of slave children see R. Pankhurst and L. Ingrams, *Ethiopia Engraved*. London 1988, p. 146.

<sup>30</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Aga to Akafede, October 19, 1840.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>32</sup> *Idem*, Akafede to Aga, October 21, 1840.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*, Aga to Akafede, November 8, 1840.

<sup>34</sup> Gobat, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 230.

were taught to read the Psalms in Ge'ez and to commit them to memory. As soon as they had learnt to read, whether well or badly, they would usually leave school, and be entrusted by their father with a district to govern. They would then be surrounded with a train of servants, and, before long provided with a wife, would live the life of a nobleman and soldier for the rest of their days<sup>36</sup>. Girls from noble families on the other hand had virtually no educational opportunities, for they were taught »little but spinning and culinary duties«, though a »few women of distinction« did in one way or other succeed in learning to read. Most women, however, were married at an early age, often when only eight or nine years old, and, spending much of their time bearing children, seldom appeared in public afterwards, at least until the death of their husbands<sup>37</sup>.

Children in the Christian highlands went to two essentially different types of church school. The first, which may be considered as primary schools, were small village establishments usually run by a single priest or *däbtära*, i.e. lay cleric. The others, which were fewer in number, were larger and academically more advanced institutions comparable to secondary schools – or in some instances even universities, where there were a number of teachers, priests, *däbtäras* or monks, who specialised in different subjects.

Village schools, concerned largely with the reading, and memorisation, of the Psalms, were to be found all over the highlands. Such schools were generally held, according to Pearce, »in a churchyard, or in some open place near it, sometimes before the residence of the master«. Students, in the latter case, would seek shelter during the rains, in their teacher's dwelling, and would be »all crowded up in a small dark hut, learning prayers by word of mouth from the master, instead of a book«<sup>38</sup>.

Larger, more advanced schools were attached to major churches or monasteries, in many cases located at provincial or other capitals. Students attending such educational establishments followed more specialised courses than were available at most village schools. The church of Giyorgis at the Šawan capital, Ankobär, was thus attended in the late 1830's by sixty children who received instruction from six teachers. Krapf, who visited the school, states that ten pupils were studying reading; twenty, singing; and thirty, poetry. All, significantly enough, declared that they hoped to go to Gondär to »take holy orders«<sup>39</sup>. At another of the town's churches there was a teacher called Arkälédes who taught church chanting to no less than a hundred pupils<sup>40</sup>.

Sizeable schools were likewise established in other major towns. At Adwa for example the British expedition of 1867–8 against Emperor Téwodros found »five or six schools« where children learnt to read, where »the Psalms, the Scriptures, the ceremonies of the church, and singing, were taught«, and where »the blind were instructed in learning by heart«<sup>41</sup>.

The great religious centre of Aksum likewise had at least one school of renown where many children, because of the city's status as a place of

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 471–2.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 471–2..

<sup>38</sup> Pearce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 330. For engraving of a church teacher and his students see Pankhurst and Ingrams, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>39</sup> Isenberg & Krapf, *op. cit.*, pp. 145.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, p. 86.

<sup>41</sup> T. J. Holland & H. M. Hozier, *Records of the Expedition to Abyssinia*. London 1870, I, p. 397. See also F. Rosen, *Eine deutsche Gesandtschaft in Abessinien*. Leipzig 1907, p. 482.



asylum, would be left by their parents to study in times of war, as the German traveller Gerhard Rohlfs reported in the 1880's<sup>42</sup>.

Gondär, the capital of the Ethiopian empire throughout the first part of the century, had an even larger number of students. Many flocked there because of the presence of the *Abun*, by whom they would duly be ordained. The city's church schools, however, also catered for many children of noble families who came, Rohlfs says, only to learn how to read and write, and for the most part eschewed higher learning<sup>43</sup>.

Students wishing to attend such schools often had to travel considerable distances. On leaving their home and family, they would put on their back a sack of grain or pease, which, the Italian missionary De Jacobis states, would be their entire subsistence for several months, after which they would be obliged to beg<sup>44</sup>. Journeys in search of education might at times entail no small risk, particularly in times of civil war. Boys at Ankobär who hoped to make their way to Gondär for ordination nevertheless told Krapf in 1839 that they were not afraid of attack by the Gallas on the route for their King, Šahlä Sellasé, would »charge a Galla Governor to take care of them<sup>45</sup>.

Church school students are said in many cases to have been keenly interested – and involved – in their studies. A youngster, on becoming »somewhat advanced in learning«, was often »made to teach the younger ones«<sup>46</sup>. It was similarly not unusual for the more enthusiastic pupils to hold weekly study sessions at which one of them would read out portions of the Scriptures discussed in the previous week. Gobat, who had seen many such classes, reports that the group would »pause at every difficult passage« and diligently consult each other as to its probable meaning<sup>47</sup>.

Not all students, however, were well motivated. Some indeed were so unruly that their teachers had »great trouble« with them, and had to resort to various kinds of punishments. It was not uncommon, according to Pearce, for the master to stand over his students with a wax taper while five or six of them pinched the offender's legs and thighs. If they spared him the teacher would strike them with his taper which could cut as severely as a whip. The »correction considered most effective« was, however, that of having fetters placed on the delinquent's legs, sometimes for many months at a time. In one instance with which the Englishman was familiar a thirteen-year-old boy, who had more than once contrived to remove his fetters and desert the school in which he had been placed by his parents, was at last fitted with such heavy irons that he was unable to free himself. He became so enraged that he drew a knife and committed suicide by cutting his throat<sup>48</sup>. Punishments might also be meted out by parents, particularly if they felt their children showed insufficient interest in their studies<sup>49</sup>.

Notwithstanding the severity of their schooling, and the hard punishments inflicted, many students became entirely devoted to their teachers. It was not unusual, according to De Jacobis, for pupils to undertake the »most

<sup>42</sup> G. Rohlfs, *Meine Mission nach Abessinien*. Leipzig 1883, p. 302.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. 205.

<sup>44</sup> M. E. Herbert, *Abyssinia and its Apostle*. London 1867, p. 81.

<sup>45</sup> Isenberg & Krapf, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-6.

<sup>46</sup> Pearce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 330.

<sup>47</sup> Gobat, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-19.

<sup>48</sup> Pearce, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 330-1.

<sup>49</sup> Isenberg & Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 86.



menial« service for their masters, and their »filial affection« seemed to make this »sweet and easy«<sup>50</sup>.

Students seeking to become what were termed »learned men« had to embark on a remarkably extensive course of study. Having learnt to read, perhaps in a village school, they were required to commit to memory the Gospel of St. John, and to read several of St. Paul's Epistles, together with a number of the Homilies of John Chrysostom. They were then assigned the task of learning by heart the Psalms of David, the *Wedasé Maryam*, or Praises of Mary, and several prayers. Such students were also supposed to memorise long lists of Ge'ez words, but few, Gobat believed, actually succeeded in doing so. After this they would sit at the feet of renowned masters who would explain to them the Scriptures and other texts, including the *Fethä Nägäst*, or traditional Ethiopian code of law<sup>51</sup>.

Such studies were, de Jacobis says, »perfectly despairing in length«. The course thus embraced seven years studying *zéma*, or chanting, nine years *sāwasew*, or Ge'ez grammar, four *Qené*, or poetry, and then, the *Qeddusan māšaheft*, or sacred books of the Old and New Testament. There were also courses in civil and canonical law, astronomy and history, but »few students« had the courage to embark on them<sup>52</sup>.

### Fäläša Education

The education of the Fäläšas, or Ethiopian Jews, was essentially similar to – and possibly copied from – that of their Christian compatriots. Teaching among the Fäläša, as among the Christians, was thus in the hands of the priests, *däbtāras* and monks, and was based, at the village level, on the study of the Ethiopic characters and the memorisation of the Psalms. Fäläša students desirous of following a religious vocation would, like Christian children preparing for the church, also study the Ethiopic *sāwasew* in order to translate portions of the Ge'ez Bible into Amharic for gatherings on the Sabbath and other festivals. Though their community tended to live separately from the Christian population the German Protestant missionary J. M. Flad reports that Fäläša children wishing to become *däbtāras* »for the most part« attended Christian schools. Classes for Fäläšas, like those for Christians, were attended almost entirely by boys. On asking why girls were not taught, he received the reply that »it is not becoming to instruct females«<sup>53</sup>.

Some Fäläša village schools seem to have been attended by a sizeable number of students. At the village of »Oibga«, for example, the German Protestant missionary Henry Stern in the 1860's met a teacher with over ninety students<sup>54</sup>. In some areas it was the practice when a pupil had memorised the whole Psalter for his parents to give the teacher a Maria Theresa thaler, or other »small payment«, with the result, Flad believed, that the earnings of priests and *däbtāras* were »sometimes considerable«<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>51</sup> Gobat, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-2.

<sup>52</sup> Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2. See also T. Heuglin, *Reise nach Abessinien*. Jena 1868, p. 261.

<sup>53</sup> Flad, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 35-6. See also J. Faitlovitch, *Notes d'un voyage chez les Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*. Paris 1905, p. 21.

<sup>54</sup> H. A. Stern, *Wanderings among the Falashas in Abyssinia*. London 1862, p. 259.

<sup>55</sup> Flad, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

## Qoranic Education

Schooling in the Muslim parts of the country, which were largely situated in the lowlands, was likewise almost entirely religious. Education was based on Qoranic schools, which again taught in a foreign language – in this case Arabic. Schools were to be found in the principal towns, but provided education only for boys. Girls, as in Christian and Fālāša schools, had no place in the educational system.

The most important Muslim educational centre in the region was probably the walled city of Harār. The British orientalist Robert Burton noted in the middle of the century that it was reputed to be an Alma Mater, though by no means comparable to the great cultural centres of the Islamic world<sup>56</sup>. An Egyptian officer, Muhammad Muktar, who visited the city a generation later, nevertheless found schooling »very well developed«<sup>57</sup>. There were in that period no less than twelve Qoranic schools in the city where boys learnt to read and write during the day while their elders studied Muslim law in the evenings<sup>58</sup>. Learned men from the city also travelled, and taught, throughout in the countryside far and wide<sup>59</sup>.

Qoranic schools, it must be assumed, were also operative in most if not all other major centres of Muslim population.

## Literacy

Knowledge of reading and writing may well have declined as a result of the civil wars of the eighteenth century. Literacy in the Christian highlands was primarily based, as we have seen, on familiarity with religious texts in a dead language, Ge‘ez, though messages were also occasionally written in Amharic, often referred as *Lesanā negus*, or the »King’s tongue«<sup>60</sup>, but never, as far as is known, in Tegrēñña or other local language.

Literacy varied considerably from one part of the region to another. In the Amharic-speaking areas »about one fifth of the male population«, according to Gobat, had »acquired some knowledge of reading«. Education in Tegré was on the other hand significantly less extensive, and in the same observer’s view only about »one twelfth« of that province’s menfolk had any knowledge of reading<sup>61</sup>. A visiting Belgian consul, Edouard Blondeel, nevertheless concluded that literacy in Ethiopia as a whole was not so different from that in Western Europe<sup>62</sup>. The situation in peripheral areas, however, was far less favourable. For example at Degsa, on the northern edge of the Ethiopian plateau, there is said to have been no school, with the result, according to the British envoy Henry Salt, that

<sup>56</sup> R. F. Burton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*. London 1894, II, p. 14. For Twentieth Century accounts of Qoranic education in Ethiopia see Haile Gabriel Dagne, *Traditional Language Teaching in Ethiopia: The Case of Quran Schools*. Addis Ababa 1969, and *idem*, *Quran School System in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa 1971.

<sup>57</sup> Mohamed Moktar, Notes sur le pays de Harar, *Bulletin de la Société Khédeviale de Géographie du Caire* I, 1877, 4, p. 265.

<sup>58</sup> P. Paulitschke, *Harar*. Leipzig 1888, p. 228. See also Mohamed Moktar, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>59</sup> Burton, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 14–15.

<sup>60</sup> E. Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians. An Introduction to Country and People*. London 1973, p. 119.

<sup>61</sup> Gobat, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

<sup>62</sup> Edouard Blondeel van Cuelbroeck, *Rapport sur son expedition en Abyssinie*. Bruxelles 1838–42, p. 64.

there were »only a few people who could read the church Bible« and those who obtained »this degree of knowledge« were »considered as priests; at least in their opinion«<sup>63</sup>.

Throughout the country as a whole a very considerable proportion of the literate population seem to have been churchmen of one kind or another. In Tegré the early nineteenth century British resident Mansfield Parhyns believed that the only persons who could read were »some, but not all of the priests, the scribes, and a very few among men of the highest rank«, who, however, »rarely« understood what was written<sup>64</sup>. The situation was apparently not so different in Bägémder where the Swiss Protestant missionary Theophilus Waldmeier a generation later declared that reading was an art known only to the priests and *däbtäras*<sup>65</sup>.

Proficiency in writing was far less extensive than reading. »Few« people in the highlands, according to both Pearce and Gobat, in fact even learnt to write<sup>66</sup>. Salt took a similar view, observing that »not one in twenty could write the characters they read«<sup>67</sup>.

Persons who did know how to write were »chiefly occupied«, Pearce says, in producing written charms<sup>68</sup>. One such man, whom Salt saw at Dagsa, travelled around the country as »a physician as well as a priest«<sup>69</sup>. Charm-writing was a major, and in some instances lucrative, occupation of *däbtäras*, who turned out amulets, British consul Plowden declares, against »every disease« known to man<sup>70</sup>.

Literacy among the Fäläša, which were again based on the dead language Ge'ez, seems, at least by the 1860's, to have been fairly limited. In one of their larger villages, Gorgora »Eila«, Stern did not »find one who could read fluently«, while in two others, »Antonius« and »Atshergee«, there was no one who could »spell a single word«. He nevertheless did encounter one young woman who could »read a little« – the only »lettered female« he met during a long tour<sup>71</sup>.

Literacy among the Muslims of the eastern lowlands, which was based, it will be recalled, on Arabic, appears to have been fairly extensive. The British ship's surgeon Charles Johnston stated in the 1840's that he was »astonished« at the »great number« of 'Afär and Somali nomads who had »never resided in towns« and yet were »able to read and write in Arabic«. It was indeed »curious«, he adds ethnocentrically, to find »savages« like the Dänakil were »such adepts in an art so foreign to their pursuits and wants«<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> G. Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*. London 1809, II, pp. 508–9.

<sup>64</sup> M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*. London 1854, I, p. 155.

<sup>65</sup> T. Waldmeier, *The Autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier, Missionary*. London and Leominster 1886, p. 16.

<sup>66</sup> Pearce, *op. cit.* I, p. 391; Gobat, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

<sup>67</sup> Valentia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 508–9.

<sup>68</sup> Pearce, *op. cit.*, I, p. 331.

<sup>69</sup> Valentia, *op. cit.*, II, p. 509

<sup>70</sup> Great Britain, House of Commons, *Correspondence respecting Abyssinia*, p. 110. See also Waldmeier, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>71</sup> Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 245, 259, 265, 268.

<sup>72</sup> Johnston, *op. cit.*, I, p. 442.



## The Effects of War

The civil wars of the late eighteenth century and first part of the nineteenth century seem to have led to a marked decline in both education and literacy. Gobat, who reports that manuscript Bibles could in his day »occasionally be bought« for about 100 thalers, states that this was because no one any more attempted to study, and books were therefore »no longer wanted«<sup>73</sup>. A generation later Plowden likewise noted that whereas manuscripts were »formerly eagerly sought for« they could by his day »be found very cheap«, for there were »scarcely any purchasers«, as »the number of persons that can read and write is diminishing daily«<sup>74</sup>.

The wars of the second half of the nineteenth century, against the Egyptians, the Sudanese Mahdists and the Italians, subsequently also resulted in considerable destruction in both Tegré and Bägémder<sup>75</sup>. This had a disruptive effect on education, and hence on literacy in the whole of northern Ethiopia. At Gondär, which was attacked by the Dervishes from the Sudan in 1889, the principal school was closed, thus bringing an end, as the German Felix Rosen later noted, to its studies in theology, law, history, music, painting and calligraphy<sup>76</sup>. Adwa once also, as we have seen, a notable educational centre, suffered no less grievously from the fighting with the Egyptians in 1875–6 and a generation later with the Italians in 1895–6. A subsequent British observer, A. B. Wylde, observed that »many« of the city's streets were »entirely deserted«, the Muslim quarter was »tenantless« and the »neat gardens« of former times were »gone and choked up with rank weeds and vegetaion«<sup>77</sup>. Similar destruction was reported at other northern towns, including Čäläqot, Anṭalo, Adegrat, Mäqälé and Säqota<sup>78</sup>. Such ravages of war, had, it can be imagined, a further seriously detrimental effect on both education and literacy.

<sup>73</sup> Gobat, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>74</sup> *Correspondence respecting Abyssinia*, p. 110.

<sup>75</sup> Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia 1800–1935*, pp. 572–9.

<sup>76</sup> Rosen, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 403–4.

<sup>77</sup> A. B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*. London 1901, p. 173.

<sup>78</sup> R. K. P. Pankhurst, *The History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935*. Stuttgart 1985, pp. 118–19, 123, 125.



# Une table à libations avec inscription sabéenne provenant du Ġawf du Yémen

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En août 1981, M. Geoffrey Turner, antiquaire à Amsterdam, m'a communiqué la copie qu'il avait faite d'une inscription sabéenne figurant sur une table à libations à dégorgeoir en bucrane, en me demandant de lui en fournir la traduction. Cet objet, donné comme provenant du Ġawf du Yémen, avait précédemment été vendu sous le n° 178 dans la vente du 25 février 1975 de Christie's à Londres. Devant mon intérêt pour ce monument, M. Turner a eu l'amabilité de communiquer mon adresse au nouvel acquéreur, qui a consenti à se faire connaître et à me confier le droit de publication. J'exprime ma vive reconnaissance à ces deux personnes. Dans la suite, M. Turner m'a fourni un tirage original (fig. 1) de la photographie parue dans le catalogue de la vente de Christie's. Le nouveau propriétaire n'a malheureusement pas été en mesure de me fournir certaines dimensions de l'objet, ni des données sur la portion endommagée du texte qui ne figure pas sur la photographie.

Seules sont connues les deux dimensions de la pièce données dans le catalogue de Christie's: longueur 37,5 cm; largeur 27,5 cm. On peut déduire de la photographie les mesures approximatives suivantes: hauteur totale du bucrane: 12,5 cm; hauteur des lettres du texte en deux lignes: 3,2 cm. Ces dimensions sont normales: parmi les autels du même type, la dimension maximale attestée est de 91,5 cm pour une table à libations à deux dégorgeoirs (YM 590)<sup>1</sup> destinée au culte, tandis que parmi des exemplaires votifs provenant de Mârib, l'un n'atteignait pas 6 cm dans le sens longitudinal<sup>2</sup>. On voit mal ce que vise l'affirmation de Albright (*Excavation*, p. 34): »Many altar tops were found in the temple and tombs and in and about Mârib ranging in size from a few centimeters to several meters« (mes italiques), affirmation reprise par Forte (*Altarini*, p. 99, n. 6).

Dans la présente table à libations, le bloc central devait être à peu près carré, d'après le nombre respectif des lettres sur les côtés. A la face supérieure, une surface centrale évidée, bordée d'un pourtour réservé en relief, aboutit au milieu d'un des côtés à une rigole d'écoulement creusée sur le dessus d'une corniche en forme de parallélipède, qui se dégorge au milieu du front d'un bucrane très stylisé, aux yeux proéminents. Les cornes et les oreilles de l'animal sont traitées de façon abstraite, comme des sortes

<sup>1</sup> Publiée sous le sigle MAFY al-Ĥumayrâ' 4, dans Robin, *Hamdân*, p. 424-426 et Pl. 157 (cette reproduction ne m'est connue que par une photocopie insuffisante pour les détails).

<sup>2</sup> Ja 848, dans Jamme, *Inscriptions*, p. 251 et pl. 55: 5,7 cm. En outre, Albright, *Catalogue*, p. 275, n° 129, et fig. 195, p. 282: mutilé, longueur 7 cm; ainsi que p. 274, n° 123. La mesure de 95 cm donnée à la »table« CIH 692 et Pl. XLIV reproduisant l'estampage, résulte d'une interprétation erronée de celui-ci, qui moule à la suite les 4 faces d'un petit autel d'environ 22 cm de côté!

de créneaux ou de denticules qui se dressent verticalement dans le plan des joues de l'animal. La rencontre du lit de la rigole avec la surface du front forme une corolle arrondie, qui s'évase élégamment pour rejoindre la ligne verticale des cornes. Ce mouvement est souligné par une ligne courbe sur le front (voir fig. 3, (c)). Le mufler s'abaisse en oblique, sans autre ornement. Le style paraît comparable à celui d'une statuette de taureau couché, en albâtre, au Musée Borély à Marseille (Jamme, *Borély*, p. 185 et Pl. X). L'harmonie et la stylisation dépouillée et pure du présent bucrane contribuent à en faire l'exemplaire le plus réussi des autels de ce type actuellement publiés<sup>3</sup>; c'est aussi, à en juger d'après la graphie du texte, un des plus anciens (avec l'autel épigraphe NAM 1283, dans *CIAS*, II, 2, p. II, 257-259, sans reproduction de la tête [et la pièce mentionnée dans l'*Addendum* au présent article]), ce qui présuppose une longue période de maturation préalable, dont nous ignorons tout.

On peut établir provisoirement quelques grands traits de l'évolution typologique des tables à libations à dégorgeoir en bucrane publiées en reproduction<sup>4</sup>, en tenant compte de l'évolution du motif du bucrane en général, mais surtout dans les gargouilles, dont certains types ont été influencés par les formes des tables à libations.

À l'époque ancienne (identifiable d'après les caractéristiques de l'écriture, dans les monuments épigraphes), la forme originale de parallépipède de la corniche est à peine dégrossie. Les cornes et les oreilles du taureau sont figurées par des proéminences informes (la présente table constitue une heureuse exception) obtenues par le croisement, à angle droit et à la surface supérieure du bloc original, de la rigole longitudinale avec une indentation transversale, au profil triangulaire<sup>5</sup>. Les formes sont seulement ébauchées; les naseaux et la gueule ne sont pas représentés (du moins dans les

<sup>3</sup> Il suffit de le comparer au traitement beaucoup plus grossier de formes semblables dans un autel souvent représenté, et chronologiquement très proche du monument étudié ici, mais à deux dégorgeoirs: YM 6, dans Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7 n° 8 (où l'inscription n'est pas signalée) et Pl. 4. Autres reproductions de cette pièce: Costa, *Museo*, p. 7, fig. 1, et p. 25; Garbini, *Nuove iscrizioni*, p. 31-37 et Pl. I a et b; Costa, *Antiquities*, p. 31, n° 43 et pl. XIII. — Intégration très semblable des cornes dans le tracé du haut du front, dans Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 5 c et Pl. 2, ainsi que dans Rathjens, *Sabaeica*, II, p. 267 et ph. 562 (reproduite au trait dans Forte, *Altarini*, p. 99, fig. 1). — Dans la table YM 590 citée ci-dessus (voir n. 1), beaucoup plus récente, il y a un souci analogue d'intégrer l'exutoire de la rigole dans l'ensemble de la composition du front, mais l'application est différente (la rigole est surélevée par rapport au front de l'animal).

<sup>4</sup> Deux fragment d'autels à libations avec bucrane sont décrits sommairement dans Albright, *Dhofar*, p. 97, n° 105-106, sans reproduction. Une gargouille à bucrane, Robin Ruwā<sup>3</sup> 8, publiée dans Robin, *Hautes-Terres*, II, p. 96 et Pl. 60b, est trop abîmée pour être utilisable. À citer ici pour mémoire un objet apparemment unique, mais de type apparenté: une coupe circulaire profonde reliée à un dégorgeoir à bucrane très fruste: NAM 358 dans *CIAS*, II, 2, p. II. 255-256.

<sup>5</sup> CIH 439 (d'après une photo inédite du British Museum montrant les deux bucranes mutilés; corriger le comm. du CIH d'après les Addenda du T. III, p. 361). Hurayda A. 3, n° 7 (= Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), dans Caton Thompson, *Tombs*, p. 24 et Pl. XVIII, et p. 160-161; Hurayda A. 3 n° 10, *Ibid.*, p. 53 et Pl. XX, 3; Mittwoch-Schlobies, *Inschriften* n° 91, p. 350-352 = RES 4839 = Rathjens, *Sabaeica*, II, p. 277, ph. 559-560 (= Höfner, *Sabaeica*, III, n° 102); Rathjens, *Sabaeica*, II, p. 154-155 et 276, ph. 556-557; p. 276, ph. 558, et p. 277, ph. 563; *Ibid.* p. 277, ph. 561-562 (Höfner, *Sabaeica*, III, p. 40, n. 103); Albright, *Catalogue*, p. 275, n° 129 et Pl. 195, p. 282; Ja 848, dans Jamme, *Inscriptions*, p. 251 et Pl. 55; YM 6: voir les références n. 3 ci-dessus; Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 5c et Pl. 2; *Ibid.*, p. 7, n° 7 et Pl. 3 (= Costa, *Antiquities*, p. 24, n° 11 et Pl. IV b); Breton, *Hadramawi*, p. 44-45 et pl. III, ainsi que le fragment p. 44 et Pl. II (où l'indentation et le profil de l'oreille sont, pour une fois, bien visibles); enfin NAM 1549, dans *CIAS* II, 2, p. II. 261-262, n° 2.





Fig. 1. Le côté gauche de la table à libations. (Photographie reproduite avec l'aimable autorisation de Christie's, Londres.)

bucranes servant de dégorgeoirs). Seul un bourrelet<sup>6</sup>, ou un pli sinueux<sup>7</sup> peut terminer le mufle et annoncer la proximité des naseaux non représentés. Dans la table à libations A. 3, n° 7 de Hurayḍa, citée à la note précédente, — exemplaire très grossier que Pirenne (*Paléographie*, p. 163) date de la période C 3 d'après la graphie du texte — le haut du front du taureau conserve une bande horizontale en relief coïncidant avec l'arête supérieure originale du bloc, et censée inclure les cornes. Cette bande, qui représente la retombée de la crinière sur le front, se termine vers le bas en denticules. Une bande médiane s'abaisse depuis l'exutoire de la rigole jusqu'à l'extrémité du mufle, qui est ornée d'un trait ondulant annonçant les naseaux. Caton Thompson (*Tombs*, p. 24) la rapproche d'une bande analogue, mais striée, représentée sur un bucrané, à l'époque inédit, de meilleure tenue artistique, arraché d'une table à libations, au Peabody Museum à Harvard<sup>8</sup>. Un exemplaire comparable à celui de Hurayḍa (denticules, bande médiane sur le front, traitement identique des cornes et des oreilles), mais encore plus barbare, et provenant lui aussi du Ḥaḍramawt (Breton, *Ḥaḍramawt*, p. 44-45 et Pl. III, et fragment du côté droit d'un bucrane semblable, *Ibid.*, p. 44 et Pl. II), figure à l'extrémité, démesurément plus large que haute et à peine dégrossie, d'une gargouille. Mais les yeux, très proéminents, se détachent à la limite des arêtes latérales du bloc, tandis qu'aux deux angles inférieurs de celui-ci, deux chevrons emboîtés esquissent les plis des naseaux.

Dans son évolution ultérieure, le motif du bucrane, en relief, en applique en ronde-bosse, ou en qualité de dégorgeoir de gargouille ou de table à libations, est traité de façon beaucoup plus réaliste et modelée. Il sera question ici principalement des bucranes ornant des dégorgeoirs, générale-

<sup>6</sup> Voir G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions*, p. 87, n° 257 et Pl. V; YM 8, dans Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 7 et Pl. 3 (= Costa, *Antiquities*, p. 24, n° 11 et Pl. VI b); Cleveland, *Dhofar*, p. 19, fig. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Caton Thompson, *Tombs*, p. 24, A. 3 n°7 et Pl. XVIII; Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 6 et Pl. 3. (Ces attestations sont relativement anciennes.)

<sup>8</sup> Comparer à la longue mèche striée sur la table à libations de Khōr Rūrī: Cleveland, *Dhofar*, p. 19, fig. 3. — Une bande verticale se distingue à peine sur la photographie du bucrane d'une table à libations: Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7 n° 5 c et Pl. 2. — Trait vertical sur le mufle de la table miniature Ja 848, dans Jamme, *Inscriptions*, p. 251 et Pl. 55. Sur le bucrane d'une table à libations qui n'est plus de l'époque ancienne: NAM 1308 (cf. ci-dessus, n. 3), le sillon de la rigole se prolonge sur le mufle jusqu'à son extrémité inférieure.

ment coupés au-dessus ou au niveau des naseaux, au contraire des autres types de représentations.

On peut distinguer ici, de façon très générale, deux phases de développement après la période ancienne. L'une, qu'on appellera intermédiaire, voit l'apparition et le premier développement de traits particuliers, dont certains prendront à l'époque suivante, qu'on appellera ici »récente«, une forme conventionnelle et stéréotypée.

L'œil, généralement très proéminent à l'époque ancienne, peut s'orner dans la suite d'une fine spirale concentrique réservée en relief<sup>9</sup>. Il finira par devenir un espace vide, cerclé de lignes concentriques. De même les naseaux, dont l'approche est suggérée par une ligne ondulante ou double, seront éventuellement représentés, ou simplement annoncés, par deux séries de courbes concentriques aux deux angles inférieurs du mufler. Le front de l'animal, d'abord garni au sommet d'une frise de denticules et éventuellement orné d'une ligne ou d'une bande verticale, se couvre progressivement de traits irréguliers figurant les poils, ou même, comme on l'a vu plus haut pour l'exemplaire de Khôr Rûrî, d'une mèche asymétrique se terminant en pointe. La surface ainsi couverte va prendre ensuite la forme d'un triangle, délimité de façon de plus en plus accusée<sup>10</sup>, qui peut enfermer un motif à répétition stylisé figurant les poils. Dans les représentations de bucranes indépendantes des dégorgeoirs de gargouilles ou de rigoles (car dans ce cas le sommet du front est occupé par l'exutoire de la rigole), le triangle peut se prolonger vers le haut en un symbole conventionnel incorporant le toupet: le »foudre« entre les deux cornes<sup>11</sup>.

Certaines gargouilles se distinguent des dégorgeoirs d'autels non seulement par la longueur de la corniche<sup>12</sup>, mais aussi par un allègement marqué de celle-ci: les arêtes longitudinales sont taillées en biseau, de façon à transformer le parallélogramme primitif de la corniche en un prisme hexagonal ou octogonal<sup>13</sup>. Dans un cas (Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 5 b et Pl. 2), les arêtes longitudinales de la surface supérieure dans laquelle est creusée la rigole, sont fortement arrondies.

Les dégorgeoirs anciens de tables à libations présentent, on l'a vu, une disposition verticale des cornes, dans le prolongement du plan des joues de l'animal. Une forme intermédiaire, ou secondaire, mal représentée (peut-être en partie parce qu'il n'est pas toujours possible d'en identifier les répondants, en raison de la mutilation des cornes), paraît figurer les cornes dans une direction plus ou moins verticale ou oblique, d'une façon beau-

<sup>9</sup> Observation de Rathjens, *Sabaieca*, I, p. 73, fig. 68 et 69 (voir ci-dessous, n. 13). Voir aussi Rathjens-v. Wissmann, *Altertümer*, p. 54-56, fig. 23, 24, et fig. 27 (qui n'est autre que Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 5 a et Pl. 2), ainsi que Avanzini, *Collezione*, p. 164, n° 7 et Pl. II.

<sup>10</sup> Cleveland, *Bull's Head*, a justement établi un parallèle entre ces caractéristiques, et celles de représentations de têtes de taureaux assyriennes, ou dans des ivoires palestiniens. Il est à souligner que ces ressemblances ne se manifestent que dans des représentations qui, en Arabie du Sud, sont tardives: derniers siècles du premier millénaire av. J.-C., et premiers siècles de notre ère.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Höfner, *Religionen*, p. 312. — Exemple particulièrement conventionnel (plaque en relief avec inscription): YM 383, dans Radt, *Katalog*, p. 18, n° 96 et Pl. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Ce qui permet de classer comme éléments de gargouilles des dégorgeoirs dont l'identification est présentée comme douteuse, par exemple les n°s 1, 5 a et b, 6 et 7 de Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7 et Pl. 1 à 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ainsi dans Rathjens, *Sabaieca*, I, p. 73, fig. 68 (= Garbini, *Antichità*, p. 404 et Pl. XVI = Radt, *Katalog*, p. 20, n° 113 et Pl. 39), et fig. 69; Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 6 et Pl. 3, et peut-être p. 7, n° 5 b et Pl. 2. — A noter que le bas de la corniche d'une table à libations dont le bucrane est mutilé, dans Mordtmann-Mittwoch, *Inschriften*, p. 53, n° 7 et fig. p. 50 et 53, est profilé pour rendre la forme du cou du taureau.



coup plus réaliste qu'à la période ancienne. Pour autant qu'on puisse en juger, ce sont surtout des dégorgeoirs de gargouilles<sup>14</sup>. Un exemplaire unique de table à libations à bucrane, (NAM 1308 cité n. 3) atteste une autre forme, intermédiaire<sup>15</sup>, dans laquelle les cornes et les oreilles se dressent en oblique *au-dessus* de la surface dans laquelle est creusée la rigole.

Par contre, dans leur forme plus récente, les dégorgeoirs d'autels et de gargouilles présentent les oreilles et les cornes disposées latéralement et horizontalement, *sous le plan de la surface* dans laquelle est creusée la rigole: deux reproductions (Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, p. 65, fig. 170 a = OM 135 du Musée d'Istanbul, et Rathjens-v. Wissmann, *Altertümer*, p. 55, fig. 23, a-b), prises de profil, montrent avec quelle rigidité les lignes de la tête sont asservies à cette limite<sup>16</sup>. Cette innovation paraît s'introduire à une période encore antérieure à la généralisation du triangle sur le front: des représentations de ce type montrent encore les poils du front représentés irrégulièrement ou par une mèche<sup>17</sup>.

Autre innovation après la période ancienne: la corniche des dégorgeoirs d'autels peut prendre, vue d'en haut, la forme d'un triangle qui s'élargit vers la table<sup>18</sup>. Cette forme, adaptée à la présence d'une table rectangulaire, a manifestement influencé un type de gargouille dans lequel la base du triangle de la corniche occupe le milieu du côté d'un rectangle, dont la surface supérieure, au lieu de comporter un évidement d'où partirait la rigole, est simplement traversée de part en part par celle-ci<sup>19</sup>. Le fait que des gargouilles destinées à évacuer l'eau des pluies aient ainsi assumé presque parfaitement les formes extérieures des tables à libations, indique à suffisance le sens symbolique, lié à la fécondité, attribué à ces dernières par le symbolisme du taureau (cf. J. Ryckmans, *Taureau*, p. 367). On peut

<sup>14</sup> Gargouilles: outre Rathjens, *Sabaeica*, I, fig. 68 et 69 (citées ci-dessus, n. 13), Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 1 et Pl. 1 (= Costa, *Museo*, p. 23, fig. 17, et p. 32), et p. 7: n° 4 a et Pl. 2, et n° 6 et Pl. 3. A quoi s'ajoute encore, comme gargouille (vu la longueur de sa corniche) Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 5 b et Pl. 2. — Enfin il y a encore, comme autel, celui à double dégorgeoir à bucrane cité n. 1 ci-dessus, YM 590, qui présente une variante particulière. Les côtés de la rigole sont surélevés, comme s'ils avaient absorbé les cornes qui, dans le type ancien, sont comme taillées dans les parois de la rigole, tandis que les cornes sont ici représentées indépendamment, se dressant en oblique (pour autant qu'on puisse en juger, vu la mauvaise qualité de la reproduction utilisée).

<sup>15</sup> Intermédiaire, parce que la tête est certes idéalisée, mais à partir d'un modèle réaliste, étranger au style des bucranes plus anciens. Cette pièce occupe une place à part dans la série de représentations de bucranes.

<sup>16</sup> Autres références, outre les deux qui viennent d'être citées: OM 138, dans Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, p. 65, fig. 170 b; Cleveland, *Dhofar*, p. 19, fig. 3. — Gargouilles (certaines ont été publiées comme autels à libations): Rathjens-v. Wissmann, *Altertümer*, p. 54-56, fig. 27 (= Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7 n° 5 a et Pl. 2), fig. 23 et 24; Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 1 et 4 a, Pl. 1 et 2 (cf. la note 14 ci-dessus); G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions*, p. 87, n° 257 et Pl. V; Avanzini, *Collezione*, p. 164, n° 7 et Pl. II. Ce dernier objet présente un style géométrique assez particulier.

<sup>17</sup> Respectivement Rathjens-v. Wissmann, *Altertümer*, fig. 23, p. 55 (= VA 8889 au Musée de Berlin), et fig. 27, p. 54 (= Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 5 a et Pl. 2, qui donne une meilleure reproduction), et Radt, *Ibid.*, p. 7, n° 4 a et Pl. 2; mèche: dans Cleveland, *Dhofar*, p. 19, fig. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Références pour les autels: Grohmann, *Göttersymbole*, p. 65, fig. 170 a et b; Cleveland, *Dhofar*, p. 19, fig. 3 (autel sans rigole; la surface de la table s'incline vers l'avant en direction de deux trous d'écoulement de part et d'autre de la tête: Albright, *Dhofar*, p. 97, n° 104); Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7, n° 2 et Pl. 1 (ou gargouille?), n° 4 a, Pl. 2, et peut-être n° 4 b et Pl. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Ce qui permet de les identifier comme telles. Cf. Rathjens-v. Wissmann, *Altertümer*, p. 54-57, fig. 23, 24, et 27 (= Radt, *Katalog*, n° 5 a et Pl. 2); Radt, *Ibid.*, p. 7, n° 1 et Pl. 1; Avanzini, *Collezione*, p. 164, n° 7 et Pl. II.

se demander ici, sans parvenir à une réponse adéquate, pourquoi les rigoles d'écoulement des autels et des gargouilles aboutissent *au-dessus* du front du taureau au lieu de sortir de sa gueule comme, par exemple, dans les gargouilles occidentales à figuration humaine ou animale. Il faut cependant évoquer, dans ce contexte, une table à libations (Rathjens, *Sabaeica*, II, p. 278, ph. 564) dont le dégorgeoir, privé de son bucrane disparu, atteste la présence de deux conduits superposés pour l'évacuation: le liquide devait s'écouler respectivement au niveau du sommet du front, et de la gueule de l'animal. Par contre, dans une gargouille de bronze en forme de protomé de lion, en provenance de Ḥuqqa (Rathjens-v. Wissmann, *Altertümer*, p. 89, fig. 55 = Grohmann, *Arabien*, p. 236, fig. 105) – d'un modèle entièrement différent de celui des gargouilles en pierre – l'eau devait sortir de la gueule de l'animal. [Voir l'*Addendum*].

Dans les tables à libations de type ancien, un décrochement perpendiculaire marque la diminution de largeur entre la table proprement dite, et la corniche portant la rigole et le bucrane (voir fig. 2, a-b, d-e). Ce décrochement subsiste même lorsque la base de la corniche s'élargira plus tard en triangle. Une table dont les caractéristiques sont anciennes (Radt, *Katalog*, p. 7 n° 5 c et Pl. 2, cf. la note 3 ci-dessus), montre une succession de pas moins de trois décrochements de part et d'autre de l'axe de symétrie de l'objet. Une gargouille d'époque ancienne (?) provenant de Ḥuqqa<sup>20</sup>, et la table à libation de Khōr Rūrī (Cleveland, *Dhofar*, p. 19 et fig. 3), présentent deux décrochements successifs.

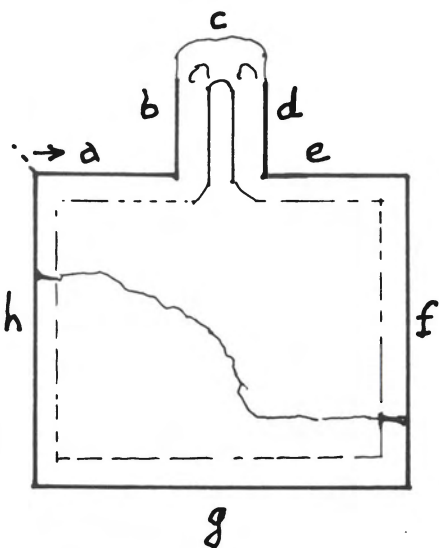


Fig. 2. La table à libations, vue du dessus, l'après une esquisse de G. Turner

<sup>20</sup> Rathjens-v. Wissman, *Altertümer*, p. 57 et fig. 28. L'imprécision du dessin due sans doute au mauvais état de la pierre, ne permet pas de dégager des critères de datation.

## L'inscription

L'autel porte sur tous ses côtés latéraux planes (donc à l'exception du mufle du taureau) une inscription boustrophédone en deux parties distinctes, quoique formant un texte continu (fig. 1 et schéma fig. 2). Le texte débute, en grandes lettres qui prennent environ les 7/10<sup>es</sup> de la hauteur de la pierre, au coin gauche<sup>21</sup> de la face (a) antérieure de la table, dont part la corniche. Elle continue (dans le sens des aiguilles d'une montre) sur le côté gauche (b) de la corniche (ces deux sections du texte sont lisibles sur la fig. 1), et est alors interrompue par le bucrane (c). Elle se poursuit ensuite sur le côté droit de la corniche (d), et retrouve la face antérieure de la table, cette fois sur sa partie droite (e). L'inscription aborde ensuite la face latérale droite (f) de la table par la lettre *n* du mot *bn* suivi de sa barre de séparation, et passe sans transition à un format des lettres réduit à plus de la moitié, et à une disposition du texte en deux lignes, la suite du texte occupant pour commencer la partie supérieure de la hauteur disponible. Le texte continue, toujours sur la première des deux lignes, sur la face postérieure (g) puis le côté gauche de la table (h) (le côté long visible sur la fig. 1), jusqu'à atteindre, sans la franchir, l'arête verticale contiguë à la section (a) qui porte le début de l'inscription. La deuxième ligne repart de ce point dans le sens contraire (dextrograde) sur la face (h), et est également lisible sur la fig. 1, puis elle continue sous la ligne 1 sur la face postérieure (g) et le côté droit (f) du monument, et elle se termine par une barre de séparation, peu avant celle qui marquait la fin de la partie écrite en grands caractères. On peut noter une irrégularité comparable entre la symétrie du monument et la disposition de l'inscription, dans le texte CIH 439<sup>22</sup>, écrit sur une table analogue à celle qui nous occupe, mais munie de deux corniches à dégorgeoir (dont les bucranes ont disparu). Ce texte est lui aussi boustrophédon, et les côtés de la table montrent le même évasement vers la base.

Une fissure verticale, ou plus probablement une cassure qui couperait la pierre en deux morceaux jointifs, se manifeste sur la photographie (fig. 1) au premier tiers du côté gauche (h) de la table. Elle passe entre deux lettres vers la fin de la ligne 1, et elle oblitère en partie un trait de séparation à la ligne 2 sur la même section. On peut la suivre sur la fig. 1 dans sa traversée sinueuse de l'évidement de la face supérieure de la table (fig. 2), et on la voit couper le rebord supérieur de la partie postérieure du côté droit (f) de la table. Sur la copie originale du texte reproduite fig. 3, l'endroit de la cassure correspond à une surface triangulaire tracée en pointillé au crayon, et oblitérant une lettre dans le mot *y.t<sup>c</sup>* de la ligne 1.

Le décalque de la copie originale de G. Turner, reproduit fig. 3, comporte diverses additions ou corrections à la copie originale, d'après la photographie fig. 1: la forme exacte du *z* (écrit *ṣ* sur la copie); l'oblique du *l* (indiquée comme douteuse sur la copie), et le tracé de la cassure, dans la séquence *ḏzbyt mlḥmw*, qui n'était par reporté, de même que les restes de la barre de séparation avant le mot *wqnyhw*. La copie originale a été tracée et assemblée section par section, sans retouches (afin de restituer par pliage les contours du monument), ce qui explique des irrégularités — dues certainement à la copie, vu le caractère très soigné de la graphie — dans la

<sup>21</sup> C'est-à-dire, l'épaule gauche de l'animal représenté.

<sup>22</sup> Voir la note 5 ci-dessus. Autres exemples de l'époque des *mukarrib*: deux autels (dont l'un porte la cote YM 483) du Musée National Yéménite publiés par Garbini, *Mukarrib*, p. 697-698 et Pl. I-II.



distribution des lettres: l'espace vide avant le mot *hqny*, par exemple. La numérotation des sections dans la copie originale (et le schéma fig. 2), a été modifiée pour rendre compte de l'agencement asymétrique de l'inscription sur le monument, et pour inclure une esquisse du bucrane à sa place (c) dans la sequence. La fig. 2 reproduit un croquis de la face supérieure du monument, dressé par G. Turner. Les proportions relatives de la table proprement dite diffèrent de celles obtenues en rassemblant les sections de la copie, selon le même schéma. Les proportions relatives des côtés du rectangle de la table proprement dite restent donc inconnues.

La graphie de l'inscription est bien caractérisée, malgré la limitation de l'échantillon fourni par la photographie. La graphie est boustrophédone, et les hampes ne portent pas d'empatement (malgré l'impression contraire due par endroits au jeu des ombres dans l'incision triangulaire très nette des caractères). La corolle du *h* et du *h* est arrondie; la barre transversale du *n* est horizontale, ou forme un angle légèrement obtus. La pointe des deux triangles du *m*, bien séparés, est à angle aigu, et ces deux triangles forment entre eux un angle obtus. Le trait oblique du *l* est très long, et les œillets des lettres sont relativement petits. Le *z*, tel qu'il est corrigé sur la copie d'après la photographie, comporte deux crochets à angle droit, à peu près identiques, accrochés l'un au-dessus de l'autre à la hampe de la lettre. Ces caractéristiques rapprochent la graphie du texte de celle de RES 4635, dans la période A 3 de Pirenne (*Paléographie*, Pl. VI B), que cet auteur situe vers le milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. La table à libations est dès lors plus ancienne que les deux monuments analogues (mais à deux dégorgeoirs) portant un texte en boustrophédon: YM 6 et CIH 439 déjà cités, dont la graphie exhibe un *m* aux triangles à angle obtus: forme qui apparaît seulement plus tard, à la période B.

1. *Texte*: voir la fig. 3

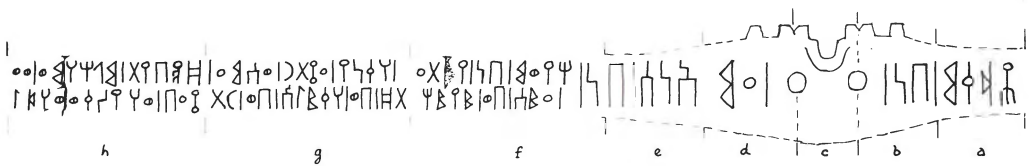


Fig. 3. L'inscription sur les côtés de la table à libations, d'après la copie, légèrement amendée, de G. Turner

## 2. Transcription

(←) 1. \**SDQM* <sup>b</sup>*BN* ← <sup>c</sup>*M*<sup>o</sup>*NS* *B*<sup>n</sup>*N* *hywm bn y*[*t*<sup>g</sup> *hqny* *ttr*  
*wsm*<sup>c</sup> *h**d**z**byt* *mlh**mw* *ww*—

(→) 2. *ldhw*[*wqnyhw* *b*<sup>c</sup>*ttr* *wb* <sup>l</sup>*mqh* *wb* *dt*<sup>f</sup> *hmym* *wb* *sm*<sup>c</sup> *l*



### 3. Traduction

1.  $\$dq^m bn \text{ } ^c m^?ns bn Hyw^m bn Y[r]t^c$  a dédié à  $\text{ } ^c ttr$  et à  $Sm^c \text{ } d-Zbyt$   $Ml\text{ } hmw$  ainsi que sa (propre) des-

2. cendance et son avoir. Par  $\text{ } ^c ttr$  et par  $\text{ } ^?lmqh$  et par  $d\text{ } t-H\text{ } mym$  et par  $Sm^c$ .

### 4. Commentaire

L. 1. – La mention du dédicant, de son père et de son grand-père, suivie en dernière position du nom de lignage, également introduit par *bn* (cf. Robin, *Hautes-Terres*, I, p. 17; *Problème*, p. 47), n'est pas fréquente, et se rencontre surtout, en sabéen, dans des textes anciens<sup>23</sup>. Les trois noms de personnes attestés ici sont bien connus, surtout à l'époque des *mukarrib*. Le nom de lignage,  $Y.t^c$ , a perdu une lettre dans la cassure de la pierre. On peut restituer par exemple  $Yrt^c$ , nom de construction dans les textes rupestres Gl. 1210,7 (Beeston, *Itwat*, p. 41) et Ja 2366,5 (Jamme, *Miscellanées*, III, p. 32–33, et Pl. 7); aussi nom propre d'homme dans Ja 2768 w (Jamme, *Miscellanées*, IV, p. 88 et Pl. 17, de Qarya), et épithète d'un certain  $Wtrm Yrt^c$ , connu entre autres par le texte MAFRAY al-Maktūba, 1,1 (texte inédit, aimablement communiqué par Chr. Robin). –  $d-Zbyt$ : cette épithète du dieu  $Sm^c$  se réfère à son temple à Ġidfir al-Munayḥir, ruine située au N. de l'oasis de Raġwān, et d'où proviennent une série de textes anciens de la collection Glaser (Höfner-Solá Solé, *Sammlung Glaser II*, p. 13–27), ainsi que plusieurs autres, encore inédits, qui y ont été copiés en 1980 par la Mission Archéologique Française. On serait tenté d'assigner cette provenance à la table à libations en discussion, d'autant plus que l'invocation finale de ce texte est conforme à celle de Gl. 1519 et 1525 copiés à Ġidfir, sauf que dans ces deux textes l'invocation mentionne encore en finale le souverain:  $Yd^c l$ . Mais la formule de dédicace »à  $\text{ } ^c ttr$  et  $Sm^c \text{ } d-Zbyt$ « correspond (communication personnelle de Chr. Robin) à celle de textes inédits copiés en 1981 par la Mission Archéologique Française dans les deux sanctuaires du Ġabal al-Lawḍ (Robin-Breton, *Sanctuaire*, p. 590–621), à une trentaine de km au N.-O. de Ġidfir, et où de nombreux objets de culte: autels, etc., dont la présence avait été signalée lors de la découverte du site en 1958, ont depuis disparu. –  $Ml\text{ } hmw$ , nom d'homme de la personne offerte, ne paraît pas attesté jusqu'ici. Les composés de ce type ( $r^?shmw$ ,  $sb\text{ } hmw$ ,  $l\text{ } hmw$ , etc.) se rencontrent surtout à l'époque ancienne, de même que la dédicace de personnes nommément désignées. Ce thème a été étudié en détail par Lundin (*Dannye*, p. 99–111, 114–116), mais la portée exacte de pareilles dédicaces reste imprécise (Lundin, *Dannye*, p. 111; J. Ryckmans, *Problèmes*, p. 82–84).

L. 1–2. – La suite de la formule de dédicace (l. 1, fin – l. 2) par laquelle le dédicant consacrait (outre, éventuellement, sa propre personne) sa descendance et son avoir, est également attestée, avec de légères variantes, dans plusieurs textes de Ġidfir: Gl. 1519, 1523, 1524 et Gl. A 768. Mais il s'agit ici d'une formule plutôt symbolique, qui va d'ailleurs s'attarder jusqu'à une époque où la dédicace réelle de personnes avait depuis longtemps cessé d'être pratiquée.

<sup>23</sup> Par exemple RES 4808+4811, Ja 2848 t, et 2848 aL, dans Jamme, *Carnegie*, respectivement p. 34, 43 et 53.

L. 2. — La dédicace ne mentionne pas l'objet même qui portait le texte de dédicace: la table à libations; celle-ci servait probablement à matérialiser et à perpétuer dans le sanctuaire le souvenir de l'offrande de la personne. D'autres tables à libations épigraphes sont désignées par des noms divers, alors même qu'elles appartiennent à un type unique. Parmi les monuments qui ont été étudiés ici, on notera les trois termes *mšrb* (RES 4849 = Höfner, *Sabaieca*, III, p. 39–40, n° 103: table à simple dégorgeoir à bucrane); *mšlm* (CIH 439 et YM 6: tables à double dégorgeoir à bucrane) et *mḥḏrt* (YM 590: table absolument du même type que les deux dernières). En outre, les termes *mšlm* et *mšrb* apparaissent dans d'autres contextes, qui attestent leur emploi comme autels destinés à la combustion de produits aromatiques; tel est d'ailleurs aussi le cas pour *mḏbḥt*, qui désigne normalement, comme son nom l'indique, un autel destiné à des sacrifices sanglants. Parmi les études consacrées à ce problème (G. Ryckmans, *Mḏbḥt*; Garbini, *Iscrizioni*, p. 32–37; Robin, *Hamdān*, p. 425–426, et notes, p. 526–527), les deux dernières, en tout cas, envisagent que les termes utilisés aient visé davantage les diverses fonctions auxquelles ces monuments pouvaient être destinés, que leur nature intrinsèque. — A noter pour terminer que la barre de séparation qui devrait séparer les mots *ḏt Ḥmym* manque dans la copie.

[*Addendum*. La table à libations mutilée, avec bucrane, illustrée dans Daum, *Jemen*, p. 55 (mais pas reproduite dans l'édition originale de 1987 du même ouvrage), et dans *Yemen*, p. 54, se classe, d'après la graphie du texte qu'elle porte, parmi les plus anciens monuments connus de ce type. Le bucrane conservé, endommagé, est muni au sommet du crâne et à la partie supérieure du front, d'une bande horizontale en relief portant de fines rainures verticales, qui sont probablement à l'origine des denticules qui apparaissent plus tard. Le reste du mufler, y compris les yeux en relief, est modelé dans un style au relief amorti, qui rappelle celui de YM 390, et est apparenté à celui de notre table. Le bucrane ne présente pas de dégorgeoir visible. W. W. Müller nous a aimablement communiqué le passage de ABADY 4, 1987, à peine paru et pas encore distribué, où cette pièce est publiée sous le sigle Schmidt/Samsara 9, p. 184 et pl. 33b,c (description et illustration de la pièce par J. Schmidt, avant la découverte ultérieure de la tête de taureau qui s'adapte exactement à la table), et p. 187–188 et pl. 35a, b (interprétation du texte par W. W. Müller). Ce dernier nous a également communiqué une photo en perspective plongeante de la table avec la tête, d'où il paraît ressortir que le liquide était évacué par un orifice qui partait du bord latéral de la table et débouchait dans la gueule de l'animal. L'inscription, très ancienne, qui ne mentionne que le nom et le titre du dédicant, sans dédicace ni invocation, paraît fort incomplète. La partie conservée ne représenterait dès lors qu'une bonne moitié de l'original. La symétrie exigerait alors qu'il ait comporté deux gouttières, comme les exemples anciens CIH 439 et YM 6, examinés plus haut, ainsi que YM 590, plus récent, cité n. 1.]

## Sigles et abréviations

- ABADY : Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Ṣan‘ā’).
- AION : Annali dell’Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli, Napoli.
- BASOR : Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Baltimore.
- CIAS : Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), Louvain. Vol. I: 1-2, 1977; Vol. II: 1-2, 1986.
- CIH : Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, Pars quarta: Inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaicas continens (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), Paris, 1889-1929, 3 vol., LIX Pl.
- Gl. : cotes de la collection Eduard Glaser.
- Ja : cotes de textes publiés par A. Jamme.
- MAFRAY : cotes de la Mission Archéologique Française en République Arabe du Yémen (nouvelle dénomination).
- MAFY : cotes de la Mission Archéologique Française au Yémen.
- NAM : Nouvelles cotes du Musée national d’Aden.
- OM : cotes de l’ancien Musée d’Istanbul.
- PAFSM : Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man.
- PSAS : Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies, London.
- RES : Répertoire d’Epigraphie Sémitique. Paris 1929-1968, T. V à VIII, nos 2624-5106, Index.
- SBÖAW : Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Ph.-Hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte, Wien.
- VA : cotes de la section de l’Asie Antérieure de l’ancien Musée de Berlin.
- VDI : Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Moskva-Leningrad.
- YM : cotes du Musée National Yéménite à Ṣan‘ā’.
- = : relie deux références ou deux reproductions se rapportant à un même objet.

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# Yāfi<sup>c</sup>, Zaydīs, Āl Bū Bakr b. Sālim and others: Tribes and Sayyids

R.B. SERJEANT, St. Andrews, Fife

*This is my modest tribute to Professor Oscar Löfgren who, with another Swedish scholar, Count Carlo de Landberg, has laid an enduring foundation for the study of south western Arabia of the Islamic era. I am happy to have the occasion to acknowledge my personal debt to Professor Löfgren's scholarship.*

Yāfi<sup>c</sup> is an ancient and important congerie of tribes – agriculturists and warriors – established in lofty steeply rising mountains lying north of Aden and bordering on the present day Yemen Arab Republic. The name Yāfi<sup>c</sup> already occurs in the pre-Islamic inscriptions and places to which reference is made here already figure as Yāfi<sup>c</sup> territory in Hamdānī's geography<sup>1</sup>. So inaccessible is Yāfi<sup>c</sup> country that it rarely comes under a centralizing power and then not for long. It does not for example seem to have paid taxes to the Rasūlids<sup>2</sup> though Yāfi<sup>c</sup>is served them as mercenaries. In Ḥaḍramawt to which they also came as mercenaries in the 11–12th/17–18th centuries (on one occasion at least at the instance of the ʿĪnāt Sayyid house of Bū Bakr b. Sālim<sup>3</sup>), they became the dominant power. Many were employed as mercenaries in India, notably Ḥaydarābād. Towards the end of the 19th century and onwards the (British) Indian Government entered into a series of treaties with various Yāfi<sup>c</sup> groups, the *naqībs* of al-Mawsatah, the Muflaḥīs, the Ḥaḍramī tribe, and the Ibn Harharah shaykh<sup>4</sup>, aiming to keep other powers out of these areas – the chiefs received tiny stipends in return. In 1909<sup>5</sup> it was stated that »the Aden Residency has little communication with the Upper Yafai tribes«. It was really only after World War II and the Aden Government's penetration policy that any serious attempt was made to develop relations with Yāfi<sup>c</sup>. Aden's troubles with Muḥammad son of Sultan ʿAydarūs of Lower Yāfi<sup>c</sup> are rather sketchily discussed by Sir Kennedy Trevaskis<sup>6</sup> and a Yāfi<sup>c</sup> element was part of the small communist NLF to which the 1967 Labour Government resolved to hand over Aden and its dependencies. The iron curtain descended and news of the tribes filters out rarely with refugees. It

<sup>1</sup> *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D.H. Müller, Leiden 1884–91, p. 89; ed. Muḥammad . . . al-Akwa<sup>c</sup>, al-Riyāḍ, 1394/1974, p. 176, with some modern notes. Al-ʿUrr, Dhū Nākhīb, Taym, the Banū Qāsid and Yahar, as well as other places are mentioned.

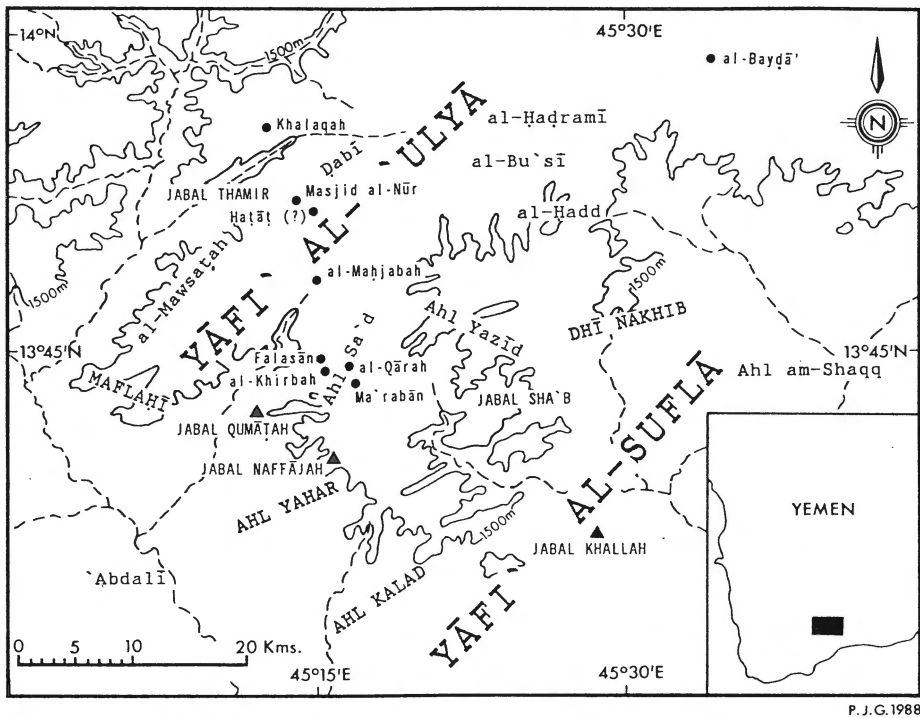
<sup>2</sup> The *Mulakkkhaṣ al-ḥiṭān* (1411–12) does not list revenue from Yāfi<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in *An Account of the Arab Tribes in the vicinity of Aden*, Government Central Press, Bombay 1909. W.H. Ingrams, *Report on . . . Hadhramaut*, Colonial 123, London 1937, lists the tribes of Lower and Upper Yāfi<sup>c</sup> but the spelling and possibly part of the information is unreliable.

<sup>5</sup> *Account . . . op. cit.*, 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Shades of Amber*, London 1968, *passim*.



P. J. G. 1988

Map of Upper Yāfi' and part of Lower Yāfi'. (Courtesy of Peter J. Grove)

is not, however, to be expected that the junta at present ruling in Aden has control of the mountains of Yāfi'.

Yāfi' divides into Upper (al-ʿUlyā) and Lower (al-Suflā) Yāfi'. The high mountain districts are not known to have been visited by Europeans; the maps are mainly based on aerial survey – I have myself flown over Yāfi'. Lower Yāfi' lies partly in the Abyan plain. In ancient times ʿĀd (ibn Shaddād) and Thamūd were in Yāfi', they say, and point to the Shaddād tribe in the Faḍlī sultanate. Al-Qārah, chosen for its strategic position, was the old capital of the Sultans of Banū Qāsīd, a tribe known to al-Hamdānī<sup>7</sup>. The Sultan had five tribes, Kaladī, Saʿdī, Yazīdī, Yaharī and Nākhībī. The only visit paid by a British official to al-Qārah was that of Sir Tom Hickinbotham<sup>8</sup> in the fifties, an edgy affair, fraught with danger, political officers told me.

The Upper Yāfi' capital is al-Maḥjabah of the Mashāyikh family Āl Harharah. His tribes are also five – from west to east, al-Muflihī, al-Mawsatī, al-Zabī/Dabī, al-Bu'sī, al-Ḥaḍramī. According to the 1909 handbook<sup>9</sup> Sultan Sayf of Lower Yāfi' had in his employ a clerk, Ibn Harharah, much loved by him, an able man to whom he granted by deed of gift, a district called al-Sufāl, from which originated Upper Yāfi'. Perhaps this is not quite consistent with other versions of the Āl Harharah Sultan's antecedents. Ahmad Faḍl al-ʿAbdalī<sup>10</sup> (Ibn Harharah is related to the ʿAbdalī Sultans of Lahej) maintains that Shaykh Abū Bakr b. Sālim of ʿĪnāt, before his death in 992/1584, appointed (*naṣaba*) the very learned shaykh ʿAlī Harharah as a conciliator (*muṣliḥ*) and religious guide

<sup>7</sup> Al-Hamdānī, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Aden*, London 1958, p. 134, with pictures at al-Qārah.

<sup>9</sup> *Account of the Arab tribes*, p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> *Hadiyyat al-zaman fī akhbār mulūk Laḥj wa-ʿAdan*, Cairo 1351 H., p. 108.



(*murshid*) in Upper Yāfi<sup>c</sup> – his son Aḥmad succeeded him and the latter's son Šālīḥ followed him. Ibn Harharah, says Ibn Hāshim<sup>11</sup> was of the noblest houses of Yāfi<sup>c</sup> (*min ashraf buyūtāt Yāfi<sup>c</sup>*).

In their fratricidal struggles for power during the twelfth/eighteenth century the rival Kathīrī Sultans of Ḥaḍramawt called in Yāfi<sup>c</sup> tribesmen to support them. In 1116/1704–5 the Maṣṣab of ʿĪnāt<sup>12</sup> summoned (*istaṣrakha*) Yāfi<sup>c</sup> to his aid, while at the same time the Kathīrī Sultan Muḥammad al-Mardūf sent sacrificial animals (*ʿaqāʿir*) to Jabal Yāfi<sup>c</sup> to invoke aid against his rival, Sultan ʿUmar b. Jaʿfar al-Kathīrī, who had adopted the Zaydī school. Though at this point, the Maṣṣab seems to have made common cause with Sultan al-Mardūf, he had also been instrumental, it seems, in bringing Yāfi<sup>c</sup>'s to support Sultan ʿUmar al-Kathīrī. ʿUmar b. Šālīḥ b. Harharah arrived to support Sultan al-Mardūf with 6,000 Yāfi<sup>c</sup>'s and gained control over all Ḥaḍramawt. He returned home but left ʿUmar b. ʿAwaḍ al-Quʿayī in command of the Yāfi<sup>c</sup> tribesmen in Ḥaḍramawt – Yāfi<sup>c</sup> dominance there does not however come into our story.

Yāfi<sup>c</sup> is famous for its coffee, grown in sheltered places on its lofty mountain sides. Yāfi<sup>c</sup>'s are also fine masons. They are not unknown as scholars, notably ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh b. Asʿad al-Yāfi<sup>c</sup> the biographer (ob. 768/1367).

### The Sultans of Lower Yāfi<sup>c</sup> and their Tribes

In the brief and limited discussion I had, mainly with Sultan ʿAlawī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAfīfī, relations between the tribes and Sultan were said to fall into two categories (*al-aḥkām ʿalā nawʿayn*) – *qayd* and *sumʿah wa-tubʿah*.

*Qayd* seems to mean something like bounden duty or it might mean treaty, but we did not develop this theme.

*Sumʿah wa-tubʿah*, literally, to hear and follow, means that the *qabāʿil* respond to the summons of the ʿAfīfī Sultan and follow him to war – i.e., when the Sultan declares war they rally to his support, but there is no bond (*qayd*). It seems there are stipulations governing this relationship for the *ḥākīm* (sultan?) says: »If I do you wrong then it is upon my neck (*ḡalamtu-ka - ʿalā raqabatī*<sup>13</sup>). To this the *qabīlī* replies, giving his allegiance; »I undertake by the pact of Allah on the Qurʾān that I will listen to you and obey, and moreover I will pay the tithes (*Anā badayt bi-ʿahd Allāh ʿalā khitmah annī bā akūn sāmi<sup>c</sup> lak ṭayī<sup>c</sup>, wa-baʿd bā usallim al-ʿushūr*)«. The ʿAfīfī, if they disobey him, would say to them: »If you do not listen to my words (decision?) Allah will bring a calamity upon you (*In mā sami<sup>t</sup> al-kalām ḥaqqī Allāh bā yajʿal lak muṣībah*).«

<sup>11</sup> Muḥammad b. Hāshim (of Āl Yaḥyā), *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathīriyyah*, Cairo 1367/1948, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> *I.e.*, I am responsible. Cf. C. de Landberg, *Glossaire daïnois*, Leiden 1920–42, p. 1342. *Raqabah* is the side of the neck.



The Sultan and Wazīr of al-Qārah, capital of the sultanate of Lower Yāfi' in the early 1940s

Like other rulers the ‘Afif Sultans have their ‘*askar al-Sultān*, men who have left their tribes and become »sons of the Sultan, under the Sultan’s protection (*ibn al-Dawlah, taḥt ḥimāyat al-Dawlah*).« Of such a soldier it is said: »There is no war/hostility from him or toward him (*Lā minnuh sharr wa-lā lah/luh sharr*<sup>14</sup>)«. So the ‘*askarī* can move freely among the tribes who do not molest him. The Sultan of Lower Yāfi‘ used to rule it from al-Qārah which is a *ḥawṭah* inhabited by only the Āl ‘Afif and their hereditary ‘*askar* who are divided into five houses each of which has the function of dealing with its own special *maktab* or tribal section, in collecting ‘*ushūr*, etcetera. There appears also to be a small group (of ‘*askar* ?) dealing with a small tribe or section outside the five *maktabs*, known as Mash‘alī<sup>15</sup> of whom it is said: »The (grain-)measure (*kās*<sup>16</sup>) goes to al-Qārah but the head belongs to Upper Yāfi‘ (*Al-kās li-’l-Qārah wa-’l-rās li-Yāfi‘ al-’Ulyā*)«. That is they pay their tithes to the lower Yāfi‘ī Sultan but in fact they are rijāl al-Miflahī, i.e. belonging to Upper Yāfi‘. A parallel case is that of certain Faḍlī tribes who pay the ‘*ushūr* to Lower Yāfi‘ī but fight in war on the Faḍlī side.

Of grain crops the Dawlah receives the tenth measure (*al-kaylat al-’āshirah*<sup>17</sup>) or to be more precise, half of it. The other half goes a quarter to the poor (*miskīn*) and a quarter to the saints (*waliyy*) of the district for the Yāfi‘ tribes used to pay the ‘*ushr al-’ashar* and the tithe on coffee (*’āshir al-bunn*) to the Maṣḥab of ‘Īnāt who was one of the descendants (*aḥfād*) of Husayn b. Abū Bakr b. Sālim. I do not know if the payments were made to ‘Īnāt up to the British withdrawal or if they ceased before that. The same division of the ‘*ushūr* is made for the Ibn Harharah Shaykh and the local poor and saints. This is an act of benevolence (*ḥasanah*) on the part of the tribes, and not exacted by force on Ibn Harharah’s part.

In every district there are of course saints special to it. Lower Yāfi‘ has some *awliyā’* at ‘Azzān and As‘ad b. ‘Alī of Yahar seems to have close links with the ‘Afifīs. Ribāṭ al-‘Abbādī of the Mashāyikh Ahl al-‘Abbādī was also mentioned. Šāliḥ ‘Umar Muḥammad Ghālib writes to me that Āl ‘Abbād are Umayyads<sup>18</sup> who fled after the collapse of the Umayyad dynasty and today are spread over all districts of Lower and Upper Yāfi‘, coming second in rank after the Sayyids. Before the British withdrawal they used to teach the Qur‘ān and deal with documents relating to marriage contracts and sales (*marāsīm ‘uqūd al-nikāḥ wa-’l-buyū’*). The Ribāṭ is in Yahar of Banī Qāsid of Lower Yāfi‘. The Āl Bā ‘Abbād of Ḥaḍramawt are connected with the Tomb of Hūd<sup>19</sup>. About half a mile west and south of Khanfar rock and west of the road from Khanfar to Zingibar is the Qubbah of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar b. Bū Bakr al-Saqqāf with old wood carving of some interest. The ‘Afif are buried by the tomb of this Sayyid saint who however seems unknown to the hagiologies.

<sup>14</sup> *Gloss. dat.*, 2033. Cf. T. Nöldeke, *Delectus*. . ., Berlin 1890, p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> So pronounced, written al-Mashālī.

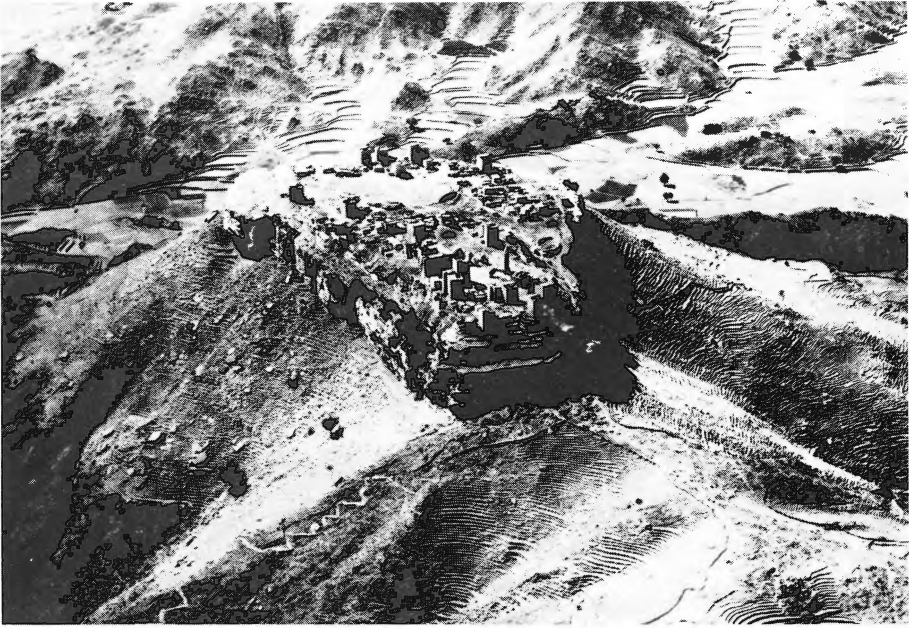
<sup>16</sup> The *kās* is, in some areas, a fixed cubic measure. In the ‘Awdhalī district of al-Zāhir three *kūs* (pl.) are equivalent to one *kaylah* in that of al-Bāṭin.

<sup>17</sup> Šāliḥ ‘Umar says the *kaylah* is a wooden grain measure of 4 *athmān*, approximately 12 kilograms, when the grain has been separated from the stalk and winnowed. They say also *kaylat ‘ishr*.

<sup>18</sup> This tradition is quoted by Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās, *Riṣalah fī ansāb al-qabā’il*, transcript in my possession, writing in 1331/1913. A variant tradition he cites is that they were *mawālī* of the Umayyads.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. my Hūd and other pre-Islamic Prophets of Ḥaḍramawt, *Le Muséon* LXVII, Louvain 1954, p. 130.





AL-QĀRAH. South at the head

Courtesy of the former Information Office, Aden

Al-Qārah showing its location in relation to the surrounding countryside. This photograph was probably taken about 1953

### The Drum of Yāfi<sup>ʿ</sup> and their Wars with the Zaydīs

The drum plays an important role in tribal life both in the Yemen of the Zaydī Imāms and the former Aden Protectorates<sup>20</sup>. It is, says Landberg<sup>21</sup>, the »*prérogative du pouvoir dans le sud*« and the Sultans are *ahl al-marāfiʿ wa-ʿl-tuwas*, people of drums and kettledrums<sup>22</sup>. It is the signal of the chiefs and is beaten after the prayer. I heard it in al-Qārah (of north Yemen), headquarters of Imām al-Badr in 1964, beaten in one mountain after another to warn probably of the thrust of Nasserite troops to the north. The copper brass (*naḥās/ṣufr*<sup>23</sup>) drum (*ṭabl*) of Yāfi<sup>ʿ</sup> is particularly famous. It is said to have been found in the ruins at Ḥaṭāṭ (near al-Mawṣatah?). Informants thought the drum might have Ḥimyar writing on it and remount to the time of ʿĀd. It is said to be square-ish in shape and have writings on it described as *ṭalāsīm siḥriyyah*, magic talismans.

For the part played by the Drum in the wars with the Zaydīs that follows I am indebted to ʿAlawī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAfifī of Jiʿār, a Governmental official in 1964.

<sup>20</sup> See, in particular, of references in my writings, R. B. Serjeant & Ronald Lewcock, *Ṣanʿāʿ: an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983, indices.

<sup>21</sup> *Hadramoūt*, Leiden 1901, p. 642-3.

<sup>22</sup> *Gloss. dat.*, 1337.

<sup>23</sup> In the Yemen *naḥās* can mean »brass«. See *Ṣanʿāʿ, op. cit.*, p. 226a.





AL-QĀRAH. South at the head

Courtesy of the former Western Aden Protectorate Office

Al-Qārah is a mesa nearly inaccessible and well fortified. The main gateway or Siddah (right front) is in shadow, with roads leading to it. When tribes enter the Siddah they become like brothers (*ikhwān*), hostilities being suspended. The cluster of domed buildings will be tombs of saints. The four domed building is probably the Jīlānī Mosque and an earlier photograph shows a minaret on its northern side. A cistern shows at the middle top, collecting the run-off from the rising ground to the left of it. Terracing for cultivation has been constructed wherever possible

»We heard from the old people (*qadīmīn*) that it [the Drum] was in Jabal Jār hill about three miles from the north side (*al-shiqq al-qibli*) of al-Qārah. When the Yemenis occupied bilād Yāfi<sup>c</sup> their headquarters (*al-maḥaṭṭah al-rayīsiyy* (sic)) was Masjid al-Nūr. Then the Copper Drum (*ṭabl al-naḥās*) moved (*itharrak*), with it being the Amīrah Nūr bint al-ʿAfif<sup>24</sup> and the entire Qāsidi branch [of Yāfi<sup>c</sup>], the Copper Drum beating of its own accord in front of the tribes like a band (*al-muzīkah*), without anyone seeing it, but hearing it. When the Yemeni tribes (*qawm al-Yaman*) heard it and the [Yāfi<sup>c</sup>] tribes they fled from Yāfi<sup>c</sup>. Yāfi<sup>c</sup> al-ʿUlyā and Yāfi<sup>c</sup> banī Qāsidi joined together<sup>25</sup> against the Yemeni tribes. The last post (*maḥaṭṭah*) with the Yemenis was in al-ʿUrr<sup>26</sup> in which they settled for many years. Then Yāfi<sup>c</sup> contrived and burrowed in the ground under the mountain until they reached the fort in which the Yemeni tribes were living, using hammers, mallets (*maḍārib*) and chisels (? *f r ṣah*<sup>27</sup>). They spent fifteen years in burrowing before they came under the fort. As soon as the Yemeni tribes heard the burrowing underneath them they fled beyond Yāfi<sup>c</sup> territory (*ḥudūd*) and have stayed in al-Bayḍāʾ up until this time. Then the Copper Drum returned to Jabal Jār. In olden time Jabal Jār was inhabited but now (1964) it is devoid of inhabitants. This is what we/I know«. Masjid al-Nūr is in al-Mawsaṭah and the tomb of Nūr bint ʿAfif is there. Women were formerly fighters and she was killed while fighting for the ʿAfifis. I was told that the Drum is with Haddār b. Muḥammad, a Sultan of Āl ʿAfif, but I have no further information about this person.

The afore-going narrative displays a recollection of events some two centuries and a half earlier; perhaps this is oral tradition, but perhaps not entirely so for the Ahl Bin ʿUbādī living in the village of al-Najd of Maʿrabān of Yahar who were Qudāt al-Dawlah, Sultanic Qāḍis, were said to have history (*tārīkh*). Traces of the Zaydī occupation in the form of ruins survive, they say, especially at Qumāṭah, Jāz, al-Ḥadīdah, Wādī Ḥaṭāt, Jabal Wādī Ḥummā, Jabal Ṣanam/Sanam<sup>28</sup> and a *qaryah* above al-ʿIrqah. I recall also in Faḍlī territory Qaryat am-Qaḥāb, Harlots' Village, said to be so called after the Zaydī soldiers who frequented it!

<sup>24</sup> In Yāfi<sup>c</sup> as also among the ʿAwdhalīs, the Sultan was called *Amr* and his amīrs were known as Sultan, but there seems to have been a change in nomenclature over latter years.

<sup>25</sup> The Arabic is a little ambiguous – it might be that the Amīrah united the tribes, but this is unlikely.

<sup>26</sup> Ḥusayn Hādī ʿAwaḍ says al-ʿUrr is near al-Ḥadd and in it is a large building, Ḥuṣn Ibn Kirbāl with writing on pillars.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Ṣanʿāʾ*, *furas*, etc., pl. *furāṣāt*.

<sup>28</sup> I wrote *ṣanam*, but Sāliḥ ʿUmar says *sinam* is correct.



## Al-Qārah – its Special Status

‘Alawī b. Aḥmad al-‘Afīfī told me that al-Qārah is a *ḥawṭah*. He also distinguished two types of *ḥawṭah*, a saint’s *ḥawṭah* (*ḥawṭat al-waliyy*) and the rulers’ *ḥawṭah* (*ḥawṭat al-ḥukkām*), the latter being an entirely new concept to me – other persons indeed have denied that such a category exists. In the Zabīd district of the Yemeni Tihāmah I found *ḥawṭah* to be used in the sense of a cemetery; as a cemetery generally has at least one saint’s tomb, the term may have come to apply to the sacred enclave in general that surrounds a saint’s tomb. In al-Qārah itself the main mosque is called Masjīd al-Jīlānī after the famous Ṣūfī saint and there are said to be many mosques in Yāfi‘ bearing his name, but this can hardly be the reason for calling it a *ḥawṭah*. However, be what may, up to approximately one mile out of al-Qārah in all directions is holy (*muqaddas*) territory. Tribes in a state of hostility with other (Yāfi‘ī) tribes if they go straight into al-Qārah through their own territory would not clash with them, but if they happen to meet with one another on their joint boundaries they might do so, but there is of course no fighting once they are in al-Qārah. Perhaps it is more like the Yemeni *hijrah*<sup>29</sup> than a *ḥawṭah*, perhaps its »holy« nature is even pre-Islamic.

Like the other tribes Yāfi‘īs have their own tribal slogans<sup>30</sup> – Yaḥarīs shout »I am the wolf of Ḥimyar, *Anā dhīb Ḥimyar*«, while the others cry »*Anā dhīb Kalad*«, etcetera. Yāfi‘’s proud boast is:

Into ten parts tribal honour is split.  
Yāfi‘ has nine parts – the rest – the tenth bit.

الْقَبُولَةَ عَشْرَةَ قَسُومٍ يَنْقَسِمُ<sup>31</sup>  
تِسْعَهُ لِيَاْفِغٍ وَالْبَقِيَّةَ الْعَاشِرُ

To this Āl ‘Umar Bā ‘Umar (of al-‘Awābithah) made the riposte:

Bū Sitt<sup>32</sup>, prithee, who ’s he when honour ’s split?  
With us is he, or you in the tenth bit?

بِأَنْشِدِكَ مَنْ بُو سِتِّ لَمَّا تَقَسَّمَتْ  
هُوَ عِنْدَنَا أَوْ عِنْدَكُمْ فِي الْعَاشِرِ؟

The allusion is to the fact that Yāfi‘ has no port or direct access to the sea and used to pay to the Faḍlī Sultan, Bū Sitt, when passing through his territory *‘ushūr*, a capitation tax on each person – which was considered

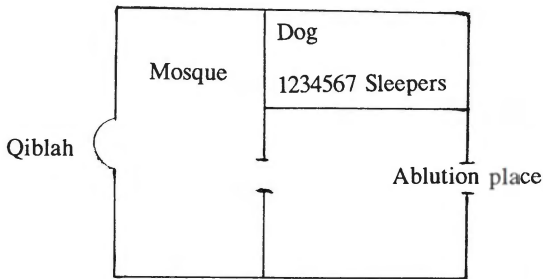
<sup>29</sup> See for *hijrah*, *Ṣan‘ā’*, p. 39–43, *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. my ‘Dawlah, tribal shaykhs, the maṣab of the Waliyyah Sa‘īdah, qasāmah, in the Faḍlī sultanate, South Arabian Federation’, *Maḥmūd al-Ghūl Commemoration Volume* (forthcoming), p. 122.

<sup>31</sup> *Rajaz* metre. In the second line *wa-<sup>l</sup>-baqiyyah al-‘āshir* is pronounced *wal-baqīyil-‘āshir* which fits the metre, the final *hā’* of *baqiyyah* being eliminated through it is felt to be there. I have noticed a similar phenomenon in Iraqi printed colloquial verse. The verses were quoted to me by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Bā Maṭraf.

<sup>32</sup> The nickname of the house of the Faḍlī Sultans. See article cited in fn. 30, p. 129.

the greatest humiliation (*hiyānah*). This was distinct from any tax that might be paid on goods.



Rough sketch of the tombs of the Seven Sleepers in the Saʿdī tribal district

### Some Places to which Legends are Attached

In Saʿdī territory the Seven Sleepers (Ahl al-Kahf) have a mosque (*masjid*) and grave/cemetery (*maqbarah*) with special domes (*qubab*) and also a cave in a mountain which I recorded as Jabal Ṣanam<sup>33</sup> but Ṣāliḥ ʿUmar writes to say it should be corrected to Sinam, which overlooks Falasān village. The cave is near a village called al-Maṣnaʿah. The mountain is said to have the shape of a person prostrating himself in the direction of Mecca, and the cave is situated in relation to the sun exactly as described in Sūrah XVIII,16 – »And you would see the sun when it rose inclining from their cave towards the right and when it set passing them by on the left, while they were in an open part of it. The old town nearby to which the Seven Sleepers, called here al-Sabʿ al-Sujūd, the Seven Prostrators, went when they woke up, is called nowadays al-Khirbah (map al-Kharibah), the Ruin. It was the place of the family al-Baṭāṭī, known to me in Ḥaḍramawt. Ibn al-Mujāwir<sup>34</sup> says the Seven Sleepers' cave is one of the caves of Jabal Ṣabir of Taʿizz: and I was told in the Yemen that it is still known, east of the mountain under the peak and there is a *masjid* there. If you enter the cave carrying a light it goes out. The Ahl Saʿd and the Sultan often meet together at al-Khirbah.

At Rahwat Jār<sup>35</sup> said to be a »white mountain« there is a stone which is a sort of *mashhad* (perhaps best rendered with Lane as »a place of religious visitation«) that belongs to Miryam. Any person passing by it for the first time places some offering there, e.g., sweet basil (*shuqr*<sup>36</sup>), eggs or stone (*ḥajar*). Where the name Miryam occurs in this and other places in the Yemens I suspect that it is a vestige of Christianity easy to assimilate into Islam.

<sup>33</sup> My informant must have understood the names as *ṣanam*, an idol, because he remarked that if a person indulges in frivolous talk (*kalām khafīf*), it might be said to him: *Ant rūḥ taʿbud al-ṣanam*, You go and worship the idol/Ṣanam mountain!

<sup>34</sup> O. Löfgren, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis*, Leiden 1951-54, p. 158.

<sup>35</sup> Nigel Groom, *Dictionary of Arabic topography and placenames*, Beirut-London 1983, p. 237, gives as the best sense for *rahwah*, »hillocks on elevated ground«.

<sup>36</sup> For *shuqr*, sweet basil, associated with Shaqr the pre-Islamic Moon God, see Walter Dostal, Some remarks on the ritual significance of the bull in pre-Islamic South Arabia, *Arabian and Islamic Studies: articles presented to R. B. Serjeant*, ed. Robin Bidwell & G. Rex Smith, London 1983, p. 197, reading *mashqūr* for *mashkūr*.



## Judgement, Trial by Ordeal (bish<sup>ʿ</sup>ah)

The law, customary law in the main we may be sure, and the hearing of pleas, probably follows procedures similar to those I have reported from the Faḍlī Sultanate<sup>37</sup>; some practices, I noted, were also current in the ʿAwdhalī Sultanate. With Sultan ʿAlawī al-ʿAfifī, unfortunately, I only had the opportunity to discuss *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>ah*<sup>38</sup> – conveniently translated as trial by ordeal. I have found an allusion to it in pre-Islamic Yemen<sup>39</sup> and it may still not have entirely disappeared in northern Arabia<sup>40</sup> though there and in the south it comes under heavy attack from Islamic reformists and the ‘enlightened’ *shabāb*. It used to be practised by the Yaḥarī, Kaladī and Yazidī/Ahl Yazīd tribes, but with appeal to al-Qārah. Mutual consent of the two parties to a suit to proceed to *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>ah* is necessary. There are three types, *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-nār*, *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-khayṭ* and *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-qirbah*. For each there is a different formula which is inscribed onto the instrument with which the *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>ah* is performed. The first and third types were stated, in 1964, to be still current.

*Bish<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-nār* is the well known ordeal with the red hot iron. If the tongue, after being flicked with the iron, remains red the accused is innocent (*bariyy*). The *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-qirbah*, ordeal of the water-skin has a special *sijill* (formula ?) of *ṭalāsīm* and *asmā*, names (probably of Allah) and they write: »So and so, if he be innocent exonerate him and if he be guilty declare him guilty (*Fulān b. fulān idhā hū bariyy ibrī-h wa-in hū āthim āthmī-h*)«. The water-skin is then slowly inflated, the two (plaintiff and defendant) standing in front of it. As it expands so does the stomach of the accused *al-mathūm* if he is guilty!

No data on *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-khayṭ*, the thread ordeal, were forthcoming but Ṣāliḥ ʿUmar writes of *al-ḥilyah/hulyah* or *bish<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-khayṭ* that it is a precious stone (*min al-aḥjār al-karīmah*) about the size of a large olive, tied by a thread to the ring (*khātām*) of the person undertaking this process. The two suspects come and seat themselves before the *mubash-shi<sup>ʿ</sup>* who has in front of him a glass or enamelled iron bowl which he fills half-full of water. On one side of the bowl he writes the name of one of the litigants (*al-mutakhāṣimayn*) and the name of his mother and, on the other, the name of the second man and that of his mother also. »Then the *mubashshi<sup>ʿ</sup>* ups, as if speaking confidentially (*yunājī*) to someone, and goes on stirring the ornament (*ḥilyah*) around in the bowl«. When the stirring stops and the stone comes to rest on one side or the other the process ends and the name of the guilty party is disclosed. Perhaps the names of the parties’ mothers, not their fathers, are written because of the existence of the custom of *tawrīd* or provision of a concubine for the guest<sup>41</sup>. Ṣāliḥ comments that »all these processes are a sort of sleight of hand (*shah<sup>ʿ</sup>wa-dhah*) which Islam does not ratify – sometimes they hit and often they miss«.

The occasion did not permit of a systematic enquiry into tribal codes,

<sup>37</sup> See article cited in fn. 30, p. 118.

<sup>38</sup> Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Braunschweig 1873, p. 294 *seq.* reports that ‘the ʿAfifī is the most famous »Gottesrichter« and »Feuerrichter« (*mubashshi<sup>ʿ</sup>*?) in this part of south Arabia’.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, 1983, I, p. 125 *seq.*

<sup>40</sup> *Bish<sup>ʿ</sup>ah* was, up till fairly recently at least, practised in Jordan.

<sup>41</sup> I have not actually heard that *tawrīd* is known in Yāfi<sup>ʿ</sup> but it was very widely practised in south Arabia as we know from Ibn al-Mujāwir. See p. 94-5 *infra*.

written or unwritten, of offences and penalties, but it was said in the course of conversation that, in the case of a hen or a cock entering standing crops, different fines are imposed – the cock is always looking about him but the hen concentrates on feeding, thus causing greater loss of grain! Likewise with cattle a tail-less animal causes less damage to standing crops than a beast vigorously swishing its tail from side to side! It would be interesting to follow up other aspects of agricultural customary law.

### Al-Jarmūzī on the Zaydī Conquest of al-Raṣṣās and Yāfi<sup>c</sup> (11th/17th Century)

Let me now turn from these brief notes on Yāfi<sup>c</sup> made almost in passing which might nonetheless form the basis of further fieldwork, to be correlated also with the Aden archival material housed in the Commonwealth Relations Office Library. In 1964, through the courtesy of the Mukallā Residency I was able to xerox the copy of al-Jarmūzī's *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah* in the Sultanic Library, which covers the reign of Imām al-Mutawakkil (1054-1087/1644-1676). It gives a vivid account of the resounding victory at Najd al-Salaf in 1065/1654-55 over the Mashriq tribes and the conquest of al-Raṣṣās and Yāfi<sup>c</sup>, followed, in a short space of years by that of Ḥaḍramawt as far as Zafār<sup>42</sup>. The Zaydī leaders seem to have used mainly Zaydī tribal contingents. This was the peak of their expansion but the Imāms' power gradually declined and the tribes broke free of central government. The Yāfi<sup>c</sup> version supra of these event compares with al-Jarmūzī's contemporary report of them; it seems a little blurred into legend but the two accounts are not inconsistent.

Before dealing with the campaign – *al-Makhraj al-manṣūr ilā jihāt al-Mashriq wa-nawāḥī Ḥaḍramawt*<sup>43</sup>, al-Jarmūzī gives a revealing description of the Manṣab of ʿĪnāt in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and of his relations with the tribes of Yāfi<sup>c</sup>.

‘Now Yāfi<sup>c</sup> country (*bilād Yāfi<sup>c</sup>*) and what adjoins it exercise authority (*yataḥakkamūn*)<sup>44</sup> for a man of Āl Abī Bakr b. Sālim of the Ashrāf, the Āl Bā ʿAlawī, it being said that they are of the offspring of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (peace upon him<sup>45</sup>) and of the posterity of Mūsā b. Jaʿfar (peace on them both), as al-Aḥdal<sup>46</sup> has mentioned in his history called *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*, and they are devoted to speaking of him, alleging that he has supernatural phenomena (*al-khawāriq*) which exert an influence on the world. They hate people of learning (*ʿilm*), on which [subject] they [talk] at length, and they especially detest the Zay-

<sup>42</sup> The Zaydīs and Ibādīs of Oman clashed here. See my ‘Omani naval activities off the southern Arabian coast in the 11th/17th century from Yemeni chronicles’, *Journal of Oman Studies*, VI, I, p. 81 seq.

<sup>43</sup> Mukallā Ms. p. 129 seq.

<sup>44</sup> I have translated *yataḥakkamūn* in accordance with the senses in the lexicons, but I wonder if it means that they take their cases for judgement to ...

<sup>45</sup> The Zaydī abbreviation *عليه السلام* is always used.

<sup>46</sup> This is the title of a well known work by Ibn ʿInabah (C. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, *Sup.*, II, p. 271). There is a Zaydī author, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aḥdal, who wrote *Tuḥfat al-zaman bi-dhikr Sādāt al-Yaman* about the early 9th/15th century. So al-Jarmūzī may have confused the two. One must remember his *Sīrah* was not completed and there appear to be errors and mis-spelling of names in a number of places.

diyyah and other people of learning, though they perform the prayer, fast and go on pilgrimage; music (*ṭarab*) they deem lawful and all musical instruments (*al-malāhī*), considering them obedience (to Allah<sup>47</sup>). The inhabitants of Ḥaḍramawt, its badw and settled folk (*ḥaḍar*) alike, go along with what has already been remarked.'

'My learned cousin (? *al-ṣinw al-fāḍil*), Ghawth al-Dīn b. Muḥammad, God rest him, told me that in the year 1038/1628 or 1039/1629–30 he came across a man from the western districts (*maghārib*) of Dhamār wearing the dress of the inhabitants of Ḥaḍramawt and the patched garment (*khirqah*) of Sufism, with a humility and responsiveness (*iqbāl*) about him. (He continued) 'So I asked him where he had been and he said: »With the Ḥabīb<sup>48</sup> Ḥusayn«, the account of whom and some of his characteristics comes (later), he having been with his father Abū Bakr b. Sālīm before him. (He added) that he entered into their *ṭarīqah* with them until the strong desire overcame him to put abominations (*istiḥsān al-qabā'ih*) to rights. Then he told them many things about them<sup>49</sup>.'

'One of these was that he met with a man, an inhabitant of a town (*balad*) (which he named – I think it was the town of the Sultan – who was there<sup>50</sup> with a woman of high standing among them, as had the man also, and (he continued) »whosoever came she had intercourse with them«<sup>51</sup>. [So he said], disapproving of them: »Are you not committing evil actions and doing what is forbidden?« and he made much outcry against them. So the two said together: »This is no action of ours; that is the ruling of the decree and determination (*ḥukm al-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar*) [of Allah] only«<sup>52</sup>. Then their case was disclosed to a person with pretensions to learning (*‘ilm*) and there was a great quoting of authorities (? *‘azuma l-riwāyah*) and mighty volume of highminded talk (*fakhuma ‘l-ḥikāyah*) and [finally] he said: »Praise to Allah who inspired us with the doctrine of the decree and determination (of Allah)«. Then he commanded that everyone should proceed at a trotting pace (*yazuff/yaziff*<sup>53</sup>) to his house, honoured and respected. (He con-

<sup>47</sup> A case in point is at the Saqqāf Mosque in Tarīm with its musicians, the Servants of the Saqqāf who sing Sufi songs to pipe and drum. See my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1951, p. 40 *seq.* I have attended a *ḥaḍrah* in the Ḥurayḍah Mosque where Sufi *nashīds* were accompanied by music.

<sup>48</sup> Ḥaḍramī Sayyids are addressed by the title Ḥabīb.

<sup>49</sup> There is confusion here over the application of the pronominal suffixes.

<sup>50</sup> Reading *wujida*.

<sup>51</sup> This appears to be an allusion to the custom of *tawrīd*. It is a little surprising to find this tribal custom in Saywūn in the 11th/17th century. In 1964 I noted that the Ḥumūm tribes have a custom (*silfah*) with wife or daughter, that she is lent to a guest. This is a loan in the real sense since the guest will provide the same in return when he is visited by the tribesman who had provided him with this entertainment. The Ḥumūmī says: 'Dayfī, my guest!' and the woman sleeps with him. A Ḥumūmī woman may say of a child of hers: 'Kasabtah', literally 'I earned him', perhaps adding: 'This is the child of a Sayyid', or 'an 'askarī', etc. All this is said quite openly, the child having been conceived while the woman's husband was away. The narrator is a little prudish for similar customs were current in the Yemen of the time of Ibn al-Mujāwir and even today I was told the story of a tribeswoman who asked which of her three daughters would like 'to keep the guest warm'. By implication a *Hadīth* indicates that it was recognized that the wife whose husband was away might take a lover in the Prophet's time, but I hope to develop this theme further. What perhaps is most surprising about this case is that a Ḥaḍramī *‘alim* seems to have found an argument for tolerating the custom.

<sup>52</sup> The argument appears to be that since their actions are pre-destined they are not responsible for them, hardly a belief likely to appeal to the Mu‘tazilī Zaydis.

<sup>53</sup> *Zaffa*, trottinger à petits pas (*Gloss. dat.*), conduct a bride to her husband's house. 'Honoured and respected' is plural.



tinued): »And when I saw this come from them I realised my mistake in entering with them [into the *ṭarīqah*] and myself fled to this country, repentant, withdrawing from staying among them«. As for the badw of them they are the same as the others of them, the description of whom will come [below] if Allah wills.‘

Al-Jarmūzī now turns to the despatch by the Imām al-Muʿayyad of a shaykh, al-Asadī, a bedouin (*bādī*)<sup>54</sup>, a truthful and religious minded man, to the Sultan of Ḥaḍramawt, ʿAbdullāh b. ʿUmar b. Badr b. Jaʿfar al-Kathīrī<sup>55</sup> in 1040/1630–31 or 1041/1631–32, with a letter the content of which consisted of imāmīc invocations and exhortations. Al-Asadī’s account follows verbatim.

‘When the Sultan acquainted himself with it (the letter), he being at the time in his place (*maḥall*) known as Saywūn, he said to me after (my) staying with him for about a week<sup>56</sup>: »The reply to the Imām will be only after making (it) known to the Ḥabīb<sup>57</sup> and receiving his honourable advice and you will be with us until his reply comes back«. He, meaning the Sultan, gave orders to his secretary to go to the afore-mentioned Ḥabīb to his place known as ʿĪnāt, sending with him the letter of the Imām (peace upon him). So I said to the Sultan: »And I should like to visit (*ziyārah*) the Ḥabīb«, my purpose being to get to know about his circumstances so as to inform the Imām (peace upon him) of them. So they had me ride with them and we arrived at his place with part of the night still remaining and they left me in a resthouse and the Sultan’s man in another, each of us being next to the Domed (Tomb) of his father the shaykh Abū Bakr b. Sālim in which the lamps<sup>58</sup> were lit but there were no carpets in it and the tomb also was bare while in and around it were about four hundred persons, the majority of them of Yāfiʿ, declaiming *lā ilāha illa ʿllāh* and shouting at the top of their voices: »Yā Ḥabīb, yā Ḥabīb!« meaning the afore-mentioned Ḥabīb, the while beating drums and tambourines (*ṭārāt*) and playing (*yarfaʿūn*) pipes (*shabbābāt*)<sup>59</sup>. (He continued): So I questioned the man who had been put in charge of entertaining us about them, and he said: »There are some who stay a month, some who stay for two months, and less and more, without seeing the Ḥabīb, and sometimes he closets himself with one of them and discloses to him (? *yazḥur ʿalayhi*) and informs him about himself and the name of his wife<sup>60</sup>, his own name and the name of his village (*balad*)«.

The afore-mentioned shaykh said in his account:

So I realised that he leaves them like that until he become apprised of much information about them and links news of their notables/

<sup>54</sup> Al-Asadī is described as *min ḥudhdhāq al-ʿawāmm*, (probably) a headman of the ordinary folk. It looks as if he were a village tribal elder.

<sup>55</sup> Muḥammad b. Hāshim, *op. cit.*, p. 67 *seq.*

<sup>56</sup> *Thamāniyah ayyām.*

<sup>57</sup> *I.e.* Ḥusayn.

<sup>58</sup> *Qanādīl*, perhaps ‘candelabra’, but in *Ṣanʿāʿ*, p. 230a, *qanādīl* are evidently pottery lamps.

<sup>59</sup> A Ḥaḍramī *shabbābah* is illustrated in W. H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*, London 1942, frontispiece. *Yarfaʿūn* lit., ‘raising’.

<sup>60</sup> Yemenis would probably consider it ʿayb that the name of the wife be disclosed.



familiars in their country with him<sup>61</sup>. So they spread about in the land<sup>62</sup> and testify that he has knowledge of hidden things. (He continued): And we/I likewise were/was not permitted [to enter his presence]. As for the Sultan's man he was given permission.

When the second or third day arrived I was permitted (to enter) so I entered his presence and found him in a large room filled with<sup>63</sup> his entourage (*ḥadafah*<sup>64</sup>) while various kinds of musical instruments were being played beside him, one after another (*wa-ālāt al-malāhī 'alā 'anwā'i-hā tutakhadh 'inda-hu shay'an fa-shay'an*)<sup>65</sup>. I perceived him to be a stout man with a lot of hair, his head not shaven<sup>66</sup>, his moustache unclipped, his nails untrimmed. By him stood two women teasing out his hair with combs, wearing fine clothes and jewellery. I asked about them and they said: »[They belong] to the dancers (*min al-la'ābīn*) whom they call beggar minstrels (*shuḥḥadh*<sup>67</sup>) whose profession is music (*'ādat-hum al-ṭarab*) and whose women dance at the [places] of the immoral«. They were to be found among the people of the Yemen all over, before the Imāms (peace upon them) took possession of the Yemen. They (i.e. the two women) have devoted themselves (*waqafā anfusa-humā*) solely to the service of the Shaykh (al-Ḥusayn). (He continued): We were thus (engaged) when, from another door at the lower end of the reception room (*al-īwān*<sup>68</sup>), a youth appeared [who looked] as if the hair had (just) begun to sprout on his face. For him was placed a chair upon which he sat, two women being with him, likewise combing his hair for him. So I inquired about him and was told: »This is al-Ḥusayn's son called Aḥmad Jaḥḥāf«<sup>69</sup>. Then (al-Ḥusayn) began to question me about the Imām, the gist of what he said, though it was more *verbatim*, being: »Where al-Sayyid Muḥammad (Imām al-Mu'ayyad) is concerned there is good (*barakah*) in him, but as for the such-and-such (in terms not per-

<sup>61</sup> Imām Aḥmad of the Yemen is said to have found out details about the relatives of tribesmen and others visiting him and surprised and overawed them by asking them about their fathers, uncles of brothers, sometimes displaying a knowledge of certain intimate details about them.

<sup>62</sup> Though not actually Qur'ān this phrase reflects Qur'ānic passages.

<sup>63</sup> Text, incorrectly, *mamlū-an*.

<sup>64</sup> *Hafadah* can of course mean 'grandchildren' and a Sayyid *majlis* in Ḥaḍramawt could well have many family members.

<sup>65</sup> I recall having heard either *ma'khadh* or *mawkhadh* somewhere in south Arabia as meaning a certain type of ditty but I have been unable to discover this in my field notes or elsewhere.

<sup>66</sup> The *ḥaḍar* in general and certainly the ulema, in my experience, have their heads shaven and for al-Ḥusayn and not to shave his moustache would be an affectation of bedouinism/tribalism. Yāfi'ī soldiery have moustaches.

<sup>67</sup> See *Gloss. dat.* 2623 *seq.* These dancing girls undoubtedly are of the same class of south Arabian society as the group I encountered in Dathīnah in 1954. See my 'The Ma'n »Gypsies« of the West Aden Protectorate', *Anthropos*, Posieux (Fribourg), LXVI, 1961, p. 737-49. As the so-called Ma'n girls are supposed to come from the Yemen they might even be descendants of, or related to the *shuḥḥadh* described by al-Asadī. The Ma'n would move via Mukayras, am-Ṣawma'ah to the top of Wādī Bayhān to purvey their wares. There are indications that similar groups existed in the time of the first Zaydī Imām al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq. Cf. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1392/1972, p. 94.

<sup>68</sup> *īwān* is probably equivalent here to *dīwān*, Rossi's sala per ricevete.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *infra* p. 104. The biographers do not mention the name Jaḥḥāf.

missible to repeat) al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn<sup>70</sup> they did this and that with Ḥaydar Pasha, and with ʿĀbidīn Pasha, this and that<sup>71</sup>.

Since the Ḥabīb and those present believe that nobody may contradict him, al-Asadī replies tactfully and rises to kiss his feet. While this was going on —

‘The muezzin gave the call to mid-day prayer and those there said: »The Ḥabīb has left, the Ḥabīb has left«. (He continued): And there he was, still, not moving, as if he were dead, they, the while, saying to one another (*yatalākātūna*<sup>72</sup>) that he had gone to Mecca. (He continued): So they waited a long time for him — then lo and behold, he stirred and spoke, and they got up to greet him.’

Al-Jarmūzī says that he had heard from others that up until now no private or public reception (*majlis*) is without musical instruments. He was told of a dome in Ḥaḍramawt ‘over one of their ignorant (*jahalah*) persons’, doubtless a saint, with a mosque around it where he attended a *majlis al-qirāʾah* where he heard ‘lying tales and frivolous irreligious stories with music (*fi ʿl-ṭarab*). In a book there on the virtues (*manāqib*) of the Shaykhs it was said of Shaykh Fulān that the Almighty Lord manifested Himself to him, and of Shaykh Fulān that prophethood was offered him on several occasions but that he refused it out of veneration for the Apostle of Allah, and suchlike outlandish things. In the country of the Raṣṣās and adjoining Muṣʿabayn and Murād tribes not one in a thousand can be found who prays<sup>73</sup> or is acquainted with the obligations of the divine law or reason (*al-taklīf al-sharʿī aw al-ʿaqlī*), the badw of them especially who take pride only in hospitality (*diyāfāt*) and security of the roads. An eye-witness told al-Jarmūzī’s son that when Sultan Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Raṣṣās died his corpse ‘was borne from his house on poles accompanied by women on both sides weaving their hair (*nāshirāt*) [their heads] uncovered<sup>74</sup> to a cemetery of theirs. As for the women playing lutes (*ʿawwādāt*), those with musical instruments and the dancers to whom the Mashriq<sup>75</sup> has become a home and for whom the properties of the inhabitants of it has become a place to eat, they go along by his corpse and shave some of their hair and hock (*yaʿqirna*) their camels, their menfolk doing likewise till, at each pace or paces, there are many *ʿaqīrahs*<sup>76</sup>, while their voices are loud in wailing and lamentation’.

Of the Raṣṣās, al-Jarmūzī remarks that the kings of the Yemen neglected

<sup>70</sup> Imām al-Muʿayyad’s brothers, active in the campaigns leading to the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks.

<sup>71</sup> Ḥaydar Pasha was the last effective Ottoman governor of the Yemen. A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Madras 1925, mentions as following him, Aidin, for which ʿĀbidīn seems a better reading.

<sup>72</sup> Enquiries have been unable to elicit the sense of this word so the rendering is conjectural. This episode exemplified what is known colloquially as *khatwah* or *dahqah*, lit., ‘step’; it occurs in the hagiologies. The Sufi moves in spirit to some other place, temporarily leaving his body in situ.

<sup>73</sup> This is not exaggeration — for tribal ignorance or disregard for the Fast and Prayer see *Ṣanʿā*, p. 310.

<sup>74</sup> For weaving the hair cf. my *South Arabian Hunt*, London 1976, p. 66, 109.

<sup>75</sup> Al-Mashriq is the eastern side of the Yemen.

<sup>76</sup> Landberg, *Hadramout*, p. 459, says an *ʿaqīrah* is always ‘en vertu d’un vœu’, adding that ‘le Sâdah n’èn veulent pas savoir et le considèrent comme *makrūh*’.

them and none paid them any attention except Sinān<sup>77</sup> Pasha who conquered their country and that of Yāfi<sup>c</sup> and the adjoining territories in about four years, but when the Imām rose the Turks removed from them, and they returned to their former state. The Raṣṣāsī Sultan, he says, has no creed (*iʿtiqādāt*) but hate of the Āl Muḥammad (i.e. the Zaydī Imāms)<sup>78</sup> and has no regard for the Zaydiyyah but orders the non-arms-bearing classes (*ahl al-ḥaḍar*<sup>79</sup>) in his country to make the *khuṭbah* in the name of the Ottoman Sultan (*Sulṭān al-Rūm*) as also the blessing on him (*al-duʿā lahu*) in imitation of the afore-said Shaykh al-Ḥabīb (Ḥusayn b. Abī Bakr b. Sālim).

In their triumphant progress of conquest of the Yemen following on their expulsion of the Ottoman Turks, the Zaydīs determined to bring the Raṣṣāsīs and other tribes under their domination.

### The Zaydī Conquest of al-Raṣṣās and Yāfi<sup>c</sup>

The Zaydīs opened their campaign by moving to al-Zahrā<sup>80</sup> where they established a camp from which to invade the territory of the Sultan al-Raṣṣās. He in turn assembled over 30,000 men from the ʿAwāliq, Yāfi<sup>c</sup> and other Mashriq sultanates. They prepared to engage the Zaydīs at Najd al-Salaf<sup>81</sup> ‘it being the gate to their country and the only road to it’, and they imposed a daily levy of dirhams, sheep and grain on al-Bayḍāʿ.

Al-Ḥabīb Sālim b. Aḥmad wrote to al-Raṣṣās, saying that ‘the Zaydiyyah will be a morsel (*tuʿmah*<sup>82</sup>) for you’, declaring he had delivered them over to him and sending him a rosary which would take the place of great armies. On a further occasion he despatched one of their ill-favoured banners (*rāyāt-hum al-mankūṣah*<sup>83</sup>) with a slave to bear it. The Sultan placed entire confidence in what the Ḥabīb had promised him while the Ḥabīb’s messenger accompanying ‘the banner of error’ declared that the words of his Shaykh were true and that bullets would not hit him<sup>84</sup> but if

<sup>77</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Sharafī, seemingly the author of the text used by Tritton (perhaps the ‘*akhbār*’ noted by al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tāliʿ*, Cairo 1348 H.; Ms. f. 32a), states that, in 1004/1595–6, Sinān conquered Yāfi<sup>c</sup> and built a fort at Khalaqah later besieged by Yāfi<sup>c</sup>. ‘The Amīr Sinān used to respect the people of Yāfi<sup>c</sup> because of what he had come to know of their great courage at the time of his entering their country and their fighting him in it’. For this reason doubtless the Fadlī Sultans and certain of their tribes have the slogan (ʿ*azwah*), ‘*Anā dhayb Sanān/Sinān* I am the wolf of Sinān’. See *Mahmūd al-Ghūl Commemoration Volume*, p. 122.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Jarmūzī was told that the Sultan ‘may, each Friday, pray two *rakʿahs*, not in the proper way of prayer (ʿ*alā ghayr ṣifat al-ṣalāh*) after washing his hair with *sidr* (*Zizyphus spina Christi*) leaf. He has two women who tease out his hair with the comb. All the people of the afore-said district go in for very long hair’.

<sup>79</sup> The villagers?

<sup>80</sup> Ṣāliḥ ʿUmar says this should read Zāhir.

<sup>81</sup> Najd al-Salaf/al-Aslāf or Najd al-Ḥājj is south of Yarīm (*Ṣanʿāʿ*, p. 80b). Yāfi<sup>c</sup> had inflicted a heavy defeat on the Turks there about sixty years earlier.

<sup>82</sup> *Tuʿmah* is ‘an assigned means of subsistence’ etc. (Lane) but Ḥabīb Sālim has probably in mind the Hadīth: *Wa-qītāl-un ʿalā hādhihi l-tuʿmah* where *tuʿmah* is said by Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, III, p. 38, to mean *fayʿ*, booty.

<sup>83</sup> *Mankūṣah*, lit., upside down. I have rendered it in the sense given by Dozy, *Supplément*, défavourable, but Ṣāliḥ ʿUmar says that this is a custom – to send a banner reversed – to incite the tribes to one’s aid. The Maṣṣab used to have a green and white *bayraq* with him to indicate his arrival or to protect himself at tribal battles and ‘loosen the interlocking of those fighting oneanother’.

<sup>84</sup> He would be what the Yemenis term ‘*musarraḥ*’. The late Imām Aḥmad of the Yemen was popularly believed to have immunity from bullets or sword cuts.



they did it would only be to wound him. So the Zaydī musketeers poured lead into him, very few bullets missing, his skull scattered into splinters and he fell down into Hell-fire! His head was cut off and his banner became a plaything for those in the Imāmic sūq.

The Zaydīs advanced to Qā<sup>c</sup> al-Rumāh, north-west of Najd al-Salaf around which the Sultan al-Raṣṣās had built a wall to act as a sangar (*matras*) and his tribesmen with those of Banu ʿl-Arḍ, Murād, Yāfi<sup>c</sup>, the ʿAwāliq and others drew up on a front over two miles long. But the tribesmen were defeated, the Sultan al-Raṣṣās was slain and his head cut off, the ʿAwlaqī horse routed, though some of al-Raṣṣās's women escaped on the ʿAwlaqī horses. After the battle the Zaydī leaders collected the women together in a single tent and put them in charge of persons of repute. Later the women and children were sent to Sultan Šāliḥ al-Raṣṣās, brother to the slain Sultan who had fled to a place ʿUbarah<sup>85</sup> in the mountains near Bayḥān as he could find none to give him refuge. Eventually he sought safeconduct (*amān*) which the Imām granted him with a firm pact (*ʿaqd muʿakkad*) to that effect. Sultan al-Raṣṣās's head was sent to the Imām and hung up at al-Ḥuṣayn<sup>86</sup> so that all might see he had been slain. Following his death *Allāh fataḥa ʿl-amṭār*, opened up the rains<sup>87</sup>.

### The Conquest of Bilād Yāfi<sup>c</sup>

In the year 1065/1655 when peace had been made in the Mashriq by direct contact or through correspondence Zaydī forces took up position in al-Khalaqah<sup>88</sup> and Yāfi<sup>c</sup> fortified themselves in their high mountains one of which was the inaccessible mountain called al-ʿUrr<sup>89</sup>, constructing on it high walls (*dawāʿir*<sup>90</sup>) and curved sangars (? *matāris mulawwiyah*) that they garrisoned with many men and muskets.

The Zaydīs now invited Sultan Šāliḥ al-Raṣṣās to al-Baydāʾ where they had established themselves. He was met by the Zaydī leader, obviously bent on a policy of conciliation, who invested him with a splendid robe (*kiswah*) while still on his way there. An eye-witness reports that he nearly refused to accept it 'because they are unaccustomed to the *kiswah*, their costume being, like the other Mashāyikh of the Mashriq, a waist-wrapper (*mīzār*) and shoulder-cloth (*liḥfah*) of the select top quality of al-Shiḥr cloth (*bazz*)<sup>91</sup>, and his weapons a musket like others. He is at pains to decorate it and the powderhorn (*yubāligh fī ḥilyati-hā wa-ḥilyat al-ʿiddah*) [with silver mounts<sup>92</sup>], the chiefs of his fellow (tribesmen) having mostly the same weapons'. The Sultan does not ride horses but goes along with his fellow tribesmen like one of them. 'They wear their hair long and comb it out, so that Sultan Ḥuṣayn al-Raṣṣās's hair, as one who actually

<sup>85</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>86</sup> Unknown to me, perhaps in the Ḍawrān region where al-Mutawakkil had taken up residence.

<sup>87</sup> This is a sign of *barakah*, perhaps Divine approval of the Zaydī conquest?

<sup>88</sup> See p. 102 *infra*.

<sup>89</sup> See fn. 26.

<sup>90</sup> Sing. *dāʿir* (*Šanʿāʿ*, p. 576a).

<sup>91</sup> For Ḥaḍramī cloth in *Šanʿāʿ* Sūq see *Šanʿāʿ*, p. 182.

<sup>92</sup> The lawfulness of ornamenting the *bunduq* with silver is discussed by Ḥuṣayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn Ibrīq al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥabbān, in his *Tahrīd al-ikhwān al-kirām wa-badhī al-naṣīḥah fi ʿl-taḥarruz min Yām al-liyām wa-afʿāli-him al-qabīḥah* composed about 1800 (my photocopy).



saw it told me, was nearly two *dhirā*<sup>c</sup> (a metre) long and he had servants to comb it out. They do not dwell in settled places (*lā yaskunūn al-ḥaḍar*)<sup>93</sup>.

Al-Jarmūzī concludes that, following Sultan al-Raṣṣās's submission, came that of the 'Awlaqī Sultan, Maṣūr b. Ṣāliḥ, whose place is a little town called Yashbum – he and the people of his country are *ahl al-ḥaḍar* with many *sūqs* in their country, and they ride horses. He sought *amān* for his country which was duly granted. The Faḍlī sultan's son also came in, and the Zaydī leader wrote to all districts, receiving responses from the Wāḥidī, 'Amūdī<sup>94</sup> and others.

The Zaydīs now heard that the Ḥabīb Sālim had left Ḥaḍramawt and was making for Yāfi<sup>c</sup> who had written him many letters. He took the route through the country of Ibn 'Abd al-Māni<sup>c95</sup> and Aḥwar territory<sup>96</sup>. The Zaydīs therefore despatched a contingent of cavalry and infantry to intercept him before he could reach Yāfi<sup>c</sup>. The infantry were at 'the town of Dathīnah' (probably al-Ḥāfah<sup>97</sup>). When close to Aḥwar the cavalry learned his son the Ḥabīb<sup>98</sup> with a body of Yāfi<sup>c</sup> had already passed through and realized that he had given them the slip but they hung about till they confirmed that Sālim al-Ḥabīb (sic) had returned to his home in Ḥaḍramawt. These cavalry when at a place called al-Madārah<sup>99</sup> were recalled to the Zaydī army and proceeded to it by way of the Thirah pass ('*aqabah*)<sup>100</sup> which they found steep and difficult to climb. They went on to a village of the Banu 'l-Arḍ and there they learned that the Zaydī troops, called by al-Jarmūzī '*junūd al-ḥaqq*'<sup>101</sup>, had fought and dispersed Yāfi<sup>c</sup> tribesmen who were driven back to al-'Urr which the Zaydīs apparently took<sup>102</sup> then capturing Marfad<sup>103</sup>, to take houses there belonging to the Shaykh Ibn Harharah. So the cavalry contingent moved to al-'Urr where they prayed and going to a place above Marfad they fired off many rounds. This action further dispirited the Yāfi<sup>c</sup>'s whose chiefs came to the Zaydī camp to ask for safe-conduct (*amān*). They were welcomed by the Zaydī general al-Ṣafiyy and granted *amān* and an investiture; he took them to his brothers who did the same.

'As for the Shaykh 'Abdullāh b. Harharah who is in charge of the collection (*qabḍ*) of the *awqāf* belonging to the afore-said Ḥabīb Sālim, his votive gifts (*nudhūr*) and taxes (*zakawāt*<sup>104</sup>) and to whom ultimately come the commodities in Yāfi<sup>c</sup> which are forwarded to the Ḥabīb in Ḥaḍramawt, our Lords<sup>105</sup>, Allah preserve them, commanded that such grain (*ḥubūb*) belonging to the afore-said Ḥabīb as was found in his house, consisting of money, grain, horses, the three flocks

<sup>93</sup> Sense uncertain.

<sup>94</sup> Famous Mashāyikh family of Wādī Daw'an.

<sup>95</sup> Mashāyikh family of Jōl 'Abd al-Māni<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Lower 'Awlaqī country.

<sup>97</sup> A ruined mediaeval town I visited in 1954.

<sup>98</sup> Presumably al-Jarmūzī means the son of al-Ḥabīb Sālim, but I can find no reference to him in Sayyid genealogies.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Madārah is a Mayāsir village between Mūdiyah and al-Shāfi'iyyah.

<sup>100</sup> In 'Awdhalī territory, the famous pass up the Kawr.

<sup>101</sup> 'The troops of righteousness/right/justice/truth' !

<sup>102</sup> See fn. 26.

<sup>103</sup> Marfad is in the Qabīlat al-Ḥaḍramī territory.

<sup>104</sup> I.e. the '*ushūr*.

<sup>105</sup> The Zaydī leaders.

(*al-an‘ām al-thalāth*<sup>106</sup>) and the coffee plantations (*ṣawāfī bunn*<sup>107</sup>) should be seized’.

The Dhū Nākhīb people had declined to come in to the Zaydī leaders because of the steepness of their mountains which were garrisoned by brave Yāfi‘ī tribes but after the safe-conduct (*amān*) accorded Shaykh ‘Abdullāh b. Harharah they also petitioned for *amān*. Al-Ṣafīyy sent them to the Imām. They, knowing that repentance would be accepted (*al-tawbah maqbūlah*), made a show of repentance. The Imām presented their chiefs with clothing, money, weapons and horses to those of them who were accustomed to [ride] them.

Governors were appointed over Yāfi‘, Raṣṣāṣ and Dathīnah and Zaydī troops moved to al-Khalaqah, rebuilding the fort there which commands the *sūq*. News arrived of the submission of the Sultan of Ḥaḍramawt. The Mashāyikh of Yāfi‘, Ibn Harharah and those of the Mashāyikh who had come in were informed by the Imām of their *wājibāt*, i.e. the taxes they must pay – he wrote them a pact and took an oath from them.

The situation was still unsettled with under 100 Zaydī soldiers remaining in Yāfi‘, and when the harvest (*al-thamarah*) was ready and assessors were sent out Ibn al-‘Afīf prevented them from making their rounds. The Zaydī governor who had married locally had engaged about 400 Yāfi‘ī troops and they agreed to follow him against Ibn ‘Afīf who went to Jabal al-Naffāj between al-Mawsaṭah and Banī Qāsīt (sic). All Yāfi‘ then rose except al-Muflahī, but the Sultan al-Raṣṣāṣ dissociated himself (*aḥzara ḡl-barā‘ah*) from the rising. Zaydī forces went to al-Khalaqah, Marfad and al-Mawsaṭah. The Yāfi‘ī allies of the Zaydīs used to ‘show obedience by day and raid the (Zaydī) soldiers to their places at night’, like the Yemenis did with Nasser’s forces in the sixties! The Zaydīs however moved from al-Khalaqah to Masjid al-Nūr in al-Mawsaṭah and mounted an attack on the ‘Afīfīs and Nākhībīs on al-Naffāj who were defeated with the loss of 300 tribesmen.

After some days the shaykh Ma‘ūḍah and his son asked for *amān*. Some Zaydī troops meanwhile had found in a pass ‘a woman with slave-girls (*jawārin*) of hers with instruments (*ālāt*) so they took her and those with her and she was the wife of Ibn ‘Afīf’. Perhaps the ‘instruments’ were arms. The Zaydī general ordered her to be taken with trusty persons to Radā‘ fort, making her a hostage (*rahīnah*). The news of her capture was brought to Ibn ‘Afīf who was much grieved as he thought she had escaped. Perhaps this is the lady called Nūr bint ‘Afīf (p. 90) who was said to have fought the Zaydīs. The Zaydī general ordered all the weapons of bilād b. ‘Afīf to be collected, guns (*banādiq*), clubs, (leather) shields (*daraq*), or no *amān* would be given. Musical instruments and drums (*tāsāt*) were confiscated also. After this there seems to have been general submission to the Zaydīs, all this in year 1066/1655–56. The Imām ordered the musical instruments to be broken, but he appears to have tried to win over Ibn ‘Afīf, Ibn Harharah, and al-Nākhībī to whom he assigned maintenance while detaining them with him, and to whom he made gifts.

<sup>106</sup> I.e. *al-ibl wa-ḡl-baqar wa-ḡl-ghanam*, camels, cattle, sheep and goats, upon which *zakāt* has to be paid.

<sup>107</sup> I translate *ṣawāfī* as plural of *ṣāfiyah*, a category of landholding, but *bunn ṣāfī* is the pure coffee-berry.

## The Zaydīs lose Yāfi‘

About a quarter century later Yāfi‘ expelled the Imām’s governor and repulsed expeditions sent against them so that the Zaydīs were compelled to retire on Radā‘. Again in 1101/1689–90, a Zaydī expedition reached al-‘Urr but was defeated. After defeating the Zaydīs in Yāfi‘ in 1120/1708–09, ‘Umar b. Ṣāliḥ Harharah and the Mashriq tribes even ravaged the town of Ibb. While in 1144/1731–32 in the time of Sultan Sayf b. Qaḥṭān b. Ma‘ūdah al-‘Afif the Yāfi‘is drove the Zaydīs out of Lahej and Aden. The Zaydī empire was now well on the way to disintegration and the Yemen on the return to tribal anarchy.

## The Āl al-Shaykh Bū Bakr b. Sālim, Manṣabs of ‘Īnāt

Though the informants marshalled by al-Jarmūzī are hostile to the Āl Bū Bakr b. Sālim house, taking a cynical view of the way in which it exercises its functions, they do present a fair and authentic picture. The Āl Bū Bakr b. Sālim is probably the largest Ḥaḍramī Sayyid house and in the era of migration it had many branches settling in Indonesia, East Africa and elsewhere. I have found no actual account of how its founder Bū Bakr established his ascendancy but this was probably gained through strength of personality, political acumen and playing to the full on his ‘spiritual power’<sup>108</sup> inherited from the Prophet. The family, says the editor of *Shams al-zahīrah*<sup>109</sup>, ‘has a *dāllah*<sup>110</sup> over the arms-bearing tribes like Yāfi‘, Kindah, the Manāhīl and Mahrah. Because of the prestige/influence (*wajāhah*) that their *manṣabs* have, they employ it to reconcile contending parties and to extinguish the fire of dissension (*fitnah*) when it intensifies. They had hands in appeasing dissensions and arranging truces between people in an age when anarchy prevailed’.

Al-Shillī (ob. 1093/1682) assigns a lengthy biography to Bū Bakr b. Sālim (919–992/1513–4–1584) known as Ṣāḥib ‘Īnāt. He was born in Tarīm where he studied with its ulema, subsequently moving to ‘Īnāt<sup>111</sup>. Both *al-ḥādir wa-l-bād*, the settled and bedouin, profited through him and his virtues (*manāqib*). His place (*janāb*) became a refuge for any person in danger (*khā’if*) and after his death whosoever came to seek protection at his tomb (*istajāra bi-qabri-hi*) became protected (*maḥrūs*). All his property deriving from his estates and what was brought to him (*manqūl*) and animals was ‘in the name of’ (i.e. spent upon) the needy the *du‘afā’ wa-dīfān* (unarmed classes<sup>112</sup> and guests). The revenues in kind from Yāfi‘ would come under the heading of *manqūl*. Al-Shillī lists his writings on the usual religious

<sup>108</sup> *Al-sultat al-rūhiyyah*. I imagine the term is of comparatively recent usage in Ḥaḍramawt.

<sup>109</sup> Muḥammad Diyā’ Shihāb ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Mashhūr *Shams al-zahīrah*, Jeddah, 1404/1984, I, p. 276. There is an earlier lithographed edition.

<sup>110</sup> Lane’s rendering of *dāllah* perfectly describes the manners of a great Manṣab – a placid, grave manner of deportment with pleasingness of mien, a kind of boldness towards a person in whose estimation one holds a high place. Bū Bakr b. Sālim used to cajole the rude bedouin (*ajlāf*) and they did not upset him (*lā yuz‘iju-hu*).

<sup>111</sup> Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, *al-Mashra‘ al-rawiyy*, Cairo, 1319 H., II, p. 26. The Āl Kathīr Sultans laid out (*ikhṭaṭṭa*) ‘Īnāt al-Qadīmah in 629/1232, but the area in which he built his house became known as al-Jadīdah.

<sup>112</sup> *Da‘īf* in Ḥaḍramawt – workers in clay, builders, potters, field workers, but probably here of more general application.



topics including *taṣawwuf* but avers that he used to hold aloof from the manifesting of miracles (*izhār al-karāmāt*) and supernatural phenomena (*khawāriq al-‘ādāt*) though al-Jarmūzī quotes al-Ahdal to the contrary with regard at least to the Āl Bū Bakr b. Sālīm in general. Nevertheless, like other holy men, he revealed (*kāshafa*) to a group of his companions what was in their hearts. The following story recalls the cynical remarks of the Zaydī al-Asadī supra.

Certain merchants sailing from India to bandar Mokha were delayed by an adverse wind, it being the end of the monsoon (*mawsim*). One of the ship’s company saw in a dream Bū Bakr b. Sālīm who instructed him to make votive gifts and to be of good cheer. This he promised to do and a favourable wind took them to Mokha. This man arriving in ‘Īnāt, had this tale recounted to him by Bū Bakr before he could open his mouth, with the demand: ‘*Hāt al-nidhr*, Hand over the gift!’ ‘Not until you tell me what it is’, said the man, and Bū Bakr told him in exact detail.

It was Abū Bakr’s son, al-Ḥusayn (ob. 1044/1634–35), who was visited by al-Asadī in 1041/1630–31. Al-Shillī<sup>113</sup> declared him to be unequivocally ‘the imām of his time’, widely famed, following the *sunnah*, perfectly exercising his office (*manṣab*<sup>114</sup>), entertaining the *fuqarā*<sup>2</sup> and *masākīn*<sup>115</sup>, strangers and orphans. The tribesmen (*urbān*) used to come to him from all quarters of the land. He disliked tyrants (*jabābirah*) – by these he probably means haughty tribal chiefs – and would only look at them askance. ‘When the Imām of the Zaydiyyah wrote to the people of al-Diyār al-Ḥaḍramiyyah summoning them to enter into obedience to him, and everyone to whom a letter came from him gave a (positive) reply’ except al-Ḥabīb al-Ḥusayn, ‘he neither replied to him (assenting) nor did he sent him a letter’. It is to be inferred from the text, though unvoiced by it, that the Ḥaḍramīs considered the Zaydī Imām to be one of the Jabābirah!

When al-Ḥusayn died it was agreed by consensus that his son Aḥmad had the best claim to the office of *manṣab*. He, like his group (*jamā‘ah*) followed Bedouin ways<sup>116</sup>, their bodies were bedouin and their hair bedouin (*abdānu-hum wa-shu‘uru-hum bādiyah*). In 1948 the branch of the Āl al-Shaykh Bū Bakr lower down the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt at Khōn were still bedouin in their dress and arms-bearing though not the Manṣab house at ‘Īnāt which seems to have abandoned bedouin ways and conformed to Sayyid dress<sup>117</sup> Aḥmad died in 1061/1651.

The Sālīm who figures in the narrative of al-Jarmūzī would be Sālīm b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. He is not included by al-Shillī in *al-Mashra‘* but he is recorded in *Shams al-zahīrah*<sup>118</sup> with the title Sālīm al-Muhājir, the latter epithet to be interpreted as the emigrant seeking protection. He died in al-Ghayzah/Ghaydah in 1087/1676–77. Sālīm may have been manṣab after his father’s death, but it rather looks as if he was obliged to take refuge from the Zaydīs in the coastal Mishqāṣ district east of al-Shiḥr.

The link between the ‘Īnāt Sayyids and Yāfi‘ still persisted till our own

<sup>113</sup> *Op. cit.* II, p. 92. Al-Ḥusayn was opposed to tobacco and had a proclamation prohibiting the use of it made in the *sūq*.

<sup>114</sup> The title ‘Manṣab’ seems to derive from the office.

<sup>115</sup> The *fuqarā*<sup>2</sup> in Ḥaḍramawt may mean Sufis and *masākīn* petty traders, but perhaps here the terms are used in the general sense of ‘poor’.

<sup>116</sup> *Al-Mashra‘*, II, p. 53; *Shams al-zahīrah*, I, p. 301.

<sup>117</sup> See my *Saiyids of Hadramawt*, London 1957.

<sup>118</sup> *Shams al-zahīrah*, II, p. 302.



time and a notice in the *Tārīkh al-shu‘arā’ al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*<sup>119</sup> mentions that a noted Ṣūfī scholar ‘Alī b. Sālīm, eleventh in the line of descent from Shaykh Bū Bakr b. Sālīm, travelled probably round about 1850 to Jabal Yāfi‘ ‘for worldly purposes, trading (*fī sabīl al-ḥayāt al-dunya-wiyyah, mutājir-an*) among a multitude of traders, but his spirit was not at ease with this wordly life and he quickly withdrew to Ḥaḍramawt’.

It is the writer’s pleasure to acknowledge his indebtedness to Ḥusayn Hādī ‘Awaḍ of the Madhhij of Ma‘n formerly of Wādī Yashbum and Ṣāliḥ ‘Umar Muḥammad Ghālib of al-Ḥaḍramī tribe of Yāfi‘ al-‘Ulyā, originally from near al-‘Urr, for information gratefully received and to thank them and Dr Robert T. O. Wilson and Mr Peter J. Grove for their valuable advice on the cartography of Yāfi‘ī country and Mr Grove for his expertly drawn sketch map of this little known region.

<sup>119</sup> ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, Cairo ca. 1359 H., IV, p. 72.



# Notes on Some Negative Morphemes in Written and Colloquial Arabic

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The numerous negative particles, from the Old Semitic *lā* to the compounds based on *lā*, such as *laisa*, *lammā*, *lam* and *lan*, all denying sentences and all with their own specific area of usage, constitute one of the major difficulties the Arab schoolmasters encounter in their efforts to teach the students the ‘Arabīya. It is evident that the complexities of negation in the ‘Arabīya as well as in the spoken dialects make it exceptionally hard to teach the students in such a way as to enable them to retain the rules of the ‘Arabīya after finishing school. Not only have the dialects many peculiar ways of expressing negation but the constructions and the mechanisms may differ from one dialect to another.

Goldenberg (1974:385), after having mentioned the names of Birkeland, Harrell, Tomiche, Aboul-Fetouh and Gamal-Eldin, states »negation in Egyptian colloquial Arabic is one of the most complicated chapters of its syntax and none of the above-mentioned authors have paid it, in our opinion, sufficient attention so as to explain its complex mechanism«. Goldenberg also quotes Aboul-Fetouh (1969:113) saying that he found it necessary to warn the reader that the given environments »involve syntactical and semantic considerations and overlap so much that they are of little use without an extensive listing of the possible fillers of each environment«.

No doubt, the peculiarities of negation in the dialects make it especially burdensome to the Arab student to grasp and learn the constructions of negation in the written language as the two systems, on the one hand the ‘Arabīya, and on the other hand the dialects, have few things in common and differ widely.

Among the peculiarities of negation in the ‘Arabīya we find that

*lam* with the imperfect (apocopated) takes the meaning of the perfect, e.g. *lam yaṣil fī waqtiḥ* ‘he didn’t arrive in time’.

*lan* with the imperfect (subjunctive) takes the meaning of the future, e.g. *lan af‘al qālik* ‘I’ll never do that’.

*lammā* with the imperfect (apocopated) takes the meaning of the perfect, *lammā tastami‘ ilā l-īḍāḥ* ‘you haven’t yet heard the clarification’.

*laisa* having solely the form of the perfect takes the meaning of the imperfect, e.g. *laisa l-muḥāmī mawjūdan* ‘the lawyer is not present’.

In addition, after *mā* denoting duration in the sense ‘as long as’ the



perfect takes the meaning of the imperfect, present or future, e.g. *lā ansāk mā ḍarra šāriq* 'I won't forget you as long as a sun rises' and *lā laqītum mā baqītum ḍurran* 'may you never be harmed as long as you live'.

At times it may be difficult to know whether *mā* is interrogative or negative, e.g. *mā huwa illā ḳaddām* could mean 'he is nothing but a servant' or 'what is he besides being a servant?'.

*lā* with the imperfect may be translated into English by the present or the future, and when connected with a preceding past tense (especially after *kāna*) it expresses the imperfect of the Greek and Latin.

Several opinions have been forwarded as to the difference between *mā fa'ala* and *lam yaf'al*. Caspari (1887:205) states that *lam* with the apocopated imperfect »immer den Sinn des Perfectums hat«.

Wright, in his translation and revision of Caspari (1898 II:22) repeats that the apocopated imperfect with *lam* »has invariably the meaning of the perfect«. Wehr (1953:27 f.) mentions the various opinions of Fleischer (*Kl. Schr.* I 443/4), who states that *mā* + perfect mainly corresponds to the German perfect »durch das die Vergangenheit vom Standpunkt der Gegenwart aus betrachtet und auf diese bezogen werde«, and of Reckendorf (*Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, 1–2, Leiden 1895–98, S. 83, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, § 25), who considers *mā* + perfect »meist resultativ«, and finally that of G. Bergsträsser (*Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln und Verwandtes im Koran*, Leipzig 1914, S. 29 f.), who declares that »das Perfect nach *mā* im Koran die vollendete Handlung nicht so scharf ausdrückt wie der Apokopatus nach *lam*«. Wehr (1953:28 f.) presents convincing evidence showing that attempts to explain the difference between *lam* + imperfect and *mā* + perfect on the basis of the time factor should be regarded with scepticism.

Strangely enough, the intonation, the stress factor, and the rhythmic values of the alternatives and of their environments are not mentioned by Wehr, although they might well have been influencing the various writers in their choice of either the *lam* + imperfect construction or the alternative *mā* + perfect. There are clearly differences between the two alternatives as regards rhythmic and metrical values irrespective of the environments. Within a given context the *lam* construction might well be sounding better, besides supporting the rhythmic of the utterance, and therefore consequently chosen. Furthermore, from the point of view of articulation, certain verbs seem to be easier to pronounce with a *lam* construction (if we consider the vowel qualities and their positions in relation to the emphatics and the ʿayn), e.g. *lam yastaṭīʿ* as compared with *mā staṭāʿa*. The feeling and understanding with regard to these special qualities may be highly developed in the mind of a certain writer, while totally lacking in other cases. It should not be forgotten that the liking amongst the Arabs for well-sounding constructions and phrases, is strong and has played a vital part e.g. in the formulation of the innumerable proverbs and sayings incorporated in the Arab history of literature. Another relevant fact to remember is that many old texts were first preserved orally and only later written.

As regards the difference between *mā* and *lā* with imperfect, Caspari

(1887:204 Anm.) states that after *lā* »behält das Imperfect seinen allgemeinen Begriff des Nichtvollendetseins, der Dauer«, e.g. *ḵaraja lā yaʿlam āynā huwa* ‘he went out without knowing where he has was’, and that after *mā* »hat es den Sinn des Präsens«. Wright (1898:II 20 Rem.) confirms this statement giving a word for word translation of Caspari. However, as Wehr points out (1953:29), the difference between the two constructions in regard to their meaning of the present is not clear at all. After having presented abundant material showing that the two constructions appear frequently in statements of equal value in regard to the time element, the results of act, and the manner of action, Wehr concludes that these qualities can hardly be used to describe differences between the two constructions with regard to their use in the present tense. Wehr (*ibid.* 31) then points to an interesting difference as regards the contexts in which the two constructions appear. The denials using the *mā* construction frequently appear in contexts displaying emotional involvement, while those with the *lā* construction tend to be chosen in connection with more objective and matter of fact statements and situations. The fact that the negative *mā* is frequently appearing in connection with oaths and solemn promises strengthens the view that *mā* is preferred when emotions are involved. Logically, the *lā* construction is chosen when the oath or the promise indicates the future as *mā* is ruled out in statements concerning the future.

The frequency of the negative *mā* construction in utterances containing an oath or a solemn promise and in phrases of emotional content, might be the reason why *mā* and its allomorphs have such a dominant position amongst the negation constructions of the Arabic dialects<sup>1</sup>.

The use of *mā/ma* and its allomorphs as a preverbal negative particle and as a particle negating single words is extraordinarily frequent in the Egyptian and Syrian dialects and in many other Arabic dialects as well. The use corresponds to the English ‘no’ and ‘not’ and negative constructions in English like in-, un-, and -less.

## PREVERB NEGATIVE *mā* (*ma*)

*Egyptian colloquial Arabic* (EG)

*Syrian colloquial Arabic* (SY)

### Imperfect

that's not enough	<i>dī mā yikfīš</i>	<i>hāidā mā byikfi</i>
I don't know	<i>muš<sup>2</sup> ʿārif</i>	<i>mā baʿrif</i>
I cannot	<i>mā baqdarš</i>	<i>mā biqdir</i>
it doesn't concern me	<i>dī mā yikuṣṣinīš</i>	<i>hāidā mā bikuṣṣnī</i>

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested by Ch. Rabin (*Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1951, p. 191) that the negative *mā* can be explained by going back to an old Egyptian origin; Wehr, however, maintains that *mā* originally was an interrogative particle which when appearing frequently in rhetorical questions assuming a negative answer became interpreted as a negative particle (1953:35 f.).

<sup>2</sup> *muš* < *mā hū šey*<sup>2</sup>.

JRSLM<sup>3</sup>: *mā birīdnīš* 'I don't want it'; *mā byōkul* 'he doesn't eat'. Yemen: *mā adkur* 'I don't remember'; *mā aqder* 'I can't'; *mā yumkinnā* 'it's not possible for us'. LEB: *ma bāddi šī* 'I don't want anything'; *ma bta<sup>c</sup>ref* 'you don't know'; *befham lāken ma beħki* 'I understand but I don't speak'; *ānā ma brīd šī* 'I don't want anything'.

### Perfect

	EG	SY
I didn't hear	<i>mā simi<sup>t</sup>iš</i>	<i>mā smi<sup>t</sup> šī</i>
I didn't understand	<i>mā fihimtiš</i>	<i>mā fhimt</i>
they didn't take anything from me	<i>mā aqadūš minni</i>	<i>mā aqadu minni</i>
they didn't say anything to me	<i>mā qālūlīš</i>	<i>mā qalūli šī</i>

JRSLM: *mā wuṣil* 'he hasn't come'; *mā kuntiš hunāk* 'I wasn't there'. Yemen: *ānā ma aqatt* 'I didn't take it'; *ānā mā šufto* 'I didn't see him'; *mā qāl šī* 'he said nothing'. LEB: *ma lqīt šī* 'I found nothing'; *ma qalli šī* 'he didn't tell me anything'; *ma šeft<sup>4</sup> metlu ābādān* 'I never saw anything like it'.

### Future

	EG	SY
I shall not eat in the hotel	<i>mā<sup>5</sup> ākulši</i> <i>fi-l-lokändä</i>	<i>mā bākul</i> <i>fi-l-lukändä</i>
that won't do	<i>di mā yiṣahħiš</i>	<i>hāidä mā bīšīr</i>

### Complex Verb Forms

The preverb negative *mā/ma* (*mā . . . š*) in utterances including more than one verb.

	EG	SY
I can't read	<i>mā a<sup>r</sup>rafši aqra</i>	<i>mā ba<sup>r</sup>rif iqra</i>
if I cannot sleep . . .	<i>iza mā qidirtiš ānām . . .</i>	<i>iza mā qdirt nām . . .</i>
if it is no good	<i>iza kån mā betinfa<sup>c</sup>š</i>	<i>iza kån mā btinfa<sup>c</sup></i>
one can't walk any longer	<i>mā baqāš yitmiši</i>	<i>mā baqa yinmši</i>
I can't eat anything	<i>mā aqdarši ākul šē</i>	<i>mā fīni ākul šī</i>

<sup>3</sup> The dialect spoken in the Jerusalem area.

<sup>4</sup> LEB 'e' similar to French 'peur'.

<sup>5</sup> The verbal habits of an individual include both *mā* and *ma* depending on the environments and a large number of other circumstances.

JRSLM: *mā kānš qādir yi‘ayyis hālo* ‘he couldn’t support himself’<sup>6</sup>. Yemen: *mā adri äyš usawwi* ‘I don’t know what to do’; *mā aqder arūh ma‘ak* ‘I can’t go with you’; *mā yaqderu yagu* ‘they cannot come’; *mā aqder ašber* ‘I can’t wait’. LEB: *ma kent ‘āref* ‘I didn’t know’; *ma kent bteḥki häik* ‘you didn’t speak like that’.

### Part. Active

	EG	SY
it’s not necessary	<i>muš lāzim</i>	<i>mā hū lāzim</i>
it’s not the right time	<i>el-waqt muš munāsib</i>	<i>il-waqt mā hū mnāsib</i>

JRSLM: *muš fāhim* ‘I don’t understand’. Yemen: *hū muš rāḍi* ‘he isn’t satisfied’ or *mā hū rāḍi*; *muš lāzem* ‘it’s not necessary’. LEB: *meš lāzem* ‘it’s not necessary’; *meš memken* ‘it’s not possible’.

### Part. Passive

	EG	SY
it’s not correct	<i>muš mazbūt</i>	<i>muš maḍbūt</i>
it’s not well folded	<i>dī muš maṭwīye ṭayyib</i>	<i>mā hī maṭwīyi mlīḥ</i>

JRSLM: *muš mādfū‘* ‘not paid’; *muš māwjūd* ‘not present’; *muš ma‘qūl* ‘nonsensical’. Yemen: *ānt muš magnūn* ‘you’re not mad’; LEB: *meš māwjūd* ‘not present’.

### Non-verbal Sentences with »Negative Pronouns«

(the negative morph *mā* or *mā . . . š* combined with pronouns free form)

JRSLM: *mānīš* ‘I’m not’; 2.m. *māntiš* 2.f. *māntiš* 3.m. *māhūs* 3.f. *māhīš* pl.1. *māhnāš* etc. *mānīš rāyiḥ* ‘I’m not going’; *māhnāš bi‘ād* ‘we are not far away’. LEB: *mānni* ‘I’m not’; 2.m. *mānnāk* 2.f. *mānnēk* 3.m. *mānnu* 3.f. *mānnā*, etc. *mānni mabsūt* ‘I’m not satisfied’; *mānnon mabsūṭin* ‘they are not satisfied’; *mānnāk šāyef?* ‘don’t you see?’ *mānnu fāhem* ‘he doesn’t understand. Cf. also Goldenberg 1974:386 *māhnāš-ilmas‘ulīn* ‘we are not the responsible ones’.

### Pre-particle negation

	EG	SY
Nouns definite:		
not the teacher	<i>muš el-me‘āllim</i>	<i>muš il-m‘āllim</i>
not the house	<i>muš el-bēt</i>	<i>muš il-bāyt</i>
Indefinite:		
not a book	<i>muš kitāb</i>	<i>muš ktāb</i>
I’m not a merchant	<i>ānā muš tāgir</i>	<i>ānā muš tājir</i>
that is nothing	<i>dī muš ḥāge</i>	<i>hāidā mā hū šī</i>
not meat	<i>muš laḥme</i>	<i>mā hī laḥmi</i>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *makānš yihubb yirūḥ yišūfu* ‘he didn’t like to go to visit him’ and *mayḥibbiš yirūḥ yišūfu* ‘he doesn’t like to go to visit him’ (Goldenberg 1974:393).



JRSLM: *muš il-bēt* ‘not the house’; *muš kitāb* ‘not a book’. Yemen: *hādā muš ḡagara kābīra* ‘this isn’t a big stone’. LEB: *meš Aḡmed* ‘not Ahmed’; *meš elyaum* ‘not to-day’.

### Pronouns

	EG	SY
not me	<i>muš ānā</i>	<i>muš ānā</i>
not you	<i>muš inte</i>	<i>muš int</i>
not there	<i>muš henāk</i>	<i>muš haunīk</i>

JRSLM: *muš hunāk* ‘not there’. Yemen: *muš dāk* ‘not that’; *mā hū hinā* ‘he isn’t here’.

### Adjectives

	EG	SY
it’s not far	<i>muš be‘īd</i>	<i>mā hū b‘īd</i>
the water isn’t hot	<i>el-moiye muš sukne</i>	<i>il-moiy mā hī sukni</i>

JRSLM: *miš<sup>7</sup> ikbīr* ‘not big’. Yemen: *mā hū ṭayyib* ‘it’s not good’. LEB: *meš ktīr* ‘not much’. *meš qalīl* ‘that’s not a little’;

### Adverbs

	EG	SY
not always	<i>muš dā‘imān</i>	<i>muš dāymān</i>

JRSLM: *muš dāimān*.

### Prepositions

	EG	SY
it’s not in my power	<i>muš fī īdi</i>	<i>mā hū fī īdi</i>
you’re not wrong	<i>el-ḡaqqe muš ‘alēk</i>	<i>il-ḡaqq mā hū ‘alāik</i>
there is nothing		
the matter with me	<i>mā līs ḡage</i>	<i>mā bini šī</i>
I’ve no money on me	<i>mā mi‘āye maṣāri</i>	<i>mā ma‘i maṣāri</i>
you’re not right	<i>mā lakše ḡaqq</i>	<i>mā ma‘ak ḡaqq</i>
it’s not your fault	<i>ma ‘alēksi ḡaqq</i>	<i>mā ‘alāyke ḡaqq</i>
it doesn’t matter	<i>mā ‘alēs</i>	<i>mā ‘alēs</i>

JRSLM: *miš fī-l-iḡsāb* ‘not included’; *mā līs illā ma‘āsi* ‘I’ve nothing but my salary’; *malōš aḡammūyye* ‘it’s not important’. LEB: *ma ‘alāyš* ‘it doesn’t matter’.

<sup>7</sup> In most dialects there are free variants, such as *miš*, *meš*, etc.

**The expression »there is no(t) . . . «**

	EG	SY
There is nobody	<i>mafīš<sup>8</sup> ḥadd</i>	<i>mā fī ḥada</i>
there is no need	<i>mafīš luzūm</i>	<i>mā fī lāzūm</i>
there is nothing like it	<i>mafīš zeyyo</i>	<i>mā fī mitlo</i>
there is nothing better than that	<i>mafīš äḥsän minno</i>	<i>mā fī äḥsän minno</i>

JRSLM: *mafīš* 'there is no . . . Yemen: *mafīš kusr* 'nothing is broken'; *mafīš gādīd* 'there is nothing new'. LEB: *mafī mādrāse elyaum* 'there's no school today'; *ma fī šakk* 'there is no doubt'; *mafī kubz äbādän* 'there's no bread at all'.

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<sup>8</sup> *mafīš* < *mā fīhi šey*> (LEB: *mā fīh šey*). Note also 'this is not the thing which . . . *di muš eš-šē elli* . . . (EG); *häidä muš eš-ši illi* . . . (SY).



# The 10th *Maqāla* of al-Hamdānī's *Sarāʿir al-ḥikma*

## Some Observations

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Al-Hamdānī, the South Arabian scholar of the 10th cent. A.D., who has been the subject of several studies by Oscar Löfgren, is mostly known as an historian and a geographer although he was known to the Arabs also as a philosopher<sup>1</sup>. That he was an astronomer and astrologer as well has long been known to us. Al-Qiftī calls him an astrologer and mentions his *Zīğ* (astronomical tables) and quotes from Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī: »In the course of this book (*sc. al-Iklīl*) are good passages on the calculation and time of the conjunctions and sections on natural science and astrology . . . And he has written other good books, among them *Sarāʿir al-ḥikma* (The Secrets of Wisdom), the aim of which is to instruct in parts of astronomy and the extent of the motions of the stars and to throw light on the astrology and to present in detail and comprehensively its parts.«<sup>2</sup> Another astrological work, *aṭ-Ṭālīʿ wal-maṭāriḥ* (The Horoscope and the Projections), is known only from al-Qiftī.

Al-Hamdānī himself quotes an argument against Aristotle from the *Sarāʿir al-ḥikma* in another of his works, *K. al-Ġawharatayn*<sup>3</sup> 15a f.: »We have exposed the wrongness of this statement (*sc.* Aristotle's view on the beginning of heat) and have assigned to it a chapter of the *K. Sarāʿir al-ḥikma*. There we say that God, He is blessed and exalted, has created this celestial sphere sperical and rolling, and He has put the earth in its middle, spherical and rolling like it, as the centre in the middle of a circle, except that the smallness of the earth in relation to the greatness of the celestial sphere is as a point in a large circle. And each circle is within another circle so that each part of it, a half or third or fourth or sixth, is connected with what is opposite it of the circle within and related to it in a natural connection, even if the distance between them is great, and subject to its influence because of their similarity.« And al-Hamdānī goes on to explain the origin and nature of the seasons and their temperature.

Al-Hamdānī's *Sarāʿir al-ḥikma* could, however, be supposed lost until, in 1963, it was announced by the Yamani scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Hiwālī in the preface to his edition of *al-Iklīl I* that a manuscript of the 10th *maqāla* of the *Sarāʿir al-ḥikma* had been found (quoted by Löfgren in *EI*<sup>2</sup> 1965).

<sup>1</sup> See the works of Löfgren and Toll.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sarāʿir al-ḥikma* is also quoted by Abū Marwān al-Istiğgī (according to Ṣāʿid, *Tabaqāt* 86, first half of the 9th cent. and one of the best astrologers of Andalusia) in *Risāla fī Tasyīrāt wa-maṭāriḥ as-suʿāʿāt* (ms. in Escorial), Sezgin, *GAS* 7:196.

<sup>3</sup> It was Professor Löfgren who drew my attention to the manuscript in the University Library of Uppsala of this interesting work on Arabic cosmology, metallurgy and the fabrication of dies and coins, the edition and translation of which I chose as my doctoral dissertation.



In 1970, when I visited Beirut, the Saʿūdi scholar Ḥamad al-Ġāsir was kind enough to lend me his photograph copy of the manuscript of this work. The Institute of the German Oriental Society, the hospitality of which I enjoyed at that time, did not possess any reproduction facilities but its director, Dr. St. Wild (now Professor at the University of Bonn) kindly lent me his camera, and putting the photograph copy in the sunlight on the floor I photographed each sheet of it.

Later on I supposed that the manuscript had got lost when the Yamani Prime Minister (till July 1969) Muḥammad al-ʿAmrī, from whom Ḥamad al-Ġāsir had got his copy of the manuscript, had suffered an aeroplane crash. When I learned that the library of Ḥamad al-Ġāsir in Beirut had been burnt down, I thought for a time that my copy was the only one left of this work. Ḥamad al-Ġāsir told me, however, that the manuscript still existed in the Yaman<sup>4</sup>. From Sezgin, *GAS* 7:164 f. I further learned that a photograph of the manuscript (65 pp., 1071 A.H.) was in Cairo, at the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, from which Sezgin was able to quote the chapter-headings and to mention the sources of the work.

When I visited Ṣanʿāʾ in 1981 and met Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Hiwālī I obtained a copy of his edition of the 10th *maqāla*. In King 1983:20 the manuscript is said to be copied in an untidy Yamani hand, and on p. 67 is stated that the manuscript is in the private collection of Qādī Ḥusayn aṣ-Ṣayyāġī and that photographs are in Cairo Dār al-Kutub K 7012. In King 1986:39, No. B 41, is added that the manuscript photographs in Cairo K 7012 consist of 33 plates from a manuscript in a private library in the Yaman, copied in 1091 A.H., with a reference to Sezgin *GAS* 7:164 f. It is further added that the text of the manuscript is now published by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Hiwālī.

In the foreword to the edition we are told, however, that the editor found the manuscript in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ and that it was copied on Muḥarram 19th, 1091 A.H. Dr. King kindly sent me his photograph of the manuscript mentioned in his two works (and used also by Sezgin) and I could establish the fact that it was identical with the one I had copied from Ḥamad al-Ġāsir's photograph copy. On the other hand, the photographed manuscript seems not to be identical with the edited one. The manuscript found in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ could, of course, later have passed into private possession. But a comparison of the edition with the photographed manuscript will show several differences which could hardly have been caused by mistake or intentional emendation by the editor.

The aim of this paper is to show the existence of two manuscripts of the 10th *maqāla* and to compare them, as far as this is possible when one manuscript is available only in a rather bad photograph and the other one only by means of a rather bad edition. The comparison is made still more difficult by the editor's omission of any description of the manuscript from which the edition has been prepared. Except the already quoted information that the manuscript was found in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ and that it was copied on Muḥarram 19th, 1091 A.H. (foreword p. 5), we only learn that the numbers in the manuscript are written in red (p. 24). Where a new page or leaf starts in the manuscript is not marked in the edition which also omits to mention the total number of pages or leaves of the manuscript.

The date of the manuscript is actually Muḥarram 29th, 1091, not the 19th

<sup>4</sup> Letter, dated 14.3.1401.

as the editor says and not 1071 as Sezgin has read the year. The two manuscripts have hardly been completed on the same day, or the one ten days after the other (if the editor's reading is correct) – in all probability the one has been copied from the other with the date having been copied together with the rest of the text. This can be supposed also from the fact that omissions in the edition sometimes equal a whole line in the photographed manuscript.

In the following »Ed.« means the edition of the manuscript in the Great Mosque and »Ph.« means the photograph of the manuscript in private possession.

Ph. consists of 65 pages of each 31–32 lines. It is written in *nashī* of rather average legibility with many of the diacritical dots missing. When it is difficult to read this seems more due to the bad quality of the photograph than to that of the manuscript. Numbers are sometimes written in words, sometimes with *abğad* letters, sometimes with figures.

The work presents itself at the beginning, after the *basma*la, as *al-Maqāla al-‘āšira min Sarā’ir al-ḥikma fī ‘ilm an-nuğūm ta’līf al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ya‘qūb al-Hamdānī*. Then follows a list of the 33 *abwāb* with their captions. The captions of this introductory list of chapters differ a little from the captions at the head of each chapter, as they are reproduced by Sezgin. The following corrections could be made to Sezgin's reproduction of the chapter headings: ch. 3 read *Baṭalīmūs*, and so always in the text; ch. 10 read 20–25; ch. 11 read 25–30 *fī masīr al-hilāğ min al-makān at-tāsi‘ ila d-darağa al-ğāriba wa-kayfa . . .*; ch. 13 read . . . *wa-farq . . .*; ch. 14 read 31; ch. 15 read 32 and *sā‘āt*; ch. 16 read 32–34 *fī ‘illat . . .*; ch. 18 read 35; ch. 19 read 35–36 *ma l-‘illa fī qism faḍl darağ al-kawkab ‘ala l-awtād fī zāhir as-samā’ wa-bāṭinihā*; ch. 25 read 41–50; ch. 26 read 50–51 *fī ttiḥāq awtād dā’irat al-uḥuq bi-ḥamsat ağzā’*; ch. 27 read 51–56 *fī tasyīr al-hilāğāt ila l-qawāṭi‘ . . .* (Sezgin's captions to ch. 26–27 are from the introductory list); ch. 28 read 56–59; ch. 29 read 59–61 and *zā’irğat*; ch. 30 read 61–63; ch. 31 read *fī masīr*.

The first *bāb* starts Ph. p. 2 l. 5/Ed. p. 27 with a quotation from Abū Muḥammad b. Nawbaḥt on the *hilāğ* and *kathudā*.

There are a few corrections in the margin of the text of Ph. It is illustrated by horoscopes on p. 3/Ed. p. 29, p. 51/Ed. p. 104 and p. 60/Ed. p. 117. Ed. has furthermore a small horoscope on p. 65 and two small horoscopes on p. 112 not in Ph. On p. 9 of Ph. there is a half moon with a face in the left margin.

To the sources mentioned by al-Hamdānī as adduced by Sezgin can be added Abū ‘Iṣma (mentioned by al-Hamdānī also in his *Şifa* 56:10 – Sezgin has Sulaymān b. ‘Iṣma: maybe Abū/Abī is wrong for Ibn, as Ibn ‘Iṣma is known as the author of a *zīğ*, Kennedy No. X216); Abū Muḥammad b. Nawbaḥt (see above); *Zīğ al-Arkand* (Kennedy No. X214, see also al-Hāšimī, tr. p. 92); al-Hamdānī's own *Zīğ* and his *Tanbīh az-zīğ* (this was not known before, or is it only the full title of his *Zīğ*? – al-Hamdānī also quotes the 6th and 11th *maqāla* of his present work); the *Zīğ* of Ḥabaš (quoted by al-Hamdānī also *Şifa* 45:20, 22 f., Kennedy Nos. 15, 16, 39 and pp. 131–156); the otherwise unknown ‘Uṭmān b. Aḥmad and Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Amr; al-Fazārī (also quoted *Şifa* 45:20–24, Kennedy No. 2); Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (b. Farruḥān? Sezgin GAS 6:137, 7:130, Ullmann 307).

The most obvious difference between Ph. and Ed. is shown in the illustrations of the horoscopes. Not only has Ed. three horoscopes more than Ph. but the three they have in common are not of the same type and

arrangement. The horoscope Ph. p. 3/Ed. p. 29 is in Ph., according to the typology of North, of type (b) and starts with the first house, the ascendent, at the top, whereas in Ed. the horoscope is of type (d) and starts at the left (*cf.* at the end of the paper a reproduction of the two versions of this horoscope).

The horoscope Ph. p. 61 is also of type (b) and starts with the first house at the top, but the same horoscope in Ed. p. 104 is, unlike that in Ed. p. 29, also of type (b) but as on p. 29 it starts at the left. Furthermore, the horoscope Ed. p. 104 has much less text than that of Ph. p. 51 – six of the houses (5–7, 9–11) show only the name of the sign of the Zodiac.

The horoscope Ph. p. 60 is of type (b) and starts at the top – the same horoscope Ed. p. 117 is of type (d) and starts at the left, as the one in Ed. p. 29.

Several lines in Ph. are lacking in Ed. – p. 36 *supra*, after the reference to Ptolemy's work *al-Aḥkām* (Ullmann 284), 7 1/2 lines from Ph. are lacking. In Ed. p. 39 l. 4 2 1/2 lines are lacking, and. p. 40 one line. In Ed. p. 43 l. 16 after *wa-lā fi t-ta'ahḥur* exactly one line from Ph. is lacking which makes it probable that the manuscript of Ed. has been copied from that of Ph. The same is the case in Ed. 101 l. 3 after *al-ʿamal bi-kaṭīr* and p. 103 l. 8 after *ka-mā ḍakarū*. On the other hand, there are sentences in Ed. which are not in Ph., such as the gloss *allatī hiya aḡzāʾ aṭ-ṭālīʿ* Ed. p. 59 l. 8.

There are a lot of smaller divergencies between Ed. and Ph., when Ed. has *kawākib* and Ph. *kawkab*, Ed. *tasyīr* and Ph. *masīr*, Ed. *maṭlaʿ* and Ph. *maṭāliʿ*, etc.

The edition is characterized by a certain lack of care. Even when it is easy to control the figures by means of the operation of which they are a part, wrong figures are given in Ed. which make the operation senseless. Thus, Ed. p. 55 al-Hamdānī says that 1° equals 1 year, 5' (*i.e.* 1/12°) 1 month, 10" (*i.e.* 1/6 of 1' and thus 1/30 of 5') 1 day and 25''' (*i.e.* 25/60 of 1" and thus x 24 = 10" = 1 day) 1 hour. But the editor has not understood the third term *ṭālīṭa* (1/60 of a second) / *sāʿa* and says in a footnote that *ṭālīṭa* should perhaps be read *ṭult* (1/3).

Or, p. 118 Ed. says » . . . that is 39° 8' and from that we subtract the degree of the moon and that is 17° 30' 48" and then remain 34° 32'« which is obviously nonsense – it should read »29° 8' – 17° 30' 28" = 4° 37' 32"« as is plainly written in Ph. and which gives a correct result of the subtraction. Another example is Ed. 84 *infra*: 300 – 370 (read 270) = 30, or p. 85 *i.m.* where 1/12 of 165 should be 13° 45' (not 35'). On many other places, too, Ed. reads *l* (30) for *k* (20) and 3 for 2 (*e.g.*, p. 29 in the horoscope twice, 32 *i.m.*, 34 *supra*, 43 *bis*).

Ed. p. 30 *infra* and p. 35 *supra* read *z* (7) for *r* (200, cannot possibly follow *l* = 30 or *m* = 40), and p. 31 <sup>c</sup> (70) *šahr* is impossible – read *y ašhur* »ten months«, the year not having more than twelve months. The incorrect reading of the number in *abḡad* has forced Ed. to change the correct plural into singular. There are several meaningless series of numbers such as on p. 47 *b n t daqīqa* »2, 50, 400« for *y b daqīqa* »12«.

Ed. p. 65 l. 8 Sanʿā's latitude is said to be *b d l* »2, 4, 30« whereas it actually is 14° 30' (*yd l*) which could easily have been verified in the astronomical–astrological–geographical literature.

The reading of foreign names is different in Ed. from that of Ph. The abbreviation of the *Sindhind* called *Āryabhaṭa* which in Arabic should be *Arḡabhad* and in Ph. p. 41 seems to be *Arḡabhar* (although in two places



the *b* has got two dots like a *y* which is the case also in al-Hāsimī ed. 1:22) is in Ed. p. 88 *Arğahan*. Hipparchos who is called *Ibarḥus* in Ph. p. 42 has in Ed. in two places become the son of Ḥabaš, *Ibn Ḥabaš*, pp. 90 *infra* and 91 *supra*.

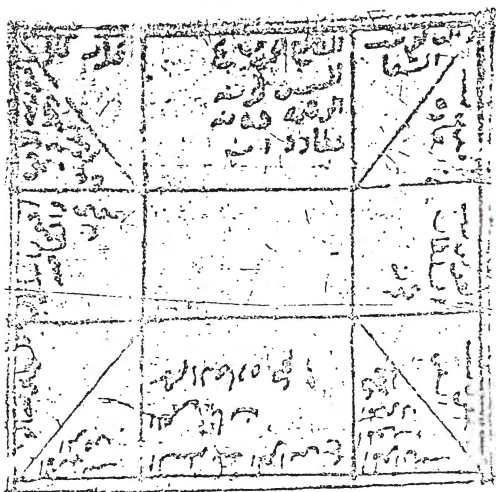
The first month of the Persian calendar, *farwardīn māh*, is written with an initial *alif* in Ph. p. 51 but is written *ʿfrwd tym* in Ed. p. 103 *infra*, and the ninth month *āḍar māh*, Ph. p. 2 is called *idrimāh* (*idarmāh?*) in Ed. p. 28 l. 6.

Some foreign words, too, have not been understood in Ed., such as on p. 108 l. 9 *as-sāliḥ dāy ay rabb as-sana* for Ph. p. 54 *as-sālḥudāy* . . . »Lord of the year«, and Ed. p. 26 l. 22 *zayāriḡa*, p. 28 l. 9 *az-zayāriḡa*, p. 96 l. 17 *az-zabāriḡa* and p. 117 l. 1 *zayraḡa* for Ph. *zāʿirḡa* and *az-zāʿirḡa* pp. 1, 46, 59.

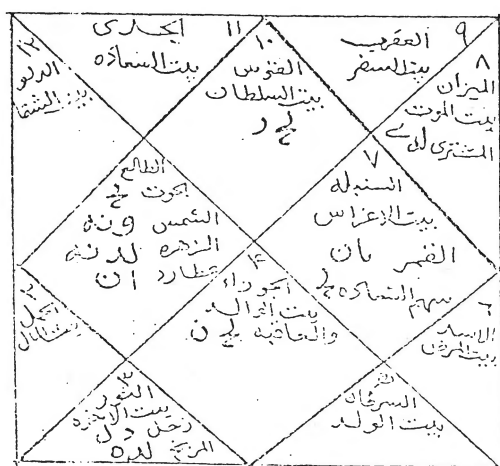
This will suffice to show the existence of two manuscripts of the *Sarāʿir al-ḥikma*, a few instances of their interdependence and dissimilarity and the quality of the edition which makes a scholarly edition based on both manuscripts desirable since – in the words of King 1983:20 – »a detailed investigation . . . at the hands of a specialist would constitute an important contribution to our knowledge of early Islamic astronomy and astrology . . .«

I conclude by giving a reproduction of the horoscope on Ph. p. 3/Ed. p. 29 with an edition and a translation.

Horoscope by Dorotheos for a child born in the 4th climate in the year 76 of Dorotheos' years, the 2nd of *āḍarmāh*, 1 1/2 equal hours from the beginning of the day.



Ph.



Ed.



**Ph. (with variants from Ed.)**

- |      |                                     |  |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| (1)  | <i>aṭ-ṭāliḥ: al-hūt</i>             | <i>yḥ</i>  |
|      | <i>aš-šams</i>                      | <i>w yḥ (Ed. nh)</i>                                     |
|      | <i>az-zuhara</i>                    | <i>kh yḥ (Ed. ld nh)</i>                                 |
|      | <i>ʿuṭārid</i>                      | <i>ʿ n</i>   |
| (2)  | <i>al-ḥamal - bayt al-māl</i>       |  |
| (3)  | <i>aṭ-ṭawr - bayt al-iḥwa</i>       |  |
|      | <i>zuḥal</i>                        | <i>d l</i>   |
|      | <i>al-mirriḥ</i>                    | <i>kd m (from the text; Ph. illegible,<br/>Ed. ld h)</i> |
| (4)  | <i>al-ḡawzāʿ - bayt al-abāʿ</i>     | <i>(Ed. al-wālid)</i>                                    |
|      | <i>wa-l-ʿāqiba</i>                  | <i>kḡ n (Ed. l ḥ n)</i>                                  |
| (5)  | <i>as-saraṭān - bayt al-walad</i>   |  |
| (6)  | <i>al-asad - bayt al-maraḍ</i>      |  |
| (7)  | <i>as-sunbula - bayt al-ʿarāʿis</i> | <i>(Ed. al-aḡrās)</i>                                    |
|      | <i>al-qamar</i>                     | <i>yʿ n</i>  |
|      | <i>sahm as-saʿāda</i>               | <i>kḡ (Ed. lḥ)</i>                                       |
| (8)  | <i>al-mīzān - bayt al-mawt</i>      |  |
|      | <i>al-muṣṭarī</i>                   | <i>kh y (Ed. lh y)</i>                                   |
| (9)  | <i>al-ʿaqrab - bayt as-safar</i>    |  |
| (10) | <i>al-qaws - bayt as-sulṭān</i>     | <i>kḡ z (Ed. lḥ r)</i>                                   |
| (11) | <i>al-ḡady - bayt as-saʿāda</i>     |  |
| (12) | <i>ad-dalw - bayt as-saqā</i>       |  |

- |      |   |        |
|------|---|--------|
| (1)  | Ascendent: Pisces                       | 18     |
|      | Sun                                     | 6, 15  |
|      | Venus                                   | 25, 15 |
|      | Mercury                                 | 1, 50  |
| (2)  | House of business: Aries                |        |
| (3)  | House of brothers: Taurus               |        |
|      | Saturn                                  | 4, 30  |
|      | Mars                                    | 24, 50 |
| (4)  | House of parents: Gemini<br>and the end | 23, 50 |
| (5)  | House of children: Cancer               |        |
| (6)  | House of illness: Leo                   |        |
| (7)  | House of marriage: Virgo                |        |
|      | Moon                                    | 11, 50 |
|      | Lot of Fortune                          | 23     |
| (8)  | House of death: Libra                   |        |
|      | Jupiter                                 | 25, 10 |
| (9)  | House of travel: Scorpio                |        |
| (10) | House of honours: Sagittarius           | 23, 7  |
| (11) | House of fortune: Capricorn             |        |
| (12) | House of misfortune: Aquarius           |        |

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# Un caso singolare di *ġarīb* al-luġa (dal ms. Ambrosiano àrabo H 94)

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*Kalām al-‘Arab lā yanḥaširu*, »la lingua degli Arabi non ha limiti«. Queste parole, in cui un lessicògrafo del sec. VI/XII<sup>1</sup>, con encomiabile umiltà, confessava l’insufficienza della sua pur copiosa erudizione, e la consapevolezza della propria impotenza ad esaurire le davvero illimitate risorse della lingua del *ḏād*, mi sembra pòssano felicemente soccòrrere ad introdurre il lavoro che segue. Ne è oggetto, infatti, un anònimo, breve testo in versi, saggio modesto, ma a suo modo significativo, della incomparabile ricchezza della ‘*arabīya* e, al tempo stesso, dell’appassionata, laboriosa attenzione che i dotti le rivòlsero, tra l’altro, in quel suo aspetto particolare che fu la scienza del *ġarīb*, come sottolineato da uno dei più autorévoli specialisti dell’arabística occidentale, quando scrisse che »ces savants musulmans, à un degré divers, ont tous la passion des termes rares (*ġarīb*)«<sup>2</sup>.

Prima però di trattare del testo annunciato nel título, e proprio in funzione della sua elaborazione, mi sembra opportuno richiamare, sia pure in modo essenziale, quello che fu il pensiero degli stessi Àrabi riguardo a ciò che, del loro lèssico, essi sentivano come *ġarīb*, un tèrmine divenuto usuale e quasi tècnico per esprimere la nozione di ciò che in italiano ha probabilmente il suo più fedele corrispondente nel vocabolo »peregrino«. Basterà, credo, a questo scopo rilèggere il capitolo che Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa dedica a tale materia<sup>3</sup>, il cui título – ‘*Ilm ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ wal-Qur’ān* – è già di per sé indicativo dell’atteggiamento tenuto al riguardo dai dotti àrabi, e dell’indirizzo da loro seguito che, come vi appare esplicitamente, fu determinato anzitutto da una sollecitùdine religiosa, piú che scientifica e puramente erudita, come qualcuno potrebbe anche pensare: dalla necessità cioè, di chiarire tutto ciò che, nel lèssico della Tradizione e del Corano, era poco o punto comprensibile.

Anticipando il contenuto di tale lettura, e sintetizzandone il senso, si può arguire chiaramente, dai due testi riportati da Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa, come il concetto di *ġarīb*, di cui è verisimile che inizialmente si avesse avuto una nozione piú che altro intuitiva e comunque approssimativa, si sia poi venuto precisando, con il maturare della speculazione filològica, in una polivalenza, che possiamo ridurre al seguente schema. Si delinea anzitutto una distinzione: tra *ġarīb* in senso assoluto, e *ġarīb* in senso relativo; anche se, va súbito aggiunto, si tratta di una distinzione meramente tèorica. Infatti, quando il filòlogo àrabo ci fornisce la spiegazione di *ġarīb* mediante l’equivalenza con »oscuro, inintelligibile«, egli ci propone del

<sup>1</sup> Abū Mūsā Muḥ. b. ‘Umar al-Isbahānī (m. 581/1185). Cfr. Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfa, *Kašf az-zunūn* (ed. G. Flügel), IV, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe etc.*, Paris 1952 segg., I, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 322-335.



*ġarīb* solo una definizione, valida appunto come tale, nel suo senso assoluto, non gia una spiegazione, quale solo si raggiunge con la precisazione delle due specie sotto cui il *ġarīb* puo in concreto presentarsi. L'inintelligibile, il »peregrino« non e infatti tale per sua intrinseca natura, ma in senso relativo, e cio secondo una duplica, differente dimensione, che e rispettivamente spaziale o temporale (o, se si vuole, orizzontale e sincronica, in un caso, verticale e diacronica, nell'altro). Ed allora il *ġarīb*, che nella valenza di »oscuro, inintelligibile« esiste solo genericamente, si precisa – e si distingue – in pratica nelle sole due valenze che contano e che si incontrano, cioe quella di »alieno, estraneo«, oppure l'altra di »desueto, obsoleto«. E' cio che apprendiamo dai due autori, le cui parole e finalmente venuto il momento di leggere, nella citazione di Hagġi Halifa.

Il primo di essi e Abu Sulaiman Hamd b. Muḥ. al-Haṭṭabi (m. 386/996 o 388/998: G I, 165:12/174 S I, 275), dal cui *Ġarīb al-ḥadiṭ* e riportato il passo seguente: »Il *ġarīb* del linguaggio altro non e che cio che di esso e oscuro, lontano dalla (comune) intelligenza, cosi come tra gli uomini il *ġarīb* altri non e che colui che si trova lontano dalla patria, separato dalla sua gente. Il *ġarīb* del linguaggio, poi, si usa in due sensi: o per indicare che si tratta di (parole) astruse, oscure, intelligibili solo a prezzo di lunga e laboriosa applicazione mentale, o per significare che si tratta di (parole) usate da chi vive lungi dal comune consorzio, da Arabi di tribu isolate, parole quindi che, quando ci capita di sentirle, le troviamo *ġarīb*, ossia estranee (*istaġravnaha*)«.

Segue, dalla *Nihaya <fi ġarīb al-ḥadiṭ>* di <Maġdaddin al-Mubarak b. Muḥ.> Ibn al-Aṭir (m. 606/1210: G I, 357:15/438 S I, 607) il passo seguente che, dopo avere ricollegato agiograficamente l'esordio della scienza del *ġarīb* con l'esempio paradigmatico del Profeta, analizza i motivi della sua genesi primitiva: »Mi risulta che l'Inviato di Dio era, tra gli Arabi, quello che della lingua aveva la conoscenza piu vasta, tanto e vero che 'Ali, sentendolo una volta conversare con una delegazione dei Banu Nahd, gli disse: – O Inviato di Dio, noi discendiamo da uno stesso avo, ma sentiamo te usare con le delegazioni dei beduini un linguaggio di cui non comprendiamo la maggior parte. E lui di rimando: – A istruirmi, e nel modo migliore, e stato il mio Signore! Sta il fatto che egli conversava con uomini delle piu diverse stirpi e tribu, usando un linguaggio che essi perfettamente capivano, e questo appunto perche Iddio aveva insegnato a lui quanto a nessun altro. Di cio che diceva, i suoi Compagni intendevano la maggior parte, ma se qualcosa non capivano, gliene domandavano il senso, ed egli lo spiegava loro. Tale duro la situazione fino alla sua morte, e parimenti al tempo dei Compagni, tra i quali la lingua araba resto integra, senza contaminazioni, fino a quando, con le conquiste, gli Arabi si mescolarono alle altre genti. Di conseguenza avvenne che le lingue si confusero, e le nuove generazioni apprendevano dell'arabo quel tanto che era indispensabile per la conversazione, lasciando cadere in disuso il resto. Trascorsa l'epoca dei Compagni, chi venne dopo di loro ne segui le tracce, ma non senza che nel frattempo la lingua araba si imbarbarisse. Senonche, al colmo di tale crisi, Iddio comunico a un buon numero di dotti l'ispirazione a indirizzare le proprie cure a salvaguardare, come essi appunto intrapresero a fare, questa eletta scienza (del linguaggio)«.

Per noi, nel presente contesto, l'utilita della testimonianza di Hagġi Halifa si esaurisce qui, imponendoci di tralasciare l'*excursus* storico sullo sviluppo della scienza del *ġarīb*, nonostante l'indubbio interesse delle notizie e dei guidizi sui progressi che essa realizzo gradualmente: dai primordi rappre-

sentati dalle sèmplici raccolte di Abū ‘Ubaida (m. 210/825), an-Naḍr b. Šumail (m. 204/819), al-Ašma‘ī (m. 213/818), Qutrūb (m. 206/821), alle ampie e sistematiche compilazioni di Abū ‘Ubaid (m. 224/838), Ibn Qutaiba (m. 276/889), al-Ḥarbī (m. 285/899), per finire con le più impegnative sillogi quali il *Kitāb fī l-ġam‘ bain ġarīb al-Qur‘ān wal-ḥadīṯ* di al-Harawī (m. 401/1011), *al-Fā‘īq fī ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ* di az-Zamaḥṣarī (m. 538/1185), e da último la *Nihāya* stessa, fonte delle precedenti notizie.

\* \* \*

Nell’última serie, contrassegnata con la lettera H, delle otto in cui fu inizialmente divisa la grande collezione del Nuovo Fondo dei mss. àrabi ambrosiani, il còdice che reca il n. 94 è di contenuto affatto omogèneo, consistente in materiale di testi poètica vari. Dei 137 fogli di cui compone, ai primi 33, che contengono il *Dīwān* di al-Wa‘wā‘, segue infatti una miscellanea di componimenti in versi, dei quali soltanto una parte, corrispondente ai ff. 39–121, risultano appartenere ad un’altra opera organica di poesia, il Canzoniere di Muḥ. Ibn Baḥtiyār al-Ablah<sup>4</sup>.

Tra i rimanenti, che non hanno alcuna relazione con il resto né tra loro, mi è parso giustificato, per più ragioni, segnalare quello che occupa i ff. 34v<sup>o</sup>–37v<sup>o</sup>. Finito di copiare il 1<sup>o</sup> dū l-ḥiġġa 1100/16 settembre 1689, il testo appare scritto da mano del tutto inesperta di calligrafia, in un nashī affatto inelegante, per non dire rozzo, completamente privo di vocali e scarso o approssimativo nei diacritici, il che ne rende la lettura ancor più difficile per il fatto che la materia tratta del lessico »peregrino«, quello che, secondo l’usuale denominazione àraba, è noto come *ġarīb al-luġa*<sup>5</sup>. E’ giusto, peraltro, aggiungere subito che il copista, contrariamente a quello che potrebbe far supporre la sua imperizia professionale, dà prova al contrario, per la fortuna di chi si è proposto di decifrarne la scrittura, così grossolana com’è, irregolare e spesso aggrovigliata, di essere miglior letterato, o piuttosto filòlogo, perché di fatto il testo è nell’insieme corretto, e là dove esso si scosta dalla norme, è a causa di una licenza poètica (si veda più avanti il commento)<sup>6</sup>.

Ho detto dell’interesse moltèplice del testo. Questo si deve anzitutto alla sua rarità (e fors’anche unicità), poiché si ha motivo di ritenerlo del tutto inèdito, non essendosi trovata traccia di altre copie, per quanti repertori siano stati consultati. Segnarlo qui, dandone, oltre alla riproduzione fotografica (nelle tabelle annesse), la trascrizione e la traduzione, può risultare insomma, per modesto che sia, un contributo stòrico-letterario. Un secondo motivo – e mi si perdonerà qui l’innocente gioco di parole – è il *ġarīb* dell’invenzione, che caratterizza il contenuto, venendo a sovrapporsi al *ġarīb* della lingua, con l’effetto, evidentemente voluto, di introdurre elementi di sicura suggestione: tale l’evocazione nientemeno che di Imru’ l-Qais, protagonista di una sinistra vicenda di cruenta gelosia, totalmente

<sup>4</sup> (GAL I, 2483/288 S I 442).

<sup>5</sup> Ciò risulta anche esplicitamente da quanto è detto alla fine della breve narrazione introduttiva, nonché dai vv. 11 e 103.

<sup>6</sup> In dèroga a quanto affermato, si annòtano qui i pochi rilievi circa scorrettezze, in realtà mínime, del testo: si tratta di *lapsus calami* come, nei vv. 32 e 33, *ḥafā‘īqu* per *ḥawā‘īqu*; nel v. 45, *aš-šakku* per *al-‘aşakku*; nel v. 59, *saqrūn* per *la-‘saqrūn*; nel v. 72, *ḥadāġīru* per *al-ḥadāġīru*; oppure di licenze grammaticali imposte dalla mètrica, come *innahunna* per *innahā*, nel v. 43; un soio verso, il 55, è incompleto, nel 1<sup>o</sup> emistichio.



ignota alla sua biografia ufficiale<sup>7</sup>, tale la creazione *ex nihilo* della figura patetica del giovanetto poeta, Farağ ibn Sa‘d at-Ṭā‘ī, inesistente altrove, perché semplicemente ricaduto *in nihilum*, com’era prevedibile in un gioco, qual’è questo, di trasparente »forgerie«, denunciata tra l’altro dall’artificio del nome fausto dato al personaggio, con studiata simmetria di contrapposizione al suo infausto destino. Di simile gioco non sfugge naturalmente certa banalità, quale il meccanismo *quaestiones-responsa*, tutt’altro che insolito nella letteratura araba (si pensi, per esempio, alla novella della schiava Tawaddud, nelle *1001 Notte* o, in materia più affine alla nostra, a una serie di *masā’il*, nel *K. al-Ḥayawān*, che attirò a suo tempo l’attenzione di G. van Vloten<sup>8</sup>; ma non si può negare all’anonimo autore il merito di aver costruito la propria finzione secondo le linee di una qualche prospettiva architettonica. Questa comporta una sia pure essenziale narrazione introduttiva alla successiva *qaṣīda* e, all’interno di questa, una struttura che colloca la materia più inerte del *ğarīb*, articolata in una serie di 20 quesiti, a cui corrispondono 75 risposte, tra 10 versi di un prólogo e 7 di un epílogo, dove è un tentativo, come già nella notizia-*muqaddima*, di certi spunti drammatici.

Per quanto riguarda i temi trattati, la loro varietà è scontata poiché, dato ed ammesso che la *qaṣīda* non è altro che un ingegnoso espediente di un filòlogo scaltrito (di època certo assai più tarda di quella a cui si vorrebbe far credere che risalgano i versi), è ben naturale che questo suo »Vocabulista« in versi tocchi gli argomenti più svariati, come avviene nei veri e propri lessici. Se mai vi è una limitazione, la si può riconoscere nell’assenza, pressoché totale, di termini che si riferiscano alla vita interiore e spirituale dell’uomo; infatti, anche quelli di cui ai vv. 68–69 riguardano piuttosto la sua situazione in rapporto con la società, osservazione che vale ugualmente per i vv. 22–26, concernenti le donne, mentre i vv. 91 e 94 sfiorano il tema della condizione esistenziale. Per il resto, la stragrande maggioranza dei vocaboli »peregrini« appartiene all’ambiente fisico che circonda l’uomo: anzitutto il deserto (vv. 12, 90) con le sue sabbie (vv. 14, 15, 87) e la polvere (vv. 34, 94), nonché le sue piante (vv. 42–44, 95); poi i monti, le asperità del terreno (vv. 81–82, 57, 79, 86), i venti (vv. 35, 66), le acque (v. 20) e, con la pioggia, le nùvole (v. 96), infine la notte (v. 84), mentre mancano espliciti riferimenti al cielo. Ciò che prevale, comunque, dell’ambiente fisico, è la fauna, con un ricco repertorio di animali, in cui hanno forse qualche maggiore rilievo il cammello (vv. 21, 49–50, 77), il leone (vv. 51, 78, 92), il cavallo (vv. 70, 85) e lo struzzo (vv. 46, 76); sfilano poi, all’insegna del *ğarīb*, il ragno (v. 16) e lo sciacallo (v. 52), il lupo (v. 54), la iena (v. 72) e la volpe (v. 74), il serpente (v. 73), il bue selvatico (v. 55) e la gazzella (v. 60), la vacca selvatica (v. 62) e l’onagro (v. 56), infine una sparuta selezione di uccelli in cui stranamente non compare l’aquila, mentre sono presenti lo sparviero (v. 59), il francolino (v. 61) e l’uccello *samām* (v. 89)! Quanto alla flora, la sua rappresentanza è del tutto scarsa: accanto alla palma, che appare solo in due versi (18, 82), spuntano appena il ranúncolo (v. 19) e l’erba *qulqulān* (95). Tra l’uomo e l’ambiente, piuttosto modesto il campionario di termini attinenti alla cultura materiale, appena sufficienti a lasciarne intravedere gli aspetti principali, connessi con le attività, pacifiche o bellicose: è infatti l’eco della guerra nei frammenti

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. *K. al-Ağānī*, ed. Dār al-Kutub, VIII, 63 segg.; ed. ‘Abdassalām Hārūn, I, 308 segg.

<sup>8</sup> Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII, 1893, pp. 172–174.

di *garīb* che indicano le armi (vv. 37–40) o le bandiere (v. 35); è la traccia delle fatiche per il lavoro dei campi, con i vocaboli relativi all'idraulica e all'irrigazione (vv. 27–31); e infine anche il luccichio di vesti pregiate e metalli preziosi (vv. 64–66), unica nota che par temperare, con l'evocazione di qualche benessere, il quadro di una realtà complessivamente ostile e avversa, quale sembra comporsi nel saggio di *garīb* che la *qaṣīda* ci offre.

### Traduzione del testo, con traslitterazione delle *Qaṣīda*

(f.34v.°) E' questa la *Qaṣīda* di Faraġ ibn Sa'd aṭ-Ṭā'ī, nota come *al-Ġinnīya*. Sta il fatto che il primo di cui si ricorda che compose poesia fu Imru' l-Qais ibn Ḥuġr ibn 'Amr al-Kindī. Fu lui il primo a comporne, mentre gli Àrabi non sapévano dirne che uno o due versi. A questo proposito il Profeta disse: — Signore dei poeti è Imru' l-Qais e loro guida al Fuoco (eterno). Questo durò finché spuntò nella sua tribù un giovanetto a nome al-Faraġ ibn Sa'd aṭ-Ṭā'ī che, già a dódici anni, prese a dilettarsi di poesia. Compiuti che ebbe i quattòrdici anni, lo sorprésero i *ġinn* in una notte di *ġumādā* I, quella di cui egli disse (*basīṭ*):

*fī lailatin min ġumādā dāti l-andiyati/  
lā yanzuru d-dāifu min zamyā'ihā t-ṭunuba,  
lā yanbaḥu l-kalbu fīhā ġaira wāḥidatin/  
hattā yaluffu 'alā ḥaišūmihi d-danaba.*

Ossia:

*In un'úmida notte di giumada/non vede tende l'òspite pel buio,  
tranne una volta il cane non abbàia/finché la coda si r avvolge al muso.*

E lo interrogàrono, i *ġinn*, ed egli diede loro risposta, finché se ne andàrono. Quando si fece mattino, si recò da Imru' l-Qais con le domande già ridotte in versi, che gli recitò, dopo avergli raccontato la storia. Ma Imru' l-Qais n'ebbe invidia e, présolo di nascosto dalla sua gente, lo trucidò . . . (Séguono, del tutto a spròposito, come sedicente — e sconcertante — *riṭā'* per la propria vítima, i 5 vv. *ī/ūna*, che effettivamente Imru' l-Qais compose sí come elegía, ma per uòmini della sua gente, assassinati da al-Munḍir)<sup>9</sup> . .

La *Qaṣīda* conosciuta come *al-Ġinnīya*: Faraġ ibn Sa'd aṭ-Ṭā'ī riferí che i *ġinn* lo sorprésero di notte, interrogandolo sul *garīb al-luġa*, ed egli, preso dall'ispirazione poetica, rispose a ciascun verso con uno símile. Desiderando il *šāhib al-kitāb* (verisimilmente, il possessore del còdice) l'aggiunta di appropriate parti in prosa (evidentemente si tratta delle glosse), abbiamo proceduto (secondo il suo desiderio) (11). Ed ecco il testo della *Qaṣīda*:

- 1 *Ṭaraqatnī taḥta z-zalāmi qawāfin/  
ba'da wahnin maḥbūkatun muḥkamātu.*
- 2 *Ṭaraqatnī ġahādimu l-ġinni lailan/  
šuarā'un 'alaihīm-u l-ḥibarātu,*
- 3 *ḥīna 'aġfā d-daṭūru wa-'lankasa l-lai/lu* (f.35r°)

<sup>9</sup> Cfr. Imru' l-Qais, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥ. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969, p. 200 n° 37.



- wa-maddat ʾatnābahā z-zulumātu.
- 4 *Ṭaraqatnī fa-sallamū tumma hayyau!*  
fa-ḥzaʾalla l-karā wa-ṭāba s-subātu,
- 5 *wa-staṭāra l-fuʾādu ḥaufan fa-qālū:!*  
lā taḥaf yā fatan laka l-ḥairātu!
- 6 *Qultu: man ʾantumū? fa-qālū: qurūmu l-!*  
ḡinni minnā was-sādatu s-sarawātu.
- 7 *Fa-taʿawwadtu bi-s-samīʿi min-a š-šaiṭāni*  
wa-l-ḡinni kullihim wa-qaraʾtu,
- 8 *fa-taḡallā l-humūmu wa-r-rauʿu ʿan qal/bī*  
wa-ḥayyaituhum maʿan wa-ḡtaraʾtu.
- 9 *Qultu: mā-dā llaḏī turīdūna? Qālū:!*  
yā bna Saʿdin ʾatarka minnā r-ruwātu,
- 10 *qad ʾatāka l-Uṭairu wa-š-Ṣulbu minnā!*  
wa-Ḡuḥaišun wa-Haišamun wa-l-Quzātu,
- 11 *yunsīdūna l-ḡarība min fāḥiri š-šīʿ/ri*  
yaqūlūna: mā l-ʿarā wa-l-mirātu?
- 12 *Qultu: ʾammā l-ʿarā fa-qafrun maḥūfun!*  
wa-l-mirātu s-sabāsibu l-muqfirātu.
- 13 *Fa-staḡābū: šadaqta yā Faraḡa l-ḥai/ri*  
fa-mā d-diʿšu wa-n-naqā wa . . . ?
- 14 *Qultu: ʾammā d-diʿšu fa-muḡtamaʿu r-ram/li*  
fa-minhā l-aqwāzu wa-l-ʿuḡamātu;
- 15 *wa-ʾaqūlu: n-naqā min-a r-ramli mā lai/sa*  
bihi ʾaikatun wa-lā ʿaqadātu;
- 16 *wa . . . . l-buyūtu auhā buyūtin!*  
nasaḡathā l-ʿanākibu n-nāsiḡātu.
- 17 *Ṭumma qālū: fa-mā l-ʿaṭākīlu wa-l-ḥau/dānu*  
au mā l-ʾiḏāʾu wa-n-nāʾiʿātu?
- 18 *Fa-l-ʿaṭākīlu qad ʿalimum min-a n-naḥ/li*  
šamārīḡu zahwuhā mūniqātu;
- 19 *wa-ʾaqūlu: l-ḥauḏānu nauru nabātin!*  
ʾa:nraʿathu n-nibāku wa-l-ʾakamātu;
- 20 *wa-l-ʾiḏāʾu l-ʾaḡwāḏu min ḡuduri l-māʾi*  
fa-minhā l-ʾiḏābu wa-l-ʾaḡinātu;
- 21 *tummata n-nāʾiʿātu hunna min-a l-ib/li*  
ʿiṭāšun ḥawāʾimun šādiyātu.
- 22 *Ṭumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥarāʾidu wa-l-ʿun/nasu*  
wa-l-ḡāniyātu wa-l-qunbuḏātu?
- 23 *Fa-l-ḥarīdātu l-lāzimātu ḥayāʾan!*  
li-l buyūti l-ʿafāʾifu l-ḥafīrātu;
- 24 *tummata l-ʿunnasu l-lawātī qad ʾis/na*  
wa-fī l-bāti ḡairuhā rāḡibātu;
- 25 *wa-l-ḡawānī l-lātī ḡanīna ʿan-i l-baḡ/yi*  
ḏawātu l-buʿūlati l-ānisātu;
- 26 *tummata l-qunbuḏātu hunna min-a s-sū/di*  
qibāḡhun damāʾimun munkarātu.
- 27 *Ṭumma qālū: fa-mā d-damūkāni wa-l-miq/rātu*  
wa-l-ḡarbu taḡtahā l-māʾiḡātu?
- 28 *Qultu: ʾammā d-damūku fa-hya raḡyāʾ!*  
yudmiku d-daqqu ṭayyahā dāʾirātu;
- 29 *wa-d-damūku l-ʾuḡrā fa-hī bakratu l-bīʾ/ri*  
yaqīnan wa-taḡtahā l-qāʾimātu;

(f.35v°)

- 30 *wa-kaḏāka l-miqrātu ḥauḏun ladā l-biʔ/ri*  
*taridhu l-ḥawāʔimu ṣ-ṣādiyātu;*
- 31 *tummata l-ḡarbu wa-hya dalwun ḏanūbun/*  
*tuḡṭaʔallu bi-ḡarrihi s-sāniyātu.*
- 32 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥawāfiqu wa-l-qasṭalu*  
*taḥta l-ʕuqābi wa-ḏ-ḏāriyātu?*
- 33 *Fa-l-ʕuqābu l-liwāʔu qad ʕarafūhu/*  
*fī-l-waḡā wa-l-ḥawāfiqu r-rāyātu;*
- 34 *tummata l-qasṭalu l-ʕaḡāḡu min-a n-naqʕi*  
*stadārat min taḥtihi l-habawātu;*
- 35 *tummata ḏ-ḏāriyātu fī-mā ʕalimnā/hu*  
*r-riyāḥu z-zaʕāziʕu l-ʕāṣifātu.*
- 36 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā t-tarāʔiku wa-z-zaḡʕu*  
*wa-mā l-murhafātu wa-l-ʔasalātu?*
- 37 *Qultu: ʔammā t-tarāʔiku l-baiḏu li-l-ḥarʕi*  
*ʔaʕaddathu li-l-qirāʕi l-kumātu;*
- 38 *tummata z-zaḡʕu fa-hya ṣuḥḥu ḥadīdin/*  
*min durūʕin wa-tilkumu s-sābiḡātu;*
- 39 *tummata l-murhafātu fa-hya suyūfun/*  
*bātirātun qawāṭiʕun bātikātu;*
- 40 *tummata l-ʔasalātu fa-hya rimāḥun/*  
*ḏābilātu l-mutūni muʕtadilātu.*
- 41 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā t-tumāmu wa-mā l-ʔarʕā* (f.36r°)  
*wa-mā ʔaṭ-ṭalḥu wa-mā s-samurātu?*
- 42 *Qultu: ʔinna t-tumāma nabtun ḏaʕiʕun/*  
*bāta yurwā bi-t-ṭalli minhu n-nabātu;*
- 43 *wa-ʔaqūlu: l-ʔarṭā kaḏā t-ṭalḥu wa-s-samʕratu*  
*lā ṣakka innahā ṣaḡarātu,*
- 44 *ḏātu ṣaukin ḥadāʔidin ka-l-masāllī/*  
*wa-lahunna l-ḡuṣūnu muʕlakasātu.*
- 45 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥiḡaffu wa-mā r-raʔlu*  
*l-ʔazallu l-ʔaṣakku wa-l-ḥāḏibātu?*
- 46 *Qultu: ʔinna l-ḥiḡaffa faḥlu naʕāmin/*  
*wa-r-rīʔāla l-firāḥu fīhā ḡifātu;*
- 47 *tummata l-ḥāḏibātu fa-hya naʕāmun/*  
*min ʔunāṭin rawābidun muḡfilātu.*
- 48 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-fanīqu wa-mā ṣ-ṣauʕu*  
*wa-mā ṣ-ṣaiḡamīyu wa-l-munḥimātu?*
- 49 *Qultu: ʔinna l-fanīqa faḥlun min-a l-ibʕi*  
*namathu t-tawāmiku l-hadimātu;*
- 50 *tummata ṣ-ṣauʕu fa-hya nūqun ʕizāmun/*  
*labinātun ḏurūʕuhā ṣakirātu;*
- 51 *tummata ṣ-ṣaiḡamīyu fa-hwa mahūlun/*  
*ʔasadu l-ḡīli ḥaulahu l-labuwātu;*
- 52 *wa-kaḏā l-munḥimātu fa-hya banātu l-l*  
*ibni āwā wa-tilkumu l-ʕāwiyātu.*
- 53 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā s-samaʕmaʕu wa-l-qarʕhabu*  
*wa-l-ʔaḥḏarīyu wa-ṣ-ṣāḥiqātu?*
- 54 *Qultu: ʔinna s-samaʕmaʕa l-ʔaḥḏalu ḏ-ḏiʕbu*  
*lahu fī sawāminā ḡazawātu;*
- 55 *tummata l-qarḥabu ʕiḡlun (lac.)/*  
*ʔauḥaṣathu maʕa l-wuḥūṣi l-falātu;*
- 56 *tummata l-ʔaḥḏarīyu faḥlu ḥamīri l-l*

- wahši hāra bi-šūrati l-‘ānāti;
- 57 *tummata š-šāhiqātu qad ‘alima n-nā/su*  
*l-ğibālu š-šawāhiqu l-bāđihātu.*
- 58 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-quāmīyu wa-l-faz/zu* (f.36v°)  
*wa-mā l-haiquṭānu au mā l-mahātu?*
- 59 *Fa-l-quāmīyu lā šukūka la-šaqrūn/*  
*<wa->mahālibu kaffihī nāšibātu;*
- 60 *tummata l-fazzu fa-hwa ħiṣfu ġazālin/*  
*‘auhašathu l-mağhūlatu l-falawātu;*
- 61 *tummata l-haiquṭānu wa-hwa min-a d-durr/āği*  
*ṭairun taḥuffuhu ṭ-ṭā‘irātu;*
- 62 *tumma ‘inna l-mahāta min baqari l-wah/ši*  
*rawādun murāduha l-maumātu.*
- 63 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā d-dimaqsu wa-mā l-‘iq/yānu*  
*au mā l-luğainu wa-r-rāmīsātu?*
- 64 *Qultu: ‘ammā d-dimaqsu fa-hya ṭiyābun/*  
*min ḥarīrin taḥūkuha ṣ-ṣāni‘ātu;*
- 65 *tumma ‘ammā l-‘iqyānu fa-d-đahabu l-‘aḥ/maru*  
*minhu taḥallat-i l-ğāniyātu;*
- 66 *tumma ‘ammā l-luğainu fa-l-fiđda al-bai/dā‘u*  
*tumma r-rawāmisu d-đāriyātu.*
- 67 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥiđammu wa-mā l-mid/rahu*  
*au mā l-ḥinđīdu wa-ṣ-ṣāfinātu?*
- 68 *Qultu: ‘ammā l-ḥiđammu fa-s-sayyidu l-mu‘tī*  
*fa-minhu n-nadā wa-minhu ṣ-ṣilātu;*
- 69 *tummata l-midrahu r-ra‘īsu min-a l-qau/mi*  
*tuğallā ‘anhum bihi l-hanawātu;*
- 70 *wa-‘aqūlu: l-ḥinđīdu faḥlun namathu l-|*  
*ḥailu wa-ṣ-ṣāfinātu fa-l-munğibātu.*
- 71 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥađāğiru wa-l-bah/zağu*  
*wa-r-ruqšu ba‘du wa-ṭ-turmulātu?*
- 72 *Qultu: ‘ammā l-ḥađāğiru l-ğubsu ḥaqqan/*  
*fa-d-đibā‘u l-ğawwālatu l-ḥāmi‘ātu;*
- 73 *tummata l-bahzağu l-‘uğailu min-a l-wah/ši*  
*yaqīnan wa-r-ruqšu fa-l-ḥayyātu;*
- 74 *tummata ṭ-turmulātu fa-staiqinūhun/na*  
*ta‘ālin rawā‘idun ṣā‘ihātu.*
- 75 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥafādīdu wa-l-baw/wu*  
*wa-mā š-šadqamīyu wa-mā l-qilātu?*
- 76 *Fa-l-ḥafādīdu min dukūri n-na‘āmā/ti*  
*simānun rawāti‘un rā‘i‘ātu;*
- 77 *tummata l-bawwu fa-hwa ġildu fašīlin/*  
*wa-‘alaihi tu‘aṭṭafu r-rā‘imātu;*
- 78 *tummata š-šadqamīyu dū l-ušbuli l-lai/lu*  
*l-hizabru l-quṣāqiṣu l-ḥawwātu;*
- 79 *wa-l-qilātu n-niqāru fī ṣ-ṣaḥri li-l-mā‘i*  
*fa-minhu r-rawā‘u wa-l-wašalātu.*
- 80 *Tumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥađīdu wa-mā l-quf/fu* (f.37r°)  
*wa-mā l-amtu wa-l-‘ašā l-muṭmirātu?*
- 81 *Fa-l-ḥađīdu llađī taṭa‘ta‘a minhā/*  
*wa-l-qifāfu l-‘amākinu l-mušrifātu;*
- 82 *tummata l-‘amtu fa-l-‘ikāmu yaqīnan/*  
*wa-l-‘ašā‘u l-mawāqiru n-naḥalātu.*

- 83 *Ṭumma qālū: fa-mā l-ḥanādīsu wa-l-qul/qulu*  
*au mā l-ḥiḏābu waṭ-ṭamidātu.*
- 84 *Qultu: ʿinna l-ḥanādīsa s-sūdu fī š-šah/ri*  
*l-layālī l-ḥawāliku l-muẓlimātu;*
- 85 *ṭummata l-qulqulu l-karīmu min-a l-ḥai/li*  
*namathu s-sawābiqū l-munḡibātu;*
- 86 *ṭumma ʿinna l-ḥiḏāba qad ʿalima n-nā/su*  
*t-tilālu l-malmūmatu l-ʿāliyātu;*
- 87 *ṭummata ṭ-ṭamidātu fī-mā ʿalimnā/*  
*qunfuḏātun wa-tilkumu š-šamīmātu.*
- 88 *Ṭumma qālū: fa-mā s-samāmu wa-mā l-hau/ḡalu*  
*wa-l-qamṭarīru wa-l-muḥdirātu?*
- 89 *Qultu: ʿammā s-samāmu fa-hwa min-a l-kud/rī*  
*l-ḥawāfī wa-tilkumu l-qaṭawātu;*
- 90 *ṭummata l-hauḡalu l-baʿīdu min-a l-ar/ḏi*  
*qifārun maḥfūfatun mūḥišātu;*
- 91 *ṭummata l-qamṭarīru yaumun ʿabūsun/*  
*minhu tulqī aulādahā l-ḥāmilātu;*
- 92 *ṭummata l-muḥdirātu āsādu ḡilin/*  
*ʿādiyātun hawāširun bāsīlātu.*
- 93 *Ṭumma qālū: fa-mā r-raḡāmu wa-ma s-sil/timu*  
*wa-l-qulqulānu wa-s-sāriyātu?*
- 94 *Fa-r-raḡāmu t-turābu lā šakka fīhi/*  
*ṭumma ʿammā s-salātumu d-dāhiyātu;*
- 95 *ṭummata l-qulqulānu min kalaʿi l-bīd/*  
*ʿaḡḏalathu r-rawāhimu l-māṭirātu;*
- 96 *ṭummata s-sāriyātu fī l-laili suḥbun/*  
*dālihātun li-l-māʿi munḥamīlātu.*
- 97 *Sāfaḥūnī wa-waddaʿūnī: salāmun/*  
*ḥīna šaḡat duyūkunā ṣ-ṣāʿihātu.* (f.37v°)
- 98 *Qultu: lā taqṭaʿū z-ziyārata! Qālū:/*  
*naḥnu ʿihwānuka l-kirāmu ṭ-ṭiqātu!*
- 99 *Fa-staʿinnā ʿidā nabā bika dahrūn/*  
*ʿau ʿalammat bi-ʿarḏikum muʿḏilātu.*
- 100 *Qultu: ʿaḥsantumū wa-qultum ḡamīlan*  
*fa-stahallat ʿalaikumū l-barakātu.*
- 101 *Ṭumma wallau taḡta z-zalāmi sirāʿan*  
*ḥīna harrat kilābunā n-nāʿihātu.*
- 102 *Dāka min manṭiqi bni Saʿḏi ladaihim/*  
*kāna minhu maʿa ṣ-ṣawābi ṭ-ṭabātu.*
- 103 *Bādaha l-ḡinnu bi-l-ḡarībi fa-ʿulḡū/*  
*ḏā ḡawābun wa-lam yašīnḥu ʿanātu.*

Versione italiana della *Qaṣīda Ġinnīya*<sup>10</sup>

- 1 M'hanno còlto nel buio, nel cuor della notte,  
con dei versi di salda, perfetta fattura . . .
- 2 M'hanno còlto i piú orrendi fra i ḡinn nottetempo,

<sup>10</sup> La *Qaṣīda* è in metro *ḥafīf*. Nella versione si è cercato di riprodurne almeno il ritmo, rendendo ogni emistichio con una coppia di settenario + senario. La traslitterazione dei nomi àrabi, in questa parte, è semplificata, ad uso del lettore non specialista.



3                   ğinn poeti, avvolti in mantelli striati,  
 3 proprio quando s'addorme chi s'è imbacuccato,  
                   e la notte è piú fitta, e il buio accampato. . .  
 4 Nottetempo m'han còlto, e m'han salutato:  
                   il torpore svaní, un sopore ben grato. . . !  
 5 Di paura il mio cuor sussultò, ma mi dísser:  
                   — Non temér, giovanetto, che bene ne avrai!  
 6 Dissi:— Voi, ma chi siete? E loro:— Tra noi  
                   vi son capi dei ğinn, i loro sommi, il fior fiore!  
 7 Dal demonio e dai ğinn, allór, recitando,  
                   da Colui ch'è in ascolto difesa invocai,  
 8 e le ansie e paure svaníron dal cuore,  
                   il saluto lor diedi, ripresi coraggio. . .  
 9 Che volete? — io chiesi —, ed essi:— Ibn Sa'd,  
                   chi di noi è venuto da te, sono i ğinn  
 10 piú provetti nei versi: al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Utàir e aṣ-Ṣulb  
                   e Ğuḥàiš, poi c'è Hàiṣam e ancora al-Quzàt,  
 11 che citando dei versi i piú strani e piú rari,  
                   ti domàndan che è al-<sup>ʿ</sup>aràʿ e al-*miràt*.  
 12 Dissi:— Quanto ad <sup>ʿ</sup>aràʿ, è un deserto pauroso,  
                   e al-*miràt* son le plaghe, le piú desolate.  
 13 Bene hai detto — rispóser —, o Fàrag, che bravo!  
                   ma che sono ad-<sup>đ</sup>íṣ, an-naqà e . . . . .  
 14 Quanto al <sup>đ</sup>íṣ, esso è un túmul di sabbia fra tanti,  
                   parimenti chiamati al-*qàuz* od al-<sup>ʿ</sup>uğma;  
 15 e an-naqà è pur sabbia, ma dove non vedi  
                   né cespugli spinosi né mucchi di sassi;  
 16 fragilíssima casa è infine . . . . . ,  
                   di quelle che tèssono i sèduli ragni.  
 17 Chièser poi:— Che mai son gli <sup>ʿ</sup>aṭakíl e il ḥauḍàn,  
                   ed ancora le iḍàʿ, come le naʿiʿàt?  
 18 Della palma gli <sup>ʿ</sup>aṭakíl, si sa, son racèmi,  
                   ben gremiti di dàtteri bruni, squisiti;  
 19 il ḥauḍàn sono fiori di un'erba che cresce  
                   prosperando abbondante su colli ed alture;  
 20 le iḍàʿ sono poi i bacini di stagni,  
                   le cui acque son dolci, ma pútride a volte;  
 21 naʿiʿàt sono infine cammelli assetati,  
                   che s'aggírano inquieti, riarsi di sete.  
 22 Quelli ancora:— Chi son le ḥaràʿid? le ʿúnnas?  
                   e le ğaniyàt? e le qunbuḍàt?  
 23 Le fanciulle pudiche, avvezze alla casa,  
                   quelle tímide, caste, son le ḥaridàt;  
 24 le zitelle, che ormai di marito dispèran,  
                   son le ʿúnnas . . . : ad altre il sognare di nozze!  
 25 Quelle son le ğawàni che, lungi da immondo  
                   fornicare, stan dòcili ai loro consorti.  
 26 Qunbuḍàt son chiamate al contrario le brutte,  
                   ripugnanti, le racchie piú racchie, piú sconce!  
 27 Chièser poi di entrambi i damúk, del miqràt,  
                   e del ğarb, che sorrèggono le maʿiḥàt.  
 28 Il damúk, replicài, son pietre che il maglio  
                   ben pareggia a ritondo all'interno del pozzo;

29 quanto all'altro *damúk*, esso è certo la ruota,  
     che del pozzo sovrasta le curve pareti;  
 30 ed un trògolo accanto ad un pozzo è il *miqràt*,  
     a cui vèngon cammelli vaganti assetati;  
 31 ed il *ğarb* è un gran secchio, capiente, che arràncan  
     le camelle a tirarlo, strappàndosi il pelo . . .  
 32 Ma — riprèser —, che son le *ħawàfiq?* e il *qàstal*,  
     sovrastante *al-<sup>ʿ</sup>uqàb?* e le *đariyàt?*  
 33 *Al-<sup>ʿ</sup>uqàb* è l'insegna che spicca nel folto  
     della mischia, e stendardi son poi le *ħawàfiq*;  
 34 ed il *qàstal* è un túrbin di pólver, seguíto  
     da un ruotàr di pulvíscol che a vòrtice gira;  
 35 ed infine è ben noto che le *đariyàt*  
     sono i venti impetuosi, che soffian violenti.  
 36 Seguitàron:— Che son le *tarà<sup>ʿ</sup>ik?* lo *zàğf?*  
     che son mai le *asalàt* e le *murhafàt?*  
 37 Le *tarà<sup>ʿ</sup>ik*, risposi, son caschi da guerra,  
     che preparan per l'urto gli armati guerrieri;  
 38 e si dice lo *zàğf* delle cotte di maglia,  
     intatte di ferro, che scèndono ampie;  
 39 *murhafàt* non son altro che spade taglienti,  
     affilate, di lama sottile, mozzanti;  
 40 le *asalàt* sono poi delle lance che han l'aste  
     ben flessíbili e fatte in giusta misura.  
 41 Quelli ancora:— E il *tumàm* che cos'è? e l'*artà?*  
     e che cosa il *talh?* e le *samuràt?*  
 42 Dissi:— Quanto al *tumàm*, è un'èsile pianta  
     da cui stilla rugiada, la notte, sull'erba;  
 43 parimenti l'*artà*, come il *talh* e la *samra*,  
     non v'è dubbio che specie son esse di piante,  
 44 dalle spine pungenti, al pari di aghi,  
     e dai rami ben fitti, che fanno un intrico.  
 45 Incalzàron:— Che son il *hiğàff* ed il *rà<sup>ʿ</sup>l*,  
     così snello ed ossuto, e le *ħađibàt?*  
 46 Il *hiğàff* dello struzzo, risposi, è il maschio,  
     e i *ri<sup>ʿ</sup>àl* sono i píccoli, ancor trepidanti;  
 47 *ħađibàt* son le fémmine, fulve di penne  
     e cinèree, pronte a fuggír via di corsa.  
 48 Seguitàron:— Che sono il *faniq* e le *šàul?*  
     chi lo *šàizami?* E chi sono le *munhimàt?*  
 49 Dissi:— Quanto al *faniq*, è il cammello stallone,  
     generato da madri gibbose, focose;  
 50 e le *šàul* son le pregne, robuste cammelle,  
     dalle gonfie mammelle, copiose di latte;  
 51 il temuto leone che sta nella giungla,  
     con le fémmine attorno, *aš-šàizami* è detto;  
 52 e così *munhimàt* i cúccioli son  
     di sciacalli, affamati, che màndan guaiti.  
 53 Domandàron di nuovo:— Il *samà<sup>ʿ</sup>ma<sup>ʿ</sup>* che è?  
     ed il *qàrhab?* e l'*àhdari* e le *šahiqàr?*  
 54 Dissi:— Il lupo è il *samà<sup>ʿ</sup>ma<sup>ʿ</sup>*, dal pelo grigiastro,  
     che all'alba ci assalta, al pàscol, le greggi;  
 55 mentre il *qàrhab* vitello già fu, che i deserti

- tra le fiere poi réser del tutto selvaggio;
- 56 quanto all'`àhdari, altro non è che l'onagro  
che impazzisce alla vista dei branchi di fémmine.
- 57 Šahiḡàt tutti sanno che índica i monti  
che s'innàlzano eccelsi, svettanti nell'aria.
- 58 Del quṭami e del fazz e del haiquṭàn  
—chièser poi—, che ne sai? e delle mahàt?
- 59 Il quṭami è sparviéro, per certo, con zampe  
ben munite di artigli confitti, tenaci;
- 60 ed il fazz, di gazzella è il piccolo nato,  
che si sente impaurito tra lande deserte;
- 61 haiquṭàn pur si dice l'uccèl francolino,  
cui attorno voltèggian le fémmine, a frotte;
- 62 le mahàt sono vacche selvagge, vaganti,  
preferita dimora son loro i deserti.
- 63 Seguitàron:— Che sono il dimàqs e l'`iqyàn?  
ed ancora il luḡàin e le ramisàt?
- 64 Dissi:— Quanto al dimàqs, son vesti di seta,  
tessitura di mani di donne provette;
- 65 oro grezzo è l'`iqyàn, quello fulvo che serve  
pei monili di dame d'alto lignaggio;
- 66 il luḡàin non è altro che càndido argento,  
le rawàmis i venti che pólvere spàrgono.
- 67 Chièser poi:— Chi sono il hiḡàmm ed il mìdrah,  
il hiḡàmm che è mai? e le šafinàt?
- 68 Dissi:— Quanto al hiḡàmm, è il sàyyid che dà:  
da lui vèngono i doni, e tanta bontà;
- 69 ed il mìdrah è il capo di gente, colui  
che li scioglie da crucci, li sgombra da cure;
- 70 il hiḡàmm tra i cavalli è il maschio stallone,  
šafinàt, le cavalle fattrici, di razza.
- 71 Incalzàron:— Che sono haḡàḡir e baḡzaḡ?  
turmulàt e poi ruḡš, su dícci, che sono?
- 72 Le haḡàḡir son certo le iene grigiastre,  
che s'aggíran con passo che par zoppicare;
- 73 ed il baḡzaḡ è il cúcciol di fiera selvaggia,  
mentre ruḡš vuole dire null'altro che serpi;
- 74 turmulàt sono volpi, ben siàtene certi,  
che squittíscon e vàgan inquiete, randagie.
- 75 Ma riprèser:— Del bàww e dei haḡadid,  
dello šàdqami e delle qilàt che ci dici?
- 76 Haḡadid, replicài, son maschi di struzzi,  
quelli flòridi e grassi, pasciuti, stupendi;
- 77 simulacro d'un píccol cammello, il bàww  
delle trèpide madri sollécita il latte;
- 78 il leone è lo šàdqami, quello con cúccioli,  
di gran forza, possente, che attacca la preda;
- 79 cavità nella roccia son poi le qilàt,  
per dell'acqua abbondante e per rívoli scarsi.
- 80 Quelli ancora:— Che sono il haḡid ed il quff?  
e poi l'amt e le ašà?, che abbondan di frutti?
- 81 Del terrén che digrada, risposi, il nome  
è haḡid, e qifàf sono i luoghi elevati;

- 82 e l'*amt* son di certo le groppe del suolo,  
mentre *asà'* son le palme gremite di frutti.
- 83 Domandàron:— Che son le *hanàdis* e il *qúlqul*?  
e che sono i *hiḏàb* e le *tamidàt*?
- 84 Replicài:— Le *hanàdis* son certo le notti  
le piú buie del mese, le piú tenebrose;
- 85 ed il *qúlqul*, cavallo di razza, che nacque  
da cavalle focose, feconde di prole;
- 86 per *hiḏàb* ben intende la gente quei colli  
che s'innàlzan, ma il cúlmine ha curvo profilo;
- 87 Poi, a quel che sappiamo, dei mucchi di sabbia  
sono le *tamidàt*, alquanto elevati.
- 88 Ma il *samàm*, domandàron, e il *hàuḡal* che sono?  
*qamṭarír* che vuol dire, e le *muḥdiràt*?
- 89 Dissi:— Quanto al *samàm*, è specie d'uccelli  
che somígliano al *qaṭa* nel bigio piumaggio;
- 90 ed il *hàuḡal* son lande di terra remote,  
sono brulli deserti, i piú desolati;
- 91 *qamṭarír* vuole dire un giorno funesto,  
quel che vede abortire le gràvide madri;
- 92 *muḥdiràt* son leonesse in agguato nel bosco,  
pronte al balzo e alla strage, feroci.
- 93 La questione fu alfin su *ragàm* e su *síltim*,  
*qulqulàn*, *sariyàt*:— Vuoi dirci che sono?
- 94 Di *ragàm* non v'è dubbio ch'è polvere fine;  
con *salàtim* si chiàman disgrazie e sventure;
- 95 *qulqulàn* è un erbaggio di zone deserte,  
che s'irra di piogge ben scarse, sottili;
- 96 *sariyàt* son, di notte, le nubi che pioggia  
preannúncian, e d'acqua son colme, grondanti. . .
- 97 Una stretta di mano, l'addió d'un saluto,  
il clamore del grido di gàrruli galli. . .
- 98 Dissi:— No! non cessate! Ma quei di rimando:  
— Noi amici ti siamo, cortesi, fidati!
- 99 Chiama noi in aiuto, se male ti coglie,  
o s'abbàtton sul vostro paese sventure. . .
- 100 Voi benèvoli foste e d'amàbili detti,  
dissi loro, v'arrídano grazie e favori!
- 101 Quelli poi dileguàron nel buio, veloci,  
mentre i cani uggjolàvan latranti ululanti. . .
- 102 Tale fu di Ibn Sa'd con i *ḡinn* il parlare:  
lui, esatto a colpire nel segno, sicuro;
- 103 lor frustrati, alle prese con tèrmini rari. . .:  
questa sí fu risposta, e immune da indugio!

### Commento lessicale al testo àrabo

Avvertenza. — Gli strumenti utilizzati sono stati necessariamente limitati ai tre qui di séguito citati con le relative abbreviazioni: K.= A. De Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1860. 2 voll. — L.= E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863-91. 8 voll. — IS= Ibn Sīda, *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ*, Būlāq 1316-21/1899-1903. 17 voll.



Per i 75 tèrmini del *ġarīb*, su cui s'impèrnia la *qaṣīda* (contraddistinti nel commento da un asterisco), è stato inoltre consultato il ms. ambrosiano H 139, contenente una delle rarissime copie del *K. Ġarīb al-muṣannaḥ* di Abu ʿUbaid (cfr. E. Griffini, Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 69, 1915, pp. 71-72). E ciò, oltre che per il pregio dell'òpera e del còdice (datato ġumādā I 384/13.6-12.7.994), con la deliberata intenzione di tributare implicitamente un supplementare omaggio alla benemèrita fatica del Professor Löfgren, come indagatore dei fondi manoscritti arabi della Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Purtroppo, dei tèrmini in questione, nel lèssico di Abū ʿUbaid (abbreviato AU), ne sono stati reperiti solo 36.

Quanto alle abbreviazioni che séguono, esse si riferiscono ad altre fonti, usate solo occasionalmente: IB = Ibn al-Baitār, *al-Ġāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya*, trad. di L. Leclerc, *Traité des simples par etc.*, in *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, tomes XXIII,1; XXV,1; XXVI,1, Paris 1877, 1881, 1883. — Bräunlich = E. Bräunlich, The Well in Ancient Arabia, in *Islamica*, I, 1925, pp. 41-76, 288-343, 454-528. — Dozy = R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leyde-Paris 1881. 2 voll. — Schwarzlose = F.W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber usw.*, Leipzig 1886. — Wright = W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed. reprinted, Cambridge 1975.

Altre abbreviazioni usate sono: i.a. = inter alia; gl.mg. = glossa marginale; lic.poet. = licenza poètica; v. = verso.

V.1: *qawāfin* (pl. di *qāfiya*) è il soggetto grammaticale, mentre nella traduzione si è tenuto conto di quello lògico, che sono i *ġinn*: K.II,793 L.2992; *wahn* K.II,1618 L.3062 »the period about midnight«; *maḥ-būka* K.I,370 L.504. — V.2: *ġahādimu* K.I,345 »qui a une grosse tête et le visage rond« gl.mg. *qabīḥ al-manẓar*; *al-ḥibarātu* K.I,366 Dozy I,243 »éttoffe rayée qu'on fabriquait dans le Yémen; n'est pas le nom d'un vêtement. . . comme on trouve aussi chez Lane«, cfr. L.499; *ṣuʿarāʿun* cfr. Wright II,387 § 249. — V.3: *ʿaġfā* K.II,486 L.2276 i.a. »he became. . . heavy with sleepiness« gl.mg. *nāma*; *ad-daṭūr* K.I, 669 L.851 »a great sleeper« + gl.mg. che cita Cor.74:1; *iʿlankasa* K.II,348 »être d'un très beau noir« (riferito ai capelli). — V.4: *iḥzaʿalla* è la IV forma di *ḥzʿl*, citata in Wright I,49 § 72, non la XI di *ḥzl*, come detto in K.1420 + gl.mg. *irtafaʿa wa-ḡahaba*. — V.6: *antumū* cfr. Wright I,55 § 89, Rem.c & II,386 § 248, Rem.; *qurūmu* (pl. di *qarm*) K.II,724; *as-sarawātu* (pl. di *sarī*) K.I, 1085 L.1354. — V.10: I 5 nomi di *ġinn* sono di lettura e interpretazione incerta. Anche se sèmbrano indicare tutti degli animali, sono diversi, tra l'altro, da quelli citati da E. Zbinden, *Die Djinn des Islam und der altorientalischen Geisterglaube*, Bern-Stuttgart 1953, pp. 64-65, e dagli altri che ricòrrono nello studio di J.von Hammer-Purgstall, *Die Geisterlehre der Moslimen*, ristampato in *Zwei Abhandlungen zur Mystik und Magie des Islams*, Wien 1974: III. *Von der Dschinnen* (Öster.Akad.Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl., Sitzungsber., 293 Bd., 4. Abhandlung, pp. 158-164): *al-ʿUṭair* potrebbe essere dimin. di *ʿutr* = aquila (L.1952); *aṣ-ṣulb*, se si suppone licenza poètica (cfr. Wright II,384 § 246) per *aṣ-ṣulab*, indicherebbe »a certain bird resembling the *ṣaqr*« (L.1712); *ġuḥaiš* significa »petit d'âne« (K.I,256); *haišam* è epíteto del leone (K.II,1424 IS VIII,62); *al-quzāt* (pl. di *quza*) = serpente K.II,734 IS VIII,107. — V.11: *al-ʿarā* = *al-ʿarāʿ* per lic.poet. (Wright II,376 § 235). — V.12: *al-ʿarā\** (cfr. v.11) K.II,239 L.2030 »a wide place of land in which is

nothing that hides« IS X,125; *al-mirātu\** (pl. di *mart*) K.II,1086 L.2703 »a waterless desert in which no herbage grows« IS X,114 AU f.66v<sup>o</sup>, l. 3  
*al-arḍ allatī lā nabt bihā* + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *fadfad* K.II,556 L.2351  
– *maḡhal* K.I,346 L.478 IS X,114 – *qīy* IS X,113 – *hauḡal* (si veda il v.90);  
*as-sabāsibu* (pl. di *sabsab*) K.I,1043 »plaine très étendue« IS X,113 & 119 +  
gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *ṣaḡrā* K.I,1313 L.1654 – *mahmah* K.II,1163 L.3025 IS  
X,113 – *tanūfa* K.I,208 L.319 IS X,113 – *yahmā* K.II,1637 IS X,114 –  
*ḡabt* K.I,530 L.693 IS X,124. – V.14: *ad-diṣu\** (con *išbā*<sup>c</sup> della vocale  
finale) K.I,701 »monticule sablonneux arrondi« IS X,137 AU f. 68r<sup>o</sup>, l. 17 +  
gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *ṣarīma* K.I,1335 L.1684 IS X,135 – *ʿaqada* K.II,313  
L.2106 IS ibid. – *qauz* K.II,833 IS X,137 – *ʿuliḡma* K.II,184 L.1967 IS X,144  
(gli últimi due ricórrono nello stesso v.14). – V.15: *an-naqā\** K.II,1355  
»terrain sablonneux, accidenté par des petits monticules de sable« IS X,136  
AU f.67v<sup>o</sup>, l. 21 + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *ʿamīl* K.I,56 IS X,135 – *ḡumhūr*  
K.I,331 L.461 – *haluyām* K.II,1470 L.64 s.v. *ʿaṣl* IS X,140 – *ḡiqf* K.I,467  
L.612 – *ʿauʿas* K.II, 1568 IS X,139 – *dahs/dahās* K.I,742 L.2951 s.v. *waʿt* IS  
X,140 – *waʿt* K.II,1565 L.2951 IS ibid. – *ʿaukala* K.II,332 IS X,142 –  
*kaṭīb* K.II,866 L.2592 IS X,132 e 135. *N.B.* La definizione data di »porzione  
di sabbia priva di cespugli (*ʿaika*) e senza mucchi (*ʿaqadāt*)« è alquanto  
diversa da quella fornita da K.! – V.16: *N.B.* La prima parola (già nel v.13)  
è rimasta enigmatica !; *ʿanākib* (pl. di *ʿankabūt*) + gl.mg. con la notizia che  
*ʿankabūt* è di genere comune, e che per il maschile si usa *ḡadarnaq*  
(K.I,171 IS VIII,118), per cui è citato il verso (*ṭawīl*) *fa-daʿ ʿanka qauman*  
*taʿsīsu dīnihīm/ka-taʿsīsi baitin qad banāhu l-ḡadarnaqu*. – V.18:  
*al-ʿaṭākīlu\** (pl. di *ʿiṭkāl*) K.II,171 L.1953 »fruit-stalk of the raceme of a  
palm-tree« IS XI,108 AU f.86v<sup>o</sup>, l. 16 + gl.mg. con un sinònimo:  
*ʿidq* K.II,203 L.1988 IS XI,107; *ṣamārīḡ* K.I,1268 L.1526 »a fruit-stalk of the  
raceme of a palm-tree upon which are the dates« IS XI,108 + gl.mg. con i  
sinònimi: *malīṭw* K.II,1124 IS XI,108 – *ṣirām* L.1684 IS XI,125 (dove però è  
solo *nomen verbi* della III forma); *zahw* K.I, 1024 L.1265 »dates beginning  
to ripen that are becoming coloured« IS XI,122. – V.19: *al-ḡauḡānu\**  
K.I,509 »nénuphar« Dozy I,334 »la plante nommée *kaff al-hirr*« IB n.1948  
(sotto quest'última voce) AU f.74r<sup>o</sup>, l. 13; *an-nibāku* (pl. di *nabka*) K.II,1187  
»colline qui se termine en pic« IS X,80 + gl.mg. che ne dà il sing., con il  
significato di *rābiya ʿaṣīma*; *al-ʿakamātu* (pl. di *ʿakama*) K.I,44 L.73 »hill,  
mound« IS X,83. – V.20: *al-ʿiḡāʿu\** (pl. di *ʿaḡār*) K.I,38 »étang, mare d'eau  
stagnante« (rad. *ʿḡw*) AU f.76v<sup>o</sup>, última linea-77r<sup>o</sup>, l. 1 *al-māʿ al-mustanqīʿ*  
*min sail au ḡairihi*; *ḡudur* (pl. di *ḡadīr*) K.II,439 L.2232 »a pool of water  
left by a torrent«; *ʿaḡināt* (pl. di *ʿaḡin/ʿāḡin*) K.I,14 L.26 »altered for the  
worse in taste and colour« IS IX,142. – V.21: *an-nāʿiʿātu\** (rad. *nwʿ*)  
K.II,1369 »qui a soif« + gl.mg. con la derivazione del senso di »assetato«  
dalla locuzione *ḡāʿiʿ nāʿiʿ* in cui, secondo la felice definizione di L.487, il  
2° vocabolo è »an imitative sequent«, ossia il 2° elemento di un binòmio  
formato per mimesi fonetica del 1° e antitesi semantica ad esso; inoltre i  
seguenti sinònimi: *ʿaṭṣān/ʿaṭīṣ* (il cui pl. *ʿiṭāṣ* è nel verso stesso) K.II,286  
L.2079 IS V,36 – *ṣādin* K.I,1325 L.1671 (il femm. pl. nel verso) IS ibid.  
– *ḡarrān* L.540 IS V,37 – *zamʿān* K.II,142 L.1923 IS V,36 – *ḡāʿim*  
(rad. *hym*) K.II,1470 – *ḡāʿim* (rad. *ḡwm*) K.I,521 L.678 – *maḡūd* K.I,351  
L.482 i.a. »affected with thirst«; infine i seguenti sinònimi di *ʿaṭṣ*:  
*ḡuwād* K.I,351 L.482 IS V,36 – *luwāb* K.II,1036 L.2677 IS V,37 – *ʿaim*  
K.II,423 L.2213 (*ʿaima*) – *ḡaima* K.II,526 L.2320 IS V,37 – *luḡba* K.II,1030  
L.2675 – *ḡulla* K.II,488 L.2278 IS ibid.; *al-ibli* = *al-ibili*, per lic. poet. (cfr.  
Wright II,384 § 246); *ḡawāʿimun*, per lic. poet. (Wright II,387 § 249). –

V.23: *al-ḥarīdātu\** (pl., come *al-ḥarā'idu* nel v.22, di *al-ḥarīda*) K.I,556 L.721 »an untouched virgin . . . , a bashful . . . low in voice, who conceals herself from public view« IS IV,4 AU f.17v°, l. 9 *ḥayīya*. – V.24: *al-ʿunnasu\** (pl. di *ʿānis* K.II,384 L.2173 »a woman who has become of middle age remaining a virgin, not having married« AU f.18v°, ll. 4-6 *allāti tuʿaḡḡizu fī bait abawaihā*. – V.24: *isna* (da *ʿayisa*), con il senso particolare che appare nel participio *āyisa* K.I,74 »femme qui n'a plus ses règles et qui doit renoncer à l'espoir d'enfanter« L.137; *l-bāti* = *l-bāʿati* (rad. *bwʿ*), con la lic. poet. dell'assorbimento della hamza nella vocale precedente (cfr. Wright II,374 § 234.a), e la grafia della *tāʾ marbūʿa* come *mabsūta* K.I,175 L.272 + gl.mg., riferita a *bāh*, di cui *bāʾ/bāʿa* è equivalente, con due sinònimi: *nikāh* e *sirr*, per quest'ultimo citando Cor.2:235, K.I,175 L.272 »coitus conjugalis, marriage« L.1338 »concubitus«, con la stessa citazione corànica. – V.25: *al-ḡawānī\** (pl. di *al-ḡāniya*, come *al-ḡāniyāt* nel v.22) K.I,513 L.2304 »a young woman who is sufficed by her husband, or is sufficed by her beauty, as to be in no need of decoration« IS IV,19 = AU f.18v°, l. 12 *allatī ḡaniyat bi-z-zauḡ* + gl.mg. che spiega il nome secondo il 2° significato dato da L. *li-ʿanna-hunna staḡnaina bi-l-kamāl ʿan-i l-ḥulīy*. N.B. La risposta, nel v.25, diversamente dalla glossa, corrisponde più al 1° significato di L.; *baḡy* K.I,147 L.231 »fornication«; *ānisāt* K.I,61 L.115 »of cheerful mind«. N.B. l'epiteto aggiunge una sfumatura semantica (»amabili, soavi, dōcili«) di per sé estranea. – V.26: *al-qunbuḏātu\** K.II,819 »1 serpent, 2 femme petite et laide, et méprisée à cause de cela« IS IV,7 AU F.17v°, l. 23 *qaṣīra* + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *sūd* (pl. di *ʿaswad*, nel senso di »serpente«, cfr. K.I,1162 L.1465) – *qiṣār* (pl. di *qaṣīra*), con la specificazione che, per le donne di bassa statura, il tèrmine ha sinònimi più precisi in *quṣquṣa* (K.II,755) e *ʿuḡrima* (K.II,176); *damāʿimun*, per lic. poet. (Wright II, 387 § 249). – V.27: *al-māʾihātu* K.II,1171 per *māʾih* ha »qui descend dans l'eau pour remplir son seau« L.2745 id. Bräunlich 507 + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *al-mustaqiyyāt* (non in K. né in L.) e *as-sawānī* (pl. di *sāniya*) K.I,1155 »1 qui tourne la roue hydraulique (chamelle) 2 grand seau à irrigation« L.1450 id. – V.28 Tale verso è di lettura problematica. L'ultima parola del 1° emistichio deve essere un pl. *faʿālā*, da un sing. *faʿīla* (Wright I,222:7) o *fāʿila* (id. 223:9), che non sembra reperibile sotto nessuna radice, tra quelle che la grafia del nome, del resto chiara, può suggerire. Il senso di questo nome deve d'altra parte essere tale da concordare con quello dell'aggettivo alla fine del 2° emistichio, che ad esso si riferisce, *dāʾirāt* »circolari«. Ora, poiché nello stesso 2° emistichio ricorre il tèrmine *ṭayy*, che è tècnico per indicare »rivestimento in pietra di un pozzo (Bräunlich 68), l'ipòtesi è per una lettura *rahāyā*, pl. di *raḥan*, nel senso di »grossa pietra« (L.1057), peraltro non attestato, e che si dovrebbe supporre alternativo di *ʿarḥāʾ* per ragioni mètriche. Pure l'inizio del 2° emistichio è congetturale, data l'incertezza della seconda parola, per cui si propone la lettura *ad-daqq* (*nomen actionis* di *daqqa*) »battere frantumando«, assunto come *fāʿil* del verbo precedente. Questo, a sua volta, non potrebbe che essere in IV forma, in relazione ad uno dei significati dati per la I da K.I,735 »être uni, poli«; *ad-damūk* K.I,734 »roue d'une machine à irrigation« AU f.81r°, l. 9 *al-bakra as-sarīʿat al-marr*. – V.29: *fa-hī* (cfr. Wright II,385 § 246.b) – *bakra* K.I,153 L.241 i.a. »the sheave of a pulley« Bräunlich 294; *al-qāʾimātu* K.I,358 i.a. »parois intérieurs . . . d'un puit« L.489 id. – V.30: *al-miqrātu\** K.II,731 »grand réservoir d'eau« (da *qarā/qaraʿa* = *ra-masser* . . . l'eau) L.2502 dà come senso primario di *qaraʿa* »he collected



together« + gl.mg. che dà spiegazione anàloga, derivando da *qarā* = *ḡamaʿa*, e aggiunge a riprova l'etimologia di *Qurʾān: li-ḡtimāʿ ʿayātihi wa-hurūfihi*, recepita in L.2502; *al-ḥawāʾimu ṣ-ṣādiyātu* gl.mg. che rimanda ad altra precedente (cfr. v.21). – V.31: *al-ḡarbu* K.II,450 i.a. »grand seau/outre à eau« L.2241 Bräunlich 469 AU f.80v°, l. 2 e 17,81r°, l. 18; *ḡanūb* L.981 »a great *dalw*, or bucket« Bräunlich 470 + gl.mg. che dà come sinònimo *dalw*; *tuḡṭaʿallu* (o *taḡṭaʿillu*?) K.I,252 »arracher ses plumes (oiseau)« L.379 »(a bird) ruffled his feathers« *N.B.* L'uso del verbo per la cammella, come è in questo verso, sarebbe dunque insòlito. – V.33: *al-ʿuqābu\** K.II,310 i.a. »le sommet d'un étendard« L.2102 »the flag attached to a lance« Schwarzlose 45, n.1; *al-ḥawāʾiqū\** (nel ms. *ḥafāʾiqu!* L'errore già nel v.32, si ripete nella gl.mg.) L.775 »banners, or standards, because of their fluttering« + la gl.mg. al v.32 che dà il sinònimo *rāya*, che appare nel v.33. – V.34: *al-qasṭalu\** K.II,737 »poussière« IS X,66; *al-ʿaḡāḡ* K.II,173 L.1956 IS X,65; *an-naqʿ* K.II,1330 IS X,66.; *al-habawātu* (pl. di *habāʾ*) K.II,1384 »atomes de poussière que l'on voit voltiger« IS X,66 + gl.mg. che dà il sing., con l'equivalente *ḡubār ḡaʿīf*, nonché la citazione di Cor.25:25. – V.35: *aḡ-ḡāriyātu\** K.I,772 L.965 »the winds raising, or making to fly. . .the dust« (cfr. Cor.51:1) + gl.mg. con i sinònimi, o nomi di singoli venti: *qabūl* K.II,668 IS IX,84 – *dabūr* K.I,666 L.847 IS ibid. – *ṣamāl* K.I,1273 L.1600 IS ibid. – *ḡanūb* K.I,1273 L.467 IS ibid. – *nakbāʾ* K.II,1337 L.2845 IS ibid. – *ʿazyab* L.1274 IS IX,85 – *nuʿāmā* K.II,1299 IS ibid. – *ḥīf* K.II,1468 IS ibid. – *maḥwa* K.II,1071 IS IX,84 – *nāfiḥ* K.II,1305 L.2820 IS IX,85 – *lāfiḥa* K.II,1010 L.2666 IS IX,90 – *zaḡzāfa* K.I,997 L.1236 IS IX,86 – *ḡanūn* K.I,499 L.653 IS IX,90 – *ḡaḡūm* K.II,1394 – *darūḡ* K.I,685 L.869 IS IX,87 – *ḡarḡaḡ* K.I,405 IS IX,89 – *ṣirr/ṣarṣar* K.I,1326 e 1330 L.1672 IS IX,89 – *balīl* K.I,156 L.244 IS ibid. – *ʿaʿāṣīr* (pl. di *ʿiʿṣār*) L.2063 IS ibid.; *az-zaʿāziʿu* (pl. di *zaʿzaʿ*) K.I,990 L.1230 IS IX,86; *al-ʿāṣifātu* K.II,272 L.2064 IS IX,88. – V.37: *at-tarāʾiku\** (pl. di *tarīka*) K.I,198 L.305 i.a. »an iron helmet« Schwarzlose 350 IS VI,73 + gl.mg., che ne dà i sinònimi *al-baiḡ* (fornito nello stesso v.37) e *ḡayāḡiʿ* (pl. di *ḡaiḡaʿa*), quest'último solo in IS ibid.; *al-kumātu* (pl. di *kamī*) K.II,932. – V.38: *az-zaḡfu\** K.I,995 »ample et souple (cotte de maille)« Schwarzlose 337 IS VI,70 AU f.47, ll. 11-12 + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *laʿma* K.II,953 Schwarzlose 334 IS VI, ibid. – *mufāḡa* K.II,654 L.2473 Schwarzlose 336 IS VI,72 – *dilāṣ* K.I,723 L.904 Schwarzlose 346 IS ibid. – *māḡīya* K.II,1082 Schwarzlose 347 IS VI,71 + gl.mg. che dà il senso di »bianca« (*muṣṭabiḡa bi-l-māḡīy wa-hiya l-ʿasal*) – *ʿaḡāt* Schwarzlose 348 IS VI,72 + gl.mg. che spiega l'uso del termine con la similitudine di uno stagno d'acqua (cfr. supra v.20) – *ḡāʾil* K.I,791 L.991 Schwarzlose 338 IS ibid. – *mauḡūna* K.II,1558 Schwarzlose 339 IS ibid. – *naṭra* K.II,1196 Schwarzlose 336 IS ibid. – *qaḡḡāʾ* K.II,759 IS ibid. – *ḡadlāʾ* K.I,266 L.392 Schwarzlose 345 IS ibid. – *faḡāḡa* K.II,606 L.2409 Schwarzlose 336 IS ibid.; la glossa cita poi due tèrmini per il *mismār ad-dirʿ*: *qaṭīr* K.II,673 Schwarzlose 343 IS ibid., e *ḡirbāʾ* K.I,403 L.541 Schwarzlose ibid. IS ibid.; *ṣuḡḡu* = *ṣiḡḡa* (cfr. L.1651), e quanto alla locuzione *ṣuḡḡu ḡadīdin*, essa equivale a *ḡadīd ṣaḡiḡ*, con una costruzione del tipo *tamyīz* (cfr. Wright II,218 § 86); *as-sābiḡātu* K.I,1046 L.1298 Schwarzlose, *passim* (cfr. Ind.) IS VI,71; *tilkumu* (Wright II,386 § 248 Rem.). – V.39: *al-murḡafātu\** K.I,939 L.1170 Schwarzlose 178. – V.40: *al-ʿasalātu* (pl. di *ʿasal*). (*N.B.* Da notare *Piṣbāʿ* della vocale iniziale) K.I,33 L.59 Schwarzlose 215 + gl.mg. con i seguenti epíteti delle lance: *ʿazmā* (glossato, a sua volta, come *ʿasmar*) K.II,142 L.1923 Schwarzlose 221 IS VI,31 – *ʿarrāt/ʿarrāṣ* K.II,209 e 216



L.2001 Schwarzlose 237 e 238 IS VI,30 – *ḥammān* (glossato come *ḍaʿīf*) K.I,635 L.813 IS VI,32 – *ḥawwār* (glossato pure come *ḍaʿīf*) K.I,645 L.821 IS ibid. – *ʾašamm* (glossato come *šalīb*) K.I,1367 L.1724 Schwarzlose 222 IS ibid. – *ʿāsīl* K.II,255 L.2046 Schwarzlose 238 IS VI,31 – *ʿatīr* K.II,163 L.1946 IS ibid. – *wašīḡ* K.II,1540 L.2943 Schwarzlose 226 IS VI,29 – *ḥaṭṭī* K.I,590 L.760 Schwarzlose 217–8 IS VI,34 – *rudainī* K.I,849 L.1070 Schwarzlose 218 IS VI,33 – *samharī* K.I,1144 L.1433 Schwarzlose ibid. IS ibid. – *ṭaʿlab* K.I,225 i.a. »bout du bois de la lance« (non si tratta, quindi, in questo caso, di un altro epíteto) L.338 Schwarzlose 229 – *lahdam* K.II,1031 Schwarzlose 239 IS VI,34 – *ḥulīrṣ* K.I,559 Schwarzlose 231 IS VI,29; *ḍābilāt* (pl. femm. di *ḍābil*) K.I,765 L.956 »slender« Schwarzlose 236. – *al-mutūn* (pl. di *matn*) L.3017 »the middle of a bow, and of a spear« Schwarzlose 227; *muʿtadilāt* (pl. femm. di *muʿtadil*) K.II,193 i.a. »proportionné« L.1975 Schwarzlose 223. – V.41: *aṭ-ṭalḥu* presenta una doppia lic. poet., cioè la conservazione dell'*alif al-waṣl* (Wright II,377 § 236) e l'*išbāʿ* della vocale finale. – V.42: *aṭ-ṭumām* K.I,235 L.351 IB n.451 »Panicum« AU f.70<sup>o</sup>, l. 11. – V.43: *al-ʾarṭā\** (n. un. *ʾarṭāt*) K.I,25 »espèce d'arbre qui croît dans des terrains sablonneux etc.« L.49 Dozy I,18 »Jasmin jaune« AU f.70<sup>o</sup>, l. 10; *aṭ-ṭalḥu* (cfr. v.41) K.II,94 i.a. »espèce d'acacia (*Acacia gummifera*) L.1865 IB n. 1474 AU ibid., última linea; *as-samra* (= *samura*, cfr. Wright II,384 § 246) K.I,1137 »espèce de mimosa (*Mimosa unguis cati*), espèce d'arbre à épines (*Spina aegyptiaca*) L.1425 AU ibid., última linea. *N.B.* Qui è usato, probabilmente per ragioni mètriche, il n. un., anziché il collettivo, come nei due casi precedenti. – V.44: *šaukin ḥadāʾidīn* (lic. poet.: Wright II,387 § 249), con accordo di un collettivo con un aggettivo al *pluralis fractus* (cfr. Wright II,274,11.1–2); *ka-l-masāllī* (pl. di *misalla*), con *scriptio plena* della vocale finale, per indicare che è lunga; *muʿlakasātu* K.II,348. – V.46: *al-ḥiḡaff\** K.II,1393 IS VIII,53 + gl.mg., che dà la definizione dello stesso v.46, ed i sinònimi: *zalīm* K.II,141 L.1922 IS ibid. – *ḥaḡannaʿ* K.II,1396 IS VIII,54 – *ḥafaidad* K.I,600 IS VIII,54 – *ḥārīḡ* (*sic*, per *ʾaḡraḡ*) K.I,556 L.720 IS VIII,52 – *ḥāḡīb* K.I,584 L.753 IS VIII,52; *ar-rīʾāl\** (pl. di *ar-raʾl* nel v.45) K.I,795 L.997 »the young one of the ostrich, in its first year« IS VIII,56; *ḡīfātu* è proposta di lettura, da *waḡafalyaḡifu* = »être agité, battre (cœur)« K.II,1492. *N.B.* Nella risposta al v.46 non sono ripresi i due aggettivi di *raʾl* nel v.45, di cui invece è data la glossa: *ʾazallu* = *daqīq al-ḥāšira* (K.I,1003 L.1243); *ʾašakku* = *mušṭakk al-ʾurqūbain* (K.I,1354 L.1709 IS VIII,53). – V.47: *al-ḥāḡībātu\** (cfr. sopra, v.46, tra i sinònimi di *ḥiḡaff*) »a male ostrich whose shanks and legs have become red etc.« (L.753); *rawābidun* (lic. poet.: Wright II,387 § 249) K.I,803 L.1010 IS VIII,52 + gl.mg. che lo dà come plurale di *ʾarbad* e di *rabdāʾ*, e ne dà l'equivalente in *mā ḥmarra launuhu*, confermando così la sinonimía con *ḥāḡībāt*, enunciata nello stesso v.47; *muḡfilātu* (pl. femm. di *muḡfil*) K.I,306 L.434 IS VIII,54 + gl.mg. che ne dà i sinònimi *ḥāribāt* e *šāridāt*. – V.49: *al-fanīq\** K.II,639 L.2450 »a stallion that is highly regarded . . . nor is ridden . . . such as is acquired for covering« IS VII,5 AU f.121<sup>v</sup>, l. 4; *al-ʾibli* (cfr. v.21); *namathu* il senso transitivo di *namā* »produire, engendrer« in Dozy II,727, nonché in K.II,1350; *at-tawāmiqū* (pl. di *tāmīk*) K.I,208 L.317 »(a she-camel) having a large hump« IS VII,67 + gl.mg. *al-ʾizām min al-ʾibil*; *al-ḥadimātu* K.II,1402 *ḥadima* e IV forma = »être en chaleur (chamelle)« IS VII,3. – V.50: *aš-šāulu\** (pl. di *šāʾil*) K.I,1291 L.1623 »(a she-camel) raising her tail . . . as a sign of her having conceived« IS VII,13; *labinātun* (pl. femm. di *labin*) K.II,962 »qui a beaucoup de lait«. *N.B.* Questo epíteto, come del resto tutto il 2° emistichio, contrasta con un

altro valore semantico di *šaul*, che indica sia una piccola quantità di latte, sia la cammella che è rimasta quasi priva di latte; *šakirātu* (pl. di *šakira*) K.I,1258 L.1585 »(a she-camel) having her udder full« IS VII,33 + gl.mg. *al-mumtalīḥāt ad-ḡurūʿ*. – V.51: *aš-šaiḡamī\** K.I,1233 »grand et robuste; lion« IS VIII,62; *al-ḡīl* K.II,526 L.2319 »a thicket; the covert of the lion« IS XI,45 + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *ḡāba* K.II,521 L.2313 IS VIII,47 – *ʿarīn* K.II,236 IS ibid. – *ḡīs* K.I,654 IS XI,46-7 – *ʿaḡama* K.I,14 L.26 IS XI,44; inoltre questi sinònimi del leone (vedi sopra): *hašūr* K.II,1424 L.2896 IS VIII,62 – *dirḡām* K.II,24 L.1788 IS VIII,60 – *ʿusāma* K.I,33 L.59-60 IS ibid. – *ḡahm* K.I,347 L.478 – *ʿafarnā* K.II,298 L.2090 IS VIII,63 – *laiḡ* K.II,1048 L.2684 IS ibid. – *ḡarrāt* K.I,404 L.542 IS VIII,60 – *ḡubārim* K.II,5 L.1764 IS VIII,63 – *ḡū l-libda* K.II,958 L.2646 – *baihas/baiḡās* IS VIII,60. – V.52: *al-munḡimātu\** gl.mg. che collega questo participio di una IV forma, citata solo da Dozy II,730, con *nahīm* (cfr. K.II,1359 *nahīm* »insatiable« *naḡḡām* »lion«); *banātu l-ʿibni ʿawā* l'espressione non può che voler dire »piccoli di sciacalli«, dato che »sciacallo« si dice *ʿibn ʿawā* (pl. *banāt ʿawā*, di forma femm., ma di genere comune, cfr. L.131); *tilkumu* (cfr. v.38); *al-ʿāwiyātu*, da *ʿawā*, il cui riferimento anche allo sciacallo (oltre che al cane e al lupo) è attestato sia da K.II,415 sia da L.2185. – V.54: *as-samaʿmaʿ\** irreperibile nei lessici consultati; *al-ʿaḡḡalu* K.II,61 L.1831 »of a colour like that of the spleen«, con attestazione del suo uso in riferimento al lupo + gl.mg. con i sinònimi del lupo: *sīd* K.I,1162 L.1483 IS VIII,66 – *sirḡān* K.I,1079 L.1345 IS ibid. – *silḡ* K.I,1127 L.1410 IS ibid. – *ʿaḡbas* K.II,431 L.2225 IS VIII,67 – *ʿaus* K.I,68 IS VIII,66 – *ʿaḡlas* K.II,96 L.1867 IS VIII,67 – *qaʿillūb* K.II,797 L.2555 IS ibid.; *ad-ḡiḡb*: nella gl.mg., di cui sopra, è data l'etimologia del nome da *taḡḡub fī mišyatiḡi*, ossia »agitazione nel camminare e fretta di sfuggire alle fiere«. Di tale etimologia non vi è traccia nei lessici dove, nella I forma, è sí ben presente l'idea di paura, ma si tratta di quella provocata dal lupo, non già di quella che sarebbe provata da lui; *sawāminā = sawāʿiminā* (Wright II,374 § 234.a). – V.55: *al-qarḡabu\** K.II,730 »bœuf gros et âgé« IS VIII,39. N.B. Il 1° emistichio è metricamente scorretto, evidentemente incompleto; *al-falātu*, con grafia della *taʿ marbūḡa* come *mabsūḡa* (cfr. v.24). – V.56: *al-aḡdarī\** L.708 »a wild ass« IS VIII,47 + gl.mg. che ripete tal quale il verso e, citando il vocàbolo *ḡudārī = àquila* (cfr. L.ibid.), spiega l'epíteto come »nerissimo«; *al-ʿānātu* (pl. di *ʿāna*) K.II,414 L.2204 »a herd of wild ass; a she-ass« IS VIII,50 + gl.mg. con il solo senso collettivo. – V.57: *aš-šāḡiqātu\** (variante di *sawāḡiq*, nel 2° emistichio, come pl. di *šāḡiq*) K.I,1282 L.1613 »high, lofty, inaccessible« IS X,77 AU f.63v°, l. 15; *al-bāḡiḡātu* K.I,101 L.173 id. IS ibid. + gl.mg. con una serie di tèrmini riferiti alla montagna: *šīʿāb (=šūʿab, pl. di šūʿba)* K.I,1235 L.1556 IS X,72 – *šanāḡīb* (pl. di *šunḡūb*) K.I,1275 IS X,71-72 – *šamārīḡ* (pl. di *šimrāḡ*; cfr. v.18) K.I,1268 L.1596 IS X,71 – *safḡ* K.I,1097 L.1369 IS X,76 – *ḡaḡīḡ* K.I,445 L.588 IS X,76 – *ḡāliḡ* cfr. K.I,625 *ḡawāliḡ* »montagnes à surface unie« l;802 – *ʿarʿan* K.I,885 L.1108 IS,73 – *ḡaud* K.II,117 L.1889 IS X,70 e 78 – *ʿaḡram* K.I,565 L.731 IS X,72 – *ʿalam* K.II,350 L.2140 IS X,71 – *ʿaḡšab* K.I,575 L.742 IS X,77 – *ʿaiḡam* K.II,1637 IS X,77 – *qaḡb* K.II,827 L.2569 IS ibid. – *manḡal* K.II,1333 IS X,76 – *ḡalīf* K.I,622 L.797 IS X,75. – V.59: *al-quḡāmī\** K.II,774 »épervier, avide de chair fraîche« IS VIII,149 AU f.52r°, l. 7 *li-ʿannahu yaḡḡimu ʿilā l-laḡm* + gl.mg. con l'etimologia da *qaḡm* »avidità di carne«, ed i sinònimi: *šaqr* K.I,1352 L.1705 IS VIII,148 – *bāzī* K.I,178 L.201 IS VIII,149 – *ʿaḡdal* K.I,266 L.392 IS VIII,149 – *sauḡaq/sauḡāniḡ* K.I,1208 IS VIII,150. – V.60: *al-fazzu\** K.II,590 »petit

d'antilope« L.2392 «the offspring of the cow« IS VIII,35 = L. AU f.141r°, ll. 7-8 *walad al-baqara* + gl.mg. *walad az-ḡabya*, e i sinònimi: *ḡiṣf* (già nel verso) K.I,577 L.743 IS VIII,21 – *šādin* K.I,1206 L.1521, nonché altre notizie lessicali (che il piccolo di una gazzella si chiama anche, come quello di una vacca selvatica, *ṡalan*, cfr. K.II,103 L.1875 IS VIII,33; che il vitello ha anche i nomi *baḡzaḡ*, cfr. vv.71 e 73, K.I,89 IS VIII,34, e *farqad*, cfr. K.II,585 L.2387 IS VIII,35. – V.61: *al-ḡaiquṡānu\** K.I,467 L.612 »the bird called *durrāḡ*« IS VIII,160; *ad-durrāḡ* K.I,686 L.869 IS VIII,160. – V.62: *al-mahāt* (con grafia della *tāṡ* *marbūṡa* come *mabsūṡa*, cfr. vv.24,55) K.II,1164 IS VIII,36-7 AU f.141r°, l. 15; *rawādun* (lettura dubbia!) K.I,950 »qui va et vient, surtout la nuit (femme)« L.1184; *al-maumātu* (con la stessa anomalia grafica vista in *al-mahāt*) K.II,1611 L.3061 IS X,113. – V.64: *ad-dimaqsu* (= *midaqs*, cfr. Dozy II,575) K.I,734 IS IV,68 AU f.22r°, l. 11. – V.65: *al-ṡiqyānu\** K.II,324 L.2118 »native gold« IS XII,23 + gl.mg. che, oltre a ripetere la definizione data nel verso, dà i sinònimi: *ṡḡad* K.II,250 L.2042 IS XII,23 – *nuḡār/naḡīr* K.II,1280-81 L.2808 IS XII,23. – V.66: *al-luḡainu\** K.II,970 IS XII,24; *ar-rawāmisu\** (variante di *rāmīsāt*, nel v.63) K.I,924 L.1155 »the winds that bury traces«; *aḡ-ḡāriyātu* (cfr. v.35). – V.68: *al-ḡiḡammu\** K.I,589 i.a. »homme doux et généreux«. – V.69: *al-midrahu\** K.I,693 L.876 »a noble chief or lord«; *al-hanawātu* (pl. di *hana*) K.II,1454 »malheur, accident«. – V.70: *al-ḡinḡīḡu\** K.I,638 i.a. »étalon; mâle châtré« IS VI,159 + gl.mg. con i due sensi; *aṡ-ṡāfinātu\** (pl. femm. di *ṡāfin*, cfr. Cor.38:31) K.I,1350 L.1703 »(a horse) standing upon three legs and the extremity of the hoof of the fourth leg« IS VI,184 AU f.43v°, l. 1 *al-qā'im* + gl.mg. con lo stesso senso; *al-munḡibātu* (pl. femm. di *munḡib*) K.II,1198, che rende la IV forma con »être . . . de race (. . . cheval)« L.2765, che ha questo senso nella I. – V.72: *al-ḡadāḡiru\** K.I,446, che dà solo il pl., a cui corrisponde il sing. *ḡiḡīr* »qui a de grosses fesses /un gros ventre; hyène« IS VIII,70 AU f.142v°, l. 15 + gl.mg. che dà il sing. *ḡadāḡira*, l'equivalente *ḡibāṡ* (lo stesso dato nel verso), ed i sinònimi: *ṡumm ṡāmir* K.II,365 L.2156 IS VIII,69 – *ṡarḡāṡ* K.II,210 L.1997 IS VIII,71 (con la nota, come in L., che il maschio non si chiama *ṡarḡāḡ*) – *ṡarfāṡ* K.II,227 L.2016 IS ibid. – *ḡīḡ* K.I,790 IS VIII,70; inoltre, questi altri vocàboli: *simṡ* K.I,1140 L.1429 »the offspring of the wolf, begotten from the hyena« (con la nota che il *simṡ* è qualificato di *ṡazall*, cfr. sopra v.46, per la magrezza del suo posteriore) – *furṡul* K.II,580 »petit d'hyène« IS VIII,72 – *waliḡār* L.2925 »the hole, or den, of the hyena« – *taulaḡ* K.II,1601 L.2966 »the hiding place of a wild beast«; *al-ḡubs* (pl. di *ṡaḡbas*) K.II,431 L.2225 »ash-coloured« IS VIII,71; *al-ḡāmiṡātu* K.I,634 L.812 IS VIII,71. – V.73: *al-baḡzaḡu\** K.I,89 »petit de bête fauve« AU f.141r°, l. 3; *ar-ruḡṡu\** (pl. di *ṡarḡaṡ* e *raqṡāṡ*) K.I,907 L.1135 IS VIII,108 + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *ṡarmāṡ* K.II,235 L.2026 IS VIII,111 – *ḡū ṡ-ṡufyatain* K.II,91 L.1861 IS VIII,109 – *ṡaswad ṡāliḡ* K.I,1162 e 1121 L.1463 IS VIII,107 – *ṡāḡima* K.II,282 L.2076 – *ṡabtar* L.149 IS VIII,109 – *quṡairā* IS ibid. – V.74: *aṡ-ṡurmulātu\** K.I,222 »renard femelle« IS VIII,76 AU f.142v°, l. 9 + gl.mg. che ne dà il sing. e la corrispondente forma maschile *ṡurmul*; *ṡāṡlin* è pl. alternativo di *ṡāṡlibu* (cfr. K.I,225 e L.338); *rawāṡidun*, per lic. poet. (Wright II,387 § 249). – V.76: *al-ḡafādīdu\** (pl. di *ḡafaidad*) K.I,600 »rapide à la course; autruche« IS VIII,54. *N.B.* I tre aggettivi del 2° emistichio presentano una dúplice anomalia: semantica, in quanto introducono una nozione del tutto diversa da quella di »velocità«, data dai lessici per il sostantivo a cui si riferiscono; e grammaticale, in quanto sono dei femminili plurali (infatti, se il 3° lo è anche nella forma, il 1°, *simān*, è



attestato da L.1432 per entrambi i generi, e il 2° è del tipo *fawāʿilu*, usato quasi esclusivamente per singolari del tipo *fāʿila*, cfr. Wright I,214:XIV.5). — V.77: *al-baww*\* K.I,174 L.270 »a skin of a young . . . camel stuffed with straw . . . brought . . . to the mother of the young camel that has died, in order that she may incline to it, and yield her milk« IS VII,31 + gl.mg., che dà questo senso; *tuʿaṭṭafu* (o *taʿaṭṭafu* = *tataʿaṭṭafu*? Cfr. Wright I,65 § 112) K.II,286 L.2080 (dove il verbo appare usato proprio con riferimento a *baww*) e 997 (dove la V forma ha per sinonimo *taraʾ-ʾamat*, per cui si veda la voce seg.); *ar-rāʾimātu*, da *raʾima* K.I,795 »aimer avec une tendresse excessive (chamelle qui aime son petit)« L.998 IS VIII,28. — V.78: *aš-šadqamī*\* K.I,1205 *šadqam* = ʾašdaq »qui a les coins de la bouche larges« L.1520 + gl.mg., che lo dice di uso comune al leone e al cammello, mentre proprio del leone è *harit* (K.II,1410; ma L.2890 lo attesta anche per il cammello e il cavallo; IS VIII,63); *al-ušbul* (pl. di *šibl*) K.I,1186 L.1499 »the whelp of the lion« IS VIII,64; *al-hizabr* K.II,1418 L.2893 »thick and bulky« IS VIII,60 AU f.142r°, l. 21; *al-quṣāqiṣ* K.II,755 »gros, énorme« IS VIII,61 e 63 (lettura alternativa: *al-quḍāqiḍ* K.II,761 »lion«, la I forma »fracasser« IS VIII,62); *al-ḥawwātu* K.I,644 L.820 »bold, daring« (con riferimento all'uomo, all'aquila e al lupo, ma non al leone!). — V.79: *al-qilātu*\* (pl. di *qalt*) K.II,798 L.2555 »a hollow, or cavity« AU f.77r°, l. 13 *nuqra takūnu fī l-ḡabal yastanqīu fīhā l-māʾ* + gl.mg. con il sing. e la definizione *mā ḡtamaʿa min al-māʾ*; *an-niqār* (pl. di *nuqra*) K.II,1323 L.2838 IS X,143; *ar-rawāʾ* K.I,1195 L.1195 i.a. »abundant (water), that satisfies the thirst« IS IX,132; *al-wašalātu* (pl. di *wašal*) K.II,1544 »petite. . . quantité d'eau qui suinte . . . d'un rocher« L.3054 IS IX,135. — V.81: *al-ḥaḍīḍu*\* K.I,445 L.588 i.a. »foot, or bottom, or lowest part of a mountain« IS X,76 AU f.63r°, l. 19 *al-qarār min al-ʾarḍ* + gl.mg., che dà il senso di »parte bassa, piede di una montagna«, e i sinòmini seguenti di montagna/altura: *wašaz* K.II,1541 IS X,82 — *našaz* K.II,1260 L.2795 IS ibid. — *ḥaiḥ* K.I,656 L.833 IS,80 — *naʿf* K.I,1295 IS ibid. — *ḡumud/ḡumud* K.I,324 L.451 IS X,81 — *šamd* K.I,1369 L.1727 IS ibid. — *yafāʿ* K.II,1361 IS X,83 — *ḡafḡaf* K.I,303 IS X,81 e 89 — *naḡwa* K.II,1211 L.3028 IS X,79 — *ralubwa* K.I,813 L.1024; *al-qifāfu*\* (pl. di *quff*) K.II,786 L.2991 »high ground, less than what is termed ḡabal« IS X,81-82 AU f.64, l. 14. — V.82: *al-ʾamtu*\* K.I,52 i.a. »inégalités . . . , accidents du terrain; petites élévations« L.94 + gl.mg., che lo dà equivalente a *quff* (cfr. v.81), con citazione di Cor.20:106; *al-ʾikām* (pl. di ʾakam ) K.I,44 L.73 IS X,83-84; *al-ʾašāʾ*\* (pl. di ʾašāʾa) IS XI,104 AU f.84r°, l. 10 + gl.mg. *šigār an-naḥl* (= IS); *al-mawā-qiru* (pl. di *mūqar* ) K.II,1584 L.2961 »heavily laden with fruit (a palm-tree)«. *N.B.* Si tratta evidentemente di un epíteto esornativo, che non ha nulla a che fare con il senso particolare di ʾašāʾ »piccole palme«. — V.84: *al-ḥanādisu*\* (pl. di *ḥindis*) K.I,502 L.655 »three nights of the lunar month, next after the *zulam*« IS IX,30 e 40 + gl.mg. con la notizia, piuttosto diversa, che le notti dette *ḥanādis* sono quelle del 19, 20 e 21 di ogni mese; séguono i nomi delle notti di ogni mese, a gruppi di tre: *ḡurar* K.II,447 L.2238 IS IX,30 — *nufal* K.II,1316 L.3036 IS ibid. — *tusaʿ* K.I,198 L.306 IS ibid. — *bīḍ* K.I,184 L.284 IS ibid. — *duraʿ* K.I,689 L.872 IS ibid. — *zulam* K.II,141 L.1921 — *ḥanādis* (vedi sopra) — *daʾādīʾ* (pl. di *daʾdaʾa*) K.I,660 L.839 IS IX,31 — *malīluḥāq* K.II,1069 L.3018 IS ibid. — *salirār* K.I,1075 L.1339 IX ibid.; *ḥawāliku* (pl. di *ḥālik*) K.I,482 L.631 »intensely black«. — V.85: *al-qulqulu*\* K.II,806 »rapide à la course (cheval)«; *as-sawābiqū* (pl. di *sābiqa*) L.1300 »the horses that precede in battle«. — V.86: *al-ḥiḍāb*\* (pl. di *ḥaḍba*) K.II,1425 L.2897 »a hill, or a



mountain spreading over the surface of the ground« AU f.63v°, ll. 12-13 *al-ğabal yanbaşıtu* ‘alā l-’ard. — V.87: *aṭ-ṭamidātu\** irreperibile nei lessici con il senso suggerito dal verso; *qunfuḍātun* (pl. di *qunfuḍ*, alternativo con *qanāfiḍu*, dato nella gl. alla parola seguente) K.II,825 i.a. »monticule de sable« IS X,136 *wa-’in kāna fīhi* (= *fī r-raml*) ‘arṭā ḡa-huwa *qunfuḍ*; *aš-šamīmātu* K.I,1265 *šamīm* = »haut, élevé« L.1594 id. — V.89: *as-samāmu\** K.I,1134 L.1419 »a sort of bird, less than the species called *qaṭan*, like the *sumānī* (quail)«; *al-kudri* = *al-kudrī* (cfr. Wright II,386 § 248 Rem.), essendo *al-kudrī al-ḡawāfī* una *iḍāfa lafzīya*. — V.90: *al-hauğal\** K.II,1394 i.a. »désert où l’on ne trouve aucun signe propre à guider le voyageur« IS X,115 AU f.66v°, l. 14 *allatī lā ma’alima bihā* + gl.mg. con il dúplice senso di »distesa enorme« e »uomo stolto«. — V.91: *al-qamṭarīru\** K.II,814 L.2565 a distressful, or calamitous, day« IS IX,60. — V.92: *al-muḡdirātu\** (pl. femm. di *muḡdir*) K.I,545 L.708 (= *ḡadir*) »(a lion) keeping . . . in his lurking-place« IS VIII,63; *āsād*, uno dei pl. di ‘asad, che L. attesta »applied to the male and the female«. — V.94: *ar-rağāmu\** K.I,891 L.1114 «fine earth, or dust; sand mixed with earth, or dust« IS X,63 AU f.68r°, l. 11 *al-layyin min at-turāb* + gl.mg., che dà lo stesso senso del verso e cita la frase ‘arğama llāh ‘anfa fūlān, quindi i sinònimi: *baur* K.I,177 L.274 — *daq’ā* K.I,717 L.898 IS X,63 — ‘afar K.II,297 L.2090 IS ibid.— *tarā* (con la nota che il vocàbolo, scritto con *alif mamdūda* significa «ricchezza») K.I,223 L.336; *as-salātimu\** (pl. di *siltim*, v.93) K.I,1119 L.1401 »a calamity, misfortune« IS XII,143 + gl.mg. con i sinònimi: *şailam* K.I,1364 L.1720 IS XII,143 — *na’ād* K.II,1176 L.2751 IS ibid. — *luhaim* K.II,1034 — ‘urabā K.I,123 (‘urb, ‘iraba) L.45 IS XII,144 — *şal’ā* K.I,1362 L.1717 IS ibid. — ‘anqafīr K.II,389 IS XII,143 — ‘umm ḡabaukarā K.I,370 IS XII,144 — *muğalliḡa* cfr. *ğallaḡa* in K.I,312 e L.441 — *rā’iyat as-saqt* cfr. *saqita* in K.I,1105 — *lahāş* K.II,974 IS XII,136. — V.95: *al-qulqu-lānu\** K.II,806 »sorte d’aphrodisiaque préparé avec la graine du *qilqil*«, ma IB n.1822 attesta che è nome alternativo della pianta, come appare nel verso AU f.73v°, l. 20; *al-bīd* = *al-bīdu* (Wright II,385 § 246.b), pl. di *al-baidā*; *ar-rawāhimu* non è attestato, anche se l’accoppiamento con *māṭirāt*, che è epíteto del cielo (cfr. L.272), induce a ritenerlo di senso anàlogo, con evidente collegamento con *rihma* (cfr. K.I,941 L.1171 IS IX,112). — V.96: *as-sāriyātu\** (pl. di *sāriya*) L.1356 i.a. »a cloud that comes by night« + gl.mg., che dà il sing. e i sinònimi: *mukḡahirr* K.II,917 L.3002 IS IX,94 e 97 — *naşāş* K.II,1261 IS IX,97 — *şabīr* K.I,1306 L.1645 IS IX,95 e 97 — *qarid* K.II,709 L.2513 IS IX,98 — *ḡabī* K.I,372 L.508 IS IX,94 — *hiḡḡ* K.II,1429 IS IX,101 — *nağw* K.II,1211 L.3028 IS IX,93 e 101 — *ğahām* K.I,347 L.478 IS IX,101; *suhbun* = *suhubun* (Wright II,384 § 246.a); *munhamilātu* K.II,1444, dove la VII forma appare con solo riferimento agli occhi. — V.97: *aş-şā’ihātu* sull’uso oscillante dei due gèneri in *dīk*, cfr. L.942. — V.100: ‘aḡsantumu per la quantità della vocale finale, considerata lunga, cfr. Wright citato al v.6.

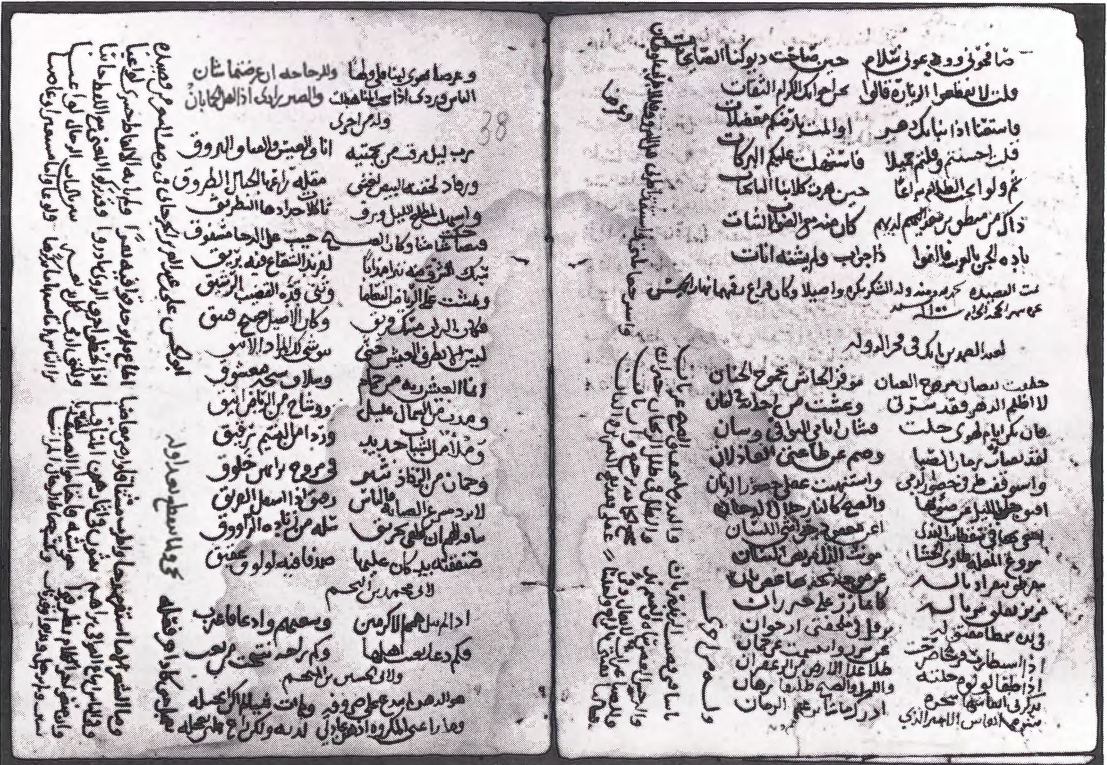








Tav.III. - Ms. Ambrosiano àrabo H 94,ff.36v - 37r.



Tav.IV. - Ms. Ambrosiano àrabo H 94,ff.37v - 38r.



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# Le mariage musulman dit «préférentiel»

## Remarques et hypothèses

JOSEPH TUBIANA, Paris

On a observé que dans un très grand nombre de sociétés musulmanes le meilleur mariage possible est celui qui unit les enfants de deux frères.

Ce qui ne permet pas de dire que tel est le cas dans *toutes* les sociétés musulmanes, c'est qu'un recensement global des informations qui ont été publiées n'a pas, que l'on sache, été fait. Ce ne serait cependant pas une tâche futile, et n'importe quelle institution qui l'entreprendrait se verrait sans doute assurée de nombreux concours. Il serait important en effet de savoir s'il y a aujourd'hui des sociétés musulmanes pour lesquelles ce type de mariage n'est pas le mariage idéal. Dans tous les cas une investigation historique reste à faire: comment la préférence pour cette union s'est-elle exprimée et imposée au cours du temps? a-t-elle préexisté à l'islamisation?

Ce mariage unit deux cousins parallèles patrilatéraux. Il a suscité de nombreux commentaires sur ses aspects économiques, politiques, biologiques etc. La bibliographie est innombrable. Chaque auteur, en fonction de la société étudiée et probablement aussi de ses inclinations, a tenté de fournir des explications parfois trop catégoriques pour ne pas être contredites par d'autres faits.

Ce qui est remarquable, c'est que les gens qui valorisent ce mariage n'éprouvent pas spontanément le besoin d'en donner les raisons. L'immense majorité des explications fournies est *extérieure* à la société considérée. Les autres explications, sauf erreur de ma part, ont été *provoquées* également par des étrangers à la société étudiée.

Mais peut-être y a-t-il encore place pour quelques brèves remarques qui pourraient compléter ce qui a déjà été dit (sauf si les publications où elles pourraient se trouver m'avaient échappé; comme je l'ai dit, l'ampleur de la bibliographie défie les capacités humaines).

Dans le cas présent, les sociétés qui pratiquent le mariage des cousins parallèles patrilatéraux sont des sociétés où la polygynie est la norme. Il s'ensuit que les frères qui marient leurs enfants ne sont souvent que des demi-frères (de même père et de mères différentes).

Un autre aspect des choses qui doit être souligné est que, lorsque les enfants arrivent à l'âge du mariage, la règle absolue (de l'ordre de la coutume) est que toujours l'aîné doit être marié avant le cadet. Donc l'aîné des cousins doit épouser l'aînée des cousines. Voici qu'une nouvelle question se pose, qui n'est pas purement théorique. Si le jeune homme qui vient de se marier a un frère cadet, et si sa femme a une sœur cadette, ces deux cousins-là ont-ils la possibilité de s'épouser? Autrement dit, quelles sont les sociétés musulmanes où deux frères (ou demi-frères) peuvent épouser deux sœurs (ou demi-sœurs)? Ce genre de double mariage n'est

pas partout prohibé, semble-t-il; peut-être serait-il même valorisé. Mais il se heurte à une autre coutume, celle du lévirat musulman, et à un type de mariage prohibé, car conçu comme incestueux.

En effet, à la mort de son frère aîné, le frère cadet doit épouser la veuve. Dès son mariage la femme du frère aîné est donc pour le cadet une épouse potentielle. Si un cadet prenait pour femme la sœur cadette de l'épouse de son frère aîné, il s'exposerait au risque de devenir l'époux de deux sœurs (ou demi-sœurs). Quelles sont les sociétés musulmanes qui admettent qu'un même homme soit simultanément le mari de deux sœurs? Telle est la question qui se pose<sup>1</sup>.

Un autre trait latent des sociétés pratiquant la polygynie est la crainte de manquer de femmes. Dans le concret c'est la rivalité pour l'obtention des jeunes femmes non-mariées entre les jeunes hommes plus ou moins démunis et les vieillards riches et importants. Le devoir du père de famille musulman étant de marier ses enfants, un fils d'un milieu aisé aura moins de mal à obtenir une épouse qu'un jeune homme sans famille ou seulement pauvre<sup>2</sup>. D'où l'importance de la promesse de mariage faite par les parents au nom de l'enfant.

On a observé que souvent un homme fait va jusqu'à demander en mariage une petite fille de six ou huit ans, pour s'assurer en quelque sorte sa possession pour l'avenir. On cite des cas exceptionnels où une fille est demandée par un ami de la famille dès sa naissance. On cite souvent, avec admiration, des cas où deux amis très intimes, dont les femmes attendent chacune un enfant, se promettent l'un à l'autre de les marier s'ils sont de sexe différent. Et même, deux amis célibataires peuvent prendre le même engagement sans attendre d'avoir un espoir de progéniture.

N'y a-t-il pas dans cette double promesse plus qu'un simple engagement au mariage? Dans le contexte que nous connaissons, et par référence à un archétype idéal, n'est-ce pas pour les deux hommes affirmer une fraternité (non naturelle) que de s'engager à marier leurs enfants, comme la coutume l'impose à deux frères par le sang?

Car les observations auxquelles j'ai fait allusion portent non seulement sur la pratique mais aussi sur une formulation théorique. La règle, dont on se prévaut en cas de litige, est que le cousin parallèle patrilatéral (*ibn 'amm*) appartient à sa cousine (*bint 'amm*) autant qu'elle lui appartient. Les deux enfants sauront très tôt qu'ils ont des droits l'un sur l'autre et qu'ils doivent en être fiers.

Je ne crois pas avoir relevé qu'une jeune fille ait jamais fait valoir ses droits sur son cousin — par pudeur, car le mariage est une affaire sexuelle, ou par fierté, car être dédaignée est blessant, ou encore parce que la société lui laisse moins d'initiative qu'à un garçon. Mais sans aucun doute ses parents, et surtout son père, peuvent le faire: il ne faut pas oublier que le mariage est ici, au-delà de l'union de deux individus, l'alliance de deux groupes.

Du côté du garçon, la famille également fait valoir ses droits sur la fille. Parfois c'est le garçon lui-même qui le fait, avec l'assentiment de son père.

<sup>1</sup> Il y a quelques années, dans un village de Grande Kabylie, un Kabyle (musulman) vivait avec deux sœurs, françaises, qu'il avait ramenées dans son pays après avoir séjourné en France plusieurs années. On ne savait pas s'il les avait épousées, mais ce trio insolite faisait jaser tout le village (observation personnelle).

<sup>2</sup> Car les siens l'aideront à réunir la compensation matrimoniale.



Cela peut aller jusqu'à l'emploi de la force ou la menace de l'emploi de la force. Normalement les deux pères (qui sont frères) s'accordent pour contraindre l'enfant récalcitrant. C'est une question d'honneur familial: un engagement aussi transcendant ne peut être violé<sup>3</sup>.

Nous avons tous, dans nos notes, nos observations, nos souvenirs, des témoignages de cette pratique se référant soit à la réalité vécue, soit à des récits légendaires ou des contes folkloriques<sup>4</sup>.

Si, comme je crois, toute institution des sociétés humaines peut être définie par sa finalité, l'institution du mariage des cousins parallèles patrilatéraux dans les sociétés musulmanes pratiquant la polygynie se définit par la satisfaction du besoin de sécurité.

Pour le garçon, riche ou pauvre, c'est l'assurance, du moment qu'il a une famille, d'obtenir une première épouse sans être trop avancé en âge. En effet, toutes les considérations, économiques ou autres, quelle que soit leur validité (y compris celle que l'existence de jeunes hommes non mariés cherchant à satisfaire leurs besoins sexuels peut créer de graves désordres dans la société), toutes ces considérations sont secondaires par rapport au fait que le mariage c'est avant tout, si l'on ose dire, un mariage, c'est-à-dire l'union de deux êtres de sexe différent en vue de la procréation. Telle est l'attente des deux familles. Cette attente comblée, il en rejillira sur elles honneur et fierté.

Pour la jeune fille c'est également la sécurité de trouver un époux. Elle ne sera pas «laissée pour compte», quelque disgraciée qu'elle puisse être, à moins d'infirmité ou de maladie incurable, de désordres mentaux. De plus le mariage avec son cousin paternel patrilatéral lui offre une autre sécurité, très réelle: en cas de mésentente avec son mari, ou même de mauvais traitements, elle sera assurée de la protection de son beau-père et de toute la famille de son mari. Qui, plus que le frère de son père, a le devoir de la protéger en l'absence de ce dernier? Qui, mieux que le père de son mari, a autorité sur celui-ci pour lui imposer de ne pas maltraiter son épouse? Qui est mieux placé que cet homme pour arbitrer leurs différends? En cas de crise grave, les deux frères se réuniront en un discret conseil de famille pour ramener leurs enfants respectifs à leur devoir<sup>5</sup>.

L'institution de la compensation matrimoniale constituant en quelque sorte une caution matérielle garantissant que la jeune femme ne sera pas trop maltraitée n'est pas suffisante. Le mariage dit «préférentiel» renforce de manière décisive cette garantie<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Quant au prétendant qui, par amour le plus souvent, a osé entrer en concurrence avec le cousin de la jeune fille, son comportement sera jugé avec sévérité par tous, y compris les siens, car il n'est pas convenable de tenter de s'approprier la femme d'autrui. Lui-même n'a-t-il pas une cousine qui l'attend? En principe toute femme est la cousine de quelqu'un, qui est statutairement son futur époux. Si son père a plusieurs frères, elle peut avoir plusieurs cousins pouvant prétendre légitimement l'épouser. Dans ce cas, l'affaire se réglera au sein de la famille.

<sup>4</sup> Tout récemment, Lila Abu-Lughod vient de fournir une contribution de prix à la bibliographie du problème avec son très beau livre *Veiled Sentiments, Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986). Riche de matière, avec des analyses très fines, on le lira avec plaisir et profit.

<sup>5</sup> Ajoutons qu'au cas très improbable où une famille ne protégerait pas la «fille de l'oncle paternel», ses fils perdraient tout espoir de recevoir une de leurs cousines en mariage. Toute rupture de la coutume se propage comme une fêlure dans la société.

<sup>6</sup> C'est pour cette raison que la compensation matrimoniale peut être réduite à un montant minime n'ayant plus qu'une valeur symbolique. En effet, elle ne compte plus dans ce jeu-là.

Dans une société nomade, le mariage exogamique, alors que la femme réside dans la famille de son mari, l'éloigne inexorablement du milieu qui normalement lui doit protection, la met hors d'atteinte de sa famille d'origine — ce qui est d'autant plus grave si sa position juridique est une position inférieure à celle de l'homme. Avec le mariage dit «préférentiel» la femme, où qu'elle aille, ne quitte pas le milieu familial<sup>7</sup>. Le mariage des cousins parallèles patrilatéraux est-il à l'origine une institution propre à la société nomade d'Arabie?

L'institution peut se définir comme une promesse de mariage réciproque, exclusive, obligatoire et généralisée.

La coutume qui prescrit ce genre de mariage peut parfaitement être, à son origine, une coutume de l'Arabie antéislamique. Mais on devrait pouvoir produire à l'appui de cette hypothèse soit des modèles, soit ne serait-ce que des allusions à cet usage. Je n'ai rien rencontré de décisif dans ce sens, me gardant de toute interprétation subjective; mais peut-être ai-je mal cherché<sup>8</sup>. De toutes manières rien ne permet d'écarter cette hypothèse: l'incertitude où nous laisse l'information ne peut avoir de signification négative. Mais il serait imprudent de considérer cette origine comme acquise.

Rien ne permet non plus d'affirmer que c'est une innovation propre à l'islam. Dans le Coran, on ne trouve aucune allusion à cette pratique, ni pour la prescrire, ni pour l'interdire (ni pour la confirmer)<sup>9</sup>. Les ouvrages de jurisprudence, la tradition, sont muets sur ce point. Cependant il y a un modèle, ancien.

Ce modèle, attesté par la tradition shi'ite, est le mariage de deux arrière-petits-enfants du Prophète, dans les circonstances dramatiques du siège de Karbalā<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Situation parfaitement perçue par les femmes Awlād 'Alī, «claiming that love matches never work out because if a woman marries for love she is especially vulnerable to her husband; a woman following her heart probably does so at the expense of her kin group, so, alone in her marital community and without the support of her kin, she has no recourse if mistreated nor any leverage in asserting her rights» (Abu-Lughod, *o. l.*, p. 210–211). Ajoutons qu'il est probable que les femmes et même les hommes de la famille de son mari ne se priveront pas de lui reprocher de ne pas avoir respecté la coutume à laquelle eux-mêmes se sont soumis, quelque peu logique que cela nous puisse paraître. Elle est en quelque sorte une femme dévergoncée, qui a préféré l'amour à son devoir. . .

<sup>8</sup> «Les anciens Arabes semblent avoir poussé très loin la préoccupation de conserver par leur mariage l'intimité de la famille paternelle et du clan. La parenté paternelle n'aurait causé d'obstacle absolu qu'en ligne directe; le frère épousait sa sœur utérine; l'oncle et le cousin avaient un droit de préférence sur sa nièce et sa cousine paternelle» (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris, 1957, p. 613–4). Il ne semble pas qu'il y ait eu information nouvelle depuis.

<sup>9</sup> Par exemple: «N'épousez point celles des femmes qu'ont épousées vos pères — sauf celles épousées dans le passé. C'est là turpitude abominable et combien détestable chemin!

Illicites sont pour vous vos mères, vos filles, vos sœurs, vos tantes paternelles et maternelles, vos nièces du côté du frère et vos nièces du côté de la sœur, vos mères et vos sœurs de lait, les mères de vos femmes, les belles-filles qui sont dans votre giron et nées de vos femmes avec qui vous avez consommé le mariage (. . .), les épouses de vos fils nés de vos reins, d'épouser ensemble les deux sœurs — sauf celles épousées dans le passé (. . .)

Licite est pour vous de rechercher [des épouses] en dehors de celles qui ont été énumérées. . . » (*Coran*, traduction R. Blachère, IV, 26–28).

<sup>10</sup> C'est le plus ancien mariage avec la fille de l'oncle paternel que l'on connaisse dans la tradition islamique. Lorsque 'Alī (v. ci-après) épouse Fāṭima, il se marie avec la fille

Historiquement, l'affaire de Karbalā' est un épisode de la rivalité pour le califat, au VIIe siècle, entre les descendants de 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib et le Syrien Mu'āwiya et son fils Yazīd. On se souvient que 'Alī était un cousin parallèle patrilatéral du Prophète, leurs pères respectifs étant des demi-frères. De plus, 'Alī, épousant Fāṭima, devint le gendre du Prophète. De ce mariage naquirent les célèbres imams Ḥasan et Ḥusayn, leur sœur Zaynab et leur frère al-'Abbās.

A la mort de leur père, en 661, Ḥasan, qui pouvait se prévaloir d'être le petit-fils du Prophète, s'attribua le califat. Mais ses prétentions ne furent pas admises par les Syriens qui déjà s'étaient opposés à son père. Après une période d'affrontements il finit par y renoncer et se retira à Médine où il mourut, selon les uns de maladie, selon les autres empoisonné à l'instigation de son rival. La tradition a retenu qu'il laissait un fils, Qāsim<sup>11</sup>.

Son frère Ḥusayn, à son tour, revendique le califat. Son aventure se terminera en Irak où, encerclé dans son campement de Karbalā' avec plusieurs membres de sa famille qui l'avaient suivi, il trouvera la mort aux mains des Syriens. Son neveu Qāsim l'avait héroïquement précédé dans la mort (10 octobre 680).

Pour les shī'ites, le souvenir des martyrs de Karbalā' est impérissable. Leur héroïsme est commémoré chaque année, avec une émotion intense, dans des représentations publiques qu'on a comparées aux «mystères» de l'Europe chrétienne, à ses «jeux de la Passion»; et c'est une passion familiale, en effet, qui est commémorée<sup>12</sup>.

Les observateurs ont relevé que parmi les actions que retracent ces spectacles pieux, l'une des plus populaires est l'épisode du mariage du jeune Qāsim avec sa cousine (parallèle patrilatérale) Zubayda. Déjà, dans son essai *Religions et Philosophies dans l'Asie centrale*, paru en 1865, Gobineau insistait sur l'importance de ce mariage, qui ajoutait un trait d'héroïsme de plus à la geste des martyrs de la maison de Ḥasan et Ḥusayn. Il reprenait en détail une pièce (ta'ziya) à laquelle il avait assisté, intitulée (par lui?) «les noces de Kassem» (pp. 357-390).

Tous les spectateurs savent que Qāsim, fils aîné du défunt imam Ḥasan, et Zubayda, fille aînée de l'imam Ḥusayn (frère cadet de Ḥasan) sont, par leurs pères respectifs, arrière-petits-enfants du Prophète. Ils savent aussi, comme dans la tragédie antique, comment les uns et les autres finiront, affrontant chacun son destin.

Au début du spectacle on apprend que le demi-frère de Ḥusayn, al-'Abbās, vient d'être tué au combat, ainsi que le jeune 'Alī al-Akbar, fils de Ḥusayn. Qāsim veut venger les morts de son oncle et de son cousin et demande à l'imam Ḥusayn, son oncle paternel, la permission d'aller se battre contre les assiégeants et d'essayer de rapporter de l'eau (car le camp en est privé).

Ḥusayn refuse d'envoyer son jeune neveu à une mort certaine. La

de son cousin.

<sup>11</sup> Rappelons que le nom de Qāsim est attribué par la tradition musulmane à un fils du Prophète et de Khadīdja, né avant la révélation et mort en bas âge. Une des filles du Prophète avait reçu le nom de Zaynab. De même que la christianisme a connu l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ, l'islamisme pratique l'Imitation du Prophète.

<sup>12</sup> Les cortèges populaires remémorant les funérailles des martyrs de Karbalā', au milieu des lamentations de foules au paroxysme de l'émotion, dégénèrent parfois (notamment en Inde et au Pakistan) en affrontements sanglants entre shī'ites et sunnites.



nécessité de la vengeance, l'honneur de la famille, la défense de ses droits à la dignité de calife le laissent insensible. C'est à lui seul, homme d'âge, qu'il appartient de faire face à ses ennemis. C'est alors que la mère de Qāsim, qui ne blâme pas son enfant de vouloir trouver une mort héroïque pour l'honneur des siens, lui enseigne que le papier qu'il porte attaché au bras est le testament de son père et que son destin y est fixé.

Qāsim se retourne alors vers son oncle pour lui dire: «C'est ici le testament de mon père; crois ce qu'il ordonne et contente-moi en l'exécutant. Mon père m'a accordé un titre de royauté, il me promet le martyre. Regarde cet écrit que je te présente, et délivre-moi de la servitude où tu me tiens.» Ḥusayn lit le testament de son frère et y découvre avec douleur qu'il doit permettre à son neveu d'aller se battre (ce qui apparaît implicitement) mais en outre que son frère aîné lui demande pour Qāsim la main de sa cousine Zubayda. Il l'apprend à Qāsim, *qui ne s'en doute pas*: «O mon enfant! c'est d'après l'ordre de mon frère que je te donne ma fille; je donne ma propre fille au fils de mon frère!» Il réplique à la mère de Qāsim, qui ne veut pas entendre parler de noces dans de telles circonstances: «. . . tout à l'heure, dans la plaine d'angoisse, la tombe servira de lit nuptial, et le linceul sera la robe de noces.» Les deux cousins sont mariés et aussitôt Qāsim part au combat où il trouve la mort attendue.

L'union des deux cousins parallèles patrilatéraux prend un relief saisissant dans ce cadre dramatique où la fatalité du destin n'enlève rien au désespoir, au contraste de la joie qui devrait être et de la mort qui est: mariage dénoué au moment même où il est accompli, mariage sans avenir, tel est l'effrayant paradoxe.

Pour nous, il nous reste quelques questions à poser. Lorsque Ḥusayn cède à la demande de son frère aîné, est-ce parce que c'est la volonté d'un mort? est-ce parce que c'est la volonté de son frère aîné? est-ce parce qu'il se réfère à un modèle de comportement bien établi dans les valeurs arabes?

On peut se demander aussi si la légende n'attribue pas à Ḥasan, à travers le souhait d'unir les deux familles jusque dans l'anéantissement, le désir de créer une tradition dans l'islam? ou celui d'intégrer dans l'islam une règle arabe antéislamique.

Autre question: comment se fait-il qu'on ne fasse pas état de ce modèle pour justifier les comportements subséquents et encore actuels? On peut se demander si le refus du shi'isme par une grande majorité de musulmans n'a pas conduit à éviter d'en faire une référence; car ce modèle est trop central dans la tradition de ces dissidents.

Malgré cela, la geste des deux imams martyrs et de leurs descendants n'a cessé de circuler dans l'islam, et il serait utile de se pencher sur ses voyages et sa diffusion. Les légendes pieuses comme les autres circulent sans barrières; et rien ne permet de dire que ce soit absolument une légende qui est rapportée par la tradition. Le Pèlerinage de la Mecque, qui est aussi un grand centre d'échanges culturels à tous niveaux entre les musulmans qui s'y rendent et qui en reviennent porteurs de faits et de récits, n'est-il pas en quelque sorte le lieu de l'œcuménisme islamique?

# List of Publications by Oscar Löfgren

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## List of Abbreviations

<i>GHT</i>	Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning. Gothenburg
<i>GP</i>	Göteborgs-Posten. Gothenburg
<i>MO</i>	Le monde oriental. Uppsala
<i>NKP</i>	Nya Kristinehamns-Posten. Kristinehamn
<i>SvD</i>	Svenska Dagbladet. Stockholm
<i>SvM</i>	Svenska Morgonbladet. Stockholm
<i>UNT</i>	Upsala Nya Tidning. Uppsala

1916 (1921)<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Diktens huvudarter. In *Valda uppsatser från studentskrivningen i modersmålet: jämte ämnesförteckningar och statistiska uppgifter*, ed. by Theodor René, pp. 157–59. Lund: Gleerup, 1921.  
Anonymous. Essay written for the *studentexamen*, 1916.

1923

- 2 En Islamkonferens: minnen från ett Tysklandsbesök våren 1921. *Svensk missionstidskrift* 11 (1923), pp. 58–69.

1927

- 3 Ed.: *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel: nach Handschriften in Berlin, Cambridge, Frankfurt am Main, London, Oxford, Paris und Wien zum ersten Male herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und Kommentar versehen*. Paris: Geuthner, 1927. liv, 163 pp., facsimis.  
Ph.D. diss., Uppsala University.

1929

- 4 Die abessinischen Handschriften der Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen, Stockholm. *MO* 23 (1929), pp. 1–22.
- 5 Die äthiopische Bibelausgabe der Katholischen Mission: mit einer Kollation des Danieltextes. *MO* 23 (1929), pp. 175–80.

<sup>1</sup> Contributions to *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* are brought together at the end of this list, otherwise the order is chronological. Omissions: translations of fiction and religious tracts, and some minor contributions to newspapers and to *Dövas tidsskrift* and *Tidning för Sveriges läroverk*.

- 6 Trans.: Johannes Krysostomus' etiopiska nattvardsliturgi. *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 29 (1929), pp. 299–308.

1930

- 7 Ed.: *Jona, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi äthiopisch: unter Zugrundelegung des Oxforder Ms. Huntington 625 nach mehreren Handschriften herausgegeben*. Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond, Uppsala, 38. Paris: Champion; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1930. 103 pp.  
Half title *Das äthiopische Dodekapropheton*. Added title page in Ge'ez.

1931

- 8 Über Abū Maḥrama's *Ḳilādat al-nahr fī wafayāt 'a'yan al-dahr*. *MO* 25 (1931), pp. 120–39.  
Cf. no. 10.

1932

- 9 Ed.: Die beiden äthiopischen Anaphoren "des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien". Trans. and notes by Sebastian Euringer. *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 8 (1932), pp. 210–34.  
Cf. nos. 16 and 17.

1933

- 10 Abū Maḥrama's *Ḳilādat al-nahr*: Ergänzungen zum Aufsatz *MO* XXV, 120–139. *MO* 26–27 (1932–33), pp. 227–28.  
Cf. no. 8.
- 11 Ed.: Die äthiopische Dioscorus–Anaphora. Trans. and notes by Sebastian Euringer. *MO* 26–27 (1932–33), pp. 229–55.
- 12 Ed.: *Die beiden gewöhnlichen äthiopischen Gregorius–Anaphoren: nach 5 bzw. 3 handschriften herausgegeben*. Trans. and notes by Sebastian Euringer. *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. 30,2. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1933. 82 pp.  
Also numbered num. 85 in series. Pages also numbered [63]–142.
- 13 Rev. of *The Ethiopic Text of the Book of Ecclesiastes*, ed. by Samuel A. B. Mercer. *MO* 26–27 (1932–33), pp. 334–45.
- 14 Rev. of *Manuale di ostetricia adattato dallo svedese di Groth e Lindblom in lingua tigrigna*, by Teresa de Pertis. *MO* 26–27 (1932–33), pp. 345–49.
- 15 Varianten und Bemerkungen zur äthiopischen Anaphora der 318 Orthodoxen. *MO* 26–27 (1932–33), pp. 216–26.

1934

- 16 Ed.: Die beiden aethiopischen Anaphoren "des heiligen Cyrillus,



Patriarchen von Alexandrien". (Fortsetzung und Schluß.) Trans. and notes by Sebastian Euringer. *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 9 (1933–34), pp. 44–86.

Cf. nos. 9 and 17.

- 17 Ed.: Nachtrag zu der Cyrillus-Liturgie. Trans. and notes by Sebastian Euringer. *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 9 (1933–34), pp. 264–80.  
Cf. nos. 9 and 16.

1935

- 18 *Ein Hamdānī-Fund: über das Berliner Unicum der beiden ersten Bücher des Iklīl*. Uppsala universitets årsskrift, 1935:7. Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1935. 32 pp.

1936

- 19 Ed.: *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter: Abū Maḥrama's Adengeschichte nebst einschlägigen Abschnitten aus den Werken von Ibn al-Muḡāwir, al-Ġanadī und al-Ahdal*. 1, *Zur Topographie*. 2, *Biographien*. Hälfte 1, *Abān-Umāra (1–217)*. Arbeiten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond, Uppsala, 42:1–2:1. Leipzig: Harrassowitz; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1936. 24, 70; 171 pp.  
Added title page in Arabic. Cf. no. 74.
- 20 San Stefano dei Mori: Abessinienforschningens romerska vagga. SvD 9 Feb. 1936.
- 21 *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der christlichen Texte: nebst einem Beitrag zur Kritik des Peschittatextes*. Uppsala universitets årsskrift, 1936:4. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1936. 103 pp.
- 22 Zur Textkritik der äthiopischen Pachomiusregeln I, II. *MO* 30 (1936), pp. 171–87.

1937

- 23 Trans.: *Utgrävningarna i Ras Shamra och Gamla testamentet*, by René Dussaud. Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1937. 150 pp., ill.  
Trans. of: *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament*.

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 بلى اعلم انه لا يكون الخط الا في نتاج شكلين متباينين فالقوا وهما هو  
 الابن بغير المؤدى الى الخلاص وهو ان تزوج بين هندية وحرة اسانية  
 فانهما لا يلد الا الذهب الابرين ولكن اجزس ولدان كان الولد الانثى والولد  
 عليها من سنة لواط رجال الغيرة انسان وزنا نساء الهند  
 واعلم ان الرجال على قدر خطوتها عندهم واعلم انهن استساجن النساء  
 على عمد انهن انما يتنزلن بالرجال على اعتراف الهند واعلم ان ممات  
 يزيد في زناهم وتحت ما معدت من الخطوة عند الزناة وبالخطوة عند  
 الشحاقيات

وقالوا في خلق المركب بضروب من الخوق والباطل ومن الصدق والكذب  
 من الباطل عندهم ان الشبوطه ولد الرجس من البني واز الشبوط لا يخلق

