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IMRE BANGHA

The Competing Canons of Ānandghan
Eighteenth-century Brajbhasha Poetry in Manuscript Circulation

Abstract

The study of Ānandghan’s transmission presents a case to examine how early modern manuscript circulation in north India was effected when a radically new idea appeared on the literary scene. The Vaishnava renunciate Ānandghan (c. 1700–1757) in his quatrains wrote about love towards a person whom he called Sujān, a word having both Persianate and Indian undertones. By the use of this word, he emphasised continuity between mundane and divine love. Although this approach was rejected by his religious community and later even by Ānandghan himself, his poetry became widely appreciated in north India and many of the most innovative Hindi poets in the coming centuries are indebted to him. The four extant early collections of his poetry were prepared under the influence of the Ānandghan debate in Ānandghan’s lifetime or shortly after. Taking two other, now lost, anthologies into account the article examines the development of the corpus of Ānandghan’s quatrains into six collections, manipulated to present either a more religious or a more secular Ānandghan.

Introduction

While in many other parts of the world the emergence of print culture was one of the most conspicuous corollaries of early modern culture, it was not so in South Asia, which maintained its long and rich tradition of oral and manuscript transmission. In spite

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1 I am grateful to Dr. Udaya Shanker Dubey (Allahabad), Dr. K.B.L. Pandey (Datiya), Dr. Naresh Chandra Bansal (Kasganj) and Dr. Devkumar Kulshreshtha (Bharatpur) for providing me copies of manuscripts and manuscript references. I also express my gratitude to the Max Müller Memorial Fund in Oxford and to the Sub-Faculty of South and Inner Asian Studies in Oxford for the funding of several study tours to India between 2000 and in 2007 to collect copies of manuscripts examined in this essay.
of the lack of print culture eighteenth century north India presented a lively literary scene with fast circulation of ideas in oral or handwritten form.

Hindi literary culture in the eighteenth-century century in its themes, genres, contexts and transmission represented continuity with the previous three or four centuries. There was, however, a marked increase in readership of Brajhasha literature as can be perceived from the dramatic upsurge of Hindi manuscripts. While Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic manuscripts appear in a relatively high number at earlier times, today there are only one or two dozen extant Hindi manuscripts dated prior to 1600. There are a few hundred catalogued manuscripts from the seventeenth century but from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, we have an ever-increasing number of them totalling to hundreds of thousands. How is manuscript circulation effected when a radically new idea appears on the literary scene? – The study of Ānandghan’s transmission presents a good case to examine this question.

Amongst the most popular forms of early Hindi literature are the ‘independent poems’, muktakas, a genre inherited from Sanskrit. The most popular muktakas were sententious couplets, dohas, or more courtly quatrains, kavittas and savaiyās, which in most of the cases were probably presented orally in a court for aesthetic enjoyment. Along with oral transmission, they were also circulated in handwritten albums of random poems and in manuscript anthologies organised by subject or by author. Structured anthologies were one of the most widely copied genres of early Hindi poetry. Some of them had limited circulation while others acquired the status of being standard or canonical collections on a certain subject or by a certain author.

In his study of the making of some European collections Krzysztof Pomian observed that collections were not random groups of artefacts but collectors selected, ordered, preserved and exhibited objects according to certain criteria. This also holds true to collections of poems in South Asian manuscript culture although preservation in our context must be perceived as copying, and exhibition means circulation. The criteria along which these activities are structured reflect the aesthetic and social milieu of our collector, the creative scribe, who generate meaning by restructuring the received material. The structuring forces include an attempt at completeness from the point of view of certain criteria, such as the traditionally perceived size of an oeuvre (bahattarī, šatak, etc.), the aesthetic value of the collected pieces, or simply the poetic form used.

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Muktakas were anthologised in many possible ways. On the one end there were poets who prepared their own compilations and on the other there were those whose

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muktakas have never been collected into standard anthologies during the pre-modern era. The best-known representatives of the first group are the authors of rūti-books, the rūtigranthakāras, Kesāvdās, Bāhkhārīdās, Dev etc. The latter of them, for example, has produced several often overlapping compilations of his poems for his various patrons. Their rūtigranthas were normally dedicated to a patron but it would need more research to see to what extent did poets produce their muktakas with the structure of a later book in mind. Since these collections had a fixed structure and, perhaps more importantly, the authority of their poets stood behind them they have been transmitted with relatively few structural changes.

It was not necessary that a canon was formed out of the muktaka-poetry of an author. The oeuvre of Ṭhākur (fl. 1800), a late Brajbhasha court poet from Bundelkhand was never collected into a widely copied Ṭhākur-anthology before the twentieth century. Interestingly enough, since his oeuvre was never obscured by the creation of an early modern canon this poet’s work can be quoted as an example of the most archaic type of ‘pre-canon’ transmission. Ṭhākur never seems to have bothered to assemble or even to write down his poems. (In the process of preparing a critical edition, I was able to collect 320 quatrains in his distinctive style and normally bearing his pen-name.) His quatrains were included into handwritten anthologies such as the massive Sudhāsar, and into a very high number of lythographed kabitt-collections of the nineteenth century. He was particularly popular in anthologies of various poets rather than in collections straightforwardly under his name. For the critical edition I have so far consulted 41 handwritten sources and only four of them are exclusively devoted to Ṭhākur. None of them contain more than about one hundred poems – much less than included into the Sudhāsar (136). None is the copy of the other, yet one can observe a tendency towards canon formation in these manuscripts since two of them present a collection of some one hundred poems. It is probably not a coincidence that the first published Ṭhākur anthology was also a Ṭhākur ātak. In the second half of the nineteenth century there seems to have been a consciousness about a ātak of Ṭhākur’s poems and various scribes tried to gather the hundred poems attributed to this popular poet – apparently from anthologies and from oral lore. The advent of the print-culture and the publication of the Ṭhākur ātak in 1904 put an end to the canon-forming attempts in handwritten manuscripts.

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4 Manuscript at Bābu Jagannāth Prasād (Chatarpur) as described in Śyāmsundārē (ed.) Hasatalikhit hindī granthō kt khoj kā vivaran san 1905 (Annual report for the search for Hindi manuscripts for the year 1905). (Allahabad: United Provinces Government Press, 1908; reprint: Benares: Nāgarprācārīnt Sabhā 1995 [VS 2052]) p. 92; Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban, Nr. 9678 16ff; Khāsmohar Sangrah, Pothikhānā, Sawai Mansingh II Museum, Jaipur, Nr. 7683. 7ff; Thākur-satsat at Panjab University, Patiala, Nr. 115412 (366). There are two more collections that give Thākur’s quatrains grouped together in one place under a distinct heading although they contain pomes by several other poets: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur, Nr. 4288 ff. 126r-7r and Ras Bhāratt Sansthān, Vrindaban, Nr. 548 ff. 68v-71v.

5 One is the manuscript at Bābu Jagannāth Prasād (Chatarpur) as described in Śyāmsundardās 1908, the other is Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban, Nr. 9678.

books. Although Thākura can be an emblematic figure at the end of early modern canon-formation in a way his case is the most archaic of all.

If we look at canons formed not by the author but by scribes, who are often scholars themselves, the scenery becomes variegated. Anthologies of muktakas have been forming throughout the early modern period. We have only a few critical editions of early modern Hindi works at our disposal. It is, however, clear that most Hindi literary texts have undergone redaction after the death of their author. From these examples one can see how canonised versions superseded earlier manuscripts and often we can only find traces of their existence. With one exception all the forty-odd manuscripts examined in these editions are post-canon versions.

Only a few of the existing critical editions are able to present the development of the text in a socio-cultural context. Traces of a conscious theological intervention can be found in the case of two sixteenth-century devotees from Vrindaban. Collections of Hariram Vyās’s works were constructed in the light of eighteenth-century debates about Vyās’s sectarian affiliation although it is clear from Vyās’s songs that he did not conceive sectarian affiliation as an important issue. Similarly, theological motivations shaped the canon of Hit Harivaṁśa. Rupert Snell in his edition of the eighty-four pads of Hit Harivaṁśa suggests that a portion of eleven songs in the middle of the collection (songs 39-49) may represent an accretion to a pre-existing collection of pads and goes on saying that the inclusion of these stanzas is the result of a conscious amplification in view of the fact that it is approximately the same sequence that the predominance of Radha becomes established for the first time in the text, and thus this part confirms the

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7 Alain Entwistle in his study of the transmission of Kevalrām’s (b. 1617) Rās māna ke pad found that the text available in manuscripts today is a composite text. This text was the result of copying an original exemplar – the folios of which were in slight disorder – and comparing the exemplar intermittently with another source text. The outcome was omission or conflation as well as correction of some omissions and insertion of pads respectively (Alan W. Entwistle, The Rāsa māna ke pada of Kevalarāma: a medieval Hindi text of the Eighth Gaddī of the Vallabha sect, Egbert Forsten, Groningen 1993, pp. 86–87.) Rosenstein in her edition of the poetry of another sixteenth-century devotee, Svāmī Haridās, distinguishes two phases in the development of the textual transmission, one before the canonisation of Haridās’s poetry and one after. An early manuscript of the canonised version from 1755 suggests that the canonisation took place sometime before 1755. Two or three of the sixteen manuscripts inspected by Rosenstein contain traces of the period before canonisation and are closer to a period of oral transmission. (Lucy L. Rosenstein, The Devotional Poetry of Svāmī Haridās: A Study of early Brajbhāsa Verse, Egbert Forsten, Groningen 1997, p. 71.) In her edition of the Rās-paṁcādhyāyī of Harirām Vyās (fl. 1550) Heidi Pauwels proposes that the redaction of the Vyās vāntī into a recension that she calls Vrindaban vulgate took place sometime between 1667/8 and 1737. The earliest manuscript of the canonised version from 1755 suggests that the canonisation took place sometime before 1755. Two or three of the sixteen manuscripts inspected by Rosenstein contain traces of the period before canonisation and are closer to a period of oral transmission. (Lucy L. Rosenstein, The Devotional Poetry of Svāmī Haridās: A Study of early Brajbhāsa Verse, Egbert Forsten, Groningen 1997, p. 71.) In her edition of the Rās-paṁcādhyāyī of Harirām Vyās (fl. 1550) Heidi Pauwels proposes that the redaction of the Vyās vāntī into a recension that she calls Vrindaban vulgate took place sometime between 1667/8 and 1737. The earliest manuscript of the vulgate is from 1737. Pauwels had the good luck of finding a dated early manuscript (from 1667/8) that does not contain the redacted version but interestingly enough shares peculiarities with the Rās-paṁcādhyāyī today attributed to Śūrdās. All other manuscripts discovered by Pauwels fall into the Vrindaban vulgate recension (Heidi Pauwels, Kṛṣṇa’s round dance reconsidered: Harirām Vyās’s Hindi Rās-paṁcādhyāyī, Curzon, Richmond 1996: 30–31.)

8 Heidi Pauwels, In Praise of holy Men: Hagiographic Poems by and About Harirām Vyās, Egbert Forsten, Groningen 2002, pp. 24–33 and 128–140. Even in the oldest Vyās-vāntī manuscript examined by Pauwels scribal corrections represent an attempt to distance the manuscript from Rādhāvallabhī sectarian vocabulary (Pauwels 2002, pp. 133).
developed sectarian priorities of the Rādhāvallabh school. In both of these examples the texts associated with some important early religious figures underwent changes when the early forms of Krishna-devotion in Vrindaban amalgamated around more formally organised sects with written canons and guru-disciple lineages. John Stratton Hawley examined the growth of the Sūrṣāgār tradition, which grew enormously in size with later additions generally muting the scandals, surprises and conflicts of the early layers and playing the rationalizing role of the commentator. He also found that during the centuries of transmission various structuring forms shaped the Sūrṣāgār collections. In the earliest layers some prominent phrase or idea, or alphabetical order seems to have suggested that one poem follows another. Hawley suspects that such collections were amassed from memory. Later manuscripts were organized by raga or by some theological or aesthetic concepts, while in a third phase of transmission the Sūrṣāgār was organised according to the twelve skandhas of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in accordance with the concept that Śūrdās translated this Purāṇa into Brajbhasha. This represents an effort to draw the poet into a closer, simpler relation with the high tradition than in fact he stood.

The Vaishnava renunciate Ānandghan (c. 1700–1757), seems to have spent a part of his early life in the Nimbārkī Math in Salemabad near the princely centres of Rupnagar and Kishangarh and later settled in Vrindaban, where he was eventually killed. He introduced new individualism, the description of his personal love, though in terms of Krishna-poetry, into Brajbhasha poetry dominated by devotional and courtly Krishna-themes. His influence on subsequent Braj poetry was enormous and even the modern Hindi poetry of the Chhatyāvād echoed the intensity of the torment of love expressed in his poetry. Readers and listeners associated certain Islamicate romanticism with his quatrains even when they apparently dealt with themes of Krishna-bhakti, while his pādas, devotional songs, and other works were perceived as expressions of genuine Vaishnava devotion. It was the blurring of the boundaries of the secular and the devotional in his quatrains that allowed the creation of several anthologies each reflecting the peculiar approach of their scribes.

In his quatrains Ānandghan wrote about love towards a person whom he called Sujān. In some poems sujān “one with good knowledge, connoisseur”, a word having

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11 Together with more than three thousand other verses, some seven hundred kavitt-savaiyās are published in the Ghan Ānand [granthāvarta] (Vānī-vitān, Benares 1952) that represents Ānandghan’s complete poetic oeuvre. If not indicated otherwise, references to Ānandghan’s work are made on the basis of this publication. On Ānandghan’s life see Imre Bangha, Saneh ko mārag: Ānandghan kā jīvanvītt, Vānī Prakāśan, New Delhi 1999, on the Ānandghan debate Imre Bangha, Lover and Saint: The Early Development of Ānandghan’s Reputation, “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society” XI/2 (July 2001), pp. 175–190, on his contacts with Rupnagar and Salemabad Imre Bangha, Courtly and Religious Communities as Centres of Literary Activity in Eighteenth-
both Persianate (jān “beloved”) and Indian undertones, is an epithet of Krishna or Radha and in some others the word seems to refer to an earthly beloved, who already by his contemporaries was perceived as a courtesan with Muslim background. This “romancing” of the Radha theme was not without parallels at that time. A person living not far from Ānandghan’s math in Salemabad and acquainted with the poet has already done something similar: Nāgridās expressed his love for the slave girl Bani-Thanī with the vocabulary of devotion towards Radha. While Nāgridās did this in the framework of bhakti, Ānandghan’s poetry gained intensity by the description of internal torments and contradictory feelings that develop in love and in his best poetry the Krishna theme is present only as a loose framework. The direct expression of emotions was considered inappropriate in traditional Indian aesthetics that preferred the description of the outside effects of emotion, called anubhāva by Sanskrit theoreticians. Direct expression was associated rather with Persianate poetry but in Ānandghan’s quatrains this was balanced by the extensive use of traditional Indian alaṅkāras, figures of sound and sense. The poem below is one of his most famous quatrains. Although there is no explicit mention of Krishna mythology, the address to a masculine beloved (pyāre sujāna) and the word translated as “my dear child” (lalā), used traditionally as an address to Krishna by the cowherd girls, suggest the setting of the Krishna poetry. This stanza is heavily loaded with traditional Indian figures of sense, the most conspicuous of which are the puns (śleṣa): the word for number (āṅka) also means lap and embrace and, therefore, affection. The end of the last line can also be translated as “you take my mind (mana) but do not give a flirting side-glance (chaṭāṅka)” or “you fathom my mind (mana lehu) though do not caste a glance on me.”

ati sūdhau saneha kau māraga hai jahā neku sayānapa bāṅka nahī;
tahā sāce calā' taji āpunapau, jhajhakaī kaapāṭī je nisāṅka nahī;
ghanā ḍānāda pyāre sujāna, sunau, ita eka tāi dūsaraū āṅka nahī;
tuma kaūna dhaū pāṭī paḍhe hau, lalā, mana lehu pai dehu chaṭāṅka nahī.
(Sujānḥit 267)

The way of love is very straightforward, without the least cleverness or crookedness on it.
The truthful ones walk on it abandoning their selfhood but the designing ones, those with fear, are at loss.


13 If not indicated otherwise poems are translated on the basis of the text of V.P. Miśra’s GhanĀnand [grantāvait] (Vānt-vitān, Benares 1952).
Listen, my dear Sujān, cloud of bliss, one number cannot be changed into another on it.
But what slate have you studied from, my dear child? You take a maund and do not even give a gram!

Ānandghan’s poetry, as often happens with innovations, was not equivocally welcomed in the established framework of Braj poetry in his times and was the subject of bitter debates. In some of my earlier writings I tried to unearth some fragments of these debates from the writings of Ānandghan’s contemporaries. However, chief witness to the debate is the transmission history of Ānandghan, in which the diverse efforts of accommodating his voice in the Brajbhasha poetic universe can be observed. These efforts can be seen today in the various collections of his quatrains.

The controversy

Before examining the transmission history of Ānandghan’s quatrains I will briefly present the atmosphere of controversy in which his new anthologies were prepared. Scribes both moved and puzzled by Ānandghan’s quatrains either interpreted them as expressions of Vaishnava devotion, as is done in the collection Sujānḥit, or as poetry in a courtly style influenced by Persian literary ideas, which expresses an individual’s feelings in love, whether mundane or divine, as in the collection Ghan-Ānand kabitt or simply Kabitt. These two ways of appreciation take on new significance in the light of a third approach, the voice of Ānandghan’s opponents that may have been the most vociferous in their time as we can glimpse it from some mocking verses, the bharuāchand14

The kāyastha Ānandghan was a great rogue. Although he died in the massacre of Braj, his bad reputation remains. This is his description:

That slave of a prostitute abuses his guru; very shameless and dirty; eats paneer and naan.
Steals the words, takes their theme, composes base poems and sings in a particularly lewd tune.
Feeds his body, drier of liquor-vessels, only with meat; harasser of Brahmins and cows, he is pride itself incarnate.
Abode of sin, he visits forbidden women; this is how the world knows the shaven Ānandghan.

He beats the tambourine, sings like a Ḍom or a Ḍhāṛḥī, pleases a Muslim and then gets false fame;
He is the servant of the prostitute Muslim Sujān,
leaves the name of Rām and worships her abode of desire.

These poems attest to the fact that some people questioned Ānandghan’s religiosity in spite of his being a renunciate (‘shaven Ānandghan’). A large part of the blame poured on Ānandghan expressed condemnation from an orthodox Vaishnava point of view emphasising outward signs of religious affiliation. To mock the hidden Persian influence on Ānandghan’s quatrains, the bharuā chand are full of Persian words (although Ānandghan hardly used any). Similarly his association with a courtesan – no matter if there was any evidence for it or if it was inferred from his poetry – was condemned. The influence of the views of this group explains why Ānandghan wrote a work on divine grace as opposed to the outside manifestations of religion, the Kṛpākand nibandh, and why in his later life he himself stopped writing quatrains and repudiated his earlier works,

rasanā gupāla ke guna urajhī;
bahuta bhāti chala chanda banda bakavāda phanda te surajhī;

(Padāvalī: 687)\(^{15}\)

My tongue is entangled in Gopāl’s virtues;
and disentangled from the various bonds of false poems and traps of twaddle.

The overwhelming majority of Ānandghan’s apparently later poetry (more than three thousand stanzas) are devotional couplets or padas.

Brajnāth, a court poet and friend of Mahārājā Savāī Jaisīṃh of Jaipur (r. 1697–1743), took up the task of “restoring” the original poetry by creating a new anthology probably around 1748, when he visited Rupnagar, a centre of the controversy. He composed eight kabitts in praise of Ānandghan’s quatrains\(^{16}\) celebrating the value of personal experience both in Ānandghan and in those who expound and read his poems.

samujhai kabitā ghana ānāda kī hiya ākhina neha kī pīra takī; (2)

The one whose heart’s eyes have seen the pain of love will understand Ānandghan’s poetry.

\(^{15}\) Ānandghan’s Padāvalī is published in Mishra, Ghan Ānand (granthāvalī).

\(^{16}\) Published in Mishra (ed.), Ghan Ānand-kabitt, pp. 1 and 233–234 and Mishra, Ghan Ānand (granthāvalī), pp. 3–4.
Aware of the novelty of this poetry Brajnāth warns its future readers,

\[\text{kabitā ghana ānāda kī na sunau pahacāna nahī uhi kheta sō jū;}\]
\[\text{ju paṛhe bina kyaū hū rahyau na parai tau paṛhau cita maī kari ceta sō jū;}\] (7)

*Do not listen to the poetry of Ānandghan if you are not acquainted with that field; *
*If you cannot keep still at all without reading it, then read it with cautious mind.*

He also has strong views on those who in his opinion misused these poems,

\[\text{pūcha biṣāna binā pasu jo su kahā ghana ānāda bānī bakhānai.} \] (6)

*Why does a tailedless, hornless beast expound Ānandghan’s words?*

The degree of repugnance towards Ānandghan’s *kabitts* can be seen in the fact that Brajnāth claims to have lost his honour, prestige and “character” by copying them. A peculiarity of manuscript transmission was the strict control over circulation facilitated by the limited number of available copies. It was difficult to get the books even for a man of honour and prestige. He had to write them down secretly:

\[\text{maī ati kaśṭa sō līne kabitta ye lāja baṛāī subhāya kō khoya kai;}\]
\[\text{so dukha mero na jānai kōt lai likhāīaī mohū kō goya kai;}\]
\[\text{kaiśi karaū āba jāhū kitai maī bitāe haī rainī dinā saba bhoya kai;}\]
\[\text{prema kī coṭa lāgī jina ākhīna sōī lahai kahā paṇḍīta hoyā kai.} \] (8)

*I have taken these kavitts with a lot of trouble losing my honour, prestige and character. *
*Nobody knows my suffering; “Take” they say “and write them down secretly for me, too” .*
*What shall I do, where shall I go now? I have spent my days and nights immersed in it. *
*What is the use of being a scholar for one whose eyes have been wounded by love?*

The lasting power of the views of the group of opponents may account for the scant explicit appreciation of Ānandghan’s poetry recorded before the 1870s in the works of other poets. It was not until the 1940s and early 1950s that Ānandghan’s two most popular collections, the *Sujāñhit* and the *Kabitt* were published in their entirety by the outstanding scholar Vishvanath Prasad Mishra. The *Kabitt* (GK) was published
independently under the title *Ghan Ānand-kabitt*\(^{17}\), the shorter form of the *Sujānhit* in the *GhanĀnand aur Ānandghan (Granthāvalī)* and its longer version in the *GhanĀnand (Granthāvalī)*.

Today the *Kabitt* is the most popular collection of Ānandghan’s poetry, and usually the first one hundred poems of it form part of university curricula in India. The printed form of the collection contains 505 stanzas: 500 quatrains and 5 couplets (*dohās* and *soraṭhās*). In the manuscripts the *dohās* and *soraṭhās* are not always counted independently, and thus the number of poems comes to 500. The *Sujānhit (SH)* as published in the *GhanĀnand (Granthāvalī)* contains 507 poems (497 *kabitts* as well as 10 *dohās* and *soraṭhās*). It also has a smaller version of 456 poems attested in manuscript and published in the *GhanĀnand aur Ānandghan (Granthāvalī)*. It can be observed that in the *Sujānhit* the quatrains relating to Vaishnava devotion tend to be more frequent towards the end of the collection. The relationship of the two collections kept intrigued Ānandghan-scholars since the appearance of the editions. Mishra thought that the *Kabitt* was the original compilation and the *Sujānhit* was published on the basis of a disordered *Kabitt*. Kishorilal Gupta published a concordance of the two and came to the conclusion that no systematic connection can be detected between the two. In an earlier publication I demonstrated that the poems of the *Kabitt* are selected from the *Sujānhit* and from some other smaller collections and are arranged in a different order to emphasise the all-encompassing aspect of love.\(^{18}\) After gaining access to some more unpublished anthologies I am now revisiting this question.

**Ānandghan in his six eighteenth-century collections**

These published collections are only three out of the several ones that were compiled and copied during the past centuries. There were other collections with restricted circulation that present further attitudes towards the poet, always within the matrix of the individualism and Persian influence debate. These attitudes vary along the same secular and devotional lines and take into consideration the aesthetics of early modern Indian poetry.

1. **The Rupnagar Collection**

As is the case with most early modern Brajbhasha poets, no autograph manuscript of Ānandghan is available today. We have, however three extant manuscripts dated from his lifetime (1727, 1729, 1743)\(^{19}\), two of them were copied in Rupnagar and the

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\(^{17}\) V.P. Mishra (ed.), *GhanĀnand-kabitt [Ghanānand kī kavitā kā sab se prācīn singrah]* (Vāṇī-vitān, Benares 1943). The title was given by Mishra. In manuscripts this compilation is usually called Ānandghankīt kabitt. (This name, however, is used for other collections, too.)


\(^{19}\) City Palace, Jaipur 2437 (4) with 218/9 *kabitts*; its apograph at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur 9431(2) with 218/9 *kabitts*, Alwar RORI 4789(4) with 208 *kabitts*. 
one from 1729 in Shahjahanabad (Delhi). The two Rupnagar manuscripts were copied by the same person, a certain Śvetāmbar Hemrāj.

The two earliest ones with 219 quatrains are virtually the same collection. The third one omits their initial 11 poems and thus has only 208 stanzas. I will refer to these manuscript as the Rupnagar Collection. The three manuscript copies also include twenty other works in total, such as five various poems by the Rupnagar-Kishangarh crown-prince Sāvant Singh “Nāgrīdās”. Three of them bearing a date of composition indicate that these works were composed not long before the time of the preparation of their respective manuscript.20 They contain mostly devotional compilations with the notable exceptions of Bihārī’s celebrated Satsaī in the Śāhjahānābād manuscript and Surati Mī ṣ rā’s Alaṅkār-mālā a work on rhetorics in the book copied in 1743. Both of them are relatively earlier works. The fact that Ānandghan’s poems are surrounded chiefly by devotional works suggests that their scribes intended them to be read along the lines of religious literature (and exploiting the ubiquitous religious element in the two more secular works they tried to drag the Satsaī and the Alankār-mālā into the devotional universe).

No later or undated copies exist of the Rupnagar Collection. Its circulation stopped after the coming into being of the more complete and less extreme compilations, the Sujānhit and the Sujān Vilās.

In spite of its closeness to the poet both in time and space the Rupnagar Collection does not represent the text that was written originally by the Ānandghan. Its quatrains have been drastically altered. Many occurrences of the word for the beloved, (su)jāna, have been changed into clearly religious or secular expressions such as (ju) syāma ‘Krishna’ or su pyārī ‘that beloved (woman)’. This was done in order to avoid the possibility of identifying Krishna with Ānandghan’s worldly beloved. These readings, however, are secondary since the multi-layered connotations of the word sujāna, peculiar to the same poems in all other collections and to the much larger corpus of all other quatrains, is lost in them and the text becomes pedestrian. No later manuscript followed this practice and these early copies must represent an attempt to defend Ānandghan from sectarian accusations. Moreover, the beginning seems to be a selection from poems that were included in less emphatic parts of the archetype. This can be inferred by the fact that the scribe of the 1727 manuscript presents small inconsistencies of selection. All collections include scribal sequence numbers after each poem. The third poem with an explicit reference to Krishna, figures later as 188 (SH 197)21 again suggesting that in the archetype it stood only at this position and by the time the copyist reached it he forgot that it was already included at the beginning, and copied it again mechanically.

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20 The Manorath-manjarī was composed in 1723 and copied into our first manuscript in 1726, the Rasik-ratnāvalī was composed in 1725 and copied into our second manuscript in 1729 and the Bhortā-līlā was composed in 1742 and copied into our third manuscript in 1743. Their author is referred to in the colophons by the deferential (mahārājādhirāj) mahārājkuṁvar śrī sāvant singhīt.

21 Numbers preceded by SH are sequence numbers from the published Sujānhit and numbers preceded by GK are sequence numbers from the published GhanĀnand-kabīt.
The change in the order also caused inconsistency in the numbering sequence.\(^{22}\) The translation of the poem in question reads as,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḍagamagī ḍagani-dharani chabi hī ke bhāra,} \\
\text{dharani chabīlē urā āchā banamāla kī;} \\
\text{sundara badana para korika madana bāraū} \\
\text{cita cubhī citavani locanas bisāla kī;} \\
\text{kāli ihi galī alī nikase aucaka āya,} \\
\text{kahā kahaū aṭaka bhaṭaka tihi kāla kī;} \\
\text{bhijaī haū roma roma ānāda ke ghana chāya} \\
\text{bāsi merī ākhina māī āvani gupāla kī.}
\end{align*}
\]

He made his steps swaying under the weight of his good looks  
with a nice garland running down on his attractive chest.  
I sacrifice millions of love-gods for his beautiful face;  
the glance of his big eyes penetrated into my mind.  
It was yesterday, o my friend, that he suddenly appeared in this lane;  
how can I tell you my confusion at that time?  
I was drenched as the cloud of bliss spread in my every pore  
and the coming of Krishna settled in my eyes.

\textbf{2. The proto-collection}

The above-mentioned discrepancies indicate that the archetype of the Rupnagar Collection was a slightly different collection, which I will call \textit{proto-collection}. This apparently more secular collection was prepared probably by the poet himself and included more or less the same poems as the rather devotional Rupnagar Collection. Going back to the spirit of this lost proto-collection, which emphasised the all-encompassing nature of love rather than sectarian devotion, will be the chief motivation of some later scribes.

The proto-collection contained most poems from the first half of what later became the \textit{Sujānhit}, more exactly poems from upto SH240. Considering the early date of the two Rupnagar Collection manuscripts one can conjecture that they contain the earliest works of Ānandghan\(^{23}\), as did their basis, the proto-collection.

\textsuperscript{22} In this earliest manuscript number 43 is given to two consecutive poems suggesting that the sequential numbering of the archetype was not the same as that of the Rupnagar Collection. Although the copyist tried to present his own sequential numbering at this point he mechanically switched back to that of its archetype. The copyist of the 1729 manuscript corrected the numbering mistake in this place but produced the same a few poems later since in this manuscript the sequential number 46 is given to two different poems.

\textsuperscript{23} This hypothesis is corroborated by other evidence. The 1729 manuscript also has a collection of quatrains written by various authors containing twenty stray poems of Ānandghan. Out of them eighteen are also present in the Rupnagar Collection indicating that they were in all probability taken from various places in the proto-collection. One of the remaining two is number 243 in the \textit{Sujānhit} and one is not included into any later collection. This suggests that poems that are now found after \textit{Sujānhit} 243 were not yet in circulation in 1729.
The four initial poems of the Sujānḥit are different from those of the Rupnagar Collection. The Rupnagar Collection has a sequence of four poems that emphasise bhakti. We can, however, surmise that the first four poems in the Sujānḥit present a more archaic order than those in the Rupnagar Collection. In all probability, the Sujānḥit reproduced the sequence of the proto-Sujānḥit (see below), which was based on the proto-collection. The first three poems in this sequence describe the effect of seeing Sujān, and the fourth one expresses the torments of love saying that they are worse than the torments of a fish out of water. These stanzas set the tone of the whole collection expressing the more courtly convention of starting a compendium on love with pūrvānurāga, love at first sight without yet being able to communicate it to the beloved. Out of these four, however, three were discarded by the compiler of the Rupnagar Collection and only SH3 is present as Rupnagar 5.

One can easily imagine that in compiling an appropriate beginning to a collection scribes may have relied on their memory. Although we cannot exclude the possibility of oral transmission playing a role in written transmission of kabittas, the fact that the scribe of the Rupnagar Collection did not remember that the same poem had already been included into his collection reminds us that we should not overestimate its importance. After these initial sequences of four (and five) quatrains the order of the Rupnagar Collection loosely follows that of the Sujānḥit.

3. The proto-Sujānḥit

The addition of more and more recent poems to the end of the proto-collection lead to the creation of a now lost proto-Sujānḥit (pSH) with some 435 poems. This served as a basis both to the (shorter) Sujānḥit and the Sujān Vilās. Unfortunately we do not possess any manuscript of the proto-Sujānḥit and its second half can only be imagined to be similar to – but possibly presenting minor differences from – the equivalent part of the Sujānḥit (SH220-456).

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24 The initial poem of this sequence does not figure in the Sujānḥit and the following three can be found at later positions in it (SH82, 197, 130). One can observe that SH197 figures twice in the Rupnagar Collection under numbers 3 and 188. The fact that 188 in the Rupnagar Collection and 197 in the Sujānḥit are surrounded by the same poems in the same sequence indicates that this later position has the original sequence in which the compiler of the Rupnagar Collection found the poem, and it was him who also inserted it at the beginning.

25 The few differences, however, are informative, too. Since a later important collection, the Sujān Vilās, based on the proto-Sujānḥit, and ultimately on the proto-collection, follows the order of the Rupnagar Collection and not of the Sujānḥit in the case of a difference between the two, it can be assumed that the sequence of the proto-collection and of the first half of the proto-Sujānḥit is reflected in the sequence of the Rupnagar Collection. Since the Rupnagar Collection discards three initial poems from the proto-collection and introduces four other quatrains the sequence Rupnagar 6-217 can be hypothetically accepted as proto-collection 5-216. The difference in sequential numbering explains the scribal slips at poems 43 and 46 in the 1727 and 1929 manuscripts respectively.

26 Following the equation of Rupnagar Collection 6-217 with proto-collection 5-216 and by extension with proto-Sujānḥit 5-216, hypothetical sequence numbers referring to proto-Sujānḥit stanzas are arrived at by deducting 1 from the available Rupnagar Collection sequence numbers.
4. The Sujānhit

Although the beginning of the Sujānhit, based on the sequence of the proto-collection, preserves a more courtly attitude than the Rupnagar Collection, the rest does not attest to this tendency and every now and then explicitly devotional poems pop up in spite of the fact that they were hardly present in the Rupnagar Collection (and, we can infer, in the proto-Sujānhit).27 (see Table 1.)

The compiler’s principal strategy was to smuggle in more and more bhakti poems into the sequence of the proto-Sujānhit. In one case he has also introduced a spectacular change into the structure of the philosophically most explicit kavitt. The text of the other poems included into compilations other than the extreme Rupnagar Collection is usually untouched and has only a few minor variants. In the kabitt below a more characteristic difference can be observed: besides different readings of some words, the order of the lines is changed:

prema ko mahodadhi apāra heri kai bicāra
bāpuro hahari vāra hī te phiri āyau hai;
tāhi ekarasa hvai bibasa avagāhaī doū
nehi hari rādhā, jinhaī dekhe sarasāyau hai;
tākī koū tarala tarāṅga saṅga chūtyau kana
puṇī loka lokana umaği uphanāyau hai;
sōī ghana ānāda sujāna lāgi heta hota
aise mathi mana āi sarūpa ṭhaharāyau hai.

(Rupnagar 109, GK310)28

Observing that the ocean of love was boundless, poor
Reflection was baffled and turned back from this very side.
Seeing that two lovers of one essence, Hari and Radha,
plunge into it powerless the ocean was overwhelmed.
A particle escaped from one of its billowing waves
welled up and inundated all the worlds.
That particle – stuck to the cloud-of-bliss Sujān – is love;
having thus pondered I have established the image in my mind.

27 After taking four poems from the proto-Sujānhit (pSH5-8=SH5-8), the compiler in SH9-15 added four quatrains about devotion with a shared phrase in their last lines and framed them by two others from another part of the proto-Sujānhit (pSH60, 63). From this point on the sequence of the Sujānhit agrees with that of the Rupnagar Collection (or rather with that of the proto-Sujānhit) with the occasional addition of some bhakti poems as mentioned above.

28 This poem is quoted here as published in the GhanĀnand-kabitt (Mishra 1943). The readings of other non-Sujānhit manuscripts present only orthographic variants.
The text in the *Sujān hit* (SH 116) presents the second line about Hari and Radha as the final line. By the change the philosophy is also changed: in the *Sujān hit* the importance of the ocean of love is lessened by the importance of Krishna and Radha. This version is in accordance with the legend that Ānandghan’s love for Sujān turned into love for Radha and Krishna and it is also in accordance with the structure of the *Sujān hit*, which emphasises first mundane and then divine love. However, this version seems to be more awkward because Krishna and Radha would plunge into the image and not into the ocean of love. The thought expressed in it does not give importance to Sujān, though the poet’s love for Sujān – let Sujān be a woman or a form of the Absolute – is the most important theme of Ānandghan’s quatrains.

Later, with the addition of fifty-one stanzas on bhakti at the end of the smaller *Sujān hit* someone prepared the longer *Sujān hit*, which with its clear emphasis on devotion became one of Ānandghan’s most popular collections. Although moved away from the extreme textual changes of the Rupnagar Collection this *Sujān hit* presented a more devotional poet in a more complete collection than it had been done in the now lost proto-collection and in the proto-*Sujān hit*.

5. The *Sujān Vilās*

Around 1748 the courtier pandit Brajnāth Bhaṭṭ, the vidyāguru of some of the female members of the royal household, visited Rupnagar. He found that Ānandghan’s quatrains were withdrawn from circulation. With his courtly taste Brajnāth may have felt that the compositions that brought new, more individual flavour into Braj poetry were misinterpreted both by the opponents of the poet and by those who tried to reinterpret them as explicit devotion in the Rupnagar Collection. He, therefore, redacted another collection in which he emphasised the non-sectarian, all-encompassing aspect of love. This unpublished compilation can today be found in three later handwritten books preserved in Datiya, Allahabad and Bayana.29 In the first two manuscripts this collection is called Ānandghanī ke kabitt and in the one from Bayana *Sujān Vilās*, a title I will retain in order to distinguish it from other collections that normally call themselves Ānandghan(ī) ke kabitt. The *Sujān Vilās* (SV) originally was not a single compilation but rather five shorter collections selected thematically from the proto-*Sujān hit* and from some other works that contained quatrains. In the Datiya manuscript, which is apparently the oldest extant form of the *Sujān Vilās*, this collection is made up of five sections with independent numbering and with independent colophons in three cases. Poems in these independent sections have different origins. In the Allahabad manuscript, actually also prepared in Datiya, the numbering is continuous but the colophons are still kept, while in the Bayana

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29 (1.) Manuscript originally in the Datiya royal collection, today at Datiya Museum, (2.) manuscript at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad nr. 4305(4) (copied in Datiya, after 1835) and (3.) manuscript in the private collection of Nemichand Sharma, Bayānā (copied in 1853).

30 The fact that the proto-*Sujān hit* was already called *Sujān hit* is reflected by the fact that Brajnāth calls his source by this name.
manuscript even the colophons are lost, thus the indication towards the composite nature of the Sujān Vilās is obscured. Let us have a look at the structure of the Datiya manuscript (I am giving in brackets the numbering of the Allahabad manuscript, which is slightly different from the Datiya one),

1-8 Kabittāṣṭak (8 quatrains by Brajnāth) (=SV₀ 1-8)
1-98 Kabitt Ānandghan ji ke (=SV₁ 9-109)
1-293 Sujānhit (=SV₂ 110-400)
1-108 (no colophon) (=SV₃ 401-[509]³¹)
1-37 (no colophon) (=SV₄ [509]-[546])

The eight kabitts in Praise of Ānandghan in the introductory section were written by Brajnāth as the poetic signature in two of them indicates. They do not talk about Krishna devotion but rather praise the poet’s love and poetic skills and warn the reader that this poetry is different from the “poetry of the world”. They also speak of the difficulties of gaining access to these poems and tell about their secret popularity.

Let us skip the first section of Ānandghan’s poems (SV₁) for a moment and examine the second one (SV₂). In this section (see Table 2) with the exception of the sequence of the first twelve stanzas that present a selection of the first fourteen poems of the Sujānhit with three additional poems from another part of it, the order of the selected poems reflect the sequence of the proto-Sujānhit. Brajnāth, the compiler, read through the proto-Sujānhit and copied the poems that he wanted to include into this section, while leaving out others.³² This section (SV₂) is the longest of all five and is introduced as Sujānhit. It is a selection from the proto-Sujānhit with quatrains on the nature of love³³ first and then on love in separation.³⁴ The next section (SV₃) – now without independent colophon – is another selection from the proto-Sujānhit containing poems on love in union³⁶, wounded pride³⁶, descriptions of the beauty of the beloved and of festivities.³⁷

³¹ Since the Allahabad manuscript is incomplete at the end (its last poem is numbered as 499), numbers in square brackets are hypothetical numbers deducted from the structure of the Datiya manuscript supposing that just as in the earlier parts the two manuscripts present the same poems in the same sequence later. Since there are some minor differences in the earlier parts, there might also be some in the later, missing parts.

³² If we have a look at the beginning of the two Sujānhit selections starting with SV₂ 110 and SV₃ 401, we can observe that from SV₂ 122 onwards the two sections rather follow the sequence of the proto-Sujānhit (pSH) than of the Sujānhit leaving out a few poems and sorting the others into the first or the second section. SV₂ 125-126 follows pSH₈-9 rather than SH₈, 16; SV₂ 132-3 follows pSH 23-24 and SV₃ 406-407 follows pSH 20-21.

³³ SV₂ 110-209 selected from SH₁-165.
³⁴ SV₂ 210-400 selected from SH₁69-439.
³⁵ SV₃ 401-465 selected from SH₁7-253.
³⁶ SV₃ 466-486 selected from SH₆6-150.
³⁷ SV₃ 487-[509] selected from SH₁16-446.
There is a set of eighteen poems that are present in the *Sujānīhit* but not in the *Sujān Vilās*. All contain transcendental message but they are not phrased in the imagery of love, and apart from one quatrain, SH363 about Radha’s name, none of them expresses Vaishnava devotion. They grieve over the worthlessness of life without *bhakti* and real knowledge, warn to turn towards the Absolute and praise the value of the guru. They are poems that repeat ideas expressed in a different devotional trend, that of the *Sant* poets who sing about devotion to an unqualified god. This *Sant* trend was already present in the songs attributed to the most prominent Krishna-poet, Surdās. Before Vṛndāvandevācārya, Ānandghan’s guru, the Nimbārka sect’s poetry was also similar to this *Sant* poetry. Without further evidence we cannot decide whether they were included into the *proto-Sujānīhit* and omitted by the copyist of the *Sujān Vilās* or, alternatively, they were not present in the *proto-Sujānīhit* and were amplifications in the *Sujānīhit*.

Interestingly, poems on explicit bhakti are mostly left out both from this and the following section, so these two sections put an emphasis on love rather than on sectarian bhakti. The poems that were left out made their way into what later became the first section of the *Sujān Vilās* (SV1 9-109).

There is another group of twenty-one poems that Braj Nath rejected from the *proto-Sujānīhit*. These *kabitts* express Vaishnava bhakti explicitly. Eight of them speak of bhakti towards Radha. Six present devotion towards Radha and Krishna jointly or towards the child Krishna. There are also four poems related to some other aspects of Krishna-bhakti. Two of the remaining poems might have been excluded because they are poetically awkward and one *savaiyā* (SH447) might simply have escaped Braj Nath’s attention.

The last section in the *Sujān Vilās* with 37 quatrains seems to rely not on the *Sujānīhit* but on what are now the first 47 stanzas of a work on divine grace, the *Kṛpākanḍ nibandh* with an omission of a block of five quatrains (28-32) and not counting the couplets. Let us return to the first section now, which with 98 poems is a loose collection of Ānandghan’s other quatrains. This section has poems about Krishna’s beauty, the
merits of living in Braj, festivals, Krishna’s flute etc. This can perhaps be a section where Brajnāth included all other quatrains that he had access to. It is not clear why this miscellaneous section precedes the following two although it is secondary to them. Was this swapping just an accident in arranging the various sections? Or was it the work of somebody with a more devotional orientation? Or was it that Brajnāth was under pressure to introduce it?

6. The Kabitt

Although we can today locate three Sujān Vilās manuscripts this compilation of some 546 poems did not gain wide circulation. It rather served as a basis of another collection, the Kabitt (GK) mentioned earlier, which already circulated in 1789 as the date of its earliest available manuscript shows. The Kabitt was composed as a selection from Sujān Vilās. Brajnāth’s first two introductory poems of praise were put at the beginning and the other six at the end. Its compiler had similar views as Brajnāth but reduced the number of the poems and introduced a clearer structure.

The order of poems in the two compilations shows some parallelism. In order to illustrate this, the concordances are given in Table 3.

The compiler changed the sequence of the poems of the Sujān Vilās by leaving out most poems from the miscellaneous first section during the initial copying session. The point of view of its compiler was very similar to that of Brajnāth, who selected poems

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45 A section in the Prempatrikā (PP70-93), the entire Dānghaṭā, quatrains from an unknown source and the above-mentioned Vaishnava bhakti poems of the proto-Sujānhit left out from the other sections are introduced here. If the Sant poems were not present in the proto-Sujānhit then all the quatrains that had been left out from the third and fourth sections of the Sujān Vilās are included here.

46 On a cursory search I have gathered references to five manuscripts: (1) the incomplete archetype of Sujān Sāgar edited by Jagannāthdās ‘Ratnākar’ (Vārāṇasi: Jagannāthdās, 1897) (2) the manuscript that served as a basis for Miśra’s edition in 1943 and was in the private collection of Navanit Caturvedī, Mathurā, (3) City Palace, Jaipur 3513, (4) City Palace, Jaipur 3645, (5) Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur 5374, (6) private collection of Maharaja Prakāś Singh, Mallāpur as described in the manuscript search report of 1926-12a. Since the first editions were based exclusively on the Ghanānand-kabitt manuscripts it can be assumed that many more were in circulation at that time.

47 During his selection process he rushed through the beginning of the Sujān vilās. He picked up only 22 poems from between SV1 17 and SV2 208 but he has taken 337 stanzas from between SV2 210 and SV4 546. Having prepared a collection of 360 quatrains and couplets the compiler went back to the beginning of the Sujān Vilās and took 141 further poems from between SV1 19 and SV2 209. Later three bhakti poems were added at the end probably by someone else to result in a compilation of 505 stanzas.


49 On the basis of this list, one can observe that the poems between GK1 and GK20 are in due order also between SV1 17 and SV2 299 but many have been left out from GK. The poems between GK23 and GK360 are also in due order between SV2 210 and SV[456] with most of the poems included into the Kabitt. Furthermore the poems between GK361 and GK502 are also in due order between SV1 19 and SV2 209 with most of the poems included into the Kabitt.
into the second and third sections of the *Sujān Vilās* omitting almost all bhakti poems. Only two of the twenty one poems absent from the two “*Sujānhit*” sections (SV₂ and SV₃) but included in the first, miscellanea part of the *Sujān Vilās* (SH 28, 197) were finally selected into the *Kabitt*. One may even suspect that it was Brajnāth who at a later time reworked his earlier compilation into a more structured one.

The *Kabitt* seems to be an attempt to rectify the misplacement of the second section of the *Sujān Vilās* and tidying up its structure by putting its general section about love towards the end.

It can be concluded that the Rupnagar Collection and the *Sujānhit* tried to depict Ānandghan rather as a devotional poet, while Brajnāth and the compiler of the *Kabitt* made an effort to present him as a poet having ideas similar to the Persian and Urdu poets, who give importance both to mundane and divine love. The *Sujānhit*, a collection close to the original chronological order of the quatrains and in all probability reflecting the old Ānandghan’s devotionality, and the *Kabitt* that presented the best thematic structure of the poems were perceived as the collections that have the highest aesthetic value and circulated the most in manuscripts and eventually in print while the other collections were subject to limited circulation or were lost to later readerships.

On the basis of the above discussion the following stemma can be established (numbers in brackets indicate the number of poems in each collection),

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*proto-collection (c218)
   |
   |
Rupnagar Collection (218)  *proto-Sujānhit (c435)
   |
   |
shorter Sujānhit (456)  Sujān Vilās ([546])
   |
   |
longer Sujānhit (507)  Kabitt (505)
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All the collections came to being in a relatively short time in manuscript transmission. The first extant manuscript of the Rupnagar collection is from 1727, Brajnāth must have compiled the *Sujān Vilās* around 1748, the first extant *Sujānhit* is from 1776 and the first extant *Kabitt* manuscript from 1789. There are some other collections based on the *Kabitt* but their manuscripts never attained wide circulation.

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50 (1) Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur 4288 ff. 1-36 (written probably before 1831), after a random selection poems numbered as 100-396 are taken from GK 1-366; (2) Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Bikaner 9007 (written in 1823 in Kapurtala), which contains GK147-332 in a different order.
The compilation processes of the four extant collections examined show some similarities. Although the compiler always had a form of the archetype in front of him in a few cases – especially at the beginning of a collection – he might have written down poems from memory. The initial sequences are the results of a strong selecting process since they set the tone for the whole collection. Later copying became more mechanical but even then the scribe was not compelled to follow the archetype strictly. At one time he copied only those poems that he thought to be relevant to a specific theme. He could skip poems or sequences of poems in the archetype or he could interpolate poems into the new collection.

The transmission history in its context

As far as the more specific literary context of Ānandghan’s individualism is concerned, it is more difficult to make clear statements. A large part of Hindi poetry ostensibly following the Sanskrit model preferred to present itself as timeless and avoided direct references to the socio-historical milieu it was produced in. Literary histories are, therefore, at loss in providing a detailed historical context to many works, especially if their author, as is the case with Ānandghan, was not from the ruling elite, whose life can be reconstructed from other documents. Even if what follows remains to a large extent hypothetical it is tempting to speculate on the basis of the extant Ānandghan-material that his early activities took place under the aegis of the sectarian and secular centres of Salemabad, Rupnagar and perhaps Jaipur and Delhi.

It is clear from a survey of Ānandghan’s kabitt-collections that all the manuscripts we have at our disposal are already manipulated manuscripts and that we can only make hypothetical assumptions about the two collections that were in all probability prepared by the young Ānandghan. From the nature of manipulation in the available manuscripts we may construe that there existed a proto-collection that served as a basis to the Rupnagar Collection and was a collection of the quatrains of the young Ānandghan. The proto-collection contained poems about love with or without the paraphernalia of Vaishnava bhakti. One can assume that by 1727, the time of the first extant manuscript of the Rupnagar Collection, Ānandghan was an ascetic, otherwise there would not have been an urge to present his quatrains as explicitly religious ones. In all probability Ānandghan produced his quatrains as an ascetic belonging to the Salemabad branch of the Nimbarka sampadaya, an affiliation attested in some of his later works, such as the Paramahāṁsa vámsāvālī and a pad called Bhojanādī dhun.51 The fact that Ānandghan as a monk expressed love towards a worldly beloved may have been acceptable in some religious circles since many of the ascetics of that time were known to keep women. We know for example that in 1727 Savār Jaisingh of Jaipur induced a group of them to marry and live the life of a householder and established a colony for them in Mathura

51 Both published in Mishra 1952, pp. 607–611 and “Vāṅmukh” p. 76.
called Vairāgyapur, “Town of Asceticism”. One is even tempted to speculate that the Rupnagar collection was prepared under the panic of these measures and a copy was sent over to Jaipur, where it is now preserved.

The proto-collection grew into the proto-Sujānhit by adding Ānandghan’s later poems as they were produced. Since by this time Ānandghan had to defend himself from sectarian accusations, he produced many explicitly Vaishnava poems although most of the quatrains were written in the same vein as the earlier ones. Since he continued to write in the same spirit after the compilation of the devotional Rupnagar collection it can be inferred that the Rupnagar Collection reflected not Ānandghan’s ideas but those of some other group that somehow felt that Ānandghan belonged to them but were embarrassed by his poetry. This group can be either a branch of the Nimbārkīs in Salemābād or the court in Rūpnagar. Ānandghan went on writing love poetry after 1727, and thus the 218 or so quatrains of the proto-collection grew into the some 435 verses of the proto-Sujānhit. It is, therefore, unlikely that his home monastery was the ultimate source of this manipulation. Since the three earliest manuscripts were prepared in places linked to the Kishangarh-Rupnagar royal family it is probable that for some reason it was the Rupnagar court that felt embarrassment for these poems.

We know from the colophons of the Rupnagar Collection that its 1727 and 1743 manuscripts were written in Rupnagar, the then capital town of the Kishangarh state, by a certain Śvetāmbar Hemrāj, who is also known as the copyist of other manuscripts in Rupnagar. The 1729 manuscript, an apograph of the 1727 one, was written in Delhi, which was frequently visited by members of the Kishangarh royal family including Nāgrīdās. All the three manuscripts contain other works along with Ānandghan’s kābit. All of them have one or two works by Nāgrīdās. These manuscripts were clearly written under the influence of Nāgrīdās’s court. Although one can find hardly any instance of intertextuality in the works of Ānandghan and Nāgrīdās it is clear that the two were acquainted with each other especially in their early careers and later lives as devotees in Braj.

In the second quarter of the seventeenth century the Kishangarh court under the patronage of Sāvant Singh “Nāgrīdās” produced some of the most innovative miniature paintings of its time and was an active centre of experimentation with poetry. Under Sāvant Singh’s patronage one can observe a distinct turn towards art in an explicitly religious framework. The overwhelming majority of Nāgrīdās’s poetic output is also framed within the themes of Krishna-bhakti. Although under the growing influence of

53 A manuscript copied by Hemrāj is in the private collection of Dr. Usha Goyal, Jaipur. The now extinct Jain presence is corroborated by a manuscript of Kīrtivaradhān-śisya Dayāratna’s Nemiṇṭhā ḍī ṛ stavar copied in Rupnagar in 1750. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur 12205 (19) 4.
54 There is an old drawing showing the two together in front of Vrindavandvācaśāraya (see Bangha 1999, pp. 61–65). Nāgrīdās’ first biographer, Rādhākṛṣṇadās also mentioned that Nāgrīdās and Ānandghan undertook a journey from Braj towards Kishangarh in 1757 but eventually the two of them split company. See Śyāmsundardās (ed.): Rādhākṛṣṇadās-granthāvalī, Indian Press, Allahabad 1937, p. 173.
Rekhtā (Urdu) poetry in Delhi Nāgrīdās also produced a work called Išk-caman in this idiom, he was careful not to allow Persianate influence into his poetry on a philosophical level. It may be the case that Ānanghan, also acquainted with Persianate poetry either because he was a munshi in Muhammad Shah’s court before becoming an ascetic as a later legend tells us or, more likely, through his guru’s courtly connections. Vṛndāvandevācārya, the superior of Salemabād and Ānanghan’s guru, was one of the most influential religious personalities of his times. He lived a lifestyle similar to that of the contemporary rulers and had excellent contacts with various royal families in Rajasthan. He was surrounded by several servants and had his horses, elephants and arms since he also controlled some groups of ascetic warriors. When he was staying in Jaipur he conducted a lavish life with great feasts.55 The copy of a now lost drawing presents him as teaching Nāgrīdās, Ānanghan and a third devote called Brajanand together. Although, as can be expected, he produced mostly bhakti poetry, one can observe traits of secularisation in his writings. Taken out of the context of his bhakti composition, the Gitāmṛt-gangā56, some of his poems can be read as secular poetry. This secular tone, however, disappears from the writings of the later Nimberkī acharyas.57

On the basis of the above it seems to be likely that a pressure for an unequivocally religious voice came first surprisingly not from a sectarian centre but rather from the court of Rupnagar. Rupnagar’s assertion of religiosity was parallel with and may also have been influenced by the developments in the neighbouring state of Jaipur, where Savājrāisingh was keen on regulating the conduct of the ascetics and to recognise only worship that is based on scriptural authority.58 Jaisingh’s search to establish the purity of religion reminds one to that of his contemporary, Nizām al-Mulk in Hyderabad, who not without admiration for the austere Aurangzeb, endeavoured to establish puritanical Islam in his newly-founded state especially by disapproving un-Koranic arts and illicit parties during Muḥarram.59 It may be that pressure on Ānanghan and on the Nimberkīs to produce explicitly religious poetry grew to an extent that gradually Ānanghan gave in: first he composed more and more explicit bhakti poetry in his favourite quatrain forms. This resulted in the proto-Sujānhit’s growing into the shorter and longer Sujānhits, the inclusion of bhakti-quatrains into other explicitly devotional works and in the composition of the Kṛpākand nibandh, a work still in quatrains but instead of love it deals with the superiority of divine grace over the outward signs of religiosity. But by this time even this was not enough and eventually Ānanghan had to reject the entire Sujānhit.

55 Catherine Clémentin-Ojha, Trident sur le palais 1999, p. 88.
56 The Gitāmṛt Gangā is published in the 1952/3 issue of the literary magazine Śrīsarveśvar.
57 Examples of the work of the two subsequent acharyas can be found in Brahmacārī Bihārīsaraṇ (ed.), Nimberka mādhurī, Brahmacārī Bihārīsaraṇ, Vrindāban 1930, pp. 166–191.
59 The Risala-i darbar-i Asif, translated in M.A. Nayeem, Mughal administration of Deccan under Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah, 1720–48 A.D., Jaico Publishing House, Bombay 1985, pp. 85–94. Contains Nizām al-Mulk’s regulations in 74 points accompanied with some anecdotes. This includes his restrictions on dance parties (p. 87) and an indication of his puritanic attitudes by saying that he “rode his carriage without much pomp”.
That is why no copy of this work is included into the earliest manuscript versions of his collected works, prepared apparently under Nimbārkī sectarian control. The disrepute may also be the cause why Ānandghan gave up living in or near Salemabad and settled down in Vrindaban, where he went on producing thousands of devotional verses and eventually met his death in 1757.

The extent to which Ānandghan discarded his early compositions can be guessed from the story of his meeting with Savālī Mādho Singh in early 1757. When the maharaja of Jaipur praised his poems, evidently his quatrains about Sujān, the poet-ascetic became angry and left Jaipur. The dismissal of his earlier poetry, however, gained Ānandghan an old friend, Nāgrīdās, who after the loss of his throne in 1748 also retired in Vrindaban. The above mentioned visit to Jaipur, for example, took place in the company of Sāvant Singh.

By this time, however, the circulation of Ānandghan’s quatrains slipped out of sectarian control and the poems acquired an independent life. The learned Jaipur courtier Brajnāth managed to get access to them and redacted a new collection. Although we do not have any explicit indication for the time and place of the reduction of the Sujān Vilās, it is likely that it took place sometime around 1748 when he visited Rupnagar. He perceived that the proto-Sujānḥit, to which he had access, was the most important collection of Ānandghan’s complex quatrains. The multi-layered quatrains, however, were interpolated with poems on explicit devotion. Brajnāth perceived rightly that this was done under pressure and prepared a collection in which he rejected the explicit bhakti poems. He even examined other collections of quatrains by Ānandghan and included poems from them as well into his new selection. After some trouble he gained access to the more secular proto-Sujānḥit and to some other minor works with quatrains. Leaving out poems relating to explicit bhakti, written in imitation of the then already two-hundred-year-old Vaishnava lyrics, and two quatrains weak in structure or imagery he prepared two selections from the proto-Sujānḥit (sections 2 and 3 in the Sujān Vilās). He must have held the view that both aesthetic weakness and sectarian interpretation limit the poems’ universal appeal. Brajnāth also selected poems from the Kṛpākand nibandh and for some reason he prepared a devotional miscellanea of all other available quatrains. He also inserted his eight poems at the beginning of the compilation to give guidance on how to read this highly controversial poet.

The Sujān Vilās is arranged according to traditional categories of courtly love-poetry, such as separation (viyog), union (samyog), wounded pride (mān) etc. But its main peculiarity is that Brajnāth was interested in individual feelings rather than in bhakti. In fact this is the field where Ānandghan brought new colour into the Hindi literature. During his work, however, Brajnāth was compelled to insert all the refused poems into the most emphatic place of his compilation, at its beginning. In this way the Sujān Vilās, just like the Sujānḥit, was also the result of a compromise but

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in contrast with the *Sujānḥit*, it lacked the authority of the original poet and acquired only limited circulation.

At a later point of time someone prepared yet another compilation in the original spirit of *Bṛajnāṭh* (even framing it with *Bṛajnāṭh’s* praise). Discarding most of the explicit devotional poems and restructuring it more in way with the *ṛtī*-collections according to loose categories of *nāyikā-bheda*. This more compact collection, the *Kabitt*, fitting into the framework of the poetic conventions of its time acquired large circulation. Moreover, even if the *Sujānḥit* was withdrawn from sectarian circulation it started to be copied probably much earlier than 1776, the year of its first dated copy. In this way from the second half of the eighteenth century two competing canons circulated emphasising to a higher or lower degree the importance of personal emotion and individual love.

**Conclusion**

Manuscript transmission did not simply mean copying but it also presented an opportunity to reinterpret the writings by selection and rearrangement of its components. The fact that compositions by all poets mentioned in the introduction underwent some editing process shows that scribes frequently manipulated subsequent circulation. In this way manuscript transmission differs from printed transmission, where later manipulation had much smaller scope due to the wider availability of earlier editions against which the text could be checked.

A peculiarity of early modern manuscript transmission as compared to the medieval stems from the relative abundance of handwritten books. Unlike during most of the time of Sanskrit literary production, we can more easily access manuscripts from the lifetime or near the lifetime of the authors. This can provide us with a close-up of transmission strategies, which is rarely available for Sanskritists and philologists working on earlier material.

A study of the transmission history of *Ānandghan* shows that controversy about his poetry had its repercussion in the subsequent circulation of his quatrains resulting in the creation of newer and newer collections. Their scribes disagreed in what can be perceived as emblematic poems and in what can be the criteria of the arrangement of the quatrains. It is important to note that attempts at changing the text of the poems were not very effective and the changed text was normally restored in later collections. Indeed, one can feel an urge in the later scribes, that is in *Bṛajnāṭh* and in the compiler of the *Kabitt*, to go back to an “original” secular *Ānandghan*. The relatively short time-period, not more than half century, in which the creation of six different collections took place gives us a glimpse of how fast the dynamics of textual transmission work.

The fact that so different viewpoints about literature can be perceived simply by the comparison of various *muktaka* collections shows how fervently early modern literary ideas were debated in handwritten books, a medium that otherwise would be relegated to the status of an anachronistic remainder of medieval circulation in South Asia.
### Tables

**Table 1. Initial concordance of the Sujānḥit and the hypothetical proto-Sujānḥit**
(The sequence of the proto-Sujānḥit has been conjectured as follows: pSH1-4 = SH1-4, pSH5-216 = Rupnagar 6-217)

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**Table 2. Concordance of the second section of the Sujān-Vilās, the Sujānḥit and the proto-Sujānḥit**

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Table 3. Concordance of the Kabitt and the Sujān-Vilās

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LAURA ŁYKOWSKA

Complementary Oriental Cities, the Case of Harar and Dire Dawa
(Eastern Ethiopia)

Abstract

The article touches on a number of themes relevant to the topic of complementarity of cities. Two cities of Eastern Ethiopia are being considered, Harar, an ancient and religious centre of Islam, also called a holy city of Islam in the Horn of Africa, and Dire Dawa, founded as a railway station, which further developed into a commercial and industrial centre and a second chartered city of Ethiopia – after the capital city of Addis Ababa. Statistical data presented in the article show complementary character of both cities on the level of business and economic development, while cultural data answer the question on how two cities can be complementary in the cultural sphere of a society life, the final result of the article being a suggestion that complementarity can be observed not only as an economic, but also as a cultural phenomenon.

mehedenew Harer, mehedenew Dirre
“I am going to Harer, I am going to Dirre”
Bole2Harlem

The phenomenon described as a complementarity of cities corresponds to the concept of supply and demand as, in the modern world, new urban centres emerge to supply the demands of the old ones. This phenomenon can be presented on the example of two cities situated in Eastern Ethiopia, Harar and Dire Dawa. The reason for including both cities into the domain of the oriental world is their Muslim character within the Horn of Africa. They are both Islamic centres, having specific aesthetic and religious features emblematic of the Orient.
Harar, a holy city of Islam

Harar is believed to have been founded in the 9th century but its prominence in the region is connected with its role as a trading centre, which began from the 12th century. Its location on the trading routes from central Ethiopia to the port of Zeila and a gradual penetration of Islam in the Horn of Africa caused the development of the city. By the early 14th century, Islam was “well entrenched in the area. Muslim influence was, however, probably for a long time limited to the towns”\(^1\). It was Shaikh Abadir from Arabia who named and organized the town. In the 16th century, Harar became the capital of the Sultanate of Adal, with its own currency, water supplies and a great number of mosques and holy graves. Citizens of Harar were engaged in agriculture, but the character of the town was strictly commercial.\(^2\) The city was constantly threatened by the Oromo tribes living around it and, as a consequence, Emir Nur ibn Mujahid decided to build the Jugol wall to protect the town from an invasion by the Oromo people. A sense of security improved the city’s condition, and up to the 19th century Harar developed as an independent Harar Emirate, a trade market and a centre of Islamic learning in the region. After ten years of Egyptian occupation (1875–1885), in 1887 the city was conquered by Menelik, the Emperor of Christian Ethiopia. According to historical comments, “(t)he town’s identity from that moment was continuously degraded [...]. During the reign of Menelik and subsequent regimes, the Harari inhabitants were effectively marginalized from any participation in public government and main civic economic activities”\(^3\). At the same time, Näggadras\(^4\) of Harar, Haylä Giyorgis, who imposed “new customs regulations and additional duties on the trade between Harar and Addis Ababa”\(^5\), became the richest man in Ethiopia and a figure in the Menelik’s court, and finally was appointed a minister of commerce and foreign affairs.\(^6\) Harar remained a major commercial centre until 1908 and, consequently, “(t)he Harar and Diré Dawa customs were among the most lucrative in the country”\(^7\). A modernization of the town took place only under Italian occupation in 1934–1940, as Italians designed an urban planning prospect. Harar had a chance to become one of the best developed towns in Ethiopia. Yet, “at the end of the 1950s, economic growth slowed down”\(^8\). Moreover, an agrarian reform implemented by DERG (1974–1991) reduced the productivity of neighbouring fields and cut the city off its main commercial items, such as coffee and qat. In addition, a New Harar was established in

\(^4\) Näggadras (Amharic: “head of merchants”), “the title of a person who was appointed to control trade as well as to tax and judge in market areas”, in P.P. Garretson, *The Näggadras, trade, and selected towns in nineteenth and early twentieth century Ethiopia*, “The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 12, 3 (1979)”, p. 416.
\(^6\) Ibid., p. 421.
\(^7\) Ibid., p. 431.
\(^8\) Harar, A Muslim City, p. 27.
1902 at a distance of 50 km from Harar, and it soon became the biggest city of the region and the second biggest city of Ethiopia. The city was called Dire Dawa. From that time on, Harar began its transformation into a living museum and a local marketplace. Now, the main tourist attraction of Harar is the historical Jugol wall, which was included in the World Heritage List by UNESCO in 2006, as well as the House of the French poet Arthur Rimbaud, who spent eleven years of his life (1880–1991) in Harar. By its inhabitants Harar is considered the fourth holiest city of Islam, with 82 mosques and about a 100 holy graves.9 A dense concentration of shrines within the city wall “protects people and place from some of the potential dangers lurking in the open spaces beyond”10. As a city of a strong social cohesion11, improving living conditions in sensitive neighbourhood and developing a true urban conviviality, Harar won UNESCO’s Cities for Peace Prize for the African Continent in 2002/2003.12

Dire Dawa, the railway station

Dire Dawa, often called Dirre, was founded as a railway station on the road from the capital city of Addis Ababa to the port of Djibouti. The railway authorities planned to include Harar into the network but the costs of building a tunnel from Dire Dawa to Harar from the elevation of 1200 m up to the 1885 m elevation of Harar were too high and the project was given up. As a consequence, Harar lost its position on the trade route from Addis Ababa to the ports of the Red Sea, and, therefore, its commercial dominance in the region. The impact of Ethiopian railway development on Harar’s urban dynamics was negative, but led to the emergence of a new town called Dire Dawa.

Over the last hundred years Dire Dawa has developed to become one of the largest cities of Ethiopia and, according to Proclamation No. 416/2004, the second chartered city of Ethiopia, after the capital city of Addis Ababa. “For much of the 1980s and early 1990s, Dire Dawa was known throughout the country as the primary market for contraband imports”13. Afterwards, in the late 1990s, when the government changed its policy towards foreign exchange, the contraband market fell down. The importance of Dire Dawa declined as the incidence of poverty in the town increased from 18.2 in 1994 up to 36.6 in 1997.14 Still, Dire Dawa has a railway station, an international airport and

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9 Ibid., p. 40.
12 *ex æquo* with Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), see: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/.
14 Ibid.
an industrial zone. There are modern hospitals and schools as well as big international markets in the town. Even though “the decline of Dire Dawa as a commercial centre is visible in the declining of business income there”\textsuperscript{15}, the administration and management of Dire Dawa successfully encourage Ethiopian and foreign investors to settle there and establish new enterprises. The character of the city is changing from commercial into industrial.

### Complementarity

According to a definition accepted for the need of this article, “[...] complementary cities should have different urban functions or activities and the urban functions of one city should provide services to business or household making use of functions/activities in other centres. [...] activities in one city should provide their services also to business or citizens located in the other city”\textsuperscript{16}. Complementarity is understood and estimated mainly by economic data, but in the case of Harar and Dire Dawa I would include also another aspect of complementarity: a religious and cultural one, which indirectly influences the synergy between them, meeting the condition of “urban functions” at the same time. Statistics show balanced elements (annual population growth rate, poverty profile) as well as major differences between both cities.

**Table 1. Statistics for Harar and Dire Dawa\textsuperscript{17}**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Harar</th>
<th>Dire Dawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of inhabitants</strong></td>
<td>183,344</td>
<td>342,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual population growth rate</strong></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population size: urban/rural %</strong></td>
<td>50/50%</td>
<td>67/32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of households: urban/rural</strong></td>
<td>28,000/18,000</td>
<td>53,000/12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poverty profile (Per capita expenditures, in Birr)</strong>*</td>
<td>1459.68</td>
<td>1397.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In respect to the number of inhabitants, Dire Dawa is bigger from Harar, but its population growth is slightly less intensive from Harar’s. The important thing for the residents of the region might be its climate, which in the case of Dire Dawa is very

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 121.

\textsuperscript{16} E. Meijers, Synergy in polycentric urban regions: complementarity, organising capacity and critical mass, IOS Press, Amsterdam 2007, p. 51.

hot and dry, with a low level of precipitation. The average maximum of Dire is 31.4 degrees Celsius, while its average minimum is about 18.2 degrees Celsius. Harar’s climate is considered one of the most pleasant in the country, with the average minimum and maximum temperatures of 14 degrees Celsius and 25 degrees Celsius, respectively. Even though people prefer to reside in Harar, the number of Dire inhabitants is twice bigger than that of Harar as they settle in the place where they can get a job.\(^{18}\) Harar is more balanced considering its population profile (50% urban/50% rural), while Dire Dawa (67/32%) is more urbanized. According to another source\(^{19}\), the level of Dire Dawa’s urbanization is even higher (73.6/26.4%) which shows the general tendency and intention of the city’s government. The poverty profile shows that the per capita expenditure of Harar is higher\(^{20}\) than that for Dire, which means that Dire is slightly poorer, nevertheless the difference does not create a discrepancy and shows that there is some kind of balance between the two cities.

Harar is the tourist and cultural centre of the region, deriving its income mostly from the tourist business being intentionally promoted by the municipal authorities. For example, within nine months of 2008/2009 Harar earned about 2.3 million Birr\(^{21}\) coming from 4530 foreign tourists visiting the city.\(^{22}\) Harar and the nearby Kulubi are the main religious places of Islam in the Horn of Africa, pilgrimage destinations which attract thousands of

\(^{18}\) There is no statistics available regarding the age of inhabitants but the possible data might show that Dire is a city of young, educated and active people.

\(^{19}\) Dire Dawa Profile prepared by Dire Dawa Provisional Administration Investment, p. 2.

\(^{20}\) In 1995–1996.

\(^{21}\) 1 UDS is around 10 Birr (2009).

\(^{22}\) The information comes from Abdunasir Edris and the Harari State Culture, Tourism and Information Bureau at: http://hararconnection.ethionetlink.com/HC
pilgrims from Ethiopia and other Muslim countries of the region. Most of them arrive by train or by plane via Aba Tenna Dejazmach Yilma International Airport of Dire Dawa, the only airport in the region. Harar’s increasing tourist traffic has already surpassed the capacity of its hotels, therefore many tourists visiting Harar must stop overnight in Dire. Harar still remains the biggest holy city of Islam in the Horn of Africa, supplying Dire Dawa with the religious and cultural background, as well as catering to clients of faith tourism. On the other hand, the historical town does not develop its social infrastructure, such as hotels or hospitals, while Dire Dawa has modern hospitals and a lot of hospital beds which serve not only Harar, but the whole North-Eastern region of Ethiopia.

Harar is a large agricultural centre, as 50 percent of its inhabitants own their agricultural farms, cultivating the famous Harari coffee, qat or sorghum. And here again, cooperation between Harar and Dire is observable, as coffee is sent to mills situated in Dire Dawa, close to the railway. The Harar families cultivate coffee around Harar but have their mills in Dire Dawa, using its industrial facilities as well as economic encouragements offered by Dire’s administration. Harar remains the town of a small, local trade and traditional handicraft, like books’ binding or basketry. From the point of view of education, both cities have equal and balanced opportunities, as Alemaya/Haramaya University is placed in between them. In addition, there is a Military Academy in Harar established in 1957, which serves the whole country, while Dire Dawa has its own Dire Dawa University, Technical College and some private high schools.

However, the complementary character of both cities can be seen not only in the sphere of economy and social infrastructure. In Ethiopian pop culture there are many songs about Harar and Dire Dawa, like Ehsan Abduselam’s “Harariya” or Mikiyas Chernet’s “Abo Mela Alat Dire”. The latter sings: Medhanit nat Dire; Dire Dire fiqir nat Dire (Dire is like a medicine, my love Dire). In 2006 Abdul Kadir released an album “Harar love”, while in his next album of 2009, “Harar Hop”, there is a song “Dire Dawa” sung in the Harari language. Some of the songs literally connect both cities, and the example might be a song by Bole2Harlem pop group, “Enseralen Gojo” (We will build a house together), which starts from the words of a refrain: mehedenew Harer, mehedenew Dirre, which means “I am going to Harer, I am going to Dirre”. The song is about a boy who is going to Harar to marry a beautiful Harari girl. In a clip to this song we can mainly see Harar, but Dire Dawa appears as a train travel destination. There are some other pop songs about Harar which, at the same time, mention Dire Dawa in lyrics or in a clip, and vice versa, like “Dire” by Birhanu Tezera, which has an unofficial title “Dire, Harar”. In comments to the clip we can find a very emotional one: “Dire Harar 4 life!” Such expressions show the mental attitude of the Ethiopians towards the co-existence of both cities.

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23 All songs and clips can be found on Youtube (DireTube).
Conclusion

Harar, having Arabic origin and developing Muslim culture, was founded in the Cushitic environment of the Horn of Africa. Its geographic position on the route to the Red Sea guaranteed development and wealth for its inhabitants for centuries. When it became a part of the Christian Empire, its Muslim character was not an advantage any more and its elevation was not convenient for the railway track. As a consequence, a New Harar called Dire Dawa, built in 1902 as a railway station, supplied its communication and transport functions, becoming the biggest town of the region and the second biggest city of Ethiopia. Modern technology and industrialization changed the definition of public utility, pushing Harar away from the main route to the position of an ancient, historical and religious centre, a city with a great number of mosques and tourist attractions. Dire Dawa has become, literally and metaphorically speaking, an economic locomotive of the region, serving Harar as a transport, communication and industrial support. The survival of the Semitic, Muslim society of Harar in the Cushitic environment of the Christian Ethiopian Empire is regarded as an anomaly.24 In this context, I would consider the complementarity of Harar and Dire Dawa to be a result of the marginalization of Harar at the turn of the 19th century, which ensured the continuation of the process of economic interdependence and co-operation which started as soon as the town was established in the Cushitic territory in the 9th century.

The complementary character of both cities has its surface exposure in some Internet maps of Ethiopia. Not all of them, even those presenting a high level of generality, include both cities, choosing one of them to be a representative – in most cases Dire Dawa. Buses from Addis Ababa to Harar stop at the crossroads between both cities, leaving foreign tourists to change into a taxi. The phenomenon of common identification observed in pop culture reflects the cultural complementarity of both cities and sustains their complementary character in general. For tourists and pilgrims, Dire Dawa is an airport on the way to Harar – for businessmen, Harar is a local attraction to be visited. Statistics show that both cities are self-sufficient regarding the basic level of existence, still, because of a different character of their populations and activities, their symbiosis is observable. Means of transport and communication, the business attitude as well as spiritual and cultural needs create their complementary environments, making it possible for the cities to keep their internal and external balance.

JEAN-CHARLES DUCÈNE

Du nouveau sur les Amazones dans les sources arabes et persanes médiévales

Abstract

In the Arab geographic Literature, since Al-Ḥawrāzmi, the Amazons are generally located in two islands in the North of Europe, contrary to the Classical tradition. In this paper, we want to draw the attention on two classical sources translated into Arabic: the Galen’s commentary on the Hippocratic treatise on airs, waters, places, (Περὶ ἀέρων, υδάτων, τόπων) and the Ororius Historiae adversus paganos, which placed the Amazons in a region bordering the Black sea. We analyze here their influence in the Arab literature.

Introduction

Dans un article publié dans cette revue, en 2002, nous avions commencé à faire l’inventaire des auteurs arabes qui mentionnent les Amazones ou une Ville des femmes en Europe septentrionale, et nous avions tâché d’expliquer le déplacement de la localisation classique des Amazones vers cette mer nordique1. Il ressort ainsi qu’il existe en réalité

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1 J-Ch. Ducène, L’île des Amazones dans la mer Baltique chez les géographes arabes: confluence du Roman d’Alexandre et d’une tradition germanique, pp. 117–128. H. Norris, Islam in the Baltic, pp. 16–17, rend compte de ce travail et fait parallèlement état d’éléments légendaires nordiques qui auraient pu donner naissance à ces mythes chez les auteurs orientaux et de citer (p. 150) la légende des déesses lituaniennes Jurate et Kastytis, celle d’Egle, la reine des couleuvres et (p. 153) de rappeler que le Kalevala cite une île des femmes dans une région de lacs. Par ailleurs, p. 151, en s’appuyant sur Francis Dvornik, (The Slaves, Their Early History and Civilization, 2nd impression, Boston 1959, pp. 295–297 plutôt que pp. 298–307, comme l’avance Norris), l’auteur est près à identifier l’île des Hommes avec l’île de Rügen, au sud de la Suède, qui prend une importance religieuse et politique dans le courant du XIe siècle. Sans récuser ces éléments, il faut tout de même souligner d’abord que les canaux qui auraient permis le transfert de ces légendes restent inconnus d’autant plus que la plus ancienne
deux thématiques proches mais différentes: d’abord les îles des Amazones dans la mer Baltique, constituées d’une île peuplée de femmes et d’une île peuplée d’hommes, ceux-ci rencontrant les premières une fois l’an, et ensuite le thème de la Ville des femmes localisée dans les forêts européennes. Le premier thème est issu d’al-Ḥwārizmī (IXe s.), le second d’Ibrāhīm ibn Ya’qūb (Xe s.). Ibn Sa’īd al-Māqrīzī (XIIIe s.) réunissant les deux éléments dans son traité de géographie mais ne les accordant pas. Nous renvoyons à l’article précité pour les hypothèses que nous avions émises quant à l’origine de cette « délocalisation » des Amazones. Nous voudrions ici apporter de nouveaux éléments au dossier.

Les Amazones dans la traduction arabe du commentaire de Galien du traité d’Hippocrate « Les airs, les eaux et les lieux »

Ce texte, qui ressort tant à la littérature médicale qu’à la littérature géographique, est à notre connaissance le seul texte grec passé en arabe qui localise les Amazones conformément à la tradition antique, à savoir quelque part dans le Caucase.

Le texte d’Hippocrate, Les airs, les eaux et les lieux (Περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων) est un traité qui vise à donner au médecin des indices à propos des faiblesses naturelles des individus selon le cadre naturel dans lequel ils vivent. Il soutient également que l’Homme peut contrevenir à ce déterminisme géographique, en prenant notamment l’exemple des Amazones (XVII, 3-4). On leur brûle le sein droit afin que toute la force de la croissance se déplace dans le bras droit. Remarquons qu’Hippocrate ne les appelle pas « Amazones » mais en fait des femmes de race scythe et plus particulièrement du peuple appelé « Sauromate » (Σαυρομάται καλεῦνται). Ce traité hippocratique a été l’objet d’un commentaire par Galien lors de son second séjour à Rome, entre 180 et 192. Le texte grec n’a pas été conservé.

Une traduction arabe du traité d’Hippocrate a dû exister mais sa diffusion semble avoir été très réduite car seul le médecin chrétien Ishāq Ibn ‘Alī ar-Ruḥāwī en cite neuf passages dans son ouvrage de déontologie médicale, le Kitāb adab at-ṭibb. En revanche, le commentaire par Galien a été traduit et largement diffusé. C’est le traducteur nestorien Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq qui le traduit en syriaque et le commente, puis fait passer le texte en arabe alors que son neveu, Ḥubayṣ, traduit le grec directement en

attestation des îles des Amazones dans la mer Baltique est due à al-Ḥwārizmī, soit du deuxième quart du IXe siècle.


3 Hippocrate, Airs, eaux, lieux, p. 134.


arabe, pour le même commanditaire, Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā (m. 259/873). Le texte syriaque et le commentaire sont perdus mais le texte arabe est connu sous deux versions: une courte et une longue. La version courte est constituée par les lemmes extraits du commentaire de Galien. Elle est attestée par quatre manuscrits qui présentent deux recensions sensiblement différentes: une recension est plus conservatrice, tandis que l’autre contient des leçons fautives. Aucune de ces deux recensions ne donne cependant de passage correspondant au texte d’Hippocrate. On a l’impression qu’il a été escamoté par le rédacteur.


On y trouve une description des Amazones au début d’un chapitre portant sur « les Turcs et la raison pour laquelle ils se ressemblent physiquement les uns les autres », dans le commentaire de G a li e n d’un propos d’H i ppocr at e sur les Scythes que le traducteur arabe a rendu par « Turcs ».

« Selon Galien (qāla Ǧālinūs), les gens que l’on appelle Sauromate (Ṣārūmāta) sont petits avec des yeux [allongés] (…). Nous devons savoir que leurs femmes, d’après ce que l’on rapporte, se cautérisent (takwī) un des deux seins afin qu’il ne grandisse pas et que toutes leurs forces restent dans leur bras. Quant au reste de leur histoire, Hippocrate parle de [ces] hommes et de [ces] femmes dans ses livres et il les appelle Amāzūnus « Celles qui ont un seul sein » (ḏawāt ḥādi wāḥid) parce qu’elles ont coupé l’autre. Elles ne sont pas embarrassées à tirer des flèches depuis le dos des chevaux. Et si elles n’avaient pas la nécessité d’allaiter leurs enfants (awlādihinna), elles se trancheraient le second sein. »

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8 Hippocrate, Airs, eaux, lieux, p. 142, note 272, remarque de Jouanna.
9 La lecture est incertaine car, comparé au texte donné par A1-Mawāzi (cfr infra), il appa"rit que le texte arabe de ce manuscrit donne une version abrégée.
10 La lecture est incertaine car la syntaxe n’est pas régulière.
11 F. Sezgin, Galen’s Commentary on the Hippocratic Treatise on Airs, Waters, Places in Arabic Translation, p. 112.
Ce texte est sans doute la source d’une autre attestation de cette localisation dans la littérature arabe, en effet, le traité de géographie découvert depuis peu, le Kitāb ǧarāʾīb al-funūn wa-mulāḥ al-ʿuyūn (Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Arab C. 90)\(^{12}\), livre deux mentions des Amazones.

C’est un ouvrage composé à l’époque fatimide, en Égypte, dans la première moitié du XIe siècle, mais le manuscrit est du XIIe ou du XIIIe siècle. Dans le chapitre 3 du livre II, consacré au sept climats et aux pays qu’ils recouvrent, précisément dans la description du sixième climat, il est fait mention des Amazones au nord du Caucase (f. 25a) conformément à la tradition classique: « Les habitants de ce climat sont les Burğān et les Slaves. Dans une région, se trouvent des villes habitées uniquement par des femmes, elles sont connues en grec (bi-ar-rūmiyya) sous le nom d’Amazones (Amūzuniyās) ce qui signifie qu’elles coupent leur sein droit et cautérisent l’endroit afin qu’elles ne soient pas empêchées de combattre, de faire la guerre et de descendre de cheval [pour se battre]. Elles sont aussi appelées libres (darūrtiyāt) parce que S.m.rīs les a combattues. Elles tuent leurs enfants mâles. Pour cette raison, elles n’élèvent que des femmes. Mais chaque année, elles sortent vers les limites des territoires de H.r.m.zah et de la ville de Burğān\(^{13}\), où les hommes burğān ont des relations sexuelles avec elles, dont elles conçoivent des enfants. Elles retournent ensuite chez elles et se préparent à la guerre. Cela est bien connu et aucun savant ne le nie. »

Dans le même chapitre, mais plus loin dans la description du septième climat, l’auteur a inséré une notice relative à l’île des Amazones, selon la tradition remontant à Al-Ḥwārizmī, mais sans s’apercevoir du doublet: « Dans l’île Amūnyūnas qui est en rapport (al-mansūba) avec les femmes, il y a trois rivières. Ptolémée\(^{14}\) et d’autres savants mentionnent cette île et disent qu’elle n’est habitée que par des femmes. Elles conçoivent chaque année par un vent qui souffle à un moment donné et elles n’engendrent que des filles. Dans l’île Amūnānūs en rapport aussi avec les hommes – on ne trouve que des hommes – il y a trente-six rivières et un lac. »

Dans la première occurrence, il est difficile d’affirmer que l’origine de cette mention des Amazones est à chercher uniquement dans le traité d’Hippocrate Des airs, des eaux, des lieux ou son commentaire par Galien car plusieurs éléments du texte arabe ne se retrouvent pas dans le texte de Galien, tel que connu par sa traduction arabe. La phrase « Elles sont aussi appelées les libres (darūrtiyāt) parce que S.m.rīs les a combattues » ne s’explique pas par Galien, ni par le texte grec d’Hippocrate,

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\(^{13}\) L’ethnonyme de Burğān désigne les Bulgares de la mer Noire et du Danube, A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, II, pp. 303–308. Quant à la ville des Burğan, un toponyme proche mais à la lecture incertaine apparaît chez Al-Ḥwārizmī et il n’est pas sûr que l’on puisse faire le lien entre les deux, v. K. CzegLédy, *Die Karte der Donaulandshaftruppe*, p. 56.

mais la forme du nom S.m.rīs laisse croire à une source grecque. La forme est trop éloignée du toponyme de Sarmate (Sarmāṭiyya) ou Σαρματία pour supposer un rapport quelconque. En revanche, les relations que leur prête l’auteur avec les Burğān est une actualisation de sa part d’un autre élément du mythe des Amazones, à savoir qu’elles avaient une fois l’an des relations avec les hommes d’un peuple voisin, les Gargarêns, pour la contipation de leur race (Strabon, Géographie, XI, 5, 1). L’auteur arabe actualise ces traits de mœurs au sein des populations de l’Eurasie telles qu’il peut les connaître au XIe siècle. Le territoire de H.r.m.zah est probablement aussi un toponyme de l’Eurasie du XIe siècle mais il ne nous a pas été possible de l’identifier.

Quant aux deux îles citées par la suite, l’une habitée par les femmes et l’autre par les hommes et portant chacune un toponyme dérivé d’*Amazūnūs, nous avons là un nouvel exemple des îles des Amazones de la mer Baltique, dont la plus ancienne mention remonte à Al-Hwārizmī.

Le commentaire de Galien se retrouve plus tard de manière explicite dans un ouvrage de médecine et de sciences naturelles d’un auteur du XIIe siècle, Šaraf az-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwāzī. Les citations en question se situe à la fin du chapitre neuf, consacrée à la description des Turcs.

« Hippocrate a dit qu’en Asie, il y a des populations qui ne sont soumises à personne et que personne ne possède si ce n’est eux-mêmes, comme les Grecs et les Turcs, car ils sont libres, indépendants et personne n’a autorité sur eux sauf eux-mêmes. Ils travaillent et font des efforts pour leur propre profit. Ceux-là sont plus impétueux, plus braves, plus combatifs que les autres hommes. Grâce à leur endurance au combat contre leur ennemi, ils emportent un butin pour eux-mêmes de manière égale.

Galien ajoute que leurs femmes se battent comme les hommes et qu’elles se coupent un sein pour concentrer toute leur force dans le bras, afin que leurs corps s’allègent et [qu’elles puissent] bondir sur le dos des chevaux.

Hippocrate avait parlé de ces femmes dans plusieurs de ses livres et il les appelle Amazones (Amāzūns), ce qui signifie « celles à un sein » car elles se sont tranché l’autre. Et elles ne sont empêchées de se couper l’autre que par la seule nécessité de nourrir leurs enfants et de conserver en vie leur descendance. Elles s’en coupent un pour ne pas être empêchées de tirer à l’arc du dos de leurs chevaux.

Ceux qui ont des souverains et des dirigeants constituent de nombreuses tribus et nous en avons parlé. »

15 K. Czegeleyd, Die Karte der Donaulandshaftgruppe, p. 66.
18 Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwāzī, On China, the Turks and India, V. Minorsky (éd. et tr.), ar. pp. 25–26/ tr. p. 38. Le texte d’al-Marwāzī n’est pas identique à la traduction arabe du traité de Galien tel que donné par le manuscrit du Caire, et pour ce passage-ci plus complet et aussi plus clair, ce qui laisse à penser que la version donnée par le ms du Caire est sans doute corrompue ou pour le moins abrégée.
Les Amazones dans la traduction arabe des *Historiae adversus paganos* d’Orose

A côté des textes grecs, l’on ne doit pas oublier un texte latin, *Historiae adversus paganos* d’Orose, qui fut traduit en arabe dans le courant du Xe ou du XIe siècle en Andalus, par un certain Hafs a l- Qūṭīblue, probablement dans un milieu mozarabe sans que l’on puisse en dire plus pour l’instant. Le texte arabe en donne trois occurrences qui correspondent à la version latine. La première se situe dans l’introduction géographique et situe les Amazones, (sous la forme Amrūniya pour Amazūniya) au nord de la mer Noireblue. La deuxième occurrence (sous la forme Al.mām.š An.š) mentionne laconiquement les ravages des Amazones, à l’instar du texte d’Oroseblue. Enfin, la troisième mention (sous la forme M.m.š Ūn.š) concerne le passage chez elle d’Alexandre le Grandblue. Le paragraphe d’Orose (I, 15,1-10) qui donnait l’origine de cette population n’a pas été traduit en arabeblue.

Ces paragraphes de la version arabe d’Orose ne semble pas avoir été repris par d’autres auteurs.

Les Amazones dans une mer septentrionale

Un auteur persan du début du XIIIe siècle, Muḥammad Ibn Nağīb B a k r ā nblue, a composé un ouvrage de géographie, le Ćahān namā, pour le Ḥwārizmšāh Muḥammad II (r. 1200–1220). Ce petit ouvrage de géographie iranien est manifestement le commentaire d’une carte dessinée par l’auteur lui-même. En effet, le troisième chapitre est consacré aux différentes couleurs utilisées pour dessiner la carte et au sens à leur donner (le vert est réservé pour le dessin des mers, le bleu celui des rivières, etc.). Ses sources ne sont pas mentionnées mais on peut supposer Al-Ḥwārizmī car des éléments géographiques imaginaires comme l’île Yaqūt, celle de la Citadelle lumineuse (*Al-Qal’a al-mudī’a*)

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ou encore celle des Scorpions (Al-ʻAqārîb) sont mentionnées. C’est certainement cette source qui est l’origine de la présence des îles des Amazones car il les décrit en des termes analogues dans le paragraphe consacré aux îles de la mer Enveloppante. Au nord, à l’est de l’île de Tulé (Tūlā), se situent deux îles proches que l’on appelle Amrānūs des hommes (Amrānūs al-riḡāl) et Amrānūs des femmes (Amrānūs al-nisā’). Elles sont écartées de cinq parasanges. Les hommes se rendent dans l’île des femmes dans de petites embarcations (zawrag).

On reconnaît *Amazānūs derrière Amrānūs mais des éléments comme la période de l’année ou le sort des enfants mâles n’ont pas été rapportés par l’auteur.

Par ailleurs, nous avons vu précédemment qu’une des sources d’al-Iḍrīsī était un ouvrage proche ou semblable à la Ṣūrat al-ard d’al-Ḥwārizmī, en ce sens que c’était un ouvrage de géographie mathématique basé sur une carte remontant à Ptolémée. Sans être une traduction arabe de la Géographie, c’était le relevé en arabe d’une carte dessinée à partir des concepts de Ptolémée.

Al-Iḍrīsī, dans son second ouvrage de géographie, le Uns al-muhaġ wa-rawäḍ al-furaj25, ne mentionne plus textuellement l’île des hommes et l’île des femmes dans une mer au nord de l’Europe. Mais l’auteur dessine à nouveau dans la carte de la quatrième partie du septième climat26 (voir ill. 1) une île des hommes (ḡazīrat al-riḡāl) et une île des femmes (ḡazīrat al-nisā’).

Enfin, Ibn Faḍl Allāh a l-‘U mārī, dans la partie géographique de son encyclopédie, le Kitāb masālik al-absār fī mamālīk al-amṣār27, démarque le texte du Ṣūrat pour la description de l’Europe et des îles qui se trouvent dans le septième climat. Il répète le texte d’al-Iḍrīsī.

**Conclusion**

Il apparaît que la localisation classique des Amazones était bien passée dans la littérature géographique arabe par la traduction d’au moins deux ouvrages de l’Antiquité, le commentaire de Galien d’un traité d’Hippocrate et les Historiae adversus paganos d’Orose. Dans ce second cas, il ne semble cependant pas que l’influence du texte ait été grande car ces Amazones ne sont citées nulle part. En revanche, l’influence du texte de Galien est bien réelle et se retrouve jusqu’au XIIe siècle chez A l-Mawzātī. Il est par ailleurs piquant de constater que le Kitāb garāʾib al-funūn amalgame les deux traditions, celle des Amazones du nord de la mer Noire et celle des Amazones de la mer Baltique, sans faire de rapprochement entre elles.

Finalement, par le jeu des emprunts on rencontre ces Amazones septentrionales jusque dans la littérature géographique iranienne et d’époque mamelouke.

Ill. 1: L’île des hommes (Ǧazrāt al-riḡāl) et l’île des femmes (Ǧazrāt al-nisāʾ)  
Carte de la quatrième section du septième climat, ms. Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, ms. 688,  
(A l- I d r ī s ī, The Entertainment of Hearts, p. 315)
EWA MACHUT-MENDECKA

The Egyptian Dialect as an Expression of Linguistic Change in Arab Countries

Abstract

In this article I am going to present the ways in which the Egyptian dialect renders social norms which are illustrated by the examples of expressions regarding human-to-human interaction. This provides an outline of the existent system of values with special emphasis laid upon the values of collectivism and individualism (perceived in the categories of cross-cultural psychology). Within the framework of collectivism the expressions are shaped in the field of tribal and family life owing to mutual relationships, including the issues that are characteristic of Arabic culture, such as endogamic marriages or kinship relationships. Individual attitudes result in various expressions of emotions (astonishment, admiration, terror, etc.), exclamations, proverbs, idioms and religious phrases being found in Egyptian dialect.

In the Arab world the language has been in a blaze of glory since the 7th century, as it was used in Bedouin poetry writing, notation and recitation of the Koran. Nevertheless, in the areas where it is used, diglossia has taken place since the pre-Muslim time. Side by side with the literary language, which is primarily used as the language of literature, administration, press reports and which is also used in academic lectures and radio and television news reporting and commentary, dialects are spoken in everyday life. In the first half of the 20th century, when Arab countries were regaining independence after the colonial period, dialects began to be strongly opposed by the proponents of the common language of the region as a tool of unity. People started to take care of its development and to worry about it. The Arab people take pride in their language. At the same time, dialects continue to evolve and change. The most important dialect in the Arab world is the Egyptian dialect, since Egypt came to be the centre of the regions’ cultural and
literary life, and then the dialect became popular especially thanks to the Egyptian film and television production. Today, owing to these factors (especially thanks to the popularity of the Egyptian serial drama) it has become a kind of pidgin language which can be understood all over the Arab world. The Egyptian dialect has been changing under the influence of Egypt’s contacts with the outside world and with the West, as well as under the influence of the flow of Western culture. Changes taking place in the Egyptian dialect tend to enrich it as compared to the forms of literary language on the one hand, and to simplify these forms on the other hand.

### The Alphabet and Phonetics

The tendency to simplify the dialect in relation to the literary language is expressed in the changes in phonetics and grammar.

In the Egyptian dialect, like in other Arabic dialects, in comparison with the standard language there occur changes in pronunciation.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bayt</td>
<td>bēt</td>
<td>qāl</td>
<td>’āl</td>
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<tr>
<td>ġayb</td>
<td>ġēb</td>
<td>šayf</td>
<td>šēyf</td>
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<td>qaum</td>
<td>yōm</td>
<td>lawn</td>
<td>lōn</td>
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<tr>
<td>maut</td>
<td>mōt</td>
<td>šauka</td>
<td>šōka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarīr</td>
<td>sirīr</td>
<td>nazīf</td>
<td>niḍīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dābil</td>
<td>zābil</td>
<td>ḏahab</td>
<td>dahab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡamal</td>
<td>gamal</td>
<td>ḏābiṭ</td>
<td>zābiṭ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṯawra</td>
<td>sawra</td>
<td>ṭaum</td>
<td>tūm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grammar**

In dialects verbs change and simplify themselves. For example, in the dialect under investigation literary verbs such as: *kataba* – to write, *darasa* – to learn, *fahima* – to understand, *šariba* – to drink, take the forms *katab, daras, fihim, širib* respectively.

The system of tenses is undergoing changes and to some extent it is being enriched and developed in comparison with the standard Arabic language. In the latter, there are simple and compound tenses, which resemble English tenses but do not end in their equivalents. Grammars that are available mention the tenses but they do not name or describe them; however, they discuss the functions of the auxiliary verb with the perfect tense *k,n*, and the imperfect form *yikūn*. They “illustrate the use of the verb /yikūn/ as
an auxiliary to other verbs to form compound tenses"\(^1\). Nevertheless, the table of tenses in the Egyptian dialect appears in a very clear manner. The forms of tenses are enriched in comparison with their approximate equivalents in the literary language.

For example, in the dialect under investigation the present tense takes the consonant *bi* preceding the verb, which does not occur in the literary language. In the latter, there occurs the form *yaktubu* – he writes, which turns into *biyiktib* in the dialect. The consonant makes the meaning of the present tense more precise in the dialect.

Both in the literary language and in the dialect there occurs a tense which is similar to the English simple future tense; it consists of an auxiliary verb and the main verb, *yakīnu qad katab* – he will write; in the dialect, the same form will be simplified on the one hand, and it will become more complex on the other hand, and it will take the form *haykūn katab*. In the dialect, side by side with continuous tenses expressed by the participle, there also occurs a kind of the future tense – the uncompleted future tense *yikīn biyiktib*, which is not encountered in the literary language.

The Egyptian dialect enriches itself in comparison with the standard language by introducing the possessive particle *bitā’a*, which does not occur in it.

### The Vocabulary

The vocabulary is an expression of particularly characteristic language changes taking place in Arab countries, which is confirmed by the Egyptian dialect.

The Egyptian dialect acquires loanwords derived from foreign languages, that is from the Turkish and from European languages (mainly from English). Most often they include words denoting objects or phenomena of everyday use, for which there is no precedence in the standard language. It happens so because during the period of revival in the Arab world there appeared new types of equipment, technical appliances, places, professions, parts of clothing, etc. The names of these phenomena are connected with their Turkish and European origin. The dictionary of the Egyptian dialect shows how under the influence of the British and French culture various domains of life develop in Egypt. To prove this, I am going to outline a basic classification of borrowings of which the denotations appeared in the Arabic world no sooner than the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. I think that most of these borrowings do not need to be translated. Changes taking place in the language are characteristic of cultural change.

### Houses, Flats, Furniture and Equipment

Until the time of revival, the life in Arab households went on in a traditional way. Particularly characteristic were the parts assigned for women and men, that is to say

kinds of harems and interior yards resembling patios. While taking rest, having meals, and talking, the inhabitants sat down on the mats and sometimes they used not very high tables, usually made of copper. During the period of the establishing of relations with the West the furnishings of the house began to change. In addition to the rooms, kitchen and bathroom, there appears a square room in which the life is going on and which is called șāla2 – hall; guests are received in the room called the sitting room – iṣ-ṣalūn. In addition to the former terraces and small barred rooms there appear balconies – balkūn or balakūna – balcony. Also, modern furnishings appear, including kumudīnu – commode, kanaba – sofa, kanaba baladi – domestic sofa, butagaż – gas range, firijidēr – refrigerator. Showers (dūš) are introduced. Towards the close of the 20th century, luxury single-family houses in Egypt are called villas – villāt (sing. villa). The living place also encompasses the bansiyūn7 – lodging house.

Technical appliances. The Egyptians begin to live in a more and more comfortable and modern manner. Electricity enters into their lives, and although it has an Arabic name kahrabā’, it results in the appearance of the main lighting object called lamba – a lamp. Modernization of the technical sphere is represented by the terms such as: abajūr8 – a light bulb, iryl – aerial, lamba – lamp baṭiriyya9 – battery, storage battery (accumulator).

Means of transport. Means of transportation are changing. In the early 20th century the Egyptians travelled by a kind of a chaise which they called karēta; then the carts took the name kāru10 which has been used until today. Somewhere around the late 1910s (during the First World War) the car entered into Egypt. Initially, it was an old-fashioned vehicle, which is also rendered by its name: tumbīl (automobile)11; later on, the car became widespread and it was given the name ‘arabiyya from the Arabic language. Western names, however, are given to more specific car-related names, including: farmāla – brake; makana – engine; kawītš – inner tube, mutōr – motor, aksilatēr – accelerator12 makana – machine13 kāmira – camera14.

That life is undergoing modernization is evidenced by such terms as aşansĕr – elevator or tilifūn – telephone; there occurs the expression mukalma tilifuniyya – telephone call.

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3 Ibid., p. 109.
7 M.B. Salib, op. cit., p. 331.
8 ‘Āṣūr, op. cit., p. 359.
10 Ibid., p. 148, Al-Maṣrawiyya, director Ismā’il ‘Abd al-Ḥāfīz.
11 Ibid.
12 Zaborski, op. cit., pp. 140–144.
14 Zaborski, op. cit., pp. 139–139, 166.
Other means of transport that are becoming widespread include: mutusīklī – motorbike, utubīs – coach, bus15, luri – lorry16, and taksi – cab (the name which is also encountered in other Arab countries), tiliğraf – telegram, buṣṭa17 – post office.

Products resulting from the use of petroleum are becoming indispensable, first of all banzīn – petrol18.

As the Western technology develops, the vocabulary of the Egyptian dialect acquires further borrowings.

Clothing. Until the modern time, galabīyya was the most common robe worn by the Egyptians; it resembled a full-length (often ankle-length) shirt and it is also very popular today. During that period Egyptians started willingly to wear trousers – banṭalūn (sing. banṭalān), jackets – jakittā (sing jakitta)19 as well as suits called bidal (sing. bidla) in Arabic; they also began to wear ties – karavattāt (sing. karavatta)20, and pyjamas – pijāmāt (sing. pijāma).

Women started to wear the following kinds of clothing:

bilūza – blouse, jiba or gunilla – skirt, bālṭu – overcoat and surt – shorts. Some parts of garments may be combined with the Egyptian adjectives, for example, bilūza ḥaḍra21 – a green blouse. Words like mūda or mudēl for example, tirāz modern22 – modern fashion, ahdas mudēl23 – the latest model, become widely used as popular terms. The word mūda functions as a noun and as an adjective, for instance, bilūza muš mūda – an unfashionable blouse.

During the time of revival dresses became popular among women but there was already an Arabic word fustān to denote them.

Professions. Old professions are given new names borrowed from Europe, for example, surṭa, which means “police” in Arabic, in Egypt takes the name bulṭs24, and a man serving coffee, who is still known as ahwagi, becomes a waiter and is named garsūn.

Small popular cafés continue to be called by the same name as coffee: ahwa Modern coffee shops bear a name of kafitēria, while open-air cafés are called kazinu25.

In Egypt, the following professions are becoming more and more popular: kumsārī – ticket inspector, mikantki – mechanic, šufēr – driver, side by side with the Egyptian term sawwāq which is still widely used, and secretary – sikirtēra26 (for example, il-maktab bitā‘ is-sikirtīra – the office of the secretary).

15 Ibid., p.136.
17 Ibid., p. 174.
18 Ibn Arandālī, director Rāša Hišām Šurbatāḏī, MBC 2010.
19 Salīb 1987, op. cit., p. 370.
21 Ibid., p.28.
22 'Āṣūr, op. cit., p. 359.
23 Salīb 1969, p. 43.
24 Zaborski, op. cit., p. 114.
26 Zaborski, op. cit., p. 114.
A very popular term is the duktūr meaning both a physician and a holder of an academic title. The word takes the Egyptian plural dakatra. A doctorate is called dukturā.

**Institutions, abstract concepts and documents.** During the period of revival Egypt came to be a country which aspired to become a modern state, therefore it acquired European organizational patterns, institutions, structures and types of documents modelled on European ones. The country established its own parliament which was called barlamān.

An example of a new conceptual apparatus is the term of European origin dimuqrāṭiyya -democracy, which is now becoming widespread.

Nothing seems to be so much connected with modernity in the Arab world as banks. Since Islam bans usury, it also bans interest charges on loans, thus questioning the banking sphere, and yet banks are becoming more and more popular in Egypt. These are modern institutions which usually evade religious bans, and the European term bank is being widely used.

Other examples of modernity include also such place names as warša – workshop and bufē – buffet.

Egyptians use identity cards which in the singular number have an Arabic name biṭāqit il-huwiyya. However, when they travel abroad they need such documents as passport – paspūr; which is the term used synonymously with the expression gawāz is-safar derived from the Arabic. They also need a visa – in Egyptian vīṣā, having also an Arabic name ta’ṣṭra.

**Forms of education, culture and recreation.** Europeanization can be observed in particular in the forms of modern culture and education in Egypt. In the 19th century, in Egypt, like in the whole Arab world, ended the classical period of culture and literature which had lasted from the 7th century A.D. During that period, poetry was the prevalent literary form; genres of prose writing, such as novel and short story, were not well known. In the classical period, the theatre based on the written dramatic text did not develop either. During the period of revival the Arabs borrowed a new type of theatre in which adaptations of both Shakespeare’s dramas and Moliere’s comedies were staged. Initially, it was called tiyātru. This new culture evolved as a synthesis of alien and indigenous patterns and within the framework of this culture a traditional Arabic name of the theatre, i.e. masrah, returned. However, the European names of theatre genres were preserved: kumidiyya – comedy, and dirāma – drama. During the period of revival the press was also born, and the form of a daily entered into everyday circulation of Egypt’s culture under the name of gurnāl or gurnān. Egypt is a pioneer of the Egyptian cinema; the first feature film was emitted in this country in 1927. Like in all Arab countries, the cinema
is popularized under one European name *is-sinimā*, just as the Arabic and Egyptian film enters into the vocabulary as *film*, even though it takes the Arabic plural *aflām*. One can also encounter the term *il-aflām is-sinimā’iyya* – cinema films. Television, which became widespread in the Arab world in the 1960s, in Egypt, like in many other countries, bears the name *tilivizyūn*, as compared, for example, to *talvaza*, which is a term used in Tunisia. Radio in the Arab world and in Egypt is called *rädyu*.


**Food.** With the advent of the revival, new kinds of food, foodstuffs and meals appear in Egypt. Here are the examples of such names: *baṭāṭiṣ* – potatoes, *makarūna* – noodle, *sandawītš* – sandwich (for example, *sandawītš dīk rūmi* – a turkey sandwich), *sardīn* – sardines.


People commonly use the term “layer cake”, which is called *țurta* in Egyptian. It has nothing to do with heavy sweets eaten in the East; it is a product of recent days. It takes the same form as the European cakes. Eating of the cake is also part and parcel of celebration of all feasts, in particular of birthdays and weddings.

Many European terms which are acquired in Egypt are connected with health, illness, medications and toilet sets, for example, *ruṣitta* – prescription, *asbirīn* – aspirin, *vitamin* – vitamin, *rumatizm*-rhematism, *mallariyya* – malaria, *šampū* – shampoo – *rijīm* (‘amla *rijīm* – making a diet).

One can encounter sciences such as: *giliyulugiyya* – geology, *mikānika* – mechanics, *ğugrāfiyya* – geography as well as geographical names, including *Ingiltirra* – England, *Almānya* – Germay, *Amrīka* – America, *Urūbba* – Europe and adjectives, e.g. faransāwi. They are used as compounds together with Arabic words: *ahwa turki* – Turkish coffee, *ahwa amrikāni* – American coffee.

**Polite expressions and forms of address** derived from European languages are also becoming more and more popular. The Egyptian vocabulary acquires the words *pardon* and *merci* in their indigenous meanings. The latter forms a phrase with the Egyptian

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33 ’Āšūr, op. cit., p. 295.
34 Ibid., pp. 295, 442.
36 Salib, op. cit., p. 47, Zabor, p. 144.
38 Salib, op. cit., pp. 287, 383.
39 Ibid., pp. 47, 287, 289, 294.
40 Elias, op. cit., pp. 6, 66.
41 Salib 1969, p. 27.
adverb: *merci awi* – thank you very much, which is the most popular way of expressing thanks. The expressions like *madâm* – madam, *madmuázîl* – miss, *tant aunt*, *unkl* – uncle, are used as forms of address. Although in everyday life the expression *šabâh il-îbîr* is used, which means “good morning”, very westernized milieus may say: *bunjûr*, *bunjûr alekum* – good morning, good morning to you. The vocabulary of the dialect continues to enrich itself, as it responds to the development of technics, technology and diverse forms of lifestyles. Borrowings which have appeared during the recent years include *mubâyîl* or *mubâyîn* – mobile, as well as *sidi* – CD *kumpiàtîr*.

**Changes in the Loanwords**

Loanwords taken from Western languages enter into the Egyptian dialect and take a life of their own. They usually undergo changes which are presented below.

Consonant ‘l’ turns into ‘n’, as for example in the above-mentioned words *moubâyîl* and *moubâyîn*, *gurnûl* and *gunnûn* – journal, *burtuqāl* and *burtuqān* – orange.

The loanword inspires the emergence of new language structures formed at random, for example, *šîk*, *šyâka* – chic, *garâš* -garage – *itgaraš* – to garage. Noun borrowings take the dialectal plurals: *sidi* – *sidihâ†*; *karavatta* – *karavattâr*, *film* – *aflâm*, *dulâr* – *dularâr*47. The meanings of some words undergo changes: *butagâz* is not a gas container (cylinder) but a gas cooker. The pronunciation of the loanwords changes as compared to the source language, in particular the sound corresponding to the letter ‘s’ is emphatized: *buṣṭa* – post office, *aṣansêr* – lift; *ṣâla* – hall. Loanwords form compounds with Arabic words, for example, *ṭurumbit il-bantzîn* – gasoline pump, *‘agala stîbrr*48 – spare wheel, *tarabizit bufê* – buffet table, *šîna’ät il-bitrîl* – petroleum industries. Borrowings taken from European languages show how much the Egyptian dialect adapts itself to cultural transformation, thus changing itself under its influence. It responds to the new forms of lifestyles more rapidly than the literary Arabic, which tries to search for the equivalents in its own linguistic resources. For example, a telephone, which is called *ṭilîfûn* all over Egypt, in Arabic continues to be termed *ḥâtîf*, the word derived from the verb *hatafâ* – to call. A computer is called *âla ḥâsiba*, even though the whole Arab world, and not only Egyptians, uses most willingly the word *computer*. One may expect that as globalization progresses, dialects will continue to be a source of language changes, while the literary language will be changing more slowly and it will be faithful in its adherence to cultural tradition of its region.

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42 Elias, op. cit., pp. 122, 130.
43 ‘Āṣûr, op. cit., p. 294.
44 Nustâlîqiyyâ, hânîm wa-Ḥânân, director Riyûd Bâdr, Oman 2009.
45 Zâborski, op. cit., p. 143.
46 Saîb, op. cit., 1987, pp. 36, 128.
47 Berberî, op. cit., p. 235.
48 Zâborski, op. cit., p. 145.
Karol R. Sorby

Iraq under King Ġāzī Internal Political Development, 1933–1939

Abstract

Through the whole interwar period the Iraqi monarch, centred in Baghdad, had in effect a social meaning diametrically opposed to that of the tribal shaykhs, who were then still virtual rulers of much of the countryside. The shaykhs represented the principle of the fragmented or multiple community (many tribes), the monarch the ideal of an integral community (one Iraqi people, one Arab nation). While the shaykh was the defender of the divisive tribal tradition, the monarch was the exponent of the unifying national law. In the view of the presence of large non-Arab minorities in the country, there was some inherent contradiction between the ideal of one Iraqi people and that of one Arab nation. By the mid-1930s, several officers of the Iraqi army had become actively interested in politics and found that the army’s reputation for suppressing the Assyrian rebellion was a political asset. The most influential officers were true nationalists, that is, pan-Arabist, who inspired many of the junior officers. They looked to the examples of neighbouring Turkey and Iran, where military dictatorships were flourishing. Under the leadership of General Bakr Ṣidqī the army took over the government in the fall of 1936, and opened a period of army’s meddling into politics. Although under the reign of young and inexperienced King Ġāzī (1933–1939) Iraq fell prey to tribal rebellions and military coups, there was nevertheless no essential deviation from the prior trend of royal policy. Except during the short Ḥikmat Sulaymān government, the pan-Arab character of the state became more pronounced.

With end of the mandate and the withdrawal of the British, Iraq attempted to create a strong government of national unity. King Fayṣal moved to propitiate the nationalist opposition by bringing some of its members into the government. In March 1933, he appointed a new cabinet containing a majority of the National Brotherhood Party (Ḥizb al-İlā’ al-Waṭanî) members under the premiership of Raṣīd ‘Ālī al-Kaylānī. On 7 September 1933 Iraq suffered a hard blow: King Fayṣal died suddenly in Geneva of a heart attack. On Friday morning, 8 September, the people of Baghdad awoke to learn the news of Fayṣal’s tragic death, and they were stunned. Although there was no succession crisis, his death removed the one man capable of moderating the differences among Iraq’s diverse elements.

The Cabinet held a meeting immediately after the news was received, and two hours later Amīr Gāzī, Fayṣal’s only son, who was acting as regent during his father’s absence, was sworn in before the members of the Cabinet and proclaimed King Gāzī I. He was a man of twenty-one, active, warmly patriotic and not unamiable, he was popular with the public and with the young Iraqi officers with whom he had been educated, but too young and inexperienced to fill his father’s role of political balancer. Moreover, neither his training nor his temperament was suited to the task. He had little interest in the political world, but his general sympathies were broadly pan-Arab. Like many in Iraq, he also resented British domination. However, he could show neither his father’s sensitivity to the forces at work in Iraqi society nor his acumen in drawing them into the circles of royal patronage.

The youngest child and only son of Fayṣal Ibn al-Ḥusayn, Gāzī was born in Mecca on 21 March 1912 and spent his first eleven years there. In the summer of 1923 he came to Amman and lived there with his uncle Amīr ‘Abd Allāh. According to the Iraqi constitution he became crown prince and arrived in Baghdad on 5 October 1924 with his mother and sisters. Educated at first by an English governess, in 1926 Gāzī was sent to Harrow in England to finish his studies. On his return to Iraq in 1928 he went through the normal course of training at the Military College in Baghdad, where he graduated

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2 The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 was regarded by politicians, such as Yāsīn al-Ḥāşimī and his followers, as unsatisfactory for the realization of the national aspirations of Iraq. Former members of the Peoples Party (Ḥizb aš-Ša’b) and the National Party (Al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanî) came together and organized the National Brotherhood Party. The leader of this party was Yāsīn al-Ḥāşimī and the most prominent members were Rashīd ‘Ālī al-Kaylānī, Hikmat Sulaymān, and Muḥammad Zākt. The National Party, while officially remaining as a separate party, was in close alliance with the National Brotherhood Party for the purpose of opposing the Treaty. Like former parties, these new parties also aimed at achieving the real independence of Iraq, and the only differences among them were on the means of effecting this. In: Fritz Grobba, *Iraq*, Berlin 1941, pp. 40–47.


in July 1932 as a second lieutenant in the cavalry. He identified with the young army officers who were becoming increasingly nationalist in ideology and outlook.

Faysal’s noble birth and personal involvement in the struggle for Arab independence from Turkey had made him uniquely qualified to appeal to the nationalist sentiments of the people. However, while Faysal’s acknowledged ability in handling his opponents gave the country the unity it so badly needed, this same vigour and typical style of rule had a harmful effect in contributing to the enormous obstacles in the way of developing a viable political system. In most respects Gāzi stood in contrast to his father: he was the product of a system which aroused bitter Şī‘ī resentment of the Sunnī-dominated state during the next few years. As a member of the younger generation with a Western education, he was much less tuned to the mentality and interests of the tribal and religious leaders or to the older Ottoman-trained politicians. On the other side, his youth, his genuine nationalist feelings, and his proclivity for the army put him in tune with the emerging educated classes.

On 9 September upon the accession of King Gāzi in accordance with constitutional practice, Rašīd ʿĀlī al-Kaylānī tendered his resignation. Gāzi invited him to form a new Cabinet on the same day. To appease his critics, in a speech made on the occasion of his reinstatement as prime minister, Rašīd ʿĀlī al-Kaylānī declared that the policy of his government would be the same as that followed by the late King Faysal, assuring the British government of his friendly attitude. His declarations which were intended merely for foreign consumption produced a violent reaction among his colleagues in the National Brotherhood Party, who feared that the government might change its former policy. Confronted with such opposition, the premier decided to improve the government’s position by dissolving parliament and holding new elections, but this step proved disastrous. When the king refused to approve the request for dissolution, Rašīd ʿĀlī al-Kaylānī presented his resignation on 28 October 1933.

ʿAlī Ġawdat al-Ayyūbī, Chief of the Royal Dīwān, made it possible for Ġamīl al-Midfaʾī, a non-partisan ex-minister, to form a new government on 9 November 1933. His Cabinet was the first of a series to be formed on purely personal rather than

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12 FO 371/16924 Ambassador Francis Humphrys Baghdad to John Simon FO, 14 September 1933; Al-Ḥasanī, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. 327.
14 ʿAlī Ġawdat al-Ayyūbī and Ġamīl al-Midfaʾī began their public life as two army officers who took part in the Arab Revolt of 1916, and later served under Faysal in Syria. On the establishment of the Iraqi Government in 1921, they returned to Iraq and took an active part in politics.
partisan lines.\(^{15}\) Ǧamīl al-Mīdīfā’ī, who did not believe in party politics, declared on 14 December, that he needed no partisan support since he enjoyed the confidence of the leading members of parliament. It introduced the National Defence Bill to parliament. This was passed on 15 January 1934,\(^{16}\) setting up the machinery for conscription, the rapid expansion of the armed forces and depriving the tribal shaykhs of young and strong tribesmen. This project was dear to the hearts of most of the Sunnī Arab elite and other state centralisers, but was regarded with suspicion and resentment by many Șī’ites and Kurds.

The wedding ceremony of King Ǧāzī with his cousin Princess ʿĀliya, the daughter of ʿAlī, the former King of al-Ḥīgāz was held on 25 January 1934.\(^{17}\) The happy event was shortly afterwards overshadowed by a hot dispute on the question of the Al-Ǧarrāf project which led to a cleavage along Sunnī-Șī’i lines. Rustum Ḥaydar, as the minister of public works, undertook to carry out the project in order to make possible the irrigation of a vast area in lower Iraq by constructing a dam on the Tigris.\(^{18}\) When Ǧamīl al-Mīdīfā’ī failed to reconcile the two factions, he tendered his resignation on 10 February 1934. However, the king still refused to order the holding of general elections and once more failed to reconcile the two factions, he tendered his resignation on 10 February 1934. His desire for a cabinet change.

This was passed on 15 January 1934,\(^{16}\) setting up the machinery for conscription, the leading members of parliament. It introduced the National Defence Bill to parliament.

The position of the tribes was increasingly eroded by the growth of bureaucracy and its extension into the countryside. This was evident in a number of measures, passed in the 1930s, designed to place local authority in the hands of educated townsmen and reduce tribal autonomy. The balance of power was gradually shifting from the tribe to the government. Dissatisfied with the conduct of the government, the king expressed his desire for a cabinet change. Ǧamīl al-Mīdīfā’ī immediately tendered his resignation on 25 August 1934 and gave way to ʿAlī Jawdat al-Ayyūbī who persuaded the king

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\(^{16}\) Raḥīm Ḥusayn al-Ḥaṭṭāb, Taʾṣīs al-ḡayš al-ʿirāqī wa-taṭawwur dawwrīhī as-sīyāsī, 1921–1941, Baghdad University 1979, p. 115.


to dissolve parliament.20 The election of December 1934 was a success for the premier who managed to deprive men of local standing of their seats. Excluded were some of the most important Šīʿī tribal shaykhs of the mid-Euphrates, laying the foundation for a dangerous tactical alliance with the National Brotherhood Party.21 With the election which reduced tribal influence in parliament still further, it is perhaps not surprising that tribal leaders decided the time was ripe to reclaim their old power and prestige.

The relative political calm did not last long. From the end of 1934 onwards, the established political system began to crumble. The growing divisions within the political elite between rival factions and personalities sharpened rather than softened the tribal problem and weakened the authority of the state. The leading politicians of the National Brotherhood Party wasted little time in launching their campaign against the government.22 Far more sinister was the stream of subversive propaganda which poured from Baghdad, inciting tribesmen to emotions bound to end in anti-government violence. The propaganda was addressed to potentially malcontent Kurds in the north and to the tribes around An-Naǧaf.23 In January 1935 unrest erupted in the mid-Euphrates region. Tribal grievances had been discussed often focusing on specific complaints connected with the land and irrigation rights of particular tribes, some of the issues related to the grievances of the Šīʿa as a whole and were presented to the government in March 1935. It accepted the Iraqi state, but focused on the lack of proportional representation for the Šīʿa in parliament and the judiciary, and called for free elections, freedom of the press and tax reductions.

At the root of tribal unrest was the transition from a society based on tribal organization and values to one based on settled agriculture. A striking manifestation of this transition was the erosion of the power and authority of the shaykh within the tribe. Originally the shaykh’s main function had been military: He protected the tribe from its neighbours and from a predatory central government. Now the shaykh had become the agent of that government and often its chief representative, while the government had long since assumed responsibility for internal defence. More immediately, the shaykhs also drew up a petition asking the king to dismiss ‘Alī Ğawdat al-Ayyūbī and to dissolve parliament.24 When this produced no result, direct action followed. It was at this point that Ḥikmat Sulaymān, an opponent of the prime minister and a leading member of the National Brotherhood Party, urged his old friend Lieutenant General Bakr Şidqī (commanding officer of the southern region) to refuse to suppress the tribal unrest. Faced by this and by dissent within his cabinet, ‘Alī Ğawdat al-Ayyūbī resigned.25 No alternative appeared

22 T arbush , The Role of the Military in Politics: a Case Study of Iraq to 1941, p. 103.
23 L ongrigg , Iraq, 1900 to 1950. A Political, Social and Economic History, p. 239.
to the formation of another cabinet under Ġamīl al-Midfa‘ī. It began to work on 4 March 1935, and was immediately confronted by a spreading tribal rebellion in the region of ad-Diwānīya, led by two powerful tribal shaykhs who had been in close touch with Yāṣīn al-Hāšīmī of the *National Brotherhood Party*. The government then decided to negotiate with the rebels, but nothing helped to restore the situation to normal. This prompted Ġamīl al-Midfa‘ī to resort to force to crush the rebellion, but it was adopted too late to ease the situation.27

The premier’s suspicions of a plot were confirmed and he, faced with certain defeat, submitted his resignation on 15 March, having remained in power only thirteen days. Yāṣīn al-Hāšīmī, portrayed as the only man who could “save” the situation was then invited by the king to form a government in March 1935, having effectively carried out a coup d’état against his rivals.28 The activities of Yāṣīn al-Hāšīmī and his tribal allies had awakened a political consciousness hitherto inactive or at least suppressed. They marked a new course in Iraqi politics. Until now, cabinets came and went almost entirely owing to dissensions within the urban political elite, the influence of the king or the British embassy. Now, for the first time a government came to power owing to a popular movement.29 Within a week the tribal rebellion was over and many in Baghdad became convinced that this was a manifestation of the “old Iraq” which needed to be eliminated by the march of progress. For the Sunni ruling elites it also presented an opportunity to portray the Šī‘ī tribesmen, clerics and shaykhs as obstacles to the needs of a modern state. These views and to some extent their ambivalence had been in evidence since the ending of the Ottoman occupation and, in many of their particulars, resembled late Ottoman thinking on national identity and the importance of authoritarian command and military discipline in the creation of an ordered society. Most current and most plausible initially among the former Ottoman officials and officers who formed the administrative elite of the new state, they had been reinforced during the 1920s by the appointment of Sāṭī‘ al-Ḥusūrī, who had come to Iraq after the fall of Faysal’s administration in Damascus as director-general at the ministry of education.30 In this position, he was able to lay the foundations for a highly centralised, tightly disciplined and elitist education system in Iraq. Much of Sāṭī‘ al-Ḥusūrī’s work in Iraq concerned the teaching of “nationalist history” that would engender among pupils a sense of original attachment to the Arab nation.

However, the two largest communities of Iraq – the Kurds and the Šī‘ī traditionalists – saw Sāṭī‘ al-Ḥusūrī as a protagonist of the centralising, hegemonic Sunni Arab-dominated

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28 The government was formed on 17 March 1935. It comprised of Nūrī as-Sa‘īd at Foreign Affairs, General Ġāfar al-‘Askarī at Defence, Rašīd ‘Ālī al-Kaylānī at Interior, Ra‘ūf al-Bahrānī (Shī‘ī) at Finance, Shaykh Muhammad Ṣa‘īd aš-Šābībī (Shī‘ī) at Education, Muhammad Amīn Zakī (Kurdī) at Economy and Transport and Muhammad Zakī al- Başrī at Justice, in: A l-Ḥasanī, op. cit., V ol. 4, pp. 80–82.
29 Cit. in: T arbush , op. cit., p. 106.
state. By the mid-1930s the Šīʿīs had already come close to dominating the ministry of education and the opposition toṢāṭīʿ al-Ḥuṣrī was such that he had to resign his position. His removal paved the way for the Šīʿīs, who in those years almost exclusively held the post of minister.31Ṣāṭīʿ al-Ḥuṣrī was displaced by Muḥammad Faḍīl al-Ǧamālī a Šīʿī who while sharing many of previous views on Arab nationalism and on the virtues of military discipline in the formation of a modern society, advocated a more decentralised, less elitist educational system and ensured that resources were distributed more equitably in the provinces, providing opportunities in particular for the Šīʿī majority.32 At the same time, however, the educational system became increasingly militarised. By introducing military training to schools and teachers’ training colleges in 1935–1936, or by establishing the paramilitary Iraqi youth movement, Al-Futuwwa, state officials were trying to ensure disciplined acceptance of the status quo in the name of nationalism.33 Yet the complex of relationships and power that constituted the status quo was founded on economic privilege, status hierarchies and multiple forms of discrimination – tribal, familial, sectarian and ethnic – that invalidated any practical form of either Iraqi or Arab nationalism.34

In May 1935 a new uprising spread rapidly in the lower and mid-Euphrates: greed, tangled land claims, religious sentiment, and the weakening of tribal authority – especially symbolized by conscription – contributed in differing degrees.35 This time the government had no compunction about using force to suppress the rebellions. Military forces were sent to rebellious areas, and air force bombing took a heavy toll in lives. Summary executions were carried out under martial law. These measures were sufficient to bring peace to the tribal areas of the south, but they also helped turn the tribal population against the cabinet. General Bakr Ṣīdqī used the full power of the newly formed Iraqi air force and the army against the tribesmen and scattered them with relative ease.36 It was clear that the tribes were no longer a threat to the power of the central state. The army’s role in quelling the rebellions, which had often been stirred up by politicians in Baghdad, gave rise to the notion in military circles that the army was being used as a tool of civilian politicians and that politics might be better served by direct military intervention. Yāsīn al-Hāṣimī’s initial failure to include Ḩikmat Sulaymān in his Cabinet proved to be a great blunder since Ḩikmat Sulaymān, with his genius for clandestine intrigues, eventually succeeded in overthrowing the Yāsīn al-Hāṣimī – Raṣīd ‘Ālī al-Kaylānī administration by force.37

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37 Majid Khadduri, Independent Iraq..., p. 54.
Having formed the cabinet, Yāsīn al-Hāšimī was confronted with the enormous task of fulfilling the generous promises made to his supporters. A first step in this direction was to dissolve the National Brotherhood Party, on 29 April 1935. Consequently, in the general elections of 4 August 1935 he ensured that many of the tribal shaykhhs entered the Chamber of Deputies, which had swollen from 88 to 108 members. However, this would not prevent opposition to conscription (often a convenient rallying point for other grievances) from appearing in the provinces. Newspapers supporting the prime minister began to suggest that Iraq was facing a crisis of national identity that was undermining the country’s ability to act in unison to solve its problems. They advocated a national consensus based on Arab and Islamic traditions, which, they claimed, must come before “social reform”, an obvious reference to left-wing ideologies. Unity would require discipline, not only of individuals but also of parliament and the press. The army was extremely nationalist and contained officers who believed that a strong military regime in Iraq was necessary to eliminate foreign control, to establish pan-Arab solidarity and to help sister Arab countries against imperialist domination. The premier had at hand a project which would increase the size of the army to four divisions and this project was successfully realised within three years.

Despite the intention to govern justly, Yāsīn al-Hāšimī began clamping down on open political activity and concentrating power in his own hands. Freedom of association was curtailed, and the intelligence network seemed to grow with the passing months. The network’s efforts were directed mainly at the left-wing Al-Ahālī group, which constituted the major remaining opposition to the government. Advocacy of social and economic reform roused the suspicions of many who saw the group as a front for the spread of communism. In fact, the communists of Iraq were taking a different road. In May 1935 the first central committee of the Iraqi Communist Party was formed, but by the end of the year many of its members had been arrested and its newspaper closed down. This did not prevent the charge of communism being levelled at the Al-Ahālī group, suggesting a threat both to the existing social order and to Islam, whether Sunni or Šī‘ī. These fears allowed Arab nationalists to take over the Baghdad Club in 1935, playing also upon Al-Ahālī group’s apparent indifference to Arab nationalism and to the various Arab causes such as Palestine, which were receiving growing attention in Iraq. In these circumstances, the group began to organise itself more systematically forming a central

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39 Ibidem, p. 132; Longrigg, Iraq, 1900 to 1950…, p. 244.
40 Marr, The Modern History of Iraq, p. 67.
committee that included Ǧaʿfar Abū at-Timman, Kāmil al-Čādir ĕi and Ǧhikmat Sulaymān.\textsuperscript{46} However, there was no attempt to create a mass movement and its sympathisers came largely from the political and administrative elites, including the officer corps.

A totalitarian form of government seemed to offer a more effective means of unifying fragmented countries and modernizing backward societies than did constitutional democracy and the free enterprise system. More rapid development, political unity, and greater social discipline were desirable of this school of thought. If the government of Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī had been strong in the arena of nationalist politics, it was liable to criticism on both social and political grounds. Its economic measures had benefited the newly emerging oligarchy, while the government failed to undertake any basic social reforms. Here the links between Ǧhikmat Sulaymān and General Bakr Ṣidqī were to be decisive in shaping the political role of the group, leading to the coup d’État of October 1936 and the overthrow of the government of Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī.\textsuperscript{47} In appearing to set himself up as dictator, Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī alienated many, including the king. More dangerously, he also alienated General Bakr Ṣidqī, who suspected that the prime minister’s brother, Ǧāhā al-Ǧāsimī, chief of the general staff, was blocking his own promotion. Personal frustration and resentment at this lack of recognition led Bakr Ṣidqī to listen sympathetically to Ǧhikmat Sulaymān’s plans for the toppling of Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī’s government.\textsuperscript{48} Before the situation could worsen, one alienated member of the establishment, Ǧhikmat Sulaymān, in collusion with Bakr Ṣidqī and a new group of left-wing reformers, decided to act.

In the middle of October 1936, Ǧāhā al-Ǧāsimī left Iraq on a visit to Turkey, appointing Bakr Ṣidqī acting chief of the general staff in his place. In collusion with Ǧhikmat Sulaymān and the forewarned leaders of the Al-Čahlī group, Bakr Ṣidqī ordered units under his command to march on Baghdad.\textsuperscript{49} This coup, which is named after Bakr Ṣidqī, was not initially the work of the general but of Ǧhikmat Sulaymān, who clearly took the initiative and whose motives were partly personal and partly idealistic. This conspiracy was more carefully planned and therefore left out the unruly tribes and involved the army. The air force heightened the drama by dropping a number of bombs near the prime minister’s office, hastening Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī’s decision to resign.\textsuperscript{50} On the same day the king called on Ǧhikmat Sulaymān to form a government. Ǧaʿfar al-ʿAskārī, the minister of defence, tried to take a message from the king to Bakr Ṣidqī, requesting that the army stop its march on Baghdad, but Bakr Ṣidqī believed this was part of a ploy to crush the coup and

\textsuperscript{47} F a r a ǧ, Al-Malik Ghāzī ..., p. 134.
\textsuperscript{48} Šābīb, Bakr Ṣidqī ..., pp. 103–104.
\textsuperscript{49} FO 371/20014-05434 Archibald Clark Kerr to Mr. Eden, 2 November 1936. Detailed report of the situation given by the British Ambassador to Baghdad Sir Archibald Clark Kerr.
\textsuperscript{50} The following day (30 October), Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī, Nūrī as-Saʿīd, and Rašīd ʿĀlī al-Ǧaylānī were informed that the new government would be unable to guarantee their safety if they remained in the country. Nūrī as-Saʿīd left for Egypt and Rašīd ʿĀlī al-Ǧaylānī and Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī for Beirut, followed by a number of supporters. Yāsīn al-Ǧāsimī died in exile of a heart attack on 21 January 1937; but Nūrī as-Saʿīd, and Rašīd ʿĀlī al-Ǧaylānī returned later to play a pivotal role in their country’s political life.
ordered his officers to intercept and kill Ġa’far al-‘Askarī. The murder was promptly carried out, thereby earning Bakr Ṣidqī the enmity not only of Ġa’far al-‘Askarī’s political associates, but also of a large number of officers who had entered the armed forces under Ġa’far al-‘Askarī’s patronage.

Ḩikmat Sulaymān (of a Turkish family domiciled in Mesopotamia) formed his new administration principally from his associates in the al-Ahlī group, leading to a cabinet that included a higher proportion of Šīrī ministers than had any previous administration. Bakr Ṣidqī (born in Kurdistan to a Turkish family), now chief of the general staff, busied himself consolidating his personal power base in the armed forces. Like Ṣulaymān himself, he wanted to encourage closer links with Iran and in particular with Turkey. Two of the cabinet’s members were Šīrī, and the ministers from the Al-Ahlī group were interested in internal reform, not Arab nationalism. It was associated with the attempt to create a sense of Iraqi national identity, free from the hegemony of the predominantly Sunni Arab nationalists, and struck a chord among many Iraqis: Arab and non-Arab. However, its neglect of the Arab nationalist cause was soon to cause it considerable trouble: it generated hostility among the Arab nationalists who felt that Iraq was being cheated of the role it should be playing in the wider Arab world. This was particularly the case at a time when the Arab revolt in Palestine was a burning issue for the Arab nationalists in Iraq and elsewhere.

The coup was a major turning point in Iraqi history. It made a critical breach in the constitution, already weakened by the leaders of the National Brotherhood Party, and opened the door to military involvement in politics. The army had tasted power, and it gradually came to control political affairs. The most important effect of the coup was the removal of the leading politicians of the previous regime from Iraq. For politicians such as Ṣulaymān, who had little sympathy with the pan-Arab sentiments and ambitions of most of the ruling elite, there were also other reasons for looking elsewhere in shaping a distinctively Iraqi foreign policy. The emergence of Iraq as a territorial state demanded that attention be paid to its boundaries and to its powerful neighbours. Two pressing questions in particular faced any Iraqi government seeking to secure Iraqi state interests. The first concerned the issue of Šaṭṭ al-‘Arab, a waterway which constituted

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52 FO/371-20014 FO to Baghdad, 5 November 1936. Sir L. Oliphant – Record of conversation with Sir Francis Humphreys on the subject of the situation in Iraq.
54 A d-Darrāğī, op. cit., pp. 428–432.
56 M arr, op. cit., p. 72.
the frontier between Iran and Iraq. The second question revolved around the Kurdish question. The cabinet of Ḥikmat Sulaymān made some concessions which resulted in the Iran Iraq Frontier Treaty of July 1937. This treaty cleared the way for the establishment of the Sa’dābād Pact, bringing together Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan in an alliance aimed ostensibly at countering Soviet penetration of the area.

The new government began its work amidst considerable popular support, but this could not for long mask the ultimate incompatibility of its two major components. Authoritarian by training and outlook, Bakr Ṣidqī was determined to make the army the main vehicle of power within the state whereas the liberal democratic reformers were bent on changing the social structure of the country. These differences, disguised in the common desire to overthrow the previous regime and temporarily reconciled through the personality of Ḥikmat Sulaymān soon generated conflict. Initially, the reformers appeared to be strong; they organized a society called the Popular Reform League (Ǧamʿiyat al-Īṣlāḥ aš-Šāʾbī) and they called for greater democracy, land reform, the legalisation of trades unions, the introduction of progressive income tax and inheritance tax, as well as a minimum wage and a maximum working day. It was, in short, a bold attack on privilege.

However, this prospect alarmed many. Ḥikmat Sulaymān and the left grossly underestimated the strength of two other political forces in the country – the Arab nationalists and the conservative landowners. The general elections of February 1937 produced a parliament in which the reformists were greatly outnumbered by the combination of conservatives, nationalists and tribal landlord-shaykhs who saw the spectre of communism behind the Popular Reform League and were unhappy over the Turkish orientation of the cabinet and its lack of interest in Arab affairs. Most important of all was opposition from Bakr Ṣidqī and his supporters in the army. On 17 March, Bakr Ṣidqī publicly denounced communism and sealed the fate of the entire Al-Ahālī group. For the reformists, this was the last straw and on 6 June 1937 four ministers resigned. They criticised the government for its lack of commitment to genuine reform and condemned Ḥikmat Sulaymān for his secrecy and for the nepotism and favouritism which he condoned. Shortly thereafter, the anti-reformist forces started a campaign against

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57 As far as the Šaṭṭ al-ʿArab issue was concerned, the Treaty of Erzrum of 1847, the Constantinople Protocol of 1913 and the Delimitation Commission of 1914 had established Ottoman control over the whole of the waterway up to the Persian shore. This was the frontier which Iraq had inherited. In 1932 Iran challenged this delimitation and demanded a revision of the Iran Iraq boundary to the Thalweg (median line of the deepest channel). Iraq rejected this demand.


60 A l-Ḥasanī, Tārīḫ..., Vol. 4, pp. 287–289.

61 They were Gaʿfar Abū at-Timman, Kāmil al-Čādirī, Yūsuf ʿĪzz ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Ṣāliḥ Ġabr. In: A d-Darrāġī, op. cit., pp. 467–47; A l-Ḥas anī, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 317–320.
the left and accomplished the abolition of the *Popular Reform League* and the leading members were either banished from the country or persecuted and disgraced.62

Opposition to Bakr Ṣidqī and the policy of the cabinet had been growing, chiefly among the Arab nationalist in the officer corps and Arab nationalist politicians. These sentiments led to a plot in the officer corps to assassinate Bakr Ṣidqī; the nationalists in the army could count on the support of other groups.63 The opportunity presented itself in August 1937 when Bakr Ṣidqī stopped in Moṣul on his way to Turkey. He was shot, together with his close associate Lt. Colonel Muḥammad ʿAlī Ġawād, the commander of the Iraqi air force, at Moṣul airfield by a group of nationalist officers under Colonel Fahmī Saʿīd.64 After the resignation of the reformist ministers and with the general discontent of the Arab nationalists, Ḩikmat Sulaymān and his regime was put in a critical position. General Amin al-ʿUmarī, the military commander of Mosul with pan-Arab views, assumed control of the town. Two days later with the support of the commanders on Kirkuk and Baghdad, he presented the government with a list of demands. Realising the impossibility of fulfilling this ultimatum, on 17 August 1937 the premier tendered his resignation to the king,65 who on the same day requested Ğaml al-Midfaʾī to form a new government. The Bakr Ṣidqī coup, the collapse of the coalition government and Ḩikmat Sulaymān’s fall from power had far-reaching results. One was to remove the left from power. The attempt to introduce social reform by an alliance with the army had failed. The ascent of the left to power was premature; they were too few in number to command public support, and their ideas were too new to have put down roots in Iraqi society. With the weakening of the left, power gravitated into the hands of the conservative and nationalist elements at a critical time. Their position was strengthened by the seeming success of totalitarian regimes in Europe and their propaganda, and by the rising tide of anti-British feeling in the wake of the Palestine resistance movement of the late 1930s.

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In the two years before the outbreak of the Second World War, several distinct lines developed in Iraqi politics. One was the increased intrusion of the army in politics and the continued erosion of the constitutional system established by the British. Parliament had been brutally manipulated by the traditional politicians and the British, although meddling of the military in politics was to prove even more damaging. Another line was the tendency of the politicians – especially Nūrī as-Saʿīd – to conduct business as usual, pursuing their own power struggles and neglecting pressing social issues. The assassination of Bakr Ṣidqī marked the collapse of the Bakr Ṣidqī – Ḩikmat Sulaymān


axis and the end of Iraq’s first coup government. More important of the developments was the re-emergence of the Palestine problem. The shadow of Palestine fell heavily on Iraq: Zionism and the threatened partition of Palestine had long been the concern not only of the government and the politicians but also of a fair proportion of the urban public at large. All this resulted in the intensification of anti-British and Arab nationalist sentiment, especially among key groups such as the students, the intelligentsia and the officer corps.

The military coups represented a successful, even if short-lived, break by the armed segment of the middle class into the narrow circle of the ruling elite. The coups were carried out on the initiative of a small number of individuals, and could be explained both by personal motives and by the intrigues of ambitious politicians. The superior weight of the pan-Arab trend was partly the consequence of the fact that a large number of younger officers hailed from the northern provinces, which leaned strongly towards pan-Arabism. The emergence of the seven senior officers of the “military bloc” or the “circle of seven” (al-kutla al-'askartya) who had conspired to kill Bakr Ṣidqī and who had caused the collapse of Ḥikmat Sulaymān’s government introduced an era in Iraqi politics during which civilian politicians held office only with the consent of these men. Politics as usual continued in the face of the threatening international situation brought about by the onset of World War II. The intertwining of these three lines gradually drew the young officers further into politics, intensified their pan-Arab feelings, isolated the pro-British politicians, and eventually precipitated the crisis of 1941.

During the two years following the downfall of Ḥikmat Sulaymān’s cabinet, the men and the policies that had previously governed Iraq gradually returned, but not without a protracted struggle. When Ġamīl al-Midfā’ī was asked to form a government, he accepted only once he knew that he had the approval of the rebellious officers. Ġamīl al-Midfā’ī’s conciliatory policies were well known: he tried to pursue a policy of healing old wounds, and of “dropping the curtain” on the past. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved on 26 August, elections were held on 18 December and on 23 December 1937 a new parliament assembled, but its composition had changed little save for the disappearance of Bakr Ṣidqī’s nominees and of the reformists associated with the radical wing of the Al-Ahālī group. Howewer, the premier’s internal policy, backed by the moderates and the king, did not satisfy Nūrī as-Sa’īd, who began to agitate for the punishment of Ḥikmat Sulaymān and his supporters. However, he was aware that without support of the Arab nationalist officers, he could not attain his goal. Therefore he charged his son Ṣabāḥ with the task of seeking their cooperation. Thanks to the intervention of Ṣalāh

67 Longrigg, Iraq, 1900 to 1950, p. 272.
69 A1-Ḥasanī, Al-Asrār..., p. 23.
ad-Dīn as-Ṣabbāg and Fāmī Saʿīd, Nūrī as-Saʿīd obtained Ǧamīl al-Midfaʾī’s permission to return to Iraq.71

The members of “circle of seven” all were known for their sympathy with pan-Arabism and they would intervene periodically when the question of the attitude of the government towards pan-Arabism came to the fore.72 These officers, all Sunnī Arab by origin, tended to share a predominantly pan-Arab view of Iraq’s identity and destiny, giving them an ambivalent attitude towards the state of Iraq itself. However, they were officers in the armed forces of the Iraqi state which, even if still tied to Great Britain in various resented ways, was formally independent. It was thus a regime of power capable both of shaping and disciplining its own society and of playing a leading role on the larger stage of the Arab world. These were the themes dominating the years during which this “military bloc” was in the ascendant and was able to contribute greatly in removing the Ǧamīl al-Midfaʾī cabinet.73 The rest of Iraq’s population, its communities, hierarchies and social formations, recognised the power of these men, their command of coercive force and their capacity to dispense favours. They formed the necessary background for the officers’ exercise of power, but the latter had little interest in and no incentive to reform or reconstruct the status quo.74

When Ǧamīl al-Midfaʾī consistently refused to take action, Nūrī as-Saʿīd, now joined by Ṭāḥah al-Ḥāshimī and Rustum Ḥaydar, in accordance with the charter of the Arab Independence Party (Ḥizb al-Istiqlāl al-ʿArabī) secretly collaborated with the Arab nationalist officers to end Ǧamīl al-Midfaʾī’s cabinet and seize power.75 Ǧamīl al-Midfaʾī initially tried to placate the “circle of seven” by giving them senior posts. However, they did not trust him and there were always plenty of politicians eager to exploit that mistrust. The decisive power now lay with the officers, and the members of the “circle of seven” bore with indignation when on 31 October 1938 the prime minister gave up the post of minister of defence in favour of Colonel Ṣabīḥ NaʿĪmī, whose tactless and arrogant attitude towards high-ranking officers was well-known, instead of Ṭāḥah al-Ḥāshimī.76 Matters came to a head two months later, when Ṣabīḥ NaʿĪmī deprived the chief of the general staff of much of his powers and took steps to retire or transfer the Arab nationalist officers (the Four Colonels) and thus end their influence in politics.77

74 Tripp, A History of Iraq, p. 96.
75 Yāḥī, Ḥarakat Raʾūf al-Ḥālīnī 1941, p. 27.
76 Barrāk, Dawr al-ʾgayṣ…, p. 173.
77 Mahmūd ad-Durrā, Al-Ḥarb al-ʾirāqīyya al-brtštāntya 1941, Dār at-Talīʿa, Beirut 1969, p. 93; Aṣ-Ṣabbāğ, Fursān…, p. 69.
This was probable the main reason why the government fell. On 24 December, while considerable forces were concentrated at Ar-Raṣīd camp in the outskirts of Baghdad, the officers insisted on the resignation of the cabinet on the grounds that the army no longer had confidence in it. The prime minister was informed that a coup d’état was in the offing. The chief of the general staff then told the king that the army had lost confidence in the government and that either Nūrī as-Sa‘īd or Ṭāḥā al-Ḥāšimī (both had been busy cultivating the “circle of seven”) should be asked to form a new cabinet. When Ḥāṯim al-Midfa‘ī called Nūrī as-Sa‘īd, the latter made it clear that he fully supported the officers, thereafter Ḥāṯim al-Midfa‘ī’s resignation followed the same day, and Nūrī as-Sa‘īd became prime minister for the first time since 1932.

Nūrī as-Sa‘īd retired the supporters of Ḥāṯim al-Midfa‘ī in the army and held an election, filling parliament with his own supporters. He then attempted to deal with Ḥikmat Sulaymān and his collaborators in the coup. Since he was unable to bring them to trial for the coup because of an amnesty law previously passed by Ḥikmat Sulaymān’s government, a new charge had to be found. An alleged plot against the life of the king was “discovered” in March 1939, and Ḥikmat Sulaymān and a number of his group were implicated, brought to trial, and convicted. The evidence convinced no one. Only the intervention of the British ambassador Sir Maurice Petterson got the sentences reduced and saved Ḥikmat Sulaymān’s life. This indicates the extent to which Nūrī as-Sa‘īd was willing to go for retribution and the degree to which personal feelings were allowed to dominate politics.

When Nūrī as-Sa‘īd was asked by the king to form a government, he too found that his power depended largely on his ability to placate the “circle of seven”. To some degree he was able to do so because of the views they shared on the importance of the question of Palestine. In recent years, Nūrī as-Sa‘īd had made considerable efforts to establish a role for Iraq – and thus for himself – in Palestine. In 1936, with the outbreak of the general strike organised by the Arab Higher Committee in Palestine, Nūrī as-Sa‘īd had made several unsuccessful attempts to mediate first between the Arabs and the Jewish Agency and then between the Higher Committee and the British authorities. His professed hope was to bring all sides together in agreeing to a solution to the Palestine problem within the framework of a larger Arab federation of the Fertile Crescent, led by the Hāšimite dynasty. This was an idea that he repeatedly sought to promote, making much-publicised visits to various Arab capitals and suggesting that be held the key to

81 Al-Ḥasanī, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 76.
83 Al-Ḥasanī, Al-Asrār..., pp. 38–40; Longrigg, Iraq, 1900 to 1950, p. 272.
reconciliation between the British and the Palestinian leader Al-Hāǧǧ Amīn al-Husaynī. This proved not to be the case, but it served to create the impression in Iraq that Nūrī as-Saʿīd, more than any other of the established politicians, was determined to work on behalf of the cause of Palestine. This stood him in good stead with the pan-Arab officers of the Iraqi army. Consequently, when he became prime minister he was careful to pursue these initiatives, personally heading the Iraqi delegation to the London Round Table Conference on Palestine in January 1939, where he tried to bring about agreement between the Palestinian and British sides. He failed, but his commitment won the approval of the “circle of seven” in the armed forces.84

Now when Nūrī as-Saʿīd and his supporters were in power, the opposition was taken over by Ġamīl al-Midfaʿī and his followers. There were also those, who supported neither of the two. Therefore it was not surprising that Nūrī as-Saʿīd should harbour a feeling of insecurity which – in his view – could be diminished by installing his “men” in parliament. So his next move was to have parliament dissolved and to set in motion plans for general elections. According to a number of Iraqi authors he had three tasks to solve: 1. to settle the problem of King Ġāzī;85 2. in view of the looming war to put Iraq fully in the service of the British war effort and 3. to contain the nationalist forces within and outside the army by pretending to endeavour to solve the national problems.86 Arab nationalist sentiments were hardly new in Iraq, but the end of the mandate and the escalation of the Palestine problem gave them new impetus. The wave of fascist propaganda emanating from some European countries fanned already intense anti-British feeling. These sentiments, although shared by some of the older politicians, had their firmest roots among the younger generation raised under the British mandate and now coming into their own. Nationalist clubs like al-Muthannā (named after a seventh-century Arab hero) and Al-Ǧawwāl al-ʿArabī (the Arab Scout) appeared in schools and colleges in addition to the government sponsored Al-Futuwā program.87

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General Nūrī as-Saʿīd was struggling with his opponents for his political survival with every possible means with tacit British support. And in this tense situation another incident occurred which had far-reaching effects on the internal politics of the country. This was the sudden and unexpected death of King Ġāzī. According to the official communiqué, King Ġāzī was on his way from Zuhūr Palace to Ḥārīṯiya Palace on the late evening of

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85 FO/371-20017-2067 from J.G. Ward to FO Eastern Department, 20 July 1936. The British Embassy already in 1936 considered King Ġāzī too weak and was looking for a possible candidate to replace him.
4 April 1939 when he drove his car at excessive speed into an electric pole. He died shortly afterwards of a fractured skull. Although the investigations were very perfunctory, the police report stated that “it has been proved that the crash was purely accidental”. The case was therefore closed on the advice of highest authorities “as there was no suspicion of a criminal act”.88 This official version of the king’s death has always been treated as suspect by Iraqis and particularly by the nationalists, who have claimed that Nūrī as-Sa‘īd and the British had hatched and accomplished this treacherous murder.89

King Ġāzī’s death created a serious political vacuum at the centre of power, providing an opportunity for the establishment to recoup some of its losses by installing one of its supporters. The candidacy of Amīr ‘Abd al-Ilāh to the Regency became the subject of controversy among leading politicians. Some of them supported the candidacy of Amīr Zayd, uncle of the late king and half brother of Fāyṣal I, an older man with some experience who was married to a Turkish woman. He was rejected, according to some, because of his liberal social behaviour and because his Turkish leanings were viewed with suspicion by the Arab politicians;90 according to others, he was rejected as too independent to be malleable.91 Nūrī as-Sa‘īd and the leading army officers, with whom Amīr ‘Abd al-Ilāh had recently developed friendly relations through Maḥmūd Salmān, insisted on his candidacy.

The immediate political consequence of Ġāzī’s death was the necessity to appoint a regent since his son, was only four years old. On 5 April, early in the morning the Council of Ministers met at Zuhūr Palace and passed the following resolutions: 1. to proclaim His Royal Highness Amīr Fāyṣal as His Majesty King Fāyṣal II, in accordance with Article 20 of the constitution;92 2. to proclaim His Royal Highness Amīr ‘Abd al-Ilāh regent, in view of the fact that His Majesty the King had not come of age; and 3. to convene parliament, in order to approve the proclamation of regency in accordance with article 22 of the constitution.93 The British were in a dire need for a loyal figure as a head of state, the choice (as a part of the same complot) fell on Prince ‘Abd al-Ilāh, the 26-year-old son of ex-king ‘Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn of Al-Ḥiǧāz and brother of Queen Āliya, mother of Fāyṣal II. Amīr ‘Abd al-Ilāh was proclaimed regent on the alleged contention of the Queen and Princess Rāğiḥa, King Ġāzī’s sister before the Council of Ministers, that this had been the wish of the late King. However, it was commonly known that Ġāzī was forced into a political marriage and his relation with the queen was rather

89 Aḥṭāb, Al-Mas‘ūlīya..., p. 49.
90 As-Sabbāg, Fursān al-‘urāba ft al-‘Irāq, p. 82.
91 Aḥsanī, Tāriḵ al-wizārat al-‘irāqīya. Vol. 5, p. 82.
92 Art. 20 states: The heir apparent shall be the eldest son of the King, in direct line, in accordance with the provision of the law of succession (text of the article before the Second Amendment of 1942). Cit. in: Khadduri, Independent Iraq, p. 140.
formal. As he resented his cousin and brother-in-law, ‘Abd al-Ilāh, he would never have suggest him for the regency.94

There is little doubt that Ġāzī’s death came as a relief to the British and strengthened Nūrī as-Sa‘ād’s hand still further. Always in tune with the younger army officers, the young Ġāzī had become an outspoken advocate of anti-British and nationalist sentiment. German and Italian propaganda made their contributions to this state of mind of the Iraqis, the German minister in Baghdad, Dr. Fritz Grobba, doing much to promote pro-Axis feelings in the country.95 Political sympathies linked the king to his generation among the Sunnī Arab elite of Iraq. He resented the continued British influence, but in a rather unfocused way, since the question of that influence was not the burning issue of Iraqi domestic politics by the time he came to the throne. In 1937 he had begun broadcasting from a private radio station in his palace, violently denouncing French rule in Syria and Zionist claims in Palestine, and attacking British influence in the Gulf.96 He was associated with the first serious public airing of the Iraqi claim to sovereignty over Kuwait.

Like that of his father, King Ġāzī’s death dealt a serious blow to Iraq’s fragile centre of power. Though of limited effective power, the monarchy provided a balancing, at times crucial, instrument for the country’s political structure. A swift containment of the country’s “imbalance” required a vision, a charisma and a determination that King Ġāzī’s effective successor, ‘Abdalilāh had been lacking.97 At the time of Ġāzī’s death, ‘Abdalilāh was not popular, but he was known to be pro-British, and he had good relations with Nūrī as-Sa‘ād, Tāhā al-Hāšimī, and the officers who supported him. He was also young at 26 and for that reason, the politicians probably felt that they could control him. As events were to prove, ‘Abdalilāh’s appointment changed the delicate balance between the palace, the officer corps, the civilian political elite and the British. ‘Abdalilāh differed from his late brother-in-law in that he was grateful to the British and was ready to fulfil their instructions. He considered the alliance with Great Britain the main guaranty for the Hāšimite dynasty. Even Anthony Eden admitted that “while he (the regent) is not a very strong character … there can be no question of his loyalty”.98 This meant that he

96 “King Ghāzī’s total irresponsibility”, writes Sir Maurice Peterson, “became accentuated under the new regime. In particular his private broadcasting station in the Palace, which had long been a source of anxiety, became more and more mischievous in tone, especially towards the Sheikh of Koweit, Iraq’s next-door neighbour at the head of the Persian Gulf and a ruler who stood in close relation to the British Government. The line taken by the broadcast was that the Sheikh was an out-of-date feudal despot whose backward rule contrasted with the enlightened regime existing in Iraq. Koweit, it was implied, would be much better off merged with her northern neighbour”, in: Maurice Peterson, Both Sides of the Curtain, Constable, London 1950. p. 150.
97 Tarbush, The Role of the Military in Politics, p. 159.
98 Cit. in: ibid., p. 159.
had little in common with the Arab nationalist army officers whom he tended to regard as social upstarts, unworthy of his cultivation.

The death of King Ġāzī was felt to be a national calamity, since he was regarded as a popular hero by the Arab nationalists and the rank and file of the people. His personal relations with certain influential army officers were intimate, and his outspoken political pronouncements gave great satisfaction both to the army and the nationalists. His sudden death was a mystery to the great majority of the people, especially in the absence of a clear official announcement immediately afterwards. It therefore took Iraq by surprise and gave rise to speculations and rumours which spread like wildfire throughout the country that the accident was due to a secret British plot or to a combined foreign and internal political intrigue. Arab nationalist and anti-British sentiment was sweeping Iraq.

99 Different versions as to the possibility of the assassination of King Ġāzī, see: Aṣṣ-Ṣabbāġ, Fursân..., pp. 80–97.
GÁBOR TAKÁCS

Lexica Afroasiatica X

Abstract

Comparative-historical Afro-Asiatic linguistics has undergone a significant development over the past half century, since the appearance *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* (1947) by Marcel Cohen. This revolutionary and fundamental synthesis concluded the second great period of the comparative research on Afro-Asiatic lexicon (the so-called „old school”, cf. EDE I 2-4). During the third period (second half of the 20th century), whose beginning was hallmarked by the names of J.H. Greenberg and I.M. Diakonoff, a huge quantity of new lexical material (both descriptive and comparative) has been published, including a few most recent attempts (either unfinished or rather problematic) at compiling an Afro-Asiatic comparative dictionary (SISAJa I-III, HCVA I-V, HSED, Ehret 1995).

During my current work on the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (EDE), I have collected a great number of new AA parallels, which – to the best of my knowledge – have not yet been proposed in the literature or was observed independently from me1. Along the EDE project (and the underlying „Egyptian etymological word catalogue”), I have started collecting AA roots (not attested in Egyptian) for a separate Afro-Asiatic root catalogue in late 1999.

The series *Lexica Afroasiatica* has started in 20022 for communicating new Afro-Asiatic lexical correspondences observed recently during my work, which may later serve

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1 I did my best to note it wherever I noticed an overlapping with the existing Afro-Asiatic dictionaries.
as basis of a new synthesis of the Afro-Asiatic comparative lexicon. The present part of this series is a collection of additional new Afro-Asiatic etymologies with the Proto-Afro-Asiatic initial bilabial nasal (*m-*) observed after my research periods at Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaften of Frankfurt a/M (in 1999–2000 and 2002) guided by Prof. H. Jungraithmayr. The numeration of the etymological entries is continuous beginning from the first part of the series Lexica Afroasiatica. This part contains new Afro-Asiatic roots with *n-* followed by a dental radical.

Each entry is headed by the proposed PAA root (as tentatively reconstructed by myself). Author names are placed after the quoted linguistic forms in square brackets [] mostly in an abbreviated form (a key can be found at the end of the paper). The lexical data in the individual lexicon entries have been arranged in the order of the current classification of the Afro-Asiatic daughter languages (originating from J.H. Greenberg 1955; 1963 and I.M. Diakonoff 1965) in five (or six) equivalent branches: (1) Semitic, (2) Egyptian, (3) Berber, (4) Cushitic, (5) Omotic (sometimes conceived as West Cushitic), (6) Chadic. For a detailed list of all daughter languages cf. EDE I 9-34. The number of vertical strokes indicate the closeness of the language units from which data are quoted: ||| separate branches (the 6 largest units within the family), || groups (such as East vs. South Cushitic or West vs. East Chadic), while | divides data from diverse sub-groups (e.g., Angas-Sura vs. North Bauchi within West Chadic).

Since we know little about the Proto-Afro-Asiatic vowel system, the proposed list of the reconstructed Proto-Afro-Asiatic forms is arranged according to consonantal roots (even the nominal roots). Sometimes, nevertheless, it was possible to establish the root vowel, which is given in the paper additionally in brackets. The lexical parallels suggested herein, are based on the preliminary results in reconstructing the consonant correspondences achieved by the Russian team of I.M. Diakonoff (available in a number of publications) as well as on my own observations refining the Russian results (most importantly Takács 2001). The most important results can be summarized as follows. The labial triad *b - *p - *f remained unchanged in Egyptian, South Cushitic, and Chadic, while the dental series *d - *t - *ṭ was kept as such by Semitic and South Cushitic (AA *ṭ continued as *ḍ in Berber, Cushitic and Chadic, and it was merged into t vs. d in Egyptian). The fine distinction of the diverse sibilant affricates and spirants (AA *c, *ʒ, *č, *s, *č, *ž, *č, *š, *č, *č, *š) was best preserved in Semitic, South Cushitic and West Chadic (while some of these phonemes suffered a merger in other branches and groups). The Russian scholars assumed a triad of postvelar (uvular) stops with a voiceless spirant counterpart: *g, *q, *q, and *h, the distinction of which was retained in Cushitic and Chadic, but was
merged into *h in Semitic and Egyptian. In a number of cases, however, it is still difficult
to exactly reconstruct the root consonants on the basis of the available cognates (esp.
when these are from the modern branches, e.g., Berber, Cushitic-Omotic, or Chadic). In
such cases, the corresponding capitals are used (denoting only the place of articulation)⁴.

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**AA *n- + labials: addition**

894. AA *√nps „to scatter” > Sem.: Ar. √nfs II „2. distraire qqn.”, V „7. disperse l’eau
(se dit d’une vague qui se brise et déferle)” [BK II 1310] || NBrb.: Seghrushen √nfs:
ə-nfəs „asperger” [Pellat 1955, 121].

895. AA *√npS „to scatter” > Sem.: Ar. √nfs I „éparpiller, jeter en tas épars (du blé,
etc.)” [Fagnan 1923, 175] = IV „lâcher ses troupeaux au pâturage et les laisser paître sans
patère” [BK II 1311] || SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ə-nfəz „verser en désordre, partout (liquide,
grain)” [PAM 2003, 597].

**AA *n- + dentals**

896. AA *√nd „to push” > Sem.: Geez nadʔa „to drive (away), push, lead (off), urge
on, spur, impel, cause to be fast etc.” [Lsl.], Tna. nädʔe „to push forward” [Lsl.], cf.
Harari tä-nādaʔa „to resign o’self” (lit. „to be pushed”) [Lsl.], Amh. nädda „to goad,
push, drive cattle” [Lsl.] (ES: Lsl. 1963, 117; 1969, 59; 1987, 385) || Eg. nd „to thrust (?)
into (r)” (PT 1488b, AEPT 229, 329)⁵ || NBrb.: Wargla √nd: ə-nd „être battu (lait),
former son beurre” [Dih. 1987, 211] || Mzg. √nd: e-nd „être battu, baratté (lait), former
son beurre (lait)”, ti-ndi, pl. ti-nda „battage du lait, barattage” [Tf. 1991, 461], Zayan
and Sgugu √ndu: e-ννu „l. battre le lait pour en retirer le beurre, 2. être battu (lait)”
[Lbg. 1924, 572] || Shenwe e-ndu „être battu (beurre)” [Lst. 1912, 147] || Qabyle √nd:
e-ndu „être battu, former son beurre (lait)” [Dlt. 1982, 541] || EBrd.: Ghadames e-nd
„dépiquer (le mil)” [Lanfry 1973, 234, #1092]⁶ || NOm.: Chara nad-ā, -ē, -ō „burro”
[Crl. 1938 III, 173] = nēd-a „butter” [Bnd. 1974 MS, 15] || CCh.: Daba nda „2. battre,
frapper” [Mch. 1966, 140].

897. AA *√nd „to bind” > Sem.: Ar. nudaʔ-at- „faisceau, botte de plantes, d’herbes”

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⁴ E.g., the symbol (*P-) signifies any unknown initial labial, just as, e.g., *T stands for any unknown dental stop
(*d, *t or *t) or *K for any unknown velar stop (*g, *k or *q) or *Q for any unknown postvelar/uvulear (*g, *k or *q),
while *H for any laryngeal or pharyngeal (*h, *h, *h, also *q).

⁵ R.O. Faulkner (AEPT 230, n. 7) surmised that PT nd “may well be the nipḫal” of Eg. d(w) „to place”.

⁶ In the older lit., this Brb. root was erroneously combined with Eg.-Sem. *vndy “to cast down” [GT], which,
however, should be carefully distinguished from the Eg.-Sem. root discussed in this entry.
Eg. nd.wt „fetters” (CT III 261c, DCT 258) 7 ||| LECu.: Saho nad-ō (f) „die Garbe” [Rn. 1890, 284] | Somali nud „to tie” [Ehret 1995, 321, #623 with a different etymology].

898. AA *√nd „to burn” > ES *ndd „to burn” [Apl. 1977, 38/80 with no cognates outside ES contra Lsl. 1987, 385] 7 ||| (???) Eg. ndj „Name des Sonnengottes” (PT 209a, Wb II 367, 14) = „Fahrzeug des Sonnengottes, Sonnenscheibe (?)” (UKAPT VI 146) 7 ||| CCh.: Bana ndí „brûler” [Krf. in Brt.-Jng. 1990, 86] ||| ECh.: (?) Masmaje nàddà „sécher” [Alio 2004, 283, #137].


901. AA *√ndb or *√mdb „1. bottom, 2. base, fundament” > Sem.: Yemeni Ar. ma-nādib „die Bergterrassen, welche die einzelnen horizontalen girab auf den Bergen abtrennen”, mandab „längliches Feld” [Behnstedt 1993, 202], cf. OSA (Sabaic) ndb „to construct, work on” [SD 91] 7 ||| ES: Geez madab „base, socle, projection, wall, elevated place, seat, stool, platform”, madaba „to build a wall (of stones or bricks)”, Tigre, Tna. mädäb „raised part of the floor for sitting or sleeping”, Argobba nàdab „sleeping place made of masonry”, Harari nàdāba „raised seat, elevated terrace”, Amh. mädäb „stall for merchandise, bench of stones and mud built against the inside wall of the house” (ES: Lsl. 1963, 117; 1987, 329; 1988, 71) 7 ||| Eg. ndb.wt „die Fundamente eines Bauwerks und bes. der Erde (die auf ihnen ruht), bes. in Ausdrücken wie: ein Gebiet auf seinen ndb.wt: das ganze Gebiet” (MK, Wb II 368, 8-9) = „area, extent” (FD 143) = „Fundamente, Fläche, Areal” (GHWb 446) 7 ||| CCh.: Daba madaba „cul”, madaba tik „sa partie basse” [Mch. 1966, 133], Musgoy mádāba „cul” [Mch. 1950, 32]. The ES term was borrowed into LECu.: 7 CT III 261 nd.wt „fetters” may be compared here provided it was not merely a miswritten form of CT II 112c nt.wt „bonds” < PT 349 nt.wt as suggested by R.O. Faulkner (AECT I 179-180, spell 227, 5).
8 H.G. Mukarovsky (1987, 294) compared the Angas-Sura word with NOm.: Sezo tānti and Hozo tanta „red”.
9 J. Osing (2000, 170, fn. 44) suggested two alternative etymologies for MK ndb.wt: (1) either < Eg. ndb „beschlagen, niedrstoßen” (CT, Wb II 367, 17) = „to injure, stab by horns” (DCT 259) = „verwunden” (BD, Stz. 1999, 376), which is semantically highly dubious, (2) or ~ Sem. *nšb „auf-, errichten” (Osing), which would presuppose an unattested Eg. nšb.wt.
Afar madab „base or foundation of a house or compound area” [PH 1985, 159] | Oromo madabī „raised platform (usually of mud) in house, usually used as bedstead” [Gragg 1982, 273], Gidole madabe „Matte, die man auf die Erde hinlegt, um sich darauf zu setzen” [Lmb.] etc. ||| NOm.: Shinasha-Bworo madabī „Schlafstätte” [Lmb.] || SOm.: Ari madabbe „Schlafstätte aus Blättern” [Lmb.] etc. (Cu.-Om.: Lmb. 1993, 350).

**902. AA *√ndr „to burn” > ES: Tigre nädra „to burn heavily”, Tna. näddārē „to take fire, be angry” (ES: Lsl. 1982, 55) || WBrb.: Zenaga vnîdr: e-nder „brûler, flamber” [Bst. 1909, 247] = (ə)-ndər ~ a-ndər ~ ē-ndər „(se) brûler, flamber” [Ncl. 1953, 228]. Borrowing excluded, since no Ar. reflex is known.


**904. AA *√nt „to tie together” > LECu.: Rendille nyuta „to tie (two ends) together, join (two ends)” [PG 1999, 237-8] || ECh.: Kera ōntî „to tie up” [Pearce 1998-9, 67], Kwang-Mobu éndé „attacher” and Ngam ènte „attacher avec une corde” [Lns. 1982, 106].


**906. AA *√nt „to push” > Eg. ntj „in Bedrängnis sein, gefangen sein” (NK hapax: Pap. Torino 1882, 5:1, Wb II 351, 6) = „to be choked or stifled” (Grd. 1956, 15 with a 2nd example) = „être opprésé” (AL 78.2271) = „to be choked, stifled” (DLE II 38) = „erwirgt, erstickt, bedrückt werden” (GHWb 440) || NBrb.: Shilh ntu „pousser” [Jordan 1934, 97] || Qabyle vnînt: e-ntu „être enfoncé, fiché, s’enfoncer”, sse-ntu „piquer, enfoncer, planter” [Dlt. 1982, 580] ||| WBrb.: Zenaga e-nti „piquer (sans pénétrer)” [Cohen-TC 2000, 285].

**907. AA *√nt „to pull” > Ar. bicons. *nt- „to draw out, bring forth” [Ehret 1989, 182, #56], cf. also Ar. natara „2. tirer à soi avec la corde de l’arc, bande l’arc” and natala

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10 Due to its scarce and late attestation, it is a highly doubtful parallel. For an alternative etymology (with Eg. n- < *l-) cf. HSED #1657.

908. AA *vnt[t] „to install, set up a building” > Eg. ntt „herstellen mit Bezug auf Bauen” (GR, Wb II 357, 5) = „enfermer dans des limites (?)” (Meeks 1977, 88, fn. 6) l SBrb.: Ewlmd. & Ayr ä-ntu, Ayr ø-ntu „l. être commencé, commencer (intr.), 2. (Ayr) être solidement fixé (poteau, arbre, personne), bien installé, établi, solidement enraciné, avoir fait un bon début” [PAM 2003, 629].


910. AA *vntf „l. to loosen, 2. pluck, 3. tear (in general)” > Sem.: Syr. natup „to pull, draw out” [Lsl.] l Ar. nataf I „l. arracher, tirer (le poil, les plumes, la laine)”, II „arracher avec force, une grande quantité (de poil, de laine, de plumes) à la fois” [BK II 1193] = V, VIII „perdre les cheveux, les poils, ceux de la barbe, les plumes” [Dozy II 639] = I „to pull out, pull out, tear out” [Lsl.], Dathina ntf „arracher (se dit surtout des poils, d’une épine)” [GD 2741], Yemeni Ar. nataf „to catch, snatch away, tear out (hair), cut (wings)”, nif „to pick (bird), pull off” [Piamenta 1990, 478], S’a’dah (Yemen) nataf „Vögel rupfen” [Behnstedt 1987, 305] l Hrs. netof „to pluck (hair)” [Jns. 1977, 98], Jbl. ntf „to pluck (hair, e.g. from the armpits and pubes, of women; older, religiously inclined men sometimes pluck their body-hair)” [Jns. 1981, 196], Mhr. natuf „to pluck (hair)” [Jns. 1987, 303], Sqt. nentaf „to pluck slowly, bit by bit” [Jns.] l Geez nat(t)afa „to tear to pieces, tear apart, lacerate, cut asunder, pluck out, spoil, deface, rob, open cotton balls” [Lsl.], Amh. nattafà „to tear apart (cotton or the like)” [Lsl.], Tigre natta „to cut off” [Lsl.] (Sem.: Lsl. 1982, 57; 1987, 407) l Eg. ntf (NE) vs. met. var. nft (Med.) „(den Gefesselten) losbinden” (Wb II 356, 9) = „to loosen, untie, let loose” (Grd. 1911, 26, fn. 16; 1956, 15-16) = „to release, unharness” (Leitz 1999, 100) > Dem. ntf „löschen” (DG 232:4) > Cpt.: (SLB) noyntq, (SB) nuynt „to loosen, dissolve” (CD 232a; CED 111) = „löschen, erschaffen” (KHW 129) = „déliere” (DELC 147) l NBrb.: Izdeg ntf „arracher, épiler, plumer” [Mrc. 1937, 23, 105, 196] l Mzab ø-ntaf „arracher (en tirant), cueillir (en tirant), épiler, peler” [Dlh. 1984, 141], Wargla ø-ntaf „arracher en tirant, extraire, épiler, plumer, cueillir” [Dlh. 1987, 228] l EBrb.: Gdm. e-ntaf „1. rompre en menus morceaux (pain), 2. enlever brin à brin, morceler, désagréger, 3. arracher” [Lnf.

11 D. Meeks (l.c.) explained the GR verb from his unattested Eg. *nţ „évoquent l’idée d’enfermer, d’enclore” deduced from nţ „ficeler”, nţ „vessie”, nţ „diaphragme”, snţ „tracer les fondations sur le sol” etc.

12 Its equation with a certain WCh. *tVf- „to tie” (suggested in OS 1992, 199 and HSED #2409) cannot be accepted.


912. AA */ntš* „to moisten” > Sem.: Ar. nṭ IV „1. se gonfler après avoir été impregné d’humidité et crever (se dit de la graine, de la sémence qui germe)” [BK II 1193], Dathina nūtša-dám „Blutstropfen” [GD 2740], Dhofar nūtša „Spritzer” [Rdk. 1911, 57]; Yemeni Ar. nataš III „to soil one’s clothes by splashing muddy water” [Piamenta 1990, 478] || Eg. nṭ „etwas besprengen, eine Flüssigkeit sprengen” (Med., Wb II 356, 18-20)14. A var. with a voiced C 3 is present in MHbr. ntz qal „to splash” and JAram. ntz „to gush forth, splash” [Jastrow 1950, 943].

913. AA */ntš* „to hit” > Eg. nṭ „to hit, strike” (GR, PL 556)15 || Sem.: Ar. nataša I „4. frapper, donner un coup, 5. frapper qqch. du bout du pied, de manière a disperser, à faire voler en éclats” [BK II 1193].


13 The third radical may be a root ext. as supposed in Sem. studies (GD 2741; Ehret 1989, 183, #56; Piamenta l.c. supra; Voigt 1997, 173), cf. Sem. *nt k „ablösen” [GB 531] = „to pull out” [Lsl. 1987, 407] as well as Hbr. mṭ, nṭs, nṭs, nṭc, nṭh, nṭr (all with the basic sense „to separate”), or Dathina nṭ „arracher, tirer”, nṭk „arracher” [GD 2741].

14 In the old literature of Eg.-Sem. comparison (Alb. 1918, 235, #60; ESS §11.a.35 and §19.d; GÄSW 68, #232; Vrg. 1945, 143, §21.a.5), it was usually equated with Sem. *nt k „(ver)gießen” [WUS #1871] = „to pour” [GT], which led Albright and Ember to assuming an unattested and unexplained shift of Eg. nṭ < *ntt [*ntč]. Even less convincing G. Thausing’s (1941, 28) etymology, who derived Eg. nṭ from Eg. n.t (fem!) „Wasser (?)” with postfix -š (referring to Zylharz 1934-5, 259 for an elleged prefix š-).

15 Note that Eg. ndš „(den Ball) schlagen” (GR, Wb II 386, 2) may well display a different root, cf. AA *n-g-č infra.
of Angas-Sura *nä₂t [<*nət <*nətʃ] „red” [GT] is uncertain (cf. also AA *n-d „red” supra).


916. AA *vʊtl „to rush out” > Ar. ntl „hervorspringen (aus einer Reihe)” [GB pace Barth, ZDMG 43, 188], Yemeni Ar. ntl X „to rush out of the lines” [Piamenta 1990, 478] || NBrb.: Wargla ə-ntəl „s’esquiver, s’enfuir en courant” [Dlh. 1987, 228].

917. AA *vʊtr „to jump” > Sem.: Dathina nтр „sauteur” [GD 2780], Yemeni Ar. naṭ „to jump” [Piamenta 1990, 488] || ES *nтр „to bounce, jump” [Lsl. 1960, 206]: Amh. nätärrä „to jump, bounce”, Tna. nätärrä „to jump (around)”, Gurage (Gyeto) nätärrä vs. (Musher, Masqan, Gogot, Soddo) nätärrä „to jump around, bounce, skip around” (ES: Lsl. 1987, 408; Sem.: Lsl. 1979 III 464) || NBrb.: Shilh nдер „bondir, (se) démener” [Jordan 1934, 95], Sus nдер (sic, -d-) „sauteur” [Lst. 1921, 295] || SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ə-nдер „sauter vivement desa place, sauter en l’air, s’envoler (mouche etc.), sauter auprès avoir touché, sans pénétrer, rater (coup de feu, ruse)” [PAM 2003, 591]. A root var. with *m- is represented by Ar. maṭara „4. marcher d’un pas rapide (se dit d’un cheval), 7. s’abattre avec rapidité en descendant des airs (se dit d’un oiseau)” [BK II 1122].


Abbreviations of languages


Abbreviations of author names


Quoted literature

AJSL = The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago).
Cerulli, E.: Studi etiopici. IV. La lingua caffina. Roma, 1951., Istituto per l’Oriente.


Thausing, G.: Ägyptische Confixe und die ägyptische Verbkonstruktion. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 68 (1941), 5-34.


ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden).

EDWARD LIPIŃSKI

Meroitic
(Review article)\textsuperscript{1}

Abstract

Meroitic is attested by written records found in the Nile valley of northern Sudan and dating from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C. through the 5\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. They are inscribed in a particular script, either hieroglyphic or more often cursive, which has been deciphered, although our understanding of the language is very limited. Basing himself on about fifty words, the meaning of which is relatively well established, on a few morphological features and phonetic correspondences, Claude Rilly proposes to regard Meroitic as a North-Eastern Sudanic tongue of the Nilo-Saharan language family and to classify it in the same group as Nubian (Sudan), Nara (Eritrea), Taman (Chad), and Nyima (Sudan). The examination of the fifty words in question shows instead that most of them seem to belong to the Afro-Asiatic vocabulary, in particular Semitic, with some Egyptian loanwords and lexical Cushitic analogies. The limited lexical material at our disposal and the extremely poor knowledge of the verbal system prevent us from a more precise classification of Meroitic in the Afro-Asiatic phylum. In fact, the only system of classification of languages is the genealogical one, founded on the genetic and historical connection between languages as determined by phonological and morpho-syntactic correspondences, with confirmation, wherever possible, from history, archaeology, and kindred sciences.

Meroitic is believed to be the native language of ancient Nubia, attested by written records which date from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C. through the 5\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. Its name was coined from the city-name Meroe. Located on the east bank of the Nile, some 200 km

\textsuperscript{1} Claude Rilly, \textit{Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique} (Afrique et langage 14; Société d’Études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France 454), Peeters, Louvain-Paris 2010, 557 pp., 24 x 16 cm.
to the north-east of present-day Khartoum, Meroe was the capital of a great empire on the Nile, famed for the pyramids of kings and queens who dominated the region between 270 B.C. and 350 A.D. However, other sites provided Meroitic texts as well. There are inscriptions on monuments, tombstones, funerary altars, as well as graffiti, also on potsherds. They are inscribed in a particular script, either hieroglyphic or more often cursive, called likewise Meroitic.

Meroitic writing was deciphered in 1910 by F.Ll. Griffith after the discovery of a large number of new inscriptions in lower Nubia and at Meroe. The language, however, still remained a sealed book, though names of persons, deities, and places, as well as certain titles, either borrowed from Egyptian or Meroitic but occurring in Egyptian demotic texts, like *kntjky*, “Candace”, have readily been recognized. It could also be stated that the Meroitic language shows agglutinative formation, absence of formal gender distinction, and apparently some degree of connection with Nubian. However, the Nubian language is an African enigma as well, while its vocabulary very likely contains some Meroitic loanwords.

Philological analysis of the inscriptions enabled Claude Rilly, co-editor of the *Répertoire d’épigraphie méroïtique*², to increase the small corpus of understandable and translatable Meroitic words, while a further comparison of 200 words in a group of Nilo-Saharan languages provided the information needed to determine a North-Eastern Sudanic branch of this group, thus including Nubian (Sudan), Nara (Eritrea), Taman (Chad), Nyima (Sudan), and Meroitic. The results of this methodical and valuable research are presented in the volume under review.

The introduction (pp. 11–24) sketches the history of the kingdom of Napata, followed by the kingdom of Meroe, briefly records the history of the Meroitic language and script, indicates the phonetic value of the signs and describes the phonological system, then presents the typology of the texts and offers a short survey of the research done in the past. The latter subject is developed in Chapter I (pp. 25–36), recording the various hypotheses: Cushitic, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic. Chapter II (pp. 37–58) presents the Nilo-Saharan language family with its various branches, while Chapter III offers a comparison of 43 Meroitic words with their supposed Nilo-Saharan lexical equivalents (pp. 59–156). Three supplementary words are listed in the Addendum of p. 411. Chapter III is the key section of the book, as far as concerning Meroitic, since Chapter IV (pp. 157–350 and 557) already attempts to determine a North-Eastern Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan by comparing 200 basic words from various dialects of the Nubian, Nara, Taman, and Nyima languages. These words are alphabetically listed with their meanings on pp. 413–529. Chapter V (pp. 351–410) then aims at inserting Meroitic in this particular branch of Nilo-Saharan. The book ends with a general bibliography (pp. 531–543) and with indexes of subjects (545–548), languages or dialects (pp. 544–554), and proper names, both personal and geographic (pp. 555–556). Among the Nubian languages, one finds Birgid, which was

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spoken in the Darfur (Sudan) to the east of the road connecting El-Fasher with Nyala (p. 163). This idiom should not be confused with Birgit, a Chadic language spoken in the eastern Chad Republic, in the district of Guera.

Pyramids of Meroitic kings and queens at Meroe (photo: Claude Rilly)

The book is clearly and systematically redacted with all the material needed to examine the languages in question. It is surprising nevertheless that regarding Afro-Asiatic it only mentions the work of Kirsty Rowan who recently tried to relate Meroitic to this language family³. Her demonstration, built on the consonantal compatibility restriction in Afro-Asiatic and Meroitic, is based on a material too slim to reach a firm conclusion, while the incompatibility of homorganic consonants in the same root is no characteristic that can be regarded as an Afro-Asiatic peculiarity. However, Alexander Yu. Militarev has already pointed at some lexical analogies⁴ and Hans Mukarovsky has found 22.7% of Afro-Asiatic parallels among the 178 Nubian proto-morphemes set up by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst⁵. In any case, striking analogies with Semitic occur among the 43 Meroitic words listed by Cl. Rilly. We shall briefly examine them, one by one, without entering in the detailed discussion of their epigraphic context. A short foreword is nevertheless required to record that the supposedly Meroitic culture of the kingdom of

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Kerma, around the third cataract, goes back to the third millennium B.C. and that this kingdom maintained excellent relations with the West-Semitic Hyksos, both opposed to the Theban XVII Dynasty (pp. 12–13). These events are often neglected in the “Egypto-centric” history of the Nile valley, but Chapter VII of L. Török’s history of the frontier area between Egypt and Nubia deals precisely with the Kerma domination in Lower Nubia and its relations with the Hyksos capital Avaris⁶. The good relations between these distant realms can be explained easier if there was a common cultural background, and even a recognized appurtenance to the same language family, the dialects of which were to some extent intelligible to both sides.

No. 1, abr, “man”, “male” (pp. 114–115), can easily be related to Akkadian abru and Hebrew ’abbr “strong”, as well as to Ugaritic ’ibr, “bull”. Of course, one should go back to Proto-Semitic dialects, spoken in and around the present-day Sahara in the forth millennium B.C., before the migration of its population to the Levant⁷. At any rate, since the change b > h > w is a characteristic Ethio-Semitic feature, one should also refer to Amharic and Argobba awra, “male”, used for instance in awra doro, “cock”, to distinguish the male from doro, the “hen”. This word must in turn be related to wiir, “male”, hence “principal”, attested in various Gurage dialects. It is apparently borrowed as war, war with the meaning “brother” in Kwama, a language spoken in Northern Ethiopia. Wir is found also in Gafat, at least in the expression wir sämbättä, “Sunday”, which occurs in Gurage as well: wur sämbät. “Strong” must be the original meaning of the word, since its Semitic opposite “woman”, ’nt, is a derivative of the same root as the verb ’nt, in Akkadian enēšu, “to be weak”. The same conception lies behind the French qualification “sexe faible”.

No. 2, ar, “boy, male” (pp. 115–116), seems to be related to Arabic ’air and Old Aramaic ’yr, “male”, that is also recorded in the Akkadian lexical list of synonyms Malku = šarru I and its explicit version, where a-ia-rù is translated by zi-k[a-ru], “male”⁸. The monophthongization ai > ā is quite common in Semitic languages and suggests the presence of a long vowel in Meroitic ār. However, initial “a” can also stand in Meroitic for /u/, and Cushitic languages must be taken into account as well, in particular Beja ”ör, “son”, and Awngi ira, likewise “son”. The element or appears in proper names, for instance in Netror (REM 1165), “God’s boy”, with the Egyptian loanword ntr, “god”, ntr in Demotic. The “genitive” modifier precedes the modified noun like in South-Ethiopic and in Highland East-Cushitic.

⁶ L. Török, Between Two Worlds. The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 BC-500 AD (Probleme der Ägyptologie 29), Leiden 2008.
No. 3, *are*- "to take, to receive" (pp. 116–117), is used in razzia contexts which rather suggest the meaning "to seize", "to take possession (violently)", like in the case of the Arabic verb *'arā* (*'rw*). Of course, Arabic *'arā* has other connotations as well, but this might have also been the case of Meroitic *are*-. There is no particular Meroitic character indicating the voiced pharyngeal *'ayin*. Rilly regards *erk*- or *yerk*- as a form

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Meroitic syllabary after Claude Rilly, *Le meroïtique et sa famille linguistique*, p. 16
in -k derived from are- and meaning “he plunders” (pp. 77–78). One would rather relate it to Semitic ‘rk. Its frequent Hebrew and Aramaic connotation is “to range”, “to gather”. Meroitic erk- in a razzia context would then mean “to keep back”.

No. 4, aroẖe, “to protect, to warrant, to subdue” (p. 117), is doubtless related to Coptic hareh or areh, “to watch over”, and to Demotic ḥrḥ, which apparently goes back to the Late Neo-Egyptian verb ḥrhr, “to watch over”. This neologism seems to be based on Egyptian ḥrj, “who is over”, obviously reduplicated. It is doubtful whether Coptic harouhe or arouhi, “evening”, has any relation to hareh / areh. The Meroitic verb aroẖe seems to have been borrowed from Late Neo-Egyptian with the loss of the initial ḥ and of the final r, missing also in Demotic and Coptic scripts. The vowel o of aroẖe may have occasioned a labialization of the second consonant.

No. 5, (a)sr, “meat” (p. 118), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, is obviously the same word as Akkadian šīru and Hebrew šeʾēr, “flesh”. The vowel (a) does not belong to the root.

No. 6, at, “bread” (pp. 118–119), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, is doubtless related to ancient Egyptian jt, “barley”, in Coptic eiôt, eiont, iôt. It was probably pronounced [ut]. Barley is one of the most important cereals, widely used in the ancient Near East for human food. Since barley bread was a staple food in settled agricultural societies, the word has probably been borrowed from Egyptian with the meaning “bread”.

No. 7, ato, “water” (pp. 119–120), can certainly be related to otu, uttu, “water”, in Nubian of Kordofan, in central Sudan, but also to the Coptic verb hâte, hôt, “to flow”. Old Nubian outti, “stream”, is indeed very close to Sahidic Coptic hôt, “to flow”. The verb is attested in Demotic as ḥt or ḥd, and in ancient Egyptian as ḥdj, “to fare downstream”, hence “to travel north”. The verb is probably denominative, as shown by the final ḥ, and the basic root is very likely ḥd > ḥt, belonging to a proto-language of the Nile valley. The ancient names of the Nile and of its tributary streams, Astasóbas, Astápos, Astábóras, may contain the same lexical element, as noticed by the Author (p. 120). However, instead of witnessing an unlikely and rarely attested assimilation st > tt in asta- > atto, we have to do with the dissimilation atta > asta, occurring in ancient Egypt and elsewhere in North Africa 10. A form with geminated t is in fact attested e.g. in the Old Nubian gloss ettô, “water”, of an ostracon 11.

No. 8, dḥe, “a child brought forth”, “a mother’s child” (p. 120), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, does not seem to be a substantive, but a verb meaning “to bring forth”, “to give birth to”. It is used eventually as an active or passive participle, and it appears

9 Compare E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages (n. 7), §41.13.
three times in the phrase kdi-m-dhe, translated by N.B. Millet “woman who have not given birth”\textsuperscript{12}. The word dhe thus alludes to the childbirth and should be related to Semitic dahā (dlw), “to spread out”, “to expel”, “to dismiss”, and to Berber dhy with the same connotations. The reviewer does not know any Semitic or Berber use of this verb in connection with childbirth, but its meaning perfectly suits the process of parturition.

No. 9, dime, “cow” (pp. 120–121), might imply a $d < l$ change and be then compared to Amharic and Argobba lam, “cow”, Gafat ä-lam“ä, “cow”, and to Tuareg a-lam, “dromedary”. However, considering the contexts, one could also regard dime as a unit of counting, head of cattle, just like Arabic ra’s, in plural ar’us, can be used as a numerative of cattle. In this sense, “head” may appear in “four head” as said of cows (cf. p. 86: REM 0064 and 0070). One can then relate dime to Ethio-Semitic and Cushitic “head”: dima in Amharic, demah in Argobba, däm“ä in Gafat, dum, dumi in Gurage dialects, dum in Oromo. Such a metonymic appellation of cows could be compared to Ugaritic gdlt, “cow”, etymologically “big (female cattle)”.

No. 10, *dm-, “to take, to receive” (p. 122), is a hypothetical verb, induced from a lengthy demonstration (pp. 82–86). One could rather interpret dm as Semitic and Egyptian tm(n), “to be complete”, “totality”, followed by an enumeration. Instead, in texts referring to sacrifices, the phrase dmk-te qo (cf. p. 86) with the substantivizing suffix -te possibly means “this game”. Dmk would then correspond semantically to Semitic syd and be etymologically related to tmk, in Akkadian tamāhu, “to seize”, “to held”, hence also “to support”, “to sustain”. The interpretation is, in any case, uncertain. As for qo, translated “this” (p. 93), it should be compared to Semitic koh, “here”, as in st qo, “here are the feet of ...” (compare pp. 93–94).

No. 11, erike, “begotten”, “a father’s child” (pp. 122–123), parallels dhe and designates a child as begotten by his father. This word corresponds to Semitic ’arīk, “prolonged”, an allusion to the male copulatory organ that “became long”, metaphorically “begot”. The verb ’rk is used with this particular connotation in a Ugaritic myth from the 13\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{13}, where the penis of god El is said “to become long like the sea” and “to be long like a stream”, t’irkm.yd.’l.kym / wyd.’l.kmdb.’ark. There is here a reference to the procreation of a divine progeny. This use of arāku is found also in Old Akkadian and Early Old Babylonian proper names from the third and the beginning of the second millennia B.C.: Issu-’arik\textsuperscript{14}, “His penis was long”, Arik-idi-Enlil\textsuperscript{15}, “Long was the penis of Enlil”, Ark-idi-Ashtar\textsuperscript{16}, “Long was the penis of Ashtar”, Arak-ili\textsuperscript{17}, “Begotten by my


\textsuperscript{13} KTU 1.23, 33 and 34.

\textsuperscript{14} AHw, p. 63b.

\textsuperscript{15} H. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names, Philadelphia 1905, p. 67a.

\textsuperscript{16} St.D. Simmons, Early Old Babylonian Documents (Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts XIV), New Haven 1978, No. 81, 4.

\textsuperscript{17} AHw, p. 63b.
god”, literally “The long one of my god”, or the shortened form Be-li-a-ri-ik⁰¹⁸ of *Idu-bēlē-t-ari-ik, “[The penis of] my husband was long”. Such names either congratulate the father or express the view that the child was an offspring begotten by a deity, eventually the father’s personal god. The word yd or idu, i.e. “hand”, is used in these names and in the Ugaritic mythological text as an euphemism for “penis”, the mention of which was regarded as inappropriate in literary compositions and in personal names. Instead, the word “penis”, in Akkadian išaru or (m)ušārum, is used in Babylonian physiognomonic texts, where the appositive logogram GIŠ occurs in the same context: šumma GIŠ GIĐ. DA-ma, “if the penis is long”¹⁹.

The word erike occurs in the Meroitic royal name Aman-ine-te-ierike, which apparently means “Who is begotten by Amon himself”. The element -ine- seems to be the particle of insistence -n, which is used in Ge’ez, Tigre, Amharic, and Gafat, while te corresponds here to the Semitic demonstrative ḏā / ṭā. The verb is at the end of the name, like in the Meroitic genitival expression Ddokr t-erike, “begotten by Dadukara”. Instead, the royal name Ark-aman, comparable to Arak-ilī, means “Begotten by Amon”.

No. 12, ḥlbi, “ox, bull” (pp. 123–124), might be based on the Cushitic name of the “bull”, a-gur in Afar, a-gor in Somali²⁰, with the post-positive determinant -b which qualifies the grammatical gender of wild and dangerous animals²¹. One could also refer to Gafat, in which gʷinā means “ox, bull”. The alternations l/r and l/n are equally possible. This explanation assumes that Meroitic ḥ has the value /γa/. However, the word ḥlby appears in two different contexts (pp. 86–87), which seem to indicate that we deal with two homographs. REM 0064 and REM 0070 obviously refer to royal sacrifices of cattle, very likely of oxen and cows. In this context, ḥlby should mean “ox” and be related to Egyptian ḥrp, “tribute ox(en)”²². The alternation l/r is no problem, while p does not seem to have a phonetic status in Meroitic. Therefore it is replaced by b in this loanword.

The second context is provided by the royal protocols of REM 0094, 5 and REM 1228, 3, where ḥlbi is a deity mentioned after several hypostases of Amon and supposed to protect the king. It is apparently Ḥ’pi, Hapi, the deified Nile. Egyptian ‘ayin with no counterpart in Meroitic script would then correspond to l, though this cannot be regarded as a regular change in loanwords. The idea is not completely new, since Otto Rössler had already proposed forty years ago to identify, at least occasionally, Egyptian ‘ayin with Semitic l, notwithstanding the fact that ‘ayin exists in Semitic languages²³.

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¹⁹ F.R. Kraus, Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik (AFO. Beih. 3), Berlin 1939, No. 9d, rev. 9.
²¹ E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages (n. 7), §30.10.
No. 13, *ḫre, “meal”, “food” (p. 125), if properly reconstructed (pp. 68–71), is obviously the same word as Egyptian ḫr.t, Demotic ḫr.(t), and Coptic ḫre, “food”. The ancient Egyptian word meant “ration”, “due”, and it was most likely borrowed by Meroitic at the time when it designated “(a man’s food) due” for his work, for the day, etc. The semantic evolution may have led to the general meaning “food”, like in Coptic, but the Meroitic phrase ḫ[r-] mlō may still mean “entire ration”.

No. 14, ḫr, “north” (p. 126), must etymologically mean “left”, exactly like šm’l, “left” or “north” in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic (šamāl, šimāl); in fact, people faced eastward to adjust the direction of their journey in relation to the sunrise. If Meroitic ḫ has the value /γa/, ḫr is obviously the Cushitic word gura/e, “left”: gure in Somali, gura in Saho and Afar, gura-ččo in Sidamo. As noticed already by E. Cerulli 24, the word was borrowed by South-Ethiopic: ɡ̃ra in Amharic and Argobba, ɡ̃rā in Gafat, gurā in Harari and Gurage, while a derivative geraw, “left handed”, occurs in Tigrinya. Meroitic ḫr provides an example of pharyngealized g. Its labialization must be occasioned by the presence of the vowel u.


should start comparing *kdi* with Hebrew and Aramaic *nqbh*, “woman”, “female”, literally “pierced”. The Semitic root *qdd* means “to pierce” as well, at least in Ethio-Semitic, sometimes in Arabic. The noun *kdi* could thus be a derivative of this root, the more so because *qdd* would imply a gemination with an eventual dissimilation. The latter would be attested by Hesychius’ *κάνδη*, translated “woman” in Greek. A different vocalization, parallel to *qud*, “hole, orifice” in some Gurage dialects, is found in Old Nubian *koudi* and Kenuzi-Dongolawi *kàd*, both designating a secondary wife, but Nara *kàdè*, “sister”, supports Hesychius’ *κάνδη*.

No. 16, *kdise / kdite*, “sister” (p. 128), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, most likely derives from *kdi* (woman), unlike *κανδάκη*, “Queen Mother” (Acts of Apostles 8, 27) in the Meroitic kingdom. The suffix *-se / -te* is likely to form a diminutive (p. 128 with n. 229; p. 447, No. 55; p. 513, No. 171): “little woman”. It is probably the same suffix as the Semitic “feminine” *t*-ending, while the alternation *-te / -se* may indicate that the postvocalic non-geminated *t* was spirantized (*t > t*), hence *te* and *se* could eventually alternate.

As for the title of the Queen Mother, it possibly consists of two words, the first one being *ka(h)n*-, related to Semitic *khn*, “priest”, “diviner”, and the second one *ḏakīy*, “pure”, “bright”. Since there is no formal gender distinction in Meroitic, the title could mean “bright priestess”.

No. 17, *ked*, “to slay” (pp. 128–130), belongs to the well-known series of onomatopoeic verbs meaning “to beat”, “to cut”, “t-k or k-t. In Semitic, one could refer to Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic *qtl*, *qṭl*, “to kill”, assuming that *d* corresponds here to *tl*. The weak phoneme *l* can also disappear or be regarded as an additional element, at least in G. B o h a s’ theory. Since the separation of voiced and unvoiced plosives does not seem to be strict in Meroitic script, one could also refer *ked* to the root *ktt*, attested in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, with a general meaning “to clap repeatedly”. The usual Hebrew connotation is “to crush”, “to smash”, like Berber *ket* or *kedd*, “to slay”, “to strike”.

No. 18, *l-*, “to give” (pp. 130–132), could be related to the Semitic root *dn / tn*, assuming the change *d > l* and an assimilation of *n*. However, another explanation is preferable to these speculations. The Arabic verb *lawā* means “to turn”, “to turn away”, and Ethio-Semitic *ly(y)* is used in the sense “to separate”. Besides, the same Afro-Asiatic root is attested in Egyptian: *rwj*, “to depart” (intransitive), “to send away” (transitive), in Coptic *lo*, *la*. One might thus assume for Meroitic *l*- the connotation “to give away”.

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25 Cf. here above, n. 10.
26 I. H o f f m a n n, Material für eine meroitische Grammatik (Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 16. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 13), Wien 1981, p. 41. The arbitrary correction of *κάνδη* into *κανδάκη* does not take the Greek translation into consideration and should be discarded.
27 G. B o h a s, Matrices, étymons, racines. Éléments d’une théorie lexicologique du vocabulaire arabe (Orbis. Supplementa 8), Leuven-Paris1997; idem, Matrices et étymons – développement de la théorie (Séminaire de Saintes 1999) (Instruments pour l’étude des langues de l’Orient Ancien 3), Prahins 2001; G. B o h a s, M. D a t, Une théorie de l’organisation du lexique des langues sémitiques: matrices et étymons (Collection Langages), Lyon 2007.
No. 19, lh, “big”, “first-born” (p. 132), can be related to Ethio-Semitic l’ly, “to be above”, to Sabaic l’l, “upwards”, and to Syriac le’lāyā, “upper”. Both phonemes l are preserved in Ge’ez (la’lä), Tigre (lä’al), Tigrinya (lo’li), and in the Gurage dialect Aymallal (lalä), but the second l disappears in Amharic (lay), Harari (lā’ay or lay) and Gafat (lağğā), where the affricate ġğ goes back to yy (*layyā). Instead, Meroitic lh may witness a change ‘ > γ, since there is no Meroitic character indicating the ‘ayin.

On the other hand, one may mention the isolate case of Argobba läham, “big”, with a final m, possibly reduced to mání > aw > ā and causing a labialization of the preceding consonant. In this hypothesis, one might accept the pronunciation [laγwa], proposed by the Author, but this word would require further etymological research.

No. 20, mhe, “abundant, plenty” (p. 133), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, can certainly be related to Egyptian mḥ, “to fill” (transitive), “to be full” (intransitive), with its derivatives, also present in Coptic and in Beja (muha). This does not mean of course that the word was borrowed from Egyptian. The vowel u, attested by Coptic mouh and Beja muha, may have occasioned a labialization of the second consonant, but the word is spelled also mhe.

No. 21, mk, “god” (p. 153), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, should be related to Semitic mlk, which is a divine name in the Semitic languages of Mesopotamia and North Syria. It means “king” in West-Semitic, “counsellor” in Akkadian, and its “broken” plural ‘amlāk is used in Ge’ez in the sense “Lord, God”. The weakness of Semitic liquids is amply exemplified at Ebla, in the 24th century B.C. L can be omitted in the beginning of a word, like in La-ru₁₂-ga-tū / A-ru₁₂-ga-tū, a city name attested at Ugarit as Lrgt. It can also disappear in the middle of a word, like in a-a-gū-um < hlk, “to go”²⁸.

The sonant liquid l can function either as consonant or as vowel, becoming then silent. It serves as syllabic peak in malk or milk, so that it functions as vowel and thus goes back to an older mlk. The latter explains the variety malk/milk and corresponds to Meroitic māk. This case can be compared to kīb, “dog”, which appears in Ḥarsūsi as kāb and in Šhawri as kœb.

The word mk occurs in the name of the Meroitic lion-god Apede-māk, Pede-māk in recent inscriptions (pp. 369–370). Since p does not seem to belong to the Meroitic series of phonemes, pede probably stands for [bede], that can be compared with Ge’ez bādaw, “non-cultivated land”, with Oromo bada and Gafat bōdā, “forest”. The word would thus designate the “savannah”, a large area of grass land, covered in part with threes and spiny shrubs. The initial a of the theonym is probably a prosthetic vowel, like the one occurring in Ethio-Semitic, also before a labial consonant. If this interpretation is correct, the divine name (A)pede-māk would etymologically mean “King-god of the Savannah”, attributing to māk the usual Semitic meaning of mlk. The modifier (a)pede precedes the modified element māk, like in South-Ethiopic and in Highland East-Cushitic.

²⁸ See further: E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages (n. 7), §17. 2.
No. 22, mlo, “good, nice” (pp. 133–134), has been related to Arabic maluḥa, malāḥa, “to be beautiful”, and to Egyptian mnḥ, “to be good”29. On the other hand, Berber a-mellay means “good, nice”, and Tigre mālmāla, “to be beautiful”. However, it seems that Meroitic mlo should rather be seen in connection with the Semitic root ml’, “to be full”, the more so because the Gafat adjective mulā means “entire”, and the same connotation may occur in the Meroitic phrase ḥ[r-] mlo, “entire ration”. Another connotation, probably “perfect”, appears in the Meroitic titles mk-l mlo-l, “the perfect god”, qor[e-l] mlo-l, “the perfect sovereign”, ḥrpē-li mlo-l, “the perfect governor” (Egyptian loanword). This connotation also suits the formula mlo-l-o in funerary inscriptions: “he/she30 was perfect”, often with the addition of the words “in the king’s eyes”, “in the god’s eyes”, etc.

No. 23, mse, “child” (p. 134), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, should obviously be related to Gafat mossay, “child”, and to Egyptian mš, “child”, with the denominative verb mšj, “to give birth”. This word appears as mossa in Amharic, in Oromo mučā, “child”, and in Omotic bušā, “child”31.

No. 24, ns(e), “sacrifice” (p. 135), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, is obviously Semitic nš’, “offering”, which occurs in the Punic phrase nš’ l-’lm, “offering to the gods”32, frequently transcribed nasiliim in Latin inscriptions from North Africa33. The word per in the Meroitic phrase ns-per must designate the sacrificer who provides the victim. In Punic inscriptions, a certain type of sacrifices is eventually specified by b’l, “proprietor”, thus mlk b’l, “mlk-sacrifice of the proprietor” who provided the victim. As a matter of fact, b’l seems to be the same word as per, since p stands in Meroitic for b, the ‘ayin is not marked, and r/l are quite regular alternatives.

No. 25, pwrite, “life” (pp. 135–136), should probably be read [bawarit] or the like, since [p] does not seem to have a phonological status in Meroitic. The word is obviously related to Gafat buyra, “old”, barā, “to be old”, Tigre ’abbāra, “to become old”, and to the Ethio-Semitic, Cushitic, and Chadic words meaning “grandfather”, “grandmother”, “old man”, “old woman”34. In Ge’ez, ’aber means “grandfather”, in Wolane (Gurage), eber or yәber is “grandfather” or “grandmother”, in Zway (Gurage) ibiri and in Selti әber mean “grandmother”. In Cushitic, Oromo bera means “old woman” and Saho bara means “old man”. In Kajakse, a Chadic language spoken in Chad, ’әbir means “grandfather”35. In Berber dialects one finds a-burey, “old bachelor”, and ta-burey-t, “old maid”.

30 The vowel o corresponds to Semitic ħā.
31 See further: E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages (n. 7), §8.18.
33 CIL VIII 14950, 14987, 15050, 15072, 15075, 15095, 15098, 15115, 15169.
The original root seems to have been \(^*\)bwr or \(^*\)byr, and the derivative pwrite should then mean “old age”, a realistic interpretation of Egyptian “life” in ritual formulas (cf. pp. 89–91). For instance, the prayer to Amon for the king, pwrite l-\(\_\)ḫ-te, would then mean: “give him an old age”.

No. 26, qore, “sovereign” or the like (p. 136), is very likely a derivative of the Semitic root qr’, since Sabaic qr’ means “to command”, “to order”. A similar connotation “to summon” is attested in Akkadian for qarā’u, qērā. The probable presence of a final vowel confirms this explanation and seems to exclude the Nubian parallels. If Meroitic q implies labialization, the latter can be explained by the influence of o.

No. 27, -se, “each” (p. 138), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, should perhaps be compared to the Ethio-Semitic enclitic -ss expressing emphasis or insistency and suffixed to any part of speech. It occurs in Ge’ez, Tigrinya, Amharic, Argobba, and Gafat. One could also record the enclitic -š of Arabic colloquials, used in negative and interrogative sentences.

This affix should be distinguished from the Meroitic genitive marker -se, post-posed like the prepositions (p. 79, n. 138; cf. pp. 352–353), for instance: ant\(^36\) Wos-se, “priest of Isis”. This -se corresponds to the Semitic determinative-relative ḏū in Arabic, ša in Akkadian, d- in Aramaic, ze in Hebrew, etc. In ancient Harari, for example, the determinative-relative element zi- normally functioned as a genitive marker, e.g. zi-dāna ṭāya, “the cloud’s shadow”.

No. 28, sdk, “travel”, “return” (p. 138). This interpretation is not favoured by parallel Demotic clauses, referred to by the Author (pp. 97–98). A correct understanding of sdk was already proposed in 1977 by Nicholas B. Millet\(^37\), who translated sdk by “safely”. However, this must be a substantive used as object, as shown by the verbal suffix -ne: Wos-i Bedewi-k sdk p-roḫe-ne, “O Isis, let him go safe and sound to Meroe”.

The name šaddīq / šiddīq means “righteous” in Hebrew and Arabic, but Sabaic use witnesses larger connotations: “good”, “in proper order”. The latter meaning seems to suit the Meroitic inscription. The local connotation of the postpositive preposition k can be related to the basic meaning of k in Mehri, namely “with”\(^38\). The verb roḫe can be compared to Arabic rāḥa (rwḥ), “to go”. The element p has probably a causative function. It might be an abridged form of an auxiliary verb, perhaps pl, related to Semitic p’l, “to make”, “to do”, with l assimilated to the following r.

No. 29, sem, “wife” (p. 139), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, should be related to Coptic shime, sime, “woman”, “wife”, from Egyptian s.t-ḥm.t, Demotic s.hm.t. Another possibility is provided by the Ethio-Semitic verb “to kiss”, sā’ama in North-Ethiopic, samā, sa’amā, or sahama in South-Ethiopic. Meroitic has no particular sign to indicate the phoneme ‘ayin, which was eventually reduced to the contiguous vowel. Finally, one could refer to Egyptian sm3y, “companion”, a derivative of sm3, “to unite”, which occurs in phrases like sm3 m s.t-ḥm.t, “to have intercourse with a woman”.

\(^36\) The word ant corresponds to Coptic hont < ḫm nṯr, “priest”.


\(^38\) A.D. Rubin, The Functions of the Preposition k- in Mehri, JSS 54 (2009), pp. 221–226.
Meroitic offering stone, 49 x 30 cm. (REM 0131)

No. 30, šḥi, “small” (p. 139), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, should very likely be related to Akkadian šehru or šahru, “small“, Hebrew šā‘īr, “small“, Ugaritic šgr, Sabaic šgr, Arabic šağūr, Aramaic še‘ar, “small“. Meroitic script does not distinguish the various sibilants of the Semitic languages, while the loss of the final r occurs in various Semitic dialects39.

No. 31, st, “pair of feet” (p. 139, cf. pp. 93–94), may simply mean “pair”, “two”, like Hebrew šte, but one should rather relate st to Semitic šd / št, generally with a prosthetic vowel. Thus Akkadian išdu designates the legs with buttock, hence “foundation”, while Arabic ’ist and Hebrew šēt mean “buttocks”. Akkadian išdu can also refer to a support, a stake or the lower part of a body. All this explains the Meroitic use of st as a singular or a plural.

No. 32, ste / sete, “cognate”, “tutor”, “mother” (p. 140), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, occurs in South-Ethiopic. In Gafat, the kinship names astabbwā, “uncle”, and ästimwitā, “aunt”, are composed with an element ast / ästi and the usual words for “father” and “mother”40. This prefixed element corresponds to Meroitic ste with addition of a prosthetic vowel.

39 E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages (n. 7), §17.2.
At first sight, a similar appellation seems to occur in Berber dialects, where setma, sâtma, ti-stâma at Siwa, means “sisters”, but set-, sât-, -stə- is the demonstrative feminine plural s(w)jt, certainly related to Akkadian šût and followed by the usual word ma for “mother”; hence the literal meaning “those of the mother”. The same demonstrative appears as sat or set at Ghadames or sut in Kabyle.

No. 33, tbo, “two, second” (?) (p. 140), with no apparent parallel, is the Semitic numeral ṯn-, “two”, in Qatabanic ṣnw, with the change n > m > b. The phonetic change n > m is very common, while m and b can alternate in Ethio-Semitic. Also the Meroitic plural suffix -b- corresponds to Semitic -m/n (see below).

No. 34, tenèke, “west” (p. 141), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, must be a noun alluding to the daily descent of the sun below the horizon. A derivative of Semitic nāḥu, nūḥ, “to settle down”, with the prefix t like Akkadian tanēḥtu, “resting”, seems to provide the solution. The difference k/ḥ does not constitute a major difficulty, since e.g. Semitic tmk and tamāḥu, “to support”, present the same alternation, without mentioning the spirantization of k in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Akkadian.

No. 35, tke-, “to love” (p. 141–142), is justified by the Author in the light of the parallelism of Mni tke with the Egyptian title mry Jmn, “beloved by Amon” (pp. 91–92). However, the Meroitic formula may express another kind of approach to the deity, similar to Arabic taqīy, “God-fearing”, “devotee”. Since k apparently corresponds to Semitic q, tke could be related to this Arabic noun, attested five times in the Qurʾān and expressing a pious fear of God. Mni tke can then mean “devotee of Amon”, like the feminine name Jmn3tk3, while Wos-tke would be a “Devotee of Isis”. The modifiers Mni and Wos precede the modified element tke, like in South-Ethiopic and in Highland East-Cushitic.

No. 36, ttk, “to plunder, to pillage” (pp. 142–143), is regarded by Rilly as a derivative of a simple verb tk, “to take” (pp. 77–78). However, ttk seems to be closely related to Semitic ttk. In Arabic, takka means “to trample underfoot”, Akkadian takāku and Aramaic ṭkak mean “to oppress”, “to press”, and the Hebrew noun tok expresses the idea of “oppressing”. The same root with the meaning “to strike” appears in Cushitic: Oromo tak-, Saho tak/dag-, Rendille tak-, Dasenech ta’. It is found also in Chadic: Logone tku, Masmaje tâcè43. The Egyptian verb tjīj, “to trample down”, is used in war narratives, and Meroitic ttk appears in a similar context, possibly with the broader and concrete meaning “to put under the joke of servitude”, as suggested by the scene of prisoners sculpted on the stele of Akinidad (REM 1003).

No. 37, tre-, “to offer”, (pp. 143–144), can be related to Akkadian turru, “to give back”, the D-stem of the root twr. This particular connotation is suitable in a sacrificial context, especially when sacrifices are brought to thank the deity.

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41 E. Lipiński, Semitic Languages (n. 7), §11.6.
43 Kh. Alio, Préliminaires (n. 35), p. 284.
No. 38, *wide*, “brother”, “sister” (p. 144), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, should most likely be related to the Semitic root *wdd*, “to love”, and to the Ethio-Semitic noun *wód*, “dear”, “beloved”. The word “brother” can have a large meaning with various connotations.

No. 39, *wle*, “dog” (p. 145), appears also in Highland East-Cushitic, attested in Derasa as *we*l, “dog”44. The word was probably pronounced [*wullə*] and it is certainly related to Egyptian *whr* and Coptic *ouhor / ouhar*, “dog”, with the well-known alternative *l/r*. It can also be compared to Gafat *wîrâr*, Amharic *urrâ*, Somali *‘urrï* and *huîrî*, “cat”.

The word *wle* appears in a graffito written next to the drawing of a dog pursuing a hare”: *wle qet pîn 3 tlt Netror-se-l-o* (REM 1165), “Here is Netror’s triply trained dog”. The word *pîn* is an adjective or passive participle of the Semitic verb *bîh*, “to put to the proof”, “to test”, well attested in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac. In relation to a dog it must mean “to train”, while *tlt* following the cipher 3 means “three (times)”, like Semitic *tlt*. In Aramaic documents, the cipher is sometimes confirmed by the numeral45. In the present case, “three” is used metaphorically to express the idea “very well”46.

No. 40, *yer*, “milk” (p. 146), could be related to Egyptian *jrt.t*, Demotic *jrt.(t)*, Coptic *erôt(e)*, *arôt(e)*, “milk”, but without the final *-t*.

No. 41, *yet-mde*, “niece” in a large sense (p. 147), consists of two words: the personal feminine pronoun “she”, *yœ’ti* in Ge’ez, *yot* in Gafat, and a derivative of the Semitic root *wdd*, “to love”, attested as *mwd*, “friend”, in archaic Sabaic texts. In other words, *yet-mde*, probably pronounced [yet-* môd*] or the like, means “she-friend”. The use of the word implies that the pronoun *yet* is distinct from a masculine *wet*, like in Ge’ez and Gafat, where the Semitic pronominal elements *wa* and *ya* receive a determinative suffix *-t*47, possibly found also in Nilo-Saharan (p. 429).

No. 42, *yireqe*, “south” (p. 147), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, is very likely the same word as Ugaritic *yrkt* and Hebrew *yarkā*(*h*), which designate the “remotest” or the “innermost part” of the earth. One can also mention Aramaic *yirkā*, Tigre *warkat*, Akkadian (*w*)arkatu, the “part behind”. While the northern lands along the Nile valley were a fairly well-known region of the Nilotic world, its extreme south was a largely unknown territory. This explains the use of a word designating the “part behind” or the “innermost part” of the earth.

No. 43, *yirewke*, “east” (p. 147), with no Nilo-Saharan parallel, is probably a derivative of the Semitic root *rwq*, “to be clear”, Arabic *rāqa*, with a preformative *ya-/yi-*, occurring in Semitic with place-names. It refers to the point of the horizon where the day breaks and the sun raises. A related word is, for instance, the Syrian Arabic derivative *tarwîqa*, “breakfast”.

On p. 411 the Author adds two animal names to the list of translatable Meroitic words: *abese*, “gazelle”, and *pete*, “snake”. The word *abese* seems to present a metathesis

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45 TAD II, B2.3, 14; B3.1, 4; B3.5, 15; B3.7, 4; B3.8, 16.
of Hebrew šebî, Akkadian šabîtu, Sabaic and Arabic žaby, Gazella dorcás, thus: *šabe > [abse].

Since p does not seem to belong to the Meroitic phonological system, pete is likely to be a loanword, possibly borrowed from the Aramaeans of Syene and Elephantine. In fact, peten, pitnā, patnā is an Aramaic and Hebrew name of the snake, identified with the Egyptian cobra. It was used by charmers, as is the Indian cobra today, and Psalm 58, 5-7 notes that it does not always obey charmers. The words of Psalm 58, 7, “Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth”, may be a reference to the practice of the charmers who extracted the poisonous teeth of the peten. The black-necked peten, the Walterinnesia aegyptia or Naja nigricollis, is the most widespread cobra and it is found in the Judaean Desert, hence the use of its name in ancient Hebrew literature. It is a dangerous poisonous snake, in appearance similar to the non-poisonous black serpent. The loss of the final n of peten is a quite frequent phenomenon that does not create any real problem.

The meaning of some Meroitic words, not occurring in Rilly’s list, is well-known, namely abore, “elephant”, kelwe, “as well as”, ms, “sun”, Nob, “Nubian”.

The word abore, “elephant” (pp. 370–371), is certainly related to Semitic pīru or pīl. The prosthetic vowel is attested in South-Ethiopic also before a labial consonant, while b replaces the p, which does not seem to belong to the Meroitic phonological system. The Kenuzi-Dongolo and Nobin ftl, “elephant”, is borrowed from Arabic. The word kelwe, translated by the Author “as well as” (p. 86), should be compared to Arabic kullamā, “in the same way as ...” Nob, “Nubian” (pp. 373–374), is of course identical to the Semitic gentilic noun Nōbī.

The Meroitic word ms, “sun” (pp. 192–193, 371–372), was already related by Hans Mukarovsky to Akkadian šamšu, Hebrew šemeš, Syriac šemšā, and Arabic šams.48 He stressed that only Semitic languages possess an at least partially similar morpheme. In fact, Old Nubian *maša-l is borrowed from Meroitic (p. 514) with addition of the determinative -l. Now, one could notice that Egyptian šw is the “sunlight”49, that a denominative verb šwj means “to dry”50, and that Berber ti-msi is the “fever”, a feminine noun like “sun” was initially in Semitic. The Semitic noun š-mš is apparently formed by two words, the first one being related to Egyptian šš, “to burn”51, also to Berber a-ss-an, “day” and to the plural i-ss-an, “lightening”, both with a “tensed” sibilant. In this hypothesis, Proto-Semitic šamš would etymologically mean “sunlight”.

The obvious lexical correspondences between Meroitic and Afro-Asiatic, especially Semitic and Cushitic, require a different approach to the phonological system and to the morphological correlations. However, verb paradigms are badly needed, but so far they are not available. One could add that also Nara and, to a lesser degree, Proto-Nubian contain lexical elements close to Afro-Asiatic, but the reviewer cannot deal here with this question.

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49 R. Hannig, Die Sprache der Faraonen (n. 22), p. 809.
50 Ibid., p. 809.
51 Ibid., p. 754.
The few morphological correspondences examined by the Author (pp. 381–399) perfectly fit in an Afro-Asiatic frame. The postpositive particle -l(i) (pp. 381–386) can be related not only to the Arabic article l-, but also to Tigre la-, used as definite article. The copula -o [-u] (pp. 386–388) plays the same role as the agglutinated pronoun -hu, employed as copula in Arabic colloquials, while other morphemes are used in Ethio-Semitic. The plural suffix -b- (p. 389) corresponds to Semitic -m/n and appears as a phonetic variant of -m with alternation of labials. Its Meroitic use with the suffixed pronoun in -bhy(e), “their”, is an interesting feature, also for Proto-Semitic studies, because it shows that the plural pronominal suffix -hm / -hn consists of two originally independent morphemes. The Meroitic pronominal suffix -he / -w (pp. 390–398) parallels Semitic -h / -w, since h is certainly an equivalent of Coptic ḥ. The negative particle m- (pp. 398–399), corresponds to Arabic mā, “not”52, and to the Ethio-Semitic postpositive particle -(a)m, used with verbal forms.

One could be tempted to regard Meroitic as a Semitic language, close to South-Ethiopic and influenced, as expected, by Cushitic, ancient Egyptian, and Coptic. However, the lack of verbal paradigms, very important in this question, does not allow us to follow this idea in the present state of our knowledge. The question should thus remain open.

Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique is an important work. It does not settle the question of the linguistic appurtenance of Meroitic, but it constitutes a major contribution to the study of Nilo-Saharan languages. As indicated on the back cover of the book, the Author deals at present with the spoken Nara and Nyima languages, a research which will certainly provide new insights.

Фоно-метрические расстояния между азербайджанским и другими тюркскими языками с точки зрения типологии его звуковых цепочек

Abstract

Typological characteristics of the sound chains in the Azerbaijan language indicate to the phono-metrical distances between it and the other Turkic languages. On the basis of the occurrence of the fundamental phonetic features it was possible to compute these distances. Thus, the phono-metrical typological distances between the Azerbaijan and the other 28 Turkic languages are: 1) Gagauz (7,14); 2) Turkmen (7,20); 3) Crimea Tatar (8,79); 4) Karachay-Balkar (10,87); 5) Uzbek (11,44); 6) Turkish (14,93); 7) Kazakh (15,68); 8) Kazan Tatar (16,25); 9) Old Turkic (16,79); 10) Kirgiz (17,47); 11) Tofalar (22,03); 12) Bashkir (22,38); 13) Tatar-Chulym (23,22); 14) Karakalpak (24,39); 15) Tuvin (25,11); 16) Salar (25,86); 17) Uyghur (27,67); 18) Sary-Uyghur (29,42); 19) Altay-Chelkan (29,88); 20) Khakas (31,02); 21) Yakut (31,22); 22) Altay-Teleut (32,56); 23) Altay-Kumandin (34,04); 24) Tatar-Baraba (34,96); 25) Altay-Shor (37,65); 26) Yakut-Dolgan (42, 37); 27) Altay-Kizhi (45,38); 28) Chuvash (69,02).

Введение


Ранее мы измеряли типологические расстояния между некоторыми тюркскими и монгольскими языками на основе метода евклидова пространства (Tambovtsev, 2001-a; Tambovtsev, 2001-b). В данной работе мы применили для измерения типологического сходства другой статистический критерий, который называется «хи-квадрат» (Tambovtsev, 2010). Мы считаем, что нужно обратить особое внимание на звуковую картину азербайджанского языка в плане его сходства с другими огузскими языками именно потому, что по мнению Н.З. Гаджиевой и других тюркологов (например, Т. Бряцевой, В. Гордлевского, Г. Гусянковой, О. Караевой, С. Кляшторного, В. Наделяева, М. Ширалеева и др.), туркмены и другие огузские племена, которые пришли в Закавказье в 11–13 веках, приняли участие в формировании азербайджанского народа. Азербайджанский язык (вместе с турецким) восходит к языку древних огузских племен Центральной Азии (711вв.). Нельзя забывать, что в этногенезе азербайджанцев участвовало древнее коренное население Антропатены и Кавказской Албании, смещавшееся с вторгшимися сюда в первом тысячелетии нашей эры ираноязычными и тюркоязычными племенами (кимерийцы, скифы, гунны, булгары, хазары, огузы, печенеги и др.). Тем не менее, на формирование азербайджанского народа в основном повлияло вторжение и оседание в Азербайджане новой волны тюркоязычных народов, особенно сельджуков (БСЭ, Т. 1, 1970: 277–278; Гаджиева, 1979: 221; Кляшторный, 1964). Л.Н. Гумилев отмечает, что в 10 веке гузы пострадали от засухи, что заставило их разделиться на враждебные народы, часть которых была вытеснена за пределы прежнего расселения. Те гузы, что остались в соседстве с исламскими территориями Средней Азии, переняла ислам и стали называться туркменами. Другая их часть двинулась на Запад (Гумилев, 1993: 193–195).

Система информативных признаков

Наши типологические приемы и методы имеют некоторые особенности, которые накладываются работой артикуляционного аппарата человека. В своей


Немного более сильной, чем шкала наименований, является шкала порядка (Tambovtsev, 2001-b; 2009-b). В лингвистике эта шкала применяется несколько реже, чем шкала наименований. Она обычно фиксирует отношение «больше – меньше». Мы можем говорить о том, что в каком-либо языке какая-то фонема или группа фонем встречается больше (т.е. чаще), а какая-то меньше (т.е. реже). Любой упорядоченный ряд является примером шкалы порядка (Tambovtsev, 1988: 135–139).

В связи с тем, что выбранные нами фонетические признаки имеют количественное выражение, мы можем сказать, что к изучению языков в данном случае применена самая сильная, т.е. абсолютная шкала (Tambovtsev, 2001-b). Точная нумерическая информация позволяет измерять точные расстояния как между отдельными объектами, так и между таксонами (Загоруйко, 1999: 61; Tambovtsev, 1994-b). Под таксонами мы будем понимать подгруппы, группы, семьи или общности (супер-семьи) языков. В данном случае, тюркская семья языков является таксоном. В то же время, таксоном может считаться один язык, если он имеет несколько диалектов. В том случае, когда мы имеем какой-либо лингвистический объект (т.е. язык или диалект), который мы должны поместить в какой-либо лингвистический таксон (т.е. подгруппу, группу, семью и т.д.), мы можем это сделать на основе типологического расстояния, измеренного по выбранным признакам. По величине расстояния между лингвистическими объектами можно определить величину степени принадлежности объекта к таксону. Если расстояние от лингвистического объекта до некоторого таксона меньше, чем до других таксонов, то можно считать, что объект принадлежит к данному таксону. Велико или невелико расстояние можно судить по величине
коэффициента Тамбовцева, который мы обозначаем ТМБ (Тамбовцев, 2001-b, 2007). Вычислить этот коэффициент достаточно просто. Фактически это величина отношения полученного значения «хи-квадрата» к его теоретическому значению, представленному в таблицах с учетом уровня значимости и числа степеней свободы. Как мы увидим далее, азербайджанский язык следует отнести к таксону тюркских языков, так как он хорошо вписывается в фонотипологические характеристики тюркских языков, что видно по частоты встречаемости выделенных нами фонемных групп.

Таким образом, лингвистический объект представлен целостно в виде некоторого количества признаков, которые имеют различные нумерические значения. Мы можем назвать этот подход численно-типологическим.

Методика исследования


Выбор базовых артикуляционных признаков

В типологических исследованиях важно определить базовые признаки (Тамбовцев, 2003-a), на которых строится наше сравнение. В данном случае
было выбрано 9 доминантных фонетических признаков, из них один признак относится к гласным, а восемь признаков — к согласным (Тамбовцев, 1994; 2003). Согласные классифицировались по их базовым признакам с точки зрения работы активного органа речеобразования, т.е. места образования звука (губные, переднеязычные, среднезычные, заднеязычные), характера шумообразующей преграды (сонорные, смывные шумные и щелевые шумные) и работы голосовых связок (звонкие). Глухие согласные не брались потому, что они просто дополняют частоту встречаемости звонких согласных до общего числа шумных согласных и, таким образом, являются пересекающимся признаком (Тамбовцев, 2010-б).


Материал исследования

В память компьютера были введены следующие рассказы, повести и сказки на азербайджанском языке в виде транскрипции:


В качестве материала по другим тюркским языкам привлекались художественные, фольклорные, исторические и другие тексты (Тамбовцев, 2001-б). Более детальное описание протранскрибированных текстов по тюркским и другим языкам можно найти в монографиях Ю.А. Тамбовцева (Тамбовцев, 2001-б; 2001-в).

Обсуждение результатов исследования

Результаты статистической обработки текстов по азербайджанскому языку приведены в Табл. 1.


Наши фоно-статистические данные в дальнейшем сравниваются с аналогичными данными Д.А. Рахманова, которые были получены на материале текстов и словаря (Рахманов, 1988). Д.А. Рахманов взял достаточно большой объем выборки: 102 600 фонем. По его подсчетам консонантный коэффициент составил 1,31. По нашим подсчетам на выборке почти такого же большого объема (91 706 фонем) консонантный коэффициент равен 1,32. Таким образом, это фактически почти одно и то же значение. Фонема (а) показала почти одинаковую частотность употребления: 9,10% (у Д.А. Рахманова) и 9,92% (у нас). Видна несомненная схожесть двух рядов.

Как указывалось выше, схожесть (или различие) отдельных фонем не так показательна как схожесть в частоте встречаемости групп согласных в потоке речи (в процентах по отношению ко всем фонемам (первая цифра) и только к согласным (вторая цифра). Сравним наши данные и данные Д.А. Рахманова.

Налицо полное соответствие наших данных данным Д.А. Рахманова. Нам даже не нужно прибегать к их сравнению по каким-либо статистическим критериям, например, по критерiu К. Пирсона («хи квадрат»). Это можно подтвердить и на частоте употребления таких групп гласных, которые не вызывают споров и выделяются однозначно (Тамбовцев, 2009-b). В качестве наглядного примера можно привести группу лабиализованных гласных 18,63% (ср. 18,68%), в которой статистическое тождество несомненно. Следовательно, можно считать, что наши данные не противоречат данным Д.А. Рахманова (Рахманов, 1988: 12).

Проанализировав частоту встречаемости некоторых фонемных групп в тюркских языках мы построили несколько упорядоченных рядов по возрастанию значения частоты встречаемости. При этом предполагается, что рядом стоящие
Языки имеют по какому-либо данному параметру наибольшую типологическую схожесть (Tambovtshev, 1984).

Построим упорядоченные ряды по возрастанию концентрации групп согласных во взаимных 29 тюркских языках.

Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости губных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) алтай-кижи (5,98%); 2) якутский (6,10%); 3) алтайский шорский (6,33%); 4) тофаларский (6,50%); 5) хакасский (7,40%); 6) сары-уйгурский (7,51%); 7) алтайский челканский (7,87%); 8) гагаузский (7,88%); 9) казахский (7,99%); 9) татарский казанский (8,03%); 10) долганский якутский (8,43%); 11) киргизский (8,43); 12) башкирский (8,54%); 13) древнетюрский (8,62%); 14) алтайский кумандинский (8,69%); 15) карачаево-балкарский (8,76%); 16) татарский барабинский (9,04%); 17) саларский (9,17%); 18) тувинский (9,30%); 19) узбекский (9,42%); 20) уйгурский (9,65%); 21) азербайджанский (9,66%); 22) татарский крымский (9,79%); 23) алтайский телегутский (9,85%); 24) чувашикий (10,10%); 25) туркменский (10,11%); 26) турецкий (10,41%); 27) татарский чуйский (11,03%); 28) каракалпакский (12,80%).

По частоте встречаемости губных согласных в звуковой цепочке мы можем назвать алтай-кижи (5,98%) наименее губным, а каракалпакский наиболее губным тюркским языком (12,80%). В упорядочении ряду по частоте встречаемости губных согласных азербайджанский (9,66%) стоит достаточно высоко. Он соседствует с одной стороны с уйгурским (9,65%), а с другой – с татарским крымским (9,79%). Это говорит о типологической схожести этих языков друг с другом по параметру губности. Другие языки имеют по этому параметру другие значения. Так, например, древнетюрский (8,62%) соседствует с одной стороны с башкирским (8,54%), а с другой – с кумандинским (8,69%). Это означает, что по употреблению губных согласных в потоке речи древнетюрский в некоторой степени похож на башкирский, так и на кумандинский язык. Средняя концентрация губных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков составила 8,77%. Из этого следует, азербайджанский (9,66%) употребляет губных больше, чем в среднем тюркский язык. В то же время, мы видим, что карачаево-балкарский очень близок к средней встречаемости губных (ср. 8,77% и 8,76%). Достаточно близок к среднему употреблению губных и древнетюрский язык (ср. 8,77% и 8,62%). Нельзя не отметить, что высокая частота встречаемости губных согласных в звуковой цепочке не характерна для тюркских языков в связи с тем, что они подвержены так называемой «депрессии губных согласных» в потоке речи (Tambovtshev, 1999).

Коэффициент вариации губных в тюркских языках равен 17,57%. Это говорит о том, что губные согласные распределены достаточно похоже. Порог разброса, выше которого говорить о похожести распределения говорить не приходится, составляет 33,34% (Tambovtshev, 2003).

Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости переднеязычных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) саларский (30,94%); 2) башкирский
(31,14%); 3) уйгурский (31,73%); 4) долганский якутский (32,45%); 5) якутский (32,77%); 6) древнетюркский (33,11%); 7) турецкий (33,50%); 8) туркменский (33,51%); 9) алтайский телеутский (33,96%); 10) алтайский кумандинский (34,10%); 11) татарский крымский (34,30%); 12) узбекский (34,34%); 13) караалпакский (34,40%); 14) татарский барабинский (34,60%); 15) казахский (35,09%); 16) татарский чульмский (35,18%); 17) тувинский (35,28%); 18) сары-уйгурский (35,28%); 19) татарский казанский (35,52%); 20) киргизский (36,27%); 21) тофаларский (36,42%); 22) карачаево-балкарский (36,43%); 23) азербайджанский (36,61%); 24) хакасский (36,65%); 25) алтайский челканский (36,86%); 26) алтайский шорский (37,42%); 27) алтай-кижи (38,25%); 28) чувашский (38,30%); 29) гагаузский (39,47%).

По частоте встречаемости переднеязычных согласных в звуковой цепочке мы можем сделать следующие выводы: следует назвать салаарский (30,94%) язык наименее переднеязычным, а чувашский и гагаузский наиболее переднеязычными тюркскими языками (ср. 38,30% и 39,47%). Местоположение азербайджанского (36,61%) языка находится между карачаево-балкарским (36,43%) и хакасским (36,65%), что может говорить о типологической схожести этих языков. В то же время, например, положение древнетюркского языка в упорядоченном ряду переднеязычных согласных (33,11%) между якутским (32,77%) и турецким (33,50%) языком, показывает иную типологическую тенденцию распределения. Среднее значение встречаемости переднеязычных согласных в тюркских языках – 34,80% меньше, чем в азербайджанском языке. Оно близко по значению к концентрации переднеязычных в языке барабинских татар (34,60%). Коэффициент вариации переднеязычных по тюркским языкам составил 5,69%, что значительно меньше, чем по губным согласным. Это показывает большую устойчивость концентрации переднеязычных согласных, чем губных согласных в тюркских языках.

Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости среднеязычных (палатальных) согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) хакасский (1,12%); 2) тувинский (1,45%); 3) алтайский шорский (1,59%); 4) чувашский (1,72%); 5) татарский чульмский (1,87%); 6) алтайский телеутский (1,94%); 7) татарский барабинский (2,13%); 8) алтайский челканский (2,31%); 9) казахский (2,53%); 10) алтай-кижи (2,54%); 11) тофаларский (2,62%); 12) уйгурский (2,64%); 13) караалпакский (2,65%); 14) карачаево-балкарский (2,67%); 15) сары-уйгурский (2,75%); 16) гагаузский (2,76%); турецкий (2,81%); 17) узбекский (2,84%); 18) татарский крымский (3,11%); 19) киргизский (3,07%); 20) татарский казанский (3,19%); 21) древнетюркский (3,47%); 22) салаарский (3,47%); 23) долганский якутский (3,53%); 24) туркменский (3,62%); 25) башкирский (3,91%); 26) азербайджанский (3,97%); 27) якутский (5,22%); 28) алтайский кумандинский (5,83%).

По частоте встречаемости среднеязычных (палатальных) согласных в звуковой цепочке мы можем назвать хакасский (1,12%) наименее палатальным,
а алтайский кумандинский наиболее палатальным тюркским языком (5,83%). Совпадение величины встречаемости среднеязычных согласных древнетюркского языка (3,47%) с данными по саларскому языку (3,47%) говорит об идентичности звучания в их звуковых цепочках среднеязычных согласных. Частота встречаемости среднеязычных согласных в азербайджанском языке довольно высокая (3,97%). Она намного превышает среднюю встречаемость среднеязычных согласных в тюркских языках (ср. 3,97% и 2,88%). Коэффициент вариации 36,45% превышает пороговое значение (33,34%). Это говорит о значительном разбросе тюркских языков по параметру среднеязычности.

Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости среднеязычных (гуттуральных) согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) гагаузский (6,10%); азербайджанский (6,84); 2) чувашичский (7,92%); 3) саларский (9,15%); 4) алтайский кумандинский (9,73%); 5) киргизский (9,86%); 6) караачево-балкарский (9,91%); 7) каракалпакский (10,25%); 8) татарский крыйский (10,46%); 9) туркменский (10,53%); 10) алтайский челканский (10,70%); 11) татарский чулымский (10,85%); 12) турецкий (10,91%); 13) татарский казанский (10,92%); 14) татарский барабинский (11,35%); 15) узбекский (11,48); 16) казахский (11,55%); 17) алтай-кижи (11,71%); 18) алтайский телеутияский (11,95%); 19) древнетюркский (12,25%); 20) тувинский (12,35%); 21) тофаларский (12,42%); 22) долганская якутская (12,72%); 23) хакасский (13,08%); 24) уйгурский (13,21%); 25) якутский (13,27%); 26) сары-уйгурский (13,53%); 27) алтайский шорский (13,59%); 28) башкирский (14,04%).

Частота встречаемости гуттуральных (т.е. среднеязычных или велярных) согласных в звуковой цепочке азербайджанского языка достаточно низкая – 6,84%. Мы можем назвать гагаузский (6,10%) наименее велярным (гуттуральным), а башкирский наиболее гуттуральным (велиарным) тюркским языком (14,04%). Среднее значение гуттуральности в тюркских языках составило 11,31%. Коэффициент вариации равен 15,23%. Это значение не превышает порогового значения (33,34%). Из этого можно сделать вывод, что по параметру гуттуральности тюркские языки составляют достаточно единую группу.

Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости сонорных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) алтайский чувашичский (20,57%); 2) алтайский телеутийский (21,69%); 3) алтайский кумандинский (22,18%); 4) алтайский шорский (22,62%); 5) долганская якутская (23,03%); 6) казахский (23,20%); 7) сары-уйгурский (23,44%); 8) хакасский (23,47%); 9) алтай-кижи (23,63%); 10) тувинский (23,89%); 11) древнетюркский (24,04%); 12) татарский чулымский (24,17%); 13) тофаларский (24,23%); 14) якутский (24,29%); 15) киргизский (24,31%); 16) уйгурский (24,40%); 17) сахарский (24,48%); 18) турецкий (24,89%); 19) чувашичский (24,90%); 20) узбекский (25,24%); 21) татарский барабинский (25,73%); 22) башкирский (25,90%); 23) татарский крыйский (26,29%); 24) татарский казанский (26,54%); 25) азербайджанский (26,66%); 26) туркменский (27,26%); 27) кириахово-балкарский (27,48%); 28) гагаузский (28,59%); каракалпакский (30,68%).
По частоте встречаемости сонорных согласных мы можем назвать алтайский челканский (20,57%) наименее сонорным, а каракалпакский наиболее сонорным тюркским языком (30,68%). Азербайджанский язык следует признать довольно сонорным (26,66%), так как его значение превышает среднюю сонорность (24,62%) по тюркским языкам. Коэффициент вариации достаточно низкий 8,22%, что говорит о значительной компактности группы по параметру сонорности.

Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости сонорных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) саларский (16,58%); 2) чувашский (18,30%); 3) башкирский (18,75%); 4) азербайджанский (18,94%); 5) гагаузский (18,98%); туркменский (20,12%); 6) хакасский (20,42%); 7) каракалпакский (20,97%); 8) татарский крымский (21,55%); 9) карачаево-балкарский (21,98%); 10) сары-уйгурский (22,08%); 11) якутский (22,14%); 12) узбекский (22,16%); 13) казахский (23,12%); 14) татарский казанский (23,17%); 15) уйгурский (23,17%); 16) турецкий (23,22%); 17) татарский баранчинский (23,54%); 18) древнетюрский (23,58%); 19) тофаларский (23,87%); 20) алтайский шорский (24,69%); 21) тувинский (24,79%); 22) татарский чуйский (25,35%); 23) киргизский (25,76%); 24) алтайский чукотский (27,63%); 25) алтайский телутский (27,96%); 26) долганский якутский (28,48%); 27) алтай-кижи (29,12%); 28) алтайский кумандинский (29,67%).

По частоте встречаемости смычных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) саларский (16,58%) наименее смышленным, а алтайский кумандинский наиболее смычным тюркским языком (29,67%). Значение азербайджанского языка по параметру смычности (18,94%) меньше среднего значения смычности по тюркским языкам – 23,25%. Коэффициент вариации (14,23%) не превышает порогового значения.

Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости щелевых согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) долганский якутский (5,62%); 2) алтай-кижи (5,73%); 3) алтайский кумандинский (6,50%); 4) киргизский (7,56%); 5) татарский баранчинский (7,85%); 6) татарский казанский (7,95%); 7) алтайский телутский (8,05%); 8) карачаево-балкарский (8,31%); 9) каракалпакский (8,46%); 10) гагаузский (8,64%); 11) уйгурский (9,11%); 12) саларский (9,41%); 13) узбекский (9,66%); 14) тувинский (9,70%); 15) татарский крымский (9,82%); 16) древнетюрский (9,83%); 17) тофаларский (9,86%); 18) туркменский (10,39%); 19) узбекский (10,68%); 20) казахский (10,84%); 21) якутский (10,92%); 22) азербайджанский (11,48%); 23) алтайский шорский (11,62%); 24) саларский (11,67%); 25) башкирский (12,98%); 26) сары-уйгурский (13,55%); 27) хакасский (14,36%); 28) чувашский (14,84%).

Наименее щелинным тюркским языком следует признать долганский якутский (5,62%), а наиболее – чувашский (14,84%). Величина щелинности азербайджанского языка (11,48%) больше средней частоты встречаемости щелинности в тюркских языках – 9,88%. Коэффициент вариации равен 23,69%, что не превышает порогового значения.
Упорядоченный ряд по частоте встречаемости звонких шумных согласных в звуковой цепочке тюркских языков: 1) чувашский (2,17%); 2) саларский (6,95%); 3) татарский барабинский (7,22%); 4) карагачалпакский (8,89%); 5) якутский (9,17%); 6) сары-уйгурский (9,25%); 7) уйгурский (9,71%); 8) алтайский щорский (10,23%); 9) алтайский черкесский (10,76%); 10) татарский чулымский (10,91%); 11) башкирский (11,46%); 12) хакасский (11,48%); 13) турецкий (11,60%); 14) татарский казанский (11,93%); 15) алтай-кижи (11,94%); 16) долганский якутский (11,98%); 17) татарский крымский (12,74%); 18) алтайский кумандинский (12,88%); 19) тофальарский (13,00%); 20) гагаузский (13,06%); 21) кыргызский (13,48%); 22) чулымский (13,63%); 23) алтайский телеутский (14,07%); 24) тувинский (14,19%); 25) узбекский (14,20%); 26) киргизский (14,28%); 27) азербайджанский (14,56%); 28) туркменский (15,99%).

Наименьшее значение звонкости имеет чувашский (2,17%, а наибольшее — туркменский (15,99%) язык. По звонкости шумных согласных азербайджанский язык (14,56%) значительно превышает среднее значение по тюркским языкам — 11,49%. Коэффициент вариации (25,11%) достаточно большой, но он не превышает порогового значения.

Как известно, все познается в сравнении. Таким образом, чтобы понять, насколько близки или далеки какие-либо тюркские языки от других тюркских языков, исследуем место азербайджанского языка в ряду других тюркских языков не по отдельным параметрам, как мы сделали выше, а в совокупности по всем параметрам сразу. В связи с этим, построим упорядоченный ряд по фono-типологическим расстояниям между ними с учетом данных по частоте всех групп согласных одновременно. Это сделать невозможно без привлечения какого-либо критерия математической лингвистики. Как мы уже указывали выше, в данном случае мы применим критерий «хи-квадрат».

Нами были рассчитаны фono-метрическое расстояния между азербайджанским языком и другими языками на основе коэффициента ТМВ (Тамбовцева) по данным распределения некоторых фонемных групп в их звуковых картинах. Упорядоченный ряд расстояний имеет следующий вид:

1) гагаузский (7,14); 2) туркменский (7,20); 3) татарский крымский (8,79); 4) карагачалпакский (10,87); 5) узбекский (11,44); 6) турецкий (14,93); 7) казахский (15,68); 8) татарский казанский (16,25); 9) древнетюркский (16,79); 10) киргизский (17,47); 11) тофальарский (22,03); 12) башкирский (22,38); 13) татарский чулымский (23,22); 14) карагачалпакский (24,39); 15) тувинский (25,11); 16) саларский (25,86); 17) уйгурский (27,67); 18) сары-уйгурский (29,42); 19) алтай-челкан (29,88); 20) хакасский (31,02); 21) якутский (31,22); 22) алтай-телиут (32,56); 23) алтай-кумандин (34,04); 24) татарский барабинский (34,96); 25) Алтай-шорский (37,65); 26) Якут-долган (42,37); 27) алтай-кижи (45,38); 28) чувашский (69,02).

Данное исследование показывает, что фono-типологические расстояния меньше всего между азербайджанским и гагаузским (7,14) языками. Достаточно близок
к азербайджанскому и туркменский (7,20) язык. Вероятно, что это не случайно, так как азербайджанский, гагаузский и туркменский языки входят в одну и ту же группу – группу огузских языков (Кононов, 1982).

Для сравнения с расстояниями между азербайджанским и другими тюркскими языками, нами были рассчитаны фоно-метрическе расстояния между древнетюркским языком и другими тюркскими языками на основе коэффициента ТМБ (т.е. коэффициента Тамбовцева) по данным распределения некоторых фонемных групп в их звуковых картинах. Упорядоченный ряд расстояний имеет следующий вид: 1) узбекский (1,74); 2) казахский (2,06); 3) татарский крымский (3,09); 4) турецкий (3,25); 5) тофаларский (3,84); 6) татарский казанский (4,08); 7) киргизский (5,41); 8) уйгурский (5,82); 9) туркменский (6,03); 10) карачаево-балкарский (6,04); 11) тувинский (6,30); 12) алтайский-телеутский (7,78); 13) татарский чульмский (8,54); 14) башкирский (9,37); 15) алтайский-челканский (9,71); 16) долганский-якутский (11,32); 17) якутский (11,63); 18) сары-уйгурский (11,68); 19) алтайский-шорский (13,61); 20) алтайский-кундьмакинский (15,37); 21) азербайджанский (16,79); 22) татарский барабинский (17,08); 23) хакасский (17,91); 24) алтай-кижи (18,02); 25) караалпакский (21,10); 26) гагаузский (24,05); 27) саларский (27,97); 28) чувашский (77,57).

Данный упорядоченный ряд показывает, что фоно-типологические расстояния меньше всего между древнетюркским и узбекским языками. Из этого следует, что звуковая картина древнетюркского языка больше всего похожа на звуковую картину узбекского языка.

Для сравнения с расстояниями между азербайджанским и другими тюркскими языками, нами были также рассчитаны фоно-метрическе расстояния между казахскими и другими тюркскими языками (Тамбовцев, 2010-а). Упорядоченный ряд по величине расстояний между казахским языком и другими тюркскими языками: 1) узбекский (1,80); 2) тофаларский (1,99); 3) казахский – древнетюркский (2,06); 4) тувинский (3,78); 5) татарский-крымский (4,04); 6) туркменский (4,36); 7) турецкий (4,36); 8) татарский-казанский (5,56); 9) карачаево-балкарский (5,95); 10) киргизский (6,42); 11) венгерский (6,65); 12) татарский-чульмский (7,34); 13) уйгурский (7,42); 14) шорский (7,84); 14) телеутский (7,96); 15) сары-уйгурский (8,62); 16) хакасский (9,87); 17) башкирский (11,32); 18) якутский (14,53); 19) татарский-барабинский (16,83); 20) долганский (17,01); 21) башкирский (17,95); 22) алтай-кижи (18,12); 23) гагаузский (20,54); 24) кундьмакинский (22,26); 25) саларский (25,80); 26) чувашский (68,64).

Для сравнения с расстояниями между азербайджанским и другими тюркскими языками, нами были также рассчитаны фоно-метрические расстояния между алтайскими и другими тюркскими языками. Был получен следующий упорядоченный ряд расстояний: 1) киргизский (8,79); 2) татарский-казанский (11,07); 3) телеутский (12,66); 4) древнетюркский (18,02); 5) казахский (18,12); 6) шорский (18,69); 7) татарский-чульмский (19,17); 8) татарский-барабинский (19,63); 9) турецкий
(20,68); 10) туркменский (21,02); 11) якутский (28,39); 12) сары-уйгурский (31,76); 13) хакасский (39,06); 14) гагаузский (34,59).

По данным этого упорядоченного ряда видно, что по своей звуковой картина алтай-кижи и киргизский типологически различаются незначительно, казахский и алтай-кижи значительно различаются, что проявляется в различной величине фоно-типологического расстояния. Так, казахский язык ближе всего к узбекскому (1,80), но достаточно далеко отстоит от языка алтай-кижи (18,12) и кумандинского (22,26). Тофалары могут быть древним осколком племени, которое было близко к древним казахам, но которое не стало мигрировать на запад Сибири. Дальше всего, от казахского языка находится финно-угорский мансийский-сосывинский (87,1) язык, с которым у казахского языка, вероятно, интенсивных контактов никогда не было.

Таким образом, фоно-типологические расстояния помогут лингвистам лучше понять типологическую схожесть азербайджанского, древнетюрского, алтай-кижи, казахского и других тюркских языков.

Выводы: Данное исследование показывает, что фоно-типологические расстояния меньше всего между азербайджанским и гагаузским (7,14). Достаточно близок к азербайджанскому и туркменский (7,20). Вероятно, что это не случайно, так как азербайджанский, гагаузский и туркменский языки входят в одну и ту же группу – группу огузских языков.

Список литературы


Recenzje


The fall of communism over twenty years ago meant a huge change in all fields of political and social life in Poland. It has also influenced the academic world opening it to the West, making Western publications, predominantly English ones, more available to the Polish scholars. Additionally, the popularization of the Internet has helped Poland to catch up with the vanguard of the Global Village – at least to some extent. There have been unpredictable side effects though – a general drop in academic contacts with the former Soviet Union countries on the one hand, and on the other hand, a subconscious feeling, shared especially by many younger scholars, that all most valuable academic production has been created in the West. Sadly, the achievements of Polish researchers are often underestimated, or even forgotten, not only by the public opinion in the home country, but also by their successors.

The fifth volume of Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki ("Essays on the History of Oriental Studies in Poland"), edited by Prof. Tadeusz Majda from the Warsaw University, aims at filling this gap with regard to the Oriental Studies – a relatively new discipline in Poland, which has produced several eminent scholars though and is still developing.

The book consists of six essays along with their short summaries in English. The opening article, by Marek M. Dziękanski, acquaints the reader with the turbulent history and numerous activities of the Committee for Oriental Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, established in 1952 as Oriental Committee headed by of Prof. Ananiasz Zajączkowski. The Committee releases the yearbook “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” and a series of “Prace Orientalistyczne”; the list and description of the most important publications are included in the text.

The second essay, written by Barbara Michalak-Pikul ska, is devoted to the history of Arabic Studies in Cracow. The author gives a comprehensive description of this history – from its beginnings in 1919 (when due to the initiative of Prof. Tadeusz Kowalski the first Seminar on Oriental Philology was organized at Jagiellonian University), through the years when Professors Tadeusz Lewicki, Roman Stopa, Andrzej Czap kiewicz and Maria Kowalska were subsequently Heads of the
Department, until the present day. Suffice to say that presently such subjects as Arabic language and grammar, in addition to history and culture of the Arabs and Islam, are all taught at Jagiellonian University.

The same famous names are cited among those of luminaries of Polish Oriental Studies in the third essay by Jerzy Ha u zi ński, which is a rich overview of the studies on the history of Muslim world conducted in Poland after 1945. Summarizing 65 years of research in such a varied discipline as Oriental studies, is not an easy task, yet J. Ha u zi ński manages to give an excellent and balanced view on the issue. From his essay one may learn about the split which occurred in the second half of the 20th century – some scholars devoted themselves to study languages, literature and religion, while others focused on the history of the states and people of the Middle East. The author notices the efforts of non-Orientalists, mainly historians, to deepen their knowledge about the Muslim world. Currently, the relations between the Christians and Muslims are studied, as well as minor sects or branches of Islam (i.e. Isma’ilism). The latest trend is to develop studies on the contemporary history and politics in the Middle East, thus scholars whose background is political science or international relations join those who graduated from Oriental Philology departments. The article ends with an abundant bibliography of Polish works on Muslim history and culture, among which there are many translations from original languages.

In a subsequent essay, Zbigniew Landowski pays a tribute to Dr. Ryszard Piwi ński, who passed away in Warsaw on the 8th of December, 2007, at the age of 60. The author, who had been a student and then a colleague of late Dr. Piwi ński, revives the memory of the deceased – an outstanding academic teacher and scholar, Arabist and Islamist, a prolific writer specializing in the beliefs of Arabia and Islamic philosophy (his PhD dissertation entitled “The Concept of Human Being in the Philosophical System of Al-Farabi” was successfully completed under the direction of Prof. Józef Bi elaws k i). Piwiński spent his whole academic life in the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Warsaw University, published two books (best known being Mity i legendy w krainie Proroka ("Myths and Legends in the Prophet’s Land"), Warsaw 1983) and a number of articles on the philosophy, culture, religion and society of Arabia. According to Landowski his former lecturer was a man of broad knowledge blended with wit and passion.

The fifth essay has an encyclopedic value – it is a presentation of the Mesopotamian myths by Krystyna Ł y cz k ow ska. The culture of the ancient Middle East has not been profoundly explored by Polish scholars. That is why it is even more important to gather information about all Polish achievements in this field. As K. Ł y cz k ow ska reminds, the history of the research on Babylonian texts began in the second half of the 19th century with the discovery of “The Flood Tablet”, relating part of the Epic of Gilgamesh. After reading this story, the interest arose not only among biblical scholars, but also among Orientalists. In Poland, the myths from Mesopotamia were initially translated on the basis of contemporary European studies (Adolf Ś wi ę c i cki, Anto ni L a n ge, Rev. Władysław S z c z e p a ński). Before World War II, Assyriology was studied in
Lvov and Cracow, then also in Warsaw. Although Polish collections do not include clay tablets and researchers are forced to use copies of cuneiform texts, in recent years a vast selection of Sumerian and Babylonian myths has been published in Poland. The summery of the most important myths is included in the article.

The aim of the last essay is to present a profile of an absolutely outstanding scholar – Bronisław Piłsudski (the older brother of the famous Marshal Józef Piłsudski), whose life and work is known and appreciated in the world, yet not in Poland. Alfred Majewicz begins his article with a remark that the book entitled “Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore” written in Polish by Piłsudski in 1912 has remained the best ever published on the topic; moreover, it will remain such as the Ainu culture was absorbed by the Japanese one just two generations after Piłsudski’s death. Fascinating, though harsh, and even tragic life of Marshal Piłsudski’s older brother, served as a scenario for several documentaries and films: sentenced for an attempt to kill the Russian tsar, Bronisław was sent to exile and as a result spent almost twenty years in Sakhalin Island, but also Vladivoslok and Japan, studying aboriginal cultures and languages, as well as propagating education among the natives. He collected an enormous material of invaluable ethnological data, which was later largely lost and scattered (Piłsudski spent his last years in poverty in the Western Europe). His work (i.e. original phonographic records of Ainu folklore) has been rediscovered and reconstructed just recently, mainly due to the research project of ICRAP (International Committee for the Restoration and Assessment of Piłsudski’s Work). As a consequence Piłsudski’s name has been cited directly just in the last twenty years more than one thousand times. His scholar achievement is one of the two or three most important Polish accomplishments in world humanities in the last century. An almost complete bibliography of Piłsudski’s works is appended at the end of the article, followed by photographs related to the text.

Having acquainted with all these essays, shortly summarized here, a Polish reader may feel pride that such fine scholars contributed to Oriental Studies. It could be regretted though, that works of the majority of them are not known abroad (Bronisław Piłsudski’s postmortal fame is rather exceptional). The idea of developing humanities in a country that does not belong to the Anglo-Saxon world, and at the same time promoting one’s findings abroad, is difficult to achieve. Surely, young Polish scholars specializing in Oriental Studies who face this dilemma, have an easier task – at least two, if not three generations of luminous academicians have paved the way, leaving a huge number of books on the topic, as well as translations from oriental languages into Polish.

In the preface to the volume reviewed here, Tadeusz Majda expresses hope that it will be highly useful not only for the Orientlists, but also for all interested in the Middle and Far East. I fully agree with him, strongly recommending this book, as each scholar should begin his/her work from getting acquainted with the achievements of previous generations.

Marta Woźniak


Chronological issues surrounding Dynasties 21–24 – the main focus of the conference – have a great importance also for the chronology of Phoenicia, Judah, and Israel, as the Old Byblian inscriptions of Abibaal and Eliabaal are engraved, respectively, on the base of a statue of Shoshenq I and on a statue of Osorkon I, while the mention of Shoshenq I’s campaign in Canaan in the fifth year of Rehoboam’s reign at Jerusalem is an irreplaceable basis for the early chronology of both Judah and Israel. Later mentions of Egyptian kings in the 8th century B.C., both in Assyrian inscriptions and in Hebrew literary texts, also have a direct relation to chronology. The reviewer will focus below on these side aspects of Egyptian chronology in the Libyan period, since he recently dealt with related questions in his monograph *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age* (Orientalia Lovaniensia. Analecta 153), Leuven 2006, pp. 95–148. Comparisons and some up-dating seem, in fact, appropriate. The monograph in question will thus be quoted as *OLA 153* in the second part of the review after presenting, in its first part, the contents of this rich volume on *The Libyan Period in Egypt*.

I. Contents

Chronology constitutes the central subject of the volume, but it also contains several valuable contributions on recent archaeological finds from the period in question. The proceedings nevertheless follow the alphabetic order of the Authors’ names after a short introduction with a sympathetic photograph of the participants.
D.A. Aston, who already twenty years ago raised serious doubts about the chronology presented in K.A. Kitchen's book on *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, renews his criticism, focusing on Takeloth II: *Takeloth II, a King of the Herakleopolitan/Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty Revisited: The Chronology of Dynasties 22 and 23* (pp. 1–28). He lists the sources for a relative chronology, offering a useful conspectus of highest known regnal year dates, and comments on the new chronology with two options proposed by K.A. Kitchen in 2006: *The Strengths and Weaknesses of Egyptian Chronology – a Reconsideration*, in Ägypten und Levante 16 (2006), pp. 293–308. He also presents the alternative two chronologies of R. Krauss in E. Hornung et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden 2006). After a lengthy discussion, Aston suggests to date the beginning of the reign of Takeloth II in 834 B.C., instead of Krauss' preferred dates ca. 845 B.C. and Kitchen's dates 852 or 847 B.C.

In her carefully illustrated contribution M.F. Ayad examines *The Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule: The Role of the God's Wife of Amun* (pp. 29–49). She deals in particular with Shepenupet I and her immediate successor, Amenirdis I, and comments on a few selected scenes preserved in the first room of a small chapel in East Karnak, dedicated to Osiris, Ruler of Eternity. The article shows the passage from the Libyan Wife of Amon, Shepenupet I, to the Nubian one, Amenirdis I, who does not refer to her predecessor as her "mother".

S. Bickel deals with *The Inundation Inscription in Luxor Temple* (pp. 51–55). This long inscription in hieratic script, inscribed in the reign of Osorkon III, centres entirely on a catastrophically high Nile flood in Year 3 of Osorkon III and, in an exceptional way, conveys the popular reaction to the calamity, as well as the ritual actions undertaken to protect the city and the temple. In the next paper, very well illustrated, H. Brandl attempts to date statues from the Libyan period by means of stylistic criteria: *Bemerkungen zur Datierung von libyerzeitlichen Statuen aufgrund stilistischer Kriterien* (pp. 57–89).

Chronology comes again to the foreground with the article of G.P.F. Broekman, *Takeloth III and the End of the 23rd Dynasty* (pp. 91–101). Referring to the publication of new inscriptions, he considerably lowers the reign of Takeloth III to 769–757 or 754 B.C. *The Transition between the 21st and 22nd Dynasties Revisited* (pp. 103–112) is the subject of A. Dodson’s contribution. Contrary to his previous opinion, he now admits that Psusennes II was a real Tanite king with a reign that was recognized at Thebes. C. Jurman deals then with another transition problem: *From the Libyan Dynasties to the Kushites in Memphis: Historical Problems and Cultural Issues* (pp. 113–138). This well illustrated article shows that the later Libyan period was an age of great cultural dynamics, making it difficult to date the beginning of the so-called "Age of Archaism" and to attribute monuments to particular reigns by means of stylistic analysis. He thus defends an opinion contrary to the one advocated by H. Brandl (pp. 57–89).

*The Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt: Revisiting the Reign of Tefnakht*, such is the title of D. Kahn’s contribution (pp. 139–148), which aims at showing, against O. Perdu’s hypothesis, that Shepses-Re Tefnakht, mentioned on two steles (p. 139,
n. 5–6), should be distinguished from Manetho’s founder of the 26th Dynasty. He should instead be identified with Tefnakht, Chief of the Meshwesh and Libu tribes, the adversary of Piankhy. O.E. Kaper then examines the Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Libyan Period (pp. 149–159), which shows that the oasis was never loose from Theban control.

In a long article, entitled The Third Intermediary Period in Egypt: an Overview of Fact & Fiction (pp. 161–202), K.A. Kitchen maintains his slightly revised position, as explained in Ägypten und Levante 16 (2006), quoted above. There is a particular attention to “failed hypotheses” and “fallacies to be discarded”, and an “interim chronology” of Libyan dynasties is presented on p. 202.

E. Lange deals with The Sed-Festival Reliefs of Osorkon II at Bubastis: New Investigation (pp. 203–218), presenting perfect drawings of the bas-reliefs and inscriptions, and commenting on the Sed-Festival of the great temple of Bastet, enlarged and embellished by Osorkon I and Osorkon II. In the following contribution, M. Loth re-examines the Thebanische Totenstelen der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Ikonographie und Datierung (pp. 219–230). Four reproduced figures illustrate his distinction of four chronologically distinguishable groups among the some 170 published steles, rarely higher than 30 cm. R. Lucarelli then examines Popular Beliefs in Demons in the Libyan Period: The Evidence of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees (pp. 231–239). The purpose of these religious documents, produced at Thebes during the first part of the Libyan period, is magical: they address akhu-spirits, male or female, wrrt-demons, “decan-gods”, “slaughterers”, and demons “causing terror”. These beings were considered to be causes of evil in daily life. J. Lull deals thereafter with the Beginning and End of the High Priest Menkheperre (pp. 241–249), whose career at Thebes is reconstructed with the help of various written documents. M. Müller then examines The ‘El-Hibeh’-Archive. Introduction & Preliminary Information (pp. 251–264). A team of several scholars tries to reconstruct this archive from the second half of the 11th century B.C., parts of which are scattered across nine collections and only 10% so far published. El-Ahaiwah is proposed as the real provenance of the archive, but this new location is problematic according to K. Jansen-Winkeln (p. 441). B. Maß deals in the next paper with Oracular Property Decrees in Their Historical and Chronological Context (pp. 265–275). These decrees appear as an innovation of the 21st and early 22nd Dynasties, which aimed at confirming people and institutions in their ownership of property. This practice was short-lived and apparently applied only to properties of the royal family and of the high clergy of Amun-Re. A. Niwiński presents archaeological findings related to The Tomb Protection in the Theban 21st Dynasty (pp. 277–289), while F. Payraudeau deals with Takeloth III: Considerations on Old and New Documents (pp. 291–302). With recent discoveries duly taken into account by the Author, the reign of Takeloth III acquires additional importance, the more so because we have to reckon now with at least twelve complete years of Takeloth III’s reign. P. Berlin 348 vo should nevertheless be dated from Takeloth II’s reign instead of Takeloth III’s, a dating opposed by K. Jansen-Winkeln (p. 443).
M.C. Pérez Die presents the results of Spanish excavations of *The Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Herakleopolis Magna* (pp. 303–326). This well-illustrated contribution deals with the architecture of the tombs and with the documents uncovered. R. Ritner then discusses political *Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period* (pp. 327–340), starting from O’Connor’s model of nomadic society.

T.L. Sagrillo deals with *The Geographic Origins of the ‘Bubastite’ Dynasty and Possible Locations for the Royal Residence and Burial Place of Shoshenq I* (pp. 341–359). This contribution is derived in part from the Author’s doctoral dissertation to be published as *The Reign of Shoshenq I: Textual and Historical Analyses*. The Author suggests that Shoshenq I’s residence was located in the Memphite area and that he has been buried at Mit Rahina. C.M. Sheikholeslami deals with *The End of the Libyan Period and the Resurgence of the Cult of Montu* (pp. 361–374). Her article pays a particular attention to some relatively well-documented families associated with the cult of Montu at Thebes in the time of the 25th Dynasty. J.H. Taylor then examines *Coffins as Evidence for a ‘North-South Divide’ in the 22nd–25th Dynasties* (pp. 375–415). Numerous photographs of anthropomorphic coffins illustrate the Author’s distinction of a southern and a northern group. *Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos* (pp. 417–440) is the aim of A. Leahy’s contribution. The stelae discussed are thus dated between 1100 and 700 B.C. in nine distinct groupings.

A summary of the discussion sessions during the conference is presented on pp. 441–447 with a final resolution agreed by the participants and concerning the mention of the kings called Shoshenq. The kings of the 22nd Dynasty main line, bearing distinct first names, will be numbered as follows: Shoshenq I, Shoshenq Ia, Shoshenq Ib, Shoshenq Iic, Shoshenq III, Shoshenq IV, Shoshenq V. Besides, the kings of the 23rd Dynasty collateral line will be numbered Shoshenq VI and Shoshenq VIa. Very useful indexes of place names and of proper names close the volume (pp. 449–457), the importance of which does not need to be stressed. Its excellent presentation, with full footnotes at the bottom of the concerned pages, underscores its scientific value and aim.

**II. The Libyan period and the Levant**

As shown by R. Krauss, *Das wrš-Datum aus Jahr 5 von Shoshenq II*, in *Discussions in Egyptology* 62 (2005), pp. 43–48, it seems certain from a lunar date recorded on a stele of Shoshenq I, found in Dakhleh, that Shoshenq I’s Year 1 correlates to 943 rather than 945 B.C., as was commonly assumed. Krauss’ proposal has found an almost general acceptance, also by Chr. Bennett, *Egyptian Lunar Dates and Temple Service Months*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 65 (2008), col. 525–554, notwithstanding a small correction he suggested (col. 548). K.A. Kitchen nevertheless maintains 945 B.C. as the beginning of Shoshenq I’s reign in his “interim chronology” (p. 202, cf. p. 167). The argument is the alleged lack of evidence for the lunar character of the *weresh*-feast referred to, but
the main reason seems to be the famous synchronism with Rehoboam, king of Judah, whose 5th year coincides with Shoshenq I’s campaign in Canaan according to I Kings 14, 25-26. This campaign is dated hypothetically to Shoshenq I’s penultimate regnal year, i.e. to Year 20. However, there is no prove that Rehoboam’s Year 1 corresponds to 930/929 B.C., as taken for granted by K.A. Kitchen. On the contrary, in his chronology of ancient Israel and Judah, H. Tadmor proposed 928/7 B.C. as Rehoboam’s Year 1 and this dating is generally followed by Israeli scholars: H. Tadmor, Krönologyah, in Encyclopaedia Biblica (in Hebrew) IV, Jerusalem 1962, col. 245–310 (see col. 301). Rehoboam’s Year 5 would then correspond to 924/3 B.C., exactly to Shoshenq I’s Year 20, if the latter reigned in 943–923 B.C. A longer reign is attributed to Shoshenq I by G.P.F. Broekman, who suggests dating it to 943–919 B.C. (pp. 95–96). He rightly notices that there is no a priori reason to assume that Shoshenq I’s highest attested regnal year is at the same time his final year, but a longer reign is so far a sheer hypothesis.

The Phoenician inscription of Abibaal, king of Byblos, inscribed on the base of a statue of Shoshenq I, shows that the latter’s relations with the Levant were not limited to his campaign in Canaan, as far as Megiddo. His campaign in the Negeb, recorded on the Bubastite Portal, was most likely a different one and the one in the area of Gezer, recorded as well, was probably an earlier one, alluded to in I Kings 9, 16. The reviewer has discussed these problems in OLA 153, pp. 99–104, and there is no need to re-examine them here.

The reign of Shoshenq I came to an abrupt end and Egyptian sources shade no light on Osorkon I’s (923–890 B.C.) relations with his eastern neighbours. Like his father, he gave a bust of himself to the king of Byblos, Elibaal, who followed the example of Abibaal by dedicating the figure to the Lady of Byblos. Also Osorkon II maintained relations with Byblos, where a fragment of his statue was found, and with Israel, where Osorkon II’s cartouches on parts of a large alabaster vase from Samaria witness diplomatic exchanges at the time of Ahab (OLA 153, pp. 130–132). Lower dates proposed for Osorkon II, 874–ca. 840 B.C. by K.A. Kitchen (p. 202), 875/872–842 B.C. or 864/861–831 by R. Krauss (pp. 22 and 26), and 872–842 by G.P.F. Broekman (p. 92), may exclude the time of Omri. This depends on the length of the reigns of Takeloth I and of the kings Shoshenq IIa, Shoshenq IIb, and Shoshenq IIc, placed between Osorkon I and Takeloth I (cf. pp. 21–22). At any rate, a correction is required in OLA 153, p. 133.

The alabaster vases with the cartouches of Osorkon II, Takeloth II, and Shoshenq III, found at Almuñécar, Spain, in graves from the 7th century B.C., may have been brought from Phoenicia, where they had possibly been sent as gifts to a Levantine king by the Libyan pharaohs of the 9th century B.C. This scenario is suggested by the alabaster vase with the cartouche of a 22nd-Dynasty king, brought from Sidon by Esarhaddon (VA. Ass 2258). However, the cartouche of the Hyksos king 3-wsr-R Apophis and the name of the princess T3w3.t from the first half of the second millennium B.C. appear on other alabaster vases from Almuñécar. It is likely therefore that they all came directly from Tanis or other sites in the eastern Nile Delta, like some similar Egyptian alabaster vases found in southern Spain.
As for the Egyptian “tribute” sent to Shalmaneser III after 841 B.C., it can further be linked to Takeloth II, even if the latter’s reign is dated to ca. 834–810 B.C., but the reign of Harsiese A becomes an alternative, if the latter is placed in ?-ca. 834 B.C. (p. 26).

The Tang-i Var inscription of Sargon II, published by G. Frame, *The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var*, in *Orientalia* 68 (1999), pp. 31-57, indicates that Shebitko was already king of Egypt in 707/6 B.C. K. A. Kitchen’s discussion of this inscription (pp. 162–164) aims obviously at defending his chronology of the 25th Dynasty, for which he distinguishes a rule of Shebitko in Egypt (702–690 B.C.) from his rule in Cush (715–702 B.C.). This is repeated in various publications, also in the collective work *The Books of Kings* (SVT 129), Leiden 2010, pp. 379–380. Evidence shows nevertheless that Assyrian scribes called “king of Meluhha” the Cushite ruler of Egypt, not the king of distant Nubia, eventually requested by Sargon II to extradite Yamani of Ashdod, who had fled to Egypt in 712 B.C. This does not mean of course that the Assyrians had no knowledge of the Cushite empire in Sudan, since even biblical texts, datable to the 8th/7th centuries B.C., allude to the far-away land of Saba/Soba (cf. *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 5 [1992], pp. 141–142). However, Sargon’s request in 707/6 B.C. makes more sense if this was Shebitko’s accession year. In fact, one may surmise that earlier Assyrian attempts to extradite Yamani, made at the time of Shabako, have been unsuccessful. Year 707/6 B.C. is thus rightly regarded as Year 1 of Shebitko, without resorting to Kitchen’s purely speculative distinction of Cushite and Egyptian regnal periods.

Since Shebitko was king in 707/6–690 B.C., Shabako, who reigned for fifteen years, acceded to the throne in 722/1 (p. 20) or rather in 721/20 B.C. At that time, however, there was still a king at Tanis, namely Osorkon IV, who found it expedient in 716 B.C. to send a tributary gift of horses to Sargon II, to buy him off. He cannot be identified with “So, king of Egypt”, as claimed by K. A. Kitchen (p. 161 and *The Books of Kings*, p. 378), because the Septuagint indicates that an earlier version of II Kings 17, 4 read “to Sais, the city of the king of Egypt” (*OLA* 153, pp. 133–134). The king in question must have been Tefnakht I, Piankhy’s adversary. As a matter of fact, K. A. Kitchen continues to call Piye the Cushite ruler Piankh (pp. 161–162), despite the rehabilitation of the ancient reading “Piankhy” by C. Rilly, *Une nouvelle interprétation du nom royal Piankhy*, in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 101 (2001), pp. 351–368.

K. A. Kitchen’s tendentious interpretation of the title “king of Meluhha” reappears in the case of Taharqo (pp. 161–164), who became king in 690 B.C. and could not lead the Egyptian army at Eltekeh, in 701 B.C., as written in II Kings 19, 9 and Is. 37, 9. Besides, nothing justifies D. Kahn’s hypothesis that Taharqo was sent to Philistia by his brother Shebitko (cf. p. 145). Sennacherib’s annals indicate clearly that “the king of Meluhha” headed a coalition of “kings of Egypt”, his vassals. There can be no doubt that this was Shebitko in person. Should Taharqo have led Egyptian troops in the battle of Eltekeh, he would at least have mentioned it in his inscriptions, just as he recorded his journey to Thebes and his coming to Lower Egypt. The mention of Taharqo in II Kings 19, 9 and Is. 37, 9 is therefore an error, easily explainable by the fact that the
account was written later, under the assumption that Taharqo was already king of Egypt in 701 B.C. (OLA 153, pp. 144–145). He was well-known in the Levant, since he even imported cedar and juniper wood from Lebanon (cf. p. 146 with former D. Kahn’s publications): Taharqo’s setback in Egypt occurred only in 671 B.C., following the Assyrian invasion. He retired then to Nubia. The discovery of inscribed evidence with the name of Taharqo inside the exceptional pyramid W T1 at Sedeinga, to the north of the third cataract, suggests that he has been buried there. His mention in the II Kings 19, 9 and in the parallel passage of Is. 37, 9 is thus based on an account apparently postdating the events of 701 B.C. by several years. Taharqo’s name could no longer be spelled properly at that time (OLA 153, p. 144, n. 271).

K.A. Kitchen’s translation of “king of Meluhha/Cush” by “prince in Nubia” (p. 163) and D. Kahn’s hypothesis of Taharqo’s command at Eltekeh seem to aim at defending, at any cost, the historicity of a detail in the biblical account. The use of the term “Cush” in this context corresponds to the terminology of Gen. 10, 7 and I Chron. 1, 9, where Shebitko (Sbtk’) is listed among the sons of Cush, probably after Shabako (Sbth, a possible misspelling for Sbkh).

The Libyan Period in Egypt is undoubtedly an important tool for all scholars dealing with Egypt in the 10th–7th centuries B.C. Not only chronology, but also history of art, law, and religion are treated in valuable contributions, published less than two years after the Leiden conference. The editors and the publisher should be thanked for their endeavour and congratulated.

Edward Lipiński


Zygmunt Frązyngier is a well-known specialist of Chadic languages, working since almost half a century on these idioms, which constitute the largest family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. His first publication, known to the reviewer, appeared in “Rocznik Orientalistyczny” 29/2 (1965), pp. 31–51. Its subject was the intensive form in Hausa verbs. The volume under review reproduces fourteen comparative and descriptive studies dealing with the syntax and morphology of the simple clause in Chadic, first published between 1977 and 1987 in various journals, proceedings of conferences, and collective works. Among the issues discussed in the volume is the basic or underlying form of verbs in West Chadic (pp. 1–26). The Author proposes that it was made of the consonants and of one vowel, thus having one of the forms CV, CVC, CVCC, or CCVC. This is an important issue, which also concerns the Semitic verbs, for the reviewer regards the current conception of three-, eventually two-consonantal roots as inadequate. The following paper on West Chadic Verb Classes (pp. 27–42) provides support for the hypothesis about
the grammatical role of verb final vowels in Chadic. The case of monoconsonantal verbs (CV) is different, because they never lose the final vowel in the process of suffixation, as if this vowel was belonging to the basic form of the verb. The chapter Plural in Chadic (pp. 43–60) deals with the fact that some Chadic languages have no category of nominal plural. The Author thinks that its presence in other languages of the family represents a relatively recent grammaticalization, based on the plural verb formations through reduplication, gemination, or use of the /a/ vowel. In other words, Proto-Chadic had no formal category of nominal plural.

In the article On the Proto-Chadic Syntactic Pattern (pp. 61–82), the Author discusses some of the ergative characteristics of a reconstructible system. This is also the topic of the next chapter on Ergative and Nominative-Accusative Features in Mandara (pp. 83–96). Ergativity is an important problem of the whole Afro-Asiatic phylum, since its traces are at present recognized also in Semitic, Egyptian, and Libyco-Berber. In the reviewer’s opinion, ergativity has far-reaching consequences for the understanding of later linguistic features, for instance the absence of an univocal concept of “subject” in mediaeval Arabic linguistic theory. The logical subject of the verbal clause, al-fā’il, “the acting one”, seems in fact to go back to the casus agens, while the subject of the nominal clause, al-mubtada’ bihi, “the one with whom one begins”, goes apparently back to the casus patiens.

In the article Marking Syntactic Relations in Proto-Chadic (pp. 97–116), Frajzyngier regards the word order as the main device to mark syntactic relations. He assumes that Proto-Chadic had a verb-subject-object (VSO) word order rather than subject-verb-object (SVO), as represented by the majority of contemporary Chadic languages. Each Semitist will notice that the VSO sequence parallels the basic word order of the verbal sentence in Semitic, while the SVO order corresponds to the construction of Semitic nominal clauses with their subject called al-mubtada’ bihi in Arabic. The next chapter On Intransitive Copy Pronouns (pp. 117–133) describes the function of this class of morphemes and claims that they have an inceptive or destativizing function. “Causative” and “Benefactive” in Chadic (pp. 135–156) deals with the marker -s, realized as [s], [r], [d], [n], and [m]. The Author postulates that its basic function was to indicate the presence, in the clause, of an additional argument beyond the plain, unmarked frame for a given verb. Several authors describe this marker -s as causative and compare it to causative s in other Afro-Asiatic languages, like Berber, Egyptian, Semitic. Frajzyngier considers this similarity to be accidental, but his relation of the -s marker to the 3rd pers. sing. masc. pronoun *sV in Hausa shows precisely that this parallelism is rooted in Afro-Asiatic. In fact, the 3rd pers. sing. pronoun or pronominal suffix of the Semitic languages is š(V) > h(V). The same suffix occurs in Tuareg, in some Cushitic languages, in Egyptian as independent possessive pronoun and in the feminine, also as personal or suffixed pronoun. It is quite possible that the Afro-Asiatic causative marker is, on the one hand, related to the 3rd pers. sing. masc. pronoun and that it correlates, on the other hand, with the ability of the verb to occur with an additional argument, eventually a second direct object.

The aim of the article Encoding Locative in Chadic (pp. 157–178) is to show that Proto-Chadic had only one stative preposition a, the function of which was to indicate the
locative meaning of the sentence. Directional and spatial relationships, like “in”, “out”, “under”, “behind”, were signified with the help of nouns derived from body parts and of serial verb constructions. The latter device preceded the formation of verbal extensions, two of which are dealt with in *Ventive and Centrifugal in Chadic* (pp. 179–195). Franzyngier postulates that they derived respectively from the verbs “to come” and “to go”. The next article deals with *Interrogative Sentences in Chadic: Reconstruction and Functional Explanation* (pp. 197–214). There were two devices used to form them: one was the final interrogative marker, derived from a copula, and the other consisted in tonal changes. The chapter *Logophoric Changes in Chadic* (pp. 215–231) refers to syntactic contexts most often known as “indirect speech”. Some Chadic languages have a rich correlated system, but the Author judges that no evidence supports its existence in Proto-Chadic. The article *From Preposition to Copula* (pp. 233–250) provides evidence for the use of a verb “to be at a place” as a locative preposition, which in turn became an equational copula. The last chapter, *Theory and Method of Syntactic Reconstruction: Implications from Chadic* (pp. 251–271), discusses the implications of the reconstruction of various Proto-Chadic syntactical elements for the general theory and methodology of syntactic reconstruction. A useful bibliography (pp. 273–283), an index of subjects and geographical names (pp. 285–290), and an index of modern authors cited (pp. 291–293) close the volume, which contains a series of inspiring studies. They are of interest to scholars of Afro-Asiatic linguistics, especially to Semitists, who often regard Chadic as a quite distant language family.

Edward Lipiński


The lavishly illustrated volume under review contains the report of the excavations conducted by the editors in 2007 and 2008 at Khirbet Qeiyafa, a site located on the northern side of the Valley of the Terebinth (Wadi as-Sanṭ, Emeq ha-Elah), some 30 km south-west of Geba of Benjamin, king Saul’s residence. This is a 2.3 hectare site surrounded by massive fortifications of megalithic stones that still stand to a height of 2–3 m. The particular importance of the archaeological site results from the quite accurate dating of its Iron Age stratum at the end of the 11th or in the first half of the 10th century B.C., and from the Hebrew inscription on an ostracon, which “is the earliest witness of the institution of the monarchy by the people of Israel”, at the time of Saul, as rightly stressed by Émile Puech, “L’ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa et les débuts de la Royauté en Israël”, “Revue biblique” 117 (2010), pp. 162–184. A slightly different reading and translation

Chapter 1 by Y. Garfinkel and S. Ganor locates Khirbet Qeyiafa in Context (pp. 3–18): archaeological, ethnical, chronological, as well as biblical. Since the editors believe in the forty years of the reigns of David and of Solomon, reduced nevertheless to c. 1000–930 B.C., they attribute the foundation of the city to David, thus creating a “mythological” context for archaeological and historical data, certainly anterior to David. In fact, Solomon’s and Roboam’s accession to the throne at the age, respectively, of 12 and 16 years (III Kings 2:12; 12:24a), the marriageable age in ancient Semitic societies, and David’s curriculum vitae suggest c. 960 B.C. for the beginning of David’s reign at Jerusalem.

A clear presentation of the Expedition Aims and Methodology (pp. 19–24) is followed by a chapter on the Site Location and Setting, and History of Research (pp. 25–46). This key chapter briefly describes the strata and provides the radiometric dating, based on carefully chosen samples of burnt olive pits. The calibrated average dates for Iron Age IIA or rather the transition period between Iron Age IB and Iron Age IIA proper is 1051–969 B.C. with 77.8% probability and 1026–975 B.C. with 59.6% probability. The calibrated date for the Late Persian and Hellenistic strata, uncovered as well, is 361–271 B.C. with 55.9% probability. This chapter also reports the results of the survey showing that no remains of a lower city are recognizable.

Chapter 4 by David L. Adams is entitled Between Socoh and Azekah: the Role of the Elah Valley in Biblical History and the Identification of Khirbet Qeiyafa” (pp. 47–66). Since historical literary criticism and analysis of literary genres seem to be study fields alien to the authors of this volume, no firm results can be expected from this kind of discussions. The location of Khirbet Qeiyafa on the road from the Shephelah to the Judaean Highland may nevertheless favour a name such as Sha’rayim, “Gate” with the local suffix -ayim, but this place name appears only in biblical texts or phrases dating from the Late Persian or Early Hellenistic periods: Joshua 15:36; I Sam. 17:52; I Chron. 4:31. It could thus be the name of the site in the second half of the 4th century B.C., unless the visible remains of the two discovered gates among the ruins of the Iron Age town were called earlier Šaʿarayim, “Two Gates” (cf. also p. 10). This dual could hardly be regarded as the original name of a settlement.

Chapter 5 introduces The 2007–2008 Excavations (pp. 69–116), offering a well illustrated report on the work and the uncovered architectural remains. However, it is incorrect to pretend repeatedly that the two gates of Khirbet Qeiyafa are a unique feature among known biblical cities. In fact, two gates have been identified also at Tell an-Naṣbeh, i.e. Mispah, probably from the time of Saul. This does not prove that both gates were used simultaneously.

Particular finds are examined in the following chapters. Chapter 6 by Hoo-Goo Kang and Y. Garfinkel thus presents the Early Iron Age IIA Pottery (pp. 119–149), followed in Chapter 7 by Ashdod Ware I: Middle Philistine Decorated Ware (pp. 151–160). Theses chapters deal in fact with the pottery of the transitional period between Iron Age IB and Iron Age IIA proper. An important contribution by David Ben-Shlomo
provides the results of the Petrographic Analysis of Iron Age Pottery (pp. 161–173). It shows that the Ashdod Ware vessels, which seem to be a Philistine cultural indicator, were not produced on the site, but imported from Philistia. Chapter 9 by Y. Garfinkel presents the Stone and Metal Artifacts (pp. 175–194), adding a special chapter on The Standing Stone near the Western City Gate (pp. 195–200). The Faunal Assemblage is examined in Chapter 11 by Ron Kehati (pp. 201–208). The complete absence of pig bones at Khirbet Qeiyafa, contrary to the neighbouring Tell as-Safi, is a clear ethnic and cultural indicator of Semitic inhabitants.

Finds of the Hellenistic Period (pp. 209–230) are examined by Déborah Sandhaus with particular studies of the terracotta figurine of a horse by Adi Erlich (pp. 225–227) and of metal artifacts by Ravit Nenner-Soriano (pp. 227–229). Historians will certainly pay attention to this reoccupation of an ancient site, in a key strategic location, at a particular moment in the final decades of the Persian Empire. The “seven years” of the Persian oppression recorded by Josephus Flavius (Jewish Antiquities XI, 7, 1, §297–301; cf. Against Apion I, 22, §194) come here into one’s mind. Instead, the editors of the volume do not seem to be very interested by this period of Judah history. The twenty-three coins from the Late Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman times are then studied by Yoav Farhi (pp. 231–241).

The Ostracon is presented by Haggai Misgav, epigraphist, and by the two editors (pp. 243–257). A photo, a drawing, a palaeographic chart of the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon, and a comparative chart of letters from various inscriptions of the 11th–9th centuries are provided, as well as deciphering proposals. Further Observations on the Ostracon are made by Ada Yardeni (pp. 259–260) with another drawing and a decipherment. Chapter 15, Imaging the Ostracon, by Greg Bearman and William A. Christens Barry offers additional good quality images (pp. 261–270) with excellent photos produced at Megavision laboratory, Santa Barbara, CA (p. 268, figs. 15.12 and 15.13). A detailed account of the field observations during the 2007 and 2008 campaigns is provided in the final part of the volume (pp. 273–304).

The editors must be praised for the excellent presentation of the architectural remains and of the finds with colour photographs and appropriate legends. The high quality archaeological work they intend pursuing in the next years will undoubtedly shed new light on the Kingdom of Saul and possibly on the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic periods.

Edward Lipiński


Professor Ewa Machut-Mendecka (University of Warsaw) is an outstanding Polish scholar in the field of contemporary Arabic literature. In the past she dealt firstly
with the Arabic Drama and theatre, but since some years ago she developed her interests in the Arabic Prose. Two works in English are of special interest among her books: *The Art of Arabic Drama* (Warsaw 1977) and *Studies in Arabic Theatre and Literature* (Warsaw 2000). The most recent book by E. Machut-Mendecka, titled *Na szlakach Sindbada. Koncepcje współczesnej prozy arabskiej* (“On the Paths of Sindbad. Concepts of Contemporary Arabic Prose”) is devoted to the newest issues in the Arabic prose literature.

Among recent interesting scientific projects in this field (but from the European theoretical point of view and by group of Authors) one can mention for example a volume by several authors edited by A. Neuwirth, A. Pflitsch and B. Winckler *Arabische Literatur, Postmodern* (2004). In “classical” manner wrote their books R. Allen (1982), M. Badawi (1993) and J. Oliverius (in Czech language, 1995). In Poland there exists a large history of contemporary Arabic literature in two volumes edited by J. Bielawski (1978 and 1989).

The book of Ewa Machut-Mendecka is not a simple “history of contemporary Arabic prose”, not a description compiled of a number of biographical sketches of Arab writers and summaries of their novels or stories. It is an interesting analysis with the use of a new and original attempt and look to the contemporary production of Arab speaking writers, most of them coming from the East of the Arab World.

The theoretical attempt to the contemporary Literature is sketched by Ewa Machut-Mendecka in the “Introduction” to her books. Of great importance is the statement that although in the Arabic prose one can find some phenomena similar to the literary experience of the Western world, and in spite of literary contacts between Arabic and European or American literature, the circumstances and inspirations in both cases are different. For this it is better not to call the similar issues the same way. In my opinion it is a very important statement, which additionally finds its excellent confirmation in the reviewed study of Ewa Machut-Mendecka.

I think this Author’s statement in the context of prose has its sources in earlier studies by the scholar showed in her abovementioned book about the Arabic drama (first edition in Polish 1992). Instead of copying the European or Western categories of description of Arabic drama the Polish scholar invented three main notions: Neoclassicism, Realism and Creationism. The last one was and is of great importance in Ewa Machut-Mendecka’s thinking about the Arabic contemporary literature. She transposes his way of thinking to the field of Prose, abandoning such terms like for example “postmodernism” or “magical realism” and so on. The Arabic literature is not a mirror of Western one; it has its own characteristics and historical experiences going back to the rich Arabic literary traditions. A careful reader and scholar can easily find clear traces of these traditions.

Apart from the theoretical frames of description and analysis of the Arabs’ prose Ewa Machut-Mendecka focuses her literary studies on the problem of identity and various forms of alienation (ḡurba) as core themes of nearly all literary output. These problems are analysed in a wide perspective of the creativity of Arab writers living both
in Arab countries and in exile, writers of Arabic origin and coming from minorities living in Arab countries (all of them writing in Arabic – the analysis omits those writers, who are writing in other languages). The tools of cultural psychology and anthropology, taken into account through the book, are very useful in this context.

Additionally, Professor Machut-Mendecka finds some important and deep similarities between issues in prose and drama and she shows these similarities on concrete examples. In this way, one can say, the book is a continuation and extension of the picture of contemporary Arabic writing based on drama into prose. This attempt seems to be successful.

The literary material analysed by Ewa Machut-Mendecka is very extensive and diverse, and this is to be seen in following detailed presentation of contents of this book.

In the “Introduction” (pp. 11–29) the Author explains her concept of main periods and issues of development of Arabic prose from the Nahda period to our days, pointing out the problem of identity. Then follows:

Part I “The Ethnographing Realism. The Prose from the sing of Mimesis” (pp. 31–172) is divided into six chapters. I. “The Picture of Reality in writings of Egyptian Nesters of Prose” (Mahmūd Tāymūr, Yūsuf Idrīs, Naǧīb Maḥfūẓ); II. “Between his Kind and Strangers. Concepts of Realistic Iraqi Prose on the Example of ’Abd ar-Rahmān Maǧīd ar-Rūbāy’ī”; III. “Stormy World of Great Syria; the Motive of Struggle and Emigration” (Ḥammā Mīnā, Ḥāda as-Sāmān, Ḥaydar Ḥaydar, ḡassān Kānāfānī); IV. “The Anthropology of New Arabic Reality in the Prose of ’Abd ar-Rahmān Mūnīf”; V. “Realism and Islam”; VI. “Realism and New Arabic Culture”.


Part III. “Narrative Issue. The Narrated World” (pp. 265–332); I. “The Narrator Convention” (’Izz ad-Dīn Mādānī, Ġamāl al-Ǧīṭānī); II. “Archetypal World of the South in the Writings of Yahyā Ṭāhīr ‘Abd Allāh”; III. The Dynamics of the Word and Reality in the prose of At-Tayyib Sāliḥ”.

From the Writers not mentioned in the titles of abovementioned paragraphs one should add Ġubran Ḥālīl Ġubrān, Tāḥa Ḥusayn, Rašīd aḍ-Đaṭīf and İdwar aḍ-Ḥarrāṭ. On the ground of this short presentation we see, that the analyses of Polish scholar includes the Prose of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Sudan, Libya and Tunisia (the only one Maghreb Country), both Muslims and Christians, Arabs and one Kurdish writer, among them one Woman. Thus, more or less proportionally to the religious and ethnic divisions in the Middle East. In this way the monograph gives the reader a vast panorama of the contemporary Arabic Prose.

As far as I know, the study by Ewa Machut-Mendecka provides the attempt first in Arabic studies to present the comprehensive picture of contemporary Arabic
Literature without the implementation of purely Western tools of analysis and theoretical description. The book of the eminent Polish scholar is, without doubt, an example of new way of thinking about the literature of the Arab world.

Marek M. Dziekan


The history and culture of the Arabic countries during the Ottoman period in common view of Orientalists dealing with this part of the world is treated as a period of decline (inḥīṭāt), and – consequently, because of this view, it is till now neglected by most of the Arabists dealing with the political history as well as the history of culture or literature. A growing interest in this half of millennium is – one should say that the old paradigm of “decline” is to change.

One of the manifestations of this issue is the reviewed book, edited by IRCICA expert Dr. Fadil Bayat and Dr. Halit Eren, the Director General of this institution. The book is edited in Arabic, and for this reason it is addressed above all to Arabic-speaking reader, but it is also very important for Arabists, because it is dealing with documents written in Ottoman-Turkish. This is a fact which has a great importance for the study of Ottoman period – these studies demand the cooperation of Arabists and Turcologists (or Turks). The reviewed book is an extraordinary example of such a work.

Apart from the “Introduction” (Taqdīm, pp. 7–8) by H. Eren and a general presentation of the book and its purpose “This Book” (Ḥadā al-kitāb, pp. 9–10) it consists of three main chapters. [1] “Some Observations on the History of Baghdad in Ottoman Times” (Malāmīh Tārīḥ Bağdād fī al-‘Ahd al-‘Umnī, pp. 11–16). This chapter is not extensive, but very substantial. The Author presents main points of the Ottoman history of Baghdad and characterizes this period from the political and social point of view, basing on the documents from Ottoman archives and a book in Arabic written by F. Bayat, edited in 2007 by Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-‘Arabiyya (Centre for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut).

[2] “Facsimiles of Documents and Their Translations” (Uṣūl al-Waṭā‘iq wa-Tarḵamātuḥā, pp. 17–123). This part contains 51 documents – their colored photographs and translations. The facsimiles are of very good quality. We are faced with hand written documents, sometimes in very beautiful calligraphy, and some printed documents, especially statistical tables. Every document is provided with precise bibliographical and archival information concerning the place of storage, its number and daily date in Islamic and Christian Calendar. All the documents are arranged chronologically. The oldest one (pp. 18–19) is Al-Iblāġ ‘an Istītibāb al-Aman wa-an-Niẓam fī Wilāyāt Bağdād wa-al-Amr bi-Irsāl Ġawāṣīs ilā Arġā’ ad-Dawla aṣ-Ṣafawīyya li-al-İstiṭlā‘ [“Notification on Stabilization of the Security
and System in the Province of Baghdad and an Order concerning the Dispatchment of Spies throughout the Safavid Empire for Reconnaissance”] from 16 Dū al-Qa‘da 951 / 29 Kānūn aṭ-Ṭanī (January) 1545. The last one is a table which lists printing houses and newspapers in Baghdad in 1320/1902 [Al-Maṭābi‘ wa-al-Ǧarā‘id fī Madīnat Baġdād sana 1320 H/1902 M]. At that time there were 4 printing houses in the city with the oldest one, Maṭba‘at al-Wilāya (The Province Printing House, pp. 122–123), lying in Maḥallat al-Bustān. It was established in 1286 H/1869 and printed both in Turkish and Arabic. The register also shows that we have had in Baghdad 1 official newspaper, “Az-Zawrā‘”, also in Turkish and Arabic. The documents show several aspects of economical and social life of the city, but also the importance of Al-‘Irāq for the foreign policy of Ottoman State, especially for relations with Persia. At the end of this part we can see two maps of the Province of Baghdad (pp. 124–125 and 126; the first one seems to be an enlargement of the central part of the tatter. The maps are, unfortunately, not described.

[3] Third part of the book is titled “Photos of Baghdad taken in the Ottoman Period” (Ṣuwar min Baġdād Utluqīṭat fī al-‘Ahd al-‘Uṯmānī, pp. 127–141). It contains 16 photos, the oldest taken before 1908, the newest form 1. Ḥuzayrān 1330 / 14 June 1913. The photos are also arranged chronologically and described as much as possible. They present some buildings and scenes from Ottoman Baghdad. The book ends with another, not described map of Baghdad Province.

The book is edited very carefully, being not only an important scientific achievement, but also a typographic one. It is indeed an interesting contribution to the political, social and cultural history of Baghdad in the Ottoman period.

Marek M. Dziekan

Errata

In the review of the book Islamstudien ohne Ende. Festschrift für Werner Ende zum 65. Geburtstag, edited by Rainer Brunner, Monika Gronke, Jens Peter Laut und Ulrich Rebstock (Würzburg 2002) printed in „RO“ 2004, vol. 56,2 it was erroneously suggested, that Prof. Werner Ende is dead. We would like to apologize to Prof. Werner Ende and Editors of this Volume for this painful error.

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