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# BONN UNIVERSITY

IN PRE-NAZI AND NAZI TIMES

(1923-1939)

EXPERIENCES OF A GERMAN PROFESSOR

*by*

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PRIVATELY PRINTED.

These two cards are interesting documents as showing the way in which the students were controlled by the Nazis. The Ministry in Berlin had a card index for all students of German Universities. Here all reports of the political conduct of the students were collected. Every student had a 'Reichs-Nummer.' He had to produce the postcard in which he was informed about his Reichs-Nummer in whatever German University he wished to be matriculated. The University had to ask for the material collected under the Reichs-Nummer before any matriculation was possible.

To the 'Führungsamt' of Bonn University (Board for the political conduct of the students) the student had to hand a written *curriculum vitae*, with special reference to his political activity, i.e., his activity as a Nazi and with exact reports on the Nazi organisations (S.S., S.A., etc.) to which he belonged.

It cannot be expected that all the students became Nazis by these methods, or that they were Nazis with enthusiasm. Up to the Winter Semester 1938-39 the students in Bonn were not forced to join the NS-Studentenbund. My son did not join it and there were others in the same position. As far as I know membership became compulsory in the Summer of 1939. But it is clear that any active opposition to the Nazis was absolutely impossible for any student.

I knew of a few older students who were decidedly anti-Nazi, and from time to time met men of a like mind in a foreign country. But they had become officially members of the Party, were members of the S.A., belonged to the army and—did not speak about their real convictions to anybody. Otherwise their lives would have been in the greatest danger, and their activities would have ended very quickly. Who knows whether they are still alive and whether they are able to play any role at the end of the Nazi rule!

## 6. THE ORIENTAL SEMINAR, AN INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY

There were a number of Institutes connected with the University which provided for the special instruction and training of students and for general research work. In a great University like Bonn these Institutes were numerous and often very well equipped. Their Directors were the Professors of the University, and they often devoted most of their activities to their Institutes. Every Professor in the Faculty of Medicine had his special Clinic, there were large Institutes for Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Zoology, Mineralogy, Geology, Archaeology, Art-History, etc., etc., and there were Seminars for Theology, Law, Philosophy, History, Mathematics, and different Seminars devoted to the study of Languages, Classics, German, Romantic Languages, English, Oriental Lan-

guages and Civilisations. These Institutes had their own life, and the atmosphere in them did not accord with the general atmosphere of the University. I cannot deal here with the characteristics of all these Institutes; they were quite different from each other. But I can describe the conditions in the Oriental Seminar of which I became Director when I went to Bonn in October, 1928.

The Oriental Seminar had been founded in 1913 by Professor C. H. Becker, later Kultusminister (Minister of Education). The basis of the Library were the Oriental Books of Professor Aufrecht, the Indologist, and Professor Pryn, the Arabist, which had been given to the University. Becker was chiefly interested in Islamic studies, and he developed the Seminar in this direction, but he was called in 1915 to the Kultusministerium in Berlin. His successor, Erno Littmann was, during the War, mostly engaged in War work, and, a few years after the War, he accepted a Professorship in Tübingen which was offered to him, as he did not like life in a town under foreign occupation.

When I came to Bonn the Seminar was already in a private house, Poppelsdorfer Allee 25, which had been given to the University. But the rooms were insufficient and in a very bad condition. In the course of a few years I succeeded in procuring in the house sufficient well-decorated rooms for the Seminar. The staff of the Seminar was enlarged and the Library satisfactorily completed. The Seminar became more and more an important centre of Oriental studies. When in 1937 I went with my friend, the Berlin Sanscritist H. Lüders, through the Seminar in order to show him something, he stood with admiration before the shelves where all the important Oriental periodicals were standing in long rows, available for everybody in the Seminar. He remarked that so many of these periodicals were certainly not accessible in such a convenient way in Berlin, and scarcely in any other place in Germany.

In the Seminar every member of the staff, every assistant and research student had his special working place. If a book was not in the Seminar, it was borrowed from the University Library or ordered from another Library (Berlin, Munich, etc.). Manuscripts sent to the Seminar from other Libraries were carefully kept in one of the three safes. Such manuscripts came not only from German Libraries: I had spent several weeks in Leningrad in the Autumn of 1926, and had investigated there the great collection of Hebrew MSS., and in the course of the next few years more than 400 of these MSS. were sent to the Seminar at my request by the Russian Public Library. For a long time I had nearly 40 MSS. from America (New York) in the Seminar, and there were usually MSS. from important foreign Libraries in the Seminar for the use of students—for instance, from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the University Library in Leiden, different Libraries in Italy, the Library of the Asiatic Museum in

Leningrad ; also from Libraries in this country, as, for instance, the India Office Library in London, the Bodleian in Oxford, the University Library and Trinity College Library in Cambridge.

In 1984 Dr. Aziz Surial Atiya, a learned Copt, who had made his studies on Mediaeval History in Liverpool University and had become a special expert on the History of the Crusades, came to Bonn in order to take part in the Congress of Orientalists, and to convey to the Congress greetings from members of the School of Oriental Studies in London, to the staff of which he belonged at that time. He was delighted and surprised to find that he could study MSS. from the Libraries of Berlin, Gotha, Munich and Vienna comfortably in the Seminar, where all the reference books he needed were at his disposal. The experience and the whole atmosphere in the Seminar made him anxious to come for a longer time to Bonn. I arranged for him to be made "Honorary Professor" at the University and a member of the staff of the Seminar. He is now Professor at Alexandria University.

But several very prominent Orientalists belonged to the staff of the Seminar. Among them I may mention Dr. Zeki Validi, a special protégé of Sir Aurel Stein, a Bashkir who had made his studies at Kazan University, and already before the last War had been engaged in research work at the Petersburg Academy. During the War and after he had been active as leader of the Bashkir-Armeé, which had been largely created by him. He had been a member of the Russian Duma, and had belonged for some time to a Committee of Six, amongst whom there were Lenin, Stalin and Trotzki. Later he came into conflict with the Bolsheviks and escaped to Persia. As an expert on Turkish—Bashkirian being a Turkish language—he became in 1924 adviser to Mustafa Kemal's Ministry of Education in Ankara, and later Professor of Turkish in Stambul University. After seven years, when asked, with the other Professors in Stambul, to teach that all civilisation in the world comes from the Turks, he resigned, went to Vienna and studied Mediaeval History under Professor Dopsch. After two years he got his doctor degree with an excellent thesis on Ibn Fadlan's journey to the Northern Bulgars, Turks and Khazars, the Arabic text of which he had discovered in a MS. in Meshhed. I later published his book in the "Abhandlung für die Kunde des Morgenlandes." From Vienna I engaged him as Lecturer and later Honorary Professor for Bonn. He was a real scholar, a man of wide knowledge, always ready to learn, and collaboration with him was very fruitful. In 1988 he went back to Turkey and again became Professor of Turkish in Stambul University.

Sir Denison Ross was often in Bonn and always greatly interested in the Seminar, its staff, its Library and its publications. Once he said to me—in his characteristic way—"There are three able Orientalists as scholars in Europe, one in Paris and the other two in Bonn. How did you manage that?" Besides Atiya

and Zeki Validi he was thinking of Qazwini, the famous Persian scholar in Paris. There were, however, several prominent Orientalists as scholars in Bonn besides these two ; for instance, an excellent expert in the Arabic language and literature, and several prominent men from the Far East.

The Far East had become increasingly important for Europe, and for many years I had been convinced that the places where the languages, history and civilisation of the Far East could be studied were not quite appropriate to their importance. So I began to create a new centre for these studies in the Oriental Seminar. I obtained the support of the Ministry of Education and of the "Bonner Hochschulgessellschaft" (Society of Friends and Promoters of Bonn University) and, besides German experts for Chinese and Japanese, I engaged—with the help of the Chinese and Japanese Embassies in Berlin—very able lecturers from China and Japan. The Chinese department was founded in 1927, the Japanese in 1929. I had to buy the first Chinese and Japanese books for the Seminar, and when I left Bonn in 1989 there were about 14,000 books in the Chinese department, and in the Japanese department, besides the general handbooks, a very valuable special collection of Japanese books for the study of Buddhism in East Asia. Amongst the lecturers for Chinese there was a special expert on the History of the Mongols, who later became Professor in Peking, and in 1987 I asked the Chinese Government to send to Bonn University for some years a Professor from Peking, a specialist on the mediaeval connections between China and the Western Countries : the war between China and Japan brought these negotiations to an end however. The Japanese Government had sent a Japanese scholar to Bonn, a specialist on Eastern Buddhism, who was Honorary Professor in Bonn for several years.

In order to make known the newly-created departments of the Seminar I arranged in 1981 an "Ostasienskurs" (a series of lectures on the history, art and civilisation of East Asia) which lasted several days and was well attended, and after that there was always a certain number of students for Chinese and Japanese in Bonn University. In 1986 the Chinese Ambassador in Berlin paid a visit to the Seminar and presented a "Motto," a fine example of Chinese calligraphy, in the name of the Chinese President of State. In 1987 the Japanese Ambassador paid a visit to the Seminar. He came for three days and was accompanied by several members of the Embassy. I had arranged for a series of lectures on Japan for these days, and had signed the invitations to these lectures together with the "Oberbürgermeister" (Mayor) of Bonn. These lectures were so well attended that the biggest lecture hall in the University (500 seats) was scarcely sufficient.

In the Seminar differences of political, confessional and racial character did not play any role. Germans and foreigners, Christ-

ians and Mohammedans, Jews and non-Jews, Protestants and Catholics, Chinese and Japanese, worked peacefully together: whoever intended to work was welcome. Several of my former pupils in the Seminar are now lecturers in this country (Aberdeen, Glasgow and Manchester Universities), as well as in America (New York, Chicago and Cincinnati) and in the East. I was for years the only Professor in Germany who had a Jew, a Polish Rabbi, as assistant—a private assistant, but paid by the "Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft," and when he left Bonn in the Summer of 1938, for a visit to his home country, I negotiated with all the Nazi authorities, even with the "Braune Haus" in Munich, in order to obtain permission for his return to Bonn.

The Seminar published a long series of learned books—the "Bonner Orientalische Studien," and in 1935 I was presented with a "Festschrift" by actual and former members of the Seminar (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens . . . überreicht von Freunden und Schülern aus dem Kreise des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn." Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1935). The Seminar had a great number of prominent visitors from foreign countries. I can mention only some from this country. I have already spoken of Sir Denison Ross and Sir Thomas Arnold from London University. Others were: Professors D. S. Margolouth, F. W. Thomas, H. A. R. Gibb (Oxford), Professors W. Stevenson, Mauchline, Dr. Robson (Glasgow), Professor H. W. Bailey (Cambridge), Professor H. H. Rowley (Bangor), Professor Theodore Robinson (Cardiff) and many others. Last but not least, Professor Arnold Toynbee: I made his acquaintance when he gave a lecture at Bonn University about 1931. After that he was often in Bonn and always paid me a visit in the Seminar, where we had long discussions about political and other problems.

There can be no doubt that the international character of the Seminar, its staff, its students and its visitors, was the best protection against Nazi influence and enabled us to go on with our work undisturbed during nearly six years of Nazi regime in Germany. It must be admitted that the other Institutes of the University were not in the same position.

## 7. SECRETARY OF THE "DEUTSCHE MORGEN- LANDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT"

The Professor in a German University is not always restricted in his activities to the special duty for which he is appointed. He may have to take part in State Examinations, he may belong to Committees not directly connected with the University, or he may be editor of a learned Journal. I belonged to the Committee of the "Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft" when I went as Professor to Bonn, and had to devote a great deal of

work to the Society. This activity had a certain influence on my work as Professor, and I may therefore say something here about the Society.

The Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft had been founded in 1845 with a similar programme to that of her sister-organisations, the Société Asiatique in Paris and the Royal Asiatic Society in Great Britain. The chief founders had been Professors in Halle and Leipzig Universities, both centres of Oriental studies at that time and not far from each other. The statutes of the Society provided that the acting Committee of the Society should consist of two members from each of these two Universities. This Committee was responsible for all matters concerning the Society, its publications, the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" and the "Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," and for the Library which was situated in Halle.

For a long time this arrangement worked well, but as the Professors in Leipzig and Halle were not selected with a view to their fitness for leading posts in the Society, the Society progressively lost its influence, especially after 1910, when it was directed by men who were completely unfit for these posts. This led to a reorganisation of the Society in 1920; new statutes were introduced and since that time the leading men of the Society were elected by the "Mitgliederversammlung" without regard to the Universities to which they happened to belong. In 1921, Heinrich Lüders, the Sanscritist in Berlin University, became Vice-President and I, at that time Professor in Gießen, became Secretary. Every two years we were re-elected and we still held our offices in 1939.

Since 1921 the President of the Society had been a representative personality who had some connection with the Orient; first the diplomat Friedrich Rosen, an expert on the Middle East and especially on Persia, who was German Foreign Minister at the time of the election to the post. After he had resigned about 1931, his successor was Dr. Curt Prüfer, whom I knew very well in Cairo, where he had entered the diplomatic service about 1906 by becoming dragoman in the German Consulate, and who now held a prominent post in the Foreign Office (Ministerial director). He resigned in 1939 when he was appointed German Ambassador in Brazil.

One aim of the Society was to bring Orientalists into contact with each other. At a time when, after the War, International Congresses were impossible, the Society arranged German Congresses of Orientalists. They were well attended and were held in Leipzig (1921), Berlin (1922), Munich (1924), Hamburg (1926), Bonn (1928) and Vienna (1930). Since 1926 foreign members of the Society took part in these Congresses; from this country Sir Denison Ross, Sir Thomas Arnold and Professor D. S. Margol-

# ACTES

DU XX<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL  
DES ORIENTALISTES

BRUXELLES

5-10 SEPTEMBRE 1938



LOUVAIN  
BUREAU DU MUSÉON  
7, Mont St Antoine  
1940

kande. Sans donner ce dernier fait comme cause du suicide, les historiens turcs rapportent que Bayazid, honteux de son sort, ouvrit la pierre de sa bague et s'empoisonna.

Il y a encore deux témoignages restés inutilisés jusqu'à présent: Mirrkwand, dans son Rauzat us-Safâ, nous a transmis le récit d'un certain Ahmad Tarkhan, ami de son père et témoin oculaire de la première entrevue entre Bayazid et Tamerlan. Celui-ci, tout en faisant au vaincu de vifs reproches, l'aurait traité avec grande considération (ce que raconte également l'historien persan contemporain Nizam Shami). L'autre témoignage est celui du prêtre dominicain de Sultaniyya, envoyé par Tamerlan immédiatement après la bataille à Charles VI pour lui annoncer la victoire. Chemin faisant ce dominicain a appris ce qui s'était passé depuis son départ.

Nous appuyant sur l'ensemble des témoignages, nous arrivons à la conclusion suivante: Bayazid fut d'abord honorablement traité, mais après une tentative des siens pour le délivrer, il fut tenu enchaîné et transporté pendant la marche dans une literie fermée. Ce doit bien avoir été le projet de Tamerlan de conduire le captif en triomphe à travers ses pays jusqu'à Samarkande, qui détermina Bayazid à prendre du poison, duquel même les médecins de Tamerlan ne purent plus le sauver.

22. Prof. Paul KAHLE (Bonn): *Muhammed Ibn Dāniḡāl (gest. 1311)*  
und seine arabischen Schattenspiele aus Ägypten.

Die arabischen Schattenspiele des Muhammed Ibn Dāniḡāl, eines Augenarztes aus der Zeit des Zāhir Baibars, haben jahrzehntelang Georg Jacob beschäftigt. Er hat den Verfasser charakterisiert als den geistreichsten und launigsten Dichter arabischer Zunge, aber auch als den schwierigsten arabischen Schriftsteller. Ibn Dāniḡāl ist sicher ein sehr geistreicher literarisch hochgebildeter Mann gewesen, der über einen Humor verfügt hat, der in der arabischen Literatur einzigartig ist, und es ist sicher, dass seine Stücke für die Kenntnis der Kultur des islamischen Mittelalters, besonders Ägyptens, von allgeröster Bedeutung sind. Sie sind ausserdem die einzigen erhaltenen Proben einer dramatischen Poesie des arabischen Mittelalters. Die Texte sind durchweg teils in Reimprosa, teils in Gedichtform gefasst und erinnern in der ganzen Art der Diktion am meisten an Hariri, sind aber sehr viel abwechslungsreicher. Interessant ist, dass auch Strophengedichte, zum Teil in ägyptischer Vulgärsprache,

sich in diesen Stücken finden. Das Verständnis dieser Texte ist dadurch erschwert, dass wir keinen Kommentar dazu haben (wie bei Hariri), und dass die Schreiber der drei erhaltenen Handschriften den an Anspielungen aller Art reichen Text oft selber nicht mehr ganz verstanden haben.

Durch Vermächtnis ist der Vortragende in den Besitz von Jacobs Materialien gekommen und hat damit die Aufgabe erhalten, die Arbeit an diesen Texten zum Abschluss zu bringen. Er hat sich bei der Arbeit der wichtigen Mitarbeit eines ausgezeichneten arabischen Gelehrten, Prof. Takieddin al-Hilaly, erfreuen können. Er hofft, demnächst den arabischen Text nebst Übersetzung herausgeben zu können.

Zum Schluss gibt der Vortragende einige Proben aus dem ersten und zweiten Stück in deutscher Übersetzung.

23. Prof. Ahmed AWIN (Le Caire): *Le Kitāb al-ʾimṭāʾa waʾl-muʾāmasa dʾAbū Ḥayyān al-Tawḡāḡī.*

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḡīdī est un homme de lettres de Bagdad qui fleurit au temps du Bouyide Samsam al-Dawla.

Il fut l'ami du géomètre Abū ʾl-Wafāʾ qui l'introduisit auprès du ministre Abū ʾAbdallah al-ʾĀrid, connu sous le nom de Ibn Saʾadān.

Ce fut pour ce ministre qu'il écrivit, sur les instances de son ami Abū ʾl-Wafāʾ al-Muhandis, le *Kitāb al-ʾimṭāʾa wa ʾl-Muʾāmasa*. Ce livre serait né d'entretiens savants qu'al-Tawḡīdī aurait eus avec le ministre, aux questions duquel il répondit avec éloquence et érudition, pendant trente-six nuits.

Le livre, d'une composition extrêmement variée, est d'un grand intérêt. Les idées se succèdent avec fantaisie, suivent l'imagination, les sautes d'intérêt d'une conversation. On y trouve des développements sur toutes les branches du savoir, art, littérature, philosophie, zoologie, curiosités, morale, médecine, rhétorique, sciences sacrées, chansons, grammaire, politique, biographie des savants contemporains, etc...

On lit à la fin d'un volume du livre, dans l'édition de Milan: *Cet essai a été composé en Régeb 374*, ce qui établit bien que le livre fut écrit au temps d'Ibn Saʾadān, qui fut au pouvoir de 373 à 375. (Traduit de l'arabe par A. Abel).

# OPERA MINORA

VON

PAUL KAHLE

FESTGABE ZUM 21. JANUAR 1956



*Paul Kahle*

LEIDEN

E. J. BRILL

1956

## DIE FUTUWWA-BÜNDNISSE DES KALIFEN AN-NÄSİR \*)

Das *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* des Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammed (aš-Šarīm (?), bekannt als Ibn al-'Ammār al-Fakīh al-Ḥanbalī al-Baḡdādī, ist zuerst von HERMANN THORNING verwertet worden als Quelle für die Futuwwa-Bündnisse des 'Abbāsiden Kalifen an-Nāsīr (st. 622/1225). In seinen *Beiträgen zur Kenntnis des Islamischen Vereinswesens* hat er eingehend von der einzigen Handschrift gehandelt, die von dem Werke auf uns gekommen ist. Mit dieser äusserst verdienstvollen Arbeit ist er in Kiel unter GEORG JACOB zum Dr. phil. promoviert worden und die Arbeit ist als Band 16 der von JACOB begründeten *Türkischen Bibliothek* in Berlin 1913 erschienen <sup>1)</sup>.

Aber THORNING hat diesen Text insofern nicht richtig eingeschätzt, als er ihn verfasst sein lässt in einer Zeit, da die Futuwwa des Kalifen an-Nāsīr bereits entartet und ihre ideale Zeit längst vorüber war. In Wirklichkeit stammt die Schrift aus der Zeit des Kalifen an-Nāsīr selber, wir haben in ihr die Schilderung eines Augenzeugen aus der klassischen Zeit dieser Bündnisse vor uns und ihr kommt eine weit grössere Bedeutung zu als das Thorning vermutete <sup>2)</sup>.

HELMUT RITTER hatte in seinem Artikel „Zur Futuwwa“ (*Islam* X, 1920, p. 244-50) neben andern Parallelen zu THORNING's Arbeit auch solche angeführt, die mit der Futuwwa des Kalifen an-Nāsīr zu tun haben auf grund einer persischen Enzyklopädie *Nafā'is al-fannin fi masā'il al-ṣūm*, die bald nach A. H. 735 von al-Āmulī verfasst ist. Dass diese Ausführungen mit dem in der Tübinger Handschrift

\*) Neubearbeitung des Artikels aus der Festschrift für Georg Jacob zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag Leipzig 1932, p. 112-127.

<sup>1)</sup> Die Handschrift ist mit der letzten Sammlung arabischer Handschriften des Konsuls Dr. WERTSTEIN im Jahre 1864 für die Tübinger Universitätsbibliothek erworben worden und trägt die Signatur M a VI 137. Geschrieben ist sie im Jahre 844/1440 durch einen Muḥammed b. Aḡūb. b. Muḥammed, einen mässig gebildeten Mann, der seine Vorlage sehr oft nicht hat lesen können. Max Weisweiler hat sie im *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, II, 1930, unter Nr. 134 beschrieben. Bei BROCKELMANN ist sie (Supplement I 690) kurz erwähnt.

<sup>2)</sup> Das habe ich in meinem Beitrag zur *Festschrift für Georg Jacob zum 70. Geburtstag*, Leipzig 1932, p. 112-127 nachgewiesen. Aus etwa derselben Zeit stammt der Futuwwa-Erlass des Kalifen an-Nāsīr vom Jahre 604/1207, den ich in der Max Freyherrn von OPPENHEIM gewidmeten Festschrift, Berlin 1933, p. 52-58 veröffentlicht habe.

enthaltenen Texte irgend wie zusammenhängen, hatte RITTER richtig gesehen. Er konnte aber auf grund der Ausführungen von THORNING nicht ahnen, wie nahe die beiden Texte einander stehn. Es liegt hier offenbar so, dass el-Ämülî den in der Tübinger Handschrift enthaltenen Text vor sich gehabt und weithin als seine Quelle benutzt hat.

Mein Beitrag zur Jacob-Festschrift veranlasste RITTER sich die Tübinger Handschrift etwas näher anzusehn, auf grund von Photographien, die ich ihm zusandte. Er hat dabei die Erfahrung gemacht, dass der Tübinger Text erheblich schwieriger ist als es zunächst den Anschein hat. Er habe einige Stellen mit Ismâ'îl Efendi durchgesprochen, weil sie doch nicht klar genug gewesen seien, so schrieb er mir aus Bebek am 26. Juni 1932, und er machte in seinem Briefe eine Anzahl von Verbesserungsvorschlägen, die im wesentlichen zu recht bestehn. Die Schwierigkeiten dieses Textes beruhen einmal auf den juristisch formulierten Darlegungen über die Futuwwa, die nicht immer ganz einfach sind, sodann aber in dem Umstande, dass der Abschreiber der Tübinger Handschrift den Text oft missverstanden hat. Eine Neubearbeitung meines Artikels aus der Jacob-Festschrift erwies sich als notwendig.

Für diese Neubearbeitung bot der Brief RITTERS die eine Grundlage. Ich war sehr froh dass er mit meinen Büchern im Jahre 1948 wieder in meinen Besitz gelangt ist. Ausserdem war es mir möglich, diesen Text mit TAKREDDİN AR-HIRARİ durchzusprechen, dem alten Freunde aus der Bonner Zeit. Ein Futuwwa Text war der erste arabische Text gewesen, der uns beschäftigt hatte, als HIRARİ im Herbst 1936 nach Bonn kam, nämlich das Futuwwa-Kapitel aus der Einleitung zu Birünî's Steinbuch *Kitâb al-ğamâbir fi ma'rifat al-ğawâbir*, nach den Handschriften Kaisarije, Rasit Ef. 476 und Istanbul, Serai 2045, die auch heute noch, nachdem der von KRENKOW besorgte Druck des Buches in Haiderahad 1355/1936 erschienen ist, für jede wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit diesem Text unentbehrlich sein werden. Die 14 Tage, die es uns gekostet hat, diesen kurzen, aber schwierigen Text wirklich zu verstehn, sind nicht vergeßlich gewesen. Die von uns damals festgestellte Übersetzung des Birünî-Textes ist von FRANZ TAESCHNER mit dem arabischen Original veröffentlicht worden (*Islam* XXIV, 1937, 69-74). Wir haben ihm beides zur Verfügung gestellt, weil er Birünî's Ausführungen bei seinem Artikel über Şifîmum und Futuwwa verwerten wollte. Für HIRARİ ist unsere gemeinsame Arbeit in so fern wichtig geworden, weil sie ihm die Anregung gab, nun seinerseits die Einleitung zu Birünî's

Steinbuch vorzunehmen und sie in der Art, wie wir das begonnen hatten, zu bearbeiten. Mit dieser Arbeit ist er unter RICHARD HARTMANN in Berlin im Jahre 1941 zum Dr. phil. promoviert worden. Sein Buch *Die Einleitung zu el-Birünî's Steinbuch, mit Erläuterungen überetzt* (Sammlung Orientalistischer Arbeiten, Heft 7, Leipzig 1941) ist eine ausgezeichnete wissenschaftliche Leistung.

Als Professor HIRARİ mich im August 1954 in England besuchte, haben wir den in der Tübinger Handschrift enthaltenen Futuwwa-Text eingehend durchgesprochen, und die unten gegebene Übersetzung der Kapitel 6 und 7 des Textes (fols 31-60 der Handschrift) ist als ein weiteres Ergebnis unser gemeinsamen Arbeit zu werten. Es war ein glückliches Zusammentreffen, dass bei der Durchsicht unser Übersetzung Professor ZEKİ VALİDİ TOĞAN aus Istanbul, ein anderer von den prominenten Freunden der Bonner Zeit, zugegen war. Er war sehr interessiert für diesen Text und konnte noch verschiedene Vorschläge zu seinem Verständnis von sich aus machen.

Der Verfasser des Buches führt in seiner Einleitung aus, er habe gesehen dass die Leute, vornehme und geringe, begierig gewesen seien Nachrichten über die Futuwwa zu haben. Sie sei der eigentliche Gesprächsstoff gewesen, zumal in der Zeit, da der Kalife en-Näsir ihre Satzungen und Vorschriften habe aufheben lassen. Der habe gesammelt was zerstreut war von ihren Ordnungen und habe aufgebaut was zerstört war von ihren Regeln. Ihm hätten alle nachgeheifert, in der Überzeugung, dass mit ihm übereinstimmen Gewinn, von ihm abweichen Verlust sei. Die Liebe zu ihm und die Ehre ihm zu dienen habe ihn, den Verfasser, dazu veranlasst, zu seinem Dienste dies Buch zu verfassen und das Edelste an Vorschriften über Futuwwa und Muruwwa darin einzutragen, in einer Weise, in der ihm niemand vorgegangen sei.

Die zehn Kapitel des Buches haben folgenden Inhalt:

1. (fol. 5r) Anwendung des Ausdruckes *futuwwa* nach Sprache und Gesetz.
2. (fol. 8r) Ihr Sinn, ihre Herkunft, Stellung im Gesetz, Verhältnis zu Muruwwa, Ubuwwa, den Gebräuchen bei den Derwischen und den Handwerkern.
3. (fol. 13v) Etwa 30 Aussagen über das Wesen von *futuwwa* und *fati*.
4. (fol. 18r) Bedingungen für Futuwwa, an richtigen und vollkommenen Bestimmungen.
5. (fol. 21v) Korrekte und inkorrekte Futuwwa, was sie beseitigt und was sie verringert.

6. (fol. 31v) Etwa 24 Spezialausdrücke, über die man sich bei den *fatās* geeinigt hat.

7. (fol. 50v) Art und Weise des *fatā*, Aufnahmegesuch, Zusammenkünfte, Einladung, Predigt bei der Aufnahme, Bindung, Vollendung, Trunk.

8. (fol. 60v) Sinn und Weisheit von Bindung und Vollendung, Wasser und Salz.

9. (fol. 62v) Etwa 200 Eigenschaften zu denen man gemahnt oder vor denen man gewarnt wird.

10. (fol. 65v) Geschichten edler früherer *fatā* und Aussagen unwissender Späterer und der Neuerungen, die sie eingeführt haben.

Bei der Erörterung des Ursprungs der *futuwwa* hat der Verfasser die elf auf Selmān el-Fārisi folgenden Träger der Futuwwa aufgeführt. Er fährt dann fort (10v):

So wurde die *futuwwa* weiter übertragen, und so fort, bis auf unsere Zeit, da sie sich verzweigte und sich entwickelte zu *bair*, *birḡb*, *gabilas*, wie die *Rabbāṣīya*, die *Ṣubānīya*, die *Ḥālibīya*, die *Mawābiḡīya* und die *Nebawīya*, auf Grund dessen was sich unter ihnen an Uneinigkeit entwickelt hatte. Jeder von ihnen wandte sich einer Ansicht zu, und sie fällten Entscheidungen über die Absetzung solcher, mit denen sie nicht verhandeln wollten und gingen über zu solchen die *abkar*, d. i. überhaupt nicht *fatā* waren. Als sie nun nicht nach den Vorschriften der *futuwwa* sich richteten und nicht nach dem Beispiel der edlen Vorfahren und deren Methoden, ward viel die Verschiedenheit unter ihnen und man sagte (Versmass *mugḡīḡ*):

„Die Leute unterscheiden sich von einander und

Über einstimmung herrschte bei ihnen nur noch  
Beim Verderben und der verschiedenen Art beim Verderben.“

Als das nun zu der Zeit unsers Herrn und Meisters gelangte, des Imām an-Nāṣir Ḥidnillāh, des Beherrschers der Gläubigen — mögen Gottes Segnungen über ihn kommen — da richtete er seine volle Aufmerksamkeit und seine gründliche Prüfung auf die verwandtschaftliche Beziehung *nashb*. Er erwähnte zum *kebir* in der *futuwwa* den edlen, der Askese geweihten frommen, glückseligen Schaiḡh ‘Abd al-Ġabbār b. Ṣāliḡ al-Baġhdādī — Gott erbarme sich seiner — mit Rücksicht auf das was in Wirklichkeit bei ihm war an Schönheit des Lebenswandels und der *Tarīqa*.”

Nun wird die Genealogie der *futuwwa* zurückgeführt von dem Kalifen an-Nāṣir bis zum Propheten, und er fährt fort:

„Danach bemühten sich die Leute Ehre zu erlangen durch den Anschluss an ihn, wegen dessen was ihn auszeichnete an prophetischen Anlagen und reinen, rechtschaffenen Eigenschaften, sodass er durch seine Güte die Leute des Landes fesselte und mit seiner Liebe die Herzen der Menschen tränkte, und sie zu seiner Ehrung in Scharen herbeiliefen und in seine Partei *birḡb* in Mengen eintraten — Gott lasse uns die Dauer seiner Herrschaft geniessen, um Muhammeds und der Seinen willen!“

Diese Ausführungen des Verfassers zeigen mit aller Deutlichkeit, dass er selber ein Zeitgenosse des Kalifen an-Nāṣir war, und dass es sich bei den oben erwähnten Abzweigungen der Futuwwa um solche handelt, die zur Zeit des Kalifen bereits vorhanden waren und deren Überwindung der eigentliche Zweck der Reorganisation gewesen war.

Das in der Tübinger Handschrift erhaltene Werk des Ibn al-‘Amrī bietet alle wesentlichen Charakterzüge dieser Futuwwa so klar und deutlich, wie wir das nur wünschen können. Die wesentlichen Bestimmungen finden sich in Kapitel 6 und 7 des Werkes. Ich gebe die Übersetzung dieser beiden Kapitel im wesentlichen so, wie ich sie mit Professor HIRARI festgestellt habe. Die hier erhaltenen Bestimmungen sind die Grundlage für die weitere Entwicklung dieser *futuwwa* für die Zukunft gewesen. Sie ist deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung, und wird diese Bedeutung immer behalten. Professor T. HIRARI beachtigt, jetzt den arabischen Text in Baghdād zu veröffentlichen.

#### DAS SECHSTE KAPITEL

Über die Ausdrücke, über deren Anwendung man sich bei den *fatās* geeinigt hat. Es sind etwa 24 Ausdrücke.

Das Haus *bair* (1), die Verwandtschaft *nisbe* (2), die Partei *birḡb* (3), der Vorsteher *kebir* (4), der Grossvater *ġadl* (5), der Meister *ḡa’im* (6), der Kamerad *reḡīq* (7), der Weggenosse *muābīl* (8), der dessen *fatā*-Sein aufgehört hat *dekeis* (9), der welcher nie *fatā* war *biker* (10), der zu Unrecht Übergetretene *naḡīl* (11), der Stellvertreter *wakeil* (12), der Beauftragte *naḡīb* (13), die Bindung *ḡadl* (14), die Vollendung *tekmīl* (15), der Trunk *ṣurḡ* (16), der Gedankenaustausch *muḡāḡara* (17), der Übertritt *naḡla* (18), die Übergehung *ta’ṣīr* (19), der Ausschluss *abḡ* (20), der Austritt *ranyj* (21), der Fehler *‘aib* (22), das Gerichtsverfahren *muḡāḡama* (23), die Schenkung *hiba* (24).

Die Ausführung über das Haus *bair* (1)

Das ist die Bezeichnung einer Gruppe, die sich durch eine ihr besonders zukommende Eigenschaft oder sie besonders charakterisierende Ansicht auszeichnet, wie man sagt *baī ar-Rabbāī* und *baī aš-Šubāna*.

Die Ausführung über die Verwandtschaft *nīsh* (2)

Das ist die Zugehörigkeit des *fatā* zu seinem *kebir* und seinen *āghāl*, wie die Verwandtschaft unter den Kindern zu den Stämmen *qabā'il* und Sippen *'ašā'ir*.

Die Ausführung über die Partei *hizb* (3)

Das ist die Bezeichnung für Leute, die sich auf eine Person beziehen, wie *hizb el-wahād*. Der Unterschied zwischen *hizb* und *baī* ist, dass die *hizbs* übereinstimmen und mit einander verhandeln, während die *baīs* verschiedenen sind und nicht mit einander verhandeln. Es gibt verschiedene *hizbs* in einem *baī*.

Die Ausführung über den Vorsteher *kebir* (4)

[32v] Er ist wie der Vater in der Verwandtschaft, der dem man zutrinkt ohne Vermittlung. Den der ihm zutrinkt, nennt man seinen Sohn. Der Name *kebir* wird auch angewandt auf den Meister der Leute *qā'im el-qann*, man nennt ihn auch Häuptling *kāh*, Vormann *mugādām*, Leiter *qā'id*, Kontrahent *'aqīl*, Vater *ab*, Parteihaupt *ra's el-hizb*, Hausvorsteher *kebir el-baī*, Meister der Leute *qā'im el-qann*. Er ist, dessen Ansicht man dem Brauche gemäss folgt. Es ist erwünscht, dass er die *fatās* von Zeit zu Zeit mit Mahnungen versteht, sie beobachtet, sie auf die Vorzüge der *futuwwa* und ihre Bedingungen hinweist.

Die Ausführung über den Grossvater *ğād* (5)

Er ist der *kebir* des *kebir*. Die Bezeichnung wird für den nahen und fernem Grossvater in der Verwandtschaft gebraucht.

Die Ausführung über den Kameraden *refīq* (7)

Das ist eine Bezeichnung, die zutrifft für alle, die in einem *baī* als *refīq* zu einander gehören. 'Sein *refīq* von seiner Hand' ist der der ihm zutrinkt ohne Vermittlung und ohne *maqīl*. Es ist gleich ob sein Eintritt in die *fatā*-Gemeinschaft durch die Hand des *kebir* oder durch den *wakeīl* geht. Er und der Sohn sind eins. Nicht steht es jedem *kebir* oder Sohn frei, gegen seinen Genossen *jāhīl* unter denen die ihn zum *fatā* machen, oder auf die er sich bezieht, Einwendungen zu erheben, so lange er nicht einen Fehler festgestellt hat.

Die Ausführung über die Rechte der *refīqs* gegen einander.

Das Recht des *kebir* gegen den *sağīr* (Untergebenen) besteht darin, dass er seiner Anweisung folgt und seinem Befehle gehorcht und ihm nicht in Dingen widerspricht, die nicht Ungehorsam gegen Gott sind. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Kein Gehorsam gebührt dem Geschöpf im Ungehorsam gegen Gott den Schöpfer.

Zu seinem Rechte gehört, dass er das ihm Zutrinken nicht überhaupt abschneidet, dass er mit ihm Freundschaft schliesst, ihn zuerst begrüsst, unterhalb von ihm sitzt, ihm die einem Vater gebührende Hochachtung zollt, ihm gehorsamer ist als sein Sohn und folgsamer als sein Schatten, dass er seine Verhältnisse beobachtet; für seine Bedürfnisse sorgt, nach seiner Lage fragt, in Zuneigung für ihn und in Fürsorge um ihn, wie der Vater mit seinem Sohne handelt, dass er ihn leitet mit seiner Einsicht, ihn abhält, von dem, was ihn unreinigt und ihn erzieht in guten Sitten.

Das Recht aller *refīqs* gegen einander.

Die Beratung, die Hilfe, die Unterstützung, dass er ihm antwortet, wenn er ihn ruft, dass er ihm nicht den Überschwung von seinem Vermögen vorenthält, wenn er dessen bedarf, dass er Rache für ihn nimmt, wenn ihm Unrecht geschieht, oder dass er auslittet oder ihn vertritt in dem was er wünscht für seine Familie, wenn er fern ist. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Der Gläubige ist der Bruder des Gläubigen. Der Gläubige ist für den Gläubigen wie ein Bau, bei dem eins das andere stützt und es zwischen seinen Fingern verflocht. Und er hat gesagt: Die Gläubigen sind wie ein einziger Körper. Wenn eins seiner Glieder leidet, so leidet der ganze Körper. Dem *refīq* zu helfen ist [34r] Pflicht. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Hilf deinem Bruder, ob er Unrecht tut oder Unrecht leidet. Das hat er erklärt: Die Hilfe für den, der Unrecht tut, ist, dass du ihn abhältst von seinem Unrecht tun. Er soll seinen Fehler bedecken, ihn (Gott) bitten sein Strauchen zu verzeihen, seinen Fehltritt zu vergeben, seine Mangelhaftigkeit nicht zu verfolgen. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Wer dem Fehler seines Bruders nachgeht, dessen Fehler geht Gott nach. Wer ihn schädigt, den schädigt Gott. Wer Schwierigkeiten macht, dem macht Gott Schwierigkeiten. Wer (einen Fehler) hören lässt, von dem lässt Gott einen Fehler hören. Wer für einen Muslim eine Sorge löst, für den löst Gott eine von den Sorgen am Tage der Auferstehung. Wer einen Muslim in dieser Welt bedeckt, den wird Gott in jener Welt bedecken. Gott hört nicht auf einem Knechte zu helfen, solange der Knecht in

der Hilfe seines Bruders steht. Es ist verpönt, dass er seinem *refīq* etwas aufbürdet, was ihm Schwierigkeit macht, und wenn er ihn um etwas Weltliches bittet, so nur bei einer Notwendigkeit die ihn trifft *maqālat* *bihi*.

[34v] §. Er soll nicht über ihn hören die Rede böser Verleumder und solcher, die sich bemühen um verpönte Dinge. Gott hat gesagt (49,6): Wenn ein Übeltäter mit einer Nachricht zu euch kommt, seid vorsichtig. Sonst wird er Leute in Unwissenheit überfallen, sodass ihr bedauern werdet, was ihr getan habt.

Zum Recht des *refīq* gehört, dass man ihm den Gruss sagt. Es ist verdienstlicher, dass man es zuerst tut und die Erwidmung ist Pflicht. Gott hat gesagt (4,88): Wenn man euch begrüsst, so grüsst mit einem schöneren Gruss oder gebt ihn zurück! Er soll ihm Gutes wünschen, wenn er niest, ihn besuchen, wenn er krank ist, seiner Leiche folgen, wenn er gestorben ist. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Dem Muslim liegen dem Muslim gegenüber sechs Dinge zum Guten ob: Er soll ihn begrüßen, wenn er ihn trifft, er soll ihm antworten, wenn er ihn ruft, er soll ihm Gutes wünschen, wenn er niest, er soll ihn besuchen, wenn er krank ist, er soll seiner Leiche folgen, wenn er gestorben ist, und er soll ihm willfahren in dem, was er für sich selber wünscht.

[35r] Zu seinem Rechte gehört weiter:

Er soll vermeiden, sich ihm gegenüber etwas zu schulden kommen zu lassen, er soll ihn nicht hassen, ihn nicht beneiden, ihn nicht beschimpfen, ihn nicht betrügen, nicht Hassgefühle gegen ihn hegen. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Jeder Muslim ist dem Muslim verboten hinsichtlich seines Blutes, seines Vermögens, seiner Ehre. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Der Muslim ist der Bruder des Muslim. Nicht soll er ihm Unrecht tun, ihn nicht ausliefern, ihm nicht Hilfe verweigern, ihn nicht verachten. In den massgebenden Traditionsbüchern *ṣiḥāḥ* heisst es: Hütet euch zu denken, denn das ist das Lügnerischste an Ḥadīth. Nicht spioniert gegen einander, nicht überbietet einander, nicht beneidet euch gegenseitig, nicht hasset euch, nicht wendet euch den Rücken zu, nicht macht euch Konkurrenz! Seid Diener Gottes als Brüder. Der Prophet hat verboten, dass der Mann sich weigert, mehr als drei (Tage) mit seinem Bruder zu reden. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Die Tore des Paradieses werden geöffnet sein jeden Montag und Donnerstag, und Gott wird jedem Knechte und jeder Magd verzeihen, so weit sie nicht Gott etwas beigegeben, ausser dem der sich abschliesst und mit seinem Bruder zankt. Gott sagt (?): Wartet diese zwei ab, bis sie sich versöhnen.

[35v] Zu den Eigenschaften der Kameradschaft *riḥqa* und Freundschaft *ṣiḥba* gehört, dass du nicht viel machen sollst (den Besuch) beim *refīq*, weil er sich von dir gelangweilt fühlen könnte. Der Prophet hat zu Abū Huraira gesagt: Besuch in Abständen, so vermehrest du Liebe. Darüber gibt es einen Vers:

Mach nicht viel (den Besuch) bei einem Freunde  
Man langweilt sich nur bei dem der häufig kommt.

Und weiter:

Besuche den du liebst in jedem Monat nicht mehr als einen Tag  
und nicht vermehre es bei ihm.

Das Erscheinen des Neumonds sucht man im Monat nur einen Tag, dann achten die Augen nicht mehr auf ihn.

Ein anderer hat gesagt:

Achte darauf den Besuch selten zu machen! Denn er könnte,  
wenn er andauert, zur Meidung führen.

Die Ausführung über den Weggenossen *musābil* (8)

das gehört zu den Namen der Zusammengehörigkeit *muḍājiḡa*. Er ist der gleiche im Range mit seinem *musābil*, sie beide sind wie zwei Söhne *ka-bnān*, die einem *kebir* zutrinken, sie beide sind gleich.

[36r] Es wird auch angewandt auf den der gleich ist in der Zahl der Grossväter, wie der Sohn des Vatersbruders, der gleich ist dem Sohn des andern Vatersbruders.

Die Ausführung über den *dekiṣ* (9) und über den *biker* (10)

*el-dekiṣ* ist der welcher *fatā* war und jetzt nicht mehr *fatā* ist, und *el-biker* ist der welcher überhaupt nicht in die *futuwwa* eingetreten ist. Das ist der Unterschied zwischen den beiden.

*Notabene*: Kein Unterschied ist bei seinem *dekiṣ*-Sein dazwischen, ob er ausgeschlossen worden ist oder ausgetreten ist. Ebenso bei dem *biker*. Kein Unterschied besteht dazwischen, ob er es ursprünglich ist, oder ob er zutrinkt dem, von dem er annimmt, dass er ihn zum *fatā* macht zum zweiten Male, beim Hinfällig-werden des ersten. Ihm kommt der Name der *bikāra* zu, so lange nicht der Übertritt vollzogen ist *mā lam jantagil*.

§. Muss der welcher den *dekiṣ* zum *fatā* macht, darauf achten, ob er ausgeschlossen ist oder ausgetreten ist, und ob das mit Recht geschehen ist oder nicht? Dabei gibt es zwei Ansichten.

§. Wenn er weiss dass er im Rechte war bei seinem Austritt,

oder dass ihm Unrecht geschah bei seinem Ausschluss, so macht er ihm zum *fatā*.

§. Wenn er weiss, dass er ausgetreten ist ohne Recht, so erachte ich ihn nicht für geeignet zur *futuwwa*.

§. Wenn er aber ausgeschlossen ist mit Recht, so sollst du dabei den Fehler beachten. Wenn er zu denen gehört, dessen Beseitigung möglich ist, und bei der Lage des Muslim ist klar (die Möglichkeit) des Ablassens von Fehlern, so soll er ihn zum *fatā* machen. Wenn er aber weiss, dass er dabei beharren wird, so empfiehlt er ihm Gutes zu tun und lässt ihn hoffen.

#### Die Ausführung über den *naqīl* (11)

Er ist in Wirklichkeit der, welcher den Übertritt vollzogen hat von seinem *kebir* oder seinem *ḡadd*. Im gewöhnlichen Sprachgebrauch wird der Ausdruck angewandt auf den, der den Übertritt vollzogen hat ohne Recht. Und der Übertritt geschieht einmal von *bait* zu *bait* und von *birḡ* zu *birḡ* und vom *kebir* zum *ḡadd* und er kann stattfinden mit Recht und ohne Recht.

Was anlangt den Übertritt von *bait* zu *bait*:

[37f] §. Wenn der Übertretende *nāqīl* an die Hinfalligkeit des *bait* glaubt, von dem der Übertritt vollzogen werden soll, so ist der Übertritt *naqīl* erlaubt und der Übertretene ist *biker*.

§. Wenn er stattfinder von *birḡ* zu *birḡ*, so ist er nicht erlaubt, weil sie beide zu einem *bait* gehören, wobei jeder einzelne von ihnen an die Korrektheit seines Genossen glaubt, es sei denn dass es geschieht in der Art des Überlassens *muḡīl* oder der Schenkung *hiḡa*.

§. Wenn sich aber die *birḡs* in den Glaubensansichten *maḡāhib* unterscheiden und nicht in Gedanken austausch stehn, *yuhāzīn*, so gelten sie wie die *baits*.

§. Der Übertritt ohne Recht steht nicht frei. Und der mit Recht? Da besteht nur die Möglichkeit, entweder dass der Fehler beim *kebir* oder beim *saḡīr* liegt.

§. Wenn der Fehler beim *kebir* liegt, so übergeht er ihn und trinkt seinem *ḡadd* zu — nach dem was von der Gewohnheit der *fatās* bekannt ist.

§. Wenn der Fehler bei dem Sohne *ibn* liegt, so haben wir schon darauf hingewiesen, dass er nachsehen muss, ob der Fehler bleibt oder vorübergeht, und haben oben das Urteil darüber angeführt.

Die Ausführung über den Stellvertreter *wakeil* (12)

[37v] Der *wakeil* ist der, dem ausdrücklich das Recht zum selb-

ständigen Vorgehn in einer Handlung übertragen ist, deren Ausführung dem, der zum *wakeil* macht *muwakeil*, freisteht, mit der Einwilligung dessen der zum *wakeil* gemacht ist *mutawakeil* und unter der Voraussetzung, dass er dafür geeignet ist, so ist er wie der Bevollmächtigte *nā'ib* und der dem die Befugnis erteilt ist *el-maḡān labn*, und es ziemt sich dass er zu den vollkommensten *atamm* der *fatās* gehört, nach Verstand und Handeln.

§. Hat die Arbeit des *wakeil* der beauftragt ist *al-muwakeil* einen Termin *aḡāl*? Bei manchen Leuten, nicht bei andern. Die Beauftragung *wikeāla* kann in einer besonderen Sache bestehen, wie wenn er ihn beauftragte mit dem *ḡadd* eines Menschen oder seinem *tekmīl*, und allgemein, wie wenn er ihn an seiner eignen Stelle einsetzte in allem was ihm obliegt und was er tut an *ḡadd* und *tekmīl* und Bekleidung *libs* als Anfang für den welchen er (zum *fatā* machen) will und dem Ausschluss *abḡ* und dem Austritt *ramj* und der Gerichtsverhandlung *muḡākama* und der Feststellung des Fehlers und des Übersehens von ihm, des Verlangens nach Beweisen und des Übertretens *naql* der *refjgs*, des Überlassens von ihnen *muḡīl* *anḡam*, des Ersatzes für sie *mu'awida* *biḡim*, ihrer Rückführung *radḡibim* und dergleichen.

[38f] §. Steht es dem *wakeil* frei einen zum *wakeil* zu machen? Wenn ihm die Erlaubnis gegeben wird, ja, und wenn nicht *wa'illā*, so soll man zusehn. Wenn nämlich das worin er zum *wakeil* gemacht wird, nicht zu der Angelegenheit des *wakeil* gehört, der ihn (dazu) macht, so ist es erlaubt, und wenn nicht, dann nicht.

§. Erforderlich ist dass der *wakeil* von denen ist, denen diese Handlung im allgemeinen erlaubt ist. Darum kann man nicht eine Frau zum *wakeil* in der *futuwwa* machen.

§. Ist es erlaubt einen Nicht-*fatā* zum *wakeil* in der *futuwwa* zu machen? Der Konvention nach: Nein. Es ist möglich, dass seine *wikeāla* zu Recht besteht, wenn er für die *futuwwa* geeignet ist, durch den Auftrag der *fatās*. Wenn nicht, so nicht. Wie wenn der Richter einen Unwissenden zum Urteilspruch bevollmächtigen würde.

§. Dem *wakeil* steht die Absetzung seines *wakeil* frei wann er will. §. Dem ohne Honorar arbeitenden *wakeil* steht sein eignen Rücktritt ebenfalls frei.

§. Wenn du willst dass sie (die *wikeāla*) dauernd ist, so muss jeder einzelne, *wakeil* und *muwakeil* für sich selber bezeugen, dass er, wenn er zurücktritt von jener *wikeāla*, zurückkehrt zu dem womit er sich zuvor einverstanden erklärt hat.

[38v] §. Und das Tun das stattfinder nach *ba'ḡ* der Absetzung ist unglücklich.

§. Die Anerkennung des *wekił* und seine Bestätigung verpflichtet nicht den Beauftragenden *muwakił*.

Die Ausführung über den Beauftragten *naqib* (13)

Das ist der welcher eingesetzt ist *mansib* von seiten des *qā'im al-qawm* als Vermittlung zwischen den *fatās*. Er ist der Redner *baṭib* der Leute, und der anregt unter ihnen zu guten Taten; so ist er wie der Dolmetsch *karḡumān* und ihm liegen Handlungen ob, die dir auseinandergesetzt werden sollen bei unser Ausführung über die Art und Weise *kaṭfiyat* des *fatā*.

§. Ist es dem *naqib* möglich dass er einen Stellvertreter ernennet *istamihā*? Ja!

§. Ist es erlaubt einen Nicht-*fatā* zum *naqib* zu machen? Dabei gibt es zwei Ansichten: Nein, und Ja, wenn er geeignet, den *fatās* genehm ist.

§. Das Wünschenswerte ist, dass er zu ihnen gehört, weil er sie ermahnen soll zum Festhalten an der *futuwwa*, und das Angemessenere [39r] *aḡḡār* ist dass er zuerst sich selber aufruft. Gott hat gesagt (2.41): Wollt ihr den Leuten Frömmigkeit anempfehlen und vergesst euch selber? Und er hat gesagt (11.90): Und nicht will ich euch widersprechen in dem, was ich euch verbiere.

Die Ausführung über die Bindung *ṣadl* (14)  
und die Vollendung *tekmil* (15)

Der *ṣadl* ist der Anfang für den Bund *'ahd* und seine Knüpfung und der Grund seines Eintritts in die *futuwwa*, und der *tekmil* ist die Vollendung des *'ahd* und sein Abschluss, und der Stellung des *ṣadl* und des *tekmil* entspricht bei der Heirat (der Stellung des Ehekontrakts, ergänze: *bi-muwāḥilat al-jamā'in*) und dem Eintritt bei der Frau. Der *ṣadl* ist wie der Ehekontrakt und der *tekmil* wie der Eintritt bei der Frau. Und die Bekleidung *ihṣr*, wenn sie auch erlaubt ist ohne vorangehen von *ṣadl* ist auch ein *ṣadl*.

Definition *hadd*: Der mit *ṣadl* Versehene *makāhid* ist der welchem bei Eingehen des *futuwwa*-Verhältnisses etwas gegeben wird, womit seine Taille gebunden wird, damit er erprobt und geprüft wird und danach mit dem *tekmil* versehen wird.

Eine weitere Definition *wa-hadd*: Der mit *tekmil* Versehene *al-makām* ist der, dem die Hosen *serāwīl* oder die Waffen *silāḥ* gegeben werden, sei es nach einem *ṣadl*, oder als Anfang des Geeignetseins [39v] dazu bei dem *kebir*.

§. Kein Unterschied ist beim *ṣadl* dazwischen ob er mit einem

Lederriemens *sarī* oder einem Tuche *menhīl* oder mit etwas anderm vorgekommen wird.

§. Verpönt ist was dem (bei den Christen üblichen) Gürtel *qaymār* ähnelt.

§. Das Gebräuchliche beim *tekmil* liegt in den Hosen *serāwīl*.

§. Erlaubt ist es auch mit etwas anderm an Kleidung und Waffen.

§. Wird der *tekmil* als erster Akt vollzogen, so ist die Gewohnheit, dass der *ṣadl* kurz vor seiner Bekleidung (doch noch) vollzogen wird.

§. Es ist erwünscht dass der *kebir* die *serāwīl* angezogen oder seinen Fuss hineingesetzt hat um sie mit seinen Knien zu berühren — ebenso wie den Tucherzen *birqa* von seiten des Schach (bei den Derwischen).

§. Es ist erwünscht dass man lange aufbewahrt was man (an Kleidungsstücken) bei sich hat. Einige der Früheren pflegten ihre *serāwīl* aufzubewahren, damit die Leute dadurch Heilung fänden.

§. Worauf es bei der Knüpfung der *futuwwa* ankommt, ist der Bund *'ahd* und die Übereichung von etwas was der Mann bei sich tragen kann und was normalerweise bleibt, und was ausserdem ist an *ṣadl* [40r] und Kleidung *ihṣr* und Trunk *ṣarb*, und das sind die zu billigen Gebräuche der *fatās*.

§. Die Bedingung bei der Knüpfung der *futuwwa* wird eingeteilt in etwas Nichtiges *lāḡin*, dessen Durchführung nicht erlaubt ist, wie das Mitwirken beim Blutvergiessen ohne Recht und dergleichen, und in etwas was man für gut hält im Gesetz und im Verstand, wie das Eintreten mit dem *reḡīf* in das Ertragen von Mühen, das Zahlen von Schulden und dergleichen.

Die Ausführung über die Fragen des *ṣadl* (14) und des *tekmil* (15)

Wenn der Sohn dem Vater gegenüber behauptet, dass er sein *fatā* sei, und der *kebir* das nicht zugibt und niemand dabei Zeuge war, trotzdem die Möglichkeit dazu bestand und der welcher den Anspruch auf die *futuwwa* erhebt, geeignet ist, so ist es nicht erlaubt ihm der Lüge zu zeihen, weil die Möglichkeit des Vergessens und der Richtigkeit in seinem Anspruch besteht, weil ihr (der *futuwwa*) letztes Ziel doch nur die Beziehung zu dem *kebir* sein kann. So ist es als ob jemand sagte: Ich habe Busse getan auf die Hände des Schach NN und der Schach [40v] erinnert sich nicht daran, und wie wenn er überliefert einen *Ḥadīth* und der ursprüngliche Überlieferer die von ihm ausgehende Überlieferung vergessen hat. Dementspre-

chend berichtet man, dass Rabī'a überliefert habe eine Überlieferung von ez-Zuhri und ez-Zuhri sich an die Überlieferung nicht entsinnen kann. So pflegte ez-Zuhri später zu sagen: Überliefert hat mir Rabī'a von mir, dass ich ihm das und das überliefert habe, ohne dass das eine Kritik gegen den Überlieferer bedingt. So steht es auch mit dem, der die *fatmawa* beansprucht.

§. Wenn nun der *kebir* einen Anspruch auf die *fatmawa* erhebt und der *sağır* es leugnet, so ist das wie wenn einer den Besitz eines Sklaven beansprucht, ohne dass dieser es zugibt. Der Unterschied zwischen diesem und dem ersten ist, dass der *sağır* unter die Entscheidung des *kebir* eintritt, aber nicht ebenso der *kebir*.

§. Wenn er anerkennt dass er *fata* ist und der *sağır* den *tekemil* leugnet und er dazu fähig ist, so gibt man ihm den *tekemil*.

§. Wenn der *kebir* den *tekemil* leugnet und der *sağır* ihn beansprucht, und dafür geeignet ist, so nimmt man es von ihm an und lässt ihn auf dem eingeschlagenen Wege weiter gehen *harrika mā ma'abu*.

[41r] §. Wenn zwei den Anspruch erheben und jeder einzelne von ihnen sagt: Zaid ist mein *refiq*, und Zaid dann sagt: Ich bin der *refiq* von einem der beiden, aber weiss nicht wer es ist, so wird zwischen ihnen beiden gewählt, und man lässt ihn auf dem eingeschlagenen Wege weiter gehen. Sind sie beide gleich in seiner Schätzung, so wird zwischen ihnen gelost.

§. Wenn man ihm *šedd* oder *serāwīl* übergeben hat ohne *nağīb* und ohne Zeugen beim Trunk, so ist es in Ordnung, und die Auskunft ist die Auskunft des Sohnes bei der Leugnung (etwa von Seiten des Vaters).

§. Wenn er dem Zaid zugetrunk hat, ohne zum *fata* gemacht worden zu sein, und mit *šedd* versehen wurde zu 'Amr hin, so ist er der *refiq* des 'Amr.

§. Wenn er mit *šedd* versehen wurde zu Zaid, dann mit Kleidung versehen wurde von 'Amr, so ist er der *refiq* des Zaid.

§. Wenn ihm einer von beiden einen *šedd* dargereicht hat und der andere ihn mit seiner Hand gebunden hat, so ist er der *refiq* des ersten von ihnen beiden.

§. Ist er mit *šedd* versehen worden, ohne geeignet zu sein, wurde geeignet und dann mit *šedd* versehen von einem andern, so ist er der *refiq* des zweiten.

§. Wenn er mit *šedd* versehen wurde als Knabe von *Kalāhid*, dann [41v] mannbar wurde und mit *šedd* versehen wurde zu Bekr hin —: war

er der Mannbarkeit nahe *murāzīq*, so ist er der *refiq* des ersten, wenn er nicht unterscheidungsfähig war *munāzīq*, so ist er der *refiq* des zweiten.

§. Wenn der *munāzīq* zum *fata* gemacht ist und dann mannbar wurde, so lässt man ihn auf dem eingeschlagenen Wege weiter gehen.

§. Wenn der *refiq* einen mit *šedd* versteht, der dem *kebir* nicht genehm ist, so kann der es nicht verhindern.

§. Wenn der *kebir* zu seinem *refiq* sagt: Vollziehe den *šedd* an Zaid, so ist es dem Sohn erlaubt ihn mit *šedd* zu versehen, auch wenn er ihn nicht kennt.

§. Darf er sich weigern, ihn mit *šedd* zu versehen? Nein, aber man kann ihm darin entgegen kommen.

§. Wer mit *šedd* versehen ist, darf mit *šedd* versehen, wen er will. Mit *tekemil* darf nur versehen, wer *tekemil* hat.

§. Hat er mit *tekemil* versehen jemand vor seinem eignen *tekemil*, so wiederholt er nach seinem *tekemil* den *tekemil* seines *refiq*, oder lässt ihn auf dem beschrittenen Wege weiter gehen.

§. Dass einer einem Toten zutrinkt, ist erlaubt. Er bekleidet sich von dessen *wekil*.

§. Hat der keinen *wekil*, so bekleidet er sich von dessen Nachkommen *durjija*, oder von den Machthabern *šif-lamr*, und das ist wie das [42r] Eintreten in die Herrschaft *muk* oder in die Bekenntnisse *mağāzib*, denn es ist das Eingehen einer Verwandtschaft *inriāb* zum Toten und das ihm nachfolgen *igtiāz*. Dem ähnlich ist was die (Detwisch-)schaiße tun mit der Bekleidung mit der *birqa*, und der Einkleidung *tağwīb* in das Gewand von Früheren, die vorangegangen sind.

§. Stirbt der *kebir* und bei dem Sohn liegt ein *šedd* vor, so darf der *wekil* des Toten den *tekemil* des Sohnes vollziehen.

§. Hat er den Zaid mit *šedd* versehen oder mit *serāwīl* bekleidet, nimmt es dann wieder von ihm weg auf dem Wege der Lehgabe oder der Schenkung und macht damit einen andern zum *fata*, so ist das verpönt, aber erlaubt.

Die Ausführung über den Trunk *šurb* (16) und den Gedanken-  
austausch *muhāzara* 17)

Der Trunk gehört zu den Gebräuchen der *fatās fityān*, er ist der Weg *tarīqa*, der die *refiqs* zusammenbringt, dass sie sich an ihre *kebrre* anschliessen und dadurch sich ergibt das gegenseitige Kennenlernen der Parteien *ahṣāb* und die Zuneigung und die Liebe zwischen den

zwei Ansichten. Ebenso wenn er übergeht und dem ersten Grossvater, oder einem Grossvater zutrinkt der dem Vater nicht unmittelbar vorangeht.

§. Nicht ist es dem *refiq* erlaubt, seinen *kebir* zu übergehen mit dem Worte seines Weggenossen oder eines der Leute seines Hauses, da es möglich ist, dass sie ihn verletzt haben durch etwas, was er nicht als Verletzung ansieht, es sei denn, dass der Fehler bei ihm feststeht. Dann ist das Übergehen erlaubt.

Die Ausführung über den Ausschluss *ahā* (20), den Austritt *ramī* (21), den Fehler *'aib* (22), die Aussetzung *waqf* (23), das Gerichtsverfahren *muhākama* (24) und die Schenkung *hiba* (25)

§. Ausschluss und Austritt sind nur gestattet mit Recht und Gerichtsverfahren.

§. Die Stellvertretung *wikāla* ist in beidem gestattet.

§. Es ist erwünscht für ihn, dass es an einsamem Platze geschieht oder in Gegenwart von Zeugen.

§. Nur das Vorhandensein des Fehlers der diesen seinen Zustand aufhebt erlaubt Ausschluss und Austritt.

[45r] §. Seine Bestätigung geschieht durch das Eingeständnis und den Beweis.

§. Der Beweis wird aufgestellt im Angesicht dessen, gegen den Zeugnis abgelegt wird.

§. Ihm steht die Beanstandung der Zeugen zu und man gibt ihm dafür drei Tage Frist.

§. Darf gegen einen *fatā* ein Nicht-*fatā* Zeugnis ablegen? Darüber gibt es zwei Ansichten. Der Konvention nach: Nein.

§. Zeugnis ablegen soll er nur bei etwas was er genau weiss. Der Prophet hat über dergartiges gesagt: So leget Zeugnis ab. Wenn nicht, so nicht! Dabei wies er auf die Sonne.

§. Hat der *kebir* Ausschluss vollzogen oder der *ṣāḡir* Austritt erklärt ohne Recht, so wird es dadurch hinfällig gemacht, und sein Übertritt ist erlaubt.

§. Weiss er einen Fehler, den ausser ihm niemand weiss, so ist weder Ausschluss noch Austritt erlaubt, und nicht soll er bei ihm lassen, und er soll seinen Genossen im Geheimen warnen und nicht öffentlich bekannt machen, was Gott der Erhabene verborgen hat. (24. 16): Siehe die Gefallen daran finden, dass Schändliches ruckbar wird unter den Gläubigen, sollen schwere Strafe empfangen.

[45v] §. Beantragen beide eine Gerichtsverhandlung und stellt

der Sohn gegen den Vater einen Fehler fest, und erklärt ihm gegenüber den Austritt, ist dann für den Rest seiner Kameraden *rafāqa* der Austritt erlaubt? Haben sie sich genau unterrichten lassen über den Beweis und den Fehler, dann Ja! Wenn nicht, dann nicht.

§. Behaupten es nur der Ausschliessende oder der Austretende, so ist das Wort das des Vernehmenden.

§. Wird er dadurch verletzt, wenn die Richtigkeit der Behauptung und ihres Beweises 'mit Recht' nicht deutlich ist? Ja!

§. Stimmen sie beide überein in dem Übergeben dessen was bei ihm ist an seinen Genossen, ohne Fehler und ohne Gerichtsspruch, so ist es unerwünscht gegen seinen Genossen, und das ist gegenseitig.

§. Stellt er in der Abwesenheit einen Fehler fest, ist ihm dann erlaubt das Fortgehen von ihm, als ob er gegenwärtig wäre? Das Zweckmässige ist das Urteil auf das Aussetzen *waqf*, bis dass der Abwesende es hört und zuseht, was er antworten soll.

'Vielleicht hat sie eine Entschuldigung, wo du sie tadelst!'

[46r] §. Sagt der *kebir*: „ich habe ihn ausgeschlossen“, und der *ṣāḡir* sagt: „ich bin bei ihm ausgetreten“, so steht fest ihrer beider Trennung. Aber das braucht keinen Vorwurf gegen die Wahrheit eines von beiden zu enthalten, weil die Aussage für die Wahrheit und die Lüge möglich ist, und er durch eine Möglichkeit nicht verletzt werden kann. Das ist so wie wenn er schwört: 'dieser Vogel ist ein Rabe', und ein anderer schwört, dass es nicht so ist. Und die Sache ist ungewiss, und wir unterschreiben nicht den Eid von ihnen, auch nicht den eines von ihnen.

Was den Fehler *'aib* anlangt so ist unsere Darlegung über seine Arten schon vorangegangen. Zu ihm gehört das was die *fatūwwa* beseitigt und das, was sie unvollkommen macht. — Der Fehler ist das Begehen von etwas Verbotenem, und der Fehlerhafte *ma'ib* ist der welcher es tut.

§. Bei wenn etwas Widerwärtiges nicht offenbar ist — nicht soll er sagen, wer frei von Fehler ist, — gross ist, bei dem kein Fehler ist und hoch erhaben — bei den Unwissenden ist der Fehlerhafte [46v] *ma'ib* der in dessen Familie Frauen sind, die mit Lastern erwähnt werden und der Reine *maṣṭif* ist der welcher rein davon ist, und wir werden das Hässliche dieser Rede am Ende des Buches erwähnen — so Gott, der Erhabene, will.

Die Gerichtsverhandlung *muhākama* gegen den Fehlerhaften *ma'ib* Es ziemt sich dass ihre geheime und ihre öffentliche (Verhandlung)

stattfindet entsprechend dem Zustand des Fehlers, gleichwie die Busse von der Sünde, und es soll sein in Gegenwart der Führer *ra'amā* der *fijān* oder in Gegenwart eines der den Gegnern genehm ist. Und wenn der Fehler eingetreten ist, so ist es nicht möglich ihn aufzuheben zur Zeit der Gerichtsverhandlung oder des Urteilspruches über ihn. Und wenn man darin einig ist dass er (die *futuwwa*) aufhebt:

§. Nicht soll ein Urteil gefällt werden über den *fatā* bis man hört was er zu sagen hat. Der Prophet hat gesagt zu 'Alī: O 'Alī, wenn bei dir die zwei Gegner sitzen, so sollst du nicht für einen von beiden das Urteil sprechen, bis du hörst, was der andere zu sagen hat.

§. Ist die Beseitigung des Fehlers möglich, so soll nachgeprüft [47r] werden, vor der Gerichtsverhandlung. Aber warne im Geheimen und mache es nicht offenbar gegen ihn, nach des Propheten Wort: wer seinen Bruder in der Öffentlichkeit ermahnt, der stellt ihn bloss.

§. Sagt er den Fehler, so lässt man ihn auf den eingeschlagenen Wege weitergehen, als Erneuerung für das Bündnis *'abā*.

§. Hatte man Kenntnis von einem Fehler gestern und weiss nicht ob er jetzt noch besteht, so darf man ihn nicht darob bestrafen, wie es sich nicht gehört ihn zu leugnen. Gott der Erhabene hat gesagt (3.129) 'Und nicht beharren sie auf dem was sie getan haben, wo sie es wussten'. Nicht soll ein Mensch sich täuschen lassen durch das was von ihm galt, nachdem er sich davon entfernt hat. Gott der Erhabene hat gesagt (65.96): 'Gott hat verziehen, was vergangen ist. Art von Entschuldigung oder bestehn Zweifel, so soll auf Aussetzung *waḡf*, nicht auf Aufhören *baylan* (der *futuwwa*) unterschieden werden.

[47v] §. Jeder bei dem auf Aussetzung unterschieden ist, hat Anspruch darauf, dass der Tadel gegen ihn ausgesetzt wird, bis er freigesprochen wird.

§. Ebenso wird ausgesetzt die Angelegenheit der Gerichtsverhandlung und die Feststellung des Beweises, bis dass die Sache klar gestellt ist.

§. Entscheidet der *kaḡīr* die Aussetzung des *ḡaḡīr* wegen eines Zweifels, so ist es gestattet, wenn nicht, dann nicht.

§. Wirft er einen Fehler vor dem, dessen Sache ihn angeht, so sollst du überlegen. Ist er imstande ihn zu beseitigen, so ist er dazu verpflichtet.

§. Steht sein Unvermögen dazu fest, so darf man ihm das nicht zum Vorwurf machen, nach dem Worte Gottes (2.286): 'Gott belastet

eine Seele nur mit dem was sie zu tragen vermag', und (6.164): nicht soll eine belastete Seele die Last einer andern tragen. Gott hat gesagt: (5.104): Auf euch liegen eure Seelen! Die Familie des Muslim mögen Ungläubige sein, ohne dass ihm das schadet (28.56): Du kannst nicht leiten wen du willst.

§. Keine Verpflichtung liegt auf ihm, wenn er dazu imstande ist, ausser sich zu weigern und abzulassen von dem was feststeht. Er soll [48r] nachlässig sein im Bemühen darum, scharf sein im Feststellen, vergehend bei den Entschuldigungen.

§. Verbotten ist ihm die Schädigung einer die mit einem Fehler erwähnt wird, und wenn er es tut, so wird er als Fälscher erwiesen.

§. Ist er nicht imstande es zu hindern, so ist er nur zu der Lossagung *barā'a* verpflichtet. Gott hat gesagt (9.115): 'Als ihm klar wurde, dass er ein Feind Gottes war, sagte er sich von ihm los'. Und er hat gesagt (60.4): Siehe wir sind nicht verantwortlich für euch. Es ist verboten dem Verleumder darin zu glauben.

Zum Propheten pflegte ein Mann zu kommen, der sich selber der Unzucht beschuldigte. Aber er wollte das nicht bei ihm feststellen. In den massgebenden Traditionensammlungen *ṣiḡāḡ* wird vom Propheten überliefert, dass ein Mann vom Stamme Aslam zu ihm kam, der sich selber der Unzucht beschuldigte vier Mal, dass er verbotenen Verkehr mit einer Frau gehabt habe. Bei alledem wandte sich der [48v] Prophet von ihm ab. Da kam er zum fünften Male. Der Prophet sagte: Hast du Verkehr mit ihr gehabt? Er sagte: Ja. Er sagte: Bis dies in jenem verschwand? Er sagte: Ja. Er sagte: So wie das Stäbchen *mirwad* in dem Kuhl-Gefäss *makḡale* verschwindet, und der Strick im Brunnen? Er sagte: Ja. Er sagte: Weisst du was Unzucht ist? Er sagte: Ja. Ich habe mit ihr unertaunter Weise getan was der Mann erlaubter Weise mit seiner Frau tut.

*Mā'iz* kam zu ihm vier Mal indem er zu ihm sagte: Mach mich rein, o Gesandter Gottes! während der Prophet bei jedem Male sagte: Kehre zurück zu Gott, der nahe ist und tue Busse zu ihm, bis er sagte: Er ist verrückt *maḡīn*. Man sagte: Nein! Dann sagte er: er ist betrunken! Da beroch ihn ein Mann, der sagte: Nein! Alles dies geschah zur Stärkung von seiten des Propheten in dieser Sache, um die Leute zu schützen.

Dies mit Bezug auf den, der sich selber bezichtigete, wie steht es [49r] da bei dem der gegen die Ehre der Leute redet!

Der Prophet hat gesagt: Als mit mir gen Himmel gefahren wurde,

kam ich an Leuten in der Hölle vorbei, die Nägel *arfar* von Erz hatten, mit denen sie ihre Gesichter und ihre Brüste zerkratzten. Ich sagte: Wer sind diese, o Bruder Gabriel? Der sagte: Das sind die welche das Fleisch der Menschen essen und über ihre Ehre herfallen. Es ziemt dem *fatā* dass er schön macht seinen Lebenswandel *stratabu* und seine geheime Gedanken und seine Seele von den Fehlern zu reinigen sich bemüht. Wie schön hat der Dichter gesagt:

Nicht habe ich in den Fehlern der Menschen etwas gesehen,  
das unwirksam macht die zur Vollkommenheit fähig sind,  
Steht er auf dem Platze der Verdächtigung, der Vernunungen  
*maqānu* des Zweifels, gegen den sollst du reden.

Man hat dies gesagt: Ob es Wahrheit oder Lüge ist, was ist deine Entschuldigung bei einer Sache, wenn sie einmal ausgesprochen ist? Wer dem Verbotenen nahe kommt, für den fürchtet man.

[49v] Der Prophet hat gesagt: Jeder König hat einen Schutz, der Schutz Gottes ist, was er verboten hat. Wer den Schutzbezirk umkreist, bei dem fehlt wenig dass er hineinfällt, und wenn einer Bussetut von dem was von ihm herrührt, wird es von ihm angenommen. Denn der Mensch ist charakterisiert durch die Unvollkommenheit und es ist Pflicht die Fehler der Brüder *ibwān* zu übersehen *tağīful* und ihnen zu verzeihn.

Die Ausführung über die Schenkung *hiba*.

Verzeih deinem Bruder, wenn er von sich aus vermischt das Richtige mit dem Falschen und wisse, dass du, wenn du einen Makellosen *muhaddab* suchst, etwas Unmögliches verlangst. Wer ist es der nie etwas Schlechtes getan hat und wenn kommt nur das Schönste zu? Wenn einer nicht Verzeihung übt und gegen die Ehre seines Bruders redet, gegen den rede du und mach offenbar seine Fehler.

§. Besteht es zu recht oder nicht? (i. e. die Schenkung eines Sohnes) — nach zwei Ansichten. Die eine von ihnen ist: Es besteht nicht zu recht, nach verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten. Dazu gehört, dass sie [50r] an die Askese glauben lässt bei dem *refīq*. Das zweite, dass sie die Verfügung über einen Freien darstellt. Das dritte, dass sie fordert, dass er sich anschliesst an den *fatā*, den er nicht kennt und nicht schätzt. Und die Ansicht, dass es zu recht besteht: dass der *refīq* gegen seinen Widerwillen hat und ihm nicht möglich ist dass er sich von ihm trennt *infīzāl*. Dann soll er geschickt werden mit der Schenkung zum Übergang *inīzāl*. Das zweite, dass er dauernd einem der *fiṭṭān* folgt und vorzieht, dass dieser sein *kebr* und nach ihm

ein dauerndes Bedürfnis sich einstellt. Dann gelangt er durch die Schenkung zur Erreichung seines Zieles.

§. Geschicht sie (die Schenkung) von *baiz* zu *baiz* in dem der Schenkende oder Geschenke an Unterdrückter glaubt, so ist es nicht erlaubt nach einstimmiger Ansicht. Er würde sein wie einer der einen muslimischen Sklaven einem Ungläubigen schenken würde, denn sein Besitz könnte nicht dauernd sein, nach Übereinstimmung.

§. Und wenn sie geschicht von den Parteien *alḡarāb* aus, so kommen dabei in Betracht drei Bedingungen: Einwilligung des Schenkenden, [50v] und der Geschenken und die Annahme dessen dem geschenkt ist.

§. Die *refīq*s des Geschenken, des Übergebenen *mangūl* und des Übergehenden *mu'abbir* folgen ihm.

§. Erlaubt ist die Schenkung welche austauscht *refīq* um *refīq*. Der Geschenke wird übergeben auf grund dessen was bei ihm ist an *ṣād* und *tekemil*, und es ist erwünscht dass man ihn auf dem eingeschlagenen Wege weiter gehen lässt nach der Übergabe.

#### DAS SIEBENTE KAPITEL

Über die Beschaffenheit des *fatā*, die Beschreibung der Bewerbung *ṭibba*, die Zusammenkunft *ḡāṭimā'*, die Einladung *al'wa*, die Predigt *buḡba*, die Bindung *ṣād*, die Vollendung *tekemil* und den Trunk *ṣarb*  
Was die Bewerbung *ṭibba* anlangt:

§. Sie ist erwünscht, wenn der Bewerber damit das Antlitz Gottes des Erhabenen sucht und die Vereinigung mit den Leuten der Frömmigkeit, [51r] um ihrem Beispiel zu folgen und sich nach ihren guten Sitten zu formen, um dadurch den Aufstieg bei Allāh dem Erhabenen zu erreichen.

§. Es ist verpönt dass sein Suchen auf göttliche und weltliche Dinge geht oder auf ein nichtiges, vergängliches Ziel. Der Prophet hat gesagt: Wer dich liebt um einer vergänglichen Sache willen, (dessen Liebe schwindet) zur Zeit ihres Schwindens.

§. Der an den die Bewerbung gerichtet ist *muḡāib* — es ist erwünscht dass er charakterisiert wird mit Gutem, Religiosität, Keuschheit, Generosität, Mut, Mannhaftigkeit, Vollkommenheit des Verstandes, Schönheit des Charakters, der Bildung und ähnlichen guten Eigenschaften.

§. Es ist erlaubt dass die Bewerbung ausgeht vom Sohn und vom Vater.

bedeutung gehabt hatte, und es ist interessant, das wir es im einzelnen verfolgen können, wie der Überfall der Franken der Anlass wurde für die allmähliche vollkommene Verödung des alten Stadtgebiets.

## NACHSCHRIFT

Professor A. S. АРТУА (Cairo), der in Bonn die beiden Bände der Berliner Handschrift genauer durchstudiert hat — der dritte Band des Werkes hat sich in Kairo gefunden — hat die bereits von GIDEMEISTER (*a. a. O.*, p. 431, vgl. HERZSOHN, *a. a. O.*, p. XII, Note b) ausgesprochene Vermutung zur Gewissheit erhoben, dass der Autor des Werkes Muhammad b. Qāsim b. Muhammad an-Nuwairī al-Māliqī al-Iskenderānī ist. Er nennt seinen Namen ausdrücklich in Gedichten auf fol. 120 r und fol. 169 r der Berliner Hs; damit sind zu vergleichen die Angaben bei HĀĠĪ KHALĪFA (ed. FLÜGEL II, 107, No 2136) und IBN HĀĠĀR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ (*ed-dīnar al-kāminā*, ed. KRENKOW, IV 142, No 375), BROCKELMANN, *Supplement II* 34.

## 'THE ARABIC SHADOW PLAY IN EGYPT \*)

At the beginning of this century shadow plays were sometimes performed in Egypt, but not very often. They had latterly become chiefly an entertainment for the lower classes, and because of the indelicate humour of these plays the Government took steps to suppress them. But we know that these shadow plays had a long history in Egypt, and were performed also for the upper and highest classes. It is reported<sup>1)</sup>, for instance, that the well-known Sultan Saladin (died 1193) with his Wazir al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍilī, was present at the performance of such plays; that the Turkish Sultan Selim I, who in 1517 conquered Egypt, amused himself by seeing a performance of the shadow play. In recent times, the Khedive Taufiq Pasha (1879-1892) liked to see such representations, and I myself possess some shadow play figures especially made for performances before him<sup>2)</sup>.

There are many notes by the Egyptian historians of the Mamlūk period which show us that these performances were common. Ibn Iyās, for instance, several times mentions the plays. We read that Sultan Chakmak (1438-53) gave orders that all figures of the shadow play were to be burnt (Ibn Iyās, ii, 33), for a Muslim is not allowed to see representations of living creatures. In 1498 the Sultan Abu's-Sa'ādāt Muhammad enjoyed the good jokes to be found in the representations of Abu'l-Kher (Ibn Iyās, ii, 347). In 1517, Selim was so interested in the shadow play that he took one of the shadow players with him to Istanbul for the entertainment of his son, the later famous Sultan Sulaimān the Magnificent (Ibn Iyās, iii, 125)<sup>3)</sup>. I had the good fortune when I was staying in Egypt (1903-1908) to find a manuscript of shadow plays written about 1700, and was able to show that the poets who had contributed to these poems lived in the sixteenth century. The last of these poets, Dā'ūd al-Manāwī, had the opportunity to give representations of the shadow

\*) Reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January 1940, p. 21-34, cf. G. Jacob, *Metāzī's al-buhār*, i, 78 f., also quoted by Ibn HĪjīe, *Thamarāt al-awrāq*, 1925, p. 52.

<sup>2)</sup> Cf. P. Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattenbühners in Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 2, Anm. 1.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattenbühners* . . . , p. 102 f.

play before the Turkish Sultan Ahmad I in Adrianople in the winter of 1612-1613<sup>1</sup>).

In the year 1909 I discovered very important shadow play figures in a little village in the Delta of Egypt, which are of a very superior style and rank amongst the finest examples of Mamlūk art<sup>2</sup>). As a Mamlūk weapon is found on some of the figures, it can be proved that they at least must date from the first half of the fourteenth century<sup>3</sup>). From no other country have we shadow play figures of so early a date; these Egyptian figures are the oldest existing ones in the world.

From Egypt also we have some very old shadow play texts. They were composed by Muhammad Ibn Dāniyāl (died 1311), an oculist in Cairo, who lived during the reign of Sultan az-Zāhir Babars in the thirteenth century. These texts are very closely associated with the name of my friend the late Professor Georg Jacor, of Kiel, one of the most original of Orientalists, who broke new ground in many different spheres, and who in particular did much pioneer research work in connection with the shadow theatre both in the Orient and the Occident.

A reference made by the Munich Orientalist, Marcus Joseph Müller, first drew his attention to Ibn Dāniyāl, and Müller's transcript of part of the Escorial manuscript formed the background for Jacor's study of the work. His first publication on Ibn Dāniyāl appeared in 1901<sup>4</sup>), and as his last work of which I know dates from 1935, he was working on these texts for about thirty-five years of his life.

In the preface to the second edition of his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland* (Hannover 1925), he claims that it is of the greatest importance that the works of Ibn Dāniyāl should

<sup>1</sup>) Cf. my publications, *Zur Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 16 f. *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria. Ein arabisches Schattentheater aus dem mittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Stuttgart, 1930, pp. 4\*-8\*. Cf. *Das Krokodilspiel (Li'sb et-himzāl) ein ägyptisches Schattenspiel; Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen*, 1915, Nachtrag, 1920.

<sup>2</sup>) Cf. my publication, „Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten“, *Der Islam*, vol. i (1910), pp. 264-299; ii (1911), pp. 143-195; cf. *Orientalisches Archiv*, iii (1912), pp. 103 ff.

<sup>3</sup>) The weapon is that of a jandār, and as L. A. Mayer, of Jerusalem, told me, figures with this weapon cannot be older than 1290, or later than 1370. Cf. *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria*, p. 10\*.

<sup>4</sup>) *Muhammad ibn Dāniyāl, Al-Murajim, ein arabisches Schattenspiel für die Schattentheaterbestimmte*, Erste Mitteilung über das Werk, von Georg Jacor, Erlangen, 1901.

be published in their entirety, and he describes him as the most witty and amusing poet in the Arabic language (“wohl des geistreichsten und launigsten Dichters arabischer Zunge”) (*loc. cit.*, p. v f.). In this judgment he is certainly right. Ibn Dāniyāl is, in fact, an extremely witty, literary, and cultivated man, with a sense of humour which is unique in Arabic literature. His works are, without question, of great importance for the understanding of Islamic civilization in Egypt during the Middle Ages, especially the thirteenth century. When we realize that in these works we possess the only surviving examples of Arabic dramatic poetry of the Middle Ages, their unusual importance is beyond doubt. They are worthy of all the time and care which Jacor bestowed on them.

But Jacor calls Ibn Dāniyāl the most difficult of Arabic authors, and states that his works require a translation and a commentary (“aber auch des schwierigsten arabischen Schriftstellers, der Übersetzung und Sachkommentar erheischt”). This comment also is well founded. These texts are written partly in artificial rhymed prose, partly in verse, and remind one in their general style of al-Hariri, to whom Ibn Dāniyāl makes several references. But whilst we have excellent commentaries on al-Hariri which help us to understand his Maqāmas, we have no such aids in the case of Ibn Dāniyāl, and whilst we possess excellent manuscripts of al-Hariri's Maqāmas, the three existing manuscripts of the work of Ibn Dāniyāl, of which two (the Escorial and the Stambul MSS.) were written about 200 years after the author, and the third (the Cairo MS.) about 300 years, make it clear that their transcribers have often misunderstood the text.

Jacor had already told me some years ago that he would be unable to complete his work on Ibn Dāniyāl, and that he wished to bequeath his material on this subject to me. In accordance with the terms of his will, I came into possession of the material, and was entrusted with the task of completing his work.

Jacor's preliminary labour on these texts was considerable. Apart from his many publications on the subject<sup>1</sup>), a great number of transcripts and translations were found in his legacy on which I could base my own work. I began studying the texts at the end of October, 1937, and was in one particular more fortunate than Jacor. He tried to understand these texts alone, even though he had the occasional

<sup>1</sup>) Mentioned in the “Bibliographie” in his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, p. 230 f.

assistance of eminent Orientalists such as NÖLDEKE, GOLDZNER, DE GOEJE, SNOUCK HURONJE, and others, whose comments he carefully incorporated in the notes to his translation. I, on the other hand, was able to enjoy the co-operation of an outstanding Arab scholar Professor TAQI-ADDIN AL-HIRÄLİ, who was born in Morocco, studied in Fez, lived for some time in Egypt, and for several years in al-Hijāz. From there he was engaged by SULAMĀN AN-NADWĪ for his College "Nadwat al-'Ulumā" in Lucknow, where for three years he lectured in Arabic on Arabic literature. He then spent some years in a similar capacity in Basra, and from there he came to Bonn. He is a truly critical scholar, particularly conversant with Arabic literature, and I think that with his help I have come to a considerably better understanding of these difficult texts than JACOB.

I have transcribed the complete text afresh, have collared it throughout with the photographs of the three manuscripts, have carefully checked JACOB'S translations, and have myself translated all the parts left untranslated by him. I have mostly elucidated some remaining doubtful passages after a survey of the complete text, for it was now possible for the first time to make a real survey of the whole material.

This material is fairly voluminous. In the Istanbul manuscript, dated 828/1424 (Hekimoglu-Al-Pasha 648, now Millet kütüphanesi), which is written in a fairly wide-spaced hand, and contains passages not existing in the other manuscripts, there are 364 pages. In the more closely written Escorial manuscript, dated 845/1441 (Casiri 467, Derenbourg 469), there are 126 pages. In the Cairo manuscript, which belonged to the library of Ahmed Pāshā Taimūr, there are 134 pages, but this manuscript has a great lacuna.

JACOB has written in such detail about the contents of the three plays in his *Geschichte der Schattentheaters* . . . , p. 56-101, that I need say very little on this subject. The first play, called "Ṭāif al-Khayāl", gives a splendid picture of the political and cultural conditions in Egypt at the time of the Sultan az-Zāhir Baibars. The second play, "Ajīb wa-Gharīb", brings in the many characters of the Fair, who enter one after another, and very humorously describe their trades. This play has been made known through the excellent publication on an Egyptian Fair in the thirteenth century, brought out by G. JACOB in 1910, in the *Transactions of the Munich Academy* 1). The third play, "al-Mutaiyam", concerns the love of Mutaiyam for Yutayim, and interestingly introduces cock-fighting, ram-fighting, and bull-fighting.

It is still a question whether it will be possible to publish the complete text without abridgment. Even JACOB was doubtful on this point. The text of Ibn Dāniyāl contains a number of passages which do not suit our taste, and which might give offence even in the East. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why the work of Ibn Dāniyāl has been almost forgotten in the Orient. However, even with certain parts omitted, there would remain much which is delightfully humorous and of great literary and sociological value. One might ask in all seriousness whether these shadow plays of Ibn Dāniyāl are not artistically greater than the Maqāmas of al-Ḥariri. He is certainly much superior to the latter in the variety of his subject-matter. That Orientalists also understood the social value of his poems is proved by the fact that the Egyptian Chronicler, Ibn Iyās, considered that he could give no better idea of conditions in the time of the Sultan az-Zāhir Baibars than by including in his chronicle the delightful Funeral Ode on Iblis, Abū Murra, the Devil, in which Ibn Dāniyāl humorously describes the changed conditions in Egypt after the strict edict of the Sultan, which caused all taverns and brothels to be closed 2).

There are several indications in his work that the author Ibn Dāniyāl came from Mosul, and there is no doubt that he was a doctor. In the prefatory note to the Cairo manuscript he is described as an oculist (*kaḥḥād*). This is certainly correct. In the second play, in which the different characters of the Fair appear, one of them is Miqdām al-Āsi, the go-ahead fellow, the doctor. In his speech he mentions a great many instruments which no one who is not an expert could possibly distinguish. I sent a copy of this passage to Dr. MAX MEYERHOF, the well-known oculist and scholar in Cairo, and asked him if it were possible to identify the different instruments. He wrote to me: "I am delighted that you are wanting to publish Ibn Dāniyāl, my old colleague. The task is exceedingly difficult, as even the transcribers have often misunderstood the text, so that their work abounds in faults. I think I can conclude that Ibn Dāniyāl was, in fact, an oculist, as such names of instruments and operations are not usually found among general practitioners".

One more word in connection with the language of Ibn Dāniyāl.

1) „Ein ägyptischer Jahrmärkte im 13. Jahrhundert", *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1910, 10. Abhandlung.

2) Ibn Iyās, I, 107. Jacob has published the text with a German translation in my book *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria*, pp. 54-55, 73-6.

The text is written for the most part in classical Arabic, the rhymed prose as well as the poetry, which consists mostly of *Qasīdas*. But in all three plays there are also a number of verses, the *Muwashshah's* as well as *Zajals*, *Mawāḍiyās*, *Dū Bairis* and children's poems, which are entirely or partly in the vulgar language. These poems composed in the vulgar Arabic of the thirteenth century are among the oldest of their kind to survive to this day.

In conclusion I will give a few excerpts from these texts, and will choose passages which JACOB has not translated or has only partially translated. The first, from the second play in which appear the different characters of the Fair, is the speech of the *Mashā'ih*, the brazier-bearer, who carries a charcoal brazier on a long stick. It seems that in Egypt these people belonged to a gypsy-like Pariah caste who performed the most menial duties, cleansed the streets and privies, acted as flayers and executioners, but at the same time held certain police functions. The *Mashā'ih's* are often quoted in Arabic texts of the time of the Mamlūks, and, for instance, in QUTURMÉRÉ's *Sulḥans Mamlūks*, there can be found many learned notes about these men. But it is only in this poem that all their different duties are mentioned. JACOB, after giving a general description, observes in this connection: "Das lange Lied des Meschā'ih wird nur bei genauerer Kenntnis dieser Zunft in allen seinen Teilen verständlich werden" (*Geschichte des Schattentheaters* . . . p. 81). It reads as follows:

"Enter Jammār, the *Mashā'ih* of the *Majmal*. He has decorated his brazier (*mash'al*) with all kinds of fragrant flowers, struts around in his place (*maidān*), boasts of his superiority to his contemporaries, and recites: By the smoke of the brazier and its kindled light,  
And its perfume which pours forth, putting to shame the perfume of the aloe-wood,

On a shaft of cane (*asad*), whose like is not to be found even among lances (*asad*),

A brazier shining forth with fire, flaring aloft like a waving flag,  
None can compare with us in our knowledge and our trade.

We are the noblest among men, not niggardly with our possessions.  
Our fires are shining afar over the plain and the mountain.

How many a governor boasts of us when he has obtained his post.  
People respect him when we stand at his house door,

Protecting him against enemies so that he has nothing to fear.

How many wanderers have we led in the dark of a dangerous night,  
With gleaming light shining in the darkness,

Braziers, as if they were fresh water-lilies,

Or resembled the sun's globe in its rising and its setting,

We who belong to all kinds of the poor, whose tongue is like a sword,

Sweet in speech and trifling, whose words are like honey,  
Who wander through the market tirelessly collecting taxes.  
We address the Muslim, humbly begging: Highly honoured Sir,  
O candle of the market, oh light of the pupil of the eyeball,  
Grant me that to which you have accustomed me, by the most honoured  
master 'Alī,

Do not say to me: "Away!" Do not dismiss me as a miserable wretch.  
Give to me! May God compensate you with gifts in return.  
(Curses against him who does not give).

When a Christian comes of high standing,

We say: O priest of all churches and places of worship,

By Mary the Virgin, the Mother of the crowned Son,

By Peter, the first head of the Church of God,

And by Mark, who occupied the throne before the (Christian) dynasties,

I mean by that the Alexandrian Patriarch, when he received his office,

By John, by Luke, and the noble Matthew,

By Andrew, who came as successor to the Apostles,

By Bartholomew or by Thaddeus the Apostle,

By the respect for Simon and Thomas, to whom the greatest honour is  
due,

By Paul with the disciples, who carried on the mission,

By the stringing of pearls, found in his book of the Epistles,

By the martyrs, slaughtered in glorious martyrdom,

Bestow a favour on me, and be generous to me, O my hope, O my hope!  
(Curses against him who does not give).

And when there comes a Jew, distinguished, skilled in debate,  
Then we say: You who are a jewel among Jews,

Oh! light of the Sabbath of the Synagogue, by the Primæval, by the  
Eternal,

By the scion of Moses, who was addressed by God, the Lord of Religions,

By the Ten Commandments, revealed to him on the mountain,

By the text of the Thora Bereshit for the intercession,

And by the Haphtaras, whose meaning is not unknown,

By the family of Jacob and Israel and the intercession,

Bestow on me a favour with a red copper penny,

Like a glowing coal in my brazier,

And do not say to me "Away!" and do not delay like a miser.

You think perhaps that I am a boor. No, by 'Alī! No by 'Alī!  
(Curses against him who does not give).

So it is, and of how many sewers have we not emptied the bottom with  
the muck,

As though we were doing the work of the aperient remedy in their  
interior.

Our trade is a laudable one, where the sewer is like a full belly.

And when you find one who is led around like a criminal on an ass  
with a white hind-foot,

Whose eye weeps, as though it had been rubbed with pepper,  
Then we strike his neck with whips,  
We cry with a voice which shocks even the deaf:  
That is the reward of the man who says what he does not do.

And when we act as criers, how often have we ordered people (by order of the Government) what they should do in the future,  
You people who have assembled, do so and so, but he who does not do it,  
Let him not be surprised at what he shall receive (as punishment) from him, who instructed me (the Emir).

In the same way we cry out when a man has lost something.  
He who directs us to it, we grant him a gift,  
And God's reward, O honourable gracious Sirs.

And we flay the skin from the carcass, whether it be from bullock or from camel,  
So that it may act as a protection against harm for the feet,  
And you see no men who are not provided with shoes.

And how many of the crafty people have we punished with flogging, robbers of all kinds, who come by night like approaching disaster,  
Who in their cunning know the house better than its owner.  
Such a man climbs up to the house like a travelling star,  
Enters lightly by its narrow side, like a sustained breath,  
With courageous heart, without fear because of his cunning,  
He creeps slowly into the house like an ant,  
Comes to the sleepers in the middle of the night, soft as a Zephyr,  
Till his protective covering falls him.  
We seize him so that he is like a chained horse.  
Sometimes we sever his hand from the wrist,  
And sometimes we hang him on the cross, when he is guilty of murder.

And in playing with dice we are as famous as a proverb.  
They gleam in our hands like assembled jewels.  
One man is at peace (has won), he sweeps it together, that for himself, that for me.

From the other they have taken everything, so that he must despise himself,  
Saying: O, had I been satisfied with my first winnings!  
And how often have I thought that I would never lose my position!  
As if they (the dice) were lucky stars in their changing influence over the dynasties.

And how much trade do we do with the best fresh plants,  
Hashish of the colour of the down on a shining cheek,  
Which is made into pills, perfumed with 'Anbar, spiced and roasted for us,  
Or with Indigo (*nîla*) which is handed round in the beggar's bowl for those drunk with hashish.  
We sell that to the people when it is cheap for the price of an ear of corn.

We are the sons of Sāsān, descended from their kings, who possessed golden ornaments.

Our qualities are these in detail and in general.

They are shortly related in a *Qasida*, which suffices and need be no longer.  
Our might is on the peak of two mountains in Mosul.  
We are honoured there as the sun is honoured in the Zodiac of the Ram,  
And I pray to God, as prays a suppliant, a petitioner,  
That he may forgive these sins and the bad speech.  
When he has set forth his qualities and filled his fodder bag he turns and departs".

The second and third extracts are taken from the First Play. The Emir Wisāl, the chief character, who has boasted to the people about his deeds, says that he intends to marry and to lead a regular life. He wants to see the marriage agent, and this woman is the old Umm Rashid, the procurress.

"The Emir Wisāl says: My brother Taif el-Khayāl, I have made up my mind to leave the path of profligacy and to do penance sincerely before God, and to serve God according to the rites of the Sunna and of the religious community. The hour of departure has come near, and only a short space of time remains. And I ask God to forgive me for my doubt and for behaving in the manner of the people of Lot. I have now decided to marry and to have issue, and to bring up children. So summon Umm Rashid, the marriage agent (*kharība*), even though she is one who goes out by night into the bush (*hāibā*). But she knows every honourable woman and every adulteress and every beauty in Mīṣr and al-Qāhira. For she lets them go out from the baths, disguised in servants' clothes, and guarantees the prostitutes for whom the police are looking in secret places, providing them with clothes and jewellery without fee. A worse procurress than a camel's halber, bringing them together better than an awl. A worse procurress than the dry clover for the geese in el-Fosfāt, and better the union between two restoring than the pin of a tailor's scissors. She also knows how to deal in a friendly way with the hearts of lovers, and she sells the enjoyment of love only on the condition of trial. She does not break her promise, she does not haggle over a price. She does not visit a drinking bout in order to appropriate what drips down from the candles, nor does she ransack the clothes of the guests for money. And she does not take the fragrant flowers round the bottles, pretending it is to decorate the clothes of the sinning women. And she does not flitch the pieces of meat from the plates, nor does she pour together what has cleared from the dregs of the wine. She does not exchange an old slipper for a new one, and she does not criticize the clothes of customers, as a housewife would do.

Mostly she goes round the houses of the women of rank and sells balls of material, raw and bleached, and all kinds of spices and incense. She sells on credit and makes appointments for Thursdays and Mondays. And she does not haggle over a price. And she keeps her appointments even if it is the night of fate (*talāt al-qadr*). So it is, and her pocket is never empty of

chewing-gum and mirrors and rouge and powder and Maghabiné nutmeg and powder for colouring the eyebrows and a lime preparation for the armpits and perfumed wool, and skin cream and 'Beauty of Joseph' and pomade and Barmakide scent and hair-dyes and violet scent. The devil kisses the ground before her daily, and he alone wakes her from her slumbers. So bring her to me and join my rope with her rope".

The third passage takes place after the death of Umm Rashid. The Emir Wiṣāl wants to see the doctor under whose care she died. The doctor is called, and he says:

"I appeal to God against the stoned Satan! Who is it wandering around in the dark night? Who is it who startles me from my bed in the sheltering night? Who calls me from my slumber, when the food has scarcely been digested from my stomach, so that my strength has disappeared, and I have nearly died of palpitations? For it is not customary to call the doctor by night, unless one brings him a money cheque and harnesses mules and horses for him. It has not been customary since the days of the plague and the pestilence, when the sick were laid on the benches before the shops and there were crowds before our (the doctors') doors, while the servants with lamps in their hands were at work, and the corpses in the Mosques were laid in rows on the biers adorned like brides with precious jewellery, and the tears of the people never dried, and the readers of the Qur'ān were advised where to go by lot. And the washers of corpses could not complete their washing, and the carriers were out of humour because of the weight of their burdens, and the grave-diggers showed respect for no grave, and spared neither that of the married woman nor that of the maiden. That plague spread over the whole land, and soul and strength were given no consideration. And the chicken for the soup of the sick had the value of a whole province, and medicines were not to be had, and purges could not be obtained at any price. May those days be remembered kindly; for us they were like a dream (i.e. we did good business)."

Thus far the excerpts from these plays. I think that from them the importance of the texts will be seen. I am publishing the Arabic text of the plays in Leiden 1). The translation with the commentary will follow in a short time.

1) The printing of the Arabic text which had been begun in Cairo in 1938 was interrupted by the war and my manuscript of the first play was lost. The Arabic text will now be published by the *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin.

A fourth manuscript of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Taif al-Khayāl* was discovered by Jörg Kraemer in the Library of al-Azhar, No. 1004, dated A. H. 998, containing the first play, the beginning of the second and the end of the third.

### III.—A GYPSY WOMAN IN EGYPT IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY A. D. \*)

In an article published in *JRAS*. 1940 (see above p. 295 ff.) I have given some references to the Arabic shadow play in Egypt. The oldest of these plays of which we know are the three composed by Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl, an oculist in Cairo, who died A.D. 1310. Shadow plays composed by him must have been written in the thirteenth century.

In the second of them not less than twenty-seven different characters of an Egyptian Fair are introduced. My friend GEORGE JACOB, who devoted more than thirty years to the study of shadow plays, has published large extracts from the Arabic text (*Stücke aus dem Dāniyāl's Taif al-hayāl* ... 2. Heft: *Markktenpen aus 'Aḡib wa-Ḡarīb*, Erlangen 1910), and he has dealt with the contents of the play in a valuable little book *Ein ägyptischer Jahrmärket im 13. Jahrhundert* (published in *Sitzungsberichte*, Munich Academy, 1910). In my article quoted above I dealt with one of these characters and published a translation of the long speech of the Mashā'ilīf (p. 300-3). Here I will draw attention to another character, called *ar-Ṣaw'i'a*, which means a woman who performs something. The word must have had a special meaning, which, however, we do not know. We must try to deduce it from the scene in the shadow play, which is very attractive and shows what an excellent observer Ibn Dāniyāl was. The woman who appears on the stage is introduced by some sentences in rhymed prose (*ṣiḡ'*). She recites a *Zajal*, a well-known kind of poem in the vulgar dialect of Egypt having an introduction (*matla'*) and four stanzas (*bayūt*) of five verses each, of which the two last rhyme with the *matla'*, whilst the three first of every stanza have their own rhyme. The metre is - - - - - - - - - - . As the Arabic text published by JACOB is not quite complete and his translation is confined to a few lines, I give here the whole Arabic text in Latin characters, which may show the method of pronunciation of such a kind of vulgar Arabic, followed by an English translation, and try to draw some conclusions.

\*) *Journal of the Gypsy Love Society*, Vol. XXIX, 1950, p. 11-15.

*Three Shadow Plays*

by

Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl

edited by

the late Paul Kahle

with a critical apparatus by

Derek Hopwood

Prepared for publication by

Derek Hopwood and Mustafa Badawi

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## Contents

<i>Introductory Note</i> by Paul Kahle	1
<i>Postscript</i> by Derek Hopwood	4
<i>Introductory Essay</i> by Mustafa Badawi	6
<i>Bibliography</i>	29
1	1
00	2
90	3
119	
130	
147	
طيف الخيال	1
عجيب وغريب	2
المُتَّبِع والمُتَّبِعَة	3
حوادث طيف الخيال	
حوادث عجيب وغريب	
حوادث التَّيْم والتَّيْمَة	



## Introduction

### Acknowledgements

The preparation by computer of the Arabic text, difficult to read in Kahle's handwriting, has been a fiendishly hard task. We wish to thank John Cooper and Luke Treadwell for their part in the work, equally Alan and Michael Jones for their help in completing the text for publication.

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Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl ibn Yūsuf al-Khuzā'i, who came from Mosul and was active in Cairo as an ophthalmic surgeon and who died there on 12 Jumāda II 710 / 7 November 1310, wrote three shadow plays under the title *Tayf al-Khayāl*, by far the oldest known to us and the only dramatic pieces that have come down to us from the Islamic middle ages. They are most closely associated with the name of my friend Georg Jacob (1862-1937), the Kiel orientalist and certainly one of the most original of academic colleagues. During more than thirty years of his life he returned again and again to these shadow plays. In the 2nd edition of his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendlande*, which appeared in Hannover in 1925, he calls Ibn Dāniyāl probably the most ingenious and humorous poet in the Arabic language. In an introduction to the first of the three shadow plays, which he had prepared for publication, Jacob declares that if Harīrī until then had been considered as the most artistic and difficult Arabic writer, Ibn Dāniyāl challenges him for this position. It needs far greater effort to understand him as we have no commentaries on him and the rare words he uses have not found their way into the lexicons. But the cultural-historical booty is even richer than the lexical. 'The social life of medieval Egypt has hardly been described in a more lively manner by any other writer. We also find here classical examples of all the art forms of Arabic poetry and prose. No Arab poet can compare with Ibn Dāniyāl for his originality, sharpness and humour. The descriptions of the animals in the lodging of Emīr Wiṣāl offer vivid examples of his skill: the wasp has donned a yellow striped robe of honour; the scorpion lifts his sting up like a man who raises his finger while reciting his profession of faith; the rats run around the house like race horses in competition. Human weaknesses are sketched in with witty phrases. He advises that promises be made into a well-fortified fortress by the use of the future participle. The marriage broker, Umm Rashīd, who knows how to gain entrance to circles of the nobility through hawking, is described as she procures for the women all their favourite articles but sticks to the set day for her appointments even if it were the *laylat al-qadr*, the night of divine destiny.'

He shows himself on the screen with exquisite irony, mentioning humorously his small stature and his profession: 'O people, do you know me? I cannot believe that you do not know me. I am the surgeon, the eye specialist, he who strengthens spirits and heals wounds. . . Do not despise me, because of my littleness, for the gnat makes the lion see red.'

In the introduction to the Codex C Ibn Dāniyāl is specifically called an ophthalmic surgeon (*kahhād*) and we have elsewhere other information about him as such. There was great demand for that kind of man in Egypt. Besides he also derives pictures such as the following from his method of operating: 'And you see the gnat fly around with its lancet and as soon as it finds an opportunity over a vein, it lets it into it.' (21, 8)

Through the sharpness of his observation the doctor and natural scientist show up to advantage before the working philologist Ḥarīf with his conventional pictures and phrases; the latter however is much more under the pressure of custom while Ibn Dāniyāl occasionally regales us with things which seem indecent. So it remains astonishing what creative power Ḥarīf attains despite his sparse realistic artistic material. Nöidecke always points to the fact that after reading each of the *maqāmāt* the figures and situations seem so lively and plastic.

Ibn Dāniyāl wrote three plays (*bābāt*) in poetry and prose. They are not vulgar but meant for refined literary taste, although they may partly derive from popular pieces. Jacob knew three manuscripts:

1. *Codex A* in the Escorial: Casiri I No. 467, Derenbourg 469, written 845/1441-2.
2. *Codex B* in Constantinople, formerly in the library of Hekim-oğlu Ali Paşa mosque (No. 698 in the catalogue printed in Constantinople in 1311) written in 828/1424, now in the Millet Kütüphanesi.
3. *Codex C* in Cairo, belonging to Ahmad Pashā Taymūr, was given by one of his sons after his father's death to the Egyptian National Library. The date is illegible according to Dr Prüfer. It is reckoned to be about 300 years old. Jacob remarks: 'It is considerably worse than A and B, rare words are often replaced by other, meaningless ones.' He continues: 'I have had photographs made of large sections of all three MSS, and collated much of B in Constantinople. I possess a faulty copy of C made by an Egyptian which seems to have omitted many parts. Although the Istanbul Codex is the oldest, the text seems secondary in many cases to that of the Escorial.'

Jacob is undoubtedly correct in his judgment of Codex B and C. A fourth manuscript D has been discovered by Professor Jörg Krämer (now of Erlangen). It is in the Azhar Library in Cairo: Adab 463/Abāza 7095, dated 908. It contains the first play complete, the beginning of the second and the end of the third.

Professor Krämer writes to me: 'It is difficult and time-consuming to obtain permission to photograph from the Azhar. Luckily, however, the MS had already been filmed by the Arab League (see the article by H. Ritter in *Oriens*, v, 1952, '*Al-fihris al-tamhādī lil-mahjūzāt al-musawwara*

... p. 282). I obtained a photocopy of the MS with the help of A.S. 'Aḥya and Krämer. It is valuable because it is really a copy of A and often helps to confirm its text....'

In the last years of my stay in Bonn I had the great good fortune to have at my disposal the services of an Arab scholar together with whom I was able to come to a real understanding of the text of Ibn Dāniyāl. He was Taqēddīn al-Hilālī. Born in Morocco, where he studied at the Qarāwīyīn mosque in Fez, he visited almost all the Islamic countries and became a really outstanding scholar who, before he came to Bonn, gave lectures in Arabic on Arabic literature in the Nadwat al-'Ulamā' College in Lucknow, founded by Sulaymān al-Nadwī, and similar lectures later in Basra.

The Syrian Emīr Shakhīb Arslān had a very high opinion of the abilities of this man and wrote to his acquaintance Dr Kurt Prüfer, (who was a considerable oriental scholar and at that time head of a department and personnel in the Foreign Office, and the first president of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft), to ask whether it would be possible to send an Arab scholar of such abilities to Germany for a few years. One could make particular use of his knowledge and he himself felt the need to get into contact with European colleagues. Prüfer passed the letter on to me with the comment that he was of the opinion that one should take account of this wish and asked for suggestions. I was very pleased by the letter and made the suggestion that Taqēddīn should come to Bonn where several prominent orientalisists were then active, such as Zeki Validi Togan and 'Azīz Sūrīyāl 'Aḥya.

Taqēddīn al-Hilālī fitted well into such company. He came to Bonn in autumn 1936... I discussed different Arabic texts with him until after the death of my friend Georg Jacob I came into possession of his materials on Ibn Dāniyāl. I then made the suggestion that we should together work through this text. He was ready to do so in principle but remarked that he had never before heard anything of Ibn Dāniyāl and his poetry. He would first have to get to know the text through the copies and photographs which I put at his disposal. As soon as he had begun to read them he grew enthusiastic over the text — he had never read an Arabic text so full of humour — and declared himself ready to work together with me on it. We began the study at the end of 1937 and worked systematically through the whole text. At the first attempt much remained unclear to us. The second time it was already much better. Ibn Dāniyāl often repeats himself and that can help towards an understanding. On the third reading everything became quite clear, apart from the places where Ibn Dāniyāl uses a special argot, the so-called *lughat banī Sāsān*, which I have treated in detail in my study *Muhammad ibn Dāniyāl und sein zweites arabisches Schattenspiel* (Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia. Adademie Verlag 1950, vol II, pp. 151-167).

Taqīddīn became very familiar with the language of Ibn Dāniyāl and in our joint work we were able to furnish the commentary which Nöideke missed on Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow texts. I gave a paper on our work to the Orientalist Congress in Brussels (*Actes du XX Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1938, Louvain, 1940, p. 324, ff.), and after my move to England I also reported on my work with Taqīddīn al-Hilālī (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1940, pp. 21-34).

I had begun to have the Arabic text of Ibn Dāniyāl printed in Cairo in connection with my paper in Brussels. A sheet of the text was printed, a second was in hand when the outbreak of war brought the undertaking to an end. After the end of the war when I made enquiries through my Cairo friends, I ascertained that neither the printed text nor the manuscript of the first part of the shadow plays that I had sent to the printers was anywhere to be found.

I had to begin a great part of the work on Ibn Dāniyāl afresh. But as father of a numerous family that had suddenly been torn from its previous home I had other more immediate problems. In addition I had to work on *The Cairo Geniza*... I am very happy, however, that I can now turn again to Ibn Dāniyāl and I hope to bring this important work to a conclusion.

The shadow plays were performed with figures cut from leather and held by sticks against a back-lit canvas screen. The audience sitting in front of the screen saw only the shadows of the figures. The man who moved the figures spoke or sang the text just as though the moving figures were speaking or singing.

Paul Kahle [1960(?)]

### Postscript

The above was written by Professor Kahle as an introductory note in the manuscript version of his edition of Ibn Dāniyāl. I was in Oxford in 1960 working in the Bodleian Library when the late Samuel Stern asked me whether I would be willing to complete an *apparatus criticus* to a medieval Arabic shadow play, as the editor Paul Kahle was then too old to finish it himself. I had never heard of Kahle let alone Ibn Dāniyāl at that time but I was persuaded by Stern to undertake the task. It was a privilege if a somewhat daunting one to meet the old man in his house opposite Christ Church, to talk to him about Ibn Dāniyāl and to see all the shadow figures he had collected.

The notes and variant readings in the MSS were scattered and in

different forms, prepared presumably by Jacob, al-Hilālī and Kahle. I was able to make some sense of them using the copies of the MSS and I prepared a fairly lengthy *apparatus*. This referred to the MSS A, B, C and D mentioned above as 1, 2 and 3 respectively. The *apparatus* was divided into sections determined by Professor Kahle, the end of each section being denoted by | in the text of the plays (and now numbered consecutively in each of the three plays). My *apparatus* gave notes, variants, additions and omissions in the four manuscripts. I handed these to Professor Kahle who had every intention of publishing the whole work — Arabic text, translation and textual notes. Unfortunately by the time of his death in 1964 nothing had been published, and I heard nothing more for many years until I was on a visit to Khartoum in 1979. There to my interest I learned that the German ambassador was Hans Kahle, Paul's son. He told me that all his father's papers and books had gone to the library of the University of Turin and that there were no plans to publish Ibn Dāniyāl, but that I was at liberty to do so if I so wanted.

On my return to Oxford I told my colleague Mustafa Badawi of the long story and he immediately urged me to publish. In 1981 I set out for Turin to seek out the MS once again. With the kind help of the university authorities and especially of Michele Vallaro I obtained photocopies of all Kahle's work on Ibn Dāniyāl. The next move was on a visit to the Middle East Studies Association conference in Philadelphia in 1982 where I heard a paper by an American scholar on Ibn Dāniyāl clearly based on Kahle's work. He told me that another son had given him permission to use the MS and that he intended to publish an edition, translation and notes. We then left the field to him but nothing has since appeared and nothing has been heard. It seemed that the blight afflicting Ibn Dāniyāl was to continue.

We therefore decided that come what may, after so much work by so many scholars and over such a long period, at the very least the text of Ibn Dāniyāl as prepared by Kahle should be published as it stood. Thus the version now offered is entirely that of Kahle with my notes. Dr Badawi and I have read through the material and made only the smallest corrections of obvious misreadings and errors. We felt that it was so important to make the text available with its possible imperfections and mysteries that Kahle's version should be published now to allow other scholars to work on it if they so wished. Even on occasions we have left mistakes in the text when the correct version is given in the footnotes. We trust it is not a case of too many cooks.

Derek Hopwood

## Medieval Arabic Drama: Ibn Dāniyāl\*

The failure of the bulk of medieval Arabic drama to reach us constitutes a serious loss in Arab literary history, the full extent of which cannot be properly measured. However, we can form some idea of the kind of thing we have been deprived of if we examine the three shadow plays that have been preserved for us, the work of the thirteenth century poet and wit, the Mosuli born Egyptian oculist Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl (1248-1311). Of course, it would be rash to assume that the lost plays, written either before or after, were of the same calibre or possessed the same degree of interest, literary or otherwise, as Ibn Dāniyāl's work. Nevertheless, it is clear from the introductory remarks to the first of these plays, *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* ('The Shadow Spirit'), that, far from being a solitary or even unusual phenomenon, as is sometimes assumed, Ibn Dāniyāl's plays were rather a late stage in the development of a form of dramatic entertainment. The remarks are addressed to the author's friend, 'Alī ibn Mawlāhum, a 'producer' of shadow plays (*Khayāl*) at whose request he composed these plays, since that friend had written to him complaining that 'people had grown tired of shadow plays and had been put off by their repetitive character'. This criticism obviously suggests that by Ibn Dāniyāl's time shadow drama had been going on for such a considerable period of time that it stood in danger of exhausting itself and becoming repetitive and 'mechanical'. We know, of course, from other sources that the Arabic shadow theatre had been flourishing in Fatimid Egypt. There are references to it in the tenth century, the most explicit and perhaps earliest of which is to be found in the works of the great scientist Ibn al-Haytham (born in 965 A.D.), who discusses the mechanics of it in his *magnum opus* on optics.<sup>1</sup> This is definitely earlier than the one in Ibn Hazm (d. 1063) or Ibn Shuhayd (d. 1035) cited by James T. Monroe.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, wrong to say, as J.M. Landau does, that until the twelfth century the Shadow Theatre was apparently almost unknown to the Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

An often quoted passage which occurs in Ghuzūlī's *Maṭālib al-Budūr* and in Ibn Hījja's *Thamarāt al-Awraq*, and the authenticity of which there is no need to doubt, relates how in 1171 (567 A.H.) Saladin invited his vizier, the celebrated man of letters al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil to witness a shadow play performed by a group of players who had been engaged in the Fatimid court. The vizier, who, it is clear, had not seen shadow drama before, had initially some religious or moral misgivings about the propriety of being present at such an entertainment. He was about to excuse himself and actually rose to leave, but Saladin prevailed upon him to stay. At the end of the performance when he was asked what he thought of it, his answer was that he found it most edifying, for it showed

\* Except for a few minor alterations and the transfer of some material to the bibliography, this originally appeared as an article in the *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 13, 1982.

## Introduction

people and states coming and going but when it was all over and the screen was removed the one mover behind them all was revealed.<sup>4</sup>

This story has a number of interesting implications. First, it shows that shadow drama was an acceptable form of entertainment in Fatimid Egypt, even though it may not have been quite as well known elsewhere in the Islamic world at the time. Secondly, it suggests that the Arabic shadow theatre had by then reached a stage of development in which works were produced respectable enough to merit presentation before a pious and good king such as Saladin and of sufficient literary value as to call forth the admiring comment of a literary figure of such sophisticated or refined taste as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil. Thirdly, it implies that the shadow theatre was not confined to farces or cheap comic shows, but probably dealt with moral, religious or historical themes with a view to pointing a moral or educating the audience. Fourthly, it reveals the medieval allegorical habit of mind and the readiness of the cultivated audience to see moral or religious lessons even in dramatic entertainments such as the shadow theatre.

The analogy drawn between the shadow theatre and man's transitory and phantom-like life on earth was, in fact, by no means an original one. Ibn Hazm had already likened shadow drama (*Khayāl al-Zīl*) to earthly existence.<sup>5</sup> In subsequent writings one encounters the allegorical view of shadow drama frequently enough. There is, however, one passage that occurs in the work of a near contemporary of Saladin (1138-93), the major Egyptian mystic poet 'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ (1182-1235) which has to be singled out for its peculiar importance. In his great mystical poem known as *Nazm al-Sulūk* (translated as 'Poem of the Way') or *al-Ṭāyyya al-Kubrā*, which, incidentally, runs to more than 760 lines—an unusual length for a monorhyme Arabic poem—we read the following lines (lines 677-702) in Arberry's somewhat archaic verse translation:<sup>6</sup>

And be thou not all heedless of the play:  
The sport of playthings is the earnestness  
Of a right earnest soul. Beware: turn not  
Thy back on every tinsel'd form or state  
Illogical: for in illusion's sleep  
The shadow-phantom's spectre brings to thee  
That the translucent curtains do reveal.  
Thou seest forms of things in every garb  
Displayed before thee from behind the veil  
Of ambiguity: the opposites  
In them united for a purpose wise:  
Their shapes appear in each and every guise:  
Silent, they utter speech: though still, they move:  
Themselves unluminous, they scatter light.  
Thou laughest gleefully, as the most gay  
Of men rejoices; weep'st like a beraved  
And sorrowing mother, in profoundest grief;  
Mournest, if they do moan, upon the loss

Of some great happiness: art jubilant,  
 If they do sing, for such sweet melody.  
 Thou seest how the birds among the boughs  
 Delight thee with their cooing, when they chant  
 Their mournful notes to win thy sympathy,  
 And marvellest at their voices and their words  
 Expressing uninterpretable speech.  
 Then on the land the tawny camels race  
 Benighted through the wilderness; at sea  
 The tossed ships run amid the billowy deep.  
 Thou gazest on twain armies—now on land,  
 Anon at sea—in huge battalions  
 Clad all in mail of steel for valour's sake  
 And fenced about with points of swords and spears.  
 The troops of the land-army—some are knights  
 Upon their chargers, some stout infantry;  
 The heroes of the sea-force—some bestride  
 The decks of ships, some swarm the lance-like masts.  
 Some violently smite with gleaming swords,  
 Some 'neath the arrows' volley drown in fire,  
 Some burn in water of the flaming flares.  
 This troop thou seest offering their lives  
 In reckless onslaught, that with broken ranks  
 Fleeing humiliated in the rout.  
 And thou beholdest the great catapult  
 Set up and fired, to smash the fortresses  
 And stubborn strongholds. Likewise thou mayest gaze  
 On phantom shapes with disembodied souls  
 Covering darkly in their dim domain,  
 Apparelled in strange forms that disaccord  
 Most wildly with the homely guise of men;  
 For none would call the Jimnis homely folk.  
 And fishermen cast in the stream their nets  
 With busy hands, and swiftly bring forth fish;  
 And cunning fowlers spread their gins, that birds  
 A-hungry may be trapped there by a grain.  
 Ravening monsters of the ocean wreck  
 The fragile ships; the jungle-lions seize  
 Their slinking prey; birds swoop on other birds  
 Out of the heavens; in a wilderness  
 Beasts hunt for other beasts. And thou mayest glimpse  
 Still other shapes that I have overpassed  
 To mention, not relying save upon  
 The best exemplars.

In the mystical allegory he finds in the shadow theatre Ibn al-Fāriḍ sees the figures or puppets standing for the manifold senses, the curtain for the body

while the one manipulator behind the scene represents the Soul in its essential unity. What is immediately relevant to our study, in this rather original interpretation, is the poet's account of the various scenes associated with the shadow theatre of his time in which he finds an analogy to the deceptive multiple world of natural phenomena. Its value lies in the fact that it is the oldest detailed account of the themes of Arabic shadow drama that has reached us. Ibn al-Fāriḍ says that it is not an exhaustive one, yet what he cites as examples of such scenes is sufficient to give us some idea of the themes of the shadow theatre at the time. These clearly ranged from the heroic to the common and homely everyday life scene: armies fighting, land and sea battles, knights and infantry, heavily armed with swords, spears and arrows, seamen on the decks of ships, soldiers routed and castles destroyed. The characters also include supernatural beings of fearful appearance. At the other extreme we have fishermen catching fish with nets, fowlers spreading their gins for unsuspecting birds, benighted camels racing through the desert, ships tossed by the waves or wrecked by sea monsters, lions of the jungle, beasts of the wilderness and birds of the air preying upon one another. More peaceful scenes include birds perched on the boughs and singing their delightful and moving songs.

Moreover, Ibn al-Fāriḍ describes the audience's reaction to the scenes which, judging by its deeply emotional nature, suggests that these scenes were more than mere stereotyped mechanical conventions. They must have possessed, by visual and verbal means, sufficient vividness and concrete individuality to evoke this degree of emotional response:

Thou laughest gleefully, as the most gay  
 Of men rejoices; weep'st like a bereaved  
 And sorrowing mother, in profoundest grief;  
 Mournest, if they do moan, upon the loss  
 Of some great happiness; art jubilant,  
 If they do sing, for such sweet melody.

Such feelings are indeed aroused by tragic or comic art. In fact, Ibn al-Fāriḍ's brief analysis of dramatic illusion is characterized by no small measure of sophistication. In the analogy he draws between it and 'sleep' and dream he is not far from the theories of dramatic illusion which began to appear in eighteenth-century Europe, starting with Lord Kames's theory of 'ideal presence' and culminating with Coleridge's famous principle of 'the willing suspension of disbelief'.

Yet, despite its apparently long history and relative sophistication, medieval Arabic drama is hardly ever discussed and Ibn Dāniyāl has had a raw deal at the hands of scholars, apart from a few German speaking orientalisists, such as Georg Jacob and Paul Kahle. As far as English language orientalism is concerned the record is dismal. Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* does not even mention Ibn Dāniyāl's name, nor does the first edition of *The Heritage of Islam* for that matter. As for the second edition of 1974 in it the plays are merely referred to once as 'three librettos for shadow plays' (p. 335). Gibb indeed does mention Ibn Dāniyāl in his *Arabic Literature*, but only to

dismiss him in a couple of sentences:

The Shadowgraph-play found in the oculist and wit Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 1310) a writer who attempted to give it a literary connexion. It would be interesting to speculate on the opportunity thus given to Arabia of developing a dramatic literature. But the opportunity was missed, except for this fleeting moment the shadowgraph remained in its rudimentary state, and Arabic drama was stillborn.<sup>7</sup>

Note the contemptuous note in the belittling remark that Ibn Dāniyāl 'attempted to give' the shadowgraph play 'a literary connexion'. No one who actually managed to read Ibn Dāniyāl's plays would make this summary judgement that Arabic drama was stillborn. Most likely, what Gibb read was not Ibn Dāniyāl but Littmanns *Arabische Schattenspiele* (Berlin, 1901). Apart from Paul Kahle's article 'The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt' in *JRAS* of 1940, the only discussion of the plays in English available was for a long time the one provided by Gibb's pupil, Jacob M. Landau, in his *Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema* (Philadelphia, 1958). Here, in four pages allotted to Ibn Dāniyāl<sup>8</sup> are no fewer than ten factual and other errors. It is obvious that, like Gibb, Landau did not have first hand knowledge of Ibn Dāniyāl, even though he later on wrote the article on him for the New Edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. In 1976 Professor C. E. Bosworth published his fascinating study *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld, the Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, in which he discusses one of Ibn Dāniyāl's plays, '*Ajīb wa-Ġharīb*'.<sup>9</sup> Professor Bosworth's interest, however, lies more in the linguistic as well as the social, historical value than in the literary and dramatic criticism of the play. Paul Kahle's article, on the other hand, was enthusiastic enough: he even quoted approvingly Georg Jacob's remark that Ibn Dāniyāl was the 'most witty and amusing poet in the Arabic language',<sup>10</sup> but alas he did not attempt any critical analysis of the plays. He was contented with referring the reader to the descriptive account of their contents given by Jacob in his study *Geschichte des Schattentheaters* (Berlin, 1907). He announced that an edition of the plays which he had finished working on was about to appear in Leiden.<sup>11</sup> That was in 1940, but since then Kahle has died and more than 40 years have elapsed. Yet we are still without any proper edition of the plays.

What about the Arab side of the story? The medieval attitude to Ibn Dāniyāl will be mentioned later. As for the modern, it is by no means above criticism. In the forties a number of enthusiastic articles on him were published in the Cairo cultural weekly *al-Thaqāfa*,<sup>12</sup> all written by an Egyptian scholar who attended Kahle's lectures in Germany, Fu'ād Ḥasanayn. These are useful, but no more than introductory articles. They were reprinted later by the Moroccan scholar and pupil of Kahle, Muhammad Taqyy al-Dīn al-Hilālī, together with his Arabic translation of Kahle's English article in *JRAS* alluded to above, in Baghdad in 1948, under the somewhat misleading title *Thalāth Masrahīyāt 'Arabīyyāt*<sup>13</sup> (Three Arabic Plays Performed in the Middle Ages, written by Muhammad b. Dāniyāl of Mosul and introduced by Professor Paul Kahle).

In 1963 at long last the Egyptian Ibrāhīm Ḥamāda published in Cairo his study and edition entitled *Khayāl al-Zill wa-tamthilyyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*. It is by far the best study we have, but still woefully inadequate. As for the edition, it is seriously marred not only by somewhat defective scholarship, but also and more damagingly by the ruthless omission of what Ḥamāda regarded as obscene writing, without realizing that it is an integral part of the work, indeed of the whole genre (as we hope to show later). Although it is the only edition available and, therefore, does give the reader some idea of the plays, this bowdlerized version is most frustrating to work with, particularly as the editor's sensitivity to what is indelicate seems to be unusually keen and the slightest frank or erotic description is likely to give him cause for offence. One realizes the extent of one's loss when one compares, wherever possible that is, some of the expurgated and shortened versions of poems in the plays with the longer and fuller versions which are now available in the recently published selection of Ibn Dāniyāl's poetry,<sup>14</sup> edited by Muhammad Nāyif al-Dulaymī, which appeared in Baghdad in 1978.

But this selection, in its turn, is in no way complete. In many instances it reproduces the expurgated versions as they appear in Ḥamāda's edition of the plays. Moreover, it lumps together Ibn Dāniyāl's own lyrical poetry (i.e. poetry of the first voice or what he wrote in his own person) and the dramatic poetry which he put in the mouths of his characters.

A couple of years after the appearance of Ḥamāda's book, Dr. 'Abd al-Hamīd Yūnus published his slim but valuable volume entitled *Khayāl al-Zill*.<sup>15</sup> It contains some interesting remarks and critical insights into Ibn Dāniyāl's poetry and drama, amongst other things, but, unfortunately it shares some of the moral prejudices of Ḥamāda's study, although it cannot be said that Yūnus suffers from the same degree of debilitating moral rigidity as Ḥamāda. It is perhaps worth adding that Dr. 'Alī al-Rā'ī also makes some penetrating though controversial observations on Ibn Dāniyāl in his writings, particularly in his book *Fuḥūḥ al-Kamīdiyyā min Khayāl al-Zill ilā Najīb al-Rihānī* (Cairo 1971). But so far he has not attempted any detailed study of his work.

In the following comments the edition I have consulted is perforce Ḥamāda's, which is based upon the Cairo manuscript that is part of the Taymur Collection in the *Dār al-kutub*. I have also had occasion to refer sometimes to the manuscript itself.

## II

All three plays in Ibn Dāniyāl's collection begin with a short introduction in which the author briefly explains his intention. It is, therefore, important to examine these introductions because of the light they shed on the nature and limitations of this type of drama. The first of these, the preface to *Tayf al-Khayāl* runs as follows:

You have written to me, ingenious master, wit, buffoon and uninhibited wag (*al-mājin al-khalīf*), may God continue to protect you

and maintain your lofty station, complaining that people have grown tired of shadow plays (*Khayāl al-Zill*) and have been put off by their repetitive character, and asking me to compose for you in that genre works with well-drawn characters of the mean and despicable variety. At first, I was too shy to answer your request and write for you that which you would be relating as my work. But soon I realized that my unwillingness to comply with your wish would make you imagine that I was insufficiently interested, and that I was lacking in ideas and defective in natural ability, and that is despite my abundant inspiration, spontaneity and talent. I, therefore, ranged widely in the field of my wit, levity and buffoonery (*khalāʿat*) and set about answering your request. I have composed for you pieces (*bābān*) in the genre of buffoonery, pertaining to good literature (*al-adab al-ʿāl*) and not to cheap or inferior writing (*al-dūn*). They are of such a quality that when you have portrayed their characters and put together their disparate parts, [projecting them] on a wax-polished screen before your assembled audience you will see that they are splendid instances of their art, excelling in truth all other shadow plays. You must begin by singing to the tune of *Ras* the following verses:

This shadow play of ours is meant for men of high rank  
Just as munificence and generous reward suit those endowed with taste  
(*ahl al-adab* = men of good breeding or literary taste)

It contains levity and seriousness of diverse kinds, all arranged  
In the best order in a marvellous fashion.

Examine it, you who have discerning minds,  
And you will find it closely allied to knowledge and the truth.<sup>16</sup>

This introduction should be studied in close connection with the remarks addressed to the audience by the first character to appear in this piece, who is called Tayʿal-Khayāl:

Greetings, gentlemen, may you continue to live in prosperity and happiness. You must learn that each character has a likeness to it, and although the proverb says that 'Those of low rank may have merit nowhere to be seen in high society' yet each genre (*ustūb* = lit. idiom, manner) has its own method. Underlying every shadow (*khayāl*) a truth is to be found. In levity there is relief from the toil of seriousness and ill luck is a foil that sets forth good fortune. One, may [sometimes] grow tired of beauty and like ugliness instead!<sup>17</sup>

From these two sets of introductory remarks a number of important facts emerge. Apart from the evidence they provide for the long earlier history of shadow theatre in Egypt, a point already mentioned, they show that the terms *mājin* and *khalāʿ* had a more positive sense in the thirteenth century than they do now. In modern times, *mājin* and *khalāʿ* have been taken to denote dissolute, uninhibited, devoid of shame, neither fearing God nor caring for the blame of man (Lane), hence the severely moral stance adopted by those who have written on shadow drama in general and the work of Ibn Dāniyāl in particular, Arabs and non-Arabs alike. So convinced have they been of the morally

pejorative connotations of the terms that we find Ḥamāda reluctant to allow Ibn Dāniyāl to attribute *khalāʿa* to himself with the result that instead of allowing *fa juhu fī maydāni khalāʿi*, which is the obvious reading agreeing in rhyme with *sāʿi* according to the norms of *saʿi* (rhyming prose) in *wa-ḡabhu silāla li-sāʿi*, we find him emending it to *khalāʿ atihī* thus ascribing *khalāʿa* to the art of the shadow theatre *khayāl al-ʿāll*,<sup>18</sup> and his reading is followed unquestioningly by ʿAbd al-Ḥamid Yūnus.<sup>19</sup>

Admittedly *mājin* and *khalāʿa* did signify a certain measure of freedom from moral or social restraints, otherwise Ibn Dāniyāl would not have said that initially he was somewhat disinclined to comply with his friend's wishes. Nevertheless, at least from the way he addresses his friend we can infer that *mājin* and *khalāʿ* meant something more like wag, wit and buffoon all in one. Like all drama, the shadow theatre was based upon a set of conventions, and it seems that by Ibn Dāniyāl's time buffoonery was one of these conventions. It is a means to an end for 'each genre has its own method', *li-kull ustūbin iʿāna*,<sup>20</sup> the end being to produce good literature (*adab ʿāl*) and not cheap and vulgar writing (*dūn*). This idea is reinforced by the words spoken by the Presenter (*al-Rayyis*) who claims that *khayāl* is a literary art that can be appreciated only by *ahl al-adab*: men of breeding/literary taste, that it is not mere entertainment or pastime, but is a mixture of seriousness and levity, and that it requires some intelligence to see the point of it.

However, clearly one of the conventions of *khayāl* in Ibn Dāniyāl's age is that its characters are drawn from the lowest strata of society. In this respect it is primarily a comic art, adhering, no doubt unconsciously, to the Aristotelian conception which views comedy as showing men as worse than they really are. Indeed Ibn Dāniyāl is aware that even the lowest order of human beings are not devoid of merit, but it is the convention for *khayāl* to show such orders as objects of derision: 'Although the proverb says that those of low rank may have merit nowhere to be seen in high society, yet each genre has its own method'. Nevertheless, the poet dramatist does not indulge in pure fantasy for, as he says through the lips of the Presenter, 'underlying every shadow (i.e. character) a truth is to be found', a statement which suggests that Ibn Dāniyāl held a mimetic view of the dramatic art. In the introduction to the second play *Ayīb wa-Ḥarīb* (The Amazing Preacher and the Stranger) he says that his play 'contains [an account of] the conditions of strangers and comment among literary people who live by their wits'.<sup>21</sup> Equally, in the preface to his third play *Al-Mutayyam* (The Love Stricken One) he says that he has included in it something about the condition of lovers, a little *ghazal* (love poetry) which was pure enchantment, a little about games, something about acceptable buffoonery (*ṭarāfan min al-mujān alladhī mā ʿīb*). That is why Ibn Dāniyāl's plays are such a rich source of information for the social historian. Though they concentrate on certain aspects of medieval Islamic society (in Egypt) they are more deeply rooted in social reality than most *maqāma* literature by which, incidentally, they have been profoundly influenced. The characters paraded in the play *Ayīb wa-Ḥarīb*, for instance, are so vividly portrayed and concretely realized that they form easily recognizable types to be seen in Cairo until the

early years of the present century.

In Ibn Dāniyāl's drama we are, therefore, presented with a sophisticated art, an art which has its own established conventions and rules, and which, at its best, is capable of earning the respect of the literary *cognoscente*. In *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt* compiled by the 14th century author Muḥammad b. Shākir b. Ahmad al-Kutubī (as supplement to Ibn Khillikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yan*), Ibn Dāniyāl's poetry and prose are commended for their sweetness and charm and his shadow drama wins generous praise from al-Shaykh Salāh al-Dīn al-Safādi on the grounds of the excellence of its method and the strangeness of its invention.<sup>22</sup> Because Ibn Dāniyāl has been asked by his friend to write plays different from the common run, which, because of their repetitive nature, had caused people to turn away from the shadow theatre, he seems to set out deliberately to compose three works, each of which has its own individual form. Despite their common characteristics as shadow theatre, each of them has its own peculiar atmosphere and theme or themes. Far from being formless and random effusions in verse and rhyming prose, from which passages can be lopped off at will on grounds of obscenity or whatever, they are fairly well organized creations of a conscious craftsman and it behoves us to treat them with the necessary critical respect which they deserve. Both in dramatic technique and in spirit they come very close to medieval European drama, to the *Mysteries* and *Moralities* as well as to the *Sotties*. I hardly need repeat that a proper edition of these unique works is very long overdue.

### III

Certainly it would be foolhardy to underrated the stupendous textual problems that face the editor of Ibn Dāniyāl's plays. Apart from anything else, there seem to be several interpolations: interestingly enough, they tend to coincide with a sharp drop in stylistic standard, often accompanied with striking metrical irregularities, not to say disorder, and intolerable obscenities, even for this type of popular dramatic entertainment. Nevertheless, it is not too risky to discuss the forms of these plays, for each of them has its own unmistakable structure.

The first of these three plays, *Tayf al-Khayāl* (The Shadow Spirit), is the longest and by far the most developed as regards plot and characterization. After a short prologue, in which the Presenter or Master of Ceremonies (*al-Rayyis*) introduces the show, he calls upon Tayf al-Khayāl who promptly appears, a deformed hunchback. He greets the Presenter who returns the greeting and addresses a panegyric poem to him in which he ironically praises the beauty of his appearance and that of all things 'crooked' such as a camel hump, a lute and a ship. Tayf thanks him profusely and performs a dance traditionally associated with the shadow theatre, singing verses in which he welcomes the audience, offers a pious prayer to God and expresses good wishes for the ruler and the audience in what is obviously a conventional formula. He then turns to the audience, and in a speech of rhyming prose, interspersed with colloquial expressions, describes the various aspects of sinful living in which he has been indulging. He claims that he has now

repented and has come to Cairo in search of his close friend Prince Wiṣāl with whom he parted in Mosul, to find that the Sultan of Egypt, Baybars (1260-1277) has waged a ruthless war on the army of Satan and that places of entertainment now lie deserted and in ruins (this, in fact, is corroborated by the medieval historian Ibn Iyās).<sup>23</sup> He is invited to stay with a friend who apologizes for not being able to entertain him in the manner to which he is accustomed because of the prohibition on wine, and tells him that he believes that Satan is now dead, and asks him to join him in an elegy lamenting his death. Tayf obliges his friend by reciting a long elegy on Satan, whom he calls *shaykhunā* (our master), and in it he expresses his yearning for the now forbidden pleasures of living, such as drinking and fornication which he unhappily describes in vivid detail. He is then overcome by grief and longing for the company of his friend Prince Wiṣāl and begs to be reunited with him. A messenger then calls upon Wiṣāl who also promptly appears: a soldier wearing a three cornered head gear with unkempt bristling moustache. After greeting the audience he proceeds to introduce himself in the rhyming prose of the *maqāma* form, but in the mock heroic style, giving sufficient information about his loose living in a manner that suggests that we are in the presence of a supreme clown. He nostalgically reminisces about his wild past and recounts in the frankest language his various amorous adventures with both sexes in a lengthy poem which he concludes by advising Satan not to remain in Egypt, otherwise he would meet with severe punishment from its strict ruler. (A connection with the earlier elegy on Satan is hereby established and the way is prepared for the protagonist's real repentance at the end.)

Wiṣāl then declares his intention to mend his ways and get married. He calls for his Secretary who looks after his financial affairs, typically a Copt. Since the Prince is a mock prince, his Secretary too is a mock secretary and he also has a mock poet who composes panegyrics for him. In fact, we have here a topsy-turvy picture of a princely court, obviously with satirical overtones. The Secretary produces the deed of investiture which the Prince has asked for and which delimits his possessions and the domains of which he is declared Master, his qualification being 'his ability to dispel sorrow as efficiently as wine' and to bring joy and merriment by his wit and anecdotes. Interestingly enough, the domains assigned to him are the tombs and the ruined parts of old Cairo (the connection with death is obviously symbolically significant). The condition insisted upon for his holding these domains is that he does not leave any source of fun untapped, however immoral it may be. In other words Prince Wiṣāl is the Arabic Prince des Sots and the Lord of Misrule. He is described in the document as 'the pride of the foolish and the mad' (*fakhr al-buḥ* *wa-l-majānīn*).<sup>24</sup>

Tayf al-Khayāl then turns to the Secretary and presses him to read the poem in praise of the Prince which the Court Poet has written. The poem is recited and in it the poet, with tongue in cheek, recounts how the Prince has turned the barren and waste land he has been granted into an earthly paradise with justice reigning supreme over it. The Prince suspects the irony and angrily sends for the Poet who arrives and apologizes for his effrontery in lines

mocking the old tradition of Arabic 'apologetic' verse, indulges in erotic verse with frank sexual descriptions for which Wisāl thanks him on account of his eloquence. The Poet kisses the ground at his feet and retires.

At this point Prince Wisāl confides to his companion Ṭayf al-Khayāl his intention to give up this loose living and homosexuality, to repent and find himself a wife. He asks for the marriage broker Umm Rashīd who promptly appears and greets the company in a manner befitting her character and profession. She informs him at once that she has available just the right person for him, a young divorced woman whose beauties she proceeds to enumerate, as well as her unfortunate experiences including the ferocity of her husband in removing her virginity on the wedding night and her lesbianism. Umm Rashīd does not omit to add in realistic detail her own sexual experiences with men. Wisāl expresses agreement and the marriage clerk (*ma'dhin*) and witnesses are brought on the screen. The clerk makes the customary speech on such an occasion, but in rhyming prose, from which we learn that the bride's name is *Dabba bint Miftāh* (Lock daughter of Key), a comical name with clear enough sexual implications, which also suggests ugliness, specifically referring to protruding and ill-formed teeth, thereby preparing us for the shock which Wisāl will receive when he sees her face after the wedding ceremony and procession.

The marriage clerk's speech ends, as usual, with citing the amount of the bride's money (*mal*) Wisāl has to pay and with the latter accepting the terms of the marriage contract. Wisāl's problem now is how to raise the necessary amount, since we learn that he has managed to squander all his fortune on his riotous living. He proceeds to give in verse an account of his reduced circumstances—an admirably detailed account in which are graphically described his tiny lodgings, a room too small for him to be able to lie down fully stretched out, with the traces of an ancient worn out rush mat, a pillow and a mattress stuffed with countless lice, bed bugs climbing up and down it. Other insects and pests abound, such as mosquitoes, rats, beetles, scorpions, snakes, spiders, wasps, flies and bats. All these low forms of life are depicted in a mock heroic style, with ironic allusions to the 'serious' Arabic poetic tradition, which at times renders the speech excruciatingly funny. He ends by pointing out that he is so poor that his garment is patched up in so many colours which make it look like the hoopoe's feathers and by lamenting his fate and wishing he had never been born.

When asked by his friend Ṭayf what has happened to his great wealth, his numerous horses, mules and camels, Wisāl replies in a memorable passage of rhyming prose full of ingenious wit and play on words<sup>25</sup> that he has squandered it all on drink. Even his one and only remaining horse fell ill from overwork and died, and he explains how, taking pity on him, the vizier made him a present of a horse for which he thanked him in an eulogy which contains a humorous account of the last days of his dead horse and another which praises the virtues of his new one, and in the course of which he wishes to reveal his thorough knowledge of different breeds of horses as well as impress with his historical learning. Finally, Wisāl asks Ṭayf to lend him some money, but the

latter responds with a rude noise indicating that he is utterly penniless, and assures him that he has not eaten for three days, and asks him what has become of his furniture and fine clothes. This gives Wisāl another opportunity to give a further account of his bare lodgings which he likens to a grave, worse than a grave since he still has to pay rent for them. Once more he reminds Ṭayf and the audience that he has resolved to marry only as a measure of repentance and as an escape from prostitutes and in order to join the company of honest folk. He, therefore, needs the money to mend his ways (a hint to the audience that they should give to the players generously as there was no admission fee charged, but the audience was expected to pay at certain points during the performance).

Here the marriage broker Umm Rashīd appears (the only time a character appears without being called which seems a clear indication that it is now time for 'collection'). After greeting those present she announces that she has made great preparations for a first class party to celebrate the wedding, warning Wisāl (or rather the audience) to have the money ready to pay the singers and musicians. Wisāl withdraws and then reappears in an impressive procession riding a noble steed, preceded by candles in fine array and followed by trumpets and drums. He politely dismounts and waits for the bride who soon appears surrounded by several women waiting on her, her face veiled with an embroidered gold braided handkerchief. However, as soon as he lifts her veil she utters a sound like the braying of a donkey, and he is shocked to see how monstrously ugly she looks, the shock making him faint. She, in her turn, complains to Umm Rashīd that he has frightened her and her little boy (who, in fact, turns out to be her grandson, a lad that seems possessed, at any rate, obsessed by the devil). The boy sways and writhes excitedly, then smells Wisāl's nose and immediately falls into a fit of coughing and farting, and when he catches his breath he recites obscene verses in very colloquial Egyptian which seem to make Wisāl recover his consciousness, jump to his feet and with his club assault the boy, the women and the bride, all of whom flee before him in terror.

When Ṭayf reappears Wisāl tells him that Umm Rashīd and her husband Shaykh 'Aḥq must be summoned to be thrashed as a punishment for their cheating. 'Aḥq is brought in, singing and farting, an aged man who, in a futile attempt to hide his age, has had his hair dyed. He delivers a speech in verse, lamenting his lost youth and vigour, and nostalgically recounts his sexual exploits of the past. Wisāl threatens to have him whipped as an example to stop old women from cheating men and to give the devil a lesson. But Ṭayf intercedes on his behalf, pleading his old age, and to make his point he gives a detailed humorous description of the state of 'Aḥq's dotage, impotence and loss of mental faculties, brought about by excessive drinking and debauchery, quoting a dramatic monologue composed for him by the Court Poet whom we have already seen, in which he bitterly complains about his shrewish wife and cites instances of his folly, some of which remain a source of laughter to this day, e.g. the old man's being frightened by his own image in the water which he mistakes for another man threatening to attack him.<sup>26</sup> Shaykh 'Aḥq

complains that his death is near and looks back sorrowfully on the wild sexual adventures of his youth, criticizes the physician Yaḡyānūs for being an incompetent doctor whose treatment proves ineffective and at whose hands his own wife has died. Wiṣāl is surprised to hear of Umm Rashīd's death, asks the Presenter to call Dr. Yaḡyānūs to verify this. The doctor appears and gives an account of her death in a brothel, reporting her last words, which were to counsel someone present to take her place in bringing together men and women in the pursuit of love and physical union. He joins the company in lamenting her death by reciting an elegy on her in which he enumerates her various achievements in procuring women for men and many aspects of her dissolute life. Like earlier poems of panegyric this elegy is of the mock variety, in which the mourner, in fact, rejoices at the death of his subject: 'her loss', he says, 'is a day of festivity for me'.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, to other characters death is real enough. As a result Fayf repents and Prince Wiṣāl decides to go on a pilgrimage to holy Mecca as a penitent humbly seeking to purify himself of all his past sins.

Such, in brief, is the plot outline of the play, from which we can see that, despite what may seem to be irrelevant digressions, there is a clear progression, a main action that revolves around a central figure, that of Prince Wiṣāl, the hero or protagonist of the piece. Prince Wiṣāl arrives in Cairo at an important juncture in his life and a particular moment in Egyptian history. Before the Prince's appearance we are given, through his friend Fayf al-Khayāl, the necessary information for the larger social and political context of the action and something about the type of company the Prince keeps. From the Prince's reminiscences we learn a great deal about his past, but the action proper begins with his decision to reform and marry, develops with the preparations for the wedding, leading up to the actual ceremony. The crisis is reached with the discovery of the marriage broker's cheating and the resolution happens with the news of her death which results in the abandoning of the thought of marriage and the decision to undergo a pilgrimage to the holy shrine in Mecca. Making allowance for possible interpolations, the plot is on the whole reasonably well organized, and the relation between the chief episodes is more of a *propter hoc* than a *post hoc* relation.

Of course, the dramatic technique employed shows certain primitive features. For instance, characters seem to be waiting to be called upon by Fayf al-Khayāl, in response to Prince Wiṣāl's request. Instead of giving the impression of appearing of their own accord or happening to meet one another in a semblance of ordinary daily business, they are simply summoned. The first to be summoned in this manner is Fayf al-Khayāl himself who is called by the Presenter, *the Rayyis*. It is a technique which readers of the Morality play *Everyman* will recognize: Everyman only needs to think of, or call upon, characters such as Fellowship, Kindred, Goods or Good-Deeds for such characters to appear at once, the author making no attempt to create a plausible situation in which characters seem to come on the stage spontaneously. Likewise, characters are directly introduced and explained to the audience

either by themselves or by the Presenter. Again one can easily find similar examples of this in early European drama. For instance, in the Chester Pageant of Noah's Flood God introduces himself directly by these words:

I, God, that all this worlde hath wroughte etc....<sup>28</sup>

However, there is nothing primitive about some of the characterization in Ibn Dāniyāl's play, particularly his portrayal of Umm Rashīd, the match-maker. She is a cross between Juliet's Nurse and Celestina, a bawd and a female Pandarus who brings lovers together, partly deriving vicarious pleasure from the experience, but also with an eye on the material advantage to be gained. She is utterly without any scruples, yet richly gifted with persuasive eloquence. Compared with an early dramatic female character such as Noah's shrewish wife in the Chester miracle play, *The Flood*, she is a most complex creation which belongs to a different order of writing. When she appears she greets the company in a different manner from the other characters. In fact, the way dialogue is used to express the speaker's character is masterly, a thing which is truly astonishing considering the early date of the play. When she asks why she has been called for in the dark of night she uses a mode of speech totally different from that employed by the doctor when he asks a similar question later on. Each speaker expresses his character, his preoccupation and his calling in the very images used: while she employs sexual imagery, in his speech medical images abound. She says:<sup>29</sup>

مستحم بالسعادة، ولا زائم في نعمة وسيادة وفي خير والطير عادة. يا أولادي ولا يلتم  
بالكبر، وقتل الجسم والسمع وضيف البصر، من هذا الذي طليني في الليل الدامس،  
والدروب مقلقة والطرف ناعس، وأرضعني والنجوم راكدة، وكل صبية مع عشيقها راقدة

But he says:<sup>30</sup>

أعوز بالله من التيطان الرجيم، من هذا الطارق في الليل الفاسق، ومن ذا الذي أزعجني  
في فراخي، في جنح الليل النافسي، وأقاني من رقتي وما اهتم الطعام من معدني، حتى  
سقط نضفي وكنت من حيطان قلي أفضي....

The very rhythm and diction she uses are feminine. For instance, her greeting whenever she appears is *mussthum bi-l-sā'ada* and not the masculine *al-salāmu 'alaykum*. Or listen to the way she informs the Prince of the woman she wants him to marry:<sup>31</sup>

يا وليدي عندي صبية كأنها الشمس الذهبية، إلا أنها فترت من زوجها الأول من أم  
الانفخاض، ودأبها القوابل بدناء مضاض. وكانت بسلامتها قد ألفت السحاق وتعودت به  
في دار معلما أم اسحق

Note the use of the expression *bisalāmihā* (for *bisalāmātihā*), which no male would use in this context, and yet how right and apt it is. Her language is colourful and rich in idiomatic expressions and proverbs such as *الانفخاض* and *دأبها القوابل* and *بداها مضاض* and *تعودت به* which suggest as in the way she hints at the kind of (immoral) services she is offering the Prince:<sup>33</sup>

أي والله يا ولدني، روادع الرافضي، فلا بد من الولي والرافضي، وإن شئت بلا رافضي  
وتصطك على العادة، موضة بالعادة

In fact, Ibn Dāniyāl's mastery and sensitive handling of the Arabic language are abundantly clear throughout the play, not the least in his remarkable descriptive powers as, for instance, in his detailed humorous verse accounts of Wisāl's poverty, which never become mechanically repetitive. Equally impressive are the author's satirical powers, aided no doubt by his sharpened vision as a medical practitioner and his developed power of observation as an outsider in Cairo. A vast section of Egyptian society is here mercilessly satirized. Despite the many farcical elements it contains, the play is by no means a cheap or crude type of popular entertainment. Admittedly sex, in all its forms, and other physical functions loom rather large in it. However, as Enid Welsford has shown in her classic study *The Fool*, the complete absence of the moral sense is as a rule a characteristic of the early European literature of the Fool variety. Commenting on the 'sheer brutality and physical nastiness of many of the buffoon stories', she says:<sup>34</sup>

This aspect of humour is important and cannot properly be overlooked. The men of those days had a robust taste in comedy, their real and their mythical buffoons were gross men of the earth, who knew well that the normal physical functions of the body have always provided the human race with an inexhaustible source of merriment.

In the Fool literature physical deformity often went hand in hand with moral subnormality. Before Ibn Dāniyāl invented his hunch-backed Tayf al-Khayāl, ancient Rome, for instance, had known its 'hump-backed, hook-nosed, large-jawed mime'.<sup>35</sup> The tricks performed by Till Eulenspiegel were often 'unspeakably gross and coarse and sometimes offensively brutal'.<sup>36</sup> One of the qualities that remained constant in Harlequin's character was the absence of the moral sense,<sup>37</sup> just as the *Commedia dell'Arte* was never without an element of crudity.

The connection between humour and the obscene is, in fact, a well known feature of classical literature from the early sources of Greek comedy in the Phallic dance to the more sophisticated world of Petronius' *Satyricon*. Equally, the sexual sources of humour are easily noticeable in medieval Arabic literature. Recently in his useful study *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: the Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, which discusses the literature dealing with the confraternity of tricksters, C.E. Bosworth has reminded us that one aspect of the new themes in Arabic literature of the ninth century, poetry and prose alike, was the vogue for the erotic and near pornographic. He traces this phenomenon from its rise until the fourteenth century, pointing out how serious men of letters and patrons such as al-Sāhib ibn 'Abbād, al-Tha'libī and al-Tawhīdī, not to mention Caliphs like al-Ma'mūn and al-Mutawakkil, were keenly interested in the uninhibited jargon and the mores of the underworld.<sup>38</sup>

Yet the unabashed celebration of the world of the flesh is counterbalanced

in Ibn Dāniyāl's play by a sense of death lurking round the corner. Death puts an end to the moral holiday and turns Prince Wisāl's thoughts to the holy places of Islam. Indeed, even in the midst of his obviously relished reminiscences of the pleasures of the flesh, Wisāl never ceases to talk about the need for repentance. To say that the Arabic Shadow Theatre is 'markedly secular in its themes and attitudes', as Landau does,<sup>39</sup> is, therefore, to miss an important component of Ibn Dāniyāl's drama. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the two elements, the secular and religious, are no less unequal here than in, for instance, the Wakefield Second Shepherds' Play, where the bulk of the play, taken up by the comic episode of the shepherds and the stealing of the sheep by Mac and his wife Gill who disguise it as a baby in a cot, provides an ironic contrast to the religious part, about one-fifth of the total length of the play, in which the shepherds are summoned to Bethlehem to adore the infant Jesus. Here, too, there is irony in the quest of Prince Wisāl, whose name means 'sexual union', for marriage turning into a 'religious' pilgrimage to the holy places.

#### IV

The structure of the second play, *'Ajīb wa-Charīb* (The Amazing Preacher and the Stranger) is totally different from that of the first. Here there is hardly any plot at all, but after a brief prologue recited by the Presenter, the character of Charīb (Stranger) appears, introduces himself as one of the Banū Sāsān, the 'Children of Sāsān, i.e. the Confraternity of Tricksters who have been forced by historical circumstances to lead a life of wandering, living on their wits and resorting to trickery and deception in order to survive. He begins by looking back nostalgically on the past before being driven into exile, a time when all the pleasures of life were available in plenty, singling out the pleasures of drinking and sex which he describes in the detailed and uninhibited manner we have already encountered in *Tayf al-Khayāl*. He explains the reasons for his people's turning to trickery, namely that they had lost hope in the generosity of men around them.<sup>40</sup> رأينا الدنيا ولا العاجلة اليها ونزكنا العمل وما لنا الي الراحة والكسل

He then proceeds to enumerate to the Presenter some of the various guises he has assumed in order to con people and eke out a living. These include, among other things, the training of bears, dogs, monkeys, snake charming, quack medicine, herbalism and eye surgery, jurisprudence, grammar, philosophy and preaching. He then withdraws to be succeeded by a gallery of such characters, one at a time, beginning with the last mentioned role, i.e. the preacher. Each character introduces himself, describes his trade which is wittily indicated or implied by his name, uses the appropriate language of the profession, and displays samples of his craft or what he has to offer. After the preacher (who is called 'Ajīb = Amazing, allegedly after a certain 'Ajīb al-Dīn, a celebrated preacher of the time), the characters appear in this order: a snake-charmer, a quack-doctor, a hawkler of medicinal herbs, an ophthalmic surgeon, an acrobat, a juggler, an astrologer, a trader in amulets, a lion tamer, an elephant man, a goat-trainer, a phlebotomist/prostitute, a trainer of cats (and mice), a dog trainer, a tamer of beasts, a Sudanese clown, a sword

swallower, a monkey trainer, a rope dancer, a conjurer with self-inflicted wounds, a torch-bearer and finally a camel driver. The Stranger, then reappears at the end to provide the epilogue to the play. As Bosworth has shown, many of these roles assumed by beggars, rogues, common and tricksters are mentioned in the literature dealing with Banū Sāsān, both prose and poetry, from the thirteenth century Janbarī's *Kashf al-Asrār* to the Sasanīya poems by the tenth century Abū Dulaf and Šafīyy al-Dīn al-Hillī (1278-1349?).

Although no more than sketches, these characters are so vividly drawn in Ibn Dāniyāl's play that a whole picture of a large section of the medieval Cairo market is successfully evoked. The speeches uttered by them range from the summary four lines, as in the case of the lion tamer or the elephant trainer, to the elaborate ones covering no less than three pages in which the speaker displays all the psychological tricks at his command, as in the case of the snake charmer, the astrologer and the herbalist. (The torch-bearer's speech is a poem in monorhyme of over a hundred lines). Some of the more detailed sketches are masterpieces of satirical writing. Here, for instance, is a part of the astrologer's speech, which he gives after he appears on the screen carrying his book, his astrolabe, his sand box and his stool and delivers a pious prologue in which he praises the Lord, the creator of the heavens and the stars which He has designed to indicate and control the fortunes of mortals:

Honourable masters and worthy gentlemen, there is a special ruling for this year and certain events shall take place in it. For in this year God will allow the clouds to gather [in the sky] and the waves of the sea to clash against one another. The winds shall be permitted to blow and the insects to crawl on the surface of the globe. Prices may vary and some merchants may prosper... God will then allow lightning to flash and rain to fall. Happy will be the man who will have hoarded silver and gold, and miserable will be he who will not own a handful of worldly goods. So whoever bears a name beginning with the letter 'C' you must congratulate on his good fortune, but beware of the man whose name contains the letters 'S' and 'K'.<sup>41</sup>

There is no interaction between these characters, but only a procession of grotesque figures. The total effect is not unlike that of the French *Soifée* play, as we are made aware of the Fool or Clown behind each character we are watching. The keynote is struck by the first two characters to appear, particularly by the Amazing Preacher, 'Aynb, who gives what amounts to a 'fool-sermon', in which he uses the paraphernalia of religious sermons to instruct his followers in the mysteries of their trade as common and tricksters.<sup>42</sup> The whole show has many of the qualities of a Dance Macabre with the ending underlying the need for repentance and purification from the sins of this world. The mixture of the comic and religious is once more to be seen. The first character to appear (after the Stranger) is the Preacher with his mock sermon, but the last character (before the Stranger) is the camel-driver whose speech consists largely of a devotional poem he chants, in which he expresses the hope to go on a pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam. In a sense, all the

characters exhibited (except for the woman and the Sudanese clown) are aspects of the same character, namely that of Gharīb (the Stranger). They are different roles the stranger has had to play, as indeed he has confided to the Presenter early in the drama. At the end, after the parade of the procession of these aspects, they are reassembled back to the original character, Gharīb. The end, therefore, is perfectly logical and consistent with the beginning, Gharīb being a composite figure combining all these. The structure of the play is neatly circular and that the very last line in the prologue consists solely of the repetition of the word *gharīb* (stranger)<sup>43</sup> is perhaps no mere coincidence—although it would be wrong to miss the underlying pathos in this repetition: on the literal level all the characters appear as outsiders, foreigners, who despite the satire are somewhat sympathetically drawn by our author who himself had known what it was like to be a foreigner. On another level, since the lines are addressed to God, what is meant is that we are all strangers in this earthly existence.

## V

The third and last play in Ibn Dāniyāl's collection is *al-Mutayyam wa'l-Dār* 'the *al-Yatayim* (translated literally as the Love Stricken One and the Lost One who inspires passion). Unlike the second play, *The Lovestricken One* has a story and a plot. After a brief greeting delivered to the audience by the Presenter, al-Mutayyam (the love-stricken man) appears, looking distraught and worn out by his passion and amidst tears and moaning recites a poem about the agonies and suffering caused by love: it is a burlesque treatment of the Arabic love poetry conventions, with an exquisitely comical effect. He then turns to the audience, extends a somewhat effeminate greeting to them, introduces himself, explains how he has fallen for a young man so attractive that he has spoiled the chances of lovely women, for all the men around him are madly in love with him. He adds that he fell in love with him when he saw him stripped in the public baths, looking more seductive than any woman and surrounded by a crowd of half-crazed gazing admirers. He proceeds to recite a love *muwashshah* he has composed on him.

Mutayyam continues to address the audience, telling them that he is a stranger from Mosul who only calls at the houses of the great. At this point a mis-shapen young man appears and while emitting unattractive noises (a mixture of snorting and farting), he claims that he is Mutayyam's old lover. He reproaches Mutayyam for turning away from him in favour of the bigger youth al-Yutayyim, and delivers a speech in rhyming prose in praise of all things small. Mutayyam replies by rebutting his argument that small is beautiful, saying that no sane man would prefer the crescent to the full moon or unripe sour grapes to the pleasurable taste of wine. (Here we note the element of medieval debate form, best illustrated in Arabic literature in the work of al-fāhiz, of which we shall see further instances in the contests between the cocks, the rams and the bulls later on in the play.) Mutayyam makes it clear to his old lover that there is no hope of their resuming their relationship, and talks to him about the present object of his passion, Yutayyim. He asks him if he has

seen Yutayyim or his servant boy Bayram, who seems to have complete control over him. He does not cease to tell him of his passion for this young man and recounts in a long poem the incident in the public baths which had a powerful impact upon him. Distracted by the sight of his beloved Yutayyim walking before him as they were leaving, he slipped and fell down on the bath floor at his feet. Yutayyim rushed to help him, knelt down to attend to him as he lay prostrate on the floor, a thing which gave Mutayyam a chance to steal a kiss.

In response to Mutayyam's entreaties, Yutayyim's boy servant, Bayram, uses his good offices and powers of persuasion and manages to soften his master's heart, convincing him that Mutayyam is genuinely in love with him, and tempting his master further by telling him that he shares with him the passion for owning performing and entertaining animals and for all manner of sports. On hearing this news from Bayram, Mutayyam is delighted, dances with joy, brings wine and glasses and proceeds to sing. Soon Yutayyim appears and joins him in singing. In turn each sings about the merits of his fighting cock. The latter challenges the former and a fight between the two cocks is arranged, refereed by Zayhūn who begins the proceedings with a speech, which, after the usual pious preamble, praises the virtues of cocks and cock-fighting, a sport, he says, enjoyed by royalty and common people alike. Yutayyim's cock loses the fight and after a splendidly humorous excuse he challenges his lover to let his ram fight his. Again he loses the bet, but finally he wins when his bull fights Mutayyam's bull. All these fights, incidentally, are refereed by the same Zayhūn who formally gives appropriate speeches before each fight. Dismayed at his loss, Mutayyam tells the Presenter Rayyis 'Alf that he wishes to have his bull slaughtered, and a banquet to be held with all manner of food, wines, incense and merriment, to which all types of lovers are to be invited. His request is granted, and a party is given, attended by men engaged in every type of sexual activity or perversion, homosexuality, pederasty, masturbation, as well as a glutton, each of whom in turn gives a speech explaining his particular interest, is then plied with wine until he is overpowered with sleep and drink.

In the midst of the feasting, however, an awe-inspiring figure appears who strikes terror in Mutayyam's heart. It is the Angel of Death whose loud call rudely awakens the sleepers from their deep slumber and instantly restores their sobriety. Fortunately, the Lovestricken One has time to repent and he humbly asks God's forgiveness before he dies. The play ends with his funeral. Here, as in the first play, *Tayf*, death puts an end to the moral holiday. In fact, in this respect, although the analogy must not be pursued too far, this is the Arabic variation on the theme of the Morality play *Everyman*.

It is clear then how structurally different each of the three plays is: it is as if challenged to produce shadow plays different from the common type of which people had grown tired, Ibn Dāniyāl deliberately set out to write plays formally so distinct from one another. Yet, despite these differences the plays have obvious features in common. They all include singing, music and dancing. They are written in a mixture of verse and rhyming prose, a clear

indication that the shadow theatre, as seen in Ibn Dāniyāl's work, was a gradual development from the Arabic *maqāma* form,<sup>44</sup> although, of course, there is much more verse here than in the *maqāma*. Another trace of the *maqāma* is to be seen in the way stage directions are set out in Ibn Dāniyāl's plays: they are not given separately, but as an integral part of the text, in them the rule of *sqj'* (rhyming prose) is observed (partly also to facilitate memorization). The result is that the text of these plays reads very much like a producer's edition with all the details of stage directions given. But because they form part of the text, often part of the Presenter's speeches, the work looks on the page more like narrative broken up into long speeches, than drama proper.<sup>45</sup>

As has often been observed by scholars, Ibn Dāniyāl uses a remarkably flexible type of Arabic, ranging from the classical to the colloquial with an admixture of argot, obscure jargon and even gibberish when the need arises. It is this flexibility that has enabled him to make his speeches, as we have seen, so subtly and accurately expressive of the speakers, which is an important element in drama. That is why, compared with the *maqāma* literature, his rhyming prose is considerably simpler, and the balance between the phrase units is perhaps less rigorously maintained. However, this aspect of Ibn Dāniyāl's work clearly deserves serious study and analysis. After all, what gives the plays their value is in the end not so much the visual as the *literary* aspect, which relates to the particular language employed by the author, ranging from the simple device of giving characters names denoting or suggesting their qualities or trade to the more complex ability to use the register and even rhythm appropriate to the character.

Finally, two more characteristics of these plays which seem to relate them to the *maqāma* tradition deserve a comment: first, their interest in comment, tricksters and, in general, people from the lowest strata of society who live by their wits and eloquence, secondly, the final act of repentance which characters go through after a life of riotous existence devoted to the pursuit of earthly pleasures (we recall that in the fiftieth *maqāma* by al-Ḥarīrī, Abū Zayd al-Surūjī repents). No doubt, the link is there, but it is worth remembering that by Ibn Dāniyāl's time the domain of the shadow theatre seems to have become the festsam of society, characters from the lower walks of life or the underworld, as he clearly says in the introductory remarks to his first-play. As for the final repentance we find in all three plays, this must be related to the total vision of the Fool literature, to which these plays legitimately belong, a vision that, while celebrating the pleasures and the experiences of the flesh with all their crudities, sexual and otherwise, 'the fury and the mire of the human veins', is never totally oblivious for long of the fact that the Saturnalia can never be other than a moral holiday and that all holidays must come to an end.