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une liste complète, qui supervisaient l’administration du temple dont la Bible nous fournit aussi, probablement la liste complète des grands prêtres. L’exemple de Néchémie, n’hésitant pas à s’opposer aux autorités locales, y compris aux prêtres, nous révèle l’étendue du pouvoir du gouverneur tant du point de vue civil (corvée, taxes...), en collaboration avec les juges nommés directement par le pouvoir central. C’est d’ailleurs dans ce contexte que l’auteur interprète la mission d’Esdras ayant pour but de nommer des juges royaux qui devaient juger non selon un code de lois écrites mais en tenant compte des décrets royaux et satrapiques. Elle en conclut - le modèle de Achéménide rejeté par Eisten tadt - que le concept de \textit{Self-Governance} est une variante de celle de la \textit{Self-Governance}, ce livre cesse de tenir compte de la documentation disponible en la replaçant dans son contexte et constitue un intéressant essai sur le fonctionnement de l’Empire Persé. Le Grand Roi semble bien avoir pratiqué une politique pragmatique soutenant ceux qui se ralliaient à lui mais réprimant ceux qui s’y opposaient. L’analyse de la documentation disponible est généralement sérieuse, argumentant dans le détail la position prise dans les sujets discutés comme l’authenticité de la lettre de Darius à Gadatas ou la signification de la trilingue de Xanthos. Cependant cette position paraît parfois plus conjecturale (comme l’hypothèse d’une inscription bilingue pour la construction du temple de Jérusalem) ou même irréaliste lorsqu’elle qualifie Néchémie de frataraka (p. 199), ou semble tirer toute détermination aux codes de lois antiques alors qu’ils servaient, au moins, à la formation des futurs juges. D’une manière plus générale, il aurait fallu probablement davantage souligner que, à la différence de la Babylonie, de l’Égypte et de l’Asie Mineure, l’analyse de la situation d’Judée ne se situait pas au niveau « satrapique » mais au niveau provincial et qu’il reste quelque peu étonné que les parallèles de l’administration provinciale de la Samarie et de l’Idumée n’aient pas été évoqués avec la documentation des papyri de Samarie et de celles des ostraca arméniens d’Idumée... 

Malgré ces quelques aspects discutables, ce livre clair et bien présenté constitue une thèse généralement bien argu mentée qui devrait aider à mieux comprendre le fonctionnement de l’Empire Persé pendant plus de deux siècles.

Paris, décembre 2006

A. LE MAIRE

JUDAICA EN HEBRAICA


One of the first works dealing with Sa’adyah ibn Dannán with which I came into contact was Yaakov Mashiah’s PhD dissertation (1972, Columbia University), \textit{The Terminology of Hebrew Prosody and Rhetoric with special reference to Arabic origins}, pp. 238-253. In both the Arabic and the Hebrew tradition, metres and prosody are regarded as ‘grammar’. Medieval Hebrew poetry and grammars of biblical Hebrew go together, because once you have learned the language, you have to practise it in the highest form of speech, namely poetry. Especially since the seventies Angel Sáenz Badillos and Carlos del Valle Rodriguez, have published widely on grammarians of the Hebrew language, and many of their books and articles are devoted to grammarians of Hebrew or poets writing in Hebrew in Spain. Carlos del Valle’s \textit{El Divan Poético de Dunash ibn Labrāq} (Madrid, 1988) contains a section on poetry and metre in general, including a chapter on the poetics of ibn Dannán (1473), pp. 361-380. Del Valle has now provided us with an edition of the whole text of Sa’adyah ibn Dannán’s work on grammar and metrics as part of a larger project aimed at vulgarizing the publications of the Spanish-Hebrew grammarians. The present volume is the tenth to result from del Valle’s great project on the history of Hebrew grammar in Spain, namely ‘Historia de la Gramática Hebrea en España’. The first volume, which appeared in 2002, deals with Menahem ibn Sarūq (910-970) and his disciples.

In the tenth volume, del Valle edits and analyses the Hebrew grammar of Sa’adyah ibn Dannán ca. (1420-1505), both the Arabic version and the version in Hebrew. The Arabic version is called \textit{Al-Darūrī}, the Hebrew version \textit{Ha-Kelal ha-hekraḥi}. Both titles can be freely translated as ‘The necessary knowledge of the grammar of the Hebrew language’.

Chapter 1 is a general introduction related to the Jews during the Nasrid reign of Grenade. Chapter 2 deals with the life and work of Sa’adyah ibn Dannán; his linguistic oeuvre and grammatical doctrine is dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 1 starts with a detailed picture of the rise of the Almohad dynasty (1148-1232) which was a catastrophe for the Jewish communities. For instance, Abraham ibn Da’ūd (1110-1180) had to leave Cordoba to escape persecution; he wrote his \textit{Sefer ha-Qabbalah} (‘Book of the Rabbinic Tradition’) in Toledo in 1169 and mentioned the Almohad disaster. Other chronicles — such as that of Abraham Zacuto (d. 1516) — speak about the intrusion of the Almohad leader ibn Tumart into the Arab world in 1142. Del Valle also quotes other Jewish historians, such as Solomon ibn Verga (15th century), David Ganz (1511-1613), Yussef ha-Kohen (1496-1577), Abraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167) and Isaac Israel (14th century). After the death of Abraham ibn Da’ūd, many disasters overcame al-Andalus, and literacy among the Jews disappeared completely. In the first decades of the 13th century, there were no longer any synagogues in al-Andalus. Samuel Cohen (1148) wrote from Fustat (Old Cairo, Egypt) that the Jews living under the yoke of the Almohads could not profess their Jewishness openly. However, many adhered to the Jewish faith while pretending to be Muslim, a possibility noticed by Maimonides in his treatise \textit{Qiddush ha-Shem} (‘Sanctification of the Name’).

Judaico-Arabic culture continued in exile, in both Christian Spain and in Provence. The knowledge of Arabic among the Jews of Christian Spain was still conspicuous. Signs of the better treatment of Jews under Muslim rule are noticeable following the rise of the Nasrid dynasty, starting with Muḥammad ibn al-Əjmār (1232-1273). Their former legal position as dhimmis was apparently restored. Del Valle gives some examples of the \textit{convivencia} (coexistence) in al-Andalus of
that period, while in Castile Jewish families were forced to convert to Christianity. Many of them emigrated to Granada. In one of his responsa in 1480, Sa'adya ibn Dannān confirms that many Jews in the Christian territories were forced to convert to Christianity.

Del Valle provides some details about daily life in Granada, namely about the distinctive marks Jews wore upon their clothing, about their economic activities and their trade with Genoa, and about the revival of Jewish learning after three hundred years of silence. For example, Rabbi Juda ben Solomon ibn Kalas left Castile, settled in Granada in 1477 and made a supercommentary on Rashi entitled Messiah illemim (‘Making the Mute Speak’). At that time there were no Jewish academies in Granada. Yosef ben Moshe Alascar and Abraham bar Yaqob Gabishon were other learned men of the period. There were also many professionals of medicine. The convivencia was fragile in the 1470s, which was a time of pogroms reminiscent of the riots in Granada in 1066. The rights of the Jews under the Christians were laid down in passages in his poetry, del Valle says (p. 87): ‘Apparently by Yosef ben Yehoshuah ha-Lorqi, and many others. He also

Chapter 2 is devoted to the life and work of Sa'adya ibn Dannān (ca. 1440-1493), the son of Maymūn, whose family had been in Granada since ca. 1300. After the 1492 expulsion, the family settled in the Maghreb; Sa'adya died of pestilence in Oran in 1493. His intellect was multifaceted: he dealt with grammar, lexicography and philosophic speculation. He was the director of a Jewish seminar, Rabbi of Granada, a Halachist (student of Jewish law) and a surgeon. Del Valle lists 13 publications by Sa'adyah, who also copied a lot of works, such as Maimonides's Guide, the Book of Elements and the Hebrew version —

In the second part of Chapter 2, del Valle discusses the linguistic work by Sa’adya ibn Dannān. The grammar of Hebrew that Sa’adyah composed was meant as an introduction to his biblical Hebrew dictionary Kitāb al-uṣūl or Sefer ha-shorashim (‘Book of Roots’). Sa’adyah ibn Dannān believes that this work lays the basis for students to learn ‘to speak the Hebrew language’. First he made a grammar in Arabic (Al-Darūrī fi-I-thāth al-i’brāntyya), which he finished in August 1468. Five years later (1473), he made the Hebrew version — Ha-Kelal ha-ekrahit be-diqaq ha-lashon ha-‘ibrit — at the special request of his Romance- or Spanish-speaking students. The Hebrew version is a literal translation of the Arabic with a certain re-élaboration. The Arabic and Hebrew versions together with the Kitāb al-uṣūl mentioned above can be found in a unique manuscript, which was ready to be copied in 1480 (Bodleian 612; Neubauer 1492). Ibn Dannān defines his work as a compendium and excuses himself for the short chapter on the letters HWY, because it would demand a larger comment. He purposely does not deal in more detail with the verbal paradigm because it has been discussed extensively by David Qimhi (1120-1195).

The greatest difference between the Arabic and the Hebrew version are the poems that serve as examples of the metres. In the Hebrew version, they are wisdom and religious poems, while in the Arabic version they are love poems, and passionate and mundane poems. Only one poem appears in both versions. The Hebrew version has some lacuna at the beginning. The unique manuscript contains 237 fol. and could be an autograph. It is all in Hebrew characters. Del Valle is the first to publish the manuscript in Arabic characters. According to him, nowadays a text edition of Judaeo-Arabic should be in Arabic characters. The part on metrics was previously edited by A. Neubauer in Melekhet ha-shīr; Hebräische Verskunst (Frankfurt 1885), as well as by del Valle (1988), Sāenz Badillos (1987) and Moshe Cohen (2000).

Speaking about the dictionary of biblical Hebrew (Kitāb al-uṣūl, mentioned above), del Valle counts 2138 roots in the 22 sections of the Hebrew letters. He gives a frequency list of quoted authors (mainly grammarians) such as Yona ibn Janāh (77 x), Sa’adya Gaon (24 x), David Qimhi (18 x), Abraham ibn Ezra (10 x) and Hayyūj and Maimonides (each 8 x) and others (p. 96). Regarding the ‘Middle Arabic’ of the Judeo-Arabic text, del Valle rightly affirms that the term is not meant as the chronological intermediary between ancient and modern, but is the result of a contamination between Classical Arabic and Arabic dialect or colloquial, differentiating from Classical Arabic in some cases spread over the whole linguistic spectrum: phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax.

As far as the sources of Al-Darūrī are concerned, he must have been acquainted with Sefer Yesira (‘Book of Creation’), which is attributed to the patriarch Abraham. He seems to have known Masoretic and Qaraita. He quotes a lot of medieval grammarians and Hebrew poets.

Chapter 4 deals with the grammatical doctrine of Sa'adyah ibn Dannān about language in general and Hebrew language in particular. A language system can be dakkil (internal/conceptual) or khārij (external/physical). Language, despite having its origin in God, is compatible with the conventional origin of language. God distinguished mankind from animals by Reason: in the same way he distinguished Hebrew from the other languages. Hebrew is the gate of the Torah. Hebrew is the perfect convention.

Grammar is based on predominant linguistic features without taking into account irregularities. There are three fundamental vowels in Hebrew, as there are in every other language. For the consonants he distinguishes five groups of articulations, namely gutturals, palatals [gyk], dentals [z, s], and labials [bwmp], in
conformity with the classification of the *Sefer Yeşirah* (7th century).

There are three fundamental vowels according to the three basic movements of the universe (from the centre, to the centre and around the centre). The subdivision he makes is taken from Yosef Qimhi (c. 1105 — c. 1170). Ibn Dannan distinguishes within the three groups of vowels the categories of rough, fine and finer.

Most words (nouns and verbs) have three consonants, but there are also words with four, five, six or seven letters or consonants. Of 22 letters (consonants), 11 are always radicals, while 11 can also be servants because they can also have the function as indicators of morphologic, syntactical and other categories. Sa'adya uses mnemotechnic phrases; for instance, the sentence *'ani ha-koteh la-shem'* contains all servile vowels. There are three kinds of words: nouns, verbs and particles. He has a questionnaire which every reader has to go through in order to analyse words grammatically.

He discusses verbs with the usual categories of sound, defective, geminate, contracted and soft, referring to the combinations of radicals. The traditional eight conjugations (or stems) are reduced by ibn Danan to four. This category of particles contains not only one letter prepositions but also elements of verbs and nouns, such as the verbal suffixes -*ta, -ti* and -*tem* for the perfect tense and prepositions combined with personal suffixes.

Ibn Dannan discusses how particles are described with mnemotechnic devices such as the word *‘etan’* [*ytn*] comprising the consonants for the formation of prefixes of the future tense, *‘yah tam’*[yhtm] for verbal stems, etc.

At the end of the grammatical work, Hebrew prosody (based upon Arabic) is dealt with. His predecessor Yehudah ha-Levi (1085-1141) published the first metrical treatise. Sa’adyah ibn Dannan recognizes 16 metres with only 12 main metres. He is the first to use Hebrew terminology as a translation of the Arab terms.

All the subjects discussed by del Valle derive from the texts that appear in the subsequent pages of his volume: the edition of the Hebrew text *Ha-Kelal ha-hekrahi be-diqduq ha-lashon ha-‘ibrit*, and the Arabic text *Al-Dirarı fi ‘l-lughah-l ‘ibrânîyyah*. The edition is bilingual, which allows us to read del Valle’s interpretation of the Hebrew and Arabic texts. Both works are followed by a Hebrew and an Arabic grammatical lexicon, respectively.

This edition and publication is a valuable work. In his introductory chapters, del Valle sheds light upon the Hebrew Andalusian grammatical tradition. In this, he uses the existing studies (both historical and linguistic) effectively, and builds on the most pertinent ones. The volume contains many interesting data and remarks, and a comprehensive bibliography. Moreover, despite the book’s specialist nature it is accessible to Arabsists, Hebraists, Semitists and general linguists, as well as to those who are interested in Hebrew and Arabic poetry and metrics. In addition to being of interest to linguists, it is interesting to historians, especially those who focus on the relationship between Muslims, Jews and Christians, and the different situations of the Jews under Christian and under Muslim rule.

University of Amsterdam, November 2006

**BOEKBESPREKINGEN — ARCHEOLOGIE**

**ARCHEOLOGIE**


This collection volume contains the papers presented at a symposium on The Regeneration of Complex Societies, held during the Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Milwaukee, April 2003. The volume contains ten case studies, varying from Bronze Age Urban Centers in Syria, to Inca State Origins, and processes of Regeneration in Ancient Cambodia. There is an Introductory chapter by the editors, a discussion chapter by Bennet Bronson, and final chapters by Alan Kolata and Norman Yoffee, in which some considerations on the subject of the volume are expressed. The volume can boast of a long list of References (pp. 228-276) in which no less than 337 titles are mentioned. The thought of window-dressing looms up, especially in view of the fact that most of the works mentioned are only found in the texts, hidden between brackets, without any elaboration. But, perhaps such a demonstration of reading ability is necessary in the competitive American academic arena. In line with this are chapters in which the author refers to his/her own publications so often that it becomes embarrassing. For example, Diana and Arlen Chase refer in their chapter on Maya Collapse (chapter 11) in 19 pages no less than 56 times to their own publications. In contradistinction to the sumptuous References the Index is only 7 pages long, quite limited for a volume discussing so widely varying topics. Each of the case studies contains a map, which facilitates the location of the many exotic spots mentioned.

In the Introductory chapter Schwartz and Nichols state that "by regeneration we mean the reappearance of societal complexity (states, cities, etc.) after periods of decentralization, not the reappearance of specific complex societies." (2006:7). A wide variety of phenomena thus can be brought under this heading. In chapter 9 Bronson distinguishes several types of regeneration in Asia: false, stimulus, and template (2006:137), types that in fact can be distinguished all over the world. False regeneration is found when foreign intruders build a new settlement on the place of a collapsed one, or when in a region several complex nodes exist that easily can take over when one of them collapses. In both cases there is a reappearance of a complex society, but without connection with the former one. Stimulus regeneration is based upon some "unsustantiated rumors" about a lost past, which "serves to convince leaders that a higher degree of centralization is possible and to make that centralization more palatable by wrapping it in the mantle of a glorious past" (2006:138). As an example he points to the Holy Roman Empire, which was many things, but "certainly not Roman" (though Bronson admits that this is no pure case of stimulus regeneration). Template regeneration is a revival process that "adheres closely to a fully understood, well-recorded model." (22006:140), for example Egypt under the Old and Middle Kingdom. This case is described in detail by Ellen Morris in Chapter 4, one of the most attractive, well-written and clearly presented chapters of the volume. Regrettably Bronson’s typology is not included in the introduction — it would have given the authors better guidelines. This omission is not the only weak spot in the introduction.