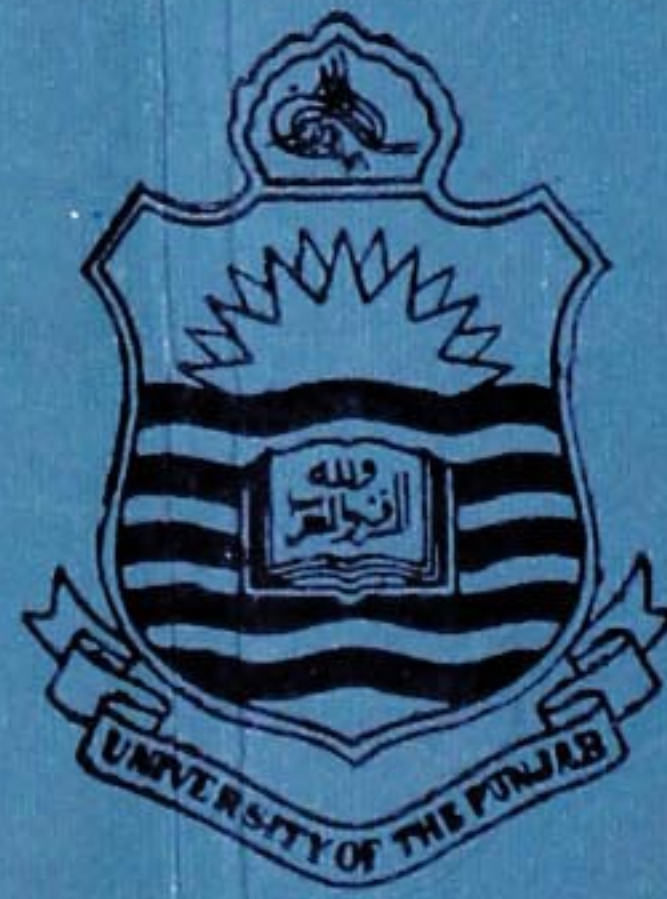


15TH CENTURY HIJRAH
PUBLICATIONS

THE LIFE & WORKS OF
ABU'L-'ABBAS AL-MUBARRAD

By

DR. ZULFAQAR ALI MALIK

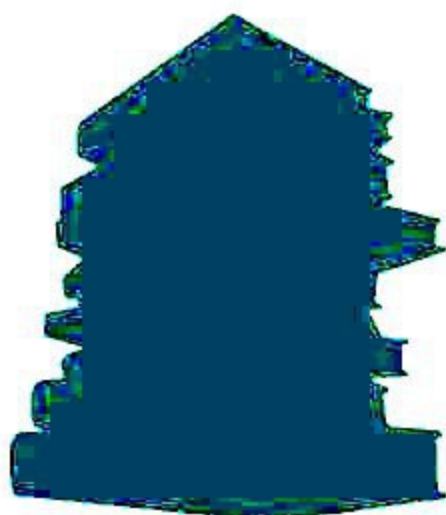


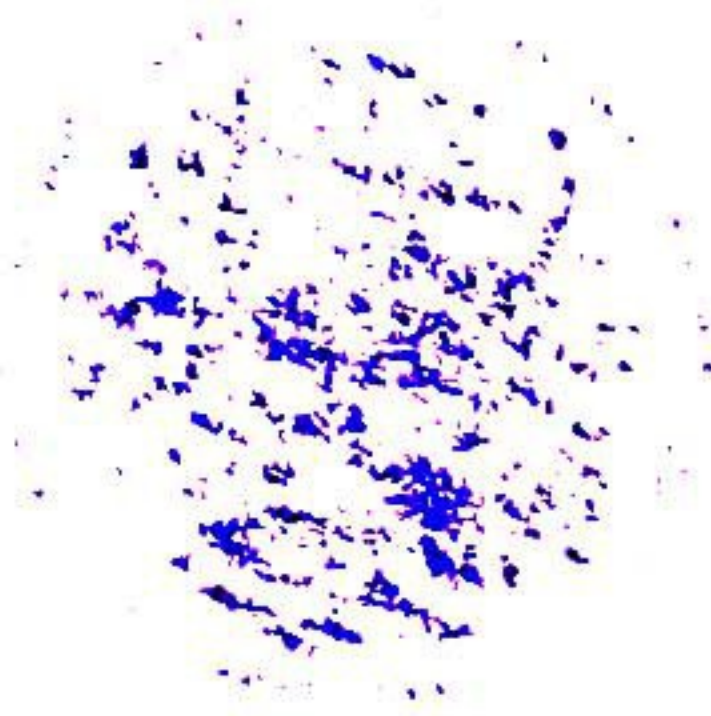
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THE LIFE & WORKS OF
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DR. ZULFAQAR ALI MALIK



UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB, LAHORE
(PAKISTAN)

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FOREWORD

The dawn of the 15th century Hijra heralds the approach of a new era in the history of the Islamic World to which the Muslim Umma can look up with a sense of hope and confidence. It promises not only political independence, complete sovereignty and integrity of Muslim countries, but also a great consciousness of Islamic identity and rediscovery of the Islamic spirit which will lead us to a unity of thought and action. This spirit of resurgence promises the translation of our aims and ideas into glorious reality.

The University of the Punjab is celebrating this historic occasion with holding of seminars and the publications of books of sterling merit. The present book is a dissertation on Abul Abbas al-Mubarrad by Dr. Zulfaqar Ali Malik, Professor of Arabic, University of the Punjab, Lahore. The importance of al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898) as one of the leading Arab grammarians and philologists has long been recognised. The edition of his al-Kamil by Professor William Wright is one of the outstanding classics of Arabic scholarship.

It is therefore most desirable that all the surviving works of al-Mubarrad should be published. Dr. Zulfaqar Ali Malik has prepared a critical edition of Kitab al-Ta'azi, a very rich anthology of ancient Arabic poems and sayings. He has written a long preface on the life, career, writings and influence of al-Mubarrad, using all known sources. For this excellent work Dr. Malik has been awarded the Cambridge Ph. D. Some of the most eminent Orientalists like Professor A. J. Arberry and Professor R. B. Serjeant have acclaimed the present work as a treatise of great importance and authoritative nature.

I deem the presentation of this preface as a befitting tribute to the solemnity and importance of the present occasion.

DR. KHAIRAT MUHAMMAD IBN-E-RASA

Vice-Chancellor

University of the Punjab.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Waheed Quraishi, Principal, University Oriental College and Dr. Khairat Muhammad Ibne Rasa, Vice-Chancellor, University of the Punjab for including my thesis in the list of books to be published by the University of the Punjab in connection with 15th Century Hijra Celebrations.

University Oriental College,
Lahore.

ZULFAQAR ALI MALIK

PREFACE

Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mubarrad, the celebrated author of *al-Kamil*, is one of the most important of the grammarians and belletrists of Arabic language who have left a lasting mark on the subsequent development of Arabic language and literature. Curiously enough, this eminent personage has been neglected by both Eastern and Western scholars, and no serious attempt has yet been made to make a detailed study of his life and works. Indeed, one of his most important works *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* has remained unpublished.

The first European scholar to interest himself in al-Mubarrad's works was W. Wright, who published the first edition of *al-Kamil*. The whole book was edited in ten parts of which the first appeared in 1864 and the last in 1874. In the notice which precedes the text, Wright promised an introduction which was to accompany the last part of his excellent publication. But for unknown reasons he abandoned his plan of writing an introduction containing a full account of al-Mubarrad's life and writings. After Wright, several editions of *al-Kamil* have been published including a detailed commentary on the book by a scholar of al-Marsafi's repute, but none has supplied the readers with a detailed biography of the author. The short biographical accounts which have been prefixed to some of the editions are mere reproductions of the old biographical dictionaries and fail to satisfy the reader.

An Egyptian scholar has recently published Part I of *al-Muqtadab* of al-Mubarrad. The introduction to this publication contains an account of al-Mubarrad's life and works, which the author has also published in the form of a separate booklet under the title of al-Mubarrad *Hayatuhu wa Atharuhu*. This booklet also is no more than a collection of the material contained in some well-known biographical dictionaries. The author has not attempted to glean the facts about al-Mubarrad's life from the works of al-Mubarrad's contemporaries or his pupils.

In order to fill this gap I have undertaken the task of writing a comprehensive biography of al-Mubarrad.

After a preliminary survey of the sources, I realised that no biographical dictionary contains a detailed account of al-Mubarrad's life and career. This is, perhaps, the reason why the editors of al-Mubarrad's works did not give details of his life. Comparatively longer accounts of our author were found in *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, *Inbah al-Ruwat* and *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, but they were far from satisfying. Furthermore, they were identical. All later authorities just reproduce the information contained in *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*. I, therefore, had to examine as far as possible all important biographical and historical works dealing with the age of al-Mubarrad and was able to find a number of interesting details about al-Mubarrad's life not commonly known to scholars. Several interesting anecdotes were found in literary works of al-Mubarrad's contemporaries or his pupils.

I have tried to weave together the bits and pieces about al-Mubarrad's life which I found in various sources and to produce a living portrate of al-Mubarrad. As I was treading virgin soil, I do not claim to have attained perfection. But I dare say that in the present state of our knowledge it will be difficult to add any further details to the biography of al-Mubarrad.

As regards the works of al-Mubarrad most of these have been lost. I have scrutinised the literary works of later writers to find citations from al-Mubarrad's works in them and thus to reconstruct parts of al-Mubarrad's lost works. I must admit that despite my best efforts and the perusal of thousands of pages I could not find very many citations. The few which I found have been given under the relevant titles to furnish the reader with an idea of the style and contents of the lost books.

I cannot adequately express my gratitude for the splendid guidance which I received from my supervisor Professor A. J. Arberry, who had always time to spare to inspire and encourage me. He took a keen interest in my work and brought to my notice a number of valuable manuscripts on my subject.

I am also deeply indebted to Dr. R. B. Serjeant who supervised me

for one term during the absence of Professor Arberry and was kind enough to read and criticise some parts of my thesis and suggest valuable improvements. I am further thankful to him for lending me his own photostat copy of *Kitab Ta'rikh al-'Ulama' al-Nahwiyyin* by al-Mufaddal b. Muhammad al-Nahwi.

My thanks are also due to the Vice Chancellor of the Panjab University for awarding me H. H. the Agha Khan Scholarship and thus enabling me to carry out this research at this ancient and reputed seat of learning.

I am deeply beholden to Dr. F. Fallside, tutor for research students Trinity Hall, who took a keen interest in my work and made me grants from Tutors Fund to get my work typewritten.

Last but not least I am thankful to my friends Mr. D. J. Matthews, Lecturer S. O. A. S. London, and Mr. J. W. Whelen of Pembroke College for checking my English and to The University Typewriting Office for typing my thesis so nicely.

Trinity Hall.

ZULFAQAR ALI MALIK

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Declaration required under regulation 16
for research students.

I hereby certify that my dissertation entitled The Life and Works of al-Mubarrad with a Critical Edition of Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi is not substantially the same as one which has already been submitted to any other University.

This dissertation represents my original research. No part of it has been carried out in collaboration with any other person.

Z. A. MALIK

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CHAPTER I

Al-Mubarrad at Al-Basra

Al-Basra

The biography of al-Mubarrad may be prefaced, with advantage, by a brief description of his native city, and of the height of culture attained by it, in order to give an idea of the cultural environment which shaped the mind of al-Mubarrad.

Al-Basra was founded by 'Utba b. Ghazwan by order of the Caliph 'Umar in 16 or 17 A.H./637 or 638 A.D.' Its original measurement is said to have been 2×1 Parasangs,² but as it was situated at a place where the Euphrates and Tigris, which were two great channels of traffic for their basins, flow into the sea, and where the desert routes from Najd and Syri meet the routes from the Iranian highland, it made astonishingly rapid progress. Soon after its foundation *Bedouin* tribes from the remotest parts of Arabia started to emigrate there, the tribes of al-Azd being prominent among them. The non-Arabs were also attracted by the commercial prospects in that city, and its inhabitants during the Umayyad ascendancy included *al-Asawira*, *al-Zutt* and some Greeks³. The population of al-Basra increased so rapidly that during the reign of Ziyad it had eighty thousand fighting men, with 120 thousand dependents to feed. About the year 50 A.H./670 A.D., the total population of al-Basra was estimated at 300,000⁴. Its measurement increased to 2×2 Parasangs during the Governernship of Khalid b. 'Abd Allah al-Qasri.⁵

The city of al-Basra was destined to make its mark in literary

1. *Ibn al-Faqih* : 188 ; *al-Ya'qubi* 109 ; *al-Tanbih wa'l Ishraf*. 357.

2. *Al-Ya'qubi* : 109.

3. *Khalil b. Ahmad* 7 ; *Ibn al-Faqih* : 191

4. *E.I.* 1/673.

5. *Ibn al-Faqih* : 190.

history. It had a large number of pure Arabs, whose presence was a valuable asset for the purity and dignity of the language. Travellers from all parts of the Muslim world flocked to the city for commercial undertakings, and thus it became a centre of linguistic and philological studies, where the work of collecting and recording the poetry of pre-Islamic times was pursued with ardour. Of its numerous commercial centres, al-Mirbad especially earned a name for literary gatherings, where eminent poets recited their verse and great orators showed their gift of speech. It attained the same status which was enjoyed by 'Ukaz in the Jahiliyya. The emigration of some traditionists and jurists to this city made it a centre of theological studies as well. It had been the intellectual and spiritual centre of the Muslim world till the glory of 'Abbasid Baghdad outshone it.

Al-Basra had the honour producing eminent scholars in the various branches of learning : Poets of great eminence and repute like Bashbar b. Burd (d. 167 A.H./783 A.D.) Salih b. 'Abd al-Quddus (d. 167 A.H./783 A.D.), al-Sayyid Al-Himyari (d. 173 A.H./789 A.D.), Abu Nuwas (d. 198 A.H./813 A.D.) al Raqqashi (d. 200 A.H./815 A.D.) ; rhapsodists and genealogists like Abu 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna (d. 209 A.H./824 A.D.) al-Asma'i (d. 214 A.H./829 A.D.), Sa'id b. al-Aus al-Ansari (d. 215 A.H./830 A.D.) ; and grammarians, lexicographers and historians like Sibawayh (d. 183 A.H./799 A.D.) al-Khalil b. Ahmad (d. 180 A.H./796 A.D.), Qutrub (d. 206 A.H./821 A.D.), Ibn Sa'd (d. 203 A.H./818 A.D.) al-Jahiz (d. 255 A.H./868 A.D.), al-Jarmi (d. 225 A.H./839 A.D.), al-Mazini (d. 249 A.H./863 A.D.), al-Sijistani (d. 255 A.H./868 A.D.) and 'Amr B. Shabba (d. 262 A.H./875 A.D.).¹ In 210 A.H./825 A.D. al-Ma'mun is reported to have ordered a census of the living savants of al-Basra and their pupils, and it was revealed that there were 700 scholars and 11,000 pupils living in the city at that time.² These scholars are said to have written 200,000 books during the space of twenty years, which were sent to the Caliph at his command.³

1. *Ta'rikh al-Basra* : 117.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

This city, which had already produced a goodly crop of scholars and divines, was destined to add another name to the galaxy of talent produced by it.

Al-Mubarrad's name genealogy and tribe :

The full name of al-Mubarrad was Abu'l-'Abbas Muhammad b. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Akbar b. 'Umayr b. Hassan b. Sulaym b. Sa'd b. 'Abd Allah b. Yazid b. Malik b. al-Harith b. 'Amir b. 'Abd Allah b. Bilal b. Auf b. Aslam (who was known as Thumala) b. Ahjan b. Ka'b b. al-Harith b. Ka'b b. 'Abd Allah b. Malik b. Nasr b. al-Azd b. al-Ghauth¹. As is obvious from his genealogy, he belonged to the tribe of al-Azd which was also known as al-Asd² and was one of the largest and most important tribes of pre-Islamic Arabia³. Al-Azd b. al-Ghauth is said to have been the son of Nabt b. Malik b. Ziyad b. Kahlan, b. Saba⁴ who was a descendant of Yashjub b. Ya'rub⁵ b. Qahtan ; hence al-Mubarrad was of Yamanite stock.

The original home of al-Azd is said to have been the town of Ma'rib which was founded by 'Abd Shams Saba', the grand son of Ya'rub,⁶ whence they—after the destruction of the dyke of Ma'rib⁷—migrated to various parts of the Arabian peninsula. The subsequent history of al-Azd need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that the genealogists have divided this tribe into three major groups : Azd Shanu'a, who were the descendants of Nasr b. Al-Azd and came to be known as Shanu'a after the

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* ; 108 ; *al-Fihrist*, 60 ; *al-Jamhara* : 356; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/380; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, 19/111 ; *al-Wafayat* ; 1/495 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/241 ; *al-Nujum* 3/117. The biographers differ about the names of two of al-Mubarrad's ancestors. According to Ibn al-Nadim the name of Hassan's father was Salam, but according to Yaqut, Ibn Khallikan, al-Qifti and Ibn Taghri he was named Sulayman. The rest hold that his name was Sulaym. Similarly there is difference about the name of 'Abd Allah's father. According to Ibn Hazm, al-Khatib, Ibn Khallikan and al-Qifti he was named Zayd, Ibn al-Nadim reports that he was known as Durayd and the rest call him Yazid.
2. *Kitab al-Inas* f. 3a ; *Subh al-A'sha* : 1/319 ; *al-Qala'd* 91 ; *Ansab 'Arab* : 88.
3. See for a brief history of this tribe *E.I.* (R) 811.
4. *Al-Ansab* 276 ; *al-Qala'd* : 91.
5. *Al-Ishtiqaq* : 361, 362
6. Nicholson : 14.
7. *Ta'rikh al-Arab Qabl al-Islam* : 87 ; *Tabaqat Al-Umam* : 46 ; *al-Aghani* : 19/95.

title of their ancestor ; Azd Sarat, who got this title for setting at Sara ; and Azd 'Uman, who were so called for taking up residence in in 'Uman.¹ Our author, al-Mubarrad, was a scion of a branch of Azd Shanu'a,² known as Azd Thumala,³ who originally lived in the neighbourhood of al-Ta'if and were well known for their sagacity and wisdom.⁴

Apart from this information about the descent of al-Mubarrad the biographical dictionaries contain certain anecdotes which raise doubts about his origin. Ibn al-Nadim⁵ recounts on the authority of Abu 'Abd 'Allah Muhammad b. al-Qasim that al-Mubarrad belonged to the *Surahiyyin*⁶ of al-Basra. He worked as a land sweeper, and was known as Hayyan al-Surahi. He laid false claim to his descent from the Yamanite Arabs and succeeded in marrying the daughter of al-Hafsi, the musician⁷ who

1. *Qala'id al-Juman* : 91 ; *Ansab al-'Arab* : 87, 98.
2. G. Strenziok, in his article on al-Azd in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is of the opinion that "The frequent term Shanu'a remains obscure. The current explanation (Shanu'a = al-Harith b. Ka'b b. 'Abd Allah b. Malik b. Nasir b. al-Azd) is obviously erroneous) See *E.I. (R)* : 1/812. Curiously enough the explanation of this term in the Arabic lexicons has escaped his notice. A perusal of the *Sahah* وشأ and the *Lisan* : 1/102-3, and the *Taj* : 1/81,82 suggest that this tribe was given this appellation either on account of their piety and high moral character, or their high lineage or their enmity and hatred for one another, or for being far off from their original lands. Of those probabilities the second is more likely because al-Layth says that Azd Shahu'a root and branch are the most sound (in lineage) of all the Azd Tribe. Cf. *al-Lisan* : 1/102, 3. Furthermore Shanu's was the title of Nasr b. al-Azd and not of al-Harith b. Ka'b as suggested by G. Strenziok. *Ansab al-Arab* : 155, 205, 236, 237 etc ; *Subh al-A'sha* : 1/319 ; *al-Qala'id* : 91.
3. *Jamharat al-Lugha* : 2/50 ; *Kitab al-Ansab* f. 166 ; the literal meaning of this word is froth of milk or remainder of water in a vessel (*Jamharat al-Lugha* : 2/40 ; *al-Ishtiqaq* 492) ; it was the sobriquet of Auf b. Aslam, one of al-Mubarrad's ancestors. Ibn Khallikan cites from al-Mubarrad's *Kitab al-Ishtiqaq* the reason why he was given this title. "In a battle, a large number of 'Auf b. Aslam's descendants perished and the people observed only a *thumala* (very few) of them have escaped death ; henceforth they became known as Thumala". *al-Wafayat* : 1/496.
4. *Al-'Iqd* : 3/386.
5. *Al-Fihrist* : 59.
6. The word *Surahiyyin* is not contained in any available Arabic or Persian lexicon. Dr. M.R. Tajaddud writes in his Persian translation of *Kitab al-Fihrist* (cf. 101) that this word can be a derivation from the root سرح meaning herdsman or a shepherd, Prof. A.J. Arberry thinks it to be a derivation from the Persian word سوراخ which means a hole. Any may it refers to some ignoble occupation of those days.
7. *Al-Inbah* : 3/251.

was a chief of the Yamanites. Ibn Khallikan reports that al-Mubarrad, to establish his descent in Thumala, is said to have satirised himself in the verses :

“We enquired about Thumala from every tribe, but the reply was who are they? When I told them they are the tribe of Muhammad b. Yazid, they replied thou hast made us more ignorant about them”.

These verses were disseminated among the people and he came to be known as a Thumali.¹ Al-Qifti² narrates another interesting story on the authority of Abu Bakr b. al-Sarraj : “Abul ‘Abbas al-Mubarrad told me that once he went to Baghdad from al-Basra, where he met a neat and well dressed man of middle age. On seeing al-Mubarrad he greeted him and observed that he appeared to be a Basrite. Al-Mdbarrad affirmed this. The second question put to al-Mubarrad by that gentleman was whether he had had the good fortune to study under the genius of al-Basra and al-Mubarrad asked him to single out that genius. On hearing his own name from the mouth of that person al-Mubarrad told him that he had met him, whereupon he started to praise al-Mubarrad as a scholar and a poet of eminence and recited some of his verses ; but in the end he remarked : “Al-Mubarrad’s claim to be a member of the Thumala tribe does not seem to be valid” and then he recited the above quoted lines in which al-Mubarrad is said to have satirised himself. Another story of this sort is narrated by al-Sirafi, al-Khatib, Ibn al-Anbari and Yaqut³ according to which an insance man told al-Mubarred that the above mentioned verses had been composed by a person who did not posses an honourable lineage and by such verses had tried to establish one for himself.

It appears that all these stories are baseless. Though these have been cited by the various authorities, there is none to express any doubt about al-Mubarrad’s extraction. On the other hand they are unanimous in declaring al-Mubarrad to be al-Azdi and al-Thumali. If they had had the

1. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/497.

2. *Al-Inbah* : 3/253.

3. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 100 ; *al-Nuzha* 152 ; *Ta’rikk Baghdad* : 3/484 ; *Mu’jamal-Udaba’* : 19/117.

slightest doubt about it they would have definitely made mention of it. Even the greatest adversary of al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab, is not reported to have expressed any doubt about al-Mubarrad's genealogy, which also indicates that such stories were not accepted as genuine even by al-Mubarrad's contemporaries ; hence they may be treated as fabrication of his enemies.

Al-Mubarrad's Family

Nothing whatsoever is recorded in the chronicles about the family of al-Mubarrad except the name of his father, which indicates that his father and relatives were ordinary people who did not play any role in the political or literary fields. Al-Mubarrad himself has not supplied us with any information on this point, which also supports our conclusion. It can be safely surmised, however, that al-Mubarrad's forefathers migrated to al-Basra from their original districts near al-Ta'if after the foundation of that city.

Al-Mubarrad's date of birth and death

An interesting feature of biographical literature in Arabic is that the various writers do not agree on the dates of the important events in the life of an individual about whom they all write. This disagreement especially makes itself felt about the dates of birth and death. There is no unanimity of opinion among the biographers on this point even in the cases of some leading personages, the correct date of whose birth and death must be known to everybody. Our author al-Mubarrad was no exception to this general tendency of the biographers and there is considerable difference of opinion about the dates of his birth and death.

The earliest biographer of al-Mubarrad, al-Mas'udi (d. 346 A.H./957 A.D.), does not supply us with his date of birth at all, which indicates that it was not so well known to the people, owing to the obscurity of al-Mubarrad's parents and family. Later writers have, however, attempted to establish the actual date of his birth, but they differ from another, which makes their suggestions doubtful. The date of al-Mubarrad's death has been cited by almost all of his biographers, but the same difference of opinion pervades their statement. We quote the various date mentioned

by the biographers for al-Mubarrad's birth and death and then we shall critically examine them and try to arrive at conclusion.

According to al-Mas'udi al-Mubarrad breathed his last on Monday night, 27th of Dhu'l-Hijja at the age of 79 in 285 A.H./899 A.D.¹

Abu'l-Tayyib al-Lughawi (d. 351 A.H./962 A.D.) states that he died in 282 A.H./895 A.D.²

Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi (d. 368 A.H./978 A.D.) states on the authority of Abu Bakr b. al-Sarraj and Abu'Ali al-Saffar that he was born in 210 A.H./826 A.D. and died in 285 A.H./899 A.D.³

Al-Zubaydi (d. 379 A.H./989 A.D.) agrees with al-Sirafi on 210 A.H. as al-Mubarrad's years of birth, but goes a step further and reports that he was born on Monday, the night of 'Id al-Adha, in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja 210 A.H./2nd of July 826 A.D. ; but he differs from al-Sirafi on the date of death and observes that al-Mubarrad died on Monday, 27th of Dhu'l-Hijja 286 A.H./3rd January 900 A.D.⁴

Ibn al-Nadim (d. 385 A.H./995 A.D.) cites the dates mentioned by al-Sirafi, but in the end gives an estimate of al-Mubarrad's age at the time of his death, which is the same as that given by al-Mas'udi (79) ; he however cites another date for al-Mubarrad's birth on the authority of al-Suli who is reported to have heard al-Mubarrad say that he was born in 207 A.H./822 A.D.⁵

Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 463 A.H./1070 A.D.) does not seem to have mentioned al-Mubarrad's date of birth but he cites on the authority of al-Hasan b. Abi Bakr who heard from Ahmad b. Kamil al-Qadi that he dies in 285 A.H., and on the authority of Muhammad b. al-'Abbas, who heard it being read before Ibn al-Munadi, a pupil of al-Mubarrad, that he died in Shawwal 285 A.H./October, 898 A.D.⁶

1. *Al-Muruj* : 2/377.

2. *al-Mas'udib* : 83.

3. *Akbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 107.

4. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 120.

5. *Al-Fihrist* ; 59.

6. *Ta'rikh Baghdadi* ; 3/387.

Al-Sam'ani (d. 552 A.H./1166 A.D.) and Ibn al-Anbari (d. 577 A.H./1181 A.D.) both agree on al-Mubarrad's date of birth as 210 A.H., but differ as to the date of his death. According to al-Sam'ani he died in Shawwal 284 A.H./November 897 A.D., but according to Ibn al-Anbari in 285 A.H./899 A.D.¹

Ibn al-Jauzi (d. 597 A.H./1200 A.D.) mentions the tradition which states 210 A.H. as al-Mubarrad's date of birth, but reports at the same time that he is said to have been born in 206 A.H./821 A.D.²

Al-Qifti (d. 624 A.H./1226 A.D.) mentions the date given by al-Mas'udi for al-Mubarrad's death but adds that some narrators say that he died in Dhu'l-Qa'da and not in Dhu'l-Hijja, and some report that he was more than ninety at that time.³

Yaqut (d. 626 A.H./1228 A.D.) cites the reports of al-Zubaydi for al-Mubarrad's birth, but differs from him on the date of death and says that he died in Shawwal or Dhu'l-Qa'da 285 A.H./October or November 898 A.D., during the reign of al-Mu'tadid.⁴

Ibn Khallikan (d. 681 A.H./1282 A.D.) cites the reports of al-Zubaydi and Ibn al-Nadim for al-Mubarrad's date of birth and the reports of al-Sirafi and al-Zubaydi for the date of his death, but in addition to that he mentions Dhu'l-Qa'da 286 A.H./November 899 A.D., which is not mentioned by anyone else.⁵

According to al-Safadi (d. 764 A.H./1362 A.D.) he died at the end of 285 A.H./899 A.D. at the age of 75⁶

Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi (590 A.H./1194 A.D.) writes that he died in 284 A.H./897 A.D.⁷

1. *Al-Ansab* : f, 116 b ; *al-Nuzha* : 157.

2. *Al-Muntazam* : 6/9.

3. *Al-Inbah* : 3/246, 247.

4. *Mu'jam al-Udaba* : 19/112, 120.

5. *Al-Wafayat* : 2/496.

6. *Al-Wafi MS*, f. 126 a.

7. *Ta'rikh Mayya Fariqayn* f. 105.

Ibn al-Jazari (d. 833 A.H./1429 A.D.) is of the opinion that he died in 286 A.D. at the age of 66.¹

According to the information contained in *Mukhtasar Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*² he was born at the end of 220 A.H./835 A.D. and died at the end of 280 A.H./893 A.D. at the age of 60.

The rest of the biographers such as Ibn Hazm, Abu'l-Fida, al-Dhahabi, Ibn Kathir, Ibn Taghri, Ibn al-'Imad, al-Suyuti, al-Yafi'i and Haji Khalifa simply repeat the information supplied by the previous authorities and do not convey anything fresh. It is therefore not necessary to cite them.

Now if we analyse the above cited reports we come to the conclusion that four different dates i.e., 206, 207, 210 and 220 have been suggested for al-Mubarrad's birth. Which of these is to be regarded as correct? So far as 206 and 220 are concerned they are based on individual opinion and have no authority to substantiate them; hence they cannot be accepted as valid. Of the remaining two I am inclined to consider 207 to be more authentic, since it has been reported by al-Suli, a pupil of al-Mubarrad who states that he heard al-Mubarrad say so. The report of 210 does not go back al-Mubarrad. Further al-Mus'udi, the earliest biographer of al-Mubarrad, writes that he died at the age of 79. If we accept that he was born in 210 his death should have occurred about 289 A.H./901 A.D.; which is not reported by any authority.

As regards al-Mubarrad's date of death, five different years have been suggested. Most of the biographers agree on 285, though they differ as to the dates and months. The report of 282 emerges from Abu'l-Tayyib al-Lughawi, one of the earliest biographers of our author; but it is also an individual opinion. None of the later writers to have accepted it. This goes to prove that it cannot be correct. In the same way the report of 280 is an individual opinion and hence must be discounted. The report of 284 was first made by al-Sam'ani, from when it seems to have passed on to Ibn al-Azraq. As no earlier biographer cites it, it may also be

1. *Tabaqat al-Qurra* : 2/280.

2. *Of. R.S.O* Vol. VIII, p. 130.

discounted. The estimates of al-Mubarrad's age given by al-Qifti, al-Safadi and Ibn al-Jazari may also be eliminated on the ground of being unique reports. By this process of elimination we have reduced the possibilities to two *i.e.* 285 and 286. Of these I am inclined to consider the latter to be more correct, because al-Mas'udi and Ibn al-Nadim both report that al-Mubarrad was 79 years old at time of his death. We have already determined that he was born in 207 ; hence his death must have taken place in 286.

As to the place where al-Mubarrad died all the early biographers agree that he died in Baghdad and was buried in the cemetery of Bab al-Kufa, but Ibn Al-Azraq al-Fariqi reports that he died in Syria, and Ibn al-Jazari says that he died in Kufa. The concensus of opinion among early authorities indicates that the reports of al-Fariqi and Ibn al-Jazari are erroneous.

His title : Al-Mubarrad

The strange sobriquet of our author (al-Mubarrad) gave ample food for thought to his biographers and they tried to explain it in various ways by means of anecdotes or fanciful etymologies. Of these, the most commonly accepted explanations are the following :

1. Once al-Mubarrad was summoned by the Superintendent of the Baghdad Police for literary discussions and conversation, but he was not inclined to go to him ; so he went to Abu Hatim al-Sijistani who asked him to conceal himself in the wicker case of large water jar to which he agreed and al-Sijistani covered its head. The messenger of the Chief of Police followed him there. Al-Sijistani told him that al-Mubarrad was not there but messenger insisted on having seen him entering al-Sijistani's house. On that al-Sijistani asked the messenger to get in and see for himself. The messenger combed the whole house but it never occurred to him that al-Mubarrad could be in the wicker case ; hence he could not find al-Mubarrad and went away. After his departure al-Sijistani began clapping and shouting ; "Al-Mubarrad, al-Mubarrad" (who has been benumbed by the cold water). The people came to know about that incident and our author became know by this title.¹

1. *Al-Muntazam* : 6/9 ; *Al-Wafayat* : 1/497 ; *al-Mukhtasar* : 2/58.

2. Another anecdote indicate that this title was conferred upon al-Mubarrad by his teacher al-Mazini. According to it when al-Mazini wrote his book *Al-Alif wa'l-Lam* he gave a test to his pupil Muhammad b. Yazid and questioned him about the difficult points and obscure problems contained in it. Al-Mubarrad gave satisfactory replies to all the questions of his master, who was so much impressed by his erudition that he remarked, "O, al-Mubarrad' (establisher of truth) this much suffices me". The Kufans later corrupted this title by reading the letter Ra with Fatha as al-Mubarrad.¹

According to a third explanation he became known by this title on account of his charming and attractive personality. A handsome person is termed as رجل مبرد.² Al-Suyuti and Ibn Qadi Shuhba bear witness to al-Mubarrad's being a handsome person, especially in his boyhood.³

In addition to these oft-quoted explanations I have traced one more in *al-'Iqd*⁴ and two more in *Lata'if al-Ma'arif* of al-Tha'alibi. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi is of the opinion that al-Mubarrad was given this title on account of his bad selection of verses in *Kitab al-Rauda*. He omitted in that book the good verses and selected those which were devoid of poetical excellence.

According to al-Tha'alibi he was given this title either on account of his frigidity and lack of warmth of affection for his friends, and al-Tha'alibi cites the following lines of a poet in support of his conjecture :

"Al-Mubarrad, despite his scholarship, is cold and unconventional in his relations towards others. He is a kind of a stoic. Whenever your eyes descry a person his surname would expose his innate qualities to you" ;

or he was given this title on account of his love and kindness to others as a contrast to his inherent quality of love and fondness for friends. Al-Tha'alibi tries to explain this conjecture by the instance of the crow who is

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/112 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/497 ; *al-Bughya* : 116.

2. *Al-Kamil* : 2

3. *Al-Bughya* : 116 ; *Tabaqat Ibn Qadi Shuhba* : 147 [*Fihrist Ibn Khayr* : 323.

4. *Al-'Iqd* : 3/220.

given the title of al-A'war (one eyed) when in reality it possess sharp sight and its name is employed to exemplify sharp sightedness and by the title of al-Qabiha (the ugly), the concubine of al-Mutawakkil and mother of al-Mu'tazz, who happened to be the most charming and fascinating lady of her times. He also cites, on the authority of Abu Nuwas, the instance of a hand-some slave boy who was named *عج* (ugly) by his master.¹

Amidst these conflicting views it is very difficult to ascertain the real cause which earned him this title, especially because none of these views has been expressed by his early biographers. It appears that all these are conjectural statements. The later biographers of our author, in order to explain this title somehow or other, and to show off their ingenuity, fabricated these stories. The explanations put forward by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi and al-Tha'alibi are obvious fabrication. The first explanation, although it goes back to al-Mubarrad, does not appeal to us, because al-Mubarrad was an important and eminent person of his age and instead of going to al-Sijistani and concealing himself in the wicker case of a jar could have told the messenger of the Chief of Police that he was indisposed and was not in a position to attend his court. The second and third explanations have some weight in them and either of the two could be correct.

As scholars do not agree on the specific reason why this title was conferred upon him they have been differing for centuries on whether to read it as al-Mubarrad or al-Mubarrid. According to the second story cited above it should be read al-Mubarrid, but the rest of the explanations support the second version. Some verses of Sulayman b. 'Abd Allah al-Nahrawani (d. 493 A.H.) contained in Mu'jam al-Udaba, support the version

1. *Al-Lata'if* : 46. This strange title of our author is the source of a number of interesting anecdotes in Arabic literature. Al-Mubarrad is reported to have observed that once he was passing by the residence of a bookseller named Sadhab, who was extremely pleased to see al-Mubarrad, and greeted him and insisted that he accept his hospitality. Al-Mubarrad asked him what he had to entertain him with and he made the following reply "عندي انت عليه انه" (I have you and there is myself on it). Mubarrad also means cold meat and S dhab is a sort of salad. (*Al-Lata'if* : 47; *Kitab Khas al-Khas* : 50. Another interesting anecdote of this kind is that once al-Mubarrad met Bard al-Khiyar on the Baghdad Bridge on a very cold day and Bard al-Khiyar observed : "You are Al-Mubarrad and I am Bard and the day is *barid* (cold); let us cross the bridge in hurry, lest the people fall a prey to hemiplegia". (*Jam'al-Jawahir* : 60).

of al-Mubarrad,¹ but a modern Egyptian scholar, al-Shingiti, comes out very staunchly in support of the version of al-Mubarrid in a verse and declares all those who support the other version to be foolish people.² I have, however, preferred al-Mubarrad, because the majority of scholars support it.

Early Life

Al-Mubarrad's early life is shrouded in obscurity. He came of a poor family and was thus unable to attract attention in his childhood. Nobody therefore bothered to know the details of his early life. The only thing about his childhood that we know with some certainty is that he was a handsome fellow³ and was liked by his teachers.⁴ Al-Mubarrad himself narrates an interesting anecdote about his charms which had enamoured a young man who died of al-Mubarrad's harsh treatment of him. When al-Mubarrad came to know about it his heart was filled with deep remorse. Once that martyred lover appeared in a dream to al-Mubarrad and admonished him for his cruelty towards him during his life time and his grief over his death.⁵

Education

Our author seems to have started to acquire knowledge at a fairly early age.⁶ The fact that he did not study with al-Asma'i, however, indicates that he began his studies after 217 A.H./832 A.D. in which year al-Asma'i breathed his last at al-Basra.⁷

Al-Marsafi and Zaki Mubarak⁸ are of the opinion that al-Mubarrad received his instruction at Baghdad under Abu 'Amr al-Jarmi, Abu Uthman al-Mazini and Abu Hatim al-Sijistani, but this is not correct, because

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 11/235.

2. *Al-Mubarrad* : 11.

3. *Al-Bughya* : 116 ; *Al-Zahr* : 1/146.

4. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 94.

5. *Ta'rikh Dimashq* f. 60b.

6. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 109.

7. Al-Asma'i died at al-Basra in 217 A.H. If al-Mubarrad had started his studies before that he might have attended his lectures or had at least seen him. But there is no mention of it in the authorities.

8. *Raghat al-Amil* : 1/5 ; Zaki Mubarrak) : 1.

none of the authorities state that al-Mubarrad was educated at Baghdad. Moreover all the above mentioned teachers of al-Mubarrad were living in al-Basra during his period of formal schooling ; hence the question of going to Baghdad to study with them does not arise. Al-Mubarrad does not appear to have studied with the eminent scholars belonging to the Basran school such as Muhammad b. Sallam al-Jumahi, who had migrated to Baghdad, and were living there during his student days,¹ which also proves that he was not educated in Baghdad. It appears that al-Mubarrad completed his studies at al-Basra and attained eminence there as a grammarian and philologist, till his name was mentioned at the Court of al-Mutawakkil who summoned him to Samarra, whence he moved to Baghdad. At the time of his arrival in Baghdad he was an old man and not a boy.² There is no record of any earlier visit of al-Mubarrad to Baghdad.

During al-Mubarrad's formative period there lived at al-Basra scores of eminent scholars in addition to the three mentioned above who were regarded as masters in their respective fields of study. Al-Mubarrad benefitted from all these. He appears to have started his studies with al-Jarmi and the first book read by him seems to be al-Kitab of Sibawayh ; but he could not complete this work with al-Jarmi, on account of the latter's death, and had to attend the lectures of al-Mazini to finish it.³ He studied grammar under other grammarians as well.⁴ We give below a brief account of the most important teachers of al-Mubarrad with the subjects which he appears to have studied under them, so that we may be able to appreciate the contribution of each one of them to the education of al-Mubarrad.

Al-Jarmi

Abu 'Amr Salih b. Ishaq was either a client of Jarm b. Rabban or of Bajila b. Anmar.⁵ He studied grammar under several grammarians including al-Akhfash, who taught him *al-Kitab*. Abu 'Ubayda, Abu Zayd and al-

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 5/327.

2. *G A.L.* 1/108.

3. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 101 ; *al-Fihrist* : 59.

4. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 101.

5. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 72 ; *al-Fihrist* : 57.

Asma'i were his masters in *luġha*. He was also interested in tradition and attended the lectures of the eminent tradition of al-Basra.¹

In the estimation of al-Mubarrad, al-Jarmi was the most profound scholar of *al-Kitab*, which he taught to a multitude of pupils²; he was more erudite than al-Mazini, but the latter was more clever than the former.³ Probably this high opinion of al-Jarmi persuaded our author to study *al-Kitab* under him. Al-Jarmi is said to have been much interested in polemics and grammatical disputations and was known by the title of al-Nabbaj for speaking loudly in debates.⁴ Al-Mubarrad may have acquired his liking for literary debates and grammatical discussions from al-Jarmi. He died in 225 A.H./839 A.D.⁵

Al-Mazini

Abu 'Uthman Bakr b. Muhammad was a scion of the tribe of Mazin b. Shayban.⁶ He studied under Abu 'Ubayda and al-Asma'i and in addition to being an eminent grammarian was a well-informed rhapsodist⁷ as well. In the words of al-Mubarrad he had so deep a knowledge of grammar and theology that while debating with the theologians he never used any grammatical argument and vice versa.⁸ Al-Jahiz included him among the three great and matchless grammarians of al-Basra namely, al-Mazini, al-Riyashi and Ziyadi.⁹

Al-Mubarrad was a favourite student of al-Mazini, and used to read out *al-Kitab* to the audience in his circle. He had so much confidence in al-Mubarrad's attainments that he attended the circle as one of the audience.¹⁰

1. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 72.
2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 9/314 ; *al-Inbah* ; 2/81.
3. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 72.
4. *Al-Nuzha* : 201.
5. *Al-Nuzha* : 101 ; *al-Inbah* : 2/81 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 12/6.
6. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* 74 ; *al-Nuzha* : 125 ; *al-Fihrist* 57.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Al-Inbah* : 1/248.
9. *Al-Nuzha* : 125.
10. *Tabaqat-al-Nahwiyyin* : 109.

Al-Mazini died in 249 A.H./863 A.D. at al-Basra.¹

Al-Sijistani

The third important teacher of al-Mubarrad was Abu Hatim Sahl b. Muhammad al-Sijistani, a specialist in *lughah* and poetry, who narrated literary traditions from Abu Zayd, Abu Ubayda and al-Asma'i.² He was well versed in poetry and prosody and composed verses which are reported to have been of a mediocre type.³ He was not a very good scholar of grammar and according to a report by al-Mubarrad, whenever he came across al-Mazini in the residence of Isa b. Ja'far al-Hashimi, he either left the place in a great hurry or pretended to be busy, fearing that al-Mazini would question him about some grammatical subtleties that he would be unable to answer.⁴ Al-Sijistani is said to have been a bookseller by occupation and had a great love for collecting books.⁵ He himself wrote a large number of books, most of which were *on lughah*.⁶

Al-Mubarrad's opinion about al-Sijistani's deficiency in grammar indicates that he studied *lughah* poetry and prosody under him and not grammar. In grammar, al-Sijistani is reported to have considered al-Mubarrad a better scholar than himself. Once a young man from Nishapur came to him to study *al-Kitab* under him but he advised him to attend al-Mubarrad's lectures on that book. Al-Mubarrad was then a young boy.⁷

Al-Sijistani's verses about al-Mubarrad

Al-Sijistani is reported to have worked as the *Imam* of Jami's al-Basra and to have led *Tarawih* prayers there for sixty. During that period he neither made any mistake, nor forgot any word, nor mispronounced any letter. He is further reported to have divided the night in three parts.

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1. *Al-Inbah* : 1/247.
 2. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* :
 3. Ibid.
 4. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 94.
 5. Ibid.
 6. *Akhbar-al-Nahwiyyin* : 94 ; *Al-Fihrist* : 58.
 7. *Tabaqat-al-Nahwiyyin* :

During one third of the night his father recited *the Qur'an* in prayers ; during the second third his mother recited *the Qur'an* ; and in the remaining third al-Sijistani recited *the Qur'an*. After the death of his parents he spent the whole of the night in prayers and recitation.

This report indicates that al-Sijistani was a saint, but we find some other stories which give a despicable picture of his moral conduct. Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi reports from al-Mubarrad "I joined al-Sijistani's lectures when I was very young, but I saw many such things which obliged me to sever my relations with him. I again went to him after some days, converted a verse of Harun al-Rashid into the form of a riddle and asked him to explain it. He was an expert in the explanation of riddles and he answered me in the following lines :—

"O, you gifted with a handsome face, you came to me with a curious calamity in the month of Rajab.

You converted a verse into the form of a riddle and made it obscure, but it did not become obscure, rather it shone like stars.

The Taytawa (name of a bird) disclosed its hidden secrets and the pigeon tore open its veils,

So yield to me what was difficult for me to attain. You have been given that without any effort on your part.

O, one who if I draw near to him runs away and if I go away draws near,

I excuse you on account of your charms : your house is full of bad omens (for the lover) and is a strange place.

Be my greetings on a departing friend who is going abroad ; greetings of a passionate lover, who is deeply aggrieved (on account of separation)".

Al-Suli narrates some other verses of al-Sijistani about al-Mubarrad, composed by him during al-Mubarrad's studentship with him.¹

What a calamity befell me today from an inconsiderate person who

1. *Zahr al-Adab* : 3/146 ; *Sharh Maqamat* : 1/164

speaks like women.

Beauty has faded in his face so the eyes of mankind are cast on him.

Through his movements and stillness are plucked the fruits of mankind.

When I am in company with a person like him and am bent upon paying the debt.

I do not go beyond the limits of chastity and this strengthens love.

May my soul be sacrificed for your sake O Abi'l-Abbas: protection has alighted in you.

So take pity upon your friend since he enjoys a little sleep and his sickness is obvious.

And desist from him what is short of ^{unlawful} ~~unlawful~~ as he is not interested in the ill-veil.

Al-Sijistani also has two verses reported to have been composed by al-Sijistani about al-Muharrabi:

They revealed your handsome face and blamed those who were attracted by it.

If they had tried to save me they would have covered your face.²

These verses of al-Sijistani if they are really his and there is no reason to doubt in being his interest in homosexual love. But al-Jahiz is of the opinion that al-Sijistani was simply fond of joking with the boys which was an obvious reason for doubts about his character.³ Al-Sijistani paid a visit to Baghdad but did not settle there.⁴ He died at al-Basra in Rajab 235 A.H. (850 A.D.).⁵

1. Al-Baqirah: 215

2. Al-Baqirah: 261.

3. Al-Baqirah: 215.

4. *Ma'adun al-Nadwiyyah*: 45. *Tarikh al-Nadwiyyah*: 110. *al-Furqan*: 29. *al-Baqirah*: 215.

These teachers of our author are usually mentioned by his biographers, but he sat at the feet of a large number of other savants as well, whose names he himself records in his various works. The most important of them are the following :

Al-'Utbi

Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Amr b. Nu'awiva was known as al-'Utbi for being a descendant of 'Utba b. Abi Sufyan. He belonged to the school of al-Basra and was a traditionalist, historian and a transmitter of literature.¹ He heard traditions from his father, Sufyan b. 'Uyana and Abu Miknaf Lut b. Yahya. Abu Hatim al-Sijistani, Abu'l-Fadl al-Riyashi Ishaq b. Muhammad al-Nakha'i 'Abd-al-'Aziz b. Mu'awiya al-Qurashi etc., listened to traditions from him.

From the list of his writings in *al-Fihrist* it appears that he specialised in *lugha* and poetry and al-Mubarrad appears to have studied these subjects with him. In *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* he pays glowing tribute to al-Utbi's erudition in the poesy and poetry of the Arabs.² Al-Mubarrad appears to have had cordial relations with al-'Utbi.³ Al-'Utbi died in 228 A.H./843 A.D.

Al-Tawwazi

'Abd Allah b. Muhammad al-Tawwazi was a client of the tribe of Quraysh. He studied al-Kitab with Abu 'Amr al-Jarmi and according to al-Mubarrad was the greatest scholar of poetry consulted by him. He was more erudite than al-Riyashi and al-Mazani and related more literary traditions from Abu 'Ubayda than they. He was also a pupil of al-Asma'i.⁴

Al-Mubarrad studied poetry under him, and an interesting anecdote in some of the sources indicates that he used to take down the explanation of difficult verses in the lectures of al-Tawwazi.⁵ It goes : "Once al-

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 2/326.

2. *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* 129;

3. *Al-Thimar* : 1/4.

4. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 86 ; *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : *al-Fihrist* ; 57 ; *al-Bughya* : 290.

5. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 86.

Tawwazi asked al-Mubarrad to recite the poem of Jarir, the opening verse of which is :

طرب الحمام بذي الاراك فشاجني لا زلت في فنين و ايک ناضر

in the presence of Umara b. 'Aqil b. Bilal. When he recited the verse :

اما الفواد فلن يزال مؤكلاً بهوى جمانة او بريا العاقر

al-Tawwazi asked 'Umara to explain the significance of Jumana and 'Aqir 'Umara enquired about the opinion of Abu 'Ubayda and al-Tawwazi told him that according to Abu 'Ubayda these are the names of two ladies. On hearing this, 'Umara burst into laughter and said "These are two sand dunes, which stretch on the left and right of my house". On hearing this al-Tawwazi asked al-Mubarrad to take down the explanation. He was reluctant to do so out of respect for Abu 'Ubayda, but al-Tawwazi told him that even if Abu 'Ubayda had been alive he would have accepted the explanation of 'Umara because he is a descendant of the poet. Al-Tawwazi died in 238 A.H./852 A.D.¹

Al-Ziyadi

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Sufyan was known as al-Ziyadi for being a descendant of Ziyad b. Abihi. He was a pupil of al-Asma'i and narrated literary traditions from him and other rhapsodists of his age. From the list of his writings in *al-Fihrist*² it transpires that he was more interested in *lughā* and literature than grammar, which is also borne out by the fact that he did not read al-Kitab completely.³ Al-Mubarrad seems to have read *lughā* and literature with him. Al-Ziyadi died in 249 A.H./863 A.D.⁴

Al-Jahiz

One of the most important teachers of al-Mubarrad is Abu Uthman 'Amr b. Bahr al-Jahiz, but curiously enough none of al-Mubarrad's biographers seems to have included his name in the list of his teachers. Al-Mubarrad relates a number of historical and literary anecdotes on Jahiz's authority.⁵ It appears that he attended Jahiz's lectures during his stay

1. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 87.

2. *Al-Fihrist* : 58.

3. *Akhbar-al-Nahwiyyin* : 88 ; *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 106 ; *al-Fihrist* : 58.

4. *Mu'jam al-Udaba* : 1/161

5. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 12/215, 219 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba* : 16/86, 88, 111 ; *al-Kamil* passim.

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at al-Basra, but the relationship between them did not come to an end with the latter's migration to Baghdad and Samarra'; but continued till his death. Al-Mubarrad is reported to have paid a visit to al-Jahiz during his last illness. He relates the conversation which ensued between them as follows :

"I enquired about his health and he replied, How miserable is a man half of whose body is paralysed to such an extent that even if you cut it with a saw he would not feel it; and whose other half is suffering from severe gout; so much so that even if a fly draws near it, it pains him. On the top of that he has passed his ninetieth year'.¹ Afterwards he recited the following verses :

Do you wish to be in your old age as you were in your youth,

Verily your *nafs* (self) has deceived you.

An old dress cannot bear any comparison with a new dress.²

Al-Jahiz died in 255 A.H./869 A.D. at al-Basra.³

Al-Riyashi

Abu'l-Fadl 'Abbas b. al-Faraj al-Riyashi was a master of *lagha* and poetry and quoted profusely from al-Asma'i and others.⁴ He remembered the books of al-Asma'i by heart and was, therefore, known as the *rawiya* (transmitter) of al-Asma'i.⁵ He studied *al-Kitab* with al-Mazini, who is reported to have paid tribute to al-Riyashi's erudition in these words "although al-Riyashi studied *al-Kitab* under me yet he knows more of it than I do".⁶ The Basrites considered him to be the most authoritative scholar of his age and his opinion was held as a verdict⁷ on matters relating to literary disputes.

It appears that al-Mubarrad studied *lugha*, poetry and *adab* under

1.. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 12/219.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid ; *al-Umara'* 325.

4. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 89.

5. *Ibn Qutayba* : 26.

6. *Al-Nuzha* : 137 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* ; 12/46.

7. *Al-Inbah* : 2/370.

him. In the first lecture of al-Riyashi attended by al-Mubarrad, al-Riyashi dictated the verse of Malik b. Asma' b. Kharija.¹ Al-Riyashi paid a visit to Baghdad after al-Mubarrad's moving to that place and used to call on him there.²

He was brutally murdered by the Zanj, when they occupied al-Basra in 275 A.H./888 A.D.³

Umara b. 'Aqil b. Billal b. Jarir

He was an inhabitant of al-Basra and was the great grandson of Jarir b. 'Atiyya al-Khatafi, the celebrated poet of Umayyad age. Besides being an erudite scholar of Arabic literature and poetry 'Umara himself was a poet of high order.⁴

Al-Mubarrad related literary traditions and poetry from 'Umara.⁵ In one of the lectures which was attended by al-Mubarrad he related the following anecdote to his pupils.

"Once I happened to see a veiled woman.⁶ When she drew near to me she lifted her veil, and said 'O Shaykh don't you have a liking for beautiful damsels'. I replied to her 'Who does not like them' and then I recited the following lines :

Beautiful ladies and blandishments do please me, but thou art not a beautiful woman.

Beautiful women look like the full moon when they lift their veils, but thou art an ugly looking creature.

In another lecture which was also attended by our author 'Umara told his pupils that Ibn Abi Hafsa once complained to him about al-Ma'mun's inability to appreciate good poetry and he replied, "Who else can be a

1. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* 90.

2. *Ibid* : 89.

3. *Ibid* : 93 ; *al-Inbah* : 2/369 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 12/140.

4. *Ta'rikh-Baghdad* : 12/282.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Ibid*.

7. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 12/282-283.

better judge of poetry than al Ma'mun, we recite to him the first hemistich of a verse and he recites the second without having heard it before", Ibn Abi Hafsa objected to this verdict of 'Umara by saying that he once recited to him an excellent verse but he was not the least pleased by it. The said verses was :

"The rightly guided Caliph al-Ma'mun is busy in religious affairs while the people are absorbed in the world".

'Umara replied that he made the Caliph an old person uninterested in the world and still he complained that he did not appreciate the merits of his verse.¹

Yamut b. al-Muzri' al-Basri

Yamut b. al-Muzri' b. Yamut, Abu Bakr al-'Abdi belonged to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays, was a nephew of al-Jahiz, and was a pupil of Abu Uthman al-Mazini, Abu Hatim al-Sijistani, Abu'l al-Fadl al-Riyashi and Abu Ghassan Rafi' b. Salama. In 301 A.H./914 A.D. he came to Baghdad, taught there for some time, and then migrated to Syria, where he died in 303 A.H./914 A.D.²

Al-Mubarrad appears to have studied *adab* with him.³

Through the above mentioned teachers the knowledge and information collected by Sibawayh, Abu Zayd and al-Asma'i was passed on to al-Mubarrad, but as, is well known, they were more interested in philology, grammar poetry and literary criticism than religious sciences, a compulsory subject of study for a young student in those days ; hence our author was obliged to attend the lectures of some specialists in the religious sciences. The most important teachers of al-Mubarrad in this branch of knowledge are the following :

Ibn 'A'isha

'Ubayd Allah b. Muhammad b. Hafs b. 'Umar b. Musa b. 'Ubayd b. Ma'mar Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Taymi was known by the surname of

1. *Al-Adhkiya'* : 40.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 14/359, *al-Wafayat* : 2/344.

3. *Al-Kamil* ; 214

Ibn 'A'isha for being a descendant of 'A'isha daughter of Talha, one of the most cultured refined ladies of the early Islamic period.¹ He was a traditionist and was a pupil of Hammad b. Salama, Wuhayb b. Khalid, 'Abd al-Aziz b. Muslim al-Qasmali and Sufyan b. 'Uyana. Ahmad b. Hanbal, Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Barjalani, 'Abd Allah b. Ruh al-Mada'ini, Muhammad b. Shahir al-Sa'igh and Abu'l-Qasim al-Baghawi narrated tradition from him.²

Ibn 'A'isha was an inhabitant of al-Basra but lived and taught at Baghdad for some time. Ultimately he returned to his native city. The dates of his stay in Baghdad are not known but he is said to have narrated traditions in Kufa street, Anbar road, Baghdad West, in 219 A.H./834 A.D.³ He paid another visit to Baghdad in 227 A.H./841 A.D., after the death of his son 'Abdal-Rahman b. 'A'isha, to acquire his legacy. Several people studied the traditions with him.⁴ He was a trust-worthy narrator and in addition to *hadith* was interested in literature as well. Al-Mubarrad cites in his works several traditions on Ibn 'A'isha's authority.⁵

Ibn 'A'isha died in al-Basra in 228 A.H. /843 A.D.⁶

Muhammad b. Shuja' al-Balkhi.

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Shuja al-Marwazi was a trustworthy narator of traditions and was a pupil of Sufyan b. 'Uyayna' Abu 'Ubayda al-Haddad and al-Waki 'b. al-Jarrah. Ya'qub b. Sufyan, 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Najjah and Ishaq b. Sinan al-Anamti narrated traditions on his authority. He died in Baghdad⁷ in 244 A.H. /858 A.D. al Mubarrad cities report on his authority in al- Kamil.

Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Taymi

He was an inhabitant of al- Basra and was appointed the Qadi of that

1. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 10/314.

2. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 10/314.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid* : 10/260.

5. *Al-Kamil* : 575, 459.

6. *Ibid* : 10/318.

7. *Tarikh Baghdad* : 5/350.

city in 239 A.H./853 A. D. He died there in 250 A.H /863 A.D. while he was still in office. He was a traditionist and narrated traditions on the authority of Sufyan b. 'Uyana, Yahya al-Qattan, Ibn Mahdi and Abu 'Amir al-'Aqdi. He paid a visit to *Baghdad* during the reign of al-Mutawakkil and taught there for some time. Abu Da'ud, al-Nisa'i, Bazzaz and Abu Hatim listened to traditions from him.¹ Al-Mubarrad cites traditions from him in *al-Kamil*.²

Isma'il b. Ishaq al-Azdi.

Isma'il b. Ishaq b. Isma'il b. Hammad b. Zayd b. Dirham was born in al-Basra and was educated there. He studied tradition with Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Ansari, Muslim b. Ibrahim al-Farahid, Sulayman b. al-Washji and a large number of other traditionists. Musai b. Harun al-Hafiz, 'Abd Allah b. Ahmad b. Hanbal, Abu'l Qasim al-Baghawi etc., studied traditions with him³. He belonged to the Malikite school of law, which he studied under Ahmed b. al-Mu'adhhal, and was regarded as one of the greatest scholars of the age.⁴ He wrote several books to support and explain the doctrine of Imam Malik, composed a *Musnad* and also wrote books on the Qur'anic sciences. He was equally reputed for his erudition in grammar; so much that al-Mubarrad is reported to have observed: "The Qadi knows more of grammar than I do".⁵

He migrated to Baghdad and was appointed the *Qadi* of Eastern Baghdad in 246 A.H./860 A.D. In 262 A.H./875 A.D. the western part of the City was also placed under his jurisdiction.⁶

Al-Mubarrad had very cordial relations with the *Qadi*. He used to visit him time and again at the latter's residence and showed reverence to him.⁷ The Qadi died in 282 A.H./895 A. D.⁸ and al-Mubarrad was so much

1. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 6/152 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 1/155.

2. *Al-Kamil* : 545.

3. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 2/284.

4. *Al-Fihrist* : 200 ; *al-Tanbih* : 370 ; *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 6/286.

5. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 6/286.

6. *Ibid* : 6/287.

7. *Ibid* : 6/289.

8. *Tarikh Baghdad* : 6/289 ; *al-Muntazam* : 2/152 ; *al-Bidaya* : 11/72.

grieved that he compiled a book under the title of "*Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l Marathi*" to console himself and to give publicity to the greatness and good qualities of his departed teacher and friend¹.

The list of teachers given above is by no means exhaustive. In addition to these al-Mubarrad seems to have consulted several others whose names he has mentioned in the chain of his authorities in his various works.

The inquisitive mind of our author could not find satisfaction with the deliberations of the professional scholars mentioned above and his never satisfying zest for knowledge drew him to the camps of the Bedouin tribes and he freely consulted the authorities among them.² It appears that Bedouin repositories of poetry and literature sometimes called at his house Al-'Ajuzi state that once he was in the company of al-Mubarrad when a person dressed in a green cloak came to him riding a camel. On seeing him al-Mubarrad stood up and embraced him. The person considered this to be too great an honour for a person of his rank from al-Mubarrad, so he remarked : "O 'Abu'l Abbas do you stand for me ?" In reply al-Mubarrad improvised a few verses in which he expressed the sentiments that his visitor fully deserved this honour on account of his scholarly attainments.³ In *al-Fihrist*⁴ are recorded the names of at least two such Bedouin authorities and al-Mubarrad has himself referred to many of them at several places in *al-Kamil*.⁵ The Bedouin authorities of al-Mubarrad, whose names are known to us, are the following :

Abu Muhallim al-Shaybani al A'rabi

Muhammad b. Sa'd or Muhammad b. Hisham b. 'Auf al-Sa'di was a great master of poetry and *lugha*. According to Ibn al-Sikkit he was born in Persia but associated himself with the Banu Sa'd. He possessed an extensive memory and could memorise 50 pages in a night. Al-Shaybani is said to have written three books namely, *Kitab al-Anwa'*, *Kitab al-Kamil*

1. *Al-Basa'ir* : 282.
2. *Al-Fihrist* : 46.
3. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 114.
4. *Al-Fihrist* : 46 .
5. *Al-Kamil* : 191, 348, 500 etc.

Kitab Khalq al-Insan.

He died in 248 A.H/862 A.D.¹

Abu Mahdiya al-A'rabī

He was a specialist in the explanation of strange and uncouth words, which the Basrites narrated from him. Al-Mubarrad is said to have gone to see him every year. Abu Mahdiya does not seem to have written any book.²

Umm al-Haytham al-Kilabiyya

She belonged to the tribe of Kilab and was a teacher and rhapsodist of the Kufan school. Al-Mubarrad learnt poetry from her and has cited verses on her authority.³

I am impelled to point out here a grave mistake in *al-'Iqd*⁴ which can lead one to believe that al-Mubarrad was a pupil of al-Khalil b. Ahmad, and which, unfortunately, has escaped the notice of Dr. Muhammad Shafi', who prepared *analytical indices of al-'Iqd* and Ahmad Amin, Ahmad al-Zayn and Ibrahim al-Abyari who published an excellent edition of the book.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi narrates from al-Mubarrad that he went to al-Khalil b. Ahmad and saw him sitting on a small carpet. On seeing al-Mubarrad he moved aside to make room from him ; al-Mubarrad set down but did not like to cause inconvenience to al-Khalil, so he kept himself away from him. Whereupon al-Khalil got hold of him by his arm and drew him closer to himself and remarked : "The eye of a needle is not too narrow for lovers, whereas the whole world has not space enough for enemies".⁵ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi after this anecdote cites some verses composed by him on this subject.⁶

Al-Khalil is said to have died in 175 A.H./791 A.D. and al-Mubarrad

1. *Al-Fihrist* : 46.

2. *Al-Fihrist* : 46.

3. *Al-Kamil* : 5, 11, 500.

4. *Al-'Iqd* : 1/187.

5. *Al-'Iqd* : 1/817.

6. *Ibid*,

was born in 207 A.H.; hence the meeting between them could not possibly have taken place. Now the question arises, what is the reason for this discrepancy in *al-'Iqd*? I am convinced beyond any shadow of doubt that Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi could not have committed this conspicuous blunder. He narrated this anecdote on al-Mubarrad's authority about somebody, but the narrator of his book or the scribe made a mistake and ascribed it to al-Mubarrad himself. This is amply borne out by the fact that al-Zubaydi relates the same anecdote on al-Mubarrad's authority about some one who sat by the side of al-Khalil¹ and al-Tha'alibi states that he was al-Yazidi.² It is interesting to note a similar anecdote is recorded in *al-Mathal al-Sa'ir* about Ahmad b. Hanbāl and Tha'lab.³

The relative importance of al-Mubarrad's teachers

Al-Mubarrad attended the lectures of all the teachers mentioned above. It seems, however, logical that he must have benefited from them in varying degrees according to his taste and tendency. A perusal of his extant works enables us to form an idea of the relative role which his teachers played in shaping his mind.

Al-Kamil, the most important of his extant works indicates that he learnt the major part of Arabic literature from al-Tawwazi, al-Mazini, and al-Riyashi. He narrates in that book at least 31 anecdotes on al-Tawwazi's authority, 28 on the authority of al-Mazini, and 27 on the authority of al-Riyashi. The rest of his teachers can be arranged in order of the number of anecdotes narrated from them as follows: Al-Jahiz 15, al-'Utbi 12, 'Umara b. 'Aqil 11, Ibn 'A'isha 6, Abu Muhallim 6, al-Ziyadi 5, Umm al-Haytham 3, Isma'il al-Qadi 2, al-Sijistani 1, al-Jarmi 1, Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Taymi 1, Yamut b. Muzri' 1.

If we dwell upon the nature of the anecdotes we will come to the conclusion that the narrations cited from al-Tawwazi, al-Mazini, al-Riyashi, al-Jahiz and abu Muhallim are literary and cultural in character; the narration from al-Sijistani, al-Ziyadi and al-Jarmi are grammatical,

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 44.

2. *Kitab Khas al-Khas* : 41.

3. *Al-Mathal al-Sa'ir* : 255.

and the narration from Isma'il al-Qadi and Ibrahim al-Taymi are religious.

The second printed book of our author *Kitab al-Fadil* also leads us to the same conclusion. Most of the material in that has also been drawn from al-Riyashi, (22 anecdotes) al-Tawwazi (13 anecdotes) and al-Mazini (13 anecdotes). Al-'Utbi has been cited four times. Al-Ziyadi and 'Umara b. 'Aqil have been mentioned once only. Al-Jahiz, Ibn 'A'isha Abu Muhallim, Umm al-Haytham, al-Sijistani, al-Jarmi, Isma'il al-Qadi, Yamut b. al-Muzri', Ibrahim al-Taymi have not been mentioned at all.

Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi also supports our conclusion about the relative importance of al-Mubarrad's teachers.

Al-Mubarrad's Travels

During the Middle Ages it was common practice with students of the Muslim world to traverse the various parts of the globe in quest of knowledge. If they heard about the proficiency of a particular teacher they journeyed from far flung areas to benefit from his learning. Travelling in those days was undoubtedly full of hazards but that did not diminish their determination. Some of the contemporaries of our author are well-known for making long voyages, but curiously enough al-Mubarrad does not seem to have been widely travelled person. The sources however, indicate that during his student days he paid a short visit to Damascus,¹ but it is not known whether it was made merely for pleasure, or for the purpose of studying under the savants of that city. He seems to have paid visit to Marw to see 'Isa b. Mahan,² but this happened when he was established as a grammarian and his fame had spread throughout the Muslim world. A solitary report in *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*³ indicates that al-Mubarrad went to al-Qayrawan to see Abu'l-Walid al-Mahri, the reputed grammarian of al-Maghrib but this journey was also made by al-Mubarrad when he was well-known as a grammarian. That is all that is reported about al-Mubarrad's travels.

1. *Tarikh Dimashq* : f 58. b.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 3/30.

3. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 251.

It appears that in the presence of a galaxy of eminent scholars then present at al-Basra al-Mubarrad did not think it necessary to go to other cities for study. Another reason may be that no scholar living outside al-Basra was reputed enough to attract a student of the calibre of al-Mubarrad or it may have been on account of al-Mubarrad's sedentary habits.

The books read by al-Mubarrad

Teachers were not the sole agency by which he acquired knowledge. He consulted books also—the vast treasure house of knowledge. These books may be divided into two categories for the sake of convenience: (1) the books of the non-Arabs and (2) the books of the Arabs.

(1) The Books of the Non-Arabs

Al-Kamil indicates that al-Mubarrad studied the books of the 'Ajm (the Persians and the Greeks). because in that book he cites anecdotes about the Persian and Greek kings like Aradashir, b. Babak Anushirwan, Alexander, and Qubadh, without mentioning the authority.¹ As there is no evidence to prove that he knew Persian or Greek, it is probable that he studied Arabic Translation of these books, of which there were many. He refers in *al-Kamil*, at least once, to Ibn al-Muqaffa², the reputed translator of Persian books into Arabic, but unfortunately he does not refer to any other translator of Persian or Greek books.

(2) The books of the Arabs

As regards the works of the Arabs there is evidence in *al-Kamil* to prove that al-Mubarrad studied the books of al-Asma'i, Abu 'Ubayda, Abu Zayd and Sibawayh. At several places he quotes the view of these scholars without the customary chain of narrators by employing the word³ "قال", which indicates that he is citing from a book and not from a narrator. Many a time he has referred to al-Asma'i saying *يزعم*⁴, which also indicates that he is quoting from a book and not from an

1. *Al-Kamil* : 46, 230, 409 etc.

2. Ibid : 364.

3. Ibid : 49, 123, 136, 151, 199 etc.

4. Ibid : 221, 259, 324 etc.

authority. Unfortunately he does not usually mention the titles of the works from which he cites. Only one book of al-Asma'i (*Kitab al-Ikhtiyar*)¹ and one book of Abu 'Ubayda (*Kitab al-Dibaj*)² have been mentioned by title in *al-Kamil* and to these may be added *al-Kitab* of Sibawayh to which reference has been made many a time.

Al-Mubarrad appears to have read the books of his own teachers as well ; he cites information from them in his books saying *زعم* and not *حدث* or *املى*. He observes about al-Jahiz *كتب* and *زعم*³ which is a clear indication that he is citing from a book. Here again al-Mubarrad does not supply us with the titles of the works from which he cites. He twice mentions *Kitab al-Addad*⁴ alone, a work of his teacher al-Tawwazi.

The other books which al-Mubarrad seems to have utilized are *Kitab al-Alfaz* of Kulthum b. 'Amr al-'Attabi, the famous poet and writer who had served as a boon companion to the Barmakids and later to Tahir b. al-Husayn, which was narrated by Abu 'Amr al-Zahid on the authority of al-Mubarrad⁵, and a work of Isa b. 'Umar, which is mentioned by al-Mubarrad without title.⁶

Al-Mubarrad soon began to distinguish himself as a keen student of Arabic literature and grammar. He was well-known in al-Basra, in his boyhood, for his keen intellect, sound memory and excellent knowledge of grammar.⁷ By this time he had started to compose poetry and his verses became very popular.⁸

Al-Mubarrad's Marriage

During his stay in al-Basra al-Mubarrad married his only wife who is said to have been the daughter of one al-Hafsi, the musician, an eminent

1. *Al-Kamil* : 546.

2. *Ibid* : 372.

3. *Ibid* : 171, 364, 472, 735 etc.

4. *Ibid* : 144. 570.

5. *Mu'jam al-Udaba* : 17/28.

6. *Maratib al-Nahwiyyin* : 23 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba* : 16/147' 243.

7. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin*: 100; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 3/383 ; *al-Nuzha* : 152 ; *Mu'jam al-Ubad'a* 19/116.

8. *Ibid*.

person of Yamanti extraction.¹ Nothing is known about al-Mubarrad's age at that occasion or about the date of the marriage; his family life is also shrouded in obscurity. The sources, however, reveal that our author fathered at least two children, one male and the other female. The daughter of al-Mubarrad was married to Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Nahwi known as Burma, who was a pupil of Tha'lab and al-Mubarrad, and was so important man of letters and a notable poet; he narrated literary traditions from Abu Hiffan al-Sha'ir and passed them on to Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani and al-Qadi Ibn Kamil.² Al-Mubarrad's son was named Surra and was a *qari'* (reciter of the Qur'an). He wrote a book on *Ma'ani al-Qur'an*, but he does not appear to have distinguished himself in the academic and literary fields.³

Our information about al-Mubarrad's life in al-Basra is very scanty. As the second part of his life i.e., the period after his migration from al-Basra is more important, the biographers have dealt with it more copiously and have ignored the first part. We can, clearly visualize al-Mubarrad engaged in his literary pursuits in al-Basra, always adding to his knowledge by meeting the great savants or Bedouin authorities, who happened to come to his native city, and thus preparing himself for a brilliant literary career at Baghdad. During this period his fame as an authoritative grammarian continued to spread in all directions, till his name was mentioned at the caliphal court at Samarra' and he was summoned there to help solve a dispute about a grammatical problem¹. This marks the beginning of the second phase of his life which was by far the more important.

1. *Al-Fihrist*: 56; *al-Inbah*: 3/251.

2. *Al-Aghani*: 16/40; 18/14; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 2/132.

3. *Al-Fihrist*: 30.

CHAPTER 2

Al-Mubarrad at Samarra'

Samarra' was founded in 221 A.H./863 A.D. in the reign of al-Mu'tasim by one of his Turkish generals, Ashnas¹. This was done by the order of the Caliph who was constantly threatened in Baghdad by his Turkish and Berber mercenaries, and was therefore anxious to settle at a place where the treacherous designs of these elements could not disturb him. The newly founded city attained glory under Ja'far al-Mutawakkil². Between 221 A.H./836 A.D. and 376 A.H./889 A.D. seven 'Abbasid caliphs lived in Samarra'. In 279 A.H./892 A.D. al-Mu'tamid transferred his Court back to Baghdad and this became the permanent seat of the 'Abbasid caliphs³.

Two different stories are narrated about the arrival of our author at Samarra' and his presentation to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil. According to al-Zubaydi, al-Mutawakkil recited verse 109 of the Chapter entitled Al-An'am of the *Qur'an* in the presence of al-Fath b. Khaqan, his friend, companion and adopted brother; and they differed from one another on the pointing of the word "انها". Ibn Khaqan opined that it should be "انها", but the Caliph insisted on "انها". At last they wagered twenty thousand dinars and approached Yazid b. al-Muhallab⁴ al-Muhallabi to decide the case. Yazid feared that he might offend one of them by his reply, so he expressed his inability to decide the dispute and recommended the name of al-Mubarrad who happened to be his friend.⁵

1. *Al-Ya'qubi*: 32; *E.I.* 131.

2. *Al-Ya'qubi*: 40; *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*: 310

3. *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*: 248; *E.I.* 131

4. Yazid b. al-Muhallab was descendant of al-Muhallab b. Abi sufra and was a noteworthy poet of the 'Abbasid period: of. *al-Fihrist*: 109, *al-Simt*: 839.

5. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*. 110; *al-Inbah*: 3/244.

The Caliph commanded Muhammad b. al-Qasim b. Sulayman al-Hashmi, his Governor at al-Basra¹, to direct al-Mubarrad to present himself at the Caliphal Court. Al-Mubarrad obeyed the royal command and set out for Samarra'. He was ushered into al-Fath b. Khaqan's audience chamber immediately after his arrival there. Al-Fath enquired of him about the pointing of "إنها" and al-Mubarrad replied that to read "إنها" with a *Kasra* was better, since it was a new sentence in answer to the proceeding one. Ibn Khaqan was pleased with this answer and took al-Mubarrad to the Caliph's palace². He informed the Caliph about al-Mubarrad's opinion and demanded the money wagered by them. The Caliph ordered that al-Mubarrad be presented to him, and when he stood before him asked him to express his opinion about the dispute. Al-Mubarrad was a clever person and knew that the correct answer might offend the Caliph. So he made the following reply: "O Commander of the faithful the majority of the people read "أنها" with *fatha*. Al-Mubarrad's reply pleased to Caliph and he asked Ibn Khaqan to pay the money, who expostulated that al-Mubarrad had told him exactly opposite to what he had told the Caliph. The Caliph did not pay any heed to his expostulation and insisted upon having the money. Al-Mubarrad was asked to leave the Court and he made his way to the house where he was staying. To his surprise, he was intercepted on his way by the emissaries of Ibn Khaqan who took him to Ibn Khaqan's palace. Ibn Khaqan admonished al-Mubarrad for telling a lie before him, but he explained to him that he had not told a lie; what he had told the Caliph was that the majority of the people read the word "أنها" with a *fatha*, but this did not mean that it was correct. The truth was what he had told Ibn Khaqan. He apologised for making an ambiguous answer to save himself from Caliph's wrath. Ibn Khaqan was apparently satisfied with this excuse.

Al-Qifti relates on the authority of al-Mubarrad that he was taken to the Caliph in 246 A.H./860 A.D., but³ this date appears to be of a dubious character, because Ibn al-Mu'tazz reports that Muhammad b. Habib the

1. *Al-Muru'j*: 2/290.

2. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*: 110; *al-Inbah*: 3/244.

3. *Al-Inbah*: 3/244.

famous scholar of *lugha*, poetry, history and genealogy and the author of *al-Muhabbar*¹ used to visit al-Mubarrad and discuss poetry with him.² As Ibn Habib died Dhu'l-Hijja³ 245 A.H./March 860 A.D. at Samarra' al-Mubarrad must have moved to Samarra' earlier than that.

The second report occurs in *Mu'jam al-Buldan*. Yaqut relates from Nushajan b. 'Abd al-Masih, who heard al-Mubarrad say that he acquired wealth and riches through the instrumentality of Bundar b. Larra al-Isfahani, a great scholar of poetry and *lugha* who had memorised, it is stated, the whole mass of pre-Islamic and Islamic verse.⁴ He was a courtier of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil and used to pay him a visit once every week. When al-Mubarrad came to Samarra' he had the good fortune to make friends with Bundar, who, in a series of meetings at his house, introduced al-Mubarrad to all the grammarians of repute. Bundar also introduced him to al Fath b. Khaqan, and spoke very highly of him to the caliph, who commanded his presence in the Court.⁵

Al-Mutawakkil took a keen interest in genealogy and history and used to examine visiting scholars in the understanding of outlandish and obscure words. When al-Mubarrad came to the Court he was asked to approach the Caliph till he stood side by side with Bundar. The Caliph then addressed both of them and asked them to explain the meaning of an anecdote which he recounted.⁶ Both failed in this. Bundar then requested the Caliph for time to think over the significance of the words and they were granted one full day. Al-Mubarrad went home and examined many works on *Akhbar al-Arab* until finally he succeeded in tracing the anecdote told by the Caliph. He memorised both the anecdote and the explanation. Next morning Bundar and al-Mubarrad went to the Caliph. Al-Mubarrad quoted the whole anecdote and explained the difficult words. This delighted the Caliph who then turned his attention to Bundar,

1. See for his biography *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) : 6/473.

2. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara* : 417.

3. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) : 6/473.

4. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* ; 7/131.

5. Ibid.

6. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 7/131. The anecdote is available in *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* cf. 7/131, 132.

observing that al-Mubarrad's erudition far surpassed the reports of it. He then ordered for a reward to be given to al-Mubarrad to visit him.¹

The anecdotes differ in the details of the introduction of al-Mubarrad to al-Mutawakkil, but they do, however, agree that he came to Samarra' during al-Mutawakkil's reign. It is probable that al-Mubarrad may have been summoned to the Court by the Caliph, as is mentioned in the first account, and later on Bundar b. Larra might have patronised him and helped him to establish himself in the city. Al-Mubarrad's interview with the Caliph along with Bundar may have been on the occasion of his second visit to the Caliph rather than the first.

After his presentation to the Caliph al-Mubarrad became one of his courtiers and companions. His cold, analytical mind, vast erudition, eloquence, and his familiarity with the etiquette of the royal Court stood him in great stead.² He now visited the royal court frequently. Many a time he participated in the literary assemblies, banquets and entertainments held at the Court. Some of the anecdotes told by al-Mubarrad about Courtly life during al-Mutawakkil's reign give us some insight into the loose life led by the Caliphs. He relates that once he went to al-Mutawakkil's Court and found him intoxicated by *nabidh*.³ Al-Buhturi was standing in front of him and was reciting a panegyric in praise of the Caliph. Abu'l-'Anbas al-Saymari, the satirist, who was a boon companion of the Caliph, was also present. Some of the verses recited by al-Buhturi ran :

Say to the Caliph, Ja'far al-Mutawakkil, son of al-Mu'tasim,
The approved one, the chosen one, the benefactor, son of avenger,
Thy subjects are living peacefully in the haram of thy justice,
Thy survival is a grace of God to them, may this grace last long,
O Establisher of the glory which had been destroyed and had
collapsed,
May thou live long for the sake of the religion of Muhammad ; its
survival depends upon thy survival,

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 7/132.

2. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 108.

3. *Ibid* , 111 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/246 ; *al-Muruj* : 2/291

Through thee we came to righteousness after wandering astray, and through thee we gained riches after poverty.¹

When al-Buhturi finished declaiming his *qasida* he stepped back, when suddenly, Abu'l-'Anbas sprang up from his seat and said "O Commander of the faithful, order al-Buhturi to stay in his place and listen to my verse, which I have composed as a rejoinder to his poem. The caliph bade al-Buhturi to stand and listen to Abu'l-'Anbas, who then recited a few verses in the same metre and rhyme, which he composed impromptu, while al-Buhturi was busy reciting his own poem. Some of these run:

Into what a heap of dung you have fallen, with what an eager hand
you are satisfying your gluttony,

I have thrust back the head of Abu 'Ubayda al-Buhturi into the
womb (of his mother).

Al-Mutawakkil was greatly amused by this satirical piece of obscenity, and ordered a reward of 10,000 dirhams for Abu'l-'Anbas. At that juncture al-Fath b. Khaqan intervened and said, "Sire what about al-Buhturi, who has been satirised and ridiculed. Should he go back uncompensated?" "Let him also be given 10,000 dirhamas", ordered the Caliph. "And what about this Basrite whom we have summoned from his home town", said Ibn Khaqan, and the Caliph ordered a reward of 10,000 for al-Mubarrad as well.² The anecdote ends here in *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* and *al-Inbah*, but al-Mas'udi cites (on the authority of al-Mubarrad) the conversation, which took place at the same meeting between the Caliph and Abu'l-'Anbas to tell him about the death of his donkey and the verses which were composed by the donkey and recited to Abu'l-'Anbas in a dream. Abul-'Anbas replied, "My donkey was wiser than the judges and enjoyed a robust health, but he died suddenly. I saw him in a dream and asked him the reason for his sudden death. The donkey told me that one day, when I was standing near so and so, a she donkey happened to pass by him, who captivated his heart by her charms and he had died of his pangs of separation. I asked the donkey if he had composed any poetry

1. *Tabaqat al Nahwiyyin* : III : *al-Inbah* : 3/246 ; *al-Muruj* : 2/291.

2. *Al-Muruj* : 2/291 : *al-Inbah* : 3/246 ; *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 111.

about his love affair and he recited the following lines :

“Near the door of *al-Saydalani* I lost my heart to a she donkey,
She enchanted me by her beautiful teeth when I met her,
And with a coquettish chin like the chin of *al-Shaftaran*,
And I died of that and if I had lived I would have been disgraced
(by my love).”

I asked the donkey to explain the meaning of the word *al-Shaftaran*, occurring in the verses and he replied. “It is a rare word in the dialect of donkeys.”

This anecdote further increased the pleasure of the Caliph and he asked the musicians to sing the verses of the donkey throughout the day.¹

During al-Mubarrad's sojourn in Samarra' he made friends with the various personages of the Court including politicians, judges, military officers, scholars and poets. His relationship with them and other contemporaries will be discussed in a separate chapter.

1. *Al-Muruj* : 2/292 ; *al-Sharishi* : 1/41.

CHAPTER 3

Al-Mubarrad in Baghdad

Al-Mubarrad lived in Samarra' till the murder of al-Mutawakil and al-Fath b. Khaqan by the Turkish mercenaries in Shawwal 247 A.H./Aug 861 A.D.¹ The tragic death of the Caliph and his own patron al-Fath seem to have moved him deeply. Moreover he preferred not to stay at the Court any longer and be a prey to the intrigues of his adversaries; hence he migrated to Baghdad.

Baghdad, which was founded by Abu Ja'far al-Mansur in 145 A.H./762 A.D.², had by then passed through several stages of development. It reached the zenith of its glory during the reigns of Harun and Mamun, when it became the greatest centre of learning and scholarship in the world at large, where the philosophy of the Greeks and the wisdom of the Indians and the Persians were studied with enthusiasm.³ Although the capital was moved to Samarra' during the rule of al-Mu'tasim for political reasons, Baghdad maintained its importance as a seat of learning and a commercial centre. The Tahirid family, semi-independent vassals of the Caliph, had established a hereditary right to govern Baghdad and some adjacent territory, as well as to rule the province of Khurasan and other dependencies of the Caliphate in the East. One of the family, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir, was the Governor of Baghdad at that time.⁴

According to a report in *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*⁵ al-Mubarrad was persuaded to move Baghdad by an invitation sent to him by Muhammad b.

1. *Al-Tanbih* : 362.
2. *Al-Tabari* : 3/271, Baghdad during the 'Abbasid Caliphate, p. 4.
3. *Nicholson*, 261, 262, 367.
4. *Ibn al-Rumi* : 10.
5. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 112.

'Abd Allah b. Tahir, the Governor of Baghdad¹; and another report in the same book (which appears to be more authentic) suggests that he moved to Baghdad of his own accord without any invitation.² It was a strange, alien city for our author. He was not known to anybody there, a fact which caused him much anxiety in the beginning. He was confused in material matters and his afflictions were aggravated by the fact that he ran short of money. In this Cosmopolis of Islam, full of the hustle and bustle of life, he could not think of any supporter. The only way open to him was to go to the *Jami'a* mosque and call the attention of the people to his accomplishments—the course usually adopted by scholars in similar circumstances. He attended the Friday prayer and afterwards stood up at his place and started explaining an imaginary question on grammar. Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad b. Yahya Tha'lab also happened to be present in the mosque along with his pupils. He thought al-Mubarrad must be one of the Khurasani scholars, who used to deliver lectures in the mosque. Tha'lab used to send his pupils to debate with them in order to drive away their audiences. So he deputed Ibn al-Sari, al-Zajjaj and Ibn al-Ha'ik³ to do this. When they approached al-Mubarrad, Ibrahim b. al-Sari addressed him and sought his permission to ask a question. Al-Mubarrad welcomed this opportunity to display his knowledge and told him to ask any thing he pleased. Al-Zajjaj put a question to which al-Mubarrad gave a satisfactory answer. Al-Zajjaj looked in astonishment at his companion, after hearing this learned discourse of al-Mubarrad. Now it was al-Mubarrad's turn. He asked al-Zajjaj if he were satisfied with his answer and he replied in the affirmative. "But if somebody raises such and such objections to this answer what would be your reply," said al-Mubarrad, and he started raising objections to his own answer and refuting the arguments put forward by himself. Al-Zajjaj could make no reply and asked him to explain the answer to the objections raised by him. Al-Mubarrad agreed to this and refuted all the objections proving his first

1. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 5/422.

2. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 118.

3. The real name of Ibn al-Ha'ik was Harun. He belonged to a Jewish family of al-Hira and was one of the top ranking pupils of Tha'lab. Many a time he debated grammatical problems with al-Mubarrad.

(*Al-Fihrist* : 75 ; *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 109).

answer to be correct. This amazed al-Zajjaj, all the more, but he thought that al-Mubarrad might have prepared a detailed answer to that question; and that when al-Zajjaj had just by chance asked him about it, al-Mubarrad was thus able to give these impressive answers. He then asked a second question and al-Mubarrad repeated the whole process of the first question. According to al-Zubaydi, al-Zajjaj put fourteen successive questions to al-Mubarrad. He first answered them satisfactorily then picked holes in his own replies and asked al-Zajjaj to justify them, and on the latter's inability to do so himself refuted all criticism. On being convinced of al-Mubarrad's erudition al-Zajjaj asked his companions to go back to Tha'lab, but as for himself he said, that he would never leave 'that person.' His friends reproved him for leaving an established teacher of wide renown, and for attaching himself to an obscure and unknown person, but he made it clear to them that fame or obscurity do not matter, knowledge and insight determine the value of a person.¹

The nature of these questions is not mentioned by any of the biographers of al-Mubarrad or al-Zajjaj, but the *Majalis al-'Ulama'* of al-Zajjaji contains the details of another discussion, which took place between al-Mubarrad and al-Zajjaj on the former's arrival at Baghdad and it can help us to form an idea of the sort of questions asked by al-Zajjaj and the answers given by al-Mubarrad.²

Al-Zajjaj was so much impressed by al-Mubarrad's erudition that he became a great defender of his thought and did not shirk from ridiculing and criticising his old teacher in discharging this self-imposed duty. Yaqut relates that once, during the days when al-Mubarrad was dictating his work, *al-Muqtadab*, al-Zajjaj visited Tha'lab, who criticised al-Mubarrad on the ground that his expression lacked literary flavour. Al-Zajjaj replied that nobody had ever expressed any doubt about the beauty of al-Mubarrad's style, and it was nothing but Tha'lab's enmity for him which was urging him to lay such unfounded criticism at his door.³ One of Tha'lab's pupils spoke ill of Sibawayh. To him also al-Zajjaj made a

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 119.

2. *Majalis al-'Ulama'* : 164-167.

3. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 1/137-8.

stern reply. The most interesting thing happened when Tha'lab again tried to find fault with al-Mubarrad in his *al-Muqtadab*. Al-Zajjaj not only vehemently supported his new teacher but also severely criticised his old master saying "Why do you forget yourself? You have composed *Kitab al-Fasih* for the beginners, it hardly exceeds 40 pages, and there are at least 10 mistakes in it".¹

After defeating al-Zajjaj, al-Mubarrad seems to have been able to establish himself in the metropolis of the Caliphate. The nobles and intellegentsia of the City soon became aware of the presence of that profound scholar Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mubarrad in their midst and started inviting him to their literary salons. In due course our author was able to win the favours of several patrons of literature, whose courts he often visited. Notable among these were Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir; his brother 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir; Ibrahim b. 'Ubayd Allah b. al-Mudabbir; 'Abd Allah b. al-Mu'tazz and Ibrahim b. Ishaq the *Qadi* of Baghdad. The houses of these gentlemen were the rendezvous of the elite of the city. Al-Mubarrad took up residence in the Khuld quarter of Baghdad,² a large residential area around the Khuld palace built by the Caliph al-Mansur in 158 A.H./774 A.D., on the banks of the Tigris, in the neighbourhood of the Khurasan Gate.³

The Confrontations between al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab

The Most important grammarian of Baghdad before al-Mubarrad's arrival there was Ahmad b. Yahya b. Zayd Tha'lab, the protagonist of the Kufa school of grammar,⁴ who died at Baghdad in 291 A.H./903 A.D.⁵. As al-Mubarrad belonged to the rival school of al-Basra, and as there were several long standing differences between the schools on various grammatical and linguistic problems,⁶ Tha'lab was not pleased by al-Mubarrad's

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 1/139 ; *al-Muzhir* : 1/202.

2. *Al-Amali* (Z) : 56.

3. *Manaqib Baghdad* : 12, *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 1/80, *Baghdad During the 'Abbasid Caliphate* : 102.

4. *Al-Fihrist* : 74 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 5/204 ; *al-Inbah* : 1/144 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 5/102 *al-Wafayat* : 1/30.

5. *Al-Fihrist* : 74.

6. See for the differences between the Kufans and the Basrans *Kitab al-Insaf*.

arrival in Baghdad. In the beginning, he tried to get rid of him by sending his pupils to engage al-Mubarrad in literary polemics and defeat him, and thus to force him to leave the city.¹ But al-Mubarrad was more than a match for them, and in all such discussions succeeded in establishing his superiority over them. Later on both rivals met each other in the noble houses of Baghdad, especially those of Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir,² Isma'il al-Qadi³ and 'Abd Allah b. Al-Mu'tazz, where their mutual prejudices compelled them to belittle each other by indulging in mutual disparagement. Their antagonism increased to such an extent that it became proverbial ; so much so that poets composed verses about it.⁴ It is interesting to note that Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri while depicting the imaginary scenes of Paradise in his famous work *Risalat al-Ghufran* refers to the immense hatred which these two savants felt for each other and observes that Tha'lab's heart had been purified from enmity and prejudice against al-Mubarrad there.⁵ Ibn Hajar reports that they even declared each other heretical on account of their literary antagonism.⁶

Al-Mubarrad had a few advantages over Tha'lab, owing to which he could win the sympathies of the audience, attract the hearts of the people, and thus ensure his victory, without letting them ponder over the content of the arguments put forward by either of them.⁷ He was superior to Tha'lab in linguistic attainments and rhetorical ingenuity and was witty and clever, and could express himself in an attractive and interesting manner.⁸ Tha'lab on the contrary was naive and simple ; his manner of speech was unimpressive. He had memorised the sayings of al-Farra' and al-Kisa'i, but could not support them by logical arguments. Moreover he lacked originality.⁹ Many a time al-Mubarrad managed to win simply by a display of eloquence. Tha'lab was conscious of this defect in his per-

1. *Al-Fihrist* : 75.

2. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* ; 5/208 ; *al-Inbah* : 1/241 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* 5/111.

3. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 6/289.

4. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* 19/113-114.

5. *Risalat al-Ghufran* : 16.

6. *Lisan al-Mizan* : 5/431.

7. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* 19/118.

8. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 108 ; *al-Inbah* : 1/145 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/118.

9. *Al-Inbah* : 1/144, 45.

sonality and used to shirk debating with al-Mubarrad, who on the other hand welcomed any such opportunity.¹ Tha'lab is reported to have avoided places where he might meet al-Mubarrad,²

Despite all their differences and antagonism, the relationship between al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab does not appear to have been as bad as it is depicted by some biographers. Al-Qifti reports that if and when they met each other in the street, they greeted each other and asked about each other's health.⁴ Tha'lab seems to have been rather more generous and humane than al-Mubarrad in this respect. Once al-Mubarrad fell ill and when the news was reported to Tha'lab he asked his pupils to accompany him to al-Mubarrad's house to enquire about his health. When their arrival was announced to al-Mubarrad, they were informed that al-Mubarrad was not at home. Tha'lab was justifiably annoyed by this unmannerly behaviour of al-Mubarrad, and although, he did not compose poetry very often, immediately composed the following satirical verse impromptu :

“The strangest thing of which I have heard is a sick man whom people come to visit but he is not to be found (at home)”.⁴

There are details of some of the discussions which took place between these two scholars in *Majalis al-'Ulama'*, *Ta'rikk Baghdad* and *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* but considerations of space do not allow us to cite them here. A perusal of these discussions, however indicates that these scholars were equally proficient in grammar and philology. It is very difficult to establish the superiority of one of them over the other. This question was left undecided even by the scholars before whom they debated to obtain their verdict on these issues⁵. They were held to be the most learned scholars of their time,⁶ but there were various opinions about their respective worth.⁷ Abu 'Amr al-Zahid reports that he asked Abu Bakr al-Sarraj whether

1. *Al-Inbah* : 1/145.

2. *Ibid.* 1/149.

3. *Ibid.* 1/149.

4. *Al-Simt* : 385.

5. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 8/21, 5/208 ; *Al-Inbah* : 1/141.

6. *Al-Inbah* : 1/145 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 5/122.

7. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 5/208.

Tha'lab or al-Mubarrad was the greatest scholar and he replied by asking how he could give a verdict on scholars over whom the world was divided into two camps¹. The great scholars of al-Basra, such as al-Mazini² and al-Riyashi³, were convinced of Tha'lab erudition and al-Mubarrad himself reported to have accepted Tha'lab as the most learned Kufite scholar⁴. There is, however, no denying the fact that al-Mubarrad was more eloquent than Tha'lab and could create a better impression than his adversary. For this reason the lovers of elegant language and style preferred al-Mubarrad to Tha'lab⁵.

After al-Mubarrad's move to Baghdan, his relations with the Caliphal Court at Samarra' did not come to an end. On the contrary he continued to enjoy his former favours. There is evidence to prove that he used to go to Samarra' to pay visits to the nobles of the Court such as 'Isa b. Farkhanshah, the *wazir* of al-Mu'tazz⁶ who bestowed rich rewards on him⁷. In 289 A.H./892 A.D. al-Mu'tamid⁸ returned to Baghdad and al-Mubarrad again seems to have attached himself to the Caliphal Court. His popularity with the Caliph al-Mu'tadid can be demonstrated by the fact that when Ja'far b. Muhammad b. Hamdan al-Mausili left Mausil, because of the prejudice of his contemporaries, and came to Baghdad, he addressed a laudatory poem to the Caliph, in which he mentioned the misfortunes he had to encounter, and his eminence in the various sciences; and in that poem he cited the names of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab as his references⁹.

After his migration to Baghdad al-Mubarrad became known throughout the Muslim world as an authority on grammar and philology, and students started to come to him from the various parts of the Muslim world to receive instruction on the sciences mentioned above. During his stay

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1. *Ta'rikkh Baghdad* : 5 : 5/144.
 2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 5/113.
 3. *Al-Inbah* : 1/144.
 4. *Ibid.* 1/142 ; *Ta'rikkh Baghdad* : 5/210.
 5. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/114.
 6. *Mu'jam al-Shu'ara'* : 261 ; *al-Fakhri* : 22.
 7. *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 71.
 8. *E. I.* (R) 1/18.
 9. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 7/149.

in Baghdad Ishaq b. Nusayr al-Katib al-Baghdadi, the Secretary to Abu'l-Jaysh Khumarawayh b. Ahmad b. Taulun is said to have sent him a gift of 1000 dinars from Egypt in recognition of his scholarship,¹

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 6/87.

CHAPTER 4

Al-Mubarrad's Patrons and Friends

The amiability of al-Mubarrad's disposition and his pleasing manners won him many friends during his stay at Samarra' and Baghdad. He had all the accomplishments and graces of a Courtier¹ and some of the most eminent personalities of the age had very cordial relation with him. Reference has already been made to some of them in the previous chapter and in what follows we shall briefly speak of those persons with whom he appears to have established very close personal contacts.

Patrons

Of the patrons of al-Mubarrad, the most important figure is undoubtedly that of al-Fath b. Khaqan, the boon companion and adopted brother of al-Mutawakkil², who sacrificed his life while defending the Caliph at the time of his assassination³. He was a highly educated and cultured person, and had a keen zest for knowledge⁴, and was himself a good poet. 'Ali b. Yahya al-Munajjim is reported to have established a library for him which was one of the biggest and most beautiful libraries of Baghdad.⁵ The eminent scholars of al-Basra and al-Kufa and the Bedouin transmitters thronged his palace to participate in the literary meetings held there.⁶

Al-Mubarrad seems to have visited al-Fath regularly at the latter's residence in Samarra' and is reported to have transmitted his poetry to

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 5/119 ; *Majlis al-Ulama'* : 110.

2. *Al-Fihrist* : 116 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 6/117.

3. *Al-Fihrist* : 116 ; *al-Muru'j* ; 2/289.

4. *Al-Amali (Z)* 1/138 ; *al-Fakhri* : 10.

5. *Al-Fihrist* : 116 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba' (M)* 6/117.

6. *Ibid.*

posterity.¹ He met al-Fath a few hours before his murder at the palace al-Mutawakkiliyya in 247 A. H./861 A. D. and reports that he heard him in reciting the following verse :

“And sometimes the oppressed put their lord to death : and sometimes the dog of a young man barks (to warn him of danger), but he pays no heed to it”.²

Among the patrons of al-Mubarrad mention may be made of Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Tahir (253 A. H./867 A. D.) and his younger brother ‘Ubayd Allah b. ‘Abd Allah b. Tahir (d. 300 A. H./912 A. D.), who were appointed the Governors of Baghdad successively. Both these brothers were learned in religious sciences and literature, and were good poets.³

Al-Mubarrad was introduced to Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah by a person known as Muhammad b. ‘Isa,⁴ and he was fortunate enough to win his favours. He appears to have been a regular visitor to Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah’s court, where he, many a time, indulged in grammatical discussions with Tha‘lab.⁵ During one such discussion, al-Husayn b. Isma‘il al-Qadi al-Muhamili, who happened to be present there, was asked by Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah to act as arbiter but he expressed his inability on the ground that in their discussion they had gone beyond the limit of his knowledge.⁶

Al-Mubarrad also visited the court of ‘Ubayd Allah b. Abd Allah b. Tahir. That al-Mubarrad seems to have been very close to him is amply borne out by an interesting anecdote related by al-Zajjaji from al-Mubarrad about ‘Ubayd Allah’s Oath that he would amputate his hand for punishing a slave girl of whom he was extremely fond.⁷

Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd Allah b. al-Mudabbir Abu Ishaq al-Katib was an eminent poet, writer and literateur, who filled several impor-

1. *Mu‘jam al-Udaba’* (M) 6/117.

2. *Ibid.* 6/192.

3. *Ta’rikh Baghdad* : 5/418 ; *Ibid* 80/341 ; *al-Muntazam* : 6/117.

4. *Majlis al-Ulama’* : 110.

5. *Ibid* 108, 110, 115, 110, 124.

6. *Ta’rikh Baghdad* : 8/21.

7. *Al-Amali* (Z) 99.

tant posts, worked as *Wazir* to al-Mu'tamid when he made a journey to Egypt, and was the Director of *Diwan al-Diya'* during the reign of al-Mu'tadid, in which capacity he died in 279 A. H. 892 A. D.¹. He is also reported to have patronised our author. He is said to have asked al-Mubarrad to recommend a suitable companion and tutor for his son. Al-Mubarrad deputed al-Akhfash, one of his pupils, for the job, and recommended his case to Ibn al-Mudabbir with the following lines :

"When I visit the kings my genealogy is a sufficient recommendation to them ; and they do not consider it necessary to give me a test"².

'Ubayd Allah b. Sulayman (d. 288 A. H. 901 A. D.), the *Wazir* of al-Mu'tadid was also a patron of al-Mubarrad. When he stood in need of a tutor for his son al-Qasim, who, later on, became a *Wazir* of al-Mu'tadid, he requested al-Mubarrad to select a suitable person for this job. Al-Mubarrad recommended the name of his pupil, al-Zajjaj³. Al-Qasim (d. 291 A. H./904 A. D.) also appears to have held al-Mubarrad in high esteem. When al-Mu'tadid asked him to select a suitable scholar to write a commentary on *Kitab Jami' al-Nutq* of Abu Ja'far al-Nadim⁴, he requested al-Mubarrad to take up the job, but owing to his old age and falling health he expressed his inability to do so and again recommended the name of his pupil al-Zajjaj.⁵

Another important patron of al-Mubarrad was Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Mansur b. Bassam, a rich man of *Baghdad*, who belonged to a respectable family, his father Nasr b. Mansur had been eulogised by Abu Tammam in one of his *qasidas*, Al-Mubarrad is reported to have presented him a copy of his *Kitab al-Rauda*.⁶ Muhammad's son, Ali, (d. 302 A.H.) was a good poet, but notorious for writing satirical verses, and did not spare even his own father from his lampoons.⁷ On receiving al-Mubarrad's work

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) : 1/292.

2. *Al-Wafayat* 1/495 ; *al-Zahr* : 1/167 ; *al-Inbah* 2/277.

3. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 6/90 ; *al-Nishwar* : 134

4. *Al-Inbah* : 3/232.

5. *Al-Fihrist* : 61.

6. *Diwan* : (B) 1/237 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/316.

7. *Al-Zahr* : 3/87 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : (M) 5/319.

Muhammad passed it to his son, and asked to examine it, so he inscribed the following verses on title page of one of the volumes :—

“If God delivers al-Mubarrad from the burning fire of Hell,
He will get a reward on account of the *Rauda* more cooling than the
reward of other people”.¹

‘Abd Allah b. Ishaq b. Ibrahim al-Musabbihi, an eminent personage of Baghdad was also a patron of al-Mubarrad. Al-Musabbihi belonged to a family which had been holding high offices for a long time; his father was the Chief of Police of Baghdad and is to have died in 235 A.H./850A.D.² In 237 /862 A.D., ‘Abd Allah was appointed the Governor of Baghdad and al-Swad.³ He appears to have lived up to the age of al-Musta ‘in⁴ after which no mention of him is made in the chronicles.

Al-Mubarrad used to go to the palace of al-Musabbihi and participate in the parties held there. In one of the wine parties a slave girl chanted some lines of Layla al-Akhyaliyya but made a mistake in reciting a verse which annoyed our author very much and he could not resist correcting her in the presence of the audience.⁵

Al-Mubarrad's circle of Friends:

The earliest known friend of al-Mubarrad appears to be Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Habib, the author of *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, and the well-known scholar of *lughah*, poetry, history and genealogy, who breathed his last in Samarra' in 245 A.H./859 A.D. during the reign of al-Mutawakkil.⁶ From *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* of Ibn al-Mu'tazz it appears that he used to go to al-Mubarrad's house to discuss literary problems with him. In one such meeting they discussed the poetry of a contemporary poet named Abu Hafs al-Basri, who was commended by al-Mubarrad for his well-balanced verse.⁷

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/386.

2. *Al-Muruj* : 2/293.

3. *Al-Tabari* : 3/1410.

4. *Ibid.* 3/1639.

5. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 116.

6. *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, (M) 6/473.

7. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara*, : 417.

Abu'Ali Di'bil b. Razin b. Sulayman, the well-known *Shi'a* poet and satirist of the 'Abbasid age was also a friend of al-Mubarrad and loved him for his interesting and pleasing conversation. Al-Mubarrad appears to have met Di'bil for the first time on the banks of the Tigris, on his way back from Baghdad to Samarra'. Ibn al-Mu'tazz reports the whole story from al-Mubarrad in the following words':

"I was coming back from Samarra' and night over-took me on the way; so I ordered the boatman to take the boat to the shore and prepared to pass the night there. The sun was about to set. Suddenly I saw another boat approaching the shore. When it reached the shore a servant got off with a bow and another got off with a leathern bag. Then a respectable old man with a shining face stepped on to the shore leaning on another servant. On seeing him I was convinced that he was undoubtedly some well-to-do person and it is rare for learned person to be rich, he may be eminent as a scholar, so I followed him. He got hold of the bow and shot at a sparrow, but missed his target. He again shot and missed. When he missed for the third time he handed over the bow to one of his attendants and recited the following hemistich."

"We shoot the sparrows but miss them."

I improvised the second hemistich at once and observed.

"It is poor shooting and does them no harm."

The old man shouted and said: "Who is this taking liberties with me", and I told him my name, and inquired of him who he was.

He told me that he was Di'bil and I hurried towards him and kissed his hands."

The rest of the journey was made by them together during which al-Mubarrad pleased Di'bil with amusing anecdotes. When they reached their destination, al-Mubarrad sought to take his leave of Di'bil, but he was reluctant to let him go. Al-Mubarrad excused himself on account of some important task, but promised to call on him on some other occasion.²

1. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 265.

2. *Ibid.* 265.

Al-Mubarrad would have met Di'bil again as is borne out by a number of anecdotes and verses which he relates from him,¹ but unfortunately they did not enjoy each other's company for long and their friendship came to an end with Di'bil's death in 246 A.H./860 A.D.² Their first meeting can be placed sometime between al-Mubarrad's migration to Samarra, and Di'bil's death.

The other important friend of al-Mubarrad was Abu'l Fadl Ahmed b. Abi Tahir Tayfur (d. 280 A.H./893 A.D.), who originally came of Khurasani stock, but was born and bred at Baghdad, and was an important man of letters of that period. He is said to have written many books, including a history of Baghdad, a small portion of which has come down to us and been published. Ahmad worked as an ordinary teacher in the beginning, but later on he specialised in certain subjects, and started delivering lectures at Suq al-Warraqin in Eastern *Baghdad*.³ His relations with al-Mubarrad were strained as a result of an interesting incident reported by Ahmad as follows:

"I left the house of Abu'l-Saqr (Isma'il b. Bulbul, the Wazir⁴) at mid-day in the month of July. I used to live at Bab al-Sham in those days and it was not possible for me to reach there in that scorching heat; so I decided to call on al-Mubarrad, who lived quite near, and pass the hot part of the day with him. On my arrival, he admitted me to his courtyard and brought food for me. I ate two excellent dishes with him and then he gave cold water to drink and said "I will talk to you till you fall asleep". He related to me interesting anecdotes but unfortunately, due to my thanklessness, two verses came to my mind. When I told him this he insisted upon hearing them, in the expectation of praise, I recited to him the following lines :

"A day which resembled the heat of passion in lovers, heart, but was even hotter and as ash colourd,

1. *Al-Aghani* : 18/31, 34, 41, 54 etc.

2. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/180 ; *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 8/385.

3. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 8/88 ; *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 4/211-212 ; *Al-Muru'j* : 2/381.

4. *Al-Tabari* : 3/1931, 2110, 2117.

I passed it in siesta at al-Mubbarrad's house continuing to find (the relief) coolness from his words".

These verses dissipated al-Mubbarrad's expectation of an encomium on his hospitality and naturally displeased him. He admonished me for my impertinence and asked me to leave his house at once, and swore never to admit me to his place again¹.

Their strained relations do not appear to have improved, as is borne out by the following verse in which Ahmad is said to have lampooned al-Mubbarrad:

"Literature has attained its perfection in the person al-Mubbarrad, and his intellect is sharpest of all intellects, but as has been alleged, the young man (i.e. al-Mubbarrad is guilty of giving himself an ancestry not his own, and is a fraud, and a liar"².

Abu'l-'Abbas b. Jurayj Ibn al-Rumi (d. 283 A.H./896 A.D.), the well-known satirist poet of the 'Abbasid age also enjoyed cordial relations with our author in the beginning, and addressed a long laudatory poem to him³, a few verses from which have been translated in this dissertation⁴. The poem indicates that al-Mubbarrad used to patronise Ibn al-Rumi and exerted his influence on Ibn al-Rumi's behalf. However, it appears that Ibn al-Rumi was estranged from al-Mubbarrad in his later days and wrote a satire on the latter containing the most poisonous abuse. The reason for this estrangement may be the attitude of al-Akhfash who used to ridicule Ibn al-Rumi for his superstition, and used to find fault with his poetry⁵. Al-Mubbarrad appears to have acted as a *Rawiya* to Ibn al-Rumi for sometime.⁷

The greatest friend of al-Mubbarrad was al-Buhturi (d.286 A.H./899 A.D.), the pre-eminent poet of the 'Abbasid period. Al-Mubbarrad seems to

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 3/95 ; *Kunuz al-Ajdad* : 100.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/386 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 3/94 ; *Kunuz al-Ajdad* : 100.

3. See for the complete *qasida*, *Diwan Ibn al-Rumi* : f. 91, 92.

4. See Chapter 8.

5. *Ibn al-Rumi* : 19.

6. *Ibid.* 40 ; *Kitab al-Tashbihat* : 367, 371, 379.

7. *Kitab al-Tashbihat* : 24.

have met him for the first time at the court of al-Mutawakkil at samarra'.¹ They had great respect for each other and used to exchange visits.² Al-Buhturi composed verses in praise of al-Mubarrad and his tribe Banu al-Azd³ and, in the literary polemics between al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab, sided with al-Mubarrad.⁴ Al-Mubarrad rewarded him by declaring him the greatest poet of the age⁵ and giving him precedence over Abu Tammam.⁶ He compared him with Zuhayr⁷ and was very outspoken in his praise of al-Buhturi. Sometimes he praised him so highly as to displease some of his own pupils. Ibn Durustawayh reports that once al-Buhturi recited to us a verse at al-Mubarrad's place and claimed to have been the first poet to compose on that particular topic. Al-Mubarrad agreed with him, and declared that he had not found any verse like that in classical or modern poetry. Al-Buhturi was so much pleased by this praise that he started nodding his pleasure, but Ibn Durstawayh did not like this fulsome adulation and told al-Buhturi that he was wrong in his pretension, and in support of his contention recited verses of 4 poets on the same topic, all of whom lived before al-Buhturi. Al-Buhturi was so much offended by these remarks that he left at once. Al-Mubarrad also nursed grudge against his pupil for his remarks.⁸

Al-Mubarrad was a transmitter of al-Buhturi's poetry,⁹ and the latter either came to al-Mubarrad's place to recite to him his new composition¹⁰ or wrote new poems to al-Mubarrad.¹¹

Their friendship was so deep that they used to drink together.¹² Whenever the weather was fine they would invite each other to drink.

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1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 110.
 2. *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 50-52.
 3. *Diwan al-Buhturi* : 1/13 ; 1/418.
 4. *Al-'Umda* : 2/99 ; *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 186.
 5. *Al-Muruj* : 2/280.
 6. *Al-Muwazana* : 16 ; *al-Muruj* : 1/280.
 7. Ibid.
 8. *Zahr al-Adab* : 7/240.
 9. *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 52.
 10. *Diwan* (B) 1/132, 415.
 11. *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 52.
 12. *Al-Risala* : 515.

Al-Buhturi is reported to have sent an invitation to al-Mubarrad in the following verses, which are included in his *Diwan*.

“It is holiday and I have enough food and my horse is ready beside me,
 And I have a spacious camping ground on the bank of the river,
 where the heart feels pleasure,
 Continual drinking draws you close to your beloved; he may treat you harshly,
 So come to me O’Muhammad b. Yazid stealthily, so that the spies may not be able to descry you,
 We shall dispel sorrow with three glasses of morning wine full to the brim, ; misfortunes are driven away by them,
 Surely wine contains satisfaction for the disease of love and my heart is longing for the polite (person).
 My old age should not frighten you because old age has not turned me away from love affairs”.¹

Once al-Mubarrad invited him on a rainy day, probably for a similar purpose, but al-Buhturi excused himself on the ground of bad weather and replied to al-Mubarrad’s invitation in the following verse :

“Paying a visit is full of dangers, the earth is in peril of drowning under the hoofs of my pony,
 If we assemble on a cold day, I am afraid of what I will encounter when I go back”²

Al-Mubarrad appears to have discontinued attending al-Buhturi’s wine parties after some time³, but their friendship endured. In his old age al-Buhturi composed a *qasida* in praise of Isma’il b. Bulbul, the *Wazir*, and in that he praised al-Mubarrad as his trusted friend and companion. Some of the verses read as follows :

“I have worn out youth as one might wear out a cloak ; and the

1. *Diwan* (B) : 1/132.

2. *Ta’rikh Baghdad* : 13/450.

3. *Al-Risala* : 515.

departure of an amiable friend has grieved me,
When he departs he does not come back.

Who will convey to al-Thumali (al-Mubarrad) on my behalf that he is the place of my complaints in private about my misfortunes) and he is the place of my amusement.

When the caravan approaches him, their leader may convey to him the message of one expelled, who has been disturbed from his enjoyment''¹.

Mention may be made among al-Mubarrad's friends of 'Abd al-Samad and Ahmad, the sons of al-Mu'adhhal b. Ghaylan b. al-Hakam al-'Abdi, who were eminent poets of the period. 'Abd al-Samad was more interested in poetry, whereas Ahmad's inclinations were towards jurisprudence². Al-Mubarrad relates interesting literary anecdotes from both these brothers³.

'Abd al-Samad had a beautiful garden, where literary meetings were held, in which important literateurs of Baghdad participated. Al-Mubarrad also used to join these parties. In one such meeting 'Abd al-Samad entertained his guests by reciting some interesting verses in praise of his garden, which have been cited on al-Mubarrad's authority in *al-Aghani*⁴

'Abd al-Samad appears to have been greatly interested in satirical poetry and is said to have satirised even his own brother Ahmad⁵. His verses lampooning al-Mubarrad have already been noted. It was probably al-Mubarrad's personal experience which constrained him to express the following damaging opinion about him.

"He was very bold to attack honour, he possessed a wicked nature in his dealing with other had mischievous intentions, and lay in wait for a long time to do harm to his friends, expecting that their relations may deteriorate and he may be able to harm them by the mention of a thing which he knows. He was not willing to submit

1. *Diwan* (B) : 1/418.

2. *Al-Simt* : 1/326 ; *al-Zahr* : 3/73.

3. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 2/217.

4. *Al-Aghani* : 19/62.

5. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 369 ; *al-Zahr* : 3/71.

to anybody and was well-known for this. He deceived his friends, was well read but was very proud".¹

Quite contrary to this disparaging opinion, al-Mubarrad spoke very highly of the other brother, namely, Ahmad, whom he praises for his beauty, staunchness in religion, piety, contentment and knowledge of jurisprudence and literature².

Some other friends of al-Mubarrad were Isma'il b. Ibrahim al-Hamduni³, who was encouraged by al-Mubarrad to compose verses about the cloak given to him by Ahmad b. Harb al-Muhallabi, his patron, a fact which made Ahmad known as *Taylisan* b. Hrab⁴, Ibn Khalaf al-Buhrani⁵, Jahza al-Barmaki⁶, Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Madira'i the one-eyed Kurd writer, who was known by the epithet of *Sadiq al-Mubarrad*⁷, Yazid b. Muhammad b. al-Muhallab b. al-Mughira better known as Abu Khalid al-Basri⁸ and al-Hasan b. Raja', an important personage of the 'Abbasid age⁹; but considerations of space do not allow us to enter into details about them.

Before closing this chapter it is worthwhile to mention that al-Mubarrad, Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 310 A.H./922 A.D.), were contemporaries and lived in Baghdad at the same time. It is interesting to note that although al-Mubarrad and Ibn Qutayba belonged to the Basran school and had attended the lectures of some common teacher,¹⁰ yet they do not appear to have good relations, because there is no mention in the sources of their having met each other. Al-Mubarrad does not appear to have cited a single narration on Ibn Qutayba's authority and Ibn Qutayba seems to have mentioned al-Mubarrad in the

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1. *Al-Zahr* : 3/74.
 2. *Ibid.* 3/71.
 3. See for his biography *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* 372.
 4. *Ibid.* 372 ; *al-Zahr* : 2/258.
 5. *Al-Zahr* : 2/196.
 6. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (.) : 1/382.
 7. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 4/153.
 8. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 109 ; *al-Simt* : 839.
 9. *Al-Zahr* : 2/261.
 10. *Ibn Qutayba* : 25.

'*Uyun* alone and that a mere three times.¹ I am inclined to believe that they disliked each other and ignored each other's presence in the same city. In this I am in full agreement with Prof. A.J. Arberry when he remarks about Abu 'l-Hasan al-Tusi "He is reported to have been an inveterate enemy of Ibn al-Sikkit, for no better reason—and what better reasons could scholars look for?—than the both studied under the same teacher"²

As regards al-Tabari, he was born in 225 A.H./839 A.D. and died in 310 A.H./922 A.D., and hence was a younger contemporary of al-Mubarrad.³ He is said to have studied poetry under Tha'lab before he attained fame as a teacher.⁴ It is probable that al-Mubarrad and al-Tabari might have met each other, but, unfortunately, there is no record of any such meeting in the sources. Al-Mubarrad is reported to have held a very high opinion of al-Tabari's accomplishments; he considered him one of the most erudite Kufan grammarians. Al-Tabari wrote his monumental commentary on the *Qur'an* during the lifetime of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab and it succeeded in achieving universal popularity when they were still alive.⁵

1. Cf. *Al-'Uyun* : 1/247 ; 1/344 ; 3/301.

2. *Seven Odes* : 128.

3. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) : 6/423, 450.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid* (M) : 6/438, 439.

CHAPTER 5

Al-Mubarrad's Trustworthiness

Al-Mubarrad made quick strides in winning favour and patronage among the nobility of Baghdad. This created rivalry against him. As has been noted above, the whole school of Kufa was displeased at his arrival in Baghdad. When they could not eclipse al-Mubarrad in literary polemics they contrived yet another artifice to mar his reputation i.e. spreading rumours of his being an untrustworthy narrator; a person in the habit of inventing authorities to justify himself.

Al-Mufajja' al-Basri who was a pupil of Tha'lab states that al-Mubarrad, despite his profound knowledge of philology and *gharib*, was criticised for being a concoctor.¹ Al-Mufajja' wanted to give al-Mubarrad a test in order to ascertain the truth. He and his friends had been discussing the metre of the following verse of Tarafa :

أبا منذر أفنيت فاستبق بعضنا حنائيك بعض الشر أهون من بعض

and had differed with each other. While trying to scan the line they had been repeating ق and بعضنا together as قبعضنا, and they decided to go to al-Mubarrad and ask the meaning of قبعض as one word. When they came to al-Mubarrad al-Mufajja' spoke to him and requested him to elucidate the meaning of قبعض. Al-Mubarrad told them that قبعض meant cotton and in support of his contention recited the following hemistich :²

كان منها حشى القبعضا

Al-Mufajja' was amazed at the ready replay of al-Mubarrad and told his companions that if the explanation of al-Mubarrad was correct, he

1. *Ta'rihh Baghdad* : 3/380 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/113 ; *al-Nuzha* : 150.

2. Ibid.

was without doubt man of sound learning, but if he had invented the explanation and authority impromptu, he was still a genius, to invent such references.¹

Another interesting story about al-Mubarrad's being a concoctor and inventor is contained in *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, and *Lisan al-Mizan*,² which goes as follows :

Once al-Mubarrad went to pay a visit to Isa b. Mahan, the famous traditionist of his age,³ who considering him an authority on philology, asked him to explain the exact signification of *الشاة المجثمة*,⁴ whose meat had been declared "unlawful by the Prophet. Al-Mubarrad told him that *المجثمة* means *العضرولة* weak—and recited the following line as an authority :

Al-Mubarrad was still in the company of 'Isa b. Mahan, when Abu 'Ali al-Farisi, the famous grammarian, a contemporary of al-Mubarrad came to see him. 'Isa b. Mahan asked his opinion on this obscure expression, and he replied, "*Al-Shat al-Majthama* is the goat which is made to recline on her knees and is killed by cutting the nape of the neck instead of the throat. On this 'Isa brought al-Mubarrad's explanation to his notice and he retorted : "I swear to become a pupil of al-Mubarrad if he has heard this explanation from any authority and has not composed the verse right now to justify himself".

When al-Mubarrad heard this remark of Abu 'Ali he himself admitted to having invented the explanation as well as the authority. He told 'Isa that he did not know the meaning of that expression, and thought it rather shameful to express his ignorance. It is further reported that 'Isa was pleased by this confession of al-Mubarrad.⁵

Now the question arises, was al-Mubarrad really an unscrupulous narrator like Hammad al-Rawiya and Khalaf al-Ahmar? Did he really

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* ; 3/380 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* ; 19/113 ; *al-Nazha* ; 150.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 3/30 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 5/431, 32.

3. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 11/144.

4. See for this tradition *Musnad Ibn Hanbal* : 1/426.

5. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 3/30 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 5/432.

fabricate authorities in support of his imaginary explanations? It may be mentioned here, that none of the earlier biographers of al-Mubarrad have included any report about al-Mubarrad's supposed untrustworthiness. Although al-khatib mention the first story given above, he openly declares al-Mubarrad to be a trustworthy narrator¹. Yaqut also declares al-Mubarrad a trustworthy scholar². Ibn Hajar agrees with al-Khatib and Yaqut and upholds al-Mubarrad's veracity. He recounts the first story and then criticises it on the following grounds: "This story has come down to us through an obscure chain of narrators. Furthermore al-Mufajja's criticism is disregarded by all"³. As regards the second story, I am of the opinion that it is either a fabrication by the enemies of al-Mubarrad or by Abu 'Ali al-Farisi, who was actuated by jealousy, and wanted to undermine al-Mubarrad's prestige and establish his superiority over him. Dr. Zaki Mubarak, after mentioning both the stories mentioned above, in his introduction to his edition of *Kitab al-Kamil* observes: "It was enmity between the Kufan and Basran schools which gave rise to such baseless allegations"⁴.

1. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 3/380.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/112.

3. *Lisan al-Mizan (Z)* : 5/432.

4. *Al-Kamil (Z)* : 5

CHAPTER 6

Al-Mubarrad's Career as a Teacher

Al-Mubarrad seems to have started working as a teacher when he was still attending the lectures of the savants of al-Basra. He began by teaching his fellow student in the circle of his masters, and then he organised¹ his own circle. His teachers are reported to have directed the students, who came to study *al-Kitab* under them, to attend al Mubarrad's lectures.² Several of his pupils studied under him during his stay at al-Basra,³ but he attained fame as a teacher after having moved to Baghdad, and his most important pupils studied with him there.

Al-Mubarrad's lecture in Baghdad were attended by people from all walks of life. They included young philologists of 'Iraq, and eminent scholars, poets, and dignitaries of the city.⁴ The traditionists like Ibn al-Munadi⁵ and the free thinkers of the eminence of al-Rawandi⁶ were equally eager to flock to his recitation to gather material for their monographs. His proficiency as a teacher can be demonstrated by the fact that the students used to prefer his lectures to those of Tha'lab, and used to leave the latter's lectures in the middle in order to attend those of al-Mubarrad.⁷ There can be no greater proof of al-Mubarrad's excellence as a teacher than the report that Ahmad b. Ja'far al-Nahwi, the son-in-law of Tha'lab, used to leave the house of his father-in-law with his ink-pot and note book, while Tha'lab's lecture was in progress, and, after stepping over the audience, came to al-Mubarrad to study *al-Kitab* of

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 108.

2. *Ibid.* 109.

3. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 2/3.

4. *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 59 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 5/114 ; *Kitab al-Faqih* f : 122a.

5. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/387.

6. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/121.

7. *Ibid.* 5/120.

Sibawayh with him. Many a time he was admonished by his father-in-law for this objectionable practice but he did not take any notice.¹ The secret of this success of al-Mubarrad appears to be that he explained dry grammatical problems in an attractive style, and in addition to that narrated several interesting literary anecdotes and amusing verses.²

A number of anecdotes told by our author in his lectures to amuse his audience are available in the various sources,³ which prove that he was extremely witty and was gifted with a keen sense of humour. The following two anecdotes are about two different visitors who came to see al-Mubarrad and are cited here as examples :

“Once a handsome and well dressed gentleman enquired of al-Mubarrad about some problem but made a number of mistake in putting the question. To him al-Mubarrad made the following reply : “O man ! be just to us about yourself : either dress yourself in accordance with the standard of your conversation or converse according to the standard of your dress”.⁴

“Al-Mubarrad never taught his pupils in the absence of al-Zajjaj. Once they came for a lesson, but al-Zajjaj did not turn up. Al-Mubarrad then sent them a message to go away. All the students, with the exception of one named ‘Uthman, departed. He sent a message to al-Mubarrad saying that the assembly has dispersed (انصرف القوم كلهم) with the exception of ‘Uthman, because ‘Uthman is not declined with ‘tanwin’ (لا ينصرف). Al-Mubarrad sent the following reply “If Uthman were a common noun it would decline with a *tanwin* (ينصرف) ; hence move away to the right path as I do not know you”.⁵

Al-Suli reports that al-Mubarrad used to give instruction in his mosque which indicates that he had built a mosque as a lecture room. There was

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 6/121.

2. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/495 ; *al-Thamarat* : 86 ; *al-Adhkiya'* : 208.

3 See for there anecdotes *al-Adhkiya'* : 94, 133, 145, 184, 219, 231 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/495.

4. *Al-Basa'ir* : 184.

5. *Al-Adhkiya'* : 133 ; There is a pun on the word (انصرف) in this anecdote, which means to depart was ell as, to decline with *tanwin*.

a slightly raised platform in the mosque which served as his seat. He occupied a place with the door on his left. If some respectable person saluted him during his lecture he paused to return the greetings and to show respect to him.¹

As regards the topics of al-Mubarrad's lectures it appears that in addition to teaching *al-Kittab*, classical and modern verse, literary criticism and anecdotes about the poets and literature, he taught his own books as well. According to al-Suli, al-Mubarrad wrote several interesting books; al-Suli used to select one of these and read it with the author. He claims to have read al-Mubarrad's *Kitab al-Fitan wa'l-Mihan* with the author.²

In the circle of al-Mubarrad, Muhammad Abi'l-Azhar al-Nahwi, a pupil of al-Mubarrad, used to dictate literary anecdotes and works of his teacher to the audience³ and Isma'il b. Ahmad b. al-Zajjaji and Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Sasi were responsible for making copies for the use of the author.⁴ Sometimes the pupils put question to al-Mubarrad about literary problems or their difficulties, which he answered forthwith.⁵

Al-Mubarrad is one of those scholars who charged their pupils tuition fees, which was regarded an unethical practice during that period. He did that despite being a rich person and enjoying royal favours; and the only reason for this, which I can think of, is his niggardliness, for which he has been made fun of by some of the biographers.⁶ Al-Mundhiri⁷ (d. 329A.H./941 A.D.) reports that once he went to al-Mubarrad and selected some parts of his *al-Rauda* and *al-Kamil* and agreed to pay him a specific amount of money for the privilege of reading them; al-Mubarrad did not let him read a single anecdote which was not included in the contract.⁸ Al-Zajjaj also is reported to have paid al-Mubarrad for study—

1. *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 50.

2. *Akhbar Abi Tammam*: 158.

3. *Al-Inbah*: 3/70,

4. *Al-Fihrist*: 60.

5. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* 5/133; 5/114.

6. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*, 114-5.

7. See for his biography *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M): 6/466.

8. *Ibid.* (M): 6/ 466; *M.O. XIV*: 26,

ing with him.¹ He reports that al-Mubarrad never taught without demanding remuneration and taught in strict proportion to the fees charged. He had agreed to pay al-Mubarrad one *dirham* daily till his death, but during his attachment to 'Abd Allah b. Sulayman he did not remember to remit the money to al-Mubarrad. After some time the teacher and the pupil met each other and al-Mubarrad put a tedious question to al-Zajjaj, which he could not answer. Whereupon al-Mubarrad observed: "You have still to learn many things from me". By this remark he wanted to remind him about their contract. Al-Zajjaj realized his negligence, apologised to al-Mubarrad and started remitting him money regularly.²

Al-Mubarrad's tuition fees for various subjects and books must have varied but, unfortunately, there is no record of that in the biographies. We do, however, know that he used to charge a sum of one hundred *dinars* for teaching *al-Kitab* a very high fee keeping in view the cost of living of that age and did not allow anyone into the class who had not made the required payment.³ An interesting story is told by some of the authorities about Muhahmmad b. Wallad, the Egyptian grammarian who came to Baghdad to study with al-Mubarrad the *Kitab* of Sibawayh. As he could not afford to pay al-Mubarrad's high fee, he bribed al-Mubarrad's son to obtain one of al-Mubarrad's own copies of *al-Kitab*. He agreed to pay him one *dirham* for each fascicule, but this fraud was soon detected by al-Mubarrad who complained to the Commander in Chief. Ibn Wallad was summoned by him, but one of Ibn Wallad's influential friends recommended him to the Commander, who, instead of punishing the culprit admonished al-Mubarrad for the practice of exacting fees from students. Eventually al-Mubarrad had to teach Ibn Wallad free of charge.⁴

Despite his weakness for money, al-Mubarrad seems to have taken a keen interest in the well-being of his students, and he never let slip an opportunity of recommending one of them for any job which might be

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 6/90; *Al-Nuzha*: 167; *Al-Nishwar*: 134.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*: 1/332; *al-Inbah*: 1/164.

3. *Al-Inbah*: 3/224.

4. *Ibid.* 3/226; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*: 19/106.

vacant.¹

The number of students who studied with al-Mubarrad is very large, and it is not possible to mention all of them here. The following are the students of whom I propose to speak briefly, arranged in chronological order of their death (the dates of birth are seldom recorded).

Abu Ali 'al-Dinawari:

Ahmad b. Ja'far Abu 'Ali al-Dinawari was the son in law of Th'alab. He studied at al-Basra with al-Mazini, then came to Baghdad and attended lectures of al-Mubarrad. His eagerness to attend al-Mubarrad's lectures has already been noticed. In his later days he moved to Egypt and wrote a book on the differences between the Kufan and Basran schools under the title of al-Muhadhdhib, which, unfortunately, seems to have been lost. Al-Qifti bears witness to his erudition. Al-Dinawari died in Egypt in 289 A.H./902 A.D..²

Ibn al-Mu'tazz:

Of all the pupil of al-Mubarrad, Ibn al-Mu'tazz is, perhaps, the most famous and the most important. This grandson of al-Mutawakkil³ was a splendid poet and critic, and a renowned scholar of poetry. The list of his writings in *al-Fihrist* bears witness to his wide knowledge and many sided scholarship.⁴

Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mubarrad appears to have enjoyed very good relations with him. When he paid visit to Isma'il al-Qadi on his way back, he often called on Ibn al-Mu'tazz because they lived quite near to each other.⁵ Many a time al-Mubarrad stayed with him as a guest.⁶ Once, al-Mubarrad came to him after visiting Isma'il al-Qadi, and told him that al-Harithi who had been lampooned by Ibn al-Jahm, recited to the Qadi a few verses of Abu Tammam about *nabidh*, which were much liked by

1. *Al-Fihrist*: 61; *Al-Inbah*: 2/277.

2. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*: 234; *Al-Inbah*: 1/34; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*: 2/240; *Al-Bughya*: 130.

3. *Al-Fihrist*: 116; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 10/95.

4. *Al-Fihrist*: 116.

5. *Ash'ar Aulad al-Khulafa'*: 107; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 1995.

6. *Ash'ar Aulad al-Khulafa'*: 107.

al-Mubarrad. However, because of the presence of the *Qadi* he could neither ask the reciter to recite them once again, nor take them down. Ibn al-Mu'tazz asked him to recite even a fragment of that poem. Fortunately al-Mubarrad remembered one hemistich. On hearing that, Ibn al-Mu'tazz recited the whole poem, which al-Mubarrad wrote down with his own hand.¹

Ibn al-Mu'tazz was a pupil of Tha'lab as well.² In his *Fusul al-Tamathil*³ he states that once he enquired of al-Mubarrad about the explanation of a few verses of Musayyab b. 'Alas,⁴ but was not satisfied by his reply. Later on 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir tried to explain the verses to him but failed. On the Caliph's order, a note was despatched to Tha'lab to write the explanation, and in reply sent a detailed and convincing exposition of those lines.

The above cited anecdotes are, perhaps, not favourable to al-Mubarrad, but a perusal⁵ of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's extant works indicates that al-Mubarrad played a major role in the formative years of this eminent scholar. In *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'*, Ibn al-Mu'tazz widely quotes the reports conveyed to him by al-Mubarrad. It appears that he consulted al-Mubarrad mainly on poetry and the related sciences and that he was not very much interested in grammar. He cites an ode of Abu Nuwas which al-Mubarrad recited and explained to him. Al-Mubarrad's explanation occupies three pages in *Tabqat al-Shu'ara'*.⁶

This unfortunate prince-poet was proclaimed as a Caliph by some supporters during the reign of al-Muqtadir, but was soon deserted, and had to pay with his life for his rule of one day.⁷ He belonged to the Hanafite school of theology,⁸ was born in Sha'ban 247 A.H./Sep. 861 A.D.

1. *Akhbar Abi Tammam*: 184; *Rasa'il Ibn al-Mu'tazz*: 16; *al-Muruj*: 2/280.

2. *Al-Nuzha*: 161; *al-Wafayat*: 1/258.

3. *Fusul al-Tamathil*: 45.

4. Al-Mussayab b. 'Alas b. Malik b. 'Amr, a scion of Rabi'a b. Nizar was a *Jahili* poet and was the Uncle of al-A'sha Maymun. See *Raghat al-Amil*: 4/219; *al-Khizana* 1/55.

5. See *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'*: 67, 90, 97, 120, 126, 143, 171, 197-200, 229, 264, 292 & 293 etc.

6. *Ibid.* 197-200.

7. *Al-Nuzha*: 161.

8. *Al-Wafayat*: 1/259.

and was put to the sword in 296 A.H /909 A.d.¹.

Al-Rawandi:

Ibn Khallikan declares him to be one of the greatest scholars of his age and speaks very highly of him²; but Ibn Kathir condemns him for being an arch-heretic and severely criticises Ibn Khallikan for his favourable account of al-Rawandi. According to Ibn Kathir, his father was a Jew and was engaged in altering and corrupting *the Torah*. The son continued the same process with *the Qur'an*.³ Ibn al-Jauzi cites several examples of his heretical utterances and his criticism of *Shari'a*.⁴ He is reported to have transmitted al-Mubarrad's famous treatise on grammar, *Kitab al-Muqtadab*, to posterity the reason why, according to Yaqut, this book could not win popularity.⁵ His death has been variously placed by the various authorities. According to Ibn Khallikan he died in 245 A.H./859 A.D.⁶ the date for his death given by al-Mus'udi is 250 A.H. /864 A.D. but Ibn⁷ Kathir and Ibn Hajar differ from the above-cited date and advance 298 A.H. /910 A.D. as a more likely date of his death.⁸

Ibn Wallad

Abu'l Husayan Muhammad b. Wallad was a renowned grammarian of Egypt. He studied there with Abu 'Ali al-Dinawari, Muhammad b. Hassan e t c., but later on came to al-'Iraq and sojourned there for period of 8 years. During that period he studied with al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab.⁹ His exquisite tact in obtaining one of al-Mubarrad's copies of *al-Kitab* has already been mentioned. He died in 298 A.H./910 A.D. at the age of 50.¹⁰

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1. *Al-Nuzha*: 161; *al-Wafayat*: 1/258; *al-Bidaya*: 11/109.
 2. *Al-Wafayat*: 1/27.
 3. *Al-Bidaya*: 11/112.
 4. *Al-Muntazam*: 6/99.
 5. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*: 19/121.
 6. *Al-Wafayat*: 1/27.
 7. *Lisan al-Mizan*: 1/324.
 8. *Al-Bidaya*: 11/113; *Lisan al-Mizan*: 1/324.
 9. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*: 236; *al-Inbah*: 3/324.
 10. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*: 19/106.

Ibn Kaysan:

Abu'l-Hassan Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Kaysan was a pupil both al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab and consequently, possessed an excellent knowledge of views of the Basran and Kufan schools. He seems to have been one of those grammarians who selected the best from the teachings of both schools, harmonised them and laid the foundation of the school of Baghdad. Abu'l-Tayyib al-Lughawi states that he used to indulge in long discussion with al-Mubarrad in support of the doctrines of the Kufans. He breathed his last in 299 A.H./912 A.D.¹

Abu Muhammad al-'Abqasi

'Abd Allah b. Thabit b. Ya'qub b. Qays al-Tawwazi al-Najrani al-Qadi was born in 223 A.H./838 A.D. and died in 308 A.H./902 A.D. and was buried in Ramliyya.² He was an exegete of *the Qur'an*, and narrated the commentary of Muqatil b. Sulayman in Baghdad, on the authority of his father. During his stay in Baghdad, he appears to have attended the lectures of al-Mubarrad, Later on he went to Damascus, where he transmitted knowledge on the authority of al-Mubarrad.³

Al-Zajjaj

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. al-Sari al-Zajjaj was one of the most senior pupils of al-Mubarrad⁴ and unlike Ibn Kaysan was a great exponent of the Basran school.⁵ He is reported to have examined the students who came to study with al-Mubarrad to decide whether they were fit to be admitted or not.⁶ His relationship with al-Mubarrad has already been discussed. Al-Zajjaj rose quickly to fame as a result of al-Mubarrad's recommendations, which first helped him to get a job with some chief of Banu Mariqa. Al-Mubarrad then recommended him to 'Ubayd Allah' b. Sulayman as a

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin*: 171; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 1/335; *al-Inbah*: 2/57-58; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*: 7/138.

2. *Al-Inbah*: 2/112; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*: 9/426.

3. *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir*: 2/345.

4. *Al-Fihrist*: 61.

5. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin*: 103.

6. *Al-Fihrist*: 61.

tutor for his son al-Qasim,¹ and finally recommended him to write a commentary on *Jami' al-Nutq*.² Through his commentary he was introduced to the Caliph al-Mu'tadid and became tutor of his sons.³ He died in 310 A. H./922 A. D. after writing a number of valuable treatises on grammar and philology.⁴

Al-Akbfash al-Asghar

Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Sulayman is the youngest of the three famous grammarians who became known by this title. He studied under al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab, al-Yazidi and Abu'l-'Ayna'.⁵ In 287 A. H./900 A. D. he came to Egypt and in 300 A. H./912 A. D. paid a visit to Aleppo and taught at both these places.⁶ Al-Mubarrad recommended him to Ibrahim b. al-Mudabbir for the tutorship of his son. Al-Marzubani's estimate of him, as cited by al-Qifti, is not favourable: "He was not very erudite in literature and grammar and as far as I know he neither composed poetry nor wrote any book: if he was questioned about grammatical problems he felt awkward, and turned those students out of the class who pestered him with questions."⁷

Al-Akhfash died in Baghdad in 315 A. H./927 A. D.⁸

Al-Kalabizi

Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Kalabizi is reported to have lived in the age of al-Mazini, but studied under al-Mubarrad and was a strict Basran in his outlook. Al-Mubarrad's son is said to have made an interesting observation about him and his junior colleague, Mabraman: "Among the pupils of my father are two persons, one of them rises in rank, and the other sinks to the lowest form of degradation". On being asked to name

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 6/90 ; *al-Nishwar* : 134 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 1/132.

2. *Al-Fihrist* : 61.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Al-Inbah* : 2/276.

6. *Ibid* : 2/277 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 13/257.

7. *Al-Inbah* : 2/278.

8. *Ibid* : 2/276.

them he observed : "They are al-Kalabizi and Mabraman ; the former studies with my father, but links his reports with al-Mazini, and the latter studies with my father but says : 'I was told by al Zajjaj'". This report, if correct, indicates that al-Kalabizi had attended some of al-Mazini's lectures.

Al-Kalabizi died in al-Basra in 316 A.H./928 A.D.¹

Al-Yazidi

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. al-'Abbas b. Muhammad b. Yahya al-Yazidi was an eminent grammarian and *adib*. He was a pupil of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab and specialised in *al-Nawadir* and the history of Arab tribes. He died in 316 A. H./928 A.D.²

Ibn al-Sarraj

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. al-Sari, b. Sahl, commonly known as Ibn al-Sarraj,³ was one of the youngest pupils of al-Mubarrad, and was famous for his intelligence and penetrating intellect.⁴ Al-Mubarrad liked him very much, preferred him to the others, and bestowed special favours upon him.⁵ It appears that he could not complete his studies during al-Mubarrad's lifetime, and had to attend al-Zajjaj's lectures after al-Mubarrad's death. After finishing *al-Kitab* he is reported to have become interested in logic and music, and neglected his grammatical studies ; however an incident which took place in al-Zajjaj's circle changed the future course of his life. Ibn Durustawayh reports that Ibn al-Sarraj went to pay his respects to al-Zajjaj after al-Mubarrad's death. In his presence somebody asked al-Zajjaj about a grammatical problem, and he asked him to explain it. The answer given by Ibn al-Sarraj was incorrect, and this infuriated al-Zajjaj to such an extent that he said he would have punished Ibn al-Sarraj if they had not been in company. This proved more than enough for the sensitive nature of this young scholar, and he swore to dedicate himself to grammar

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 2/3.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/113 ; *al-Bughya* : 51.

3. *Al-Fihrist* : 62 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/145 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 18/197.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Al-Inbah* : 3/148.

in future¹. He seems to have kept his oath and after the death of al-Zajjaj succeeded him in the headship of the Basran school².

Ibn al-Sarraj seems to have held al-Mubarrad in high esteem. Once *Kitab al-Usul*, one of his works, was being read in his circle, which one of the audience preferred to *Kitab al-Muqtadab* of al-Mubarrad; but he disliked this opinion and recited the following verse :

“But she wept before me and my tears were inspired by hers. so I observed “credit belongs to one who precedes you”.

Ibn al-Sarraj died in 316 A.H./928 A. D.³

Ibn Shuqayr

Abu Bakr, Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. al-‘Abbas b. al-Faraj b. Shuqayr was a famous transmitter of the works of al-Waqidi, which he narrated from Ahmad b. ‘Ubayd b. Nasih.⁴ He attended al-Mubarrad’s lectures also⁵ and in his turn taught Ibrahim b. Ahmad al-Harqi and Abu Bakr b. Shadhan⁶. Al-Khatib speaks very highly of him⁸.

Ibn Shuqayr died in 317 A.H. 929 A.D.⁸

Ja‘far b. Qudama b. Ziyad al-Katib

Abu‘l Qasim Ja‘far b. Qudama, the celebrated critic, writer and scholar of the ‘Abbasid age was also a pupil of al-Mubarrad. He wrote several books on the art of writing (صناعة الكتابة). Abu‘l-Faraj al-Isfahani narrates many anecdotes from al-Mubarrad on his authority⁹. Ja‘far’s son¹⁰, Qudama (d. 337 A.H./948 A.D.) the author of *Naqd al-Shi‘r* is also

1. *Al-Inbah* : 3/148.

2. *Al-Fihrist* : 62 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/149 ; *Mu‘jam al-Udaba‘* : 18/188.

3. *Ibid.* 19/200 ; *Tarikh Baghdad* : 5/320.

4. *Ta‘rikh Baghdad* : 4/89 ; *al-Inbah* : 1/34.

5. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* :

6. *Ta‘rikh Baghdad* : 4/89.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid* : 7/205 ; *Mu‘jam al-Udaba‘* : 7/177 ; *al-Aghani* : 12/67.

10. *Naqd al-Shi‘r* : 4.

said to have been a pupil of al-Mubarrad.¹

Ja'far b. Qudama died in 312 A.H./931 A.D.

Niftawayh

Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. 'Arafa b. Sulayman al-'Atki, al-Azdi was a descendent of al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra and was an eminent scholar of the Arabic language, tradition and grammar. He studied under al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab, and Muhammad b. al-Jahm,² and was a representative of the school of Baghdad in grammar. Niftawayh was a follower of Da'ud al-Zahiri in theology³ and attained eminence as a *Zahiri* Jurist.

He died in 323 A.H./933 A.D.⁴ after a brilliant career as a teacher and author.⁵

Ibn Abi'l Azhar

Muhammad b. Mazyad b. Mahmud was a grammarian, traditionist and a poet. He attended al-Mubarrad's classes and used to dictate al-Mubarrad's books to the pupils. He has been adversely criticised for being a concoctor and some of the critics have called him a liar.⁶ He is said to have died in 325 A.H./937 A.D.

Al-Khazzaz

'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Sufyan al-Khazzaz al-Nahwi was a pupil of both al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab, and is one of those grammarians who harmonised the teachings of the Kufan and Basran schools.⁷ He is reported to have read aloud the whole of *al-Kitab* in the presence of al-Mubarrad.⁸ Al-Khazzaz worked as a scribe and companion to Isma'il al-Qadi and a tutor at the palace of 'Ali b. 'Isa al-Wazir and produced several useful works on Qur'anic sciences. He died in 325 A.H. 637 A.D.⁹

1. *Naqd al-Shi'r* : 26 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 17/14.

2. *Al-Fihrist* : 82 ; *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* ; 172.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Al-Fihrist* : 82 ; *al-Inbah* : 1/178 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/11.

5. For the list of his writings see *al-Fihrist* : 82.

6. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/288 ; *al-Fihrist* : 147 ; 3/70.

7. *Al-Bughya* : 287.

8. *Al-Inbah* : 2/131.

9. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 15/123 ; *al-Bughya* : 287.

Ibn al-Washsha'

Abu'l-Tayyib Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ishaq b. Yahya b. al-Washsha' (the vender of richly variegated cloth) was a pupil of some of the most distinguished grammarians of his time, including al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab.¹ He appears to have given lectures in palace of the Caliph. A slave girl, Munya, belonging to one of the wives of al-Mu'tamid, is said to have been one of his pupils.² He died at Baghdad about the year 325 A.H. 936 A.D.³

The authors who speak of Ibn al-Washsha' agree in describing him as having been an elegant writer rather than a grammarian, and this is borne out by the fact that of 25 of his works whose titles have been preserved, only eight treat of grammar and lexicography.⁴ One of his books, *al-Muwashsha*, was edited by Rudolphe E. Brunnow and printed by Brill as early as 1886. According to the editor of *al-Muwashsha* "none of these works with the exception of the *Muwashsha*, has come down to us." ; but fortunately another of Ibn al-Washsha's books *Kitab al-Fadil min al-Adab al-Kamil* seems to have escaped destruction, and is preserved in the library of the Municipal Committee of Alexandria⁵ and al-Maktaba al-Khalidiyya in Jerusalem.⁶

A perusal of *Kitab al-Muwashsha* reveals that Ibn al-Washsha' mainly studied poetry with al-Mubarrad, for he quotes al-Mubarrad four times in this work and all these citations are about the verses of the various poets.⁷

Mabraman

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Isma'il commonly known as Mabraman was originally an inhabitant of 'Askar Mukram,⁸ but later moved to

1. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 1/254 ; *Al-Inbah* : 3/61.

2. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 1/253 ; *Al-Inbah* : 3/61.

3. *Al-Muwashsha* : IV-V.

4. Ibid.

5. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 1/254.

6. Ibid.

7. *Al-Muwashsha* : 16, 19, 22, 108.

8. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 125 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/189 ; *Mu'jam Al-Udaba'* : 18/253.

al-Basra and studied there with al-Mubarrad and other contemporary scholars. The title Mubraman is said to have been conferred upon him by al-Mubarrad on account of his attachment with him, and his putting too many questions to al-Mubarrad.¹ He studied with al-Zajjaj as well, and the remarks of al-Mubarrad's son in this respect have already been noticed. Mubraman taught a number of students such as Abu 'Ali al-Farisi and Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi and died about 326 A.H./938 A.D. at al-Ahwaz.²

Abu Bakr b. Abi Sahl al-Hulwani

Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Asim was a pupil of al-Mubarrad, Yahya b. Abi Talib, Abu Sa'id al-Sukkari and other eminent scholars of the age, and was a distinguished scholar of genealogy and belles-lettres. He taught in Baghdad and died there in 333 A.H./944 A.D.³

Al-Suli

Muhammad b. Yahya b. 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas b. Muhammad b. Suli is famous for being a boon companion of al-Muktafi, al-Radi and al-Muqtadir, and for being an excellent player of chess.⁴ He was a man of wide culture and possessed the most extensive knowledge of Arabic literature, poetry and history.⁵ He had a private library which must have contained several thousand books.⁶ Al-Suli studied with al-Mubarrad Tha'lab, and Abu Da'ud al-Sijistani, and produced several books on poetry and literary criticism. The most famous of them is, perhaps, his *Kitab al-Auraq*, some parts of which have been printed in London.

From his works it transpires that al-Mubarrad taught him the science of critical appreciation and literary criticism, and poetry.⁷ He used to attend al-Mubarrad's lectures in 276 A.H./889 A.D., and there he met al-

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 125 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/189 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 18/255.

2. Ibid.

3. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 5/76.

4. *Mu'jam Al-Udaba'* : 19/110.

5. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/427 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/508.

6. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 431.

7. *Adab al-Kuttub* : 128, 177 ; *Akhbar al-Shu'ara'* : 64.

Buhturi for the first time.¹ The rest of the story is given as he himself related it :

“A brownish long bearded *shaykh* mounted on a tall hackney, greeted al-Mubarrad. He turned towards him, expressed his respect for him and interrupted his dictation.

Some of the audience in the circle stood up as a mark of respect to the *shaykh* and I also followed suit. They requested the *shaykh* to permit them to recite his verses to him. He agreed, and one of them recited his *qasida* in praise of al-Fath b. Khaqan. Then he went away, which caused me great grief. On this, al-Mubarrad remarked : “Do not be sorry ; he has gone to the residence of ‘Abd Allah b. al-Husain al-Qutrabulli, and you can get in touch with him there’. This ‘Abd Allah was a neighbour of al-Mubarrad, and I used to go to him because of our common interest in chess. After the lesson, I went to him with his son, who was also a pupil of al-Mubarrad.² Al-Buhturi had, in the meantime, left that place. I was deeply disappointed, but ‘Abd Allah promised to invite al-Buhturi on some other occasion, and afford me an opportunity to benefit from him. Consequently he arranged several meetings, some of which were attended by al-Mubarrad also’”.²

Another anecdote related by al-Suli betrays a weakness of al-Mubarrad from which he seems to have started suffering in his old age :

“Al-Mubarrad once recited to us the verses of a poet without mentioning his name and declared them to be the best verses describing nobility. The students started taking down the verses but I abstained from doing so ; al-Mubarrad enquired of me the reason, and I told him that I remembered the whole poem by heart, as well as the name of the poet. Al-Mubarrad requested me to tell him the name of the poet and the person about whom the verses were composed and I reminded him that they were composed by

1. *Akhbar al-Buhturi* : 49.

2. *Ibid* : 52.

al-Ashja' al-Sulami about Ibrahim and Uthman, the sons of Nuhayk. Al-Mubarrad was much pleased by my reply and observed ; "I am sure you no longer need my guidance".¹

In his last days al-Suli left Baghdad and moved to al-Basra, according to al-Khatib, because of his poverty, and breathed his last there in 335 A.H./946 A.D.²

Ibn al-Munadi

Abu'l-Husayn Ahmad b. Ja'far b. al-Munadi was a notable traditionist of his age and was a pious, honest and trustworthy narrator. According to al-Khatib, he was unsociable by nature, which is the reason why his traditions were not disseminated among the people.³ He himself reports having attended al-Mubarrad's lectures.⁴

Ibn al-Munadi died in 336 A.H./947 A.D.⁵

Abu 'Ali al-Saffar

Isma'il b. Muhammad b. Isma'il b. 'Abd al-Rahman was known as the 'Companion of al-Mubarrad' (صاحب المبرد) and in addition to him studied under several other scholars, including some older contemporaries of al-Mubarrad. He possessed vast knowledge, and taught literature in Baghdad for a long time. Eminent scholars like al-Daraqutni attended his lectures. Al-Saffar died in 341 A.H./952 A.D.⁶

Abu'l Husayn al-Isfahani

Muhammad b. Ya'qub b. Nasih al-Adib al-Nahwi was a class mate of Abu 'Umar al-Zahid and Abu Muhammad b. Durustawayh and studied under both al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. He died at Nishapur in 343 A.H./954 A.D.⁷

1. *Akhbar al-Shu'ara'* : 84.

2. *Ta'rikkh Baghdad* : 3/432 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/510.

3. *Ta'rikkh Baghdad* : 4/70.

4. *Ibid* : 3/387.

5. *Ibid* : 4/70.

6. *Al-Imbah* ; 1/212.

7. *Ibid* : 3/253.

Ibn Durnstawayh

Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far b. Durstawayh b. al-Marzuban al-Farisi was an eminent grammarian of the Basran school and was a great supporter of the Basran way of thinking in grammatical and linguistic matters. He studied under some of the leading scholars of that period such as al-Mubarrad, Ibn Qutayba and al-Duraqutni. Al-Mubarrad taught him *al-Kitab* of Sibawayh. Ibn Durustawayh wrote several valuable books on grammar and died in Baghdad in 347 A.H./958 A.D.¹

'Isa b. Muhammad al-Tumari

Abu 'Ali 'Isa b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Malik became known by the title of al-Tumari on account of his attachment with Abu'l-Fadl b. al-Tumari al-Hashimi. He studied under al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab and Ibn Abi al-Dunya, but did not write any book. In his last days, he is reported to have mixed with his lectures such reports which he had not heard from his teachers and which he had found in the books that reached him such as *al-Kamil* of Al-Mubarrad.

Al-Tumari died in 360 A.H./971 A.D.²

If space allowed it would have been a pleasant task to cite the names, particulars and educational attainments of some other pupils of al-Mubarrad. The reader, however, is referred to *Ta'rikk³ Baghdad*, *al-Inbah*,⁴ *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*⁵ and *al-Bughya*,⁶ where he can find accounts of them.

Through these scholastic heirs of al-Mubarrad his name, teachings and works reached subsequent generations.

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 128 ; *al-Inbah* : 2/113, 114 ; *al-Bughya* : 279.

2. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 11/177.

3. *Ibid.* 1/131, 287 ; 2/36, 4/13, 347, 5/302 ; 6/288 ; 7/147, 419 ; 12/130, 132, 196, 419 ; 13/236 ; 14/68.

4. *Al-Inbah* : 1/129, 205 ; 3/253.

5. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) : 5/79 ; 6/307 ; *Mujam al-Udaba'* : 1/121 ; 6/279 ; 7/192 ; 12/218 ; 17/178.

6. *Al-Bughya* : 287.

CHAPTER 7

The Works of Al-Mubarrad

Al-Mubarrad's scientific activity also found expression in a number of publications of a philological, especially of grammatical nature. He was a prolific writer and appears to have started writing books during his early days at al-Basra¹, but most important epoch in his life, as a writer, began after his migration to Baghdad.

The earliest biographers of our author al-Mas'udi, Abu'l Tayyib al-Lughawi and al-Zubaydi have not supplied us with a list of his writings. The first literary historian to do this was Ibn al-Nadim², who enumerates the titles of 45 of his works. But this list is by no means exhaustive, because Yaqut, after citing the list³ from *al-Fihrist*, observes "وغير ذلك" (and others⁴), and some new titles are found in the works of various writers. The list⁵ is not even in chronological order, and it is difficult to give precise dates to the various works of al-Mubarrad in the present state of our knowledge.

Al-Mubarrad is one of those unfortunate authors the major portion of whose works has been lost, and nothing except the list of their titles has survived. After going through authorities on the life and works of al-Mubarrad I have endeavoured to prepare a comparatively exhaustive list of writings of our author, which I record below, in alphabetical order, with brief notes on the contents of extant works, and those of the lost works about which some information can be gleaned from the works of later writers.

1. *Al-Muxir* : 2/372.

2. See *Al-Fihrist* : 60.

3. See *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 120/12-122.

4. *Ibid* : 192/12.

5. This list also available in *al-Inbah* : 3/251-252.

1. *Kitab Adab al-Jalis*
2. *Kitab al-Anwa' wa'l-Azmina*
Ibn al-Sayyid cites from this book in *al-Iqtidab*.¹
3. *Kitab Asma' al-Dawahi 'ind al-'Arab*
4. *Kitab al-'Arud*
5. *Kitab al-Balagha*
6. *Kitab Darurat'l Shi'r*
7. *Kitab al-Fadil wa'l-Mafdul*

This important and useful work was believed to have been lost², but 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Maymani by a stroke of luck traced it in the collections of As'ad Afandi, preserved in al-Maktaba al-Sulaymaniyya, Istanbul. The manuscript is preserved there under No. 3598. In order to save the book from oblivion he edited it and it was published by Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, in 1956 in 165 pages.

Al-Fadil is structurally akin to al-Mubarrad's greater work *al-Kamil* in all respects. It may be called a miniature copy of that book. It contains, like *al-Kamil*, selected pieces of classical and contemporary verse, interesting and entertaining anecdotes, speeches, letters and historical information. Al-Mubarrad has, in accordance with his style, explained all the difficult words and grammatical points occurring in the book. On page 68 he mentions the principles by which he was guided while making his selections: "While making this selection I have selected beautiful pieces characterised by pregnant brevity and have cited such anecdotes as may make the reader independent of any other book of this sort. In every chapter I have given the best of what has come down to us"³.

The book is divided into 16 chapters. The last chapter⁴ is further subdivided into 7 sections. The first chapter deals with the eminence of poetry as a literary genre, and the tenth chapter⁵ contains a selection of

1. See *al-Iqtidab* : 469.

2. This book has not been included among the extant works of al-Mubarrad in *G.A.L.* and *E.I.*

3. *Al-Fadil* : 68.

4. From page 100 to 119.

5. From page 59 to 68.

the famous elegies and dirges composed by the Arab poets, and the sayings of the people to console the bereaved. This chapter is by far the most important part of this book. For further discussion of al-Mubarrad's characteristics as a writer see the review on *al-Kamil*.

8. *Kitb al-Fitan wa'l Mihan*

Al-Suli states in *Akhbar Abi Tammam* that he read this work with al-Mubarrad¹.

9. *Kitab al-Huruf*

10. *Kitab al-Huruf fi Ma'ani al-Qu'ran ila Taha*

It is likely that No. 8 and No. 9 may have been the titles of the same treatise.

11. *Kitab al-Hathth' ala al-Adab wa'l-Sidq*

12. *Kitab al-'Ibara 'an Asma' Allah Ta'ala*

13. *Kitab Ihtijaj al-Qira'a*

14. *Kitab al-Ikhtiyar*

Al-Mubarrad mentions this book in *al-Kamil*²

15. *Kitab al-I'rab*

16. *Kitab I'rab al-Qur'an*

It seems that No 13 and No. 14 are two titles of the same work.

17. *Kitab al-Ishtiqaq*

This book appears to have existed down to the age of Ibn Khallikan, who cites from it an explanation of the word Thumala in his *Wafayat*.³

18. *Kitab al-I'tinan*

The only authority to cite⁴ from this work seems to be 'Abd al-Qadir al-Baghdadi (d. 1093 A.H./1682 A.D.), who states that this book dealt with the causes which led to public satirising matches, (مهاجاة) between Jarir and al-Farazdaq. Unfortunately, al-Baghdadi does not

1. See *Akhbar Abi Tammam* : 158.

2. *Al-Kamil* : 760.

3. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/496.

4. *Al-Khizana* : 1/305.

cite these causes from al-Mubarrad, but there are some other quotations in his book from this work which convey to us some interesting anecdotes about Jarir, al-Farazdaq and their contemporary poets.

Al-Baghdadi cites from al-Mubarrad that once Jarir and al-Farazdaq made al-Salatan an arbiter between them, and asked him to decide which of them was superior. Al-Salatan pronounced his judgement in an ode comprising 23 verses this ode formed a part of *Kitab al-I'tinan*¹—and declared al-Farazdaq and his tribe to be superior to Jarir and his tribe; but in the domain of poetry he gave Jarir precedence over al-Farazdaq². This decision pleased al-Farazdaq, who observed: "Poetry is the glory (مروءة) of him who does not possess ancestral glory, and it is an insignificant quality for a respectable person". Jarir, on the other hand was infuriated by the opinion expressed by al-Salatan and in order to express his indignation improvised a satire on the latter, which is preserved in *al-Khizana*.³

Another citation from the *I'tinan* in *al-Khizana* explains the causes of the beginning of literary duels between Jarir and 'Amr b Laja'. Al-Mubarrad narrated from Abu 'Ubayda that once al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi enquired of Jarir the causes which led to vituperation matches between him and his adversaries. Jarir mentioned the causes of his duels with the various poets till he reached 'Amr b. Laja' and said "He was jealous of me; therefore he corrupted one of my verses in order to make it look obscene. In order to warn him of the dire consequences of such practices, I composed some verses to which he made a very stern reply, and this marked the commencement of a literary polemic"⁴.

The only other reference from *al-I'tinan*, which I have been able to trace, is also in *al-Khizana*. According to this, La'in al-Minqari, a poet of the Umayyad period, once came across Jarir and al-Farazdaq, and recited some verses to ridicule, them, to persuade them to lampoon him, and thus to become famous. They ignored him and kept silent, which

1. *Al-Khizana* : 1/305.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid : 1/361.

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infuriated him and he improvised still more venomous verses. They also failed to obtain a rejoinder from Jarir and al-Farazdaq¹ and Laila's motive was not fulfilled.

That to my knowledge, is all that remains of this interesting book.

19. *Kitab ma Ittafaqa Lafzuhu wa Ikhtalafa Ma'nahu min al-Qur'an al-Majid*

This small work exists in a unique manuscript in the Khuda Baksh Khan Library Bankipur, Patna, was edited by 'Abd al-Aziz al-Maymani and was published by al-Matba'at al-Salafiyya in 1350 A.H. The printed edition comprises 39 pages and is rare now.

As the title indicates, the work deals with those words of the *Qur'an*, which convey more than one meaning. Al-Mubarrad observes in the beginning that in the Arabic language we can employ different words to convey the same meaning, or the same word for various meanings. After giving examples of the first two categories, he embark upon discussing the third category. At first he discussess the single words which have several meanings, such as العين ، وجد ، الظن ، الرجاء ، المقرئ ، الحجون ، جمل and afterwards discussess those words whose sense will change with the context in which they are used like,

فمن اعتمدى عليكم فاعتدوا عليه ،
ألا لا يجهلن ، احد علينا جزاء سيئة سيئة مثلها

Unfortunately, al-Mubarrad has not included in this work all such words of the *Qur'an* which convey more than one sense, which has considerably impaired the utility of the work.

This small work, despite its brevity, was used by the eminent scholars, and we find citations from it in *Sharh Shawahid al-Mhghni* of al-Suyuti and in the *Tafsir* of Abu Hayyan². Of the modern scholars, Muhibb al-Din al-Khatib declares it to be one of the unique old works³.

20. *Kitab al-Jami'*

It appears that al-Mubarrad started to write this book in

1. *Al-Khizana* : 1 : 53.

2. *Ma Ittafaqa Lafzuhu* : 41.

3 Ibid.

his last days, because, according to all the authorities, he could not finish it. Al-Baghdadi cites from this work in *al-Khizana*,¹

21. *Al-Wafi fi'l-Akhbar*

Al-Safadi² is the only authority who mentions this book as a composition of Al-Mubarrad. As no earlier authority cites this title in the writings of al-Mubarrad it may be surmised that al-Safadi is wrong in attributing this work to al-Mubarrad.

22. *Kitab al-Kamil*.

Al-Kamil is the 'magnum opus' of al-Mubarrad and is one of those masterly works which earned great celebrity in mediæval times, and are regarded as important literary works even today. Ibn Khaldun declared this book to be one of the four pillars of Arabic literature.³ It was so popular in all Maghrib that it was remarked "One who has not studied *al-Kamil* cannot be a perfect man".⁴

It is not possible to determine the exact date of composition of this valuable work ; but on the basis of a narration in *Ta'rikh Baghdad*⁵ it may be surmised that it was written after 270 A. H.⁶ The book was given its final form with numerous addition and glosses by Abu'l-Hasan al-Akhfash⁷ and has come down to us through his recension alone.⁸

The book enables us to have an insight into the various aspects of

1. *Al-Khizana* : 4/68.

2. *Al-Wafi*, f. 124.

3. *Al-Ibar* : 1/1039.

4. *Isharat* : f. 52 b.

5. See *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 11/177

6. Al-Baghdadi states that 'Isa b. Muhammad al-Tumari (d. 360 A. H./971 A. D.) began to mix in his lectures in his old age materials from the books which he did not study with the authors, *al-Kamil* being one of them. This al-Tumari was born in 262 A. H. and is said to have been a pupil of both al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. The usual age at which the student used to start his studies in that age was eight. This means that al-Tumari was in circle of al-Mubarrad about 270 A. H. Now if *al-Kamil* has been written before that date al-Tumari must have read it with al-Mubarrad because it was his most important book. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 11/177.

7. *E. I.* 3/623

8. All the available manuscripts of *al-Kamil* have been narrated from al-Akhfash.

al-Mubarrad's personality. He was a Muslim, an Azdi, a top ranking grammarian, a good critic of Arabic poetry and was witty and humorous by temperament ; he does not seem to have acquired any culture other than that of the Arabs. *Al-Kamil* represents all these elements of the personality of al-Mubarrad.

The Contents of the Book

In the introduction to the book the author comments on its contents as follows : "This book combines various forms of Arabic literature. It contains good prose, sterling verse, famous maxims, wise counsels, selections from eloquent speeches and graceful letters. I intend to explain all the obscure expressions and difficult words to comment comprehensively on *I'rab* so that this book, in itself, may be sufficient for the reader and he may not have to refer to any other book to look for the explanation of the things mentioned in this book¹. In the beginning of one of the chapters he says : "In this chapter I shall mention something of everything and pass on from one topic to another in order to keep the interest of my readers alive and punctuate my serious writing with wit and humour, so that the heart and soul may be refreshed"².

The book portrays pure Arabian culture in all its details. It contains traditions of the Prophet, sayings of the pious men, parables set forth by the wise like Aktham b. Sayfi and Ahnaf b. Qays, many poems especially of the older period and a great deal of historical material like the valuable chapter on the Khawarij and the account of the correspondence between 'Ali and Muawiya, and between Abu Ja'far al-Mansur and Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan al-'Alawi. It has satires, dirges, consolation poems, wine poems, sayings of the Arabs about nobility (السؤدد) their boasts, sermons, sayings about the cleverness of the Arabs, their forbearance, bravery, stories about their thieves and burglars, lies told by them, anecdotes about their marriages and divorces, about the size of their beards and interesting stories about lovers and stories in a similar vein.³

1. *Al-Kamil* : 2.

2. *Ibid* : 409.

3. *Cf. Al-Duha* : 1/315, 318.

Al-Mubarrad rarely quotes from the non-Arabs. There is a discourse¹ in *al-Kamil* on the *Mawali*, but he looks towards them from the standpoint of an Arab. He describes some of the incidents which took place between the Arabs and the Byzantines, but this cannot be a proof of his having influenced by foreign elements.

Al-Mubarrad's tribal prejudices are manifested when he inserts genuine or spurious stories to eulogise the Azd and the Yamanities. He devotes a separate chapter to those Yamanites whose names began with Dhu and enumerates people like Dhu Kala', Dhu Nuwas, Dhu Ru'ain and from the Muslims Khuzayma b. Thabit Dhu Shahadatain². He also recounts stories about those Yamanities who had contact with angels. Hanzala b. Abi 'Amir al-Ansari was washed by the angels after his death, and on the death of Sa'd b. Mu'adh seventy thousand such angels came down to earth who had never come before³.

There is a detailed account of the Kharijites in *al-Kamil* and the reason for so copious an account seems to be⁴ that al-Mubarrad wanted it to be a rejoinder to al-Jahiz's chapter on the Shu'ubiyya movement—an enemy of the Arabs. The Kharijities on the other hand were pure Arabs and produced a great deal of fine literature in Arabic⁴. Another reason is that al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra and his sons, who successfully fought this faction, belonged to al-Azd, the tribe of al-Mubarrad, and the publicising of the suppression of the Khawarij was indirectly an eulogy of al-Azd. Al-Mubarrad goes out of the way to praise al-Muhallab and his family. When he reports that al-Muhallab is said to have told a lie even in relating the traditions of the Prophet he tries to interpret this statement by saying "He told lies about the state of war and this is allowed".

The Style of the Book

Al-Mubarrad usually selects such anecdotes or verses which combine the following three qualities (1) an excellent idea, (2) *Gharib* words, and

1. Ibid. : 318.

2. *Al-Kamil* : 777.

3. Ibid. : 778.

4. See *al-Kamil* : 527-600.

(3) grammatical subtleties. After having cited such quotations, he embarks upon giving them a full grammatical and biographical commentary. He gives the title of *Bab* to every collection of a certain amount of selections. Usually there is no difference in the contents of the various *Babs*. All contain *adab*, *lughā* and *nahw* without aiming at cohesion. It appears that al-Mubarrad used the word *bab* to denote the sense of *dars* or lecture course. He puts together in a *bab* what he wants to impart to the students in a *dars*. The only *bab* in the book which has been devoted to a particular theme is the Chapter on the Kharijites. The book is not tied down to any fixed arrangement, and is a typical example of the works of the old philologists as developed from their teachings. Al-Mubarrad mentions something and then mentions something quite different because it is somehow or other related to the thing mentioned first. He himself comments on his style when he observes¹: "و لكن مذكر الشئ بالشئ اما لا جتمعا عنها في لفظ" and when he says²: "و اما لا شتراكها في معنى

و هذا ليس من الباب الذي كنافيه و لكن يذكر الشئ بالشئ

In this respect al-Mubarrad's style resembles that of al-Jahiz who is known for his digressions from one theme to another.

Commentaries on al-Kamil

Several commentaries were written by the scholars succeeding al-Mubarrad on this valuable work. Of these the most important were the commentaries by Abu'l Walid al-Waqqashi³ (d. 489 A. H./1096 A. D.), Ibn al-Sayyid al-Batalyausi⁴ (d. 444 A. H./1052 A. D.), al-Hafiz Mughulta'i⁵ (d. 762 A. H./1361 A. D.) and Muhammad b. Yousaf al-Saraqusti⁶ (d. 538 A. H./1143 A. D.). Unfortunately, they have been irretrievably lost. There is however, an anonymous commentary in the collection of Ismail Afandi in Istanbul.⁷ Modern scholars have shown equal zeal in

1. *Al-Kamil* : 409.

2. *Ibid.* 427.

3. See *al-Khizana* : I/10, 28, 99, 165, 166 ; II/235, 470 ; III/512 ; IV/164, 451.

4. *Ibid.* I/10, 100, 165, 236, 238, 394 ; II/186, 300, 334, 252 ; III/72, 81, 139, 207, 219, 267, 471, 514, 656 ; IV/42, 184, 193, 282, 292, 343, 367, 553.

5. *Ibid.* 3/266.

6. *Al-Kashf* : 2/133 ; (Cairo 1274 A. H.).

7. *E. I* 3/623.

explaining *al-Kamil*. In 1345-1346/1927-1928 Sayyid b. 'Ali al-Marsafi published in Cairo a detailed commentary on *al-Kamil* in 8 volumes.

The books following the pattern of al-Kamil

As to the books following the pattern of *al-Kamil* the most important are *Kitab al-'Arid fi'l-Kamil* by al-Qasim b. Muhammad al-Dimirti¹ and *Kitab al-Nahja 'ala Mithal al-Kamil* by Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Muhammad al-Hamadhani.² Ibrahim b. Mahawayh al-Farisi is also reported to have written a book on the pattern of *al-Kamil*.²

Abridgements on al-Kamil

Al-Kamil was abridged by a scholar named al-Hassan b. al-Husayn al-Qaysarani under the title of *al-Hasil min al-Kamil*. A 6th century A.H./13th century A. D. manuscript of this work exists in the Ahmad III Library in Istanbul.⁴ In 1341 A. H./1923 A. D. Siba'i al-Bayyumi published in Cairo an abridgement in two volumes under the title of *Tahdhib al-Kamil*.

Editions

The *Kamil* of al-Mubarrad was edited by W. Wright for the German Oriental Society, and it was published in 12 parts in Leipzig (1864-1892). In 1355 A. H./1936 A. D. Dr. Zaki Mubarak started to prepare an edition of this work, of which the first and second volumes were published in 1355 A. H./1936 A. D. and 1356 A. H./1937 A. D. respectively. Then he entrusted the task completing the work to Ahmad Muhammad Shakir, who published volume III in 1356 A. H /1937 A. D.

Al-Kamil was first published in Istanbul in 1286 ; it was reprinted in Cairo in 1308, 1323, 1324 and (with extracts from Jahiz in the margin) 1339⁵.

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1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 16/320.
 2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) : 6/466.
 3. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 1/209.
 4. *Fihrist al-Makhtutat al-Mussawwara* : 1/443.
 5. E. I. 3/623.

Translation

A part of this book was translated into German by O. Rescher under the title of *Die Kharidschitenkapitel aus dem Kamil*, which was published in Stuttgart in 1922.

Criticism of al-Kamil

Al-Kamil is a voluminous work, and in a work of this size mistakes must creep in, especially when the author does not have much written material at his disposal and has to rely mainly on his memory. As we have pointed out, *al-Kamil* was written after 270 A. H., at a time when al-Mubarrad was declining through age. Although at that period of his life al-Mubarrad's knowledge had become very wide and ripe on account of constant teaching, meeting the reputed savants and poets, and reading, yet it seems that his old age had also started to affect his memory and judgement¹. He seems to have been conscious of this fact, and he tried to apologise in advance for the possible inaccuracies in his book when he remarked: "I have fulfilled all the conditions of this book except that about which forgetfulness made me unmindful; nobody can ever escape it"².

An evident proof of the popularity of *al-Kamil* with scholars is that several reputed persons have made a critical study of this work and tried to detect the mistakes made by al-Mubarrad³. Of them the most important are Abu Ja'far al-Nahhas (d. 338 A. H./950 A. D.)⁴, al-Akhfash 315 A. H./927 A. D., 'Ali b. Hamza al-Basri (d. 375 A. H./985 A. D.) and Sayyid b. 'Ali al-Marsafi (d. 1349 A. H./1930 A. D.). Al-Nahhas and al-Akhfash pointed out a few mistakes⁵ but the last two made a detailed study.

Al-Basri devoted a part of his *Kitab al-Tanbihat*⁶, from f 45 b f 70 b,

1. *Al-Kamil* : 283.
2. *Ibid.* : 793.
3. *Al-Tanbihat* : f. 69. b.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. This valuable work has not yet been published.

to *al-Kamil* and detected 99 mistakes in explaining difficult vocabulary, 27 mistakes in giving wrong versions of the verses, 17 inaccuracies of a historical nature, 15 mistakes while explaining the verses, 2 mistakes in ascribing lines of poetry to wrong poets and three grammatical mistakes¹.

According to al-Marsafi, *al-Kamil* contains 60 linguistic mistakes, 22 of which were noticed by al-Basri ; 90 mistakes of *riwaya*, of which 15 were noticed by al-Basri ; 25 historical mistakes, 6 of which were noticed by al-Basri ; 20 mistakes in explanation of verses, 9 of which were mentioned by al-Basri ; 25 mistakes of wrong ascription of verses, and two grammatical mistakes.

Considering the bulk of the book and the wide range of topics, the mistakes detected by the critics of al-Mubarrad seem negligible. A perusal of the works of al-Basri and al-Marsafi, however, indicates that some of the mistakes are really serious and are unexpected from a grammarian of al-Mubarrad's calibre².

Before taking leave of the critics of al-Mubarrad, it is necessary to add that al-Basri appears to have been hostile towards al-Mubarrad. He condemns him for being a *Suhufi* and says : "He was a *Suhufi*³ and one who is a *Suhufi*⁴ is bound to make mistakes". This charge is unfounded because al-Mubarrad, as we have seen, was not a *Suhufi* ; he attended the lectures of some of the most important scholars of his age. Furthermore he contacted the Bedouin narrators as well. On another occasion, al-Basri remarks : "If al-Mubarrad had concentrated on selecting good poetry and interesting anecdotes, and on as much *nahw* as he knows, it would have been far better for him than giving decisions on the Arabic language and saying that a certain word is not used by the Arabs". This again is an incorrect and erroneous statement, because all the biographers of al-Mubarrad are unanimous in declaring him an *Imam* of *nahw* and *lughah*.

1. *Al-Mubarrad* : 57.

2. See *al-Tanbihat* f. 45 a, f 45 b, f 46 b, f 47 a, f 52 b, f 54 b etc ; *al-Ragha* : 4/230, 5/94.

3. *Suhufi* is one whose knowledge of *lughah* is based on written sources alone.

4. *Al-Tanbihat* f. 52 a.

23. *Kitab al-Khatt wa'l-Hija'*
24. *Kitab Ma'ani Kitab Sibawayh*
25. *Kitab Ma'ani Kitab al-Ausat lil Akhfash*
26. *Kitab Ma'ani 'l-Qur'an*
27. *Kitab al-Madkhal fi Kitab Sibawayh*
28. *Kitab al-Madkhal fi'l-Nahw*
'Ali b. 'Isa al-Rummani is said it have written a commentary on this work. See *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) /201.
29. *Kitab al-Mamadih wa'l-Maqabih*
30. *Kitab al-Maqsur wa'l-Mamdud*
31. *Kitab al-Mudhakkar wa'l-Mu'annath*

This valuable work exists in a unique manuscript in al-Maktaba al-Zahiriyya, Damascus¹, in a volume containing three books ; the present manuscript is second in order of arrangement in that volume and covers folios 121 b to 138 b. It was transmitted by Abu 'Ali al-Hassan b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaffar al-Farisi from Abu Bakr Muhammad b. al-Sari al-Sarraj, who read it with al-Mubarrad². It was once a part of the endowment of Dar al-Hadith al-Diya'iyya³, which was established by Diya'al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahid al-Maqdisi in 620 A. H./1223 A. D.⁴, on Jabal Qasiyun⁵. Scholars like Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Ali b. Mashadha al-Isfahani, Isma'il b. Ali b. al-Muslim b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Mahmud al-Baghdadi and Ibn al-Nashaf al-Wasiti seem to have used it⁶.

The author in his small introduction explains the contents of the work as follows :

"I will mention in this book masculine nouns and feminine nouns, those masculine nouns which contain the signs of the feminine

1. *Al-Khaza'in* : 36.
2. *Al-Mudhakkar wa'l Mu'annath* : f. 121 b.
3. Ibid.
4. *Khitat al-Sham* : 6/99. According to Kurd 'Ali the founder of this seminary was a reputed scholar of his age but he adds that nothing whatsoever is known of his life.
5. See *Mu'jam al Buldan* : 7/13.
6. *Al-Mudhakkar wa'l-Mu'annath* : f. 12 a.

gender, those of the nouns which can be used as masculine as well as feminine, those of the feminine nouns which have the signs of the feminine gender, and those which do not have that sign at all"¹.

After this introduction, al-Mubarrad explains the signs of the feminine gender (علامات التانيث) in detail², and then takes the problems mentioned in the introduction one by one and discusses them. The work is divided into three chapters, their captions being :

1. باب ما وقع مما فيه الهاء والائف اسماً غير نعت وما يكون نعتاً³
2. باب تصفه من المذكر و المؤنث فيكون مؤكداً لها معنى و مفيداً فيما بعده⁴
3. باب اسماء السور و البلاد و القبائل⁵

There is an interesting discussion on the word الهاء and its plurals on f 142 a.

32. *Kitab al-Muqtadab.*

Of the works of al Mubarrad on grammar alone, *al-Muqtadab* is the only book which has come down to us Brockelmann states in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*⁶ that this book was written after *al-Kamil*, which is not correct. In order of composition *al-Muqtadab* precedes *al-Kamil*. At several places in *al-Kamil* the author refers the reader to *al-Muqtadab*⁷ for further explanation of grammatical issues, which clearly demonstrates that at the time of *al-Kamil*'s composition *al-Muqtadab* was already in use. It is not possible to determine the exact date of its composition, but it is certain that this book was written in Baghdad.⁸ Al-Mubarrad is said to have moved to Baghdad in 246 A. H. ; *al-Kamil* was written about 270.⁹

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1. *Al-Mudhakkar wa'l-Mu'annath* : f. 12 a.
 2. Ibid. f. 121 b.
 3. Ibid. f. 121 b.
 4. Ibid. f. 128 b.
 5. Ibid. f. 245 b.
 6. *E. I.* : 3/620.
 7. *Al-Kamil* : 333, 489 etc.
 8. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 1/137 ; *al-Inbah* . 3/141.
 9. See the review on *al-Kamil*.

This means that *al-Muqtadab* was written between 246 A. H. and 270 A. H. According to 'Abd al-Khaliq the probable date of its composition is 270'.

A popular story usually related by al-Mubarrad's biographers states that this book was narrated by Ibn al-Rawandi, *the Zindiq*, from al-Mubarrad and in his inauspiciousness influenced the fate of the book, hence it did not become popular with the literaeur.² The influence of the inauspiciousness of Ibn al-Rawandi, if any, seems to have been exaggerated by the authorities. This book was fairly popular at a time especially in the 'West'.³

Al-Muqtadab has reached us in a unique manuscript Preserved in the Koprulu Library⁴, Istanbul, in two volumes under No. 1507 and 1508. This manuscript was read and corrected by Abu Sa'id al-Hasan b. Abd Allah al-Sirafi in 347 A. H., who made the following entry on the title page of each volume :

"I read this part in 347 A. H./958 A. D. from cover to cover and corrected all the mistakes therein. Every correction in the book in a different hand from that of the scribe has been made by me"⁵.

The first volume of the Manuscript contains Part I and Part II of the book and has 625 pages, and the second volume comprises parts III and IV and contains 679 pages. The book begins with the following words *الكلام كله اسم وفعل وحرف*⁶. Some of the most important chapters in part I are noted below :

و باب من مسائل الفاعل و المفعول⁸ باب حروف العطف و⁷ باب الفاعل¹⁰
باب ما يسمى به الافعال المخدونه و⁹ باب اللفظ بالحروف

1. *Al-Muqtadab* : 72.
2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/121.
3. *Tafsir al-Muqtadab* f. 1 b ; *Fihrist Ibn Khayr* : 307.
4. See the *Catalogue*, p. 99.
5. *Al-Muqtadab* : 1.
6. Ibid. 4
7. Ibid. 8
8. Ibid. 11
9. Ibid. 19
10. Ibid. 21.

باب ما كان من الاسماء الصحيحه و المعتلة ،¹ باب الابنية و معرفة حروف الزوائد باب ،² باب الهمز ،³ باب ما يصحح من ذوات الياء والواو و السكون ما قبله⁴ باب اضياء جمع المذكر ،⁵ باب الاسماء التي وقفت على حرفين⁶ الادغام في المقاربة

After a long delay, *al-Muqtadab* has recently found an editor in the person of Muhammad 'Abd al-Khaliq 'Adima. The first volume of his edition was printed in Cairo by Lajnat Ihya' al-Turath al-Islami in 1385 A. H./1965 A. D. in 278 pages which corresponds to part I of the manuscript. The rest of the book is still awaiting publication.

Commentaries on *al-Muqtadab*

As in the case of *al-Kamil*, several commentaries were written to elucidate the difficult problems of *al-Muqtadab*. Ibn Durustawayh, a pupil of al-Mubarrad, started to write a commentary but he could not complete it⁸. Abu'l Hasan 'Ali b. 'Isa al-Rummani (d. 384 A. H./994 A. D.) wrote a commentary on this book⁹. Another commentary was penned by Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Ahmad b. al-Badhish¹⁰ (d. 528 A. H./1134 A.D.) Unfortunately all these have been lost.

Brockelmann states, in his article on al-Mubarrad in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, that a commentry on *al-Muqtadab* was written by Sa'id b. Sa'id al-Fariqi (d. 391 A. H./1001 A. D.). This statement is only half true. Al-Fariqi did write a commentry, but it was not on *al-Muqtadab* as a whole, but on the problems mentioned by al-Mubarrad at the begining of the

1. *Al-Muqtadab* : 1.
2. Ibid. 107.
3. Ibid 124.
4. Ibic. 148.
5. Ibid. 204.
6. Ibid. 230.
7. Ibid. 283.
8. *Al-Fihrist* : 63.
9. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 14/75 ; *Al-Bughya* : 344.
10. *Al-Bughya* : 327.

book alone.¹ This commentary is entitled *Kitab Tafsir al-Mushkil min Kitab al-Muqtadab* and is available in two manuscripts, one in the Escorial (p. 111)² and the other in the Maktaba Shahid 'Ali, Istanbul.³ The author discussed only eleven problems in this book and at the end promised to write a comprehensive book in explanation of the whole of *al-Muqtadab*,⁴ a promise, which was, perhaps, never fulfilled. The Istanbul MS. contains the information that this commentary was completed in 372 A.H. 982 A.D.⁵

33. *Kitab al-Natiq*

34. *Kitab Qahtan wa 'Adnan*

This small *risala* was edited by 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Maymani and was published by Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa'l-Tarjama wa'l-Nashr, Cairo in 1354 A.H./ 1936 A. D. The printed edition comprises 24 pages and is rare. I have been able to trace five manuscripts of this work. Of these, two are in Istanbul, i. e. Wali al-Din 3178, 'Atif Afandi 2003, one in the Escorial 1700, and two in Egypt, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya جامع ٣ and 1839.

Al-Mubarrad begins the book by mentioning Mudar b. Nizar b. Ma'add b. 'Adnan⁶ and goes on to discuss very briefly the various tribes who trace their origin to this ancestor, adding suitable verses where necessary.

The second part of the book deals with the genealogy of the tribes of Yamanite origin. Al-Mubarrad begins the account with Saba',⁷ whose proper name was 'Amir b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qahtan. Al-Mubarrad cites the opinion of Ibn al-Kalbi,⁸ according to whom Qahtan was also a descendent of Isma'il ; his genealogical tree being :

1. *Tafsir al-Muqtadab* : f. 1 b.

2. *E. I.* 3/623.

3. *Al-Mubarrad* : 83.

4. *Tafsir al-Muqtadab* : f, 70 b.

5. *Al-Mubarrad* : 86,

6. *Nasab 'Adnan wa Qahtan* : 1

7. *Ibid.* 18.

8. Abu'l Mundhir Hisham b. al-Kalbi d. 206 A. H./821 A. D. was the earliest writer on al-Ansab. Unfortunately his book *Jamharat al-Ansab* has not yet been printed. Two manuscripts of this work are known to have existed British Museum Add 23297 and Escorial Arabs 1698.

قحطان بن الهميسع بن تيمن بن بنت بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم

Al-Mubarrad briefly states the genealogy of the major branches of the descendants of Saba', including his own tribe al-Azd.

Al-Mubarrad's work is, perhaps, the briefest on the subject and is of considerable importance in serving as a ready reference. According to Muhammad 'Abd al-Khaliq, this work served as a pattern on which Ibn Hazm modelled his comparatively detailed book.

35. *Kitab al-Qawafi*

The first authority who records to have seen this treatise is Yaqut. He found at least two copies of this book, On one of these he saw the *Sima'* of al-Hasan b. Bishr al-Amidi who read this book with Niftawayh in 1313 A. H./925 A. D. The second copy was in the handwriting of Abu Mansur al-Jawaliqi which contains the information that 'Abd al-Samad b. Hunays al-Nahwi read it with Abu' Qasim al-Amidi in 371 A.H./982 A. D.²

No author after Yaqut seems to have mentioned this book.

36. *Kitab Qawa'id al-Shir*

37. *Kitab al-Radd 'ala Sibawayh*

37. Sibawayh's book on Arabic grammar, *al-Kitab*, earned universal celebrity soon after its compilation. The author breathed his last in 180 A. H./796 A. D.³, and before the dawning of the third century it had become the most popular treatise on grammar. The Basrans and Kufans alike were attracted by it. The Bassans studied it to expose its difficult points, to support the doctrines contained in it and to correct some mistakes which they found it. The most important Basran scholars who made a special study of *al-Kitab* before Al-Mubarrad were al-Akhfash, al-Ziyadi, al-Jarmi, al-Mazini.⁴ The Kufans, on the other

1. *Nasab 'Adnan wa Qahtan* : 18

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) 3154.

3. *Al-Bughya* : 366.

4. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 50.

hand, studied *al-Kitab* mainly to criticise Sibawayh and to prove the superiority of their own way of reasoning¹. Most eminent in this camp were al-Kisa'i, al-Farra' and Tha'lab.² Hence, on account of the efforts of both the factions, there appeared a great deal of glosses, notes, and commentaries on *al-Kitab*.

When al Mubarrad started to study grammer he came across scholars representing both these schools and was able to learn the viewpoint of both the schools on *al-Kitab*. He himself belonged to the Basran school of grammer, was celebrated for his mastery of *al-Kitab* and held it in high esteem.³ If somebody asked to study *al-Kitab* under him he used to say "You are going to plunge into the sea".⁴ His high opinion of *al-Kitab* can be adequately demonstrated by the fact that he wrote several books to elucidate and popularised it.⁵ He is said to have prepared a copy of *al-Kitab* in his own handwriting which he kept in safe custody, and he did not allow anybody to copy from it.⁶ An interesting fact is that all the important manuscripts of *al-Kitab* available in the world nowadays are copies of al-Mubarrad's copy.⁷

But despite all this he was not a blind follower of Sibawayh. He was acquainted with the points raised by the Kufans like al-Farra' and the Basrans like al-Mazini and al-Jarmi, which led him to make a detailed critical study of *al-Kitab*; he published the results of his research in a treatise entitled *Kitab al-Radd 'ala Sibawayh*, which has been mentioned by Ibn al-Na dim.⁸

This book also met the same fate as most of al-Mubarrad's works. But some of the early grammarians had the opportunity to examine this book and cite from it in their writings. Of them, Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi, who

1. *Al-Majalla* : 40

2. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 51.

3. *Al-Majalla* : 31.

4. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 50.

5. *Al-Fihrist* : 59.

6. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/106.

7. *Al-Majalla* : 35 ; *al-Kitab* : (Paris Edition) XXVI, VI.

8. *Al-Fihrist* : 60.

cites a number of al-Mubarrad's criticism on Sibawayh in his commentary on *al-Kitab*¹, Abu'l Barakat Ibn al-Anbari, who cites al-Nubarrad's view in *al-Insaf*², and Ibn Jinni, who gives al-Mubarrad's criticism in *al-Khasa'is*³ are noteworthy. Al-Mubarrad himself cites some point raised by him in *al-Kamil*.

One of Egyptian grammarians, Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad b. Wallad, (d. 321 A.H.), the son of Abu'l Husayn Muhammad b. Wallad, (d. 298 A.H.), who had studied under Abu Ishaq al-Zajjaj⁴, is credited with writing a criticism of al-Mubarrad's criticism of Sibawayh under the title of *Kitab al-Intisar li-Sibawayh, fi'ma Dhakarahu'l-Mubarrad*, or simply *Intisar Sibawayh 'ala al-Mubarrad*. Muhammad al-Fadil b. 'Ashur, in his article on the difference between al-Mubarrad and Sibawayh contained in *Majalla al-Majma' al-Ilmi al-Adabi*,⁵ complains that al-Mubarrad's book as well as Ibn Wallad's book, has been lost. He however, states that a manuscript of *al-Kitab* exists in the Zaytuniyya Library from the pen of Ibn al-Hajj al-Azdi al-Ishbili (d. 648 A.H.), of Sibawayh and Ibn Wallad's criticism of al-Mubarrad at the end.⁶ The discovery made by 'Ashur is a valuable one; but, fortunately, the book of Ibn Wallad has not been lost and is available in al-Maktaba' al-Taymuriya under No. 705.⁷ This manuscript was copied from an old manuscript in Kufic script in Baghdad in Jumada II 1345 A.H. The script completed the manuscript with the original in Rajab of the same year.⁸

Ibn Wallad says in the introduction,⁹ "In this book I will mention those problems about which al-Mubarrad thought that Sibawayh had made mistakes. I will thoroughly explain them and refute al-Mubarrad's criticism. It is probable that any one who may read this book of mine may

1. *Al-Kitab* : 1/256 (on this margin), 1/273, 2/16, 2/26, 2/40, 2/57, 2/120.

2. *Al-Insaf* : 4, 19, 22, 38, 93, 95, 102, 167, 178, 206, 217, 231, 268, 301 etc.

3. *Al-Khasa'is* : 1/213.

4. *Al-Inbah* : 1/99.

5. *Majalla* : 38.

6. Ibid. 40.

7. *Al-Mubarra* : 95.

8. *Al-Intisar* : 333.

9. Ibid. 1.

be displeased by my refutation of al-Mubarrad; but my refutation of him is not more severe than his refutation of Sibawayh. He refuted him by his own whims and caprices and by the opinion of those who are inferior to Sibawayh in status. Despite my refutation of al-Mubarrad, I must admit that I have benefited from his book, because he called the attention of scholars to the various points which need explanation and clarification. It is necessary for us to follow the truth when it becomes manifest".¹

The citations from al-Mubarrad's book in *al-Intisar* reveal that al-Mubarrad quoted a piece from *al-Kitab* indicating its *bab* and then criticised it. His criticism began by the words "Muhammad Ibn Yazid says".

In his criticism of al-Mubarrad, Ibn Wallad has discussed 133 problems. Of these, one deals with al-Mubarrad's criticism of al-Akhfash; one point has been discussed twice; this means, that *al-Intisar* contains 31 points made by al-Mubarrad in criticism of *al-Kitab*. Ibn Wallad supports the opinion Sibawayh in all the problems except two, where he sides with al-Mubarrad.² It appears that Ibn Wallad, while criticising al-Mubarrad, did not give the full text of al-Mubarrad's criticism, nor did he mention all the *rudud* of al-Mubarrad. He simply cited those *rudud* which he thought he would be able to refute.³ There are several confirmed mistakes of Sibawayh in commentaries on *al-Kitab* in *al-Kamil* and some other books, but they are not to be found in *al-Intisar*.

Al-Mubarrad's criticism as contained in *al-Intisar* deals with mistakes of *I'rab*, *riwayaistishad*, *'awamil* and *ta'bir* in *al-Kitab*.⁴ Of the 131 points mentioned above he cited 40 from *al-Akhfash*, al-Jarmi, al-Mazini, and the rest were based on his own study. This indicates that the view of those who say that al-Mubarrad's criticism of Sibawayh was not original but was borrowed from others⁵ is incorrect. Some critics have expressed the opinion that al-Mubarrad wrote this book in his youth but when his

1. *Al-Mubarrad* : 89.

2. *Al-Intisar* : 156, 122.

3. *Al-Majalla* : 42.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Al-Kasa'is* : 1/206, 3/287.

knowledge ripened he apologised and withdrew his criticism.¹ This view also is not correct because *al-Muqtadab* contains 34 of the points contained in *al-Intisar* and al-Mubarrad criticises Sibawayh in that book also. The rest of the problems are not discussed in *al-Muqtadab* and it is not possible to ascertain whether al-Mubarrad changed his opinion about them or not.

38. *Kitab al-Rauda*.

Of the lost works of al-Mubarrad, *al-Rauda* appears to be most important. According to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi² and Ibn al-Athir³ it was a critical anthology of the verses of those poets who were known as *Muhdathun*, Ibn al-Athir further states that this book began with the account of Abu Nuwas; the accounts of his contemporary poets followed him.⁴ It may be surmised on the basis of the chapter⁵ on *Muhdath* poets in *al-Kamil* that *al-Rauda* contained the verses of the poets like 'Abd al-Sammad b. al-Mu'adhhal, Bashshar b. Burd, Mahmud al-Warraaq, Abu Nuwas 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Abi 'Uyayna, Salih b. 'Abd al-Quddus, Ibn Abi Wahb, Ashja' al-Sulami, Di'bil Khuza'i, b. al-Qasim and Ishaq b. Khalaf al-Buh-rani. Fortunately, there are a few citations from this work in the books of some of the later scholars which enable us to have an insight into the style and contents of this book.

The earliest authority who cites from this book is Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi; but he finds fault with al-Mubarrad in this book and adversely criticises him for his bad selection of verses.⁶ He opines that to select bad specimens of a poet is more usual with the anthologists than to select his good verses,⁷ and in order to substantiate this sweeping statement he gives the instance of al-Mubarrad: "Muhammad b. Yazid al-Nahwi prepared an anthology of the verses of modern poets, and although he was an erudite scholar of Arabic language and literature he selected the coldest verses of every one of them. Al-Hassan Ibn Hani' was perfect poet. On account of

1. *Al-Kasa'is* : 1/206, 3/287 ; *Al-Muzhir* : 2/372.

2. *Al-'Iqd* : 3/220.

3. *Al-Mathal* : 1/315.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Al-Kamil* : 224.

6. *Al-'Iqd* : 3/220.

7. *Ibid.*

his piercing intellect, flow of diction, and sweetness of words, he rarely produced bad verses. But al-Mubarrad while selecting his representative verses, on account of his own coldness, selected such verses as have never been recited to me, nor have I related them to anyone".¹ After these remarks Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi cites some verses from *al-Rauda* and then compares with some fine verses of the same poet selected by al-Jahiz in his *Kitab al-Mawali*.² Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi then observes that the wine songs of Abu Nuwas are unique and peerless, but al-Mubarrad while making this selection of his verse, omitted them altogether and selected some verses which resembled his own person in coldness. Here Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi gives an interesting reason for al-Mubarrad's sobriquet; he was called 'al-Mubarrad, for he was thought to be cold, unemotional, and devoid of affection.³

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi cites the verses of Abu'l-'Atahiya selected by al-Mubarrad in *al-Rauda* as well, and sharply criticize them as being a bad selection.⁴

In another chapter of *al-'Iqd* Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi mentions mistake of al-Mubarrad made by him in *al-Rauda*: "Al-Mubarrad pointed out a mistake of Abu Nuwas in *al-Rauda* in the following verse :

ما لبكر بن وائل الالحمقائها وكاذبها

He thought that the poet was referring to Hubnaqat al-Qaysi by the word *حمقائها* when the word *حمقاء* is not used for males. In fact al-Mubarrad himself made a mistake because the poet was referring to *دغة العجلية*; Banu 'Ijl belong to Bakr and are notorious for foolishness.⁵

Before leaving Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi and his *al-'Iqd*, it is worthwhile mentioning a very interesting anecdote contained in *al-Wafayat*, which is directly related to the verses of Abu Nuwas mentioned above. Ibn Kha-

1. *Al-'Iqd* : 3/220.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. *Al-'Iqd* : 3/143.

llikan' narrates that in the year 636A.H./1239 A.D. he lived in Alexandria for a period of five months. He had a copy of *Kitab al-Kamil* and a copy of *al-'Iqd al-Farid* and used to read both books. One day during the course of his reading he came across the criticism of 'Abd Rabbihi on al-Mubarrad's criticism of Abu Nuwas in *al-'Iqd*. A few nights later, he dreamt that he was in the city of Halab, in the Seminary of *Qadi Baha al-Din b. Shaddad*, where he had received his education. He said his *Zuhr* prayer at his accustomed place and was about to leave when, suddenly, he saw a man saying his prayer in a corner. Someone in the audience informed him that person was Abu'l'Abbas al-Mubarrad. Ibn Khallikan rushed to him, and when he finished his prayer greeted him, and told him that he was at that time reading his *al-Kamil*. He asked Ibn Khallikan if he had the chance to see his *al-Rauda*, to which Ibn Khallikan replied in the negative. Al-Mubarrad asked Ibn Khallikan to accompany him so that he might show him *al-Rauda*. Ibn Khallikan agreed and both went to al-Mubarrad's residence, where the latter gave a copy of *al-Rauda* to the former. Ibn Khallikan opened the book, but it in his lap and then informed al-Mubarrad about the criticism of Ibn Abd Rabbihi on al-Mubarrad's criticism of 'Abu Nuwas, which put him to deep shame; he started to cut his fingers in agony. He was still in that state when Ibn Khallikan woke up from his sleep.

Ibn al-Athir² also cites a few pieces of Abu Nuwas from the anthology of al-Mubarrad, which are about wine, and have been highly praised by the critics for their originality. He rapturously admires the selections made by al-Mubarrad.³ To my mind, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi is not fair in his judgement, when he condemns the whole anthology as containing bad verses. There might have been bad selections in it - and this is usual in every anthology - but to say, as Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi did, that all the verse in *al-Rauda* were bad, is simply misleading.

Ibn al-Athir, while discussing such poems whose first verse exposes the purpose of the poem, cites the following anecdote from *al-Rauda* :

1. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/496.

2. *Al-Mathal* : 1/316.

3. *Ibid.*

"I have read in *al-Rauda* in the context of a war waged by Harun on Naqfur, the king of Rome, that he surrendered to the Caliph and agreed to pay him *Jizya*. When the Caliph returned to al-Riqqa, and snow began to fall, Naqfur broke the covenant. None of the Courtiers of Harun dared to break this news to him lest they incur his displeasure. Yahya b. Khalid persuaded several poets to compose poems to inform the Caliph about the revolt of Naqfur, but none dared except one Abu Muhammad, a meritorious poet from Jidda. He composed the following poem and recited it to the Caliph :

Naqfur has broken the covenant,
 The circle of death is closing in on him,
 Be cheerful, O Commandar of the faithful,
 Because God has vouchsafed a grand victory,
 O Naqfur, when you rebelled, considering
 The *Imam* to be away, you were ignorant and conceited,
 Did you think when you rebelled that you would escape ?
 Nay, thy mother be deprived of thee, what you thought was a
 delusion.

When the poet finished his recital Harun observed : "Has he done so" and ordered his army to march on the rebel. Consequently, he conquered the city of Hiraqla.¹

Another citation from *al-Rauda* is contained in *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*, which conveys to us the following anecdote about 'Abd al-Samad b. al-Mu'adhdhal and Abu Qilaba al-Jarmi, an important rhapsodist, who was a contemporary of al-Asma'i.²

'Ad al-Samad b. al-Mu'adhdhal once went to Abu Qilaba al-Jarmi and requested him to relate to him a poem of al-Asma'i which he had with him, but he declined to do it. 'Abd al-Samad then composed a poem himself, went to Abu Qilaba and related it to him as the composition of some Bedouin poet. Abu Qilaba, in return, related to him the poem of al-Asma'i. Later on Abu Qilaba went to al-Asma'i to ask about the

1. *Al-Mathal* : 2/244.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 7/219.

difficult points in the poem recited by 'Abd al-Samad and told him that the poem was by some Bedouin poet. Al-Asma'i recognised the spuriousness of the poem and put him to shame for his foolishness.¹

Ibn al-Mu'tazz also made use of *al-Rauda* and from his *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* it appears that *al-Rauda*² contained selective verses of al-Raqqashi and Ahmad b. al-Mu'adhdhal.³

For a citation from *al-Rauda* about Bashshar see *Simt al-La'ali*.⁴

The extracts from *al-Rauda* translated above demonstrate that it was a very interesting book. Nothing more than what has been noticed above seem to exist of this work. The last author who read this book was Ibn Khallikan; the authors succeeding him do not seem to have had access to it, which indicates that after Ibn Khallikan this book was lost.⁵

39. *Risala fi A'jaz Abyat Tughni fi'l-Tamthil an Sudhuriha.*

This wonderful work has not been mentioned by any of al-Mubarrad's biographers in the list of his writings. It was first located by Muhammad b. Ta'wit al-Tanji in the Library of al-Azhar; he conveyed this information to Dr 'Abd al-Salam Harun, who edited it and published it in Volume II of *Majalla Nawadir al-Makhtutat* pp. 210-285.

As the title indicates this opuscle contains the second hemistichs (اعجاز) of Arabian poets which are used to strike a parable, and which convey the sense so comprehensively that the first hemistichs are not needed at all for elucidation of the meaning.

This *risals* is a living monument of al-Mubarrad's grasp of classical poetry; only a man of his calibre and erudition could put together such

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* 7/220.

2. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 436.

3. *Ibid.* 456.

4. *Al-Smit* : 137.

5. 'Abd al-Khaliq 'Adima says on the basis of a few misprints in *al-Fadil* that 'Abd al-Aziz al-Maymani found *al-Rauda* and has referred to it in *al-Fadil*. In reply to an enquiry addressed by me to al-Maymani I was informed that the word *al-Rauda*, wherever it occurs in *al-Fadil*, means *Rauda al-Uqala'* and not *Kitab al-Rauda*. The learned scholar expressed his regret for the misprints in his edition. *al-Mubarrad* : 65.

hemistichs. The total number of the hemistichs in the treaties is 84 ; they may be divided among the various poets as follows :

Anas b. Mudrika 1, Imru'ul-Qays 3, al-Nabigha 8, Anas b. Abi Ayyas 1, Zuhayr b. Abi Sulma 3, 'Antara 1, Labid 2, Tarafa 1, Abu Khirash 1, Abu Dhu'ayb 2, Humayd b. Thaur 1, Abu'l-Aswad 1, al-Qattami 1, Urwa b. al-Ward 1, Jarir 3, al-Hutay'a 3, Durayd b. al-Simma 1, Malik b. al-Rayb 1, Salim b. Wabisa 1, Ibn al-Ziba'ra 1, al-Akhtal 1, Yazid b. al-Mufarrigh 1, 'Abda b. al-Tabib 3, 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'a 4, al-'Udhayl b. al-Farakh 1, al-Harith b. Wa'la 1, al-Khansa' 1, al-Aswad b. Ya'far 1, 'Abd Allah b. Mu'awiya 1, Nusayb 1, Qa'nab b. Umm Sahib 1, Ibn al-Dumayna 1, al-Taiyya 1, Ashja, Ibn Umar 1, al-'Atki 1, Mahmud 1, 'Abbas b. al-Ahnaf anonymous 20.¹

This *risala* does not seem to be a very comprehensive treatise on the subject. In books of Arabic grammar, rhetoric, and literature one comes across several second hemistichs of the kind collected by al-Mubarrad in this *Risala*, which unfortunately are lacking in al-Mubarrad's work.

40. *Kitab al-Risala al-Kamila*
41. *Kitab al-Riyad al-Mu'niqa*
42. *Kitab Sharh Kalam al-'Arab*
43. *Kitab al-Shafi*
44. *Sharh Lamiyat'l-'Arab*

44. This work has not been enumerated by al-Mubarrad's biographers either, but it was published in Constantinople by Matba' al-Jawa'ib in 1300 A.H./1883 A.D., as a work of our author, on the margin of *Kitab al-'Ajab fi Sharh Lamiyyat al-'Arab* of al-Zamakhshari. The author of *al-Mubarrad Hayatuhu wa Atharuhu* also declares it to be a writing of al-Mubarrad.² But internal evidence indicates that it could not possibly have been the writing of al-Mubarrad. The name of honour (Kunya) of the author was undoubtedly Abu'l-'Abbas, as has been mentioned on several pages,³ but he was certainly not al-Mubarrad.

1. *A'jaz Abyat* : 210-285.

2. *al-Mubarrad* : 64.

3. *Sharh Lamiyyat al-'Arab* : passim.

The author states on page 26 "I read with Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad b. Yahya." Now this Ahmad b. Yahya is none other than Tha'lab the well-known adversary of al-Mubarrad. The idea that al-Mubarrad should go to Tha'lab to learn explanations of Arabic poetry is far-fetched. On page 36 the author cites Fadl al-Yazidi was the son of Muhammad b. al-'Abbas al-Yazidi, a pupil of al-Mubarrad.¹ How can al-Mubarrad cite the opinion of the son of one of his pupils? Another interesting thing is that the author of this commentary comments on the explanation of al-Zamakhshari² as well, which indicates that he had al-Zamakhshari's commentary before him. Hence he must have lived after al-Zamakhshari.

In the light of the above, I think that this work is not the work of al-Mubarrad. It was written by some author after al-Zamakhshari. When he cites the opinion of Tha'lab or al-Yazidi he probably cites from some earlier author without mentioning his name.

45. *Kitab Sharh Shawahid Kitab Sibawayh*

46. *Kitab Sifat Allah Jalla wa 'Ala*

47. *Kitab al-Ta'azi*

For a review of this book as Part II.

48. *Kitab al-Tasrif*

49. *Kitab Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin al-Basriyyin wa Akhbaruhum*

Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi borrowed a great deal of material in his *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin al-Basriyyin* from this book.

50. *Kitab al-Washy*

51. *Kitab al-Ziyada al-Muntaza'a min Sibawayh.*

52. Abu Hayyan al-Tauhidi states in *Mathalib al-Wazirayn*³ that al-Mubarrad wrote a booklet on the abominable qualities of al-Hasan b. Raja'. This book has also been lost. Even its exact title is not known.

53. Ibn al-Athir writes in his introduction to *al-Nihaya* that al-

1. *Al-Fihrist* : 50.

2. *Sharh Lamiyyat al-'Arab* : 12, 14.

3. *Mathalib al-Wazirayn* : 51.

Mubarrad wrote a book on Gharib al-Hadith. This book also has been lost.

In addition to the above mentioned books al-Mubarrad wrote a long letter to Ahmad¹, the third son of the Caliph al-Wathiq in reply to his question whether poetry is superior to prose or the vice versa. This letter is preserved in Munich 791 and in a fragment in Berlin Alw. 7177 and has been published in Europe and Egypt.

1. *Al-'Iqd* : 3,46.

CHAPTER 8

Al-Mubarrad's Verse

"In all Arabic speaking countries poetry is a major art, perhaps the supreme art, practised and appreciated by all classes, an important element in their lives, an essential element even in the action and ceremony composing the social life of a people."¹ These are the words of Dr R.B. Serjeant in his *Prose and Poetry from Hadramaut* and this statement is even more true in case of the pre-Islamic era than of modern times. As is well-known, in those days poetry was no luxury for the cultured few, but the sole medium of literary expression.² It was their vehicle for the expression of such feelings as love, hatred, thankfulness, enmity, generosity and bravery, and almost everybody possessed the ability to write verse. The works of philologists and literary historians reveal that such a large number of bards flourished during that period that it is not possible to estimate their number.³ The names of only a fraction of these poets have come down to us and the verse of a still smaller number has reached us.

When the Arabs settled as conquerors in Syria and Persia and mixed with foreign peoples the purity of their language could no longer be maintained. This intercourse was also responsible for adversely affecting their ability to compose poetry and it is one of the reasons why the number of poets decreased after the advent of Islam.⁴ Still we find that almost all educated people possessed the skill to compose verse. Referring to this phenomenon, Ibn Qutayba observes in his *Kitab al-shi'r wa'l-Shu'ara'* "Anybody who had the slightest connection with *adab*, and whose temperament was even slightly suited to the composition of poetry, did compose

1. *Prose and Poetry from Hadramaut* : 1.

2. Nicholson : 72.

3. *Al-Shi'r* : 4.

4. *Al-Bayan* : 2/289.

something, and it is not possible to mention them all."¹

It is astonishing to find that some of the eminent grammarians, philologists, anthologists, traditionists and historians, despite their wide reputation in their own fields, were also poets of no mean standing. If they had practised the art of poetry exclusively they might have out shone the eminent poets. There is no room here for a detailed list of all such figures, but mention may be made of Abu'l-Aswad al-Du'ali, Khalil b. Ahmad, Khalaf al-Ahmar, Hammad al-Rawiya and from the scholars of later generation, al-Zamakhshari, al-Hariri, al-Hamadani, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Qayyim, to name but a few.

Abu'l-Abbas al-Mubarrad like the scholars mentioned above was a poet in the real sense of the term and had a remarkable gift for impromptu verse. He is said to have composed a great deal of poetry,² but it seems that on account of his multifarious engagements as a philologist and grammarian, he had little time to spare for versification. Although al-Mubarrad's verse is of a high order he is reported not to have taken pride in it.³ Probably he considered himself more eminent as a grammarian and philologist than as a poet.

It seems that he did not collect his verse in a *diwan*; hence most of it has been lost. However, there is evidence to prove that *al-Kamil* contains some verses by him which he has cited as anonymous.⁴

During the course of my research I have been able to collect some of his verses or fractions of his poems which make it possible to judge his literary merits in poetry. Although there is generally no originality of thought in his poetry, yet his style is fascinating, characterised by a simple vocabulary and directness of expression. The influence of al-Buhturi preponderates. It appears that his poems covered the whole range of subjects then generally recognised as belonging to the province of poetry. Below I give an English rendering of some of his poem on various topics.

1. *Al-Shi'r* : 4.

2. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 122.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Al-Kamil* : 426.

Panegyric

Once al-Mubarrad went to pay homage to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil who asked him if he had ever seen a more handsome person than the Caliph. Al-Mubarrad replied, "No" and added "nor a more bountiful person than you", then he plucked up courage and recited the following verses to the Caliph impromptu :

"I declare on Oath and I am not afraid of taking, it owing to any doubt or suspicion,
That you are the most handsome and the most generous of the Caliphs and I am not partial in my judgement.
One who follows you soars high in greatness, and one who disobeys you suffers great losses."

The impromptu exclamations of al-Mubarrad pleased the Caliph and he showered praise on him.¹

Tahir b. al-Harith, the Secretary of Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir² send al-Mubarrad a letter by the hand of a slave, called Nasr, which contained the news that al-Mubarrad would receive a stipend from the Government treasury in Egypt. This information pleased al-Mubarrad very much and he expressed his heartfelt gratitude in the following verses, which he composed impromptu :³

"By my life, I had fortified myself with a pious friend and I found him a generous person, through thick and thin ;
When I am away from him I receive praises and panegyrics from him and when I am in his company I hear kind words and good news.
Tahir is nothing but a glory for his companions : he assists the seekers of his favours against the vicissitudes of time ;
O greatest of men, you performed a unique deed and sufficed me in my needs, which had reduced me to dire straits,

1. *Mu'jam al-Shu'ara'* : 450.
2. *Ahbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 106.
3. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 112.

The letter which come to me through Nasr is better than these words of mine and conveying them to others ;

I was pleased when it was delivered to me and I suddenly realised that I had grown rich, although it was addressed to the treasury of Egypt.

And I said, "O my friend may God keep you on the right path, certainly you have surpassed others in generosity, but my thankfulness has lagged behind."

'Ubayd Ullah b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir once became angry with our poet and did not give him anything for a long time. Al-Mubarrad was very much perturbed by this and composed the following panegyric to win back his favours :¹

"O you, in whom the needy and fearful seek refuge, and to whom, above all mankind, I have directed myself for the fulfilment of my desires,

Do you wish your guest and follower to rot in disagreeable circumstances ?

Devoid of all money except hope of your bounty and wearing the dress of penury after having enjoyed the pleasures of wealth,

Say to *Amir* 'Abd Allah, 'May he enjoy the honour of *Imara* for ever, along with long life,

You had begun to fulfil a promise ; so turn your attention to the needy once more and help him. Verily, animals must be allowed to quench their thirst before they are taken back from the water ;

The tree of my gratitude has started to blossom ; water it properly and I will pluck for you ripe fruits of that tree ;

Verily, the first rain of spring simply settles the dust ; it is the second rain which produces the vegetation of the gardens and roses ;

The sword is polished, but if its blade is not fed it will become blunt and will no longer remain sharp.

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 112.

Your favours have already covered me but I could not profoundly express my gratitude for them ;

The presence of 'Ubayd Allah is a substitute for me for all those who have gone before, and the munificence of his palm has made me free from the need of rainfall.

Niftawayh reports that once he was in the company of al-Mubarrad and Isma'il b. Ishaq al-Qadi happened to pass by him. On seeing him, al-Mubarrad sprang up, kissed his hands and addressed the following lines to him :¹

"When I saw him coming ;

I removed the *hubwa* (piece of cloth used as a support when sitting) and stood up in hurry ;

Do not be amazed by my standing in his honour ; a respectable person shows respect to another respectable person."

Al-Mubarrad once asked *Bishr* b. Sa'd al-Marthadi for a favour, but he delayed it for a long time. At this al-Mubarrad addressed the following lines to him :²

"May God save you from breaking your promise, severing the ties of friendship and breaking the covenant,

The hopes of all are upon you in so far as courtesy and sagacity are concerned, and your family is an eminent family of the house of Ma'add ;

Several strong ties unite us ; our families match each other in high lineage and have been friends of each other ;

If my needs are not satisfied immediately (it does not matter) ; I have placed them at the door of Bishr b. Sa'd ;

From whom else should I expect kindness and assistance in solving my problems ?"

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 6/289.

2. *Ibid.* 3/385.

Satire

Abu Muhammad Isma'il b. al-Najm al-Sharabi relates that once he was sitting in the circle of Abu'al 'Abbas al-Mubarrad. It was an exceedingly cold winter's day. Isma'il b. Zurzur, the musician, dressed in the typical uniform of musicians happened to pass by him and did not greet al-Mubarrad, which infuriated him so much that he satirised him in the following verses which were composed impromptu :¹

“Your songs have led you to licentiousness, to having your ears boxed in dishonour, and to your exclusion from the assemblies of the eminent.

To charge you with foul actions is much better than treating you gently and to call you names is far superior to mentioning your name with honour ;

The day on which you were born is a suitable day for condolences and the day on which you will die is a proper day for congratulations.”

Al-'Ala b. Sa'id, a contemporary of al-Mubarrad used to praise him on account of his learning but was miserly in bestowing rewards upon him. Al-Mubarrad composed the following verses about him :²

“Al 'Ala b. Sa'id exaggerates beyond all proportion in describing me and praising me ;

He showers his praise on me but is niggardly with his money ;
I paid him a visit against my will ; I am not in habit of visiting people like him ;

And I got praises and panegyrics and a night journey on a horse.”

Al-Mubarrad satirised his adversary Tha'lab in the following lines :³

“I swear by the smiling and attractive face of the beloved and by the cause of the complaints of a lover to another lover ;

1. *Al-Zajjaji* : 172.

2. *Mu'jam al-Shu'ara'* : 450.

3. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 113 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/248.

Even if God had dictated to him *nahw* it would have done nothing but to increase the blindness of his heart.

Tha'lab's rejoinder to this was :

"The slaves of Banu Misma' calls me names ; nobody bites a dog which bites him."

Al-Mubarrad was once informed that Tha'lab had criticised him and he expressed his sentiments in the following lines :¹

"Many a man is interested in me, but he is never remembered by me ;

His heart is full of me, but my heart affords him no hook.

He lampooned another of his adversaries as follows :²

"Neither did he master the science of al-Khalil that he may imitate it, nor could he learn the principles of logic."

Love Poetry

Al-Mubarrad seems to have written a lot of erotic poetry, but only a few pieces of his verse on this theme have been preserved. One of his love poems earned great popularity in al-Basra and was eagerly recited there.³ The two lines of this poem which have come down to us may be rendered as follows :

"How excellent is the water of grapes (wine) taken along with saliva of the beautiful damsels (kisses) ;

My flesh and blood grow stronger because of them ;

O seeker of the most delightful of pleasures,

Eat up the apples of the cheeks of damsels in accompaniment with rain water (wine) !"

Another touching love poem of al-Mubarrad is the following :⁴

"O you sick eyed damsel, my heart will suffer for ever due to you ;

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/120.

2. *Al-Maratib* : 39.

3. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 101 ; *al-Nuzha* : 152 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 9/116.

4. *Ta'rikh Dimashq* : f 62 b.

I conceal my passion, but the ever flowing tears betray it ;
When my eyes were filled with my tears, I remarked ; My love has
become known to the people at large."

The following love song of al-Mubarrad also makes an interesting reading :¹

Her eyes invade the onlooker,
Her cheeks put roses to shame,
She smells of wine and apples,
Her looks kill the people,
The lover, killed by her, goes unavenged.

Verses on Friendship

Al-Suli reports that once he was in the company of al-Mubarrad along with some other students when visitor came to see him. He greeted al-Mubarrad but could not conceal his nervousness on account of al-Mubarrad's eminence and his own insignificance. Al-Mubarrad addressed the following lines to him :²

"Although the vicissitudes of time have separated us from each other, my heart is still near you.

So long as I am alive separation will not be able to break my friendship for you, nor will it be influenced by the changes in my temperament."

Another visitor once came to see him and he stood up as a mark of respect to him. The visitor told al-Mubarrad that he ought not to have stood up for the sake of an ordinary person like him and al-Mubarrad recited the following verses :³

"Do the people dislike my standing in honour of Hisham when he came to see me ?

Do not be amazed by my standing up in a hurry, because he fully deserves such honours."

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : f 62 b.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/387.

3. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 114 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/249.

According to Muhammad b. 'Abdun al-Katib al-Mubarrad recited on a similar occasion :

“If I stood up to do homage to you it does not decrease my honour ;
A respectable person is humble by temperament ;

Still, a thing like this from me for any other man than you would
have been improper, but it is most suitable between you and me.”

Condolence

When the mother of Isma'il b. Ishaq al-Qadi died al-Mubarrad went to him to condole on her death. He saw the grandees of Baghdad and eminent scholars and Jurists there. The *Qadi* was deeply grieved and every one of them had tried to console him but to no avail. When al-Mubarrad saw this he addressed the following verses to the *Qadi* :

“By my soul, if the vicissitudes of time have snatched away from
me a precious and beloved personality,

My awareness of the reward which will follow this affliction causes
me to forget the affliction.”

These lines of our poet succeeded in consoling the bereaved, who liked them so much that he wrote them down in his own hand.²

Wisdom

Buzurjmihir, the well known Persian savant is reported to have observed : “A wise man runs after riches whereas an unwise person runs after his native city.” Al-Mubarrad conveyed the same idea in the following verses :

“To be poor in one's homeland is tantamount to being in foreign
land and to be rich in a foreign land means to be in one's home-
town.”³

The following verse of al-Mubarrad about liars is remarkable in the idea which it conveys :

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 114 ; al-Inbah : 3/249.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 6/279.

3. *Al-Muhadarat* : 1/306.

“I can conceal my secrets from the slanderers but what can I do about the concocter of lies.”¹

Al-Mubarrad speaks a universal truth when he observes :

“If God removes affliction from us altogether we shall not be able to judge the importance of peace.”²

Al-Mubarrad adopts the strategem of *Jahili* sages about cousins when he says :³

“I put up with my cousins despite their hatred for me and the harm they have done to me ; Some of them hate me, others are jealous of me :

I guard them and shoot their enemies from their front lines, and I do good to them again and again.”

Consideration of space does not allow me to translate more of al-Mubarrad's verse. I therefore close this chapter by referring the reader *Ta'rikh Dimashq* f 58 b 62 b where a number of al-Mubarrad's verses are available which have not been translated here.

1. *Al-Kamil* : 426.

2. *Mu'jam al-Shu'ara'* : 450.

3. *Lubab al-Adab* : 382.

CHAPTER 9

Al-Mubarrad as A Critic of Arabic Poetry

The Critics of the first and second centuries of Islam held the view that a poet who had not lived in the *Jahiliyya*, far from overshadowing a *Jahili* poet, could not equal him in literary merit¹ In passing their judgement they attached more importance to the epoch at which a particular poet was born rather than to the literary quality of his verse. The opinion of Kulthum b. 'Amr al-'Attabi about Abu Nuwas, namely, "If that Khabith had seen the *Jahiliyya* no poet would have excelled him",² is typical of this attitude. This view is obviously erroneous and the scholars of the third century started to raise their voices against it.

It is commonly understood that Ibn Qutayba was the first critic to declare that ancients and moderns should be judged on their own merits without regard to their age.³ He writes as follows in the introduction to his *Kitab al-Shi'r wa'l-Shu'ara'*⁴ "I have not traversed blindly the path like an imitator while selecting the verse of each poet and have not admired them because others thought them admirable. Neither have I regarded an ancient with veneration on account of his antiquity, nor any modern with contempt on account of his being modern. I have weighed both the groups with a sense of justice and have given each one his due. I have seen that some of our scholars declare a worthless verse to be excellent, because it was composed by an old poet and cite it in their anthology. While on the other hand they pick holes in a sterling poem and according to them it does not have any fault except that it was composed in their age and they had seen the poet. God did not restrict learning and poetry and rhetoric to a particular age, nor earmarked them for a

1. *Al-Shi'r* : 5 ; *Ta'rikh-Baghdad* : 7,437 ; I.C. 35/2 ; *Nichlson* : 285.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 7,437.

3. *Abhandlungen* : 156.

4. *Al-Shi'r* : 5.

particular class, but has made them a common property of his servants in all the ages and has caused everything old to be new in its own day".

But it is often forgotten that several scholars prior to or contemporary with Ibn Qutayba also expressed the same ideas. The names and views of these scholars should not detain us here as they have been mentioned by Leon Zolondek in his article entitled 'the precursors of Ibn Qutaybah's *Kitab al-Shi'r*' contained in *Islamic Culture*.¹ What is important from our point of view is that al-Mubarrad also did not agree with the old school of critics and did not subscribe to the opinion that an old poet is necessarily a better poet. He observe in his *al-Kamil* : "A composer is not given precedence on account of his being ancient, nor is a meritorious poet looked down upon for being contemporary; but each one of them is given what is his due".² At another place in the same book he observed : "A contemporary poet composed these verses and his being contemporary cannot diminish the elegance of his verse".³

Now the question arises, if the age of the poet is not the criterion by which to judge his merits, then what standards are to be employed for that purpose? Al-Mubarrad supplies us with a key to that in the following words: "The best verse is that in which the poet does not draw an out of the way comparison, and still better than that is one in which he attains to truth, and explains on account of his piercing intellect what is not known to others and composes it with forceful words, without any embellishment, and superfluity".⁴ According to al-Mubarrad prolixity, immoderation, exaggeration and superfluity are the signs of bad verse and the verse of contemporary poets suffers from these defects.⁵ It is obvious from the above that al-Mubarrad looked towards the innate beauties of the verse to decide whether a particular poet is superior or inferior rather than to his age.

Al-Mubarrad employed these canons of criticism on the verse of the

1. *I.C.* Vol. 35 pp. 1-7.

2. *Al-Kamil* : 19.

3. *Al-Kamil* : 714.

4. *Ibid* : 167 ; *al-Muwashshah* : 243-4.

5. *Al-Muwashshah* : 298.

various modern poets, but unfortunately, his critical anthology of their verse *Kitab al-Rauda* is not available. Some of the later anthologists and critics have, however, cited his opinion about some of the eminent contemporary poets, which can give us some idea of al-Mubarrad's estimation of them.

Al-Mubarrad's opinion of Jarir and al-Farazdaq

Al-Mubarrad used to give al-Farazdaq precedence over Jarir and say "Al-Farazdaq puts together a verse with its brother, but Jarir joins a verse with its cousin".¹ It appears, however, that he admitted Jarir to be superior to al-Farazdaq in the field of *ghazal*. He condemns the following verse of al-Farazdaq :

يا اخت ناجية بن سامة انى اخشى عليك بنى ان طلبوا دسى

and says : "It does not befit a lover to mention his descendents to the beloved and to threaten her. It would have been much better if al-Farazdaq had composed something like the following saying of Jarir"

قتلنا ثم لم يحين قتلنا

Al-Mubarrad and Abu Nuwas

According to al-Mubarrad Abu Nuwas was in the habit of indulging in *Lahn* in his poems. He cites the following example :

فما ضرها ألا تكون لجرول ولا المزنى كعب ولا لزياد

The poet softened *يا النسبة* and used *المزنى* as *المزنى* which is allowed in *qafiya* and not in the main body of the verse.³

The second defect in the verse of Abu Nuwas, in the estimation of al-Mubarrad is exaggeration and flight of fancy. He composed a lampoon on al-Raqqashi, in which he ridiculed the latter on account of *qidr* (earthen-pot). This satire is a very interesting and amusing one, Some people liked it, but al-Mubarrad's verdict on it is : "I do not consider it to be a sweet poem on account of the exaggeration in it".⁴ Some verses of this

1. *Al-Muwashshah* : 121.

2. *Ibid* : 115.

3. *Ibid*. 268.

4. *Al-Muwashshah* : 287.

satire may be given below to serve as specimen.¹

A black *qidr* is fixed by al-Raqqashi during rainy days;
 It has long ears and is the mother of the destitute,
 The chest of a mosquito is enough to fill it up;
 What is in it can be cooked by a tooth pick,
 It starts to boil at the mention of fire without its heat;
 You can take it off from the cooker without a piece of cloth;
 This *qidr* is the *qidr* of the chief of Bakr b. Wa'il;
 The spring of the orphans in the years of leanness.

According to al-Mubarrad some of the poems of Abu Nuwas are extraordinarily fine in meaning as well as words, while others are of a low order. Of the first category he cites the following example:²

(If some unfortunate person was scared by miseries and bad luck
 al-Fadl b. Rabi b. 'Yahya challenged them).

At the head of a red army as if it were a shirt woven with spears and
 horses,

Time inflicts with its vicissitudes everybody who dislike him or
 disobeys him.

Of the second category he gives the following two examples :

I. "You feared God as much as was His due;
 And you toiled above the toil of a hermit,
 And you scared the polytheists to such an extent;
 That even the unborn seeds are afraid of you".³

II. "O Harun we have become such friends that prejudice and malice
 have died;

(Harun scared the enemies so much) That the heart of one who is
 still in the womb and has not yet taken shape, is palpitating on

1. *Al-Muwashshah* : 287.

2. *Ibid.* 319-320. This *qasida* was composed by Abu Nuwas to eulogize al-Fadl b. Yahya al-Barmaki after the downfall of that family. See *Diwan* : 220-222.

3. *Al-Muwashshah* : 320, 269. This *qasida* was composed by Abu Nuwas to praise Harun al-Rashid. See *Diwan* : 450-452.

account of fear of Harun".¹

According to al-Mubarrad both these pieces suffer from exaggeration and unreal imageries. How can one who has not yet taken shape have a heart?² In the same way how can unborn seed to be afraid?

Abu Nuwas composed a great deal of poetry about the Caliph al-Amin. Al-Mubarrad opines that there are some good verses among them and some are bad. He severely criticises the following verses and says: "It is a rank blasphemous, which should not be expected of a Muslim".³

"The two Ahmad (the Prophet and al-Amin) resemble each other in appearance as well as temperament like two identical shoelatches.

No wise and sane person can find any difference among them; although they have two personalities, they are once in essence.

Al-Mubarrad condemns the following verse of Abu Nuwas also as a great sacrilege.⁴

"O Ahmad (al-Amin), one who is hoped for in all the calamities,
O my lord stand up and let us disobey the lord of the heavens",

and says: "To mention the name of God along with the intention to disobey him is to challenge God and to insult him. When Ahmad b. Abi Da'ud read this verse he was terrified and started to curse Abu Nuwas.⁵

Al-Mubarrad opines that very fine verses of Abu Nuwas are followed by bad verses; there is no consistency in him in this respect. The following line, for instance, is very nice:

"Do not wait at the obliterated remains and fetch me wine, O you

1. *Al-Muwashshah* : 320, 269. This *qasida* was also composed by Abu Nuwas to praise Harun. See *Diwan* : 642-644.

2. *Al-Muwashshah* : 269.

3. Ibid. These verses are not available in the *Diwan* :

4. *Al-Muwashshah* : 269. The complete poem is in the *Diwan* : 117.

5. Ibid, 270.

dressed in thin *sirbal*".¹

But it is followed by

"Wine, whose brewers have perished and the places where it was brewed have been devastated;

Time has cut them into pieces like tooth picks".²

which is bad ³

Al-Mubarrad's estimation of Abu'l-'Atahiya

According to al-Mubarrad all the love songs and penegyrics of Abu'l, - Atahiya are characterised by *San'a*.⁴ (Artificiality and sophistication). Sometimes it occurs twice in a *qasida* ⁵ Although he had perfect command over poetry and composed with ease, yet he made many mistakes.⁶ He used incorrect language in his verse⁷ and used to mix together the various metres and devise a new metre.⁸ If he did that at a time when he was thinking on the right lines his new metres usually fitted into prosody. Al-Mubarrad cites the following mistake of Abu'l Atahiya as a specimen :

و لربما سئل بخيل الشئ لا يسوى فتيلاً

According to al-Mubarrad لا يسوى is incorrect, it should have been يساويه ، ساواه because لا يساوي

والله رب منى و الراقصات بها لا شكرن يزيدا حيشما كنت
ما قلت في فضله شئاً لا مدحه الا و فضل يزيد فوق ما قلت

According to al-Mubarrad the poet declined Yazid with *tamein* on two

1. *Al-Muwashshah* : 271 ; the *Diwan* : 489.

2. *Ibid*.

3. For further criticism of al-Mubarrad on Abu Nuwas see *al-Muwashshah* : 271, 274.

4. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 6/253.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Al-Muwashshah* : 262.

7. *Ibid*.

8. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 229.

9. *Al-Muwashshah* : 262 ; *Diwan* 383.

10. *Al-Muwashshah* : 262.

11. *Ibid*. 262 ; *Diwan* : 104.

occasions in this poem, even if he had not done that the metre would have been correct with *Zihaf*.¹

For a selection of Abu'l-'Atahiya's best verse made by al-Mubarrad the reader is referred to *Ta'rikh Baghdad* 6/282.

Al-Mubarrad's opinion about Abu Tammam and al-Buhturi

Abu Tammam and al-Buhturi are among the most eminent poets of the Abbasid age, but there is a great deal of difference of opinion among the critics on their relative merits.² Al-Amidi collected in a volume diverging views of the critics on this point under the title of *al-Muwazana bayn Abi Tamman wa'l-Buhturi*. As has been noted elsewhere our author was a warm supporter of al-Buhturi and although al-Buhturi himself considered Abu Tamman to be superior to him, al-Mubarrad gave him precedence over Abu Tammam.³ Once 'Abd Allah b. Hasan b. Sa'dan⁴ asked his opinion about these two poets and he replied in the following words: "Abu Tammam draws out delicate points and novel ideas; his good verse is better than the verse of al-Buhturi and those of the contemporary poets who preceded him. But the verse of al-Buhturi is more balanced; he composes a *qasida* which as a whole is above reproach. Abu Tammam on the other hand composes a sterling verse which is followed by a bad verse. I can only compare him to a diver who dives and brings forth pearls as well as shells. If all the bad verses of Abu Tammam are dropped from his *Diwan*, although they are too many, he will be the most eminent among his contemporaries due to the large amount of his good verse." In the end al-Mubarrad remarked "Al-Buhturi has said the last word in verse and then he recited two of his lines which according to him can easily pass for Zuhayr's verse."⁵ 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan b. Sa'dan further states that al-Mubarrad, in that meeting, declared eight verses of al-Buhturi to be superior to the verses of his contemporary poets on the same topic.⁶

1. *Al-Muwashshah* : 262.

2. *Al-Muruj* : 2/280.

3. *Al-Aghani* : 18/168.

4. *Al-Muruj* : 2/280. In *Akhbar Abi Tammam* by al-Suli a similar anecdote is ascribed to Ibn al-Mu'tazz. See p. 97.

5. *Al-Muruj* : 2/280.

6. *Ibid.*

It seems that al-Mubarrad held these views at the beginning of his career. Later on, when he made a thorough study of Abu Tammam's verse, he changed his opinion. Ibn al-Mu'tazz reports : "Once al-Mubarrad came to see me and I prevailed upon him to stay with me. We started to talk about Abu Tammam but he did not praise him as much as was his due. There was a *Katib* (Secretary) in the circle who was unparalleled in remembering the verse of Abu Tammam. He addressed al-Mubarrad and said : "Think of any of the poets in your mind, then see if he could compose a poem like the poem composed by al-Buhturi to apologise to Abu'l Mughith Musa b. Ibrahim al-Rafi'i and he cited the whole poem." Al-Mubarrad was favourably impressed by the poem and observed : "I have never heard a more charming poem than this." Only two sorts of people can under-estimate Abu Tammam, either those who are ignorant of the science of poetry or those who have not concentrated on his verse."² Ibn al-Mu'tazz further adds : "Before his death he had changed his opinion and had admitted the literary acumen of Abu Tammam."³

Al-Mubarrad's opinion about al-Raqqashi

Al-Fadl b. 'Abd al-Samad b. al-Fadl originally belonged to al-Rayy⁴ but had settled in al-Basra.⁵ Later on he moved to Baghdad and composed verses in praise of Harun, al-Amin and the Barkekids.⁶ He was an antagonist of Abu Nuwas ; both lampooned each other and their satirical duels continued till death separated them.⁷ Al-Raqqashi is said to have migrated to Khurasan in his last days and became a court poet of Tahir b. al-Hasan, where he died. He appears to have been a *Zindiq* at heart. He composed a poem before his death in which he expressed his *wasiyya* and ordered his followers to indulge in homosexuality, drinking, gambling, and arranging dog fights and cock fights.⁸

1. *Akhbar Abi Tammam* : 202-204.

2. Ibid

3. *Akhbar Abi Tammam* : 202-204.

4. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 226.

5. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 12/345.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 226.

Al-Mubarrad was convinced of al-Raqqashi's eminence as a poet.¹ He paid him a tribute by observing : كان العضل الدقاشي شاعراً

and supplied valuable information about al-Raqqashi's habits by his remarks : "He pretended to be rich while he was poor, posed as respectable but was despicable and claimed to be important which he was not."²

Al-Mubarrad's opinion about al-'Abbas b. al-Ahnaf

Al-'Abbas b. al-Ahnaf was a scion of the Banu Hanifa.³ His family had settled in Khurasan but he was brought up in Baghdad. He was well-known for his chivalry, generosity and incorruptible character and was a good poet. The critics declared him superior to most of his contemporary poets. Al-Mubarrad's appreciation of his poetry is as follows : "He was witty and humorous but was not loose in character, he composed amorous verse but was not reprobate, he possessed considerable wealth and followed the ways of aristocrats. The echo of all these elements is available in his verse. He mostly composed love poems which were sweet and popular and were characterised by depth of thought. He composed a great deal of erotic verse but did not indulge in satire or praise."⁴

Al-Mubarrad's criticism of al-Mu'ammil b. Amil al-Muhasibi

Al-Mu'ammil b. Amil belonged to the tribe of Jisr b. Muharib and was a well-known poet of the 'Abbasid age. He paid a visit to al-Mahdi during his governorship of al-Rayy and eulogised him and received from him a reward of 20 thousand dirhams. When this news reached al-Mansur he summoned the poet to his court and admonished him for deceiving an inexperienced youth. Under the order of the Caliph the poet refunded 16 thousand dirhams and had to content himself with 4 thousand only. Later, when al-Mahdi succeeded to the throne, the poet paid him a visit once again and the caliph not only gave back the 16 thousand dirhams confiscated by al-Mansur but also gave him another sum of 20 thousand dirhams.⁵

1. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 12/345.

2. Ibid.

3. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara* : 254.

4. *Al-Aghani* : 8/15.

5. *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 13/178.

Although al-Mubarrad accepted al-Mufammil as a poet, he did not have a high opinion of his poetry. According to al-Mubarrad he was given the sobriquet of *al-Barid* the cold—for lack of warmth of affection and his poetry is characterised by this.¹

Al-Mubarrad's view of Abu'l Shamaqmaq

Abu'l Shamaqmaq was a *maula* of Marwan b. Muhammad the last ruler of the Umayyads.² He lived at al-Basra but moved to Baghdad during the reign of Harun.³ He was notorious for writing invective satires. Ibn al-Mu'tazz speaks very highly of his poetry⁴ but al-Mubarrad does not agree with him and observes: "Many a time he made mistakes of language; he indulged in *hazal* very often, sometimes he wrote serious verses as well."⁵

The best lines in the estimation of al-Mubarrad

There is a great deal of difference of opinion among the critics on the best lines on various subjects. It appears that each of the critics decided this problem for himself in accordance with his own predilections.⁶ Al-Mubarrad's opinion on the best verses about separation is contained in an anecdote in *Ta'rikh Baghdad*.⁷ The sources at my disposal do not mention the best verses on other subjects in the estimation of our author. This anecdote is as follows:

"Once Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Katib was in the company of al-Mubarrad who recited to him the following lines and declared them the best verses composed by the Arab poets on the subject of separation from the beloved.

My body is with me, but my soul is with you,

So the body is in a state of exile but the soul is at home.

1. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 13/179.

2. *Ibid* : 13/146.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 129.

5. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 13/146.

6. See for the best verses in the estimation of Ibn Qutayba *al-Shi'r* : 7 and for the best verses in the estimation of al-Tha'alibi *Ahsan Ma Sami'tu*.

7. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 6/37.

The people should be amazed by me, I have a body without a soul
and a soul without a body.

Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah did not agree with al-Mubarrad and put forward the following verses to be the best on the subjects :

I was separated from you, but remained alive,
It was not appropriate for me,
Now I meet the people and apologise,
For having continued to live in your absence.

Al-Mubarrad did not agree with Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, who then read the following verses of Khalid al-Katib :

I have two souls, one is in my body and the other is somewhere
in the town,
I am sure my absent soul feels the same pangs of separation which
my present soul feels.

Al-Mubarrad did not agree even to consider these lines as a match to those recited by him which annoyed Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, who remarked, "Once you like a thing you are enamoured of it and you do not change your opinion." He then left al-Mubarrad and went to Tha'lab and brought the whole matter to his notice. Tha'lab suggested the following lines as the best on the topic :

"They went away and my body after them became so thin that eye
cannot see its shadow,
With which face would I face them if they found me alive after
their departure,
How ashamed would I be if he should say
"My separation from you did not do you any harm."

Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah then happened to go to Ibrahim b. Ishaq al-Harbi (d. 285 A.H./898 A.D.) and told him the whole story. He told al-Katib that he should have read the following verses to al-Mubarrad :

"What a shame from my beloved when she said after separation,
'Are you still alive?'"

If you had been in true love with your beloved,
You would have died on account of separation."

After having discussed the problem with Tha'lab and al-Harbi, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah went back to al-Mubarrad and recited to him the verses cited by these two savants. Al-Mubarrad accepted the verses recited by al-Harbi as the best on the subject.

CHAPTER 10

The Eccentricities of al-Mubarrad

Like many other important scholars al-Mubarrad is reported to have possessed several eccentricities. He is said to have been extremely stingy and avaricious, so much so that once he is said to have observed: "Whenever I compare money with other objects, all other objects recede into an obscure background."¹ This niggardliness was not his quality alone, but several other scholars of that age shared this attribute. Tha'lab, for instance, had also earned a great deal of notoriety for miserliness, though he was richer than al-Mubarrad and left property worth millions of *dirhams* at his death.² The only difference between these two compatriots was that al-Mubarrad was out-spoken in asking for reward from his patrons, whereas Tha'lab was rather more discreet.³ Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ta'rikhi,⁴ who happened to be a pupil of both al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab is said to have observed about these two contemporaries:⁵ "If I had not disliked being critical of Ulama' I would have recounted stories about their miserliness, which would have surpassed the stories of Muhammad b. al-Jahm⁶ al-Barmaki, al-Kindi⁷ and Khalid b. Safawan."⁸

Al-Ta'rikhi seems to have kept his promise but certain other writers were less scrupulous; so they have mentioned some interesting anecdotes about al-Mubarrad's avariciousness, which enable us to obtain an idea of

1. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 115 ; *al-Inbah* : 3/249.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. *Al-Ansab* : f 102 b. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 16/123, 147.

5. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 115.

6. See for his biography *Kitab al-Bukhala'* : 45, 135, 330, 372.

7. Ibid. 37, 252, 382, 372.

8. Ibid. 31, 147, 150, 151, 376, 377, 426.

an important side of his personality.

Al-Khawansari cites from *al-Kashkul* of Baha'al-Din al-Amili—the anecdotes if not traceable in the printed edition of that work—that if al-Mubarrad entertained a guest he related to him stories about the generosity of Abraham ; but if he was invited by somebody he recounted stories about the asceticism of Jesus.¹

If we analyse this report we will come to the conclusion that al-Mubarrad related such stories owing to a reaction in his mind against his own miserliness. By these stories he tried to demonstrate his generosity to his guests and his abstemiousness to his hosts, and thus tried to conceal his avariciousness.

He tried to find an apology for his miserliness, when he commented on the saying of Abu 'Ubayda : "A grammarian cannot be a brave man, because he differentiates between *Sakin* and *mutaharrik*, but does not talk about life and death" in the following words : "In my opinion a grammarian cannot be a bountiful person, because he talks about the differences between *hamzatayn*, but does not discuss the difference between generosity and stinginess."²

Here a very pertinent question confronts us. Why were al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab and several other important people whose names are recorded in *Kitab al-Bukhala'* misers, even though they were wealthy people, and some of them enjoyed royal favours and received rich stipends from the Courts ?

The answer to this question is not far to seek. Any one who is aware of the history of the Abbasid period knows that no noble of the Court was sure about his future during that age. The Caliphs, as long as they were powerful, wielded absolute authority and the fate of their courtiers or attendants depended on their whims and caprices. Sometimes they killed their trusted companions merely on account of suspicion. It was common to confiscate the wealth and property of someone who had fallen out of favour. In the early days of the 'Abbasids Abu Salama al-Khallal and Abu Muslim al-Khurasani met that fate.³ Harun meted out the same

1. *Al-Raudat* : 631.

2. *Tabaqat al-Nahwiyyin* : 114.

3. *Al-Tabari* : 3/99.

treatment to the Barmekids.¹ Al-Mutawakkil, during whose reign al-Mubarrad came to Samarra', was notorious for confiscating the property of his courtiers and imposing heavy fines on them. Mention may be made of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyat,² 'Umar b. Faraj,³ Ibrahim b. al-Junayd al-Nasrani,⁴ Abu' Wazir⁵, Sa'dun b. 'Ali⁶ and his cousins 'Ubayd Allah and Ahmad and last, but not least, Ahmad b. Abi Dau'd al-Qadi⁷, who were made to pay heavy fines.

This state of affairs continued even after al-Mutawakkil. Now however the Caliphs, on account of their weakness, sometimes themselves experienced this bad luck at the hands of their armies.

In these circumstances, the nobles, and later on the Caliphs, were naturally led to hoarding money for a rainy day and hiding it where nobody could find it.

This appears to me the reason for the stinginess of some of the eminent persons of the age, including al-Mubarrad.

Al-Mubarrad was very much interested in visiting lunatics and criminals in gaols, and a number of interesting stories about this eccentricity of his are contained in various sources. He seems to have cultivated this interest in his early age when he was a student. He used to go to lunatic asylum after attending the lecture of al-Mazini, who once asked him to explain his reasons for doing so, and he told him that interesting stories were told by the lunatics, and the unique verses that were recited by them, had drawn him near to them. Al-Mazini then asked him to recount the most interesting incident experienced by him there, and he related an anecdote about an old lunatic ; with whom he had a long chat.⁸

1. *Al-Muru'at* : 2/227.

2. *Al-Tabari* : 371.

3. *Ibid* : 3/1377.

4. *Ibid* : 3/1378.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Ibid*.

7. *Al-Tabari* : 3/1411.

8. See for the details of the anecdote : *Akhbar al-Nahwīyyin* : 96-102 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/383 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/115, 117 ; *al-Nuzha* : 151-152.

That lunatic had advised al-Mubarrad not visit other lunatics, lest they should harm him, but al-Mubarrad did not act upon his advice. When he was on his way to Samarra', at the behest of al-Mutawakkil, he happened to pass by a town called Nu'man, situated between Wasit and Baghdad, and saw there a monastery called Dayr Hizqil, which had a mental hospital attached to it. He could not resist the temptation of going in and talking to the insane. He met there a young lunatic lover, who recited to him excellent pieces of poetry on love and pangs of separation.¹ When al-Mubarrad told him that his beloved had died he said, "If she had died I must also die" and he suddenly fell down on the earth and expired.

Another interesting anecdote related by Ibn al-Jauzi and Ibn Hijja indicate that al-Mubarrad was acquainted with Khalid al-Katib al-Majnun², who worked as a secretary to the caliphal army and was a well-known poet and man of letters ; but he lost the balance of his mind in his last days and became mad. According to al-Mubarrad he used to suffer from fits of lunacy every year when the egg plant sprouted.³

1. *Al-Muruj* : 2/290 ; *al-Zajjaji* : 164 ; *al-'Iqd* : 3/260 ; *'Uqala al-Majanin* : 143 ; *Mu'jam al-Buldan* : *Masari' al-Ushshaq* : 9 ; *al-Juman* : f 266 ; *Ta'rikh Dimashq* : f 58 b.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 308-314.

3. *Al-Adhkiya'* : 208 ; *Al-Thamarat* : 89.

CHAPTER 11

Al-Mubarrad's Religious Schools

The early biographers of al-Mubarrad have not conveyed to us any information about the religious school to which he belonged, and in the absence of such information some of the later Shi'ite writers were tempted to claim him as their own. This is usual practice of the Shi'ites towards the important divines, savants, poets, rulers, politicians etc., who expressed love for the family of the Prophet or sympathised with them for their suffering at the hands of the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids; this, in fact, is an article of faith with all Muslims, and cannot be taken as the sole prerogative of Shi'ism. One wonders, when one finds the names of the well-known *Sunni* scholars in the list of the Shi'ites in the works of al-Tusi, Nur Ullah Shushtari and Muhsin al-Amili etc.

I have studied the problems of al-Mubarrad's religious inclinations in detail and have arrived at the conclusion that the internal evidence in his books — which is the most important source to determine his religious outlook — does not support the claim of the Shi'ite writers. To demonstrate this I shall in what follows, mention the arguments of some of the Shi'ite writers and then quote the evidence in *al-Kamil*.

Al-Khawansari quotes the following anecdote about al-Mubarrad from *al-Wafi*, which I have not been able to trace in the British Museum Ms. and al-Maktabat al-Zahiriyya Ms. of this work.

“Al-Mubarrad related that once 'Ali b. Musa al-Rida was questioned about God's making impossible acts obligatory (تكليف ما لا يطاق) and he replied, “God is more just than that”. Then he was asked “Can people perform whatever they like” and he answered, “They are weaker than that”.¹

1. *Al-Raudat* : 631.

Al-Khawansari comments on this anecdote in the following words: "This narration indicates that al-Mubarrad was an *'Adliti* and not *Jabarite*; he was rather an Imami Shi'a neither eastern (Carmathian) nor western (Isma'ili).

I am at a loss to understand how this anecdote can prove al-Mubarrad's Shi'ism. He did not give his own opinion on the problem mentioned above but simply narrated the replies of Ali b. Musa al-Rida given to the questioner. If to quote from a Shi'ite is sufficient to prove somebody's religious outlook, I am afraid, we shall be constrained to include several well-known Sunnites among the Shi'ites.

Muhsin al-Amili, in declaring al-Mubarrad a Shi'a, also relies on some anecdotes which al-Mubarrad is reported to have related from the descendants of the Holy Prophet. He observe: "Al-Mubarrad has narrated certain stories from *A'ima Ahl Bayt* which bear witness to his Shi'ism, and I have cited one of these in *Lawa'ij al-Ashjan*. This I have drawn from *Ta'rikh al-Baladhuri* and it is concerned with virtues of al-Hasan and al-Husayn.¹

I have not been able to gain access to *Lawa'ij al-Ashjan* and the portions of *Ta'rikh al-Baladhuri* (Ansab al-Ashraf so far printed do not contain this narration; hence I have not been able to examine it critically. But as I have remarked above, to narrate from the leaders of the family of the Prophet is not enough to prove that somebody is a Shi'ite. It is well-known that Abu Hanifa, the founder of the Hanfi school law was a pupil of Imam Baqir and Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq,² but can anybody declare him a Shi'ite on account of that? Moreover I am doubtful about the ascription of these stories to al-Mubarrad because there is no evidence to prove that he was in touch with *A'ima Ahl al-Bayt*. As far as the virtues of al-Hasan and al-Husyan are concerned there would be hardly a *Sunni* in the world who would deny them.

Now it is time to examine the evidence in al-Mubarrad's own works. The various factors mentioned therein which have direct bearing on this

1. *Al-A'yan* : 1/II 154.

2. *Sirat al-Nu'man* : 36.

problem are as follows:

Al-Mubarrad mentions the names of the first three Caliphs with full deference and adds the honorific *title* of Amir al-Mu'minin to their names.¹ This is contrary to the practice of Shi'ites who consider it to be a right of Ali and his descendants² and who look down upon the three Caliphs before Ali as mere usurpers.³ The attitude of al-Mubarrad is in sharp contrast with Shushtari, the famous Shi'ite historian, who does not shirk from writing لعن الله after the names of 'Umar, Talha and al-Zubayr.⁴

Apart from holding a high opinion about the first three Caliphs al-Mubarrad appears to have been respectful to Mu'awiya,⁵ too, who is openly condemned and insulted by the Shi'ites for revolting and waging a war against Ali, the rightful Imam.⁶

A further proof of al-Mubarrad's not being a Shi'a is contained in Bab al-Khawarij' of *al-Kamil*. Al-Mubarrad appears to have a considerable sympathy for these fanatics. The manner in which he mentions the revolts of Kharijites and the sacrifice made by them for their cause indicate that the book could not have been the work of a Shi'ite. Both these sects are poles apart in their beliefs and no Shi'ite has ever used kind words about the Kharijites.

In view of all this evidence, I am convinced beyond any shadow of doubt that al-Mubarrad was not a Shi'ite.

Ahmad b. Yahya b. al-Murtada, the author of *Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila* claims al-Mubarrad to be a Mu'tazilite,⁷ but I am equally convinced that he was not a Mu'tazilite. There is no mention of their doctrines in his books, nor is he reported to have discussed theological problems like

1. *Al-Kamil* : 603.

2. *Al-Milal* : 195.

3. *Al-Milal* : 195.

4. *Majalis al-Mu'minin* : 3, 458.

5. For al-Mubarrad's attitude towards Mu'awiya read in *al-Kamil* pp. 184, 187, the details of the correspondence between 'Ali and Mu'awiya which took place at the former's accession to the Caliphate.

6. *Majalis al-Mu'minin* : 458.

7. *Tabaqat al-Mu'tazila* : 131.

Divine attributes, creation of the Qur'an, Jabr and Qadr etc. Furthermore, the age of al-Mutawakkil was a period of triumph for the traditional party and a Mu'tazilite could not have found favour with the Court.

Now the question arises to which particular sect did he belong? Considering al-Mubarrad's deep friendship and intimate relations with Isma'il al-Qadi and the great esteem in which he held the latter I am inclined to believe that our author was one of the followers of the *Qadi* in legal doctrines and hence was a Malikite.

CHAPTER 12

Panegyrics on Al-Mubarrad

Al-Mubarrad's genius won him tributes from several poets of his age and a number of panegyrics were written about him. Some poets gave al-Mubarrad precedence over Tha'lab and enumerated his superior qualities, others praised them both, and declared them to be the most important scholars of the age. A number of such panegyrics is available in the sources and I give below a rendering of a few representative pieces to give an idea of the respect in which he was held by his contemporaries.

The most noteworthy follower of al-Mubarrad who employed the language of poetry for eulogising his master was Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Salam,¹ a poet of some importance, who was an elder contemporary of Khalid al-Ka'ab. He praises al-Mubarrad and declares his eminence over Tha'lab in the following words :

"I saw Muhammad b. Yazid aspiring to do good deeds, enjoying high rank and power;

Companion of the Caliphs, brought up by royalty, in no science have I seen one more profound than him;

In him are combined the good humour and charm of youth along with humility of the old;

He scatters gems if he concentrates (on a problem), and scatters pearls without concentration;

Poetry had died so Abu'l Abbas brought to life the dead muses;

They say Tha'lab is a learned man; how can the Pleiads compare with the Sun and the Moon;

1. See for his biography *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 4/272.

They say Tha'lab gives decision on law and dictates (grammar etc.)
but how can a fox compete with a lion;

You attempt the impossible when you wish to compare a little
canal with the sea".¹

In another of his poems he observes as follows;²

O you descendant of the chieftains of al-Azd—Azd Shamu'a and
Azd al-Atik al-Sadr—the family of al-Muhllab;

They are the sons of death, when they go to the battlefield
they regard one of themselves equal to a thousand troops of
cavalry;

They guarded the harem of Islam with swords and lances, and they
kindled the fire of war with al-Muhllab;

They are the descendants of the helpers of the Prophet Muhammad
against the non-Arabs and the Arabs;

You are such that the people cannot fully praise you even if the
praisers are immoderate in their speech;

I saw you and al-Fath b. Khaqan riding; you are equal to al-Fath
in all the processions;

The commander of the faithful pondered long in amazement when
he looked towards you;

You have been given such a (Profound) knowledge that the sciences
of all mortals and the knowledge of Tha'lab cannot encompass it;

The people throng to your door as if they were in Mina and al-Mu-
hassab.

Another pupil of al-Mubarrad compares him to Tha'lab and praises
him for his superior qualities.³

O Ibn Yazid, by my life, nobody but a fool can make Tha'lab equal
to you;

1. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 103-104 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* ; 3/382 *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* 19/114 ;
al-Nuzha ; 154 ; *al-Bughya* : 116.

2. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/381 ; *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 104 ; *Ma'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/119.

3. *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 3/382.

If the scholars someday discern between you two, they will find you poles apart;

You wisely explain every obscurity, whereas he veils obvious facts with dark clouds;

What you dictate is like the Sun in clarity and what he dictates is "hamza bain bain".

Abu Bakr b. al-'Allaf is the representative of the school who admired al-Mubarrad as well as Tha'lab. One of his *qasida's* in praise of these two contemporaries may be rendered as follows :¹

He complained of his wearing love to his diseased and afflicted friend (beloved);

So they passed their night in scoring their cheeks with their profusely flowing tears;

And in embracing one another, and their hearts were roasting on the burning coals of Euphorbia;

Till there appeared in the darkness the light of Morning which charges the darkness;

How beautiful was that night; would that it had continued for ever and had not come to an end;

Would that night return once again with all its pleasures and in a state of peace from the watchmen;

O you seeker of knowledge, do not be foolish and seek refuge in either al-Mubarrad or Tha'lab;

You will find that whole knowledge of mankind has been accumulated by them; so do not behave like a scabby camel;

The sciences of mankind in the East and the West are conjoined with them".

The formidable adversary of al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab, himself paid a tribute to the lofty genius of al-Mubarrad after his death in the following lines. Some of the authorities have ascribed these verses also to Ibn

1. *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 105.

al-'Allaf :

Al-Mubarrad has passed away and his days are ended;
 Surely Tha'lab will soon follow the footsteps of al Mubarrad;
 Half of the house of literature has crumbled down,
 The second half will soon meet the same fate.
 So weep on what time has snatched away from you; and train
 yourself to bear the agony of what Time takes away.
 And reap benefit from Tha'lab because he will soon drink the same
 cup which al-Mubarrad drank.
 I advise you to write down even his breath if it is a possible to do
 that.

Ibn al-Rumi, the famous poet contemporary with al-Mubarrad composed a long *qasida* comprising 98 verses in praise of al-Mubarrad. This poem is not found in the printed edition of the *Diwan* but is available in a Ms. copy of the *Diwan* preserved in Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya (No. 139 f 91, 91). Ibn al-Rumi begins the *qasida* with an erotic prelude as usual, then passes on to praise al-Mubarrad and his family. The fulsome adulation showered by Ibn al-Rumi is such that no other grammarian has ever been praised so highly by a poet of the eminence of Ibn al-Rumi. A few verses of this *qasida* are rendered below to serve as a specimen :

Al-Thumali is the helper of needy. remover of the chains (of the fettered) and is bountiful and munificent.

He stands out prominently among the tribe of al-Azd as if he were a lofty mountain and the rest of the Azdites were tiny cliffs.

Convey that who denies his eminence out of jealousy, that his denial resembles the denial of truth by the Jews.

When you nursed grudges and enmity against him you were, in fact, acting against your own interest; go away and perish with Thamud.

O Abu'l Abbas I am such a person who is an enemy of the enemies of the Truth.

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 19/120.

I declare on oath that you are such a gentleman that to love you and to worship God are equal in my estimation.

My heart, hands, and tongue have been bearing witness of old age since I was a soldier.

That you are a stormy ocean (in a munificence); your *xafs* (self) raises wave after wave (for generosity).

There is no room here to cite the praise showered by the various eminent scholars and grammarians on our author. The reader, however is referred to *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* 96, *al-Nuzha* 279, *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* 19/112, *al-Wafayat* 1/495, *Maratib al-Nahwiyyin* 83 and *Sir al-Sana'a* 1/130 for their appreciation of al-Mubarrad.

CHAPTER 13

Al-Mubarrad's Influence on Subsequent Generations

Al-Mubarrad exercised a lasting influence on the development of Arabic language and literature. There would be hardly a treatise on Arabic literature or grammar, which would not contain mention or citations from his works. Some of the important men of letters whose works are among the most brilliant memorials of the Muslim civilization, were pupils of his pupils, and had thus, indirectly benefited from his literary genius. Mention may be made of Muhammad b. Hibban al-Busti (d. 354 A.H./965 A.D.), who received al-Mubarrad's teachings through Muhammad b. Ali al-Khalladi,¹ Abu 'Ali al-Qali (d. 356 A.H./267 A.D.), who attended the lectures of Niftawayh and Ibn Durustawayh,² Abul-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. 346 A.H./967 A.D.), who was a pupil of Ali b. Sulayman al-Akhfash, Niftawayh, and Ahmad b. Ja'far Jahza;³ Hasan b. Bishar al-Amidi (d. 370 A.H./A.D.), who studied under Niftawayh;⁴ Abu Ahmad al-'Askari (d. 383 A.H./992 A.D.), who studied with al-Suli etc;⁵ Abu Ali al-Tanukhi (d. 384 A.H./994 A.D.), who was a pupil of al-Suli;⁶ Abu Hilal al-'Askari (d. 395 A.H./1005 A.D.), who was a pupil of Abu Ahmad al-'Askari and al-Mufajja'⁷ and Abu Hayyan al-Tauhidi (d. 414 A.H./1023 A.D.), who received al-Mubarrad's teachings from al-Marzubani and Abu Sai'd al-Sirafi, who studied under al-Suli and Ibn al-Sarraj respectively.⁸ Others such as Ibn 'Abd

1. See *Raudat al-Uqala* : 180.

2. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/74 ; *Nafh al-Tib* : 20725-5 ; *Bughat* ; *al-Multamis-*

3. *Al-Wafyat* : 1/334 ; *Ta'rikk Baghdad* : 11/398.

4. *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* (M) : 3/54.

5. *Al-Masnun* : 16, 137, 175, 188.

6. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/445.

7. See *Diwan al-Ma'ani* : 47, 257, 169, 223.

8. See *al-Sadaqa* : 108, 204, 364 ; *al-Imta'* : 2/196.

Rabbihi¹ (d. 327 A.H./938 A.D.), al-Tha'alibi² (d. 429 A.H./1038), al-Marzuqi³ (d. 421 A.H./1030 A.D.), Ibn al-Jauzi⁴ (d. 597 A.H./1201 A.D.) and al-Suyuti⁵ (d. 911 A.H./1505 A.D.) drew upon his works while writing their own books. His influence was not only confined to literary field. We find that some of the most important commentators on the *Qur'an* cite his opinion while explaining the *Qur'an*.⁶

Al-Mubarrad's works also inspired several later writers to write books in elucidation of them or in criticism of them. Some composed anthologies on the pattern of al-Mubarrad's *al-Kamil*. The titles of these works and the names of the authors have already been cited in the Chapters on al-Mubarrad's works.

Al-Mubarrad's influence in Spain

Al-Mubarrad's name became known in Spain during his lifetime and students from that part of the Muslim world flocked to Baghdad to study with him.

The first Spanish student who attended the lectures of al-Mubarrad appears to be Qasim b. Asbagh b. Muhammad b. Yusuf Abu Muhammad al-Bayyani, an inhabitant of Bayyana, a town situated in the neighbourhood of Cordova. He moved to the East in pursuit of knowledge in 274 A.H./887 A.D., and studied in Mecca. In 276 A.H./889 A.D., he went to al-Iraq and studied with the leading scholars of al-Kufa and al-Basra including al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab, Ibn al-Jahm, Isma'il al-Qadi and Ibrahim b. Abi'l-'Abbas. He is said to have been one of the last pupils of al-Mubarrad.⁷

1. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/30 ; *Ta'kh Ulama'* : 1/50 ; *al-'Idq* : passim.

2. *Mu'jam al-Muillifin* : 6/189 ; *Yatima* : passim.

3. See *Sharah Diwan al-Hamasa* : 1/40, 89, 162, 251, 467 ; 2/698, 784, 796, /1081, 1267 ; 4/1564, 1824, 1824, 1836 etc.

4. See *al-Adhkiya'* : 83, 95, 133, 145, 219, 231.

5. See *al-Muzhir* : 1/89, 180, 181, 253, 307, 388, 428, 435, 562, 617, 2/102, 107, 204, 248, 302, 325, 328, 372, 408, 409, 504.

6. See *al-Shankani* : 264 ; *al-Qutubi* : 16/208, 19/134 ; *al-Razi* : 8/434 ; *Tafsir al-Tabari* : 30/165, 29/141, 23/78, 7/101.

7. *Nafh al-Tik* : 1/350.

Some Eastern pupils of our author also played an eminent role in popularizing his works in the West. They migrated to Spain or Africa and taught his works there. Mention may be made among them of Abu'l-Yusuf Ibrahim b. Ahmad al-Shaybani, a Baghdadi scholar, who was a pupil of al-Jahiz, al-Mubarrad, Tha'lab, Ibn Qutayba etc. He travelled widely from Khurasan to al-Andalus and is said to have been responsible for popularizing the works of contemporary scholars in the West. He died in Qayrawan in 298 A.H /911 A.D..¹

In addition to these two categories of savants several Spanish students studied with al-Mubarrad's pupils, and in addition to traditional books on grammar and philology read with them al-Mubarrad's works as well.

The first Spaniard to study *al-Kamil* seems to have been Sa'id b. Jabir b. Musa al-Kala'i (d. 325 A.H./936 A.D.) who was an inhabitant of Seville. After receiving his primary education he came to the East and studied with some of the leading scholars including 'Ali b. Suleyman al-Akhfash and Yamut b. al-Muzri' al-Basri.² He read *Kitab al-Kamil* with al-Akhfash in Egypt.³ Al-Mustansir Billah al-Hakm b. 'Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Salim and other leading Cordovans listened to traditions from him.

The other scholar who introduced *al-Kamil* to the people of Spain is a contemporary of al-Kala'i named Muhammad b. Abi 'Allaqa⁴ al-Bawwab, the Cordovan, who died in 325 A.H./937 A.D. During his sojourn in the East which he undertook in the pursuit of knowledge he is reported to have met three important pupils of al-Mubarrad, to wit, Abu Ishaq al-Zajjaj, Abu'l-Hassan al-Akhfash and Abu Abd Allah Niftawayh. He listened to *al-Kamil* from al-Akhfash and his own copy of *al-Kamil* later on passed on to al-Hakan b. 'Abd al-Rahman.⁵

1. *Nafh al-Tib* : 2/755.

2. *Ta'rikh al-'Ulama'* : 1/198.

3. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 1/97.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Through these pioneers, al-Mubarrad's *al-Kamil* became known in Spain and seems to have struck deeper roots there than in the East. Some of the scholars liked it so much that they learnt it by heart. Famous wazirs and traditionists of the eminence of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and al Qadi 'Iyad felt pleasure in conveying it to their pupils.¹

The other books of al-Mubarrad reached Spain relatively later. From Ibn Khayr's² list it appears that Abu Ali al-Qali first introduced his *al-Madkhal* in Spain. *Al-Tasarif* came through Abu 'Amr Yusuf in Khayrun³ and *al-Muqtadab* through Muhammad b. Qan'un b. Mukarram al-Nahwi.⁴

Literary histories of Muslim Spain indicate that some of the leading scholars of that country were particularly interested in al-Mubarrad. Given below are the names of some of them in chronological order of their death.

Muhammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Ibrahim b. 'Isa b. Muzahim commonly known as Ibn al-Qutiyya originally belonged to Seville, but settled in Cordova. He was an erudite grammarian and philologist and had studied *al-Kamil* with Sa'id b. Jabir, which in his turn he conveyed to his pupils. He died in 367 A.H./978 A.D.⁵

Ahmad b. 'Ubada b. 'Abd al-Aziz al-Muradi was an inhabitant of Seville, led prayers there for a long time and after the death of Muhammad b. Ishaq b. al-Salim al-Qadi moved to Cordova and became an *Imam* there. He used to teach *al-Kamil* on the authority of Sa'id Ibn Jabir. He died in 378 A.H./988 A.D. .⁶

Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Sa'id al-Mu'afiri al-Qazzaz originally belonged to Seville but lived in al-Bira. He was grammarian, poet and traditionist and had studied *Kitab al-Kamil* with Sa'id b. Jabir. He died in al-Bira in 379 A.H./989 A.D.⁷

1. *Fihrist Ibn Khayr* : 322 ; *Kitab al-Takmila* : 1/142.

2. *Fihrist Ibn Khayr* : 390.

3. *Ibid* : 312.

4. *Ibid* : 307.

5. *Ta'rikh 'Ulama* : 2/79.

6. *Ta'rikh al-'Ulama* : 1/68.

7. *Ibid* : 92.

Abu'l Walid 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Azdi commonly known as Ibn al-Fardi is one of the most important scholars of Muslim Spain. He travelled far and wide in pursuit of knowledge and visited Africa, Egypt, Mecca etc.¹ He studied *al-Kamil* with Ibn al-Qutiyya.² Ibn al-Fardi died in 403 A.H./1013 A.D.

Ishraq al-Suwada' was a highly educated lady. She was a freed slave of Abu'l-Mitraf 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ghalbun al-Qurtubi al-Katib and lived in Balansiya. She specialised in philology, grammar and prosody and outstripped her teacher Ibn Ghalbun.³ She knew *Kitab al-Kamil* by heart. She died in 443 A.H./1051 A.D.

Abu'l-Walid al-Waqqashi whose real name was Hisham b. Ahmad b. Hisham was an inhabitant of Toledo and was a specialist in tradition, jurisprudence, grammar, philology and poetry and was himself an eminent poet. He is reported to have written a commentary on *Kitab al-Kamil* which unfortunately appears to have been lost.⁴

Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Barra' al-Tajibi was originally an inhabitant of al-Jazirat al-Khadra, but later migrated to Sabatta. He was an eminent scholar of belles-letters and poetry and was a good poet. Al-Qadi 'Iyad, the well-known author of *al-Shifa* is reported to have listened to al-Kamil from him in 493 A.H./1100 A.D. He died at Sabatta about 500 A.H./1107 A.D.⁵

'Umar b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ali Abu Hafs al-Lughawai was a pupil of Abu Muhammad al-Batalyausi. He studied *al-Kamil* with Abu'l 'Abbas b. Khatib at Baja. Later he migrated to Baja and died there about 570 A.H./1175 A.D.⁶

'Ali b. Ibrahim al-Balansi was an eminent scholar of lexicography, philosophy, and literature was an eloquent poet, and prose writer. He

1. *Ta'rikh al-'Ulama'* : 1/5.

2. *Ta'rikh al-'Ulama'* : 2/79.

3. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 2/745.

4. *Kitab al-Sila* : 2/618.

5. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 1/142.

6. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 2/656.

spent his whole life in teaching and is reported to have written a book about *al-Kamil* of al-Mubarrad.¹ He died in 571 A.H./1176 A.D.

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Khayr b. 'Umar Khalifa al-Umawi al-Ishbili (d. 575 A.H./1179 A.D.) was also interested in al-Mubarrad and his writings. In his *Fihrist* he mentions the titles of 4 of al-Mubarrad's work which he transmitted from his teachers to his pupils. The long lists of authorities given there go back to al-Mubarrad.²

Hizb Allah b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 585 A.H./1189 A.D.) was an inhabitant of Lirya and was a notable scholar of tradition, literature, and recitations of the *Qur'an*. He remembered *al-Kamil* by heart.³

Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd b. al-Hamid b. Harith al-Ya'muri (d. 589 A.H./1193 A.D.) was a prose writer and poet and was a famous teacher of *al-Kamil*.⁴

'Abd Allah Ibn Nuntan or Muntan al-Nahwi was an eminent scholar of Arabic language and literature and poetry. He knew masterpieces of literature such as *al-Kamil* of al-Mubarrad and *al-Amali* of Abu Ali al-Qali by heart. He worked as a teacher in both Cordova and Seville and died after 598 A.H./1202 A.D.⁵

Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad al-Bakri was a pupil of Abu Muhammad al-Qasim b. Muhammad al-Qureshi al-Marwani and was a reputed scholar of Arabic literature and used to teach *Kitab al-Kamil*.⁶

Muhammad b. Rashid b. 'Isa b. Ahmad b. Muhammad was a pupil of 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi Bakr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Tajibi, who taught him *Kitab al-Kamil* in Jumada I, 558 A.H./1163 A.D. He died after 600 A.H./1204 A.D.⁷

1. *Kitab al-Tahmila* : 2/672.

2. *Fihrist Ibn Khayr* : 307, 312, 320, 323, 398.

3. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 1/35.

4. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 1/262.

5. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 2/458.

6. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 2/605.

7. *Ibid.* 1/286.

Umm al-Fath Fatima bint Abu'l Qasim 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Ghalib al-Qurtubi (d. 613 A.D./121 A.D.) was a distinguished scholar of tradition, Qur'anic sciences and literature. She studied *al-Kamil* of al-Mubarrad and *al-Nawadir* of Abu 'Ali al-Qali with her father.¹ She had the honour of being a teacher of Ibn 'Abbar.

Nazir b. Wahb b. Lubb al-Fihri was an inhabitant of Valencia and was a pre-eminent scholar of the recitations of the *Qu'ran* which he had studied with his father. In addition to it he was erudite in *fich* and literature and had mastered the *Kitab al-Kamil* of al-Mubarrad. Ibn al-'Abbar heard him many a time reciting the verses quoted by al-Mubarrad in that book or recounting anecdotes mentioned therein. He died in 636 A.H./1239 A.D.²

In the light of what has been written above we can safely say that al-Mubarrad influenced 'the East' and 'the West' alike. He continues to influence and inspire the students of Arabic language and literature even in modern age. His work *Kitab al-Kamil* is eagerly studied and in almost all reputed universities of the world, is being taught as a text book. Modern students of Arabic have been deprived of a great treasure house of knowledge on account of non-availability of most of his works. However, it is hoped that some future researcher, by undertaking a thorough investigation in the libraries beyond my reach, may be able to trace some of his works which are not known to have existed and may thus enable us to make a better estimate of his life and achievements.

1. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 2/748.

2. *Kitab al-Takmila* : 2/424.

PART II

A CRITICAL EDITION OF

KITAB AL-TA'AZI WA'L-MARATHI

PART I

THE HISTORY OF THE

INDIAN NATION

A brief Survey of the literature on al-Ta'azi and al-Marathi up to al-Mubarrad

The word *al-Ta'azi* the plural of *al-Ta'ziya* which is a verbal noun from *عزى* . *عزى* means he enjoined him to be patient or enduring, to have comely patience and, hence, he consoled him. *التعزية* means the strengthening of the heart, or expression of sympathy in general.² This word is not found in the *Qur'an* but occurs in the traditions of the Prophet.³ The books of all schools of *fiqh* also contain discussions on *al-Ta'azi* in the section on *al-Jana'iz* burial, where sympathy is requested for the relations of the dead.⁴ *Ta'ziya*, is usually performed in prose.

Al-Marathi is the plural of *al-Marthiya* and comes from the root *رثى* . *رثيت* means I wept for, or over the dead and eulogised them or enumerated their good qualities or actions, and also I composed verses on the dead.⁵

المراثية, translated variously by elegy or dirge, is a poem in Arabic (and other languages following Arabic tradition) in memory of deceased person.⁶

The composition of *al-Ta'azi* and *al-Marthi* is as old as mankind itself. From times immemorial, whenever people have suffered misfortunes or bereavement they must have tried to console each other by sympathetic words in prose as well as in poetry. The former was *Ta'ziya*, the later was *marthiya*.

1. *Lexicon* 5/2039.

2. *E.I.* 4/711.

3. See *Concordance de la Tradition Musulmance* : 4/209.

4. *E.I.* 4/711.

5. *Lexicon* 3/1032.

6. *E.I.* 3/306.

It is reported that the first elegy in Arabic was composed by Adam at the death of his son Habil. He is reported to have expressed his grief in the following lines:

The world and everything in it has changed, and the face of the earth has turned ugly,
Every beautiful and charming thing has lost these qualities, and the freshness of the attractive face has decreased.

The ascription of these lines to Adam gave rise to a controversy among the scholars. Al-Zamakhshari opined that these verses could never have been composed by Adam, because the Prophets have never composed poetry.¹ Ibn Kamal Pasha, who has written a commentary on the verses, ascribed to Adam, is of the opinion that although these lines are not a composition of Adam, the substance is his; he expressed his sentiments in prose in Syriac and Ya'rub b. Qahtan rendered them into Arabic verse.²

According to another tradition the first Arabic elegy was composed by Himyar on the death of his father 'Abd Shams Saba', who died at the age of 570 years, while still busy in the construction of the Dam of Ma'rib.³

Be it as it may, it is certain that the practice of composing elegies is very old among the Arabs. It can be said that Arabic poetry actually started with elegy.⁴ The first Arabian ode was composed, according to tradition, by al-Muhalhil b. Rabi'a, the Taghlibite, on the death of his brother, the chieftain Kulayb, which caused war to break out between Bakr and Taghlib.⁵ As this poem was composed on the occasion of a death it must have been a *marthiya*.

It was the custom of the ancient Arabs after the usual *nauh*, or lamentation of women, that a member of the family, gifted as a poet, should commemorate the noble qualities and deeds of the departed by enumerat-

1. *Marthiyat Adam* : f 1.

2. Ibid.

3. *Muluk Himyar* : 14. This elegy comprises 10 verses and is available in the above mentioned source.

4. *Iqbal* : 181.

5. *Nicholson* : 76.

ing them in a poem.¹ Consequently a large number of elegies were written during that period, and we have a good number of these poems in the collections of ancient Arabic poetry. From the *Hamasa* of Abu Tamam downward, nearly every anthology has a special chapter devoted to *marthiya*. Some scholars made special collections of this class of literature, and one such collection has reached us made by the Kufan scholar Muhammad b. Ziyad Ibn al-A'rabi, an outstanding rhapsodist, genealogist and humanist who died in Samarra' in 231 A.H.846 /A.D.² It was received from him and narrated by the Kufan Tha'lab. A selection from it was published by W. Wright in 1859, under the title of *Muqatta'at Marath* in his work entitled *Opuscula Arabica* also known as *Jurzat al-Halib Wa Tuhfat al-Talib*.

Some of the most important early poets who earned great celebrity as *marthiya* writers are Mutammim b. Nuwayra b. Jamra, who wrote his poem in memory of his brother Malik; al-Khansa', who mourned the death of her two brothers named Sakhr and Mu'awiya; A'sha Bahila, mourned al-Muntanshir b. Wahb; and K'ab b. Sa'd b. 'Amr b. 'Uqba, who mourned the death of his brother Abu'l-Mighwar.³ Of these Mutammim is considered to be the most outstanding *marthiya* writer by al-Jumahi,⁴ but al-Asma'i declares Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawi to be the matchless *marthiya* writer in the world.⁵

Arabic poetry is probably the only poetry in the world which possesses elegies composed by poets referring to themselves. It is said that the first poet who composed such an elegy was Yazid b. Hamaq. Yazid was bitten by a snake; realizing that his end was near he lay down and employed his last moments in composing an elegy, a wonderful performance, because in such moments it cannot be easy to secure concentration.⁶ The other famous poets who wrote elegies on themselves or described

1. *E.I.* 3/306.

2. *Al-Wafayat* : 1/492 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 5/282.

3. *Tabaqat Fuhul al-Shu'ara'* : 169-170.

4. *Ibid* 170.

5. *Al-Muwashshah* : 81.

6. *Iqbal* : 182.

their graves are Yazid b. Hadhdhaz, Abu Dhu'ayb al-Haudhali, 'Urwa b. Hizam, al-Tirimmah b. Hakim, Malik b. Rayb, to name but a few.¹

The tradition of writing 'elegiac' verse was followed by later poets and in every age several poets became well-known for their elegies.

As regards *al-Ta'azi*, the first collection of this genre appears to have been made by 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah Abu'l-Hasan al-Mad'ani, who was an eminent rhapsodist, historian, and humanist of al-Basra. He moved to al-Mada'in, lived there for some time, but ultimately settled down at Baghdad and died there in 225 A.H./840 A.D.² He was a prolific writer, and according to the computation of Ibn al-Nadim was the author of two hundred books. One of his books is entitled *Kitab al-Ta'azi*, a part of which exists in al-Maktaba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus.³ It comprises 11 folios and contains the *ta'azi* employed by the various people to console the bereaved, stories about the patience of the afflicted and the wise sayings of saintly people like 'Ali b. Abi Talib, Ibn al-Sammak, 'Umar b. Dharr, Muharib b. Dithar, 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas and 'Umar b. Khattab, to urge the people to be patient at the time of their bereavement. It does not contain selections from the *marathi* but there are some apt verses among the *ta'azi*, and anecdotes, which the author seems to have incorporated to enhance the effect of the *ta'azi*. The various poets whose verses are cited in this part are Durayd b. al-Simma, Abu Khirash al-Hudhali, 'Umayr al Hanafi, Aus b. Hajar, Amr b. Ma'dikarib and Haritha b. Badar.

Chapters on *al-Ta'azi* are also available in the works of al-Jahiz and Ibn Qutayba.

Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi of al-Mubarrad

Al-Mubarrad claims to have been the first author to compile a book containing selections from *al-marathi* as well as *al-Ta'azi*,⁴ and a survey

1. See for a list of these poets and the elegies composed by them *al-'Iqd* : 2/9.

2. *Al-Fihrist* : 100-104.

3. *Khaza'in al-Kutub fi Dimashq* : 28.

4. *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* : 2.

of the literary histories proves the truth of al-Mubarrad's assertion. The reason for attempting a book on this topic was the death of one of his teachers and patrons Abu Ishaq *al-Qadi*. Al-Mubarrad was deeply grieved at the sad demise of the *Qadi*, and in order to console himself on the occasion of this tragedy he compiled this work. The death of the *Qadi* took place in 282 A.H./895 A.D., which determines the date of composition of this work.

Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi appears to be the last book written by al-Mubarrad and hence represents knowledge of the author at its ripest, characterised by richness of experience. This book differs from the rest of the writings of al-Mubarrad in one important aspect, namely, in this book the author tries to stick to the subject to which a particular chapter is devoted. This indicates that al-Mubarrad had started to realise, in his last days, the importance of following a specific arrangement in a book.

Contents of the book

This book, as stated by al-Mubarrad, contains selections from *al-Mawa'iz*, *al-Ta'azi* and *al-Marathi*¹ and begins with a tribute to the spotless character, lofty genius, and versatility of the *Qadi*, which is repeated on several occasions in the book. According to al-Mubarrad "If it is possible to call anybody a perfect man free from all shortcomings it would be he".² Then he consoles himself by saying "God is the substitute for all those who have died, and in His Person is to be found consolation for all affliction; the Prophet is our exemplar and leader, all calamities in comparison to the calamity of his death are small".³ Then the author cites a tradition of the Prophet in which he advised his followers to feel consoled at the death of their nearest and dearest by remembering the death of the Prophet.⁴ This advice of the Prophet was followed by the believers and important personages among them at the time of bereavement consoled each other by mentioning the

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1. *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* : 2.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. *Ibid.*

death of the Prophet. In this connection, al-Mubarred cites the verses composed by 'Abd Allah b. Araka al-Thaqafi on the occasion of the death of one of his sons.¹

After this brief introduction the author embarks upon the theme of the book. The first chapter is entitled 'Bab min al-Ta'azi and begins with the remarks : "It is hard to find a person who has never tasted bereavement ; every individual is bound to utter some words of consolation, either to console himself or to console somebody else".² Then he cites the example of the *Jahili* Arabs, who bore all miseries and troubles in a manly way, without expressing sadness or grief, and who used to look down upon the people who indulged in it. Some of the most important people whose sayings form part of this chapter are : Durayd b. al-Simma, Abu Khirash al-Hudhali, Abu Dhu'ayb, Aus b. Hajar, Amr b. Ma'dikarib, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakr and the Prophet.

In the second³ chapter are contained selections from the most important consolation-poems composed by the *Jahili* and the *Mukhadram* poets. The author gives the background of every poem and cites interesting anecdotes connected with them. In accordance with his method, he gives a grammatical and philological commentary of all the difficult points occurring in these poems. The various poets whose elegies occur in this chapter are : Mutammim b. Nuwayra, Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawi, A'sha Bahila, Aus b. Hajar and Labid.⁴

The title of the third chapter is *Bab min al-Ta'azi Wa'l-Mawa'iz* and contains the *Ta'azi* improvised by the Caliphs, the courtiers, the Companions of the Prophet, the mystics, the poets and the Bedouins. It is interspersed with interesting anecdotes about social life in early Islam and contains valuable historical information as well.

The fourth chapter contains selections from the dirges written by

1. *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* : 2.

2. *Ibid.* 4.

3. *Ibid.* 9-54.

4. *Ibid.*

Layla al-Akhyaliyya, al-Khansa', al-Farazdaq, Abu Nuwas, Haritha b. Badr al-Ghudani, Jarir, Bukayr b. Ma'dan al Yarbu'i, Waddah al-Yaman etc., along with the background of these poems and a commentary on them.

The fifth chapter deals with testaments (*Wasaya*) made by the important personages of Islam on their death beds. It includes *Wasaya* by Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, 'Umar b. al-Khattab, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan, Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, Abu Qays b. Sirma al-Ansari, Sa'id b. al-'Asi, Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik, al-Rabi' b. Khuthaym, Jarir b. 'Abd Allah al-Bajali and Muhallab b. Abi Sufra al-Azdi. After citing the *Wasaya*, the author starts to recount the *Ta'azi* as in Chapter III, and stories of the patience of the Bedouins and the mystics. This chapter contains a letter supposed to have been written by the Prophet to Mu'adh b. Jabal to console him on the death of his son.

The sixth chapter contains the *marathi* written by the contemporary poets. Al-Mubarrad cites these because according to him the verse of classical poets is harsh, whereas contemporary poets write delicate verse¹ in accordance with their times; he wanted the reader to be refreshed after reading so many harsh verses. This chapter includes dirges by Muslim b. al-Walid, Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi, Isma'il b. al-Qasim Abu'l-'Atahiya 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar al-'Abli, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyat, 'Abd al-Samad b. al-Mu'dhdhal, Marwan b. Abi'l-Janub, al-Hasan b. Wahb, Abu 'Abd al-Rahman, Di'bil al-Khuza'i, Ashja' b. 'Amr al-Sulami etc.

After having cited the poetry of all these poets, al-Mubarrad fears that he may bore his reader by persuing his topic any further²; he therefore combines all the subjects discussed in the previous chapters in the seventh chapter. Accordingly, this chapter has anecdotes, *Ta'azi* and *marathi*. There is an interesting anecdote about al-Hajjaj, who once dreamt that he had lost the sight of both his eyes. When he divorced his two wives, Hind daughter of Asma' and Hind daughter of al-Muhallab, he

1. *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* : 115.

2. *Ibid.* 145.

considered it to be the implication of his dream. But later on when his brother and son, both of whom were named, Muhammad, died in the same week, he realized that his dream had foretold their death. This chapter contains consolation-poems composed by al-Farazdaq to console al-Hajjaj as well as the letter written by al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik on the same occasion. The chapter also contains information about the pestilences which broke out in al-'Iraq from time to time. Al-Mubarrad mentions five such calamities, and mentions the devastation wrought by them, and also gives specimens of the literature produced about them.

The eighth chapter deals with the stories of those people who demonstrated rare courage and hardness at the time of their death. A very interesting story recounted by al-Mubarrad is about Tarif b. Nafi' al-Bahili, who was a genealogist. When he was about to expire, he asked his family to put some water in his mouth, which temporarily improved his condition. He then addressed them that so and so was not a real son of the sire to whom he was ascribed. They wondered at his saying these words on his death-bed and he replied that he did not like to leave them in a state of suspicion about problems of genealogy.¹ An equally interesting anecdote is about Bajara b. Firash al-Qushayri, who was asked at his death-bed to repeat the creed, but instead he said: "I bear witness that Abu'l-Zahiriyya and Abu Harb were the best warriors in the battle of Nakhil" and immediately afterwards he died.²

In the last chapter, which is by far the shortest in the book, the author recounts the words uttered by the various important people during their illnesses. The chapter contains the famous incident of the illness of Abu Bakr, Bilal and 'Amir b. Fahira immediately after the emigration of the Prophet to al-Madina. The Prophet sent Ai'sha to ask about their health and each one of them replied to her in a verse all of which are to be found in the chapter.³ Al-Mubarrad cites the lines addressed by al-Farazdaq to Bishr b. Marwan and Kuthayyir to 'Abd al-Malik during their illness, but expresses the opinion that the lines ascribed to Kuthayyir

1. *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* : 188.

2. *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* : 188.

3. *Ibid.* 109.

are not his, but were composed by Jarir and addressed to al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik.

Al-Mubarrad remarks at the end of the book that he has cited a good number of elegies, sermons and anecdotes. New elegies will go on being composed in every age, because the causes which induce the poets to compose such poems cannot end until all the afflictions and misfortunes in the world end, and this cannot happen till Doomsday.

The last item in this book comprises a few verses by 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd al-Rahim b. Ja'far al-Hashimi, composed by him on the death of his father, who breathed his last in the prison of Itakh, the Turkish general of al-Mu'tasim.

The sources of al-Mubarrad

Al-Mubarrad seems to have derived most of the material for this book from oral transmission, but appears to have used a few books as well. He cites a number of anecdotes from Abu'l-Hasan al-Mada'ni, whose book on *al-Ta'azi* has already been cited. The chapter on *al-Ta'azi* in al-Mubarrad's work is mainly based on the book of al-Mada'ni and there are several citations from this book in other chapters as well.

Another book which al-Mubarrad seems to have used is *Kitab al-Wasaya Wa'l-Mu'ammariin* of Abu Hatim al-Sijistani, who was one of al-Mubarrad's teachers. The chapter on *al-Wasaya* in al-Mubarrad's work seems to have been based on the work of Sijistani. Al-Mubarrad does not explicitly mention the name of al-Sijistani or the title of his book in this chapter, but the text of the *Wasaya* given by al-Mubarrad as well as their isnad resemble that of *Kitab al-Wasaya Wa'l-Mu'ammariin*. It appears that al-Mubarrad is quoting from al-Sijistani without mentioning his source.

A large portion of the material contained in *Kitab al-Ta'azi Wa'l-Marathi* is also available in *Kitab al-Kamil*. *Al-Kamil* was written much earlier than *Kitab al-Ta'azi Wa'l-Marathi*, which indicates that al-Mubarrad drew upon his own works, as well, while collecting material for his last book.

The importance of the book

The brief survey of the book conducted above, is, in my opinion, sufficient to demonstrate the importance of the book and its place in Arabic literature. The book, as the survey indicates, is a mine of valuable information. Although a number of verses and anecdotes contained in this work are available in some works of later writers, which have seen the olight of publication, there is still a great deal of unpublished material in it, which necessitates its study, edition, and publication. Mention may be made in this respect of the verses of Marwan b. Abi'l-Janub and 'Abd al-Samad b. al-Mu'adhhal, which I have not been able to trace in any printed source, including al-Aghani. Another important point about this book is that it contains selections made by that great scholar Abu'l-'Abbas, al-Mubarrad and, in a way enable us to gain an insight into his personality, his likes and dislikes and the principles¹ by which he was guided while making the selections and his opinion of the various poets.

The influence of the book on the later writers on the topic

So long as man exists on the face of the earth he will have to face misfortunes, afflictions, and bereavements. Hence several scholars after al-Mubarrad wrote books on this topic, either to console themselves on the breavements which they suffered, or in order to console their friends or patrons. It appears that al-Mubarrad's work had a deep influence on all such writers. The most important works written on this topic, to my knowledge, are: *Adab al-Ta'azi*² by Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad b. Husayn b. Muhammad al-Sulami (d. 412 A.H./1021 A.D.); *Salwat al-Ahzan*³ by Abu Bakr al-Mubarak b. Kahil al-Khuffaf (d. 543 A.H./1148 A.D.); *al-Thabat 'ind al-Mamat*⁴ by Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Jauzi (d. 597 A.H./1201 A.D.); *Salwat al-Humum*⁵ by Husam al-Din 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Razi, (d. 598 A.H./1202 A.D.); *al-Tasalli Wa'l-I'tibat bi Ihawab man Taqaddama min al-Afrat*⁶ by Sharaf al-Din b. 'Abd al-Mu'min

1. See *Kitah al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* : 18.

1. *Al-Kashf* : 42.

2. *Ibid.* 999.

3. *Ibid.* 521.

4. *Ibid.* 999.

5. *Ibid.* 404.

al-Dimyati (d. 706 A.H./1307 A.D.) ; *al-Ta'ziyat al-Hasanat bil-A'izza*¹ by Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi, (d. 746 A.H./1345 A.D.) ; *Tasliyat al-Hazin fi Maut al-Banin* by Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Yahya b. Hajala al-Tilimsani² (d. 776 A.H./1374 A.D.) ; *Bard al-Akbad 'ind Faqd al-Aulad*³ by Muhammad b. Nasir al-Din al-Dimashqi, (d. 842 A.H./1438 A.D.) ; *Irtiyah al-Akbad bi Arbah Faqd al-Aulad*⁴ by Sham al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sakhawi, (d. 902 A.H./1407 A.D.) ; *al-Ihtifal bil Atfal* by Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 911 A.H./1505 A.D.) ; *Sakwat al-Fu'ad fi Maut al-Aulad* by al-Suyuti and, *Fadl al-Jald 'ind Faqd al-Walad* by al-Suyuti.

Of these, all except the works of al-Tilimsani al-Dimashqi, al-Sakhawi and al-Suyuti, seem to have been lost. None of the extant works has yet been published. I was fortunate in being able to obtain microfilms of the available works on the topic, have compared them to al-Mubarrad's work and have arrived at the following conclusions :

(1) *Kitab al-Ta'azi wa'l-Marathi* served, as a basis for all these works and almost all authors made ample use of its contents, both avowedly and anonymously (2) all these except *al-Irtiyah* by al-Sakhawi are small works. Even the book of al-Sakhawi does not give many selections from the elegies of the 'Arabs, his main emphasis being on the traditions of the Prophet and anecdotes of saintly people ; hence from a purely literary point of view al-Mubarrad's work is far superior to his.

The fact that al-Mubarrad's work is the most comprehensive work on the topic and is at the same time the source book of all the subsequent writers on the subject is sufficient to convince the reader of its importance.

The Manuscripts

Only one manuscript of this book was known to have existed in the world.⁵ It is preserved in Escorial in Codex No. 574, which also contains 40th part of *Akhbar Misr* by Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah al-Musabbihi.⁶

1. *Al-Kashf* : 422.

2. *Ibid.* 404.

3. *Ibid.* 238.

4. *Ibid.* 62.

5. With the exception of the Escorial manuscript no other manuscript of this work has been mentioned in the catalogues of Arabic manuscripts of the various libraries.

6. *Les Manuscrits Arabes Del 'Escorial* : 1/362.

The title of the manuscript as given on the title page is *Kitab al-Ta'azi* but the scribe adds the words المراثى in the title, in the colophon. The manuscript has been numbered by a European hand and comprises 131 folios. Every page has 17 lines and every line has 10-12 words. The title page contains a few verses in praise of the book composed by one of the readers, who was known as Abu Bakr. Unfortunately, most of the verses do not fit in any metre of Arabic poetry. This page also contains the names of Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Qusawi¹ and Ahmad b. Hasan, who had been the owners of this book.

The manuscript is written in careless and inelegant *naskh*, which is crabbed and is sometimes very difficult to decipher. It is badly worm-eaten, and has been mended by putting slips on the torn pages, which have rendered several lines illegible. The whole text is written continuously and very often the verses are not distinguished from prose. Most of the diacritical points and vowel points are not to be found in the manuscript, which further impairs its utility. There are some notes on the difficult points of the book, written by the same scribe, which he seems to have copied from his *asl*. He gives variant readings above or under-neath some of the words. It seems that the scribe mixed up the material on f 17-b and f 18-a by negligence. There are verses and commentary on difficult words on f 17-b which should have followed some material on f 18 a and in the same way there is material on f 18-a which should have preceded the material on f 17-b.

There is no indication as to the name of the scribe but the colophon indicates that the manuscript was completed in the middle of Jumada II 563 A.H./1168 A.D.

The manuscript has many morphological mistakes. Typical examples are writing جننا for جنى، الدما for الدمى، الفتا for الفتى، الهوا، الفتى for الهوى، الثرا for الثرى and عزا and عزی. The manuscript has several graphical peculiarities as well, which seems to have been a

1. Qus was the name of a town in Sa'id Misr which produced a number of eminent scholars. *Al-Ansab* f 465 a ; *Mu'jam al-Buldan* : 7/183.

convention of the age for instance. أخذهم for أخذهم ، ثلث for ثلث ، يسأل for يسأل ، الحياة for الحياة ، خالد for خالد ، ثلاث for ثلاث . The scribe joins ل ، ا in قال like قال and joins the word بن with the preceding word like مهلهن ربعة .

I obtained a microfilm of this manuscript, wrote it in my own hand started to edit it. When I was about to finish this work, I suddenly learnt, through a friend of mine, that another manuscript of this work was displayed in an exhibition of the manuscripts held at Jami'at al-Qarawiyyin in Fas, Morocco. I immediately got in touch with Jami'at al-Qarawiyyin and was fortunate enough to be able to obtain a film of this manuscript as well.

This manuscript is preserved in al-Khizanat al-'Ammā in Rabat under number 226. Previously it was placed in Maktaba Zawiyā al-Nasiriyya in Takrut under No. 678. The colophon indicates that it was copied at al-Karak¹ in the beginning of Dhu'l-Hijj 757 A.H./1356 A.D. It is not known what happened to it afterwards, but there is an entry on the title page which indicates that it was bought by one Sayyid Muhammad b. Nasir b. 'Amr for one qirsh at Halab in 1076 A.H./1666 A.D., who probably brought it to Morocco,

The manuscript has been numbered by a European hand and comprises 207 pages. There are 17 lines to a page and 11-13 words in a line. It is written in beautiful naskh and is partly vocalised. Some diacritical dots have been omitted, or have become invisible. There are a few notes on the difficult points of the book written by a later hand. The orthographical peculiarities of this manuscript are that the scribe very often gives three dots under س to differentiate it from ش , especially when س occurs in the middle of a word, joins 'ا' in ابى with يى and writes it like لى , gives two dots for hamza when it occur in the middle of a word like ساير and joins بن with the word preceding it like ابو قيس بن صرم . This manuscript, despite being later than that of the Escorial, is more correct and easier to read. Furthermore, there is no

1. Karak was a big town in the neighbourhood of Ba'labakh *Mu'jam al-Buldan* : 7/240

lacuna in it.

The relation between the manuscripts

There does not seem to be any apparent relationship between the two MSS. mentioned above, because they differ from each other on many points. The introductory passage in each manuscript is quite different from its counterpart in the other ; both have verses and anecdotes which are not to be found in the other ; and furthermore, the Escorial manuscript contains about 20 folios after the point where the Rabat MS. ends. It is, therefore, obvious that these manuscripts represent two different recensions made by two different scholars. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to trace their names.

After obtaining a microfilm of the Rabat MS., I had to start the work from the beginning once again, because I realized that, in the interests of accuracy, I must base my work on the Rabat manuscript.

The plan of the edition

I have used both the manuscripts mentioned above to prepare this edition, which I denote by " ر " Rabat and " ا " Escorial. On account of the consideration of space, the text given here does not include the poems and anecdotes found in " ا " after the end of " ر ".

I have followed the following principles :

1. As a general rule I have retained the arrangement and readings of " ر ", but have altered the peculiar spelling of the words.

2. Obvious clerical mistakes have been corrected.

3. Necessary vowel points have been given.

4. When " ا " contained additional material (verses and anecdotes) I have given that in brackets.

5. Where " ا " had different readings from " ر " I have given them in the footnotes. Mere orthographical variations like يا ابن for يا بن or ل for لى or accidental omissions of the diacritical like points مال for ل have not been noted.

6. Since we have only two manuscripts of *Kitab al-Ta'azi Wa'l-Marathi* at our disposal, it is of vital importance for establishing the text to refer to books from which al-Mubarrad drew his material or which contain citations from al-Mubarrad's work. For this purpose I have utilised the MSS, of *Kitab al-Ta'azi* of al-Mada'ni, *Kitab al-Wasaya* by al-Sijistani, *Kitab al-Hamm wa'l-Huzn* by Ibn Abi al-Dunya, *Kitab Man Tawaffa 'anha Zujuha* by Ibn al-Marzuban, *Badl al-Ma'un* by Ibn Hajar, *al-Wadih al-Mubin* by Abu 'Abd Allah Mughalta'i, *al-Hamasa al-Basriyya* by Abu'l-Hasan al-Basri, *Mawarid al-Adab* by Hindu Shah b. Sanjar, *Salwat al-Fu'ad* by al-Suyuti *Salwat al-Ahzan* by Ibn al-Jauzi, *Bird al Akbad* by Ibn Nasir al-Din al-Dimashqi and *al-Irtiyah* of al-Sakhawi and many printed works and have referred to them in the footnotes. In giving reference to printed works in which the material contained in *Kitab al-Ta'azi Wa'l-Marathi* occurs, I have not aimed at consistency or completeness. Most of the verses cited by al-Mubarrad in this book are very famous and are found in almost every anthology of ancient Arabic poetry. It would be nothing but useless to refer to all such works. The variants contained in the MSS and the printed works have not been mentioned.

The separate appendices have been added to the edition. Appendix A entitled 'Notes and Commentary' contains short notes on places, poets, narrators and other persons mentioned in the book. The places and persons mentioned may a time have been noticed only once where they have been first mentioned. The famous places and people known to everybody have not been included in the notes. In the same way, extremely insignificant persons, who have not been noticed in the biographical literature, have been omitted from the notes.

Appendix B contains explanation of the difficult and obscure words occurring in the book.

APPENDIX A

Notes and Commentary

P. 1. L. 9. Abu Ishaq al-Qadi Isma'il b. Ishaq.

See for his biographical sketch the teachers of al-Mubarrad in Part I of this dissertation.

P. 3. L. 4. 'Abd Allah b. Araka al-Thaqafi.

When 'Ubayd Allah b. al-'Abbas, the Governor of al-Yaman on behalf of 'Ali, went to have consultations with 'Ali, he appointed 'Amr the son of 'Abd Allah b. Araka al-Thaqafi as his lieutenant of the Province. In the absence of 'Ubayd Allah, Mu'awiya despatched an army under Busr b. Artat, a member of Banu 'Amr b. Luwa'i to take possession of al-Yaman. In the battle which followed 'Amr was killed. His brother 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd Allah was deeply grieved at the demise of his brother and their father 'Abd Allah b. Araka composed these lines to console him. According to another report, these verses were composed by Amr's brother to console his father.

Al-Kamil : 750 ; *al-Fadil* : 65.

P. 4. L. 5. Abu'l-Hasan al-Mada'ini.

'Ali b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah Abu' al-Hasanal-Mada'ini was an eminent rhapsodist, historian and humanist and was an inhabitant of al-Basra. Later he moved to al-Mada'in, lived there for some time but ultimately settled down at Baghdad and died there in 225 A.H. 840 A.D. He was a prolific writer and Ibn al-Nadim cites the titles of more than two hundred of his works, which cover diverse topics, including al-Maghazi, al-Sira, Akhbar al-Nisa', Ta'rikh al-Khulafa', Ta'rikh al-Futuh Wa'l-Shu'ara' etc. Ibn Taghri expresses a very high opinion of his historical writing. Of his numerous works, only two appear to have survived i.e.

(1) *al-Murdafat min Quraysh* and (2) *Kitab al-Ta'azi*.

Al-Fihrist : 1/100-104 ; *Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin* : 79 ;

Ta'rikh Baghdad : 12/154 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 5/91.

P. 4. L. 10. Durayd b. al-Simma.

Durayd was the chieftain of the tribe of Banu Jusham. The real name of his father was Mu'awiya, who was commonly known by the surname of al-Simma. The mother of Durayd, Rayhana, was the daughter of Ma'dikarib and sister of 'Amr, the famous warrior poet of Pre-Islamic Arabia. Durayd is regarded as one of the greatest poets of the *Jahili* age. In the estimation of al-Asma'i, he was superior to al-Dhubyani in some of his poems, and might have outshone him. Durayd was a great master of warfare, and participated in about one hundred battles, and always came back with flying colours. He is regarded as one of the *Mu'ammarrun* and is said to have lived two hundred years. He was alive at the time of the advent of Islam, but did not embrace it. Durayd was a partisan of the polytheists in the battle of Hunayn, and was killed in the battle. He composed a number of elegies to mourn the death of his brother 'Abd Allah.

Al-Mu'talif : 1 4 ; *al-Muwashshah* : 41 ; *al-Ishtiaqaq* : 292 ; *al-Shu'ara'* : 407-472 ; *Ibn Hisham* : 840-841, 852-853 ; *al-Aghani* : 9/2-19 ; *al-Khizana* : 4/444f 447 ; *al-'Iqd* : 3-62-64 ; *al-Asma'iyyat* : 109 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 2/156.

P. 4. L. 13. Abu 'Ubayda.

Abu 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Mathanna al-Taymi al-Basri was an eminent philologist and belletrist of the 'Abbasid age. Harun al-Rashid once summoned him to his court and studied with him. In the opinion of al-Jahiz, he was the greatest man of letters of his age. Abu 'Ubayda is notorious for his Shu'ubi tendencies.

Al-Wafayat : 2/105 ; *al-Bughya* : 395 ; *Mizan al-I'tidal* : 4/155 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 13/252 ; *al-A'lam* : 8/191.

P. 4. L. 13. Yunus b. Habib.

Abn 'Abd al-Rahman Yunus b. Habib al-Dabbi was the most leading

scholar of Arabic literature and grammar in al-Basra in his age. Scholars of the eminence of Sibawayh, al-Kisa'i al-Farra' etc. were among his pupils. Abu 'Ubayda has been going to him for forty years to attend his lecturer.

Mu'jam al-Udaba' (M): 7/310; *al-Wafayat*: 2/416; *al-Nuzha*: 31-34; *al-A'lam*: 9/344.

P. 5. L. 1. Abu Khirash al-Hudhali.

Abu Khirash Khuwaylid b. Murra belonged to the tribe of Qird b. 'Amr b. Mu'awiya b. Tawin b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl and is one of the Mukhdaram poets. He accepted Islam and earned great celebrity for his piety. Several of his brothers died before his eyes, which grieved him very much, and he composed many elegies to mourn their death. Abu Khirash died of a snake bite during the rule of 'Umar I.

Al-Aghani: 21/54-70; *al-Isaba*: 1/956; *al-Khizana*: 1/211-212; *Majmu'a Ash'ar al-Hudhaliyyin*: 2/49.

P. 5. L. 4. Abu Dhu'ayb al-Hudhali.

Khuwaylid b. Khalid b. al-Muharrith was a scion of Hudhayl b. Mudrika and was a Mukhadram poet. He embraced Islam, settled down at al-Madina, and participated in the wars of conquest. He accompanied the troops of 'Abd Allah b. Abi Sarith to Africa, and came back with 'Abd Allah b. Al-Zubayr and party who were deputed to convey the news of the conquest to the caliph, but died on the way at Egypt. Abu Dh'ayb was an eminent poet, and the best of his verse is said to be his poem rhyming in 'ع' which he composed to mourn the death of his five sons, who fell a prey to pestilence in the same year, or, as Ibn Hisham states, were killed by the Banu Asad.

Diwan Abu Dhu'ayb: 1-4; *al-Simt*: 1/450; *al-A'lam*: 2/373.

P. 5. L. 7. Aus b. Hajar.

Abu Shurayh Aus b. Hajar b. Malik al-Tamimi was one of the most eminent poets of Tamim in the *Jahiliyya*. He enjoyed the favours of

'Amr b. Hind, the King of al-Hira, and many a time stayed with him as guest. Aus enjoyed a long life, but died before the advent of Islam. His verse abounds in wise sayings, and the tribe of Tamim used to give him preference, over all poets. Al-Asma'i is said to have remarked: "Aus is a greater poet than Zuhayr, but al-Nabigha has excelled him."

Al-Ma'ahid : 1/132 ; *al-Aghani* : 10/6-8 ; *al-Khizana* : 2/235 ; *al-Shi'r* : 99/102 ; *al-Simit* : 290 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/374.

P. 6. L. 1. Amr b. Ma'dikarib.

Abu Thaur 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib al-Zubaydi was a famous warrior and poet of pre-Islamic Arabia. At the advent of Islam he came to the Prophet and became a Muslim, but at the Prophet's death he apostatized. Then he migrated to al-'Iraq, once more embraced Islam, and participated in the battle of Qadisiya. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas deputed him to the caliph to convey him the news of the conquest. On his arrival the caliph put him several questions on subjects pertaining to war, armaments etc., and 'Umar made interesting replies. 'Amar participated in the battle of Nihawand as well and was killed in it along with Nu'man b. Muqarrin and Tulayha b. Khuwaylid.

Al-Shi'r : 219-222 ; *al-Aghani* : 14/25-41 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/425-426 ; *Adab al-Lugha* : 1/147.

P. 6. L. 5. Haritha b. Badr al-Ghudani.

Haritha b. Badr b. Qatan b. Ghudana b. Yarbu' was one of the chiefs and warriors of Banu Tamim and is said to have seen the Prophet in his boyhood. He had very cordial relations with Ziyad b. Abihi and was notorious for his drunkenness: After the death of Ziyad, his son 'Ubayd Allah, deserted him. Haritha did not rise to the status of the Fuhul as a poet, still, he composed a great deal of poetry and his elegies on Ziyad are regarded as of a high order.

Al-Aghani : 21/21 ; *al-'Iqd* : 1/266 ; *al-Kamil* : 179 ; *al-Murtada* : 2/49 ; *al-Multalif* : 99.

P. 7. L. 3. Al-Dahhak b. Qays.

Al-Dahhak b. Qays al-Shaybani was a famous Kharijite leader and

was well-known for his heroism and valour. In 126 A.H./744 A.D. he revolted against the Umayyads in collaboration with Sa'id b. Bahdal. At the death of Sa'id in 127 A.H./745 A.D. he was proclaimed chief of the Kharijites, and he marched along with his followers to al-Mausil and then to Shabrazur. Later he went to al-'Iraq and occupied al-Kufa and al-Wasit. When al-Mausil fell before his armies, Marwan, the last of the Umayyads, came with his armies to fight him. A battle was fought near Kafar Tutha in 128 A.H./746 A.D. in which the Kharijites were defeated and al-Dahhak was slain.

Al-A'lam : 3/309 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/1627, 1897-1908, 1913-1917, 1938-1941, 1943, 1945 ; 3/43 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 5/130.

P. 7. L. 7. Al-Asma'i.

'Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb Abu Sa'id al-Asma'i was one of the most outstanding repositories of classical Arabic literature. He was regarded as one of the greatest scholars of poetry and Arabic language and is said to have remembered 10 thousand pieces by heart. The Caliph Harun al-Rashid called him *Shaytan al-Shi'r*. He was a writer of colossal fecundity and the titles of a large number of his writings are contained in the books on literary history.

Akhbar al-Nahwiyyin : 58-67 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 10/410 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/288 ; *al-Inbah* : 2/197-205.

P. 8. L. 6. 'Ali b. Sulayman.

'Ali b. Sulayman b. 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas was inhabitant of al-'Iraq and was appointed the Governor of Egypt by Musa al-Hadi in 169 A.H./786 A.D. Harun al-Rashid dismissed him in 171 A.H./788 A.D. and he came back to al-'Iraq. Later Harun gave a job in the army. He died in 178 A.H./794 A.D.

Al-Wafayat : 1/332 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/103 ; *al-Nujam* : 2/61 ; *al-Wulut* : 131.

P. 8. L. 9. Abdu'l-Hakam al-Laythi.

Abu'l-Hakam was the *maula* of Banu Layth and narrated traditions from Abu-Hurayra. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Alaqma narrated traditions

from him.

Al-Tahdhib ; 12/77.

P. 8. L. 10. Shayba b. Nisah.

Shayba b. Nisah b. Sarjas b. Ya'qub al-Makhzumi al-Madani was the *Qadi* of al-Madina and the *Imam* of the Madinites in the recitations of the *Qur'an*. He was a trustworthy narrator of traditions as well.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/377.

P. 8. L. 11. Asma bint 'Umays.

Asma bint 'Umays b. Ma'dd b. Taym b. al-Harith al-Khath' amiyya was a Companion of the Prophet. She embraced Islam before the Prophet took refuge in the house of al-Arqam and migrated to Abyssinia. She was married to Ja'far al-Tayyar. On his death she married Abu Bakr, and on Abu Bakr's death 'Ali took her as his wife.

Al-Hilya : 2/74 ; *Tabaqat* (I. S.) : 8/205 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 2/33.

P. 9. L. 4. Al-Hasan b. Dinar.

The real father of al-Hasan was named Wasil but he was ascribed to his step-father Dinar. He was also known as Abu Sa'id al-Basri and was a pupil of al-Hasan al-Basri, Humayd b. Hilal, Muhammad b. Sirin, Yazid al-Raqqashi and 'Ubayd Allah b. Dinar. He has been severely criticised by some for his carelessness in passing on the tradition.

Al-Tahdhib : 2/275.

P. 9. L. 4. 'Ali b. Zayd.

'Ali b. Zayd b. 'Abd Allah better known as Abu'l-Hasan al-Basri was originally an inhabitant of Mecca. He narrated traditions from Anas b. Malik, Sa'id b. al-Musayyib, al-Hasan al-Basri and Qatada. Hammam b. Yahya and Mubarak b. Fadala heard traditions from him. He has been adversely criticised by the critics of tradition.

Al-Tahdhib : 7/322-324.

P. 9. L. 9. Anas b. Malik.

Anas b. Malik b. al-Nadir al-Najjari al-Khazraji al-Ansari was born in al-Madina and embraced Islam when he was a child. He served the Prophet till his death, then he migrated to Damascus, and thence to al-Basra, where he died. He was the last of the companions to die in al-Basra.

Tabaqat (I.S.): 7/10; Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir: 3/139; Sifat al-Sawfa: 1/298; al-A'lam: 1/365.

P. 9. L. 5. Ibrahim b. Rasul Allah.

Ibrahim, the son of the Prophet was born to Mary, the Copt, in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja 8 A.H./629 A.D. and he died in 10 A.H./631 A.D. and was buried in the cemetery of al-Baqi.

Imta' al-Asma': 433; al-Khamis: 2/118, 146.

P. 9. L. 9. Maslama.

Maslama b. Muhammad al-Thaqafi al-Basri narrated traditions from Khalid al-Hadhdha' Yunus b. 'Ubayd, al-Ghunaym al-Anbari etc. Ibn Hibban has mentioned him among the trustworthy authorities.

Al-Tahdhib: 10/148.

P. 9. L. 15. Aban.

Aban b. Salih b. 'Umayr b. Ubayd al-Qurashi narrated traditions from Anas b. Malik, Mujahid, 'Ata' and al-Hasan al-Basri. Muhammad b. Ishaq. Ibn Jurayh, and 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir al-Aslami narrated traditions from him. He died at the age of 55 in 'Asqalan in 114 A.H./732. The critics have declared him to be a trustworthy authority.

Al-Tahdhib: 1/94.

P. 9. L. 15. Abu Bakr.

Abu Bakr al-Hudhali al-Basri was named Salma b. 'Abd Allah b. Salma and was a pupil of al-Hasan al-Basri, Ibn Sirin, al-Sha'bi and

'Ikrima. Ibn Jurayh, Sulayman al-Taymi and Isma'il b. 'Ayyash narrated traditions from him. In the estimation of the critics of *hadith* he was an untrustworthy and insignificant narrator and had been abandoned by the scholars for this.

Al-Tahdhib : 12/45.

P. 9. L. 15. Abu'l-Malih.

Abu'l-Malih 'Amir b. Usama or Zayd b. Usman was a pupil of Ma'qil b. Yasar, Auf b. Malik, 'A'isha and Ibn 'Abbas. Abu Qilaba al-Jarmi, Abu 'Abd al-Da'im al-Haddadi and Khalid al-Hadhdha' narrated traditions from him.

Al-Tahdhib : 12/246.

P. 10. L. 3. Mutamim b. Nuwayra.

Mutamim b. Nuwayra b. Jamra b. Shaddad belonged to the tribe of Tamim b. Murr and had the honour of being a comparison of the Prophet. His brother Malik was a great warrior and an eminent poet and was the chieftain of Yarbu' b. Hanzala. He came to the Prophet at the head of his tribe and embraced Islam, but at the Prophet's death he apostatized like many other new converts. Abu Bakr deputed Khalid b. al-Walid to establish law and order in the country. Malik was captured and Khalid, on account of a misunderstanding, ordered Dirar b. al-Azwar al-Asadi to kill him for apostasy. Mutamim was deeply grieved by the sad death of his brother and composed many elegies on his brother, which are regarded to be the masterpieces of Arabic literature.

Al-Mu'talif : 194 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 2/149-151 ; *al-Mufaddalyat* : 2/64.

P. 10. L. 7. Ka'b b. Sa'd al-Ghanawi.

Ka'b b. Sa'd b. 'Umar b. 'Uqba or 'Alqama b. 'Auf b. Rifa'a al-Ghanawi was an eminent poet, and is said to have been a *Tabi'i*. His brother Abu'l Mighwar, a famous warrior, was killed in a battle, which grieved Ka'b very much and he wrote many poems to express his sorrow. The present poem is ascribed to one Gurayqa b. Musafi' al-'Absi in

al-Asma'iyyat No. 26 p. 101, but the editor Ahmad Shakir is of the opinion that this poem is the first part of *qasida* No. 25 of *al-Asma'iyyat*, as Ghurayqa is unknown and there is no mention of him in the books on the biography of the poets. Moreover both the poems are in the same meter and rhyme in the same letter. Even the context supports this suggestion. In no other source these two poems have been separated and ascribed to two different poets. According to Ahmad Shakir al-Asma'i made a mistake in ascribing this poem to some one other than Ka'b. The critics of Arabic poetry are all praise for this poem. Al-Asma'i opines "No other poem like the present *marthiya* exists in the world" and Abu Hilal al-'Askari is of the opinion that the Arabs have not been able to compose a better *qasida* than the *qasida* of Ka'b.

Al-Asma'iyyat : 94, 101 ; *al-Amali* : 2/150-153 ; *al-Simt* : 771, 772 ; *al-Khizana* : 4/373-374 ; *al-Muwashshah* : 81 ; *Diwan al-Ma'ani* : 2/178.

P. 11. L. 1. A'sha Bahila.

The real name of A'sha was 'Amir b. al-Harith b. Riyah and he was one of the eminent *Jahili* poets. There is an anecdote in *al-Aghani* about a meeting between Bashshar b. Burd, Hammad 'Ajrad. 'Uqba b. Salm and A'sha, which is obviously erroneous, because A'sha lived in the pre-Islamic era, if he had seen the age of Islam and had lived to the times of Bashshar the scholars would have recorded it.

A'sha wrote a number of poems to mourn the death of his half-brother al-Muntashir b. Wahb, who was the chief of his tribe and was a brave warrior. Banu Nufayl b. 'Amar waylaid and killed him. The present poem is regarded to be one of the best poem of A'sha. Al-Sharif al-Radi says: "It is one of the eminent elegies, well-known for its eloquence and elegance." Al-Baghdadi observes: "It is a unique poem, its peer is not to be found."

At-Mu'talif : 14 ; *al-Simt* : 75 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/90 ; *Al-Aghani* : 3/22, 14/39 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/16.

P. 11. L. 1. Al-Khansa'.

Tumadit bint 'Amr b. al-Harith b. al-Sharid belonged to the tribe of

Banu Sulaym and is regarded to be the greatest poetess produced by the Arabs. She passed most of her life in *Jahilliyya*, but lived down to the advent of Islam and became Muslim. She came to pay her homage to the Prophet along with her tribe. The Prophet is reported to have liked her verse and requested her to recite her poems to him. The best part of her verse comprises elegies to mourn the death of her two brothers Sakhr and Mu'awiya. The circumstances which led to their death have been given by al-Mubarrad in this book. It is reported that her four sons participated in the battle of Qadisiya in 16 A.H./637 A.D., and were killed. When the news was reported to her she observed. "All praise belongs to God, who honoured me by their martyrdom."

Al-Shi'r : 197 ; *al-Sharishi* : 2/253 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/208 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 1/348 ; *al-Jumahi* : 169, 174.

P. 12. L. 3. Layla al-Akhyaliyya.

Layla bint 'Abd Allah b. al-Rahhal b Shaddad b. Ka b belonged to the tribe of 'Amir b. Sa'sa and was a great beauty and an eminent poetess of her age. In poetry she is assigned a status slightly lower to that of al-Khansa'. She is well-known in Arabic literature for her love affairs with Tauba b. al-Humayyir and her best poems are said to have been her elegies on Tauba. She was extremely witty. Once 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan joked with her and said : "What did Tauba find in you that he fell in love with you ?" "What did the people find in you that they made you Caliph ?" replied Layla.

Layla and al-Nabigha al-Ja'di are reported to have satirized each other.

Al-Fuwat : 2/141 ; *al-Nujum* : 1/193 ; *al-Aghani* : 10/67-84 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 4/76 ; *al-Simt* : 1/9.

P. 11. L. 4. Fadala b. Kalada al-Asadi.

Fadala b. Kalada al-Asadi was a chieftain of Banu Asad, was himself a poet, and was a great friend of Aus b. Hajar. The elegies written by Aus at his death are famous in Arabic literature.

Al-A'lam : 5/350 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 6/2101 ; *al-Qamus* :

P. 11. L. 5. Labid b. Rabi'a.

Abu 'Aqil Labid b. Rabi'a b. Malik al-'Amiri was an eminent warrior poet of the *Jahiliyya*. He lived down to the age of the Prophet and had the honour of meeting him and embracing Islam. After the advent of Islam he stopped composing poetry. Labid is one of the authors of *al-Mu'allaqat*. After embracing Islam he settled down at al-Kufa, lived to a grand old age and died in 41 A.H./661 A.D.

Al-A'lam : 6/104 ; *al-Shi'r* : 148-156 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/337-339 ; *al-Simt* : 13.

P. 11. L. 5. Arbad.

Arbad b. Qays was a half-brother of Labid. He was struck by lightning and was killed. Labid composed many touching elegies to mourn his death.

Al-Aghani : 15/137-138 ; *al-Shi'r* : 151 ; *Adab al-Lugha* : 1/111.

P. 11. L. 5. 'Adi al-Muhalhil.

Adi b. Rabi'a b. Murra b. Hubayra belonged to the tribe of Taghlib and was a famous poet and warrior of the *Jahiliyya*. He was given the title of al-Muhalhil for setting up a pattern for the composition of poetry, which was later on followed by the poets. He passed the first half of his life engaged in love affairs and marry-making and earned the title of "زير النساء" (one who likes the company of women), but after the murder of his brother Malik by Jassas b. Murra he shunned all luxuries and swore to revenge his brother's death. Hence there ensued the battle of Basus which continued for forty years. He composed many elegies to mourn the death of his brother which are highly spoken of.

Al-Shi'r : 164-166 ; *al-Aghani* : 4/142-151 ; *al-Kizana* : 1/300-304 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/8.

P. 11. L. 10. Khalid b. al-Walid.

Khalid b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira al-Makhzumi, the great Muslim warrior embraced Islam in 7 A.H./628 A.D., and was given the title of

'the sword of God' by the Prophet for his bravery. He put an end to the rebellion of the Arab tribes after the death of the Prophet and later commanded Muslim armies in al-'Iraq and Syria. When 'Umar assumed power he dismissed him from the office of the Commander-in-Chief of Muslim forces in Syria and placed him under Abu 'Ubayda. Khalid died in Hims or Syria in 21 A.H./642 A.D.

Al-Isaba : 1/848 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 5/92-114 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 1/268 ; *al-Khamis* 2/247 ; *Dhayl-al-Mudhayyal'* : 43.

P. 11. L. 10. Dirar b. al-Azwar al-Asadi.

Dirar b. al-Azwar b. Aus b. Khuzayma al-Asadi was an eminent warrior and poet. He was born in the *Jahiliyya* but lived down to Islam, met the Prophet and embraced Islam. He participated in the battles of the conquest and showed great bravery in the battle of al-Yamama, where he died in 11 A.H./632 A.D.,/a few days after the battle.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir : 7/30 ; *al-Khizana* : 2/8 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/311.

P. 13. L. 8. Tarafa.

Abu 'Amr Tarafa b. al-'Abd b. Sufyan b. Sa'd al-Bakri al-Wa'li was an eminent *Jahili* poet and is one of the authors of *al-Mu'allaqat*. He was a courtier of 'Amr b. Hind, the king of al-Hira and was killed in his youth under king's orders by the Governor of 'Uman, on account of his satire on the king.

Al-Shi'r : 88-96 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/44-417 ; *al-Simt* : 3/9 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 4/8.

P. 14. L. 3. Al-Riyashi.

See teachers of al-Mubarad in Part I.

P. 14. L. 8. 'Umara b. 'Aqil.

See teachers of al-Mubarrad in Part I.

P. 14 L. 8. Khalid b. Yazid b. Mazyad.

Khalid b. Yazid b. Mazyad b. Za'da Abu Yazid al-Shaybani was

appointed the governor of Egypt by al-Ma'mun in 206 A.H./821 A.D., but owing to the resistance of 'Ubayd Allah b. al-Sari could not take possession of the province. Al-Ma'mun then bestowed upon him the governorship of al-Mausil. He was one of the most generous people of his age. Al-Wathiq sent him to put an end to a rebellion in Armenia and he died on the way.

Al-Aghani : 20/186-87 ; *Akhbar Abi Tammam* : 107, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 163 ; *al-Bayan* : 1/327 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/343.

P. 15. L. 4. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Ansari.

Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Hafs b. Hisham b. Zayd b. Anas b. Malik al-Ansari al-Basri was a pupil of Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Muthanna al-Ansari, 'Isma'il b. Ibrahim al-Karabisi etc., and was a teacher of Ibn Maja, Abu Quraysh al-Hafiz and Muhammad b. Salih al-Narsi. Ibn Hibban mentions him among the trustworthy authorities.

Al-Tahdhib : 9/253.

P. 16. L. 4. Zayd b. al-Khattab.

Zayd b. al-Khattab b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'uzza al-Qurashi was the elder brother of 'Umar b. al-Khattab and embraced Islam before him. He was a brave warrior, participated in several battles of Islam, and was the standard bearer of the Muslims in the battle of al-Yamama, in which he was slain. 'Umar was deeply grieved by the death of his brother.

Tabaqat (I. S.) : 3/274 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/97.

P. 19. L. 8. Zuhayr.

Zuhayr b. Abi Sulam Rabi'a b. Riyah al-Muzani is regarded to be *حكيم الشعراء في الجاهلية* and some of the critics declare him to be the best *Jahili* poet. He was born in Bilad Muzayna, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, and belonged to a family which was well-known for producing poets. He wrote his famous *Mu'allafa* in praise of Harim b. Sinan, who brought about peace between the warring tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān and this poem is said to have resembled the sayings of the Prophets.

Al-Ma'ahid : 1/327 ; *al-Aghani* : 9/146-158 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/375 ; *al-Shi'r* : 57-58 ; *Diwan Zuhayr* : 8-17.

P. 19. L. 8. Harim.

Harim b. Sinan b. Abi Haritha al-Murri belonged to the tribe of Murra b. 'Auf b. 'Auf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyan and is one of the most celebrated persons for their generosity during the *Jahiliyya*. He, in collaboration with his cousin al-Harith b. 'Auf, was responsible for bringing about peace between the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyan, which were engaged in internecine struggle for 50 years.

Diwan Zuhayr : 33 ; *a-Aghani* : 2/148-154 ; *al-A'lam* : 9/77.

P. 19. L. 15. Mas'ud b. Bishr Abu Uthaman al-Mazini.

See the teachers of al-Mubarrad in Part I of this dissertation.

P. 19. L. 15. Mukhallad b. Yazid b. Muhallab.

Mukhallad b. Yazid b. Muhallab b. Abi Sufra was proclaimed as the chieftain of al-Azd when he was only 12 years old. He accompanied his father in most of the battles fought by him, and was his companion in his various assignments. When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz assumed sovereignty he deposed Yazid, the father of Mukhallad, and ordered the latter to take charge of the governorship of Khurasan. Mukhallad obeyed the royal command. Later he paid a visit to the Caliph and tried to obtain a pardon for his father. 'Umar is said to have been very deeply impressed by his capabilities.

Ibn al-Athir : 5/18-19 ; *Anba' Nujaba' al-Abna'* ; 126-128 ; *al-A'lam* : 8/75.

P. 21. L. 6. Jarir.

Jarir b. 'Atiyya b. Hudhayfa al-Khatafi belonged to the tribe of Tamim, was born in al-Yamama, and breathed his last there. He was one of the most eminent poets of the Umayyad age and is well-known for his satirical verses against his contemporary poets. All the poets except al-Farazdaq and al-Akhtal had to surrender to his superior eloquence.

In addition to that he is famous for his erotic poetry as well.

Al-Aghani : 7/38-77 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/102 ; *al-Jumahi* : 152-154 ; *al-Shi'r*: 305/309 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/36, 1/307 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/111.

P. 21. L. 7. Al-Nabigha.

Abu Umama Ziyad b. Mu'awiya b. Dabab al-Dhubyani was one of the most distinguished poets of the *Jahiliyya* and is said to have acted as an arbiter between the poets in *Suq al-'Uqaz*. Al-A'sha, Hassan and al-Khansa' are reported to have recited their poems to him. He was a courtier of al-Nu'man b. al-Mundhir, but was involved in a scandal over the Queen al-Mutajarrida, the wife of al-Nu'man, and had to flee to the Ghassanids in Syria. Later on al-Nu'man was reconciled with al-Nabigha and he came back to his court.

Al-Aghani : 9/162-177 ; *al-Shi'r* : 70-81 ; *Nihayat al-Arab* : 3/62 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/287 ; 427, 4/96 ; *al-Ma'ahid* 1/333.

P. 21. L. 7. Hisn b. Hudhayfa.

Hisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazari was the chief of Dhubyan and was described by Ibn al-Kalbi as the mightiest warrior among the Arabs. He was the chief of Dhubyan at the battle of Jabala.

Al-Bayan: 3/7 ; *al-'Iqd* : 2/44 ; *al-Aghani* : 10/35.

P. 24. L. 8. Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam.

Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam b. Khuwaylid was one of the earliest converts to Islam ; according to tradition, he was the fifth who, while still a child, recognised Muhammad as a Prophet ; he is also one of those to whom paradise was promised by Muhammad.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 3/70-80 ; *al-Isaba* : 2/7.

P. 24. L. 8. 'Amr b. al-'Ass.

Abu 'Abd Allah Amr b. al-'Ass b. Wa'il al-Sahmi al-Qurashi, the conqueror of Egypt, was one of the wisest people of his time. Before embracing Islam he was a stern enemy of the Muslims. He embraced

Islam during the truce of al-Hudaybiya and the Prophet appointed him the governor of 'Uman. He participated in the conquest of Syria during the reign of 'Umar, who appointed him the Governor of Egypt. He was dismissed by 'Uthman. At the time of outbreak of hostilities between 'Ali and Mu'awiya he sided with the latter, who reinstated him as Governor of Egypt where he died in 43 A.H./663 A.D.

Ta'rikh al-Islam : 2/235-240 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/248.

P. 24. L. 13. 'Abd al-Aziz b. al-Walid.

'Abd al-Aziz b. al-Walid was the son of al-Walid b. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Fasiq and came to the throne after Hisham b. Abd al-Malik.

Al-Bidaya : 10/2-3 ; *al-Aghani* : 6/101-138.

P. 29. L. 9. Qays b. 'Asim.

Abu 'Ali Qays b. Asim b. Sinah al-Minqari al-Sa'di was the chieftain of Banu Tamim and is said to have led a very pious life in the *Jahiliyya*. He came to the Prophet at the head of a deputation from his tribe in 9 A.H./630 A.D. and embraced Islam. The Prophet appointed him the tax collector of the tribe. In his last days he settled at al-Basra and taught tradition.

Al-Isaba : 3/505 ; *Raghat al-'Amil* : 3/10 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 4/68 ; *Majalis Tha'lab* : 36 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/428 ; *al-Simt* : 487.

P. 30. L. 5. Imru' al-Qays.

Imru' al-Qays b. Hujr b. al-Harith is regarded to be the greatest poet of Arabic language. He was of Yamanite stock and was born in Najd. His father was the king of Asad and Ghatafan tribes and his mother was the sister of al-Muhalhil, the poet, who first instructed him to compose poetry. The laxity of his morals and the luxurious life led by Imru' al-Qays was not liked by his father, who banished him to Dammun. When Banu Asad revolted against Hujr and killed him, Imru' al-Qays swore not to drink till he had revenged the death of his father. He did succeed in punishing Banu Asad, but al-Mundhir, the king of al-Hira, who was a

traditional enemy of the family of Imru'al-Qays sent an army to capture him. Imru'al-Qays fled from tribe to tribe till he came to al-Samau'al b. 'Adiya' who granted him asylum. He then went to the king of Rome to ask help against al-Mundhir. When he was on his way back he was stricken by ulcers and he died of them at Ancara and was buried there.

Al-Aghani : 8/62-77 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 3/104 ; *al-Shi'r* : 37-56 ; 107-109 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/160 ; 3/609-612 ; *al-Jumahi* : 43-46.

P. 35. L. 4. Abu Zubayd.

Al-Mundhir b. Harmala or Harmala b. al-Mundhir belonged to the tribe of Tayy, was born in the *Jahiliyya*, but lived long enough to see the advent of Islam. He did not embrace Islam and died as a Christian at the age of 150. He is said to have been a boon companion of al-Walid b. 'Uqba, the Governor of al-Kufa during Uthman's reign. Uthman held him in high esteem for his vast knowledge of ancient history. His last poem is said to have been the one in which he described his encounter with a lion near Najaf.

Al-Aghani : 10/24-32 ; *al-Shi'r* : 167 ; *al-Jumahi* : 505 ; *al-Tabari* : 1/2843 ; *al-Ishtiqaq* : 66, 386 ; *al-Khizana* : 2/155.

P. 37. L. 5. Juwayriya b. Asma'.

Juwayriya b. Asma' b. 'Ubayd b. Mukhariq Abu Asma' al-Basri narrated traditions from his father, Nafi', al-Zuhri and Malik b. Anas. Hibban b. Hilal and Hajjaj b. Minhal narrated traditions on his authority. The critics consider him to be a trustworthy. He died in 173 A.H./ 789 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 2/125.

P. 38. L. 3. Abu Umama.

Suda'i b. 'Ajlan b. Wahb al-Bahili was a companion of the Prophet and in addition to him narrated traditions from 'Umar, Uthman, 'Ali and Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrah. Sulayman b. Habib al-Muharibi, Makhul al-Shami and Raja' b. Hayat listened to traditions from him. He died in

86 A.H./705 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/420.

P. 39. L. 9. 'Abd Allah b. Muslim.

'Abd Allah b. Muslim was an inhabitant of al-Basra and was a traditionist. He listened to traditions from Abu 'Aun, and Abu Salama Yahya b. Khalaf al-Hawari narrated traditions on his authority.

Al-Tahdhib : 6/31.

P. 40. L. 2. Mahmud.

Abu Muhammad Mahmud b. Khidash al-Taliqani was an eminent traditionist and was a pupil of Ibn al-Mubarak, Fudayl b. 'Iyad etc. Al-Tirmidhi, al-Nisa'i, Ibn Maja and Ibrahim al-Harbi listened to traditions from him.

Al-Tahdhib : 10/62.

P. 42. L. 5. Sa'id b. al-'Ass,

Sa'id b. al-'Ass b. Sa'id b. al-'Asi b. Umayya al-Umawi al-Qurashi was a companion of the Prophet and was a brave warrior and conqueror. He was brought up by 'Umar b. al-Khattab ; Uthman appointed him the Governor of al-Kufa and al-Mu'awiya transferred him to al-Madina. Sa'id died in 59 A.H./679 A.D.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 5/19 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 6/131-145 ; *Ta'rikh al-Islam* : 2/266 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/148.

P. 42. L. 5. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir b. Kurayz b. Rabi'a al-Umawi was born in Mecca and was appointed the Governor of al-Basra by Uthman in 29 A.H./650 A.D. He participated in the battle of Jamal as a partisan of 'A'isha. When Mu'awiya assumed power he appointed him the governor of al-Basra and he held this office for three years. He died in Mecca and was buried at 'Arafat.

Ta'rikh al-Islam : 2/266 ; *Tabaqat* (I.S.) : 5/30-35 ; *al-Isaba* : 3/120 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/228.

P. 43. L. 4. Sadaqa b. 'Abd Allah al-Mazini.

Abu Mu,awiya Sadaqa b. 'Abd Allah al-Mazini was also known as Abu Muhammad al-Dimashqi. He was a pupil of Zayd b. Waqid, Ibrahim b. Murra, Nasr b. 'Alqama and taught Isma'il b. 'Ayyash, al-Walid b. Muslim and 'Ali b. 'Ayyash al-Himsi. According to the estimation of al-Daraqutni he was a weak and abandoned authority.

Al-Tahdhib : 3/416.

P. 43. L. 5. Hanzala b. 'Abd Allah al-Azdi.

Hanzala b. al-Rabi'a b. Sayfi b. Riyah b. al-Harith better known as Hanzalat al-Katib was a nephew of Aktham b. al-Sayfi and was given the title of al-Katib for acting as a scribe to the Prophet. He participated in the battle of al-Qadisiya and died in the reign of Mu'awiya in 45 A.H./665 A.D.

Al-Isaba : 1/739 ; *Tabaqat* (I.S.) : 6/36 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/322.

P. 40. L. 11. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir b. Misma'.

'Abd Allah b. 'Amir b. Misma' al-Taymi al-Darimi was appointed by 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, the Governor of al-'Iraq, as the chief of Police of Zarnaj. He was killed at al-Zawiya in the battle which was fought between 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath and al-Hajjaj.

Al-Tabari : 2/817-818, 1062, 1065.

P. 40. L. 11. Al-Zawiya.

Several places are known by this name but the most celebrated is the one near al-Basra where a battle was fought in 83 A.H./702 A.D., between 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath and al-Hajjaj.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 4/371.

P. 41. L. 9. Yazid b. 'Iyad b. Ju'duba.

Yazid b. 'Iyad b. Ju'duba al-Laythi was also known as Abu'l Hikam

al-Mada'ni and was a traditionist. The critics have severely criticised him for being a concoctor and fabricator of traditions.

Al-Tahdhib : 11/353.

P. 41. L. 13. Artat b. Suhayya al-Murri.

Artat b. Suhayya belonged to the tribe of Murra b. 'Auf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān and was a contemporary of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan. He was a notable poet but appears to have stopped composing poetry towards the end of his life. 'Abd al-Malik once asked him : "Do you still compose poetry?" and he observed : "How can I compose verse now and I neither drink, nor make merry, nor do I get angry ; composition of poetry depends on these things."

Al-Sh'ir : 332 ; *al-Aghani* : 11/139-146 ; *al-'Iqd* : 2/51, 3-120.

P. 42 L. 1. Malik b. Dinar.

Abu Yahya Malik b. Dinar al-Basri was a traditionist and was well-known for his piety. He died in al-Basra in 131 A.H./749 A.D.

Al-Wafayat : 1/440 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/357 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/134.

P. 43. L. 10. Ishaq b. Ayyub.

Ishaq b. Ayyub b. Ahmad b. 'Umar al-'Adawi was appointed the governor of al-Mausil in 260 A.H./864 A.D. He became the Amir of Diyar Rabi'a in the reign of al-Mu'tamid and held that office till his death.

Ibn al-Athir: 7/89 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/285.

P. 48. L. 10. 'Amir b. Hafs.

Abu'l Yaqzan 'Amir b. Hafs was a reputed scholar of genealogy. He wrote many books. Most important of them were *Akhbar Tamim* and *Kitab al-Nasb al-Kabir*. He died in 193 A.H./806 A.D.

Nasb Quraysh : 369 ; *al-Simt* : 539.

P. 43. L. 10. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

Abu 'Abd Allah 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam al-Asadi al-Qurashi was one of the seven famous jurisconsults of al-Madina. He did not take sides in the war which followed the assassination of 'Uthman, migrated to al-Basra and thence to Egypt, and lived there for seven years. Later he came back to al-Madina and died there.

Al-A'lam : 5/7 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 2/47 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/176.

P. 44. L. 5. 'Isa b. Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah.

'Isa b. Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah was the son of Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah by his marriage to Su'da bint 'Auf.

Al-Aghani : 15/48 ; 16/46, 17/119.

P. 44. L. 13. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr.

'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr b. Suwayd b. Haritha al-Qurashi was also known as Abu 'Amr al-Kufi. He had seen 'Ali and Abu Musa and narrated traditions from al-Ash'ath b. Qays, Jabir b. Samura and Jundub b. 'Abd Allah at-Bajali. He died in 136 A.H./754 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 6/412.

P. 45. L. 12. 'Ali b. al-Husayn.

Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. al-Husayn Zayn al-'Abidin is the fourth Imam of the twelver Shi'ites. He was well-known for his piety, knowledge and munificence. He lived and died in al-Madina in 93 A.H./712 A.D.

Al-Bidaya : 8/185 ; *Maqatil al-Talibiyyin* : 80, 114 ; *Nasb Quraysh* : 57.

P. 47. L. 1. Sulayman b Arqam.

Sulayman b. Arqam Abu Mu'adh al-Basri was either a client of al-Ansar or Quraysh. He narrated traditions from Yahya b. Abi Kathir, al-Zuhri, al-Hasan al-Basri, Ibn Sirin, 'Umar b. Abd al-Aziz etc., and al-Zuhri, al-Thauri and Abu Da'ud al-Tiyalisi narrated traditions from him. Ibn Ma'in has adversely criticised him and said that he is worthless.

Other critics also condemn him as an untrustworthy narrator.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/168.

P. 47. L. 2. Abu Qilaba.

'Abd Allah b. Zayd b. 'Amr Abu Qilaba al-Jarmi was a famous trustworthy traditionist of al-Basra. He was offered the post of a *qadi* but he declined to accept it and fled to Syria, where he died.

Al-Tahdhib : 5/224 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/282 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 7/426.

P. 47, L. 4. Abu'l-Muhajir.

Abu'l-Muhajir was a traditionist who narrated traditions from Burayda al-Aslami and 'Imran b. Husayn and conveyed them to Abu Qilaba al-Jarmi.

Al-Tahdhib : 12/249.

P. 47. L. 16. Muhammad b. 'Abbad.

Muhammad b. 'Abbad b. Habib al-Muhallabi was a descendent of al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra and was appointed the governor of al-Basra during the reign of al-Ma'mun. He died in al-Basra in 216 A.H./831 A.D.

Raghat al-Amil : 4/138 ; *al-Nujum* : 2/217 ; *al-Wuzara'* : 215.

P. 48. L. 12. Ibrahim b. Hasan b. Husayn.

Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah b. Hasan b. Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib was an eminent personage of the house of 'Ali. He revolted against the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur acting as a viceroy of his brother Muhammad and succeeded in capturing al-Basra. He gained so much power that he threatened the Caliph for a long time. After several bloody encounters Humayd b. Qahtaba, the 'Abbasid general defeated and killed him in 145 A.H./762 A.D. He was a poet and a scholar. Abu Hanifa, the Jurist, is reported to have aided him with four thousand dirhams during his revolt.

Al-Tabari : 3/169, 180, 183, 187 ; *Maqatil al-Talibiyyin* : 315 ; *Duwal al-Islam* : 1/74 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/41.

P. 48. L. 12. Muhammad.

Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was born and bred at al-Madina. He was one of the most eminent Tabi'is of his age and was well-known for his knowledge and piety. At the time of the disintegration of the Umayyad empire the Hashimites including al-Saffah and al-Mansur took oath of fealty to him as a Caliph. When the 'Abbasids ousted the Ummayyds they did not transmit the Caliphate to al-Nafs al-Zakiyya as agreed. After al-Mansur's persecution and the torture of Muhammad's father and 12 of his relatives he revolted against him in al-Madina. but was defeated and killed by 'Isa b. Musa in 145 A.H./862 A.D.

Maqatil al-Talibiyyin : 232 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 5/196 ; *al-A'lam* : 7/90.

P. 48. L. 16. 'Isa b. Musa.

Abu Musa 'Isa b. Musa b. Muhammad³ al-'Abbasi was a nephew of al-Saffah, the first 'Abbasid Caliph. He was a good poet and a valiant warrior. Al-Saffah had appointed him the successor to the Caliphate after al-Mansur, but the latter forced him to abdicate in 147 A.H./764 A.D., in favour of his own son al-Mahdi. He lived at al-Kufa and died there in 167 A.H./784 A.D.

Ash'ar Aulad al-Khulafa' : 309-323 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 6/25.

P. 49. L. 8. Maslama.

Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan was a famous warrior and conqueror of the Umayyad age. During the reign of his brother Sulayman he led an expedition to Constantinople and founded a mosque there, which was named after him as "the mosque of Maslama." Maslama died in Syria in 120 A.H./738 A.D. According to al-Dhahabi he deserved the Caliphate much more than any of his brothers.

Al-Tahdhib : 10/144 ; *Nasb Quraysh* : 165 ; *Duwal al-Islam* : 1/62.

P. 49. L. 13. Sa'id b. 'Amir.

Abu Muhammad Sa'id b. 'Amir al-Duba'i narrated traditions from

Juwayriya b. Asma' Shu'ba, Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Alqama, Aban b. 'Abi 'Ayyash etc., and conveyed them to Ahmad and 'Ali b. al-Madini, Ishaq b. Rahawayh, Ibn Ma'in etc. He was a trustworthy narrator, was born in 122 A.H./740 A.D., and died in 208 A.H./823 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/50.

P. 49. L. 13. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Alqama.

Abu'l Hasan Muhammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqama b. Waqqas al-Madini was a trustworthy narrator of traditions. Al-Bukhari has included his traditions in his book. He died in 244 or 245 A.H./858 or 859 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 9/375.

P. 50. L. 1. Muqasim.

Abu'l Qasim Muqasim b. Bajara was the *mula* of 'Abd Allah b. al-Harith b. Naufil or of Ibn 'Abbas. He narrated traditions from Ibn 'Abbas, 'Abd Allah b. al-Harith b. Naufil, 'A'isha and 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'Ass, and conveyed to Maymun b. Mahran, al-Hakam b. 'Utayba etc. He died in 101 A.H./720 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 10/288.

P. 50. L. 6. Muhammad b. Harb al-Hilali.

Muhammad b. Harb al-Hilali al-Khaulani al-Himsi Abu 'Abd Allah was a trustworthy narrator of traditions and was appointed the *Qadi* of Damascus. His narrations are found in all the six canonical collections of traditions.

Tadhkirat al-Haffaz : 1/283 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 9/109 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/308.

P. 50. L. 12. Ka'b b. Sur.

Ka'b b. Sur al-Azdi was an eminent *Tabi'i* and a notable personage of early Islam. 'Umar appointed him as *Qadi* of al-Basra and he remained in office till the outbreak of the battle of al-Jamal. He declined to take sides in that civil war. 'A'isha was asked by his companions to persuade Ka'b to join her party, but he turned down her request, took a copy of

the *Qur'an* in his hand and went to the battle field and started to invite both the armies to peace. Suddenly an arrow pierced him and he was slain. This happened in 36 A.H./656 A.D.

Akhbar al-Qudat : 1/274-283 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 8/152 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/83.

P. 52. L. 1. Ghaylan.

Abu Marwan Ghaylan b. Muslim al-Dimashqi was an eloquent prose writer and rhetorician of the Umayyad period. He was the second founder of the sect of the Qadarites and had to pay with his life for his heresy during the reign of Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik.

Al-Milal Wa'l-Nihal : 1/227 ; *al-'Uyun* : 2/345 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 4/424 ; *at-A'lam* : 5/320.

P. 52. L. 9. 'Umar b. Dharr.

'Umar b. Dharr b. 'Abd al-Malik was a Kufan narrator of traditions. He has been impugned by some critics for propagating the doctrine of *Irja'*. He died in 153 A.H./770 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 7/444 ! *al-A'lam* : 5/205.

P. 52. L. 17. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas.

'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Qurashi al-Hashimi was one of the eminent companions of the Prophet and was given the title of Habr al-Umma for his wide knowledge of religion. He was born in Mecca 3 years before the mission of the Prophet, was brought up there in the early days of Islam. He afterwards attached himself to the Prophet. He was a partisan of 'Ali in the battle of al-Jamal and Siffin. He lost his eyesight in his last days and died at al-Ta'if in 68 A.H./608 A.D. 1660 traditions have been narrated from him in the Sahihayn.

Sifat al-Safwa : 2/314 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/314 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/229.

P. 53. L. 8. Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah.

Amin al-Umma 'Amir b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Jarrah b. Hilal al-Fihri al-Qurashi was one of those companions who received the tidings of paradise

from the Prophet in their lifetime. He was born in Mecca and was one of the early converts to Islam. 'Umar appointed him the commander-in-Chief of Muslim forces in Syria after the dismissal of Khalid b. al-Walid, and he was responsible for completing the conquest of that country. He died in 18 A.H./639 A.D. during the pestilence of 'Amawas. Fourteen traditions have been narrated from him in the *Sahihayn*.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 3/297-310 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/100 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 7/157 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 1/142 ; *a'-Khamis* : 2/244.

P. 53. L. 11. Muhammad b. al-Fadl.

Abu Abd Allah Muhammad b. al-Fadl b. 'Atiyya b. 'Umar al-'Absi al-Kufi was a traditionist and listened to traditions from his father, Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i, Abu Hazim al-A'raj etc. He settled at Bukhara and taught tradition to a number of students. He has been severely criticised by some of the leading traditionists for his unscrupulousness in narrating the tradition.

Al-Tahdhib : 9/401.

P. 53- L. 11. 'Iyad b. Ghanam.

'Iyad b. Ghanam b. Zuhayr al-Fihri was a companion of the Prophet and was a valiant warrior. He became Muslim before the truce of al-Hudaybiya and participated in the battle of Badr, Uhud and Khandaq. He conquered Bilad al-Jazira during the reign of 'Umar and was given the title of Zad al-Rakib for his munificence. He died in 20 A.H./641 A.D. at the age of sixty.

Sifat al-Safwa : 1/277 ; *Futuh al-Buldan* : 177, 205-210.

P. 53. L. 18. Nafi' Maula 'Umar.

Nafi, Maula Ibn 'Umar was also known as Abu 'Abd Allah al-Madani and was a well-known traditionist and jurist. He narrated traditions on the authority of his *Maula*, 'A'isha, Abu Hurayra etc. According to al-Bukhari the most authentic chain of narrators is Malik from Nafi' from Ibn 'Umar. Nafi' died in 117 A.H./735 A.D.

Tadhkirat at-Huffaz : 1/87 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 10/412.

P. 54. L. 6. Ya'qub b. Da'ud.

Abu 'Abd Allah Ya'qub b. Da'ud b. 'Umar al-Sulami was a secretary to Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Hassan al-Muthanna who revolted against al-Mansur in al-Basra. Ibrahim was captured and slain by al-Mansur in 145 A.H./762 A.D., and Ya'qub was imprisoned. He was set free after the death of al-Mansur and he managed to win favours of al-Mahdi and became his Wazir in 163 A.H./780 A.D. Owing to his affiliations with 'Alids he was dismissed in 167 A.H./784 A.D. and was imprisoned again. In 175 A.H./791 A.D. Harun pardoned him and he settled down at Mecca and died there in 187 A.H./803 A.D.

Nukat al-Himayan : 309 ; *al-Wafayat* : 2/331 ; *al-Bidaya* : 10/147 ; *al-Jahshayari* : 155.

P. 54. L. 7. 'Ubayd Allah b. al-'Abbas.

'Ubayd Allah b. al-'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muttalib was a year younger to his brother 'Abd Allah. He had seen the Prophet but did not narrate any tradition from him. 'Ali appointed him the Governor of al-Yaman. He acted as Amir al-Hajj in 36 A.H./657 A.D. and 37 A.H./658 A.D. He was an extremely bountiful person and al-Baghdadi has cited several anecdotes about his munificence.

Dhayl al-Mudhayyal : 29 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/256, 258, 502, 503 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 8/156-158 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/349.

Q. 54. L. 9. Busr b. Artat.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Busr b Artat al-'Amiri al-Qurashi was born in Mecca before the migration of the Prophet and accepted Islam in his childhood. He has related two traditions from the Prophet in *Musnad Ahmad*. Busr was a partisan of *Mu'awiya* and conquered al-Madina for him in 39 A.H./659 A.D. Then he went to al-Yaman, occupied it, and killed all the supporters of 'Ali. He was appointed Governor of al-Basra in 41 A.H./661 A.D. In 50 A.H./670 A.D., he led an army to Constantinople. Busr died in Damascus in 86 A.H./705 A.D.

Al-Isaba : 1/152 ; *Tahdhib Ibn Asakir* : 3/220-225 ; *Mizan al-Itidal* : 1/309 ; *Ta'rikh al-Islam* : 3/140.

P. 54. L. 15. Al-Tawwazi.

See teachers of al-Mubarrad in Part I.

P. 56. L. 3. Salih al-Murri.

Salih b. Bashir (al-Zahid) Abu Bishr al-Murri *al-Wa'iz* was an inhabitant of al-Basra and was a *Wa'iz* by profession. Like the rest of the *Wa'izs* he has been adversely criticised by the critics of the science of tradition for being a fabricator of hadith.

Mizan al-I'tidal : 2/289.

P. 56. L. 6. Muhammad b. Sirin.

Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Sir'n al-Basri al-Ansari was the foremost scholar of al-Basra in his age. He was a *Tabi'i* and is well-known for his piety and for his skill in interpreting the dreams. He lived and died at al-Basra.

Al-Tahdhib : 9/214 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/453 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/263 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 5/331 ; *al-A'lam* : 7/25.

P. 56. L. 10. 'Abd Allah b. Murra.

'Abd Allah b. Murra al-Hamandani al-Kufi was a traditionist and happened to be a pupil of Ibn 'Amr al-Barra', Abu'l Ahwas, Masruq etc., and was the teacher of al-A'mash and Mansur. Ibn Ma'in and Abu Zur'a declare him to be a trustworthy authority. He died in 100 A.H./ 719 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 6/25.

P. 56. L. 15. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hamid.

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hamid better known as Abu'l-Razi was appointed the Governor of al-Yaman by al-Ma'mun when Ahmad b. Muhammad al-'Umri known as Ahmar al-'Ain revolted against him. He succeeded in occupying the country and killed a large number of people.

Ibn al-Athir : 6/138, 140.

P. 57. L. 2. Abu'l-Miqdam.

The real name of Abu'l Miqdam was Hisham b. Ziyad b. Abi Yazid

al-Qurashi al-Madani. He was a pupil of al-Hasan al-Basri, Abu Salih and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz and was a teacher of Waki', Ibn al-Mubarak etc. He had been adversely criticised by the critics.

Al-Tahdhib : 11/38.

P. 57 L. 2. Sa'id b. al-Musayyab.

Abu Muhammad Sa'id b. al-Musayyab b. Hazn al-Makhzumi al-Qurashi was one of the seven most eminent jurists of al-Madina. He had an equal command of tradition, jurisprudence and was famous for his piety and asceticism. He died at al-Madina in 94 A.H. /713 A.D.

Al-Kamil : 199, 299 ; *Tabaqat* (I.S.) : 8/88 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/206 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : I/44 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/161.

P. 57. L. 3. Abu Muslim al-Khaulani.

'Abd Allah b. Thaub al-Khaulani belonged to the Yamani stock. He had seen the *Jahiliyya* and had embraced Islam in the lifetime of the Prophet, but could not meet him. He came to al-Madina during the reign of Abu Bakr, and later went to Damascus where he died in 62 A.H. /682 A.D.

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz : 1/49 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 12/235 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/122 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/203.

P. 58. L. 12. Tauba.

Abu Harb Tauba b. al-Humayyir b. Hazm b. Ka'b b. Khafaja al-'Uqayli al-'Amiri is one of the most famous lover poets of the Umayyad age. His verse in praise of Layla al-Akhyaliyya is well-known. He was murdered by Banu Auf b. 'Aqil in 85 A.H. /704 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 10/67-84 ; *al-Fawat* : 1/95 ; *al-Shi'r* : 269-274 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/74.

P. 61. L. 6. Al-Harith b. 'Ubad.

Al-Harith b. 'Ubad b. Qays b. Tha'laba al-Bakri was the chieftain of Banu Dubay'a, a branch of Bakr. He did not participate in the war of al-Basus in the beginning, but when al-Muhallil killed his son and

declared him equal to the shoe latchet of Kulayb he joined Bakr and defeated Taghlib. Al-Muhalhil was taken prisoner. He cut his forelocks and set him free

Al-Aghani : 4/143-147 ; *Nihayat al-Arab* : 8/96 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/58.

P. 62. L. 8. Sulayman b. Qatta.

Sulayman b. Qatta al-Taymi was a client of Banu Taym b. Murra and was a traditionist and a poet. He is said to have been the first poet to write elegies on *Ahl al-Bayt*.

Al-Shi'r 4 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/1639 ; *al-Aghani* : 17/165 ; *al-Marzuqi* : 2/261.

P. 63. L. 3. Al-Farazdaq.

Hammam b. Ghalib b. Sa'sa al-Taymi al-Darimi is one of the most eminent poets of the Umayyad period. It is remarked, "Had not the poetry of al-Farazdaq survived, a third of Arabic language would have perished. Al-Farazdaq enjoys the same status among the Islamic poets which was enjoyed by Zuhayr among the *Jahili* poets. The slandering match into which he Jarir, and al-Akhtal indulged are famous in Arabic literature. He belonged to a respectable family and the Caliphs held him in high esteem.

Raghat al-Amil : 1/114, 2/78, 79, 83 ; *al-Wasfayat* : 21196 ; *al-Sharishi* : 1/159 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 1145 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/105-108.

P. 63. L. 3. Ibn Misma'.

Malik and 'Abd al-Malik the sons of Misma' revolted against Yazid b. al-Muhallab. Mu'awiya b. Yazid captured them and when he received the news of his father's death put them to the sword along with 'Abi b. Artat.

al-Kamil : 126 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/1396.

P- 63. L. 3. Mu'awiya b. Yazid b. al-Muhallab.

He was appointed the Governor of Kuss, Nasaf and Bukhara by his father. When Yazid b. al-Muhallah went to fight Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik he appointed Mu'awiya as his viceroy on Wasit. Yazid was

defeated and slain in the battle and when this news reached Mu'awiya he ordered the execution of 30 eminent prisoners to avenge the death of his father.

Al-Tabari : 2/1324, 1395, 1396, 1409, 1410.

P. 63. L. 4. Yazid b. al-Muhallab.

Abu Khalid Yazid b. al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra al-Azdi was an eminent noble and warrior of his times. He was appointed Governor of Khurasan in 83 A.H./702 A.D., after the death of his father, and remained in that office for six years. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, acting on the advice of al-Hajjaj, dismissed him. Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik appointed him the Governor of al-Iraq and afterwards placed Khurasan under his jurisdiction. He was then transferred to al-Basra, and remained there till 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz assumed power. He again dismissed him and imprisoned him in Halab. After the death of 'Umar the slaves of Yazid effected his release from the state prison and Yazid revolted against the Umayyads. Several battles took place between Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazid, and this valiant warrior after a chequered career was killed in 102 A.H./721 A.D., at al-Aqr, a place between Wasit and Baghdad.

Al-Tabari : 2/1395 ; *al-Wafayat* : 2/264 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/105 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 4/189.

P. 63. L. 4. al-Mantuf.

Al-Mantuf was a freed slave of Banu Qays b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukaba and was a trusted lieutenant of Yazid b. al-Muhallab. He was killed while fighting for Yazid against the troops of Maslama.

Al-Kamil : 126 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/1396.

P. 64. L. 1. al-Mundhiran.

Al-Mubarrad means al-Mundhir b. Ma'al-Sama' al-Lakhmi and his son al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir.

Al-Kamil : 128, 129.

P. 64. L. 1. 'Amr b. Kulthum.

'Amr b. Kulthum b. Malik b. 'Attab, the chieftain of the tribe of Taghlib, is one of the most eminent *Jahili* poets and is the author of one of the *Mu'allaqat*. He is famous in the annals of the Arabs for murdering 'Amr b. Hind, the king of al-Hira, for the attempt of king's mother to insult his mother.

Al-Simt : 635 ; *al-Muhabbar* : 202 ; *al-Shi'r* : 117-120 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/519.

P. 64. L. 2. Al-Aqra'an.

Al-Aqra' b. Habis b. 'Iqbal al-Mujashi'i al-Darimi al-Tamimi was a Companion of the Prophet and was a notable chief and sage of the *Jahiliyya*. He came to the Prophet in the deputation of Banu Darim, embraced Islam and participated in the battle of Hunayn and the conquest of Mecca and al-Ta'if. He was a companion of Khalid b. al-Walid in most of his campaigns. He died in 31 A.H./652 A.D. The second al-Aqra' referred to by al-Farazdaq was the son of al-Aqra' mentioned above and a notable person like his father.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Askir : 3/86 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/397 ; *Dhawl al-Mudhayyal* : 32 ; *al-Kamil* : 129.

P. 64. L. 2. Hajib.

Hajib b. Zurara b. 'Udas al-Darimi al-Tamimi was an eminent chieftain of the Arabs in the *Jahiliyya*. He is reported to have mortgaged his bow with Kisra for a large sum of money and fulfilled his undertaking. On the advent of Islam he came to the Prophet and embraced Islam. He was appointed as tax-collector of Tamim by the Prophet. Hajib died in 3 A.H./62 A.D., while still in office.

Al-Kamil ; 129 ; *al-Isaba* : 1/273, 2/187.

P. 64. L. 2. Amr Abu 'Amr.

'Amr Abu Amr is better known as 'Amr b. 'Udas. He was a notable chieftain in the *Jahiliyya* and was murdered by Banu 'Amir b. Sa'sa in the battle of Jabala.

Al-Kamil : 129.

P. 64. L. 3. Bistam b. Qays b. Khalid.

Bistam b. Qays b. Mas'ud b. Qays b. Khalid al-Shaybani was the chieftain of the tribe of Shayban and was one of the most eminent warriors of the pre-Islamic age. He was alive at the advent of Islam but did not accept it. He was killed by 'Asim b. Khalifa al-Dabbi in the battle of al-Shaqiqa.

Al-Kamil : 89, 128, 130, 449 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 1/224 ; *Al-Aghani* : 12/76, 17/106.

P. 64. L. 3. Abu Ghassan.

Malik b. Misma' b. Shayban b. Shihab was the chief of Bakr b. Wa'il after the advent of Islam. He was a member of Qays b. Tha'laba. The Masami' have been named after him.

Al-Kamil : 68, 119, 126, 128, 131.

P. 64. L. 4. Ka'b.

Ka'b. Mama al-Ayadi was one of the *ajwad al-'Arab*. It is reported that once he was travelling along with someone from the tribe of al-Namir b. Qasit and they ran short of water. They had a little water in a jar and they agreed to divide it among themselves. When Ka'b wanted to have his share, his companion requested him to give that to him as well and he agreed. His companion drank the water and Ka'b died of thirst.

Al-Kamil : 128, 132, 400.

P. 64. L. 4. Hatim.

Hatim b. 'Abd Allah al-Ta'i was the most bountiful person among the *Jahili* Arabs.

Al-Kamil : 133.

P. 64. L. 14. Al-Hakami.

Abu Nuwas Hasan b. Hani' b. Sabbah al-Hakami was born in al-Ahwaz and was brought up at al-Basra. He is one of the greatest poets of the 'Abbasid period and according to Abu' Ubayda enjoys the same status among the *Muhdathun* which Imru'l-Qays enjoyed among the

Mutaqaddimun. Al-Shafi'i is reported to have boserved about him, "Had Abu-Nuwas not been notorious for the laxity of his morals, I would have studied with him." He is the first poet to revolt against the customary rules of *qasida*, and he popularised a new style. Abu Nuwas died in 198 A.H./814 A.D.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir : 4/254 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 1/83 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/168 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/135 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : *al-Shi'r* : 501-525.

P. 65. L. 4. al-Taymi.

Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. Ayyub al-Taymi was an eminent poet of the 'Abbasid age' He eulogised al-Amin and al-Ma'mun and received rich prizes from them.

Al-Nujum : 2/189 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 9/411.

P. 65. L. 4. Yazid b. Mazyad.

Abu Khalid Yazid b. Mazyad b. Za'da al-Shaybani was the Governor of Armenia and Adharabayjan. Harun deputed him to fight al-Walid b. Tarif al-Shaybani, the Khariji rebel and he succeeded in defeating and killing him in 179 A.H./795 A.D. He was celebrated for his munificence and bravery.

Al-Wafayat : 2/283 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 14/344 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/54.

P. 65. L. 6. Ziyad.

Ziyad b. Abihi was born to Sumayya, the slave girl of al-Harith b. Kalaba al-Thaqafi at al-Ta'if. The historians differ about his father. Some say he was the son of 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi while others declare him to be the son of Abu-Sufyan. He had seen the age of the Prophet but did not meet him. Ziyad embraced Islam during the caliphate of Abu Bakr. 'Ali appointed him the Governor of Fars. After the death of 'Ali Mu'awiya accepted him as his brother and a son of Abu-Sufyan and he helped him, to a large extent, to consolidate his power. Ziyad remained the Governor of al-Basra and al-Kufa and the rest of the 'Iraq till his death which occured in 53 A.H./673 A.D.

Ibn al-Athir : 3/195 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/12-14, 22, 27, 69-73 etc., *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 4/406 ; *Mizan al-I'tidal* : 2/86 ; *al-Khizana* : 2/517.

P. 65. L. 13. al-Dundhir b. al-Jarud al-'Abdi.

Al-Mundhir b. al-Jarud b. Amr b. Khunays was born during the lifetime of the Prophet. He participated in the battle of al-Jamal as a Companion of 'Ali, who appointed him the Governor of Istakhr, but, later, owing to his misconduct, dismissed him. 'Ubayd 'Allah b. Ziyad appointed him the Governor of Thaghr al-Hind, where he died in 61 A.H./681 A.D.

Al-Isaba : 3/988 ; *al-Bayan* : 2/293 ; *al-Jamhara* : 279 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 7/144 ; *al-Aghani* : 11/123, 13/48.

P. 65. L. 14. 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad.

'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad b. Abihi was born in al-Basra in 28 A.H./649 A.D. Mu'awiya appointed him the Governor of Khurasan in 53 A.H./673 A.D. and in 55 A.H./675 A.D., transferred to al-Basra. 'Ubayd Allah is notorious in the annals of Islam for being instrumental in the murder of al-Husayn. Ibrahim b. al-Ashtar killed him in 67 A.H./687 A.D. to avenge the death of al-Husayn.

Al-Uyun : 1/229 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/166-172 ; *Raghat al-Amin* : 5/134, 16/111.

P. 66. L. 15. Yahya b. Mubashshir.

Yahya b. Mubashshir belonged to Banu Tha'laba b. Yunus and was a partisan of Mus'ab b. al-Malik b. Marwan in 71 A.H./690 A.D., at Dayr al-Jathiliq near Maskin.

Al-Tabari : 2/806.

P. 66. L. 15. Maskin.

Maskin was a village near Awana and Dayr al-Jathiliq at the bank of the river Dujayl. A battle was fought there in 71 A.H./690 A.D. between 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan and Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr, in which the latter was killed.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 7/54.

P. 66. L. 16. Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr.

Abu 'Abd Allah Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam al-Asadi al-Qurashi was the younger brother of 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr and was, like him, a valiant warrior and general. He helped 'Abd Allah to consolidate his power in al-Hijaz and al-'Iraq. In 67 A.H./687 A.D. he was appointed Governor of al-Basra and he succeeded in defeating and killing al-Mukhtar al-Thaqafi. He was killed by the troops of 'Abd al-Malik in a battle at Dayr al-Jathiliq near Maskin.

Al-Tabari : 2/800-816 ; *Tabaqat* (I.S.) : 5/135 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 13/105 ; *al-A'lam* : 8/149.

P. 67. L. 8. al-Qahdhami.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Walid b. Hisham al-Qahdhami, an inhabitant of al-Basra, was a trustworthy narrator of traditions and was a pupil of Jarir b. Uthman. He died in 222 A.H./137 A.D.

Kitab al-Ansab : 444 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 12/155.

P. 67. L. 8. Waddah al-Yaman.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman b. Isma'il belonged to the tribe of Khaulan, which is a branch of Himyar. He was an outstanding lyricist of the Umayyad age, and his love affairs with al-Rauda, a beautiful damsel from al-Yaman, are well-known. Once he came to perform the pilgrimage of Mecca and, there, by chance, happened to see Umm al-Banin, the wife of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, and, on account of his ill-luck, addressed erotic verses to her, which enraged al-Walid who had him put to death.

Al-Aghani : 6/30-44 ; *al-Fawat* : 1/253 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/69 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 8/295.

P. 68. L. 11. Ma'n b. Ans al-Muzani.

Ma'n b. Aus b. Nasr b. Ziyad al-Muzani was an outstanding Mukhadram poet. He composed poems in praise of several companions of the Prophet. Mu'awiya used to speak of him very highly and used to observe: "The greatest poet of *al-Jahiliyya* is Zuhayr and the greatest

poets of Islam are Ka'b b. Zuhyr and Ma'n b. Aus." Ma'n died at al-Madina in 64 A.H./684 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 10/164-169 ; *al-Simt* : 733 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/258 ; *Raghat al-'Amil* : 5/190 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 3/78.

P. 69. L. 4. 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. al-Khattab al-'Adawi was a Companion of the Prophet. He migrated to al-Madina along with his father and participated in the conquest of Mecca. For sixty years he continued giving verdicts on legal problems brought to him for solution. After the murder of Uthman people persuaded him to accept the Caliphate but he declined. He was the last of the Companions to die in Mecca. The *Sahihayn* contains 2630 traditions narrated on his authority.

Al-Wafayat : 1/246-248 ; *Tabaqat* (I.S.) : 4/105-138 ; *Nukat al-Himyan* : 183.

P. 69. L. 4. Hassan.

Abu'l Walid Hassan b. Thabit b. al-Mundhir al-Khazraji, the poet of the Prophet, passed sixty years of his life in the *Jahiliyya* and lived for an equal span of time in Islam. He used to eulogize the kings of Ghassan and al-Hira before the advent of Islam. After accepting Islam he concentrated his efforts on eulogizing the Prophet and Islam and answering the satires of the pagan poets. He died at al-Madina in 54 A.H./674 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 2/247 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 4/125 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 1/209 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/111.

P. 69. L. 6. Muhammad b. Harb al-Hilali.

Muhammad b. Harb al-Hilali was a Basrite and was Inspector General of Muhammad b. Sulayman's Police. He is famous as a lover of a slave girl called Salisa.

Al-Aghani : 9/23, 17/88.

P. 69. L. 6. Hayyan b. Salma al-'Amiri.

Hayyan b. Salma b. 'Amir b. Malik b. Ja'far b. Kilab.
Al-Aghani : 15/139.

P. 69. L. 6. 'Amir b. al-Tufayl.

'Amir b. al-Tufayl b. Malik b. Ja'far al-'Amiri was the chieftain of Banu 'Amir b. Sa'sa, was an eminent poet and warrior, and was celebrated for his munificence. He was alive at the advent of Islam and is said to have come to the Prophet at al-Madina to assassinate him but could not summon the courage to do so. The Prophet persuaded him to embrace Islam, but he asked him to appoint him his successor. When his demand was refused, he threatened the Prophet to invade al-Madina. He died on his way back to his people.

Al-Khizana : 1/471-474 ; *Ragibat al-Amil* : 2/166 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 1/81 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/20.

P. 69. L. 10. Muhammad b. 'Ali.

Muhammad was the son of 'Ali b. Abi Talib by his marriage to Khaula al-Hanafiyya the daughter of Ja'far. He was a profound scholar and was well-known for his power and might. Al-Mukhtar al-Thaqafi considered him to be the *Mahdi* and persuaded the people to accept him as the rightful *Imam*. One of the Muslim sects, the Kaysaniyya, hold that he is still alive and is living at a place called Radwa.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 5/66 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/449 ; *Sifat al-Sawfa* : 2/42 ; *al-Hilya* : 3/174 ; *al-A'lam* : 7/153.

P. 70. L. 8. Hisham b. 'Uqba.

Hisham b. 'Uqba was a brother of Dhu'l-Rumma and was a poet, but the eminence of his brother overshadowed him. The present verses have been attributed to Mas'ud, another brother of Dhu'l-Rumma, in al-Shi'r and al-Aghani.

Al-Shi'r : 337 ; *al-Aghani* : 16/11 ; *al-Marzuqi* : 2/995.

P. 70. L. 8. Dhu'l-Rumma.

Abu'l-Harith Ghaylan b. 'Uqba belonged to Banu Su'b b. Milkan b. 'Abd Manat, and was an eminent poet of his age. He is the last poet

who composed verses in the pure *Jahili* style, hence the remark of Abu 'Ata': "Poetry started with Imru'l-Qays and came to an end with Dhu'l-Rumma." He is one of the famous lovers of Arabia ; his beloved was named Mayya.

Al-Wafayat : 1/404 ; *al-Muwashshah* : 170-115 ; *al-Shi'r* 333 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 0/260 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/51-53.

P. 71. L. 13. Sa'd b. 'Abada.

Abu Thabit Sa'd b. 'Abada b. Dulaym b. al-Harith al-Khazraji was the chieftain of the tribe of al-Khazraj. He was well-known in the *Jahiliyya* as *al-Kamil* for being an expert in writing, shooting and swimming. He met the Prophet at al-Aqaba with 76 other Madinites and accepted Islam. He participated in the Battle of Uhud and al-Khandaq and died in 14 A.H./635 A.D. at Hauran on his way to Syria.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir : 6/84 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 1/202 ; *Tabaqat (I.S.)* : 3/142 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/135.

P. 72. L. 1. Sakhr.

Sakhr b. Amr b. al-Harith, al-Riyahi al-Sulami belonged to Banu Sulaym b. Mansur and was one of the outstanding warriors of Banu Sulaym. He was injured in a battle with Banu Asad b. Khuzayma and a piece of flesh was torn from one of his flanks, which caused him great inconvenience. He cut off this limb, and this caused his death.

Nihat al-Arab : 15/366-360 ; *Jamharat al-Ansab* : 249 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 3/66 ; *al-Ala'm*.

P. 73. L. 1. 'Asib.

'Asib is the name of a mountain in upper Najd.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 7/178.

P. 74. L. 6. Sa'id b. Salm al-Bahlil.

Sa'id b. Salm al-Bahlil was a courtier of Harun al-Rashid. He was appointed the Governor of al-Jazira by Harun in 180 A.H./796 A.D. and in 182 A.H./798 A.D. was also put in charge of Armenia. He was a

courtier of Musa al-Hadi.

Al-Bayan : 2/34, 2/206, 258 ; *al-'Iqd* : 1/74, 2/96 ; *al-Tabari* : 3/645, 648, 581, 586, 597 ; *al-Aghani* : 17/32.

P. 75. L. 9. Khufaf b. Nadaba.

Khufaf b. Nadaba b. 'Umayr b. al-Harith, al-Sulami was a warrior poet of pre-Islamic 'Arabia. He lived till the advent of Islam and became a Muslim. He was the standard bearer of Banu Sulaym at the time of the conquest of Mecca. Later he participated in the battle of Hunayn and al-Ta'if. He composed verse in praise of Abu Bakr and died in 20 A.H./641 A.D., during the reign of 'Umar.

Al-Aghani : 16/133 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/81, 472 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 2/90 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/356.

P. 77. L. 4. Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjaj.

Abu'l-Jahhaf Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjaj b. Ru'ba al-Tamimi al-Sa'di was an outstanding *rajaz* of al-Basra. He lived in the Umayyad as well as the 'Abbasid period and was regarded as a master of 'Arabic language ; his verses are cited as examples to explain difficult points of Arabic language. Ru'ba died in 145 A.H./762 A.D.

Al-Wafayat : 1/87 ; *al-Bidaya* : 10/96 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/43 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 2/464 ; *al-Shi'r* : 23 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/63.

P. 81. L. 8. 'Antara b. Shaddad.

'Antara b. Shaddad b. 'Amr al-'Abasi is one of the most famous warriors and poets of pre-Islamic 'Arabia. His bravery and courage became the subject of an anonymous romance called 'Qissa 'Antara', which has been regarded by some of the critics as a masterpiece of Arabic literature. 'Antara participated in the battle of Dahis and al-Ghabra' and enjoyed a long life. He was killed by Jabbar b. 'Amr al-Ta'i.

Al-Khizana : 1/62 ; *al-Shi'r* : 75 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/269.

P. 82. L. 7. Al-Harith b. Hilliza.

Al-Harith b. Hilliza b. Makruh b. Yazid al-Yashkuri al-Wa'ili is the

author of one of the Mu'allaqat, which he is reported to have composed impromptu in front of 'Amr b. Hind, the king of al-Hira. He was an inhabitant of Badiya 'Iraq and was an eminent poet of the *Jahiliyya*.

Al-Simt : 638 ; *al-Shi'r* : 53 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/158, 418 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/155.

P. 84. L. 3. Mu'awiya b. 'Amr.

Mu'awiya b. 'Amr was a munificent chief and warrior, like his brother Sakhr. Their father 'Amr used to proclaim in the assembly of the Arabs, "I am the father of the two best persons of the Mudar tribe" and the people used to agree with him.

Al-Shi'r 200 : *al-Aghani* : 13/137-138, 140-141.

P. 85. L. 11. Hashim and Durayd sons of Harmala.

Hashim b. Harmala b. al-Ash'ar al-Murri was the chieftain of Banu Murra b. 'Auf and was a distinguished warrior of his tribe. He, along with his brother Durayd, was responsible for the death of Mu'awiya, the brother of al-Khansa'. Durayd was killed in a battle by Sakhr and Hashim fell a prey to an arrow of Qays b. al-Uswar al-Jushami.

Sharh Diwan al-Khansa' : 11-16 ; *Mu'jam Ma Ista'jam* : 474, 635 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 2/231, 7/162, 8/198-202.

P. 85. L. 14. Malik b. Himar.

Malik b. Himar al-Fazari al-Shamkhi was a brave warrior and was a friend of 'Urwat b. al-Ward. Khufaf b. Nadaba killed him in revenge of Mu'awiya b. 'Amr.

Al-Aghani : 2/115, 2/194, 10/25.

P. 90. L. 1. al-Ajjaj.

'Abd Allah b. Ru'ba' b. Labid b. Sakhr al-Sa'di al-Tamimi was born in the *Jahiliyya* and started composing poetry before the advent of Islam. He embraced Islam and lived down to the age of al-Walid b. Abd al-Malik. He raised the status of the *rajaz* and made it comparable to the *qasida*.

Sharh Shawahid al-Mughni : 18 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/28.

P. 90. L. 3. al-Akhtal.

Abu Malik Ghiyath b. Ghauth b. al-Salt belonged to the tribe of Taghlib and is one of the three greatest poets of the Umayyad age. He was a Christian by religion and was the poet laureate of Abd al-Malik. He participated in matches of satire and ridicule between Jarir and al-Farazdaq on behalf of the latter.

Al-Khizana : 1/219-221.

P. 91. L. 6. Fatar b. Khalifa.

Fatar b. Khalifa al-Qurashi al-Makhzumi was also known as Abu Bakr al-Khayyat al-Kufi. He was a trustworthy narrator of traditions and was a pupil of 'Amr b. Hurayth, 'Ata' al-Shaybi and Abu'l-Tufayl 'Amir b. Wathila. Ibn al-Mubarak, Waki', al-Qattan etc. narrated traditions from him.

Al-Tahdhib.

P. 91. L. 7. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Thabit.

'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd Allah b. Thabit al-Jumahi was a *Tabi'i* and narrated traditions from 'Umar, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, al-'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muttalib etc. He was a trustworthy authority. He died in 118 A.H./ 736 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 6/181.

P. 92. L. 15. Lut b. Yaha.

Abu Mikhnaf Lut b. Yahya b. Sa'id b. Mikhnaf al Azdi al-Ghamidi was an eminent rhapsodist and historian belonging to the Kufan school. He wrote 32 epistles on the history of first century of Islam. Al-Tabari drew upon his works while preparing his own work on history.

Al-Fawat : 2/240 ; *Mu'jam al Udaba'* : 6/220 ; *al-Tusi* : 129 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/111.

P. 93. L. 10. 'Isa b. Yazid.

Abu'l-Walid 'Isa b. Yazid b. Bakr b. Da'b al-Laythi was a genealo-

gist, poet, speaker and rhapsodist. He enjoyed favours with al-Mahdi and al-Hadi and died in 171 A.H./788 A.D.

Al-Bayan : 1/30 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 6/104 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 4/408 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/298.

P. 93. L. 10. Yazid b. Mu'awiya.

Yazid b. Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan al-Umawi came to the throne after the death of his father in 60 A.H./680 A.D. He is notorious in the history of Islam for being responsible for 'the tragedy of Karbala', which took place in 61 A.H./681 A.D.

Al-Khamis : 2/300 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 4/49 ; *al-Ya'qubi* : 2/215 ; *al-A'lam* : 9/245.

P. 96. L. 13. Mu'adh b. Jabal.

Abu Abd al-Rahman Mu'adh b. Jabal b. 'Amr b. Aus al-Ansari was one of the most eminent companions of the Prophet. He embraced Islam when he was a boy and participated in all the battles in which the Prophet took part. He is one of the six companions who collected the *Qu'ran* during the lifetime of the Prophet. He succeeded Abu 'Ubayda in Syria, when he died of pestilence there in 18 A.H./639 A.D.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 3/120 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/228 ; *al-A'lam* : 8/136.

P. 99. L. 2. Abu Qays b. Sirma al-Ansari.

Abu Qays b. Sirma b. Abi 'Ans b. Sirma b. Malik belonged to the tribe of al-Najjar. He used to lead the life of an ascetic in the *Jahiliyya*, shunned the worship of idols and used to invite the people to the worship of the God of Abraham. When the Prophet migrated to al-Madina Abu Qays embraced Islam and composed verse in praise of the Prophet and Islam.

Ibn Hisham : 348 ; *al-'Iqd* : 2/61.

P. 99. L. 9. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman.

Sinan b. Salama b. al-Muhabbiq Abu 'Abd al-Rahman was also

known as Abu Bishr al-Basri al-Hudhali. He died during the reign of al-Hajjaj.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/24.

P. 99. L. 9. Abu Ya'qub al-Thaqafi.

Ishaq Ibrahim al-Thaqafi also known as Abu Ya'qub al-Kufi was a pupil of Abu Ishaq, Abd al-Malik b. Umayr Yunus b. 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi. He has been adversely criticised by some leading critics of *Hadith*.

Al-Tahdhib : 1/222.

P. 99. L. 9. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr al-Lakhmi.

'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr b. Suwayd b. Haritha al-Qurashi was also known as Abu 'Amr al-Lakhmi al-Kufi. He had seen 'Ali and Abu Musa and narrated traditions from al-Ash'ath b. Qays and Jabir b. Samura, etc. He died in 136 A.H./754 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 6/412.

P. 99. L. 10. Abu Jahm 'Amir b. Hudhayfa.

Abu Jahm 'Amir b. Hudhayfa b. Ghanim belonged to Banu Adi b. Ka'b, a branch of Quraysh. He embraced Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca and lived to a grand old age. He was one of the four persons who buried Uthman.

Al-A'lam : 4/17 ; *Nasb Quraysh* : 369 ; *al-Simt* : 539.

P. 101. L. 20. Ibn Da'b.

Abu'l-Walid 'Isa b. Yazid b. Bakr b. Da'b was an eminent man of letters of the 'Abbasid period. Al-Mansur once compared him to Ibn Ishaq in the vastness of his knowledge. He used to visit the court of al-Mahdi.

Al-Fihrist : 90 ; *al-Aghani* ; 5/158 ; 8/104 ; 11/69 ; *al-'Iqd* : 1/170.

P. 103. L. 3, al-Rabi' b. Khuthaym.

Abu Yazid al-Rabi' b. Khutaym was an outstanding *Tabi'i* and was a famous mystic and divine of his age. The Sufis regard him as one of the

eight top most ascetics. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ud on seeing him used to observe : "If the Prophet had seen you, he would have loved you."

Al-Bayan : 1/343, 2/106, 3/131 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/106.

P. 103. L. 11. Shu'ba b. al-Hajjaj.

Abu Bistam Shu'ba b. al-Hajjaj b. al-Ward al-'Atki al-Azdi al-Basri was one of the topmost traditionists of his age. He was the first 'Iraqi *muhaddith* who made a critical study of the narrators of tradition and discriminated the weak and impugned narrators. In addition to that he excelled in literature and poetry.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/338 ; *al-Hilya* : 7/144 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 9/255.

P. 103. L. 11. Yunus b. Jubayr.

Abu Ghallab Yunus b. Jubayr al-Bahili al-Basri was a trustworthy narrator of traditions. He was a pupil of Ibn 'Umar, al-Bara' b. 'Azib, Jundub al-Bajali etc. and was a teacher of Humayd b. Hilal, Ibn Sirin, Qatada and Ibn 'Aun.

Al-Tahdhib : 11/436.

P. 103. L. 11. Jundub b. 'Abd Allah.

Abu Abd Allah Jundub b. 'Abd Allah b. Sufyan al-Bajali al-'Alqami first lived in al-Kufa but later migrated to al-Basra. He was a boy during the lifetime of the Prophet.

Al-Isaba : 1/509.

P. 103. L. 17. 'Umar b. Hubayra.

Abu'l-Muthanna 'Umar b. Hubayra b. Sa'd b. 'Adi was a great warrior and general of the Umayyad age. He showed great bravery while fighting against the Byzantines under 'Amr b. Mu'awiya al-'Uqayli and was instrumental in slaying Mutarrif b. al-Mughira, who had revolted against al-Hajjaj. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz appointed him the Governor of al-Jazira. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik appointed him the Governor of al-'Iraq and Khurasan. In 105 A.H./723 A.D. Hisham dismissed him from that office.

Ibn al-Athir : 5/37, 38 ; *Raghat al-'Amil* : 2/77 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/231.

P. 104. L. 2. Ibrahim b. Yazid al-Nakha'i.

Ibrahim b. Yazid b. Qays b. al-Aswad Abu Uthman al-Nakha'i was one of the top ranking *Tabi'in* and was an eminent scholar of tradition and jurisprudence. He had concealed himself from al-Hajjaj to escape his persecution and he died in his concealment in 96 A.H./715 A.D.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 6/188-199 ; *al-Hilya* : 4/219 ; *Ta'rikh al-Islam* : 3/335 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/76.

P. 104. L. 11. Al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra.

Abu Sa'id Zalim b. Sarraq al-Azdi al-'Atki was a great general, governor and munificent chief of the Umayyad age. Al-Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr appointed him Governor of al-Basra and he played a great role in destroying the strength of al-Azariqa, who had gained power in that area. In 79 A.H./698 A.D. 'Abd al-Malik appointed him Governor of Khurasan and he died there while still in office.

Al-Wafayat : 2/145 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 2/102 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 4/183 ; *al-Aghani* : 8/107 ; *al-A'lam* : 261.

P. 106. L. 7. Marw al-Raudh.

See *Mu'jam al-Buldan* : 8/32.

P. 106. L. 8. Khurasan.

See *Mu'jam al-Buldan* : 3/407.

P. 106. L. 8. Nahar b. Tausi'a.

Nahar b. Tausi'a b. Abi 'Itban was the greatest poet of Bakr b. Wa'il in Khurasan. He once satirised Qutayba b. Muslim, who was greatly enraged and ordered him to be brought before him. Nahar was afraid of Qutayba's anger so he went to Qutayba's mother and asked her to intercede on his behalf. She agreed and managed to obtain pardon for Nahar from her son.

Al-Simt : 817 ; *al-Naq'id* : 359, 364, 368 ; *al-Shi'r* : 342 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 7/97.

P. 106. L. 11. Qutayba b. Muslim,

Qutayba b. Muslim b. 'Amr b. al-Hasan al-Bahili was one of the greatest generals and conquerors of the Umayyad age. He was appointed the Governor of al-Rayy by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan. Al-Walid transferred him to Khurasan. He invaded Transoxiana and after conquering Khawarazm, Sijistan and Samarkand reached China and forced the king to pay tribute to the Caliph. When Sulayman became Caliph he wanted to depose Qutayba, who consequently, revolted against him. One of the subordinate officers of Qutayba, al-Waki' b. al-Hasan al-Tamimi, who was loyal to the Caliph murdered Qutayba at Farghana in 96 A.H./715 A.D.

Al-Wafayat : 1/428 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/657 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 3/6 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/28.

P. 107. L. 14. Maslama b. 'Alqama.

Maslama b. 'Alqama al-Mazini known as Abu Muhammad al-Basri was a pupil of Da'ud b. Abi Hind, Ayas b. Dighfal, Yazid al-Raqqashi etc. Al-Asma'i 'Ali b. al-Madini, Qays b. Hafs al-Darimi and 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Umar al-Qawariri narrated traditions from him. Some of the critics declare him to be a weak authority while others uphold his trustworthiness.

Al-Tahdhib : 10/144, 145.

P. 107. L. 14. Marwan b. Muhammad.

Marwan b. Muhammad b. Marwan b. al Hakam al-Umawi known as al-Ja'di or al-Himar was the last Umayyad ruler in the East. He was a brave warrior and a sagacious statesman and administrator but the Umayyad Empire had become so weak that, despite his best efforts, he could not save it. He was killed at Busir in Egypt while fighting against the 'Abbasids.

Ibn al-Athir : 5/119 ; *al-Ya'qubi* : 3/76 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/1850-1854, 1870-1873 ; *al-Muruj* : 2/155-165 ; *al-A'lam* : 8/97.

P. 108. L. 1. al-Sa'ib b. al-Aqra'.

Al-Sa'ib b. al-Aqra' b. 'Auf was a Companion of the Prophet. He

participated in the conquests during 'Umar's reign, and was appointed the Governor of Isfahan and died there. According to Ibn 'Abbas he was the wisest man of 'Arabia.

Al-Isaba : 2/14 ; *al-Bayan* : 2/269.

P. 108. L. 5. Bakr b. 'Abd Allah al-Muzani.

Abu 'Abd Allah Bakr b. 'Abd Allah b. Amr al-Muzani al-Basri was a pupil of Anas b. Malik, Ibn 'Abbas Ibn 'Amr, al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, al-Hasan al-Basri etc. Qatada, Ghalib al-Qattan, Sulayman al-Taymi etc. narrated traditions from him.

Al-Tahdhib : 1/485.

P. 109. L. 1. Isma'il b. Yasar.

Isma'il b. Yasar al-Nisa'i was a client of Banu Tamim b. Murra and was a Sha'ubi poet of the Umayyad period. He enjoyed long life and died towards the end of the Umayyad rule in 130 A.H./748 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 4/118-126 ; *Sharh Shafiya Ibn Hajib* : 318 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/328.

P. 110. L. 6. 'Ata' b. Abi Sayfi.

Ata, b. Abi Sayfi al-Thaqafi was a friend of 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hasan.

Al-Iqd : 2/123.

P. 111. L. 5. Aban b. Taghlib.

Aban b. Taghlib al-Rabi'i Abu Sa'd al-Kufi was a trustworthy narrator of traditions. He was a pupil of Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i, Abu Ja'far al-Baqir etc., and was a teacher of Musa b. 'Uqba, Shu'ba and Hammad b. Zayd.

Al-Tahdhib : 1/93.

P. 111. L. 15. Ibn al-Sammak.

Khalid b. Yazid better known as Ibn al-Sammak b. Rustam was a trustworthy narrator of traditions. He died in 144 A.H./761 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 3/132.

P. 113. L. 5. Sa'id b. 'Uqba.

Sa'id b. Zayd b. 'Uqba al-Fazari al-Kufi was a trustworthy narrator of traditions.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/33 ; *al-Aghani* : 10/105, 107 ; 18/205.

P. 113. L. 6. Raja' b. Hayat.

Raja' b. Hayat b. Jarwal al-Kindi was an eminent scholar and preacher of Syria in his time. He acted as a secretary to Sulayman b. Abd al-Malik and he was responsible for persuading Sulayman to appoint 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz as his successor:

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz ; 1/111 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 3/265 ; *al-Hilya* : 5/170 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/187.

P. 114. L. 14. 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Qasim b. Muhammad.

Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Qasim b. Muhammad was one of the topmost scholars of al-Madina and excelled in jurisprudence and tradition. He died in Syria in 126 A.H./744 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 6/254 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/97.

P. 114. L. 15. 'Abd Allah b. Abi Bakr.

'Abd Allah b. Abi Bakr al-Siddiq was one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is reported to have conveyed the news of the activities of the Meccans and food to the Prophet and Abu Bakr when they took refuge in the Cave. He participated in the battle of al-Ta'if and was injured by a person called Abu Mihjan al-Thaqafi. He died in 11 A.H./632 A.D., of that injury.

Al-Bidaya : 6/338.

P. 115. L. 4. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl.

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzza was one of the sages of the *Jahiliyya*. He hated idolatry and did not eat the flesh of the animals slaughtered as sacrifices to the idols. He is said to have visited Syria in search of true religion and studied Christianity and Judaism, which did

not impress him. Consequently, he returned to Mecca and continued to profess the religion of Abraham. When he openly condemned idol worship the Quraysh banished him from Mecca. He died before the advent of Islam.

Al-Aghani : 3/15 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/99.

P. 115. L. 7. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abu Bakr.

He was the eldest son of Abu Bakr and the real brother of 'A'isha. He participated in the battle of Badr on behalf of the unbelievers and embraced Islam during the truce of Huhaybiya. He participated in the battles of the Conquest and performed glorious deeds during the conquest of Syria. He died in 57 A.H./677 A.D. at a place near Mecca called al-Habsha.

Al-Bidaya : 8/89.

P. 117. L. 3. Misma'.

Misma' b. 'Abd al-Malik al-'Ijli b. Lujaym b. Mus'ab b. Ali b. Bakr b. Wa'il was an eminent chief of al-Basra.

Al-'Iqd : 3/95 ; *al-Aghani* : 2/116.

P. 117. L. 3. Shabib b. Shayba.

Shahib b. Shayba b. 'Abd Allah al-Taymi al-Minqari was an eminent dignitary of al-Basra and was famous for his generosity. He had cordial relations with the Umayyad Caliphs and the people used to seek his intercession in their affairs.

Al-Bayan : 1/63 ; *al-Tahdib* : 4/307 ; *Mizan al-I'tidal* : 1/441.

P. 120. L. 5. Muslim b. al-Walid.

Abu'l Walid Muslim b. al-Ansari commonly known as Sari' al-Ghawani was an eminent lyricist of the Abbasid age. He is the first poet who used *al-Badi'* in his verse. The subsequent poets followed his example. The title Sari' al-Ghawani is said to have been bestowed upon him by Harun. He was appointed Postmaster General of Gurjan by al-Fadal b. Sahl and he died in that office.

Al-Nujum : 2/186 ; *al-Simt* : 427 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 3/5 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 13/96.

P. 120. L. 6. al-Fadl b. Sahl.

Al-Fadl b. Sahl al-Sarakhsi attached himself to al-Ma'mun during his boyhood and embraced Islam at his instigation in 190 A.H./806 A.D. When al-Ma'mun assumed sovereignty he appointed him his *Wazir* and commander-in-Chief, hence he was called Dhu'l-Riyasatyn. He was murdered at Sarakhs in 202 A.H./818 A.D.

Al-Wafayat : 1/413 ; *al-Marzubani* : 313 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 12/399 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/354.

P. 121. L. 1. Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi.

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Mahdi was born and bred at Baghdad. He was appointed Governor of Damascus by Harun. During the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mun, Ibrahim invited the people to accept him as a ruler. When al-Ma'mun assumed power as Caliph he revolted against him. Eventually he was captured, but al-Ma'mun forgave him.

Al-Wafayat : 1/8 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 1/98 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 6/142 ; *Ash'ar Aulad al-Khulafa* : 17-49 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/55.

P. 122. L. 23. Isma'il b. al-Qasim.

Abu Ishaq Isma'if b. al-Qasim Abu'l-Atahiya was one of the top-most *muhdath* poets. He was born at 'Ain al-Tamr near al-Kufa, was brought up at al-Kufa and lived in Baghdad. He composed verse on all the current topics of his time, but his poem on asceticism and panegyric are regarded as the Best.

Al-Wafayat : 1/71 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 2/285 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 1/426 ; *Ta'rikh Bagdad* : 6/250.

P. 122. L. 23. 'Ali b. Thabit.

'Ali b. Thabit was a friend of Abu'l-'Atahiya and they exchanged verses on asceticism and wisdom. 'Ali b. Thabit was a highly cultured person.

Al-Aghani : 3/147.

P. 125. L. 5. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkar al-Zubayri.

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkar b. 'Abd Allah al-Qurashi al-Asadi al-Makki, a descendant of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwam, was a great savant of his age. He had specialised in genealogies and the old history of the Arabs. He was appointed the *qadi* of Mecca and he died there.

Al-Wafayat : 1/189 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 8/467 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/74.

P. 125. L. 6. 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar al-'Abli.

Abu 'Adi 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. Abd Allah al-Umawi al-Qurashi was a poet who lived in both the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid periods. During the Umayyad age he used to write against them and praise the Hashimites. When the 'Abbasids snatched power from the Umayyads, they recognised his services and honoured him. Al-Mansur once summoned him to his court and asked him to recite some verses about his own family. He excused himself, but the Caliph insisted upon his demand, and he had to recite some verses which offended the Caliph, who despised him. 'Abli then went to al-Nafs al-Zakiyya who had risen in revolt against al-Mansur. After the death of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya al-'Abli fled to al-Yaman where he died after 145 A.H./762 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 4/91 ; 10/106.

P. 125. L. 6. Suwayqa.

Suwayqa was a village in the neighbourhood of al-Madina. The descendants of 'Ali b. Abi Talib used to live there.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 5/180.

P. 125. L. 8. 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan.

Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. Ali was a *Tabi'i* and was an outstanding personage of his times. Al-Mansur detained him in a dungeon at al-Kufa on account of his political activities against the 'Abbasids, and he died there in 145 A.H./762 A.D. Muhammad and Ibrahim who revolted against al-Mansur were his sons.

Tadhib Ibn 'Asakir : 7/354 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 9/431 ; *al-Bidaya* : 10/95 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/207.

P. 125. L. 8. Al-Hasan b. al-Hasan.

Al-Hasan b. al-Hasan was a half-brother of 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan noticed above. He was also detained by al-Mansur along with 'Abd Allah b. al-Hasan and died in the same gaol a short time after the death of 'Abd Allah.

Al-Bidaya : 10/95.

P. 126. L. 14. Hind bint Abu 'Ubayda.

The father of Hind was munificent chief of his age. She was the wife of 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan before marrying 'Abd Allah b. Hasan.

Al-Aghani : 18/208.

P. 128. L. 13. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Utbi.

See Teachers of al-Mubarrad in Part I of this thesis.

P. 129. L. 17. Al-Hasan al-Basri.

Al-Hasan b. Abi'l-Hasan al-Basri was a prominent figure in the first century of the *Hijra*. He was born in al-Madina, was brought up in Wadi'l-Qura and settled in al-Basra. There he won great reputation for strength of character, piety, learning and eloquence.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 7/133 ; *al-Fihrist* 183 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/128 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/131 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/242.

P. 129. L. 17. Bishr b. Marwan.

Bishr b. Marwan b. al-Hakam b. Abi'l-'Ass al-Qurashi was appointed Governor of al-Basra and al-Kufa by his brother Abd al-Malik in 74 A.H./ 693 A.D., and was the first governor to die in al-Basra.

Al-Khizana : 4/117 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 3/248.

P. 130. L. 5. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik.

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Aban b. Hamza al-Zayyat was a great scholar of Arabic language and literature and was an outstanding

poet and prose writer of the 'Abbasid age. He was appointed as *wazir* by al-Mu'tasim and al-Wathiq. During the last illness of al-Wathiq, al-Zayyat endeavoured to have al-Mutawakkil deposed and Wathiq's son installed as successor, in which he failed. When al-Mutawakkil assumed power he dismissed him from the office and persecuted him and tortured him to death.

Al-Wafayat : 2/54 ; *Al-Ashani* : 20/46 ; *al-Tabari* : *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 2/342 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/215-216.

P. 130. L. 7. Sulayman b. Wahb.

Sulayman b. Wahb b. Sa'id b. 'Amr al-Harithi was appointed as secretary by al-Ma'mun when he was only fourteen years old. Al-Muhtadi and al-Mu'tamid entrusted to him the office of *wazir*. Al-Muwaffaq became angry with him and imprisoned him and he died in prison in 272 A.H./885 A.D. He was a patron of Abu Tammam and al-Buhturi.

Al-Wafayat : 1/216 ; *al-Simt* : 506 ; *al-Nujum* : 3/37/40.

P. 132. L. 3. Ma'n b. Za'da.

Abu'l Walid Ma'n b. Za'da b. 'Abd Allah b. Matar al-Shaybani was one of the most bountiful people among the Arabs and was a valiant warrior at the same time. The Umayyads held him in high esteem and appointed him as the Governor of various provinces. When the 'Abbasids came to power he had to hide himself in the beginning, but soon he was able to demonstrate his fidelity to the new regime and was able to win their favours. Al-Mansur appointed him the Governor of al-Yaman and then transferred him to Sijistan, where he was murdered in 151 A.H./768 A.D.

Al-Wafayat ; 2/108 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 13/235.

P. 132. L. 9. 'Abd al-Samad b. al-Mu'dhdhal.

See Part I "The Friends of al-Mubarrad."

P. 155. L. 3. Al-Hasan b. Raja'.

Al-Hasan b. Raja' al-Katib was a contemporary of al-Ma'mun and

Hasa b. Sahl. Once al-Ma'mun went to the secretariate and saw Hasan b. Sahl busy at his work. He asked him who he was and he replied so eloquently that al-Ma'mun ordered his immediate promotion. He was a poet also and eulogised Abu Dulaf al-'Ijli.

Al-'Iqd : 1/97, 136, 3/50.

P. 135. L. 3. Raja' b. Abi'l-Dahhak.

Raja' b. Abi'l-Dahhak was appointed the head of the Diwan al-Kharaj during the reign of al-Ma'mun and was collector of Damascus during the reign of al-Mu'tasim. Al-Wathiq appointed the collector of Damascus and Urdun. He was murdered in Damascus by 'Ali b. Ishaq, the Governor.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir : 5/316 ; *al-Lubab* : 1/220 ; *al-'A'lam* : 3/44.

P. 137. L. 6. Marwan b. Abi'l-Janub.

Marwan b. Abi'l-Janub b. Marwan b. Sulayman b. Yahya b. Abi Hafsa known as Marwan al-Asghar was the grandson of Marwan b. Abi Hafsa. Both the grandfather and grandson were notorious for ridiculing and satirising the family of 'Ali b. Abi Talib and for eulogising the 'Abbasids. Marwan, the elder, flourished during the reign of al-Mahdi and praised him and he showered his favours upon him. He died during the reign of al-Harun al-Rashid in 182 A.H./798 A.D.

Marwan b. Abi'l-Janub (the younger Marwan) was a boon companion of al-Mutawakkil, who appointed him the Governor of al-Yaman, al-Bahrain etc. He wrote poems in praise of al-Ma'mun, al-Mu'tasim and al-Wathiq as well.

Al-Mubarrad seems to have confused Marwan b. Abi Hafsa (the elder Marwan) with the younger Marwan, Marwan b. Abi'l-Janub. The poem cited by al-Mubarrad was composed by Marwan the elder and not the younger as has been stated by al-Tabari. The younger Marwan died about 240 A.H./854 A.D.

Al-Tabari : 3/594 ; *al-Marzubani* : 399, 396 ; *al-Aghani* : 9/36-50 ; *al-Shi'r* 48 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 13/142 ; *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* : 42.

P. 139. L. 9. Al-Hasan b. Wahb.

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. Wahb b. Sa'id b. 'Amr b. Husayn al-Harithi acted as a secretary to various 'Abbasid Caliphs. He was a contemporary of Abu Tammam and wrote panegrics on him. Al-Buhturi composed an elegy on his death. He was a brother of Sulayman b. Wahb the *cazir* of al-Mu'tazz and al-Muhtadi.

Al-Fawat : 1/136 ; *al-Simt* : 506.

P. 139. L. 9. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Tahir.

See Part I "Patrons of al-Mubarrad."

P. 140. L. 16. Habib b. Aus Abu Tammam al-Ta'i.

Abu Tammam Habib b. Aus b. al-Harith al-Ta'i, one of the most gifted poets of the 'Abbasid age and repositories of classical verse, was born at Jasim, a village near Hauran in Syria, but was educated in Egypt. Al-Mu'tasim summoned him to Baghdad and attached him to his court. Later he was appointed the Postmaster of al-Mausil where he died in 231 A.H./846 A.D. In addition to poetry he is said to have composed several books as well. The most well known of his works is his anthology of classical poetry, the *Hamasa*, which overshadowed the anthologies made by other authors.

Al-Wafayat : 1/121 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 1/38 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 8/248 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/172 ; *Akhbar Abi Tammam* : 144 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/171.

P. 143. L. 1. Muhammad b. 'Abbad b. Habib al-Muhallabi.

He was a descendant of al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra and was the Governor of al-Basra during the reign of al-Mam'un. He was famous for his munificence, and, according to al-Mubarrad, was the leading personage of al-Basra.

Raghat al-Amil : 4/138 ; *al-Nujum* : 2/217 ; *al-A'lam* : 7/50 ; *al-Wazara' wal-Kuttab* : 215.

P. 144. L. 9. Di'bil b. 'Ali al-Khuza'i.

See Part I "The Friends of al-Mubarrad."

P. 144. L. 14. Ashja' b. 'Amr al-Sulami.

Abu'l-Walid Ashja' b. 'Amr al-Sulami was born at al-Yaman, was brought up at al-Basra, and settled at Baghdad. He was a contemporary of Bashshar and was an outstanding poet. Through the intercession of the Barmikides he was introduced to the Caliph Harun, who liked his poetry and patronised him. He lived after the death of Rashid, composed elegies on him and died in 195 A.H./811 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 17/30 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 3/59-63 ; *al-Ma'ahid* : 4/62 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 2/169 ; *Ta'rikh Baghdad* : 7/45 ; *al-Sh'ir* : 373.

P 144. L. 14. Muhammad b. Mansur.

Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. Mansur b. Ziyad was the commander of Harun's Army and had very good relations with the Caliph and Barmikides. He was a patron of al-Khuraymi, Ashja' al-Sulami and Sari' al-Ghawani. Ashja' composed a great deal of verse in his praise.

Al-'Iqd : 3/120 ; *al-Aghani* . 15/141 ; *Kitab al-Auraq* : 81/108.

P. 147. L. 7. Isma'il b. Yasar.

Isma'il b. Yasar al-Nisa'i was a client of Taym b. Murra and was known for his Sha'ubi tendencies. He was a supporter of the family of al-Zubayr, but when 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan became Caliph he went to him along with Muhammad b. 'Urwa and praised him. He died in 130 A.H./748 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 4/119-127 ; *Sharh Shafiya li-Ibn Hajib* : 318.

P. 148. L. 14. al-Ba'ith.

Abu Zayd Khidash b Bishr b. Khalid al-Mujash'i was a Basran poet and orator. Al-Jahiz declares him to be the greatest speaker of Banu Tamim during war. The matches of satire and ridicule between al-Ba'ith and Jarir continued for 40 years. He died in 234 A.H./752 A.D.

Al-Bayan : 1/199 ; *al-Shi'r* : 195 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba'* : 121 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/345.

P. 148. L. 17. Asma' bint Abi Bakr.

Asma' bint Abi Bakr Dhat al-Nitaqayn was the daughter of Abu Bakr

al-Siddiq and a sister of 'A'isha and was a highly accomplished lady. She died after enjoying a long life of one hundred years and is said to be the last of *Muhajirun* to die.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 8/142 ; *al-Hilya* : 2/55 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 9/345.

P. 149. L. 15. Sa'id b. Jubayr.

Abu 'Abd Allah Sa'id b. Jubayr al-Asadi al-Kufi was the most learned Tabi'i and had acquired knowledge from 'Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas and Ibn 'Umar. He supported 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath when he revolted against 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan. After the defeat of 'Abd al-Rahman he took refuge in Mecca, but was captured by Khalid al-Qasri who sent him to al-Hajjaj, and he was killed on his orders at Wasit in 95 A.H./714 A.D.

Al-A'lam : 3/145 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/204 ; *Tabaqat* (I.S.) ; 6/178.

P. 149. L. 17. Al-Qualkh b. Hazn.

Al-Qulakh b. Hazn al-Miqari belonged to Banu Hazn b. Minaqr b. Ubayd b. al-Harith and was an eminent personage of his tribe. He satirised Muqatil b. Qays who gave a daughter of his in marriage to a Jewish convert to Islam.

Al-Bayan : 1/326 ; *al-'Iqd* : 3/244 ; *al-Aghani* : 10/38.

P. 150. L. 4. Damra b. Damra.

Damra b. Damra b. Jabir al-Nahshili belonged to the tribe of Banu Darim and was a *Jahili* poet. He was a valiant warrior and was the hero of the battle of Dhat al-Shuquq, in which he defeated Banu Asad.

Al-'Iqd : 1/179 ; *al-Shi'r* : 404 ; *al-Simt* : 435, 505 , *al-A'lam* : 3/311.

P. 150. L. 6. al-Hasan b. Dinar.

Al-Hasan b. Dinar was the son of Wasil but became known after his stepfather, Dinar. He was also known as Abu Sa'id al-Basri and was a pupil of al-Hasan al-Basri, Ibn Sirin and Abd Allah b. Dinar. He has been severely criticised by some of the critics for his carelessness in passing on traditions.

Al-Tahdhib : 2/275.

P. 150. L. 6. Al-Hasan b. Abi'l-Hasan = al-Hasan al-Basri.

P. 150. L. 12. Mujalid.

Mujalid b. Sa'id b. 'Umayr al-Hamadani was a narrator of traditions and anecdotes and was a Kufan by birth. The critics differ about his veracity.

Al-Tarikh : 10/39 ; *al-Murubani* : 472 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/161.

P. 150. L. 12. Al-Sha'bi.

Abu 'Amr 'Amir b. Sharahil al-Sho'bi al-Himayri was *Tabi'i* and was gifted with a phenomenal memory. He was born and brought up at al-Kufa and he attached himself to the court of 'Abd al-Malik, who sent him to the king of Byzantium as his messenger. Al-Sha'bi died at al-Kufa in 103 A.H. 722 A.D.

Al-Tarikh : 5/65 ; *al-Wafiyat* : 1/244 ; *al-Hilya* : 4/310.

P. 151. L. 2. Ibrahim b. Abi Yahya.

Ibrahim b. Abi Yahya al-Aslami b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Abd Allah b. al-'Abbas was appointed Governor of al-Mansil by al-Mansur. He conducted the service at the funeral of the later.

Al-Iqd : I/19.

P. 151. L. 12. Majza' b. Thaur al-Sadusi.

Majza' b. Thaur b. 'A'ir al-Sadusi was a Companion of the Prophet and was well-known for his heroism and valour. Umar b. al-Khattab appointed him the Chief of Bakr b. Wa'il. He was responsible for the conquest of Tustar and was killed there in the encounter.

Tarikh al-Islam : 2/30 ; *al-Khizana* : 2/440 ; *Mu'jam al-Buldan* : 2/388 ; *Raghibat al-Amil* : 5/184, 185.

P. 151. L. 13. Shaqiq b. Thaur.

The biographers differ as to whether Shaqiq was a brother of Majza' or his son. He was an eminent chief of the Umayyad age and was the chieftain of Bakr b. Wa'il during the age of Uthman. He participated in

the battle of Siffin as a partisan of 'Ali. He was a *Tabi'i* and a trustworthy narrator of traditions.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/361 ; *Jamkarat al-Ansab* : 299 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 5/185 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/250.

P. 151. L. 15. Mutarrif b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Shakhir.

Mutarrif b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Shakhir was an eminent *Tabi'i* and was an influential chief. He supported Ibn al-Ash'ath against 'Abd al-Malik and at the former's defeat was brought to al-Hajjaj along with 'Amir al-Sha'bi. He managed to escape death by prevarication.

Al-'Iqd : 3/20 ; *al-Bayan* : 1/117.

P. 152. L. 3. Malik b. Asma' b. Kharija.

Abu'l-Hassan Malik b. Asma' b. Kharija was an eminent chief and poet of al-Kufa in the Umayyad period. Al-Hajjaj married his sister, Hind bint Asma'. He acted as Governor of Isfahan for some time, but, later al-Hajjaj dismissed and imprisoned him. He died about 100 A.H./ 718 A.D.

Al-Tabrizi ; 4/45 ; *al-Marzabani* : 364 ; *al-Simt* : 15 ; *al-Shi'r* : 304.

P. 154. L. 12. Yazid b. al-Hakam al-Thaqafi.

Yazid b. al-Hakam b. Abi'l-Ass b. Bishr al-Thaqafi was an outstanding poet of the Umayyad age. Al-Hajjaj appointed him the Governor of Fars, but deposed him before he took charge of the assignment. He lodged a complaint with Sulayman who granted him a stipend equal to the tax of that province.

Al-Khizana : 2/54-56 ; *Ibn al-Shajari* : 139 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 8/40, 48 ; *al-Simt* : 238.

P. 156. L. 7. Ibn Kunasa.

Abu Yahya Muhammad b. Abd Allah b. Kunasa was an eminent poet of the 'Abbasid age. He never indulged in praise or satire and was an erudite scholar of Arabic language and literature and ancient history.

Al-Tahdhib : 9/258 ; *al-A'lam* : 7/92.

P. 157. L. 2. 'Ali b. al-Husayn.

'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib al-Hashimi al-Qurashi commonly known as Zayn al-'Abidin is the fourth *Imam* of the twelver Shi'ites. He was the topmost figure of his age in depth of knowledge, piety and munificence.

Al-Wafayat : 1/320 ; *Tabaqat* (I.S.) : 5/156 ; *al-Hilya* : 3/133 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/86.

P. 157. L. 14. Al-Ash'ath b. Qays.

Abu Muhammad al-Ash'ath b. Qays b. Ma'dikarib al-Kindi was the chief of the tribe of al-Kinda in the *Jahiliyya* and Islam. He came to the Prophet after the advent of Islam and became Muslim along with the rest of his tribe. He was one of those chiefs who declined to pay the poor-tax immediately after the demise of the Prophet but was captured after a battle. Abu Bakr forgave him and married his own sister to him. He participated in the conquest of al-'Iraq and was a Companion of 'Ali in the battle of Siffin. He died at al-Kufa in 40 A.H./660 A.D.

Tahdhib Ibn Asak'r : 3/64 ; *al-Khizana* : 2/465 ; *al-Khamis* : 2/289 ; *al-A'lam* : 1/334.

P. 158. L. 4. Ibrahim b. Salm.

Ibrahim b. Salm b. Qutayba was a trusted friend and courtier of al-Hadi who appointed him as the Governor of al-Yaman in 169 A.H./786 A.D. When Salm, the son of Ibrahim b. Salm, died al-Hadi himself came to condole Ibrahim on his death.

Al-Tabari : 3/568, 576, 587.

P. 158. L. 11. Iyas b. Mu'awiya.

Abu Wathila Ayas b. Mu'awiya al-Muzani al-Qadi was appointed as the *qadi* of al-Basra by 'Umar b. Abd al-Aziz. He was famous for his wisdom and piercing intellect.

Al-Bayan : 1/111.

P. 159. L. 9. Muharib b. Dithar.

Muharib b. Dithar al-Sadusi al-Shaybani al-Kufi Abu'l-Mutarrif was

the *qadi* of al-Kufa and was a deep scholar of jurisprudence. He is said to have *Murji'a* leanings. He died in 116 A.H./734 A.D. when he was still in office.

Al-Tahdhib : 10/49 ; *al-Jarh wab Ta'dil* : 4/416 ; *Ta'rikh al-Islam* : 2/297 ; *al-Nujum* : I/287 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/67.

P. 161. L. 9. Yazid b. al-Sa'iq.

Yazid b. 'Amr b. Khuwaylid (al-Sa'iq) al-Kilabi was an eminent *jahili* poet and warrior. Mirdas b. Abi 'Amir sought his help against a raiding party of Kilab, who had taken away his one hundred camels by force. He attacked the party, seized the camels and sent them to the owner.

Al-Naq'id 387, 587, 589 ; *al-Ma'ani al-Kabir* : 522, 523 ; *al-Shi'r* : 404 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/206.

P. 161. L. 13. Sa'id b. Qays al-Muharibi.

Sa'id b. Qays b. Zayd, a scion of Banu Zayd b. Ma'rib was a staunch supporter of 'Ali b. Abi Talib and fought for him in the battle of Siffin. He was the chieftain of the Hamdanite settlers in al-'Iraq. Sa'id died in 50 A.H./670 A.D.

Al-Iklil 10/46-56 : *al-'Iqd* : 2/65 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/153.

P. 162. L. 9. Khalid b. Safawan.

Khalid b. Safawan b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-Ahtam al-Tamimi al-Minqari was born and brought up in al-Basra. He was a great conversationalist and was well-known for his eloquence and wit. He had cordial relations with 'Umar b. Abd al-Aziz and Hisham b. Abd al-Malik.

Al-Wafayat : 1/243 ; *Mu'jam al-Buldan* : 4/387 ; *al-Murtada* : 4/372 ; *Nukat al-Himyan* : 148.

P. 163. L. 9. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakra.

'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakra al-Thaqafi was an eminent *Tabi'i*. He was appointed by Ziyad his Viceroy on one of his provinces. He died in 96 A.H./715 A.D.

Al-Isaba : 3/291 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/73.

P. 163. L. 9. 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Umayr.

'Ubayd Allah b. 'Umayr al-Laythi was a storyteller of al-Basra and was a half-brother of 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir b. Kurayz al-Qurashi.

Al-Bayan : 1/346.

P. 165. L. 1. Sinan b. Salama al-Hudhali.

Sidan b. Salama b. Qays.

Al-Bayan : 3/147.

P. 165. L. 9. Al-Sayyala.

Al-Sayyala was the name of the first stage on the route from Mecca to al-Madina.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 5/189.

P. 165. L. 11. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd.

Abu Uthman Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Bab al-Taymi al-Basri was the head of the Mu'tazilites and their jurisconsult in his age. He was an erudite scholar and mytic and enjoyed cordial relations with the Caliph al-Mansur. He died near Mecca in 144 A.H./761 A.D. and the Caliph himself wrote an elegy on him. No-one else ever received this honour from a Caliph.

Al-Wafayat : 2/384 ; *Akhbar Isbahan* : 2/33 ; *al-Badaya* : 10/78 ; *Mizan al-I'tidal* : 2/294 ; *al-A'lam* ; 2/252.

P. 165. L. 23. Shibl b. Ma'bad.

Shibl b. Ma'bad was an inhabitant of al-Basra and was a contemporary of al-Mughira b. Sh'uba. He was an eminent poet.

Al-Aghani : 14/145 ; *al-Bayan* : 3/67 ; *al-'Iqd* : 2/21.

P. 167. L. 1. Khalid b al-Walid.

Khalid b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira al-Makhzumi al-Qurashi, the great conqueror of early Islam, was given the title of "the sword of God" for his bravery. He embraced Islam before the conquest of Mecca and played a great role in suppressing the revolts of the 'Arab tribes after the

death of the Prophet. He led the Muslim forces in the conquest of Syria and al-'Iraq.

Al-Isaba : 2/413 ; *Takāhib Ibn Asākir* : 5/92-114 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 1/268 ; *al-Khamis* : 2/247 ; *al-'Alam* : 2/342.

P. 167. L. 6. Mughira b. Sh'uba.

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Mughira b. Sh'uba b. Abu 'Amar b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi was a Companion of the Prophet and was a great warrior. During the reign of Abu Bakr he participated in the conquest of Syria. 'Umar appointed him Governor of al-Basra. At the time of the murder of Uthman he was the Governor of al-Kufa. When the civil war broke out between 'Ali and Mu'awiya he did not take sides in it. Later Mu'awiya appointed him the Governor of al-Kufa, and he died in 50 A.H. 670 A.D. while still in office. According to al-Sh'abi he was one of the most cunning persons of 'Arabia.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 4/24 ; *al-Tabari* : 6/131 ; *Ibn al-Akhir* : 3/182 ; *al-Marzubani* : 368 ; *Ragibat al-Amil* : 4/202.

P. 166. L. 10. Sa'ib b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hassan.

He was also known as Abu 'Ubayd Allah al-Makhzumi and was a pupil of Hisham b. Sulayman al-Makhzumi, Sufyan b. 'Uyayna and Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Ali and was a teacher of al-Tirmidhi al-Nisa'i and Ibn Khuzayma.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/55.

P. 167. L. 1. Abu Musa.

'Abd Allah b. Qays b. Sulaym was a scion of Bani'l Ash'ar. He was a Companion of the Prophet and a brave warrior and conqueror. He was one of the two arbiters who proclaimed their judgement between 'Ali and Mu'awiya after the battle of Siffin.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 4/79 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/256 ; *Sifat al-Sawfa* : 1/25.

P. 167. L. 7. Wabiq.

This place-name does not occur in Mu'jam al-Buldan.

P. 167. L. 13. Al-Najaf.

Al-Najaf is a town in the neighbourhood of al-Kufa, which contains the tomb of 'Ali.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 8/266.

P. 168. L. 1. Usays.

Usays is the name of a spring in eastern Damascus, or of a town in the territory of 'Amir b. Sa'sa, or of a fort in al-Yaman.

Mu'jam al-Baldan : 1/250.

P. 170. L. 2. Musa b. 'Uqba al-Madani.

Abu Muhammad Musa b. 'Uqba b. 'Abi 'Ayyash was a client of Banu Asad and was an inhabitant of al-Madina. He was a renowned authority on the life of the Prophet and was a trustworthy narrator of traditions. He died in 141 A.H./758 A.D.

Al-Tahdhib : 10/360 ; *al-A'lam* ; 8/276 ; *Huart* : 174.

P. 170. L. 9. 'Umar b. Ghiyath al-Hilali.

'Umar b. Ghiyath al-Hadrami al-Kufi was a traditionist. He has been adversely criticised by some of the critics.

Lisan al-Mizan : 3/217.

P. 171. L. 1. Ka'b al-Ahbar.

Abu Ishaq Ka'b b. Muti' b. Dhu Hujn al-Himayri was a *Tabi'i* and was a great scholar of Jewish religion. He embraced Islam in the reign of Abu Bakr. During the reign of 'Umar he came to al-Madina and the various companions acquired knowledge from him about the old nations, and he studied the *Qur'an* and *Sunna* with them.

Tadhkirat al-Huffaz : 1/49 ; *al-Hilya* : 5/364 ; *al-Isaba* : No. 7498 ; *al-Nujum* : 1/90 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/85.

P. 172. L. 4. Ib Jurmuz.

'Amr b. Jurmuz al-Mujashi'i treacherously murdered Ibn Zubayr in

Wadi' l-Siba' while he was asleep. He brought his head to 'Ali b. Abi Talib who observed: "Be pleased with Hell, for I have heard the Prophet say "give the warning of Hell to the murderer of al-Zubayr"".

Al-'Iqd : 2/21 ; *al-Tabari* : 1/3188.

P. 172. L. 8. Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah.

Abu Muhammad Talha b. 'Ubayd Allah b. Uthman al-Taymi al-Qurashi al-Madani was one of the ten companions who were given the good tidings of Heaven in their lifetime. He was one of the six companions who were members of Prophet's Council. He was slain in the Battle of the Camel while fighting on the side of 'A'isha.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 3/152 ; *al-Hilya* ; 1/87 ; *Tahdhib Ibn Asakir* : 7/71 ; *Raghat al-Amil*.

P. 173. L. 1. Ibn Muljam.

'Abd al-Rahman b. Muljam al-Muradi, a mighty warrior and a scholar of jurisprudence and *Qur'an*, was a partisan of 'Ali b. Abi Talib and participated in the battle of Siffin on his side. After the truce and appointment of arbiters he turned against him and joined the Kharijites. He conspired with two other comrades to kill 'Ali, Mu'awiya and 'Amr b. al-'Ass, who in their view were the root cause of the civil war and dissension among the Muslims. He came to al-Kufa and succeeded in slaying 'Ali but was captured and put to the sword three days after 'Ali's death.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 3/23 ; *Lisan al-Mizan* : 3/439 ; *al-Nujum* : 1/20 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/115.

P. 175. L. 3. Ta'us.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Ta'uz b. Kaysan al-Khaulani was one of the most eminent of the *Tabi'un* and was celebrated for his deep knowledge of jurisprudence and tradition. He was very courageous and used to warn the Caliphs and Amirs, fearlessly, about their anti-Islam activities. He died at al-Muzdalifa or Mina, while performing pilgrimage, and Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik led the funeral prayer for him.

Al-Tahdhib : 5/8 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 2/160 ; *al-Hilya* : 4/3 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/233.

P. 175. L. 10. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'Ass.

'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'Ass was a Companion of the Prophet. He knew the art of lettering before the advent of Islam and knew Syrian fairly well. 'Abd Allah embraced Islam earlier than his father and the Prophet allowed him to write his sayings. He was well-known for his asceticism and love of God and was a mighty warrior as well. Abd Allah died in 65 A.H./685 A.D.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 13-18 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/283 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 1/270 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/250.

P. 175. L. 15. Umayya b. Abi'l-Salt.

Umayya b. Abi'l-Salt was an eminent poet and sage of the *Jahiliyya*. He was one of those persons who abhorred idolatry, considered the taking of liquor an unlawful and were expecting the appearance of a Prophet to lead humanity to the path of righteousness and divine guidance. When the Prophet proclaimed his mission Umayya did not follow him, because some of his relatives were slain in the battle of Badr.

Al-Khizana : 1/119 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 3/115 ; *al-Simt* : 362.

P. 176. L. 8. al-Haytham b. al-Aswad al-Nakha'i.

Abu'l 'Uryan al-Haytham b. al-Aswad al-Nakha'i was an eminent dignitary of al-Kufa and was an excellent orator and poet. He was a *Tabi'i* and was an excellent narrator of traditions.

Ta'rikh al-Islam : 2/208 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 11/89 ; *al-Hayawan* : 5/49 ; *al-Bayan* : 1/375, 5/64, 87, 88.

P. 177. L. 15. Ibrahim al-Nakha'i.

Ibrahim b. Malik al-Ashtar b. al-Harith al-Nakha'i was a brave warrior and general and was a partisan of Mus'ab b. al-Zubayr. He participated in several battles along with him. He was slain at Maskan while fighting against the troops of Abd al-Malik and was buried near

Samarra'.

Al-A'lam : 1/53-54.

P. 178. L. 3. Hudhyfa.

Abu 'Abd Allah Hudhayfa b. Hisn b. Jabir was a Companion of the Prophet and was a conqueror and general. 'Umar appointed him the Governor of al-Mada'in and he added vast territories to the Muslim empire.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir : 4/93 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 2/219 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/270 ; *Ta'rikh al-Islam* : 2/152.

P. 178. L. 16. Al-Walid b. 'Uqba.

Abu Wahb al-Walid b. 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'it al-Umawi al-Qurashi was a half brother of Uthman b. 'Affan and was a good poet and munificent chief. He held responsible posts in the age of the Prophet and 'Umar. Uthman appointed him as the Governor of al-Kufa. He was deposed for drinking and legal punishment was inflicted upon him. He died at Riqqa in 61 A.H./681 A.D.

Al-Isaba : No. 9149 ; *al-A'lam* : 9/143.

P. 178. L. 16. Balj.

Balj was the name of a place in the neighbourhood of al-Basra.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 2/262.

P. 179. L. 9. Iyad b. Muslim.

Iyad b. Muslim, a freed slave of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan was appointed as his secretary by al-Walid b. Yazid. When al-Walid left al-Rusafa as a protest against the attitude of Hisham he left 'Iyad at the Court to convey him the intelligence of the activities of the Caliph. Hisham, consequently, imprisoned him and severely persecuted him.

Al-Aghani : 6/105 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/1743.

P. 179. L. 9. Al-Walid b. Yazid.

Abu'l-'Abbas al-Walid b. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan succeeded his uncle Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik as Caliph in 125 A.H./743 A.D.,

and filled this office for a year and a few months. He had earned a great deal of notoriety for his excessive interest in wine and music and merrymaking ; hence the people revolted against him under Yazid b. al-Walid b. Abd al-Malik. He was captured and killed in the place of al-Nu'man b. Bashir.

Al-Aghani : 6/101 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 5/103 ; *al-Khamis* : 2/320 ; *al-Khizana* ; 1/328 ; *al-Muruj* : 2/145.

P. 179. L. 18. Iyas b. Qatada.

Iyas b. Qatada was a nephew of al-Ahnaf b. Qays and was the *qadi* of Banu Tamim.

Al-Bayan : 3/52 ; *al-'Iqd* : 2/49.

P, 180. L. 4. Ma'bad b. Tauq al-Anbari.

Ma'bad b. Tauq belonged to Banu'l-Anbar and was a famous Orator of his age.

Al-Bayan : 1/332.

P. 180. L. 18. Ja'far b. Sulayman.

Ja'far b. Sulayman b. Abi'l-'Abbas was an eminent warrior, general and administrator belonging to Banu'l-'Abbas. He played a great role in consolidating the 'Abbasid empire.

Al-Bayan : 2/298 ; *al-Tabari* : 3/304 ; *al-Bidaya* : 7/85.

P. 180. L. 19. Muhammad b. Sulayman.

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Sulayman b. Abi'l-'Abbas was the Governor of al-Basra during the reign of al-Mahdi. Harun al-Rashid gave his sister in marriage to him.

Ta'rikh Baghdad : 5/291 ; *al-Wafi* : 3/121 ; *al-Nujum* : 2/47 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 4/17 ; *al-Bayan* : 2/129.

P. 182. L. 13. Dumat al-Jandal.

Dumat al-Jandal was a town between Damascus and al-Madina at a distance of seven stages from Damascus. It was founded by Banu

Kinana.

Mau'jam al-Buldan : 4/106.

P. 183. L. 3. Tustar.

It was the greatest city of Khuzistan province and was conquered by Abu Musa al-Ash'ari during the reign of 'Umar.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 2/388.

P. 183. L. 19. Zabban b. Manzur.

Zabban b. Manzur b. Zabban b. Sayyar b. 'Amr b. Jabir was a chief-tain of the Dhubyan tribe.

Al-Aghani : 11/55, 21/260-263 ; *al-'Iqd* : 3/239-240.

P. 184. L. 14. Tausi'a b. Abi 'Itbau.

Tausi'a b. Abi 'Itban was the father of Nahar b. Tausi'a, the greatest poet of Bakr b. Wa'il in Khurasan.

Al-Shi'r ; 342 ; *al-Tabrizi* : 319 ; *al-Mu'talif* : 193.

P. 187. L. 6. 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ud.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ud b. Ghafil b. Habib al-Hudhali was a top ranking Companion of the Prophet and was one of the earliest converts to Islam. He was private secretary to the Prophet and used to remain with him throughout the day. After the death of the Prophet he was appointed treasurer of al-Kufa, but he came back to al-Madina during the reign of Uthman and died there in 32 A.H./653 A.D.

Al-Isaba : 4945 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 1/154 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/124 ; *al-Khamis* : 2/257 ; *al-A'lam* : 4/280.

P. 187. L. 6. Abu Jahl.

'Amr b. Hisham b. al-Mughira al-Makhzumi al-Qurashi was one of the leading chiefs of his tribe and was the greatest enemy of Islam and the Prophet. He is notorious for persecuting the converts to Islam in Mecca. The Qurashites called him Abu'l-Hikam on account of his sagacity, but the Muslims conferred upon him the title of Abu Jahl. He was killed in

the Battle of Badr while fighting against the Muslims.

Ibn al-Athir : 1/23, 25, 26, 27 ; *al-'Uyun* : 1/230 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/263.

P. 187. L. 11. Waki' b. al-Daurakiyya.

Waki' b. Umayr al-Quray'i al-Sa'di was the son of a slave girl from Dauraq, a city near Khuzistan, He was responsible for the murder of 'Abd Allah b. Khazim al-Sulami, the Amir of Khurasan.

Al-Bayan : 2/258, 292.

P. 187. L. 11. 'Abd Allah b. Khazim.

Abu Salih 'Abd Allah b. Khazim b. Asma' al-Sulami al-Basri was a Companion of the Prophet and was celebrated for his bravery and valour. He was the Governor of Khurasan on behalf of the Umayyads for ten years. When Ibn Zubayr rose against the Umayyads Ibn Khazim accepted him as Caliph who appointed him the Governor of Khurasan, on his behalf. 'Abd al-Malik's attempts to win him over proved of no avail. In 72 A.H./691 A.D. Khurasanites revolted against him and murdered him.

Al-Tahdhib : 5/194 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 4/134 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 7/376 ; *al-Khizana* : 3/658 ; *al-Nujum* : 1/187.

P. 188. L. 10. Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf.

Abu Muhammad al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf b. al-Hakam al-Thaqafi the dreaded Governor of al-'Iraq is notorious in the history of Islam for being a tyrant and a persecutor. He started his career as a school teacher in al-Ta'if, but was fortunate enough to win the favours of 'Abd al-Malik who appointed him the Commander of his forces. Al-Hajjaj played a very important role in the consolidation of the Umayyad empire and in so doing shed the blood of thousands of innocent people. In addition to being administrator and statesman he was an excellent speaker and was celebrated for his eloquence.

Mu'jam al-Buldan : 8/382 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/123 ; *al-Muruj* : 2/103-119 ; *al-Tahdhib* : 2/210 , *Tahdhib Ibn Asakir* : 4/48 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 4/222.

P. 188. L. 10. Hammam b. Qabisa.

Hammam b. Qabisa b. Mas'ud b. 'Umayr al-'Amiri was the chief of his family in the age of Yazid b. Mu'awiya and was one of the eminent warriors of the Umayyad age. He was killed in the Battle of Marj Rahit in 65 A.H./685 A.D.

Ibn al-Athir : 4/59 ; *Jamhart al-Ansab* : 263 ; *al-'Iqd* : 2/52 ; *al-Atlam* : 9/97 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/183, 484.

P. 188. L. 18. Ziyad b. 'Amr al-'Uqayli.

Ziyad b. 'Amr al-'Uyayli was the commander of the right wing of Dhahhak's army and was slain in the battle of Marj Rahit.

Al-Tabari : 2/477.

P. 189. L. 6. Khalkhala b. Qays and Sa'id b. 'Uyana.

Sa'id b. 'Uyana and Khalkhala b. Qays were the chieftains of the tribe of Qays after the battle of Marj Rahit. They attacked a settlement of the Kalbite tribes called Banat Qa'im to take revenge on the Fazarites who had been killed by Humayd b. al-Hurayth, and slaughtered seventy people. When the news reached 'Abd al-Malik he was enraged, because he had already paid the blood money of the people of Qays murdered by Humayd and had thus tried to put an end to further bloodshed. When al-Hajjaj became the Governor of al-'Iraq and succeeded in establishing law and order in the province he was ordered by the Caliph to send Sa'id and Khalkhala to Damascus, where they were executed for their crime.

Al-Aghani : 17/116.

P. 190. L. 8. Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murri.

Abu 'Uqba Muslim b. 'Uqba b. Ribah al-Murri was a cruel and blood-thirsty general of the Umayyad period. When the Madinites revolted against Yazid he sent Muslim to subdue them. He succeeded in defeating the Madinites, killed a large number of eminent persons and severely tortured and persecuted the rest. He died at a place called al-Mushallal while on his way to Mecca.

Raghat al-Amil : 3/99, 5/270 ; *Ta'rikh al-Islam* : 3/74 ; *al-Bidaya* : 8/220.

P. 190. L. 10. Hasayn b. Numayr al-Sakuni.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Husayn b. Numayr b. Na'il al-Kindi al-Sakuni was one of the tyrant generals of the Umayyad age. He laid siege to Mecca, when 'Abd Allah b. Zubayr took refuge there, and hurled stones at the Ka'ba.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir : 4/371 ; *al-Bidaya* : 8/282.

P. 190. L. 11. Hubaysh b. Dalaja al-Qayni.

Hubaysh b. Dalaja al-Qayni was a general of the Umayyad forces. He participated in the battle of Siffin as a partisan of Mu'awiya. Marwan b. al-Hakam appointed him the Commander of the army sent by him to al-Madina to obtain an oath of allegiance.

Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir : 4/40 ; *al-Nujum* : 1/168 ; *Ibn al-Athir* : 3/74.

P. 191. L. 11. 'Abd Allah b. Shu'ba b. al-'Alqm.

He was the chief of Banu Mazin during the reign of al-Hajjaj.

Al-Aghani : 2/486.

P. 191. L. 17. Labid b. Rabi'a al-'Amiri.

Abu 'Aqil Labid b. Rabi'a b. Malik was one of the most important poets of the *Jahiliyya* ; his *qaisda* forms part of the *Mu'allaqat*. At the advent of Islam he came to the Prophet and became a Muslim. He is said to have stopped composing poetry after embracing Islam. He settled in al-Kufa and there in 41 A.H./661 A.D.

Al-Khizana : 1/337-339, 4/171-176 ; *al-Simt* : 13 ; *al-Shi'r* : 148-156 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 193-196 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/104.

P. 192. L. 6. Al-Ahwas al-Ansari.

'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Asim al-Ansari belonged to the tribe of Dubay'a and was a contemporary of Jarir and al-Farazdaq. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz banished him to an island between al-Yaman and al-Habsha called Dahlak on account of his licentiousness. Yazid b. Abd

al-Malik removed restrictions from him and he came to Damascuss where he died in 105 A.H./723 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 4/40 ; *al-Khizana* ; 1/232 ; *al-Shi'r* : 331 ; *al-Muwashshah* : 187.

P. 193. L. 6. Salim b. Dara.

Salim b. Dara was a *Mukhadram* poet. His mother was given the title of Dara for her exceptional beauty.

Al-Aghani : 2/73 ; *al-Shi'r* : 236.

P. 193. L. 7. Zamil b. Umm Dinar.

Zamil b. Umm Dinar was a contemporary of Artat b. Suhayya and was a warrior-poet.

Al-'Iqd : 2/17 ; *al-Aghani* : 11/143.

P. 193. L. 11. Manzur b. Sayyar.

Manzur b. Sayyar al-Fazari was a Companion of the Prophet and was a *Kukhadzam* poet. He is said to have married a wife of his own father after his father's death.

Al-Aghani : 21/260 ; *al-A'lam* : 8/250.

P. 194. L. 7. Ziyad al-A'jam.

Abu Umama Ziyad b. Sulayman al-A'lam al-'Abdi was a client of Banu 'Abd al-Qays and was a poet of the Umayyad age. He migrated to Khurasan and died there in 60 A.H./680 A.D.

Al-Aghani : 14/98-105 ; *Mu'jam al-Udaba* (M) : 4/221 ; *al-Khizana* : 4/193 ; *Tahdhib Ibn Asakir* : 5/40 ; *Ta'rikh al-Islam* ; 4/113.

P. 194. L. 14. Al-Hutay'a.

Jarwal b. Aus b. Malik al-'Absi was a *Mukhadram* poet. He earned a great deal of notoriety for satirising various people. He even satirised his own parents. Al-Zabirqan b. Badr was his usual target and on his complaint 'Umar b. al-Khattab imprisoned al-Hutay's at al-Madina. He died about 45 A.H./665 A.D.

Al-Fawat : 1/99 ; *al-Khizana* : 1/409 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/110.

P. 195. L. 5. Al-Shammakh.

Al-Shammakh b. Dirar b. Harmala b. Sinan al-Mazini al-Dhubyani was a *Mukhadram* poet and is said to belong to the grade of Labid and al-Nabigha. He had a wonderful command over the composition of impromptu verse.

Al-Khizana : 8/562 ; *al-Aghani* : 8/97 ; *Raghat al-Amil* : 2/94, 162 ; *al-Tabarizi* : 3/65.

P. 196. L. 3. Waki' b. Abi Sud. .

Waki b. Abi Sud al-Ghudani al-Tamimi was the chieftain of Banu Tamim and was an eminent warrior of the Umayyad age. He played an important role in the conquest of Khurasan under Qutayba b. Muslim. When Qutayba revolted against Sulayman, Waki' b. Abi Sud put him to the sword and sent his head to Sulayman.

Al-Bayan : 2/241 ; *al-Tabari* : 2/1290-1302 ; *al-Aghani* : 12/117, 118, 121, 19/40.

P. 196. L. 3. Abi b. Artat.

Abu Wathila Abi b. Artat was a Damasean by residence and was celebrated for his sagacity and bravery. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz appointed him the Governor of al-Basra in 99 A.H./718 A.D. and he held that office till Mu'awiya b. Yazid b. al-Muhallab killed him in Wasit in 102 A.H./721 A.D.

Raghat al-Amil : 2/62 ; 7/159 ; *al-A'lam* : 5/8.

P. 196. L. 6. Labta b. al-Farazdaq.

Abu Ghalib Labta b. al-Farazdaq was a poet. Al-Asma'i is said to have met him and studied with him. He was killed while fighting on the side of Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah al-Imam.

Mu'jam al-Shu'ara' : 357.

P. 196. L. 16. Bukayr b. Ma'dan.

Bukayr b. Ma'dan b. 'Umayr b. Tariq al-Yarbu'i was a poet of the

Umayyad age.

Al-Khizana : 2/537.

P. 197. L. 7. Durayd al-Nahdi.

Durayd b. Zayd b. Nahd b. Layth b. Aswad was one of the *Mu'ammarrun* and is said to have lived four hundred years. He is one of the earliest poets of Arabic.

Al-Shi'r : 36 ; *al-Murtada* : 1/171.

P. 199. L. 2. Bilal.

Bilal b. Ribah al-Habashi was one of the earliest converts to Islam. He was the *Mu'adhdhin* and the Treasurer of the Exchequer during the lifetime of the Prophet. Bilal suffered great tribulations and persecutions for Islam at the hands of Abu Jahl and other Qurashites. He died in Damascus in 20 A.H./641 A.D.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 3/169 ; *Sifat al-Safwa* : 1/171 ; *al-Hilya* : 1/147 ; *al-Khamis* : 2/245 ; *al-A'lam* : 2/49.

P. 200. L. 3. Shama and Tafil.

These are the names of two mountains in the neighbourhood of Mecca.

Mu'jam al-Buldan . 5/222.

P. 200. L. 11. 'Amir b. Fahira.

'Amir b. Fahira was a slave of Tufayl b. al-Harith. He embraced Islam before the Prophet took refuge in the house of al-Arqam. He was one of those weak Muslims who were severely persecuted by the non-Muslims.

Tabaqat (I.S.) : 3/164.

P. 201. L. 4. Hassan b. Bahdal.

Hassan b. Bahdal was the Governor of Palestine and al-Urdun when Yazid b. Mu'awiya died. He participated in the battle of Marj Rahit

with Palestinian troops in support of Marwan b. al-Hakam, and, later, played a great role in the consolidation of the Umayyad empire.

Al-Aghani : 17/111 ; *al-Iqd* : 2/260.

P. 201. L. 8. Bishr b. Marwan.

Bishr b. Marwan b. al-Hakam b. Abi' l-'Ass al-Qurashi al-Umawi was appointed Governor of al-'Iraqayn by 'Abd al-Malik in 74 A.H./693 A.D. He was the first Governor to die in al-Basra.

Al-Khizana : 4/117 ; *Tahdhib Ibn 'Asakir* : 3/248.

P. 201. L. 15. Kuthayyir 'Azza.

Abu Sakhr Kuthayyir b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khuza'i was a famous love-poet of the Umayyad age. His beloved was named 'Azza and their love affair became so well-known that 'Azza became part and parcel of his name.

Al-Aghani : 8/25 ; *al-Wafayat* : 1/433 ; *Sharh Shawahid al-Mughni* : 24 : *al-Ma'ahid* : 2/136 ; *al-A'lam* : 6/172.

P. 202. L. 8. Sabath b. Rab'i.

Abu 'Abd al-Quddus Shabath b. Rab'i al-Yarbu'i was the chieftain of the Mudarites in his age. He embraced Islam but, later, apostatized and became a follower of Sijah the impostress. He again embraced Islam and played an important role in the disturbances during the reign of Uthman.

Al-Tahdhib : 4/303 ; *Mizan al-I'tidal* : 1/440 ; *al-A'lam* : 3/226.

APPENDIX 'B'

(Explanation of Difficult Words)

All references are to al-Lisan unless otherwise stated.

جدول يوضع الكلمات الفامضة

معناها	الكلمة	رقم الصفحة	السطر
جلبه يجلبه جلبا و جلبا و اجتلبه و جلبت الشيء الى نفسي و اجتلبته ، بمعنى (٢٨٦/١)	اجتلاب	٦	١
اقتضاب الكلام ارتجاله ، يقال هذا شعر مقتضب و كتاب مقتضب واقتضبت الحديث و الشعر تكلمت به من غير تهئية او اعداد له (٦٨٠/١)	اقتضيناء	٨	
الرزء المصيبة بفقد الاعزة (٨٦/١)	رزء	٦	٢
القل القلة مثل الذل والذلة (٥٦٣/١١)	قلا	١٣	
ثبج كل شيء معظمه و وسطه و أعلاه (٢١٩/٢)	ثبج	٤	٣
الحض أن تحته على شيء حظه يحضه و حضضه وهم يتحاضون (١٣٨/٤)	يتحاضون	٦	٣
التنجز طلب شيء قد وعدتة (٣١٣/٥)	تنجزا	٩	٦
الحس الجلبة (٥٢/٦)	حسه	١٢	٨
الفرط ما تقدسك من أجر و عمل. و فرط الولد صغاره مالم يدركوا و جمعه أفراط و قيل الفرط يكون واحدا و جميعا ، و في الدعاء للطفل الميت اللهم اجعله لنا فرطا أي أجرا (٣٦٤/٤)	فرط	٦	٩
الحط الحدر من علو ، حطه يحطه حطا فانحط الانحطاط (٢٤٣/٤)	نحط	٦	١١
تضجع في الامر اذا تقعد ولم يقم به والضاجع الاحمق لهجزه و لزومه مكانه (٢٢٠/٨)	تضجعا	٦	١٢

رقم الصفحة	السطر	الكلمة	معناها
	١١	يسح	سح الماء وغيره يسحه سحا صبه صبا متتابعا كثيرا (٣٤٩/٢)
	١٣	ترشح	رشحت الام ولدها باللبن القليل اذا جعلته في فيه شيئا بعد شيء حتى يقوى على المص و رشحت الناقة ولدها و رشحته و أرشحته هو أن تحك أصل ذنبه و تدفعه برأسها (٣٣٩/٢)
١٣	٥	تمليتهم	تملى العيش أمهله و طول له و تملى اخوانه متع بهم و تمليت عمرى استمتعت به (٢٩٠/١٥)
١٥	٨	تناوحت	الرياح اذا اشدت هبوبها يقال تناوحت (٦٢٤/٢)
	١١	سية	سية القوس طرف قابها، و قيل رأسها، و قيل ما اعوج من رأسها (٣١٤/١٣)
١٦	٥	جزل	رجل جزل ثقف عاقل أصيل الرأى والاثنى جزلة و جزلاء (١٥٩/١١)
	٦	الازيز	صوت الرعد من بعيد، أزت السحابة تئزازا و آزيرا (٣٠٤/٥)
		الصبراد	ريح باردة مع ندى أو سحاب بارد تسفره الريح (٢٣٨/٣)
		الثقال	البطنى الثقيل الذى لا ينبعث الا كرها (٨٥/١١)
١٦	٤	الفلوت	كساء فلوت لا ينضم طرفاه على لابسه من صفره، وثوب فلوت لا ينضم طرفاه في اليد، و قول متمم في أخيه مالك عليه الشملة الفلوت يعنى التى لا تنضم بين المزادتين (٦٨/٢)
١٤	٢	فاكتسح	اكتسح أموالهم أخذها كلها يقال أغاروا عليهم فاكتسحوهم أى أخذوا مالهم كله، ويقال أتينا بنى فلان فاكتسحننا مالهم أى لم نبق لهم شيئا (٥٤١/٢)
	٣	مرباع	المرباع ما يأخذه الرئيس وهو ربع الغنيمة (١٠١/٨)
	٣	وانتفع نفعنى	النفعة و المنفعة و المنفعة اسم ما انتفع به و يقال

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
ما عندهم لفيعة أى منفعة (٣٥٩/٨)			
الكوى التى تتخذ على الاتونات والمقالى (١٥٠/١٣)	الدواخن	٥	
تقلع فى مشيته مشى كأنه ينحدر ، قلعت الشىء دولته من موضعه (٢٩١/٨)	يتقلعون	٩	
العبيصة شوكة الحاك التى يسوى بها السداة واللحمة (٥٢/٤)	الصياصى	٣	١٨
الجلد القوة والشدة ، وفى حديث الطواف (ليرى المشركون جلدهم) (١٢٦/٣)	جلده	١٨	
ليلة طلق لا برد فيها و ليل طلقات و طواق (٢٢٩/١٠)	طلق	٩	٢٢
ليلة ساكرة ما كنة لا ربح فيها (٣٤٥/٣)	ساكرة	٩	
السيال بالفتح شجرله شوك أبيض و هو من العضاة (٣٥٢/١١)	السيال	١٥	
شجره بالرمع طعنه ، وفى حديث الشراة (فشجرناهم بالرماح) (أى طعناهم) (٣٩٦/٣)	شاجرة	١٥	٢٢
السرداق ما أحاط البناء والجمع سرادقات، السرداق كل ما أحاط بشىء نحو الشقه فى المضرب (١٥٤/١٠)	السرداق	١٤	٢٦
النجيب من الابل ، والجمع النجبا و النجائب و هو القوى منها ، الخفيف السريع ، و ناقة نجيب و نجيبة (٤٣٨/١)	النجيبة	٣	٣٤
النكت أن تنكت بقضيب فى الارض ، فتوثر بطرفه فيها (١٠٠/٢)	ينتكون	١٣	٢٨
رجل فداد شديد الصوت جاق الكلام ، شديد الوطء (٣٢٩/٣)	الفدادون	٦	٢٩
الشازب الضامر اليابس من الناس و غيرهم ، واكثر ما يستعمل فى الخيل والناس والجمع شزب وشوازب	شزيا	٩	٣٠

معناها	الكلمة	رقم الصفحة	السطر
(٣٩٣/١)			
السعلاة و السلا الغول وقيل هي ساحرة الجن، وقيل هي أخبث الغيلان و الجمع سعالي (٣٣٦/١١)	السعالي		
الصقع الغائب البعيد الذي لا يدري أين هو (٢٠١/٨)	صقع	١٥	
القسطل و القسطال و القسطول و القسطان كله الفبار الساطع (٥٥٤/١١)	القسطال	٣	٣١
المضووفة الأمر الذي يشفق منه ويخاف (٢١١/٩)	المضووفة	٦	٣٢
الشمراخ من الغرر ما استدق و طال و سال مقبلا حتى جلل الخيشوم (٣١/٣)	شمراخ	١٦	
الطملال و الطمليل و الطملول الفقير السيء الحال القشف القبح الهيئة الأقبير، و قيل هو العارى من الثياب (٣٠٨/١١)	طملال	١٤	
في نوادر الأعراب فلان في مسكعة من أمره و في مسكعة، و هي المضاللة المودرة التي لا يهتدى فيها الوجه الأمر (١٦٠/٨)	مسكعة	٣	٣٣
الزول الشجاع الذي يتزائل الناس من شجاعته (٣١٩/١١)	الازوال	١٣	٣٣
ناقة ذات لوه و لوث أى قوة و قيل ناقة ذات لوثة أى كثيرة اللحم (١٨٦/٢)	لوث		
جمل شمل و شمال و شمليل سريع (٣٤١/١١)	شمال		
فزه فزاً و افزه افزعه و أزعجه و طير فواده (٣٩١/٥)	افز	٥	٣٥
الشرق الشجا و الغصة، و الشرق بالماء و الريق و نحوهما كالغصص بالطعام، و شرق شرقا فهو شرق (١٤٤/١٠)	شرق	١٥	٣٦
ثوب راسه كالمقنعة و أسفله يغشى الصدر و المنكبين تلبسه المرأة، قال الأزهرى و كانت المرأة الشكل اذا	الصدر	١٠	٣٩

معناها	الكلمة	رقم الصفحة	السطر
فقدت حميما فاحدت عليه لبست صدارا من صوف (٣٣٤/٣)			
الاملاق الافتقار قال الله تعالى (و لا تقتلوا اولادكم من املاق) املقته الخطوب أى أفقرته (٣٣٨/١٠)	أملقنا	١١	
الشرار صفائح بيض يجفف عليها الكريض (٣٠١/٣)	شرارها	١٥	
ساعده مساعدة و معادا وأسعده أعانه (٣١٣/٣)	اسعد نفسي	٣	٣١
ترجيع الرجل عنه المصيبة و استرجع ، قال (انا لله و انا اليه راجعون) (١١٤/٨)	استرجع	٣	٣٢
مج الشراب و الشيء من فيه يمجه مجا و مج به رماء (٣٦١/٣)	مج	١٣	٣٢
العلبة قده ضخم من جلود الابل. و قيل العلبة من خشب كالقده الضخم يحلب فيها (٦٢٨/١)	العلبة	١٣	
الا كللة و الا كال الحكمة و الجرب ايا كانت (٢٢/١١)	الا كللة	١٣	٣٣
ند اليعير يند ندود اذا شرد. و فى الحديث (فند يعير منها أى شرد و ذهب على وجهه) (٣٢٠/٣)	فند	٢٠	
نفحت الدابة تنفح نفحا و هى نفوح رمحت برجلها و رمت بحد حافرها و دفعت و قيل النفع بالرجل الواحدة و الرمح با لرجلين معا (٦٢٢/٢)	فنفحنى	٢	٣٣
التجهرى فى الاشياء طلب ما هو احدى بالاستعمال فى غالب الظن (١٤٣/١٣)	تجريا	١٢	٣٤
جرع الماء و جرعة يجرعه جرعا، و اجترعه و تجرعه بلعه (٣٦/٨)	تجرعتها	١٠	٣٨
حسا الطائر الماء يحسو حسوا هو كالشرب لانسان و أحسيته فحساه و احتساه بمعنى (١٤٤/١٣)	احتسيتها		
عبا المتاع و عباه هياه. عبي الجيش أصلحه وهياه تهيئة (٢٦/١٥)	تعبى	٣	٥٠

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
خاض الماء خوضا و خياضا مشى فيه وأخاض فيه غيره (١٣٨/٤)	أخاض	٣	٥٥
ابتغاه و تبغاه و استبغاه ، كل ذلك طلبه (٤٦/١٣)	تستبغى	٩	٥٥
الودج و الوداج عرق في العنق ، و هما و دجان (٣٩٤/٢)	ودج	١٥	
الشمز التقبض - اشهاز اشمةزازا انقبض و اجتمع بعضه الى بعض (٢٦٢/٥)	اشمازت	١	٥٩
القلوص اول ما يركب من اناث الابل و ربما سموا الناقة الطويلة القوائم قلوفا و الجمع من كل ذلك قلائص و قلس و قلسان (٨١/٤)	قلائص	١٣	٦٥
الكراكر الجماعات واحدها كركرة (١٣٨/٥)	الكراكر		
الخدر ستر يعد للجارية. و جارية مخدرة اذا الزمت الخدر (٢٣١/٣)	مخدر	١١	٦٣
الضرغم و الضرغامة الاسد (٣٨٤/١٢)	الضرغام		
الاعصار الريح تثير السحاب. و قيل هي التي فيها نار، مذكر. و جمع الاعصار اعاصير (٥٤٨/٣)	الاعاصير	١٢	٦٥
انتضل القوم و تناضلوا أى رموا للسبق (٦٦٥/١١)	تنتضل	١١	٦٩
نزا ينزو نزوا و نزه و نزوانا و ثب الى فوق (٣١٩/١٥)	النزوان	١١	٤٢
الغرب و الفربة الحدة. و يقال لحد السوف غرب ، و يقال في لسانه غرب أى حدة (٦٣١/١)	غربه	٨	٤٣
المقراضان الجلمان لا يفرد لهما واحد ، هذا قول أهل اللغة و حكى سيويه مقراض فأفرد ، المقاريض جمع المقراض (٢١٦/٤)	المقاريض	١٥	٤٦
الوعل و الوعل تيس الجبل، و الجميع أوعال و وعول (٤٣١/١١)	الوعل	١١	٤٦

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
رجراجة من الناس ورجرجة الذين لا خير فيهم (٢٨١/٢)	رجراجة	١٨	
الكرفرة سحاب متراكم ، واحده كرفرة (١٣٤/١) الصبير السحاب الابيض لا يكاد يمطر (٣٣٠/٣)	كرفرة الصبير	٢	٤٤
السبتي والسبدي الجريء المقدم من كل شيء (٣٩/٢)	السبتي	١٦	٤٨
الهصر الكسر هصر الشيء يهصر هصرا جبده و أماله واهتصره (٢٣٦/٥)	هصار	١	٤٩
البو غير مهموز الحوار وقيل جلده يحشى تبنا أو مما ما أو حشيشا لتعطف عليه الناقة اذا مات ولدها ثم يقرب الى ام الفصيل لترأمه فتدر عليه (١٠٠/١٣)	بو	٢	
الديسع من الانسان العظم الذي فيه الترقوتان ، وهو مركب العنق في الكاهل ، وقيل الديسع الصدر و الكاهل (٨٣/٨)	الديسعة	٩	
اللاواء الشدة وضيق المعيشة، ومنه الحديث قال له : ألسن تحزن؟ أنست تصبيك اللاواء واللاواء المشقة والشدة (٢٣٨/١٥)	اللاؤا		
غير كل شيع بقية ، و الجمع أغبار (٣/٥)	الغبر	٥	٨٢
الولوج الدخول. ولج البيت ولوجا ولجة (٣٩٩/٢)	الوالج	١١	
الهزبر من أسماء الاسد (٢٦٣/٥)	هزبر	١٣	
الرعة القطعة من الخيل متقدمة كانت أو غير متقدمة. وأما الدعيل فهو اسم كل قطعه متقدمة من خيل وجراد وطير ورجال ونجوم و ابل و غير ذلك (١١١/ ٢٨٤)	الرعيل	١٢	٨٣
السبت بالكسر كل جلد مدبوغ وقيل هو المدبوغ بالقرظ خاصة (٣٦/٢)	سبت	١٣	٨٣
بعج بطنه بالسكين يبعجه بعجا ، فهو مبعوج و بعيج (٢١٣/٢)	بعج		

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
داس الشيء برجلة يدوسه دوسا ودياسا وطئه، الدوائس البقر التي تدوس الكدس (٩٠/٦)	دوائس	٥	٨٤
تقتر فلان أى تهباً للقتال مثل تقطر، و تقتر لامر تهباله و غضب (٤٢/٥)	تقتر	١٥	
نصل طويل عريض و الجمع معابل (٣٢٢ ١١)	معبلة		
القححح بالضم العظم المحيط بالدبر، و قيل هو ما أحاط بالخوران (٥٥٣ ٢)	قحححه		
المغربل المقتول المنتفخ (٣٩١ ٣)	مغربلة	٦	٨٨
القشعريرة الرعدة و اقشعرار الجلد. اقشعر جلد الرجل اقشعرا را، فهو مقشعر (٩٥/٥)	اقشعرت	١٥	
طابق فلان فلانا اذا وافقه و عاونه. و طابقت المرأة زوجها اذا وافقتة (٢١١/١٠)	طابقت	١٦	
ارغشه طعنه في رغشائه و الرغشاء عصابة الشدى (١٥٣ ٢)	يرغشها	١٥	٨٩
الشرنبت و الشرايث، بضم الشين القبيح الشديد. و قيل هو الغليظ الكفين (١٦٠ ٢)	شرنبت	١١	
الضبارم الشديد الخلق من الاسد الوثيق (٣٥٢ ١٢)	ضبارم		
انجر الشيء انجذب و اجتر و اجدر قلبوا التا دالا (١٢٥ ٣)	تجتر	٢	٩١
زوى الشيء يزويه زيا و زويا نجاه (٣٦٣ ١٣)	زوى	٣	٩٣
الخيب السرعة، و قد خبت الدابة نخب بالضم، خبا و خيبا و خيبا (٣٣١ ١)	ينخب به	١٢	
المقرم البعير الذى لا يحمل عليه و لا يذلل و لكن يكون للفحلة و الضراب و انما سمى السيد الرئيس من الرجال المقرم لانه شبه بالمقرم من الايل لعظم شأنه و كرمه (٣٤٣ ١٢)	مقرم	١	٩٩

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
الداداة السرعة والاحضار ، و الداداة في سير الابل قرمطة فوق الحفد	الداداة	١	١٠٠
الفلق الشق ، و الفلق مصدر فلقه يفلقه فلقا ، شقه (٢٠٩/١٠)	فلق	٤	
الحملاق و الحملاق الحملوق ما غطت الجفون من بياض المقلة. وقيل الحماليق من الاجفان ما يلي المقلة من لحمها (٦٩/١٠)	حماليق	١٥	
تريف القوم صاروا الى الريف و حضروا القرى. (١٦٩/٩) و هو اسم مكان من هوا زن.	متريف	٢	١٠١
لحمة النسب الشابك منه. الازهرى لحمة النسب ، بالفتح (٥٣٨/١٢)	لحمته	٥	١٠٢
قلبه حوله ظهرها لبطن. و تقلب ظهرها لبطن ، و جنباً لجنب نحول. و قولهم هو حول قلب أى محتال ، بصير بتقلب الامور و القلب الحول الذى يقلب الامور، و محتال بها (٦٨٥/١)	قلبانى	١٥	
الغرر الخطر (١٢/٥)	غرر	٣	١٠٣
الزهو النبات الناضر و المنظر الحسن ، يقال زهى الشيء لعينيك (٣٦٢/١٣)	زهو	٤	١٠٣
غشيت الشيء اذا غطيته (١٢٦/١٥)	غشوا ابوابكم	٥	١٠٥
انتعش ارتفع و الانتعاش رفع الراس (٣٥٥/٨)	ينتعش	٨	
وبق الرجل يبق و بوقا و بوقا هلك و أوبقه ذلله (٣٤٠/١٠)	يوبقه		
خفة في كل أمر و عجلة في حمق (ابن سيده). النزى الخفة و الطيش (٣٥٢/١٠)	النزق	١٤	
دعر الرجل ودعر دعارة فجر و فجر ، و فيه دعارة (٢٨٦/٣)	الدعارة	٣	١٠٦

معناها	الكلمة	رقم الصفحة	السطر
التلدد التلطف يمينا وشالا تحيرا (٣٩٠/٣)	التلدد		
الذور الصدر وقيل وسط الصدر ، وقيل أعلى الصدر (٣٣٣/٣)	الزور	١٢	
نعق الغراب نعيقا و نعاقا. و نعيق الغراب مثل نهيق الحمار (٣٥٦/١٠)	سينعق	٣	١٠٨
حجل يحجل حجلا اذا مشى في القيد. قال ابن سيده و حجل المقيد يحجل و يحجل حجلا و حجلا و حجل نزا في مشيه. و كذلك البعير الحقيير (١٣٣/١١)	يحجل		
الذهل ترك الشيء تناساه على عنه أو يشغلك عنه شغل ، تقول ذهلت عنه و ذهلت و أذهلني كذا و كذا عنه (٢٥٩/١١)	تذهل	٦	
النحب العدة و الوقت. يقال قضى فلان نحبه اذا مات (٤٥٠/١)	نحبه	٨	
الصادر المتحير (٣٥٥/٣)	سأدرا	٣	١١١
أغمض طرفه عنى اغلقه ، و أغمض الميت و غمضه اغماضا و تخميها (١٩٩/٤)	فغمضه	٤	
اللهف و اللهف الاسى و الحزن و الغيظ ، قيل الاسى على شيء يفوتك بعدما تتشرف عليه. لهف يلهف لهفا أى حزن و كذلك التلهف على الشيء (٣٢٢/٩)	يتلهف	٤	
الصعداء النفس الى فرق ممدود ، و قيل هو النفس بتوابع و هو يتنفس الصعداء و يتنفس صعدا (٢٥٣/٣)	الصعداء		
يقال الناس اخياف أى لا يستوون ، و يقال ذلك في اخوة ، يقال اخوة اخياف (١٠١/٩)	أخياف	٨	١١٣
اللوعة وجع القلب من المرض و الحب ، و قيل هى حرقة الحزن و الهوى و الوجد (٣٢٤/٨)	لوعه	١٠	
صدع الشيء فتصدع فرقه فتفرق. و التصديع التفريق (١٩٥/٨)	تتصدع	١١	

معناها	الكلمة	رقم الصفحة	السطر
النياط عرق علق به القلب من الوتين فاذا قطع مات صاحبه (٣١٨/٤)	نياط	١١٣	٢
رقات الدسعة ترقا رقا ورقوا جفت وانقطعت (١/٨٨٠)	رقات		٣
يقال أصابت فلانا من الجن لمة، وهو الممس و الشيء القليل (٥٥١/١٢)	لمة	١١٥	٣
حشرج: الحشرجة تردد صوت النفس، وهو الغرغرة في الصدر (٣٣٤/٢)	حشرجت		١٣
قال المبرد الديسم ولد الكلبة من الذئب. الجوهري الديسم ولد الذئب من الكلبة (٢٠١/١٢)	الديسم	١١٤	٩
يقال نشطت و انتشطت أى انتزعت (٣١٣/٤)	لانتشطه	١١٨	١٠
الكروبيون سادة الملائكة، منهم جبريل و ميكائيل و اسرافيل، هم المقربون (٤١٣/١)	الكروبين	١١٩	٣
اللاعج الهوى المحرق، يقال هوى لاعج لحرقة الفواد في الحب (٣٥٤/١٢)	لاعج	١٢٠	٨
كل شيء جديد قشيب (٦٤٣/١)	قشيب	١٢١	٩
الشقب الخرق الناقا، و الجمع أثقب و ثقوب (٢٣٩/١)	شقوب		١٠
أطاع ماله و طوحه أى أهلكه طاح بطوح و يطيع طوحا أشرف على الهلاك، و قيل هلك و سقط أوذهب (٥٣٥/٢)	أطاحه فطاح		١٥
آزيتة اذا حاذيته. و آذاه قابله (٣٢/١٣)	آزى	١٢٢	٢
التيه الصلاف و الكبر. و قد تاه يتيه تيمها تكبر (٣٨٣/١٣)	تيمها		٣
جاحتهم السنة جوها و جياحة و أجتاحتهم استأصلت أموالهم (٣٣١/٢)	يجتاحه		٤

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
الرنّة و الرنين والارنان الصيحة الشديدة و الصوت الحزين عند الغناء و البكاء (١٨٤/١٣)	ارنان	١٨	١٢٣
عرائى الامر يعرونى و اعترانى غشبنى و أصابنى عرون (٣٣/١٥)	عراك	١٣	١٢٥
النكس السهم الذى ينكس أو ينكسر فوقه فيجعل أعلاه أسفله (٢٣٢/٦)	نكس	١٥	١٢٥
الماتم كل مجتمع من رجال أو نساء فى حزن أو فرح (٣٠/١٢)	ماتم	٢	١٢٦
قوم قليلون و أقلاء و قتل و قتلون يكون ذلك فى قلة العدد و دقة الجثة (٥٦٣/١١)	قلل		
نثرى الشىء ترمى به متفرقا. و قد نثره ينثره نثرا و نثارا و نثره فانتثر (١٩١/٥)	فتنتثر	١٢	١٣٢
رما الجبل يرمو اذا ثبتت أصله فى الارض و جبال راسيات (٣٢١/١٣)	الراسيات	١٣	
الممرعة الارض المعشبه المكثثة (٣٣٣/٨)	ممرع	٨	١٣٣
العيس الايل تضرب الى الصفرة و يقال هى الايل البيض مع شقرة يسيره، واحدها أعيس و عيساء (١٥٢/٦)	العيس	٩	
الاصطلام الاستئصال و اصطلم القوم أبدو. و الاصطلام اذا أبدو قوم من أصلهم قيل اصطلموا (٣٣٠/٢٢)	مظلم	١	١٣٣
الدردق الصبيان الصغار يقال ولدان دردق و درداق. و الدرديق الصغير من كل شىء (٩٦/١٠)	دردقا	٦	
القزم اللثيم الذى الصغير الجثه الذى لا غناء عنه، الواحد و الجمع و المذكر و المؤنث فى ذلك سواء لانه فى الاصل مصدر (٣٤٤/١٢)	قزما		

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
شاكة الشيء مشاكهه و شكاها شابهه و هما يتشاكهان أى يتشابهان (٥٠٨/١٣)	تشاكهت	١٤	١٣٣
الغفلة ادخال الشيء في الشيء حتى يلتبس به و يصير من جملته (٥٠٣/١١)	تغلفت	١٥	١٣٦
المنتجب المختار من كل شيء ، و قد انتجب فلان فلانا اذا استخلصه ، و اصطفاه اختيارا على غيره (٤٣٨/١)	منتجب	١١	١٣٤
شاعب فلان الحياة ، و شاعبت نفس فلان أى زابت و ذهبت (٣٣٩/١٠)	شاعبت	١٩	
القتم و القتام الغبار (٦٣١/١٢)	القتام	٢٠	١٣٨
رجل ترعيد و رعديد و رعيدة جبان يرعد عند القتال جبنا و الجمع رعاديد (١٤٩/٣)	رعديد	٣	١٣٥
صفده يصفده ، صفدا و صفودا و صفده أو ثقه و شده و قيده في الحديد و غيره (٢٥٦/٣)	مصفود	٥	
القراديد جمع قردودة و هى الموضع الناقى في وسط الارض (٣٥١/٣)	القراديد	١١	
الجهد ما جهد الانسان من مرض أو أمر شاق فهو مجهود و الجمع مجاهيد (١٣٣/٣)	المجاهيد	١٢	
الايذاغ اخراج البول دفعة واحده. و أوزغت الناقة ببولها و أزغلت به.	ايذاغ	١٢	١٣٩
الحوامل من النوق (٢٢٨/٤)	المخاض		
الاسود اليعمومى و الانثى جونة (١٠١/١٣)	الجون		
هو العظيم في نفسه ، الجرى على ما أتى من الفجور (٩/٣)	ايبلغ	٢	١٥٥
شغب فلان عن الطريق ، يشغب شغبا ، و فلان مشتغب اذا كان عانداً عن الحق (٥٠٣/١)	شاغب		

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
نضا الثوب الصبغ عن نفسه اذا ألقاه (٣٢٩/٥)	ينضو	١١	١٥١
المرزئة و الرزئة المصبيه ، و الجمع أرزاء و رزايا و قوم مرزون يصيب الموت خيارهم (٨٦/١)	مرزئة	٦	١٥٢
وقد قرح الفرس يقرح قروحا ، و قرح قرحا اذا انتهت أسنانه (٥٦٠/٢)	القارح	١	١٥٣
التحوب التوجع ، و الشكوى ، و التحزن. و يقال فلان يتحوب من كذا أى يتغيب منه و يتوجع (٣٣٨/١)	التحوب	١	١٥٦
أزنته بشيء اتهمته به (١٠٠/١٣)	أزنتنى	١	١٦١
الذود للقطيع من الابل الثلاث الى التسع ، و قيل ما بين الثلاث الى العشر (١٦٨/٣)	ذودا	٢	١٦٢
الشصوص الناقة التى لالبن لها. و قيل القليلة اللبن و الجمع شصائص و شصاص و شصص (٣٤/٤)	شصائصا		
النبل العظام و الصغار من الحجارة و الابل و الناس و غيرهم (٦٣٠/١١)	نبلا		
و الربوة و الرأبية و الرباة كل ما ارتفع من الارض (٣٠٦/١٣)	السربو	١٦	١٩٣
الصدى طائر يصيح فى هامة المقتول اذا لم يثار به و قيل هو طائر يخرج من رأسه اذا بلى ، و يدعى الهامة، و انما كان يزعم ذلك أهل الجاهلية و جمعه أصداء (٣٥٣/١٣)	أصداع ، هام	١٦	١٩٣
طفر يطفر طفرا و طفورا و ثب فى ارتفاع ، و طفر الحائط و ثبه الى ما وراءه (٥٠٢/٣)	تطفر	١٥	١٦٣
ربضت الدابة و الشاة و الخروف تربص ربضا ، و هو كالبروك للابل (١٣٩/٤)	تربض		
برى العود و القلم و القدح و غيرها بيرية بريا نخته	برتنى ، بىترى	١٩	١٦٥

معناها	الكلمة	السطر	رقم الصفحة
و ابتراه كبراه (٤٠/١٣)			
المنية أشعب الرجل اذا مات (٥٠١/١)	شعوب	٣	١٦٦
ميمة الحضرة و الشباب و السكر و النهار و جرى الفرس اوله و أنشطه (٣٣٥/٨)	ذى ميمة	٨	١٦٨
مطرت الطير و تمطرت أسرع و تمطرت الخيل ذهبت مسرعة ، المطار الناقة السريعة (١٤٩/٥)	مطار		
الكبة ، بالفتح شدة الشيء و معظمه و كبة النار صدمتها و في حديث معاوية انكم لتقبلون حولاً قلباً ان وقى كبة النار (٦٩٥/١)	كبة النار	١	١٤٣
التخت وعاء تصان فيه الثياب ، فارسي ، و قد تكلمت به العرب (١٨/٢)	تخت	١٣	١٤٥
لحمة حمراء في الحنك معلقة على عكرة اللسان و الجمع لهيات (٢٦١/٥)	اللهاة	١٩	١٨٢
العكرة أصل اللسان كالعقدة و جمعها عكر (٦٠١/٣)	عكر		
رجل عزوف عن اللهو اذا لم يشبهه ، و عزوف عن النساء اذا لم يصب اليهن (٢٣٣/٩)	عزوف	١٣	١٨٣
العدل نصف الحمل يكون على أحد جنبي البعير و الجمع أعدل (٣٣٢/١١)	اعدال		
التقال هو تفاضل من القلة (٥٦٣/١١)	تقال		
العذافرة الناقة الشديدة الامينة الوثيقة (٥٥٥/٣)	عذافرة	١١	١٨٣
الذميل ضرب من مير الابل ، و قيل هو السير اللين ، ذمل يذمل و يذمل ذملاً و ذمولا و ذميلاً ، و هي ناقة ذمول من نوق ذمل (٢٥٩/١١)	ذمولا		
الاخدع أى عرق في موضع المعجمتين و عما أخدعان. و رجل شديد الاخدع أى شديد موضع الاخدع (٦٤/٨)	الاخدع		

رقم الصفحة	السطر	الكلمة	معناها
١٨٨	١٦	النكس	النكس ج. الانكاس ، وهو الرجل الضعيف (٢٣٢/٨)
١٩٥	٣	عود	العود الجميل المسن و فيه بقيه و الجمع عودة (٣٢١/٣)
		جلب	الجلبة القشرة التي تعلق الجرح عند البره و قد جلب ، يجلب و يجلب ، و أجلب الجرح مثله (٢٤١/١)
١٩٥	٥	ذى ضاغظ	الضاغظ في البعير انفتاق من الابط و كثرة من اللهم و هو الضب أيضا ، و الضاغظ ، في الابل أن يكون في البعير تحت ابطه شبه جراب أو جلد مجتمع (٣٣٣/٤)
		زوره	الزور الصدر ، و قيل وسط الصدر و قول اعلى الصدر و قيل ملتقى أطراف عظام الصدر حيث اجتمعت (٣٣٣/٣)
	١٥	برذعة	البرذعة الحلس الذي يلتقي تحت الرجل ، و الجمع البراذغ و خص بعضهم به الحمار (٨/٨)
١٩١	١٤	فاد	فاد يفود فودا مات ، و الفود الموت (٣٣٠/٣)
١٩٣	٥	طائشه	طاش السهم عن الهدف يطيش طيشا اذا عدل عنه و لم يقصد الرمية و منها النصل الطائش أي الذال عن الهدف (٣١٣/٦)
١٩٥	٦	النواكز	نكزت البئر تنكز نكزا و نكوزا و هي بئر نكز و ناكز و نكوز قل ماء ها و قيل قني ماء ها (٣٦٠/٥)
	١٠	حومة	حومة كل شيء معظمه كالبحر و الحوض و الرمل (١٦٢/١٢)
١٩٦	١٥	اللقاء	اللقرة و اللقوة اللقاب الخفيفة السريعة الاختطاف و جمع لقاء و اللقاء.
١٩٨	٢	ترمز	الرمز تصويث خفي باللسان كالههمس و يكون تحريك الشفتين بكلام غير مفهوم باللفظ من غير ابانة (٣٥٦/٥)