

Ibn Khallikan's

Wafayat al-Ayyan

wa

Anba' Abna' al-Zaman

Vol II

M. de Slane's English Translation

Edited by

S. MOINUL HAQ

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

30, New Karachi Housing Society



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Wafayat al-A'yan

wa

Anba' Abna' al-Zaman

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

VOLUME I



Edited by

S. MOINUL HAQ M.A., Ph.D.

General Secretary and Director of Research,
Pakistan Historical Society

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

AN eminent juriconsult and a distinguished historian, Ibn Khallikān has been held in high esteem as a writer for more than seven centuries. His reputation rests mainly on his monumental work, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa anbā' abnā' al-Zamān*, which attracted the attention of the orientalisists in the early nineteenth century. The well-known scholar, M. G. de Slane, brought out its first edition in 1838; subsequently he published its English translation in four volumes. Since then the Arabic text has been published several times and in different countries. The latest edition is that of Muhammad Muḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1948) who has given a life sketch of the author and added useful footnotes. The *Wafāyāt* soon became a popular source-book in the world of Islam. This is indicated by the fact that other historians wrote supplements to it, and two well-known Muslim Princes had it translated into Persian. The first of these translations was undertaken by Yūsuf Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uḡmān for Nāṣir al-Dunyā wal-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ-Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujārat (commonly known as Maḥmūd Bīgarah) who reigned from A.H. 863 to 917/A.D. 1459 to 1512. The second rendering was made for Sulṭān Salīm of Turkey who reigned from A.H. 918 to 926/A.D. 1513 to 1521.

Both the translators appear to be frugal in their renderings; they have tried to be brief, and have often abridged portions of the text for this purpose. They have omitted most of the verses quoted by the author; those that have been retained are in the original language.

Yūsuf Ibn Ahmad has entitled his work as *Manẓar al-Insān fī Tarjamah Wafayāt al-A'yān*; * Kabīr Ibn Uways has not given any name to his translation.

In de Slane's English translation, which is generally known as Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary, a fairly detailed account of the author is given. We would, however, like to add a few words about de Slane's work. Baron Mac-Guckin

* See Rieu, I, 334 a.

de Slane was born (circa 1800) in an Irish family. He migrated to France in his childhood and became a French citizen. He studied Arabic under the well-known orientalist, Sylvestre de Sacy. Then he went to Constantinople for further studies and research. On completing the course of his studies he got the post of an Interpreter in the army and was sent to Algiers. Later he was promoted to the post of principal Interpreter and got the rank of a Major. While he held these posts he devoted his spare time to learning local dialects and mastering classical Arabic. He edited and translated some Arabic works on North Africa; he was now recognized as an eminent scholar of Arabic and was made a member of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. In 1864, he was appointed Professor of Algerian dialects at the Ecole des Langues Orientales (School of Oriental Languages) in Paris. On de Perceval's death, he succeeded him as Professor of Classical Arabic, which position he occupied till his death in 1878.

M. de Slane started his literary career in 1837 with the editing of the *Diwān of Imra' al-Qays*. In 1838—42 he published the Arabic text of the *Wafayāt* (only up to No. 678) from Paris. In 1843 he started publishing its English translation under the title, Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary; it was completed in 1871 and appeared in four volumes. During this period he also published (in 1852—56) the French translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (sections on the Berbers); its Arabic text had been edited by him in 1837—41. It was followed (in 1857) by the publication of the Arabic text of al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Mamālik wa 'l-Masālik* (sections on North Africa), and its French translation, in 1857-58. Then he prepared the catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Bibliotheque Nationale; his last important work was the French translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*.

"Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*," Brockelmann has rightly said, "is one of the most important aids to the study of biography and literary history." Its English translation by de Slane had been out of print for a considerable time, and was

therefore beyond the access of most of the students of Islamic History and Civilization. The Pakistan Historical Society, keeping in view the importance and utility of this work, as a source-book, decided to publish a reprint of de Slane's translation with necessary editing and notes in the light of the autograph MS. of Ibn Khallikān. We are grateful to the authorities of the British Museum not only for providing the photostat copy of this extremely rare manuscript but also for assisting the Society by sharing its cost. The comparison of the English translation with the autograph of Ibn Khallikān was necessary because de Slane obtained it when he had already translated a considerable portion of the book. A careful examination of the autograph has revealed the fact that there are substantial differences between its text and the one on which de Slane's translation has been based. These differences have been mentioned in the Editor's footnotes. As de Slane has not properly transliterated the oriental names, necessary corrections have been made in their orthography. In the footnotes I have also added the corresponding Christian dates of events on the basis of Eduard Mahter's calculations; de Slane has given the names of the months only.

Ibn Khallikān completed his book in 1256 A.D. and died in 1282. Subsequently new material was incorporated in the body of the book; some new notices were added, and in some cases additional information was given. Only a portion of the new material has been accepted by de Slane as the composition of Ibn Khallikān.

The printed text of the *Wafayāt* is about double the size of the autograph; de Slane is of the opinion that Ibn Khallikān continued improving his work and adding further details, but a more probable explanation may be found in the author's appeal to the readers to make corrections wherever necessary.¹ This is why we come across lengthy and

1 Vide Author's Preface.

rather frequent interpolations in this work. However, de Slane's suggestion also cannot be rejected outright. As an illustration we may mention the story related about the *wazīr*, al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh on the authority of the grammarian, Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī,¹ and repeated again about al-Māmun². In the autograph it is given only in the account of the latter, and not of the former. Obviously someone else has added it to the account of al-Fārisī.

It may be mentioned here that the Editor of the Teheran text, Mawlawī Muḥammad Bāqir Iṣbahānī says: "I saw in the library of Prince Mu'tamad al-Dawlah Fūrḥād Mirzā, son of 'Abbās Mirzā, son of Fath 'Alī Shāh Qajār, a manuscript of *Wafāyāt al-A'yān* by Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān. The Prince had collated his manuscript with several others and corrected it very carefully. Besides, he added notices of a few persons on the margin of his manuscript, which had been omitted by Ibn Khallikān, in order to make the work more comprehensive." Some additions in the later manuscripts have also been pointed out in the notes.

It is a well-known fact that oriental scholars frequently use invocatory phrases—such as 'Mercy of God be upon him', or 'May God be pleased with him', etc.—, and Ibn Khallikān is not an exception. M. de Slane has not translated these expressions; we have also not added them. In this connection it may be mentioned that our historians and biographers often conclude their accounts and narrations with the phrase 'God knows best'. This has been omitted; it does not however necessarily mean that the writer is not certain of the truth and veracity of his narration.

The Pakistan Historical Society is grateful to the Government of Pakistan for giving a special grant for this project. Without this aid it would have been difficult for the Society to undertake the publication of an edited text of de Slane's English

¹ Vide No. 117.

² Vide No. 12.

Translation of the *Wafayāt*, and the English Translation of Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* which is under preparation.

I am thankful to Mr. H. K. Ghazanfar, for his valuable assistance in editing the translation, particularly in comparing it with the text of the autograph. I also thank Mufti Intizāmullāh Shīhābī and other members of the Society's Research staff for their assistance.

KARACHI ;
August, 1961.

S. MOINUL HAQ

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

ا	=	a	ط	=	t
ب	=	b	ظ	=	h
ت	=	t	ع	=	'
ث	=	th	غ	=	gh
ج	=	j	ف	=	f
ح	=	h	ق	=	q
خ	=	kh	ك	=	k
د	=	d	ل	=	l
ذ	=	dh	م	=	m
ر	=	r	ن	=	n
ز	=	z	و	=	w
س	=	s	ه	=	h
ش	=	sh	و	=	aw
ص	=	s	ی	=	y ;
ض	=	ḍ	ی	=	ay

• = ' ,

Long vowels: ā, ī, ū.

Short vowels: a, i, u.

INTRODUCTION

Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary has always been considered as a work of the highest importance for the civil and literary history of the Muslim people. From its first appearance till the present day, its reputation has continued undiminished, and the judgment of the author's countrymen has been confirmed by the unanimous voice of Oriental scholars. If the later Arabic historians filled their pages with extracts drawn from it as from a pure and abundant source,—if rhetoricians, grammarians and compilers of anecdotes have culled from it the choicest passages,—learned men essayed to complete it by supplements, or to condense it by abridgements with the design of rendering its utility more general,—we find, nearer home, and equally valid testimony borne to its merit by the suffrages of the illustrious Pococke, Schultens, Reiske, and De Sacy.

The variety of its subject might have alone sufficed to fix the attention of every person who took an interest in Muslim history and Arabic literature, but when that quality was combined with others which clearly indicated the intelligence, learning, and abilities of the author, the work had an undoubted right to general estimation. None felt this more deeply than Sir William Jones, and none expressed their opinion in stronger terms. When that accomplished scholar penned his *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentarium*, he traced these lines, in which, notwithstanding the heightened tone of his colouring, there is a degree of truth such as precludes me from adding any eulogy of my own: "Scriptoris politissimi Ebni Khallikan opus historicum non magis verborum elegantia et ubertate commendatur, quam illustriorum poetarum versibus quibus conspergitur. Ac nescio an hic omnibus vitarum scriptoribus (*non*) sit anteponendus. Est certè copiosior Nepote, elegantior Plutarcho, Laertio jucundior: et dignus est profectò liber, qui in omnes Europæ linguas conversus prodeat."

Were the work of Ibn Khallikān not before the reader, it might be necessary to point out the sources which he consulted and the plan which he adopted; but the author here speaks for himself, he names the writers whose works he has consulted, he or his translator gives their lives in nearly every case, and he

follows the natural system of noticing those persons only who held a conspicuous place in the Muslim world. It is true that when he treats of those men whose names figure in history, he prefers relating anecdotes illustrative of their personal character to the less amusing duty of fully sketching out their lives. For this, however, a reason subsists: the great historical work of his friend and professor, Ibn al-Athīr, contained all the requisite information, and was then generally read; he did not think it necessary to repeat the tale more fully set forth in a book the well deserved popularity of which he could not suppose would ever be rivalled by the reputation of his own. We might even add that those very anecdotes with which he fills his articles are more precious to a European reader than the fullest narrative of the series of events which mark the life of any individual, since from them we acquire a clearer insight into the manners of the different classes, and collect more useful hints on the civil organization of the Muslim people, than any indications which a notice exclusively biographical could supply. It must also be observed that in judging a work of this kind, the European reader may find faults where the Muslim sees only beauties, and *vice versa*. The former will blame Ibn Khallikān's idea of giving the lives of those persons only, the date of whose death was known; of quoting poetry too frequently, and of showing bad taste in the selection; of giving too many notices on doctors of the law, and too few on historians, poets, and other literary men. Yet we find that a native of Aleppo, the *shaykh* Nur al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn Ḥabīb, who died A. H. 779 (A. D. 1377-8), extracted from Ibn Khallikān's work the lives of two hundred and thirty persons with the passages from their books, and this selection he published under the title of *Ma'āni Ahl al-Bayān min Wafayāt Ibn Khallikān*, or *Beauties of eminent writers extracted from Ibn Khallikān's biographical work*. It would appear from this that our author's taste in his quotations was not considered as bad in the country where his language was spoken and in which the writings of the poets were read and understood. Ibn Ḥabīb composed also a history of Egypt from A. H. 648 to A. H. 761. It is entitled *Durrat al-Aslāk fi Dawlat al-Atrāk*

there is a copy of it in the Leyden library and another in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*. We shall next allow Hājji Khalīfah to speak: "Some historians", says he, meaning of course Muslim writers, "have blamed Ibn Khallikān for his concision in the lives of men eminent for their learning in the law; in some cases he confines his notice of them to a few lines, whilst he fills pages, nay sheets, with the life of a single poet or of a literary man. It happens also, in more than one case, that those to whom he has allotted the longest articles were persons accused of laxity in the religious belief, and yet he mentions them with praise and quotes passages from their poems. But it may perhaps be offered in extenuation of this, that the history of the man learned in the law was already well known, and that the lustre of his reputation, like the light of the sun, could not possibly be hidden from any, whilst the renown of the poet was by no means general." Be the imperfections of his work what they may, we must yet take into consideration that it was the first of its kind in the long series of Arabic literature. Before him, none ever thought of combining in one treatise and in alphabetical order, the lives of the most remarkable men of Islamism, no matter to what class they belonged. There existed, it is true, a great number of biographical dictionaries composed anteriorly to his, and some of them dating from a remote period, but they were works of a special cast and limited in their subject: some treated of eminent jurisconsults, to the exclusion of every other profession; others contained notices, on the learned men who inhabited a particular city; some again gave the lives of such persons as were mentioned in the *Sunan*, or Collections of Traditions. The only book which bore any resemblance to his by the generality of its contents was the *Fihrist*, composed in the fourth century of the Hijrah, but that curious biographical and bibliographical work is formed of six sections, each of which is devoted to one particular class of persons, to the total neglect of alphabetical or chronological arrangement.

During many years my attention was directed towards Ibn Khallikān's works, knowing that from it, above all others, the clearest and most correct ideas could be acquired of the rise and progress of Arabic literature, and that it furnished many

facts of the utmost importance for general history, and not to be found in any other writer. A natural transition led me from the work to the author, and in my endeavours to attain a fair appreciation of the one, I was led to inquire into the life and times of the other. In pursuing this task, I collected from different sources a great number of notices respecting him, his masters, his disciples, and his acquaintances; whilst the indications furnished by his own work, enabled me to fix with precision the dates of the principal occurrences which marked his life. But the circumstances which influenced his character in youth, the relations which subsisted at different periods between him and the masters of the empire, the great political events which occurred during his career in the world and always attracted his attention;—these were subjects which required long study and extensive researches. The results which I have already obtained encourage me to proceed yet farther, and for this reason I shall reserve my notice on *the Life and Times of Ibn Khallikān* till the last volume of this translation shall be given to the press. The materials collected by me will be then better digested, and form an article more complete than any which I could draw up at the present moment. But as the just curiosity of some readers may require a more immediate satisfaction, I shall give here the text and translation of a notice on Ibn Khallikān by the celebrated historian Abu 'l-Maḥāsin. It is extracted from the first volume of his *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, a work on which some observations will be found in a subsequent page. Another life of the same writer by an anonymous author has been given in Arabic and in Latin by Tydeman, in his *Conspectus operis Ibn Challikani*, and a note on the same subject has been inserted by M. Quatremère in his translation of al-Maqrīzī's *History of the Mamlūk Sultāns*, vol. I, part 2, p. 180.

احمد بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن ابى بكر بن خلكان بن باوك بفتح الواو بن
شاكل بفتح الكاف بن الحسين بن مالك بن جعفر بن يحيى بن خالد
بن برمك الامام العلامة شمس الدين ابوالعباس البليخى الاصل
الاربلى المولد الدمشقى الدار والوفاة الشافعى قاضى قضاة دمشق
وعالمها و مورخها مولده باربل فى يوم الخميس حادى عشر شهر

ربيع الآخر سنة ثمان وست مائة و امه من نسل خلف بن ايوب صاحب ابي حنيفة رضي الله عنه و نشأ باربل و تفقه بالموصل ثم قدم دمشق في عنقوان شبيبتها فاقام بها مدة يسيرة و توجه الى ديار مصر و اشتغل بها ايضا و حصل من كل علم طرفا جيدا و برع في الفقه و الاصول و العربية و غير ذلك و افتى و درس و نظم و نشر ولى قضاء دمشق من القاهرة و خرج منها في السابع و العشرين من ذي الحجة سنة ست و ستين وست مائة و توجه الى دمشق فدخلها في ثالث المحرم سنة سبع و ستين فباشرها مدة عشر سنين و في اول ولايته للقضاء كان منفردا الى ان ورد عليه الخبر بان برز المرسوم الشريف الظاهري بان يكون بدمشق اربع (اربعة . 1) قضاة و وصل ثلاثة تقاليد لشمس الدين عبدالله بن محمد بن عطا الحنفى و لزين الدين عبدالسلام الزواوى المالكى و لشمس الدين عبدالرحمان الحنبلى و كانوا قبل ذلك نوابا للشافعى قال الشيخ شهاب الدين ابوسامه و من العجيب اجتماع ثلاثة القضاة بدمشق لقب كل واحد منهم شمس الدين في زمن واحد فقال بعض الادباء

بدمشق ايه قد * ظهرت للناس تماما

كما از دادوا شموسا * زادت الدنيا ظللما

وقال غيره -

اهل دمشق استرابوا * من كثرة الاحكام

اذ هم جميعا شموس * و حالهم في ظلام

ثم صرف قاضى القضاة شمس الدين بن خلكان هذا عن قضاء دمشق و قدم القاهرة و دام بها نحو من سبع سنين و تولى الحكم بها نيابة عن قاضى القضاة بدرالدين السنجارى و درس بالقاهرة و افتى و صنف الى ان اعيد الى دمشق قاضيا بعد القاضى عزالدين بن الصائغ و توجه الى دمشق فلما قرب منها خرج نائبها عزالدين ايدمر بجميع الموكب و الامراء و ارباب الوظائف لتلقيه و اما روساء دمشق فانهم تلقوه من عدة مراحل و هنا الشعراء بعدة قصائد من ذلك ما انشده الشيخ رشيد الدين عمر بن اسمعيل الفارقى -

انت في الشام مثل يوسف في مصر و عندى ان الكرام جناس

فلكل سبع شداد و بعد السبع عام فيه يغاث الناس

قلت هذا القول لمدة مفارقتة لدمشق الى ان عاد ثانيا اليها و
قال فيه نور الدين بن مصعب -

رايت اهل الشام طرا * ما فيهم قط غير راض
اتا هم الخير بعد شر * فالوقت بسط بلا انقبض
وعوضوا فرجه بحزن * قد انصف الدهر في التقاضى
وسرهم بعد طول غم * قدوم قاض و عزل قاض
فكلهم شاكر و شاك * بحال مستقبل و ماض

و دام في هذه الولاية بدمشق الى سنة ثمانين و ست مائة
و صرف عن القضاء و لزم داره الى ان توفي يوم السبت سادس
عشرين شهر رجب و قيل سادس عشرة سنة احدى و ثمانين
وست مائة بالمدرسة النجيبية بدمشق و دفن بقاسيون و كان اماما
عالما بارعا متفننا كثير الفضائل اديبا شاعرا جامعا مورخا وتاريخه
وفيات الاعيان مشهور وهو في غاية الحسن و كان جوادا ممد حامدحه
شعراء عصر بغرر القصائد و كان يجهزهم عليها الجوائز السنوية
وكان عنده عقل و احتمال و ستر عن العورات ولما كان معزولا
بالديار المصرية حصل له ضائقه فبلغ الامير بدرالدين الخازندار
ذلك فامر له بنفقه هائله ومايه اردب قمح فامتنع عن قبولها
و ذكر الحافظ قطب الدين في تاريخه وقال كان اماما اديبا بارعا
حاكما عدلا مورخا جامعا و ذكره ايضا الحافظ ابو محمد البرزالي
في معجمه وقال فيه احد علماء عصره المشهورين و سيد ادباء دهره
المذكورين جمع بين علوم جمه فقه و عربية و تاريخ و
لغة و غير ذلك و جمع تاريخا نفيسا اقتصر فيه على المشهورين
من كل فن و ولى قضاء الشافعية مدة و درس و افتى و سمع الحديث
من ابن الكرم الصوفي باربل و سمع منه البخاري عن ابي الوقت و
سمع من التاوي و ابن الجمیزی و اجازه المويد الطوسي و ابو روح
و ابن الصفار و الحسين بن احمد القشيري و اسمعيل بن محمد بن علي
بن عبدالله السيد الحسيني و اخرون من نيسابور و ذكر مولده ثم
قال له يد طولی في علم اللغة ولم ير في وقته من يعرف ديوان
المتنبي كمعرفته و كان مجلسه كثير الفوائد و التحقيق و البحث
لا يوجد فيه غير ذلك انتهى و قال الشهاب محمود في تاريخه كنت

كثير الاجتماع به في مباشرته الثانية¹ للاقتباس من فوائده رحمه الله
انتهى قلت و اثنى عليه ايضا غير واحد و قد طال الشرح في ذلك
ولا بد من ذكر شئ من شعره فمن ذلك -

تمثلتموا لي و البلاد بعيدة * فيخيل لي ان الفواد لكم مغنى
و ناجا كموقابي على البعد و النوى * فانستموا لفظا و وحشتموا معنى
وله ايضا -

يا جارة الحى هل من عودة فعسى * يفيق من سكرات الوجد مخمور
اذا ظفرت من الدنيا بقربكم * و فكل ذنب جناح الحب مغفور
وله ايضا -

يارب ان العبد يخفى عيبه * فاستر بحلمك ما بدا من عيبه
ولقد اتاك و ماله من شافع * لذنوبه فاقبل شفاعته شيبه

“Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Khallikān Ibn Bāwak Ibn Shakal Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Mālik Ibn Ja‘far Ibn Yāḥyā Ibn Khalid Ibn Barmak¹ surnamed Shams al-Dīn (*sun of religion*), drew his descent from a family of Balkh. This very eminent scholar and follower of Shāfi‘ī’s doctrines was born at Arbela, but resided and died at Damascus, where he had filled the place of chief *qaḍī*. By his talents and his writings he merited the honourable title of the most learned man and the ablest historian of that city. He was born on Thursday, the 11th of the latter Rabī‘, A. H. 608 (22nd Sept. A. D. 1211). His mother descended from Khalaf Ibn Ayyūb, a disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah. He passed the first years of his life at Arbela and then proceeded to Mosul, where he studied Jurisprudence, and was still in the prime of youth when he went to Damascus. After a short residence in that city he travelled to Egypt, where he resumed his studies and acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences, whilst he attained a great pre-eminence as a juriconsult, a theologian, and grammarian. In that country he acted in the capacities of a *mufti* and a public teacher, but without neglecting to cultivate his talent

¹This genealogy is incomplete; the descent of Ibn Khallikān from the Barmekide family is a point which I shall examine when treating of his life and times.

as a prose-writer and a poet. Having been appointed *qāḍī* of Damascus, he left Cairo on the 27th of Dhu'l-Hijjah, A. H. 666, and arrived at the former city on the third of Muḥarram, A. H. 667.¹ During a period of ten years he fulfilled in person the duties of his office; at first he exercised his authority without a colleague, but he then received information that a decree had been issued by order of the noble prince al-Malik al-Zāhir (*Bibars*), declaring that there should be four *qāḍīs* at Damascus. Three acts of investiture then arrived, drawn up in favour of Shams al-Dīn 'Abd Allah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Aṭa the Hanifite, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām al-Zowāwi the Malekite, and Shams al-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān the Hanbalite. Before that time they were merely the deputies of the Shafite *qāḍī*. It was remarked as an extraordinary circumstance by the *Shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Sāma that there should be at the same time three *qāḍīs* at Damascus, all surnamed Shams al-Dīn (*sun of religion*). It was on this occasion that the following lines were composed by one of the literary men in the city :

'The people of Damascus have witnessed a perfect miracle : the greater the number of suns, the more the world was in the dark.'

Another poet said on the same subject :

'The men of Damascus are bewildered with the multitude of legal decisions; their *qāḍīs* are all suns, and yet they are in the dark.'

'Ibn Khallikān was afterwards removed from the *qāḍī*ship of Damascus, and proceeded to Cairo, where he was nominated deputy to the chief *qāḍī* Badr al-Dīn al-Sinjāri. During his residence there he pursued his literary labours, and discharged the duties of a professor and *muftī* till his re-appointment to the place of *qāḍī* at Damascus, as successor to 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣāigh. He then set out for that city, and at his approach the governor 'Izz al-Dīn 'Aydmar went out in state to receive him with the *amīrs* and the persons in office; as for the principal inhabitants, they had already made a journey of some days to meet him on the road. Numerous *qaṣīdahs* were composed by the

¹ These dates are wrong. Ibn Khallikān was appointed *qāḍī* of Damascus A. H. 659.

poets, in which they congratulated him on his reinstatement; and one of these pieces, which was recited to him by the *Shaykh* Rashīd al-Dīn ‘Umar Ibn Ismā‘il al-Fāriqi, contained the following passage:

‘Like Joseph in Egypt, you have now completed your probation, and in my opinion all generous men form a race apart. They all have seven years of suffering to undergo, but then cometh a year which sheds joy and abundance upon mankind.’

“In this he alludes to the length of time Ibn Khallikan was away from them. The piece which follows was composed by Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Muṣ‘ab:

‘Among all the people of Damascus, I did not find one displeased. After evil, good has come unto them; it is the time for joy unrestrained. The pleasure which he had already inspired was succeeded by grief, but fortune acted justly in the end: after protracted sadness they were restored to joy by the arrival of one *qāḍī* and the dismissal of another. They are now all grateful for what is coming, and all complaining of what is past.’

“He continued to fill the post of *qāḍī* at Damascus till the year 680, when he was dismissed, and from that period till the day of his death, he never went out of doors. He died on Saturday the 26th of Rajab,—some say, the 16th,—A. H. 681 (29th October A. D. 1282), in the Najibiya College at Damascus, and was interred at Mount Qāsiyān. He was a man of the greatest reputation for learning, versed in various sciences, and highly accomplished; he was a scholar, a poet, a compiler, and an historian. His celebrated biographical work, the *Wafayāt*, is the acme of perfection. The contemporary poets were encouraged by his generous character to celebrate his praises in poems of great beauty, certain of obtaining an ample recompense from his liberality. His conduct was marked by prudence, moderation, and indulgence for the failings of others. When residing in Egypt, subsequently to his (*first*) removal from office, he was for a time much reduced in circumstances, and the lord-treasurer Badr al-Dīn, who happened to be informed of his situation, ordered him a large sum of money as a present, with one hundred *ardebs* of wheat besides; this gift, however, he would never consent to accept. The *ḥāfiẓ* Quṭb al-Dīn mentions him

in his History, and styles him an *imām*, a learned scholar, a man of superior abilities, an equitable judge, an historian, and a compiler. He is also spoken of by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu Muḥammad al-Berzālī in his *Muʿjam*, as 'one of the most illustrious scholars of his time, the chief of the learned men of the age, even the most famous; master of a great variety of sciences, such as law, grammar, history, philology, etc. He compiled a valuable historical work, in which he gives the lives of those persons only who had attained celebrity in the class to which they belonged. He filled for a time the place of Shafite *qāḍī* and was also a professor and a *muftī*. He learned the Traditions at Arbela from Ibn al-Karm* al-Ṣāfi, who also explained to him the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, after having been taught it himself by Abu 'l-Waqt. He received also Traditions from al-Tawī and Ibn al-Jumayzī, and was licensed to teach Traditions by al-Muwayyad al-Ṭūsī, Abu Rūḥ [and] Ibn al-Ṣaffār, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad al-Qushayrī, Ismā'īl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Sayyid al-Ḥusaynī, and others at Naysāpur.' The historian then gives the date of his birth, and continues: 'He was profoundly learned in the pure Arabic language, and no person of that time was better acquainted with the poems of al-Mutanabbī than he. When he received company, the conversation was most instructive, being entirely devoted to learned investigations and the elucidation of obscure points.' *Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd* says in his history: 'The second time that he filled the place of *qāḍī*, I used to visit him very often, that I might profit by his instructive conversation.' Many other writers have spoken of him in equally favourable terms, but the details which have been given on that subject are already sufficiently copious. It is now absolutely necessary that we should give some passages of his poetry; such are the following:

'I had your image before my eyes, though you dwelt in a distant land; and it seemed to me that my heart was your place of abode. Though absent and far away, my heart held converse with you; you seemed to speak familiarly (*with your lover*), but in reality you were still afflicting him with your aversion.

'Maiden! thou who dwellest near our tribe, can I dare to hope for thy return? Then perhaps, may thy lover, who now

*al Mukram, No. 376 in autograph.—Ed.

suffers from the intoxication of passion, recover his reason. There is but one thing in the world which I desire: let me meet there and all the cruelties of love shall be forgotten !

‘O Lord! thy humble creature strives to conceal his faults: in the kindness, cast a veil over his faults when they appear. He has come unto thee, but has no friend to intercede for him; receive then the intercession of his hairs hoary with age.’”

The well merited celebrity which Ibn Khallikan’s work rapidly acquired, and the esteem in which it was justly held for its exactness, induced many learned men to undertake the task of rendering it still more complete. I shall here enumerate those different essays as I find them indicated in the Bibliography of Hājji Khalifah and other sources.—“Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāqī Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Makḥzāmī, a member of the sect of Mālik, added to it about thirty articles. This writer, who died A. H. 745 (A. D. 1342-3), blames the poverty of Ibn Khallikān’s style, and gives the preference to that of Ibn al-Athīr.”—He cannot mean Ibn al-Athīr the historian, whose style is remarkably simple; but as there were three brothers who bore this name and who are all noticed by our author, Tāj al-Dīn may perhaps have had in view some work composed by one of the two others, and written in the full dignity of what the Arabs consider a fine style, and which is always the more admired the less it is intelligible to the ordinary reader. Indeed many of their authors explained their own works to students, who rendered the same service to others; but when this traditional exegesis was interrupted, a consummation which happened sooner or later, no person was tempted to take up a book which he could not hope to understand, and the masterpiece of style reposed undisturbed on the shelf and finally sank into oblivion.

“A continuation of Ibn Khallikān’s work was written by Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Aibek who died in the year (no date given).” I suspect that Hājji Khalifah never saw the work and that he knew nothing of the author. There was an Ibn ‘Aibek who wrote a supplement to Ibn Khallikān, but of this more hereafter.—“To this supplement a continuation of thirty articles was added by Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Irāqī, who died

A. H. 806 (A. D. 1403-4)".—“Another supplement, bearing the title of *‘Uqūd al-Jinān (buds of the garden)*, and containing the lives of many persons mentioned incidentally in Ibn Khallikān’s Biographical Dictionary, was drawn up by the Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, who died A. H. 994 (A. D. 1586).” — Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Shākir composed a work called *Fawāṭ al-Wafayāt (omissions of the Wafayāt)*. *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, or *deaths of eminent men*, is the Arabic title of Ibn Khallikān’s book.—“Ibn Shākir died A. H. 764 (A. D. 1362-3).” — This is probably the work of which a volume is described by Casiri in his *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp. No. 1774*.—Another supplement, not noticed by Hājji Khalīfah, is the *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A‘yān (continuation of Ibn Khallikān’s biographical dictionary)*, by al-Muwaffaq Faḍl Allāh Ibn Abī Fakhr al-Ṣaqqā‘ī الصقاعي. This is a short work arranged alphabetically and accompanied with a supplement, which is arranged chronologically and extends from A. H. 660 to A. H. 725. A copy of the *Tālī* is in the *Bib. du Roi*, under the No. 732.

It appears from an inscription on the first page of this MS. that it once belonged to Khalīl Ibn ‘Aybak, the author of the following work: “*Wāfi’ l-Wafayāt (supplement to the Wafayāt)*, by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn ‘Aybak al-Safadī. This author died A. H. 764 (1362-3). In it he has collected the lives of all the illustrious and eminent men who fixed his attention; thus he gives notices of the principal Companions of Muḥammad and the next class (*Tābi‘īs*) of the early Muslims; he mentions also princes, *amīrs*, *qāḍīs*, governors, *Qur’ān*-readers, Traditionists, jurisconsults, *shaykhs*, holy men, saints, grammarians, literary men, poets, philosophers, physicians, followers of heretical sects, authors, etc.”—Hājji Khalīfah does not say expressly that this work was intended as a supplement to that of Ibn Khallikān, but the title is a sufficient proof that it was so. And what a supplement!—*twenty-six* large volumes! This enormous compilation had the usual fate of works too extensive; it was seldom copied, and remained almost unknown. Eleven detached volumes of it are preserved in the Bodleyan Library, another is in the possession of M. de Hammer, and one, as I have been informed, was lately acquired by M. Gayangos. This unwieldy

supplement was not however sufficiently complete in the opinion of a very learned Egyptian historian. "The Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Mahāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī Bardī" --or Tangri Verdi-- "who died A. H. 874 (A. D. 1469-70), composed" --as a supplement to this supplement-- "three volumes, which he entitled *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi wa 'l-Mustawfi ba'd al-Wāfi* (the pure source and the full complement, after the *Wāfi*). This work, forming three volumes, contains the lives of eminent men, drawn up in alphabetical order." --The copy in the *Bib. du Roi* is composed of five volumes, and yet the last two or three letters are wanting. The same writer drew up the history of Egypt in the form of annals, and entitled *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*; which, though very voluminous (eight folio volumes), has survived; but his *al-Baḥr-'al-Zākir*, or annals of Islamism, was not so fortunate; only one volume of it, the fifth, exists in the *Bib. du Roi*; it contains a part of the reign of the Khalif 'Uthmān, the reign of 'Alī, that of Mu'āwiyah, and the first years of Yazīd; a space of about thirty-nine years; and for this he has required a large *quarto* volume. If he brought the history down to his own time, the work must have formed twenty volumes at the lowest evaluation.

We now come to the abridgments: "*Al-Jinān* (the garden) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Turkumānī; this writer died some time after the year A. H. 750 (A. D. 1349-50). Another abridgment of it was made by al-Malik al-Afdal 'Abbās Ibn al-Malik al-Afdal al-Mujahid 'Alī, sovereign of Yeman; he died A. H. 778 (A. D. 1376-7)." --See Johansen's *Historia Yemane*.-- "A third was made by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a member of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī and a native of Ghazza (*Gaza in Palestine*); he died A. H. 822 (A. D. 1419)." A fourth was made subsequently to the appearance of Hājji Khalīfah's bibliographical dictionary. In the MS. of that work, *Bib. du Roi, fonds Schulz*, the following additional article is found: "An abridgment of the original work was also made by Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣṭafā al-Faraḍī, who died A. H. 1126 (A. D. 1714). He entitled it *al-Tajrid* (superfluities stripped off)."

We learn also from Hājji Khalīfah that the biographical dictionary was translated into Persian by Zāhīr al-Dīn al-Ardebilī, who died at Cairo, A. H. 930 (A. D. 1523-4). "I have read",

says he, "in a Persian epistle composed by *Qādī* Ibn Uways Ibn Muḥammad, but better known by the name of *Qādī* Zadah, who died A. H. 930, that the Sulṭān Selīm *Khān* the First"—the son of Bāyazid: he came to the throne A. H. 918 (A. D. 1512-13) and died 926 (A. D. 1520)—"had been making searches for books on history, that he paid a particular degree of attention to the work of Ibn *Khallikan*. This induced al-Ardebilī to translate it into Persian for his use, but he had only executed the half of his task when the sulṭān died. This is probably the same person as the *Zahīr al-Dīn* above mentioned."

The facts and observations here presented refer directly to Ibn *Khallikan* or to his work, but some further remarks are requisite in order that a number of allusions peculiar to Arabic literature, and frequently occurring in the course of these volumes, may be clearly understood. The points intended to be elucidated are the manner in which learning was developed by the influence of Islamism, the distinction between the sciences positively encouraged by it and those which it merely tolerated, the difference between Muslim schools and Muslim colleges, the special cast of the sciences taught equally in each, the character of Arabic poetry and the nature of the *qaṣīdah*. Had a regular treatise on the history of Arabian literature existed in that language, these particularities could not have long escaped notice; but as they are only mentioned incidentally by native writers, they have been usually passed over without receiving that attention which they deserved. These points, however, are of such material importance for the literary history of the Arabs that I felt it my duty to investigate them; the extreme difficulty of discovering the scattered facts serving to establish them was amply repaid by occasional success, and the results to which I have been led shall be confided to the following pages, with other observations which, though familiar to Orientalists, are not on that account less requisite for most readers. And yet it must be acknowledged that much more remains to be done; the foundations are indeed laid out, but the edifice is yet to be reared; a task which no doubt will sooner or later be accomplished by the zeal and learning of European scholars.

The oldest monuments of Arabic literature which we still

possess were composed within the century which preceded the birth of Muḥammad¹. They consist in short pieces of verse uttered on the spur of the moment², narrations of combats

M. de Sacy, in his *Memoire sur les anciens monumens de la litterature arabe*, has fully established this point in refuting Albert Schulten's extravagant opinions on the antiquity of Arabic literature. The celebrated poem attributed to Abū Adina, or Udaina (see Schulten's *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae*, p. 57), is one of the few pieces which M. de Sacy considers as of genuine antiquity, and according to him it was composed towards A. D. 460. I am by no means inclined to admit this opinion; the language and style of the piece are comparatively modern and such as denote an author who lived in the second century after the Hijrah, a period in which many literary forgeries of a similar kind were committed. The real author was perhaps Kh̄alaf al-Aḥmar, whose character as a *fabricator of ancient poems* was notorious (no. 249). The poems of Amro 'l-Qays, or, as the name should be properly pronounced, 'Imra al-Qays, are the sole pieces extant of an undeniable antiquity they were composed at least fifty years before the birth of Muhammad, as I have shown in my preface to his *Diwān*, and my deduction is fully confirmed by the following passage, which the learned author of the History of Aleppo, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar 'Ibn al-Adīm, has inserted in his biographical dictionary of the remarkable men who lived in or visited that city (*Bughyat al-Talab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 726, fol. 194 verso) "The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'Amr 'Uḥman Ibn Bakr estimated that Imra al-Qays was anterior to Muḥammad by one hundred and fifty or two hundred years; but al-Wazīr al-Maḡhribī observes that by estimation and approximation it has been established that the interval between the death of Imra al-Qays and the birth of the Prophet was really fifty or fifty-five years."

These pieces of verse are almost always of the measure called *rajaz*, one of the simplest and also the very earliest of the systems of versification employed in Arabic poetry. The old *rajaz* verses were considered by Arabic philologers and grammarians as of the highest importance of their favourite study, on account of the rare words, expressions, and constructions with which they abound. To a person familiar with the Arabic of the Muslim writers, these productions of the old Pagan Arabs seem to belong to another language, as it frequently happens that in a fragment of five or six lines he will not meet a single word with the meaning of which he is acquainted. They are the remains of the different dialects once spoken in the Arabian Peninsula and in the plains which separate Syria from Mesopotamia before the period in which the Qur'ān, that great monument of the Quraysh dialect had fixed the Arabic language.

between hostile tribes, passages in rhythmical prose¹ and *qaṣīdahs*, or elegies. The study of these remains reveals the existence of a language perfect in its form and application, admirably suited to express the various ideas which the aspect of nature could suggest to a pastoral people, and as equally adapted to portray the fiercer passions of the mind. The variety of its inflections, the regularity of its syntax, and the harmony of its prosody are not less striking, and they furnish in themselves a sufficient proof of the high degree of culture which the language of the Arabic nation had already attained². The superior merit of this early literature was ever afterwards acknowledged by the Arabs themselves; it furnished them not only with models but ideas for their poetical production; and its influence has always continued perceptible in the *qaṣīdah*³ which still contains the same thoughts, the same allusions as of old, and drags its slow length along in monotonous dignity.

A great change came over the spirit of Arabic literature on the appearance of the Qur'an, an extraordinary compound of falsehood and truth,* which moulded a people of shepherds and robbers into a nation and launched them forth to the conquest of the world. It is considered by Muslims as the word of God,—His eternal, uncreated word,—revealed to mankind in the

¹ When the Arabs of the desert wished to express themselves with elegance, they adopted a rhythmical arrangement of words and that parallelism of phrase which is the characteristic of good Arabic prose. This peculiarity is evident in all the pieces which have been handed down to us as specimens of the idiom spoken in the Desert, and is by no means an innovation of Muslim writers; the *Ḥamāsah*, the *Kitāb al-Aghām*, and the *'Amālī* of Abu 'Alī 'l-Qālī furnish a copious supply of examples which prove that the art of composing in rhythmical prose not only existed before Muḥammad's time, but was even then generally practised and had been brought to a high degree of perfection.

² This is in some degree attributable to the annual meetings of the poets at the fair of 'Ukāz, but the poems of Imra al-Qays are a proof that the language had acquired its regularity and flexibility from some other source, as he never attended these assemblies. His was the dialect of the Himyarite Arabs, and it was most probably at the court of his ancestors, the kings of the tribe of Kinda, that it received its polish.

See Introduction, page 35.

* The author's prejudice is too evident to be refuted. Such expressions are to be condemned in the strongest terms.—*Ed.*

language of Paradise, to remain a standing miracle by its admirable style. This opinion deterred nearly every attempt at imitation¹; the book stood apart in the majesty of its supposed* excellence, but the study of its contents, combined with that of the Traditions relative to its authority, gave rise to almost all the branches of Arabian learning. The mode by which this was effected shall be here briefly explained, but it is requisite to make some previous observations on the Traditions.

The sayings of Muḥammad were considered by his followers as the result of divine inspiration, and they therefore treasured them up in their memory with the same care which they had taken in learning by heart the chapters of the *Qur'ān*. They recorded also his behaviour under particular circumstances, the acts of his daily life, even the most trifling, and they related them to the rising generation as examples of conduct for every Muslim.² It may be easily imagined that the mass of these Traditions increased rapidly: the different accounts of the same event, the same thoughts expressed in other terms, and even fabricated statements were received with equal avidity by the followers of Islamism, and soon became so numerous that no single man could recollect them all. It was, therefore, necessary to put them down in writing, and the first essay of this kind was made by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī during the reign of the khalif 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.³ Other doctors in different cities of the Muslim empire, and between the years 140 and 150 of

¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa' al-Mutanabbī' Abu'l - 'Ala al-Ma'arrī, and few others who like them did not hold very orthodox opinions, essayed in some of their writings to surpass the style of the *Qur'ān*, but their attempt was naturally considered as a failure. Were we to examine the *Qur'ān* by the rules of rhetoric and criticism as they are taught in Muslim schools, we should be obliged to acknowledge that it is the perfection of thought and expression; an inevitable result, as the Muslims drew their principles of rhetoric from that very book.

² The distinction between the *Ḥadīth* (sayings) and the *Ṣunan* (doings) is not attended to by doctors of the Muslim law; both are equally authoritative.

³ The author of the *Muḥāḍarāt al-Awṭīl* mentions this fact on the authority of al-Suyūṭī, most probably from the *Awṭīl*, one of the numerous treatises by that writer.

* See Editor's note, p. 16.

the Hijrah, classed the Traditions according to the subjects which they served to illustrate¹ and towards the beginning of the third century, al-Bukhārī undertook to reduce their number by selecting those only which were supported by the best authority. In discriminating between the true and the false, he was guided by the character of the persons through whom they had passed down, and he rejected those which could not be traced up through an unbroken series of Traditionists all men of unimpeached veracity and acknowledged piety. His example was followed by other doctors, and the united contents of the six *Ṣaḥīḥs*, or genuine collections, form to the presentday one of the four columns which support the edifice of Muslim law. These Traditions serve to explain points of doctrine not set forth with sufficient clearness in the *Qur'ān*, and they are therefore considered as the indispensable supplement to that book. Their style is concise and elliptic, but pure and elegant abounding with idiomatic expressions peculiar to the Arabs of the desert, and not to be perfectly understood without a commentary. The perusal of these documents is however most instructive, and the European scholar who makes it his task to study them will acquire not only a profound knowledge of pure Arabic, but a deep insight into the manners and character of every Muslim people.

The necessity of distinguishing the genuine Traditions from the false gave rise to new branches of literature. A just appreciation of the credit to which each Traditionist was entitled could only be formed from a knowledge of his moral character, and this could be best estimated from an examination of his life. Hence the numerous biographical works arranged in chronological order and containing short accounts of the principal Traditionists and doctors of the law, with the *indication* of their tutors and their pupils, the places of their birth and residence, the race from which they sprung, and the year of their death. This again led Muslim critics to the study of genealogy and geography.

The use of writing existed in Arabia before the promulgation of Islamism, but grammar was not known as an art till the

¹ Of this further notice will be taken; see page 24.

difficulty of reciting the *Qur'ān* correctly induced the khalif 'Al to make it an object of his attention. He imposed on Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duwalī the task of drawing up such instructions as would enable the Muslims to read their sacred book and speak their language without making gross faults.¹

The sense of the *Qur'ān* was felt to be obscure in many places, and this was justly attributed to two causes: indirect allusions to circumstances of which no further notice was taken and the use of many words and phrases borrowed from the tribes of the Desert. The allusions were explained by the companions of Muḥammad, and these explanations, handed down by tradition, are still preserved in the commentaries on the *Qur'ān*; but the meaning of its obscure expressions could only be obtained from a comparison of the passages in which they are found with similar passages preserved in the early monuments of the Arabic language. It was this reason which induced Ibn 'Abbās, soon after the death of his cousin Muḥammad, to encourage the study of poetry, and from that time it became an indispensable branch of education. But the poems of the ancient Arabs were usually made on some particular occasion, and to understand them well it was necessary to know the motive which led the author to compose them: and as it generally happened that he was not only a poet, but a warrior, they often contained allusions to the battle-days wherein he himself had fought. This led the Muslim scholar to study the history of the old Arabic tribes, and here again he could not see his way without the help of genealogy.

The duty of pilgrimage contributed to turn their attention to geography. The believers who dwelt in distant lands required to know the towns and countries through which they had to pass before arriving at Mekka; lists and itineraries were drawn up for this purpose, and hence all their geographical works received the general title of *Masālik wa Mamālik* (*Roads and Realms*). Every mosque in the Muslim empire must be turned towards Mekka, and the founder had therefore to ascertain previously the latitude and longitude of the place where the edifice was to be erected. This required some knowledge of astronomy, a science of foreign

¹ See the life of Abu'l-Aswad, No. 290.

growth, but which had been encouraged from the earliest period of Islamism, since some knowledge of its requisite to ascertain the hours of prayer, which could only be determined by means of the altitude of the sun. In the latitude of Mekka the daily variation of the hours, caused by the sun's movement in the ecliptic, was so light, that it produced very little change in the times of prayer throughout the year; but in higher latitudes the difference became perceptible, and it was only by tables or almanacs that the *muwadhhdhin* was enabled to know the precise moment at which he should call the faithful to public worship¹. The Muslim Lent begins on the first appearance of the new moon in the month of Ramadān. The *Sunnite* doctors require that the moon should be seen before the fast can commence; but in Egypt, under the Fatimides, and in the countries where the *Shīte* doctrines prevailed, the day of the new moon was fixed beforehand by calculations to which lunar tables served as a basis, and these tables were gradually improved by the assiduity of astronomers, encouraged in their labours by the patronage of government.

In their arithmetical calculations the Arabs employed certain letters of the alphabet with a numerical value, but they afterwards adopted the Indian ciphers.² The arithmetic of fractions was cultivated by them very early; the *Qur'ān*, in fixing the shares of inheritance to which the nearer and the more distant heirs are entitled, rendered it indispensable.³ The first principles of algebra seem to have been known to them even in the lifetime of

1 The works serving to point out the precise hours of prayer were called *Mawaqit* مواقیت and their authors were entitled *Muwaqqit* موقت the *muwadhhdhins* of mosques were sometimes *Muwaqqits*.

2 In their astronomical works they employ both systems of notation, but in the tables they generally make use of letters, as by their means they can express all numbers below two thousand.

3 The art reckoning fractions was known to Zayd Ibn Thabit, one of Muḥammad's Companions and he applied it, with the approbation of his master, to the division of inheritances. The imām al-Shāfi'i improved on Zayd's principles, and his system was taken by the author of the *Sirajiyah* as the basis of his work.

Muhammad.¹

General history was not at first considered by Muslims as a lawful science, and many doctors were by religious scruples to condemn its study, But the history of literary men, that is, of doctors of the law, poets, philologers and grammarians, received their approval, inasmuch as the writings of such persons were connected with those branches of learning, the germs of which had expanded under the influence of the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions. All the great cities had their literary history, into which the patriotism of the author, anxious to exalt the glory of his native place, sometime induced the lives of great princes, generals, vizirs, and other public officers.² It was only when pious Muslims had been led to believe that political history was instructive and edifying, since it marks the way of God towards man, that writings of this cast obtained at length a hesitating approval.

The documents relative to Muhammadan history were transmitted during the first centuries by oral tradition from one *ḥāfiẓ* to another, and these persons made it an object of their particular care not to alter, in the least degree, the narrations which they had received. The pieces thus preserved were generally furnished by eye-witnesses of the facts which are related in them, and are therefore of the highest importance not for the history of the Muslim people, but for that of the Arabic language. The *ḥāfiẓ* who communicated a narration of this kind to his scholar,

¹ Though the history of algebra was not the immediate object of my studies, I met in Arabic writers some particular circumstances relative to it which have fixed my attention and led me to the conclusion which I here announce; but more extensive researches must be made before I can furnish the complete proofs of my assertion.

² Some of these histories with their continuations formed collections of from eighty to one hundred large volumes, a few of which are yet to be found in European libraries. The *Bibliothèque de Roi* possesses a folio volume closely written and containing a very small part of Khaṭīb's History of Baghdad—a portion only of the letter 'ayn. Another large volume on the History of Aleppo contains only a small part of the first letter of the alphabet. The extent of some of these collections may be best appreciated from Hājjī Khalifah's account of them in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*; see the articles *Tarīkh Baghdad*, *Tārikh Haleb*, *Tawārikh Dimesch*, etc.

never neglected indicating beforehand the series of persons through whom it had successively passed before it came down to him, and this introduction, or *support*, *Isnād* as the Arabs call it, is the surest proof that what follows is authentic. The increasing number of these narrations became at length a burden to the best memory, and it was found necessary to write down the more ancient of them lest they should be forgotten. One of the first and most important of these collections was Ibn Ishāq's History of the Muslim wars, a work of which we possess but a small portion, containing the life of Muḥammad, with notes and additions by a later editor, Ibn Hishām; this is a book of the highest authority and deservedly so, but it is unfortunately of great rareness. This History of Islamism by al-Ṭabarī was formed also in a similar manner; being merely a collection of individual narrations preceded by their *isnāds*: many of them relate to same event, and from their mutual comparison a very complete idea can be acquired of the history of that early period. These collections of original documents were consulted by later historians, such as Ibn-al-Jawzī, Ibn-al-Athīr, and others, and it was from these sources that they drew the facts set forth in their respective works. It may be laid down as a general principle that Islamic history assumed at first the form of a collection of statements, each of them authenticated by an *isnād*; then came a writer who combined these accounts, but suppressed the *isnāds* and the repetitions; he was followed by the maker of abridgments, who condensed the work of his predecessor and furnished a less extensive book on the same subject. The greater work then lay buried in some public library; none were inclined to go to the expense of having it copied for their own use when an abridgment of it could be procured at a cheap rate; and there it remained till time, worms, and war accomplished its destruction. Abu 'l-Fidā and al-Suyūfī did nearly as much harm to Ibn al-Athīr and al-Ṭabarī as Justin and Florus did to Livy and Tacitus.

In all the Muslim cities, the sciences connected with Islamism were actively cultivated, but Baṣrah and Kūfah attained, at an early period, a high pre-eminence for learning. A great rivalry prevailed between the schools of these two cities, but the utmost difference which we can now discover in their systems of

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doctrine not very material; they each transmitted with some variations, the works of the older poets, each had a particular manner of explaining the obscure passages contained in these pieces, and each solved certain grammatical difficulties in a way peculiar to itself. The study of grammar and philology reached a high degree of perfection in these schools, and through them the early literature of the Arabs was handed down by oral transmission, with the same exactness as others delivered the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions. The idiom spoken by the Arabs of the desert was the great object of their studies, and its copious phraseology was preserved from oblivion by their labours. The number of their compilations, consisting in passages of prose and verse which they had received from the different tribes, would be hardly credible, were the fact not supported by the united testimony of all the Arabian biographers. The articles contained in these philological collections were generally classed under different heads, each of which formed a separate treatise. Some were on camels, some on horses, others on plants, tents, arms, hunting, hospitality, etc. ; in a word, on every subject furnished by nomadic life. These documents served later as the ground work of dictionaries, and it was probably from them that al-Fairāzābādī drew the quantity of extracts which swelled out his first Arabic lexicon, the *Lāmi'*, to sixty volumes.¹

During a considerable period all the knowledge of the Muslims was transmitted by tradition ; nay, doctors of the law composed works and taught them to their pupils, without having written them down, so great was the prejudice against learning acquired from books. Religious scruples long hindered them from putting them on paper ; they said also, and very justly when we consider the nature of their written character, that what was confided to paper could not be perfectly understood without a master and they observed besides that it was more exposed to alterations and destruction than when it was engraved on the mind. Information of all sorts continued to accumulate in this manner, till at length it obliged them to put it in some order and have recourse to the pen. "In the year of the Hijrah 143

¹ See his preface to the *Qāmūs*.

says al-Dhahabī¹ the learned men of Islamism began to draw up² the Traditions, jurisprudence, and the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*. Ibn Jurayj composed his books at Mekka; Sa'īd Ibn Abī 'Uruba.³ Hammād Ibn Maslamah, and others composed theirs at Baṣrah; Abū Ḥanīfah and Rabī'at al-Rā'i drew up their works on Jurisprudence at Kūfah, and al-Auzā'ī in Spain; Mālik composed his *Muwatta* at Medīnah; Ibn Ishāq then drew up his *Maghāzī* (*Wars of Islamism*); Ma'mar⁴ composed in Yemen,

¹ Abū 'Abd 'Allah Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Uṭmān Ibn Kāimaz al-Dhahabī, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and surnamed *Shams al-Dīn* (*the sun of religion*), was born in the month of Rajab, A. H. 673 (January, A. D. 1275) at Damascus: but his ancestors, who were of the Turcoman nation, inhabited Mayyafariqin. He was the chief *ḥāfiẓ* and *Qur'ān*-reader of Syria. Having received the first principles of learning at the place of his birth, he visited successively Ba'labakk, Cairo, Nāblus, Aleppo, Mekkah, Medīnah, Jerusalem, and Tripolis, that he might complete his studies under the eminent teachers who then inhabited these cities. He died at Damascus, A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347-8). His works were very numerous and consisted in compilations, abridgments, and original treatises; the title of sixty-seven are given by Abu 'l-Maḥasin, who acknowledges however that he did not notice the whole of al-Dhahabī's productions. The most important of them are the *Annals of Islamism*, of which a broken set is preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*; this work was composed of twenty-one volumes. An abridged history of eminent men, forming a number of volumes. An abridged history of the Muslim kingdoms. An examination into the credibility of Traditionists. A chronological biography of those who bore the title of *ḥāfiẓ* (*Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*) in two volumes. A biography of *Qur'ān*-readers (*Tabaqāt al-Qurra*) a copy of which work is in the *Bib. du Roi*. An abridgment of the Khaṭīb's History of Baghdad and of al-Sam'ānī's. *An abridgment in ten volumes* of the history of Damascus; another of the Ḥākim's *History of Naishapūr*. The history of al-Ḥallāj; an abridgment of Abū'l-Fida's Geography, etc.—(*Al-Manḥal al-Ṣāfi*, vol. V. fol. 86 verso).

In the original text, the word employed is *tadwīn* (تدوين).

³ Abu'l-Naḍr Sa'īd Ibn Abī 'Uruba Marwān, a native of Baṣrah and a *mawla* to the tribe of 'Alī, learned the Traditions from Naḍr Ibn Anas Ibn Mālik and Qutāda; Ibn Mubarak was one of his disciples. According to al-Bukhārī, he died A. H. 156 (A. D. 772-3) *Tabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*, MS. No. 736.

⁴ Abū 'Urwah Ma'mar Ibn Abī 'Urwa Raṣhīd was a *mawla* to the tribe of Azd and a native of Baṣrah but he settled in Yemen. He learned the Traditions from al-Zuhri, and among his own pupils he had al-Ḥawri, Ibn 'Uyainah and Ibn Mubarak. He died in the month of Ramaḍan, A. H. 153 (September, A. D. 770) or by another statement, in 158.—(*Tab.-al-Muḥad*).

and Sufyan al-Thawrī wrote his book the *Jāmi'*. Very soon after, Ibn Hishām, Layth Ibn Sa'd, and Abd 'Allah Ibn Lahī'ah composed their works ; then followed Ibn al-Mubārak and the Qādī Abū Yūsuf, at which period the classification and registering of knowledge was carried to a great length. The treatises on grammar and on the language were then drawn up,¹ as also history and the adventures of the desert Arabs. Before this, all the learned spoke from memory, and the information which they communicated to their pupils was devoid of order, but from that time the acquisition of learning was rendered easy and its preservation by the memory became gradually less frequent."²

The task of tracing the progress of the Muslims in legal studies would be extremely difficult for a European pen, and the labour of many years would hardly suffice for its accomplishment. The observations which follow are therefore to be considered in no other light than as a very imperfect sketch. On the first establishment of Islamism, the text of the *Qur'ān* and the example given by Muḥammad sufficed to guide the first doctors of the law to the solution of the different questions to which the theocratical organisation of the Muslim empire gave rise ; but soon after the death of their lawgiver, the state of the Arab people underwent an immense alteration ; a great portion of the nomadic tribes having abandoned their former mode of life on settling in the countries which they had subdued.³ The possession of power and riches gave rise to new feelings, new ideas, and new manners they had entered into a new sphere of existence and found themselves under the necessity of establishing a system of rules and regulations calculated to ensure the uniformity of their religious rites, and give a more comprehensive action to the principles

¹ Ibn Khallikān and the author of the *Fihrist* appear in a number of cases, to designate unwritten works by the term '*kutub*' (books), and written ones by the words '*kutub muṣannafah*' (composed books). This is, however, a point which requires further examination, for '*kutub*' may perhaps signify compilations and '*kutub muṣannafah*' original works.

² This citation is copied from Abu'l-Mahāsin's *Nujūm* under the year 143.

³ In Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talqīḥ*, MS. No. 631, will be found the names of the principal *tabi'īs* who settled in the following places: Ṭā'if, Yemen, Yamāmah, Babrayn, Kūfah, Baṣrah, Madāin, Khurāsān, Wāsiṭ, Baghdad, Syria, Mesopotamia, the frontiers of Syria, and Egypt.

of their civil law. Thus their general code, the main points of which had been previously fixed, received its development from the progress of the people in civilisation.

Muslim law flows from four sources : the *Qur'ān*, the *Sunnah* or Traditions, the general practice or common consent of the ancient imāms, and the principles deduced from the comparison of these three. The imperfection of the legal regulations contained in the *Qur'ān* obliged the first Muslims to consult Muḥammad on those difficulties which the text of that work was inadequate to solve ; his opinion was scrupulously followed, and the validity of his decisions was considered as incontrovertible. The ancient imāms, that is, the principal jurisconsults of the first, second, and third centuries after the Hijrah, founded their general practice on that of their predecessors, but some of them presumed to decide on cases hitherto unforeseen, by means of analogical deductions from the three first source of the law. These were called the *Mujtahid* imāms because they employed the utmost efforts of their mind to attain the right solution of such questions as were submitted to their judgment.¹ Among those imāms Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Shāfi'ī, Mālik, and Ibn Ḥanbal stood pre-eminent not only for their abilities but for the number of points which each settled of his own authority and formed into a body of supplementary doctrines. It naturally happened that these four held different opinions in some cases, but as all the dogmas and leading principles of the law had been already immutably fixed, their decisions related to questions of mere secondary importance, and their doctrine, in the main, was perfectly orthodox. At the present day, the difference which subsists between the practice of their respective followers lies in some particular modifications of the general form of prayer, and in the solution of some legal questions relating principally to property. Of these four sects, the Hanbalite and Mālekite may be considered as the most rigid, the Shafite as the most conformable to the spirit of Islamism, and the Hanifite as the mildest and most philosophical of them

¹ *Mujtahid* is derived from *jahd* (effort). This title has long ceased to be in use among the *Sunnites*, but it is still borne in Persia by the chief jurisconsult of each province. Some of the older travellers write this name *Mushtahed* and derive it from *shahad* (to bear witness to the truth). The derivation of the word *qa'id* (chief) from *qa'la* (to judge) is a mistake of a similar kind.

all.¹ Two other imāms, Abū Daw'ūd al-Zāhirī and Sufyān at-Thawrī, were also chiefs of orthodox sects, but their opinions had not many followers, and after some time were totally abandoned. Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, whose reputation as an historian is so familiar to Europeans, founded also a particular sect, which disappeared soon after his death.

The heretical doctrines of the *Shītes*, who under the name of *Rāfiqites* or *Ismā'īlians*, hold so prominent a place in Muslim history, had little influence on Arabic literature; but the science of scholastic theology, a Motazelite innovation, gave to the language a scientific precision which it had not hitherto possessed, and which was still more deeply impressed on its style by the translations of Aristotle's works and those of other Greek philosophers. The art of medicine was received from foreigners; the early physicians were natives of India, the next were tributary subjects, and al-Kindī was one of the first Muslims² by whom it was practised. The influence of medical writ-

¹ The following passage, extracted from Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena* to his *Universal History*, merits a place here: "The science of Jurisprudence forms two systems: that of the followers of private judgment and analogy (*ahl al-rā'i wa'l-qiyās*) who were natives of 'Irāq, and that of the followers of Tradition who were natives of Hijāz. As the people of 'Irāq possessed but few Traditions, they had often recourse to analogical deductions and attained great proficiency therein, for which reason they were called the followers of private judgment: the imām Abū Hanīfab, who was their chief and had acquired a perfect knowledge of this system, taught it to his disciples. The people of Hijāz had for imām Mālik Ibn Anas and then al-Shafi'i. Some time after, a portion of the learned men disapproved of analogical deductions and rejected that mode of proceeding: these were the Zāhirites (followers of Abu Dawūd Sulaymān), and they laid down as a principle that all points of law should be taken from the *Nuṣūṣ* (*text of the Qur'ān and Traditions*) and the *Ijmā'* (*universal accord of the ancient imāms*)." *Prolegomena*, p. 100.

² It was once supposed that al-Kindī was a Jew, but this is now well known to be false. He belonged to one of the most noble Arabian tribes, that of Kinda, his father and grandfather were Muslims and his great-grandfather was one of Muhammad's companions. It might be said that he was a convert to the Jewish religion, but how then did he contrive to escape the punishment of death inflicted by the law of Muhammad upon apostates, and why should he have borne the title of the Philosopher of the Muslims? M. De Sacy has already remarked and refuted this error in his *Abdallatif*, p. 487.

ings on general literature was necessarily very slight. Alchemy, an art cultivated from the most ancient times, was always a favourite study with the Muslims, and in this pursuit they made many discoveries which served later to form the basis of chemistry. Astrology, like alchemy, was one of the oldest delusions of the human mind, and, although reprobated by the *Sunnah*, it has always continued to flourish in every Muslim country, but what they considered as its parasitical branch, astronomy, has long since faded and shrunk away.

It is generally mentioned by Arabic historians that the first *madrasah* (place of study) was founded at Baghdad in the year 459 of the Hijrah (A. D. 1066), by the celebrated Niẓām al-Mulk. This statement has led some European writers to assert that the first Arabian *Academy*, or *College*, was established by that vizir. The idea which they attach to these words is not, however, very clear; if they mean that an academy or college is an institution which students must frequent that they may obtain their degrees, then they are mistaken in supposing *madrasahs* to be the first establishments of the kind; and if they add that the academies were *civil* foundations endowed with real estates, and containing chambers or cells in which the students lodged, they are still wrong in the date, for, according to a very good authority, a *madrasah* was founded at Naysapār for Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāinī, the celebrated Shāfite doctor and professor, who, we know, died A. H. 418¹. A fact of this nature could not escape the attention of the celebrated annalist and biographer al-Dhahabī, and his observations on the subject are deserving of a place here. He says in his *Annals of Islamism*²: "Those who pretend that Niẓām al-Mulk was the first founder of *madrasahs* are mistaken. Before his birth the *Bayhaqīān madrasah* existed at Naysapār as also the *Saidian madrasah*; the latter was built by the amir Nasr Ibn Subuktikin, a brother of the sultān Maḥmūd, when governor of that city. The third was founded at the same place by the *Ṣūfī* preacher Abu Sa'd Isma'il Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Muthanna of Astarabād, one of the *Khatīb* al-Baghdadī's

¹ His life is given in No. 48.

² Cited by al-Suyūṭī in his *Iḥṣān al-Muhā'ara*, MS. No. 652, fol. 235.

masters. The fourth was in the same city, and had been erected for *the master* Abū Ishāq." Al-Suyūṭī, who cites the foregoing passage in his *Husn al-Muḥaḍarrah*¹ then subjoins some extracts from other writers which also merit insertion: "The *Hākim*² says in his article on the *master* Abū Ishāq: *Before this* madrasah *there was no other like it in Naysāpūr*, from which it is manifest that others had been founded there previously. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī says in his work, entitled *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*³: 'Upon reflection I am strongly inclined to think that Niẓām al-Mulk was the first who established in them a fixed allowance for the support of students *المعالييم للطلبة* for I have not been

¹ Al-Suyūṭī died A. H. 911 (A. D. 1505). A full account of his life and a complete list of his writings will be found in the work entitled *Soluti liber de interpretibus Korani*, by Meursinge, Leyden, 1839. *

² This is the celebrated Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn al-Batī. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

³ Abu Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Dīa al-Dīn 'Abd al-Kāfī, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī 'l-quḥāt*) of Damascus, drew his descent from one of those members of the tribe of Khazraj who took up arms for Muḥammad. He bore the surnames of Tāj al-Dīn (crown of religion) and al-Subkī (native of Subk, a village in Egypt). This celebrated imām was equally illustrious as a juriconsult, a theologian, and a professor. One of his masters was the well-known historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī. He filled four times the place of *qāḍī* at Damascus, and officiated as a *Khaṭīb* or preacher in the great mosque founded by the Omayyides in that city. Among the numerous works which he composed, the most remarkable are—an abridgment of Ibn Hājib's (*grammatical*) work (the *Kāfiyah*); the chronological history of the Shafite doctors, in three editions designated as the *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* (*the greater*), *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Wusṭa* (*the medium*), and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughra* (*the less*). He left different pieces in prose and verse. Born at Cario, A. H. 728 (A. D. 1327-8); died of the plague at Damascus, A. H. 771 (A. D. 1369-70). (*Al-Manhal al-Ṣīfī. Ṭab. al-Shaf.*)—His father Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, surnamed Taqī al-Dīn, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shafī'i and eminent as a juriconsult, a *hāfẓ*, an interpreter, a *reader* of the *Qur'ān*, a theologian, a teacher of scholastic divinity, a grammarian, and a philologist. He was born at Subk in Sharqiyah, a province of Lower Egypt, A. H. 673 (A. D. 1274-5). In 731 he was appointed *qāḍī* of Damascus, where he acted also as a professor. He died A. H. 756 (A. D. 1355), leaving after him a high reputation for learning and virtue. He wrote some works, of which the principal is a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, entitled *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* in three volumes. For further details, see the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiy'in*, MS. No. 861.

able to ascertain that such was previously the case." In corroboration of the preceding remarks other similar facts might be adduced and without specifying the existence of a *dār al-'ilm* or *house of science* opened at Baghdad under the patronage of the vizir Sāpār Ibn Ardashīr, who died A. H. 416¹, we might refer, as M. de Hammer has already done, to the *dār al-Hikmah*²

¹ See No. 241.

² The *Dār al-Hikmah* differed from every other school and *madrasah* by the sciences taught in it and by the peculiar object of its institution, which was to propagate the Batinite doctrines. See M. de Sacy, *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, vie de Hakem, p. cccxii. Al-Maqrīzī, in his *Khiṭaṭ*, gives the following account of this establishment:—The *Dār al-'ilm* or *house of science*, called also the *Dār al-Hikmah* or *house of philosophy*, was opened by the khalif al-Hākim in the month of the latter Jumāda, A. H. 395. The public of all classes were admitted and had permission to read or copy, as they pleased the works which the khalif had sent to it from his own libraries. The quantity of books which it contained was immense, and consisted of treatises on all the sciences and on general literature; among these volumes were some written by the most celebrated penmen. The interior of the establishment was carpeted, gilt, and hung with curtains over the windows and the doors and a number of guardians, slaves, and *farrōshes* kept the whole in order. Lessons were given in it by juriconsults, *Qur'an*-readers, astronomers, grammarians, philologists, and physicians, who all received salaries for their services. Paper, pens, and ink were always ready for the public. In the year 403 al-Hākim sent for a number of arithmeticians, logicians juriconsults, and physicians employed in the *Dār al-'ilm*; each class was introduced separately and discussed questions in his presence, after which he clothed them in robes of honour and made them rich presents. This establishment possessed an annual revenue of two thousand five hundred and seventy *dirhams* for its support, of which sum a part was employed in the following manner: for mats, 10 *dirhams*; salary of the *kātib* or copyist, 90 *dirhams*; salary of the librarian, 48 *dirhams*; for water 12 *dirhams*; for the *farrāsh*, 15 *dirhams*; for paper, ink and pens, 12 *dirhams*; for the mending of the curtains, 1 *dirham*; reparation of books and replacing lost leaves, 12 *dirhams*; a carpet for winter, 5 *dirhams*; for palmleaves, to strew floor the in winter, 8 *dirhams*.—When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn re-established the Sunnite doctrines in Egypt, he founded the college called after him *al-Madrasah al-Ṣalḥiyah*, and nominated the *shaykh* Najm al-Dīn Muhammad al-Khubūḥanī as its president, with a monthly salary of forty *dirhams* (about 20 pounds) as chief professor, and another of ten as administrator of the *waqfs*, or property granted to the establishment for its support. He allowed him besides sixty Egyptian *raṭls* (pounds weight) of bread daily and two skins of Nile water.—(*Husn al-Muḥāḥara*, fol. 235).

or *house of wisdom* established at Cairo by the Fatimide khalif al-Hākim in the year 395 of the Hijrah, and to another college founded by the same prince for students of the sect of Mālik, A. H. 400.¹ It is, therefore, manifest that Nizām al-Mulk was not the first who founded a *madrasah* or college, and it is easy to prove that academies existed long before his time; that they were held in the mosques, as is still the case at Cairo, Ispahān, Bukhāra, Qayrawān, and Fez. The Egyptian historians remark that under the reign of al-'Azīz Nizār, public lectures on different branches of knowledge were opened in the mosque al-Azhar at Old Cairo and that the professors were paid by government. Still earlier Ibrāhīm Ibn Hishām al-Makhzāmī² caused regular lessons to be given in the great mosque of Damascus; in the time of Bilāl Ibn Abī Burdah, who died A. H. 126, grammar was taught publicly in the mosques, and Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, who died A. H. 74, taught the readings of the *Qur'ān* in the mosque of Kūfah; it has been even handed down on good authority that the first who taught in a mosque and instructed a circle of pupils in the reading of the *Qur'ān* was Abu 'l-Dardā, and he died A. H. 32.³ We know moreover that the first school for Arabic literature was established by Ibn 'Abbās, and that he himself gave regular lectures to an immense multitude who assembled in a valley near Mekkah. A great number of passages might also be adduced, if necessary, to prove that from the time of the *Tābi'in*⁴ the regular academies or upper schools were held in the mosques; and that the sciences taught therein were such as related to the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions.⁵ The names of all the great doctors who professed in the different cities of the Muslim empire are still known to us, and from the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqaha* alone a chronological list of teachers might be drawn up,

¹ See M. de Sacy's *Druzes*, tom I, pages ccxii and ccxlvii.

² Ibrāhīm Ibn Hishām al-Makhzāmī was one of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's provincial governors: that khalif died in the year 125 of the Hijrah.

³ Al-Yāfi'i *Mir'āt al-Janān*.

⁴ See note 2 of author's preface.

⁵ During the first centuries of Islamism, professors received no other remuneration from their scholars than the presents which it was customary for the latter to give on passing to a higher class.

commencing with the *Tābi'is* and descending to the latest times. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and metaphysics were excluded from the course of usual instruction, even in the *madrasahs*¹ and could only be learned from private masters, as was still the case till very lately. From the preceding observations it may be concluded that Nizām al-Mulk founded neither the first *madrasah* nor the first academy, and that the institution called after him the Nizāmiah was merely one of the earliest civil establishments for the propagation of learning; the talent of its professors' shed, it is true, a brilliant lustre upon its reputation, but the mosques continued nevertheless to be the only regular academies acknowledged by the law.²

It appears from a number of passages in the different *Ṭabaqāt*s and in the work of Ibn Khallikān, that the young student commenced his labours by learning the *Qur'ān* by heart, and also as many of the Traditions as he was able to acquire at his native place; to this he joined a slight acquaintance with grammar and some knowledge of poetry; on attaining the age of from fourteen to sixteen, he began his travels and visited the great cities, where he learned Traditions and received certificates of licence³ from eminent Traditionists. He then followed the different courses of lectures which were held in the mosques or in the *madrasahs*, and in some cases he attached himself to one of the professors and lived with him not only as a pupil, but as a menial servant. He there learned by heart the approved works on the dogmas of religion, and studied the commentaries on the same works; under the tuition of his master; he acquired a correct

¹ The only exception I have hitherto remarked is offered by al-Hākim's *Dār al-Hikmah*.

² These observations will account for a singular statement made by al-Maqqari in his History of Spain, where he says, MS. No. 704, fol. 60 recto: "Though learning was highly valued by the inhabitants of Spain's gentle and common, they had no *madrasahs* specially established for the propagation of learning; but all the sciences were taught in the mosques for payment." M. Gayangos has omitted this curious passage in his abridged translation of that work.

³ See a note on the subject of *Ijazahs*, or certificates of capacity, in M. Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi MSS. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* See also M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 123.

knowledge of the different readings of the *Qur'ān* and of its orthodox interpretation whilst he pursued the study of ancient poetry and philology, grammar and rhetoric, in order to attain the faculty of appreciating perfectly the admirable style which characterises the *Qur'ān*. The secondary points of jurisprudence, forming the doctrines of the sect to which he belonged, then became the object of his particular study, and an acquaintance with logic and dialectics completed his education. Having obtained from his professors certificates of capacity and licence to teach the works which he had mastered, he found the career open to the places of *khaṭīb* or preacher, *imām*, *qāḍī*, *mufti* and professor. Such was the usual course of education, and its beneficial influence on the mind and character cannot be doubted.¹

It is much more difficult to mark out the line of study followed by those who were destined to fill places in the public administration. The *kātib* should be not only, as his name implies, a good penman, but also a master of the beauties of the Arabic language, well acquainted with grammar and the writings of the poets, a skilful accountant and gifted with a capacity for business.² Some *kātib*s were employed to draw up state papers; others to keep the public accounts and registers, or to receive the tithes and the revenues of the state: every governor of a province had his *kātib* whose duty was to keep the correspondence, and to receive the taxes of the district, the rents of the government farms, etc. Out of this money a fixed sum was yearly remitted to the sovereign; the governor reserving the rest for his own use and the payment of the troops, and persons entitled to salaries, such as the *qāḍīs*, the juriconsults, the *imāms* of the great mosques, the clerks in the public offices, etc. Part of it was absorbed also by works of public utility, and in defraying the expenses of his court. He was obliged besides to maintain the post-horse establishment, but the post-master, who acted also as a spy over the governor, was nominated by the sovereign.

¹ It may be remarked that nearly all the Muslim authors with whose works we are acquainted, were either doctors of the law, or had followed the course of studies necessary to become one.

² The title of *Kātib* was sometimes given to copyists of the *Qur'ān*.

The great quantity of verses quoted by Ibn Khallikān, and of which it may with justice be said, *Sunt bona, sunt mediocria, sunt mala plura*, requires from the translator some observations. The decline of Arabic poetry can be easily traced down from the accession of the Abbasides to the time of the Ayyubites ; for many centuries the patrons of the belles-lettres were of foreign extraction, and writers who sought their favour were obliged to conform their own judgment to that of persons who were in general unable to appreciate the true beauties of literary compositions. Works which had obtained the patronage of the prince could not fail to fix the attention of other poets who took them as models which they strove to imitate and to surpass. The opinion held in the schools that the ancient *qaṣīdahs* were masterpieces of art contributed also to the perversion of good taste ; their plan and ideas were servilely copied, and it was by refinement of expression alone that writers could display their talent ; verbal quibbles, far-fetched allusions, thoughts borrowed from the old writers and stained so as to be hardly recognisable, such were the means by which they strove to attain originality ; sense was sacrificed to sound, the most discordant ideas were linked together for the futile advantage of obtaining a recurrence of words having a similar written form or a similar pronunciation ; poets wrote for the ear and the eye, not for the mind, and yet the high estimation in which their productions were held may be judged from the readiness of Ibn Khallikān to quote them. His taste was that of the age in which he lived, and the extracts which he gives enable the reader to form an idea of the Arab mind at the period of the Crusades. The same feeling of impartiality which induces me to express so severe a censure on the generality of the islamic poets, obliges me also to make some exceptions. The *qaṣīdahs* of al-Mutanabbī are full of fire, daring originality, and depth of thought ; he often reaches the sublime, and his style, though blemished by occasional faults, is very fine ; al-Buḥturī is remarkable for grace and elegance ; Abu'l-'Alā for dignity and beauty, but Ibn al-Fāriḍ seems superior to them all ; his pieces teem with sentiment and poetry ; in his mystic reveries he soars towards the confines of another world pervaded with spiritual beauty ; and glides with the reader from one enchanting scene to another ; the judgment is captivated by the genius of the poet,

and can hardly perceive the traits of false taste which disfigure, from time to time, his admirable style.

Having pointed out the influence of the *qaṣīdah* or elegy, it may not be amiss to sketch the plan generally followed in this species of composition. The poet, accompanied by two friends, approaches, after a long journey through the desert, to the place where he saw his mistress the year before and where he hopes to meet her again. At his request they direct the camels on which they are mounted towards the spot, but the ruins of the rustic dwellings, the withered moss, brushwood, and branches of trees with which were formed the frail abodes where the tribe has passed the summer, the hearth stones blackened by the fire, the solitary raven hovering around in search of a scanty nourishment—every object he perceives strikes him with the conviction that his beloved and her family have removed to some other region in the desert. Overcome with grief, heedless of the consolations of his friends who exhort him to be firm, he long remains plunged in silent affliction; at length he finds relief in a torrent of tears, and raising up his head, he extemporizes a mournful elegy. He commences by mentioning the places which he had already visited in hopes of finding her whom he loved, and calls to mind the dangers which he had encountered in the desert. He describes the camel which, though fatigued still full of ardour, had borne him into the depths of the wilderness; he vaunts his own courage and extols the glory of his tribe. An adventure which happened on the previous night then comes to his memory; a fire blazing on a lofty hill had attracted their attention and guided them to the tent of a generous Arab, where they found shelter and hospitality. He then praises the charms of his mistress, and complains of the pains of love and absence, whilst his companions hurry him away. He casts a parting look towards the place where she had resided, and lo! a dark cloud, fringed with rain and rent with lightnings, overhangs the spot. This sight fills his heart with joy; an abundant shower is about to shed new life upon the parched soil, and thus ensure a rich herbage for the flocks: the family of his beloved will then soon return and settle again in their former habitation.

Such may be considered as the outline of the pastoral *qaṣīdah*; in these productions, the same ideas almost constantly

recur, and the same words frequently serve to express them. The eulogistic *qaṣīdah*, or poem in praise of some great man, assumes also the same form, with the sole difference that, in place of a mistress, it is a generous patron whom the poet goes to visit, or else, after praising the object of his passion, he celebrates the noble qualities of the man who is always ready, with abundant gifts, to bestow consolation on the afflicted lover.

It results from this that a person familiar with the mode of composition followed in the *qaṣīdah* can often, from a single word in a verse, perceive the drift of the poet and discover, almost intuitively the thoughts which are to follow. He has thus a means of determining the true reading amidst the mass of errors with which copyists usually disfigure Arabic poetry; knowing what the poet intends to say, he feels no longer any difficulty in disengaging the author's words from the faults of a corrupted text. The same peculiarity is frequently perceptible in pieces of a few verses; these generally reproduce some of the ideas contained in the *qaṣīdah*, and for this reason they are justly styled fragments by Arabic writers.

There exist also some compositions of an original form; such are the *dubayt* or *distich*, and the *mawālia*, both borrowed from the Persians, and the *muwashshaha*, invented in Spain by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.¹ Pieces of this kind became general favourites by the novelty of their form and matter: the *mawālia* was adopted by the *dervishes*, and the *muwashshaha* was cultivated with passion and attained its perfection in Andalusia, whence it was transported to the East. It cannot be denied that the Moorish poets, with all their extravagance of thought and expression, were far superior in their perception of the beauties of nature and the delicacies of sentiment to their brethren of the East, and the European reader will often discover in their poems, with

¹ Consult on the *Muwashshaha* Mr. de Hammer's *memoir* in the *Journal Asiatique* for August 1839; and Freytags *Arabische Verskunst*, page 417. In the printed edition of Abu 'l-Fida's *Geography*, preface page xii, will be found a *muwashshaha* by the author. The *distich* and *mawālia* are spoken of also by Mr. de Hammer in the *memoir* just mentioned, pages 167 et 168. In page 166 of the same *memoir* the word *Haghriftis* is a mistake of the printer for 'Maḡhribins'.

some surprise, the same ideas, metaphors, and systems of versification which characterise the works of the troubadours and the early Italian poets

An idea borrowed from the ante-Islamic poets and of frequent recurrence in the *qaṣīdahs* of later authors is the *ṭayf al-khiyal* or *phantom*. The lover journeys with a caravan through the desert; for many nights his grief at being separated from his beloved prevents him from sleeping, but at length he yields to fatigue and closes his eyes. A phantom then approaches towards him, unseen by all but himself, and in it he recognizes the image of his mistress, come to visit and console him. It was sent to him by the beloved, or rather it is herself in spirit, who has crossed the dreary waste and fled towards his couch: she too had slept, but it was to go and see her lover in her dreams.¹ They thus meet in spite of the foes and spies who always surround the poet, ready to betray him if he obtain an interview with the beloved, and who are so jealous that they hinder him from sleeping, lest he should see her image in his dreams: it is only when they slumber that he dare close his eyes.

The figurative language of the Muslim poets is often difficult to be understood. The *narcissus* is the *eye*; the *feeble* stem of that plant bends *languidly* under its flower, and thus recalls to mind the *languor* of the eyes. *Pearls* signify both *tears* and *teeth*; the latter are sometimes called *hailstones*, from their whiteness and moisture; the *lips* are *cornelians* or *rubies*; the *gums*, a *pomegranate flower*; the *dark foliage* of the *myrtle* is synonymous with the *black hair* of the beloved, or with the first *down* which appears on the cheeks of youths at the period of puberty. The *down* itself is called the *'idhār** or head-stall of the bridle, and the curve of the *idhār* is compared to the letters *lām* (ل) and *nūn* (ن).

¹ Fuller information on this subject will be found in a memoir inserted by me in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1838.

*The *'idhār* means the portion of beard growing just below the ears and then by metonymy the term is applied to the portion of cheeks where beard grows. It is generally used in the latter sense.—*Ed.*

†Curly locks are compared to the letter *lām* (ل) and *nūn* (ن) rather than the downs. In some verses quoted by Ibn Khālikān (autograph) we have جمال and not عذار.—*Ed.*

Ringlets trace on the cheek or neck the letter 'waw' (واو) ; they are also called scorpions, either for their *dark* colour or their agitated movements¹ ; the *eye* is *sword* ; the *eyelids*, *scabbards* ; the *whiteness* of the complexion, *camphor* ; and a *mole* or *beauty-spot*, *musk*, which term denotes also *dark hair*.² A *mole* is sometimes compared also to an *ant* creeping on the cheek towards the *honey* of the mouth : a *handsome face* is both a *full moon* and *day* ; *black hair* is *night* ; the *waist* is a *willow-branch* or a *lance* ; the *water of the face* is *self-respect* ; a poet *sells the water of his face* when he bestows mercenary praises on a rich patron devoid of every noble quality.

Some of the verses quoted by Ibn Khāllikān are of a nature such as precludes translation. Had they been composed by a female on youth whom she loved, they would seldom offer any thing objectionable ; but as the case is not so, they are utterly repugnant to European readers. Propriety suggested their suppression, but as it was requisite to give an idea of what they are, a few of them have been arrayed, and rather awkwardly, in a Latin garb. It must not, however, be supposed that they are always the produce of a degraded passion ; in many cases they were the usual expressions of simple friendship and affection, or of those platonic attachments which the translated works of some Greek philosophers first taught the Muslims. Indeed, love and friendship are so closely confounded by them, that they designate both feelings by the same word, and it is not uncommon to meet epistles addressed by one aged doctor to another and containing sentiments of the strongest kind, but which are the expressions of friendship only. It often happens also that a poet describes his mistress under the attributes of the other sex, lest he should offend that excessive prudery of oriental feelings which, since the fourth century of Islamism, scarcely allows an allusion to women,

¹ The author of the *Scholia on Thucydides*, A§, 6, remarks that the word "Scorpio"* was employed to designate boys, curls.

² In a second memoir, which I have inserted in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1839, will be found a number of observations relative to these metaphors, with examples.

*In original the Greek form is given.—*Ed.*

and more particularly in poetry ; and this rigidity is still carried so far, that at Cairo public singers dare not amuse their auditors with a song in which the beloved is indicated as a female. Some of those pieces have also a mystic import, as the commentators of Ḥāfiẓ, Sa'dī, and Shebisterī have not failed to observe. In the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1839, will be found a note on this subject inserted by the writer, and Buckingham's *Travels in Assyria*, vol. I, p. 159 of the 8vo edition, offer some pages in accordance with the opinion there advanced. It cannot however be denied that the feelings which inspired poetry of this kind were not always pure, and that polygamy and jealousy have infected the morals of some eastern nations with the foulest corruption.

Ibn Khallikān drew up his work, A. H. 654 (A. D. 1256), but during the remainder of his life he continued to improve it by additions and corrections.* These alternations are frequently perceptible, even in the translation their insertion in the text having been effected with so little attention, that in many places they interrupt the primitive narration: this, however, is not considered by Orientals as a defect, their custom being to place all notes and illustrations in the body of the work. The author published new editions of his *Biographical Dictionary* at different periods, and the latest was followed by the writer in preparing for the press the edition of the Arabic text from which the following translation is made.

The difficulty of rendering a work of this nature into a European language can be appreciated by those only who have made similar essays; the writer had at first the intention of giving it in a French translation, and a portion of his task was already executed when he offered his work to the Oriental Translation Committee; in compliance with their wishes he recommenced it in English, and endeavoured to make it as literal as he possibly could. It is true that the idiomatic expressions peculiar to the Arabic tongue, the scholastic terms and technicalities, the learned

* Probably some other hands made addition in the name of Ibn-i-Khallikān. If all such pieces are separated as we have marked in this edition ; it will be observed that the style is quite different from that of Ibn-i-Khallikān.

allusions and pieces of poetry do not always admit of a close translation; to render them fully, clearly, and exactly is incompatible with conciseness, and it was by paraphrases only that such a task could be accomplished. In some cases, where the text itself required elucidation, the translator has given the necessary information under the form of notes, and he made it his particular care to cope with every difficulty and clear up, if possible, every obscurity. He may not have been always fortunate in his efforts; in some cases he has acknowledged his inability, and perhaps in many more he may have been mistaken; but his constant endeavours to attain correctness will, he hopes, entitle him to the indulgence of orientalists when they detect his errors.

A number of biographical notices, drawn from original and authentic sources, have been added in the notes, but there still remain in this volume the names of many persons whose lives are not given. For this, three reasons are to be assigned: the first, that in the text of the following volumes, these lives are to be found; the second, that the translator was unable to discover who they were; and the third, that the information which he had obtained respecting them was too slight to merit mention, and he preferred waiting some time longer, in hopes that further researches might be more successful and lead to results worthy of insertion in an ensuing volume.

The work itself is arranged in alphabetical order, but as a great majority of the persons whose lives it contains are usually designated by a particular surname, it was absolutely necessary that a general index of such appellations should be given; who but an oriental scholar could know that the life of the poet Abu Tammām is to be found under the name of Ḥabīb; that of al-Mutanabbī under Aḥmad; and that of al-Ṭabarī, the historian, under Muḥammad? It is hardly necessary to observe that the Arabic nomenclature of persons is composed—first, of the surname, as Abu Bakr (*the father of Bakr*); then, of the real name, as Aḥmad; next, of the patronymic, as Ibn Jarir (*the son of Jarir*); and then the ethnic name, as al-Azdī (*belonging to the tribe of Azd*), al-Miṣri (*native of Misr, or Egypt*), etc., to which must be added nicknames derived from some particular circumstance.

The genealogies are sometimes extended to a great length, but it will be perceived, upon examination, that in this the author's design was to point out correctly the descent of the individual from an ancestor who was well known, and these lists, will be sometimes found useful for tracing the relationship and affiliation of the Arabic tribes. For the pronunciation of proper names the translator has followed the authority of the *Qāmūs* and al-Dhahabī, and for the names of places the *Marāṣid* of al-Suyūṭī and the *Taqwīm al-Buldān* of Abu 'l-Fidā. The autograph manuscript of Ibn Khallikān, in which every word of doubtful pronunciation is accompanied with the vowel points, was also of the greatest service to the translator, but a portion of this volume had been already printed before he was aware that a document so precious was in existence. On receiving it from the proprietor, Dr. Cureton, to whom he acknowledges himself deeply indebted for so great a favour, he reviewed his translation from the beginning and verified all the points respecting which some doubts were still remaining on his mind; the results have been inserted in the additional notes. Whilst the last part of the volume was in the course of translation, the autograph was constantly consulted and for the second volume it will be equally useful.

The transcription of Arabic proper names by means of the Roman alphabet offers great difficulties, and in this part of his task the translator aimed simply at representing the pronunciation of the word as it would strike a European ear: a system liable to many objections had the original text not been published. The *kh* represents the *gh* as pronounced by the Scotch in *daughter*, the Spanish *j*, or the German *ch* pronounced with emphasis. The *gh* is an *r* deprived of its rattling sound; the *a* is to be pronounced as in *man*; the *ā* as in *father*; the *i* as in *pin*; the *ī* as the *ee* in *been*; the *u* as in *but*; and the *ū* as the *oo* in *soon*. The circumflex serving to mark the long vowels, has been sometimes omitted, either by inadvertence or because the name was so familiar that the presence of such a sign was needless. The names of some places are given according to the corrupt pronunciation current in Europe; thus Mawsil is written as Mosul; al Qāhirah, Cairo; Ḥalab, Aleppo, etc.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement¹ ! Thus saith the needy suppliant for the mercy of the Most High, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī-Bakr Ibn Khallikān, follower of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī.

Praise be to God, to Whom alone belongeth the attribute of eternal existence ; Who hath passed on His creatures the doom of death, and prescribed to all living beings a certain term, beyond which they cannot pass when once it is expired ; Who, in this sentence, hath dealt equally between the noble and the lowly-born, the powerful and the weak : to Him do I give praise for His abundant favours and His gifts pure (*from ill*) ; such praise as a man can offer who avoweth his inability to reach even the lowest strain of (*fitting*) eulogy : I bear witness that there is no god but the only God, Who hath no partner (*in His power*) : such witness as a man can bear who showeth at all times a sincere heart, and who hopeth in the mercy of his Lord, morning and evening : I bear witness that Muḥammad, His servant and apostle, is the most excellent of the prophets, the most noble of the saints ; and that it is he who inviteth to walk in the white path (*of salvation*) : God grant to him and to his family of illustrious princes such blessings as may endure while heaven and earth do last ; God be gracious to his wives, and to his holy and pious *Companions*.

The motive which induced me to compose this work, forming an historical compendium, was this : I had always been intent on studying the history of those men of renown who lived

¹ In translating this well-known expression, which the Muslims place at the beginning of all their books I have taken al-Zamakhsharī for my guide ; in his commentary on the *Qur'ān*, this writer makes the following remark : "The word *Raḥmān* denotes a more extensive idea than *Raḥīm* ; for this reason, people say (in speaking of God) "*the Merciful (al-Raḥmān) in this world and in the next ;*" and "*the Clement (al-Raḥīm) in this world!*"

before my time; I was desirous of knowing the dates of their birth and death, and of learning who among them lived within the limits of each separate century. The results which I obtained incited me to increase the stock which I had acquired, and to redouble my researches; I applied my mind therefore to the study of works written specially on the subject, and gathered, from the mouths of the masters versed in this science, that information which I could not find in books; I persevered in this pursuit till I had amassed a large quantity of documents roughly drawn up, which contained the events of a great number of years; I had also another portion of these facts impressed on my memory. It so happened, however, that when I had to recur to my notes, I could not find what I sought unless with some difficulty, because they were not regularly arranged; I was, therefore, obliged to class them, and I adopted the alphabetical order, judging it more convenient than the chronological. In this I made it a rule to give the first place to those names which begin with a *hamza*, and the next to those in which the second letter is a *hamza*, or the nearest to it in order; thus, I put the word *Ibrāhīm* before *Aḥmad*, because the letter *b* stands nearer to the *hamza* than the letter *h*. This plan I followed up to the last, so that my work might be more easily consulted; it led, however, to the necessity of placing (*in some instances, the life of*) a modern before that of an ancient, and of inserting the name of one person between those of two others who belong to a different class; but the convenience (*I aimed at*) rendered this unavoidable.

I have not assigned a place in this compendium to the *Companions* of Muḥammad, or to the *Tābi'īs*,¹ a few only excepted, whose history many persons require to know; neither have I given the lives of the Khalifs, because the numerous works on the subject rendered it unnecessary for me to do so; but I have made mention of a great number of talented individuals with whom I was acquainted, and who supplied me with some of the information transmitted in this book; or else who lived in my

¹ The word *Tābi'ī* means a follower; it is employed especially to denote a Muslim who had met with some of the *Companions* of Muḥammad, but had never seen Muḥammad himself.

time, but whom I never saw: (*my object in this was*) to make known to the future generation the circumstances of their life.

I have not limited my work to the history of any one particular class of persons, as learned men, princes, amīrs, vizīrs, or poets; but I have spoken of all those whose names are familiar to the public, and about whom questions are frequently asked; I have, however, related the facts I could ascertain respecting them in a concise manner, lest my work should become too voluminous; I have fixed, with all possible exactness, the dates of their birth and death; I have traced up their genealogy as high as I could; I have marked down the orthography of those names which are liable to be written incorrectly; and I have cited the traits which may best serve to characterize each individual, such as noble actions, singular anecdotes, verses, and letters, so that the reader may derive amusement from my work, and find it not exclusively of such a uniform cast as would prove tiresome; for the most effectual inducement to reading a book arises from the variety of its style.

My work thus formed, it was incumbent on me to begin it with a short invocation, intended to conciliate Divine favour; this, joined to the rest, made up the present volume, which I designed as a help to my memory, and which I intitled: *Book of the Deaths of eminent Men, and History of the Sons of the epoch; drawn from written sources and oral traditions, or ascertained by personal observation*; by this I intended that the contents of the work should be denoted by the title alone. If any person possessing information on the subject I have treated, perceive faults in this book, he will do a meritorious action in correcting them after due verification¹: for I myself have spared no pains in drawing from works of established repute for accuracy, and have never, through carelessness, cited extracts from doubtful authorities; on the contrary, I have done all in my power to attain correctness.

I put this work in order in the year 654 (A. D. 1256), at Cairo, though taken up by other avocations and living under

¹ This inconsiderate authorization of changing and correcting is the main cause of the numerous discrepancies between the manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān's work.

circumstances unfavourable to such a task. The reader ought therefore to excuse me, and consider that it was the motive I stated which induced me to undertake it, and that no vain fancy could ever have inspired my mind with the absurd idea of ranking among authors : a current proverb says, *There are men for each business*: and how could such an honour happen to me, who have but a limited share of information in this science? Besides, he who boasts of a talent with which he is not gifted, is like one who arrays himself in the garb¹ of falsehood. God preserve us from falling into the gulfs of error, and grant us, through His grace and bounty, that surest safeguard, the knowledge of our real abilities. *Amen.*

¹ The word ثوبان , dual of ثوب (*garment*) is employed here and elsewhere, to signify a suit of clothes—See de Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 65, l. 15. As the clothing of the ancient Arabs consisted of an ازار (*izar*, tied round the waist), and a رداء (*ridā*, thrown over the shoulders), the dual number is very naturally made use of to denote the entire dress.

IBN KHALLIKAN'S
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

1. IBRĀHĪM AL-NAKHA'Ī

Abū 'Imrān, surnamed also Abu 'Ammār, Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd Ibn al-Aswad Ibn 'Amr Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn Hārithah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Nakha' al-Nakha'ī, native of Kūfah, and a celebrated imām and doctor, was one of the *Tābāīs*. Though he had seen and visited 'Āishah (*widow of Muḥammad*), there exist no authentic traditions received by him from her : he died A. H. 95 or 96 (A. D. 713-4), aged 49, some say 58, but the first number is correct. When the death of al-Nakha'ī drew near, he was sorely troubled in spirit, and being spoken to about it, said: "What peril can be greater than mine? I must expect a messenger from my Lord, sent to announce to me either paradise or hell! I declare solemnly I would rather remain as I am now, with (my soul¹) struggling in my throat, till the day of resurrection (*than undergo such a hazard*)". His mother, Mulayka, daughter of Yazīd Ibn Qays, was sister to al-Aswad Ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī², who was therefore

1 In the original Arabic, the word *نفسى*, *my soul*, is understood; two similar cases occur in the *Qur'ān*: see Flügel's edition; *Surat LVI*, verse 82; and s. LXXV, v. 26.

2 Abu 'Amr al-Aswad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Qays al-Nakha'ī, one of the *Tabā'īs*; in his youth, he saw the *Khalifs* Abu Bakr and 'Umar, and learned the traditions from the *Khalif* Ali; Ibn Mas'ūd (see de Sacy's *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 38); Mu'ādh (de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arab.* t. III. p. 149); and 'Āishah. His exactitude and authority as a traditionist were universally admitted; he died A. H. 75 (A. D. 694) Another celebrated *tābi'ī* of the same family, 'Alqama Ibn Qays al-Nakha'ī, native of Kūfāh and uncle to al-Aswad, was one of the greatest doctors of his time; he learned the traditions from 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Ibn Mas'ūd and 'Āishah. His merit was held in such highest estimation, that the *Companions* of Muḥammad themselves consulted him on questions touching the law. He died A. H. 63 (A. D. 682-3) ('*Uthmani's* *Tabaqāt al-Fuqaha*, manuscript of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 755).

maternal uncle to Ibrāhīm. *Nakha'ī* means *belonging to al-Nakha'a* which is a great branch of the tribe of Madhḥij, in Yamen; al-Nakha's name was Jasr Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Ulla Ibn Jald* Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Udad; he was surnamed al-Nakha', because he had removed far away, *intakha'a*, from his people: this tribe has produced a great number of remarkable men. Others have given a different genealogy of al-Nakha', but the one here given is correct; it is taken from Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-Nisab* (Universal Genealogist).

2. ABU THAWR IBRAHĪM ALKALBĪ

The doctor Abu Thawr Ibrāhīm Ibn Khālid Ibn Abi 'l-Yamān al-Kalbī was a disciple of the imām al-Shāfi'ī who taught him those ancient sayings¹ which he has transmitted to posterity. This eminent doctor and trustworthy traditionist on religious affairs wrote some works on the *Aḥkām*², and he evinced in these treatises an equal knowledge of the tradition and jurispru-

¹ These ancient sayings were probably old proverbial expressions used by the Arabs of the Desert, who alone were supposed to know perfectly the pure Arabic. Al-Shāfi'ī had passed twenty years of his life in the desert, studying the language; he had, besides, a profound knowledge of the ancient history of the Arabs. (Uṭhmāni's *Tabaqāt*, f. 24, verso.)

² The *Aḥkām*, or *Sentences*, are the articles which compose the code of Muslim law; they have been drawn from four sources: the *Qur'ān*; the *Sunna* or traditions; the general consent of the ancient imāms, and analogical deductions obtained from the comparison of these three. (D'Ohson's *Tableau de l'empire Othoman*, t. I, p. 5 of the Introduction; Flugel's *Hājjī Khalifah*, t. I, pp. 177, 332.)

*The translator has read it Khālid and the editor of Egyptian edition Mohi al-Din Abdul-Hameed has given in footnote variants.—*Ed.*

[For further reference, *vide* Ibn-i-Hajar 'Asqalāni's *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* published by Dāi'rat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad, Deccan, A. H. 1325, Vol. I, p. 177 and Sam'āni's *Ansāb* f. 557 a.

In genealogical table one difference deserves mention: Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd Ibn Qays Ibn al-Aswad. The name of Qays is omitted by Ibn Khallikān. *Ansāb*, f. 557 a.—*Ed.*]

dence. His first studies were taken up with the doctrines of the Rationalists¹, but al-Shāfi'ī, having come to 'Irāq, he went often to see him, became his follower, and renounced the opinions of his former sect. He persevered in his adhesion to al-Shāfi'ī's principles, and died the 26th Safar,* A. H. 246 (A.D. 860), at Baghdād, where he was buried in the cemetery by the gate of Kenās. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said of him: "I look on him as a second Sufyān al-Thawri²; I have known him as a zealous "Sunite for the last fifty years;"

3. ABŪ IṢHĀQ AL-MARWAZĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Ahmad Ibn Iṣhāq-al-Marwazī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī was the greatest *muftī* and professor of his time. He learned the principles of jurisprudence from Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj; and having attained great excellence in this science, he succeeded Ibn Surayj as chief of the Shafites in 'Irāq. He composed many works, and commented the *Mukhtaṣar*, or Abridgment of the Doctrine of al-Shāfi'ī by al-Muzanī. He was for a long time professor and *muftī* at Baghdād, and a great number of his pupils attained eminence. It was after him that the street of Marwazī, in that quarter of Baghdād called *the Grant of al-Rabī*,³ received its name. Towards the end of his life, he

[For further reference vide *Tahdhīb*, Vol. I, p. 118 and *Ansīb* f. 485 b.—*Ed.*]

1 The followers of Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrines were called Rationalists, by the members of the other three orthodox sects, because they preferred, in certain cases, the guidance of reason to that of tradition, in deciding legal questions (*Shahrastānī*; Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.*, p. 292).

2 Literally thus: "He is to me as if he were in the skin of Sufyān al-Thawri." This passage is to be found also in Uthmānī's *Tabaqāt* (fol. 49 r.) where the word rendered by skin is written *mislākh*: the vowel points having been added by the author himself: this circumstance leaves no doubt of the correctness of the reading given in the printed Arabic text.

3 Some particulars respecting the *Grant of Rabī* will be found in the life of al-Rabī 'Ibn Yūnus.

22 May.—*Ed.*

set out for Egypt, where he finished his days the 9th Rajab, A. H. 340 (A. D. 951)*, and was interred near the tomb of the imām al-Shāfi'i; some say he died a little before midnight, on Sunday 11th Rajab of the same year. *Marwazi* means *belonging to Marw al-Shāhjān*, one of the four capitals of K̲h̲urāsān, the others being Nayshapur, Herat, and Balkh. This city was so named in order to distinguish it from Marw al-Rūd: *Shāh-jān* is a Persian word, which signifies *the soul of the king*; for *Shah* means *king*, and *jan*, *soul*; the custom of the Persians being to place the consequent before the antecedent, when in the relation of annexion.¹ This city was founded by Alexander D̲h̲u 'l-Qarnayn,² and is the seat of the government of K̲h̲urāsān. In forming the relative adjective from Marw, a *z* is added, as in *Rūzi*, derived from Ray, and *Iṣṭakharzi*, from Iṣṭakhr this is one way of its formation: but according to the opinion of those who have studied the subject, such relatives are only used when speaking of human beings; in all other cases, the *z* must not be added. Therefore one may say of a man *he is a Marwazi*; and of a garment or other thing, *it is Marwi*; some say, however, that the *x* may be added in all cases, and that the difference in the form of the relative makes no difference in its signification. The remainder of our observations concerning these two cities will be found in the life of the Qāḍī Abu Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn 'Āmir al-Marwarrūdhī.

4. ABŪ IṢḤĀQ AL-ISFARĀ'INĪ

The master Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Mihrān al-Isfara'ini, surnamed Rukn al-Dīn (*column of religion*) doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i was an able divine in scholastic

¹ See de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, vol. I, p. 47, for the explanation of these terms.

² Marw al-Shāhjān is probably the ancient Antiocha Margianae, founded by Alexander the Great, and then called Alexandria; having been ruined afterwards it was rebuilt by Antiochus, son of Seleucus, who gave it his own name.

*11 December.—Ed.

and dogmatic theology. The ḥākim Abu 'Abd Allāh¹ has spoken him in these terms: "The generality of the shaykhs of Nayshāpūr took lessons from him in theology, and his learning was acknowledged by the people of 'Irāq and Khurāsān; he is the author of some important works; among others that great one entitled: *Jāmi 'al-Jalī*, a treatise on the dogmas of religion, and a refutation of the impious, which I have seen in five volumes. The qāḍī Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, being at Isfarā'in, took lessons from him in the principles of jurisprudence, and it was for him that the celebrated college of Nayshāpūr was founded.² * [Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ḡhāfir al-Fārisī cites his name in his continuation of the *History of Nayshāpūr* and speaks of him thus: "He was one of those learned men who attained the rank of *mujtahid*³ by reason of his profound knowledge in the sciences, and of his possessing all the necessary qualifications for being an *imām* (or chief of a sect). This doctor, the ornament of the East, used to say: 'I wish I may die at Nayshāpūr, so that all its inhabitants may pray over me]:' and it was there he died, on the 10th Muḥarram, A.H. 418 (A. D. 1027).† His body was afterwards removed to Isfarā'in, where it was buried in the chapel which bears his name." The Shaykh Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī frequented his lessons, and the ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, and other writers, quote frequently in their works traditions derived from him. He had heard the lectures of Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī,⁴ in Khurāsān; those of Abū

1 The life of the ḥākim Abū 'Abd Allāh will be found amongst those of the *Muḥammads*.

2 This is an important fact for the literary history of the Muslims; it being generally supposed that their first college was founded at Baḡhdād, by Nizām al-Mulk, A. H. 459 (A. D. 1066).

3 Those doctors who followed the opinions of no other sect, but judged for themselves, were called '*mujtahid*'. (M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, t. I, p. 169).

4 Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismā'il Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ismā'īlī, one of the great doctors of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, was highly celebrated for his writings and his knowledge of the law and the traditions, a great quantity of which he picked up in his travels. He

(Contd. on page 51)

* [] From "Abu 'l-Hasan" to "over me" not in the autograph.—Ed.

†20 February.—Ed.

Muḥammad Du'luj* Ibn Aḥmad al-Sajazī,¹ in 'Irāq; and also those of their contemporaries. †[We shall speak of Isfarā'in in the article on the shaykh Abū Hāmid Aḥmad Ibū Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī.]

(For further reference see) *Ansīb*, f. 33 b.—*Ed.*

5. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-SHĪRĀZĪ

The shaykh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf al-Shirāzī al-Fīrāzābādī surnamed Jamāl al-Dīn (*beauty of religion*), dwelt in Baghdād, and studied jurisprudence under many eminent men; he was an assiduous pupil of Abū 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, and profited by his lessons, he then acted as his substitute, and was appointed by him director of repetitions (or *undertutor*) of the class; after which he became the first *imām* of his time in

(*Contd. from page 50*)

composed (1) A Commentary on the *Jāmi' Saḥīḥ*, or *Collection of authentic Traditions*: by Termedhī; (2) a *Mu'jam*, *مجموع*, which treated probably of the *traditionists*, and the right orthography of their names; (3) a *Musnad*, or *Collection of Traditions* traced up to the *Khalif 'Umar*—*مسند عمر*; a correct and excellent work, but voluminous. Ismā'ilī had for pupils his son, Abū Sa'd, and all the doctors of Jurjān; he died in Rajab, A.H. 371 (A.D. 982), aged 94 years (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*. *Ṭab. al-Fuqaha*, *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 551).

¹The *imām* Abu Muḥammad Du'luj Ibn Aḥmad al-Sajazī (*of Sejestān*), celebrated *muftī* and first *traditionist* of his days. This doctor was also an extensive trader, and became the richest merchant of his time by his commercial expeditions. Part of his wealth was employed in founding annuities for deserving persons in Mekka, 'Iraq, and Sejestān: he was particularly liberal to men of learning. He died A.H. 351 (A.D. 962), aged 91. Dāraqūnī, a celebrated doctor, relates that Du'luj bought the house in Mekka which belonged to al-'Abbās, uncle of Muḥammad, for thirty thousand *dinars*. (*Yāfi'is Mirā'āt al-janān*; Man., No. 637, fol. 264, verso.)

*The translator read it 'Da'laj'.—*Ed.*

† [] From "We shall" to "al-Isfarā'inī" not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

Baghdād.. Nizām al-Mulk, having founded the college (called *Nizāmiyah*) in that city, offered its direction to Abū Ishāq; and, on his refusal, appointed to that place Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Sabbāgh, author of the *Shāmīl*: this doctor filled the situation for a short period; then Abū Ishāq consented to accept it, and held it till his death: I have given the details relating to this in the life of Ibn al-Sabbāgh to which I, therefore, refer the reader. Abū Ishāq wrote a number of instructive and useful books, such as the *Muḥadḍhab*, a treatise on the doctrines of his sect; the *Tanbīh*, or *Call*, a work on jurisprudence; the *Lum'a*, or *Glimpses*, with a commentary wherein the dogmas of religion are treated of, the *Nukat*, or *shrewd Devices* on controversial subjects; the *Tabṣīrah*, or *Monitor*; the *Ma'ānah*, or *Succour*; the *Talḥīṣ*,* or *summary*, a treatise on dialectics, etc. The number of those who profited by his instruction was very great. He composed some good poetry, of which I shall give the following verses:

“I asked of Men : Where is a true friend to be found ?
Their answer was : To such there is no way ; cling, if thou
can'st, to the robe† of the noble-minded : for the man of noble
mind is seldom met within the world.”

It is related by the *shāikh* Abū Bakr Muhammad al-Ḥarṭashī (whose life shall be given later), that a clever poet of Baghdād, called Ḥasim, made the following pretty verses in praise of Abū Ishāq (to whom God be merciful) :

“Thou seest his body worn away by his active mind ; it bears
the marks of that ardour which fires his soul ; when the human
mind is great with lofty thoughts, a body lean and worn is no
disgrace.”

Abū Ishāq was a man of the utmost devotion, and rigidly attentive to his religious duties : his merits were countless. He was born at Firzābād, A. H. 393 (A. D. 1003), and died in Baghdād* on the eve of Sunday,‡ 21st of the second

* The title of his book is not mentioned in the autograph copy and Ḥajjī Khalifah also has not mentioned it in the list of Shirāzī's works. Also see Cairo edition, p. 10, footnote.—*Ed.*

† It should be 'love' according to the autograph in which there is *ود* for *ذيل*.—*Ed.*

‡ Sunday, 5 November, 1083, appears to be more correct.—*Ed.*

Jumāda (according to al-Samrāni in his *Dhayl*, but others say the 1st* Jumada), A. H. 476 (A. D. 1083), and was buried the next morning in the cemetery at the gate of Abrez.† The following elegy was made on his death by Ibn Nāqiyā, whose life will be found among those of the *‘Abd Allāhs*:

“A fatal event hath struck our eyes with consternation¹ and hath caused our tears to flow mingled with blood ! What hath happened to fortune ? She cannot collect her strength, since the loss of her favoured son, Abā Ishāq. Say : He is dead ! but his memory hath not died : it will live and endure while Time doth run his course.

‡[Muhibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Najjār² mentions Abā Ishāq in his his-

1 The expression قام قيامته is very frequently used by later writers ; it signifies literally : *the day of resurrection is come* ; which means that his trouble and consternation are as great as if the day of judgment were already present. (See other examples in Maqrizī's *Histoire des Mamlouks*, t. I, p. 95). The Persians use the word رستخیز in a similar sense.

2 The ḥāfiẓ Abu ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn al-Muḥasin, surnamed Ibn al-Najjār, was born at Baḡhdād A. H. 578 (A. D. 1183) ; at the age of ten he began to learn the traditions, and when he had reached his fifteenth year, he was able to continue his studies without assistance. طلب بنفسه. After having learned a great number of traditions and mastered the seven different manners of reading the Qur’ān قرأ بالسبع he undertook a long journey, and spent twenty-seven years in visiting Syria, Egypt, Hijaz, and the cities of Ispahān, Harrān, Herāt and Nayḥapur ; during his travels he carefully noted down whatever information he could collect from the illustrious and the obscure, from the high and the low. كتب عن من دب و نزل و عرج. He was a man of deep and extensive knowledge, humble and pious, remarkable for his self-denial and holy life. He died A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245), at Baḡhdād and was interred in the cemetery of *the Martyrs*, مقابر الشهداء by the gate of Harb. The best known of his works is the

(Contd. on page 54)

*Friday, 6 October 1083, and so it seems to be wrong.—Ed.

†Arabic text has *Abzer* but the autograph does not support it.—Ed.

‡ [] From “Muhibb al-Dīn” to “in his stead” on page 55 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

tory of Bagh̄dād, and speaks of him in these terms : "He was the *imām* of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and one of those men of merit whose reputation spread abroad ; in learning and self-denial he excelled every person of his time ; and most of the learned in the great cities were his pupils. Born and bred at the town of Firāzābād, in the province of Fāris, he went to Shīrāz, where he studied under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī¹ and Ibn Rāmīn² ; from thence he proceeded to Baṣrah, where he had al-Jawzī³ for master ; in the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 415, he entered Bagh̄dād to study under Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī. He was born A. H. 393." "I asked him," said Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Humaydi, "the date of his birth, and he mentioned to me some circumstances which point out the year 396 (A. D. 1006), as he said that he set out to travel in search of learning in the year 410,⁴ and went to Shīrāz :

(Contd. from page 53)

Supplement, in sixteen volumes, to The History of Bagh̄dād by the *Khaṭīb* Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Bagh̄dādī. Ibn Qāḍi Shuhba, who has furnished us with most of the above details, gives a list of sixteen other works by the same author (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*. See also Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi*, etc., p. 247 and *Bibliothèque Orient*, Naggiar).

1 Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Bayḍāwī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, was born at al-Bāyḍā, a large town in the district of Iṣṭakḥar, eight parasangs from Shīrāz. He studied jurisprudence in the city of 'Āmul, and then went to Bagh̄dād, where he received lessons from Abū Hāmid al-Isferā'ini and other celebrated doctors, and became himself professor and *mufti*. He was well learned in the doctrines of his sect, and skilled in controversy, logic, and dogmatic theology. He died suddenly at Bagh̄dād A. H. 424 (A. D. 1033). Among other celebrated men born at-Bayḍā, was the Qāḍi Naṣr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Khayr 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī, author of the well-known Commentary on the Qur'ān : he died at Shīrāz, A. H. 691 (A. D. 1292) (*Ṭab. al-Shāfi'īn*, *Ṭab. al-Fuqaha*).

2 The *shaykh* Abu Aḥmad 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Rāmīn, native of Bagh̄dād, and pupil of the celebrated al-Dārakī ; he was deeply learned in jurisprudence and dogmatic theology, on which latter subject he wrote some esteemed works. Died A. H. 430 (A. D. 1039).

3 I have as yet met with no information respecting this doctor.

4 It appears by this that students began to travel at the age of fourteen or fifteen: after having acquired whatever instruction their native place could afford, they went to different countries, studying successively in each, under doctors and professors of repute ; they sometimes continued this wandering life for many years.

others however place his birth in 395, but God knows it best." On his death, his pupils sat in solemn mourning in the *Nizāmiya* college, and after that ceremony, Muwyyad al-Mulk, son of Nizām al-Mulk, appointed Abū Sa'd al-Mutwallī to the vacant place, but when Nizām al-Mulk heard of it, he wrote to disapprove of that nomination, adding that the college should be shut up during a year, on account of Abū Ishāq's death; he then blamed the person who had undertaken to fill his place, and ordered the shaikh Ibn al-Sabbāgh to profess in his stead.] -- "*Firūzabād* is a town in the province of Fāris, and it is believed by some to be the same city which is called Jūr;" so says Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ānī in his work; the *Ansāb*: some persons pronounce the name of this town *Fayrūzābād*.

6. THE KHAṬĪB ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-'IRĀQĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Musallam, native of Egypt and doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, known also by the name of al-'Irāqī (*native of Irāq*), was a preacher (*khaṭīb*) of the great mosque (*of 'Amr*) in Old Cairo, and a talented juriconsult; he wrote a good commentary in ten volumes on the *Muhaddhab* by Abū Ishāq Shīrāzī. Though not a native of 'Irāq, he was called so, because he had travelled to Baghdād, and studied there for some time: when in that city, he took lessons in jurisprudence from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Husayn al-Urmāwī,¹ one of Abū Ishāq Shīrāzī's disciples, and from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-Mubārak,* surnamed Ibn al-Kall, native of Baghdād. In his own country he studied jurisprudence under the qāḍī Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Mujallī Ibn Jumay' (whose life shall be given later); when in Baghdād, he was called al-Misrī (the Egyptian), but he got the name of al-'Irāqī on his return to Egypt. He is said to have related that his master, Ibn

¹ The *imām* and juriconsult Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-'Urmāwī (*native of Ormiya in Adherbijān*) was a pupil of the celebrated Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. Died A. H. 537 (A. D. 1142) (*Tab. al-Fuqaha*).

*M. de Slane writes "Ibn al-Mubārīk".—*Ed.*

al-Khall, recited to him, in Baghdād, the following verses, but without naming their author:

“Falsehood is rendered pleasing if clothed in gilded terms; and Truth may sometimes assume a repulsive form: in praising honey, you may say: This is the saliva of the bee; in blaming, call it: the ejection of the wasp. Describe it with such blame and praise as this, and you do not exaggerate: elegant language can make darkness *and* appear like light.”

Al-'Irāqī was born at Old Cairo, A. H. 510 (A. D. 1116); he died in that city on Thursday, 21st of the first *Jumādā*, A. H. 596 (A. D. 1200)*, and was buried at the foot of mount Muqattam. He had a son of great talent and merit, named Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥukm, who became preacher of the mosque on the death of his father, and composed some good sermons and pleasing poetry, of which the following verses may be cited: they were written 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Jibrīl, commonly called Ibn Akhī 'Ilm, chief of the treasury-office in Cairo, who had shattered his hand by a fall: †

“'Imād Ibn Jibrīl has a hand which bears an evil mark: though given to thieving, it had as yet escaped a tardy amputation; but a fracture has happened to it now which will not be readily healed.”

He wrote other verses in the same style of originality as the preceding which I have, however, since met with in the poetical works of Jāfar Ibn Shams al-Khilāfah (whose life shall be given later): so that I cannot decide to which author they belong. 'Abd al-Ḥukm composed the following verses on a man condemned to death (*for murder*), and who was shot dead by

† It may appear strange that such a word as this should be thought compatible with an elegant style: the fact is, however, that it is often employed by Arabic writers; and the Muslim poet, in describing the pleasures of love, never fails vaunting the intoxicating draughts imbibed from the honeyed lips of his mistress.

*The date should be Friday, 9 March.—*Ed.*

the person authorized to take blood-revenge ; the arrow striking him in the heart :¹

“From the heart (*the middle*) of the bow you expelled its son (*the arrow*) ; and the bow sighed ; for a mother will sigh when separated from her child : but the bow was not aware that the arrow you shot off would merely pass from one heart to another.”

The idea expressed in the first of these verses was taken from the following lines, composed by a native of Maghreb :

“No doubt of my affliction when my friends depart ; on that day of separation when I and sadness shall be (*inseparable*) brothers ! The very bow, though formed of wood, utters a sigh when forced to send away its arrow.”

The idea in ‘Abd al-Ḥukm’s second verse is taken from a poem rhyming in *m*, by ‘Umārat al-Yamanī, and of which we shall speak hereafter in that person’s life : al-Yamanī, having come from Mekka to Egypt, composed this poem in praise of the reigning prince, al-Fā’iz ‘Īsa Ibn Zāfir al-‘Ubaydi, and of his vizīr, Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā’ī Ibn Ruzzīk (whose lives will be found in this work) ; in the course of the poem, he lauds in these terms the camels which had borne him to Egypt :

“They went forth at eve from the Ka’ba of al-Baḥā and the Ḥarem² to visit the Ka’ba of generosity and nobleness. Did the temple know that, on leaving it I should only pass from one harem (*sanctuary*) to another?”

The following verses are also by ‘Abd al-Ḥukm :

“When my beloved perceived my eyes pour forth their tears, she pressed me to restore the pearls which had adorned her neck : astonished (*then at her mistake*) she smiled ; and I said to my friend : That which she though lost is in her mouth.”

¹ Literally : *in the liver*. The Arabic word signifies also that part of the bow which is equally distant from the two extremities : there is a play upon this double meaning in the verses immediately following.

² Al-Baḥā, *the gravelly*, is the name of the valley in which Mekka is built ; the Ḥarem is the sacred territory of Mekka ; the Ka’ba is the temple of that city towards which all the Muslims turn when saying their prayers ; a *Ka’ba of generosity* means a noble and liberal patron, on whom all eyes are fixed with hope.

This idea is taken from the following piece of verse, composed by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Aṭiya, better known as Ibn al-Zaqqāq, native of Valentia in Spain :

“A fawn (*-like nymph*) passed round the cups at dawn; the morning brightened up, and still she pushed them round ; the flowery mead offered us its anemones, and the scented myrtles now began to breathe. ‘Where,’ said I, ‘are the white blossoms of the anthemis ?’ My companion answered : ‘I deposed them in the mouth of her who fills my cup.’ ‘She who poured out the wine denied the charge ; but her smiles betrayed her, and she blushed with confusion.’ ”

Safī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, commonly called Ibn Shukr vizīr of al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn Ayyūb, having taken from 'Abd al-Ḥukm the place of preacher in the mosque of Old Cairo, this poet wrote him the following lines :

“To what door shall I repair for refuge, if not to thine? from whom can I expect liberality, if not from thee? All paths and ways are closed up against me, except that which leads towards thee ; direct me then how to act. It seems as if the (*hospitable*) doors of other men had become (*one single door*) thy door ! It seems as if thou alone wert all the human race !”

The thought in this last verse is borrowed from the poet al-Salāmī, who says :

“I encouraged my hopes with the prospect of dominion, (*and*) all mankind (*my subjects*); the world was to be my palace ; and eternity, one day of my reign !”

We shall speak of the poem from which this verse is taken, in the Life of Aḍad al-Dawlat (*Femakhusrū*) Ibn Buwayh, under the letter *F*. The following verses were pronounced by 'Abd al-Ḥukm when he first unveiled his bride:

“When the charms of the bride were disclosed to my eyes, she hid her face with her hand, on which was graven a net-work tracery.¹ ‘Your efforts to hide your countenance will not avail,’ said I; ‘when has a net hid the light of the sun ?’ ”

¹ Among the 'Arab women it is still customary to tattoo the hands and arms.

By the same :

“At the feast, where we spent the night in pleasure, it seemed as if we were borne asleep upon the waters ; over us were the constellations : under us, the boat ; in those, stars : in this, full-moons.”¹

By the same :

“Proceed gently ! all affairs admit delay : do you, who are a lion, fear to be insulted ? If you dwelt in Egypt, you would be a Nile (*spreading abundance*) ! If you went to Syria you would be a fertilizing shower !”

This author was born on Sunday eve, 19th of the First Jumada, A. H. 563 (A. D. 1168)* ; he died at Old Cairo, on the morning of the 28th Sha‘aban, A. H. 613 (A. D. 1216), and was buried at the foot of mount Muqaṭṭam, A great deal of his poetry, and all of an agreeable cast, was recited to me by his son. The ‘Imād al-Din, above-mentioned, bore the name of Abu ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abi ‘l-Amāna Jibrīl Ibn al-Moghayra Ibn Sulṭān Ibn Ni‘ma ; he was a worthy man, and celebrated for his great integrity in the fulfilment of his duty ; he had been employed most part of his life in different government-offices at Old Cairo and Alexandria. Born A. H. 558 (A. D. 1163); died at Cairo, the 5th of Sha‘abān, A. H. 637 (A. D. 1240).‡

7. ABŪ ISHĀQ ṢAHĪR AL-DĪN

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Naṣr Ibn ‘Askar, surnamed Ṣahīr al-Dīn (*support of religion*), doctor of the sect of al-Shafi‘ī, qādī of Sallāmiya, and native of Mosul, is thus spoken of by Ibn al-Dubaythī in his History² : “Abū Ishāq, native of Mosul, studied

1 In this verse, the poet plays upon the double meaning of the word *Aflāk* which signifies the *constellations of the zodiac* and *ships* ; by the *full moons*, he designates his fair companions, the partners in his pleasures.

2 This work of Ibn al-Dubaythī is a continuation of the History of Baḡhdād Abu Sa‘d al-Sam‘ānī, which is itself a supplement to the celebrated work composed by Abū Bakr Aḥmad, surnamed al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādi : the lives of these writers will be found in this work.

*3 March.—*Ed.*

†11 December.—*Ed.*

‡1 March.—*Ed.*

jurisprudence in that city under the qādī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husain Ibn Naṣr Ibn Khamīs, native of the same place, from whom he learned the traditions : having then travelled to Bagh̄dād, he took lessons from a number of masters, and returned to his native place. He became qādī of Sallāmiya, a town in the dependency of Mosul, and he taught, when in Irbil (*Arbela*), a portion of the works of Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī, the grammarian, under whom he had studied at Bagh̄dād along with many natives of that city." This talented jurisconsult was originally from Sindiya, in 'Irāq ; he studied law at the Nizāmiya college in Bagh̄dād, he learned and taught the traditions, and filled, for a long time, the place of qādī in Sallāmiya. His reigning passion was poetry, and his verses, the following for instance, are very pleasing :

"Oh, my friends ! call me not a man of perfidy ; no perfidy is in my character. I swear by the days of my life which have passed away, and by those joys which have departed that I have been always constant in my promised friendship, and that the ties of my attachment have never yet been broken."

By the same :

"The bounty of a generous man, promised but long delayed, is never pure from alloy. Vain and useless are the lightnings from the cloud, if it withholds its promised showers. He who defers fulfilling his promise merits blame, though his hands should lavish riches after the long delay. Oh, tree of bounty ! the man must not be blamed who shakes thy branches when he needs thy fruit."

In a village called al-Bawāzīj, near Sallāmiya, was a convent inhabited by a fraternity of dervishes, under a shaykh named Mekkī, upon whom the following verses were made by Abū Ishāq :

"Go bear to Mekkī this word of good counsel ; for good counsel merits attention : when was it taught, as a point of religion, that the *pursuit of riches* is a precept inculcated by Muḥammad, and therefore to be followed ? (*When was it taught*) that a man should eat with the voracity of a camel, and leap about in the conventicle till he fall. Were he hungry, were his stomach empty, he would neither whirl round for joy nor listen

to musicians. They say : We are intoxicated with the love of the Divinity ! But that which intoxicates the fraternity is draughts (of the wine cup). The ass in a rich pasture acts as they ; when its thirst and hunger are satisfied, it skips about."

Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī* mentions his name with eulogium in the History of Arbela, and cites numerous extracts from his works, and from the letters he received from him : the kātib 'Imād al-Dīn also speaks of him in the *Kharidah*¹, as a young man of tallent. The following verses are his :

"I said to her : Unite to me thee in the bonds of love ! but she turned away her head as if I had asked her to commit a crime. If she reject my love through fear of sinning (*she should reflect*) that it is a grievous sin to cause (*by a cruel refusal*) the death of a Muslim."

This writer died at Sallāmiya, on Thursday, the 3rd of the Second *Rabī* A. H. 610 (A. D. 1213)†: he had a son whom I met at Aleppo, and who recited to me a great deal of his own and of his father's poetry : he wrote verses well, and hit upon fine ideas. Sallāmiya was a village on the east bank of the Tigris, a day's journey lower down than Mosul, which stands on the west bank : the town of Sallāmiya, in which Ḍahīr al-Dīn was qādī, is now in ruins, and a new village of the same name has been founded in the neighbourhood.

8. IBRĀHĪM IBN AL-MAHDĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī Ibn Abi Ja'far al-Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī (*descended from Hāshim, grandfather to Muḥammad*), brother to Hārūn al-Rashid.

1 See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1414, fol. 191, verso.

*M. de Slane writes it as "al-Mastawfī".—*Ed.*

†22 August.—*Ed.*

This prince had a great talent as a singer, and an able hand on musical instruments ; he was also an agreeable companion at parties of pleasure. Being of a dark complexion which he inherited from his mother Shikla or Shakla (*who was a Negress*) and of a large frame of body, he received the name of *al-Tinnin* (*the dragon*). He was a man of great merit and a perfect scholar, possessed of an open heart and a generous hand ; his like had never before been seen among the sons of khalifs, none of whom spoke with more propriety and elegance or composed verses with greater ability. He was proclaimed khalif at Baghdad some time after A. H. 200, during the absence of al-Māmān (*the reigning khalif*) in Khurāsān ; (the history of that event is well known)¹ ; and he continued for two years khalif in that city : al-Ṭabari says, in his Annals, that the reign of Ibrāhīm lasted one year, eleven months, and twelve days. The cause which induced the people to renounce allegiance to al-Māmān and proclaim Ibrāhīm khalif, was the conduct of the former, who, during his stay in Khurāsān, appointed for his successor Alī Ibn Mūsa al-Rīḍa, whose life shall be given in the letter ع . This choice being highly displeasing to (*the members of the reigning family*) the Abbasides,² who were in Baghdād, they proclaimed Ibrāhīm, uncle to al-Māmān Khalif, under the title of al-Mubārak (*the Blessed*) ; this took place on Tuesday, 25th Dhu'l Hijja, A. H. 201 (June, A. D. 817).^{*} The Abbasides of Baghdād began first by making a secret promise to allegiance to Ibrāhīm, and the inhabitants of the city took a similar engagement the 1st Muḥarram 202 (July 20th, A. D. 817) pronouncing at the same time the deposition of al-Māmān ; then, on Friday, 5th Muḥarram, they published their resolution, and Ibrāhīm mounted the pulpit.³

¹ See *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 117.

² It must be recollected that the number of persons descended from al-Abbās amounted, in A. H. 200 to 33,000, according to a census made by al-Māmān. (Ibn al-Aṭḥir. Abu 'l-Fidā.)

³ During more than three centuries it was customary for the khalifa to pronounce in person, the *khutba*, or declaration of faith, from the pulpit every Friday ; Ibrāhīm, in mounting the pulpit, had thus openly assumed the functions of khalif. The details of this revolt are to be found in the Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā ; see also, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, the article Mamoun.

*14 July.—*Ed.*

Al-Māmān, on appointing ‘Ali Ibn Māsa for his successor, had ordered the public to cease wearing black, which was the distinctive colour of the Abbasides, and to put on green (*which colour was appropriated to the family of ‘Ali and their partisans*): this gave also great dissatisfaction to the Abbasides, and was one of the motives which provoked their enmity towards al-Māmān: the wearing of black was re-established on Thursday, 29th Dhu’l-Qa‘da 207 (May A. D. 823)*; the reason which rendered this change necessary is given by al-Ṭabarī in his Annals.¹ On al-Māmān’s setting out for Baghdād from K̲h̲urāsan, Ibrāhīm became apprehensive for his personal safety, and concealed himself; this was on Wednesday, 16th† Dhu’l Ḥijja, 203 (June, A. D. 819)‡; before which took place many events long to relate, and

1 The entire original text of al-Ṭabarī is not to be found in the *Bib. du Roi*; but Ibn al-Aṭhīr, who has often copied him *verbatim* in his Annals, furnishes us with the following passage: “In the year 207 took place the revolt of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Moḥammad Ibn ‘Umar Ibn ‘Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, in the country of the tribe of ‘Akk, situated in the province of Yemen. He called on the people to adopt the Riḍā (*the accepted of God*) of the family of Muḥammad.” (Indeed every Abbaside who revolted against the Omayyades, and every member of the family of ‘Ali who revolted against the Abbasides, represented himself as a lieutenant of that mysterious person *the Riḍā*, who was of course unknown to the uninitiated, and in some cases was the very individual who headed the insurrection). “The cause of this revolt was the unjust conduct of the government agents in Yemen, which obliged the people to proclaim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. When news of this came to Al-Māmān, he sent against him Dīnār Ibn ‘Abd Allāh, with a numerous army, and gave him also letters of pardon for the rebel. Dīnār after visiting the great fair of Mekka, and performing the pilgrimage, marched towards Yemen, and set pardon to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who accepted it, and submitted to the authority of al-Māmān, by placing his hand in that of Dīnār, who brought him to al-Māmān. On account of this (*revolt*) al-Māmān forbid the members of the family of ‘Ali to enter into his presence, and ordered them to wear black: this took place the 28th Dhu’l-Qa‘da.” (Ibn al-Aṭhīr’s *Kāmil*, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, under the year 207.)

*16 April.—*Ed.*

†The date should be 17 which corresponds to 15 June.—*Ed.*

‡15 June.—*Ed.*

which I have no space to record in this abridgment.¹ Al-Māmūn made his entry into Baghdād on Sunday, 15th Safar, 204 (August, 819)*. At the time when Ibrāhīm concealed himself, the poet Di'bil al-Khuzā'i made the following verses on him :

“The son of Shakla and his gang raised tumults in 'Irāq ; then every fool and villain flew to join him ! Were Ibrāhīm fit to reign, the empire had devolved by right to Mukhāriq† to Zulzul, and to Māriq ! Must it be ? but no ! 'tis impossible ! Must the patrimony of the khalifs pass from one reprobate to another ?”

Mukhāriq, Zulzul, and Māriq, the persons mentioned in the foregoing verses, were public singers of that time. The history of Ibrāhīm's adventures is long (*to relate*) and well known² (*so we shall merely cite the following incident of his life, and give it in his own words*) ; “Al-Māmūn said to me, on my going to see him after having obtained pardon : ‘Is it thou who art the Negro khalif ?’ to which I replied : ‘Commander of the Faithful ! I am he whom thou hast deigned to pardon ; and it has been said by the slave of Banu 'l-Ḥashās.³

“When men extol their worth, slave of the family of Ḥashās can supply, by his verses, the defect of birth and fortune.

Though I be a slave, my soul, through its noble nature, is free : though my body be ‘dark, my mind is fair’.”

1 Those events are related by Abu 'l-Fidā in his Annals.

2 During the time of Ibrāhīm's concealment, he had a number of hair-breadth escapes, and the history of his disguises and adventures is very amusing ; but it has not as yet been translated into any European language : M. Humbert, of Geneva, has given however the Arabic text of it in his *Analecta Arabica* ; and M. Caussin de Perceval intends publishing a French translation of the *Kitāb al-Aḥḥāni*, in which will be found many curious stories respecting Ibrāhīm.

3 According to the author of the *Masālik al-Absār* (Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancient fonds, no. 1371, fol. 78) ; this poet's name was Suḥaym سُهَيْم and the Banu 'l-Ḥashās were a branch of the tribe of Asad.

I suspect him to have lived before the introduction of Islamism ; Tabrizi cites a verse of his in the commentary on the *Ḥamīsa*, p. 492.

*The date should be 16 Safar (12 August). Even then there is some discrepancy. Sunday fell on 14 August. The date is not clear in autograph. — *Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *Muḥāriq* but has corrected this error in No. 91. — *Ed.*

To this al-Māman replied: 'Uncle! a jest of mine has put you in a serious mood.' He then spoke these verses:

"Blackness of skin cannot degrade an ingenious mind, or lessen the worth of the scholar and the wit. Let darkness claim the colour of your body; I claim as mine your fair and candid soul."

A modern poet, Ibn Qalāqis, whose life we shall give, has versified the same thought, with some additions of his own and expressed it most happily; his words are:

"There are females dark in skin, but in conduct clear and pure; whose presence would induce the (*white*) camphor to envy the (*black*) musk: 'tis thus with the pupil of the eye; men think it black, though merely (*concentrated*) light."

The khalif al-Muṭaṣim, successor of al-Māman, was one day seated on his throne, having on his right al-'Abbās, son to al-Māman, and on his left Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī, when the latter began playing with a ring he held in his hand; "what ring is that?" said al-'Abbās; "it is a ring," replied Ibrāhīm, "which I pledged during the reign of your father,¹ but which I redeemed only in the reign of the Commander of the Faithful (*here present*)." "By Allah," answered al-'Abbās, "since you are ungrateful to my father, who spared your life notwithstanding the enormity of your crime, you will not be thankful to the Commander of the Faithful for having redeemed your ring." The other was silenced by this retort. Ibrāhīm's adventures form a very long narrative which is related by historians. I, however, have abridged his history, and indicated the leading points only; but al-Ṭabarī and others have given it in full. When al-Māman got Ibrāhīm in his power, he consulted the vizir Aḥmed Ibn Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal² as to what should be done

1 Al-Māman was reputed avaricious, and to this Ibrāhīm alluded for a khalif should not have suffered any of his family to remain in want.

2 The vizir Ahmad Ibn Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal was a freed man, and had been employed as *kātib* or *scribe* in the government offices before his nomination to the place of vizir. He was a man of great intelligence, prudence, and foresight, and possessed, besides, the talent of expressing

(Continued on page 66)

with the prisoner, and received this answer : "Commander of the Faithful ! if you punish him with death, you will have your like (*among sovereigns*), but if you forgive him, you will be peerless." Ibrāhīm was born about the 1st of Dhu 'l-Qa'da, A. H. 162 (July, A. D. 779)*; and died at Sarr-man-raa, on Friday, 7th Ramaḍān, 224 (July, A. D. 839)†; funeral prayers were read over him by his nephew al-Murtaṣim. Al-Jawharī (*the lexicographer*) mentions in his *Ṣiḥāḥ*, under the word *raa*, six different manners of writing *Surra-man-ra'ā*, viz : *Surra-man-ra'ā*, *Sarra-min-ra'ā*, *Surra-min-ra'a*, *Sarra-man-rā'a*, *Sa'a-man-ra'ā*, and *Samarra* : which last, with the final syllable lengthened, has been employed by al-Buḥtarī, in this verse : "And you placed it as a leading mark at Samarrā'." I know not, however, if this pronunciation be in use, or if the poet only adopted it from necessity (*on account of the measure of the verse, which here requires a long final syllable*). This city, which is situated in 'Iraq, was built by al-Murtaṣim in the year 220 (A. D. 835); in it is the cavern from which the Imamites expect the coming forth of the *twelfth* Imām¹ whose life shall be given in the letter *M*.

(Continued from page 65)

his ideas in an elegant and correct style. He died A. H. 210 (A. D. 825) according to Fakḥr al-Dīn. (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 895, fol. 218.) D'Herbelot, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article, *Aḥmed*, relates an anecdote tending to prove the ignorance of this vizir : in this he has committed a double mistake ; the Arabic expression made use of by the khalif Murtaṣim is incorrectly translated (compare the note given by Reiske in the second volume of *Abu 'l-Fida's Annals*, page 684, with M. de Sacy's observation in the *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 138); the second error of d'Herbelot consists in applying this anecdote to Aḥmad Ibn Abi Khalid, and not to Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār Ibn *Shadhī* (عمار بن شاذي) who was the ignorant vizir in question (compare Ibn Khallikan's *Life of Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayyat* with Fakḥr al-Dīn, Nos. 655 and 667).

¹ See *Bib. Orient.*, Imām.

*20 July.—*Ed.*

†The date should be Friday 9 Ramaḍān, 224 (25 July A. D. 859).—*Ed.*

9. IBRĀHĪM AL-NADĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Māhān (or *Maymān*) Ibn Bahman Ibn Yask* adopted member of the tribe of Tamīm, and descended from a family of Arrajān (a city in the province of *Khūzestān*): he is generally known by the title of al-Nadīm al-Mawṣilī (the social companion or singer from Mosul), though not born in that city; but having gone to live there for some time, he was called a Mosulite; (such is the observation made by Abu 'l-Faraj, of Ispahān, in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*): he came of a noble Persian house, but his father had emigrated and settled at Kūfa. The first *khalif* in whose presence he sung was al-Mahdi, son of al-Manṣūr, he was unequalled as a singer, and he discovered several new musical modes; when Ibrāhīm sung, with his wife's brother, Manṣūr, called also Zulzul, to accompany him on the lute, the audience were transported with pleasure. His adventures and concerts are equally famous: it is related that the *khalif* Hārūn al-Rashīd was passionately fond of a fair slave named Mārīda, but they quarrelled, and their mutual displeasure continued for some time. This induced Jā'far the Barmakide (*Hārūn's vizir*) to order (the poet) al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf to compose something applicable to the circumstance, and the following verses were written by him in consequence:

“Return to the friends you have abandoned; the bondsman of love but seldom shuns (*his mistress*): if your mutual estrangement long endure, indifference will glide (*into your hearts*) and (*lost affection*) will hardly be retrieved.”

In pursuance to Ja'far's orders, Ibrāhīm sung these verses to al-Rashīd, who immediately hastened to Mārīda, and got reconciled to her. She then asked him what brought about this event; and being informed of what had passed, ordered to Ibrāhīm and al-'Abbās a present of 10,000 dirhems each, and al-Rashīd, on her request, recompensed them with a reward of 40,000 dirhems.¹

¹ The silver dirhems of al-Rashīd's coinage are nearly of the same weight as the French *franc*, but they are much broader and thinner.

*M. de Slane gives Nusk and his reading is followed in Egyptian editions; however Teheran edition agrees with the autograph.—*Ed.*

Ibrahim had been put into the Muṭbiq or chief prison of Baghdad by al-Raṣīd, and Salm al-Khāsir¹ (*the poet*) related to Abu 'l-Atahiya what had happened : on which the latter pronounced these verses :

“Oh, Salm ! Salm ! without thee no joy remains : al-Mawṣili is in prison, and our life has become bitter ! Pleasures are no longer sweet, since their author—noblest of men ! is hidden by the prison (*from our sight*). Al-Mawṣili has been abandoned by all God's creatures : but their life (*now*) feels harsh and irksome. Disport and joy are in prison, and nought remains on earth to disport and give joy.”

Ibrahim was born at Kufa, A. H. 125 (A. D. 742), and he died in Baghdad of a disorder in the intestines,* A. H. 188 (A. D. 804) : others say 213 (A. D. 828), but the first is the right date : we shall speak again of this event in the Life of al-Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf (*which see*). It is said that Ibrahim al-Mawṣili, Abu 'l-Atahiya the poet, and Abu² Amr al-Shaybani the grammarian, died at Baghdad, in the year 213, and on the same day ; it is also related that Ibrahim was yet a child when his father died, and that the tribe of Tamim took charge of him, and brought him up : for which reason he was styled *Tamimi*. We shall make

¹ Abu 'Amr Salm Ibn 'Amr al-Khāsir (*the loser*) native of Basrah, a poet notorious for his profligate life, lived at Baghdad, and was contemporary with the khalifs al-Mahdi, al-Hadi, and al-Raṣīd : he made verses in praise of the khalifs and the Barmakides. The surname of *the loser* was given to him, because he sold a copy of the Qur'an to buy a book of poetry with the money, or else, because he had squandered the riches he inherited from his father : such are the explanations given in the *Kamūs* : but the anonymous author of the remodelled edition of Ibn Khallikan's work (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 731) says that *Salim*, for so he calls him erroneously, bought a lute with the money he got for his Qur'an : the same writer gives the year 186 as that of his death : but it must be remarked that this author is very often mistaken, and shows great ignorance in many of the alterations made by him in Ibn Khallikan's work. The author of the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, mentions Salm in the Life of Abu 'l-Atahiya, but furnishes no information respecting him. Ibn al-'Abbar, in his *al-Ḥullat al-Siyar* (Arabic MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris), states that the book of poetry bought by Salm was the *diwan* of 'Imra'u l-Qays (fol. 141, recto). The analysis of this work is given by Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabica* under the number 1649. (Vide no. 239.—*Ed.*)

*Collic pain is a better word.—*Ed.*

mention of his son Ishāq. According to al-Jawhari¹ and al-Ḥazimi, the word *Arrajān* is written with a double *r* : we shall speak again of this place in the Life of Ahmad al-Arajan.

(For further reference, see *Ans. b*, f. 544 b. — *Ed.*)

10. IBRĀHĪM AL-SŪLĪ

Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣul-Takīm al-Ṣulī was a poet of reputation and talent : his works have been collected and form a small volume of exquisite pieces; the following is a specimen of his tender style:

“Visits draw close the hearts which coolness had parted : but my visit to (*the capricious*) Layla has changed her affection to dislike ! The maids that dwell in the (*distant*) valley of al-Liwā are nearer to me than Layla, though her dwelling be here at hand.”²

The style of his prose writings is admirable : as, for instance, in the following threatening letter written by him in the name of the khalif to some rebels : “know that the Commander of the Faithful hath patience ; to which, if useless, threats succeed ; if they avail not, his resolutions shall, Adieu.” This address is not only concise but also highly figurative in fact, it has given rise to the following verse :

¹ Ibn Khallikān has omitted the Life of al-Jawhari in his work, but some information may be obtained on this subject from Hamaker’s *Specimen Catalogi Cod. MSS. Lugd. Bat.*, p. 48. This lexicographer died at Nayḥapūr A.H. 392 (A. D. 1002). (Yafi’is *Kitāb al-Jannan*, MS. No. 137.)

² The Arabic word which signifies to *draw near*, means **also to be reconciled**, and, by a similar analogy, the word which denotes *separation or distance* can be taken in the sense of *alienation or mutual coolness* ; such quibbles and conceits were highly in favour at the time when Ibn Khallikān wrote, though ancient authors were very sparing of them. The *valley of Liwa*, or *the retired spot on the edge of the desert*, is frequently mentioned by the ante-Islamic poets ; there it is that the mistress of the poet is supposed to reside. The Muslim poets make continual allusions to the works of their predecessors, the nomadic Arabs ; those works were for them whereas the Greek and Latin classics are for us.

“To useless delay threats succeed ; if they avail not, resolution shall.”

This author used to say : “In composing my letters I relied merely on those ideas which my mind might inspire, and on those sentiments which might spring from my heart ; I except, however, these two passages : ‘*That which guarded them exposed them (to danger) ; and their asylum became their prison !*’ and in another letter of mine : ‘*They hurled him from his fortress to a prison, and they caused him to exchange hope for death !*’ In the latter sentence I imitated the following verse by Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Anṣārī, surnamed *Ṣarī‘-al-ḡhawānī* (the vanquished by the fair)² :

(He appeared) standing on (mount) Muhaj, on the (fatal) day of Dhu-Rahaj³ he seemed the speedy death of all my hopes.*

In the former sentence, I imitated an expression used by Abu Tammām in these verses :

‘If he enter the desert, he shall meet with sword and lance instead of hospitality ; and he shall quench his thirst at the cistern of Death ! If he raise a wall around him, it shall not be

1 Here in the Arabic text, some words of nearly a similar sound, but of different significations, are joined together artfully enough ; but the beauty, if any, of these expressions is quite lost in the translation.

2 Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Anṣārī was one of the galaxy of poets who shone at the court of the Abbaside khalifs. In his verses he celebrated the praises of al-Māman al-Raṣhīd, the Barmakides, and other great men ; he was appointed *Redressor of Grievances* (see de Sacy’s *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 132) in Jurjān, through the protection of the vizīr al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl Dhu l-Ryasatayn. He was surnamed *the vanquished by the fair* on account of his having composed the following verse :

What then is life, if we spend not our evenings with (those we) love, and if we fall not, towards morning, vanquished by the wine-cup and by fair large eyes ? (See Freytag’s *Hamasa*, p. 428).

The author of the *Kitāb al-Aḡhamī* gives little information respecting this poet : he merely says that Ibn Qunber ابن قنبر وهو الحكيم بن محمد بن قنبر (a poet of the time of al-Māman, and Muslim Ibn al-Walid composed virulent satires against each other, and that they sometimes came to blows. (*Aḡhamī*, t. III, p. 252.)

3 Such, I believe, is the sense of the Arabic words, but I must acknowledge that I have still some doubts (vide editor’s translation).

*The sense appears to be : He controls the human souls on the day of battle as if he is the (angel of) death hastening (to disrupt) hopes.—*Ed.*

his fortress, but his prison ! If not, let him know that you are angry with him, and fear alone shall doubtless cause his death.' ”

Ibrāhīm al-Ṣulī was sister's son to al-ʿAbbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf, the famous poet : he was called al-Ṣulī, after his grandfather, Ṣul-Tekin, a prince of Jurjān, who made profession of Islamism to Yazīd Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abī-Ṣufra (*the Muslim conqueror of Khurāsān*). The *h̄fiz* Abu ʿl-Qāsim Ḥamza Ibn al-Yusuf al-Sahmī¹ says, in his History of Jurjān : “Al-Ṣulī came of family, native of Jurjān ; (Ṣul, or as it is sometimes pronounced, Jul, is the name of a demesne situated in Jurjan; he was paternal uncle to the father of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥya Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣulī, author of the Book of Vizirs and other works ; so their genealogies meet in one common progenitor, al-ʿAbbās (*al-Ṣulī's father*).” * [Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Dawʿād Ibn al-Jarrāh² mentions him in his *Kitāb al-Waraqāt* in these terms : “Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAbbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣul, surnamed Abū Ishāq, native of Bagh̄dād, drew his origin from Khurāsān ; he was a better poet than the other *Kātib*s who were contemporary with him, and his style was more graceful than

1 Al-Sahmī died A. H. 427 (A. D. 1036) : (*Tab. al-Huffiz*). Besides the history of his native place, Jurjan, he composed some other works, such as the *Arbain al-Buldaniya*, which is mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfa in his *Bibliographical Lexicon* ; Flügel's edition, vol. I, page 233.

2 Muḥammad Ibn Dawʿād Ibn al-Jarrāh, one of the most learned men of his time, had been brought up under the tuition of the ablest masters in eloquence, poetry, and the sciences. He followed the profession of copyist, and transcribed a great number of works, the copies of which he always read over after in order to correct whatever faults he might have made. When ʿAbd Allāh, son to the khalīf al-Muʿtazz, usurped the sovereign authority, A. H. 296 (A. D. 908), Ibn al-Jarrāh became his vizir, and filled that place till the fall of his master, who reigned only one day : he then sought concealment in the house of the eunuch Mānis, whom he thought his friend, but Mānis caused him to be murdered in order to gain the favour of the vazir Ibn al-Furāt, who had advised him to commit this treacherous action (*Kitāb al-Fehrist, No. 874, fol. 174, verso.*) See also the Life of Ibn al-Furāt in this work.

3 The *Katibs*, or *writers*, were the persons employed in the public offices; the directors, clerks, and secretaries in government service were all called *Katibs*.

*From Abu “ ʿAbd Allāh” to “abridgment as this” on page 72, is not in autograph.—*Ed.*

theirs ; his poems are short, containing from three to ten verses only ; but his descriptions of the vicissitudes of fortune have not been outdone. He belonged to a highly respectable Turkish family ; the two brothers, Şul and Fayraz were Turkish princes of Jurjān, who had adopted the Magian religion, and become quite like Persians. When Yazīd Ibn al-Muhallab came to Jurjān, they obtained from him their amnesty, and Şul having made to him profession of Islamism, remained constantly with him till they both fell in the battle of al-'Aqr.¹ Abu 'Umara Muḥammad Ibn Şul was one of the principal (*Abbasid*) missionaries² ; he was killed along with Muqātil Ibn Ḥakīm al-'Akkī³ and some others, by 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, uncle to the Khalifs Saḫfāh and al-Manşūr, when he revolted against his nephew⁴. Ibrāhīm and his brother 'Abd Allāh became adherents to (*the vizir*) al-Faḫl Ibn Sahl, surnamed Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn.⁵ Ibrāhīm was then

1 Some particulars about the battle of al-'Aqr will be found in the Life of Yazīd Ibn al-Muhallab.

2 During the first four centuries of Islamism, every family which pretended to the throne employed agents or missionaries to second their views; those men were sent to different provinces of the empire, where they established secret clubs, or *lodges*, the members of which had to pass through different degrees of initiation; each club was under a president, who received his orders from the provincial missionary, who was himself under the orders of the grandmaster, Da'īd-Durāt. The family of 'Alī, the Abbasides, the Edrisites, and the Faḫmites always kept up their missionary establishments, even when in the height of their power. (See Ibn al-Aḫḫīr and Ibn Khaldūn, *passim*.) M. de Sacy has given a most interesting account of the Qarāmita missions, which were established for the purpose of overturning the Abbasides, and destroying all religions whatsoever. (See *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, t. I. Introduction.)

3 Muqātil, one of the most active Abbaside missionaries, was then governor of Ḥarran, which city was taken by 'Abd Allāh after a siege of forty days. His son Muḥammad Ibn Muqātil, was foster-brother to the Khalif ar-Raḫīd, who appointed him governor of Ifriqiya in A.H. 181. (*Uyūn al-Aḫḫār*, MS. No. 736, fol. 137.—Ibn al-Abbār's *al-Ḥullat al-Siyara*, f. 13 MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris.)

4 See *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 9.

5 Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, *the possessor of the two authorities*, namely, the civil and the military. (جمع بين السيف والقلم) surnam: of honour given to the vizir al-Faḫl Ibn Sahl. (See his Life in this work.) This title became afterwards very common, particularly in Spain.

employed in the provinces, as agent for the Sulṭān, and filled successively different places in the government offices, till he died ; he was then director of the demesne and gratuity office¹ at-Sarraman-ra'a: his death took place in the middle of Shā'bān, A. H. 243 (December, A. D. 857). The poet Di'bil al-Khuḏā'ī said of him : "If Ibrāhīm had sought to make out his livelihood by his poetical talents, he would have (*gained all and*) left us nothing !" I read the collection of his poems and made the following extracts from it ; but I suspect the first not to be his, as I found it also in the poetical works of Muslim Ibn al-Walīd al-Anṣārī :

"Let not the longing of your soul for family and home prevent your enjoying an easy life in comfort : in every country where you choose to dwell, you will find a family and (*friendly*) neighbours in place of those you left behind."

The following verses are by al-Ṣulī : and it is said that if they be frequently repeated by a person under sudden misfortune, God will deliver him from it :

"A man meets with a disaster he cannot avert, and from which God alone can deliver him. But often, when the evil is complete, with rings (*and iron meshes*) strongly riven,² it passes away while he thinks that nothing can dispel it."

By the same :

"The fittest sharer in your joy is he who has been partner³ in your sorrow : when generous (*travellers*) repose in the plain,

1 The government was then in possession of a great number of demesnes, mostly in the conquered provinces, and which were usually farmed out (their Arabic name is *Diā'a*, farms). From the passage of Ibn al-Jarrāh cited by Ibn Khallikān, I am induced to believe that the income of these lands was divided, as a gratuitous donation among the persons employed by government. We find very often the *Jund*, or paid troops, receiving gratuities of free gifts from the *khalifs* and the governors of provinces; it is probable that those farm rents were employed for the purpose.

2 This metaphor is taken from the large and wide coats of mail which were so highly prized and so loudly celebrated by the ante-Islamic poets: as a coat of mail cover the body of the warrior, so misfortunes surround the wretched on every side.

3 The verb *واسى* is employed here for *آسى*, which takes its signification from the word *اسوه* (*sharer*). (See al-Tabrīzī's commentary on the *Hamāsa*, page 696.)

they think of those who kept them company in the rugged stations (left behind). ”

The next verses are said to have been written by him to Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, vizīr to al-Muṭaṣim :

“When Fortune treated me as a brother, you were also my brother ; but when she rejected me, you became my rancorous foe. I once blamed Fortune for her rigour towards you, but now I blame her (*for the treatment I experienced*) from you I counted you (*as a protector*) against misfortunes, and behold me now imploring your mercy ! ”

By the same :

“Thou wast dear to me as the apple of my eye ; for thee (*alone*) my eyes shed their tears. Die now who may, since thou art gone ! Thou wast my only care.”

Abū Tammām cites in his *Humāsah*¹, in the chapter of amatory poetry, the following verses by al-Ṣulī :

“I am told that Layla has sent an intercessor to implore my favour ; why is not Layla herself that intercessor ? Does there then exist one whom I honour more than Layla ? (*find such and challenge glory !*)² or am I then a man that will not obey her ?”

This poet has written a great number of charming pieces (*which I cannot cite here, as*) brevity suits best such an abridgement as this.] We shall mention his nephew Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣulī among the Muḥammads. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣulī died the 15 Shā’bān, A. H. 243 (December, A. D. 857)* at Sarra-man-rāa.

For further reference, see *Ansāb*, f. 357 b.—*Ed.*

II. NIFṬAWAYH

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Urfah Ibn Sulaymān Ibn al-Mughayrah Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah al-Azdī, surnamed Nifṭawayh, the grammarian,

¹ See Freytag’s *Hamāsa*, p. 540, with the Commentary of al-Tabrizī.

² This reminds us of Virgil’s “Die quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo.”

*7 December.—*Ed.*

native of Wāsiṭ, was a man of learning and talent and author of some esteemed works on general literature. He was born at Wāsiṭ, A. H. 244 (A. D. 858), though some say A. H. 250; he dwelt at Bagħdād where he died on Wednesday, 6th Ṣafar, about an hour after sunrise, A. H. 323 (A. D. 935)*; others say, however, that he and Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqrī¹ died at Bagħdād in the year 324: he was buried the next day at the gate of Kūfah. Ibn Khālawayh remarks that Niṣṭawayh was the only man among the learned who was named Ibrāhīm and surnamed Abū ‘Abd Allāh. The following specimen of his poetry is quoted by Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī in his *Kitāb al-‘Amālī*.

“My heart (*fixed*) on thee, is more tender than thy cheeks;² my strength less than the power of thine eyes!³ Why wilt thou not pity him whose soul is unjustly tortured, and whom love inclineth towards thee with affection?”

1 Abū Bakr Ahmad Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-‘Abbas Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqrī, teacher of the right reading of the *Qur’ān*, and first man in ‘Irāq in that capacity was born in Baḡhdād A. H. 245 (A. D. 859). He read the whole *Qur’ān* over, *ختمه*, twenty times, under the tuition of ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ibn

‘Abdūs; his other masters were Qunbul and ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Salamah. The celebrated grammarian Tha‘lab says: “None in our time know the Book of God (*the Qur’ān*) better than Ibn Mujāhid.” Ibn al-Ahḡam relates that, on going to Baḡhdād, he found Ibn Mujāhid’s course of lectures followed by nearly three hundred eminent men *مصدر*; and ‘Alī Ibn ‘Umar al-Għazzi states that Ibn Mujāhid had forty-four assistant teachers at his course *له في*

حلقته اربعته واربعون خليفته ياخذون على الناس. He used to say, whoever reads the *Qur’an* in the manner taught by Abu ‘Amr and follows the doctrines of the sect of al-Shāfi‘ī is in the right way of salvation. Ibn Mujāhid was also an elegant and accomplished scholar, and taught from memory the poems of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz; he died A. H. 324 (A. D. 936) (*Ṭabaqat al-Shāfi‘īn*).—The persons whose names are mentioned in the preceding passages are spoken of by Ibn Khālikān; so further observations are postponed.

2 The Arabic poets say of a fair lady, that the petal of a rose would hurt her cheek, and that a glance from her lover’s eye makes it *bleed*; that is *blush*.

3 To please Arabian taste,adies’ eyes should be languishing and tender but *langour* and *tenderness* are nearly synonymous with *feebleness*, the Arabic equivalent of which is generally made use of in this case. Some poets go farther and talk of their being vanquished by *sickly* eyes.

*14 January.—Ed.

The following epigram was made on him by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Zayd Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn, native of Wāsiṭ, a celebrated metaphysician, and author of the *Imāma* and a treatise on the unattainable excellence of the style in which the *Qur'ān* is written, etc.

"He that likes not the sight of a reprobate should avoid meeting Niftawayh! May God burn him with one-half of his name,¹ and cause him to be denounced with the other."

(The author of this charade) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad died A. H. 307 (A. D. 919) or 306. *['Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Faḍl relates this anecdote: "Ibn Surayj Ibn Daw'ūd al-Zāhirī, and Niftawayh went forth to a feast, whither they were invited: now the way lead them to a narrow passage and each of them wished his companions to pass before himself so Ibn Surayj said: 'A strait road begetteth evil manners.' ('Yea!') said Ibn Daw'ūd, 'but it teacheth the true worth of men'; to this Niftawayh rejoined: 'When friendship is solid, ceremony is done away'."] *Niftawayh* is sometimes pronounced, but not so correctly, *Naftawayh*; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥa'ālibī says, towards the beginning of his work, the *Latā'if-al-Ma'ārif*, that he received this name for his ugliness and dark complexion, he being likened to the substance called *nift* (*naphtha* or *bitumen*): this name was given him in imitation of that of Sibawayh (the famous grammarian), whose son he was called on account of his grammatical knowledge, and of his following the system, and teaching the work of that writer.

We shall treat of *Niftawayh* and the other names of this form in our life of Sibawayh, whose name is 'Amr : consult that article.

12. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-ZAJJĀJ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Sarī Ibn Sahl al-Zajjāj, the grammarian, was a man of solid information on

¹ The first half of his name is *nift* (*naphtha* or *bitumen*): the other half is *wayh* (*woe*)!

*[] From "'Abd al-'Azīz" to "done away" not in the autograph.—Ed.

philological and religious subjects; he published the following works : Treatise on the figurative expressions of the *Qur'an*; Book of Dictates;¹ Extracts from his complete Treatise on Logic, with a commentary by himself;² different treatises on etymology, prosody, versification, the Muslim sects, the nature of man, and of the horse; an abridgement of grammar; a work on the relation between the first and fourth forms of Arabic verbs; Treatise on nouns which are either of the first or second declension; explanation of the Arabic verses cited as examples by Sībawayh in his grammar; Book of Anecdotes; Treatise on the influence of the constellations upon the weather,³ etc. Al-Mubarrad and Tha'ālab gave him lessons in philology: he was originally a glassgrinder, and was, therefore, named *al-Zajjāj* (the glassman), even after he had quitted his trade to study philology. The vizīr 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahb⁴ honoured him with his intimacy, and al-Qāsim, son of 'Ubayd Allāh, had him for master in belles letters; and when al-Qāsim was appointed vizīr, al-Zajjāj gained considerable sums through his influence. * [The *shaykh* Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisi, the grammarian, relates the following anecdote: "I and my master, al-Zajjāj, went to visit the vizīr al-Qāsim; we had just entered when a eunuch came up, and whispered to him some secret information, on which the

1 Dictates, اامالى; consult M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 137, and Flügel's *Hājji Khalifah*, t. I, p. 427.

2 It must be observed that many professors taught from works written by themselves, and not published till later—sometimes even not till after the death of the author. The extracts here mentioned were probably those portions of al-Zajjāj's treatise which he had explained to his scholars. This seems to be the work mentioned under the title of جامع المنطق in Hājji Khalifah's *Bibliographical Dictionary*.

3 See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 168. Hājji Khalifah remarks that a considerable number of works has been written on this subject.

4 'Ubayd Allāh, vizīr to the khalif al-Mu'tadid, and an able statesman, died A. H. 288 (A. D. 901). His son al-Qāsim was vizīr to the khalif al-Mu'tadid, and his successor al-Muktafi; he died in the reign of the latter. He was equally conspicuous for his talents and for his skill as a politician. (MS. No. 895, f. 236).

* [] From "The *shaykh*" to "vizīr's case" on page 78 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

vizīr, who appeared highly pleased, rose and withdrew, but came back almost immediately, with marks of great dissatisfaction in his countenance. The shaykh who was on familiar terms with him, having asked what was the matter, received from him this answer: 'There came here occasionally a fair slave belonging to one of our (*public*) singing women, who had refused to sell her to me though I offered to purchase her: some person, however, advised the mistress to make me a present of the slave, in hopes of my giving in return double the value. Just as you came in, the eunuch informed me of the circumstance, and I went out immediately to converse with her, but found her unwell: such was the the cause of the dissatisfaction you remarked in me.' On this, our shaykh took the inkstand placed before the vizīr, and wrote these lines:

¹ "Eques impetuusus, cum hasta suā promptus ad confossionem in tenebris, praedam suam sanguine, inficere voluit; sed eum prohibuit illa. cum sanguine. a sanguine suo."*

We shall speak again of these two verses in the life of Būrān, daughter to al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl; the story is there related in a different manner, as if this circumstance had happened to her with al-Māmān: it is hard to say which relation is the true one, but that concerning al-Māmān was perhaps the source whence al-Zajjāj took the verses which he applied to the vizīr's case.] This grammarian died at Baghdād, on Friday, † 19th of the Second Jumādā, A. H. 310 (October, A. D. 922); ‡ according to others, his death took place in A. H. 311 or 316: having then passed his eightieth year. It was after him that Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-

1 There are certain passages in this work which cannot, for obvious reasons, be given in English: this for example.

*In English it means cavellier, going with his lancet, capable of striking its target in darkness, intended to bleed his prey but abstained seeing blood already flowing.—*Ed.*

†In the year 311 and 316 the day and date may tally. In 310 Friday was on 16 of Second Jumādā.

‡In the year 310 it was 14 October; in 311 it was 3 October 923 and in 316 it was 8 August, 928.—*Ed.*

Rahmān, author of the *Jumal fi 'l-Nahw*, was called *al-Zajjāi*, having been one of his pupils, as will be mentioned in his life; Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī was another of his pupils.

13. AL-IFLĪLĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyā Ibn Mufarrij* Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khālid Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ al-Qurayshī (*descended from the tribe of Quraysh*) al-Zahrī,¹ generally known by the name of al-'Ifliḷī, was a native of Cordova and a first-rate grammarian and philologist; he possessed also a perfect acquaintance with the explanations which have been given of those (*obscure*) ideas which are met with in (*ancient*) poetry; he wrote a good and well-known commentary on the poetical works of al-Mutanabbī, and he taught from memory the Book of Dictates, by Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī, which work he had learned from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī. As a teacher of belles letters he held an eminent rank in Spain, where he also became vizīr to al-Muktafī Billāh.² He knew by heart the poetry (*of the ancient Arabs*) and could relate their history and the traditional accounts of their combats; his memory was also furnished with a considerable stock of poetry composed by his own countrymen. He was most particularly exact in his choice of words; his tongue was veracious, his private conduct good, and his heart pure. Among a number of works which he studied

¹ Zahrī means belonging to Zahrā, or Medīnat al-Zahrā, a palace and town founded by the Moorish prince 'Abd al-Rahmān, in the year 324 (A. D. 936), at three leagues from Cordova. The Arabic historians speak in the highest terms of the magnificence of this new city, of which not a single trace now remains.

² The MSS. of Ibn Khallikān's work agree in the orthography of the name *al-Muktafī-Billāh*; but Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, t. II, p. 207 Conde and Ibn al-Abbār in his *al-Hullat al-Siyara* write it *al-Mustakfī-Billah*, which title was assumed by Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān on his accession to the throne of Cordova A. H. 415 (A. D. 1024).

* M. de Slane reads "Mufrij".—*Ed.*

may be reckoned the *Gharib al-Muṣannaf*, the *al-Alfāz*,¹ etc. His birth took place in the month of *Shawwāl*, 352 (A. D. 963), and his death happened towards the end of the eleventh hour, on Saturday* 13th *Dhu 'l-Qa'adah*, 441 (April, A. D. 1050)†: he was buried on Sunday, late in the afternoon, in the court of a ruined mosque near the gate of 'Āmir at Cordova. Al-Ifīlī signifies a native of al-Ifīl, a village in Syria, from which his family originally came.

In the autograph the notice of al-Ifīlī is written on the margin and so a portion of it is not legible and it is hard to agree with this opinion.—*Ed.*

14. ABŪ IṢHĀQ AL-ṢĀBĪ'Ī

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Zahrān Ibn Ḥabbān al-Ḥarrānī² al-Sabī'ī,³ author of the celebrated epistles⁴ and of some charming poetry, was clerk of the Baghdād chancery office,⁵

1 Hājji Khalifah says, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*, that the former of these works is by 'Abu 'Amr al-Shaybānī, and that al-Aṣma'ī Ibn al-'Arabi, and Thā'lab, have each written a work called *al-Alfāz* (vocabulary).

2 *Al-Ḥarrānī* means native of Ḥarrān in Mesopotamia, a city formerly inhabited by the Sabeans, and the chief seat of their religion; it was in ruins when Abu 'l-Fida wrote his *Geography*.

3 *Al-Ṣabī'ī* (the Sabean); see the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. SABI: Sale's *Qur'ān* Introduction, sect. I; and Prideaux's *Connexion*, vol. 1, p. 248; edition of 1820.

4 The author of the *Kitab al-Fehrist* (Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 874, fol. 182) mentions two collections of epistles written by al-Ṣabī'ī, one entitled *Correspondence with the Sharīf ar-Raḍī*; the other: *Collection of Epistles*; neither of which works I have met with.

5 In the Chancery-office of the khalifs were drawn up the diplomas, letters patent and of provision, political correspondence, etc.: as the style of those writings was, and has always been, elaborately elegant, the clerks of this office were necessarily chosen among men of talent and instruction.

*M. de Slane has erroneously rendered سبت by Sunday.—*Ed.*

†7 April.—*Ed.*

in which he acted as secretary to the khalif¹ and to Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtyār, of the family of Buwayh, the Daylamite. In the year 349 (A. D. 960) he was appointed president of the board of correspondence,² and incurred the hatred of Āḍad al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, in consequence of having addressed to that prince some letters hurtful to his feelings. When Izz al-Dawlah was slain³ Āḍad al-Dawlah took possession of Baghdād, and put Abū Ishāq in prison, this happened in the year 367 (April, A. D. 978). His intention was to have had Abū Ishāq trodden to death by elephants, but (*a respite was granted him*) through the intercession of his friends, and he finally recovered his liberty in 371 (A. D. 981); Āḍad al-Dawlah having previously required of him to write a history of the Daylamite dynasty. In consequence of this order Abū Ishāq composed his work entitled *al-Tājī* (*the Imperial*) but (*could not regain the favour of Āḍad al-Dawlah*), who had learned that a friend of Abū Ishāq's on going to see him, found him busily engaged in composing notes and making rough and fair copies (*of some work, and that this friend*) having asked him what he was doing, received this answer: "I am writing falsehoods and putting lies together." This story stirred up the then appeased anger of Āḍad al-Dawlah, and excited his hatred afresh: so that, during his life-time, Abū Ishāq continued in disgrace.

Abū Ishāq al-Sābi'ī was very strict in the observance of his religion, and had refused to turn Muslim, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of Izz al-Dawlah; he kept the fast of Ramaḍān the same as the Muslims; he also knew the *Qur'ān* by

1 This khalif, whose name Ibn Khallikān seems unwilling to mention was al-Muṭi' Lillāh, the 23rd of the Abbāsīde dynasty. He was a weak prince completely governed by Mu'izz al-Dawlah, and 'Izz al-Dawlah, son of Mu'izz.

2 *President of the Board of Correspondence*, or Secretary of State, under the Abbāsīdes; his duty was to read over and correct official letters, after which he sealed them with a sort of red clay kneaded with water, on which he stamped the device of the khalif. See Von Hammer's work, entitled *Ueber die Länder-verwaltung unter dem Khalifate*; where will be found, in a small compass, much important information concerning the organisation of the Muslim empire.

3 See *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 535, and the life of Bakhtyār in this work.

heart perfectly well, and quoted it in his epistles. He had a black slave called Yumn, to whom he was much attached, and on whom he made some verses remarkable for their originality of thought: the following, for instance, which are cited along with others of his by al-Tha'ālibī, in his *Kitāb al-Ghilmān*:

“The dark-skinned Yumn said to one whose colour equalled the whiteness of the eye¹: ‘Why should your face boast its clear complexion? Do you think that, by so clear a tint, it gains additional merit? Were a mole of my colour on that face, it would adorn it²; but one of your colour on my cheek would disfigure me.’”

In this last verse is an allusion to the following lines, from a piece of verse written by Ibn al-Rāmī on a black slave girl:

“One advantage of a dark complexion is (and truth can never be concealed)³—that a spot of deeper shade does not misbecome it; though a white speck on a fair skin is considered as a blemish.”

In these well-known verses, the poet has attained to perfection⁴

1 The expression خائنته الأعين, deceiving eyes, occurs in the *Qur'an* sur. XI., verse 20; this induces me to suppose that the word الخائن, in the verse cited by Ibn Khallikān, is employed to denote the eye alone, without suggesting the idea of any quality whatsoever. Simple adjective, serving as nouns, are met with in many languages, but this is more particularly the case in Arabic. Though not completely sure of the meaning of this word I am nevertheless inclined to think that I have expressed the idea of the poet.

2 Black moles on the face were and are considered by the Muslims as real beauty spots.

3 This singularly-placed parenthesis signifies literally: *and Truth possesses a ladder and a hole*: a strange expression, imitated from the *Qur'an*, sur. VI, v. 35, which Sale renders thus: “If their aversion (to thy admonitions) be grievous unto thee, if thou can'st, seek out a den (whereby thou mayest penetrate) into (the inmost parts) of the earth, or a ladder (by which thou mayest ascend) unto heaven,” etc. From this the poet's meaning appears to be: *Truth must make its way; it can mount to heaven and penetrate into the depths of the earth.*

4 These verses are, however, by no means remarkable] for their style in the original Arabic; their sense has been just given; from which it will probably be inferred that our author did not possess a very correct taste or judgment; though it must be recollected that his taste was precisely that of the epoch in which he lived.

Al-Tha'alibī gives also the following verses composed by Abū Ishāq on his slave :

“Your face is so (*handsome*) that my hand seems to have sketched its outline,¹ but your words (*are false and*) have fatigued my hopes. In that (*countenance*) is seen an image of the full moon, over which night has, however, cast a tint of her darkness. Black misbecomes you not ; nay, by it you are increased in beauty ; black is the only colour princes wear. Were you not mine I should purchase you with all my wealth ! Did I not possess you, I should give my life to obtain you.”

The prose and verse of Abū Ishāq contain every species of beauty : he died at Baghdād on Monday (or Thursday according to others) 12 Shawwāl, A. H. 384 (November, A. D. 994),* at the age of 71 years. Abu 'l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq better known by the name of Ibn Abī Yāqūb al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī, says, in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist*,² that Abū Ishāq al-Sabi'ī was born some time after the year 320 (A. D. 932), and died before 380 ; he was buried in the cemetery of Baghdād called *Shunūzi*, and a well-known elegy, the rhyme of which is in *D*, was written on his death by the Sharīf al-Raḍī ; it begins thus :

“Hast thou seen whom they bore aloft on the bier ? Hast thou seen how the light of our assemblies is extinguished ?”

The public blamed al-Raḍī for this poem, because he, who was a *sharīf* (*descendant from Muḥammad*) had lamented the death of a Sabean, but he replied : “It was his merit alone the loss of which I lamented.” The word Sabi'ī (*Sabean*) is written with a final *hamza* ; but many different derivations are given of it ; some say it comes from Ṣābi'ī son of Matūshalah (*Methuselah*), son of Idrīs (*Enoch*), who was of the ancient orthodox religion ;³

¹ This verse is quite sufficient to prove that its author was not a Muslim for representations of the human figure are expressly forbidden by Muḥammad ; see the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. II, p. 368.

² See *Kitāb al-Fihrest*, MS. No. 874, fol. 182. This work was composed A. H. 337.

³ The *ancient orthodoxy* according to the Muslim doctors, is the religion professed by all the patriarchs and prophets anterior to Muḥammad ; who himself taught that Islamism was only a continuation or revival of the old and true religion.

*19 November was Monday, 12 Shawwāl.

others derive it from 'al-Sābi'i, son of Mārī, a contemporary of Abraham ; others again say that the word Sābi'i was used by the 'Arabs of the Desert to denote a person who abandoned the religion of his people, and for this reason it was that Muḥammad was called Sābi'i by the tribe of Quraysh : but God knows (*that*) best !

15. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-ḤUṢRĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Tamīm, surnamed al-Ḥuṣrī, native of Qayrawān *and* a celebrated poet, composed the following works : a *diwān*, or volume of poetry ; the *Zahr al-'Ādāb* (*Flower of Instruction and Fruit of Hearts*), in three volumes, filled with singularities of every sort ; the *kitāb al-Maṣūn* (*the Secret or Mystery of hidden Love*) in one volume, containing amusing and instructive anecdotes. Ibn Rashīq mentions him in his *Annūdhaj*, and gives, along with some particulars of his life a quantity of his poetry. "The youth of Qayrawān adds this writer, gathered to his house and took his lessons ; they looked on him as their chief, and felt for him deep respect ; his works got into circulation and gifts poured in upon him from all sides. He then cites as his these verses.

"I love you with a love which surpasses understanding, and which is far beyond the reach of my power of description. The utmost of my knowledge thereof is, that I feel my inability to acquire a just knowledge of it."

Ibn Bassām, author of the *Dhahīrāh* or Treasury ; containing beauties (*from the writings*) of the natives of the (*Spanish*) peninsula¹ relates a story in which he gives two verses of al-Ḥuṣrī's :

¹ By the word *Jazīrah* (*isle*) the Arabic writers designate both Mesopotamia and Spain : Hājji Khalifah, who gives the title of Ibn Bassām's work in his Biographical Dictionary, says positively that the *Jazīrah* here mentioned is Andalus, or Spain.

“The *lām* of that ‘*idhār*¹ has caused my heart to drink of death. It is dark as night, upon (a skin) clear as day.”

Al-Ḥuṣrī was son of a maternal aunt to Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ḥuṣrī, the life of which poet we shall give in the letter 'Ayn.

Abū Ishāq died at Qayrawān, A. H. 413 (A. D. 1022) ; Ibn Bassām says, however, in the *Dhakhirah* : “I learned that his death took place in 453” (A. D. 1061) ; but the first is the correct date, though the *Qāḍi* al-Rashīd Ibn Zubayr states in his *Kitāb al-Janān*, vol. I, in the life of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Fakīk,² that the above-mentioned al-Ḥuṣrī composed his work the *Zahral-Ādāb*, A. H. 450, which indicates that Ibn Bassām was correct in what he said³ ; God, however, knows that best.—Al-Ḥuṣrī means a maker or seller of mats (*ḥuṣūr*). *Qayrawān* is a city in Ifrīqiyah (*Africa propria*), and was founded by 'Uqbah Ibn 'Āmir⁴ al-Ṣahābī (*companion of Muḥammad*): *Ifriqiyah* was so

1 What is meant by the *lām* of the ‘*idhār* is explained in the Introduction to this volume, to which the reader is referred ; my reason for not translating this expression is there given. See also my article in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris for February 1839, page 174.

2 In the *Kharidah* of 'Imad al-Din² (Arabic manuscript of the *Bib. du Roi, fonds Asselin*, No. 363, fol. 7, verso) are given some fragments of poetry by al-Fakīk, who is there said to have had great reputation as a satirist, and to have died A. H. 500 (1106-7).

3 It may be easily perceived that the passage containing the statement from the *Kitāb al-Janān* has been inserted later ; indeed it is not to be found in some MSS.*

4 Abu 'l-Fida in his Annals, Ibn Khāldān in his Universal History, and other writers name the founder of Qayrawān 'Uqbah Ibn Nāfi ; but 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qurayshī, historian of the conquest of Africa, calls him 'Uqbah Ibn 'Āmir (see Arabic MSS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 824, f. 2), and so also Ibn Khāllikān writes his name. The following passage from the *Hullat al-Siyara* (fol. 138), militates strongly however against Ibn Khāllikān : “ 'Uqbah Ibn Nāfi al-Fihri was sent on an expedition by Mu'awiah Ibn Abī Sufyān, A. H. 43 (A. D. 663), and entered Ifriqya at the head of ten thousand Muslims. He founded the city of Qayrawān, and left after him an honourable reputation ; he was an excellent governor, and God granted all for which he prayed. He was deprived of his place, and reinstated, A. H. 62 (A. D. 681-2). In the year 93 (A. D. 711-2) he and some troops which accompanied him were slain by the Berbers at TahāJa, where his tomb is revered to this day.” The author then enters into the details of his death.

* The passage is written on the margin of the autograph.—Ed.

called after Ifriqūs or Ifriqīn Ibn Qays Ibn Sayfī, the Ḥimyarite, who subdued that country. Some say that Jarjīr governed it at that time, and that it was then the Berbers got their name; he having said to them: "How great is your gibberish (*berbera*)!" but God knows it best.¹ Al-Qayrawān, when a common noun, signifies a *caravan*; it is a Persian word introduced into the Arabic language: it is related that a caravan had halted on the spot where the city was afterwards built, wherefore it was called Qayrawān. This word means also *a troop of soldiers*; Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' the philologist, says, on some competent authority, that *Qayrawān* signifies a troop, and *qayrawān* a caravan.

¹ Ibn Khaldān, in his Universal History, gives a similar relation with some details too curious to be omitted here. He says: "To Abrahah Dhu 'l-Manār succeeded his son Ifriqūsh; Ibn al-Kalbī says that Ifriqūsh was the son of Qays Ibn Ṣayfī and brother to al-Ḥarīth al-Raysh, and that it was he who built, in the Gharb (or Maḡhreb), the city named after him Ifriqiyah, to which (city) he sent the Berbers from the land of Canā'an, on his passing close by them when Josua had defeated them in Syria and slain (a number of) them. (*Ifriqūsh*) then took charge of the few (who remained) and marched them before him to Ifriqiyah, where he settled them. It is said that Jirjis was king of that country, and it was he (*Ifriqūsh*) who gave "the Berbers this name; for, on conquering Maḡhreb he heard their strange language, and said: "How great is your gibberish (*Berbera*)!" for which reason they were called Berbers; this word, in the language of the desert Arabs, signifies *mingled and unintelligible noises*; whence the roaring of the lion is called *berbera*. When (*Ifriqūsh*) returned from his expedition to Maḡhreb, he left there Ṣunhāja and Quṣāma (*branches*) of the tribe of Himyar, and these are still there, but they are not of the same stock as the Berbers.—Thus say al-Ṭabarī, al-Jurjānī, al-Mas'ādī, Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Bayhaqī, and all the genealogists."

This statement requires some observations: the Jirjis mentioned by Ibn Khaldān and Ibn Khallikān seems to have been considered by them the same person as the prefect Gregorus, whose history is related in the 51st chapter of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; for Ibn Khaldān, in another part of his work, says positively that he commanded in Maḡhreb when 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Sarḥ conquered that country in the *kh̄lifāt* of 'Uṭhman. The dubitative expression, *it is said* made use of here by both authors, proves that they had great doubts of Jirjis being a contemporary with Ifriqūsh. But the most remarkable circumstance spoken of by Ibn Khaldān is that of Josua's destroying the Berbers in the land of Canā'an, which coincides singularly with what Procopius says in his history of the Vandal War, part II, 10, p. 449; edition of Bonn. We find there also the *Gergesaci** the Girgashites of the Bible, JOSHUA, XXIV, 11,

(Continued on page 87)

* M. de Slane has given the Greek pronunciation also of the name.—Ed.

16. ABŪ ISHĀQ IBN KHAFĀJAH AL-ANDALUSĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Abu 'l-Fath Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khafājah al-Andalusī (*native of Spain*): a poet praised by Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhirah*: "He lived," says this author, "in the east of Spain and never essayed to court the favour of the petty kings who ruled that country, notwithstanding the eagerness which they shewed to patronise literary men." He composed a volume of excellent poetry,¹ from which are taken the following original and pleasing verses on an evening party :

"Oft in social evenings has ebriety borne me to the ground and made my couch feel soft and even. The acacia clothed me with its shade, whilst the branches waved and the doves held (*mutual*) converse. The sun sunk feebly towards west, the thunder rose (*from the horizon*) and the clouds breathed (*coolness*)." "

The following fine thought is by the same author :

"What means that *'idhār*² which seems to have traced

(Continued from page 86)

which word has a most suspicious likeness to the *Girgis* of our Arabic writers. Could Ibn al-Kalbī, whose authority is cited by Ibn Khaldūn in this passage, have read an incorrect Arabic translation of Procopius ?

The preceding citation from Ibn Khaldūn is taken from the Arabic text of his *History of the Arabs*, p. 48 ; this work, which is now (1839) in a forward state of publication at Paris, has been critically studied and translated by the learned editor, the Abate Arri of Turin, to whose friendship I am indebted for the communication of the foregoing passage.

For further particulars I refer the reader to the note 3, page 99 of that gentleman's Italian translation.

1 The poetical works of Ibn Khafājah al-Andalusī are still extant ; see No. 418, fonds Asselin in the *Bib. du Roi*.

2 The meaning of the word *'idhār* is given in the Introduction.

with the shades of night a *miḥrāb* on the *qiblah* of thy face ?¹
 Therein I see thy youth (which before was not submissive),
 sink prostrate, lowly bent and turning (*from its former state*).²
 I well knew by the lightning-flash of thy (*brilliant*) teeth, that a
 cloud would soon be cast upon thy cheeks."³

By the same :

“ Thy youth hath deserted the mansion in which it dwelt,
 and I stopped to weep over the time-worn vestiges of its
 former abode. In that face the '*idhār* shows like the trench
 which surrounds (*the Arab's tent*), and the moles on thy face
 represent the (*blackened*) stones of the rustic hearth."⁴

A poet of later times, named al-'Imād* Abū 'Alī Ibn 'Abd
 al-Nār⁵ al-Laznī, who inhabited Mosul and who shall be mentioned

1 In this piece the poet fancies a resemblance between the face of the person whom he addresses and a mosque in which a true believer worships. The *Qiblah* is that part of the horizon, or of a mosque, which is in the direction of the temple of Mekkah towards which the Muslims turn when they say their prayers. The *Miḥrāb* is a niche or recess in the wall of the mosque, and serves to point out the *Qiblah*. Far fetched ideas like his are frequently met within the writings of the Moorish poets.

2 This verse is a mere play upon words; in place of saying simply, *thy youth is gone*, this *fine* writer represents it as prostrated to the ground like a man who prays; so it is now *humbled*, though before full of *haughtiness*; and it has quitted its former state, like a repenting sinner who abandons his former ways.

3 By all the poets of the later school, handsome teeth are said to flash lightning; but lightning is accompanied by clouds, so here the cheeks are shaded or clouded by the growth of the '*idhār*.

4 All those ideas, *with the exception of the 'idhār* are borrowed from the ancient *Arabic classics*; that is to say, from the works of the ante-Islamite poets, which every well educated Arab learned by heart. Later Arabic poetry is often an intentional imitation of these old authors: the thoughts are generally the same, though expressed in a different manner. Such was the taste of Arab critics, who looked on the poems of the ancient Arabs as perfect models in style and ideas: whence the key to all the obscure allusions met with in the Muslim poets must be looked for in the Mu'allaqahs, the poems of 'Imra 'l-Qays, Nābiḡhah, etc.

5 'Abd al-Nār means the *Servant of Light*; Light is one of the ninety-nine names by which God had designated himself in the *Qur'ān*; see *surat xxiv*, *verse 35*, where it said: "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth."

* M. de Slane gives 'Imad-al-Dīn and al-Lazzī, see also No. 718.—*Ed.*

again in the life of Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā Ibn Yunus, has taken hold of this idea and said :

*I took the *'idhar* on the darkened cheeks of that youth for the trench (*which surrounds the tent*), and the moles on his face for the blackened stones of the hearth in the midst of the ruined dwelling. So I stopped to lament (*his youth now passed away : I wept as*) with the eyes of 'Urwa, and sighed as if I were Ghaylan."¹

This Abū Ishāq was born A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058), in the isle of Shuqr (*Xucar*), a dependency of Balansiya (*Valencia*), a city of Spain ; he died on Sunday, 25 Shawwal A. H. 533 (June, A. D. 1139).[†] Shuqr is a village lying between Shāṭiba (*Xativa*) and Valencia ; it is called an isle from its being surrounded by the waters (*of the river which bears the same name*). Andalus is an island² joined to the long land (*or continent*) which reaches to Constantinople the great ; it is called an island because the sea encompasses it on all sides except the northern ; its shape is triangular, the eastern angle being contiguous to the mountain

1 The Arabic poet generally begins his piece by describing the sorrow and regret he feels on arriving, after a long absence and a fatiguing journey at the station where the tribe of his mistress was last encamped, and at which he expected to find her again ; but where nothing now remains except the nearly obliterated ruins of the rustic dwellings. The poet 'Urwa died of a broken heart on hearing that his mistress had married another Ghaylān or Dhu 'l-Rumma excelled in painting the pains of love. His life is given in this work.

2 There is no word in the Arabic language for *peninsula* ; they make use of *jazīrah*, (isle), in its stead.

*According to the original it should be rendered: I took the cheek of the youth with scorpion-like locks falling on the two temples for the trench . . . —Ed.

†That should be 26 Shawwal because the author says "four days remained from the month". It means that full month of 30 days should be reckoned.—Ed.

(*range*) through which the way leads to Ifranja (*France*); did this mountain not exist, the two seas had been united. It is related that the first person who dwelt in that country after the deluge was Andalus, son of Japhet, son of Noah, from whom it took its name.

17. ABŪ IṢḤĀQ AL-KALBĪ AL-GHAZZĪ

Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Uṭhmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī (*belonging to the tribe of Kalb*) al-Ashhabī¹; or according to Ibn al-Najjār in his History of Baḡhdād : Ibrāhīm Ibn ‘Uṭhmān Ibn ‘Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Umar Ibn Abd Allāh al-Ashhabī al-Kalbī al-Ghazzī (*native of Gaza*); this celebrated and talented poet is spoken of in these terms by Ibn ‘Asākir in his history of Damascus : “He came to Damascus in the year 481 (A. D. 1088) and attended the lectures of Naṣr al-Maqdīsī² the juriconsult; he then set out for Baḡhdād and fixed his dwelling in the Niḡāmiya College for many years; there he composed elegies and panegyrics on more than one professor and also on other persons; from thence he travelled to Kḡhurasān and made eulogiums on a number of its princes, and his poetry got into circulation there.” Ibn ‘Asākir then gives a number of his pieces and finishes by speaking

1 Al-Ashhabī means *descended from al-Ashhab*, who was probably one of al-Ghazzī's ancestors.

2 The shaykh Naṣr Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Naṣr al-Maqdīsī (*native of Bayt al-Maqdis or Jerusalem*), an *imām* of great authority and a pillar of Islamism, was equally learned and pious; he composed the following works: the *Tahdhīb*, التمهذيب, the *Maqsad*, المقصد, the *Kafi*, الكافي and a commentary on the *Ishāra* (see Hājji Khalīfah, t. I, no. 765) of Salīm al-Rāzī, etc. He studied Jurisprudence at Sār (Tyre) under Salīm al-Rāzī for four years, and then settled at Damascus, A. H. 480, where he spent his life in the practice of great austerities and mortifications; died in the month of Maḡarram, 490 (January, A. D. 1097), and was buried at Damascus, where his tomb continued to be highly venerated (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘īn. Ṭab-al-Fuqah*).

highly of him*: the volume of his poetical works, selected by himself, contains one thousand verses, according to what he says in his preface. The Kātib 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Kharidah*, and, after praising him says: "He travelled over the provinces and journeyed abroad; he was repeatedly departing and removing; he penetrated far into the regions of K̄hurasān and Kermān, and met with the remarkable men (*of the time*)." Nāṣir† al-Dīn Mukram Ibn al-'Alā, vizīr of Kermān,¹ was celebrated by him in a poem rhyming in *b*, which contains this original idea:

"Of (*evil*) fortune we have borne a load above our strength;
'tis thus the fractured limb bears its bandages."

The same poem contains this pretty thought on a short night:

"It was night over whose face we hoped the 'idhār² would slowly glide, but no sooner had it traced its (*dark*) outline than it turned grey from the presence of morning."

The poem (*from which these verses are taken*) is a long one. The following is a good and well-known piece of his composition:

"'How'! said they, 'you have abandoned poetry?' 'Yes'; through compulsion, I replied; 'the source of my inducements and of my motives (*to it*) is sealed up'.³ The dwellings (*of hospitality*) are deserted; no generous man now lives whose bounty may be hoped for; no fair beauty now exists deserving of love. 'Tis strange that poetry should find no purchaser, and yet be adulterated and stolen though it clog the market."

The following verses, by the same author, are remarkable for the pleasing artifice with which they are worded⁴:

1 The province of Kermān was at that time an independent state governed by Seljūq prince.

2 See note on *lām*, No. 15.

3 Literally: *The door of inducements and motives is locked.*

4 This artifice consists in bringing together words of different significations, but all written and pronounced nearly in the same manner: it is obvious that sense must, in such cases, be frequently sacrificed to sound.

*This is the end of the quotation from Hāfiz.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Naṣr.—*Ed.*

“Biting sarcasms and base submission to a worthless (*guardian*) are two things; which render prohibition bitter (*to the soul*). Reason (*says*): Rather choose wounds from the points of piant (*lances*), than court (*a mistress*) and with those two bitter (*humiliations*).”

By the same :

“The only privilege granted to this vizir in the council-chamber is the right of wagging his beard as a sign of consent. Such a pillar of the state (*wazir*) and supporting nothing is like the waterless sea of prosody.”¹

By the same :

“(The hearts of) men are so dried up, that if they wept, a tear would hardly flow to wet their eyes.* The hand of (*the patron*) whom we praise no longer sheds the dew (*of liberality*), and the forehead of him whom we satirize no longer grows moist (*with shame*).”

This author composed a number of long poems full of original ideas : and the following extract is considered by literary men as a beautiful passage and elegantly turned :

“A mark (*of recognition*) from you will suffice me : the best answer to a salutation, on the morning lovers separate, is made by a rosy finger !²—(*When we met again*) her mantle flew off in her confusion, and the knot which secured her collar of pearls was broken during the darkness : she then smiled so as to illuminate the night, and she gathered up her scattered pearls by the light of her well ranged (*teeth*).”

In this last verse he alludes to the following thought, expressed by the *Sharīf al-Raḍī*† in one of his poems :

1 In the Arabic system of prosody, the different metres are called seas.

2 The word *عنيم*, ‘*Anam*, here translated by *rosy finger*, is the name of a long and reddish fruit which grows in Hijāz; the poets compare their mistress’s taper fingers, when dyed with *hinna*, to this fruit. (See de Sacy’s *Chrestomathie*, t. II, p. 416; and Freytag’s *Hamāsah*, p. 288.)

* Arabic *جفون* is the plural of *جفن* which means eyelid.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *al-Riḷa* : for his life, see Ibn Khallikān, No. 639.—*Ed.*

“During that night, the lustre of her (*smiling*) teeth lighted up, amidst the gloom of darkness, the spot on which to impress my kisses.”

A poet of Baghdād has come near the above idea in a *Mawālyā*,¹ composed according to their usual system of either omitting the final vowels or placing them at random :

“I held Layla in my arms with a wild embrace, and said :
A propitious star has risen upon my fortune. She smiled, and
the hidden pearls shone forth ; the night seemed day ; and the
jealous spies awoke.”²

The original source of this idea is in one of the following verses composed by Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Qaynī :

“I spring from a race of which alone the men are men !
when one of its princes dies, another like him arises. So shift
the stars of heaven ; when one sets, another appears, followed
by others. * (*The brightness of*) their glory and their faces lighted
up the night, so that the artisan could string the pearls he drilled.”

This last verse is said to be the most laudatory of any made in the Times of Ignorance :³ it is also said to be the most lying. (*The next verse after it is*) :

“Wherever they were, they always had a noble chief : wherever his squadrons went, there also went Death.”

The author of these verses, Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān Ḥanzalah† Ibn as-Sharqī⁴ was one of the poets who lived in the Times of Ignorance—Ghazzī was born A. H. 441 (A. D. 1049) in the town of

1 In the *Arabische Verskunst* by Professor Freytag, some notice is taken of the songs called *Mawālyā*; the derivation of this name is given by the Baron von Hammer in the *Journal Asiatique* for August, 1839.

2 The mistress of the Arabic poet is generally represented as closely guarded, so that lovers' meetings could only take place by stealth.

3 *The Times of Ignorance*: a term used by the Muslims to denote all that period of Arabic history anterior to the preaching of Muḥammad.

4 A fragment of a poem by Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān will be found, along with his genealogy, in the *Ḥamasa*, p. 558.

* The translation of one verse, which repeats as the third of these verses, is omitted.—*Ed.*

† The name of Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān is given differently. Al-Āmidī in his book *al-Mutalaf wa'l Muḥtalaḥ* الموقلاف والمختلف, gives another name Rabi'ah b. Kinānah b. al-Qayn b. Jasn.—*Ed.*

Ghazzah (*Gaza*) (where Hāshim, grandfather to Muhammad, was buried) ; and died A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130), in Khurasān (*on the road*) between Marw and Balkh ; to which latter place he was carried, and there he was interred. It is related of him that he said on the approach of death : “I hope God will pardon me for three reasons : I am from the same town as al-Shāfi‘ī ; I am an old man, and am far from my family.” May God be merciful to him and justify his hope ! As it is possible this book may fall into the hands of some person living far off from our country, and who, not knowing where Gaza is situated, may desire information on that subject ; I shall state that Gaza is a town* in the dependencies of Palestine and situated on the Syrian Sea (*or Mediterranean*) near Askalan (*Ascalon*) ; it is the first Syrian town met with on passing the frontier of Egypt, and is one of those caravan stations which the Qur‘ān makes mention of in these terms : *the caravan station of winter and of summer* (sur. CVI, verse 2) where all the commentators agree in explaining the winter† station by the country of Yemen, and the summer station by Syria ; for the Qurayshites, in their commercial expeditions, went to Syria in summer on account of the healthiness of the country in that season ; and they travelled to Yemen in winter because it is a hot country to which it is impossible to go in summer. Ibn Hishām says towards the beginning of his *Sirat al-Rasūl* :¹ “The first who established for the Quraysh the caravan stations of winter and summer was Hāshim, grandfather to the blessed Prophet :” a little farther on he writes : “Ibn Ishāq says : ‘Then Hāshim, son of ‘Abd Munāf, died at Gaza in the land of Palestine on a commercial expedition :’”

1 The *Sirat al-Rasūl*, or History of the Prophet Muhammad, was drawn up by ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām from documents collected by Muhammad Ibn Ishāq : lives of both these writers are given by Ibn Khallikān. The passages here cited are to be found in the MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 629, f. 20, 21.

* Small town or village.—*Ed.*

† According to the autograph order should be changed: summer station precedes winter station.—*Ed.*

and a little farther on : “Maṭrūd Ibn Ka‘ab al-K̲luzā‘ī said in an elegy on the descendants of ‘Abd Munāf”—he then gives a poem in which is this verse :

“And Hāshim (*is*) in a grave over which the winds sweep (*the sand*), in the midst of the desert between the Gazas.”

On which he makes this observation : “Those skilled in etymology say that *the Gazas* mean here Gaza alone ; it would seem that the poet had given to each part of the town the name of the whole town, from his putting Gaza in the plural number.”¹ This place was known from that time by the name of the Gaza of Hāshim, for his grave is there, though not apparent or known : and on passing through the town, I could obtain no information from the inhabitants respecting it. When the celebrated poet Abu Nuwās went from Baḡhdād to Old Cairo with the intention of reciting to al-K̲haṣīb Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd,² president of the land-tan office at Old Cairo, a poem made by him in his praise, he inserted in it the names of the different places he stopped at on the way ; one of the verses is :

“These (*women*) went with the caravan towards the *Gaza of Hāshim* and serious business (*shakār*) awaited them at al-Farama.”

There are two words here which require explanation : al-Faramā (*Farma*) is the name of the great city which was capital of Egypt in the time of the patriarch Abraham ; and Hājir (*Hogar*), mother of Ismā‘īl, was from *Umm al-Arab* (*mother of the Arabs*), a village in its dependencies : al-Faramā is that well-known station on the right-hand* of the traveller going from Egypt to Syria by

1 The Arabian commentators always endeavour to give grammatical explanations for every irregularity; we have here an example of it; the true reason of this poet’s writing—*Ghazzat* for *Ghazza* was the necessity he was under of making all the verses of his poem rhyme in ات.

2 Ibn Khallikān, in different parts of his work, furnishes information about al-K̲haṣīb.

* يسار means left hand.—Ed.

the shore way : it is situated on the edge of the desert lying between Saih¹ and Quṣayr (*on the Red Sea*): when I saw it, it was in ruins, nothing remaining but its vestiges ; it was situated on a high hill. The Arabs are unanimous in considering Ismā'īl to be their progenitor, and in believing that his mother was a native of Umm al-'Arab, the village above mentioned. The second word to be explained is *shukūr*, it signifies *things taken to heart and causing serious reflections* ; the singular is *shaqr*.

18. IBN QURQŪL

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Badīs Ibn al-Qā'id al-Ḥamzī, generally known by the name of Ibn Qurqūl, author of the work called *Maṭāli' 'l-Anwār* (*Rising of the Lights*), which he composed on the plan of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* by the Qā'ī 'Iyād ; he was a man of talent and had studied in Spain under a number of learned professors : such is the only information I have been able to procure respecting him. He was born in the month of Ṣafar. A. H. 505 (A. D. 1111) at al-Mariya (*Almeria*), a town in Spain, and died at Fez early on Friday evening, 6 Shawwāl 569 (May, A. D. 1174)* after having been to public prayers in the mosque. When his death drew near, he began repeating frequently and quickly the *surat* of the *Qur'ān* entitled *Ikhilās*² ; he then made the profession of faith thrice, and falling prostrate in adoration, was dead on touching the ground.—*Al-Mariya* is a large seaport city in Spain. *Fez* is a great city in Maghreb, near Ceuta : *al-Ḥamzī* means belonging to Ḥamzat

1 The canton named al-Saiḥ is situated near 'Abbāsa; which city, according to Abu 'l-Fida in his *Geography*, lay at a day's journey to the north of Bilbais. In the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* by Maqrīzi, and the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, we find this name written *sāniḥ* سائح in place of *Saiḥ* سائح.

2 The *surat* entitled *Ikhilās* (*sincere resignation*) is also called the Tawḥīd, or Declaration of God's Unity; it is the one hundred and twelfth chapter of the *Qur'ān*, and contains only four short verses; a tradition of Muḥammad has declared its recitation three times to be equivalent to that of the entire *Qur'ān*.

*10 May.—Ed.

Āshir, a village in North Africa lying between Bijāyah (*Bugia*) and Qal'ah Banī Hammād; so I have been informed by a number of natives of that country: 'Āshir shall be again spoken of in the life of Ziri Ibn Manād.¹

19. THE IMĀM AḤMAD IBN ḤANBAL

The imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad al-Shaybānī al-Marwazī (*descended from the tribe of Shaybān and native of Marw*) was the son of Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal Ibn Hilāl Ibn Asad Ibn Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥayyān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ans Ibn 'Auf Ibn Qāsiṭ Ibn Māzin Ibn Shaybān Ibn Dhuhl Ibn Tha'labah Ibn 'Ukabah Ibn Ṣa'b Ibn 'Alī Ibn Bakr Ibn Wā'il Ibn Qāsiṭ Ibn Hinb Ibn Afṣā² Ibn Du'ma Ibn Jadīlah Ibn Asad Ibn Rabīah Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān; this is his correct genealogy, though some make him descend from Māzin Ibn Dhuhl Ibn Shaybān Ibn Tha'labah Ibn 'Ukabah, which however is a mistake, for it must be observed that he came from Shaybān Ibn Dhuhl and not from Dhuhl Ibn Shaybān, whose paternal uncle was the Dhuhl Ibn Tha'labah above mentioned. His mother left the city of Marw during her pregnancy, and brought him forth at Baghdād in the month of the First Rabī' A. H. 164 (A. D. 780); but some say he was born at Marw and was a child at the breast when brought to Baghdād. Ibn Ḥanbal was a traditionist of the first class, and composed a *Musnad** or collection of authenticated traditions more copious than those any other person had till then been able to form; it is said that he knew by heart one million† of these traditions. He had been a pupil and a favourite of al-Shāfi'ī, and continued constantly with him until that imām set out for Egypt: al-Shāfi'ī in speaking of him said: "I went forth from Baghdād

¹ In the life of Ziri, the author merely refers back to what he says here; Abu 'l-Fida, in his Geographical work (see Arabic text, p. 124), mentions Āsir as a fort in the province of Bugia.

² In the manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān this name is written *Aqsa* but it appears from the *Ansīb al-'Arab* and Uṭhmānī's *Ṭabaqāt* (No. 755, f. 46) that the right orthography is *Afṣa*.‡

* M. de Slane's pronunciation is *Masnad*.—*Ed.*

† *Musnad* contains 30,000 traditions.

‡ In the autograph and in all printed editions it is *Afṣa*.—*Ed.*

and left not behind me a more pious man or a better jurisconsult than Ibn Ḥanbal." In the year 220 (A. D. 835), sometime between the 20 and 30 Ramaḍān, he was required to declare that the *Qur'ān* was created,¹ but would not, and although beaten and imprisoned, persisted in his refusal. He was a handsome man of middle size, having his hair dyed of a light red colour with *ḥinna*,² and a few black hairs appearing in his (*white*) beard. He taught traditions to a number of eminent doctors, among whom were Muḥammad al-Bukhārī and Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysāpūrī; and in the latter part of his life he had not his equal for learning and piety³: he died at Baghdād, A. H. 241 (A. D. 855), on Friday* morning at sunrise, the 12 of the First Rabī'; others say the 17, and some place his death in the Second Rabī'; he was buried in the cemetery without the Gate of Ḥarb, which is so called after Ḥarb Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a companion of the Khalif Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr's, from whom also the street called al-Ḥarbiyah took its name. The tomb of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal is a well-known object in that burying-ground, and is visited (*by pious persons*). It was estimated that the number of men present at his funeral was eight hundred thousand, and of women sixty thousand; and it is said that twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians became Muslims on the day of his death. Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī writes in the 46th chapter of the work in which he treats of the history of Bishr al-Ḥafī: "Ibrahim al-

1 The eternity of the *Qur'ān*, considered as the word of God, is the orthodox Muslim doctrine.

2 The ancient Arabs dyed their hair and beard red with the leaves of the plant called *ḥinna* (*lawsonia inermis*); Muḥammad recommended his followers to adopt this custom, so that they might not be mistaken for Christians or Jews, who, as he says, never colour their hair. (See *Mishkāt-al-Maṣ bih*, t. II, p. 359 *et seq.*)

3 The author betrays here his partiality towards the founder of his sect, al-Ṣhafi'ī who died about forty years before Ibn Ḥanbal.

* Friday 30 August corresponded to 12 of Second Rabī' while the 12 of First Rabī' fell on Wednesday 31 July and the 17 fell on Monday 5 August.—*Ed.*

Ḥarbī¹ relates as follows: I saw in a dream Bishr al-Ḥāfī, who seemed to come out of the Mosque of Ruṣāfah² bearing something in his sleeve which swung about, and I said: 'What hath God done with thee?' he replied: 'He hath pardoned me and honoured me.' And I said: 'What is that in thy sleeve?' he replied: 'Yesterday the soul of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal came unto us and pearls and rubies were scattered over it, and these are some I picked up.' I said: 'What were Yahya Ibn Mu'īn and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal doing?' He answered: 'They were gone to visit the Lord of all created things, and the table was laid out for them'. I said: 'Why didst thou not eat with them?' He replied: 'He (*the Lord*) knew that I had to abstain from eating, so he allowed me to look on his sacred face.'³ In the genealogy of Ibn Ḥanbal, Ḥayān is written with a double *Ya*; the names of his other ancestors are sufficiently known and common, for which reason I need not fix their orthography, which I should do however, did I not apprehend being prolix.⁴

1 Abu Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Bashīr al-Ḥarbi was *ḥafīz* of great reputation, a learned traditionist and had studied jurisprudence under Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal; he wrote a number of works, and was equally holy in practice and precept. Died at Baghdad, A. H. 285 (A. D. 898), aged 87 years. (*Yafi'i Muḥtasar Tarikh al-Khaṭīb*, MS. belonging to the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 634, fol. 62.

2 Ruṣāfa is the name of a quarter of Baghdad situated, according to Abu 'l-Fida in his Geography, on the east bank of the Tigris.

3 The Muslims are taught to believe that those dreams are true in which a holy man, a prophet, or the Divinity himself is seen; they are authorised there to by the *Sunnah*. See *Mishkāt-al-Masābih*. t. II, p. 338; Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, and a note on the life of Ibn Nubāta in the *Journal Asiatique* for January 1839.

4 The imperfections of the Arabic alphabet are well known; a single point omitted, added, or displaced may cause one letter to be taken for another and there are no less than sixteen of the Arabic letters which are pointed; the vowels are also omitted in the MSS.; this increases the difficulties of the reader; and authors are obliged to write out in full the spelling of the word or name which they wish to preserve from being altered by copyists.

I have seen some differences in the statement of his genealogy, but the series I give is the most exact of any I have met with. He had two sons, both men of learning; their names were Sāliḥ and 'Abd Allāh; Sāliḥ was *qādi* of Ispahān and died there at an early age in the month of Ramaḍān 266 (A. D. 880). He was born in 203 (A. D. 818); his brother 'Abd Allāh lived till the year 290 (A. D. 903), and died at the age of seventy-seven years, on Sunday 22 of the First Jumāda,* some say the Second; he was surnamed Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and it was after him that the imām Aḥmad was called Abī 'Abd Allāh (*Father of 'Abd Allāh*).

20. IBN SURAYJ

Abū 'I-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Surayj, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī is spoken of in these terms by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī in his *Ṭabaqāt*¹: "He was one of the great Shafite doctors and Muslim imāms, and was surnamed *The Bright Fire*†; he filled the post of *qādi* at Shīrāz and surpassed in talent all al-Shāfi'ī pupils even at Muzan'ī himself; the catalogue of his works contains four hundred articles. He was an active defender of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī and refuted its adversaries; he wrote also observations on the works of Muḥammad Ibn

¹ Ibn *qādi* Shuhba and Hājji Khalifah call this work, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqaha* (*classes of jurisconsults*): that is, Biographical notices of celebrated jurisconsults, classified in a particular order. It would appear from an observation made by al-'Uḥmīnī in his *Ṭabaqāt* (*fol. 111, verso*), when speaking of Abū Sa'id Muḥammad al-Naysāpuri, that in the work of Abū Ishāq of al-Shīrāzī, the lives of the doctors are arranged according to the degree of merit and learning of each individual.

*24 April.—*Ed.*

†In the original الباز meaning hawk, M. de Slane has read it probably النار with dot above and so rendered it as *fire*.—*Ed.*

‡ The word in original is فرع which means deduced problems from the fundamental principles, profounded in the books of Moḥammad.—*Ed.*

al-Ḥasan al-Ḥanafī. The shaikh Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'inī said of him : 'In our knowledge of the plain points of jurisprudence we keep pace with Abu 'l-Abbās, but he surpasses us in the niceties of that science. He studied the law under Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Anmā'ī, and some of his pupils became the first doctors among the Muslims : through his medium al-Shāfi'ī's doctrines were spread into many countries.' He had frequent discussions with Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Dā'ūd al-Zāhirī, who is related to have said to him once (*in the course of an argument*) : "Give me time to swallow my saliva (*and I will answer you*) ;" to which the other replied : "You might swallow the river Tigris (*before you answer me*)!" Another time Abū Bakr said to him : "Give me a moment (*to answer*) ;" and his adversary retorted : "I will give you to the end of time¹ (*before you do it*)." Another day Abū Bakr made him this remark : "I speak to you concerning the foot, and you answer me concerning the head ;" to which Ibn Surayj retorted ; "It is so with the ox, when its hoof is sore, they grease its horns."² It was said to him in speaking of the age in which he lived : "God raised up 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz at the beginning of the first century after the Hijrah, that he might manifest orthodoxy and destroy innovation ; then God in his bounty placed at the opening of the next century the imam al-Shāfi'ī, that he might manifest orthodoxy and force innovation to lie hid ; and God graciously conferred thee on the beginning of the following century, that thou mightest strengthen orthodoxy and weaken innovation." Along with his other talents, Ibn Surayj possessed that of composing

1 Literally: till the hour (of Final Judgement) comes.

2 This answer of Ibn Surayj means in other terms: "Though what I said to you appears quite irrelevant to your question, it is notwithstanding precise and well applied, but you have not the sense to perceive it: you are like the ox who knows not that the greasing of its horns will cure the soreness of its hoofs, which is nevertheless the fact." In comparing his adversary to an ox, he treats him as a heavy and stupid fellow: the 'Arabs call such a person *baqr* (ox)—See M. Humbert's *Anthologie Arabe*, page 183.

good poetry ; he died at Baghdād the 25 of the First Jumāda 306 (A. D. 918)* ; others say Monday† 25 of the First Rabi' ; he was buried in the court of his house at the *Suwajjat Ghālib* (*Ghālib's Small Bazaar*) which is on the west bank of the Tigris, near the suburb of al-Karkh ; he was aged 57 years and six months. His tomb is still conspicuous in that spot and is visited by devotees : no other edifice or tomb near it has remained, and there it stands alone. His grandfather Surayj was celebrated for the extreme sanctity of his life‡ : I have read in some book that he was a Persian without any knowledge of Arabic, and that he had a vision,¹ in which he saw and conversed with the Creator, who, in ending, said to him : “*Ya Surayj ! talab kun,*” to which he answered : “*Ya Khuda ! ser bi-ser :*” these words, which were repeated three times, are Persian, and mean : O Surayj ! seek. O Lord ! head with head, which is as much as if he had said : I am contented to attain salvation head with head.² I have since found in the History of Baghdād that he who had this vision was called Surayj Ibn Yānus Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Hārith al-Marwazī ; he was a devout and self-denying man, possessing supernatural gifts : died at Baghdād in the month of the First Rabi' 235 (A. D. 849).³ I also saw in a dream a book containing traditions traced up to Surayj through an unbroken series of

1 See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

2 *Head with head; that is: without obtaining pre-eminence over others.* This metaphor is taken from horse-racing. See also Reiske's note in Abu 'l-Fidā's *Annals*, t. I, p. 330.

3 Ibn Khallikān appears here to have some doubts respecting the identity of this Surayj with Surayj, grandfather to Abu 'l-'Abbās; Yāfi'i, however says, in his *Annals*, that he was so. (See *Mira'āt al-Janān*, No. 637, f. 187.

*5 November.—*Ed.*

†Monday fell on 7 September which date corresponds to 27 of First Rabi' according to Fatmi calendar.—*Ed.*

‡This story is also given in Sam'ānī's *Ansāb*.—*Ed.*

sound authorities.¹ As for the first anecdote, I heard it from one of our holy shaykhs.

21. IBN AL-QĀSS AL-ṬABARĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Abī Aḥmad, better known by the name of Ibn al-Qāṣṣ al-Ṭabarī, was a doctor of the sect of al-Sahāfi'ī and a native of Ṭabarestān, where he was esteemed the highest authority of the time in religious matters. After learning jurisprudence from Ibn Surayj (whose life has been just given), he composed a great number of works, among others: the Ṭalkhīṣ (Abridgement)² the Guide for Qādīs, the Mawāqīt, the Miftāh,³ etc. The Ṭalkhīṣ has been commented by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khātān and the shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Sinji⁴; it is a little book, and is cited by the Imām (al-Ḥaramayn) in different parts of his *Nihāyah* and also by al-Ghazzālī: all the works of Ibn al-Qāṣṣ are short but very instructive. He often addressed pious exhortations to the people, and having come, in one of his journeys, to Ṭarsūs (where it is said he acted as *qāḍī*), an assembly met to hear him preach, and he was there seized with such compunction and terror at the thoughts of God's majesty, that he swooned away and died A. H. 335 or 336 (A. D. 946-7). His father was called al-Qāṣṣ (*the Narrator*), because he used to relate (*qisṣā*) histories

1 It has been already said that dreams in which holy men appear are considered by the Muslims as true, see No. 19, note on *dreams*; here then is a proof that Surayj was a traditionist of unquestioned authority, since the series spoken of goes no farther than him. He was therefore an *imām of traditions*; a holy character in the eyes of the Muslims; he must also have obtained eternal happiness, or Ibn Khallikān would not have seen him with so sacred a book in his hand as a Collection of Traditions; for such is the conclusion which our author wishes to be drawn from his dream.

2 This work is a treatise on the secondary points of jurisprudence; see Flügel's *Hājji Khalīfah*, No. 3543.

3 Hājji *Khalīfah* mentions the *Mawāqīt* (*the prescribed time*) without giving any information as to its contents; the *Miftāh*, or key to the legal doctrines of the *Shāfi'ite* sect is also mentioned by him.

4 In the Arabic text this name is incorrectly printed *al-Shinji*.

and anecdotes.¹—*Ṭāberestān* is an extensive province in Persia adjacent to *Khurāsān*; it has two capitals, *Saria*² and *'Āmul*, and is well defended by fortresses and defiles. *Ṭarsūs* is a city on the frontiers of *Rūmiyah* (*Asia Minor*) near the towns of *al-Maṣṣiṣa* (*the ancient Mopsuestia*) and *Adhana*; *al-Mamān*, son of *Hārūn al-Raṣhīd*, was interred there: this place is spoken of in the *Muḥadḥ Ḥab* and the *Wasīt*³ in the chapter of *waqfs*.⁴

22. ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-MARWARRŪDHĪ

Al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Bisḥr Ibn Ḥāmid al-Marwarrādī, doctor of the sect of *al-Shafi'i*, studied jurisprudence under *Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī*; he composed the work called the *Jāmī*, a collection of doctrines special to his sect; a commentary on the *Muḥtaṣar* by *al-Muzānī*, and a treatise on the principles of jurisprudence. This doctor, who was an *imām* of surpassing

1 In the early ages of Islamism, the narrator of histories was a person highly respected; at time few historical works had been composed, and it was from these persons alone that information could be obtained; they always began each of their relation by a statement of the persons through whom it was successively handed down, and they were particularly careful not to change or suppress a single word in those ancient traditions; it was with such document that *al-Ṭabari* composed his celebrated history, merely arranging them in chronological order.

2 This appears to be the same city which is now called *Seri*; *Abū 'I-Fida* places it in *Mazenderan*.

3 The *Muḥadḥ Ḥab* was written by *Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī*; and the *Wasīt* by *Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī*.

4 The term *waqf*, in the Muhammadan law, designates any sort of property conceded in perpetuity to religious establishment; many pious Muslims willed their estates to the support of strong places on the enemy's borders, war with infidels being religious duty; *Tarsūs* must therefore have possessed much property of this kind, on account of its importance as a frontier city, and it is probably for this reason that it is spoken of in the treatise of *Waqfs*.

merit,¹ settled at Baṣrah, where he gave public lessons and had among his auditors the juriseconsults of that city. Abu 'l-Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī² said of him. "I heard Abu Ḥāmid al-Marwarrudī say: 'No man should be flattered on account of his extraction, neither should he be blamed: for the tall man is not praised for his stature, nor the ugly man blamed for his ill-favouredness.'" Died A. H. 362 (A. D. 972-3). *Marwarrudī* means *native of Marwarrud*, a well-known city in Khurāsān, built on a river, in Persian *ar-Rud*, and situated at forty parasangs from Marw al-Shāhjan; these are the *two Marws* so frequently mentioned by poets: the word *Shāhjan* is added to the name of the larger one, from which also is derived the relative adjective *Marwazi*; the word *rūd* (*river*) is joined to that of the other city in order to distinguish between them: Marwarrud has for relative adjective *Marwarrudī*, and *Marwazi* also according to al-Samrānī: it was one of the cities taken by al-Aḥnāf Ibn Qays, and mention shall be made of it in his life³; he had been sent against it at the head of the vanguard

1 Literally, *whose dust was not split or entered into*; a strange expression but frequently made use of by writers who affect elegance of style; the poet Nābiḡha al-Ḍhubayānī seems to have been the first who imagined it, and it is still found in one of his poems: Yūsuf al-Ḥantmarī, author of an excellent commentary on the *six poets* (see the *Diwān d' Amro 'l-Kais*, introduction), gives the following explanation of its meaning: "Thou hast not split my dust, that is: I have surpassed thee, and the distance between us is so wide, that thou hast not come up with me or *split my dust*; this expression originated in speaking of a good race-horse which passed the others and got clear of them, so that they could not enter into the dust he raised."

2 Abu 'l-Hayyān 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās al-Tawḥīdī, native of Baḥdād, was ḡhayḡh or superior of the Sāfis, whose doctrines he treated of in the *Treasures* (*Dḥekhīr*), and other works. In the life of Ibn al-Umayd Muḥammad by Ibn Khallikān, will be found more particulars respecting him; see also *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiyīn*, fol. 21, verso.

3 In the life of al-Aḥnāf the author says little or nothing about these cities, and scarcely any information on the subject is to be found in al-Mākin or Abu 'l-Fida; the following details may not therefore be uninteresting. In the thirtieth year of the Hījra (A. D. 650-1), Tabarestan was conquered by the Muslims under the orders of Sa'īd Ibn al-Āas, and 'Abd Allāh

(Continued on page 106)

by 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Āmir, general of the army. *Shihjān* means the *king's soul*: my reason for making these long observations is to prevent these places from being taken one for the other.

23. IBN AL-QAṬṬĀN

Abu 'l-Husayn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, generally known by the name of *Ibn al-Qaṭṭān*, was a native of Baghdād and a leading doctor in the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. He learned jurisprudence under Ibn Surayj and, after him, under Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī : he then professed at Baghdād, and men of learning gained information at his lectures ; he wrote besides a great

(Continued from page 105)

Ibn Āmir Ibn Kariz (کریز) subdued Fāras, Sejestan and Khurāsān. The people of Herāt offered some resistance, but were defeated; the cities of Naysāpur and Saraḥs (سرخس) surrendered peaceably, and Marw also obtained peace on condition of paying two million of dirhems every year. Al-Aḥnāf Ibn Qays was then sent by 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Āmir into Tukhārestan at the head of four thousand horses, and defeated the forces of that country, though seconded by those of Jawzajān and other districts; he then, with four hundred thousand (?) men, laid seige to the city of Balkh, and endeavoured to penetrate into Khwarezm, but without success. 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Āmir then set out from Naysāpur to perform the pilgrimage to Mekkah, leaving as his lieutenant in Khurāsān al-Aḥnāf, who defeated the united forces of that country. 'Abd Allāh, on his return from Mekkah, went to Baṣrah, where he fixed his residence, while his lieutenants governed Khurāsān, Sejestān, and Persian Irāq (الجبال). The quantity of tribute received by the Khalif 'Uṭmān was so great that it became necessary to form a number of large treasuries at Medinah on purpose to contain it. It is said that the treasures of Khusrōes taken by the Muslims amounted to one hundred thousand *badrahs* of gold; each *badrah* (بدراہ) containing four thousand pieces. (*Tārīkh al-Khams*, Arabic MS. of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 635, fol. 345.

number of works, and the students of that time all travelled to 'Irāq that they might be instructed by him or by Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Dāraki ; when al-Dāraki died, Ibn al-Qaṭṭān became chief of the Shafite sect (*in that country*). Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī mentions him in his *Ṭabaqāt* and says that he died A. H. 359 (A. D. 970), to which the Khatīb (*Abu Bakr Ahmad al-Baghdādī*) adds : "In the month of the First Jumada" : he was one of the chief Shafite doctors, and composed works on the principles of Jurisprudence and its secondary points.* (*Ibn al-Jawzī*) author of the *Shuḥūr al-uqūd* says that Baghdād (*the native place of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān*) was built in the year 146 (A. D. 763).

24 AL-ṬAḤĀWĪ

Abū Ja'far Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Salāma Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al Azdi al-Ṭaḥāwī was a doctor of the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah and became head of the Hanifites in Egypt. He had been a follower of al-Shāfi'ī's sect, and taken lessons from al-Muzani, who said to him one day : "By God ! no good will ever come of you." Provoked by this remark, al-Ṭaḥāwī passed over to Abū Ja'far Ibn Abī 'Imrān the Hanefite¹ and studied under him : he said afterwards, on composing his *Muḥtaṣar* or Compendium of Jurisprudence : "God be merciful to Abū Ibrāhīm !" (meaning al-Muzanī),

¹ The ḥāfiẓ Abū Ja'far Ahmad Ibn Abī 'Imrān, native of Baghdād, was an *imām* of high authority in the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah. He was a man of solid learning and composed a work, entitled *al-Ḥijaj* (الحجج); he filled the place of *qaḍī* in Egypt, and lost his sight in that country. Died A. H. 280 (A. D. 893) (*Ṭab. al-Hanafiyin*, fol. 110, verso.)

* *فروع* literally means branches ; in jurisprudence it means deductions.—Ed.

“were he living, he should have to expiate his oath.”¹ Abū Ya‘la al-Khalīlī says, in his *Irshād*², in the life of al-Muzanī : Al-Tahawī was sister’s son to al-Muzanī ; and Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Shurāṭī relates having asked him why he differed in opinion from his uncle, and preferred Abū Hanīfa’s doctrine? to which al-Ṭahāwī replied : ‘Because I saw my uncle pore over the works of Abū Hanīfa.’ This doctor wrote a number of instructive books, such as the *Aḥkām al-Qur‘ān*,³ *Iḥtilāf al-‘Ulama* (*Points of doctrine on which the learned differ*), *Ma‘āni ‘l-Ā:h̄w* (*The obscure ideas and allusions in the Traditions*), the *Shurūt* (*Treatise on drawing up bonds*), a great historical work, etc. Al-Qudā‘ī in his *Kh̄ṭab* speaks of him in these terms : “In his youth he met with al-Muzanī and most of the doctors contemporary with him, and became remarkably skilled in drawing up bonds.”⁴ The qāḍī Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abda⁵

1 Al-Muzanī had sworn by God, but his oath proved false, he should therefore have explained his perjury had he lived. This expiation consists in granting freedom to a slave, or in once feeding or clothing ten paupers; if the person guilty of this crime have not the means of fulfilling either of the above conditions, he is only obliged to fast for three days.—(D’Ohsson’s *Tableau de l’Empire Othoman*, t. IV, p. 286.)

2 This work is spoken of by Ḥajjī Khalīfa; see Flügel’s edition, No. 520. The author, Abū Ya‘lā Khalīl Ibn ‘Abd Allāh, was a native of Qazwin. He died A. H. 446 (A. D. 1054), and was considered a traditionist of the first authority. (Yāfi’s *Annals*.)

3 See note on *امكام*, No. 2.

4 In Arabic *Shurūt* (*conditions*), the name given to that branch of jurisprudence which treats of drawing up legal acts and bonds in proper form. (See Ḥajjī Khalīfa.)

5 Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abda al-‘Abbādānī, doctor of the Hanefite sect, born at Baṣrah, A. H. 218 (A. D. 833); he studied under a number of celebrated masters, and then went to Egypt, where he was appointed *Inspector of Wrongs* (see de Sacy’s *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 132), and was afterwards nominated *qāḍī*, in the year 278, by Khumarawayh, son of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭaulān. He was a generous patron of men of learning, and always ready to oblige those who applied to him. During the troubles which ensued in Egypt on the death of Jāish, son of Khumarawayh, Ibn ‘Abda was obliged to lie concealed for a considerable period ; he was restored to the place of *qāḍī*, A. H. 292, but he quitted it soon after and retired to ‘Irāq, where he died, A. H. 312 (A. D. 924), aged 95 years. (Al-Asqalānī’s *History of the Qādis of Egypt*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 691.)

took him for secretary ; he was then in a destitute condition, but was enriched by the kindness of Abū 'Ubayd, who was a very generous man. Then the qāḍī Abū 'Ubayd 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ḥarb¹ appointed him scrivener² after the circumstance which occurred between Manṣūr the doctor and himself³ ; this was in the year 306 (A. D. 918). The public notaries were averse through jealousy to his being nominated scrivener, as they did not wish the same person to be both chief juriconsult⁴ and receiver of attestations ; but a number of them having gone that year to Mekkah to sojourn there some time from religious motives, Abū 'Ubayd took advantage of their absence and nominated Abū Ja'far on the attestations of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Māman and Abū Bakr Ibn Saqlāb."⁵ Al-Ṭahāwī was born in 238 (A. D. 852), or 229 (A. D. 843), according to Abū Sa'd al-Samāni, who is here right ; another author adds that his birth was on Sunday* eve, 11 of the First Rabi' ; he died at Old Cairo on Thursday 1st of Dhu 'l-Qa'ada 321 (A. D. 933),† and was buried in the

1 'Alī Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ḥarb, surnamed Ibn Harbawayh, was a doctor of the sect of al-Ṣhāfi'i and native of Baḡhdād. In A. H. 293 he went to Egypt and replaced Ibn 'Abda as qāḍī; he was afterwards deposed in the year 311, and died at Baḡhdād in 319 (A. D. 931). (Al-Asqalāni, Al-'Uṭhmāni.)

2 In Arabic, *Adl* ; see what Ibn Khaldūn says of the duties of this public officer, in de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 40 ; consult also Von Hammer's *Landverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, p. 103.

3 This occurrence is again spoken of in the life of Manṣūr; it was a quarrel between the two doctors.

4 The juriconsults called the law *the science*, to indicate its high importance; for the same reason, the chief juriconsult is called the *chief of the science*, which is the name given him here.

5 Those persons were probably notaries also.

*Sunday 29 August was 8 Rabi' and in 239 Sunday fell on 11 Rabi' corresponding to 20 August.—*Ed.*

†23 October.—*Ed.*

Qarāfa¹ where his tomb is still remarked. In the life of the doctor Maṣṣar Ibn Ismā'il al-Darīr, mention is again made of him, so the reader is referred to it. His father died A. H. 264 (A. D. 877-8). *Ṭahāwi* means *native of Ṭahā*, which is a town in Upper Egypt (*Ṣayd*) *Azdi*: signifies *sprung from Azd*, a great and renowned tribe in Yemen.

25. ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-ISFARĀ'INĪ

The *shaykh* Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Isfār'inī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, became Imām and professor,² at Baghdād, where his lectures were attended by more than three hundred students in jurisprudence: (*the subject of his lessons was*) the *Muḥtaṣar* by al-Muzanī, which he explained with additional observations of his own; and (*by his successful*

1 There were two-cemeteries at Old Cairo, called the Greater and the Lesser Qarāfa: al-Maqrizī, in his *Khīṭa*, describes them both and gives copious information respecting the tombs, chapels, mosques, and Muslim convents with which they were filled. See also M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 238.

2 The expression *رياسته الدنيا والدين* *chieftainship of the world and of the religion* is so obscure, that its signification can only be found by comparing the different passages in which it occurs. Its real meaning, deduced from an examination of six passages, appears to be that given here; namely *the places of imām and chief professor*: for it is to be observed that all the persons, to whom this title is applied, were great *imāms* and famous professors, and nothing more. In 'al-Uthmānī's *Ṭabaqāt* we find that Muḥammad al-Salāki became the *imām of the world* in jurisprudence, exegesis, polite literature, philology, grammar, poetry, and scholastic divinity: the same author says of Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī, that he succeeded to the place of *رياسته العلم*, *chieftainship of science*, or head-professorship, and that he filled the land with his pupils. These two passages, selected from many others, appear decisive as to the sense of *رياسته الدنيا*, *chieftainship of the world*. The *chieftainship of the religion* indicates, most probably, the place of the chief *imām*.

instruction) he filled the earth with partisans (*of al-Shāfi'i's opinions*). He explained the doctrines of his sect in two works, the Great and the Small *Ta'liqa*¹; another short work of his, the *Bustān* or Garden, consists of singular anecdotes. He learned jurisprudence from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Marzubān and then from Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Dārakī; contemporaries all acknowledged his superior merit and discriminating judgment; and the *Khatīb* (*Abū Bakr Ahmad*) speaks of him, in his History of Baghdad, in these terms: "Abu Ḥāmid taught a small portion of traditions, which he himself had learned from Abū Allāh Ibn 'Adī, Abū Bakr al-Isma'īlī, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdal al-Isfara'inī and others; (*as a traditionist*) he is a sure authority. I saw him more than once and was present at his lectures in the mosque of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak which lies at the upper end of the *Grant of al-Rabi*² and I heard some persons mention that seven hundred students of jurisprudence went to his lectures, and (*for that reason*) people used to say: 'If *al-Shāfi'i* saw him, he would be delighted'." The *shaykh* Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī, in his *Ṭabaqāt* relates as follows: "Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Qadārī, the Hanefite used to praise and extol Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfara'inī above all others; and it was told to the vizir Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn³ that he had said: 'I consider Abū Ḥāmid an abler doctor and divine than *al-Shāfi'i*.' On this, I remarked to the vizir that it was al-Qadārī's confidence in Abū Ḥāmid's talents, and his zeal for the Hanefite sect, which led him to undervalue *al-Shāfi'i*, so no attention should be paid to what he had said; for Abū Ḥāmid, and even more ancient and learned doctors than he, were far from

1 *Ta'liqa* signifies an *appendix* or *supplement*; the Moslem schoolmen give this title to collections of notes and observations on the system of doctrine followed by the sect; these notes were generally taken by the scholars during the lectures of their professors. Hajji Khalifa mentions a number of works bearing this title, and he remarks that al-Isfara'inī's *Ta'liqch* treats of the Shafite doctrines. (See Flugel's edition, t. II, No. 3120.)

2 See No. 2, note on "ancient sayings." The *khatīb* could not then have been more than eleven or twelve years of age.

3 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn, surnamed *Rais ar-Ruasa* (*chief of the chiefs*) was vizir to the Khalif al-Qā'im Bi-amrillah; he was put to death by al-Baṣāṣiri, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058). (See Abū 'l-Fida's *Annals*.)

the rank of al-Shāfi'ī ; to whom and to whose successors we might apply this verse of the poet's :

'They sojourned at Mekkah among the tribes of Naufal, but thou hast settled at al-Bayda, the most distant station.' "

It is related of Abū Ḥāmid that he said : "I never, in quitting the meetings for discussing points of law,¹ had to regret omitting a necessary observation." It is also related that, in one of those meetings, a doctor addressed him in an improper manner, and then went to him that night to ask his pardon : on which Abū Ḥāmid repeated these verses :

"A deliberate insult is offered before the public ; then comes a private excuse which only confirms the fault. He who thinks that a private excuse can efface a public insult is in a great mistake."

This doctor was born in A. H. 344 (A. D. 955), and went to Baghdād in 363 (A. D. 973-4), or 364 according the Khaṭīb : he there taught jurisprudence from the year 370 till his death, which happened Friday evening, 18th Shawwāl, A. H. 406 (March, A. D. 1016),* at Baghdād ; the next morning he was buried in (*the court of*) his house. His body was afterwards transported to the (*cometery at the*) Gate of Ḥarb in the year 410. The Khaṭīb says : "I prayed over his bier in the plain" (*Ṣahrā*) beyond the Bridge of Abu 'l-Dann ; and the *imām* who lead the prayer was Abū 'Abd Allāh, son to (*the Khalif*) al-Muhtadi, and preacher of the Mosque of Al-Manṣūr, it was day witnessed by crowds of people and filled with deep sorrow and grievous lamentation."—*Isfarā'inī* means *native of Isfarā'in*, a town of *Khurasān* in the territory of Naysāpur, half way between it and Jurjān. —

1 These debating societies were held by students under the presidency of their professor, or by doctors of the different sects between themselves.

*30 March.—*Ed.*

The verse applied to al-Shāfi'ī by the shaykh Abū Ishāq has another belonging to it which runs thus :

“For thou didst fear on her account¹ the evil talk of hidden foes with sharpened tongue ; who say, but never perform.”

26. AL-MAḤMILĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Abān al-Ḍubbī al-Maḥmili, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. He learned jurisprudence from Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfara'īni, and put down in writing a *Ta'liqah*² which was taught him by Abū Ḥāmid, and whose name it bears. The penetration and intelligence with which he was gifted enabled him to eclipse all his contemporaries ; in jurisprudence he became remarkably eminent, and professed it both in the lifetime of his master Abū Ḥāmid and after his decease. He learned the Traditions from Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar³ and other traditionists of the same period, having been taken by his father on a journey to Kufa, in order that he might hear them from the lips of that teacher. He composed on the doctrines of his sect a large book, entitled the *Majmū'ah* (*Collection*); another in one volume, called *Muqni'* (*sufficient*); a little work entitled the *Lubāb* (*Morrow*), and a fourth called

1 The mistress of the Arabic poet is generally of a different tribe from his, and she is supposed to be always guarded by a number of jealous relations, ready to wreak vengeance on any lover who should dare to make known the object of his passion.

2 See No. 26, note on *Ta'liqah*.

3 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar was born at Baḡhdād, A. H. 286 (A. D. 899). He became the first traditionist of his time in Irāq, and had among his auditors the celebrated al-Dāraqūni. Died A. H. 379 (A. D. 989). It appears that he was a partisan of the Shi'ite doctrines, (*Tab. al-Huffāz*).

the *Awsat* (*Medium*), besides a great number of treatises on controversial subjects. He professed at Baghdad, and his name is mentioned in the Chronicle of that city compiled by the Khaṭīb. Died on Wednesday, 20 of the Second Rabī', 415 (A. D. 1024)*; born A. H. 368 (A. D. 978-9). *Ḍubbi* means *belonging to Ḍubb*, which is a great and well-known tribe; *Mahāmili* is derived from *Mahāmīl*, which is the name of the litters in which travellers are carried.

27. AL-BAYHAQĪ

Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mūsā al-Bayhaqī al-Khosrūjerdi, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, the great and illustrious ḥāfiẓ,¹ who in his age stood alone without a rival for the variety of his attainments, was one of the principal disciples of the ḥakīm Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyī' by whom he was taught the traditions, but whom he soon surpassed in all the different parts of knowledge. He learned jurisprudence from Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Nāṣir Ibn Muḥammad al-'Umari al-Marwazi,² but the traditions were his favourite study, and it was as a traditionist that he attained reputation. In this pursuit he travelled to 'Irāq, Jibāl (*Persian Irāq*), Hijāz and Khurāsān, in which

1 The persons who know the *Qur'ān* by heart are called *Ḥāfiẓ*; but this title is given more especially to those doctors who have learned by heart the contents of the six great collections of Traditions (see the *Mishkāt-al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. I, p. 3), who can cite the names of the persons by whom each tradition has been successively handed down, and who can point out those traditionists whose authority cannot be admitted without limitation and those who merit full confidence. The word *ḥāfiẓ* is sometimes made use of to designate a narrator of historical traditions.

2 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-'Umari was one of the most noted doctors who studied under al-Qaffāl and Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Salūki; he died A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052).—(Al-'Uṭhmānī's *Ṭabaqāt*, fol. 85 verso.)

*1 July 21 Rabī', i.e. nine days remaining to the end of the month.—*Ed.*

country, as well as in all the others visited by him, he received the traditions from the lips of the learned of that time; he then began to write on the subject, and composed a great number of works, which, it is said, amount to one thousand volumes.* It was he who first collected the sentences¹ of al-Shāfi'ī with which he formed ten volumes; the best known of his works are—the Great and the Small Collections of Traditions; Proofs of the prophetic Mission; Acts and Traditions (*of Muḥammad*); Path of Faith; Merits of al-Shāfi'ī descendant of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; Merits of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, etc. Al-Bayhaqī was a man little solicitous about wordly goods, and the Imam al-Ḥaramayn said of him: "There was no follower of the Shafite sect who was not under some obligation to al-Shāfi'ī, al-Bayhaqī excepted; for al-Shāfi'ī was under obligations to him." Al-Bayhaqī was a most active defender of the doctrine instituted by al-Shāfi'ī, and was invited to Naysāpur, in order to propagate the knowledge (*of that doctrine*); he went there in consequence, and led a (*simple and holy*) life such as that of the primitive Muslims; he taught traditions to a great number of eminent doctors, among others, Zāhir al-Shaḥāmī², Muḥammad al-Furāwī and 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Qushayrī³; he was born in the month of Sha'bān, 384 (A. D. 994); died the 10 of the First Jumada, 458 (A. D. 1066)†, at Naysāpur, whence his body was transported to *Bayhaq* (*his native place*), which is a collection of villages in the dependency of Naysāpur, at twenty parasangs from that city; *Khusrūjerd* is the name of one of those villages.

1 *Sentences*; that is, *legal opinions* received as positive precepts by the followers of his sect. Al-'Uṭhmāni remarks (*Ṭabaqāt* fol. 22 verso), that among the numerous authors who wrote on the life and virtues of al-Shāfi'ī the ablest and most exact was al-Bayhaqī, who, in two thick volumes, treated fully of his merits, the circumstances of his life, etc., all on the best authority.

2 Abu 'l-Qāsim Zāhir Ibn Ṭāhir al-Shaḥāmī and his brother Abū Bakr Wajīh were two celebrated traditionists of that time.

3 Abu 'l-Muzaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Qushayrī was son to 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin, whose life is given in this work.

*Original جزو ; lit. means part.—*Ed.*

†9 April.—*Ed.*

28. AL-NASĀ'Ī' THE ḤĀFIẒ

The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Shu'ayb Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sinān Ibn Baḥr al-Nasā'ī, chief traditionist of his age and author of a *Sunn*, or collection of traditions, was an inhabitant of Old Cairo, in which city his works got into circulation, and where he had also many pupils. Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Isfahānī gives the following account of his death: "I heard our elders in Old Cairo relate that Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān left Miṣr towards the end of his life and went to Damascus, where he was asked what he thought of Mu'āwiya and what tradition he knew respecting the merits of that prince; to which he made this reply: 'It is not then enough for Mu'āwiya to enter (*into salvation*) on an equal footing with others, but he must even surpass them by exclusive merits.'¹ But some relate that his answer was: 'I know not any tradition respecting his special merit but this: *May God never-satiate thy belly!*'² Now this doctor was an advocate for the rights of the khalif 'Alī; so the people began to strike him on the sides, nor did they discontinue till they thrust him out of the mosque. (In another account it is said that they struck him on the testicles and trod him under foot.) He was then borne to Ramla, where he expired." The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī relates as follows: "Al-Nasā'ī, after the illtreatment he underwent at Damascus, asked to be borne to Mecca, where he died on his arrival, and was buried between al-Ṣafa and al-Marwa; his death happened in the month of Sha'bān, A. H. 303" (February, A. D. 916). The ḥāfiẓ Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahānī adds the following particulars: "The people having trampled on al-Nasā'ī at Damascus, he died

1 The expression راما براس has been already explained, No. 20, note 5 on *Head with Head*.

2 Mu'āwiya was so voracious that his greediness became proverbial. (See Freytag's *Proverbia Meidani*, t. I, p. 135). The imprecation cited by al-Nasā'ī was probably uttered by one of Mu'āwiya's enemies, and party spirit prevented it from being forgotten.

from the effects of that ill usage whilst he was bearing (*to Mekkah*). He composed a work called *al-Khāṣṣ* (*Particularities*), treating of the merits of 'Ali Ibn Abi Ṭalib and those of his family; the greater part of the traditions contained therein are alleged on the authority of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. Having been asked why he did not write a work on the merits of Muḥammad's companions, he answered: "On entering Damascus, I found a great number of persons holding 'Ali in aversion, for which reason I intended that God should direct them by means of this book. 'He used to abstain from food every second day,* and was remarked for being of an ardent† temperament. The ḥāliq Ibn 'Asakir of Damascus relates that he had four wives, to each of whom he paid equal attentions and that he possessed concubines besides. Al-Daraqutni declares him a martyr, on account of the trials he underwent at Damascus, and says that he died on Monday, 13 Ṣafar, 303 (August, A. D. 915)‡, at Mekkah; other state that he died at Ramlah in Palestine. Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Yanus, author of the Annals of Egypt, writes in that work: "Al-Nasā'ī came to Miṣr a long time ago, he was traditionist of the first order; his word was held a sure authority, his information was exact, and his memory retentive. He left Miṣr in the month of *Dhu'lqa'ada*, 302." I find in my handwriting, in the rough copy of this work, that al-Nasā'ī was born at Nasa. A. H. 214 or 215 (A. D. 829, 830). *Nasā'ī* means *native of Nasa*, a city in *Khurāsan*, which has produced a number of eminent men.

29. AL-QUDŪRI.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ja'afar Ibn Ḥamdān, surnamed al-Qudāri, was a doctor of

*According to printed text it should be translated: He used to fast on alternate days or literally: He used to fast one day and to break it on the other.—*Ed.*

†Oversexed is proper word.—*Ed.*

‡28 August.—*Ed.*

the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah, and became president of the Hanefites in 'Irāq. In treating speculative points he had the talent of expressing his ideas with great precision; he was also versed in the traditions; and the khaṭīb Abū Bakr, author of the History of Baghdād who had learned them from him, alleged his authority in citing them. He wrote several treatises on the doctrines of his sect; among others, that celebrated work, the *Mukhtaṣar* (Abridgement). He was accustomed to discuss controversial subjects with Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfara'īnī, the Shafite doctor; in whose life has already been given the high opinion which he expressed of Abū Ḥāmid's merits.¹ Al-Qudāri was born A. H. 362 (A. D. 972-3); he died on Sunday, 5 of Rajab, 428 (April, A. D. 1037),* at Baghdād, and was buried the same day in (*the court of*) his dwelling, in the street of Abū Khalf; but his body was afterwards transported to a tomb in the great street of al-Manṣūr, where it was placed by the side of Abū Bakr al-Khowarezmī, the Hanafite doctor.²—*Qudāri* is derived from *qudūr*, plural of *qidr* (*caldron*): I know not for what reason he was so-called; but such is the derivation of that appellation as given by al-Sam'āni, in his work called *al-Anṣāb*.

30. AL-THA'LABĪ AL-NAYSĀPŪRĪ

Abū Ishāq Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Th'alabi, native of Naysāpur, and a well-known commentator on the *Qur'an*, was the most skilful man of his time in explaining the difficulties of that book; and his work, entitled *the Great*

¹ See No. 25. page 112.

² The shaykh and imām Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Māsa Ibn Muḥammad al-Khowarezmi, a celebrated professor, and mufti of the Hanefite sect; for intelligence, learning, and integrity, he possessed a high reputation; and his society was courted by persons of every rank. Died A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012-3). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyin*; MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, founds St. Germain, No. 132, fol. 142 verso.)

*24 April.—*Ed.*

Commentary, surpassed all others on the subject. He is also author of the *Kitāb al-‘Arā’is* (*Book of Brides*), containing the history of the prophets, and of other treatises. Al-Sam‘āni makes mention of him and adds: “Some of the learned say that the name of Tha’labī, or Tha’libī was given to him not as a patronymic, but a surname.” Abu ‘l-Qāsim al-Qushayri relates the following circumstance concerning him: “I saw in a dream the Lord of Glory,¹ who was speaking to me and I to him; during this it happened that the Lord (may his name be exalted), said: ‘The holy man draweth near.’ I turned, and lo! Ahmad al-Tha’labī was drawing near.” ‘Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Ismā‘il al-Fārisi, in his *Siyāq* or continuation of the history of Naysāpār, speaks of him and praises him: “He was,” says he, “an exact and trustworthy transmitter of traditions; he gave them on the authority of Abā Ṭāhir Ibn Khuzayma and the imām Abā Bakr Ibn Mihrān, teacher of the art of reading the *Qur’ān* correctly. He taught a great number of traditions which he had learned from many masters. He died in 427 (A. D. 1035-6).” Another writer states that his death took place in the month of Muḥarram, 427; and a third that it happened Wednesday,* 23 Muḥarram, 437 (A. D. 1045). —*Nayspāri* means *belonging to Naysāpār*, which is one of the fairest and greatest cities in Khurāsān, abounding above others, in all the conveniences of life; it was so called because Sābar Zu ‘l-Aktaf, a Persian king of the last race, having come to the site of the place, which was then overgrown with reeds, was pleased with it and said: “It were well a city were here ;” he then ordered the reeds to be cut down and the city to be built; and it was named Naisabar, because *Nai* in Persian means *reed*. This is what al-Sam‘āni says in his *Ansāb*.

¹ See No. 19, note on *dreams*, and Lane’s *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I, p. 271, 338.

*Wednesday fell on 23 Muḥarram 427 corresponding to 26 November, 1035, while 3 Muḥarram 437 corresponding to 10 August was Saturday.—*Ed.*

31. IBN ABI DUWĀD

The qādī Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād Farah Ibn Jarīr Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbād Ibn Salām Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Abd Hind Ibn Laḥm¹ Ibn Mālik Ibn Qanaṣ Ibn Ma'na Ibn Barjān Ibn Daws Ibn al-Dīl Ibn Omayya Ibn Hudhāfah *Ibn Zuhri Ibn Iyad Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'ad Ibn 'Adnān al-Iyādi : this qādī was celebrated for his manly character and his zeal in serving his friends ; and many anecdotes of his humane interference with the Khalif al-Mu'taṣim are still preserved. Abū 'Abd Allāh² al-Marzubāni makes the following mention of him in the *Murshid* where he treats of the Motazelite diviness: † "It is said that Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād's family drew its origin from a village near Qinnisrin³ but he himself, when yet a boy, was taken to Damascus¹ by his father, who went there on a commercial undertaking. Aḥmad passed his youth in the pursuit of learning (more particularly jurisprudence and scholastic theology), till he

¹ This name and the preceding are uncertain, the MSS. all differ.

² In the Arabic text, this name is erroneously printed 'Ubayd Allāh.

³ The town of Qinnisrin no longer exists, having been gradually abandoned by its inhabitants for the city of Aleppo, from which it lay at the distance of ten miles in a southern direction. It was, however, one of the most important places of Syria during the first centuries of Islamism, having been one of the military colonies of settlements (أندلس) established by the Arabs, when they conquered that country.

*M. de Slane reads it Hudāka (Huḥāqah) which is wrong.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it Zahr.—*Ed.*

‡*Mutakallimīn* is the group of theologians who advance rational arguments for dogmatic beliefs. M. de Slane has rendered the term as scholastic theologians at other places.—*Ed.*

obtained that eminence; he afterwards held. He studied under Hayyāj Ibn al-‘Alā al-Sulmī, and had been a pupil of Wāsil Ibn ‘Atā’²; this rendered him partial to the doctrines of the Motazelites.” “Never”, says Abu ‘l-Aynā, “did I meet a person invested with authority who spoke with more correctness and precision than Ibn Abī Duwād.” Ishaq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī relates the following anecdote respecting him: “I heard Ibn Abī Duwād say at the court of al-Muṭaṣim: ‘I never speak first to a khalif about business in the presence of the vizīr Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayyāt, lest he should learn (*from my example*) how to begin a conversation with the prince and how business is done.’³ He was the first who ever opened a conversation with a khalif, for till that time none spoke to the prince till he spoke first to them.” Abu ‘l-Aynā says that Ibn Abī Duwād was a good poet and that he expressed his thoughts with elegance and precision. Al-Marzubānī relates that his name is mentioned by Ḍirbil Ibn ‘Alī al-Khuzāi, in his book containing the list of poets, and that some fine verses of his are quoted there. Ibn Abī Duwād used to say: “There are three classes of men who must be tread with honour and esteem: the learned, the magistrates, and our friends*; whoever slights the learned, loses his religion; whoever slights the magistrates, loses his property; and whoever slights his friends, loses his manliness.”—Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥasan relates as follows: “We were assembled in the presence of al-Māman, and the names of the people of Medina who engaged their fidelity to Muḥammad on the night [of al-‘Aqaba,⁴ were enumerated; there was some disagreement however on the subject, when Ibn Abī Duwād came in

1 *Damascus*; in the Arabic: *al-Shām*.

2 Wāsil Ibn ‘Aṭā was the founder of the Motazelite sect. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

3 The printed Arabic text and most of the MS. have here *الثانى لها* but *التاى* is the right reading.

4 *Abulfedae Annales*, t. I, p. 59.

*Brothers or literally relatives.—*Ed.*

and counted them up one by one, names, sur names, and genealogies : on which al-Māmin said : 'When men want a man of talent for companion, let them take a person like Aḥmad !' 'Nay,' said Aḥmad, 'but when a man of learning keeps company with a khalif, let him find one like the Commander of the Faithful, from whom he may gain information, and whose conversation is more learned than his own. "One of Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād's maxims was : "A man is not perfect unless he have abilities sufficient for elevating to the pulpit his friend, though a simple soldier of police and for sending to the gibbet his enemy, though a vizīr."¹ Abu 'l-'Aynā relates of him the following anecdote : "Al-Afshīn² bore envy towards Abū Dulāf al-Qāsim Ibn 'Īsa al-'Ijlī for his knowledge of the pure Arabic language and for his bravery ; he therefore plotted against him, and caused witness to be borne that he had committed treason* and murder ; he then had him arrested on a pretext he imagined, and having held a sitting to try him, he ordered him to be brought forth along with the headsman that was to put him to death. When news of this reached Ibn Abī Duwād, he instantly mounted his horse,³ set off with the notaries who happened to be present (at his tribunal)⁴, and came in on al-Afshīn, before whom Abū Dulāf had just been led for execution. He then stopped and said : 'I am a messenger to thee from the

1 The pulpit or *minbar* was in those times specially reserved for the khalif or his deputy, who alone had the right of pronouncing the *khuṭbah*. (Seed Ohsson, t. I, p. 204.) The gibbet was merely the trunk of a palm-tree to which the bodies of executed persons were tied and exposed to public views. It sometimes happened that living criminals were tied up in the same manner.

2 See *Elmakin*, p. 141 *et seq.* To what d'Herbelot says of this general, under the heads *Afshin* and *Babek*, I shall only add here, that Ibn Ṣhākīr, in his *Oyūn al-Tawārīkh* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 638, fol. 232 v.), says that al-Afshīn was descended from the ancient kings of Persia; and Sib; Ibn al-Jawzī states in his *Mir'at al-Zamān* (MS. No. 640, fol. 117 v.) that the real name of al-Afshīn was Ḥaydar Ibn Kaus; and that the governors of Osrushana, *أسروشانه*, a province in Transoxiana, bore the title of Afshīn, in the same way as each king of Persia was called Chosroes, and of Greece, Caesar.

3 In the East, respectable persons never stir out but on horseback.

4 See No. 24, note on *Adl*.

* *جنايہ* is a only crime.—*Ed.*

Commander of the Faithful : he commands thee to do no ill to al-Qāsim Ibn 'Īsā, and moreover to give him up to me.' Turning then to the notaries, he said : 'Bear witness that I have delivered him the message sent by the Commander of the Faithful and that al-Qāsim is alive and in health. The notaries answered : 'We are witnesses thereof.' So al-Afshīn could not do al-Qāsim harm and Ibn Abī Duwād went instantly to the khalif al-Mu'taṣim and said : "Commander of the Faithful ! I have fulfilled in thy name a message which thou didst not give me, yet count it for one of my best deeds, and through it I hope for Paradise.* He then told him what had passed, and the khalif approved his conduct, and having sent for al-Qāsim, set him at liberty and gave him a present ; he then reprimanded severely al-Afshīn for having dared to act so. Al-Mu'taṣim, being moved by violent anger against Muḥammad Ibn al-Jahm the Barmakide, ordered his head to be struck off ; the prisoner was already placed blindfolded on the executioner's leather carpet,¹ and the sword was just brandishing to strike him when Ibn Abī Duwād, conscious that no petty shift could save him, said to the Khalif : 'How canst thou take his wealth, if thou killest him ?'—'Who is to hinder me ?' replied the khalif. 'God' answered the other, 'doth not permit it, neither is it allowed by the Apostle of God, nor by the justice of the Commander of the Faithful ! for his wealth belongeth to his heirs if thou slayest him, unless thou givest legal proof of his guilt. It is much easier for thee to order him, while he yet liveth, to refund what he hath embezzled.' 'Keep him in custody,' said al-Mu'taṣim, 'till an inquest be held.' Then, after some delay, the affair ended by Muḥammad's paying a sum of money and being set at liberty."—The following anecdote is told by al-Jāḥiẓ : "Al-Mu'taṣim was moved with wrath against an inhabitant of Mesopotamia, and had the sword and executioner's carpet brought in ; he then said to the prisoner : 'Thou hast done so, and acted

¹ As executions often took place in the audience-hall of the Khalif, a skin was then spread under the condemned person to catch the blood.

* 'to you' should be subjoined.—*Ed.*

so!; strike off his head!' 'Commander of the Faithful,' said Ibn Abī Duwād, 'the sword is going here before justice; make some delay in this business, for the man is wrongly accused. The khalif kept silence for a short time—here we shall finish the narration in Ibn Abī Duwād's own words: 'I had then so pressing a call to make water, that I could no longer retain, yet I knew that if I went out, he should surely die; so I gathered my garment under me and yielded to it, but I succeeded in saving the man. When I stood up, al-Mu'taṣim saw that my garments were wet, and said: 'O Abī 'Abd Allāh, was there any water under you?' 'No, Commander of the Faithful,' I replied, 'but it happened so and so.' On hearing the circumstance, the Khalif laughed, and preyed for me; saying: 'Well done! may God bless thee!' Al-Mu'taṣim then clothed him in a robe of honour and ordered him a present of one hundred thousand dirhems.'—Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kalbī says that Ibn Abī Duwād was all soul from his head to his foot, and Lāzīm² Ibn Isma'il makes this remark: 'I never saw one man more submissive to another than al-Mu'taṣim was to Ibn Abī Duwād: when a trifle was asked of him, he would refuse, but Ibn Abī Duwād would then come in and speak to him in favour of his (*the Khalif's*) family, of the people in the frontier garrisons, of the inhabitants of Makkah and Medina and of those who dwelt far off in the countries of the East and West, and al-Mu'taṣim would grant all he desired. One day he spoke to the khalif to obtain a sum of one million of dirhems digging a canal in the most distant part of Khurāsān, and received this answer: 'What have I to do with this canal?' 'Commander of the Faithful,' said Ibn Abī Duwād, 'God will call you to an equal account of your superintendence over the affairs of the most distant, and over those of the nearest of your subjects.' He then continued to manage adroitly the humour of the Khalif till the money was granted.'

1 The verbs *فعل* and *صنع* have both a peculiar signification in certain cases and mean to do *something wrong or disagreeable*:—*فعلت وصنعت* thou hast done (*wrong*) and committed (*evil*) *لا أفعلن ولا أصنعن* I shall do and act, i. e. I shall punish—*فعالة* a female who acts (*wrong*) a prostitute.

Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, the celebrated poet, said to one of the metaphysicians* of that time: "In the opinion of us (*poets*) Ibn Abī Duwād does not know the (*pure Arabic*) language; you look on him as not being a good metaphysician*; the jurisconsults think him unskilled in the law; but al-Mu'taṣim considers him learned in all those sciences." Ibn Abī Duwād narrates in the terms the origin of his connection with the Khalīf al-Māmān: "I used to go with the other doctors to Yaḥyā Ibn al-Aktham's assemblies,¹ and I was there one day when a messenger came from al-Māmān to state that the Commander of the Faithful desired Ibn al-Aktham to go to him with all his company. Ibn al-Aktham was unwilling to take me with him, but he had no means of leaving me behind; so I went with the others, and we held a conversation in the presence of al-Māmān, who turned to look at me when I began to speak, and listened to my words with attention and approbation. He then asked me who I was, and I told him my pedigree. 'What,' said he, 'has delayed you so long from coming to see us?' Not wishing to do an ill office to Yaḥyā, I replied: 'Destiny detained me, and it was necessary that the term of God's written decree should arrive'. 'Let it be known to you,'² said he, 'that in future we shall hold no assembly unless you come to it.' I answered: 'Yes, Commander of the Faithful (*I shall obey your order*).' After that, our connection was gradually formed." Others relate this affair in a different manner: Yaḥyā Ibn al-Atham, they say, went to Baṣra from Khurāsān to act as qādī in the name of al-Māmān; this was towards the end of the year 202 (about June, A. D. 818).

1 The vizīrs and qādīs held assemblies at their houses on stated days.

2 In the Arabic text لااعلمن is printed for لاعلمن which is the right reading, though the MSS. gives the other; a similar error exists in good MSS. of the *Qur'ān*, where لااذبحنه is written for لاذبحن in the 21st verse of the 27th surat.

*Vide note on *Mutakallimn* p. 120. Since *Kalam* is scholastic philosophy, not metaphysics.—Ed.

Yahyā was then a young man, somewhat more than twenty years of age. He there chose for companions a number of men remarkable for their learning and honourable character, among whom was Ibn Abī Duwād. When al-Māmān came to Baghdād in 204, he told Yahyā to choose some from among his companions to be admitted into the society of the Khalif and to be his frequent visitors. In consequence of this, Yahyā selected twenty, and among them Ibn Abī Duwād, but the khalif, on finding the number too great, ordered Yahyā to make a selection out of them, and ten persons were chosen, amongst whom was Ibn Abī Duwād; but the khalif desired a fresh reduction to be made, and Yahyā chose five, one of whom was Ibn Abī Duwād : such was the origin of his connection with the khalif. When al-Māmān was on his death-bed, he addressed to his brother al-Mu'taṣim his testament, which contained this recommendation : "As for Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, let him never cease to be the associated of your councils on every subject, for he is most worthy of having such confidence placed in him¹; and I recommend you not to take a vizīr when I die." Al-Mu'taṣim, on his accession to the Khalifate, appointed Ibn Abī Duwād chief qāḍī (*qāḍī 'l-quḍāt*), and deposed Yahyā Ibn al-Aktham; and Ibn Abī Duwād became so great a favourite with the khalif, that neither his public nor private business was done without his advice. In the month of Ramaḥān, A. H. 220 (September, A. D. 835), Ibn Abī Duwād cruelly persecuted Aḥmad Ibn Hanbal and tried to force him to admit that the *Qu'rān* was created.² Al-Mu'taṣim in dying was succeeded by his son al-Waṭḥiq Billāh, under whom Ibn Abī Duwād continued to enjoy high favour; when he died, his brother al-Mutawakkil succeeded to the khalifate, and in the beginning of his reign Ibn Abī Duwād lost the use of his right side from a paralytic stroke,

1 Literally: *He is the place for that.*

2 Ibn Abī Duwād followed the Motazelite doctrine, and of course believed the *Qu'rān* to have been created; orthodox Muslims are bound to believe that it existed from all eternity. (See Pocock's *Specimen*, 2nd edition, p. 222; and d'Ohsson's *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, t. I, l. 83 *et seq.*)

in consequence of which al-Mutawakkil conferred the place of *qādi* on Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, who was afterwards, in 236 (A. D. 850), replaced as *Inspector of Grievances*¹ by Yaḥyā Ibn al-Akḥam. Al-Aṭḥiq had ordered that every person should arise on seeing the vizīr Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and Ibn Abī Duwād would stand up on seeing the vizīr, but then turn towards the *qibla* in order to say his prayers; for which reason Ibn al-Zayyāt pronounced the following verses:

*“He says his prayer since he had the advantage of bearing hatred against me; I see that from that time, he fulfils his pious duties and his fasts. May his heart be never free from such envenomed hatred as may leave him no repose.”²

The praises of Ibn Abī Duwād were celebrated by a number of contemporary poets, and ‘Alī al-Rāzī relates this anecdote on the subject: “I saw the poet Abū Tammām with Ibn Abī Duwād, to whom he was making a man recite for him a poem in which were these words:

“The generosity of Aḥmad Ibn Duwād has caused all the afflictions of evil Fortune to be forgotten! Never did I travel to distant regions without owing to his bounty my conveyance and my subsistence.”

Ibn Abī Duwād here asked him if that thought was his own, or if he had borrowed it? To which Abū Tammām replied that it was his own, but that he made in it an allusion to the following verse, composed by Abū Nawās:

“If our words seem to convey the praises of any other, it is thou alone on whom our thoughts are turned.”³

1 The Inspector of Grievances was a judge like the *qādi*, but he possessed moreover executive power.

2 Literally: *As may leave him sitting down and standing up.* (See de Sacy’s *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 89, and t. III, p. 270.) The vizīr had in view the double signification of this expression.

3 Ibn Khallikan has certainly made a mistake here and given a wrong verse.

*In the rendering of this line there is some error, the original means: He offered midday prayers since he had the advantage of bearing hatred against me, and I notice him after that offering sacrifice and keeping fast.

Abū Tammām had passed a great number of days at the door of Ibn Abī Duwād without being admitted to see him, for which reason he complained bitterly of his conduct to one of his friends. Some time after, he was introduced, and Ibn Abī Duwād said to him: "O Abū Tammām, have you reproached enough?" To which he answered: "Reproaches are made to individuals only, but thou art all mankind¹; and how can reproaches be made to them?" "Where did you come by that idea?" said the qāḍī. Abū Tammām replied: "I borrowed it from the knowing one" (meaning Abū Nuwās), who said of al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī:

"God is not to be blamed if he unite (*the noble qualities of*) all mankind in a sole individual."

On the appointment of Ibn Abī Duwād as Inspector of Grievances, Abū Tammām addressed his complaints to him in a poem, which contained the following passage:

"Since your neglect causes the ruin of poetry and poets, we need not wonder if they perish through the neglect of foreigners!² Yet poetry (*like the laden camel*) stirs from side to side, and strives to rise with the burden you put on it since you became redresser of wrongs.³ Did poetry not give to facts a permanent form, men ambitious of glory would never learn whence you obtained your honours."

The same poet made his eulogium in a poem beginning thus:

"Didst thou see the (*fair*) faces which appeared to us between al-Liwa⁴ and Zarūd?"

And which contains, this elegant thought:

"When God wishes to reveal (*to the knowledge of the world*) that excellence which remains (*modestly*) folded up, he allows an envious tongue to attack it. Did fire not

1 *Thou art all mankind*, because thou possessest all their good qualities.

2 This appears to be an allusion to the Turkish officers in al-Mutaṣim's service.

3 *The burden you put on it* is the obligation of celebrating you justice.

4 See note on *Liwa*, No. 10.

in flame whatever it approaches, the sweet odour of aloes wood had remained unknown.”¹

The praises of Ibn Abī Duwād were celebrated also by Marwān Ibn Abī 'l-Janāb in the following verses :

“The tribe of Nizār² possesses all glory and honour despite its foes! Tell those who pretend to surpass that Nizār from whom spring the tribes of Khindif³ and Iyād.—Tell them that the Apostle of God and the Khalifs belong to that family which is ours and that Aḥmad Ibn Duwād comes from it also. Until the Day of Judgment,⁴ no such persons will ever be found in any family but ours (*To it alone belong*) a prophet sent by God, the successors in his covenant, and he who is directed and who directs to good.”

When Abu Hiffān *al-Muhazzami⁵ heard these verses, he pronounced the following:

“Tell those who pretend to surpass the tribe of Nizār, princes in the earth ruling over slaves! Tell them that the Apostle of God and the Khalifs belong to that family which is ours, but that we totally disclaim the pretended descendant of Iyād. Iyād itself shall not be one of our tribes if it admits the pretensions of Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād.”

When Ibn Abī Duwād heard these verses, he said : “No one ever gave me so severe a wound as that boy al-Muhazzami* has done : were I not unwilling to show that I pay attention to him, I would inflict on him a punishment such as none ever suffered before! He has gone up to one of my proudest honours

1 Aloes-wood does not emit its perfume till burned.

2 We have seen, by Ibn Abī Duwād's genealogy, that he descended from Nizār.

3 Khindif is the true orthography of the word, not *khindik*, as given in the Arabic text on the authority of the MSS.

4 Literally: *The day when men shall call unto one another.* (See *Qur'ān*, surat 40, verse 34.)

5 Abū Hiffān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥarb is supposed by the Khatib to have been born at Baṣrah. He dwelt at Baḥdād, and was considered as possessing great literary acquirements: the celebrated al-Asma'ī was one of his masters. (*History of Baḥdād* by the Khatib, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, No. 541.) The date of his death is not given.

*According to Arabic text it is *al-Mahzani*.—*Ed.*

and utterly destroyed it."¹ Ibn Abī Duwād used to recite frequently the following verses, but did not say whether they were his own or another's :

"Thou (*O Lord!*) art no feeble aid;—and success in all affairs is ensured by powerful aid. To-day we stand in need of thy succour; the physician is only called in when the disease is violent."

Al-Marzubāni has furnished us with some of the preceding anecdotes, but another historian gives the following on the authority of Abu 'l-'Aynā: "The khalif al-Mu'taṣim was displeased with Khālid Ibn Yazīd Ibn Mīzyad* al-Shaybānī (whom we shall speak of again in the life of his father Yazīd), and recalled him from his government,² that he might appear before him to answer for his inability to make up a sum of money which he was called upon to pay; he had besides to answer other accusations. Al-Mu'taṣim held therefore a sitting in order to condemn him to punishment, and would not listen to the intercession of Ibn Abī Duwād, on whose generosity Khālid had thrown himself. The khalif having taken his seat, the qāḍi Aḥmad (*Ibn Abi Duwād*) went to a place inferior to his own, on which al-Mu'taṣim said: 'Abu 'Abd Allāh,³ you are sitting out of your place.' To this the qāḍi replied: 'It is meet I should not sit in my place, but in a lower.' 'Why so?' said the khalif. The qāḍi answered: 'Because the public say that my place is not the place of one who can intercede and whose intercession will be heard.' 'Go back to your place,' said al-Mu'taṣim.' 'Shall I go,' said the qāḍi, 'as one whose intercession has been heard or as one whose intercession has been rejected?' 'Nay,' replied the khalif, 'go as one whose intercession has been heard.'

1 Literally: *Undid it button by button.* عروة means a loop or button-hole.

2 Khālid had obtained from al-Mamān the government of Moṣul. (See the life of Yazīd.)

3 The khalif here addresses him by his surname, which was a mark of great friendship.

*M. de Slane gives *Mazyad*.—Ed.

Ibn Abī Duwād went up therefore to his place, and, when seated, said: 'The public will not be aware that the Commander of the Faithful has pardoned him, unless he receive a robe of honour.' The khalif ordered him to be clothed in a robe of honour. *Abū Duwād* continued: 'There is due to him and his people six months' salary, which must be paid them, so if thou givest orders that they receive it now, it will serve instead of the (*customary*) present.' The khalif said: 'I shall order it to be done.'—(*The historian continues to relate*) that when Khālid went forth in his robe of honour with the money borne before him, the people were waiting in the streets to witness his punishment, and one of them called out to him: "Praise be to God for thy escape, O prince of Arabs!" to which Khālid replied: "Silence! by God! the prince of Arabs is truly Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād!"—Great jealousy and mutual dislike existed between the qāḍī Aḥmad and the vizīr Ibn al-Zayyāt; so much so, that the latter refused to receive the visits of a friend of the qāḍī's specially commissioned by him to direct his affairs: the qāḍī on hearing of this went to the vizīr, and said: "I assure you that I do not come to you (*as others do*), to obtain from you either augmentation of slender means or exaltation from lowly rank; but the Commander of the Faithful has placed you in a post which obliges me to visit you: when I do so, it is on his account; and when I remain absent, it is on yours." He then rose up and retired. He was indeed possessed of such noble and honourable qualities as surpassed description. *[A poet composed a satire of seventy verses against the vizīr Ibn al-Sayyāt; when the qāḍī Aḥmad heard of it, he pronounced these verses:

"Better than a satire of seventy verses, is their purport condensed into a single verse. *How much the state requires a shower of rain, to wash away that filthy stain of oil!*"¹

When Ibn al-Zayyāt heard of this epigram, he composed the following, in which he alluded to the profession of one of

¹ *Ibn al-Zayyāt* means *son of the oilman*.

* [] From "A poet" to "our oil" on page 132 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

the qāḍī Aḥmad's ancestors, who was reported to have been a seller of pitch:

"O thou who vainly thinkest to stirize us, thou exposest thyself to death in attacking me. Our honour cannot be diminished by the mention of oil; the reputation of our family is too well known. 'Tis you who defiled the state with your pitch, and nothing could clean it till we washed it with our oil."]

Ibn Abī Duwād lost the use of his side the 6* of the Second Jumada, 233 (January, A. D. 848)†, a hundred and some days after the death of his enemy the vizir, some say forty-nine‡ or fifty days only: the date of the vizir's death shall be given in the letter M.¹ When the qāḍī received his paralytic stroke, he was replaced by his son Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, who did not however fulfil the duties of his place to general satisfaction, having incurred the blame of many and merited the praise of a few only: so much so, that Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī, whose life has been already given, composed against him these lines:

"The faults which appear in you so plainly have effaced (*the memory of*) the virtues which your father left you as a legacy. By him you surpassed the sons of honourable men, as by yourself you have surpassed the sons of the vile."§

In which verses, I must say that the poet has gone to the extremes of eulogium and blame: the idea is quite novel.—Muḥammad continued to fill the places of qāḍī and inspector of wrongs for the army till the year 237 (A. D. 851), when al-Mutawakkil, being displeased with him and his father Aḥmad, °[ordered his lands to be sequestered; this happened on the 24 Ṣafar of the above year; he then deprived him of his place as inspector of wrongs, and afterwards, on Thursday, 5 of the First Rabī', he dismissed him from his place of qāḍī] and took from him a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand

¹ Ibn al-Zayyāt died A. H. 233.

*M. de Slane gives 7.—*Ed.*

†17.—*Ed.*

‡According to Arabic text it should be "forty-seven".—*Ed.*

§ The last hemestich should be rendered: "as by you he has surpassed the fathers of the vile.—*Ed.*

°[]From "ordered" to "qāḍī" is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

dīnārs,¹ with precious stones to the value of forty thousand dīnārs, after which he sent him away *from Baghdād to Sarr-man-ra'a. The place of qāḍi was then entrusted to Yaḥya Ibn Aktham al-Ṣayfī (whose life shall be given in the letter *Y*).—At the time when Ibn Abī Duwād incurred the displeasure of the khalif so far as to be deprived of his landed property, witnesses had been examined to prove the crime he was accused of, and a great number of them and other persons were present in court; there was one of those witnesses in whom the qāḍi, during his administration, had placed little confidence, and who now stood up and said: "Call on us to witness in your behalf² according to what is written in this instrument; on which the qāḍi answered: "No! no! no! that is not your place;" and turning round to the other witnesses, he said: "Bear ye witness for me;" on which the man sat down abashed, and the public were filled with admiration for the firmness of the qāḍi and his strength of mind.³—The qāḍi Aḥmad Ibn Duwād died of his palsy in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 240 (June, A. D. 854), and it is stated on his own authority that he was born at Baṣrah in 160 (A. D. 776-7): he was, it is said, about twenty years older than the qāḍi Yaḥya Ibn al-Aktham, but this is in contradiction with what is mentioned by me in the life of Yaḥya; I have, however, written it down here as I found it given, and God knows best whether it be correct or not.—Muḥammad, son of Ibn Abī Duwād, died in the month of Dhu 'l-Hijja, twenty days before his father. †[Al-Marzubāni, in his book above-mentioned (*the Murshid*), notices great variations in the dates of Ibn Abī Duwād's and his

1 The *dinar* of that time would now have an intrinsic value of about eleven shillings British.

2 The verb شهد على signifies: *bear witness against or for a person*. It is used with the latter signification in the *Qur'an*, surat 5, verse 48. As a legal term, it means: *bear witness in respect to a person or thing*.

3 Ibn Abī Duwād had so unfavourable an opinion of this person, that he would not allow him to give evidence even in favour of himself.

*According to Arabic text it means: sent him to Baghdād from Surr manra'a.—*Ed.*

†[] From "Al-Marzubāni" to "sonumerous" on page 135 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

son's death; so I prefer giving here all he says on the subject: "Al-Mutawakkil appointed Muḥammad, son of Ibn Abī Duwād, to act in the place of his father as qādī and inspector of wrongs for the army; he then dismissed him from these places on Wednesday, the *19 Ṣafar, 240 and sequestered the landed property of the father and son, but this business was settled by a fine of one million of dinars. Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, died at Baghdād in Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 240, and his father died twenty days after. Al-Ṣūli states, however, that the anger of al-Mutawakkil against Ibn Abī Duwād took place in 237." Al-Marzubāni says farther on: "The qādī Aḥmad died in Muḥarram, 240, and his son died twenty days before; some say that the death of the son occurred towards the end of year 239, and that they both died at Baghdād: some again state that the son died in Dhu 'l-Hijja, 239, and the father on Saturday, 23 Muḥarram of the year 240, at about a month's distance. God alone knows the truth in all that."—²Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd says that Ibn Abī Duwād was full of affability towards men of education, no matter to what country they belonged, and that he had taken a great number of them under his care, treating them as members of his family and defraying their expenses. On his death a crowd of those clients went to the door of his house and cried out: "He is to be buried, that man who was the pillar of generosity and the ornament¹ of literature! of whom it was never said: *'Here he has committed a fault; there his talent has failed him'*." When his bier was borne up, three of them went forward to it, and the first recited these verses:

"To-day is dead the support of the state and of the language; he is dead, the protector whose succour was ever implored in misfortune! The paths of learning are dark since the sun of generosity is hidden by the mist of the winding-sheet."

The second then advanced and said:

"Through humble modesty he sought not the pulpit or the (*vizir's*) seat; yet, had he wished, the pulpit and the (*vizir's*) seat

¹ Literally: *The date.*

*20. Our note about reckoning date has been written elsewhere.—*Ed.*

were his. Taxes are gathered for another, but for him is gathered a harvest of praises and (*heavenly*) rewards.”

Then the third came forward and said :

“It is not the powder of musk which has been used to perfume his corpse, but rather the praises which he left behind. The noise you hear is not the creaking of the bier; it is the sound of the hearts which are breaking.”

Abū Bakr al-Jurjāni relates having heard Abu 'l-'Ayna al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*) say : “I never met in the world with a man more polite than Ibn Abī Duwād; he would never say, on my leaving him : *Page, take his hand*¹; but, *Page, go out with him*. I look on this expression as free from alloy, and (*though he uttered it*), he will not be the poorer²; and I never heard it from any other.”—We may now conclude, for this article has become rather long, but the honourable actions of Ibn Abī Duwād were so numerous!—*Iyādi* means *belonging to the tribe of Iyād*, who was son to Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān.

32. THE ḤĀFIẒ ABŪ NU'AYM AL-ISBAHĀNĪ

The celebrated ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Mūsā Ibn Mihrān al-Isbāhānī (*native of Ispahan*), author of the *Hilyat al-Awalya*³, and one of the principal

1 That is: *Take his hand and lead him out.*

2 The Arabian critics compare the pure and genuine idiomatic expressions of their language to good coin; indeed the word نقاء which means *to separate good coin from bad*, is often used to signify *criticism*.

3 *The Hilyat al-Awliya*, or *Ornament of the Holy Men*, contains the lives of the principal Muslim saints, the relation of their miraculous gifts and actions, etc.

traditionists, was a hafiz of the highest authority¹: he had studied under men of the first merit, who* themselves received from him useful information. His *Hilyat* is a very fine book, and his *History of Ispahān* has furnished me with the life of his father 'Abd Allāh and the genealogy here given. In this life he says that his ancestor Mihrān became Muslim, which indicates that he was the first of them who followed that religion; he also adds that Mihrān was freedman to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mu'awiya Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abī Ṭālib, of whom we shall again make mention.² In the same article, he states that his father 'Abd Allāh died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 365 (A. D. 976), and was buried beside his maternal grandfather. Abū Nu'aym was born in Rajab, 336 (beginning of A. D. 948), or 334 according to some, and died at Ispahān in the month of Ṣafar, 430 (November, A. D. 1038); others placed his death on Monday, 21 Muharram† of that year.--**Isbahan*, pronounced *Asbahān* and *Isfahān*,³ is one of the most famous cities in the province of al-Jibāl (or Persian 'Irāq), and was so called from its Persian name *Sibāhān*, which means *collection of troops*. It was denominated thus because the kings of Persia, the Khosroes, used to assemble their troops in that place as in the encampments (*askar*) of Fāris, Kermān, al-Ahwāz, etc. on the occurrence of any serious event. *Sibāhān*, in Arabic *Isbahān*, was built by Alexander Dhu 'l-Qarnayn. Such are the observations made by al-Sam'āni.

1 The meaning of the word *hafiz* has already been explained: No. 27, note on *hafiz*.

2 See d'Herbelot, *Scaps fils de Moavle*.

3 The Arabs, not having in their alphabet an equivalent for the letter *p* are obliged to write Ispāhn with a *b* or an *f*.

*The pronoun in اخذوا عنه is not necessarily for his teachers; it most likely means and (many people) studied under him and were profited by him.—Ed.

†30 October.—Ed.

33. AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Thābit Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Mahdī Ibn Thābit, better known by the name of al-Khaṭīb (*the preacher*), native of Baghdād, composed *a history of that city, and other useful works. He was a ḥāfiẓ¹ of exact knowledge and a scholar of profound learning; had he written nothing but his History, that production would be sufficient for his reputation, as it shows him to have possessed vast information; and yet he is author of nearly one hundred works, and his merit is too well known to require description. He learned jurisprudence from Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Maḥāmili, the qāḍī Abu ‘l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and other masters, but though a doctor of law, he made the Traditions and history his principal study. His birth took place on †Thursday, 23rd of the latter Jumādā, 392 (May, A. D. 1002), and his death occurred at Baghdād on Monday, 7th Dhu ‘l-Hijjah, 463 (September, A. D. 1071)‡; al-Sam‘ānī says that he died in the month of Shawwāl. I am informed that Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī was one of those who carried his bier, through gratitude for the great service rendered him by the Khaṭīb, whom he had been accustomed to consult on the difficulties in his works. It is a singular coincidence that the death of the Khaṭīb, who was the ḥāfiẓ of the East, took place on the same day§ as that of Abū ‘Umar Yūsuf Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, author of the *Kitāb al-Ist‘āb*, who was at that period the ḥāfiẓ

1 See No. 27, note on *ḥāfiẓ*.

*According to the autograph it should be rendered: "He composed many useful books, e. g., History of Baghdād and others. —*Ed.*"

†Thursday fell on 21 Second Jumādā corresponding to 7 May according to Edward Mahler's calculation. It should be borne in mind that the day and date are later additions. —*Ed.*

‡6 September. —*Ed.*

§In the same year according to the autograph and printed Arabic text. Besides there is distinctly given another date of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr's death which is the last day of Second Rabi' 463 A. H. and Khaṭīb's 7th Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 463. Vide No. 808.

of the West¹: (see the life of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in the letter Y). Ibn al-Najjār says in his History of Baghdād that Abu 'l-Barakāt Isma'īl Ibn Sa'd the Sūfī² related the following circumstance: "The shaykh Abū Bakr Ibn Zahra the Sūfī had a tomb made for himself by the side of Bishr al-Hāfi's, and went once a week to sleep in it and read the *Qur'ān* through; but the Khaṭīb, in dying, had desired to be buried beside the grave of Bishr, for which reason the students of the Traditions* of Ibn Zahrā had requested him to give the Khaṭīb the preference, and allow him to be interred in that tomb which he had got made for himself, but Ibn Zahrā gave a most determined refusal, and said: 'Must the place I prepared for myself since so many years be taken from me?' On seeing him so resolute, they went to my father Abu Sa'd and told him what had passed, on which he sent for Ibn Zahrā and addressed him in these terms: 'I will not ask you to give them' up the tomb, but I will propose to you this question: Were Bishr al-Hāfi among the living and you seated by his side, and if the Khaṭīb were then to enter and take a place lower than yours, would it be becoming in you to remain seated above him?' 'Certainly not,' replied Ibn Zahrā, 'I should rise and give him up my place.' 'So you should do at the present moment,' said my father; and on this the heart of the shaykh Ibn Zahrā relented, and he gave them permission to bury the Khaṭīb in his tomb, which was done.—The Khaṭīb was interred by the gate of Ḥarb'; during his illness he gave in alms all his riches, which amounted to two hundred dinars, and which he distributed to the traditionists, juriconsults,

1 Northern Africa, Sicily, and Spain are the countries which the Muslims designated by the appellation of *the West* (*al-Maghrib*).

2 Lower down the father of the Sūfī is named Abū Sa'd, instead of Sa'd as here given: but one of the MSS. has Abū Sa'd in both places, and this is probably the true reading.

3 In the original text this word is incorrectly printed جرب

اصحاب الحديث means traditionists.—Ed.

and faqīrs; he also ordered that the clothes he wore should be 'given in charity and that all his books should be appropriated as a *waqf*¹ to the use of Muslims. He left no posterity. The number of his works is upwards of sixty. The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī was one of those who carried his bier. Some say he was born in *391 (A. D. 1001), but God knows best. There exist relations of holy dreams² in which he appeared after his death. He had become chief professor and *hāfiz* of Traditions in that epoch." End of the extract from the work of Ibn al-Najjār.

34. ABU 'L-HUSAYN AL-RĀWANDĪ

Abu 'l-Husayn Ahmad Ibn Yahyā Ibn Ishāq al-Rāwandī, a celebrated scholar and author of a discourse on †metaphysics, was one of the most talented men of his time: the works he composed amount to about one hundred and fourteen: among them are the Ignominy of the Motazelites, the Crown, the Emerald, the Jewel (*al-Qaḍab*), etc.; ‡he wrote also an account of his sittings and conversations with a number of learned metaphysicians.§ The doctrines he professed were peculiarly his own, and are to be found stated in the writings of the schoolmen. He died A. H. 245 (A. D. 859), at the place called the Raḥabah of Mālik Ibn Ṭawq **al-Taghlibī³; some say at Baghdād; he was then about forty years of age. In the work called the *Bustān*⁴ his death is placed in 250, but God knows

1 See No. 22, note on *waqf*.

2 See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

3 See Abu 'l-Fidā's Geography, Arabic text, page 280.

4 Hājji Khālīfah, in his Bibliographical Dictionary, notices sixteen works bearing the title of *Bustān*; the one cited here by Ibn Khallikān is perhaps that composed by Abū Ḥamid al-Isfarā'īnī.

* This year seems to be correct because it was in this year that Thursday fell on 24 of Second Jumādā.—*Ed.*

† علم الکلام is scholastic philosophy or theology.—*Ed.*

‡ It should be rendered: "He had sittings and discussions with a number of scholastic theologians.—*Ed.*

§ Scholastic theologians.—*Ed.*

** M. de Slane gives "al-Tha'labī".—*Ed.*

best!—*Rāwandī* means *native of Rāwand*, a village in the dependencies of Qāsān near Ispahān; there is another place called Rāwand outside Naysāpur; this Qāsān must not be confounded with Qāshān, situated in the neighbourhood of Qumm. * [This Rāwand is mentioned by Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī in his *Ḥamāsah*, chapter of Elegies¹; he says: "They relate that two men of the tribe of Asad went forth to Ispahān, and took there into fellowship as brother a *dihqān*,² who lived in a place called both Rāwand and Khuzāq; they made him their cup-companion, and one of them having died, the *dihqān* and the other survivor took his tomb for cup-companion, inasmuch as they drank two cups and poured out one upon the tomb; then the *dihqān* died, and the man of the tribe of Asad who remained drank to the graves of both, and sung these words:

'O my two friends! awake; how long do you repose! Is it then true that your sleep shall have no end? Is it by reason of your lengthened slumber that you answer not him who calleth unto you?—(It would seem) as if a cup-bearer had steeped your senses in wine! Know ye not that in all Rāwand and Khuzāq I have no other friends but you? I shall remain by your tombs, and never quit them during the long course of nights, unless a voice³ answer from your graves. I will weep over you till the hour of death, but what will give answer to the moans of the afflicted if he weeps your loss? Could one life be given to preserve another, I had offered mine as a ransom for yours. I now pour out wine upon your graves; if it reach

1 See Freytag's *Ḥamāsah*, page 398.

2 *Dihqān* is a Persian word, signifying both *farmer* and *historian*; it is generally used to designate a person of ancient Persian family, possessing hereditary landed property. See Dr. Mohl's translation of the *Shāh Nāmah*, t. I, page 8 of the Introduction.

3 See a curious note on this superstition in M. de Sacy's *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 211.

* [] From "This Rāwand" to end is not in the autograph.—Ed.

you not, it will at least moisten the earth by which you are covered.' ”

Khuzāq is the name of another village in the neighbourhood of Rāwand.]

35. AḤMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD AL-HARAWĪ

Abū ‘Ubayd Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī ‘Ubayd al-‘Abdī al-Muwaddib (*the schoolmaster*) al-Harawī al-Fāshānī : such is the genealogy usually given of the author of the *Kitāb al-‘Ġharibayn*. I have however found it stated thus on the title-page of a copy of his work* : Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.† He was ranked among the men of profound learning, and his book shows him to have possessed no inferior talent; but I have no knowledge of any circumstances of his life deserving mention, excepting the fact of his having been pupil to Abū Maṣū‘ al-Azhari, the philologist (whose life I intend to give); it was under him that al-Harawī studied and acquired his information. The work which I have mentioned contains the explanation of the uncommon expressions peculiar to the *Qur’ān* and the traditions of the Prophet; it is a useful book, and copies of it have spread to every country. It is said that the author was fond of loose‡ conversation, that he took (*wine*) in private, and kept company with men of wit in their parties of pleasure and debauch; God pardon him (*for doing so*) and us (*for mentioning it*)! To something of this kind also al-Bākhari appears to allude in his biographical notice on some learned men of K̲h̲urāsān.§ Al-Harawī died in the month of Rajab A. H. 401 (A. D. 1011): this patronymic is derived

*Refers to كتاب الغريبين.—Ed.

†“God knows best” is omitted.—Ed.

‡It is erroneous translation : المذله means changing clothes daily. Probably de Slane trusted its variant reading المذله.—Ed.

§ “God knows best” is omitted.—Ed.

from Herāt, the name of one of the great cities in Khurāsān which capitulated to Al-Aḥnāf Ibn Qays (*general*) under the orders of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amir (*in the thirtieth year of Hijrah*).¹ Fāshānī is derived from Fāshān, name of a village in the dependencies of Herāt; it is also called Bāshān according to al-Samānī; mention has already been made of Qāshān and Qāsān.² These four names are sometimes confounded one with another, but written as they are here, no mistake can occur.

6.3 AL-KHAWĀFĪ

Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī was the most able polemic divine of his time; he had studied jurisprudence under the Imām al-Haramayn,* and was one of his most distinguished pupils. He was qāḍī of Ṭūs and its environs, and obtained great reputation among the learned by his skill in argument and his ability in silencing an adversary. He was a fellow-student of Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī, and both were equally gifted with great talents, which the former showed in argument, the latter in his writings. Al-Khawāfī died at Ṭūs, A. H. 500 (A. D. 1106). Khawāfī is derived from Khawāf, a canton of Naysāpūr, containing many villages.

37. ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ AḤMAD AL-GHAZZĀLĪ

Abu 'l-Futūḥ Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazzālī, surnamed Majd al-Din (*glory of religion*), was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, and brother to

1 See note on *al-Aḥnaf* No. 22. Al-Aḥnāf, had already invaded Khurāsān, A. H. 22. See Major Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*

2 See No. 34.

*M. de Slane has omitted "al-Juwaynī".—Ed.

the imām Abā Ḥāmid al-Ḡhazzālī. He was good preacher, handsome in person, and endowed with the gift of miracles and other signs of divine favour. His ruling passion was making public exhortations, and for this he neglected the law of which he was a doctor; but he gave lectures on this science in the *Niẓāmiyah* College, when acting as substitute for his brother Abā Ḥāmid, who had ceased to profess from religious scruples. The work written by his brother, and entitled *Iḥyā ‘ulūm al-dīn* (*Revival of Religious Sciences*) was abridged by him into one volume with the title of *Lubāb al-Iḥyā* (*Pith of the Iḥyā*); he was also author of another treatise, named *al-Dhaḥirat fī ‘Ilm al-Baṣīrat* (*the Treasure, treating of the science of vision*).¹ He had travelled over many countries, acting as a servant to the Sufīs, and was disposed to solitude and retirement from the world. Ibn al-Najjār relates this anecdote in his History of Baghdad: A person in the presence of Aḥmad al-Ḡhazzālī read out of the *Qur’ān* this verse: O, my servants! *who have transgressed against yourselves, etc.*² on which al-Ḡhazzālī remarked that God had ennobled them by calling them *His* servants (*which had not been the case, were the possessive pronoun omitted*); and he then cited the following verses (*in support of his observation*):

‘The blame which I incur for loving Laylā³ bears lightly on me; it pains me little, that my enemies say: “He is an outcast.” When called by my name, I am deaf; but I hear (*and answer*) when people say; “O slave of Layla!”’

1 It is difficult to say what the *science of vision* may be, but judging from the character of the author, I am inclined to think that this work contains some mystic doctrine.

2 *Qur’ān*, surat 39, verse 54.

3 I have substituted here the proper name *Laylā* for the pronoun *her*, so as to be enabled to render into English the idea which comes in the next verse; as the words, *O slave of her* would be unintelligible, though a literal translation of the Arabic.

It is thus another poet has said :

“Call me by no other name than *slave of Layla*, for that is the noblest of my names.”

Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī died at Qazwīn, A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126). The patronymic Tāsi is derived from Tās, the name of a place in Khurāsān composed of two towns, Tāberān and Nawqān, to which appertain more than one thousand villages. Ghazzālī is a derivative from Ghazzāl (*cotton spinner*), formed after the system generally followed by the people of Khwarezm and Jurjān, who from Qaṣṣār (*a fuller*) form Qaṣṣārī, and from ‘Attār (*a druggist*), ‘Attārī.¹ Some pronounce Ghazzālī with a single z, deriving it from Ghazzālah, the name of a village in the dependencies of Tās, but this pronunciation differs from the one in general use, though al-Sam‘ānī has adopted it in his *Ansāb*.—Qazwīn, a large city in Persian ‘Irāq, situated near the castles of the Ismā‘ilites.²

38. IBN BARHĀN AL-‘UṢŪLĪ

Abu ‘l-Fath Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Wakīl, generally known by the name of Ibn Barhān, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi‘ī and profoundly learned in the dogmas (‘uṣūl) of faith and the minor principles of doctrine, as also in those points wherein the four orthodox sects agree or differ. He studied jurisprudence under Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and Abū ‘l-Ḥasan al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī; having become master of the subject; he composed the *Wajiz*, or *Brief Exposition* of the Principles of Jurisprudence, and professed during

1 The people of Khwarezm, in so doing, committed a great barbarism, for qaṣṣārī and ‘attārī, if they had any meaning, would signify a *fullerman*, a *druggistman*.

2 The fullest account of the Ismā‘ilites is given by M. de Sacy in his *History of the Druzes*, t. I, Introduction.

less than a month¹ in the Nizamiya College at Baghḍād, where he died A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126).

39. AL-NAḤḤĀS THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Isma'īl Ibn Yūnus al-Murādī, surnamed al-Naḥḥās, was an eminent grammarian and native of Egypt. Among the instructive works written by him may be reckoned his Commentary on the *Qur'ān*; a Treatise on the grammatical analysis of the *Qur'ān*; another on the verses of the *Qur'ān* which have been abrogated and those which abrogated them; a work on grammar, entitled *al-Tuffāha* (*the Apple*); one of Etymology; and Explanation of the verses given as example by Sībawayh in his grammar, being the first work on the subject; the Secretary's Guide; the *Kāfi* (*Sufficient*), a treatise on grammar; a treatise* on the ideas usually met with in poetry; the works of ten poets edited and commented by himself; a greater and a less treatise on the Pause and the Commencement of Phrases; a Commentary on the seven† Moallaqas; Lives of the Poets (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara*): etc. His traditional learning was obtained from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān

¹ In the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shafī'in*: شهرًا واحدًا which fixes the sense of *دون السحر* an expression of very doubtful import. The author of this *Ṭabaqāt* says: Ibn Barhān was born at Baḥḍād, A. H. 479; he composed the *Basīṭ* or *Detailed treatise* on the Law, the *Wasīṭ* or *treatise of Medium extent*, and the *Wajīz*, or *Brief Exposition*, as also other works. His talent for resolving legal difficulties became proverbial; and though Ibn Khalikān states that he died in 520; it is well known that 518 was the year of his death.

* *العانى* is that branch of grammar which treats of lucid expressions of one's ideas.—*Ed.*

† According to the autograph it is nine, probably in addition to the seven famous poems; the commentary included of poems of Nabi ḥah *Dhubyāni* and A'sḥā. Some people reckon it to be 10 and include one by 'Abīd also.—*Ed.*

al-Nasa'i, whom he gave as his authority when communicating that species of information to others; the grammar he learned from Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Akhfash, Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj, Ibn al-Anbārī, Niṣṭawayh, and the first literary men of 'Irāq, having travelled from Egypt to that country for the purpose of studying under them. He was a man of sordid habits, parsimonious and niggardly towards himself; on being given a turban-cloth he would cut it into three out of avarice; what he required for his sustenance, he would buy himself, or else live upon his acquaintances, to whom he became a burden; notwithstanding which he was ardently sought after by numbers, for the profit and instruction which were to be obtained from his lessons. Died at Old Cairo, on Sunday, 5th of Dhu 'l-Hijja, 338 (May,* A. D. 950); some say 337. He came by his death in the following manner: he had seated himself on the staircase of the Nilometer, by the side of the river, which was then on the increase, and began to scan some verses according to the rules of prosody, when a common fellow, who heard him, said: "This man is pronouncing a charm to prevent the overflow of the Nile, so as to raise the price of provisions;" he then thrust him with his foot into the river, and nothing more was heard of him.—*Nahḥās* means a *worker in copper*; in Egypt this name is given to him who makes vessels in brass.

40. IBN BAQIYYAH AL-'ABDĪ, THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad Ibn Bakr Ibn Baqiyya al-'Abdī, an able and talented grammarian; he wrote a good commentary on the grammatical treatise compose, by Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī, and entitled the *'Īdāh*. The only circumstance of his life which has come to my knowledge is the fact of his having studied grammar under Abu Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Rummāni and Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī. Died on Thursday, 20th Ramadān, A. H. 406

*26.—Ed.

(A. D. 1016). 'Abdi means descended from *Abd Qays*, who was the son of Afsa¹ Ibn Du'ma and ancestor of a great and famous tribe.

41. ABU 'L-ABBĀS IBN SAHL THE KĀTIB

The kātib Abu 'l-Abbas Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Sahl, author of the *Kitāb al-Kharāj*.² He died A. H. 270 (A. D. 883). Being totally ignorant of the circumstances of his life, I must pass it over in silence; my only reason for mentioning him is on account of his celebrated work, as its readers might wish to know at what time the author lived.

42. THA'LAB THE GRAMMARIAN

Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Zayd Ibn Sayyār the grammarian, generally known by the name of Tha'lab, was an adopted member of the tribe of shaybān, wherein he had for patron Ma'an Ibn Zā'ida, whose life we shall give in the letter *M*. Tha'lab was chief grammarian and philologist among the learned men of Kufa³; he had taken lessons from Ibn al-A'rābī and al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkār, and his authority was cited by his pupils al-Aḥfash al-Asghar, Abu Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī, Abu Umar al-Zāhid, and others. Complete confidence was placed in the exactness of his traditional information; his opinion was

1 See note on *Aksa*, No. 19.

2 This work appears to be a treatise on the revenue arising from the land tax; the author's having been a *kātib* or writer in one of the government offices appears to confirm this conjecture.

3 In the early ages of Islamism, the grammarians and philologists who studied at Kufah differed on certain questions from those of Basrah. These two schools are often spoken of.

decisive in doubtful questions; he was a man of virtue noted for his retentive memory, his veracity, his knowledge of the genius of the Arabic language, and his correctness in reciting ancient poetry: even while a youth, he held a high place among the masters in learning. When Ibn al-A'rabī had doubts on any point, he would say to Tha'lab; "Abu 'l-'Abbās! what is your opinion on the subject?" such was the confidence he placed in his extensive information. Tha'lab used to say: I began my travels for the purpose of studying Arabic and philology in the year 216; at the age of eighteen I had read the *Hudud* by the grammarian al-Farrā, and on completing my twenty-fifth year, I knew by heart (*and mastered*) every question without exception which al-Farrā had treated. Abū Bakr Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqri relates as follows: "Tha'lab said to me: 'O Abū Bakr! the *Quranists* were taken up with the *Qur'ān* and obtained a happy reward; the traditionists were taken up with the Traditions and obtained a happy reward; the doctors were taken up with the law and obtained a happy reward: I have been taken up with *Zayd* and *Amr*¹; O, that I knew what my state will be in the next world! 'After quitting him, I had a vision in my sleep that very night, and I saw the blessed Prophet, who said to me: Give my greeting to Abū 'Abbās and say: *Thou art master of the superior science.*² On this expression the holy servant Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Rūdbārī³ observes that the Prophet's meaning was: *By this*

1 That is: *I have been taken up with the study of Arabic grammar,* in which one of the most common examples is ضرب زيد عمرا *dreams Zayd beat 'Amr.*

2 We have here a proof that the study of grammar is not only *lawful جائز* but praiseworthy مستحسن. See note on No. 19.

3 Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn 'Ata عطا al-Rūdbārī was an inhabitant of Tyre and chief of the Ṣūfis in Syria: he died A. H. 369 (A. D. 979). (Al-Yāfi'is Annals).—Another celebrated *shaykh* and Ṣūfī, bearing the same surname as the preceding, Abū 'Ali Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim al-Rūdbārī, a native of Baḡhdād, but who settled in Egypt, where he became chief of the Ṣūfis شيخ مصري زمانه. He had studied under al-Junayd and others; and was versed in a great variety of sciences. He is related to have said: My master in Sufism was al-Junayd, in the Traditions Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, in Jurisprudence Ibn Surayj, and in literature Tha'lab. Died A. H. 322 or 323 (A. H. 934-5) (Yafi'i's Annals. Al-Uṭhmānis *Tābaqāt*.)

(science) *spoken language is made perfect and discourse becomes connected ; all other sciences also stand in need of it.* Abū Umar al-Zāhid, surnamed al-Muṭarriz, relates the following anecdote : “I was once at one of Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Tha‘lab’s literary parties, when a person asked him a question, to which he answered ; ‘I do not know.’ ‘How ! said the other, you say *I do not know*, and yet it is to reach you that the camels pant* (in thier hurried march) and towards you that travellers advance from every city.¹ To this Abu ‘l-Abbās replied : ‘Did your mother possess a date² for everything I do not know, she would be a rich woman.’” Tha‘lab is author of the *Faṣiḥ* (the Pure), a (philological) work, small in size, but of great utility ; †[he composed also some poetry : Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī says, in one of his dictated lessons³ : “Tha‘lab recited to me the following verses, but I know not whether they are his or another’s :

‘Since thou, who art the food of my life, hast abandoned me; how long then will that life endure of which thou wast the food ? It will last as long as the desert-lizard⁴ ‘can live in water; as long as the fish can live in a verdant plain.’

1 This figurative phrase, which means simply that persons came from all parts to consult him, is very frequently employed by Arabic writers.

2 To avoid the coarseness of the original Arabic, the word *بعر* is here rendered by *date*; its true signification is a *pellet of sheep’s or goat’s dung*. The same anecdote is given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 123; but he there translates *بعر* by *camels*; in this he does not appear to be right.

3 See No 12, note on *امالى*.

4 The *desert-lizard*, or dubb; this animal always avoids water. (See Jackson’s *Morocco*, 2nd edition, page 102.) It is about eighteen inches long, and burrows in the sands of the desert; its flesh is eaten by the wild Arabs. Leo Africanus says, in speaking of this animal: *Aquam non potat, et si quis aquam in os infundat, Evestigio moriture.*

*M. de Slane has read it *كبد* and the same is given in printed copies. The autograph has *كتد* which means back of a camel.—Ed.

† [] From “he composed” to “for the sake” on page 150, is not in the autograph.—Ed.

On this, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Barā' recited us these additional verses:

“Wast thou then deceived in me, because I assumed affected patience, thoug that ‘soul of mine had received from thee a mortal wound? If what I suffer were inflicted ‘on the solid rocks, it would overthrow them; if on the wind, the wind would cease to blow, and would remain in a lengthened slumber! But patience? God may cause us ‘to meet again; and then I shall complain to thee of the woes which were caused by ‘thee and which I encountered for the sake.’”

Tha‘lab was born in the third month of the year 200 (October A. D. 815), according to *Ibn al-Qarāb² in his History; but others place his birth in 201 or 204: a circumstance, however, which points out the year 200 is furnished by the following relation given by Tha‘lab himself: “I saw the khalif al-Māman on his return from *Khurāsān* in the year 204; he had just gone forth from the *Bab al-Ḥadid* (*Iron Gate*) on his way to al-Ruṣāfa; the people were drawn up in a double line, and my father bore

1 The qāḍi Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Bara al-'Abdi was native of Baḡhdād and a reader of the *Qur'an*. Died in *Shawwāl*, A. H. 291 (A. D. 904) *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurra*, MS. No. 742, fol. 72).

2 No mention is made of this historian by Ḥājjī Khalifa or the other works I have consulted. Even the true pronunciation of the name is uncertain.—The true reading is perhaps †Ibn al-Furāt *الفرات*; in al-Yafī's Annals, year 384 (A. D. 994) is found the following note: In this year died Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Furāt, native of Baḡhdād. He learned the Traditions from al-Mahāmīlī and many other doctors of that period. The Khaṭīb says (see his life, No. 33): “I have been told that he possessed one hundred quires (*of notes*) furnished to him by 'Ali Ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī; that he wrote one hundred commentaries *تفسير*, and the like number of histories: he was an author of authority and veracity.

*Ibn al-Qarāb because in the autograph it is very clear.—*Ed.*

†It cannot be *ابن الفرات* as suggested here because in the autograph it is clearly *ابن القراب* with *تشديد* on.—*Ed.*

me up in his arms and said: "That is al-Māmūn, and this is the year four; " which words I have kept in mind up to the present moment; I was at the time four years of age." He died on Saturday, 17* (some say 10†) of the First Jumādā, A. H. 291 (April, A. D. 904) at Ba ġhdād, and was buried in the cemetery at the Gate of Syria. The accident which caused his death happened in the following manner: he had left the mosque on Friday, when the after noon prayer was over; and some time before he had got a deafness, which prevented him from hearing unless with great difficulty; he was holding a book in his hand and reading it in the street, when a horse knocked against and threw him into a deep pit, out of which he was taken nearly senseless. He was immediately borne to his house, complaining of his head, and he died the next day. *Shaybānī* means *belonging to Shaybān*, which is a tribe sprung from Bakr Ibn Wā'il; there were two chiefs of this name: *Shaybān*, son of *Tha'labah*, son of 'Ukābah, and *Shaybān*, son of *Dhuhl*, son of *Tha'labah*, son of *Ukābah*, so the former was uncle to the latter.—*Tha'lab* composed the following works: the *Maṣnū* (*Precious, a treatise on grammar*); points on which grammarians disagree; on the Idiomatic Expressions peculiar to the *Qur'ān*; on the faulty Expressions made use by the vulgar; the differences which exist between the seven readings or editions of the *Qur'ān*; on the usual Ideas found in the poems of the ancient Arabs; on Diminutive Nouns on Nouns of the first and second declension‡; on those parts of Speech which can, or cannot assume the functions of others; on abnormal Words and Expressions; a Collection of Proverbs; on the Confidence (*to be placed in the ancients*¹); on the final Pause and the commencement of Phrases; a Vocabulary; on the Alphabet; a Collection of *Sitting*, or Discourses; the *Awsat*, or Grammar of Medium Extent; on the Parsing of the *Qur'ān*; Question discussed; *Ḥadd al-Nahw* (*the limits of Grammar*).§

¹ The Arabic title is *Kitāb al-Īmān* (*Liber Fidei*); the subject of this work is doubtful.

*7 April.—*Ed.*

†31 March.—*Ed.*

‡Mutable and Immutable nouns.—*Ed.*

§M. de Slane has omitted etc."

43. THE ḤĀFIẒ AL-SILAFĪ

Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Silafā, native of Ispahān, and surnamed Ṣadr al-Dīn (*centre of religion*), was ḥāfiẓ of great information, and a follower of the sect of al-Shāfi'i. He travelled to different countries for the purpose of gathering traditions respecting Muḥammad from the great masters in that branch of knowledge, and went to Baghdād where he studied jurisprudence under al-Kiyā al-Harrasī, and Arabic under the khaṭīb Abu Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Tabrīzī the philologist. He taught the Traditions on the authority of Abū Muḥammad Ja'far Ibn al-Sarrāj and other principal doctors; and having passed through many regions and journeyed over many lands, he went by sea from the city of Ṣūr (*Tyre*) to Alexandria, where he arrived in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 511 (March, A. D. 1118). Having fixed his dwelling in that city, he was visited by persons from the farthest countries, who came to attend his lessons and profit by his tuition. Towards the end of his life, he remained without a rival, and, in the year 546 (A. D. 1151), al-'Adil Ibn al-Sallār, vizīr to al-Zāfir al-'Ubaydī, prince of Egypt, founded a college at Alexandria and appointed him its president, which establishment is still called, after him the Silafī College. In my youth, I met, in Syria and Egypt, a number of persons who had been his pupil, and from whom I learned traditions which they authorised me, by a written certificate, to teach on their authority, al-Silafī wrote a great deal, and I extracted from his papers a mass of useful information; among other particulars, I picked out the following verses by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Abbār, a native of Spain:

“Were my mind not wholly taken up with the Emīr and with praise worthy his deserts, I should have sung the charms of my fair Gazelle in a more lengthened strain; but engaged in the description of Majesty, I was forced to lay aside my description of Beauty.”¹

¹ In the original Arabic, these two verses are remarkable for the verbal artifice of their construction.

I found also in his handwriting these two verses, composed by Buthaina on the death of her lover Jamīl:

“Never for a single instant have I felt consolation for the loss of Jamīl; that time has not yet come. Whilst thou art absent, O Jamīl, son of Ma‘mar! the pains of life and its pleasures are to me equally indifferent.”

Al-Silafī used often to recite this verse :

“ ’Tis said that the inhabitants of a dwelling are its souls; but you I look on as the soul of souls.”

His dictates¹ and notes are in great quantity, but, as concision is to be preferred in such an abridged work as this (*I am precluded from extracts*).—He was born at Ispahān about the year 472 (A. D. 1079), and died in the frontier city of Alexandria on the morning, or, as some say, on the eve of Friday, 5th of the Second Rabi, 576 (August,* A. D. 1189). He was interred at Wa‘lā, which burial-place lies within the city walls near the Green Gate (*al-Bab al-Akhdar*), and contains the tombs of many holy men, such as al-Ṭurṭuṣhī and others. It is said that this cemetery takes its name from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Wa‘la al-Sabā’ī (*native of Saba in Yemen*), who inhabited Egypt and had studied under Ibn ‘Abbās²: other derivations

1 See No. 12, note on *اسالی*.

2 Abu ‘l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abbas (sons to Abbās, uncle of Muḥammad), was born at Mekkah, A. D. 619, three years before the Hijrah. Immediately on his birth he was presented to Muḥammad, who begged of God to instruct him in the knowledge of the divine law and the interpretation of the *Qur’ān*. The deep learning and piety which Ibn ‘Abbās displayed in after-life were attributed by the Muslims to the efficacy of their Prophet’s prayers; and when yet a youth, his merit was so generally recognized that the *khalifs* Abu Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān always yielded him the place of honour in the assemblies. He was considered as the ablest interpreter of the *Qur’ān* then in existence, and it was said of him that none knew better the traditions the legal decisions of the three first *khalifs*, the law, the interpretation of the *Qur’ān*, and the sciences of poetry and arithmetic.

*29.—Ed.

(Continued on page 154)

have also been given. *[The date here assigned to his birth is the one I found given by the learned traditionists of Egypt, and among the rest, the ḥāfiz 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhir,¹ the

(Continued from page 153)

Crowds flocked to him from all parts to hear his lectures, and it is related on good authority that he gave regularly public lessons, one day on the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*; the next, on the law; the third, on grammar; the fourth, on the history of the Arabs أيام العرب; and the fifth on poetry. It was to his efforts that the study of the poems composed before the introduction of Islamism, became of such importance to the Muslims; for the frequently quoted verses of the ancient poets in proof of the explanations he gave of different passages of the *Qur'ān*, and he used to say: "When you meet with a difficulty in the *Qur'ān*, look for its solution in the poems of the Arabs, for these are the registers of the Arabic nation." On being asked how he had acquired his extensive knowledge he replied: "By means of an enquiring tongue and an intelligent heart." He was appointed governor of Basrah by the *khabīf* 'Alī, and remained there for some time; he then returned to Hijāz, and died at Ṭāif, A. H. 68 (A. D. 687), aged 70 years. The celebrated Muḥammad Ibn al-Hanafiyyā pronounced funeral prayers over him and said: "To-day is dead the doctor رباى of this people and the sea of learning." He was tall in stature, large bodied, of a clear complexion and remarkable for the beauty of his countenance and his dignified appearance; his hair was dyed with *hinna*. Towards the end of his life, he lost the use of his sight.—(Tab. al-Fuqahd. Tab. al-Qurra Siyar al-Salal. MSS. of the Bib. du Roi)

1 The ḥāfiz Zakī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Salāmī al-Mundhirī was descended from a family which dwelt in Syria, but he himself was born in Egypt, in the month of Sha'ban, 581 (November, A. D. 1185). Having attained a profound knowledge of the *Qur'ān*, Arabic literature, jurisprudence, and composed a *Mu'jam* and other important works, he became *shay'ḥ* of the college for the study of the traditions (*Dar al-Ḥadīth al-Kamiliya*); this college was founded at Cairo, A. H. 622 (A. D. 1225), by al-Malik al-Kāmil Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-'Ādil. This was one of the only two colleges specially designed for teaching the Traditions; the other was founded at Damascus by al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmud Ibn Zinki. During the twenty years of his administration he led a most abstentious, pure, and holy life, and instructed numerous pupils who became

(Continued on page 155)

*[] From "The date" to "his life" on page 156 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

first traditionist of his age, but I have since found a different statement in the *Zahr al-Ribāʿ*, etc. (Meadow Flowers, or Elucidator of the purport and scope (of figurative Expression and Allusions) by Jamāl al-dīn *al-Safrāwī,¹ who says: "My master, the ḥāfiz Abū †Ḥāhir al-Silafī has told me from conjecture, and not from certain assurance, that he was born in 478: this obliges me to conclude that he lived to the age of 98 years." I read also in the History of Baghdād, Muḥibb al-Dīn ‡ Ibn al-Najjār,[§] the following passage in confirmation of al-Safrāwī's statement:

(Continued from page 154)

later illustrious for their learning. Ibn Khallikan was one of the number. He wrote also an abridgement of the imām Muslim's Traditions; a summary of the traditions published by Abū Dawūd; a collection of useful notes on the same work; a valuable treatise entitled *Al-Tarḥīb wa 'l-Tarḥīb* (Incitement and Determent), the first volume of this work, which contains a collection of Traditions, is in the *Bib. du Roi*, fond St. Germain, No. 86). etc. He died in Egypt in A. H. 656 (A. H. 1258.—(See *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*.) It is worthy of remark that the *Bib. du Roi* is in possession of volume containing a portion of the work of Abū Dawūd (No. 354, *ancien fonds*), in which is found a number of notes in the handwriting of 'Abd al-Azīm al-Muadird.

1 The imām Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Majīd Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ḥafs al-Safrāwī, doctor of the sect of Malik, was born at Alexandria about the commencement of the year 544 (May, A. D. 1149), and died in 636 (A. D. 1238-9). Besides the *Zahr ar-Riyad*, he wrote a treatise on the seven editions of the *Qur'ān*, the title of which is; *al-I'lan fi'l-Qar'at al-Sab'ee*. (*Ṭabaqāt al-Qorra* MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, *ancien fonds*, No. 742, fol. 191.)

*Full geneology is not given here which is as follows: al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abn' Ibn Qāsim Abdur Raḥman Ibn Abū 'l-Faḍl Abdul Majīd Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ḥafs al-Safrāwī al-Iskandarī.—*Ed.*

†In the opening line he has given correct *kunya* which is different, i.e., there is definite article expressed there but the same is omitted here. It may be due to the faulty copy at his disposal.—*Ed.*

‡The name "Moḥammad Ibn Mahmud known as" is omitted in it.—*Ed.*

§"al-Bahgdādi" is omitted.—*Ed.*

“ ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Maqdīsī¹ relates having asked the ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī the date of his birth, and that he received this answer from him: ‘I remember the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk² in the year 485’, and I was then under ten years of age!’” Now, if his birth was in 472, as the people of Egypt state, al-Silafī would not have said: *I remember the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk in the year 485*; for it must be concluded from what they say that al-Silafī was then thirteen or fourteen years of age; but it is not the custom for a person (*mentioning a circumstance which happened*) when he was of that age, to say; *I remember such and such an event*; it could only be said by one who was then four or five or six year of age. Whence it appears that al-Safrāwī’s statement comes nearer to truth than the other; he was, besides, a pupil of al-Silafī’s and had heard him say: *My birth was in 478*. Al-Ṣafrāwī is also an author whose word cannot be called into question, and on whose exactness no doubts can be thrown; to which I may add that I have not heard of any person within the last three hundred years, who lived for a century, much less of one who lived for more, the qāḍī Abu ‘l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabari excepted; for he lived to the age of 102 years. as we shall again mention in his life.]—*Al-Silafī* was so named after his grandfather Ibrāhīm Silafa. *Silafa* is a Persian word, *meaning three lips (seh leb)*; he received this appellation because of his lips was split and appeared bouble. without counting the other, which remained in its natural state. This word was originally *Silaba*, but the *b* has been replaced by *f*.

1 The ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ghānī Ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Maqdīsī, doctor of the sect of Ibn Ḥanbal, learned the Traditions at Damascus, Alexandria, Baḡhdād, and Ispahān, and became the highest authority on the subject. He composed a number of works, and was remarkable for his piety, his strict observation of the precepts contained in the *Sumah*, and the exhortations which he made to induce his hearers to do what was right, and avoid what was forbidden. Died A. H. 600 (A. D. 1203). His life has been written in two volumes by the ḥāfiẓ Dīā al-Dīn (*light of religion*). Al-Yafī’s Annals.—The ḥāfiẓ Dīā al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Maqdīsī, doctor of the sect of Ibn Hambal, was a traditionist of great authority in Syria. The ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī was one of his masters. Died A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245.) (*Tab. al-Ḥuffāz.*)

2 This event is related in the Annals of Abu ‘l-Fida.

44. SHARAF AL-DĪN IBN MAN'Ā* 'L-IRBILĪ

Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad, son to the learned shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Mūsā Ibn †Radi al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Yūnus Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Man'ā Ibn Mālik Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'ād Ibn Sa'īd Ibn 'Āṣim Ibn 'Āid Ibn Karab Ibn Qays Ibn Ibrāhīm, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī and surnamed Sharaf al-Dīn (*nobleness of religion*), came of an eminent and powerful family, which was one of the first in Arbela. This imām was possessed of great talent and judgment, and to an exemplary conduct he joined a handsome person. He is author of a good commentary on the *Tinbih*, a treatise on Muslim Law (*composed by Abu Ishaq al-Shirāzi*): two Abridgements of the *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by the imām al-Ḥazzālī, one of them concise, the other more detailed. In the course of his lectures¹ he explained portions of the *Iḥyā'*, which he cited from memory: his mind being richly stored with traditional knowledge and extensive information. His family was noted for its learning, as may be seen hereafter in the lives of his paternal uncle and grandfather; as also of his father, whose plan of study he followed in acquiring his varied information in the science. A great number of pupils finished their education under him and the professorship of the college founded at Arbela by the prince of the city, al-Mālik al-Mua'zzam Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ibn Zayn al-Dīn, was confided to him after the death of my father. It was towards the beginning of the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 610, that he arrived at Arbela from Mawṣil; my father having died on the eve of Monday, †22nd Sha'bān of the same year. When a boy, I followed his lessons, and never yet heard any one who lectured so well; he did not cease to fill that place until he made his pilgrimage to Mekkah; when he returned, he made a

¹ The expression القى الدروس which, though of frequent occurrence, is not to be found in our Lexicons, means *to make a course of lectures*.

*M. de Slane has unwarrantedly advanced the genealogy by four generations. Man'ā is the name of his great-great-grandfather. — *Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *Rida*.— *Ed.*

‡6 January, 1214.— *Ed.*

short stay, and then went to Mawṣil, A. H. 617 (A. D. 1220), where he was appointed president of the *Qāhiriya* College; he remained in this studying and teaching till his death, which took place on Monday 24th of the Second Rabī', 622 (May,* A. D. 1225): born at Mawṣil, in the year 575 (A. H. 1179). He was the best of men, and when I think of him, the world is of little value in my eyes.—On reflecting, I observe that the life of Sharaf al-Dīn began and ended with the reign of al-Nāṣir lidīn Allāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, for this khalif was invested with authority A. H. 575, the year in which Sharaf al-Dīn was born, and they both died at one and the same period. It was at Arabela that Sharaf al-Dīn began to comment the *Tanbih*, having borrowed a copy of it from me, which contained useful notes written in the margin by a man of considerable talent, and all which I afterwards perceived to have been inserted by him in his commentary. The author of these notes was the shaykh †Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn al-Muḥaffar Ibn Ghānim Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī (*native of Jilān*), follower of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, and muftī of the Niḥāmiya College of Baghdād. He was one of the most distinguished and talented men of his age and composed a work on jurisprudence, forming fifteen volumes; he was very religious and had refused to fill every honourable place which was offered for his acceptance.¹ His death took place on Wednesday, 3rd of the First Rabī', A. H. 631 (A. D. 1233),‡ and he was interred in the Shuniziya (*a cemetery of Baghdād*), having lived upwards of sixty years: it was some time after the year 580 that he left his country to study in Baghdād.—Let us return to Sharaf al-Dīn: this doctor did not quit his native place in furtherance of his studies,

¹ He was offered the place of qaḍī at Baghdād, and that of superior of the great monastery (*al-Rib'at al-Kabir*); his work was entitled the *Ikmāl* (*completion*).—(*Tab. al-Shāfy'in.*)

*3rd.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it Riḍa.—*Ed.*

‡7 December.—*Ed.*

but made them at Mawṣil under his father's tuition, and for this reason the juriconsults used to express their astonishment at his being able to study at his native place and in the midst of his family, holding, as he did, a high rank and being taken up with temporal affairs. He produced, however, what we see; and were I to undertake the description of his excellent qualities, I should be long in finishing; so what has been already said must suffice.

45. IBN 'ABD RABBIH

Abū 'Umar Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Rabbih¹ (*son to the slave of his lord*) Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn Ḥudayr Ibn Sālim al-Qurṭudī (*native of Cordova*), was descended from an enfranchised slave of the Spanish Omayyide khalif Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mu'āwiyā Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam. This writer was deeply learned in traditional knowledge and possessed great historical information; his *'Iqd*, or *Necklace*, is a work of much merit and contains something on every subject, and the *Diwān*, or *Collection of his poetical compositions*, is very good; the following are specimens of his poetry:

¹ *Ibn 'Abd Rabbih* is now pronounced, according to the vulgar idiom, *Ibn 'Abd Rubbuh*. In the *بغية الملتصق* (Arabic MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris; consult on this work Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, No. 1671), the author states that 'Abd Rabbih was grandfather of our poet and that his father's name was Muhammad. Besides the *'Iqd* or *Collar*, a work containing much important information on the manners of the ancient Arabs, and of which some extracts have been given by M. Fresnel in his letters, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih composed a great deal of poetry, which he collected into a work entitled *al-Maḥaṣṣī*; in which every erotic piece was followed by another on morality and devotion; his intention in this was to purify *محص* (*Maḥaṣ*) the profane ideas of the one by the religious sentiments of the other.

“O thou, on whose face the **idhār*¹ hath traced two lines which excite (*my mind to*) sadness and anguish! I was not convinced that thy looks were a cutting sword, till thou placed on thy cheeks (*the izar as*) a baldrick.”

He has repeated the same idea in the following lines (which have been attributed, however, to Abū Ṭahir the kātib,² and to Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Abd al-Wahid al-Baḡhdadi):

“There was a youth on whose cheeks the **idhār* had traced its outline with (dark musk, whilst they were dyed with the blood of hearts (*wounded by his beauty*)). On feeling convinced that the (*languishing*) narcissus of his eyes was a cutting sword, he took the violet (—*Like Izar*) for a baldrick.”

This idea has been borrowed by Baha al-Din al-Sinjārī,[†] who says, in one of his poems :

“O sword of his eye, thou art now complete in beauty! Before his *izar* appeared, thou was without a baldrick.”

¹ See No. 15, note on '*idhār*'.

² Perhaps Ibn Abī Ṭahir is the true reading. His life is given in the abridgement of the Khaṭīb's History of Baḡhdād: it runs as follows: The kātib Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭahir Ṭayfar طيفور came of a family which dwelt at Marw; he was an eloquent man, a poet and a narrator of historical traditions; he possessed also great intelligence, and was celebrated for his learning. He composed a history of the khalifs and their adventures, giving his facts after, Umar Ibn Shabba and others. His son states that he died in 280 (A. D. 893); he was buried in the cemetery near the Gate of Syria (*at Baḡhdad*). Born at Baḡhdad, A. H. 204 the year of al-Māmān's entry (*to that city*; see page 18) (MS. No. 634, fol. 50 verso).

*In the autograph copy the word is “al-Jamāl” meaning beauty; so it should be rendered: O thou, on whose face the beauty hath drawn two lines which . . .”

†In the autograph there is again الجمال for العذار.—*Ed.*

‡al-Baha As'ad al-Sinjārī is the correct name.—*Ed.*

By Ibn 'Abd Rabbih :

“She bid me adieu with sighs and embraces, and then asked when we were to meet again: she appeared to me unveiled, and the dawn was lighted up (*by that beautiful neck*) which tunicks and collars encircled. ‘O thou whose looks languish (but not from sickness) whatever place is before thy eyes become the deathbed of lovers. The day of separation is indeed a dreadful day! O! that I had died before the day of separation.’ ”

By the same:

“If the fair see that the garment of thy youth is folded up (*by approaching age*), they will fold up from thee their favours; and when they call thee *uncle*¹ that name serves only to increase thy disappointment.”

The next verses are taken from a long *qaṣīdah* addressed to al-Mundhir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mu'āwiya Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān al-Ḥakami the Omayyide king of Spain:

“Spain is covered with glory through al-Mundhir Ibn Muḥammad. Its birds have become tame, and its wild beasts accustomed to man.”

On which the vizir Ibn al-Maghribī makes the following observation in his work entitled *Adab al-Khawāṣṣ* : ‘It is related that this poem, on getting into circulation, gave great pain to Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, and that he felt much mortified by the falsehoods and misrepresentations which it contained, till an answer was composed to it by his own poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Iyādi of Tunis who wrote, with that intention, a *qaṣīdah*, in the same rhyme and measure, beginning thus:

¹ *Uncle* and *Aunt* were the terms made use of in addressing elderly persons; *son of my uncle* and *daughter of my uncle* were the titles used between persons of the same age, though strangers to each other.

'The rustic hut where Zaynab passed the spring is in ruins; that dwelling, which before had a voice, is now become silent.'

By Ibn 'Abd Rabbih:

"The raven croaked and I said : That is the greatest liar among birds unless his forebodings be confirmed by the cry of the camel."¹

In which verse is an allusion to these words of another poet:

"The feet of our camels were worn and wounded by their journey; they could no longer assist (*their rider and bear him*) towards (*the object of his*) love: among camels will always be found some lame and some broken-winded. The evil omen consists not in the croaking and² foreboding of the raven, the only evil omen is the camel, the male and the female."

There is every abundance of fine ideas, besides the foregoing in the poems of this author. He was born the 10 Ramaḍān, A. H. 246 (November,* A. D. 860); died on Sunday, 18 of the First Jumada, 328 (March,† A. D. 940), and was buried the next day in the cemetery of the Banu 'l-'Abbās at Cordova. Some years before his death, he lost the use of his side from palsy.—*Qurtubi* means *native of Cordova*, which is a great city in Spain and capital of the empire.

1 The nomadic poet imagined that the raven foresaw the epoch in which a tribe was to change its quarters; and that it then hastened, with ill-omened cry, towards the spot which was soon to be abandoned, and in which he hoped to have found his mistress still remaining. The *Ghurāb al-Bayn*, or *raven of separation*, is often spoken of by poets. Some camels utter loud cries when loading for a journey.

*28.—Ed.

†1st—Ed.

46. ABU 'L-'ĀLA AL-MA'ARRĪ

Abu 'l-'Āla¹ Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Da'ūd Ibn al-Muṭahhar Ibn Ziyād Ibn Rabī'a Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Rabī'a Ibn Anwar Ibn Aṣḥam Ibn Arqam Ibn al-Nu'mān Ibn 'Adi Ibn Ghāṭafān Ibn 'Amr Ibn Barīḥ Ibn *Judḥaymah² Ibn Taym Allāh Ibn As'ad Ibn Wabarah Ibn †Taghlib Ibn Ḥulwān Ibn 'Imrān Ibn Ilḥāf Ibn Quḍa'a al-Tanūkhī al-Ma'arri (*native of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*) was a celebrated philologist and poet, profoundly learned in all the various branches of polite literature. He studied grammar and philology under his father at Ma'arra, and Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'ad, the grammarian at Aleppo; his numerous works are well known, and his epistles have been carefully preserved; the *Luzūm*, or poetical pieces, composed by him on a more strict principle than is required by the usual rules of prosody,³ are numerous and fill nearly five books; he composed also the *Siqṭ al-Zand* (*Falling Spark of Tinder*), with a commentary by himself, and entitled by him, *Daw al-Siqṭ* (*Light of the Spark which falls*). I have been told that he is also author of a book on belles-letters, called *al-Ayk wal-Ghuṣūn* (*the Forest and the Branches*), and generally known by the title

1 The orientalist of the old school pronounced this name Abu 'l-Ola, but the true pronunciation is Abu 'l-'Āla: M. de Sacy has published some of his poems in the *Chrestomathie*. This text and Latin translation of two other poems by the same author will be found in M. Vuller's edition of Tarafa's *Moallaka*.

2 This is the true reading; see *Qamūs* under ب ر ح.

3 There are some poems in which the final foot of each verse is doubly or even triply rhymed. This is what the Arabic prosodians call *Lūzam ma la Yalzum*, *Iltizam* or *Iynat*.—See De Sacy's Commentary on Hariri, page 419.

*M. de Slane reads it Khozaima which is supported by *Qamūs*, but it is doubtful if the reference is to the same Barīḥ.—Ed.

†M. de Slane gives *Thalab*.—Ed.

of *al-hamza wal-Ridf*,¹ in about one hundred parts; and I have been informed by a person who happened to read the one hundred and first, that he did not know what could be wanting on the subject after the volume he had read. Abu 'l-'Āla was the acromestnd man of the age, and had, among other pupils, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Tanūkhī and the *khatīb* Abū Zakaryya al-Tabrizī. He was born at Ma'arra about sunset on Friday the 27 of the First Rabi', A. H. 363 (December, A. D. 973)*; about the beginning of the year 367; he lost his sight from the smallpox, a white film having covered his right eye, while the left had disappeared completely. (*Relative to this*) the *hāfiẓ* al-Silafī relates the following anecdote: "I was informed by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Walīd Ibn 'Azīb al-'Iyādī that he went with his uncle to visit Abu 'l-'Āla, whom he found sitting on a felt rug, and that he was an old man. 'He prayed a blessing on me,' said he, 'and stroked my head, for I was then a boy. At this moment I think that I still see him and his two eyes, one of which was startling out of his head² and the other deeply sunk in its orbit; his face was marked with the smallpox; his body lean.' " When Abu 'l-'Āla had finished his *al-āmi' al-'Azīzī*, which is a commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbī, one of the company happened to read to him some of the descriptive passages composed by that poet, on which Abu 'l-'Āla said: "One would think that al-Mutanabbī had looked into futurity and seen me when he pronounced this verse:

'I am he whose Learning is seen by the blind, and whose word causeth the deaf to hear.' "

1 This title induces me to think that at least a portion of the work was in verse, having for rhyme a *hamza* (ء) with a letter of prolongation, which, in that case, is called the *ridf* by Arabic prosodians.

2 M. de Sacy, in his *Chrestomothie*, tom. III, page 89, reads in this place *ناظره* for *نادره* but all the MSS., without exception, and the context of Ibn *Khallikān*'s article are against his opinion.

*25 January, 974.—*Ed.*

He made a commented abridgement of Abū Tammām's poetical works, and entitled it *Zikra Habib (Recollections of a Beloved)*¹ another, of the poems of al-Buḥturī, which he name '*Abḥ al-Walid (Sport for Children)*';² and a third of al-Mutanabbī's, to which he gave the title of *Mu'jiz Aḥmad (Miracle of *Muḥammad)*.³ In these three works he explained the obscure words and allusions found in their poems, and indicated the ideas which they had borrowed from others, or later poets from them; he also declared himself their champion, in criticizing, however, some passages of their writings, and occasionally, pointing out their faults. He went to Baghdad in the year 398 (A. D. 1007-8) and a second time in 399, when he remained there a year and seven months; after which, he returned to Ma'arra and confining himself to his house, began to compose his works. Numbers then frequented his lessons; pupils came to him from every region; and learned men, vizīrs, and persons of rank became his correspondents. He called himself the *doubly imprisoned captive*⁴ in allusion to his voluntary confinement, and the loss of his sight. During forty-five years he abstained from flesh through a religious motive, as he followed the opinion of those ancient philosophers who refused to eat flesh, so as to avoid causing the death of any animal; for in killing it, pain is inflicted; and they held it as a positive principle, that no hurt should be

1 Or *Recollections of Habib*; Abū Tammām's names was *Habib*.

2 Or *Amusement afforded by Walid*; the poet al-Buḥtuori was so called.

3 Or *Miraculous Excellence of Aḥmad*, which was the real name of al-Mutanabbī.

4 Literally: *The pledge of the two prisons*, M. de Sacy has completely misunderstood this expression.—See *Chrestomathie*, t. III, p. 90.

*Should be rendered: miracles of Aḥmad.—Ed.

done to any living creature.¹ At the age of eleven years he made verses, and we select following from his *Luzūm*:

“Seek not to attain superior rank by thy own efforts unless Fortune favour the elegant writer, his pen is as inefficient as a spindle. Two *Simāks*² have their dwelling in the sky; and though one bears a lance, the other is unarmed.”

Abu 'l-'Ala died on Friday, 3 of the First Rabi,* some say the 13, A. H. 449 (May, A. D. 1057), and I have been told that, in his will, he ordered the following verse to be written on his tomb :

“I owe this to the fault of my father; none owe the like to mine.”

This is also in accordance with the belief of those ancient philosophers who taught that the engendering of a child and the bringing of it into the world is a wrong done to it, for it is then exposed to accidents and injuries. His illness lasted three days, and on the fourth he died, having none near him but his †nephews: on the third day, he told them to write down what he was going to say, and they took paper and pens for that

1 The author of a marginal note in the MS. of Ibn Khallikān, No. 93, fonds St. Germain, says: It might be concluded from the words of Ibn Khallikān, that Abu 'l-'Ala continued in these heterodox opinion till his death; but, says he, more than one historian state that he returned to the principles of Islamism.—In the essay on the life and poetry of al-Mutanabbī (quoted page 110, note), it is stated that Abu 'l-'Ala composed a *Qur'ān* which, as he imagined, was to surpass Muḥammad's influence as it did in style. A short extract of it is then given.

2 The star Acturus is called by the Arabs the *Simāk bearing a lance* (*al-Simāk al-R mih*); and *spica Virginis* bears the name of *al-Simāk al-A'azal* (*the unarmed Simāk*). The signification of the word *Simāk* is doubtful; the Arabic commentator on Ulug Bek says that these stars were so called on account of their altitude (the Arabic verb *Samaka* means *to rise, to be exalted*). M. Ideler, in his *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, page 51 et seq; has treated this question without obtaining, however, a satisfactory solution.

*2nd seems more probable which is given as an alternative date in the autograph but be it 2nd or 3rd it corresponds to Friday, 9 May.—*Ed.*

†Cousins is appropriate word.—*Ed.*

purpose, but he dictated to them observations which were quite incorrect; on which the qādī Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Tanūkhī said: “May God lighten your grief! the *shaykh* is already dead!” The next day, Abu ‘I-‘Āla expired, and his disciple Abu ‘I-Ḥasan ‘Ali Ibn Hammām deplored his death in these lines:

“Though, from religious feelings, you never caused tears* to flow, you now oblige our eyes to shed tears of blood! You have sent abroad a (*glorious*) reputation (*spreading around*) like (*the odour of*) musk, and perfuming the listener and the mouth (*of him who speaks your praises*).¹ When pilgrims wish to pass the night conversing on your merit, I see the wearer of the *ihram* pay (*before-hand*) a fine to expiate (*the sin of being perfumed*).”²

In the first of these verses the poet makes allusion to Abu ‘I-‘Āla’s religious belief, which forbade the slaying of animals; of this we have already spoken. His tomb is in the court of a house belonging to his family; this court is entered by a little old door; the whole is in extremely bad order from neglect and want of care, for the family do not pay the least attention to it.—*Tanukhi* means *belonging to Tanūḥ*, which name was given to a number of tribes that had assembled together, in former

1 In interpreting this difficult verse, I have followed *al-Yafi*, who explains it in his Annals (Arabic MS. No. 644, year 449). This writer quotes the *Qur’ān*, surat 37, verse 147 to prove that او takes sometimes the signification of واو. Al-Yafi attributes to Abu ‘I-‘Āla some eloquent epistles.

2 The *ihram*, or dress worn by pilgrims on entering the sacred territory of Mekkah, consists in two pieces of clean, white, woollen cloth, without seams. When wearing the *ihram* pilgrims are not allowed to make use of perfumes.—See D’Ohssons *Tableau de ‘I-Empire Othoman*, tom. III, pp. 64, 68.

*“Blood” according to the autograph and printed text.—*Ed.*

times, in the province of Bahrain, where they fixed their dwelling, after binding themselves by oath to afford each other mutual assistance. The word **tanuch* means *to dwell*. This was one of the three Arabian tribes which professed Christianity; the two others were Bahra and Taghlib. —*Al-Ma'arrī* means *belonging to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*, a village of Syria near Hamāh and Shayzar; it was called after al-Nu'mān, son of Bashīr al-Anṣārī,¹ who took up his dwelling there. Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was taken by the Franks from the Muslims in the month of Muḥarram, 492 (December, A. D. 1098), and continued in their possession till the year 529 (A. D. 1134-5), when it was taken by 'Imād al-Dīn Zinki Ibn Āq Sunqur, who generously restored to the (Muslim) inhabitants the property (which the Franks had taken from them).

47. ABŪ 'ĀMIR IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK AL-ASHJA'Ī AL-ANDALŪSĪ

Abu 'Āmir Aḥmad Ibn Abī Marwān 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān Ibn Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn² al-Ā'lā Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsa Ibn Shuhayd al-Ashja'ī, native of Cordova in Spain, was descended from al-Waddāh Ibn Razāh, who was a partisan of al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Qays

1 See *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. I, page 228, note. To what is there said of al-Nu'mān Ibn Bashīr may be added that his death took place A. H. 64.

2 Dhu 'l-Wizaration (*possessing the double wizarat*); a title given to those ministers who were at the same time invested, with civil and military authority: see Mr. Weyyer's work, entitled "*Specimen criticum exhibens locos Ibni Khacanis de Ibn Zeidouno*" (page 60, note).

*Transliteration differs, see *Tanukh* overleaf.—Ed.

al-Fihri at the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ¹ Ibn Bassām mentions al-Ashja'ī in the *Kitāb al-Dha'īra*, and praises him in the highest terms ; he gives also copious extracts from his epistles and poetical writings, with an account of the principal events of his life. He was one of most learned in Spain, versed in a variety of sciences, and eminent in all the branches of literature ; a written correspondence in a playful style was carried on between him and Ibn Ḥazm the Zahirite, and a number of works of singular merit and originality were composed by him, amongst which the following may be specified : *Kashf al-Dakk wa 'Iyāh al-Shakk* ; *al-Tewābi' wa'l-Zawābi'* ; *Hānūt 'Atṭār*.² To his talents he joined a most noble character, and many anecdotes are related of his generosity. As a specimen of his poetry we give the following beautiful passage from one of his *qasidahs* :

“The vultures know that his warriors are lions when they meet with a warrior's prey ! pinched with hunger, they hover above his head ; but the points of his lances send them to their nests, glutted with food. ”

Though this is a beaten thought, and one in which he was anticipated by a number of poets both before and after the establishment of Islamism, yet he has expressed it most happily and turned it with much elegance. The following verses are specimen of his light and graceful style :

1 The battle of Marj Rāhiṭ took place in the 64th year of Hijra between the partisans of the Khalif Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam and 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr.

Al-Daqqāq fought for Ibn al-Zubayr, and was slain with a great number of his people. In the *Ḥamasa* are some fragments of poetry relating to the event. Al-Waddāh was made prisoner in that battle by the Khalif Marwān, who spared his life. It was from him that the family of the Banu Waḍḍāh in Murcia were descended. (*Al-Rushāti* : quoted by the author of the *Bughiyat al-Multamis*.)

2 According to Ḥājji Khalifah, the first of these three works is a treatise on legerdemain ; the title of the second is rendered *Genii et Daemones* by Mr. Flugel (see *Lex Biblog.*, No. 3711) and that of the third signifies the *Perfumers* or *Druggists' Shop* ; according to the author of the *Bughiyat*, this work treats of grammar.

“(My mistress), oppressed with inebriation, yielded to sleep, and the eyes of the (*jealous*) keepers who guarded her at night were closed in slumber. Though (*her dwelling*) was remote, I went towards it and drew near gently, as one in quest of an object which he well knows where to find. I glided towards her as slumber glides towards (*weary eyes*) and I went up to her chamber, as a sigh mounts up (*from the bosom*) : And I passed my night with her in delight, till the mouth of morning smiled : And I embraced the fairness of her neck and sipped kisses from her dark red lips. ”

How prettily has the same idea been expressed in the following verses composed by Abu 'l-Manṣar Ṣarrdarr :

*[“How often, during the shades of night, have we arrived, without previous notice, at (*the encampment of an Arab*) tribe ; but found not, by their fire, a person who could direct us to our way.¹ And yet their scouts were not remiss : but we fell in among (*gently*) as falls the dew. ”

A number of poets have employed the foregoing thought, but it takes its sources in this verse by Imra'ut 'l-Qays² :

“And I mounted up (*gently*) towards her, after her family had fallen asleep; so mount bubbles in water, one after another.”]

Most of Abū 'Āmir's poetry is of surpassing beauty : he

¹ In the *Qur'an*, surat 27, verse 7, is found the following passage : “Remember when Moses said to his family : I see fire from which I will bring you tidings (*of your way*).” The Arab tribes used to light fires by night on high places, so that travellers in the desert might be directed towards their hospitable dwellings, and receive information to guide them on their way.

² See my edition of *Le Dīwān d'Amru 'l-Kais*, page 34.

*[] From “How often” to “one after another” is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

was born A. H. 382 (A. D. 992), and died at Cordova, on Friday morning, 30 of the First Jumādā, 426 (April* A. D. 1035): on the next day he was interred in the cemetery of Umm Salma.¹ Mention is made of his father 'Abd al-Malik in the *Kitāb al-Silat* (by Ibn Bashkuwal). *Al-Ashji'i* means *belonging to Ashja* which is great tribe descended from Ashja, son of Raith, son of Ghatafan.

48. IBN FĀRIS AL-RĀZĪ THE PHILOLOGER

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Fāris Ibn Zakariā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb al-Rāzī was a deeply learned man in various sciences and in philology especially, having acquired a most exact knowledge of that subject; his work the *Mujmil fi 'l-Lughat*, or Collection of Philological Observations, contains, notwithstanding its concision, a great mass of information.² He composed also the *Hilyat al-Fuqaha* (*Ornament of Doctors*); some beautiful epistles and a treatise on philological questions, which work juriconsults studied with great attention, and from which al-Ḥarīrī took the idea of his *Maqāma*, entitled *al-Ṭaybiya*,³ in which he proposes legal questions to the number of one hundred. Ibn Fāris dwelt at Hamadān and had for pupil Badī al-Zamān al-Hamadāni, the author of the *Maqāmas* (and whose life shall be given). He composed some good poetry, of which we may give the following passages :

1 Abu 'Āmir, in his latter days, was the standard bearer of poetry and eloquence in his country; he left none like him, and died childless. He was a man of generous character, and a gay disposition; he had considerable knowledge in medicine. (*Buḡhyāt al-Multamis.*)

2 The *style* of the *Mujmil* is concise, no doubt; but the work itself, which is an Arabic lexicon, forms two respectable folio volumes. A copy of it is in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, fonds, *St. Germain*, Nos. 194, 195.

3 *Tabiya* is derived from *Tayba*, one of the names given to the city of Medinah. The thirty-second *Maqāma* was so called because towards the beginning of it, mention is made to Ṭayba. In M. de Sacy's edition, this *Maqāma* is entitled *al-Ḥarbiya*.

*Ibn-Khallikān gives Friday, the last day of the month, to which de Slane makes 30. In fact it was 29 corresponding to 11 April.—*Ed.*

“A (*nymph*) graceful and slender passed near us, she was a Turk by nature and by name.¹ She looked with a tender, a tempting glance (*a glance*) as languishing as a grammarian's proofs are slight.”²

By the same :

“Hearken to the words of a true adviser : a man of good counsel and a friend : Take care ; beware that you pass a single night with your confidence placed in those whose word alone is an authority.”³

By the same :

“When you have to send a person on business which has engaged your mind, send an agent who requires no prompting, and let that agent be—money.”

By the same :

“Though the burnig fire (*of indigence*) parches my entrails, I will still say : May a shower (*of abundance*) fall upon Hamadān ! Why should I not offer a sincere prayer for the city where

1 The Turkoman tribes have always had the reputation of being great robbers; this lady was of that race, and sustained the character of her nation by stealing hearts.

2 Literally (*Weaker than the proof a grammarian*): It has been already observed, No. 11, note on *Arabian taste for ladies' eyes*, that in Arabic *languishing* and *weekly* are expressed by the same word. (*The grammarian's proofs*) are those passages, cited by him in confirmation of some general rule.—It would seem that Ibn Fāris, the *philologist*, had not a very profound respect for grammarians.

3 This is manifestly directed against those relators of religious and historical traditions, who for their well-known veracity, were dispensed, by public opinion, from naming the persons through whom their formation came. The Arabic name is *Thiqat*, which means *confidence*, and is used to signify *a man worthy of confidence*. The verse literally translated would run thus: *Beware that you pass a night with confidence in confidences*; but this gives quite a different idea from that intended to be expressed by the author.

I had the advantage of forgetting all that I learned.¹ I have forgotten what I best knew except (*the art of getting into debt*) for I am now in debt and have not a *dirhem* in my house.”

Ibn Fāris has written a great deal of good poetry ; he died at Ray in the year 390 (A. D. 1000), and was buried opposite to the chapel in which are deposes the remains of the qāḍī ‘Alī Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jurjāni ; some say however that he died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 375 (June, A. D. 985), at Muḥammadiya, but the first is the more received opinion. *Rāzi* means *belonging to Ray*, a well-known city in the province of Daylam : the derivative takes *z*, in the same manner as *Marwazā* derived from *Marw*.—²Ibn Fāris is also author of these verses :

“They asked me how I was ; I answered : ‘Well ; some things succeed and some fail : when my heart is filled with cares, I say : One day, perhaps, they may be dispelled. A cat is my companion ; books, the friends of my heart ; and a lamp, my beloved consort’.”

49. ABŪ ṬAYYIB AL-MUTANABBĪ

Abū Ṭayyib Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ju‘fī al-Kindī, surnamed al-Mutanabbī, was a native of Kūfa ; a different genealogy of this celebrated poet has been given as follows : Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Murra Ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār ; but God alone knows which is exact. Al-Mutanabbī came of a family which inhabited Kūfah but he went to Syria in his youth, and travelling over its provinces, studied and attained proficiency in various branches of literature.³

1 The people of Hamadān were proverbial for their ignorance, and Ibn Fāris pretends that their company was contagious; he does not regret, however, the loss of his learning, which he probably prized as little as the science of the grammarians and the veracity of the *Thiqat*. (See the two preceding notes.)

2 See No. 3.

3 As it has already been observed, students, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, went to travel for the purpose of taking lessons from professors in different countries.

He had acquired an extensive knowledge of pure Arabic, drawn from the best sources and which he has handed down (*in his poetical compositions*)¹; and he possessed so great information on the subject of its idiomatic and obsolete expressions² that, when a question was proposed to him, he never failed proving his opinion by citing analogous examples in prose and verse composed by the Arabs of the desert.³ It is related that the learned Abū 'Alī al-Farīsī, author of the *Īyāḥ* and the *Takmilah*, once asked him how many plural nouns there were of the form *fi'la*, and received immediately for answer *Ḥizla* and *Zirba*; and Abū 'Alī says that he passed three nights in consulting philological works to find a third plural noun of a similar form, but without success. Such a remark, coming from Abū 'Alī, is quite sufficient to establish al-Mutanabbī's proficiency (*in philology*). *Ḥizla* is the plural of *Ḥazal* (*a cock-partridge*), and *Zirba* is the plural of *Zaribān*, a word pronounced with the same vowels as *qaṭirān*, and which serves to designate a small quadruped (emitting a fetid smell). As to his poetry, it is the height of perfection, and it is needless to give specimens here, since it is so well known⁴; I shall merely notice two verses which the *shaykh* Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī has attributed to him, and are not to be found in his works; the *shaykh* gives them on the best traditional authority

1 I have here paraphrased the original passage, so as to give a clearer idea of its import.

2 In the *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, translated from the Arabic of al-Maqrizī by M. Quatremere, that learned oriental scholar renders the word خوشی by *bas, rustique* (see Preface, page 9, note); this, however, does not appear correct; it would have been no recommendation of al-Mutanabbī's instruction, to say that he had great information in the *low* or *vulgar* expressions of the Arabic language. The word خوشی signifies *obsolete, gone into disuse*, and is used in opposition to مستعمل, *in general use*; see an example in the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikān, page 137, line 1.

3 The inhabitants of the desert spoke the purest Arabic.

4 Some information on the subject of al-Mutanabbī's poetry will be found in M. de Sacy's *Chrestomalie*, tom. III, page 27 of the second edition.

remounting to the author, so I insert them here on account of their rarity :

“Was it because you saw me (*look up to you*) with the eye of one who needs your favour, that you treated me with contempt and hurled me down the precipice ? But 'tis I who am to blame, not you ; for I had fixed my hopes upon another than the Creator.”

When al-Mutanabbī was in Egypt, he fell sick and was visited, during his illness, by a friend ; who after his recovery, abstained from going to see him ; our poet, in consequence, wrote him this note : “You were a kind companion to me (may God be kind to thee!) when I was unwell, and you have abandoned me on my convalescence ; it now depends upon you (with God's assistance), to prevent me from loving sickness, and preserve my health from suffering.”¹—The critics of al-Mutanabbī's poetry may be divided into different classes : some consider him superior to Abū Tammām and his successors : whilst others pronounce Abū Tammām superior to him ; and the poet al-Nāmi (whose life comes immediately after) has said : “One single corner of poetry remained unoccupied, but al-Mutanabbī took it up ; and I often wished that I had anticipated him in two ideas which he has versified, and which never occurred to any poet before him ; the one is contained in these verses :

“Misfortune shot at me with the arrows of calamity, till my heart was covered with them, so that the darts which struck it broke against those which were fixed in it already.!”

The other is in the following :

“(He marched) at the head of an army raising a cloud of dust which obscured the sight; and (*it seemed*) as if the soldiers saw with their ears.”²

1 In the original, this note has a terseness and concision of which the translation can offer no idea.

2 That is: The dust prevented them from seeing their way, and they were directed only by the commands of their chief; so their ear guided them on their march not their eye.

The learned have taken much pains in explaining and commenting the poetical works of al-Mutanabbī, and I have been informed by one of the masters under whom I studied, that he met with upwards of forty commentaries, both great and small, on these poems: a mark of popularity such as never was obtained by the works of any other poet. He was without doubt, a highly-gifted man, favoured with the happy talent of expressing perfectly his ideas in verse. The surname of al-Mutanabbī (*the pretended prophet*) was given him because he had set up for a prophet in the flat country near Samāwa,¹ where he was followed by a great multitude of the Banā Kalb and other tribes; but Lālu, governor of Himṣ (*Emessa*) and lieutenant to the Ikhshīd family, having marched against him, took him prisoner and dispersed his partisans; he kept al-Mutanabbī in confinement for a long period and having at length brought him back to the Muslim faith, he set him at liberty: other accounts have been given (*of the origin of this surname*) but this is the most correct.* Al-Mutanabbī then became follower of the emir Sayf Al-Dawlat Ibn Hamdan; this was in the year 337 (A. D. 948-9); he afterwards left him and entered Egypt in 346 (A. D. 957), where he celebrated the praises of Kāfūr al-Ikhshībī and Anājūr Ibn al-Ikhshīd² and was permitted to stand in the presence of the (*minister*) Kāfūr, with boots on his feet and the loins girded with a sword; when he rode out he was accompanied with two ushers, mamluks of the prince wearing swords and belts. Being afterwards dissatisfied with Kāfūr, he composed a satire against him and left him on the eve of the Feast of Sacrifice (9, *Dhu 'l-Ḥijja*), A. H. 350 (†January, A. D. 962). On this, Kāfūr dispatched camel-riders to different quarters in pursuit of him, but without success. That minister had promised him a government, but on seeing the liberties he took in his poems and his haughty spirit, he became apprehensive of him (*and refused to keep his*

1 Samāwa is situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, in about the latitude 31°20'.

2 Some details respecting the life of Anājūr will be found in the life of Kāfūr.

*M. de Slane has omitted to translate: "It is said that he (al-Mutanabbī) said 'I am the first man to divine by poetry'."—*Ed.*

†19.—*Ed.*

word). On being reproached with his conduct towards the poet, he said : “My (*good*) people ! would he who claimed the gift of prophecy after Muḥammad’s (*having fulfilled his mission*), not be capable of claiming (*a share in*) the empire with Kāfir? This reflection should suffice you.”—Ibn Jinnī, the grammarian, relates that he studied the poems of Mutanabbī under the author himself, and that he once read to him the *qaṣīdah* in praise of Kāfir, which begins thus:

“I combat my love for you, but love will vanquish and I wonder at your aversion but your affection would be more worthy of wonder.”

On coming to these lines:

“O! that I knew if I shall ever pronounce a poem in which I shall have no complaint to make and no reproach. I suffer from (*afflictions*), the least of which had driven poetry away; but know, daughter of a (*noble*) race! that my heart preserves its vigour!”

Ibn Jinnī said to him: “It is painful for me to think that such a poem could have been made in praise of any other than Sayf al-Dawlat;” to which al-Mutanabbī answered: “I cautioned him however and warned him (*against neglecting me*), but it would not avail: did I not say: ‘Brother of Generosity ! bestow what you possess; but bestow not on others that which I pronounce.’”¹ “Yet he gave me to Kāfir through his bad management and defective judgment.”—Sayf al-Dawlat held an assembly every night to which the men of learning came, and where they conversed together in his presence: (*in one of these meetings*) a discussion took place between al-Mutanabbī and Ibn Khālawayh, the grammarian, who (*at last*) sprung upon al-Mutanabbī and, striking him on the face with a key he had about him, inflicted a wound, from which the blood flowed on al-Mutanabbī’s garments: the poet, moved with

¹ That is: Let not other prince obtain from me those praises which are yours by right.—In the Arabic text أنت has been put by mistake for أنا which is the reading of the best MSS., and confirmed by all the copies in the Diwān of al-Mutanabbī which have been consulted.

anger, departed for Egypt, where he composed poems in praise of Kāfir: he then travelled to Persia and composed panegyrics on 'Adad al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh al-Daylami, by whom he was generously rewarded¹; on leaving him, he went to Baghdād, and thence to Kūfah, where he arrived on the 8th Shā'ban (A. H. 354, August,* A. D. 965); he was then attacked by a chief of the tribe of Asad, named Fātik Ibn Abi 'l-Jahl at the head of a troop of partisans: al-Mutanabbī also had with him a number of companions, so a combat took place, in which he was killed along with his son al-Muḥassad and his slave Muflih: this occurred near al-Nurmaniya, at a place called al-Ṣāfiya, or the Mountains of al-Ṣāfiya, in the western part of the Sawad (or province) of Baghdād, at two miles distance from Dayr al-'Āqāl.² Ibn Ushīq mentions in that chapter of his *Umda*, which treats of the good and harm done by poetry, that Abū Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī, on seeing himself vanquished, was taking to flight, when his slave addressed him in these terms: "Let it never be said that you fled from combat; you, who are the author of this verse:

'The horse and the night, and the desert know me (well); the sword also, and the lance, and paper and the pen !'"

Upon this, al-Mutanabbī turned back and fought till he was slain; so it was this verse which caused his death. This event happened in the month of Ramaḍān, 354 (September, A. D. 965): some say, on Wednesday 24 or 27 or 28 of the month; others on Monday 22 or the 25†. He was born at Kūfah in the year 303 (A. D. 915-6), in

1 To form an idea of the great sums this poet must have gained, we need only state that 'Adad al-Dawlat is said to have given him thirty thousand dinars, and the vizir Ibn al-'Umayd a like sum. (Yāfi, MS. No. 637, fol. 266 verso). This however appears to be an exaggeration.

2 Dayr al-'Āqāl was situated on the Tigris, about 30 miles below Baghdād.

*9.—Ed.

†According to modern calculation Monday fell on 26 of Ramaḍān and if the moon was sighted on 30 Shā'abān then it could be 25 corresponding to 25 September. Likewise other dates may be reckoned but it should be borne in mind that Wednesday fell on 27 or 28 corresponding to 27 September.—Ed.

the quarter called Kinda; for which reason only he was surnamed (*al-Kindī*), as he did not belong to the tribe of Kinda, but to that which sprung from *Jufī* Ibn Sa'ad al-'Ashīra Ibn Madhhij Mālik Ibn 'Udad Ibn Zayd Ibn Yashjub* Ibn 'Arīb† Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlān.¹ The Sa'ad mentioned in the foregoing genealogy, was named *Sa'ad al-'Ashīra* (*happiness of relations*), because he rode abroad accompanied with, it is said, three hundred sons and grandsons; and when asked who they were, answered: "My relations" (*Ashirati*); as he dreaded the influence of the evil eye (*had he said: They are my children*).²—Some persons say that al-Mutanabbī's father was a water-carrier at Kāfah, and that he afterwards emigrated to Syria with his son, who was brought up there: allusion is made to this circumstance in the following verse, by a poet who lampooned al-Mutanabbī:

"What merit (*fa'īl*) is there in a poet who from morn to night seeks for reward (*fa'īl*)? At one time he lived by selling water in Kāfah; at another, by selling his prostituted talent."³

[In the life of Abū Tammām Ḥabīb, the celebrated poet, will be found some verses (*directed against him*), by Ibn al-Mu'addal, which contain a similar thought.] The poet Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Muzaffar Ibn 'Alī at-Ṭabasi⁴ composed the following elegy on the death of al-Mutanabbī:

1 This celebrated genealogy is certainly corrupt as here given. Ibn Khaldūn, in his *History of the Ancient Arabs*, now publishing by Dr. Arri, has treated the subject with his usual learning and judgment.

2 To have had so many male descendants must have excited jealousy, and a glance of a jealous eye might have had a fatal effect upon them. The superstition of the eastern nations on that subject is well known since the publication of Mr. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

3 Literally: *By selling the water of the face*. The ingenuous blush of a modest and honourable man is called by the Arabs *the water of the face*, *ماؤالوجه* or *ماؤالمحيا*, the poet who has lost all sense of shame, and sells his praises to the most unworthy, has exchanged his honourable character, his modest dignity, for money.

4 This poet lived to be a contemporary of at-Ṭha'alibī, who in his *atimah* gives some verses of Abu 'l-Naṣr al-Harṭhimī on his authority.

*M. de Slane reads it *Yashhob*.—Ed.

M. de Slane reads it *Ghāsib*.—Ed.

“Cursed be that fortune which has deprived us unawares of so eloquent a tongue.¹ Never will a second al-Mutanabbī be seen; what second can be found to match that faultless pearl.² His lofty mind was to him an army, and placed him in the pride of power. In his poetry he was a prophet, and the ideas he has expressed show forth his miraculous powers.”

Ṭabasi means *native of Ṭabas*, which is a city in the desert lying between Naysāpur, Ispahān and Kermān.—It is related that al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād al-Lakḥmī, prince of Cordova and Seville, recited one day the following verse from a celebrated (*qaṣīdah*) of al-Mutanabbī's :

“Our camels, broken with fatigue, receive fresh strength when their eyes obtain a sight of thee.”

In his admiration, the prince continued repeating this verse, when Ibn Wahbān,³ who was one of the company improvised the two following:

‘If the son of al-Ḥusayn was skilled in poetry, you also are skilled in making generous gifts! 'tis gifts which open the lips (*of grateful poets*). Proud of his poetic talent, al-Mutanabbī declared himself a prophet; had he known that you would recite his poems, he had thought himself a god.’

Al-Ifḥlī relates that al-Mutanabbī, being in the hippodrome (*Maydan*) with Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān, recited to the prince his (*qaṣīdah*) which begins thus: *Fortune grants to each man that to which he has been accustomed*. When Sayf al-Dawlat returned to his palace, he desired the poet to repeat the poem, which he did without rising from his seat; one of the persons present, wishing to deprive al-Mutanabbī, by stratagem (*of the honour conferred on*

1 Literally : *Haud amplius ad pastum ducat Deus agmen temporis quod nobis incidit, linguae tali (silentium imponens)*.

2 Literally : The undrilled pearl of the age.

3 Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Jalīl Ibn Wahbān, a celebrated poet and man of learning was born at Murcia in Spain. In the year 480 (A. D. 1087) he was killed by a troop of Christians as he was travelling from Lorca لورقه to his native place (*Baḡl yat al-Multamis*).

him in being allowed to remain seated) addressed him and said: "Abu 'l-Ṭayyib! if you repeat your poem standing, I will be able to hear it, for most of those present do not." To this Abu 'l-Ṭayyib replied: "Have you not heard the beginning of it: *Fortune grants to each man that to which he has been accustomed*?" which was an excellent repartee.—To sum up his character, we may only say that he was a man of high soul and lofty thought; and that his history is long and his adventures numerous; for which reason we have preferred being concise on the subject.¹

1 Al-Husayn, the father of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbi was generally known by the name of 'Aydīn al-Saqqī, or 'Aydīn, the water-carrier, for which reason this poet is sometimes called *Ibn 'Aydan* or *Ibn al-Saqqī*. When yet a school-boy, al-Mutanabbi composed verses, which are still extant and these essays of his youth announce already that superior talent which shines forth so brightly in the productions of his maturer age. The early part of his life was spent in Syria and among the Bedwin tribes which inhabited the desert to the west of the Euphrates. One of his contemporaries, Abu 'l-Hasan Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥya al-'Alawī, relates that al-Mutanabbi, when a boy, lived in his neighbourhood at Kūfah; that he was fond of learning and literature, and that after living for some years with the Arabs of the desert, he came back a complete Bedwin. He picked up the greater part of his learning at booksellers' shops, his memory being so tenacious, that he had only to read a book once, in order to learn it by heart. His intercourse with the nomadic Arabs had a powerful influence on the character; from them he acquired that intrepidity which pervaded his future conduct, and that lofty spirit which breathes in his poem; he imbibed also, at the same source, that knowledge of the pure Arabic tongue which excited the admiration of his countrymen and gained the greatest publicity for his verses. It was some time after the three hundred and twentieth year of the Hijrah, that Abu 'l-Ṭayyib asserted his apostolic mission; and persuaded some of the inhabitants of al-Lātaqiyah that he was a prophet sent by God. "I come," said he, "to this generation which erreth and leadeth into error; I come to fill the world with justice as it is now filled with wickedness; I shall reward those who obey God's commands, and strike off the heads of the disodient!" He pretended also to possess the gift of miracles, and one of the signs which he gave to confirm his veracity was, that when the rain fell around him in torrents, it did not touch a certain hill on which he stood. This manifestation of his power (which the orthodox Muslim historian attributes to magic art) had the effect of seducing great numbers. Unfortunately for the prophet, the governor of Emessa caused him to be arrested and impri-

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50. AL-NĀMĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Dārimī al-Miṣṣīṣī surnamed al-Nāmī, was one of the ablest and most talented poets

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soned ; and al-Mutanabbī in his cell, with his head and arms confined in a sort of pillory, and his feet in the stocks, had time to reflect on his situation, and renounce the dangerous gift of prophecy. In one of his poetical supplications to the governor, he reminds him the minors should not be punished for schism or heresy, because by law they are not obliged to fulfil the duty of prayer. Having at length obtained his liberty, he remained for some time neglected and in poverty ; but a poem which he addressed to Abu 'l-'Aḥḥā'ir أبو العشائر (an officer of Sayf al-Dawlat's who commanded at Antioch), revealed his superior talent. About that time, Sayf al-Dawlat himself came to Antioch, and was visited by al-Mutanabbī, who recited to him a poem composed in his honour ; and the piece was of such remarkable beauty, that the prince conceived the highest esteem for the author, and offered him his protection. The poet, in accepting this favour, would not, however, sacrifice the feelings of honourable pride by which he was always actuated : he required and obtained the authorisation of being seated in the presence of Sayf al-Dawlat, when reciting to him the poems which he was to compose in his praise ; and he insisted on being dispensed from saluting the prince in the usual manner, which was by kissing the ground in his presence. At the court of Sayf al-Dawlat he met the principal poets of the day, but he surpassed them all by his vigorous and original talent. The celebrated Abu 'l-'Alā used to say: "Abu Nawas expresses himself thus ; al-Buhturī, thus ; Abū Tammām thus ; and *the poet* (meaning al-Mutanabbī), thus." Avarice was the only fault with which al-Mutanabbī was reproached ; his moral conduct was the more exemplary, as most of his associates were men of pleasure and debauch ; and a rigid Muslim remarked, that though he never fasted, nor prayed, nor read the *Qur'ān*, yet he never told a lie, nor committed fornication. When Sayf al-Dawlat went forth on his military expeditions, he was accompanied by al-Mutanabbī, and on one occasion the prince and the poet had to cut their way through the ranks of the Greeks to avoid being taken prisoners. The fortune of Abu 'l-'Ṭayyib was now too great not to excite jealousy ; his rivals, and al-Nāmī among others, succeeded in alienating Sayf al-Dawlat from his favourite poet. A number of learned men were one day conversing in the prince's presence and the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh was giving his opinion on some question relating to the Arabic language, when al-Mutanabbī said to him : "Silence, fellow ! what hast thou to do with Arabic, thou who art a Persian from Khuzestān?" This rebuke was answered by a wound in the face, inflicted with a key which Ibn Khālawayh carried in his sleeve. During this scene, Sayf al-Dawlat did not interfere either by word or deed.

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of his time. As an encomiast of Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān, he enjoyed the special favour of that prince, who considered him as second in talent and rank to al-Mutanabbī only. He was a man of great merit and instruction; possessing superior abilities and well informed in philology and literature. There exists

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Al-Mutanabbī continued to perceived other symptoms of his patron's indifference towards him; he remonstrated with him in a noble poem, asserting his right to be respected, and vindicating his character from the attacks of his enemies; but his complaints were of no avail, his expostulations useless; disgusted at length with a treatment he so little deserved, he abandoned the court of Aleppo and retired to Damascus. This city was then in the possession of the *Ikḥshīd* family; and its governor, Ibn Mālik, a Jew and a native of Ṭadmor (Palmyra), was under the immediate orders of Kāfūr, the ruler of Egypt. The Jew wished al-Mutanabbī to compose a poem in his honour, but met with a prompt refusal, and the poet, finding his situation most unpleasant, withdrew to Ramlah. The emir of that city, Ibn Ṭuḥḥj, طغج, received him with great honour made him abundant presents, among which were a horse whose trappings were heavy with gold, and a sword richly ornamented. He then passed into Egypt on the written invitation of Kāfūr. This able statesman was originally a slave, employed in the most menial duties and treated with the greatest contumely; but the poor negro eunuch, whose prominent belly, splay feet, and perforated lower lip had furnished such subjects for laughter to his fellow-slaves, had now become master of an empire. Such was the person who claimed the praises of al-Mutanabbī; and by means of rich presents, rather than intimidation, he wrung from the poet those measured, and sometimes ambiguous eulogiums which fill the *qasīdahs* called the *Kāfūriyāt*. Another person whom al-Mutanabbī saw in Egypt was the celebrated Fātik al-Majnān, and the noble character of this emir obtained the ready and heart-felt encomiums of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib. In return for the glory which the verses of al-Mutanabbī conferred on Kāfūr, demanded the government of Ṣayda (*Sidon*) but met with a refusal: this with the obligation of praising a negro, excited the indignation of the poet, and though surrounded by spies, who informed Kāfūr of all his actions, he succeeded, at length, in escaping from Old Cairo, and after a variety of adventures he arrived at Kūfah, he then visited Bāghdād, where al-Muhalab, vizir to Mu'izz al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, received him with eager joy, in hopes of obtaining the praises of so illustrious a poet, but al-Mutanabbī refused to gratify his wishes, on the pretext that he was accustomed to celebrate princes only. This so provoked the vizir that he encouraged all the poetasters of 'Irāq to attack al Muttanabbī, who set out for Arrajān, where he found a protector in Abu 'l-Fadī Ibn al-'Umayd. After spending some time with this vizir he passed to the court of 'Aḍad al-Dawlat at Shirāz

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a collection of observations dictated by him (*to his pupils*) at Aleppo, and in which he cites as authorities (*his masters*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Akhfash, Ibn Durustuwayh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kermānī,¹ Abū Bakr al-Ṣulī, Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Urādī and his own father Muḥammad al-Miṣṣīṣī. He himself is cited as authority by (*his disciples*) Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī 'Usāmah al-Ḥalabī Abu 'l-Ḥusain Ahmad, brother to the preceding, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Babbagha, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn 'Awn al-Ḥarīrī, Abu Bakr al-Khalīdī, and the qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ja'far al-Hāshimī. The following verses taken from one of his *qasīdahs*, addressed to Sayf al-Dawlat, are among the finest which he composed :

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and was treated most generously by that prince, who gave him upwards of two hundred thousand dirhems (about 8,000 pounds sterling) as a testimony of the satisfaction he received from the praises of the poet. It was on leaving Shirāz to return to Kāfah that he was assassinated. The details of this event are preserved in a letter addressed by a contemporary to the two *Khallidites*, who were poets at the court of Sayf al-Dawlat. The length of this note prevents me from giving a translation of this letter ; I shall only observe that Fatik al-Asadī, by whom he was slain, had a motive for this deed ; al-Mutanabbī had satirized his family and particularly his cousin Ḍabbā and Ḍabbā's mother. Fātik had declared his intention beforehand to the writer of the letter, who informed al-Mutanabbī of his danger, and recommended him to take an escort with him ; but this advice was rejected by the poet, who replied : "It shall never be said that I sought any other safeguard than my sword !" Persuasion and entreaty were employed to change his determination, but he would not hearken to any advice: the result of his temerity and obstinacy was his death.

The above note is the summary of a number of passages contained in an interesting work, entitled *الصبح المنبى عن حيشيته المتنبي* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, No. 705.—See M. de Sacy's opinion of this work in the *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 476.)

¹ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā al-Kermānī (*native of Kermān*), had a profound knowledge of philology and grammar ; he wrote a beautiful hand and was a correct copier, which caused his writings to be in great request. He was a professional copyist, working for hire ; he composed also some books the titles of which are given in the *Fihrest*, from which this notice is taken ; the years of his birth and death are not mentioned, but we may conclude from what Ibn Khallikan says, that he was still living at the beginning of the fourth [fifth ?] century.

“Illustrious princee ! thy lances gain thee glory in this world and in paradise hereafter. Every year which passes finds thee with the sword in the necks of enemies, and thy steed harnessed with bit and saddle. Time rolleth on and still thy deeds are all for glory; thy words for piety, and thy hands for bestowing gifts.”

By the same:

“Is it then true that (*the cruel*) Zurād is the author of my death? The promises which she made me, are they then come to this? I stopped (*near her former abode*), unable to restrain my grief, and fixed to the spot, I seemed like one bereft of life. Seeing me thus, my censorious foes were perplexed with doubt, and they said to the ruined mansion: which of these two is the pillar (*that sustained the rustic hut*)?”

Al-Nāmī had some encounters with al-Mutanabbī and sustained contests with him in reciting extemporary verses. It is related by Abu 'l-Khattāb Ibn 'Awn al-Ḥarīrī, the poet and grammarian, that he went one day to visit al-Nāmī, and found him seated; his head was white like the *thaghāma*¹ when in flower, but one single black hair still remained. “Sir!” said Ibn 'Awn, “there is a black hair in your head.” “Yes,” replied al-Nāmī, “it is the sole remnant of my youth, and I am pleased with it; I have even written verses on it.” Then, at the request of Ibn 'Awn, he recited these lines :

“In that head a single hair still appeared preserving its blackness ; 'twas a sight which rejoiced the eyes (*of my friends*). I said to my white hairs which had put it in fear : ‘I implore you ! respect it as a stranger. A dark African spouse will not long remain in the house where the second wife is white of skin’.”

He then said : “O Abū Khattāb ! a single white hair spreads terror among a thousand black; what then must be the case with one black among a thousand white?” He is also author

¹ The *thaghāma* is in all probability a species of Artemisia : it must not be confounded with *toogama*, mentioned by Rauwolf, after Kamfer, as the Arabic name of the palma Christi.

of the following verses, which have been erroneously attributed to the vizīr Abā Muḥammad al-Muḥallabī :

“An enemy whom I called my beloved hastened towards me, arrayed in a red summer dress. The wine sported in her eyes and made her cheeks like a brilliant flame. How, said I, ‘hast thou obtained such beauty? Thou comest here in a strange attire. Is it with the redness of your cheeks that thou art clothed, or is your garment dyed with the hearts-blood (of lovers)?’—‘It is the wine,’ said she, ‘which (by its reflexion) makes my tunic seem like the sky at sunset; it cometh near the colour of the wine, which itself approaches to that of my cheeks.’”¹

Al-Nāmī died at Aleppo, A. H. 399 (A. D. 1008-9); others say 370 or 371 ; aged 90 years.—*Dārimī* means *descend from Dārim Ibn Mālik*, a great branch of the tribe of Tamīm.—*Miṣṣīṣī* signifies *native of al-Miṣīṣah* (the ancient Mopsuestia), a city on the coast of the sea of Rām (the Levant), near Tarsūs, Sīs and other places in the same region. It was built in the year 140 (A. D. 757), by Sālih Ibn ‘Alī in pursuance of orders given by his nephew, the khalīf al-Manṣūr.

51. BADI' AL-ZAMĀN AL-HAMADĀNĪ

The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusain Ibn Yahya Ibn Sa'īd al-Hamadānī, surnamed Badi' al-Zamān (*prodigy of the Age*), is author of some beautiful epistles and excellent *Maqāmāhs*,² which al-Ḥarīrī took as a model in the composition of his ; framing them on the same plan, and imitating the manner of their author, in whose footsteps he walked. In his preface,

¹ Literally : And thus my dress, the wine, and the colour of my cheeks are a neighbour to a neighbour of a neighbour.

² M. de Sacy has given six of these *Maqāmāhs* in his *Chrestomathie*, and in the notes he has inserted a very full notice on al-Hamadānī and his writings.

al-Ḥarīrī acknowledges the merit of his predecessor, and admits that he was guided by his example in the path he followed. Al-Hamadānī was eminent for his knowledge of pure and correct Arabic, in which he cited as his masters Ibn Fāris, author of the *Mujmil*, and others : his epistles are admirable and his poetry full of beauty. He dwelt at Herāt, a city in the province of Khurāsān. The following is a specimen of his epistolary style : "When water has long remained at rest, its noxious qualities appear ; and when its surface has continued tranquil, its foulness gets into motion : thus it is with a guest : his presence is displeasing when his stay has been protracted ; and his shadow is oppressive when the time for which he should sojourn is at an end. Adieu." Another of his letters runs thus : "(To him whose honourable) presence is a point of union for the needy, not to say the *Ka'bah* of pilgrims ; the station of honour, not to say the station of sanctity (at *Mekkah*), the desire of guests not to say (the valley of) *Minā* near (the hill of) *Khayf* ; the source of gifts, not to say the *Qiblah* of prayer,¹ :— *to him let this be a consolation : death is awful till (it comes, and then) it is found light ; its touch seems grating till (felt, and then) it is smooth ; the world is so hostile and its injustice so great that death is the lightest of its inflictions, the least of its wrongs. Look then to the right ; do you see ought but affliction ? Look to the left ; do you see ought but woe ?"—The verses which follow are taken from a long poem of his composition :

"The gush of the (*fertilizing*) shower were like thee (*in thy liberality*), did it, in smiling, pour forth gold. Fortune were like thee, did it not deceive ; the sun, did he speak ; the lion, were he not hunted ; the sea, were its waters fresh."[†]

The following satirical verses on the city of Hamadān are also attributed to him, but I have since found that they

¹ All this, in the original Arabic, is a mere play upon words, and has as little real meaning as the translation here given. The valley of *Mina* is in the neighbourhood of *Mekkah*.

* M. de Slane has omitted the words : "This is another letter which is in condolence."—*Ed.*

† "sweet not saline" should be substituted for "fresh".—*Ed.*

were composed by Abu 'l-'Alā Muḥammad Ibn Ḥusāl, a native of that place :

“Hamadān is my native place ; I must allow it that honour ; but it is the vilest of cities. Its children are, for ugliness, like old men ; and its old men, for reason, like children.”

His prose and verse abound in beauties of every kind. He died of poison at Herāt. A. H. 398 (A. D. 1008). I have since found, however, the following note written at the end of his epistles which have been collected by the ḥakīm Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Dūst : “End of the epistles. The author died at Herāt on Friday,* 11 of the Second Jumādā, 398” (February, A. D. 1008). On this the ḥakīm observes : “I have been assured by persons of good authority that he fell into a lethargy and was buried with precipitation. He recovered when shut up in the tomb, and his cries having been heard that night, his grave was opened, and he was found dead from Fright, with his hand grasping his beard.”¹

52. ABU 'L-QĀSIM IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ

Abu 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥasan Ibn Ḥasan,† Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalib ; this sharīf, who descended from Muḥammad through Ḥasan, belonged to the family of al-Rass and was a native of Egypt. The descendants of the Khalīf 'Alī who inhabited that country were placed under his jurisdiction as

¹ The bodies of Muslims are not put into coffins ; they are merely covered with a shroud, and placed in a vault, or in a hollow excavated in one of the sides of the grave, sufficient space being left for the body to sit up, as it must do, when questioned by the angels Munkir and Nakīr.

* Friday fell on 20 February which corresponds to 9 or 10 of the Second Jumādā.—*Ed.*

† M. de Slane has wrongly read it Ḥusayn: the autograph is very clear and the same is supported by *Qāmūs*—*Ed.*

their *naqib* or chief ; he was also one of the principal heads of that body. He composed some fine poetry on ascetic and other subjects, fragments of which are given by at-Tha'ālibī in his *Yatimah* ; among the number, he quotes the following verses :

“My friends¹ the Pleiades excite my envy, and the instability of fortune grieves me to the heart. They are six (*stars*), yet their union subsists unbroken, while I now miss the sole person whom I love.”²

Al-Tha'ālibī quotes also as his these lines, which he attributes, however, at the commencement of his *Yatimah*, to Dhu 'l-Qarnayn Ibn Hamadān :

“She said to the fleeting image³ which visited me (*in a dream*) and then returned : ‘I pray thee ! tell me how he is ; do not extenuate nor aggravate.’ The vision replied : ‘I saw him nearly dead with thirst, and I said : Stop ! avoid a source of which the water are never drunk.’⁴ She answered : ‘Thou sayest

1 Literally: My two friends! in the dual; a very common form of expression among poets and the origin of which is thus explained by al-Zawzanī in his commentary on the *Moallaqah* of Imru 'l-Qays, verse first: “The Arabs of the desert did so (that is, they employed the dual in addressing each other), because a man could not have less than two persons to help him in tending his flocks; one to take care of the camels, the other of the sheep ; so their tongues became accustomed to the dual form, and they made use of it when speaking even to a single individual.”

2 *The sole person whom I love*, that is, God.

3 The *Tayf al-Khiāl* is often mentioned by Arabic poets: it is the image of the person beloved which appears to the lover in his dreams. It is supposed not to visit the lover unless sent by the mistress during her sleep. The lover also sends his image to visit the couch of his mistress, etc.—In the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1838, will be found an article in which I have treated and explained this hitherto obscure subject.

4 *The water which are never drunk* are tears.

true ; to love fully and sincerely is his custom.—O! What refreshing coolness her words shed on my heart.”¹

Besides the above, he had composed other fine passages. Among the verses attributed to him are the following on a long night, and which contain quite a novel thought :

“The Pleiades seem, this night, to have been travelling all the day, and to have arrived at their evening station, fatigued with their journey. They have pitched their tents that their caravan may repose ; for not a planet rolleth in its orbit, not a star speeds in its nightly way.”

I have since met, however, with these two verses, in a long *qasidah* inserted among the poetical works of Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn Ṭabāṭabā; and I extracted from a piece contained in that work, the lines which here follow :

“They are gone, and, by their departure, they have left for ever in my heart the anguish which first arose when their caravan went forth upon its way. O, the days of joy now fled! they seem like a dream, so quick they passed away. If God, in his pity, granted to the true lover a lengthened life, those joys would have long endured for me. O my life gone by! take a year from my existence, and give me back some days of love.”

I do not know who this Abu 'l-Hasan was, nor what degree of relationship existed between him and Abu 'l-Qasim.—The emīr al-Mukhtar, surnamed al-Musabbihī² makes mention of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā in his history of Egypt, and says that he died A. H. 345 (A. D. 956) ; another writer adds that his death took place on

1 *My heart*, in Arabic *كشاي* *my liver*. Arabic poets suppose the liver to be the seat of love, and the heart to be that of reason; this observation will be borne out by numerous examples. In European poetry, love resides in the heart, not in the liver ; and reason in the head not in the heart.

2 This is the historian whom some of our orientalists erroneously call Meshī.

the eve of Tuesday, 24 Shā'bān*: he was interred in the burying-ground reserved for the descendants of 'Alī, and which lies behind the New Muṣallah¹ at Old Cairo: he was aged 64 years.—His great-grandfather was surnamed Ṭabāṭabā from the circumstance of his pronouncing the guttural *q* like *ṭ*: desiring one day his clothes to be brought to him, he was asked by his slave if it was *durra*, or coat, which he wanted? "No," said he, "a waistcoat, a waistcoat (*ṭabā, ṭabā*);" wishing to say *qabā*; and these words became a nickname by which he was afterwards known. *Al-Rass* is, according to al-Sam'ānī, the name borne by one of the branches of 'Alī's family.

53. ABU 'L-RAQA'MAQ

Abu Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṭākī, surnamed Abu 'l-Raqa'maq, was a poet of repute; al-Tha'ālibī, in his *Yatimah*, speaks of him in these terms: "He was the pearl of his age, the union of excellencies; one of those who managed poetry in its gay and its serious moods, and who gained the prize of excellence; he was a skilful eulogist, an able poet; and was for Syria what Ibn Ḥajjāj² was for 'Irāq." Among the most

1 The New Muṣallah was built in the Sahra الصحرَاء or Little Qarāfah, by 'Anbasah, أَنْبَسَاء, governor of Egypt. The Old Muṣallah, founded by 'Amr Ibn al-'Āsī, not being sufficiently large, notwithstanding additions made to it, the New Muṣallah was constructed during the reign of Al-Mutawakkil, A. H. 240 (A. D. 855).—*Khīṭaṭ*.—The use of the Muṣallah is explained in de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 191.—The 'Anbasah here mentioned was the last Egyptian governor of Arabic descent: his successors were Turks, chosen among the slaves of the khalīfs. 'Anbasah was appointed to that situation, 238 A. H. (A. D. 852), and filled it till A. H. 242 (A. D. 856). His names were Abu Ja'far 'Anbasah Ibn Ishāq Ibn 'Amr.—(Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*).

2 The life of Ibn Ḥajjāj will be found in this work: his name was al-Ḥusayn.

*Tuesday 2 December, 956, corresponds to 25 Shā'bān.—*Ed.*

brilliant of his productions are the following verses, in which he extols Ya'qūb Ibn Killis, vizir to the Fatimite khalif al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mo'izz al-'Ubaydī, prince of Egypt (the lives of both shall be given) :

“We have heard the excuse (*of our beloved*), and we have pardoned her fault and her error.—The thoughts (*which I here express*) are (*intended*) for the person whom I mean (*to praise*) ; but I make allusion to thee, fair maid, that dwellest near ; so hearken to my words. Him whom thy smiles seduce thou shalt always see (*absorbed in thought and*) unmindful of his attire¹ ; He knows that such (*love as his*) is the punishment which God has destined for those whose eyes contemplate (*beauty*). God had sent the veil (*which concealed thy lover's feelings*) ; it is thine to tear off the veil from every dissembler.—The looks of her (*I speak of*) have fascinated my heart ; 'tis so with every beauty, their looks have a magic power. Would it harm the (*cruel fair*) who has chosen to show aversion and dislike, did she at length consent to be pleased and to receive (*my*) visits ? But I must avow my submission to her will, though she has inflicted torment when she avoided (*my sight*). I have never ceased to hope for her love, and suffer from her dislike ; yet may I never be deprived of such a mistress !”

The verses which follow are taken from that portion of the same poem which contains the panegyric :

“This vizir hath not left on earth an enemy to al-'Azīz, whose ardour he hath not quelled. He wages daily war against the vicissitudes of Fortune and the attacks of adversity, by bestowing abundant gifts. His hand would be covered with dishonour did avarice force it to withdraw ; it is a hand accustomed to renew the charge in the combat of liberality. By its munificence, the number of foes to al-'Azīz has been diminished,

¹ Such I believe to be the meaning of the verse, which would be altered by rendering more closely the final words : Shakspeare has expressed the same idea, and given *nearly* a literal translation of the words to which I allude, where he says : “Lord Hamlet, with *his doublet* all unbraced.”

and of friends, increased. It is thus that the hand of the superior man worketh, day and night, good (*to friends*) and evil (*to foes*).¹ Choose then him for patron; none are safe who seek not his benignant shade—his generous protection. When you see him reflect with downcast eyes, and thoughts directed towards some (*lofty*) purpose; (*know that*) his quick and discerning judgment will leave nought in the bosom of futurity unscanned²! not a single place upon the earth, of which his mind will not embrace the confines. May God increase the extent of his (*power*); may he preserve him from even the apprehension of misfortune, and exempt him from the necessity of all precaution.”

His poetry is in general good, and of the same cast as that composed by Ṣarīf al-Dilā.* He was a long time resident in Egypt, and much of his poetry consists in panegyric on the princes and great men of that country. He composed poems in praise of the Fatimite *khalif* al-Mu‘izz Abū Tamīm† Ma‘add,‡ of his son al-‘Azīz, and his grandson al-Ḥākim; he celebrated also the praises of al-Qā‘id Jawhar, the vizīr Ibn Killis,§ and other men of rank. (The lives of the persons here named will be found in his work.) The emīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbihī makes mention of this poet in his history of Egypt, and assigns the year 399 (A. D. 1008-9) as that of his death; another writer adds that he expired on Friday, 22 Ramadān of that year**; while a third

1 Such is the characteristic of a perfect man in the opinion of the Arabs, both before and since the establishment of Islamism.

2 Literally: will leave nought unturned in the interior of futurity.

*“al-Qaṣṣār al-Baṣrī” is omitted in translation.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane read it Tammām.—*Ed.*

‡M. de Slane has omitted the genealogy: “Ibn al-Manṣūr al-Qā‘im Ibn al-Mahdī ‘Ubaydullāh.—*Ed.*

§“Abu ‘l-Faraj” the *Knyāh* of the vizīr is omitted.—*Ed.*

**20 May, 1009.—*Ed.*

says that it was in the Second Rabī'. I suppose that he died at Miṣr (*Old Cairo*). *Anṭāki* means *native of Anṭākiya (Antioch)*, a city near Aleppo.—*Raq'maq* is a nickname.¹

54. JAḤZAH AL-BARMAKĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Mūsā Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid Ibn Barmak, surnamed Jaḥzah the cup-companion, was a man of talent and master of various accomplishments; he possessed a knowledge of history and astrology; he abounded in repartees, and was an amusing guest at social parties. Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Marzubān has composed the life and collected the poetry of this member of the Barmakide family, who was also one of the wittiest men of his time. The following are specimens of his poetry, which is very fine:

“I am son to those men whose beneficence enriched mankind, and who have become the talk (*of the world*) for their signal liberality. There was no historian but spoke of their generous action; no book but contained their praise.”

“I said to her (*I loved*). ‘Thou art sparing (*of thy favours*) towards me when (*I am*) awake; be then kind to thy afflicted lover (*and let him see thee*) in (*his*) dreams: She answered: ‘Thou also canst sleep, and yet wishest me to visit thee in the dreams!’²

“I am among a race who fly from (*committing an act of*) liberality and who have (*therein*) inherited the character of their fathers. Fellows who would feel indignant³ if I tried to obtain

1 *Raq'maq* is not an Arabic word, neither is it, I believe, Persian or Turkish; and I am, therefore, in ignorance of its meaning.

2 That is: since thou canst sleep, why not send thy image to visit me, rather than require mine to visit thee?—(See note on *Tayf-al-Khayal*, No. 53).

3 Literally: It were as if I wanted to pluck a hair from their noses.

from them a present.—Come, my girl, fill me up an ample (*cup*) and sing (*this air*) : *The protectors are gone under whose shelter one could live.*”

“O thou troop,¹ whose departure is an affliction! the lover left behind confides to thee the surest pledge—his heart.”

“When she said to me : How wert thou during my absence ? Didst thou wear the raiment of the rich or of the poor ?” I answered : ‘Ask me not ! I lived morning and evening in the destitute state of one deprived of all’ (*not having thee*).”

The poetical works of Jahzah have been collected and form a *Diwān*, of which the greater part is good: his adventures are well known. One of his verses currently quoted is the following :

“The sky was so clear that people said : There is a contest between Jahzah and the weather.”²

Jahzah was an ugly man, and Ibn al-Rūmī (*alluding to the circumstance*) said:

“I am told that Jahzah borrowed his goggle eyes (*Juḥūz*) from the elephant on the chess-board,³ or from the crab. O, how his audience are to be pitied ! To please their ears, they must afflict their eyes.”

He died at Wāsiṭ, A. H. 326 (A. D. 937-8) ; or 324, according to some ; and it is said that his bier⁴ was borne to

1 This is supposed to be addressed by a lover to the tribe of his mistress, on their setting out from their last habitation to some new station in the desert.

2 Such is the literal translation of the Arabic verse ; but it must be observed that the verb *رق* which signifies *to be clear*, means also *to be of good humour*. By a similar analogy, they saw in German : *heiteres wetter* (clear weather), and *ein heiteres Gemuth* (a serene or gay mind).

3 In the Chinese, Hindu, and Persian game of chess, that piece bears the name of the elephant, which in the English game is called the bishop.

4 When the bodies of the dead are transported to the cemetery, they are placed on a bier, off of which they are removed on reaching the grave. See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II, page 302.

Baḡhdād.—*Jaḥẓah* was a nickname given to him by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mū'azz; the Khatīb¹ says that he was born in the month of Shābān, A. H. 224 (A. D. 839). The history of Baḡhdād and the *Kitāb al-Agh̃nī* make mention of him.²

55. IBN DARRĀJ AL-ANDALŪSĪ

Abū 'Umar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-'Āsī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Īsā Ibn Darrāj al-'Qasṭallī al-Andalusī (*native of Spain*), kātib and poet to al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir,³ is counted in Spain among the good poets and the men eminent for their learning. Al-Ḥa'ālibī makes mention of him in the *Yatimah*

1 See his life, No. 33.

2 The manuscript of the *Agh̃nī* belonging to the *Bib. du Roi*, makes only incidental mention of *Jaḥẓah* but there is reason to believe that this MS. is incomplete. The author of the *Fihrest* (fol. 196) informs us that *Jaḥẓah* had studied under many learned men and *r̃wīs*, or narrators of historical traditions, and that he played on the guitar; he was a man of dissolute life and of little or no religious principle. He composed a book on cookery, a history of celebrated players on the guitar, الطنبوريين treatise on the excellence of the ragout called *Sikb̃ij* سكباج; Recollections of the khalif al-Mu'tasim; Recollections of his own time; on Astrologers whose predictions were accomplished. It appears from the same work that he acquired great reputation by his wit, and prompt repartees; in the abridgement of the Khatīb's History of Baḡhdād (MS. of *Bib. du Roi*, No. 634, fol. 42, verso; it is stated that he was the first singer of his time. Both authors abstain from speaking of his adventures, on account, it would seem, of their notoriety.

3 Abu 'Āmir Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Āmir surnamed al-Manṣūr (*the victorious*), was created *h̃jib* or prime minister of the kingdom of Cordova, A. H. 366 (A. D. 976), on the accession of Hiḡhām al-Muwayyad Billāh. After achieving successfully more than fifty campaigns against the Christians, he was defeated by Sancho, king of Navarre, in the year 392 (A. D. 1001), and died of grief soon after. Though he made regularly two expeditions every year against the enemy, he found sufficient leisure to patronize men of learning. (*Buḡhyat*.—Conde—Abu 'I-Fidā.)

and speaks of him in these terms : "He was for the country of Andalus, that which al-Mutanabbī was for Syria, a poet of the highest order, and equal elegant in what he said and wrote." He then gives some fine passages from his compositions. Ibn Bassām also, in his *Dhakhirah*, speaks of Ibn Darrāj and gives specimens of his epistles and poems. I learn from his collected poetical works, which form two volumes, that al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir ordered him to compose a poem in imitation of the *qaṣīdah* made by Abū Nawās al-Ḥakam in praise of al-Khaṣīb Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, chief of the land-tax office in Egypt¹ the poem by Abū Nawās begins thus :

"O maid that dwellest near our double tent² ; thou hast a jealous father ; and the least (*favour*) one can hope, can hardly be obtained from thee."

In consequence of this order, Ibn Darrāj recited to him an elegant *qaṣīdah*, which contains, among others, the following passage :

"Women ! knowest thou not to remain (*here*) is to die and that the dwellings of the indigent are tombs ? Thou strivest to appal me with the terros of a lengthened journey, but (*know!*) that (*journey*) will be the means of (*my*) kissing Ibn 'Āmir's hand. Let me then drink of the deserts waters, though stagnant : so that I arrive where the waters of Generosity are pure. Though the perils of desert wasot be reserved for him who rides therein, the reward (*of his toil will be*) great."

In the same poem is this description of his parting from his wife and child.

1 Al-Khaṣīb was appointed to this place by the khalif Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, A. H. 190 (A. D. 805-6), and removed A. H. 191.—(Al-Makīn, page 119.)

2 The dual is here employed for probably the same reason as in the case already noticed, No. 25, note on *dual number*.

“When she approached to say adieu and already her sighs and lamentations had shaken my fortitude—she conjured me to remember our mutual love ; and there, in the cradle, lay an infant lisping a feeble cry : it was unable to reply when spoken to, but its looks knew well how to touch the tender soul¹: lodged in the safe dwelling of our hearts, soft arms and bosoms were its bed. She that gave it the breast was one for whose neck and bosom a man would sacrifice his life its nurse was one for the preservation of whose charms prayers would be offered to God: I disobeyed (*the smile which was*) its intercessor with my soul, and evening and morning led me on, till accustomed to my nightly journeys. The wing of separation bore me away ; and her fluttering heart² dismayed at my departure, bore away her (*senses in a swoon*). If she bade adieu to a jealous husband, he was only jealous of his fortitude (*which nearly yielded*) to her grief.—Had she then seen me when the ardours of noon were shed upon me, and the trembling mirage waved around; when I bared my face to the meridan fires, and submitted to their force (the evening too were warm); when I inhaled that life-giving breez which flew across my path as I trod over the burning sands: (and Death wears many shapes in the coward’s eye, but Danger is a vain sound to the ears of the brave!)—(*Had she seen me then*) she had clearly learned that I yield not to the injustice (*of Fortune*), and that I can bear with firmness the biting of adversity. He that is emir (*master*) over the terrors of the desert needs only his sword for vizīr, when threatened with danger. Had she seen me with my soul intent on speeding the nightly journey, when my sounding steps held converse with the demons of the waste—when I wandered over the desert during the shades of night, while the roar of the lion was heard from his haunt among the reeds—when the brilliant Pleiades circled (*through the heavens*), like dark-eyed maids (*dancing*) in the green woods : and the polar stars were borne round like the wine cups filled by a fair gazelle and circulated by an assiduous attendant;—when the milky way seemed like the gray hairs of age upon the head of

1 Literally: The spot where affection touches, or lights on souls.

2 Literally: ribs.

the gloomy night—when the ardour of my resolution and the piercer of the darkness¹ were equally terrible—when languor closed the eyelids of the stars ;—ah! then she had known that Fate itself obeyed my will, and that I was worthy the favour of Ibn ‘Āmir.”

This poem is of considerable length, but the extract we have given is sufficient. Since we have spoken of this *qaṣīdah*, we must cite also a portion of the one composed by Abū Nawās, and imitated, in its rhyme and measure, by Abū ‘Umar. *Abū Nuwās having set out from Baḡhdād for Egypt, with the intention of eulogizing Abū Naṣr al-Khaṣīb, recited to him the poem we are now speaking of, and in which he named the different places where he stopped on the way : one verse of it has already been given in the life of Abū Ishāq al-Ghazzī² and there is no necessity for inserting the whole of it here; it is besides of considerable length; we shall merely quote some select passages:

“When my active camel bore me from her tent, she said: ‘It is grievous for us to see thee going away! Is there not some place nearer than Egypt where riches may be found? There are surely many means of gaining riches.’ I answered, whilst her fair companions were hastening after, and complaining of her speed; and, as they ran, perfumes dropped (*from their hair*): ‘Let me go, so that the number of those who envy thee may be increased by (*the success of*) my journey to the city in which al-Khaṣīb is emīr. If our camels visit not the country of al-Khaṣīb, to what other generous man can they go? Beneficence went not beyond him, neither did it stop before it reached him; no! wherever he is, Beneficence is there. (*He is*) the man of noble soul! he buyeth with his wealth a glorious reputation, for he knoweth how the vicissitudes of Fortune revolve.’ ”

“Though others may remain in ignorance of my words, the Commander of the Faithful³ knoweth them well. Thou

1 *The piercer of the darkness*; the planet Saturn.

2 See No. 17.

3 The poet means the *khalif* Harūn al-Raṣhīd.

*[] From “Abū Nuwās” to “are turned” on page 200 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

(O! *Khaṣīb*) hast not ceased to serve him with good counsel, from the time of (*thy*) youth till the grey hairs appeared on (*thy*) cheeks. When an unforeseen event occurred, your prudence released the *khalif* from all anxiety,¹ or your advice guided him in the choice fo a minister.”

The poet then enters into the description of the places where he stopped to rest, and he finishes thus:

“In the tumult of battle, al-*Khaṣīb* shed glory on the sword and the lance; in peace, he gave lustre to the pulpit and the throne.² Profuse in his bounty when the hands of others are contracted (*by avarice*); jealously respectful of female honour! O, *khaṣīb*! if my (*description*) attain the height of thy (*glory*), I shall merit wealth, and thou, that I place my hopes in thy bounty. If thou grantest me thy favour (*let it be because*) I deserve it; if you withhold (*thy approbation*), I shall ask (*thy*) excuse (*for my presumption and be grateful*).”

Abū Nuwās then celebrated the praises of al-*Khaṣīb* in a number of other poems, and on his return to Bagh̄dād he made an eulogium on the *khalif*³ who said to him: “What can you say of us, after having said of our lieutenant: “*If our camels visit not the country of al-Khaṣīb?*” (the *khalif* here repeated this and the next verse). Abu Nuwās remained for some time with his eyes cast towards the ground, and then held up his head and recited these lines :

“When we praise you with sincerity, you are what we describe and even more; if our words seem to convey the praises of any other, it is thou alone towards whom our thoughts are turned.”]

1 Literally: You spared him the trouble of it.

2 As governor, he had the right of pronouncing the *khutbah* from the pulpit, and of giving public audience from the throne as representative of the *khalif*. It would appear from al-Makīn, page 114, and Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 659, that in the time of al-Raḥīd the governor of Egypt was sometimes authorized to collect the revenue. It is necessary to observe, however, that al-*Khaṣīb* could not have presided at public prayers in Egypt, as he never acted as governor of that province.

3 Probably the *Khalif al-Raḥīd*.

From another piece of Abū 'Umar's, we extract the following verse:

“If the valley where thou dwellest be inaccessible (*to thy lover*), let the place of our meeting be the valley of sleep; there I may chance to find thee.”¹

In this verse, he comes near the following thought of another poet's:

“Is there means of meeting thee in the lonely valley for the grounds reserved by thy tribe are full of spies?”²

Abū 'Umar was born in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 347 (A. D. 958), and died on the eve of *Sunday, 15 of the Second Jumādā, 421 (A. D. 1030).—*Darrāj* is the name of one of his ancestors.—*Qaṣṭallī* means *native of Qaṣṭallah*,³ a city in Spain, called also Qaṣṭallah Darrāj (*Qaṣṭallah of Darrāj*): but I know not if it be after the ancestor of Abū 'Umar or some other person that it was so called.

56. IBN ZAYDŪN AL-ANDALŪSĪ

Abu 'l-Walīd Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ghālib Ibn Zaydūn al-Makḥz mī al-Andalāsī al-Qurṭubī (*descended from the tribe of Maḥzūn and native of Cordova in Spain*): this celebrated poet is spoken of in the following terms by Ibn Bassām in the *Dhakhīrah*: “Abu 'l-Walīd attained the height of

1 That is: let us dream of each other.

2 Among the ancient Arabs, the *shaykhs* reserved for their own use a certain portion of ground near the camp; this was called the *Ḥim̄*, or *forbidden spot*, and no other dare feed his flocks or hunt in it. Later poets designate by this word the spot where the beloved is supposed to reside; and mystic writers call Heaven the *Ḥim̄*, because God, the object of love, dwells there.—(See *Chrestomathie*, tom. III, page 153.)

3 Al-Idrīsī places Qas allāh on the sea-coast, fourteen miles east of Tavira; Conde says that it is now called Castellar.

*Sunday 16 is correct reckoning corresponding to 21 June.—*Ed.*

perfection in prose and poetry, and closed the series of poets sprung from Makhzām ; he had received from Fortune the best of her favours ; he surpassed (*in abilities*) every person (*of his time*), and wielded his authority (*as vizīr*) to the welfare (*of friends*) and the detriment (*of foes*) : he was endowed with a great talent for aptly expressing his thoughts in prose and verse, joined to such information in literature as surpassed the ocean by its overflow, and the moon by its lustre ; his poetry had a power which no magic ever possessed, and (*an elevation*) which the stars could not rival ; and he had received in portion¹ a prose style of a singular and original construction, quite poetic in its terms and ideas. He was the son of one of the first jurisconsults in Cordova and when his learning had attained its height, when his poetic talent had acquired its excellence, when his position (*in the world*) became eminent and when his tongue was free (*to give its mandates uncontrolled*), he left his native place and went, in the year 441 (A. D. 1049-50), to al-Mu'taḍid 'Abbād, prince of Seville, who adopted him as one of his privileged friends, admitted him into his intimate society, hearkened to his counsels, and treated him on the footing of a vizīr." This author then gives a great number of epistles and pieces of poetry composed by Ibn Zaydān, among others, the following :

"Between me and thee subsists a feeling which, if pleasing to thee, shall never expire—a secret which has remained undivulged, whilst other secrets were revealed. He who would buy the share I hold in thy affections might offer me life itself ; I would not sell my share in thy affections. Let it suffice thee that, although thou hast placed on my heart a burden which the hearts of men could not sustain, my heart sustains it. Be scornful, I shall suffer patiently ; be proud, I shall endure it ; be haughty, I shall be humble ; return, I shall approach ; speak, I shall hear ; order, I shall obey."

¹ In the Arabic text, the word here translated by *he had received in portion*, is printed* *بِأَنْ* conformably to the MSS., but it is evident that the true reading is *بِأَنَّ*, and as such it is here adopted.

* in Egyptian edition it is *بِأَنَّ* ; likewise it is *بِأَنَّ* in the autograph.—*Ed.*

By the same :

“He has bid adieu to fortitude, the lover who bade adieu to thee : it is now betrayed, the secret (*of his love which he had*) confided to thee (*alone*). He gnashes his teeth (*with regret*) that he went not onward some steps more, when he followed thee to say farewell. Sister to the moon in exaltation and in lustre ! may God reserve a time when I shall see thee reappear ! If my nights are long during thy absence, 'tis thou who art the cause ; I pass them in lamenting the shortness of the nights I spent with thee.”

He is author also of some high-sounding poems, a portion of which I should give, were I not afraid of being prolix. One of his most brilliant gems¹ is the *qasidah* which contains these verses :

“Whilst our inmost thoughts conversed with thee (*when memory recalled thy image*), grief had nearly killed us, did we not assume fortitude. Since thou art gone, our days are become dark, though with thee our nights were bright. Yesterday our separation was not apprehended ; to-day, our meeting again cannot be hoped for.”

The poem (*from which this passage is taken*) is of considerable length, and each of its verses might be selected (*for its beauty*), but it would divert us from our plan were we to enter into long details. Ibn Zaydan died and was buried at Seville on the 1st Rajab, A. H. 463 (A. D. 1071)*: mention is made of his father by Ibn Baskhuwāl, who speaks highly of him in his *Ṣilat*, and says : “He was surnamed Abū Bakr ; he died in the year 405 (A. D. 1014-5), at al-Bīrah (*Elvira*),² whence his body was taken to Cordova, where it was interred on Monday, †⁷th of the Second Rabī‘ of that year ; his birth was in A. H. 354 (A. D. 965) : he used to dye his hair black.”³

1 Literally : One of his admirable necklaces.

2 See Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, t. II, page 247 *et seq.*, and *Biographie, Universelle*, ZAIDOUN.

3 It was more usual to dye it red ; see No. 19, note on *hair dye*.

* 4 April.—*Ed.*

† Monday 6 corresponding to 4 October. The author says “six days of the month passed” but it never means the day following.—*Ed.*

Ibn Zaydūn had a son named Abū Bakr, who acted as vizīr to al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, and was slain on the day in which Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn took Cordova from Ibn 'Abbād and deprived him of his kingdom ; the particulars of which event we shall give in the lives of these princes. Cordova was taken on Wednesday, Second Ṣafar, 484 (March,* A. D. 1091), and Abū Bakr was killed there. We have already given the true pronunciation of *Qurtubah* (Cordova); it is, therefore, unnecessary to repeat it here : it will be found in the life of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, author of the '*Iqd*¹ ; the Franks took this city from the Muslims in the month of *Shawwāl*, 633 (about the 1st of July, 1236).²

57. IBN AL-ABBĀR THE POET

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Khawlānī, native of Seville in Spain, and surnamed Ibn al-Abbār, was a poet of reputation, and in the different branches of his art, one of the ablest among the poets patronised by the prince of Seville al-Mu'tadid 'Abbād Ibn Muḥammad al-Lakḥmī. He was also a man of learning, having made compilations and composed (*some original treatises*) ; but he possessed an acknowledged talent, and showed unbounded abilities in his poetical works, from which we extract the following beautiful passage :

“She knew not the lasting passion with which her eyes inspired my soul, nor the anguish which was borne by my

1 See No. 45.

2 For further information respecting Ibn Zaydūn, see M. de Sacy's article in the *Biographie Universelle*, ZAIDOUN ; the date of the taking of Cordova, A. H. 434 (1042), as there given, is incorrect ; consult also the work of M. Weyers, entitled *Specimen criticum*, etc. This gentleman informs me that he still intends to publish the celebrated epistle of Ibn Zaydūn, with the commentary of Ibn Nubātah.

• 26 March.—Ed.

heart.¹— I should lay down my life for that (*fair*) visitor who sought, but could not approach the (*lover*) drowned in tears and consumed (*with love*). Apprehensive of spies she came to me with hurried steps, her neck adorned with no other jewels but its grace and beauty. I handed her the cup, and the wine which it contained blushed (*with jealousy*) at the fragrance of her lips and the radiance of her teeth.² (*We drank*) till her eyelids yielded to the blandishments of slumber, and the strength of the purple (*liquor*) subdued her to my will. I wished to give her my cheek for a pillow,³ but it was too small, and she said : Your arms are for me the best of pillows. She passed the night in a safe, retreat where no fear assailed her ; and I passed the night thirsting (*to taste her lips*), but I abstained.⁴ When this (*maid, beauteous as the*) moon, approached, the full moon was effaced (*by her beauty*), and all the horizon became dark with jealousy; the night was perplexed to know where the moon would rise, but the night knew not that I held the moon in my arms.”

He has composed a number of pretty little pieces* in the same style, and his *Dīwān*, or collected poetical works are spoken of by Ibn Bassām in the *Dhakhirah*. Ibn al-Abbār died A. H. 433 (A. D. 1041-2).—*Khawlānī* means *descended from Khawlān*, son of ‘Amr, father of a great tribe, which settled in Syria.—*Ishbiliyah* (*Seville*) is one of the largest cities of Spain.

1 See No. 52, note on *heart*.

2 Literally : *The honeyed row of teeth and the hailstones* to which white teeth are often compared by Arabic poets.

3 The softness of the cheeks, their tenderness and delicacy are common topics with the poets.

4 Literally : *Without either returning from the source or going to it*. This expression was originally used by the nomadic Arabs in speaking of the power which their camels possessed of enduring thirst.

* For *مقاطع* “fragments” is an appropriate word.—*Ed.*

58. AL-MANĀZĪ

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf al-Salīkī* al-Manāzī, a man of superior talent and distinguished as a poet, was vizīr to Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Marwān al-Kurdī, prince of Mayyāfāriqīn and Diyār Bakr, whose life shall be given later. To his eminent learning and his abilities as a poet, was joined great skill in the management of affairs, and he went a number of times as ambassador to Constantinople. He had collected a great quantity of books, which he made over as a *waqf*¹ to the mosque of Mayyāfāriqīn and the mosque of 'Amīd, in the libraries of which they are still to be found, and where they are known by the designation of *al-Manāzī's Books*. He had one time an interview, at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, with the poet Abu 'l-'Alā, who complained to him of his position, isolated as he was from mankind and badly treated by them; to which al-Manāzī replied: "What can they have to say to you, since you have resigned to them both this world and the next?"² "Ah!" replied Abu 'l-'Alā, "and the next also?" repeating the words several times and much offended; he then hung down his head and did not utter another word till (*his visitor*) went away. In one of his journeys, al-Manāzī passed through the valley of Buzā'ā,³ and, charmed by the beauty of the spot and the feelings it inspired, he made on it these verses:

"A valley sheltered us from the heat of the burning sands, and a dense foliage gave to it a double shelter. We took repose under a tree which soothed us with its sound, as a nurse soothes her child just weaned. Fired with thirst, we drank of a pure spring whose waters were sweeter (*to us*) than wine to a boon companion. This valley wards off the sun on every point from which he can look towards it; him it excludes, but allows the zephyr to enter. Its (*brilliant*) pebbles cause the maids adorned with jewels to tremble, and they feel if the knot of their necklaces (*be unbroken*)."

1 *Waqf*, a concession in perpetuity for pious purposes.

2 This is a sarcastic allusion to Abu 'l-'Alā's heterodox principles; see his life, No. 46.

3 See Abu 'l-Fidā's Geography, page 267 of the Arabic text.

*M. de Slane reads it Sulaykī—*Ed.*

These verses are quite unique in their class, and have been cited, with others by the same author, in the *Zinat al-Dahr*, a work composed by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Ḥazārī among those given by him are the following :

“The boy I have is tall and slender; he is like Euclid's line: without breadth! the sense he possesses is extremely little: it is like the point—having no parts.”

A number of his lesser pieces* are to be found in the hands of the public, but the collection of his poetical works is very rare: I have been told that the qādī al-Fāḍil commissioned a man of learning, who was on his travels, to procure him a copy; this person, in consequence, made inquiries in every country to which he went, but could gain no information about the book, and he then wrote a letter to the qādī, informing him of his want of success; this letter contained some verses, one of which had for second hemistich these words: *And the dwellings are not inhabited by the poems of al-Manāzī*¹ Died A. H. 437 (A. D. 1045-6). *Manāzī* means *native of Manāzjird*, a city near *Khartabirt*² it must not be confounded with *Manāzkird*, a castle in the dependencies of *khalāṭ*,³ of which mention will be made in the life of Ṭaqī al-Dīn 'Umar, prince of Ḥamāh. *Khartabirt* is the well-known *Hisn Ziyād*.⁴ *Burzā'ā* is a considerable town halfway between Aleppo and Manbij.

59. IBN AL-KHAYYĀṬ THE POET

Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ṣadaqah, al-Ṭaḡlibī (*member of tribe of Ṭaḡlib*), sur-

1 This hemistich is remarkable only for having the word *al-Manāzī* preceded by another of nearly the same sound *al-Manāzil* (*the dwellings*).

2 In Lapie's map of the Othoman Empire, the name of this place is written *Charpud*; it lies about 16 miles east of the Euphrates is 38° 25' latitude north.—See St. Martin's *Memoires Sur l'Armenie*, t. I, p. 95.

3 *Khalāṭ*, a city of Armenia, is situated towards the northern extremity of lake Van.—*Idem*, t. I, p. 103.

4 See Abu 'l-Fida's *Geography*: Arabic text, page 52.

*For مقاطيع “fragments” is an appropriate word.—*Ed.*

named Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (*son of the tailor*), native of Damascus, was a k̄atib¹ and poet of considerable merit. Having gone to travel, he composed poems in praise of the (*eminent*) men (*whom he saw*) in different countries ; and went to Persia, where he also made verses in honour (*of its princes*). At Aleppo he met with the celebrated poet Abu 'l-Fityān Ibn Ḥayyūs, and presented him with his poetical works, on which Ibn Ḥayyūs said : "This boy has announced to me my death, for it seldom happens in any profession, that a person of superior skill springs up, without its being an indication that the death of the oldest master in that profession is at hand." On coming to Aleppo in very low circumstances and utterly unable to support himself, he appealed to the generosity of Ibn Ḥayyūs in the following lines :

"What remains in my possession would not sell for a *nut, and my aspect may dispense thee from inquiring into my real state. But I have still some honour left² ; that I have kept unsold ; and where, where would a purchaser be found ?"

On reading these verses, Ibn Ḥayyūs exclaimed : "Had he said : *And thou art surely the purchaser!* it would have been better."—These collection of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ's poems is so common, that it is useless to quote any of them ; most of his *qaṣīdāhs* are of remarkable beauty, and had he composed no other than the one which rhymes in *b*, that poem alone had sufficed for reputation ; it begins thus :

"Obtain from the zephyrs of Najd,³ that they grant respite to his heart ; for their perfume has nearly borne his senses away. †[Beware of that zephyr, when it breathes ; the

1 See note on *k̄atib*, No. 10; and No. 11.

2 Literally : Some water of the face which I have kept from selling. That is; I have still a feeling of honour which prevents me from prostituting my talent for money, and praising unworthy persons in hopes of being rewarded.—See note on ما الوجه , No. 49

3 The highland of Najd in Arabia is frequently celebrated for its flowers and their perfume; it is the Arcadia of the Arabic poets.

* "Grain" is a better word.—*Ed.*

† [] From "Beware of" to "of beauty" on page 210 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

lightest evil it produces is the pains of love. O, my friends!¹ if you have ever loved, you must know what hold that passion takes of him whose heart is smitten and enamoured : he reflects, and reflection augments desire ; the lover longs, and love deprives of reason the victim to whom it clings. An anxious pain with passionate despair and hope—intense desire, though for the place of rendezvous, or near. In our caravan there is one who encloses in his breast a wasting fire ; and who says to the challenge of love : ‘Here (*is thy victim*)!’ When a breath (*of the zephyr*) comes tremblingly from the desert (*where his mistress dwells*), it bears with it pain to (*afflict*) him, but (*does*) not (*bear*) its cure.² (*In the caravan*) is one whom protecting spears surround ; whose heart is turned away (*from me*), while in mine (*I feel*), from her aversion, (*pains*) like those which her guardian (*spears*) would cause. If I hear in our encampment a plaintive sigh, I am jealous from apprehension, fearing that it may proceed from love of her.”

The poem from which these lines are taken is of considerable length, but we shall limit our extract to the foregoing citation. Another of his pieces is the following :

“Ask the drawn sword of her glances if there still remains in my heart a drop of blood to supply the sources of my tears. Ah ! there is no protector, none to excuse or sooth (*the lover*) on the day desire torments (*him*). She has drawn against us the sharp (*sword*) of her looks, that nymph with the slender waist. She is a Turk by nation,³ and the arrow she shoots of commits less ravage than the glances of her eyes. And (*let me not forget*) the night in which I went to meet her ; when I held converse with sleeplessness and care was the companion of my couch. The dread of her cruelty drove me for protection to her, yet how often do the most forward retreat (*before serious danger*). The wine-cup had then subdued her native rigour,

1 Literally : O my two friends. See note on *two friends*, No. 52.

2 Literally : Its companion; the companion of pain or sickness, داء
is the cure دواء.

3 Compare this with the verses at No. 48.

and ebriety born down her capriciousness ; an embrace was lawfully due, and I then kissed a charming mouth and neck ! Throughout the night my thoughts were at work ; was it a false image which I had met,—the phantom of a nocturnal dream ? How then had her aversion ceased ? how did we meet in love ? My (*soul so*) proud and (*so*) humble is the slave of love ; her (*body so*) full and (*so*) slight is (*the throne*) of beauty.”]

In the following, he reproaches his family and friends :

“O’ you (*who dwell!*) at the junction of the two streams, if I have treated you with rigour,¹ my excuse has been already given ; mistake not my (*reason for*) quitting the place which you inhabit ; the men of noble mind is impatient under injustice.”

By the same :

“Didst thou suppose that I could ever turn my love away from thee ? (*Be it known to him*) who thinks it should be done, that a thousand reasons are against it.²

*I am much pleased with the two following verses from one of his *qaṣīdās*, they are extremely sentimental :

“When I called to recollection the tribe which dwells in the valley, love kills that heart of mine and gives it life. When I was at Raqmatayn,³ I longed after them, but their tents were in the valley of Ghadaḡaya ;⁴ O, how distant were the objects of my desire !”⁵

1 Literally : *If my storm has borne you away.*

2 In the Arabic, the relative pronoun in *أَنْزِلَ* can be referred to two antecedents: the word *أَنْزِلَ* signifies flight, and joined to the negative particle, necessity; the sense of the verse is consequently very difficult to determine, and the studied obscurity of its construction induces me to apprehend that I have missed the author’s real meaning.

3 Ar-Raqmatayn, a valley near Madinah, mentioned by ancient poets; a number of other places in Arabia bear this name.

4 The valley of al-Ghadaḡaya is not noticed in the biographical dictionaries of al-Suyūṭī, al-Zamakḡshari and Yāqūt.

5 The meaning of the expression *لَا أَعْبُدُ* is given by al-Zawzani in his commentary on the 70th verse of Imrau ’l-Qays’s *Mu’allaqah*.

* According to Arabic text it should follow the *qaṣīdah* and before, “In the following he reproaches.”—*Ed.*

Ibn al-Khayyāṭ was born at Damascus, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058) ; he died there on the 11 Ramaḍān, 517 (A. D. 1123)*: another statement, which, however, is not exact, places his death on the 17† Ramaḍān.

60. AL-MAYDĀNĪ

Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maydānī, native of Naysāpur, was an eminent literary man and a learned philologist. He was the favourite pupil of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī, author of the commentary on the *Qur'ān*; he then studied under other masters and acquired a solid knowledge of the Arabic language, particularly philology and (*the history of*) the proverbs current among the Arabs of the desert. He composed on the subject a number of instructive works, amongst others the *Book of Proverbs*¹ which bears his name and to which no other similar work can be compared. He wrote also the *Kitāb al-Sāmī fi 'l-Asāmī* (*Book of him who aspires after the signification of proper Names*), a good treatise of its kind. He had learned by heart and taught (*a portion of*) the Traditions; and the following verses, which I believe are his own, were often recited by him:

“A hoary dawn broke upon the night of my cheeks, and I said: ‘It may perhaps be satisfied with (*turning white*) my beard.’ But as it still spread, I reproached it and it answered: ‘Hast thou ever seen a dawn which was not followed by day?’ ”

He died at Naysāpur, on Wednesday, 25 Ramaḍān, A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124), and was buried at the Gate of Maydān Ziyād (*Hippodrome of Ziyād*). This Maydān was named after Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, and is one of the quarters of Naysāpur: from it is derived the surname Maydānī.—Al-Maydānī had a son called

¹ Professor Freytag, of Bonn, has just published a Latin translation of this useful work.

* 2 November.—*Ed.*

† 8 November.—*Ed.*

Abū Saʿd Saʿid, who was distinguished for his talents and piety; he wrote a work, entitled *al-ʿIsm̄ fiʿl-ʿAsm̄* (*Attainment of the signification of proper Names*), and died A. H. 539 (A. D. 1144-5).

61. IBN AL-KHĀZIN

Abū ʿl-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḥl Ibn ʿAbd al-Khāliq, surnamed Ibn al-Khāzin (*son of the treasurer*), came of a family which inhabited Daynaur, but he himself was born and died at Baghdād. This k̄tib¹ and poet was a man of merit, and wrote the fairest hand of any in his time; he was father² to the celebrated k̄tib Abu ʿl-Faḥḥ Naṣr Allāh, who transcribed repeatedly the *Maqāmas* (of Ḥariri), which copies are still extant, and who collected his father's poems into *Diwān*: those poems are good, the verses being well turned and the thoughts fine; as, for instance, the following, which contain a very original idea:

“He who acts uprightly is disappointed in his wishes, and he who acts crookedly is successful³ and attains his end. See the letter *alif* (ا), it held itself up straight, and missed gaining the diacritical point, which the *nūn* (ن) obtained by its crookedness.”

*[By the same:

“Who will bring me that brunette whom (*her jealous relations*) have surrounded with (*lances*) like to her in colour⁴ slenderness, and flexibility. Her lover should put on a double breastplate of patience, so as to face the point of the spear and watch when the eyes (*of her guardians*) yield to slumber. The

1 See No. 10, note on *k̄tib*.

2 In the printed Arabic text, the conjunction *و* is misplaced; it should precede the *هو* not follow it.†

3 Read *بالأسعاف* in the printed text.†

4 The spears of the ancient Arabs were made of a sort of yellow cane with knots at intervals (*bamboo?*), and are frequently named the yellow or brown (*amr*) in the metaphorical language of the poets.

* [] From “By the same” to “pains of love” on page 213 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

† In printed edition this error has been corrected.—*Ed.*

wine of youth causes her to falter (*in her gait*); it is not the breath of the zephyr *which bends that flower*); she is drunk (*with youth*), and I am doubly drunk with love. My eyes are as a headstrong, spirited courser; when I slack their bridle, they bear me into trouble.”

By the same:

“O! thou who knowest all secrets; thou knowest what feeble resistance I can offer to the deceitful blandishment of her beauty! Let then my love for her (*lose its force and*) languish as her eyes! Let my consolation for her (*loss*) be as perfect as her beauty. The weight of mountains is less than what I bear on my heart afflicted by the pains of love.”]

The following verses were written by him to Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ahwāzī, a physician who had hurt him in letting blood*:

“God pity the overthrown! Those whom your hands wound are mangled by a lancet.¹ You come upon your bands (*of patients*) with bandages, which you spread out and fold on one arm and another.² You bleed them? by Allah! you mangle them; stabbing with the point of your well-aimed weapons. Is that a lancet case or a quiver of arrows? or is it (*the sword*) Dhu 'l-Faqār borne by the corpulent bald-head (*'Ali*)?³ Woe be to me! if I meet thee after this, thou stern-faced 'Antar, unless I wear a cuirass.”⁴

Another day, this physician, having Abu 'l-Faḍl for guest, treated him with great attention and had him conducted to the

1 This verse and the following contain some meanings and puns which no translation can preserve.

2 This verse has also the following meaning: You come upon the bands with bands which spread out and surround (*the enemy, attacking him*) hand to hand.

3 See the description of the 'khalif 'Ali's appearance in Abu 'l-Fidā's Annals, t. I, p. 339. Muḥammad gave him the celebrated sword Dhu 'l-Faqār.

4 This physician, it would appear, shed as much blood as the famous warrior 'Antarah of the tribe of 'Abs ('Absī; which word seems also to mean here stern-looking). In these burlesque verses is found the vulgar pronunciation 'Antar for 'Antarah.

*To be more faithful to the text, the words “by slitting vein” should be added.—Ed.

garden and bath belonging to the house; on this occasion, the poet composed these verses:

“I visited a dwelling where I met no door-keeper but received me with smiles. The pleasure which appeared in the countenance of the servant was a harbinger of the kindest reception from the master.¹ I entered his garden and I visited his bath; and gave grateful thanks to the kindness of their owner.”²

I have since found that the k̄atib ‘Imād al-Dīn in his *Khariidah*, attributes the preceding verses to a physician of Ispahan, named Abu ‘l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Alī al-Aḥaazī, who, he says, died some years later than A. H. 550 (A. D. 1155): he gives the same lines also in the life of Ibn al-Khāzin, so it is difficult to decide which is the author.—We extract also the following passage from the poetry of Ibn al-Khāzin:

“(I loved) a slender-waisted (*nymph*), whose language showed that she was an Arab, but whose seducing looks were Indian.³ I sipped the cup of patience till I stole from her guardians an hour of interview, sweeter than honey. I softened her paternal and maternal uncles, a jealous one excepted, that was on her cheek,⁴ and resembled a drop of (*black*) musk deposed on (*red*) flower of the pomegranate; it seemed to me as if a violet were growing in a rose.”

*[By the same:

“The image came to visit me, and my eyes stole an instant of hurried slumber unperceived by the spies who watched me.”⁵

1 Literally: *The advances of politeness on the face of the master.*

2 This verse is designed to bear a double meaning and may signify: I entered his paradise, and I visited his hell; and thanked Ridwān (*the angel who guards Heaven*) and the kindness of Mālik (*the angel who guards Hell*).

3 That is: They wounded like swords made of Indian steel.

4 The same word which in Arabic means *maternal uncle* signifies also *mole, beauty-spot*; this offered too fair an opportunity for quibbling to be neglected by the later Arabic poets.

5 See note on *Tayf al-Khayāl*, No. 52; it has been said that the lovers met in their dreams, and of course jealous spies would endeavour to prevent the lover from sleeping, when they had him in their power.—What is here translated by hurried slumber, signifies literally *the slumber of the fearful*.

* [] From “By the same” to “appeared” on page 215 is not in the autograph. Ed.

My lips had not as yet finished kissing the yielding (*beauty*); my hands had scarcely pressed the (*charms*) confided (*to them*), when I fancied that (*my enemies*) perceived (*me*) and that they all said: He had not slept were he not visited by her image.¹—Then (*the pleasing phantom*) fled away and vanished; and (*when present, the light of its beauty*) made me think the morning risen, though it had not yet appeared.”]

The greater portion of his poetry contains fine thoughts.² He died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124), at the age of 47 years; the ḥāfiẓ Ibn al-Jawzī says, however, in his *Muntaẓim*, that his death took place in 512. His son, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh was still alive in the year 575 (A. D. 1179), but I have not been able to learn the date of his death.

62. NĀṢIḤ AL-DĪN AL-ARRAJĀNĪ

Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Arrajānī, surnamed Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn (*friend of religion*), was qāḍī of Tustar and 'Askar Mukram, and composed some extremely beautiful and charming poetry. Mention is made of him by the kātib 'Imād al-Dīn* in his *Kharīdah*: “In the prime of life,” says he, “al-Arrajānī was in the Nizāmiyah College at Ispahān (*the flow of*) his poetry commenced some years later than A. H. 430 (A. D. 1087), about the period of Nizām al-Mulk's death, and continued till the end of his life, in the years 544 (A. D. 1149): he did not cease acting as deputy to the qāḍī of 'Askar Mukram, and was highly honoured and respected. His poetry is great in quantity, and the collected portion is not the tenth part of what he composed. Having gone to 'Askar Mukram in the year 549

1 A true lover should never sleep but to dream of his beloved.

2 We may judge from the verse just translated what were considered as fine thoughts by Ibn Khallikān and his contemporaries.

*To be faithful to the original “al-Dīn” should be replaced by al-Ispahānī (a native of Ispahān).—*Ed.*

(A. D. 1154), I met there his son, Muhammad Rāis al-Dīn, who read over* with me several times a large quire full of his father's verses. Arrajān was the native soil of his family tree, and Askar Mukram in Khuzestan the dwelling place of his kindred: though a Persian by birth, he drew his origin from the Arabs; the ancient stock from which he sprung were the Ansārs¹ (*a noble extraction*) the like of which was never offered by past ages: and he was descended from the tribe of Aws† and the branch of Khazraj; in speech he was a Quss‡² and an Iyād³; in writing, a Persian and (*first*) horseman in its hippodrome; in judgment, he was a Solomon and one of those sons of Persia who reached the highest point of knowledge⁴; he united beauty, in external form, to sweetness in the perfume (*of good character*).” I learn from his collected poetical works that he was qādī's deputy in Khuzestān; acting sometimes at Tustar, other times at 'Askar Mukram, the qādī, of which, Naṣr al-Dīn Abū

1 *Anṣārs (aiders)*; name given to the people of Madinah, who lent assistance to Muḥammad when expelled from Makkah.

2 Quss§ was a bishop of Najrān in Arabia Felix; he lived some years before the introduction of Islamism, and was celebrated for his eloquence.—See de Sacy's *Hariri*, page 276.

3 Iyād was the third in descent from 'Adnān, whose eloquence was proverbial; his talent was inherited by his descendants, of whom Quss was one.

4 Literally: *Who attained the knowledge suspended to the Pleiades.*

*According to the Arabic text it should be rendered: he loaned me. The some reading is in the autograph.—*Ed.*

†The sense of this sentence appears to be that 'Arrājani had combined in him the traits of all the four tribes, i. e. Aws, Khazraj, 'Iyād and Qays, and it should be rendered that 'his being one of the tribe of Khazraj based on his being one of the tribe of 'Aws; and (his eloquence) as one of the tribes of 'Iyād had (the pronunciation) of Qays.—*Ed.*

‡Misreading for Qaysī which means belonging to the tribe of Qays 'Īlan a tribe noted for its nomadic spirit in the days of Ignorance.

After the death of the Prophet they joined the apostatic forces, then they rejoined the fold of Islam and sided with 'Alī in the battles of Jamal and Siffin. Iyād is another tribe, some people of which had been converted to Christianity.—*Ed.*

§ *قس* is a misreading for *قيسى*.—*Ed.*

Muḥammad 'Abd al Qāhir Ibn Muḥammad, he replaced at one period, and at another later, 'Imād al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Alā Raja; upon this he composed these lines:

“That I should act as deputy in such a profession is one of the turns of fortune. It is a wonder that I can have patience to endure such wondrous changes.”

Being both jurisconsult and poet, he alluded to this in the following verses:

“I am without contradiction the most poetic doctor of the age, or (*at least*) the most learned doctor among poets. When I utter verses, people inscribe them (*in their memory*) with natural facility, without the trouble of repetition.¹ Like a voice in the shade of mountains, when (*my poetry*) strikes the ear, it awakens the answer of the echo.”

By the same:

“Though you be a man of good counsel, ask advice from others on the day in which evil fortune befalls you. With the eye, you can distinguish far and near, but if you cannot see without a mirror.”

By the same :

“I never roamed through distant region without making you (*my generous patron !*) the special object of my search. My efforts to meet you were earnest, but the only favour you procured me was the persecutions of misfortune. I still draw towards you, though I turn my face away, and my motions are as those of the stars.² I go towards the far East that I may find you, though my apparent direction is towards the West.”

The following verses were written by him to a man in authority, reproaching him for not asking for him after a period of separation:

1 Such appears to be the meaning of the word القاء in this verse. The expression القى الدروس (*to lecture*) has been already noticed, No. 44 : note on القى الدروس.

2 He alludes to the retrograde motion of the planets.

“O my friend, I offer my life in ransom for thine! O thou whom it is my duty to love! why hast thou not reproached me for my neglect? To-day I complain of thy neglect and reproach thee. A proof that thou art tired of me is that I have been absent for some days and none came to inquire for me. When thou seest the slave run away unpursued (*know*) that it is the master who runs away from him.”

By the same, containing a singularly original thought:

“When none had pity on my sufferings, my fleeting image which visited the slumbers of my mistress,¹ and which I in my thinness resembled, had compassion on me. It yielded me secretly its place and I went that night to visit my beloved, who thought she saw me in a dream (*not in reality*). So we passed a night together unperceived; I being awake under her eyelids, and she, asleep.”

In one of his *qaṣīdahs* is found the following verse:

“Look at that (*charming*) mole² below her neck and learn how treasures are hid in secret corners.”

By the same:

*Canesco et amicus pubescit; reliqui illum et ille me reliquit; quod in me niger erat (scil. *barba*) album factum est, et quod in illo album (scil. *gena*) erat, nigrum.

By the same:

“(The lover) asked the groves where was his beloved; he hearkened to obtain an answer from the echo, but it only repeated

1 That the reader may understand this little piece, it is necessary to repeat here one of the observations already made on the whimsical idea held by Arabic poets respecting dreams. (See note on *Tayf al-Khayāl*, No. 52.) They fancy that the lover sees the image of his mistress in a dream, because he is really visited by a phantom which she herself sends to him. The lover too sends his image to glide under the eyelids of his beloved, who then dreams of him. Here the lover was so extenuated, that he took the place of his own image, which very complacently gave it up to him.

2 See note on *black moles*, No. 14.

*Its English version is as follows:

I have been separated from my friend (for such a long time) that I grew old and he grew beard and (thus) blackness (of my beard) turned grey and whiteness (of his cheek) became black.—*Ed.*

his words. "Where," said he, "does she now sojourn?" It answered: "Where does she now sojourn?"¹

By the same;

"If I knew not what I now know my ignorance would give me as much happiness as my knowledge gives me grief. Thus the sparrow ranges unconfined and feeds in the gardens, whilst the nightingale is imprisoned for its talent of song."

Another poet has thus expressed the same idea:

"The woes and evils of the world visit men of talent alone; so the only birds deprived of freedom are those which possess a tuneful voice."

The idea is similar to that which is contained in the following verse, taken from a long poem of Abū Ishāq al-Ghazzī, whose life has been already given (see No. 17):

"My talents, no doubt, have done me harm; the aloes-wood is burned for its sweet perfume."

We shall confine ourselves to the foregoing extracts, as the fear of being prolix hinders us from giving one of his long *qaṣīdahs*.—By the same.²

"I love the man whose face is fair towards his friend and whose heart is free from guile: despite all dangers, his friendship will endure; and tell me, does every man's friendship endure?"

As this second verse, which can be read backwards (*in the original Arabic*), is to be found in the poetical works of al-Ghazzī, we are unable to decide which of these two poets composed it.—Al-Arrajānī's verses abound in pretty thoughts, and have been collected in a separate volume. He was born A. H. 460 (A. D.

1 Literally: *Where is the place in which she has taken the baggage off her camel*.—The echo shows, by its answer, that it was as equally desirous as the lover of knowing where the beloved then resided, and consequently could give him no information.

2 It is evident that this has been inserted later, and in the wrong place also. Many examples of similar inattention will be pointed out in the course of the work.

1067-8): died in the month of the First Rabī A. H. 544* (A. D. 1149), at the city of Tustar, or at 'Askar Mukram according to another relation.—*Arrajān* means *belonging to Arrajān*, which is one of the districts of al-Ahwāz in Khuzestān; most persons say that the name of this place is written with a single *r*, and it is thus that al-Mutanabbī gives it in the following verse:

“To Arjān, my rapid steeds! Such is my firm resolution,
which leaves the hostile spears broken behind it.”

Al-Jawharī, however, in his dictionary the *Ṣahāḥ*, and al-Hāzīmī in his *Synonymes*, state that this name takes a double *r*.—*Tustar*, called vulgarly Shushter, is a well-known city in Khuzestan. 'Askar Mukram (*the camp of Mukram*); people differ respecting this Mukram, but most of the well informed say that he was brother to Muṭraf Ibn Sīdān Ibn 'Aqīlah Ibn Zikwān Ibn Ḥayyān† Ibn al-Kharzaq Ibn Ghāylān‡ Ibn Ḥāwah Ibn Ma'an Ibn Mālik Ibn A'sur§ Ibn Sa'd Ibn Qays Ibn Ghaylan** Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'ad Ibn 'Adnān: such is the genealogy which I have extracted from Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat*; the name of Bāhilah is not, however, in this list,¹ though the Mukram above-mentioned is said to be descended from Bāhilah and from Ḥāwah; God knows best the truth! Others say that this Mukram was descended from Ja'wanah al-Āmirī; and some again state that he was freedman to al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafī, who posted him in that

¹ In the life of Qu'aybah Ibn-Muslim, the author states for what reason the name of Bāhilah is suppressed in the genealogical list remounting from Ma'an to 'Adnan.

*Sam'āni gives A. H. 540 (f. 24 a).—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *Hobbān*.—*Ed.*

‡Egyptian edition has 'Iclān.—*Ed.*

§M. de Slane reads it 'Aṣar.—*Ed.*

**Egyptian edition has 'Ilān.—*Ed.*

place for the purpose of waging war against Khurrazād* Ibn Bāris,¹ and for this reason it was called after him.—Khuzestan is an extensive region between Baṣrah and (*the province of*) Fāris.

(For further reference, see Samʿānī. *Ansīb* f. 24 a.—*Ed.*)

63. IBN MUNĪR AL-ṬARĀBULUSĪ

Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Munīr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥliḥ al-Ṭarābulusī (*native of Tripoli in Syria*), surnamed Muḥadhdhib† al-Dīn (*embellisher of religion*), ʿAyn al-Zamān (*eye of time*), was a poet of considerable celebrity, and his collected poetical works are still extant: his father recited poetry and sung in the market-places of Tripoli. The son, as he grew up, learned the *Qurʾān* by heart, and, after studying philology and literature, commenced reciting verses of his own; he then went to Damascus and settled there; (*in religion*) he was a *Rāfiḍī*.² The number of his satires and the causticity of his language were so excessive, that Buri, son to the atābek Ṭuḡhtikīn and prince of Damascus, imprisoned him for some time and intended to have his tongue cut out, but being interceded with, he consented to banish him. Ibn Munīr held a correspondence with Ibn al-Qaysarānī, in which these two poets attacked each other; for they were both residents

1 Such also is the account given by Abu ʿl-Fidā in his Geography, page 316 of the Arabic text; the adversary with whom Mukram had to contend is there called *Khariḍah* but Ibn Khallikān writes the name in the same manner as the excellent historian, al-Ṭabarī. This campaign was made in A. H. 93, and an account of it is given in Major Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*, vol. I, page 472.

2 The word *Rāfiḍī* (*heretic*) is generally made use of by the Sunnites to designate a follower of Shiʿite doctrines. The kātib ʿImād al-Dīn says, in his *Khariḍah* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1414, fol. 1), that Ibn Munīr professed the most exaggerated Shiʿite principles whilst his rival, Ibn al-Qaysarānī, was a devout Sunnite.—For the origin of the *Rafidis*, see De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, tom. I, p. 48, *Introd.*

*M. de Slane reads it *Khurzād*.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *Muhaddib*.—*Ed.*

of Baghdad, and each jealous of the other, as generally happens with persons who follow the same profession. In one of Ibn Munir's *qaṣīdahs* are found these verses:

"When a man of noble mind perceives that he is neglected¹ his resolution should be, to depart for another land. Thus the moon, when waned away, strives to attain to its full, and succeeds by changing its place. Shame on your wisdom!² if you consent to drink of a troubled source³ when the bounty of God fills the very deserts. During the course of your life, you sat (*in listless idleness*) and rivalled your camels in indolence; why not take them, and pry into the secrets of the desert⁴? Depart and you shall gain lustre, like the sword which, when drawn, shows on each side of its blade the ornaments which were hidden by the scabbard. When life forsakes the body, count it not death; the only death is to live in humiliation. Devote your life to the deserts, not to poverty! As long as God permits you to live, let it suffice you to deserve his favour. Despise the vileness of fortune's gifts, when they draw near to you?⁵ (*remain not in inglorious ease*) but be as the phantom of a vision which appears and departs. Fly, even during the noontide fires,⁵ from those on whom you rained honey, and who reaped for you colocynth. Fly the deceitful wretch in whose (*heart*) the plantations of friendship are badly rooted, and who, if you show him sincerity, will misinterpret (*your conduct*). Ah, how well I know the world and its people! with them it is a crime for merit to be perfect. They are formed in Nature's basest mould; the best of them, if I* say a word,

1 Literally: *Perceives that obscureness is become the guest of his dwelling.*

2 Literally: *Folly to your wisdom!*

3 To drink of a troubled source; that is, to live dependent on a mean patron, who troubles the pleasure his gifts might create, by saying how ill they are deserved.

4 These verses contain a number of verble quibbles to which the author in some cases has sacrificed good taste; here, for instance, he has adopted a gross and ridiculous metaphor, *pediculos venari (fala) in juba deserti (fala)*.

5 Literally: *Join to the ardent noon flight from those, etc.*

*According to the autograph and printed Arabic text it should be rendered in second person thus: if thou sayest a word they will repeat it; and if thou keepest silence, they will report to others what thou never said.—*Ed.*

will repeat it; and if I keep silence, will report to others what I never said. When Fortune thinks to cast me down, my haughty spirit bears me up even to the stars.* I impress upon my mind the discourse of grave events, though it be darkly uttered; I tend my camels, but I fatigue them also on the failure of herbage.¹ (The) declaration (which I make is plain and clear) as the light of morning: then follows a firm resolution which executes (my will), as the edge of the sword slays the victim which it encounters.”

†[One of his best pieces is the *qaṣīdah* which begins with these verses:

“Who has placed the moon on the point of that spear? Who has imbued with subtle magic the edge of that (sword) of Yemen?² Who has sent down the highest luminary to a sphere circumscribed by the folds of a tunic from *Khusrowān*³? Is that a glancing eye or a scabbard from which a sharp sword comes forth? Is that a young beauty whose waist, as she walks, bends gracefully from side to side? Or is it rather the elastic motion of a pliant lance? She has subdued me, I who before was so proud; love makes the lion slave of the covert-seeking gazelle.”

From the same poem:

Is it not liquid musk which drops from her locks upon the summit of that pliant reed (*her body*)? What intoxicating draughts of love, what pearl-like teeth are in the covert formed by those lips of coral! Were the moon, when shining in full lustre, asked

1 The meaning of the poet appears to be, that when his camels can no longer find nourishment, he removes them to some distant and more fertile spot. This, however, seems to be only a metaphor, by which he wishes to imply that if his talents are neglected in one country, he travels to another.

2 This verse signifies in plainer language: Who has united that beautiful countenance to a graceful body pliant as a lance? Who has imbued with subtle magic the glances of the native of Yemen?

3 The poet is so dazzled by the beauty of his mistress that he takes her for the sun.

* *السماك الاعزل* is a star in the Zodiac sign of virgo and it is the 14th mansion of the Moon.—*Ed.*

† [] From “One of his” to “Companions of Muhammad”, on page 225 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

whom she envied. she would reply: Such a one's daughter.¹ she has vanquished me by the variety of her perfections (*charms*) which consist in the sound of her voice and the aspect of her form, the haughty port of the Persian,² the voluptuousness of Syria, glances like those of the maids of 'Iraq, and language (*sweet as that*) spoken in Hijāj. Wine is not more dangerous for the reason that in the pure eloquence of the desert, uttered with a Turkish pronunciation."

By the same:

"Her eyes denied having shed my (*heart's*) blood; but she held up her head,³ and then they acknowledged their guilt. Do not suppose that the mole upon her cheek is a tear of blood, shed by my eyes; it was a burning coal of the fire which consumed my heart; and on being plunged into (*the yielding substance of*) her cheek, it was extinguished, and then rose to surface."

In one of his *qaṣīdahs* are found these lines:

"Speak not harshly to me, for the marks of your displeasure are already sufficiently manifest. O, my mistress: where are those smiles which are now replaced by frowns?"

I found the anecdote which follows in the handwriting of the *Shaykh* *'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhīrī': "I was told by Abu 'l-Majd, qāḍī of Suwayda,⁵ that there were in Syria two poets, Ibn Munīr and Ibn al-Qaysarānī, the former of whom used to taunt the latter (*with being so unlucky*) that he never accompanied any one without that person's meeting with ill fortune; it happened, however, that a musician sung these verses to the atābek 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, prince of Syria, who was then besieging the castle of Jabar (*Qal'ah Jabar*)⁶:

1 Daughter ابن; the reason for so translating the Arabic word may be learned from the observations made in the Introduction.

2 The ancient poets sometimes allude to the proud and stately gait of the Persians; see *Diwan d'Amro 'l-Kais*, page 46, line 5 of the Arabic text.

3 Literally: *Her cheek*.

4 See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

5 Suwayda is situated at the mouth of the Orontes.

6 See the life of 'Imad al-Dīn Zinkī.

*Full name *Shaykh* Hāfiẓ Traditionist Zakī al-Dīn 'Abdul 'Azīm Ibn 'Abdul Qawī al-Mundhīrī of Egypt.—*Ed.*

“What woe I suffer from that coy and froward nymph, when vile informers repeat to her tales completely false. I salute her, and she turns away; curving her arched eyebrows (*into a frown*), as if I were a wine-cup, and she still suffering from its effects.”

“Zinkī applauded the verses and asked who was the author; and on learning that they were composed by Ibn Munīr, who was then at Aleppo, he wrote to the governor of that place with orders to send him the poet with all speed. The very night Ibn Munīr arrived (*at the camp*), the atābek Zinkī was murdered”—(we shall give the details of this event in his life). “On his death, Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh, prince of Emessa, took Nur al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son to Zinkī, and, putting himself at the head of the Syrian troops, returned to Aleppo, while Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī, father¹ to Muḥaffar al-Dīn, prince of Arbela, took the command of the troops belonging to the provinces east (*of Syria*), and went back with them to Mosul, where he joined Sayf al-Dīn (*ḡāzī*, *another*) son to Zinkī, and made him master of Mosul. Ibn Munīr went back to Aleppo along with the army, and was accosted in these terms by Ibn al-Qaysarānī: ‘Take that for all with which you flouted me.’”—This same Ibn al-Qaysarānī composed the following lines on Ibn Munīr, who had reviled him in a satire:

“Ibn Munīr! in reviling me, you have insulted a man of learning, who, by the rectitude of his judgment, was beneficial to mankind. But my heart is not oppressed for that; I have before me the model offered to the Companions of Muḥammad.²”

Ibn Munīr’s poetry is eminently refined: he was born at Tripoli, A. H. 473 (A. D. 1080-1); and died in the month of the latter Jumādā, 548 (September, A. D. 1153), and was buried near the chapel at mount Jawḡhan.³ I visited his tomb and found these verses inscribed on it:

1 In the Arabic text the word *والد* is incorrectly printed *ولد*.

2 This alludes to the following passage of the *Qur’ān*: “You have in the Apostle of God an excellent example, unto him who hopeth in God and the last day, remembereth God frequently.” See *sūrat* 33, verse 21.

3 According to that author of the *Marḥūḥ al-Iḥḥāḥ*, Jawḡhan is a hill near Aleppo.

“Let him who visits my tomb be assured that he shall meet with what I have met with. May God have mercy on him who visits me (*here*) and says to me: ‘May God have mercy on thee!’”

His life is given by the ḥāliḡ Ibn ‘Asakir in his History of Damascus, who there says: “Al-Kḥaṭīb al-Sadīd (*the able preacher*) Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qāhir Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, preacher at Ḥamāh, relates as follows: ‘After the death of Ibn Munīr the poet, I saw him in a dream¹: I was on a lofty hill in a garden and I asked him how he was and told him to come up to me’; and he replied: ‘I cannot, by reason of my breath; on which I said: ‘Hast thou drunk wine?’ ‘Something worse than wine, O Kḥaṭīb!’ he replied. ‘What is it?’ said: ‘Dost thou know?’ said he, ‘what befel me on account of those poems in which I reviled people?’ ‘What befel thee?’ ‘My tongue.’ he replied, ‘swelled and lengthened out as far as sight could reach, and each poem recited with it became a dog which clung to it.’ I saw that he was barefooted and that his clothes were completely worn out, and I heard a voice over him repeat these words: *Over them, shall be coverings of fire, and under them shall be floors of fire.*² I then awoke in terror.”—I have since found in the Diwān of Abū ‘l-Ḥakam ‘Ubayd Allāh (*whose life I intend to give*), that Ibn Munīr died at Damascus, A. H. 547 (A. D. 1152); Abū ‘l-Ḥakam having composed some elegiac verses on his death, which show that he died in that city. From among those verses we shall quote the following, which are written in the usual ludicrous style of the author:

“They bore him along upon the bier, and washed his corpse on the bank* of the river Qallaṭ; they warmed the water in a well-tinned cauldron, under which they lit sticks of oak.”

In admitting the exactness of the fact (mentioned in these verses), we shall be obliged to combine it with the statement already given, and suppose that he died at Damascus and was then

1 See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

2 See *Qur’ān*, sūrat 39, verse 18.

*The word شطى in the autograph means two banks. —Ed.

carried to Aleppo for burial.¹ — Tripoli is a city of Syria, situated on the sea-coast and lying near Balbek. In the year 503 (A. D. 1109), it was taken by the Franks from its possessor, Abu 'Ali 'Ammār Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ammār, after a siege of seven years: the history of this event is too long to relate.

64. AL-QĀDĪ AL-RASHĪD ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN

Al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd (*the well-guided qāḍī*) Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad, son of al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, son of al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Zubayr al-Ḡhassānī (*of the tribe of Ghassān*) al-Aswānī (*native of Syen*): this qāḍī belonged to an honourable and influential family; he is author of a work called *Kitāb al-Jinān*, etc., containing notices on a number of eminent men of talent;² his poetical works form a volume, and those of his brother the qāḍī al-Muḥadhdhib Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan have also been collected into a volume: they were both good writers in prose and verse. The following lines, from a beautiful *qaṣīdah* by al-Muḥadhdhib, contain an elegant and original idea:

“See the milky way among the stars; it resembles a swollen stream watering meadows. Were it not a river, the constellations of the Fish and the Crab had never swum in it.”

From another *qaṣīdah* by the same author:

1 The author has already stated that Ibn Munīr was buried at Jawshan a hill near Aleppo, but he concludes from the verses just cited that he died at Damascus, since the funeral ablutions were performed on the body near the river Qallā: This river must then be close to Damascus, yet none of the Arabic geographers have mentioned it, nor is it noticed by any of the European travellers whose works I have consulted.

2 The full title of this work is *Jin in al-Jan in wa riyād al-Adh in*; that is, *Gardens of the heart and Meadows of the mind*: it contains notices on the poets of Egypt, and is intended as a supplement to the *Yatimah* of al-Tha'alibī.

"I have no thirst for any other water but the Nile's—not even—God pardon me! for that of Zamzam."¹

The writings of this poet abound in fine thoughts; he commenced making verses A. H. 526, and mention is made of him by the k̄atib 'Imād al-Dīn in his *Sayl wa 'l-Dhayl*. He possessed a greater talent for poetry than his brother al-Rashīd, but was his inferior in all other sciences. He died at Cairo in the month of Rajab, 561 (May, A. D. 1166). As for the qāḍī al-Rashīd, he is spoken of in these terms by Abu 'l-Ḥāhir al-Silafī in one of his *ta'liqahs*²: "In the year 559 (A. D. 1163-4) he was named, against his will, inspector of the government offices at Alexandria; and in the month of Muḥarram, 563 (October, 1167), he was put to death unjustly through the malice of his enemies." The k̄atib 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of him also in the *Sayl wa 'l-Dhayl* or supplement to his *Kharīdah* "This overflowing ocean, says he, "this swollen sea has been noticed by me in the *Kharīdah*, where I have also made mention of his brother al-Muḥallib; in the year 563 he was put to death unjustly by Ṣhawir for leaning towards the party of Asād al-Dīn Shīrkah. He was black in skin, and lord of the town³; he was the pearl of the age for his knowledge of geometry, of the exact sciences, and of those which are connected with the study the of law and of poetry. The emīr 'Adad al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Murhaf Ibn 'Usāmah Ibn Munqidh⁴ recited to me some poems by this author, and among others, the following, which he says he heard from his own mouth:

1 *Zamzam*: the well in the precincts of the temple of Makkah; its waters are supposed, by the Muslims, to possess extraordinary virtues.

2 See note on *Ta'liqah*, No. 25.

3 It is difficult to guess at 'Imād al-Dīn's meaning from these words; in his rhythmical prose he has brought in the word *balada* (*town*) to rhyme with *jalada* (*skin*), from which I am induced to think that here, as in many other passages, he has sacrificed sense to sound. Perhaps he wishes to say that the qāḍī al-Rashīd was governor or proprietor of his native town Syene.

4 This emīr was probably son to the Osāma whose life is given in this work; the k̄atib 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kharīdah* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 117), that he met him at Damascus, A. H. 571 (A. D. 1175-6). He is there called Adad al-Dawlat, not Adad al-Dīn, as in the MSS. of Ibn Khallikān.

“The woes which afflict me are great, but my courage also is great; and what harm can polishing cause to the cutting steel? (*what harm can the rubs of adversity do me?*) The vicissitudes of fortune, the changes it brings about may alter the noble character of others, but cannot alter mine. Did fire consume the ruby, the ruby then were as a common stone. Let not the worthless rags which cover me deceive you; they are the shell which encloses a pearl. Think not, when the stars are hidden, that their smallness prevents them from being seen; the fault must be laid upon (*the weakness of*) your sight.”

*[The idea in this last verse is taken from a long and well-known *qaṣīdah*, composed by Abu 'l-Alā al-Ma'arri, in which that poet says:

“The eye sees the stars and thinks them small, but that smallness is the fault of the eye, not of the star.”

The k̄atib Imād al-Dīn gives as this poet's¹ the following verses, composed on al-Kāmil, son of (*the vizīr*) Shāwir:

“If a man of honourable feelings does not quit the beloved spot in which he is no longer welcome² that man has no resolution. Even did he love it to excess, he should know that death will tear him from it in spite of his reluctance.”

Imād al-Dīn relates also that he learned the following verses, at Baḡhdād, in the year 551 from Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsā al-Yamanī,³

¹ In the Arabic text, a letter has been misplaced; the true reading is *واورد له*.

² Literally: which repels him.

³ The k̄atib Imād al-Dīn states, in his *K̄arīdah* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 250 verso), that the poet Muhammad Ibn 'Īsā al-Yamanī (or al-Yamanī as there written), came to Baḡhdād, A. H. 550, and lodged at the house of a Christian physician belonging to the family called Banā Tāma (*the sons of Thomas*); he was a man of great talent and an able mathematician, and professed to understand the *Almagest* and the sciences of astronomy and logic. Imād al-Dīn was at that time studying Euclid, and he profited by the opportunity to have the difficulties of that author explained to him by al-Yamanī, but was soon disgusted by the self-sufficiency and arrogance of his master. In the year 580, al-Yamanī returned to Baḡhdād, after having been absent for some time; Imād al-Dīn had then some scientific discussions with him, after which he lost sight of him and never saw him more.

*[] From “The idea” to “on earth” on page 230 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

who said that they had been recited to him by al-Qāḍī al-Raḥīd, and that they were composed by him on a person (who had deceived his expectations):

“Though the hopes which I placed in thee were disappointed, when I thought to have found in thee a just man; thou hast, however, conferred on me a service, which deserves my gratitude wherever I may dwell; for thou hast put me on my guard against all my companions, and taught me that no sincere friend exists on earth.”]

*The lines which follow were written to Al-qāḍī Al-Raḥīd by al-Jalīs Ibn al-Ḥabāb¹:

“By your absence, our rich store of noble deeds has been impoverished, and the dwelling place of glory is abandoned. When you sojourned with us, the dark clouds (of sorrow) were dispelled, and prosperity followed wherever you passed. In your departure, fortune has committed a crime, which cannot be pardoned but by your return.”

†[Al-Qāḍī al-Raḥīd was black in colour, and to this allusion is made by the poet and kātīb Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Ibn Qāḍīs in these satirical verses:

“O thou who resemblest Luqmān, but not in wisdom²: thou who hast lost thy learning, not preserved it; thou hast stolen everyone's verses, and mayest be called the black thief”.³

1 The qāḍī Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd al-Azīz Ibn al-Ḥasayn Ibn al-Ḥabāb al-Aḡhlabi (descendant of the Aḡhlabites) al-Sarādī, was surnamed al-Jalīs (the companion) because he was admitted into the intimate society of the prince of Egypt: he was a man of talent and a poet. Died A. H. 561 (A. D. 1165-6). Al-Suyūṭī's Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍira, MS. No. 652, fol. 150.

2 Luqmān, so celebrated by the Arabs for his wisdom, was a black.

3 The black thief (in Arabic, al-Aswad al-Salikh) is the name of a species of venomous serpent.

*In Arabic text this passage comes after the passage which begins with the word “These” on page 231 and ends on “mentioned”.—Ed.

† [From “Al-Qāḍī” to “property” on page 231 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

I am induced to think that the following lines were composed on al-Qāḍī al-Raṣḥīd also:

“If thou sayest: I was formed out of fire, and therefore surpass all men in intelligence, we answer: Thou speakest truth; but what has wasted thee away to a cinder?”

Al-Raṣḥīd, having travelled to Yemen on an embassy, pronounced verses in honour of some of the princes in that country, and amongst others, Alī Ibn Ḥatīm al-Hamdānī, of whom he said:

“Though Upper Egypt be sterile and its people suffer dearth, I shall not feel dearth in the country of Qaḥṭān. Since the land of Ma‘rib supplies my wants, I have no regret for Syene. If the vile sons of Khindif know not my worth, my merit is appreciated by the princes sprung from Hamdān.

These verses excited the hatred of the missionary residing at Aden, by whom they were transmitted in writing to the prince of Egypt, who was so highly irritated by them, that he caused the author to be arrested and delivered over to them bound and naked, after seizing all his property.¹ Al-Raṣḥīd remained some time in Yemen, and then returned to Egypt, where he was put to death by Shāwir as we have already mentioned.*—*Ghassānī* means

1 This adventure is not very intelligibly related, and indeed it cannot be perfectly understood without taking into consideration the following circumstances: 1st. The sulṭān Alī Ibn Ḥatīm, prince of Ṣana‘ā (see *Johannsens Historia Jemenaë*, p. 145), was descended from Hamdān, one of the posterity of Kahlān, brother to Ḥimyar; he was therefore of the purest Arabic race; 2ndly, Khindif was a descendant from Ismā‘īl, and consequently not of true Arabic blood: his sons were Tābiḡḥah, Qama‘a, and Mudrikah, from which last sprung Quraysh and Muḥammad, from whom were descended (according to their own account) the Fātimite princes of Egypt; they were consequently sons of Khindif, and it is against them that the poet here aims his satire. 3dly. The missionary here mentioned was the secret agent of the Fātimite government (see note on *Muqātil*, No. 10). The persons to whom al-Raṣḥīd was given up were probably some enemies he had in Yemen.

*Ibn Ḥābab’s passage comes here.—*Ed.*

belonging to *ḡhassān* a great branch of the tribe of al-Azd, whose watering-place was at a fountain in Yemen called *ḡhassān*, and from which they took their name. *'Uswān* means native of *'Uswān* (*Syene*), a town in Upper Egypt: al-Sam'āni pronounces this name *Aswān*, but the former is the correct pronunciation, according to what I have been told by the ḡāfiḡ of Egypt 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhiri.

65. AL-NAFIS AL-LAKHMĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad Ibn Abi 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-ḡilamī Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khalf Ibn Musallam* al-Lakhmī al-Maliki (*follower of the sect of Malik*) al-Qutrust, surnamed al-Nafis, was a man of considerable literary attainments. He is author of some good poetical pieces, which have been collected into a separate volume, from which I extract the poem composed by him in praise of the emir Shujā al-Dīn (*hero of religion*) Jaldak† al-Taḡawī (*eldest of Taḡi al-Dīn*), and known by the title of Wali of Damietta: the commencement of this *qaṣidah* is as follows:

“Say to my beloved: Thou hast prolonged thy aversion for me, and in that thou hadst in view my death. If thou desirest that I cease to love, restore me my heart which is in thy possession. Thou hast broken thy promises, and hast not even kept that of sending thy image to visit me in my dreams.¹ Yet I still act towards thee according to my compact, though thou hast transgressed that which thou madest to me. O mouth of the beloved! thou didst consume my heart when I tasted of thy cool source: thou didst declare me a transgressor when I wished to obtain from thee thy honey. Dost thou think that I can

¹ See note on *dreams*, No. 62.

*M. de Slane reads Muslim. — *Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads Jildak. In the last line quoted by the author is clearly written as Jaldak with very clear diacritical marks: likewise in this place the author has given *zabar* to the first letter. — *Ed.*

admire the (*pliant*) branch of the willow after having seen thy (*slender*) waist? or that apples can charm my eyes after the sight of thy cheeks? Dost thou think that thy fragrant locks can protect thee from the kisses of thy lover.¹ It shall not be! I swear it by Him who has made love my master, so that I have become thy slave! O, heart of her whose movements are full of (*grace and*) softness, how hard thou art towards me! Dost thou think me insensible to love, or that I possess such inflexible sternness as thou?"

It is a beautiful poem from which this is taken, but we shall confine ourselves to the foregoing quotation, lest this article should become too long. Al-Nafis travelled to many countries, visiting remarkable men and employing his poetic talent as a means of obtaining donations from their liberality. The *katib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Khuridah*, and says that he was a doctor of the sect of Malik, and had some acquaintance with the science of ancients² and general literature: he is author of these verses:

"The wealthy may rejoice on a day of festival, but the poor cannot. Can a festival rejoice me whose garments are (*as*) the people of Sabā? Can it give pleasure to me while (*the covering*) of my head is that of Ibn Jalā's."

He means the people of Saba whom we tore asunder and totally disunited (*Qur'ān, surat 34, verse 18*); Ibn Jalā had no turban, and it is to this the poet Suhaym³ alludes in the following verse:

1 Or more literally: Dost thou think that the myrtle of thy fragrant *idhīr* can protect thee against the approach of him who comes to quench his thirst. See Introduction.

2 *The sciences of the ancients*: the sciences of logic, philosophy, mathematics, etc., borrowed from the ancient Greeks.

3 The poet Suhaym Ibn Waḥīl ar-Riyāḥī was born forty years before the introduction of Islamism: he died A. H. 60 (A. D. 680).—(*Ibn Durayd*: quoted by al-Suyūṭī in the *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Muḥallīn*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1238, fol. 105 verso.) This is perhaps the poet who was surnamed the slave of the *Banu 'l-Hāshimīs*; see note on *Suhaym*, No. 8.

I am Ibn Jalā: I am the surmounter of obstacles when I take off my turban, you may know me".¹

The katib 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of al-Nafīs in his *Sayf* and says: "He was one of the juriconsults at Miṣr, and I heard his eulogium made by al-Qādī al-Fāḍil, to whom he wrote a *qaṣīdah* from Miṣr."—I extract also the following verses from the volume containing his poetical works:

"O, fair traveller who settest out, bearing away with thee all my fortitude! is there any means of meeting thee again? My eyes, though tinged with tears of blood, have not done justice to thy merits; and my heart, though consumed (*by its passion*), hath not borne thee sufficient love."

His grandfather was (*also*) called Quṭrus.—Al-Nafīs died at Qūs (*in Upper Egypt*) on the 24th of the First Rabī: A. H. 603 (A. D. 1206)*; he was at that time upwards of seventy years of age. Lakḥmī signifies descended from Lakḥm, son of 'Adī; the real name of Lakḥm was Mālik, and 'Amr was that of his brother, who was surnamed Judḥām: these two having quarrelled, 'Amr gave Mālik a box on the ear (*laḥm*), and Mālik struck 'Amr with a knife and cut off (*jadḥam*) his hand, whence the origin of their surnames.—I made frequent resarches to find the origin of the word Quṭrusī, but could discover nothing certain, except that he was a native of Miṣr; but I have been since informed by Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr, the poet (*whose life we shall give*), that this word was derived from Qutayris†, the name of al-Nafīs' grandfather: Bahā al-Dīn had been his pupil and could repeat some of his poetry.—Abu 'l-Muzaffar Jaldak was freedman to Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, prince of Ḥamah (*whose life shall be given later*): he was a man of piety and talent. Died at Cario the 28th Sha'bān, 628 (A. D. 1231).‡ aged upwards of eighty. He had composed some poetry, and related traditions of the authority of al-Silafī the ḥāfiẓ and others. Among the verses quoted as his by Bahā al-Dīn

¹ This verse is quoted by Maydāni in his *Proverbs*; see Freytag's edition, t. I, p. 46.

*29 October.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads Quṭrus.—*Ed.*

‡1 July.—*Ed.*

Zuhayr were the following on a boy who studied geometry and astronomy:

*Ille pure mathematicus, facie venusta praeditus, mihi vitam quotidie rapit et reddit. Facies ejus genera varia pulchritudinis comprehendit, et diceres Euclidem de eo disseruisse: nam maxilla ejus est equator.¹ naevus ejus punctum refert, et gena triangulum.

These lines have also been attributed to Abū Ja'far al-Alawī,² a native of Egypt.

66. ABU 'L-ABBĀS AL-SABTĪ

Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd Ibn al-Mahdī Ibn al-Mansūr al-Hāshimī, generally known by the name of al-Sabtī, was a devout and holy ascetic. Though he had the means of attaining a high rank in the world, he renounced it while his father was yet alive: he detached his mind from all worldly affairs and made choice of solitude and retirement, though his father was then a powerful *khalif*. He was surnamed al-Sabtī because he gained every Sunday† (*Sabt*) by the labour of his hands, a sum sufficient for his weekly expenses, and during the rest of the time he was exclusively occupied with the practice of devotion: he persevered in this mode of life till he expired, A. H. 184 (A. D. 800), some time before the death of his father.

His history is so well known that it is needless to say more on

1 The Arabs call the equinoctial line *the line of equality*: it here means the dark line which the beard, on its first appearance, forms round the face.

2 This is probably the same person who is called Abū Ja'far Muslim al-Ḥusaynī in the life of Ibn Hinzāba.

*English version: (*In love of*) him of beautiful features with geometrical face I suffer death every day and come to life again. His face is encircled with figures as if Euclid is talking. His cheek is the equator and his mole is the centre and his temples from a triangle.

In these verses the poet has employed the terms of geometry.—Ed.

†Sabt in Saturday.—*Ed.*

the subject; besides, he is spoken of by Ibn al-Jawzī in the *Shudhūr al-Uqūd* and the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwat*; his name is mentioned also in the *Kitāb al-Tawwābīn* (history of those who renounced the world), and the *Muntazim*.¹

67. IBN AL-ʿARĪF

Abu ʿI-ʿAbbas Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Musā Ibn ʿAtā Allah al-Ṣunhājī (belonging to the tribe of Ṣunhāj) al-Marri (native of Almeria) in Spain, and surnamed Ibn al-ʿArīf, was a Ṣufī eminent for his sanctity and piety, and illustrious by his spiritual gifts. He is author of the work entitled *al-Majālis* (conferences), and other treatise connected with Ṣufite doctrines; he composed also some good verses on the same subject, among them the following :

“They saddled their camels after accomplishing their wishes at Mina,² and they all disclosed the tormenting passion (of their souls which longed after Muḥammad, the object of their love). Their caravan journeyed forth, shedding a perfume around; for in that band were holy men (who diffused an odour of sanctity). The zephyr which fanned the grave of the selected Prophet (Muḥammad) brought joy to their hearts, as often as they drank intoxication from the recital of his virtues.—O, you who arrive at (the tomb of) the Chosen from (the tribe of) Muḍar! you visit (him) in body, but we visit (him) in soul. We remained (where we were), but we had an excuse for force obliged us; and he who remains from a good excuse is as he who makes the journey.”³

1 The *Muntazim* is the title of a great historical work by Ibn al-Jawzī; the *Shudhūr al-Uqūd* and the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwat* are by the same; the *Kitāb al-Tawwābīn* was composed by the *Shaykh* Muwaffiq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh the Hanbalite, native of Jerusalem. This author died A. H. 620 (A. D. 1223) (*Hijjī Khalifah*).

2 It is in the valley of Mina, near Makkah that the Muslims terminate the rites of their pilgrimage.

3 By the Muḥammadan law, the pilgrimage is of general obligation; but it is dispensed with in some particular cases, of which this is one.

His correspondence with the qulī 'Iyāt Ibn Mūsā is elegantly written. He had a general knowledge of the sciences, and had studied the different systems of reading the *Qur'ān*¹; he formed also a collection of those traditions which are related differently, and made a particular study of the channels through which each of them was handed down, and of the points in which they agree. The society of Ibn al-'Arif was much liked by men of holy life and persons who had renounced the world; and an eminent *shaykh* relates that he saw in his handwriting a notice on Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhirī, in which he said: "The tongue of Ibn Ḥazm and the sword of Ḥajjāj Ibn Yasuf were *brothers." His reason for making that remark was that Ibn Ḥazm frequently attacked the ancient and modern imams, scarcely sparing a single one.² Ibn al-'Arif was born A. H. 481 (A. D. 1088), on Sunday morning the 2nd of the First Jūmādā,† some time after daybreak, and he died at Morocco in 536 (A. D. 1144), on the evening of Thursday, 22 Ṣafar‡; he was buried the next day. He had been summoned to that city by the reigning prince, in order to answer some accusations and it was on his arrival there that he died; crowds flocked to his funeral, and some miraculous signs appeared, indicative of his great holiness: this caused the ruler of Morocco to repent of having cited so respectable a man before him. The name of this prince was 'Alī and he shall be again spoken of in the life of his father, Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn.—Al-Mariyya (Almeria) is a great city in Spain.

1 See note on *Qur'ān*, No. 68.

2 A great number of Muslim doctors were put to death by al-Ḥajjāj.

* "Brothers" does not convey full sense of Arabic. There are three distinct terms شقيقين, *shāqiqayn*, of the same father and mother, i. e. real brothers, etc.

بنو العلات, *Banu 'l-'Allat*, children of the same father but of different mothers, i. e. step-brothers, etc.

أخيافي, *aḥyāfī*, children of the same mother but different fathers, i. e. uterine brothers, etc. Here it refers to the first group.—*Ed.*

† 23 July.—*Ed.*

‡ 25 September.—*Ed.*

68. IBN AL-ḤUṬAY'AH AL-LAKHMĪ

Abu 'l-Abbās Ahmad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ḥishām Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'ah al-Lakhmī (*belonging to the tribe of Lakhm*) al-Fāsi (*native of Fez*), a great and famous saint; and not only full of holiness, but gifted with eminent talents and acquainted with general literature. He was consummate master of the seven different systems followed in reading the *Qur'ān*,¹ and copied with his own hand numerous works on literary and other subjects: his writing was elegant, and his orthography good; and copies written by him are in high request, for the blessings which they draw down on their owner and for their correctness. He was born at Fez on the eighth hour (*after sunrise*) of Friday, 17th of the latter Jumādā, 478 (A. H. 1085).^{*} Having made the pilgrimage to Makkah and visited Syria, he went to Egypt, where he obtained great credit among the people by the holiness of his life. He dwelt outside the city of Old Cairo, at the Mosque of Rāshidah,² and would neither receive presents, nor take payment for the lessons he gave in the art of reading the *Qur'ān*. A great famine happening in Egypt, the principal inhabitants of Old Cairo went to him on foot, and asked him to accept some relief, but he refused: they then decided unanimously that one of their number, al-Faḍl Ibn Yahyā al-Ḥawīl (*the tall*), who was a notary³ and draper of Cairo, should ask his daughter in marriage; the marriage having taken place, the husband asked permission for

1 As the *Qur'ān* was originally written without points to mark the vowels or distinguish certain consonants one from the other, it happened that a considerable number of words could be pronounced in different manners; the absence of punctuation and the different manners of separating the verses contributed also to render the meaning of the text uncertain. From these causes, combined with the use of peculiar intonations and accents founded on tradition, arose seven distinct systems of reading the text of the *Qur'ān*, all of which are considered as legitimate. Those *seven readings*, as the Arabs call them, may be looked on in the light of seven different editions. The best commentators, such as al-Bayḍawī and al-Zamakhsharī are always attentive to point out the words of doubtful pronunciation and mark how they are read in each system.

2 M. de Saey gives an account of this mosque in his life of al-Ḥakim Bi'Amr Allah; see *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, t. I, p. 301.

3 See *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 40.

*10 October.—*Ed.*

the mother of his wife to come and live with her, which was granted: their object in this was to lighten Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'a's family expenses. After this, he dwelt alone and gained his livelihood by copying books. He died at Old Cairo towards the end of Muḥarram, 560 (December, A. D. 1164) and was buried in the cemetery called the lesser Qarāfah,¹ where his tomb is still visited by the pious: on the night I went to it, I found there a great number of persons. He used to say that the good fortune of Islamism has been shrouded in the grave-clothes of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: meaning that during the lifetime of that khalif, Islamism had not ceased to flourish and increase, but that it began, on his death, to fall into trouble and confusion. In the *Kitāb al-Du'ā' al-Munqati'ah*,² in the life of (*al-Ḥāfiẓ lidin Allāh*) Abū Maymān 'Abd al-Majīd, prince of Egypt, it is stated that, in the year 533, the people remained three months without a qādī: then Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'ah was chosen in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'adah*, but he would only accept on condition of not judging according to the religious law of the Fātimite dynasty³; and as this could not be granted, another person was appointed.—*Fasi* means native of *Fāz* (or *Fez*), a great city in Maḡrib near Ceuta, which has produced a number of learned men.

69. IBN AL-RIFĀĪ

Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Rifāī, was a holy man and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. He descended from an Arabian family and inhabited the Baṭā'ih, in a village called Omm 'Abīdah: he was there joined by an immense number

¹ See No. 24, note on *Qarāfah*.

² The work called *al-Du'ā' al-Munqati'ah* (*History of Independent Dynasties*) forms four volumes, according to Ḥajjī Khalifah, and possesses great merit. It was written by the vizīr Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Mansūr Ṭāhir al-'Azdi, who died A. H. 623 (A. D. 1126).

³ The Fatimites were Shi'ites, and Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'ah appears from what he says of 'Umar, to have been a Sunnite.

of *saqirs*, who place the greatest faith in his words and became his disciples. The order of dervishes called the Rifā'ī, or the Baṭā'ihī, had him for founder; his followers perform extraordinary actions, such as eating living serpents and going into burning furnaces, of which they extinguish the fire.¹ It is said that in their own country (*the Baṭā'ihī*), they will ride on lions and do other similar feats; they have fixed periods of general meeting, when innumerable faqirs flock to them, and are then all sustained at their expense. Al-Rifā'ī died without issue, but his brother left posterity who have continued to inherit, till this day; the presidency of the order and the government of that country; but it is needless to expatiate on their history, as it is universally known. The *shaykh* Ahmad Ibn al-Rifā'ī, though taken up with his devotional exercises, composed some poetry, from which the following verses are said to be taken:

“When my night is dark, my heart is troubled by the recollection of you; I utter a plaintive cry like that of the ring-dove. Over me are clouds which rain down care and grief, and under me are seas which that grief swells to overflowing. Ask Omm ‘Amr how her captive (*lover*) has passed the night; she frees other captives, but him she leaves in bonds! He does not meet with death, yet in death he would find repose; nor does he meet with pardon, and so obtain his freedom.”

Ibn al-Rifā'ī persevered till the last in his holy mode of life: he died on Thursday, 22 of the First Jumādā, 578 (September,* A. D. 1182), at Omm ‘Abidah, aged upwards of seventy years.—I found in the hadwriting of a member of his family that *Rifā'ī* means *descended from Rifā'ah*, who was an Arab by nation. *Al-Baṭā'ihī* is the name given to a collection of villages situated in the midst of the waters between Wāsiṭ and Baṣrah: this region is well known in ‘Irāq.²

1 For an account of the extraordinary performances of these dervishes, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

2 Al-Baṭā'ihī (*the low grounds or marshes*) is the name of an extensive country at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris.

*23.—Ed.

70. AḤMAD IBN ṬULŪN

The emīr Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ṭalan, lord of Egypt, Syria, and the frontier provinces of Asia Minor, was appointed governor of Egypt by the Khalif al-Murtazz Billāh (A. H. 254, A. D. 868) and afterwards took possession of Damascus, Antioch, the whole of Syria and the provinces on its northern frontier, during the time that al-Muwaffiq Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥah, son of al-Mutawakkil (and brother of the Khalif) al-Murtamid, for whom he acted as lieutenant, was engaged in war with the (*insurgent*) chief of the Zanj. Aḥmad was a generous prince, just, brave and pious and able ruler, an unerring physiognomist ; he directed in person all public affairs, repopled the provinces, and inquired diligently into the condition of his subjects. He liked men of learning, and kept every day on open table for his friends and the public; a monthly sum of one thousand dinars¹ was employed by him in alms, and having been consulted one day by his intendant, on the propriety of giving anything to a woman who had come to solicit his charity, though she was respectably dressed² and had a gold ring on her finger, he returned this answer: "Give to every one who holds out his hand to you." But with all these qualities, he was too hasty in using the sword, and al-Quḍā'ī relates that he counted the number of those whom Ibn Ṭulūn put to death or who died in his prisons, and that they amounted to eighteen thousand persons. He knew the *Qur'ān* by heart and was gifted with a fine voice: no one read that book more assiduously than he. "In the year 259 (A. D. 872-3), he built the mosque which bears his name, and is situated between Old and New Cairo." (This additional note is taken from a statement made by al-Fargḥānī³ in his History; but al-Quḍā'ī says in his *khiṭat* that its construction was commenced in the year 264 and finished in 266 : (God alone knows which is right !)) The building of this edifice cost Ibn Ṭalan one hundred and twenty thousand dinars, accord-

1 Abu 'l-Mahāsīn says, *ten thousand*.

2 Literally: Wearing a veil (*izār*). See Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights*, vol. I, page 52.

3 Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Fargānī is author of a supplement to the Chronicle of al-Ṭabarī.— (Hajji Khalifah).

ing to Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf, who wrote the history of his life¹ Ṭālān, the father of Aḥmad, was a slave who had been sent with a number of others, by Naḥ Ibn As'ad al-Sāmānī, governor of Bukhārā, as a present to the Khalīf al-Māmān in the year 200.—Ṭālān died A. H. 240 (A. D. 854-5); his son Aḥmad was born at Sāmarrāh, the 23 Ramaḍān A. H. 220, (September*, A. D. 835). Some say that he was only Ṭālān's adopted son: he entered Misr on the 21 or 23 Ramaḍān, 254 (September,† A. D. 868) others say on Monday.‡ 25th of the month; he died of diarrhea² in that city, on Sunday§ eve, the 20, or, according to al-Farghānī, the 10 of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 270 (May A. D. 884). I have visited his tomb, which is in an ancient mausoleum, situated near the gate by the castle of Cairo, and on the road leading to the lesser Qarāfah, at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam.—Ṭālān is a Turkish name.³—*Sāmānī* means *descended for Sāmān*, ancestor of the Samanite kings who ruled Transoxiana and Khurāsān. The city of Sāmarrāh was built by al-Mu'taṣim in year 220 (A. D. 835); it is situated in the province of 'Irāq above Baḡhdād. In the lexicon called the *Sāḥāḥ* under the word *raī*, al-Jawharī indicates six different manners of pronouncing (*and writing*) the name of this place, and the above is one of them; but this is not the place for giving all these names; and besides, we have already mentioned them in the life of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī.⁴

71. MU'IZZ AL-DAWLAT IBN BUWAYH

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Abī Shujā' Buwayh Ibn Fan-nākhusrū Ibn Tamām Idn Kūhī Ibn Shīrzīl al-Asghar (*the less*) Ibn

1 Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Dāyah, الدایه, author of the History of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭālān, died, according to Hājjī Khalīfah, in 334 (A. D. 945-6).

2 Literally: of looseness in the bowels.

3 This name is sometimes written Ṭaylān, طیلون.

4 See No. 8.

*20.—*Ed.*

†13 or 15.—*Ed.*

‡Monday fell on 21 Ramaḍān.—*Ed.*

§Friday fell on 10 May and 20 was Wednesday.—*Ed.*

Shirkah Ibn Shirzil al-Akbar (*the greater*) Ibn Shiran Shan Ibn Shirfannah Ibn Shistan Shan Ibn Sasan Faru Ibn Sharwazil* Ibn Sasnadh Ibn Bahrām Gār al-Malik (*the king*) Ibn Yazdegird Ibn Hurmuz Kermān Shan Ibn Sāpar al-Malik Ibn Sāpar Dhu 'l-Aktār¹; the rest of this genealogical series is known, as it ascends through the Sasanite kings; so there is no necessity for farther details.—Abu 'l-Husāyn, surnamed Mu'izz al-Dawlat (*the exalter of the empire*), was lord of 'Irāq and al-Ahwāz; he had two brothers, whose lives shall be given later, and an uncle called 'Aḍad al-Dawlat, sovereign of Daylam. The name of al-Aqtar (*the maimed*) was also given to him from his having lost his left hand and some of the fingers of his right under the following circumstances: While he was in the prime of life, he followed the party of his brother 'Imād al-Dawlat, and had gone to Kermān by his direction and that of Rukn al-Dawlat, his other brother. The prince who governed that country, on learning the approach of Mu'izz al-Dawlat, retired to Sijistan without offering any resistance, and left him master of the province. A tribe of Kurds was then in possession of some districts in Kermān, and paid an annual tribute to the ruler of that country, on condition that they should not be obliged to do homage.² When Mu'izz al-Dawlat arrived, these people sent him their chief, who obtained from him the promise and firm assurance that he would allow them to act according to their accustomed habits: but Mu'izz al-Dawlat having been advised by his secretary to surprise them in a nocturnal expedition and seize on their flocks and their treasures, acted according to this counsel, and marched towards them during the night by a rugged mountain-path; but the Kurds, being aware of his approach, lay in wait for him at a defile, and when he came up

1 The autograph MS. of Abu 'l-Fada's annals the *Tarikh Guzidah*, and the MSS. of Ibn Khallikan have furnished me with seventeen copies of this genealogy: but they all disagree, either omitting some links of the chain or writing the names differently: the list as here drawn up is probably erroneous, and it may not correspond with that really given by Ibn Khallikān; but this is a matter of trifling importance as the descent of the Buwayh family from the Sasanides appears very contestable.†

2 Literally: To tread his carpet.

*M. de Slane reads it "Sharāzil" Ibid Sisnad.—*Ed.*

†The genealogy given above conforms to Ibn Khallikan's autograph.—*Ed.*

with his troops, they attacked him on all sides, killing and making prisoners; a few only escaped, and Mu'izz al-Dawlat had his left hand and some fingers of the right struck off, and received so many wounds in the head, and body that he fell stunned among the slain: he got off however with his life, but this adventure is too long to be related here. In the year 334 of the Hijrah, during the khalifat of al-Mustakfī, Mu'izz al-Dawlat set out from al-Ahwāz and entered Baghdād on Saturday, 11th of the First Jumādā, 334 A. H. (December,* A. D. 945), taking possession of that city without resistance.—Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī states in his Shuhur al-'Uqūd, that Mu'izz al-Dawlat began his life by selling firewood, which he carried about upon his head; then he and his brothers became masters of extensive province and their prosperity attained its height. Mu'izz al-Dawlat was the youngest of the three; he governed 'Irāq twenty-one years and eleven months, and died at Baghdād on Mondy, 17th of the later Rabī', A. H. 356 (April,† A. D. 967); he was interred in his place, but his body was afterwards transported to a mausoleum built for its reception in the cemetery of the Quarysh (near Baghdād): he was born in the year 303 (A. D. 915). When on the point of death, he granted liberty to his *mamlūks*, gave the greater part of his property in alms, and corrected many abuses. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ahmad al-'Alawī (*a descendant of the khalif Ali*) relates as follows: "I was one night in my house, situated on the bank of the Tigris, at the passage called Mash'arāt al-Qaşab, which leads down to the river; the sky was cloudy, and there was thunder and lightning, and I heard a voice pronounce these words:

'When thou, O Abū Ḥusayn; hadst attained the height of thy desires; when thou wast in safety from the strokes of fortune and hadst warded off its vicissitudes—then the hand of death was stretched forth towards thee, and thou didst take gold from thy treasury (*to fill that hand which seemed to thee to solicit thy generosity.*)'

"And it was on that very night that Mu'izz al-Dawlat died." He was succeeded by his son 'Izz al-Dawlat Bakhtyār whose life

* 20.—Ed.

† 2.—Ed.

we shall give. The orthography of the names Buwayh, Fannākhusrū and Tamām is that which we have here indicated, and were we not unwilling to lengthen this notice, we should mark the manner in which the names of his other ancestors should be pronounced; but, as they are here written correctly, those who quote me have only to follow my orthography.¹—We shall notice his brothers ‘Imād al-Dawlat ‘Ali and Rukn al-Dawlat al-Ḥasan.

72. NAṢR AL-DAWLAT IBN MARWĀN AL-KURDĪ

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Marwān Ibn Dūstak al-Kurdī (*the Kurd of*) al-Ḥumaydi (*of the tribe of Ḥumayd*), surnamed Naṣr-al-Dawlat (*aid of empire*), became possessor of Mayyāfāriqīn and Diyār Bakr on the death of his brother Abū Sa‘id Maṣṣūr Ibn Marwān, who was assassinated in the fortress of al-Hattākḥ,² on the night of Wednesday*, 5 of the First Jumādā, A. H. 401 (December, A. D. 1010). Naṣr al-Dawlat was a man highly favoured by fortune, and gifted with a lofty spirit; his government was just and his character resolute; the prosperity to which he attained, and the pleasures in which he indulged are beyond the powers of description. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī (*native of Mayyāfāriqīn*) says, in his History (*of that city*), that there is no instance of Naṣr-al-Dawlat’s having exacted money from any person excepting one; he then gives an account of the circumstance, but there is no necessity for repeating it here. He relates also that this prince never missed the hour of morning prayer, notwithstanding his addiction to sensual enjoyments; that he had three hundred and sixty concubines, with each of whom he passed a night every

¹ See note on “imperfection of Arabic alphabet”, No. 19.—Ibn Khallikān could never have suspected the strange alterations made in this very genealogy by the copyists of his work.

² According to Abu ‘l-Fidā, in his Geography, this place is situated in the province of Diyār Bakr.—The rise of the Banū Marwan and the death of Maṣṣūr, surnamed Mumahhid al-Dawlat (*regulator of the empire*) are related in the Annals of Abu ‘l-Fida, vol. 2, page 569.

*Thursday night according to autograph which fell on 14 December.—*Ed.*

year, and that it was only on the same night of the following year it fell to the turn of the same person to meet him again. This writer relates also that Naṣr al-Dawlat allotted a fixed time every day to the examination of state affairs, to pleasure, and to the society of his family and friends: he left a numerous posterity. The poets of that time went to see him and celebrate his praises, and they immortalised his glory in their poems. It may be remarked, as an example of the good fortune which attended him, that he had for vizirs two persons who had served khalifs in the same capacity; the one was Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Husayn, surnamed Ibn al-Maghribī, author of the *Dīwān* containing poetical writings and prose epistles,¹ and of other celebrated works; he had acted as vizir to the khalif of Egypt, and on leaving him, went to the emir Naṣr al-Dawlat, and was vizir to him twice: the other was Abū Naṣr Ibn Jahir, who on quitting his service, became vizir at Baghdad. (The lives of these two persons shall be given.) Naṣr al-Dawlat continued in the enjoyment of good fortune and every pleasure till his death, which occurred on the 29th Shawwāl, 453 (November,* A. D. 1061): he was interred in the Mosque of al-Muhdathā; or, according to another account, in the castle of al-Sidilli, whence his body was afterwards removed to the vault of the Banu Marwān adjoining the Mosque of al-Muhdathah. He had lived 77 years, fifty-two of which (or by another statement, forty-two) he passed as sovereign. *Moyyāfariqin* is so well known that it is unnecessary to fix the orthograghy of its name: *Al-Muhdathah* is a *ribāt*² outside the city of Moyyāfāriqīn; *al-Sidilli* is the name of a dome situated in the castle (*of the same city*), and built upon

1 Such is the meaning of the expression *الديوان الشعر والنشر*.

2 The *ribats* were fortified barracks situated along the frontiers of the Muslim empire. At an early period, there were not less than ten thousand in the province of Transoxiana alone. Travellers, on arriving at a *ribāt*, found every accommodation gratis. These establishments were supported by government, and their revenues were increased by the gifts of private individuals, and by *waqfs* (see No. 21 note on *waqf*) established in their favour by pious Muslims. Military service in a *ribāt* was considered as an act of religion.—(For further particulars on the subject, see the extracts from Ibn Hawuqal, in the Geography of Abu 'l-Fadā, pages 235 and 487 of the Arabic text.)

* 16.—Ed.

three pillars; *Sidillu* is a Persian word signifying *three props*.¹—Naṣr al-Dawlat was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Qāsim Naṣr, surnamed Niẓām al-Dīn.

73. AL-MUSTA'LĪ

Abu- 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad, surnamed al-Musta'li (*the aspiring*), was son of al-Mustanṣir Ibn al-Zāhir Ibn al-Hākim Ibn al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣur Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī Ubayd Allāh: we shall give the rest of his genealogy and state the nature of the disagreement respecting it when we relate the life of al-Mahdī, in the letter *ayn*. Al-Musta'li succeeded his father al-Mustanṣir in the government of Egypt and Syria: during his reign, the power of that dynasty² was impaired and its authority weakened, their political influence³ having ceased in most of the Syrian cities, and the provinces of that country having fallen into the possession of the Turkomans on one hand, and the Franks on the other; (may God frustrate their projects!) This people entered Syria and encamped before Antioch in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 490 (November, A. D. 1097); they obtained possession of it the 16 Rajab, 491 (20 of June, A. D. 1098); in the following year they took Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, and in the month of Shā'ban of the same year (July, A. D. 1099), they became masters of Jerusalem, after a siege of more than forty days. This city was taken on a Friday morning; during the ensuing week, a great multitude of Muslims perished, and upwards of seventy thousand were slain in the Masjid al-Aqṣā (or Mosque of 'Umar). An immense quantity of gold and

1 In Persian *سند سه*.

2 Ibn Khallikān means here the *Fatimite* dynasty; but as he does not admit their descent from Fāṣimah, daughter of Muḥammad, he refuses them that title.

3 *Their political influence*, or more exactly, *their mission*. See note on missimaries, No. 10, and M. de Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes* tom. I.

silver vases were taken from the *Ṣaḳḥar*¹ (by the invaders). The fall of this city caused an extreme commotion throughout all the land of the Islamism. We shall again touch on this circumstance in the life of al-Afḍal *Shāhanshāh* (see in the letter *shīn*.) This al-Afḍal, surnamed (like his father²) Amir al-Juyūsh (commander of the troops) had taken Jerusalem from Sukman Ibn 'Urtuq³ on Friday, 25 Ramaḍān, A. H. 491,* or (as it stated by some) in the month of *Shābān*,† 489; he then appointed a governor to rule it in his name, but this person, being unable to resist the Franks yielded the city up to them: had it been in the possession of the 'Urtuq family, it would have been better for the Muslim people! During the administration of al-Afḍal, the Franks became masters of many towns on the Syrian coast: they took Caifa⁴ in the month of *Shawwāl*, A. H. 493,‡ and Qaisāriyah (*Caesaria*) in 494. Al-Musta'li did not possess the least authority during the vizirat of al-Afḍal. It was in his reign that Nizār, his elder brother, fled to Alexandria: this Nizār was the ancestor of the Ismailites: possessors of al-Alamūt and other castles; his adventures are well known,

1 *Al-Ṣaḳḥarā* (the stone): the chapel situated near the mosque founded at Jerusalem by 'Umar on the site of the ancient temple, is so called from its being built over what the Muslims suppose to be the *identical stone* which served the patriarch Jacob as a pillow, when he had the vision of the Ladder.

2 "He bore the same titles as his father:" نعت بنעות ابيه (*al-Nuwayri*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 702 A).

3 Jerusalem then belonged to Tāj al-Dawlat Tutush al-Saljūqī, who had granted it in fee *اقتبا* to the emir *Ṣukmān*. Al-Afḍal empowered *Iftikhar al-Dawlat* to govern the city, as lieutenant to al-Musta'li.—(*Al-Nuwayri*.)

4 *Caifa* is the European pronunciation of the name; in Arabic it is written and pronounced *Ḥayfah*.

*27 August, 1098.—*Ed.*

†July-August.—1096.—*Ed.*

‡August 1100.—*Ed.*

but too long to be related here.¹ Al-Musta'li was born at Cairo on the 20th of Muḥarram, A. H. 469 (August, A. D. 1076*); he was proclaimed khalif in the year 487 A. H. (A. D. 1094†), on the

1 Al-Nuwayri gives the history of Nizar in these terms:

"Al-Musta'li was proclaimed khalif on Thursday morning, 18 of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 487: it was al-Afḍal Amīr al-Juyūḥ who brought this about, for, on the death of al-Mustansir Billāh he entered the Castle (of Cairo) in all haste and seated him (al-Musta'li) on the throne of the empire, and sent to his brothers Nizār, 'Abd Allāh, and Imā'il, to inform them of their father's death and desiring them to come quickly. On arriving, they saw their youngest brother seated on the throne of the khalifat, at which they were filled with indignation, when al-Afḍal said to them: "Go forward and kiss the earth in the presence of God and of our lord al-Musta'li Billāh! Do him homage, for it is he whom the imām al-Mustansir Billāh hath positively declared as his successor to the khalifat." To this Nizār answered: "I would rather be cut to pieces than do homage to one younger than myself, and moreover I possess a document in the handwriting of my father, by which he names me his successor, and I shall go and bring it. He then withdrew in haste to get the paper, and went to Alexandria: al-Afḍal sent after him to bring him back, but no one knew whither he was gone or how he went. So al-Afḍal was in great trouble. Some relate, however, that when al-Mustansir Billāh died, his son Nizār, who was the *Walī 'l-'Aḥd* (or khalif-elect), took his seat on the throne and desired homage to be done to himself; but al-Afḍal refused (*to permit this*), through dislike to Nizār, and he had a meeting with a number of emīrs and men of rank, to whom he said, that Nizār was come to the age of manhood, and they could not hope to escape his severity: so the best thing to be done was to do homage to his youngest brother Abu 'l-Qāsim Ahmad. This plan was approved of by all except Maḥmūd (Mūḥammad?) Ibn Maṣṣāl مصال al-Mālikī, who had received from Nizār the promise of being named vizīr and general-in-chief in place of al-Afḍal; in consequence, he informed Nizār of what he was doing; but al-Afḍal hastened to proclaim Ahmad Khalif under the name of al-Musta'li Billāh, and having placed him on the throne of the empire, he himself sat down in the vizīr's seat, and having introduced the imām 'Alī Ibn al-Kaḥḥāl chief qāḍī of Miṣr, with the *shuhūd* (*legal witnesses*), he caused all the leading men of the empire to take the oath of allegiance to al-Musta'li: he then went to Ismā'il and 'Abd Allāh, who were under arrest in the mosque at the Castle, and informed them that the oath of allegiance had been taken to the lord al-Musta'li, and that he had sent his salutations to them, and given them the choice of swearing allegiance to him or not; to which they replied that they acknowledged his authority, since God had preferred him to themselves. They therefore took the oath, and a certificate to that effect having been drawn

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*24 August.—Ed.

†29 December.—Ed.

festival of Ghadir Khumm¹ which is celebrated on the 18 of

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up, was read in the presence of the emirs by the sharif Ṭhanā al-Mulk Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who was a writer in the Chancery Office (see note on Chancery, No. 14.) Nizār and his brother 'Abd Allāh then fled to Alexandria with Maḥmūd Ibn Maṣṣāl; the governor of that city was Nāṣir al-Dawlat Istikīn al-Turkī (the Turk), one of the Mamlūks of 'Amir al-Juyūsh (whose life will be found in Ibn Khallikān's work): having been informed by them of the circumstances, and obtaining the promise of the vizirat for himself, he took the oath of allegiance to him (Nizār), and the people of the city did the same: Nizār then received the surname of al-Muṣafā li-Dīn illāh (the chosen for God's religion). Then, in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 488, al-Afḍal went forth with troops to attack Nizār, Istikīn, and Ibn Maṣṣāl, who met him as he approached Alexandria, and after a smart contest, put him and his men to flight. He then returned to Miṣr, and Nizār, assisted by a party of (Bedwin) Arabs, laid waste most of the country to the north of Miṣr. Al-Afḍal marched again to Alexandria, and continued to besiege it till the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah. When this unfavourable state of affairs was at its height, Ibn al-Maṣṣāl had a dream, on which he consulted a foreign (astrologer) the next morning: "Methought," said he, "I was on horseback, and al-Afḍal walking in my train;" on which the foreigner remarked, that he who walked on the earth was to possess it. On hearing this, Ibn Maṣṣāl collected his wealth and fled to Lukk, لوك, a village near Barqā, and from that time the power of Nizār and Istikīn declined, and they were obliged to ask al-Afḍal to spare their lives. On his making a promise to that effect, the gates of Alexandria were opened to al-Afḍal who entered it, and having seized on Nizār and Istikīn, he sent them to Miṣr, and Nizār was never seen after: it is even said that al-Afḍal had him shut up between two walls till he died. Nizār was born on the 10 of the First Rabī', A. H. 437.* As for Istikīn, it was afterwards declared to the public that he had been put to death. Ibn al-Maṣṣāl received a letter from Al-Afḍal, inviting him to return to Miṣr, which he did, and was honourably received by him." (Al-Nuwayri MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 702 A.)

Compare this passage with the extract of Mirkhond given by M. de Sacy in his *Memoire sur les Assassins*. Ibn Khallikān says that Nizār was the ancestor of grandfather of the Ismailites or master of the mission; this also accounted for by Mirkhond (see the same *Memoire*), who states that a chief of the Ismilite dynasty, called Ḥassan, son of Muḥammad Ibn Buzurk-Umid pretended to be descended from Nizār, son of al-Mustanṣir. M. de Sacy's *Memoire sur les Assassins* and *expose de 'l-Histoire de Druzes* furnish every information respecting the Ismailites. These two works cannot be too highly praised.

1 The only Muslim sect which celebrates the festival of Ghadir Khumm

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*25 September, 1045.—Eā.

Dhu 'l-Hijjah, and he died at Miṣr on the 16 Ṣafar, 495 (December A. D. 1101*).

74. IBN AL-MASHṬŪB

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, son of the emīr Sayf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥayjā' Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi'l-Khalīl† Ibn Marzubān al-Hakkārī, surnamed, 'Imād al-Dīn (*support of religion*), was generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Mashṭūb (*son of the scarred*); his father being called al-Mashṭūb from having a scar on his face. Ibn al-Mashṭūb was a powerful emīr, greatly respected by (*contemporary*) princes, and considered as their equal¹; he was a high-minded man, extremely generous and noble in his conduct, brave, and possessing a lofty spirit, so that those princes stood in awe of him. His enterprises against them are so well known that it is not necessary to give a relation of them here.² He was an emīr of the empire founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had conceded to him the revenue of Naplus, after allotting one-third of it to the support of Jerusalem; this happened on the death of Maḥṭūb, who held Naplus in fief. Abu 'l-Ḥayjā', his grandfather, was lord of al-'Imādiyah (*Amadia*) and a number of (*other*) castles in the country of the Hakkāis³ Ibn al-Mashṭūb continued in

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(the pond of *Khum*), is that of the *Sh*'ites. They relate that 'Alī and Muḥammad being at a place of this name, lying half way between Makkah and Medīnah, the Prophet, by a solemn declaration, appointed 'Alī his successor. (See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 193.—Abu 'l-Fidā, in his *Geography*, Arabic text, p. 84, fixes the pronunciation of the word *Khum*.)

1 Syria was at that time in the hands of many feudatory and nearly independent princes.

2 For the indication of the principal events of his life, I shall refer the reader to M. Hamaker's work, entitled: *Expeditionum a Graecis Francisque adversus Dimyatham narratio*, pp. 95 and 99, in the notes.

3 The Turkoman tribe of Hakkār possessed the country to the north-east of Moṣul.

*11 December.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives *Ḥalil*.—*Ed.*

high power and honour till the year in which the Franks arrived at Damietta¹ when he acted in the manner which is publicly known, and which I shall give an account of in the life of al-Malik al-Kāmil.² He then quitted Egypt, and was reduced to such a strait, that in the month of the Second Rabī', he was besieged in the castle of Tall Ya'fūr,³ situated between Moṣal* and Sinjār: the history of this circumstance is well known.⁴ Then the emīr [Badr al-Dīn Lūlū, Atābek and lord of Moṣal, entered into correspondence with him, and having succeeded in allaying his apprehensions by deceitful promises, prevailed on him to surrender, and swore to observe the conditions which he had offered. In consequence of this, Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb went to Moṣal, but was not there long when Badr al-Dīn arrested him; this was in the year 617 (A. D. 1220); he then sent him to al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn hoping to gain his favour by this action, as in the last case, it was against him that Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb had revolted. Al-Malik al-Ashraf sent his prisoner to the castle of Harrān where he was put into close confinement in a narrow dungeon, and chained with heavy fetters and handcuffs: it is reported that (*in this wretched state*) his beard and clothes swarmed with vermin; so I was told when a boy, and he yet alive. I have been informed that a person who had been in the service of Ibn Maṣḥṭūb, wrote in his behalf the following distich and sent it to al-Malik al-Ashraf:

“O thou, whom the revolving spheres favour with continued happiness; thou art not a king (*malik*), but an angel (*malak*). Thy mamlūk Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb is dying in prison; set him free, for thou alone canst do it, or God.”

1 Literally: *The year of Damietta*, which was the 615th of the Hijrah (A. D. 1218).

2 Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb wished to depose al-Malik al-Kāmil, sultān of Egypt, and place a brother of that prince, al-Malik al-Fā'iz, on the throne.—(See the Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā.)

3 The name of this castle is also written *Tall Ya'far*, يعفر, *Tall A'afar*, اعفر, and *al-Tall al-A'far*. It lies between Moṣal and Sinjār; is built on an isolated hill, and possesses a spring of unwholesome water. (*Marāṣid al-Ittāil'*.)

4 See Abu 'l-Fidā's Annals, year 617.

*M. de Slane gives *Muṣul*.—*Ed.*

Ibn al-Masḥūb continued in bondage till his death, which took place in the month of the Second Rabīʿ, A. H. 619 (April, A. D. 1222). His daughter built him a mausoleum at the gate of Rās ʿAyn, to which city his corpse was transported from Harrān, and there buried: this tomb I have myself seen.—During his confinement, the following distich was addressed to him by a literary man:

“O Aḥmad; thou hast never ceased to be ʿImād al-Dīn (*the support of religion*). O bravest of those who ever wielded lance! despair not! though thou liest in their prison; (*the patriarch*) Joseph remained in prison for years.”

This thought is taken from the following verses, which form part of a poem composed by al-Buḥturī:

“Is not the example of God’s Prophet, Joseph, a sufficient consolation for him who, like thee, is imprisoned on an unjust and false accusation? He long remained in bondage with patient resignation, and patient resignation made him master of an empire.”

The emīr ʿImād al-Dīn was born about the year 575 (A. D. 1179); and I read in a letter written by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, that al-Masḥūb wrote to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, informing him of the birth of this son, and that another of his wives was pregnant. The answer to this letter was drawn up by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, who wrote as follows: “The Emīr’s letter, announcing two children, has been received; up to the present moment circumstances have been aided by divine favour, and as for the (*child*) which cometh, may God write that it speed its way in safety! We are rejoiced by the star which hath risen from behind its veil; and we hope for joy from the fruit still remaining in the bud.”¹ As for Sayf al-Dīn al-Masḥūb, father of ʿImād al-Dīn, he and Bahā al-Dīn Qarāqūsh (whose life shall be given later) were stationed in Acre by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, when the enterprises of the Franks excited his apprehensions for the safety of that city. Al-Masḥūb remained there till the Franks laid siege to it and took it. Having escaped,² he joined Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Jerusalem, on Thursday, 1st of the latter Jumādā, A. H.

1 Literally: *In its spathe*; a metaphor taken from the date-tree.

2 Al-Masḥūb and the troops which defended Acre had been made prisoners of war; Richard Coeur-de-Lion caused the garrison to be put to death,

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588.* Ibn Shaddād says (*in his history*)¹: "The sultān was with his brother al-Malik al-'Ādil when al-Mashtūb entered unexpectedly; he rose up and embraced him with extreme joy, and, having caused the others to withdraw, he continued in conversation with him for a long period." Al-Mashtūb died at Naplus on Thursday, 26 Shawwāl, A. H. 588 (November, A. D. 1192†): such is the date given by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī in his work entitled al-Barq as-Shāmī; but Ibn Shaddād says, in his history of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, that his death took place at Jerusalem, on Sunday, 23rd Shawwāl‡ of that year². He was interred in (*the court of*) his house, after funeral prayers had been said over him in the Great Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*). None of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's emīrs were on an equality with him, nor even approached him, in rank and influence. They used to call him the grand emīr, this being the title by which he was known, and which was borne by no other. I found the following note in the handwriting of al-qāḍī al-Fāḍil: "News has been received of the death of Sayf al-Dīn al-Mashtūb, emīr and prince of the Kurds: he died on Sunday, 22 Shawwāl§ of this year, at Jerusalem. His pay,³ which was furnished out of the revenues of Naplus and other places, amounted to three hun-

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but spared some of the chiefs in expectation of obtaining from them a rich ransom.

1 This is the history of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn published by Schultens, in Arabic and Latin under the title of *Saladini Vita et res Gestae*; the passage cited here is to be found on page 223.

2 See *Saladini Vita et res Gestae*, page 268.

3 Literally: *His bread*. The meaning of this word is perfectly certain. M. de Sacy has noticed it in the *Memoires de l'Institut*, tom. 7, pp. 79, 104.

*According to the calendar prepared by Eduard Mahler (a German Scholar) it was Sunday, 14 June, 1192. The name of the day is not clear in the autograph.—*Ed.*

†5 November.—*Ed.*

‡1st November. The date is not clear in the autograph but it is probably 22 Shawwāl, otherwise the former date should be advanced by one day and the same is legible in the autograph.—*Ed.*

§Vide above remarks.—*Ed.*

dred thousand dinars¹ at the epoch of his death; less than one hundred days elapsed between his escape from captivity and the term of his existence. Glory to Him who liveth and dieth not; who overthroweth the edifices of man! Time is a judge exempt from blame!" I may observe that the expression, *who overthroweth the edifices of man*, is analogous to one which occurs in a verse given in the *Ḥamāsah*² :

"The death of Qays is not the death of a single man; it is the edifice of a people which has been overthrown."

This verse forms part of an elegy composed by 'Abadah Ibn al-Ṭabīb on the death of Qays Ibn 'Āṣim al-Tamīmī; the same who came from the desert to the blessed Prophet with the embassy of the Banū Tamīm, in the ninth year of the Hijrah, when he became a Muslim. The Prophet then said of him: "This is the chief of those who dwell in tents."³ He was a man of intelligence, and celebrated for his prudence and authority (*among the tribes*). The manner of parsing the preceding verse is a subject of discussion for the learned in the Arabic language, but this is not the proper place for entering into that subject.⁴ Abū Tamām gives this verse along with two others in his (*Ḥamāsah*) chapter of elegies; they run thus:

"On thee be the blessing of God. O Qyas, son of 'Āṣim! On thee may his mercy alight, as long as he may deign to show mercy; such is the salutation of one who is the target of adversity; of one who, coming from afar to visit thy country, salutes thee still. The death of Qays is not the death of a single man; it is the edifice of a people which has been overthrown."

Qays Ibn 'Āṣim was the first person, who anterior to the introduction of Islamism, buried alive his female children (*he was*

1 The Ayyubite dīnār would now have an intrinsic value of from 13 to 14 shillings sterling.

2 See Freytags *Ḥamāsah*, page 367.

3 Literally: *Of the camels'-hair people*. The Bedwins still cover their tents with a sort of black cloth made of camels' hair.

4 At-Tabrīzī, in his commentary on the *Ḥamāsah*, notices this point of discussion; it is simply this: the word *هلك* (*death*), is in the nominative or accusative case?

induced to do so) through jealousy (*for their honour*), and because pride would not allow him to give them in marriage.¹ This (*in human practice*) was followed by the rest of the nation, till abolished by the Muslim religion. The emīr Badr al-Dīn Lālū died on Friday, 3rd Shā'bān, A. H. 657 (July, A. D. 1259*), in the citadel of Moṣal, and was buried there in a chapel; he was then about eighty years of age.

1 "Cais fils d'Acem issu de Mancar issu de Sa'd fils de Zeidmenat fils de Temim, poete et guerrier illustre, vecut du temps de l'idolatrie et de l'islamisme. Il etait un de ceux qui enterraient leurs filles vivantes. Il se fit musulman, et survecut a Mahomet. Son prenom etait Abou Ali. Moucharmradj المشورج, dela tribu de Yechkor, dans une incursion contre les banou Sa'd, enleva une femme nommee Ramim رميم بنت احمد qui etait niece, par sa mere, de Cais ben Acem. Celui-ci alla la redemander a Moucharmradj en lui proposant une rancon. Moucharmradj dit a Ramim de choisir si elle voulait rester aupres de lui ou retourner dans sa famille. Elle prefera rester. Cais, indigne contre les femmes, revint a sa tribu, et en arrivant il enterra vivantes ses filles, et s'imposa la loi de traiter de meme toute fille qu'il aurait a l'avenir. Les Arabes imiterent cet exemple; les principaux et les plus nobles d'entre eux enterraient leur filles, de peur que l'ellesse ne fussent faites prisonnieres et que leurs familles ne furent deshonnees a cause d'elles."—*Aghāni*, t. III, pp. 235—6.—Une autre version de ce fait se trouve dans Meidani, au proverbe اضل بن مودة.

"Cais fils d'Acem a pu propager par son exemple et rendre plus commun parmi les Arabes l'usage d'enterrer les filles vivantes, mais cet usage existait deja avant lui, ou du moins on tuait d'une maniere quelconque des filles au moment de leur naissance. Car on lit dans la vie du poete Amrou fils de Colthoum (*Aghāni*, II, 361), que Mohalhīl, frere de Colaib, ordonna a sa femme Hind, lorsque'elle accoucha de Leila, de tuer cette fille. Hind, au lieu d'executer cet ordre, cacha Leila, qui depuis fut mere d'Amrou ben Colthoum. Mohalhīl est anterieur de 40 ou 50 ans a Cais ben Acem. Apres avoir embrasse l'islamisme, Cais entrant un jour chez Mahomet le trouva tenant entre ses bras une petite fille qu'il baisait. Il lui dit: Qu'est-ce que cette petite brebis que tu flaires?—C'est ma fille, repondit Mahomet.—Par Dieu! poursuivit Cais, j'en ai eu beaucoup comme cela, et je les ai toutes enterrees, sans en flairer aucune.—Il faut que Dieu, repliqua Mahomet, ait prive ton coeur de tout sentiment d'humanite." (*Aghāni*, III, 236.)

"Cais renia l'islamisme apres la mort de Mahomet, et crut a la prophetesse Sedjah et a Mossailama. Khalid fils de Wālid, dans son expedition du Yemāma, ou Mossailama fut tue, fit prisonnier Cais ben Acem, qui n'echappa a la mort qu'en jurant qu'il n'etait venu aupres de Mossailama que pour lui redemander un de ses fils qu'il lui avait enleve." (*Aghāni*, III, 239.)

*25 July.—Ed.

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75. ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN AL-IRBILĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn Ṣha'ban Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Jābir Ibn Qaḥṭān al-Irbilī (*native of Arbela*), surnamed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*welfare of religion*), belonged to a great family of Arbela, and was *ḥājib*¹ to Muzaffar al-Dīn Ibn Zayn al-Dīn, lord of that city. Having incurred the displeasure of his master, he was imprisoned for some time; and on his liberation, in the year 603 (A. D. 1206-7), he left Arbela and proceeded to Syria in company with al-Malik al-Qāhir Bahā al-Dīn Ayyūb, son of al-Malik al-'Ādil. He then entered into the service of al-Malik al-Mughīth (*another*), son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, who had known him at Arbela, and now treated him with great kindness. On the death of Mughīth, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn passed into Egypt and was attached to the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil; the esteem in which he was held by this prince became so great, that he entered into higher favour with him than any other had hitherto been able to effect; he was specially chosen as the companion of his private moments, and raised to the rank of emīr. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was a man of superior merit and possessed considerable information in different sciences; I have been informed that he knew by heart (*Abū Ḥāmid*) al-Ghazzālī's treatise on jurisprudence, entitled *Al-Khulāṣah*; he wrote also some good poetry and composed elegant distichs, by which talent he gained the favour of these princes. In the month of Muḥarram 618 (March. A. D. 1221), when al-Malik al-Kāmil was at al-Manṣurah to oppose the progress of the Franks, his favourable dispositions towards Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were altered, and having caused him to be arrested, he sent him to the castle of Cairo, where he remained in close confinement till the month of the

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"Abda, ou Obda fils d'Attābīb, dont le véritable nom était Yezid fils d'Amrou issu d'*Abd Taīm* (designation) qui s'appliquait aux banou Temim parce qu'ils adoraient une idole nommée *Taīm* تيم, poète du temps de l'ignorance et de l'islamisme. Il était dans l'armée de Noman ben Moucrin 'الزعمان بن مقرن' qui combattit les Persans à Medain. Asmaï disait que le plus beau vers élégiaque ارثى بيت qu'il connaît, était celui qui faisait partie de l'élegie d'Obda sur la mort de Cais ben Acem."

For this note, I am indebted to the kindness of M. Caussin de Perceval.

1 See *Bibliothèque Orientale*, HAGEB.

Second Rabī', 623; having then composed a *distich** and taught it to a musician, by whom it was sung in the presence of al-Malik al-Kāmil, the prince found it so beautiful, that he asked who was the author; and on learning that it was written by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, he ordered him to be set at liberty. The distich is as follows:

“Thy wanton cruelty towards him who loves thee cannot remain hidden; thou hast caused my life to pass away in sorrow and in suffering. Thy anger is not proportioned to my fault; thou hast been too severe, and thy sole intention was to cause my death.”

Some state however that the distich which was the cause of his liberation ran thus:

“Do as thou wilt; thou, thou art my beloved; I have not committed a fault, but, as thou hast said, many faults. Wilt thou ever grant that we pass our nights together, so shall my heart be freed from its rust; thou shalt pardon and I return (*to my love*).”

On coming out of confinement, he got into higher favour than before.—Al-Malik al-Kāmil, having been displeased at one of his brothers, whose name was al-Malik al-Fā'iz Sābiq al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the latter went to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and asked him to effect a reconciliation; Ṣalāḥ in consequence wrote these lines to al-Kāmil:

“It is an essential rule for him who is lord of Egypt, that he imitate Joseph in kindness towards his brethren. They acted wrongly, and he met them with pardon; when they departed,† he was bounteous towards them, and restored them his affection.”

When the emperor (*Frederic the Second*), lord of Sicily, landed in Syria, A. H. 626 (A. D. 1229)¹, al-Malik al-Kāmil sent him Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his ambassador; and the articles of a treaty having been adopted and confirmed by the oath of the emperor, Ṣalāḥ wrote the following lines to al-Kāmil:

¹ See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. LIX, and M. Reinaud's *Extraits des Historiens arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, page 428; a very correct and useful work.

*For *dubayt*, *qutrain* is a proper term.—Ed.

† *وافته الروا* means *were in need*.—Ed.

“The emperor has taken an engagement any given his word that we shall have a lasting peace. He was obliged to confirm it by oath, and if he attempt to break it, may he devour the flesh of his left hand.”¹

The following verses are by the same:

“When you look on your children, know that when they came to you, they were merely forerunners of death.² Children arrive to the stations of their fathers, and the fathers make preparations for departure.”

One of my friends recited me these verses, and attributed them to the same author:

“The day of resurrection shall be full of terrors, as you have been told; be therefore in dread of it. Let it suffice you to know that you cannot conceive its terrors, till you taste of death in your (*earthly*) journey.”

The poet Ibn ‘Unayn wrote a letter from Damascus to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Egypt: (I have been informed by my master ‘Afīf al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn ‘Adlān, the grammarian and interpreter, native of Moṣul, that this letter was in the handwriting of Ibn ‘Unayn himself and contained his dying injunctions); it began thus:

“I reveal to you the treatment which I received from Fortune, whose vicissitudes have already cut my wings; how can a sick man, who is oppressed by afflictions, recover, as long as he does not see the face of health (*or the face of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*)?”

1 This silly stuff could only be tolerated in the original language, as its quibbles and double meanings are lost in the translation. The first verse may signify: *The vaunting emperor has pretended, etc.*, or, *The emperor prince has said*. The second verse signifies literally: *He has drunk the oath (or drunk his right hand), and if he attempt to break it, may he eat the flesh of his left (through disappointment and rage)*. The expression to drink an oath has its equivalent in English, and might be rendered by *to swallow an oath*, that is, to take it by compulsion. A verse of the *Qur’ān*, the 87th of the second *sūrat*, has given rise to this expression; it is there said that *they* (the children of Israel) *were made to drink down the calf into their hearts*; an allusion to Exodus, XXXII. 20. See also al-Ḥarīrī, page 99.

2 That is: Children and death come to man, but children arrive first, having outrun, or *cut the way of death*; as the original expresses it.

The poetical pieces of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his distichs have been collected into separate volumes.—He continued in the enjoyment of high dignity and honour under al-Malik al-Kāmil and the other princes (*of the family*); but having accompanied al-Kāmil in an official capacity on his expedition to Asia Minor, he fell sick at the army, near the town of Suwaydā,¹ and was therefore transported to al-Ruhā (*Edessa*), but died before his arrival; this took place on Saturday 20, or on the 25 of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 631 (September, A. D. 1234*); he was buried without the walls of Edessa, in the cemetery at the Ḥarrān Gate. His son had his body removed later to Egypt and interred in a mausoleum at the lesser Qarāfah; this was towards the end of the month of Shā'ban, A. H. 637 (March, A. D. 1240); I was then at Cairo.—Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was about sixty years old when he died. Since (*writing the above*), I discovered the date of his birth; it took place in the month of the Second Rabi', 572 (October, A. D. 1176), at Arbela.—*Arbela* (*Arbela*) is a large city near Moṣūl, and lying to the east of it.

76. 'AZĪZ AL-DĪN AL-MUSTAWFĪ

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Ḥāmid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Habaṭ Allāh Ibn Aluh al-Ispahānī, surnamed 'Azīz al-Dīn (*great in religion*), al-Mustawfī² was uncle to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī, whose life shall be given in this work. 'Azīz al-Dīn filled several elevated and influential situations at the court of the Seljūq princes, and was always in high favour:

1 Suwaydā is situated at the mouth of the Orontes.

2 At the court of Arbela, under the government of Zayn al-Dīn and his son Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Kukuburi the Mustāwfi, or secretary of state, took rank immediately after the vizir.

* 16 or 21 September.—*Ed.*

the needy flocked to him for assistance and poets came to praise him and were richly recompensed. The celebrated poet Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Jakīnā of Baghdād, makes the following allusion to him in one of his *qaṣīdahs*.¹

“Let us then rein our camels towards Irāq and a rich meed shall be measured to us from the wealth of al-‘Azīz.”

His praises were celebrated also by the qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Arrajānī, whose life has been already given; among other eulogiums on him, he composed the long *qaṣīdah* from which are extracted the verses there mentioned, and which rhyme in *B*.² His nephew ‘Imād al-Dīn often expressed his pride in possessing such an uncle, and he makes frequent mention of him in his works. Towards the end of his life, ‘Azīz al-Dīn was treasurer to Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malikshāh Ibn Alp Arsiān al-Saljūqī; this Sultān had married the daughter of his uncle, the sultān Sinjar Ibn Malikshāh; on her death, his uncle required him to deliver up the marriage gift which she had received from her family, consisting of a variety of precious and rare articles, such as were not to be found even in the treasuries of kings: Maḥmūd refused acceding to this demand, and being apprehensive that ‘Azīz al-Dīn would give his testimony respecting the property she had brought with her (and which was well known to him in his capacity of treasurer), he caused him to be arrested and sent him to be confined in the castle of Takrīt, which was at that time one of his possessions.³

1 It appears from this, and from a passage in the life of al-Ḥarīrī, that Ibn Jakīnā was living at the close of the fifth century of the Hijrah. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī gives some specimens of his poetry in the *Kharīdah*, and praises the author most highly, but does not furnish the least information respecting him. (See *Kharīdah*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds No. 1447, fol. 30 verso).

2 See No. 62. The extract commences thus: I never roamed through distant regions, etc.

3 The principal cities of Syria, Mesopotamia and the neighbouring states, were at that time held as fiefs by a great number of nearly independent emirs, who were almost always embroiled in war with each other; so that many of these cities, and Takrīt among the rest, were frequently changing masters.

he afterwards put him to death, towards the beginning of the year 525 (A. D. 1130-1). His nephew 'Imād al-Dīn states in the *Kharīdah*, that he was born at Ispahān, A. H. 472 (A. D. 1079-80), and was put to death at Takrīt in 526 (A. D. 1131); it was at Baghdād that he was arrested. The same writer says that when his uncle was slain, the emīrs Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, father of the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn, and his brother Asad al-Dīn Shīrkāh were both in the castle, of which they were then governors; and that they endeavoured to save 'Azīz al-Dīn, but without success—*Aluh* is a Persian word, the Arabic equivalent of which is '*Uqāb* (eagle).—*Ipsahānī* has been already explained.¹

7. ARTUQ IBN AKSUK*

Artuq Ibn Aksuk, ancestor of the Artuqide princes, was a Turkomān who had got possession of Hulwān and al-Jabal (*Persian* 'Irāq); he afterwards went to Syria, having left the service of Fakhr al-Dawlat Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Jahīr †[through fear of the sultān Malīkshāh² this was in the year 478 or 479.³ He

¹ See No. 32.

² The printed text, in conformity with the MSS., names this sultān Muhammad son of Mālīkshāh. This extraordinary mistake I have suffered to remain the duty of an editor being to respect even the errors of his author.*

³ §Such is the correct date; it is singular that Ibn Khallikān should assign this event to the year 448 or 449, which incredible error I have allowed to subsist in the Arabic text through respect for the unanimity of my manuscripts. Ibn al-Aṭḥir places this event in the year 479. It was in A. H. 477 that Fa'ḥr al-Dawlat, general of Malīkshāh, having under his orders Artuq Ibn Aksab, marched against Shāraf al-Dawlat Muslim Ibn Qurāish, and besieged him in 'Amid. Shāraf al-Dawlat escaped however from the city, having bribed Artuq to let him pass. It was therefore, for a good reason that Artuq apprehended the anger of Malīkshāh, and fled to Syria.

*M. de Slane reads it Ortuk Ibn Aksab.—*Ed.*

† [] From "through fear" to "479" not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

*This passage is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

§This passage is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

then governed Jerusalem in the name of Tutush,¹ a prince of the Seljūq family, whose life shall be given. Artuq having died there in the year which we shall mention further on, his two sons, Sukmān and 'Īl-Ghāzī, became governors of the city, and continued in the exercise of power till the month of Shawwāl, 491 (September, A. D. 1098); when al-Afdal Shahanshāh Amīr al-Juyūsh marched from Egypt with an army and took Jerusalem from these two princes. They then retired to Mesopotamia and obtained the government of Diyār Bakr, and the present lord of the castle of Mārīdīn is one of their descendants. In the year 501, Najm al-Dīn, 'Īl-Ghāzī became lord of Mārīdīn; the sultān Muḥammad had before that appointed him as his resident agent² at Baghdād. Artuq's other son, Sukmān, died of a quinzey in the year 498 (towards the end of A. D. 1104), at a place between Tripoli and Jerusalem.³ Artuq possessed a penetrating mind; he was a man

1 In the Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā, Reiske writes this name Tanush, but Ibn Khallikān gives its true pronunciation.

2 Resident agent, شحنة, which is a Persian word; the charge itself was called شحنة كيه: when the Seljūq dynasty flourished, the khalifs of Baghdād exercised only a spiritual authority over the provinces of the Muslim empire; even in that city, which was under their immediate government, they were frequently obliged to submit to the influence of the sultān, who usually resided at Ispahān or Hamadān. Those princes kept a resident agent at the court of Baghdād, and were thus enabled to control the khalifs in the very seat of their dominion. When the Moḥuls overran Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, they abstained from placing garrisons in the cities which had surrendered, being averse to enfeebling the active force of their army: they merely left resident agents in the places which had acknowledged their authority, after making all the inhabitants responsible for their safety. (See Abu 'l-Fidā's Annals, year 651; see also M. Reinauds *Extraits d'Auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, page 126.)

3 Abu 'l-Fidā says, after Ibn al-Aṭhīr, that he died at Qaryatayn on his way to Damascus, to which city he was travelling in all haste, that he might defend it against the Franks. This induces me to think that the word الغرارة* in the printed Arabic text is a fault, though it is so written in the manuscripts; the true reading is probably الغرزة, and the passage will then signify that he died between Tripoli and Jerusalem as he was journeying to war against the infidels.

*In printed text it is الفرات, *al-furāt*.—Ed.

of resolution and activity, and was highly fortunate in all his enterprises: died A. H. 484 (A. D. 1091). The word "Aksuk" is sometimes written "Aksab."

78. AL-BASĀSĪRĪ

Abu 'l-Hārith Arsilān Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Basāsīrī al-Turkī (*the Turk*), general of the Turkish troops at Baghdād,¹ is said to have been a *mamlūk* belonging to Bahā al-Dawlat Ibn 'Aḍad al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh. It was he who revolted at Baghdād against the *khalif* al-Qā'im bi'amr illāh, who had placed him at the head of all the Turkish troops, invested him with sovereign authority, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the *khutbah*² from all the pulpits of 'Irāq and *Khuzistān*. His power had thus become very great, and all the (*neighboring*) princes stood in awe of him; but he then revolted against the imām al-Qā'im, and having expelled him from Baghdād, caused *khutbah* to be said in the name of the (*Fatimite khalif*) al-Mustansir al-'Ubaydī, lord of Egypt. Al-Qā'im then fled for refuge to the emīr of the Arabs,³ Muḥī al-Dīn (*reviver of religion*) Abu 'l-Hārith Muhārish

1 It appears from al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab*, that al-Murtasim was the first *khalif* who had body of Turks in his service; their number was at first four thousand, and they were distinguished from the other troops by their rich dress and accoutrements, which were of silk and gold.

2 *Khutbah* is the name given to the sermon pronounced on Fridays from the pulpits of the great mosques in all Muslim countries; it begins by a declaration of God's attributes and unity, and an invocation of his benedictions upon the Prophet, his family, and successors; then follows a prayer for the reigning *khalif* and for the prince who exercises civil power in the state. The right of being named in the *khutbah* and that of coining money are two of the principal privileges possessed by the temporal sovereign, and the special marks of his legitimacy. (See D'Ohsson *Empire Othoman*, tom. II, page, 204 et seq.; and d'Herbelots *Bibliothèque orientale*).

3 The emīr of the Arabs under the *khalifs* appears to have filled the same functions as the Ghassanide princes did under the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and the princes of Hīrah under the Persians; they were phylarchs or controllers of the nomadic tribes.

Ibn al Mujallī al-Uqaylī, lord of al-Ḥadīthah and ‘Ā’nah,¹ from whom he obtained everything necessary for his maintenance during an entire year, when Tughrulbek the Seljuqide came to his assistance, and having attacked and slain al-Basāsīrī, reinstated al-Qā’im in Baghdād. The khalif made his entry to that city precisely one year after leaving it, and by a remarkable coincidence, on the anniversary of the day in which he had quitted it: the history of this circumstance is well known.² Al-Basāsīrī was killed at Baghdad by the soldiers of the sultān Toghrulbek, on Thursday, 15th of Dhu ’l-Hijjah, or, according to Ibn al-‘Azīmī,³ in his history, on Tuesday, 11 Dhu ’l-Hijjah, 451 (January, A. D. 1060*). His head was borne in parade through the city, and his body attached to a gibbet opposite to the gate of Nūbā.—*Basāsīrī* means native of Basā, a town in the province of Fārs; this name is pronounced in Arabic Fasā, and, in that case, the relative adjective derived from it is *Fasawī*. The grammarian Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī, author of the *’Iḍāḥ*, was a native of this place; he was also surnamed al-Fasawī; but the Persians employ Basārīr, a word of irregular formation. Arsilān’s master was a native of Basā, for which reason it was that he himself was named al-Basāsīrī. The preceding observation is made by al-Sam‘ānī, on the authority of the learned Abu ’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Babah al-Qābisī. This word contains additional letters to those which form the root form which it is derived.—The emīr Muhārīsh died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 499 (October, A. D. 1105),

1 These are the names of two cities in the Mesopotamia.

2 See ‘Abu ’l-Fidā’s Annals, year 450.

3 Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī al-‘Azīmī is author of a chronicle and a history of Aleppo, his native place. (Ḥājjī Khalīfah, Nos. 2258, 2205.)

*Tuesday 11 corresponding to 18 appears to be more correct. Since on Thursday it was 13 and it was 15 on Saturday, i. e. the date and day do not tally.—*Ed.*

aged upwards of eighty. His genealogy is as follows: Muhārish Ibn al-Mujallī Ibn 'Akīth Ibn Qabbān Ibn Sha'b Ibn al-Muqallad Ibn Ja'far Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Muhannā; the rest of the series will be found in the life of al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab.

(For further reference, see Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, f. 80 a.—*Ed.*)

79. NŪR AL-DĪN ARSILĀN SHĀH

Abu 'l-Hārith Arsilān Shāh Ibn 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ibn Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd Ibn 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī Ibn 'Āq Sunqūr, lord of Moṣul, and generally known by the appellation of Atābek,¹ bore the title of al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn (*the just prince, light of religion*): (the lives of a number of persons belonging to the same family shall be given under their respective letters). Nūr al-Dīn obtained the government of Moṣul on the death of his father, in whose life is mentioned the date of that event.² This prince was a man of acute mind and skilled in the management of state affairs: he passed over the sect of al-Shafi'ī and was the first of his family who professed the doctrines of that imām³: a college of extraordinary beauty was founded by him at Moṣul for the Shafites. He died on Sunday evening, 29 Rajab, 607 (January, A. D. 1211*), (*as he was making an excursion*) on the Tigris⁴ in a *shabbārah* or *barge*⁵ outside of Moṣul. (The species of boat which the people of that country call *shabbārah* bears in Egypt the name

1 See d'Herbelots *Bib. Orient.* Atābek.

2 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd died A. H. 589 (A. D. 1193).

3 I believe that his family were Hanifites. It is certain that the celebrated Nūr al-Dīn Ma'hūd, his grandfather's brother, was of that sect. See M. Reinauds *Extraits, etc.*, page 156.

4 In the neighbourhood of Moṣul, the Tigris bears the name of *al-Shāṭṭ* (*the river*); it is a word of frequent occurrence with this signification.

5 M. de Sacy, in his translation of 'Abd al-Latīf, page 309, hesitates respecting the right orthography of this word; but al-Yāfi'ī, in his *Annals*, year 607, fixes it as it is here given.

*16 January, but M. de Slane gives 28 Rajab.—*Ed.*

of *harrāqah*.)¹ His death was kept secret till he was brone to the palace at Moṣul: he was buried in a mausoleum erected in the college just mentioned. He left two sons, al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd and al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī; for information respecting these princes, the reader is referred to the life of their grandfather Mas'ūd. As we have there stated, it was his son al-Malik al-Qāhir by whom he was succeeded. Al-Malik al-Qāhir was master of (*the mamlūk*) Badr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Lūlū, who gained possession of Moṣul towards the end of Ramaḍān, A. H. 630 (July, A. D. 1233). He had been lieutenant-governor of that city and then declared himself independent. Mention has been already made of him in the life of Ibn al-Maṣḥūb.²

80. AZHAR IBN AL-SAMMĀN

Abū Bakr Azhar Ibn Sa'd al-Sammān was a native of Baṣrah (*al-Baṣrī*) and adopted member of the tribe of Bāhilah; he taught the Traditions on the authority of Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl,³ and the people of Irāq, who had received them from him, transmitted them on his authority. He was a companion of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr before that prince obtained the *khalifat*, but having gone

1 The word *harrāqah* signifies a boat or barge. See M. Reinuad's *Extraits, etc.*, page 415, note.

2 See No. 74.

Here again for I am seldom sick on this Azhar went away, but returned.

3 Abū 'Ubayda Ḥumaydh Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baṣrī, a Tābi'i of the highest authority, was a client of the celebrated Ṭahat al-Quḍā'i. He was surnamed *al-Ṭawīl* (*the long or the tall*), because one of his neighbours, who also bore the name of Ḥumayd, was of a low stature and was called Ḥumayd the short (*al-Qaṣīr*). Some say that he received the appellation of *the long*, on account of the length of his arms; as with one hand he could reach to the edge of the pulpit whilst he touched the ground with the other, he expired suddenly as he was saying his prayers. His death took place towards A. H. 143 (A. D. 760). (*Al-Yāfi'i, Ṭab. al-Fuqaha.*)

afterwards to congratulate him on his accession, was refused admittance by al-Manṣūr's orders; he, therefore, waited for a day of public audience, and then made him his salutation, on which the *khalif* said to him, "What has brought you here?" He replied: "I come to congratulate you on your accession to the supreme authority." On this, al-Manṣūr said: "Give him one thousand *dīnārs* and say to him: 'You have now fulfilled the duty of congratulation, so come not to me any more'." Azhar then retired, but returned the ensuing year, and admittance having been denied to him, he entered on a day of public audience as before, and saluted the *khalif*, who said: "What brings you here?" The other answered: "I was told that you were sick, and therefore came to visit you." "Give him a thousand *dīnārs*," said al-Manṣūr, "and tell him that he has fulfilled the duty of visiting the sick, so he must not return here again for I am seldom sick," on this Azhar went away, but returned the following year at a similar audience. "What brings you?" said the *khalif*. "I heard you utter an invocation," replied Azhar "and am come to know what you desire." "Know, fellow!" retorted al-Manṣūr, "that my invocation has not been heard: every year I pray God to keep you away from me, and yet you still come." The adventures of Azhar and the stories told of him are well known¹: he was born A. H. 111 (A. D. 729), and died in 203 (A. D. 818-9) or, some say, 207.—Azhar is (*here*) a proper name (*not a surname*) *sammān* means one who sells or carries *butter* (*samn*).—*Al-Baṣrī* or *al-Biṣrī* signifies native of Baṣrah, which is one of the most famous cities of 'Irāq; it was founded after the promulgation of Islamism; (*the khalif*) 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb having caused it to be built in the fourteenth year of the Hijrah by 'Utbah Ibn Ghazwān.² Ibn Qutaybah says, in that

1 None of the historians whom I have consulted relate any anecdotes respecting Azhar except the one just given. Al-Yāfi'i, who places his death in the year 203 says that al-Māmān's liberality in this case was very singular and his patience the more extraordinary, as he was of a violent character; and that if the same thing had happened to al-Ḥajjāj, he would have put the author of it to death or inflicted on him a severe punishment.

2 See Ibn Qutaybah's account of the founding of Baṣrah in Abu 'l-Fads's Annals, vol. I, note 91.

chapter of the *Secretary's Guide*, where he treats of the alterations which have taken place in the name of countries, that *baṣrat* (as the name of this city is written in Arabic) means one soft stone, and on suppressing the final letter, it must be pronounced *biṣra*, and for this sole reason it is that the word *biṣrī*, is allowed to be employed (with the signification of native of Baṣrah.) The word *biṣr* also means a soft stone according to (*al-Jawharī*) in his lexicon, the *Sihāh*.

(For further reference, see *Tahdhīb*, vol. I, p. 202.—*Ed.*)

81. 'USĀMAH IBN MURSHID

Abu 'I-Muzaffar 'Usāmah Ibn Murshid Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Muqallad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Munqidh¹ al-Kinānī al-Kalbī al-Shayzarī (member of the tribe of Kinānah which descends from that of Kalb, native of Shayzar), and surnamed Muwayyad al-Dawlat Majd al-Dīn (strengthened in empire, glory of religion), was one of the most powerful learned, and intrepid members of the Munqidh family, lords of the castle of Shayzar. He composed a number of works of different branches of general literature, and is highly spoken of by Ibn al-Mustawfī* in his history of Arbela, who mentions his name in the list of the remarkable men who visited that city; he gives also some extracts from his poetry. The kātib 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Kharidah*, and, after making his eulogium, says: "He dwelt at Damascus,† but that city became repulsive to him, as the house (in which merit is not acknowledged)‡ becomes repulsive to a man of a generous mind; he therefore passed into Egypt and remained there with the rank of emīr and

¹ This name is generally written in the MSS. thus, *أقيد*, but the correct orthography is *أقيد* with a point on the letter *dal*.§

*M. de Slane reads it "Mastawfī."—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Baḥdād.—*Ed.*

‡To me it appears that it is repulsive not because merit is not acknowledged but because in one's straitened circumstances one cannot do justice to one's magnanimity.—*Ed.*

§In the autograph and printed text it is the latter.—*Ed.*

honoured with public respect, till the period of Ibn Ruzzīk's administration, when he returned to Syria* and sojourned at Damascus. The fortune cast him into Ḥiṣn Kayā, where he remained till Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, on gaining possession of Damascus (in A. H. 570), called him (*to his court*): he was then upwards of eighty years." Another writer says that 'Usāmah went to Egypt in the reign of al-Zāfir, who had then for vizīr al-Ādil Ibn al-Sallār: this vizīr treated him generously, but he was assassinated through his machinations, as shall be related in the history of his life. Since (*transcribing the foregoing passages*) I found a note in the handwriting of 'Usāmah addressed to al-Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr, that he might insert it in his *Kitāb al-Jinān*; that note is dated Miṣr, in the year 541.† This is a proof that he came to Egypt during the administration of Ibn al-Sallār¹; and he remained there till the assassination of that vizīr, for no one contests that he was in Egypt when the murder was committed. His collected poetical works form two volumes and are in every person's hands; I have seen a copy of them in his own handwriting and extracted from it the following passages:

"Assume not a borrowed insensibility when abandoned by those you love; for your force will fail under their protracted aversion. Know that thy heart will return to them either of its own accord or despite its reluctance."

On Ibn Ṭulayb‡ of Miṣr, whose house was burnt down:

"See how the progress of time constrains us to acknowledge that there is a destiny; Ibn Ṭulayb never lit a fire in the house (*through avarice*), yet by fire it was destroyed."

A similar circumstance to this befell al-Wajīh Ibn Ṣarah, a bookseller² at Cairo: he had in that city a house noted for its

1 It is rather a proof that he came before the appointment of that vizīr, whose nomination only took place A. H. 543 or 544. The Arabic text says: In the days of Ibn al-Sallār.

2 Or rather a book-broker; his employment being to find purchasers for other people's books.

* "He returned to Syria" supports the above reading.—*Ed.*

† In the autograph there is an addition: 'And Ḥāfiẓ died in the year 44.'—*Ed.*

‡ M. de Slane reads it *Ṭalib*.—*Ed.*

elegance, and which was burned down; this gave rise to the following lines, composed by *Nashw al-Mulk* (*rise of the empire*) *Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Mufarrij*,* surnamed *Ibn al-Munajjim* (*son of the astrologer*), who was a native of *Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*, but lived and died in Egypt:

“On looking at *Ibn Ṣarah*'s house, in which the fire burned with a clear and ardent flame, I said: ‘Thus it is with wealth gained by inequity; in a little time it is hurled to ruin. This man was in fact a long-lived infidel; but *Gehennam* came upon him whilst he imagined that it would yet be tardy in its progress towards him’.”

The second of these verses is taken from an expression of the blessed Prophet, who said: “If a man gain wealth by inequity (*mahāwish*), God will send it to ruin (*nahābir*).” The word *mahāwish* means whatever is forbidden, and *nahābir* signifies precipices. As for *al-Wajīh* (*Wajīh al-Dīn, respectable for religion*), generally known by the name of *Ibn Ṣarah*, the following was his real name; *Abu 'l-Futūḥ Nāṣir Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Khalaf al-Anṣārī*; he was a book-agent of extensive business in *Miṣr*, and used to sit in the vestibule of his house for the purpose of exercising his profession, and offering books for sale to men of rank and learning; as they were accustomed to assemble there every Sunday and Wednesday, and remain till the hours of sale were over. On the death of *al-Silafī*, he travelled down to *Alexandria* for the purpose of buying his books. He died at *Miṣr* on the 16 of the latter *Rābī'*, 607 (October, A. D. 1210)†, and was buried in the *Qarāfah*¹ near that city. A piece of *Ibn Munqidh*'s contains the following verse, in which he describes his enfeebled state:

“Strange, that my hand should be too weak to hold a pen!
that hand which used to break lances in the breasts of lions.”

¹ See No. 24, note on *Qarāfah*.

*M. de Slane reads it *Mufrij*.—Ed.

†7 October. —Ed.

I extract also from his collected poetical works the following lines, which he wrote in answer to some verses addressed to him by his father:

“I complain not of the faithlessness of those whom I loved; yet, had complaints availed, I should have given them utterance. I was fatigued with reproaching them, and, in despair, I left them; never shall they be of those in whom I will place my hopes. When their sarcasms cut me to the heart, I stifled my anguish and concealed the pain they caused; and I went to meet them with smiles, as if I had nothing heard nor seen. They accused me of crimes which my hands did not commit; which I had neither commanded nor forbidden. No, by Allah! I have never harboured nor meant such perfidy as they openly manifest. On the Day of Judgment we shall meet again; and the volume (*in which are inscribed the actions of mankind*) shall then reveal what crimes are theirs; what, mine.”

The two verses which follow in the same rhyme and measure as the preceding, and were inserted by him in a letter to one of his relations; they are the height of tenderness;*

“Men before me have complained of the pains of separation; the living and the dead (*when in this world*) have felt the affliction caused by the absence of friends; but (*grief*) such as fills my bosom, I never heard of nor witnessed.”

One thing brings on another¹: Abu 'l-Hasan Yahyā Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Miṣrī, surnamed al-Jazzār² recited to

1 This anecdote is not in its place; it should follow that which relates to the burning of Ibn Ṣurat's house, see page 270; the author must have written it in the margin of his own copy, and the transcriber of that copy inserted it in the text, but in a wrong place. †

2 Al-Jazzār was in great reputation at that time as poet and a man of society. Ibn Khallikān was one of his protectors. Born A. H. 601 (A. D. 1204). —(From the *Supplement to Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* by al-Ṣaqā'ī الصقاعي MS. of the *Bib. au Roi*, No. 732.)

* “*And elegance*” should be added according to the autograph and printed text.—Ed.

† In the autograph it is the part of the text and it does not appear to be out of place. Ed.

me the following verses, which he had composed on another literary man at Cairo, far advanced in age, who being attacked by a cutaneous eruption, anointed himself with sulphur:

“O, learned master (*hearken to*) the demand of a friend devoid of sarcasm: Thou art old, and of course art near to the fire (*of hell*); why then anoint yourself with sulphur?”

I found the following verses in the handwriting of ‘Usāmah Ibn Munqidh; they were composed by himself on having a tooth drawn, being then, as he relates, under the walls of *Khalāt¹; the idea of the verses is original, and they might pass as a riddle on the word *tooth*:

“I had a companion of whom I was never tired, who suffered in my service and laboured with assiduity; whilst we were together I never saw him; and when he appeared before my eyes, we had parted for ever.”

The k̄atib ‘Imād al-Dīn said: “I was always longing to meet him, and I watched from afar the lightning which foreboded the rain (*of his liberality*); at last I saw him in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 751, when I asked him the date of his birth; to which he replied ‘Sunday, 27 of the latter Jumādā, 488 (July, A. D. 1095†).’ He was born at the castle of Shayzar, and died at Damascus on Tuesday‡ night, the 23 of Ramadān, 584 (November, A.D. 1188**), and was interred the next day at the east side of Mount Qāsiyūn; I entered his mausoleum, which lies on the

¹ This was probably during Ṣalāh al-Dīn’s expedition there, A. H. 518. (See Schulten’s *Vita et res gesta Saladini*, p. 61.)

*M. de Slane reads it *Khalat*.—*Ed.*

†4 July, but according to Edward Mahtar it was Wednesday which, if correct, leads to conclude that either he forgot the day or the date else the year because in 489 A. H. day and date tally.—*Ed.*

‡M. de Slane gives Monday.—*Ed.*

**15 July.—*Ed.*

northern bank of the river Yazīd, and read a portion of the Qur'an over his grave, and prayed God to have mercy on him.—His father, Abū' Usāmah Murshid, died A. H. 531 (A. D. 1136).—*Shayzar* is the name of a castle near Ḥamāh (*Epihamia*); it is also called *the castle of the Munqidh family*: mention shall be again made of it in the life of his grandfather, 'Alī Ibn al-Muqallad.

(For further reference, see Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, f. 346a.—*Ed.*)

82. IBN RĀHAWAYH

Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq, native of Marw al-Shāhjan, and surnamed Ibn Rāhawayh, was descended from Ḥanzalah by the following line: his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm was son of Makhlad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maṭar Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ghālib Ibn 'Abd al-Wārith Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Aṭiyyah Ibn Murrah Ibn Ka'b Ibn Hammām Ibn Asad Ibn Murrāh Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ḥanzalah Ibn Mālik Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn Murrah. Ibn Rāhawayh was one of the great doctors of Islamism; he was equally as learned in the Traditions and the law as distinguished for his piety: al-Dāraquṭnī mentions him among those who related tradition on the authority of al-Shāfi'ī, and al-Bayhaqī counts him among al-Shāfi'ī's disciples. He had once an argument with al-Shāfi'ī concerning the legality of the sale of such houses as are situated in Makkah,¹ and this discussion has been fully stated by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, in his work entitled *Merits of the imām al-Shāfi'ī*. When the superior talent of Ibn Rāhawayh

¹ Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalebī's *Multaqal 'l-Abḥur*, a celebrated treatise on Muslim Law, contains the following article in the chapter on sale: "The sale or lease of ground situated in the Sacred Territory of Makkah is blamable." On which the commentator makes the following observations: "Unless in a case of absolute necessity. As for the buildings, they may be alienated without scruple. as is done with buildings on lands conceded in perpetuity to pious uses (*waqf*)." (See D'Ohsson's *Tab. gen. de l'Empire Othoman*, t. vi. p. 82). A precisely similar doctrine is held by Quṭb al-Dīn in his history of Makkah.

became generally known in Egypt, his works were (*frequently*) transcribed and his treatises collected (*with care*); the imām Ibn Ḥanbal said of him: "We consider Iṣḥāq as an imām among the Muslims; an abler jurisconsult than Iṣḥāq never passed the bridge.¹" "I know by heart," said Iṣḥāq "seventy thousand Traditions; I have read one hundred thousand, and can recollect in what work each is to be found.² I never heard anything once without learning it by heart, nor learned anything by heart which I afterwards forgot." He composed a well-known Musnad³ after travelling to Ḥijāz 'Irāq Yemen, and Syria, and learning Traditions from Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah and others of the same period; Al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī were among his disciples. Ibn Rāhawayh was born A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8); some say 163 or 166: in his latter days he inhabited Naysāpūr, where he died on the eve of the 15 of Shā'bān (which was a Thursday, or according to others a Sunday or a Saturday), A. H. 238 (January, A. D. 853*), or 237.—*Rāhawayh* was a surname given to his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm because he was born on the road to Makkah (*rāh* in the Persian means *road*, and *waiḥ*, *found*; as it might be said that he was found on the road). This word is also pronounced Rahūyah. Iṣḥāq himself relates that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, emīr of Khurāsān, asked him why he was called Ibn Rāhawayh, what was the meaning of the word, and if he did not dislike such an appellation? To which he answered: "Know, O emīr! that my father was born on the road, and the people of

1 Probably the bridge which united the suburb of Karkh to Baghlād.

2 Such is the signification of the verb ذاكر joined to the preposition ب. Al-Dhahabī, in his Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz, life of Ibn Rāhawayh, relates the same saying in clearer terms, as in place of إذا كر بمايه الف حديث he has اعرف مكان مايه الف حديث كأني انظر اليها

3 *Musnad* means a collection of authenticated Traditions, each of them preceded by the names of those Traditionists who had transmitted it successively one to another, and the last of whom taught it to the author of the work.

*Sunday 29. In 237 it was Thursday, 11 February, 852.—*Ed.*

Marw named him Rāhawayh for that reason; my father disliked, being so called, but *I do not.*" Ḥanzalah, son of Mālik, gave his name to a great branch of the tribe of Tamīm.

(For further reference, vide *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 216, No. 408.—*Ed.*)

83. ABŪ 'AMR AL-SHAYBĀNĪ

Abū 'Amr Ishāq Ibn Mirār al-Shaybānī, the grammarian and philologist, was a native of Ramādat al-Kūfah¹ but inhabited Baghdād. He was a *mawlā*,² and had lived under the protection of the tribe of Shaybān, for the purpose of acquiring a correct knowledge of the Arabic language, and it was for this reason that he was surnamed al-Shaybānī. Philology and (*Arabic*) poetry were the special objects of his studies, and in these two branches of science, his authority is of the highest order. He learned and transmitted a great number of traditions; the utmost confidence was placed in his veracity; and his merit is extolled by the higher class of learned men and narrators of traditional information, though it is depreciated by the generality of them because he used to drink wine (*nabīdh**) openly. A number of eminent men got from him (*a portion of their knowledge*); among them were the imān Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām, and Ibn al-Sikkīt, the author of the *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*, who states that Abū 'Amr lived one hundred and eighteen years, and wrote with his own hand up to his death. "Sometimes," says this author, "he would borrow my book from me when I was a boy studying under him and copying

1 In the *Marāṣid al-Iṭ' ilā'* and the *Muḥtarik*, a number of places are noticed which bear the name of Ramādah, but the Ramādah of Kūfah is not mentioned by them; it is manifest, however, that this place was near the city of Kūfah.

2 The word *mawlā* has different signification; among others, those of enfranchised slave and client; the latter is probably the meaning it bears here.

*For *nabīdh* "beverage" is the correct word.—*Ed.*

his works." Ibn Kāmil¹ relates that Ishāq Ibn Mirār died at Baghdād, A. H. 213 (A. D. 821-2), aged one hundred and ten years; and the latter is certainly correct. Abū 'Amr composed a number of works, amongst others a treatise on the Horse, one on the Dialects, generally known by the title of *Kitāb al-Jim* or *Kitāb al-Hurūf*; the Great Collection of Anecdotes, a work of which he made three editions; Explanation of obscure words occurring in the Traditions; a treatise on Bees; another on Camels; and a work on the Nature of Man. He read the *diwāns*, or collected works of the (*ancient*) poets, under the direction of al-Mufaddal; but the principal object of his studies were the anecdotes, rare expressions, and extemporary poetry of the nomadic Arabs. His son 'Amr relates of him, that he collected and classed the poems of more than eighty Arabic tribes, and on finishing with each tribe, he published the result, and made a copy of it, which he deposited in the mosque of Kūfah: he thus wrote with his own hand upwards of eighty volumes.—The meaning of the word *Shaybāwī*² has been already explained.—Some say that he died on Palm-Sunday,* A. H. 210 (*the beginning of which year corresponds to the 24 April, A. D. 825*).

84. ISHĀQ IBN IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ

Abū Muḥammad Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Māhān Ibn Bahman Ibn Nusk, a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Tamīm, and

1 Abū Bakr Ahmad Ibn Kāmil learned Traditions from al-Ṭabarī, the celebrated historian (*Hamakers Specimenscatal*, etc., page 26, line 3); he wrote a history of those *qāzīs* who were also poets, and died A. H. 350 (A. D. 961). Flugel's *Hājji Khalīfah*, No. 216.)

2 Palm Sunday, *الشعانين* (*al-Sha'ānīn*)*. See M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, etc. p. 402.

*In the autograph it is *السعانين*; both the words mean the same thing, i.e. *Sunday before passover*.—Ed.

born at Arrajān, is generally known by the name of Ibn al-Nadīm al-Mawṣilī (*son of the social companion from Moṣul*). As his father's life has been already given (*see No. 9*), with an account of his family and the origin of his surname *Tamīmī*, it is unnecessary to repeat what has been there said. Ibrāhīm was a constant companion of the khalifs in their parties of pleasure, and bore a high reputation for refined taste; his festive humour and talent as a singer were peculiarly his own. He was well acquainted with pure Arabic (*ancient*) poetry, the history of the poets, and the adventures of the desert tribes. As a traditionist, his authority is cited by Muṣ'ab Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī¹ Ibn Bakkār, and others; he was (*indeed*) deeply learned in the Traditions, the law, and dogmatical theology. *[(*Relative to this*) the following anecdote is narrated by the poet Muḥammad Ibn 'Aṭīyah al-'Aṭawī²: "I was present at one of the qāḍī Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham's assemblies,³ when Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī entered and commenced, with the theologians who were present, a discussion in which he was completely successful; he then treated with ability a point of jurisprudence, maintaining it by direct proofs and analogical cases; after which, he discoursed on poetry and the Arabic language and excelled all the company: he then turned to the qāḍī Yaḥyā and said: May God exalt the qāḍī! have I committed any faults in

1 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muṣ'ab Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muṣ'ab Ibn Iḥābit Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām al-Asadī al-Zubayrī (*descended from the celebrated 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr*) and uncle to al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkār, was the genealogist of the tribe of Quraysh: he was also a *ḥāfiẓ*, a jurisconsult, and a historian; these talents, with his noble birth and manly character, obtained for him the highest esteem and respect; his only fault was hatred to the memory of the khalif 'Alī. Born at Medīnah, A. H. 156 (A. D. 773); died A. H. 236 (A. D. 850-1).—(See Ibn al-Aṭhīr and al-Yāfi'i, in the year last mentioned.)

2 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Aṭīyah an enfranchised slave of the tribe of Layṭh Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd Manāt, grew into eminence as a kātib and poet under the Abbasides. He was born and brought up at Baṣrah, and had for protector the qāḍī Ibn Abī Duwād (*see his life, No. 31*), whose death he lamented in a number of elegies.—*Aghānī*, tom. IV, fol. 319-321.)—Communicated by M. Caussin de Perceval.)

3 See No. 31, note on *vizirs' assemblies*.

* [] From "(Relative to this)" to "As a singer he was without a rival" on page 281 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

the discussion which I have maintained and the passages which I have quoted, or can any objection be made to them?" "No," replied Yaḥyā. "How then," said he "does it happen that I, who treat all those sciences with as much ability as the persons who profess them, should be only known as a master of one single art?" meaning music. On this the qāḍī turned towards me and said: "It is for you to answer that."—(Al-ʿAṭawī was an able dialectician.) "Yes, qāḍī," I replied, "may God exalt you! it is for me to answer." I then addressed Ishāq and said: "O, Abū Muḥammad, as a grammarian are you equal to al-Farrā and al-Akhfaṣh?"—"No."—"In philology and acquaintance with poetry are you equal to al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū ʿUbaydah?"—"No."—"In dogmatical theology are you equal to Abu ʿl-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf and al-Nazzām al-Balkhī?"¹—"No."—"In jurisprudence are

¹ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sayyār سيار (not *Baschar*, as D'Herbelot has it in the *Bib. Orient.*, article NADDHAM nor yet *Yesir*, as M. de Sacy writes it in the *Histoire des Druzes*, introduction, page 42); Ibn Hānī, native of Baṣrah and sister's son to Abu ʿl-Hudhayl, was a celebrated scholastic theologian and author of a number of works and pieces of poetry on that subject. He received the surname of al-Nazzām (*the stringer of pearls*) because he strung and sold pearls in the bazar at Baṣrah, or, as some say, because he strung brilliant ideas on the thread of his discourse. In his youth, he was suspected of partiality towards the doctrine of dualism, and at a later period he was known to have adopted the principles of the Greek philosophy. His speculations on religious subjects were pushed so far, that pious Muslims looking on him as an infidel. An offset of the Mutazelite sect, was named Nazzamiyah after its founder al-Nazzām. Many learned men of that time asserted that this doctor denied the divine mission of the prophets, and that dread of the sword was the only motive which prevented him from openly professing his subversive opinions. The great majority of the Mutazelites accused him of infidelity, and as a proof of his corrupt morals, they mention his passion for wine. He died A. H. 231 (A. D. 845-6). (Ibn Shākir's *Uyūn al-Tawārikh*. Al-Shahrastānī. Al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭāṭ*. The Khaṭīb's *History of Baghdād*, fol. 648.)—It may be observed that Ibn Khallikān has mentioned the name al-Nazzām al-Balkhī (*native of Balkh*), who might therefore be thought a different person from him who is here spoken of; but in another part of his work (see page 540 of the Arabic text) may be found the following passage, which decides the question:—"Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sayyār al-Balkhī, surnamed al-Nazzām, the celebrated theologian." His family was probably from Balkh, and he himself born at Baṣrah, which may account for the two patronymics. The life of Abu ʿl-Hudhayl is given by Ibn Khallikān. Al-Shahrastānī states the principal points of al-Nozzām's doctrine.

you equal to this qādī?" (pointing to Yahyā.)—"No."—"In poetry are you equal to Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah and Abū Nuwās?"—"No."—"It is for these reasons, therefore, that you are known as a master of an art in which you stand without a rival, for in the other sciences you are inferior to those who hold the first rank in them." Ishāq laughed on hearing this, and rising from his place, withdrew. The qādī then said to al-'Aṭawī: "You have proved your point perfectly well, and yet done little wrong to Ishāq who is a man almost without a rival."—My master, Ibn Bāṭīsh¹, says, in his work entitled *al-Tamyīz wa 'l-Faṣl*,² that Ishāq al-Mawṣilī's conversation was elegant and full of originality, his taste refined, and his talents of superior order. He wrote the traditions under the dictation of Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, Mālik Ibn Ans, Hushaym

1 Abū Il-Majd Isma'īl Ibn Hibāt Allah Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Bāṭīsh, surnamed 'Imād al-Dīn (*column of religion*), was a native of Moṣul, and one of the most learned Shafites of that city. He was born in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 475); and in his youth travelled to Syria, that he might acquire information in the Traditions and jurisprudence from the celebrated professors who taught at Baḡhdād, Damascus and Aleppo. He then became professor and muftī in his turn, and composed a number of works, the most important of which are said to be the following: *Ṭabaqāt*, etc. or list of Shafite doctors, *Mushṭabih al-Nisabih* (*doubtful patronymics*), *al-Mughnī*, etc., or Explanation of the difficulties found in the *Muḥadhdhab* (of Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī). It is stated that in this last work he is frequently mistaken in his explanations. He died at Aleppo, A. H. 655 (A. D. 1257) aged eighty,—(*Ṭab. al-Shaf.*—*Ṭab. al-Fuqahā.*—*Buṣṭāyat al-Ṭalab.*)—This was one of Ibn Khallikān's professors.

2 The *Tamyīz wa 'l-Faṣl*, or *al-Fayṣal* (*Distinction and Discrimination*), is cited as a geographical work by Abu 'l-Fidā in his Geography, page 2 of the Arabic text. The same author mentions another work of Abū al-Majd, entitled *Muzil al-Irtiyāb al-Mushṭabih al-Intisāb* (*the dispeller of the incertitudes concerning doubtful patronymics*). This is probably the same as the *Mushṭabih al-Nisabih* (see note 1 above.) Those two works treated probably of Traditionists, their patronymics, and the countries to which they belonged.

Ibn Buṣḥayr,¹ and Abū Mu‘āwiyah al-Ḍarīr²; he studied philology under al-Aṣma‘ī and Abū ‘Ubaydah, and attained the highest eminence as a musician. It was to this art that he devoted his principal attention, and by it he acquired his reputation. The khalifs treated him with honour and admitted him into their intimacy, and al-Māmūn used to say: “Were Ishāq not so publicly known and spoken of as a singer, I should have appointed him to the place of qāḍī; he is more deserving of it than the qāḍīs we now have, and he surpasses them all in virtuous conduct, veracity, piety, and honesty; but people know him only as a singer, and that talent, though the least of those which he possesses, has eclipsed the rest.” As a singer he was without a rival], and as a poet he possessed considerable abilities; his poems have been collected, and form a *diwān*, from which we extract the following verses addressed to Harūn al-Raṣḥīd:

“When she told me to be thrifty, I replied: ‘Cease your counsels, thy command is impossible; I see that all are friends to the generous man, but the miser has not a friend in the world; I see that avarice is discreditable, and I respect myself too much to deserve the name of miser. Know, that the greatest pleasure a noble mind can feel, is to give with liberality. From honourable pride, the presents which I made are such as the rich bestow, though my means, as thou knowest, are but small. Yet why should I apprehend poverty or remain deprived of wealth, when the Commander of the Faithful looks on me with favour?’”

1 Abu Mu‘āwiyah Huṣḥaym Ibn Abū Khāzim Buṣḥayr, native of Wāsiṭ, but descended from a family of Balḳh, was a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Sulmah. He had studied the Traditions under many eminent masters, and acquired a high reputation at Ba‘ḥdād by his knowledge of the subject. He knew by heart twenty thousand of them. Died A. H. 183 (A. D. 799), aged 79 years. *Ṭab. al-Muḥaddithīn*, MS. No. 736. Al-Yāfi‘i).

2 Abū Mu‘āwiyah Muḥammad Ibn Khāzim (خازم) al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*), adopted member of the tribe of Minqar (المنقرى بالولا), which descends from that of Tamīm through the tribe of Sa‘d, was born at Kūfah, A. H. 113 (A. D. 731); he studied the Traditions under Hiḥām Ibn ‘Urwah and al-A‘maḡh. Died A. H. 195 (A. D. 811). *Ṭab. al-Muḥaddithīn*.) He was probably nephew to the Huṣḥaym mentioned in the preceding note.

Ishāq wrote a great deal; Tha'lab relates that he saw upwards of one thousand quires in his handwriting, and containing expressions, all of which he had heard from the Arabs of the desert. "I never saw," said he, "in the house of any person more philological works than in the house of Ishāq and, after his, in Ibn al-A'rābī's." From among the anecdotes which Ishāq used to relate, I shall select the following: "We had a neighbour called Abū Ḥafṣ and nicknamed al-Lūṭī; one of his neighbours having fallen sick, he went to see him and said: 'How are you? do you not know me?' To which the sick man answered with a feeble voice: 'Yes, I do; you are Abū Ḥafṣ al-Lūṭī!' 'O' said the other, 'you pass the bounds of civility; may God never raise you from your bed!'"¹—(*The khalif*) al-Mu'taṣim said of him: "Ishāq never yet sung to me without my feeling as if my possessions were increased."—The anecdotes related of him are numerous; he lost his sight two years before his death. Born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), the same year as the imām al-Shāfi'ī; died of diarrhoea in the month of Ramaḍān, 235 (beginning of April, A. D. 850); but some say in the month of Shawwāl, 236; the first is, however, the more general opinion. According to another statement, his death took place on the afternoon of Thursday, 5 Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 236* One of his friends composed the following elegy on that event:

"It is now covered with the dust of the earth, that pleasure which had taken its residence in the dwelling of our (*departed*) friends!—(*it is in mourning*) since al-Mawṣilī is gone; since social joy is ruined and the meetings of gaiety suppressed. The instruments of music weep in sorrow for his loss; love also weeps and the clear liquor (*of the wine-cup*). All the apparatus² of our pleasant parties is in grief, and the lute sympathizes with the dulcimer."

1 Literally: *Thou hast passed the limit of acquaintance, may God never raise your side.* The point in this anecdote depends on a certain double meaning contained in the last word, but which it is impossible to explain. It can be only observed that the expression Abū Ḥafṣ made use of proved sufficiently that he deserved the nickname of al-Lūṭī (*pathicus*).

2 The apparatus of social parties: cushions, perfumes, flowers, musical instruments, and wine.

*11 June A. D. 851.—*Ed.*

It has been stated, but erroneously, that this elegy was composed on the death of his father Ibrāhīm.

85. IṢḤĀQ IBN ḤUNAYN

Abū Yaqūb Iṣḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn Ibn Iṣḥāq al-'Ibādī, a celebrated physician, was the most eminent man of his time in the science of medicine. *[As a translator, he attained the same superiority as his father, and equalled him in the knowledge of different languages, and the faculty of expressing his thoughts in them with precision. He translated into Arabic (*a number of*) the philosophical works written in the language of the Greeks; his father also had done the same, but there exist more translations by him¹ of philosophical writings (such as the treatises of Aristotle and others),² than of medical works. He was patronised by the same khalifs, and great men who had his father in their service, but he afterwards attached himself exclusively to al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh³ (vizīr to the khalif al-Mutaḍid Billāh, and became so intimate with him that this vizīr made him his confident and communicated to him the secrets which he concealed from all others. Ibn Buṭlān⁴ relates in his *Da'wat al-Aṭibbī* (*requisite qualities for a physician?*) that the vizīr al-Qāsim, having heard that Iṣḥāq had taken a laxative medicine, wrote him the following verses to rally him on the subject :

1 *By him*; that is, I believe *by the son*. The same equivocalness exists in the original.

2 Consult on this subject Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom. I, page 304, et. seq.

3 Ibn Khallikān mentions a number of particulars respecting this vizīr in the life of Ibn al-Rūmī.

4 Al-Mu'htār Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abdūn, surnamed Ibn Buṭlān, was celebrated Christian physician of Baḡhdād. He died in a convent at Antioch in A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052.) Some information will be found respecting him in the *Historia Dynastarum*. His life is given also in the *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*.

* [] From "As a translator" to "your letter to the closet" on page 284 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

"Tell me how you passed the night, and in what state you were and how often your camel bore you towards the solitary mansion."¹

On which Ishāq wrote him in answer :

"I passed a good and pleasant night, my body and my mind at ease; but as for journeys, camels, and solitary mansions, my respect for you, who are the object of my hope, has caused me to forget them all."

I met with the same anecdote in the *Kitāb al-Kināyāt*,² but according to that work, Ishāq's answer was as follows:

"I write you this to avoid wearing out my shoes by a fatiguing walk. If you intend to answer me, direct your letter to the closet.]"

Ishāq and his father Ḥunayn (whose life shall be given later) composed a number of useful treatises on medicine³; towards the end of his life he lost the use of his side from palsy: he died in the month of the Second Rabī', A. H. 298 (December, A. D. 910) or 299.—'Ibādī means, related to the 'Ibād⁴ of Ḥīrah, who were a number of Christian families from different (*Arabic*) tribes which had settled there; the surname of 'Ibādī was borne by many persons, amongst others 'Adī Ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī, the celebrated poet.⁵ Al-

1 The vizīr's meaning is sufficiently obvious, but it may be observed that in the last lines he has given a burlesque application to a very common poetical idea.—In the beginning of most *qasīdahs*, the poet represented as arriving, after a long journey, at the mansion of his mistress, which he finds desolate solitary.

2 This is apparently a treatise on metonymical expressions.

3 Among the works composed by Ishāq may be reckoned a treatise on Simples A *Kunnāsh*, or Pandects, and a History of Physicians. (*Tārīkh al Hukāmī*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, Supplement, No. 105.)

4 The primitive signification of the word 'Ibād is servant; but in some cases this word is employed to denote the Nestorian Christians.

5 'Adī Ibn Zayd lived before the promulgation of Islamism. His life, translated from the Arabic of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* has been given in the *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1838.

Tha'labī¹ says in his commentary on the *Qur'ān*, when explaining the following passage in the *Sūrat al-Muminīn*:² *Shall we believe in the two men like to ourselves, and whose people are servants (‘ābidūn) to us?* “The word ‘ābidūn, signifies *obedient, subjected*; and the Arabs of the desert call him who serves a king *ābid (subject)*; for this reason it was that the people of Hīrah were called ‘Ibād, because “they were *obedient* to the king of Persia.”—Hīrah is the name of an ancient city which belonged to the Mundhir family, and the other Arab princes, their predecessors; ‘Amr Ibn ‘Adl al-Lakhmī for instance, the ancestor of the Mundhirs, who was succeeded by his sons³; before him Hīrah was possessed by his maternal uncle Jadhīmat al-Abrash al-Azdī, him who had the adventure with al-Zabbā.⁴ Hīrah having gone to ruin, the city of Kūfah was founded outside of it after the promulgation of Islamism; seventeenth year of the Hijrah (A. D. 638), by order of ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattāb.

86. AS‘AD AL-MĪHANĪ

Abu ‘l-Fath As‘ad Ibn Abī Naṣr Ibn Abi ‘l-Faḍl al-Mīhanī, surnamed Majd al-Dīn (*glory of religion*), was a follower of the sect of al-Shāfi‘ī, and a doctor of high eminence in the science of jurisprudence and controversy, on which subject he composed a well-known *Ta‘liqah*.⁵ After studying the law in the city of Marw, he went to Ghaznah, where he acquired an extensive reputation by his superior talents, and obtained the praises of al-Ghazzī (*see his*

1 See his life, No. 30.

2 *Qur'ān*, surat 23, verse 49.

3 See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* 2nd edn., page 68.

4 The details of this adventure are to be found in Schultens's *Meidani Proverb. Arab. Pars*, page 83; and Freytag's edition of the same work, t. 1, p. 424.

5 See note on ‘al-Muzanī, No. 24.

life, No. 17). From that he travelled to Baghdād, and was twice appointed professor at the Nizāmiyah College in that city: he was nominated, the first time, in the year 507 (A. D. 1113-4), and was removed from his place on 18 Shābān, 513*; he was afterwards reinstated in Sha'bān, 517†, and in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah in the same year he set out to join the army,¹ leaving his place to another. A great number of pupils studied under him and profited by his lessons and the knowledge which they acquired of his system of controversial reasoning. The ḥāfiẓ Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī speaks of him in the *Dhayl*‡ and says: "When we were at Marw, he came there as ambassador from the Seljūq Sulṭān, Maḥmūd; he afterwards went in the same capacity from Baghdād to Hamadān,² and died there A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132-3). I was told by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Umar al-Khaṭīb that a jurisconsult of Qazwīn (who took care of As'ad at Hamadān, when he was drawing towards the end of his life) related to him the following circumstance: 'We were together in a room about the time in which his ecstatic fit³ usually took him, and he ordered us to retire, on which we withdrew; but I stopped at the door to listen, and I heard him strike his face with his hand and say: O what grief is mine for my negligence in the service of God!⁵—He then wept and struck his face again, and continued repeating these

1 This was probably the army sent by the khalif al-Mustarshid against Dubays Ibn Ṣadaqah.

2 The first embassy was probably in A. H. 513 (A. D. 1119-20) when the Sulṭān Sinjar was on ill terms with his nephew the Sulṭān Maḥmūd. At the epoch of the second, Mas'ūd was Sulṭān at Baḥdād, and his brother Tuḡhril at Hamadān.

3 In Arabic حال, *state*, which word is employed by the Sūfis; in their technical language, to signify a periodical fit of excitaton or of mental abstraction, to which their devotees are subject, and which is produced by a long continuance of their religious exercises. During its continuance, their souls are supposed to be absorbed in the Divinity.—(See M. de Sacy's *Memoir on Sufism* in the *Notices et Extraits*, etc., tom. 12.)

5 Qur'ān; surat 39, verse 57.

*24 November, 1119.—*Ed.*

†October-November, 1123.—*Ed.*

‡According to the autograph it should be *Muadhyyal*.—*Ed.*

words till he expired.'-Abū Bakr told me the above, or the substance of it, as I have written it down from memory (*and not from his dictation*)! *Mihanī* means belonging to *Mihanah*, a village in the dependencies of *Khābarān*, which place is near the towns of *Sarakhs* and *Abīward* in *Khurāsan*.

87. ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ AL-'IJLĪ

Abu 'l-Futūḥ As'ad Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍā'il Maḥmad Ibn *Khalf* Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-'Ijlī, surnamed *Muntakhib al-Dīn* (*selected for religion*), was a native of *Ispahān* and a follower of the sect of al-*Shāfi'ī*. This preacher and eminent jurisconsult was in high reputation for his learning, self-denial, piety, devotion, and frugality; eating of nothing but what he had gained by the labour of his hands and supporting himself by copying and selling (*books*). He learned the Traditions in his native city from Umm Ibrāhim Fātimah al-Juzdāniyah,¹ daughter of 'Abd Allāh, the ḥāfiḥ Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl, Abu 'l-Wafā Ghānim Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Jalūdī, Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Rahīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, Abu 'l-Muṭahhir al-Qāsim Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Ṣaydalānī, and others. He then went to *Baghdād* in the year 557 (A.D. 1162), and learned also Traditions from Abu 'l-Faḥ Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī, surnamed *Ibn al-Baṭṭī*, and others; he received

¹ Juzdān according to the author of the *Marāṣid*, is a large village near *Ispahān*; the people of that city call it *Luzadān*.

² Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl, one of the first traditionists of his time, was born at *Ispahān*, A. H. 457 (A. D. 1065); died A. H. 535 (A. D. 1141). He composed, among other works, a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, and an explanation of the Traditions of *Bukhārī* and those of *Muslim*. The people of *Baghdād* said of him that since the time of *Aḥmad* Ibn *Ḥanbal*, he was the most talented man and the most learned traditionist that ever entered their city.—His life (*in Arabic*) is given in *Meursinge's Soyūti Liber de Interpretibus Korani*, Lugd. Bat. 1849.

also certificates from Zāhir al-Shahāmī^{1*} Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ismā'il Ibn al-Faḍl al-Ikḥshīdī,² Abu 'l-Mubārak 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī, and others, authorizing him to teach in their name the Traditions which he had learned from them. He then returned to his native city, and, after studying deeply, he acquired surpassing information and attained celebrity. A number of works were composed by him, among others, an explanation of the obscurities met with in the *Wasit* and *Wajiz* of (Abū Hāmid) al-Ghazzālī, containing, besides, extracts from the books in which the doctrines stated in these two works are more fully stated. He wrote also a supplement to the supplement³ composed by Abu Sa'd al-Mutawallī. His legal decisions as a muftī were considered of the first authority at Ispahān. He was born in that city in one of the months of Rabī', A. H. 514 or 515 (A. D. 1121); he died in the same city on Wednesday† night, 22 Safar, A. H. 600 (October, A. D. 1203§). 'Ijlī means belonging to 'Ijl Ibn Lujayn, a famous branch of the tribe of Rabī'at al-Faras. †† ['Ijl was son of Lujaym Ibn Sa'b Ibn 'Alī Ibn Wā'il. Abu 'Ubaydah' says that this 'Ijl was counted by the Arabs among their celebrated idiots; he had an excellent horse, and someone said to him: "Every courser has a name; what is the name of yours?" "I have not named him yet" replied 'Ijl. "You should give him a name,"

1 According to Ibn al-Aṭḥir, in his *Kāmil*, Zāhir al-Shahāmī was born A. H. 446 (A. D. 1054), and died 533 (A. D. 1138-9).

2 Ikḥshīdī, I believe to be the true reading, not Ikḥshīd, as is printed in the Arabic text. It is singular that not one of the above-named traditionists should be noticed in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*; but Ibn Khallikān here supplies the most requisite information respecting them, namely, the time and the place in which they lived.

3 *Tatimmat al-Tatimmat* (Completion of the Completion) see Flugels, Hājji Khalīfah, ABANAT, No. 3.

4 The life of the celebrated grammarian and philologist, Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar Ibn al-Muḥannā, is given by Ibn Khallikān.

*Abu 'l-Qāsim Zāhir Ibn Ṭāhir al-Shahālmī according to the autograph and new Egyptian edition.—Ed.

†This word is not in the autograph. The full sentence from *وله اجازة* to *وغیرهم* is omitted.—Ed.

‡According to the autograph and new Egyptian edition it should be *Thursday*.—Ed.

§30 October.—Ed.

†† [] From "Ijl was son" to end is not in the autograph.—Ed.

observed the other; on which 'Ijl put out one of his horse's eyes, and said: "I name him al-A'war",¹ on this a poet of the Desert composed the following verses:

"The sons of 'Ijl reproached me with a defect which is, however, the very defect of their father. Does there exist among men a person more foolish than 'Ijl? Did not their father put out the eye of his courser, and become thus proverbial for his stupidity?"]

88. AL-AS'AD IBN MAMMĀTĪ

Al-Qādi 'l-As'ad (*the most fortunate qādi*) Abu 'l-Makārim As'ad Ibn al-Khaṭīr Abī Sa'īd Muhadhhib Ibn Mīnā Ibn Zakariyā Ibn Abī Malīḥ Mammātī al-Miṣrī (*native of Egypt*): this poet, who was also a *kātib*² and inspector of the government offices in Egypt, was a man of merit and author of a number of works. He versified the History of the ṣultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn and the book called *Kalilah and Dimnah*. His poetical compositions have been collected and form a *diwān*, a copy of which I have seen in the handwriting of his son, and from which I extracted a number of pieces: the following, among other:

"You reproach me (*my friendly monitor*!) and you tell me to avoid the very objects which people caution you to fly; do you know that these objects are as (*dear to me as*) my eyes? Nay, I assure you, my eyes have been more fatal to me than they."³

1 *Al-A'war* (*blind of an eye*); among the Arabs, surnames such as this, derived from a corporeal defect, are still common.

2 See note on *kātibs*, No. 10.

3 Such I suppose to be the meaning of these very obscure verses; the objects which he is cautioned to avoid are the cruel beauties who inflame his heart with love; and yet, says he, my eyes, in contemplating their charms, have been more fatal to me than their cruelty.

He composed the following verses on a heavy fellow whom he saw at Damascus:

“He is like two rivers which none on earth ever resembled; in body he is like *Thawrā*, and in mind like *Baradā*.”¹

Ibn Mammātī has taken the idea expressed in the foregoing verses from these lines composed by another poet.

“Ibn Bishrān resembles the city of Jilli²; when their qualities are set forth, both are without a rival. His words are (*foul like*) *Baradā*, his body (*slow like*) *Thawrā*, and his feeble intelligence (*languid like*) *Yazīd*.”³

In one of Ibn Mammātī's long *qasīdahs* are found the following verses:

“How brightly his fires burn at night to attract the tardy guest! He who draweth to the light of his fire will not have reason to complain, provided he never received hospitality from the family of Muḥallab.”⁴

By the same, on a young grammarian:

“The gait of the slender youth raises my admiration announces the elegance of his mind. His pronunciation is soft as a female's and his eyes are full of languor.”⁵

1 See note 3 *infra*.

2 The *Marāṣid* says: “*Jilli*, with a double *L* and two *i*'s, is a name given to the *Ghūḥ* (or *valley of Damascus*), or else to a village therein; some say it is Damascus itself, and others that it is a statue of a female spouting water from its mouth in one of the villages near Damascus.”

3 Or else: The feebleness of his intellect is on the increase.—In translating these verses I have supposed that *Baradā*, *Thawrā*, and *Yazīd* (*three of the streams by which Damascus is watered*), possessed certain qualities to which allusion is made. It may be, however, that the poet only meant to put upon the words, as *Bard* signifies *cold*; *Thawr*, a *bull*; and *Yazīd*, *increases*.

4 See No. 48, note on *Qur'ān*, surat 27, verse 7.

5 All the members of the Muḥallab family were celebrated for their generosity and hospitality.

6 Such is the real meaning of these verses; but persons conversant with Arabic grammar will perceive that the author has expressed his thoughts in words which the grammarians employ as technical terms. They are all to be found in M. De Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*.

Three other verses of his will be found in the life of Yaḥyā Ibn Nizār al-Manbijī: there are some good thoughts in his poetry. The *kātib* ‘Imād al-Dīn makes mention of him in the *Kharīdah* and quotes a number of passages composed by him; he then gives the life of al-Khaṭīr, Ibn Mammātī's father, with abundant extracts from his poems; the following excellent lines, among others, on keeping a secret:

“I conceal the secret with which I am entrusted, and do not repeat it even to him who confided it to me; but yet I forget it not. For my ear never teaches my tongue the secret of him who has conversed with me in private.”

“I met him at Cario,” says the *kātib*; “he was chief of al-Malik al-Nāṣir's army-office; he and his people¹ had been Christians, but they embraced Islamism towards the beginning of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's reign.” Muḥadḥḥib al-Dīn Ibn al-Lakḥmī composed the following satirical verses on Ibn al-Mammātī:

“The new converted Muslim is but a weak proselyte; his smiles betray his fell intent. Had (*the grammarian*) Sībawayh seen some of his verses, he would have counted him among the signs of the feminine gender.”²

When the ḥāfiẓ Ibn Diḥyah Dhu 'l-Nisbayn³ arrived at Arbela, and saw how sedulously the sultan of that city, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, was occupied in celebrating, with great pomp, the anniversary of the Prophet's birth as shall be related in his life under the letter *K*⁴; he composed a work entitled *al-Tanwīr*, etc. (*illumination, in praise of the bright Flambeau*), and finishing with a long *qaṣidah* in praise of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, which commenced thus:

1 Or : *His band*.

2 This is perhaps intended as an attack on Ibn Mammātī's moral character: but the verses themselves are so full of quibbling, that it is not easy to guess the author's real meaning. The first hemistich signifies literally: a new (or a tradition) of Islam is a new (or a tradition) weak (in authority).

3 His life will be found among the *‘Umars*.

4 The real name of Muẓaffar al-Dīn was Kūkubārī.

“Were it not for our enemies, those base informer (*our friends*) would never have suspected us (*of ill*).”

This book and poem were read to the prince, and I myself (*afterwards*) heard the work read in his presence in the month of Shābān, A. H. 626 (A. D. 1229) and (*I remarked that*) the *qaṣīdah* was in it; some time after, however, I found this very poem in a collection of pieces, and there attributed to Ibn Mammātī, on which I said to myself that the editor was probably mistaken. Then, still later, I saw the entire poem in the *Diwān* of Ibn Mammātī's poetical works, and found there stated that it had been composed by him in honour of the ṣulṭān al-Malik al-Kāmil. This confirmed my suspicions, and I then met with the following passage in Ibn al Mustawfī's History of Arbela, where he speaks of Ibn Diḥyah; “I asked him the meaning which he wished to convey by the following verse (*of his poem*):

“We should give our lives for a present offered by one whose hand is Jumādā and Muḥarram.”

“As he gave me no reply,¹ I said: ‘It is perhaps like the idea which a poet has thus expressed’.”

“He is called by the names of the months; thus his hand is Jumādā and its contents Muḥarram.”²

“On this, Ibn Diḥyah smiled and said: ‘That is what I meant.’” On reading this passage, I became strongly inclined to think that al-As‘ad was the author of the poem; for if Ibn Diḥyah had composed it, he would not have hesitated in returning an answer (*to Ibn al-Mustawfī's question*); it must, however, be observed that this *qaṣīdah* was recited (*for the first time*) to the prince of Arbela, A. H. 606, and that al-As‘ad died in that year;

1 It is some consolation to a European student, to find Arabic poets unable to understand verses in their own language.

2 *Muḥarram*, that is, *sacred*, none being allowed to touch them. *Jumādā* means *dry month*, which name was given to it when the Arabs used the solar year. It is well known that in the metaphorical language of the Arabs, a *moist hand* means *generosity*, and of course a *dry* one must denote avarice.

and moreover, he was then dwelling at Aleppo, and had no connexion whatever with the 'Ādilite dynasty.¹ So, on the whole, God alone knows with certainty which of the two is the real author. Al-As'ad had fled from Egypt secretly through fear of the vizīr* Ibn Shukr,² and retired to Aleppo, where he took refuge under the protection of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir; he remained in that city till he died, on Sunday the 30 of the First Jumādā, A. H. 606 (November, A. D. 1209†), aged 62 years. He was interred in the cemetery named al-Maqām,³ by the road side, near the mausoleum of the Shaykh 'Alī al-Harawī.⁴ His father al-Khaṭīr died on Wednesday, 6 Ramaḍān, 577 (A. D. 1182‡). His ancestor, Abū Malīḥ, who was a Christian, received the surname of *Mammāti* from the following circumstance: during a great dearth which happened in Egypt, he distributed alms and provisions in abundance, and especially to the Muslim children; and they, on seeing him, used to cry out *Mammāti*,⁵ so that he came to be known by this appellation. Such is the explanation which I received from 'Abd al-Azīm al-Mundḥarī,⁶ (May God preserve him for our advantage !) who then recited to me the following elegiac verses on Abū Malīḥ's death with the remark that they

1 Al-Malik al-Kāmil was son to al-Malik al-'Ādil, the Ayyūbite, brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

2 Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn Shuqr al-Dammirī الاميرى acted as vizīr to al-Malik al-'Ādil till A. H. 609; he was again appointed vizīr by al-Malik al-Kāmil. (Al-Suyūṭī's *Husn al-Muḥabarah*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 652, folio 225, verso).

3 This cemetery lies probably outside the Damascus gate, called by the natives Bab al-Maqām.

4 Ibn Khallikān gives an account of this mausoleum in the life of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Harawī.

5 *Mammāti* was probably the children's word for *mother*.

6 'Abd al-'Azīm was one of Ibn Khallikān's professors. See his life, No. 43, note on *Abd al-'Azīm*.

*Ṣafī al-Dīn the name of the vizīr is omitted.—*Ed.*

†29 November.—*Ed.*

‡13 January.—*Ed.*

were composed, as he believed by Ibn Miknasah al-Maghribī¹:

“The sky of generous actions and the sun of praise have both disappeared. Where shall my hopes and expectations be placed, after the death of Abu 'l-Malīh?”

I then looked out for these verses, and found that they were really his, and that other elegies by the same poet on Ibn Malīh were still extant.²

89. BAHĀ AL-DĪN AS-SINJĀRĪ

Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt As'ad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Mūsā Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Wahb Ibn Habbān Ibn Sawār Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rafī' Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn Habbān al-Sulamī al-Sinjārī (*of the tribe of Sulaym and native of Sinjār*), surnamed Bahā al-Dīn (*splendour of religion*), was a poet and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. As a jurisconsult, he had treated controverted points; but poetry was his ruling passion, and he was indebted for his celebrity to the ability which he displayed in that art. He devoted his poetical talent to his service of princes and obtained recompenses from them; he (*therefore*) travelled over many countries for purpose of celebrating the praises of the great. His poetical productions, both *qasīdahs* and short pieces, are in the hands of the public; but I have never met with a complete collection of his works, nor do I know if his poems have been gathered into a *diwān* or not. Since (*writing the above*), I have found a large volume

1 Al-Qa'id Abū Ṭāhir Isma'īl Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Ibn Miknasah, bore in Egypt the reputation of an eminent poet. 'Imād al-Dīn has inserted in his *Kharīdah* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1374, fol. 186 *et seq.*) a number of pieces composed by Ibn Miknasah but does not furnish much information respecting the author. It only appears that his attachment to Abū Malīh, and the elegies which he composed on his death, subjected him to the displeasure of the vizīr of Egypt, Badr al-Jamālī.—Now this vizīr was nominated A. H. 467; consequently Ibn Miknasah must have lived till some time later.

2 They are not to be found in the *Kharīdah* (see the preceding note); and this was probably the work which Ibn Khallikān consulted.

containing his complete works in the library at the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ashraf¹ in Damascus, and I extracted from it the following verses of a long *qaṣīdah* in praise of the qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Shahruzārī²:

“I swear by the love I bear thee that indifference has never entered the heart of thy lover, and well thou knowest the state of lover in which he is. If a delator tell thee that thy lover has forgot thee, know that this delator is the very person who blamed him for loving thee. The state of thy afflicted lover does it not bear witness for itself? Does it not suffice to dispense with thy asking how he feels? Thou hast renewed the garment of his malady; thou hast rent the veil which concealed his passion, and thou hast broken the tie which bound thee to him. Has a fault escaped him by inadvertence? or (*hast thou rejected him for*) the levity and presumption³ to which thou hadst accustomed him? It is strange that a prisoner should lay down life and fortune for one who is free (*from love*). I should give my parents in ransom for that archer who shoots with his eyes, and the point of whose arrows no armour can withstand! He is filled with the sap of youth; his cheeks are saturated from the same pure source. (*Admiring*) eyes embark in (*the contemplation of*) his charms, and risk being drowned in the ocean of his beauty. Nothing is wanting to his perfection, and that extreme perfection screens Kamāl al-Dīn from the evil eye.⁴ The *‘idhār* traces the letter nun (ن)

1 Al-Malik al-Ashraf died at Damascus, A. H. 635. His life will be found in this work.

2 It was at first my intention to modify the ideas contained in the singular extract which follows, but on further consideration, I preferred given the real sense of the verse, and referring the reader to what I have said on the subject in my Introduction.

3 *Presumption*, دلال : This, although the ordinary signification of the word, is not given in the lexicons.—See the *Diwān d 'Amro 'l-qais*, p. 11, note.

4 عين الكمال ; *Oculus cujusdam Arabis Kemal dicti, qui homines aspectu necabat.* (Meninkī's *Lex.*) This expression is generally employed to denote the influence of the evil eye, which affects more particularly those favoured by fortune or beauty,—The verse itself is a specimen of the taste for quibbling which has pervaded Arabic poetry from the third century of the Hijrah.

upon his face, and the mole on his cheek forms the diacritical point. The darkness of his tresses is like (*gloomy*) night of his aversion; and the brightness of his forehead resembles the (*clear*) day of his friendship."

Were it not my desire to avoid prolixity, I should give the entire poem, but what is here inserted is the portion more generally remarked. Two verses more are sometimes joined to the preceding, but I have omitted them from my inability to establish their authenticity. * [The following extract is taken from one of his *qaṣīdahs*:

"And that nymph with the slender waist, so sweet in character and whose glances are so tempting; who sometimes consents, sometimes refuses! Wine mantles on her lips,¹ and is transuded by her (*rosy*) cheeks. Her charms have closed on lovers the path of consolation; for them to consolation there is no approach."

From another *qaṣīdah* by the same:

"The zephyrs awoke at dawn and perfumes² spread around them; and I said: 'when they passed through the valley of Ghadā: 'Whose sweet breath is that'?"

When I was at my native place in the year 623 (A. D. 1226), we were visited by Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad, a native of Wāsiṭ, and generally known by the name of Ibn al-Sunaynīrah; he took up his abode at the Muẓaffariyah college³ with us. This *shaykh*, who was one of the first poets of the age, had travelled over many countries, reciting to princes his eulogistic poems, and receiving from them gifts of great value. When he received company⁴ he was visited by all those who were occupied in literary pursuits, and an agreeable conversation and discussion took place. He was then advanced

1 See not on *honeyed lips*, No. 6.

2 *Perfumes*; literally, *grey ambergris*.

3 This college was founded by the prince of Arbela, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kākubārī. His life is given in this work.

4 In Arabic *جاء* means *to sit, to hold a sitting, and to receive company*.

* [] From "The following" to "are wonderful" on page 298 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

in years, and he related one day the following anecdote: "I once had Bahā al-Dīn al-Sinjārī for companion in a journey which I made from Sinjār to Rās 'Ayn," (or else "from Rās 'Ayn to Sinjār,") and we halted at a spot on the way; Bahā al-Dīn had with him a boy named Ibrāhīm, whom he treated with affection, and who then happened to be at a distance from us; so his master rose up to look for him, and called out repeatedly, 'Ibrāhīm! Ibrāhīm!' but the boy was too far off to hear him. Now there was an echo in that place, and as often as he shouted out 'Ibrāhīm,' it answered by repeating the word; on which he sat down for a moment and then recited to me these verses:

"My life for a friend who is cruel, although attached to me! who is far from my sight, though near (*to my heart*)! The very rock which forms the echo of the valley answers when I call him, but he answers not (*although my friend*)."

Bahā al-Dīn al-Sinjārī had an acquaintance to whom he was greatly attached, and whom he met frequently; but a dispute having one day occurred between them, his friend discontinued seeing him. On this Bahā al-Dīn sent to complain of his absence, and the other wrote him in reply the two following lines of al-Harīrī's, which he has inserted in his fifteenth *Maqāmah*:¹

"Visit him whom you love but once each month, not oftener. It is only for one day in the month that the moon is looked at,² and then eyes are no more turned towards her."

To this Bahā al-Dīn answered by these verses in the same measure as the foregoing:

"When thou art sure of thy friend's affection, visit him and fear not to be tiresome. Act as the sun which appears daily; not as the new moon which visits us only once each month."

The following verses of his are frequently quoted:

1 See M. de Sacy's edition of al-Harīrī, page 154.

2 This happens at the beginning of Ramaḍān,* as the Muslim fast commences when the new moon of that month makes its appearance.

*The sighting of crescent marks the beginning of each month, and if any particular crescent is in mind it must be Shawwāl's.—*Ed.*

“How happy the days I spent at Rāmah! how sweet the hours I passed at Hājir.¹ They fled so quickly, that the first moments seemed to touch the last.”

In one of his *qaṣīdahs*, containing the description of wine, is found the following pretty thought:

“We nearly flew with gaiety, and the wine also had flown, were it not detained by the net which the bubbles formed on its surface.”

The *kātib* Imād al-Dīn makes mention of him in the *kitāb al-Sayl wa l-Dhawl*, and says, “He recited me these verses of his own:

“’Tis wonderful that I should sail on the ocean of wealth, and yet die of thirst; but the ways of the ocean are wonderful.”]

He composed many fine pieces. His birth was in the year 533 (A. D. 1138-9); his death occurred at Sinjār about the beginning of the year 622 (A. D. 1225).

90. AL-MUZANĪ

Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ismā‘īl Ibn ‘Amr Ibn Muslim* al-Muzanī, disciple of the imām al-Shāfi‘ī and a native of Egypt, was a man of austere life and great learning, a *mujtahid*,²

¹ *Ramah* is situated, according to the *Marāṣid*, on the road from Makkah to Baṣrah, and *Hājir* is a village in Hījāz (see Ibn Khallikān, Arabic text, page 557); these two spots have been celebrated by some of the Arabian poets. Bahā al-Dīn, in choosing these names, wished to show that he made good *classical* studies.

² The term *mujtahid* is employed in Muslim divinity to denote a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question. This title was very frequent in the first ages of Islamism, but the principal points of law having been fixed by the doctors, and more particularly by the founders of the four orthodox sects, the exercise of private judgment in legal questions ceased soon after to be recognized. Some later doctors, al-Syāfi for instance, claimed the title and the right, but both were refused to them by public opinion.—For further information, see M. de Sacy’s *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 169, and the works there mentioned.

*M. de Slane gives *Ishāq*, a name which is struck off in the autograph.
Ed.

an able reasoner, and a profound thinker.¹ He was the *imām* of the Shafites, and the first among them by his acquaintance with the legal system and juridical decisions of their founder, and by his knowledge of the Traditions, which he transmitted on the authority of his master. He composed a great number of works, among others, a great and a small collection (*al-Jāmi'*) of Traditions, the Abridgment abridged,² *al-Munthūr*, or loose notes, *al-Rasā'il al-Mu'tabarah* (*the esteemed Treatises*), the Incitation to Learning, and the *Kitāb al-Wathā'iq*.³ Al-Shāfi'ī said, in speaking of al-Muzanī, "He is the champion of my doctrine. As often as al-Muzanī decided a question and inserted the result in his Abridgment,⁴ he would rise, and turning towards the *Mihrāb*⁵ say a prayer composed of two *rak'ahs*⁶ in thanksgiving to Divinity. It was said by Ibn Surayj that the Abridgment would go out of the world unblemished.⁷ This work is the basis of all the treatises composed on al-Shafi'ī's system of legal doctrine, the authors either imitating its arrangement, or explaining and developing its text. When Bakkār Ibn Qutaybah, the Hanefite doctor (whose life shall be given later) went from Baghdād to Egypt, where he had been appointed qādī he hoped to meet al-Muzanī and continued for some time in fruitless expectations; one day, however, they were both present at a funeral service, and Bakkār said to one of his disciples: "Ask al-Muzanī some question, that I may hear him speak." This person said in consequence to al-Muzanī: "O, Abā Ibrāhīm! some of the Traditions contain a prohibition of

1 Literally: A diver for subtle ideas.

2 This is one of the most celebrated treatises on the legal doctrines of the Shafite sect; Hājji Khalīfah says that al-Muzanī was the first who wrote on the subject, in which case it is difficult to explain the title of his work.

3 This is perhaps a treatise on bonds.

4 In the Arabic text, for *مختصرة* read *مختصره*.

5 See No. 16, note on *mihrāb*.

6 The word *rak'ah* is written incorrectly *rika* by European authors, designates a certain number of prostrations and prayers; the *ṣalāt*, or legal prayer, is composed of two, four, six, or more *rak'ahs*.* See D' Ohsson's *Empire Othom*, t. II, p. 82; Hamilton's *Hedāyah*, preliminary discourse, p. 53.

7 Literally: An unblemished virgin.

* The five daily obligatory (*far'ī*) prayers are composed of two, four, four, three and four *rak'ahs*.—Ed.

the liquor (*nabīdh*),¹ and others permit its use; why therefore have you (*doctors*) preferred the prohibition to the permission?" To this al-Muzanī replied: "None of the learned have ever maintained that *nabīdh* was forbidden before the promulgation of Islamism, and authorised after; and the unanimous opinion is, that it was lawful (*in the former time*); this therefore confirms the authenticity of the Tradition which forbids its use."² Ibn Bakkār approved his reasoning, and it is, certainly, a decisive argument, Al-Muzanī was extremely careful in avoiding the least infringement of the law, and his precaution went so far that, in every season of the year, he drank out of a brass vessel,³ and he replied when spoken to on the subject: "I am told that they make use of dung in the fabrication of pitchers, and fire does not purify it."⁴ It is related that when he missed being present at public service in the mosque, he repeated his prayers alone twenty-five times, in order to regain the merits attached to those which are said with the congregation: in this, he founded his opinion on the authority of the following declaration made by Muḥammad: "Prayers made with the congregation are five and twenty times better than prayers said by one of you when alone."⁵ * [He lived in the practice of severe and rigid self-mortification (*his*

1 *Nabīdh*, a sweet and slightly fermented liquor made with dates or raisins.—See the authorities cited by M. de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 403; and *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. 2, p. 339.

2 The point of al-Muzanī's argument is this: it is unanimously allowed that *nabīdh* was lawful before Islamism, so an order of Muḥammad to authorise its use would have been unnecessary and unmotived; the tradition which contains such an order is therefore to be rejected, more especially as it is in contradiction with another to which a similar objection cannot be made.

3 Water contained in a brass vessel does not cool in summer, for which reason they prefer putting it into a porous earthen decanter, in which it speedily acquires a lower temperature by evaporation.

4 In the Muslim law, there is a section which treats specially of purification. See D'Ohssons *Emp. Othom.*, tom. I, and Hamilton's *Hedāyah*, preliminary discourse, p. 53.

5 See Matthew's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. I, p. 224, where the meaning of this tradition is, however, totally misunderstood.

* [] From "He lived" to "God's creation" on next page, not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

sanctity was so great that) he obtained the fulfilment of his prayers, and not one of al-Shāfi'ī's disciples ever hoped to surpass him in any point. It was he who washed the corpse of al-Shāfi'ī (*previous to its internment*); some say, however, that he was aided in that office by al-Rabī' (*al-Murādī*). Ibn Yūnus makes mention of him in his *History (of Egypt)*, and gives his names in full, but his ancestor Ishāq is there called Muslim; he then says, "the disciple of al-Shāfi'ī" and mentions the date of his death, which accords with what is stated above¹; he says also: "He had the talent of explaining the Traditions; and he was eminently trustworthy in their transmission, as the most acute doctors unanimously allow; he led an austere life, and was one of the best of God's creation:] his merits were abundant." He died at Miṣr on the 24 Ramaḍān, 264 (A. D. 887*), and was buried near the mausoleum of the imām al-Shāfi'ī, in the Lesser Qarāfah² at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam, where I visited his tomb. Ibn Zūlāq says, in his *Lesser History*, that he was aged 89 years, and that funeral prayers were said over him by al-Rabī' al-Murādī.—*Muzanī* means *belonging to Muzaynah*, a great and well-known tribe, which was so named after Muzaynah, daughter of Kalb.

(For further reference, see *Ausāb*, f. 527 a.—*Ed.*)

91. ABU 'L-'ATĀHIYAH

Abū Ishāq Ismā'īl Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Suwayd Ibn Kaysān al-'Aynī, member by adoption of the tribe of 'Anazah, and surnamed Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah, a celebrated poet, was born at 'Ayn al-Tamr, a village situated in the province of Ḥijāz, near Madīnah, or, according to some, in the regions which are irrigated by the Euphrates; Yāqūt al Ḥamawī says, however, in his *Mushtarik*, that it lies near Anbār; but God knows best. He was brought up

¹ It may easily be perceived that this passage has been added in the margin later, and afterwards inserted in the wrong place; it should have been placed lower down.

² See No. 24, note on *Qarāfah*.

* 30 May.—*Ed.*

at Kūfah, and then settled at Baḡhdād; the surname of *al-Jarrār* was given to him because he sold earthen jars.¹ His passion for 'Utbah, a slave belonging to the khalif al-Mahdī, is well known, and it was to celebrate her charms that he composed the greater part of his amatory pieces, such as the following :

“I informed 'Utbah that for her sake I was on the brink of perdition: bathed in tears, I complained of the woes I underwent (*from affection*) towards her. Fatigued at length by my lamentations, doleful as those of a wretch reduced to penury, she said: ‘Is any one aware of what you tell me?’ And I answered: ‘Every person knows it.’”²

He wrote also to al-Mahdī these lines, in which he intimated his wish to obtain her from him:

“There is one thing on earth to which my soul is attached, and the fulfilment of my wishes depends upon God, and al-Mahdī the maintainer (*of his order*). I despair of success, and then your contempt for the world and worldly goods revives my hopes.”

It is related by al-Mubarrad, in his *Kāmil*, that Abu 'l-‘Atāhiyah, having obtained permission to offer a present to the khalif on the festivals of the new year and the autumnal equinox, brought him, on one of these anniversaries, an ample porcelain vase containing a perfumed garment of delicate texture, on the border of which he had inscribed the verses just given. On this, the khalif had some intention of bestowing 'Utbah upon him, but she recoiled with dislike, and exclaimed: “Commander of the Faithful! treat me as becomes a female and a member of your household.³ Will you give me up to a nasty man who sells jars and gains his livelihood by verses?” By this appeal, the khalif was

1 *Earthen jars*, in Arabic *jirār*, sing. *jarrāh*; the French *jarre* is manifestly derived from the same source.

2 The poet thus confesses his indiscretion in divulging the name of his mistress.

3 Or more literally: Respect my rights as a member of your harem and a person in your service. In this phrase, the word ارع, imperative of the verb ورعى, *to have consideration for, to respect*, is understood.

induced to spare her such an affliction, and he ordered the vase to be filled with money and given to the poet. Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah then said to the accountants charged to pay him: "It was gold pieces which he ordered me;" but they replied: "So much we shall not give you; but if you choose, you may have it filled with silver pieces." They then waited till he declared his choice, and he balanced (*between the two conditions*) during a year (*before coming to a decision*). 'Utbah, on learning this, said: "Were he in love, as he pretends, he would not have spent his time in balancing the difference between pieces of gold and pieces of silver; he has totally ceased to think of me."—The following is one of his eulogistic passages:

*["O, emir! I am sheltered from the vicissitudes of Fortune, when moored under thy protection.¹ Were it possible for men to pay thee fitting honour, they had given the tender skin of their cheeks to make thee sandals.] Our camels complain of thy cruelty: they cross desert wastes and sands to reach thee; and when they bear us to thee, they are lightly laden;—but when they depart with us, their burden is heavy."²

†[These verses were addressed by him to 'Umar Ibn al-'Alā,³ who rewarded him with 70,000 (*dirhims*), and clothed him with so many robes of honour, that he was unable to rise. This liberality having excited the jealousy of the other poets, 'Umar assembled them and said: "It is strange that you poets should be so jealous of each other. When one of you comes to us with a *qaṣīdah* composed in our praise, he employs fifty verses to celebrate the charms of his mistress, and he does not begin to mention us till the sweetness of his praises is exhausted, and the brilliancy of his verses faded: but Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah celebrates his beloved

¹ Literally: When I have attached cords to the emir.

² By the presents you have made us.

³ 'Umar Ibn al-'Alā was governor of Ṭabaristān in A. H. 167 (A. D. 783-4).—(Ibn al-Aḥīr.)

*[] From "O Emir!" to "(thee sandals)" not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

†[] From: "These verses" to "with a recompense" on page 305, not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

in a few verses and then says: *O, emir! I am sheltered from the vicissitudes of Fortune.*—(‘Umar here repeated the lines which have been just given.)—“Why, then, are you jealous?”—This emir having waited for a short time before giving to Abu ‘l-‘Atāhiyah mark of his generosity in recompense for this eulogium, the poet wrote to him these lines complaining of the delay:

“An evil eye has disappointed our hopes, O ‘Umar! by shedding its influence on thy generosity; and we require amulets and charms to annul its effects. We shall exorcise thee with verses till they weary out (*and expel*) thy illness; and if thou dost not recover, we shall exorcise thee with *sūrats* (*of the Qur’ān*).¹

The celebrated poet Ashjā‘ al-Sulamī² relates the following anecdote: “The khalif al-Mahdī having given permission to the public to enter into his presence, we went in, and he told us to sit down, and it happened that Bashshār Ibn Burd sat down beside me. The khalif then kept silence, and the public also kept silence. Then Bashshār heard the sound of a voice, and he said to me: ‘Who is that?’ I replied: ‘Abu ‘l-‘Atāhiyah.’ ‘Do you think,’ said he, ‘he will dare to recite in this assembly?’ ‘I think he will,’ said I. Then al-Mahdī ordered him to recite, and he commenced thus:

‘What is the matter with my mistress? what is the matter? she is haughty, and I support her disdain.’

“Here Bashshār pushed me with his elbow and said: ‘Did you ever see a more audacious fellow, to dare to pronounce such a verse in such a place?’ The poet then came to these lines:

¹ See Lane’s *Modern Egyptians*.

² Abu ‘l-Walīd Ashjā‘ Ibn ‘Amr al-Sulamī was born at Raqqah الرقة in Mesopotamia. Having terminated his studies in belles-letters, he went to Baghdād and gained admittance into the society of the Barmakides, one of whom, Ja‘far Ibn Yahyā, favoured him with his peculiar patronage and introduced him to Hārūn al-Rashīd. The year of his death is not given in the Khaṭīb’s abridged *History of Baghdād*, from which the above particulars are taken. (See MS. No. 634, fol. 74) Some verses of Ashjā‘a’s are to be found in the *Ḥamāsah*, and his life, with copious extracts from his poetry, given in the *Buṭū‘iyat al-Ṭalab*; MS. No. 726, fol. 143.

“The khalifah advanced to him in pomp¹ and submitted to his will. It alone was fitted for him, and he alone for it. If any other aspired after it, the earth had shook (*with horror*). If our inmost thoughts disobey him, our good deeds will not be accepted by God.”²

“Here Baḥshār said: ‘Look, Ashja! and see if the khalif do not spring (*with delight*) from his cushion?’ The fact was that Abu ’l-‘Atāhiyah was the only man who retired from the assembly with a recompense.”] Abu ’l-‘Atāhiyah composed many verses on ascetic subjects; he was one of the principal among those poets who flourished in the first ages of islamism,³ and he ranked in the same class with Baḥshār, Abū Nuwās, and that party. He composed a great deal of poetry; he was born A. H. 130 (A. D. 747-8), and died at Baghdād on Monday, 3 or 8 of the latter Jumādā, 211 (September, A. D. 826*), or 213 according to some. His tomb is on the bank of the river ‘Īsā,⁴ opposite the bridge of the Oilmen (*Qanṭarat al-Zayyātīn*). When on the point of death, he expressed the desire that Mukhāriq⁵ the singer should come and sing, close by him, the following verses, which belong to a poem composed by himself:

“When the term of my existence expires, the grief of the females who mourn me will be short. My friend will cease to think of me; he will forget my love, and find a new friend after losing me.”

1 Or more literally: Sweeping the ground with its train.

2 Allusion to the maxim, that the act is to be judged after the intention.

3 Arabian critics divide poets into several classes: the *Jāhālī* was one who lived before the promulgation of Islamism; the *Mukhāṣṣam* (مختصم) lived both before and after that epoch, and the *Muwallad* (مولد) came next in order, his birth having taken place after Muḥammad had announced his mission.

4 The river or canal of ‘Īsā branched off the Euphrates, and flowed into the Tigris at Baghdād.

5 This Mukhāriq, whose name has been already given, but incorrectly, in the life of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī (see No. 8), was one of the first singers of his time. He once sung in the presence of the khalif al-Raḥīd, who was so delighted that he caused the curtains usually placed between himself and the musicians to be removed, and ordered him to draw near and sit on the throne by his side. Mukhāriq was afterwards attached to the service of al-Māmūn and accompanied him to Damascus. He died A. H. 230 (A. D. 844-5) at Sarra-man-ra’ā. He was surnamed Abu ’l-Hinā الحنا. — (Abu ’l-Maḥāsīn’s *Nujūm al-Zāhira* MS. No. 659, fol. 191.)

*On 3 Jumādā 211, corresponding to 10 September, 826, it was Monday, and on 8/15 it was Saturday and in 213 on 3 Jumādā/19 August it was Wednesday and on 8 it was Monday, 24 August, 828.—*Ed.*

By his last will, he ordered this verse to be inscribed on his tomb:

“Life which ends in death is a life soon embittered.”

It is related that he once met Abū Nuwās, and asked him how many verses he composed in a day, to which the other answered. One or two. “But I,” said Abū 'l-‘Atāhiyah, “can make one or two hundred in a day”. “Yes,” replied Abū Nuwās, “because you make verses such as this:

“O, ‘Utbah! What is the matter with thee and me? O, that I had never seen thee!”

“Now if I chose, I could make one or two thousand such. But I compose verses like this:

‘A manu mulieris in vestimento hominis, cui duo sunt amotores, paedico et scortator*.’¹

“If you tried to make a verse such as that time would fail you.”—The following verses of his are elegantly expressed:

“I loved thee, and my passion was so excessive, that my companions, when they approached, smelled off my clothes the fire which consumed me.”

†[Among the verses which he composed on ‘Utbah, the slave of al-Mahdī, are the following:

“Brothers ! love is causing my death: announce to the tomb² the approach of a hastening traveller. Blame me not for submitting to love; know that my occupation is most serious.”³

1 He probably cites this abominable verse on account of its extreme energy, which is here purposely softened, even in the Latin translation. Its import I judge to be satirical.

2 Literally: To the shrouds.

3 That is: I am preparing for death, which is rendered inevitable by the cruelty of my mistress.

*Its English version:

In male attire she is intimate with sodomite and adulterer.—*Ed.*

†[] From “Among the verses” to ‘Fortune had long continued’ on page 311, not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

This piece also was written by him on 'Utbah:

"For 'Utbah my eyes shed floods of tears; who has ever seen, before, a victim weep like me from excessive love for his assassin. I have held forth my hand to implore your favour, what give you then to him who solicits? If you refuse him, grant him a kind word instead. If you this year withhold from him (*your love*) encourage him to expect it the next.

The philologist Sa'id relates, in his *Kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ*, that Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah visited one day Bashshār Ibn Burd, and said to him: "I admire these verses of yours, in which you give an excuse for shedding tears:

"How often has shame induced me to conceal my tears from a friend, who would perceive them, however, and blame my weakness, and then my answer was: 'I am not weeping, but I struck my eye with my cloak as I was going to put it on'."

To which Bashshār replied: "It was from your sea, O shaykh! that I drew that idea, and from your quarry¹ that I shaped it out; did you not anticipate me when you composed these lines:

"They said 'Thou weepst,' and I answered, 'No; the man of firm never weeps under affliction; but a sharp splinter of wood has struck the pupil of my eye!' 'Why then do both eyes shed tears? did a splinter wound them both?'"

On this, Sa'id observes that they had been anticipated in this idea by al-Huṭay'ah², who says:

¹ Literally: your undressed, or unfinished arrow.

² Le nom de Hotaya, sous lequel ce poete est devenu celebre, est un sobriquet qui lui fut donne a cause de l'exiguite de sa taille. Son veritable nom etait Djarwal (جرول) et son prenom Abou Moulaica (ابومليكة). Sa naissance etait illegitime et sa genealogie incertaine. Il pasait pour etre le fils d'un certain Aus, de la tribu d'Abs. Au reste, quand il etait fache contre les banou Abs, il se disait issu des banou Dhol ben Chaiban, et quand il se brouillait avec les banou Dhol, il rapportait son origine aux banou Abs.

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“When a tear flows from my eye, I say: ‘It is a mote which makes it weep.’”

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Hotaya a vécu dans le paganisme et l'islamisme. Il se fit musulman, ensuite il abjura, puis il embrassa de nouveau la foi mahometane. C'est un poete du premier merite; mais il etait avare, laid, mechant, impie, treshards a demander, et tres-ardent a satriser ceus qui ne lui donnait rien; ce qui le faisait beaucoup redouter. Plusieurs connaisseurs disaient: De tous les poetes, Hotaya est celui dont les vers offrent le moins de prise a la critique. On cite avec estime, comme renfermant une pensee vraie et bien exprimee, ce vers de Hotaya:

من يفعل الخير لم يعدم جوايزة لا يذهب العرف بين الله والناس

“Celui qui fait le bien est sur d'en trouver la recompense; entre Dieu et les hommes le bienfait n'est jamais perdu.”

Hotaya etant devenu ennemi de Zibrican fils de Badr, par suite d'une aventure qu'il serait trop long de raconter, fit une satire contre ce personnage. Zibrican alla se plaindre au calife Omar, qui, pour punir Hotaya, le fit jeter dans une fosse. Hotaya resta plusieurs jours; ensuite il adressa au calife une piece de vers touchante qui flechit sa colere. Omar le fit tirer de la fosse et amener en sa presence; puis il lui dit: “Garde-toi desormais de satiriser qui que ce soit.—C'est pourtant la satire qui m'a fait vavre jusqu'a ce jour” dit Hotaya.—Garde—toi, ajouta Omar, de dire: Un tel vaut mieux qu'un tel, cette famille est meilleure que cette autre.—Cette defense, repliqua le poete, est une satire des hommes en general plus piquante que je n'en pourrais fair (car la consequence qui en resulte est que tous les hommes sont egalement mauvais).—Si je ne craignais d'etablir un usage funeste, dit Omar, irrite de ces reponses, je te couperais la langue, Va, te appartiens maintenant a celui que tu as insulte. Zibrican! prends-le et fais-en ce que tu voudras.” Zibrican! passa son truban autour du col de Hotaya et l'emmena. Des personnage de la tribu de Bakr-wail le rencontrerent trainant son captif et lui demanderent sa grace. Zibrican la leur accorda, et remit Hotaya entre leurs mains.

Hotaya vivait encore sous le calife Moawia; il a compose des vers a la louage de Said ben Nassi, gouverneur de Medine du tems de Moawia. Dans la suite, Ayar fils de Hotaya rencontrant un jour Khalid fils de Said, lui dit: “Mon pere est mort apres avoir reçu du tien 20 mille pieces d'argent, en recompense de ci'q poemes qu'il avait faits en l'honneur de Said. Ce que vous nous avez donne est dissipe aujourd'hui, et ce que mon pere vous a donne reste entier.—C'est vrai, repondit Khalid, c'est nous qui vous devons de la reconnaissance.”—(Aghani, I. f. 9499. IV. f. 13.)

For this curious note, I am indebted to the friendship of M. Caussin de Perceval.—Reiske, in his edition of Abu 'l-Fida's Annals

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Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah once renounced poetry,¹ and he related the following circumstance (*resulting from that determination*): "As I persisted in my refusal to compose verses, the khalif al-Mahdī ordered me to be put into prison.² "On entering, I shuddered at the sight of an object which appalled me and I looked about for a place of refuge, when I found the cause of my terror to be an elderly man of respectable appearance, with goodness marked on his countenance. I therefore went over to him and sat down without saluting, for I was troubled in mind, and confused and absorbed in thought. I remained thus for some time, when the man pronounced these verses:

'I accustomed myself to the touch of misfortune till it became familiar to me, and my resignation under grief conducted me to patience. My despair in mankind has made me confident that the bounty of God will come from some quarter which I know not.'

"I admired these verses, and was consoled by them; my reason also returned to me, and I said: 'May God exalt you! have the kindness to repeat them.' To this he answered: 'Unfortunate Ismā'īl! how little politeness you possess; how weak your mind! how faint your courage? On entering, you did not salute me as one Muslim should do to another, neither did you ask me the question which one just arrived addresses to him who has sojourned for some time; but when you heard two verses of poetry (which is the sole good, and accomplishment, and means of livelihood granted thee by God), you begin by asking me to recite, as if we were acquaintances, and

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(tom. I, page, 78 *adnot.*), gives some other anecdotes respecting the poet al-Ḥuṭayyah.

1 In the Arabic text, for *الشاعر** read *الشعر*. It would seem, from the khaṭīb's History of Baḡhdād, that he renounced poetry from religious motives.

2 In the Arabic: To be put into the prison for crimes *سجن الجرائم*. This place of confinement was probably so called to distinguish it from the Maṭbaq,† or state prison of Baḡhdād.

*Cairo edition (1948) has the correct word.—*Ed.*

†Correct pronunciation is *Muṭbiq*.—*Ed.*

united by friendship sufficiently old to render reserve unnecessary; neither did you mention what has happened to yourself, nor make an excuse for your unpoliteness at first.' To this I replied: 'Have the kindness to excuse me, for less than what I undergo would suffice to disorder the senses.' 'And for what reason,' said he, 'have you renounced poetry, which was the cause of the high honour in which those people¹ held you, and the means by which you acquired their favour? You must continue to make verses, if you wish to obtain your liberty. As for me, I shall be soon called forth and questioned respecting 'Īsā Ibn Zayd, son of the blessed Prophet²; and if I discover to them where he is, I shall have to answer for his blood before God, and the Prophet will be my accuser; and if I refuse, I shall be put to death; so it is I, rather than you, who should be dejected, and yet you see my firmness, resignation, and self-command.' These reproaches put me to shame, and I said to him: 'May God deliver you?' He replied: 'I shall not join a refusal to my reprimand; listen to the verses.' He then recited them to me several times till I got them

1 *Those people*, a disrespectful manner of alluding to the Abbaside family: the speaker was a partisan of the decendants of 'Alī.

2 This is certainly a mistake, no such person as 'Isā, son of Zayd, son of Muḥammad* is noticed by historians, as having lived under the reign of al-Mahdī; and Zayd Ibn Hārithah, the adopted son of Muḥammad, could he have had a son living at the time of al-Mahdī's accession (A. H. 158), since he was slain at the battle of Mūlah, in A. H. 8. It is true that among the descendants of 'Alī and Fā'imah, daughter of Muḥammad, there was a Zayd, son of al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alī' who had two sons, Yahya and al-Ḥasan, the latter of whom was governor of Madīnah for al-Manṣūr, and died A. H. 168. It is not, however, possible to suppose that the author was mistaken in the name, and meant to say al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd; for Abu 'l-Maḥasin states, in his History of Egypt, that al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd, who was noted for his piety, had been deprived of his place by al-Manṣūr, and was then imprisoned by his orders and deprived of his property; but that al-Mahdī, on his accession to the Khalifat, set him at liberty, restored him his wealth, reinstated him in his place, and continued invariably to treat him with the greatest favour. Al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd died A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5). The author of the Genealogy of the descendants of 'Alī, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 853, says that the death of al-Ḥasan took place at Ḥajir (حاجر), a place situated between Makkah and Madīnah.

*The descendants of 'Alī by Fa'imah were attributed to the Prophet.—*Ed.*

by heart and he and I having been then called forth, I said to him: 'May God exalt you! who are you?' He answered: 'I am Ḥāḍir, the friend of 'Īsā Ibn Zayd.' We were then conducted into the presence of al-Mahdī, and as we stood before him, he said to the man: 'Where is 'Īsā Ibn Zayd?' The other answered: 'How should I know where is 'Īsā Ibn Zayd?' You pursued him, and he fled from you into some country, and you put me in prison; how then could I hear of him?' 'Where' said al-Mahdī, 'was he concealed? where did you last see him? in whose house did you meet him?' 'I did not meet him,' answered Ḥāḍir, 'since his concealment, and I know nothing of him.' 'I swear by Allāh,' said al-Mahdī, 'if you do not direct us where to find him, I shall strike off your head on the spot.' 'Do as you please,' replied the prisoner; 'I shall not direct you where to discover the son of the Apostle of God; as I should then have to answer for his blood in the presence of God and his apostle: were he even between my clothes and my skin, I should not discover him to you.' 'Strike off his head!' said al-Mahdī; and it was done.¹ He then called me forward and said: 'Choose either to make verses or to be sent after him.' 'I shall make verses,' I replied. 'Let him go,' said he; and I went forth free."—The qāḍī Abū 'Alī al-Tanākhī mentions a third verse, besides the two given in the preceding narration: it is as follows:

"Were I not resigned to bear with the afflictions which Fortune forces me to undergo, my complaints against Fortune had long continued."]

The anecdotes related of Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah are very numerous. —'Anazī means *descended from* 'Anazah, who was son of Asad Ibn Rabī'ah 'Aynī means *belonging to* 'Ayn al-Tamr, the village before mentioned.

(For further reference, vide *Ansīb*, f. 404b.—Ed.)

¹ The Arabic text runs thus: "He said: Strike off his head! and he gave orders concerning him, and his head was struck off." This tautology must be attributed to the inattention of the author.

92. ABŪ 'ĀLĪ AL-QĀLĪ

The philologer Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl al-Qālī was son of al-Qāsim Ibn 'Aydhan Ibn Hārūn Ibn 'Īsā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Salmān; his ancestor Salmān was an enfranchised slave of the Omayyide khalif 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. Abū 'Alī surpassed all his contemporaries by his extensive acquaintance with philology, poetry, and the grammatical doctrines established by the learned of Baṣrah. He received his philological information from Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd, al-Azdī,* Abū Bakr Ibn Al-Anbārī, Niṭṭawayh, Ibn Darastawayh† and other masters, and he had for pupil in that science Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī al-Andalusī, author of the Abridgment of (*al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad's Arabic dictionary, entitled*) the 'Ayn. Al-Qālī is author of a number of fine works, such as the *kitāb al-Amālī* (*book of dictation*)¹; the *kitāb al-Bārī*, which is a treatise on philology, arranged in alphabetical order, and filling five thousand leaves; a treatise on the short and the long *Alif*; another on camels and their propagation; a treatise on the external characteristics of man; one on the horse and his different colours; a comparative essay on the first and fourth forms of the Arabic

1 A copy of the *Amālī* is in the *Bib. du Roi, fonds Asselin, No. 493*. It contains a number of Traditions relative to Muḥammad; an immense quantity of notes respecting the ancient Arabs, their proverbs, language, and poetry; anecdotes of the poets who lived under the early khalifs; pieces in prose and verse preserved by tradition, and which the author learned from the lips of his master, etc. He says in his preface, that he had long treasured up this precious information and concealed it from the profane; that he had sought a person worthy of receiving it and capable of appreciating its value; and having heard of the glorious reign of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad, he faced the dangers of land and sea and went to Spain, where he received the greatest encouragement from that khalif, and was induced to publish his work by dictating it from memory at Cardova, and in the great mosque of al-Zahrā.—It is a curious book and furnishes much information on *Arabism* (عربية), or the philology of the ancient Arabic language; it fills 338 folio pages very closely written.

*Al-Azdī is omitted by de Slane—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Durustuya.—*Ed.*

verb; a history of the combats in which the (*most celebrated ancient Arab*) cavaliers met their death; and an explanation of the *Mu'allaqāhs*. In his travels through various countries, he visited Baghdād in the year 303 (A. D. 915-16), and stopped at Moṣul, to learn the Traditions delivered by Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī¹; in 305 he returned to Baghdād, and remained there till 328; when in that city he wrote down the Traditions. On leaving Baghdād, he went to Spain, and entered Cordova on the 26 *Sha'bān*, 330.* He continued to dwell in that capital till his death, and it was there that he taught by dictation his *kitāb al-Amālī*, and most of his other works. Yūsuf Ibn Hārūn al-Ramādī, whose life shall be given in the letter *Y*, composed an elegant *qaṣīdah* in praise of Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, a portion of which the reader will there find inserted. Al-Qālī died at Cordova on Friday† evening, 6 of the Second Rabī' (some say the First Jumādā), A. H. 356 (March, A. D. 967); he was buried in the cemetery of Mat'ah, outside Cordova, and funeral prayers were said over him by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jubayrī. He was born in the Second Jumādā, A. H. 288 (June, A. D. 901), at Manāzjird in Diyār Bakr, of which place mention has already been made in the life of al-Manāzī.² The reason of his being surnamed Qālī was, that in going to Baghdād, he travelled with people from Qālī Qalā, in consequence of which he was called Qālī (or *native of Qālī Qalā*) ever after. Al-Sam'ānī says that the place is in the territory of Diyār Bakr, but I read in the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn's History of the Seljuqs that Qālī Qalā is

1 The ḥāfiẓ Abū Ya'la Ahmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Muḥannā al-Tamīmī is the author of a well known *Musnad*, or collection of authenticated Traditions, which he received from a great number of persons of the highest credibility: he composed also some works on ascetic devotion and other subjects. He was remarkable for his humility, mildness of temper, amenity of manners and veracity. Born at Moṣul. A. H. 210 (A. D. 826); died A. H. 307 (A. D. 919-10).—(Al-Ḥahābī's *Tarīkh al-Islām* MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 646).

2 See No. 62.

*It should be 27 corresponding to 17 May, 941.—*Ed.*

†Saturday, not Friday, is correct. In the month of First Jumādā Saturday fell on 6 Jumādā/20 April.—*Ed.*

the same town as Erzerūm.* Al-Balādhurī¹ says, in his *kitāb al-Buldān*, or *History of the Victories of Islamism*, in treating of the conquest of Armenia: "At one time the Greek empire was broken up, and several princes governed the provinces with nearly absolute authority; one of them was called Arminiacos and was succeeded on his death by his wife Qālī; it was she who built this city, and gave it the name of Qālī Qālah which means *the goodness of Qālī*; this word has been altered by the Arabs to suit the genius of their language, and they said Qālī Qalā. The image of this princess is engraved on one of the gates of the city."²

93. THE ṢĀḤIB IBN 'ABBĀD

The Ṣāḥib Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Abbād Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abbād Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs al-Ṭālaqānī, was the pearl of his time, and the wonder of his age for his talents, his virtues, and his generosity. He acquired his knowledge of pure Arabic from Ibn Fāris, author of the *Mujmil*, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Umayd and others. Al-Ṭha'ālibī, in his *Yatīmah*, speaks of him in these terms: "I am unable to find expressions sufficiently strong to satisfy my wishes, so that I may declare to what a height he attained in learning and philological knowledge; how exalted a rank he held by his liberality and generosity; how far he was placed apart by the excellence of his qualities, and how completely he united in himself all the various endowments which are a source of just pride to their possessor³; for my words aspire in vain to attain a height which may accord with even the lowest degree of his merit and his glory, and my powers of description

1 The life of Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī has been given by M. Hamaker in his *Specimen Catalogi cod.*, page 11.

2 Or: "Is over one of its gates."

3 I have been here obliged to paraphrase the original, in order to render its full sense.

*Arzan al-Rūm.—*Ed.*

are unequal to the task of portraying the least of his noble deeds, the lowest of his exalted purposes." He then cites examples characteristic of his noble mind, and gives some account of his life.—Abū Bakr al-Khūwārezmī¹ makes mention of the Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād in the following terms: "He was brought up in the bosom of the vizīrat; that was the nest in which he crept and from which he sprung,—the nurse with whose milk he was suckled even to the last drop; he received the vizīrat as an inheritance from his father." Such also has Abū Sa‘īd al-Rustamī² said of him in these verses:

"The vizīrat passed as an inheritance from one ancestor to another, and was successively sustained by able pillars of the state.³ ‘Abbād received the vizīrat from ‘Abbās, (as a tradition is received), and Ismā‘īl then received it from ‘Abbād."

This was the first vizīr who bore the title of Ṣāhib (*companion*); he was so denominated because he had been the companion of Ibn al-‘Umayd, and was then known by that designation, which got into such general use, that on his accession to the vizīrat, it continued to be employed as his real name. Al-Ṣābī says, in his *kitāb al-Tājī*,⁴ that Ibn ‘Abbād was entitled *al-Ṣāhib* because he had been the companion of Muwaiyad al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh from his early youth, and as this prince gave him that epithet, it continued to be the name by which he was known, and

1 The life of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Khūwārezmī is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Rustam al-Rustamī, a native of Ispahān, was originally a mason, *من بنا اصيهران*, but he displayed such talent in the composition of the verses, that he came to be ranked among the first poets of the time, and gained the favour of the Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād, who acted towards him as a generous benefactor, and used to say, "al-Rustamī is the ablest poet of the day." At the approach of old age, al-Rustamī renounced poetry from conscientious motives. The date of his death is not given in the *Yatīmah*, but some of his poems are preserved in the work, with a notice on their author, the summary of which is here given.—(See the *Yatīmah*, fol. 312.)

3 In this verse the author had a double meaning in view: It signifies also that the vizīrat was successively transmitted (*like a tradition*) from one good authority to another. The same idea is continued in the next verse.

4 See No. 14.

became the title of succeeding vizīrs. Ibn 'Abbād was at first vizīr to Muwaiyad al-Dawlat Ibn Rukn al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, having replaced Abu 'l-Faḥḥ 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Umayd, of whom mention shall be made in the life of his father Muḥammad.¹ On the death of Muwaiyad al-Dawlat at Jurjān, in the month of Shā'bān, A. H. 373 (January, A. D. 984), his brother Fakhr al-Dawlat Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī got possession of the empire, and confirmed Ibn 'Abbād as vizīr. Under this prince, he enjoyed high favour, honour, and authority.—Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Za'farānī² recited to him one day a piece of verses rhyming in *n*, and containing the following passage:

“O, thou whose gifts enrich the hands of him who is far away and him who is near! You have clothed those who dwell by you and those who come to visit you, with raiment which we thought unequalled; and all the slaves of thy palace go about in silks except myself.”

On this, the Ṣāḥib said: “I have read in the life of Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah al-Shaybānī, that a man came to him and said: ‘Give me whereon to ride, O Emīr!, on which he ordered him a camel, a horse, a mule, and an ass³ and then said: ‘If I knew that God had created any other animal fit for riding, I had given it to you. Now I order you silk enough for a coat, a shirt, turban, a waist-coat, trousers, a handkerchief, a vest, a cloak, a robe, leggings, and a purse; and if I knew of any other garment which could be made of silk, I should give it to you.’—The number of poets who flocked to him and celebrated his praises in splendid *qaṣīdahs*, surpassed that which assembled at the court of any other. His repartees were very good; the coiners of the mint presented to him a memorial in which they complained of some injustice done them, and which was headed by the words *al-Ḍarrābūn*; he wrote

1 Muḥammad was Ibn al-'Umayd's real name.

2 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Za'farānī was a native of 'Irāq, and one of those literary men who were admitted into the society of the Ṣāḥib; he was also a favourite of 'Aḍad al-Dawlat.—(*Yatīmah*, fol. 327.) Some of his poems are to be found in that work.

3 One article [i.e. female slave] in the list I have omitted; decency requiring its suppression.

underneath in form of decision, *On cold iron*.¹ A person once addressed him a memorial in which he inserted some passages and expressions stolen from epistles composed by himself, on which he wrote underneath in answer to the demand: *This our property hath been returned unto us*.² He accused one of his revenue collectors to be imprisoned in a narrow yard near his dwelling, and having one day gone up to the (*flat*) roof of the house, his prisoner saw him and called upon him with a loud voice, on which he looked down and perceiving him suffering tortures like those of hell, he said: *Back to hell! speak not unto me!*³ Numerous anecdotes of the kind are related of him.—He wrote a philological work in seven volumes, entitled the *Muḥīṭ* (*comprehensive*), which he arranged in alphabetical order, giving (*the explanation of*) a great number of words, but citing very few examples; it contains a considerable portion of the (*words composing the*) language; he is also author of the *Kāfī* (*sufficient*), treating of epistolatory writing, the *kitāb al-A'yūd* (*book of Festivals*), a treatise on the excellence of new year's day; another on the rank of imām, in which he states the merits of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and maintains that the (*three khalifs*) who preceded him were legitimate imāms⁴; the *Book of Vizīrs*; a work entitled: *Exposure of the faults in al-Mutanabbī's poetry*, and a treatise on the names and attributes of God. He composed also some elegant epistles and good poetry, of which we shall give the following extracts:

“My description cannot paint that nyph who is a very gazelle in beauty. She wished to kiss my hand, and I said: ‘Kiss my lips.’”

1 The word *al-Ḍarrābūn* signifies literally *the beaters*, and is used to designate the *money-beaters* or coiners by the addition which the vizīr made, he gave them to understand that it was useless for them to complain; that they, *the beaters*, struck *on cold iron*, which is labour in vain. This is a common Arabic proverb, somewhat analogous to the English one: *Strike when the iron is hot*.

2 This is a passage of the *Qur'ān*, taken from sūrat 12, verse 65.

3 This is also a passage of the *Qur'ān*: see sūrat 23, verse 110.—Al-Tha'ālibī did not probably know this trait, when he made his pompous eulogium of the Ṣāhib.

4 Here the word *imām* means the possessor of spiritual and temporal authority.

On clear-coloured wine:

“The glass is clear, and the wine is clear; one is so like the other, that they can hardly be distinguished. One you would think wine, not glass,—the other glass, not wine.”

He composed these elegiac verses on the death of the vizīr Abū ‘Alī Kathīr Ibn Aḥmad¹:

“They told me of Kathīr’s death; it was a heavy loss for me, and I said: “Let me and Glory weep together, for the like of Kathīr (*abundant*) is *rare* among mankind.”

It is related by the grammarian Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī² that Nuḥ Ibn Maṣṣūr, one of the Samanide princes, wrote privately to the Ṣāḥib, inviting him to become his vizīr and direct the administration of his kingdom; but he refused the offer, and one of the reasons which he gave in excuse was, that it would require four hundred camels to transport his books only; think then of the furniture which he must have possessed in the same proportion! We shall limit the account of his life to the foregoing particulars, which may suffice. He was born on the 16 of Dhu ‘l-Qa‘dah, 326 (September, A. D. 938*) at Iṣṭakḥar, or, according to another account, at Ṭālaqān, and died on Friday night 24 of Ṣafar, 385 (March, A. D. 995†), at Ray, from which city his body was transported to Ispahān, and interred in a vault situated in the quarter of Bāb Dazīḥ‡ : his tomb is still kept in good order, and his daughter’s descendants have it whitewashed

1 It would appear from Khaundemīr’s *Tarīkh al-wuzarā*, that Kathīr was vizīr to one of the Daylamite princes.—(De Hammer’s *Handschriften*, No. 238.)

2 Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī, a grammarian of considerable reputation and sister’s son to the celebrated Abu ‘Alī ‘l-Fārisī, under whom he studied, was one of those literary men whom the Ṣāḥib admitted into his intimacy. He possessed a talent for poetry, and some of his pieces are preserved in the *Yatīmah*; the author of which work, al-Ṭha‘libī, says that at the time he was writing, Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn was still alive and dwelling at Jurjān.—(*Yatīmah*, No. 1370, fol. 488.)

*14 September.—*Ed.*

†29 March: M. de Slane has given Thursday evening.—*Ed.*

‡Mr. Muḥī al-Dīn, editor of the Egyption edition, observes that it should be *Dazīh*.—*Ed.*

regularly. The poet Ibn Abi 'l-'Alā*¹ narrates as follows: "I had a dream in which I heard a voice say: 'Why did not you, who possess such a talent for poetry, compose an elegy on his death?' To which I replied: 'The number of his good qualities forced me to refrain, for I did not know with which to begin; and I was apprehensive of my inability to treat the subject suitably, although people supposed me capable of doing it full justice!'

The voice here said: 'Add a second hemistich to those I pronounce' 'Speak!' and the voice said:

'Generosity and the best of patrons repose together in the same grave.'

And I rejoined:

'So that each of these brothers may keep the other company!'

The voice:

'They were inseparable when alive, and now they embrace—

I:

'On a funeral couch near Bāb Dazīh!'

The voice:

'Whilst other inhabitants shall quit their dwellings—'

I:

'They shall remain in theirs till the day of resurrection.' "

This piece is given by al-Bayyāsī² in his *Ḥamāsah*.—I have read the following observation in the History of the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād: "None ever enjoyed the same popular favour after their death as during their life,³ the Ṣāḥib excepted; for on his decease, the gates of the city of Ray were closed (*in sign of mourning*), and the people assembled at the door of his palace, where they waited

1 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ghānim Ibn Abi 'l-'Alā, a native of Ispahān, was another of the Ṣāḥib's favourite poets. Some of his pieces are to be found in the *Yatimah*, fol. 319.

2 Abu 'l-Hajjāj Yūsuf Ibn Maḥammad was a native of Bayāsah in Spain, whence his surname of *Bayyāsī*. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān. —There are seven works in Arabic which bear the title of *Ḥamāsah*.

3 Literally: No one was ever favoured after his death as he had been during life.

*'al-Isbahānī' is omitted.—*Ed.*

When his bier was brought out; and Faḳhr al-Dawlat, the prince whom he served," (and whose name has been mentioned in the beginning of this notice), "was present with all the officers of high rank in mourning dresses¹: when the bier appeared, the people raised one simultaneous cry and prostrated themselves on the ground; Faḳhr al-Dawlat, and the rest marched in procession before the corpse, and for some days after, he held public sittings to receive visits of condolence.² His death was lamented in these terms by Abū Sa'īd al-Rustamī:

"Now, that Ibn 'Abbād is departed, shall ever the expectant traveller hasten to undertake the nightly journey? shall ever liberality be solicited? God hath willed that the hopes of the needy and the gifts of the generous should perish by the death of Ibn 'Abbād, and that they should never meet again till the day of resurrection."

His father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abbād died A. H. 334 or 335 (A. D. 946); he had been vizīr to Rukn al-Dawlat, father of Faḳhr al-Dawlat and 'Aḍad al-Dawlat Fannākhusrā, whom al-Mutanabbī has celebrated in his poem.—Faḳhr al-Dawlat died in the month of Sha'bān, A. H. 387 (August, 997); he was born in 341 (A. D. 952).—*Tālaqānī* means *native of Tālaqān*: there are two cities of this name, one in *Khurāsān*, and the other in the dependencies of *Qazwīn*: the latter was the native place of the *Ṣāhib*.

94. IBN KHALAF AL-SARAQUSĪ

Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismā'īl Ibn *Khālaf* Ibn Sa'īd Ibn 'Imrān al-Anṣārī³ al-Andalusī al-Saraqusī (*native of Saragossa in Spain*) was a grammarian and teacher of the reading of the *Qur'ān*.

1 Literally: Having changed their dress.

2 The Arabic says simply, that he sat for consolation.

3 Al-Anṣārī is the title given to descendants from the *Anṣār*. See No. 62, note on *Anṣārs*.

He was master of the branches of general literature and versed in the sciences connected with the *Qur'ān*.¹ He is author of the '*Unwān fi 'l-Qar'āt*'² (*Outlines of the different readings of the Qur'ān*), which work is considered of the very first authority by those who cultivate that branch of knowledge; he composed also an Abridgment of the *Kitāb al-Hujjah*³ by Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī. Ibn Bashkawāl praises him highly in the *Ṣilat*, and makes an enumeration of his merits. He continued to pursue his studies and communicate his information to the public up to the day of his death: he expired on Sunday, the first of Muḥarram, A. H. 455 (January, A. D. 1063.*) *Saraqustī* means *native of Saraqustah*⁴, a very fine city in the eastern part of Spain, which has produced a number of learned men. It was taken from the Muslims by the Franks (*under the orders of Alphonso, king of Arragon*), in the year 512 (A. D. 1118).

95. AL-MANŞŪR IBN AL-QĀ'IM IBN AL-MAHDĪ

Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismā'īl, surnamed *al-Manşūr* (*the victorious*), was son of al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī, prince of Ifrīqiyah (*Africa Propria*): the remainder of his genealogy will be found in the life of his grandfather al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh: the life of al-Musta'li, one of his descendants has been already given.⁵ Al-Manşūr received the oath of fidelity from his subjects on the day wherein his father

1 Hājji Khalifah gives a list of these sciences in the introduction to his bibliographical dictionary.—See page 37 of Flugel's edition.

2 In the Arabic text, this word is incorrectly printed القرآن.

3 This work treats of the different readings or editions of the *Qur'ān*.

4 *Saraqustah* is an alteration of Caesar Augusta, the ancient name of the city of Saragossa.

5 See No. 73.

* 5 January.—Ed.

al-Qā'im died; (we shall speak of this event under the letter *M*). He possessed the talent of expressing his ideas with precision and elegance, and he pronounced his *khutbahs* without previous preparation. Abū Ja'far al-Marwarrādī narrates the following anecdote (*of his ready genius*): "I went forth with al-Manṣūr on the day he defeated Abū Yazīd¹, as I accompanied him, he dropped from time to time one of the two lances which he bore in his hand; so I (*picked it up and*) wiped it, and gave it to him, pronouncing it to be a good omen, and quoting to him the following verse:

'She threw away her staff, and a distant land became the place of her abode. (*yet, she felt*) as the traveller on his return, when his eyes are delighted (*by the sight of home*).'²

On which he replied: 'Why did you not quote what is better and truer than that: *And we spake by revelation to Moses, saying, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up that which they had caused falsely to appear. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought vanished. And they were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible.*³ To this I said: 'O, my lord! you, who are the son of God's Apostle, utter knowledge of which you are the (*sole*) possessor'."—*[One of the best anecdotes of this kind is that which al-Taymī⁴ thus relates in his life of al-Ḥajjāj: "Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān ordered the construction of a gate at Jerusalem, on which his name was to be inscribed, and al-

1 The author relates this event farther on.

2 The expression *قرعيتها* signifies to *refresh* or *delight the eye*, to *rejoice*.—This verse is frequently met with in Arabic writers, and Abu 'l-Fidā says, in his *Historia Anteiſmica*, page 187, that mention is made of its author, Muqirr Ibn Ḥimār al-Bāriqī, in the *Kitāb al-Aghani*; this name is not, however, to be found in the manuscript of that work preserved at the *Bib. du Roi*.—The expression to *throw away one's staff* is quite proverbial in Arabic; it means to *give up travelling*.

3 This is a passage from the *Qur'ān*, surat 7, verses 114, 115, and 116.

4 The historian al-Taymī is better known as Abu 'Ubaydah Ibn al-Muḥanna.

*[] From "One of the best" to "this letter" on page 323, not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

Hajjāj obtained from him permission to erect another; and it so happened that 'Abd al-Malik's was struck by lightning and burned, while that of al-Hajjāj remained uninjured. 'Abd al-Malik was much troubled in consequence, but al-Hajjāj wrote him this letter: 'I am informed that fire has come down from heaven and burned the gate of the Commander of the Faithful, without burning that of al-Hajjāj; in this we resemble perfectly the two sons of Adam, when they each made an offering, and it was accepted from one and not from the other.'¹ 'Abd al-Malik's uneasiness was dispelled by the perusal of this letter.'] Al-Manṣūr was charged by his father (*al-Qā'im*) to wage war against Abū Yazīd, who had revolted against his authority. Abū Yazīd Makhlad Ibn Kaydād belonged to the sect of Ibādites²; he made an outward show of rigid devotion, but was in reality an enemy to God; he never rode but on an ass, nor wore any dress but woollen. He had already fought al-Manṣūr's father in many engagements, and got into his possession all the towns in the dependencies of Qayrawān; al-Mahdiyyah was the only city which remained in the hands of al-Qā'im. Abū Yazīd then took up his position against al-Mahdiyyah and blockaded it; and al-Qā'im died during the siege. Al-Manṣūr then assumed the direction of affairs, and con-

1 *Qur'ān*, sur. 5, v. 30.

2 Abu 'l-Fidā, in his *Annals*, year 333, gives some account of Abū Yazīd's revolt, defeat, and death. The MS. of that work in the *Bib. du Roi*, which has been corrected by the author himself, writes كندااد (*Kndaād*), with the vowel points, as the name of that rebel's father. Abu Yazīd was surnamed the master of the ass, *Ṣāhib al-Ḥimār*, because he never rode anything else.—(Ibn al-Abbār.) The sect of the 'Ibādites (*Ibāliyah*) had for author 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Ibād al-Tamimī, who revolted at Tabalah in Yemen during the reign of Marawān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Omayyides who reigned in the East. It appears from al-Nuwayrī, that this sect existed in Ifriqiyah at an early period, and gave some trouble to the Aghlabite princes.—Al-Jurjānī, in his *Ta'arīfāt* (*Notices et extraits des man. de la Bib. du Roi*, tom. 10, page 19), says: These sectarians considered as infidels all those who did not believe as they; they taught that the Muslim who commits a grievous sin is a *unitarian*, but not of the faithful, because works are a part of faith; and they declared 'Alī and a great number of Muḥammad's companions to be infidels. A fuller account of their doctrines is given by al-Shahrastānī.

tinued to maintain the contest, but concealed the death of his father; he persevered in his resistance till Abū Yazīd retired, and went to blockade Sūsah. Then al-Manṣūr left al-Mahdiyyah, and having given Abū Yazīd battle at Sūsah, put him to flight; he then defeated him in a number of successive combats, and at length took him prisoner on Sunday, 25 Muḥarram, 336 (August, A. D. 947*). Abū Yazīd died of his wounds after a captivity of forty days: his body was skinned by al-Manṣūr's orders; the skin was then stuffed with cotton, and exposed on a cross. It was on the spot in which this battle was fought, that al-Manṣūr built the city which he named al-Manṣūriyah after himself, and in which he fixed his residence. He was courageous, firm-hearted, and eloquent, pronouncing the *khutbah* without previous preparation. In the month of Ramaḍān, 341 (A. D. 953), he went from al-Manṣūriyah to Jalūlā on a party of pleasure, accompanied by his concubine Qaḍīb, of whom he was passionately fond; when God poured down on them heavy showers of hail and gave a storm power over them. Al-Manṣūr turned back, therefore, to al-Manṣūriyah, but he suffered so much from cold, that he lost his strength, and most of those who accompanied him perished. On his arrival, he fell sick, and died on Friday, 29 Shawwāl, A. H. 341 (March, A. D. 953†). ‡[His illness originated in the following manner: when he arrived at al-Manṣūriyah, he took a bath against the orders of his physician, Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī,¹ the consequence of which was, loss of natural heat, and inability to sleep; on which Ishāq came and treated him, but the sleeplessness continued. Al-Manṣūr at last grew impatient, and said to one of his slaves: "Is there no physician in Qayrawān who can deliver me from this." The answer was: "There is here a young man just grown up, called Ibrāhīm." He ordered him to be called and acquainted with his state, and complained to him of what he was suffering; on which Ibrāhīm took some soporiferous drugs and put them in a glass phial on the fire, prescribing to his

¹ The life of Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān will be found in M. de Sacy's 'Abd-Allaṭīf, p. 43.

*15 August.—*Ed.*

†18 March.—*Ed.*

‡[● From "His illness" to "he was dead" on page 325, not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

patient to smell them. Al-Manṣūr, after smelling them for a considerable time, fell asleep; and Ibrāhīm retired, rejoicing in what he had done. When Ishāq returned, he went to enter the patient's chamber, but was told that he slept, on which he said: "If anything has been done to him to make him sleep, he is now a dead man." They then entered the room, and having found that he was dead, they wanted to kill Ibrāhīm, but Ishāq said: "He is not to be blamed, as he treated him in the manner which physicians teach; but he was unacquainted with the cause of the disorder, and you did not inform him. As for me, I treated him with the view of fortifying the natural heat, so as to cause sleep, and on learning that he was treated in a way to extinguish that heat, I knew he was dead." He was interred at al-Mahdiyyah; born at Qayrawān, 302 (A. D. 914), or 301; his reign lasted seven years and six days.—*Ifrīqiyah* is the name of an extensive country in Maghreb; it was conquered in the *khālifāt* of Uthmān; Qayrawān was then the capital, as Tunis is now.

96. AL-ZĀFIR AL-'UBAYDĪ

Abu 'l-Manṣūr Ismā'īl, surnamed al-Zāfir (*the conqueror*), son of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mustanṣir Ibn al-Zāhir Ibn al-Ḥākim Ibn al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qāim Ibn al-Mahdī. In the article which precedes, we have given the life of his ancestor al-Manṣūr. On the death of al-Ḥāfiẓ, his youngest son, al-Zāfir was immediately proclaimed as his successor, in conformity to his father's last orders, and on the same day he received the oath of fealty from his subjects. This prince was addicted to pleasure and frivolous amusements, passing his time with his concubines, or listening to vocal music. He was assassinated by his favourite, Naṣr, son of his vizīr 'Abbās (of whom we shall again speak in the life of al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār), who having invited him one night to come secretly to his father's palace (which is now the Hanefite College, and is called the *Suyūfiyah*),¹ murdered him there and concealed

¹ The *Suyūfiyah* College at Cairo was so called, because it was close to the Sword-cutler's Bazār (*Sūq al-Suyūfin*).—(Al-Maqrīzī.)

his death. This well-known event took place on the 15, or, according to some, on Thursday night, 30 of Muḥarram, A. H. 549 (April, A. D. 1154*). He was born at Cairo, on Sunday, 15 of the Second Rabī' (some say the First) A. H. 527 (A. D. 1133†); he was a very handsome man. On perpetrating this murder, Naṣr went, the same night, to his father 'Abbās, and informed him of what he had done. It was by his father's orders that he had acted; for his extreme beauty had induced the public to suspect that his intercourse with al-Zāfir was of an improper nature, and in consequence (*of these rumours*), his father had said to him: "You are ruining your reputation by keeping company with al-Zāfir; your familiarity with him is the subject of public talk; kill him then, for it is thus that you will vindicate your honour from these foul suspicions. The next morning, 'Abbās went to the door of the castle, and asked admission to al-Zāfir, saying that he had business of importance to transact with him. The slaves having sought their master in the places where he usually passed the night, and not finding him, told 'Abbās that they did not know where he was. On this the vizīr dismounted, and entered the castle with some trusty attendants; he then ordered the slaves to bring forth Jibrīl and Yūsuf, the two brothers of his master; them he questioned respecting him; but they told him to ask his own son, for he knew better than they. On this, he caused their heads to be struck off, and said: "These two are his murderers."—Such are the main circumstances of the event, which is related more fully in the life of al-Fā'iz 'Īsa, son of al-Zāfir.—The mosque al-Zāfirī, which is inside the gate of Zawīlah at Cairo, was so called after him, as he was its founder, and had settled upon it *waqfs*¹ to a great amount.

¹ See No. 29, note on *waqf*.

* M. de Slane gives Wednesday which is an error: the dates correspond to 1 or 16 April, the former was Thursday and the latter Friday. In Arabic the word *سلك* (*Salkh*) means the last day of the month and it should be 29 when day and date tally.—*Ed.*

† The 15 of the First Rabī' fell on Tuesday, 24 January and 15 of Second Rabī' fell on Thursday, 23 February.—*Ed.*

97. ASHHAB AL-QAYSĪ

Abū 'Amr Ashhab Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qaysī al-Ja'dī (*member of the tribe of Qays and of the family of Ja'aah*), a doctor of the sect of Mālik and native of Egypt, studied jurisprudence under the imām Mālik, and afterwards under the doctors of Madīnah and Miṣr. The imām al-Shāfi'ī said of him: "I never saw an abler jurisconsult than Ashhab, were he not so precipitate." A rivalry subsisted between him and Ibn al-Qāsim,¹ whom he afterwards replaced as chief of the Malikites in Egypt. Ashhab was born in Egypt, A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), or in A. H. 140, according to Abū Ja'far al-Jazzār² in his

1 The life of Ibn al-Qāsim is given in this work: his full name is Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Utaqī.

2 The physician and historian Abū Ja'far Ibrāhīm Ibn Khālīd, surnamed Ibn al-Jazzār, was a native of Qayrawān, where his father and his paternal uncle Abū Bakr practised also the art of medicine. He had studied in that city between A.H. 300 and 320, under Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī, the physician to Ziyādāt Allāh Ibrāhīm the Aghlabite. As a teacher, a practitioner, and an author, he attained a high reputation, and disdained courting the favours of the great. The only man of rank whom he visited was an old friend of his, Abū Ṭālib, uncle to the Fatimite prince al-Mu'izz, and him he went to see every Friday. He passed the days of summer, every year, in one of the *ribāts* or garrisons on the sea-coast. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, he died, aged upwards of eighty. Hājji Khalīfah, in his Bibliography, No. 3090, places his death in A.H. 400, but al-Dhahabī conjectures that it took place before A.H. 350. He was a man of great information in various sciences. The list of his medical works is given by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, and may be found in Wustensfeld's *Arabische Aerzte*. His *Zād al-Musfir* (*provisions for travellers*) has been translated into Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. His historical works are the *Ta'rif Taṣḥīḥ al Tārīkh* (*the truth of historical statements*), which is a short treatise; and the *Akḥbār al-Dawlat* (*History of the present Empire*), containing an account of the rise and progress of the empire founded by 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī. He left a fortune of twenty-four thousand dīnārs and twenty five hundred weight (*qintār*) of books on medicine and other subjects. (Al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah. This last author cites some verses from a poem composed by Kushājim in praise of Ibn al-Jazzār.)*

*(This information is given in Additions and Corrections by de Slane.)

history; he died in 204 (A. D. 820), a month (or, as some say, 18 days) after al-Shāfi'ī, whose death occurred on the 30 Rajab of that year. Ashhab died at Old Cairo, and was interred in the lesser Qarāfah;¹ I have visited his tomb, which is near that of Ibn al-Qāsim. Some state that his real name was Miskīn* and Ashhab only a surname, but that is not exact. His veracity is unquestionable in the Traditions, which he gives on the authority of the imām Malik. †Al-Qudā'i says, in his *Khīṭaṭ*, that Ashhab was head of the Malikites in the city (of Old Cairo); that he possessed great wealth; and that he was the ablest divine among the Malikites in resolving doubtful questions. Al-Shāfi'ī said that he never saw his equal among the natives of Egypt, but that he was rather rash, ‡[and (we know) that the only doctors of the sect of Mālik whom al-Shāfi'ī saw in that country were Ashhab and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥukm. It is related by the latter that he heard Ashhab pray for the death of al-Shāfi'ī, who, on learning from him the circumstance, quoted the following verses, which he applied to himself :

“Some men desire my death, and if die, I shall not be the sole who travelled in that path. Tell him who strives to obtain constant happiness,² that he should lay in a store for another, and a future life; then he shall have nearly (*gained his wish*) ”³

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥukm relates also that al-Shāfi'ī, on his death left, among other property, a slave who was purchased by Ashhab, and that he himself purchased that same slave when Ashhab died. Ibn Yūnus speaks of Ashhab in his History, and says; “Ashhab was descended from Qays through the tribe of 'Āmir, and sprang from the family of Ja'dah, his surname was Abū 'Amr: he was one of the first jurisconsults of Egypt, and a

1 See No. 24, note on *Qarāfah*.

2 Literally: The contrary of that which is transitory.

3 The signification of the words كُنْ اِنْ كُنْ is explained in M. de Sacy's commentary on the *Maqāmahs* of al-Ḥarīrī; see page 311 of that work.

* M. de Slane reads it *Maskīn*. Ed.

† Abū 'Abd Allāh is omitted.—Ed.

‡ [] From “and (we know)” to the end, not in the autograph.—Ed.

man of great judgment; born A. H. 140 (A. D. 757); died on Saturday, 21 of Shabān, A. H. 204 (A. D. 820*). He wore his beard dyed (*in imitation of the primitive Muslims*).¹ Muḥammad Ibn ‘Āṣim al-Ma‘āfirī relates that he had a dream¹ in which he seemed to hear a voice say: “O, Muḥammad!” to which he gave answer, and the voice then pronounced this verse:

“They are gone, those friends on whose departure we exclaim: O, that the earth and those which inhabit it were dissolved!”

“At that time,” says he “Ashhab was sick, and I said: ‘O, how greatly I fear that he may die!’ and he died of that illness.”

For further reference, see *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. I, p. 359, No. 654.)

98. AṢBAGH AL-MĀLIKĪ

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aṣbagh Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Sa‘īd Ibn Nāfi‘, a doctor of the sect of Mālik and a native of Egypt, studied jurisprudence under Ibn al-Qāsim, Ibn Wahb, and Ashhab.² It was said by ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Mājishūn that Egypt never produced the like of Aṣbagh; and when asked if he did not make an exception in favour of Ibn al-Qāsim, he replied: “Not even Ibn al-Qāsim.” He was *Kātib*³ to Ibn Wahb, and his ancestor Nāfi‘, who was an enfranchised slave of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam the Omayyide, was governor of Egypt.⁴ Aṣbagh died on Sunday, 25th of Shawwāl, 225 (A.D. 840), † some state, however, that his death took place in 226 or 220.

1 See No. 20, note on *dreams*.

2 For the life of the Ashhab, see the preceding article; the lives of Ibn al-Qāsim and Ibn Wahb will be found in the letter *‘ayn*.

3 *Kātib*, copyist or secretary.

4 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was appointed governor of Egypt by his father Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam in the year 65 (A.D. 685), and was authorised by him not only to preside at public prayers (which was the prerogative of the governor), but to collect the revenue. He continued in the exercise of these functions till his death, which took place A.H. 85 (A.D. 704).—*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*.

* 11 February.—Ed.

† 29 August.—Ed.

99. 'ĀQ SUNQUR THE ḤĀJIB.

Abū Sa'īd 'Āq Sunqur¹ Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Qāsim al-Dawlat (*partner in the empire*), and generally known by the title of al-Ḥājib (*the chamberlain*) was the ancestor of the Atābeks of Mosul, and the father of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī. He and Buzān² prince of Edessa, were *mamlūks* of the Seljūq Sultān, Malik Shāh Ibn Alp Arsilān. When Tāj al-Dawlat Tutush Ibn Alp Arsilān obtained possession of Aleppo (*in the year 478*) (A.D. 1085)³, he left 'Āq Sunqur as his lieutenant in that city, thinking that he could place every reliance on one who was his brother's *mamlūk*. 'Āq Sunqur, however, revolted, and Tutush, who was then master of Damascus, marched against him and gave him battle, in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 487 (A.D. 1094); both sides fought with great animosity, and the conflict terminated by the death of 'Āq Sunqur⁴. He was interred in the Zajjājiyah College at Aleppo. When I visited his tomb, I found it surrounded by a great number of persons, who met there every Friday for the purpose of reading the Qur'ān⁵; and I was informed that (*in recompense for their services*), a large sum, arising from the revenue of a *waqf*⁶ founded for that purpose, was distributed among them; but I do not know by whom that *waqf* was established. I have since discovered that it was established by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, grandson of 'Āq-Sun-

1 'Āq Sunqur is a Turkish name; it means *white falcon*.

2 This Buzān assisted 'Āq-Sunqur in his revolt against Tutush, and was taken prisoner and beheaded by that prince, A.H. 487 (*Zubdat al-Ḥalab*.) The analysis of this work is given by professor Freytag in his *Selecta ex Historia Halebi*.

3 It appears from a passage in the life of Tutush, that this date should have been inserted in the Arabic text. It is omitted in most of the manuscripts.

4 A more full account of 'Āq-Sunqur's revolt and death is given by Abu 'l-Fidā in his Annals. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn al-'Adīm says, in his *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, that the troops of 'Āq-Sunqur did not resist an instant, and that he himself was taken prisoner *after* the battle and beheaded by Tutush.

5 The merits and spiritual recompenses attached to the reading of the Qur'ān are transferable to the dead when this act of piety is performed on their account and in their name.

See note on *waqf* No. 21

gur; I shall give his life later, and shall narrate also, in the life of Tutush, some particulars respecting 'Āq Sunqur, which are in contradiction to the foregoing statement.¹ The *Zajjājiyah* College was built by Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Urtuq, prince of Aleppo². 'Āq Sunqur was at first buried at (*Mount*) Qarnebiye, but his son Zinkī, on obtaining possession of Aleppo, had his body transported to the *Zajjājiyah*, and introduced it into the city by hoisting it over the wall³. 'Āq Sunqur was slain at a village called Rūyān, which is situated near Sab'in⁴ in the dependencies of Aleppo, according to Yāqūt (*in his Mushtarik*).

100. 'ĀQ SUNQUR AL-BURSUQĪ

Abū Sa'īd 'Āq Sunqur al-Bursuqī al-Ghāzī (*the warrior*), surnamed Qāsim al-Dawlat Sayf al-Dīn (*partner in the empire and sword of religion*), was prince of Mosul, Raḥabah, and the neighbouring countries. He got possession of these places on the death of the Ispāsālār⁵ Mawdūd, who governed them and the Syrian provinces in the name of the Seljūq prince Muḥammad Ibn Malik Shāh (whose life shall be given in this work). Mawdūd was murdered on Friday, 12th of the second Rabī', A.H. 507 (September, A.D.

1 This is an oversight of the author; nothing of the kind is to be found in the life of Tutush.

2 Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār was lieutenant of 'II Ghāzī in Aleppo. (*Zubdat al-Ḥalab*.)

3 When the Atābek Zinkī transported the corpse of his father to the college situated in (the quarter of Aleppo called) al-Zājājān (the glassblowers), he did not bring it through any of the city gates, but had it hoisted over the wall; for it would have been considered as an unlucky omen to introduce a dead body into the city. (*Buḥayyat al-Talab*; Ms. No. 726, fol. 180) Kamāl al-Dīn, the author of this work, states that 'Āq Sunqur governed Aleppo with great justice, and that, under his excellent administration, the revenues of the city amounted to fifteen hundred *dīnārs per diem*. (Fol. 178, v.)

4 The author of the *Marāṣid al-Iṭtilā'* says that Sab'in is a village at the gate of Aleppo, but Abū 'l-Fidā in his history t. III, p. 290, places the field of battle at *Tall al-Sulṭān*, on the river Sab'in, at six parasangs from Aleppo.

5 This word, which is written *الاسم المسمى بالاسم* and *الاسم المسمى* signifies *commander of the troops*.

1113)*: by a gang of Batinites, ¹ who attacked him in the great mosque of Damascus. 'Āq Sunqur was then acting as *Shahnah* ² at Baghdād, to which post he had been appointed in the year 498 (A.D. 1004-5), by the sultān Muḥammad, who had become master of the empire by the death of his brother Barkyāraq. In the year 499, 'Āq Sunqur was directed by the sultān Muḥammad to lay siege to Tikrīt, which was then in the possession of Kayqubād Ibn Hazārah the Daylamite, who was reported to be a partisan of the Bātinite doctrines. In pursuance of his orders, 'Āq Sunqur made preparations for the expedition, and having set out in the month of Rajab of that year, he besieged Kayqubād till Muḥarram, A.H. 500. When on the point of taking the city, Sayf al-Dawlat Ṣadaqah came up, and was put in possession of it ³ and then returned to Hillah, accompanied by Kayqubād, who took with him his treasures, but died on arriving. The sultān Muḥammad, on being informed of Mawdūd's assassination, ordered 'Āq Sunqur to set out for Mosul, and make preparations for attacking the Franks in Syria. On arriving at Mosul, he established his authority in the city, and then made an expedition against the Franks, whom he forced to raise the siege of Aleppo, which was closely pressed by them; he then returned to Mosul, and continued to inhabit it till his death. He was one of the greatest and most celebrated amīrs under the Seljūkides. It was in the mosque of Mosul, on Friday, 9th of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 520 (November, A.D. 1126),[†] that he met with his death by the hands of some Bātinites. ‡[Ibn al-Jawzī says, in his History, that he was slain in the *Maqṣūrah* ⁴ of the Mosque

¹ The Batinites are the same as the Ismailians: they are better known in Europe as the Assassins *الشيعة*. See M. de Sacy's *Memoire sur la dynastie des Assassins et sur l'etymologie de leur nom*, and his *Histoire des Druzes*.

² See no. 77, note on *Shahnah*.

³ This was a concerted plan between Ṣadaqah and Kayqabad, and must have caused great disappointment to 'Āq Sunqur, who had the promise of the sultān to be allowed to retain Tikrīt as a fief after he had captured it. (Ibn al-Athīr's *Kamil*).

⁴ In the great mosques, a railed enclosure or pew, called the *Maqṣūrah* is reserved for the sultān or his lieutenant.

* 26 September.—Ed.

† 26 November.—Ed.

‡ From 'Ibn al-Jawzi' to 'Power' not in the autograph.—Ed.

of Mosul, A.H. 519, whilst the *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn states that it happened in 520; the latter writer says: "The assassins, who were sitting in the mosque, in the dress of Sūfīs, sprang upon him as he was retiring from prayers, and stabbed him in many places. This was in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah. Their enmity had been excited against him, because he had persecuted and slain them in great numbers, with the intention of eradicating their power."] The government of 'Āq Sunqur passed to his son 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, whose death took place on Tuesday, 22nd of the latter Jumādā, 521 (July, A.D. 1127)* 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī (son of the 'Āq Sunqur whose life is given in the preceding article) was his successor.--The derivation of *Bursuqī* was unknown to me, and al-Sam'ānī makes no mention of the word; but I have since discovered that it comes from *Bursuq*, the name of a Mamlūk belonging to the sultān Muḥammad Ṭuḡhrulbek, whose life we intend to give. This Bursuq held a high rank under the Seljūq dynasty, and was one of their most remarkable and eminent amīrs.

* 5 July.—Ed.

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214	11	al-Ahaāzi	al-Ahwāzi
216	27	some	same
217	25	through	though
221	23	Kharidah	Khurdād
224	6	Hijāj	Hijāz
228	5	al-Rashī	al-Rashīd
228	34	emrr	emir
230	25	sa'ādī	sa'dī
230	33	tde	the
233	12	may	many
235	33	in	is
236	5	'Ārif	'Arīf
236	18	adour	odour
236	28	al-Zuwwāqīn	Tawwābīn
237	1	'Iyāt	'Iyaḍ
237	20	sings	signs
240	1	saqīrs	faqīrs
241	14	on	an
242	15	for	from
242	19	raī	a'ā
243	2	<u>Shān</u>	<u>Shāh</u>
243	5	Aktār	Aktāf
243	25	accostomed	accustomed
244	16	later	latter
244	17	place	palace
245	17	enaracter	character



Page	Line	For	Read
247	31	missimaries	missionaries
248	30	si	is
250	7	Istikīn	Itikīn
251	21	Hakkāis	Hakkars
251	31	Graleis	Graecis
259	1	any	and
261	14	Arsīan	arsilān
262	6	Najm at-Dīn	Najm al-Dīn
262	9	'Az	'Azīz
262	11	Ipsahānī	Ispahānī
262	12	7	77
263	22	sulān	sultān
265	18	Basārīr	Basāsiri
267	24,25	(Both lines to be deleted)	
268	36	founing	founding
270	62	Svria	Syria
274	—	276	274
277	25	Specimencatal	Specimencatal
278	40	oupage	on page
280	13	Ans	Anas
282	31	acquiaistance	acquaintance
282	35	Lūṭ	Lūṭī
284	24	lines	line
293	23	<u>Shuqr</u>	<u>Shukr</u>
305	1	<u>Khalifah</u>	<u>Khalifat</u>
305	25	Jāhālī	Jāhīlī
308	7	tr <u>esh</u> ards	tr <u>esh</u> ardi
308	7	satriser	satiriser
308	18	fass-fosse	bass-fosse
308	23	vavre	vivre
308	26	fair	faire
308	35	lonagge	lauange
308	38	ci'q	cing
319	33	Maḥammad	Muḥammad
326	22	him	his

