The Books Composed about Meaning of the Qur'an and Its Ambiguity and Metaphor

Meaning of the Qur'an, by al-Kisā'ī; Meaning of the Qur'an, by al-Akhbārī; Sa'd ibn Mas'ūd; Meaning of the Qur'an, by al-Ra'i; Meaning of the Qur'an, by Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, the small and large editions; Meaning of the Qur'an, by al-Muḥarrar; Meaning of the Qur'an, by Qiyūbī; the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'an, by al-Farrā', composed for 'Umar ibn Ḥukayr; Meaning of the Qur'an, by Abū 'Ubaydah; Meaning of the Qur'an, by Abū Fayd Mu'arraj al-Sadūṣī.

A Refutation of Whoever Denies the Metaphorical in the Qur'an, by al-Ḥasan ibn Ja'far al-Raḥī; Answers of the Qur'an, by Ibn 'Uyayn; ibn Sulaymān; the commentary of Ya'qūb ibn Dawrān; the commentary of al-Ḥasan ibn Wāqīq, who also wrote the book, The Abrogating and Abrogated.

The commentary of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb; the commentary of Sa'd ibn Jubayr; the commentary of Wādi ibn al-Jarrāḥ; the commentary of Abū Raḍā' Muḥammad ibn Sayf; the commentary of Yūsuf al-Qaṣṭānī; the commentary of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Muqaddasī; the commentary of Abī Bakr ibn Abī Shaybah; the commentary of Ḥashāyim ibn Badhr; the commentary of Abī ‘Umar al-Faḍl ibn Dukayn; the commentary of Abū Sa‘īd al-Asbajī; the commentary on the verses ‘Ilā bidn nazzala fi ṣawā‘im bi-A‘ṣānīhī’ by Ḥishām ibn al-Kallād; the commentary of Abī Ja‘far al-Ṭabari; the commentary of Ibn Abī Dū‘ūd al-Siṣṭānī; the commentary of Abī Bakr ibn Abī al-Thahb.


The great book, Meaning of the Qur'an, by Abū Mu‘āwīya al-Faḍl ibn Khālid the grammarian; Meaning of the Qur'an, by Abū al-Muḥammad ‘Uyaynah ibn al-Muḥālī, which he composed for Ḥassān ibn Ḥibrām al-Ṭabari; The Middle Ground between Tha‘lab and al-Akhḥaf, about the meaning, by Ibn Darrāṭīyyah; The Discipline of Tongues for Qur'anic Grammar and Meaning, by Abī Bakr ibn Aṣhtah al-Īsakhī; Meaning of the Qur'an, Its Interpretation and Ambiguity, by Abī al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā ibn Dū‘ūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ, the vizier—Abū Bakr ibn Muṣjāḥīd and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Khāezīzād aided him with his work.

The Books Composed about the Strange in the Qur'an

The Strange in the Qur'an, by Abī ‘Ubaydah; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Mu'arraj al-Sadūṣī; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Ibn Qutaybah; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Abī ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Yazīdī; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāḥī; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Abī Ja‘far ibn Rustum al-Ṭabarī; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Abū Ubayd al-Qaṣīm; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Muḥammad ibn 'Azbī al-Siṣṭānī; The Strange in the [Qur'anic] Manuscripts, by Abī Bakr ibn al-Warrāq; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Abī al-Ḥasan al-Aridī; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Muḥammad ibn Dīnār al-Ahwāl; The Strange in the Qur'an, by Abū Zayd al-Balḥī; Grammatical Analysis of Thirty Sūras of the Qur'an, by Khālawayh.

185 This additional title is not included in the Beatty MS.
186 This evidently refers to words of the Qur'an, but they cannot be identified by means of the concordance.
187 This evidently refers to the Yafī'ī ("Commentary") of al-Ṭabarī, mentioned above, one of the most important commentaries ever compiled.
188 This title has already been cited and is therefore omitted in the Beatty MS at this point.
189 For "meaning," see Glossary.
190 This book is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.
191 This book and the one following are not in the Beatty MS.

185 For al-Yazīdī, the Flügel edition gives al-Sadūṣī, which is evidently an error. For al-Muṣjāḥīd the Beatty MS gives al-Faḍl, which must also be wrong.
186 The Beatty MS gives al-'Uṣūl ("Difficulties"), but Flügel is probably correct in giving al-'Ahsādī ("Tens"), referring to tens of verses.
187 For spellings of Durustūyāh, see Biogr. Index.
188 "Strange" (gharīb) refers to tribal forms and ambiguous passages in the Qur'an.
189 This title is mentioned twice in the Flügel edition, but omitted in the Beatty MS.
THE BOOKS COMPOSED ABOUT THE EXPRESSIONS OF THE QUR'ÂN

Expressions of the Qur'ân, by al-Fārāb; Expressions of the Qur'ân, by Abī Zayd; Expressions of the Qur'ân, by al-Aṣūrī; Expressions of the Qur'ân, by al-Haythām ibn 'Aḍī; Expressions of the Qur'ân, by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Qāfī; Expressions of the Qur'ân, by Ibn Dunayd, which was not completed.

THE BOOKS COMPOSED ABOUT [QUR'ĀNIC] READINGS

The Readings, by Khalaf ibn Ḥishām al-Baẓzār; The Readings, by Ibn Ṣa'dīn; The Readings, by Abū Ḥātim al-Qāsimī; The Readings, by Abū Ḥātim al-Ṣijāṭānī; The Readings, by Tha'lābī; The Strange in the Readings, by Tha'lābī; The Readings, by Ibn Qayyām; The Readings, by Ibn Mujāhid, the large version; The Readings, by Ḥudhaym ibn Basīr; The Readings, by Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn Asmā'; The Readings, by 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Ḍarāqūḍī; The Readings, by Yaḥyā ibn ʿĀdam; The Readings, by al-Wāṣīṭī; The Readings, by ʿAyn ibn ʿĀli; The Readings, by Ibn Kāmil, which he did not finish; The Readings, by al-Fadl ibn Shakhān; The Readings, by Abū Tāhir; The Readings, by Abū ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAẓīm; The Readings, by Ḥārūn ibn Ḥātim of al-Kifāḥ; The Readings, by al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Fadl al-Anṣārī; Proofs for Reading, by Ibn Durūsāḥṣāḥ; The Books Composed about the Consonant Points and Vowel Signs of the Qur'ân

Book of al-Khalīl, about consonant points; book of Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā, about consonant points; book of al-Yazdī, about consonant points; book of Ibn al-Anbārī, about consonant points and vowel signs; book of Abū Ḥātim al-Ṣijāṭānī, about consonant points and vowel signs; book of...

...
The Books Composed about the Points of Agreement in the Expressions and Meaning of the Qur'an
Book of Abī al-'Abbās al-Mubarak; book of Abū 'Umar al-Dārī.\textsuperscript{122}

The Books Composed about Mutashabīḥah of the Qur'an

The Books Composed about the Spelling in the [Qur'ānic] Manuscripts

The Books Composed about the Disconnected and the Joined in the Qur'an\textsuperscript{124}

The Books Composed about the Sections of the Qur'an

The Books Composed about the Virtues of the Qur'an

\textsuperscript{122} The Beatty MS included another book after this, but the text has been effaced at this point.

\textsuperscript{123} This was probably Ibn Ḥarb.

\textsuperscript{124} Books composed about the "disconnected and joined" are concerned with a technical study of the letters, especially the hamzah. The following paragraph in the text refers to the division of the Qur'an into 30 sections, which are different from the surahs and have no connection with the subject matter. They are used for convenience in public reading and recital.

\textsuperscript{125} The Arabic for "people" is al. The "verses of al-Madinah" are the verses of the Qur'an revealed to the Prophet when he was in the city of al-Madinah.

\textsuperscript{126} This refers to the signs marking ten verses, an aid for reading aloud or reciting the Qur'an. The last verse in this list is not given in the Beatty MS.

\textsuperscript{127} See Glossary for "the abrogating and the abrogated."

The Books Composed about the [Form] Hā and Its Referring Back


The Books Composed about the Revelation of the Qur‘ān

The Books Composed about the Judgments of the Qur‘ān
Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by Ismâ‘îl ibn Isbâq, the judge; Judgments of the Qur‘ān, according to the code of Mâlik; Judgments of the Qur‘ān, according to Ahmad ibn al-Muwâshshâl; Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by Abī Bakr al-Râzî according to the code of the people of al-Iraq; Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by the Imam Abī ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Idrîs al-Shâfi‘î; Uniqueness of the Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by Yahyâ ibn ‘Abdullâh; Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by al-Kalbî, quoting Ibn al-‘Abbâs; An Affirmation of Holding to the Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by Yahyâ ibn Akhâm; Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by Abī Thawwâr Ibrâhîm ibn Khalîd; Judgments of the Qur‘ān, by Dā‘ūd ibn ‘All. An Exposition according to the Judgments of the Qur‘ān—the author is unknown and being inquired about.

The Books Composed about the Meaning of Miscellaneous Matters in the Qur‘ān
Book of Aḥmad ibn ‘Ali al-Mihrâjînî, the reader, entitled Answers of the

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Qu‘ran; Leaving the Contradictions in the Qur‘ān, according to al-Fârîdî; Metaphor, by Abī ‘Ubaydah; Arrangement of the Qur‘ān, by al-Fârîdî; book of Qur‘an, about which of the verses the Qur‘ān are questioned by the heretics; Questions in the Qur‘ān, by al-Fârîdî; The Created, by Abī ‘Ali al-Jubâ‘î; The Letters, a composition of ‘Abd al-Raḥmân ibn Abī Hammâd al-Kâfî; book of Bohr ibn al-Mu‘tamir on allegory of the Qur‘ān; Sublimity of the Qur‘ān, about its arrangement and composition, by Muhammad ibn Yazîd al-Wâsîfî, the Mu’tazîli.


This is the end of what we have composed of the first chapter of the book Al-Fihrist, up to the time of the appearance of the new moon on Saturday of Shaban [the eighth Muslim month] during the year three hundred and seventy-seven. We pray Allah for continuance of health, safety, and plenty for him for whom we have written it, as well as for ourselves. By His grace He will grant this, inspiring us by His favor and by His bounty He will assign us to His obedience. For Allah has taken account of us and excellent is this guardian; may Allah bless the chosen of His creation, Muhammad and his family.

189 This book is not mentioned in the Beatty MS.
190 This book and the following book are not mentioned in the Beatty MS. As the authors of these books and the one in the preceding note evidently lived in the tenth century, the titles may have been inserted after the Beatty MS was transcribed. Al-Amâsîr probably refers to the numerous mentions of light in the Qur‘ān, although it may have a more figurative meaning. Flâgîl gives Abî Muqâmîn, but this may be a mistake; see Ibn Muqâmîn in the Biog. Index.
191 This book and the four which follow are not in the Beatty MS.
192 The Muslim year 377 started on May 1, A.D. 987. The last sentence of this passage is in the Beatty MS, but not in the Flâgîl edition. It is possible that the phrase "for whom we have written it" should be translated, "for what we have written for him." The phrase "him" may refer to some patron or to Allah. On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the following: "We found in the original manuscript (al-dhû‘fîr) what this states."
CHAPTER ONE
The Names and Mention of a Group of Recent Readers

Ibn al-Manādī
He was Abū al-Ḥasan Aljmād ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī Dīʿād, one of the inhabitants of Baghdād, who lived in the Rūṣīfāḥ [Quarter]. He used to Arabicize the titles of his books, competing in eloquence of composition, which brought him forth as an authority. He was learned in [Qurʾānic] readings and other things, the author of more than one hundred and twenty books about different sciences, most of them sciences of the Qurʾān. He died in the year three hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 945/46], and among his books there were:
Diagreement of the Numbers [referring to verses of the Qurʾān]; Types of Prayers Seeking Protection from Plagues and Pests.

Al-Naqāğḥ, Another
He was ʿAlī ibn Murrah, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan, one of the people of Baghdād, who lived in Jihār on Sūq al-Fārsh. When he died he left among his books:
Al-Kiṣāʾi: Ḥamza; The Eight Readers in Addition to the Seven, quoting Khaṭāf ibn Ḥišām al-Bazzār.

Bakkār
Bakkār ibn Aljmād ibn Bakkār, surnamed Abū ʿIsā, was a [Qurʾānic] reader in the City of Peace [Baghdād], who died in the year three hundred and fifty-two [A.D. 951]. Among his books there were:
The Reading of al-Kiṣāʾi; The Reading of Ḥamza.

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Ibn al-Wāthīq
Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Wāthīq studied with al-Dābbī the reading of Ḥamza. He lived in the city of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr and when he died, among his books there were:
The Reading of Ḥamza; The Ordinances; The Commentary.

Abū al-Farraj
A friend of Ibn ʿAṣim al-Baghdādī.

144 This passage was probably added to the original composition after Chapter I had been completed.
145 In the Beatty MS the word given as "authority" is al-istafil, difficult to translate in this passage.
146 The word "another" evidently points out that this man is not the well-known Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Naqāğḥ.
147 The Beatty MS differs from the Flügel text. Jihār is a locality in Baghdād (see Yaqūt, Geogr., II, 197) and the sūq or market street must be either that of al-Fārsh or al-Fars, probably the latter, meaning "furnishings."
148 The Beatty MS and Flügel texts for this last book differ, but this rendering seems to be correct.
The Second Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars among the ancients and moderns who composed books, with the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadim, Ishāq being known as Abū Ya’qūb al-Warrāq.¹ In it is the second chapter.

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, in whom I confide and to whom I pray for aid

The Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, in three sections, with accounts of the grammarians and scholars of language, with the titles of their books.

The First Section

with opening words about grammar, accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Bassari, and also of the Arabian masters of literary style, with the titles of their books.

¹ In the title, it may be more correct to say “the ancient and recent scholars.” In the Beatty MS a special page is devoted to the title. Written under the name Abū Ya’qūb al-Warrāq is the phrase, “Transcribed from his model and his handwriting.” Below, to the left, is written, “An imitation of the handwriting of the author, his [Ishāq’s] servant, Muhammad ibn Ishāq.” For the significance of this inscription, see the account of the Beatty MS in the Introduction. The title page for this chapter in the Beatty MS is similar to titles in MS 1934. In this title and in the last three titles of MS 1934 an unusual form for the author’s name appears: “Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadim, Ishāq being known as Abū Ya’qūb al-Warrāq.” See account of the author in the Introduction. The title in the Flügel edition is different and evidently copied from an imperfect manuscript. In order to understand many of the technical terms in this chapter, consult the Glossary.

Thus said Muhammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadim]: Most of the scholars think that grammar was derived from Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘ali and that Abū al-Aswad learned it from the Commander of the Faithful ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭalib, for whom may there be the blessing of Allah. Others say that Naṣr ibn ‘Aṣim al-Du‘ali, also called al-Laythi, developed grammar.²

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muqlah, that Tha‘lab said: “Ibn Labīyāh quoted Abū al-Nadr, saying, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Hurmuz was the first person to establish grammatical Arabic. He was a [Qu‘ānic] reader who knew more about the genealogies and historical traditions of the Quraysh than anybody else.’” The Shaykh Abū Sa‘īd al-Sīrāfī, with whom may Allāh be well pleased, confirmed this and also said to me, “Naṣr ibn ‘Aṣim al-Laythi was one of the [Qu‘ānic] readers and masters of literary style from whom Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ala’ and the people learned.”

Abū Ja‘far [Abūl ‘Ala’] ibn Rustum al-‘Ābahra said: “Naḥw (grammar) is called naḥw because when Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘ali spoke to ‘Ali, for whom may there be peace, he [‘Ali] mentioned something about the roots of grammar. Then Abū al-Aswad said, ‘I asked his leave to do naḥw (similarly) to something he had done,’ so he called it naḥw.”

People have disagreed about the reason which caused Abū al-Aswad to develop grammar as he did. Abū ‘Ubaydah said: Abū al-Aswad derived grammar from ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭalib, for whom may there be peace, but he did not disclose to anyone what he had learned from ‘Ali, whose countenance may Allāh honor, until Ziyād appointed him for the composition of something to serve as a guide for the people, so that they could understand the book of Allāh. Abū al-Aswad asked to be excused from this task, until one time when he heard a reader recite,

² Naḥw has the meaning “similar” but came to be used for “grammar.” In modern times it is used in a special way for “syntax.” This section deals in particular with scholars of the school of al-Bassari; see Flügel in ZDMG, XIII (1859), 577. See also Flügel, Komm. Schelmen; Kaldān, Magaddāth (Rosenthal), Ill. 330.

³ The Flügel edition omits the two names in brackets, while the Beatty MS leaves a blank, but the names have been inserted in the translation to make the reference complete.

⁴ This phrase is omitted in the Beatty MS.
“Allah is quit of the idolaters and of His Apostle.”8 Then he said, “I never supposed that the condition of the people would come to this!” So he returned to Ziyād and said, “I will do what the emir has ordered. Let there be sought for me a scribe who is intelligent and obedient to what I say.” They brought, therefore, a scribe from the ‘Abd al-Kays Tribe, but he [Abū al-Awas] was not satisfied with him. Then they came with another one, about whom Abū al-Abbas al-Muharrad said, “I regard him to be one of those [who are intelligent].” So Abū al-Awas said [to the new scribe], “If you see that I open my mouth in pronouncing a letter, place a mark above, on top of it. If I close my mouth [making a s sound], place a mark in front of the letter, and if I split [my lips] double the mark.”9 So this was the marking system of Abū al-Awas.

Abū Sa‘īd, with whom may Allah be well pleased, said:

It is also related that the reason for this [grammar] was the encounter of Sa‘īd with Abū al-Awas. He [Sa‘īd] was a Persian from Nihandajīn10 who went to al-Barrah with a group of his people. When they went to Qudānāh ibn Ma‘ṣīm, announcing that they had accepted Islam under his auspices, they became his protectors. While he was leading his horse this Sa‘īd passed by Abū al-Awas, who said, “What’s the matter with you, oh, Sa‘īd, why don’t you ride?” He replied, “My horse is strong (dā‘).”

He meant “lame” (gālī). As he spoke some people who were there laughed at him. Then Abū al-Awas said, “These protectors have sought Islam and embraced it, becoming our brothers, but we have not taught them speech.” So he composed a chapter on the subject and object.

A Point Indicating that the First Person to Make a Statement about Grammar Was Abū al-Awas al-Du‘ā‘ī

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Iṣḥāq [al-Nadirī].11 In the city of al-Hadīthah12 there was a man named Muhammad ibn al-Husayn, known as Ibn Abī Ba‘rah, a collector of books. I have never seen anyone else with a library as extensive as the one which he had. It

8 Qur’an 9:13 has “Allah is quit of the idolaters and so is His Apostle.” The reader put the word “Apostle” in the accusative instead of the nominative.
9 The Beatty MS has “make it two marks.” Flügel gives “under the letter.”
10 See Yaqūt, Geog., IV, 817. Flügel gives this name incorrectly.
11 For this passage, compare Khalidīn, I, 666 n. 7.
12 Mar‘ī, V, 230, speaks of al-Hadīthah near al-Mawṣīl, while Baladhuri, Origines, p. 280, mentions a town of this name on the Euphrates. See also Yaqūt, Geog., II, 323 ff.

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certainly contained Arabic books about grammar, philology, and literature, as well as ancient works. I met this man a number of times and, although he was friendly with me, he was wary and tight with his possessions, fearing the Banū Ḥamād.16 He took out for me a large case containing about three hundred ra‘f14 of double parchments, deeds, pages of paper from Egypt, Chinese paper, the paper of Tīhamah, adām skins, and the paper of Khurāsān.17

Among these there were ta‘liqqū from the Arabs, individual poems from their poetry, something of grammar, anecdotes, historical traditions, names, genealogies, and other things connected with the sciences of the Arabs and other peoples. He [Muhammad ibn al-Husayn] mentioned that a man from al-Kūfah, whose name I have forgotten, was keen about collecting ancient writings. When his death drew near, he assigned these to Muhammad al-Husayn because of mutual friendship and courtesies shown to him, and also because of their common sect, for he was a Shi‘ī.

When I looked over these manuscripts, opening them, I beheld something wonderful, even though time had worn them, tending to efface and alter them. In each section, leaf, or roll, there were notes in the handwritings of the scholars, one following another, telling to whom each pennmanship belonged. Under every statement there was another note, with five or six testimonials of the scholars, grouped together in their various handwritings. Among them I saw a [Qur'ānic] manuscript written with the pennmanship of Khalīl ibn Abī Hayyāj, the friend of ‘Ali, for whom may there be peace. Then [I read], “This manuscript fell into the hands of Abū Abī Allāh ibn Hānī, may Allah have mercy for him.”

I saw there the handwritings of the two imams, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, for whom may there be peace. I also found trusts and contracts in the handwriting of the Commander of the Faithful,
CHAPTER TWO

'Ali, for whom may there be peace, as well as with the penmanships of others who were scribes of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and give him peace.

There were notes about grammar and language written in the handwritings of scholars like Abū 'Amr ibn al-‘Alī, Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, Al-Aṣma‘ī, Ibn Al-Aʿābī, Sibawayh, al-Farrā‘, and Al-Kisā‘ī, as well as with the penmanships of authorities of the Hadith, such as Suṣyān ibn ‘Uyaynah, Suṣyān [ibn Saʿīd] al-Thawrī, al-Awza‘ī, and others besides them.

In one of his writings I saw something which showed that grammar came from Abū al-Aswad. It was on four leaves, which I judged were China paper. This was the indication on it: "Remarks about the Subject and Object, by Abū al-Aswad, may the mercy of Allah rest upon him." It was written in the handwriting of Yahāyā ibn Ya‘mar. Under these notes there was written in an ancient form of penmanship, "This is the handwriting of Allāh the Grammarian," under which there was, "This is the handwriting of Al-Naṣr ibn Shumayl."

Then when this man [Muhammad ibn al-Ḥusayn] died, we lost the case and its contents, hearing no news about it and seeing nothing more of its contents, except for this manuscript, in spite of my many inquiries about the matter.15

Naming of Those Who Learned Grammar from Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘ali

A group of scholars learned from Abū al-Aswad, among whom there were Yahyā ibn Ya‘mar; ‘Anbusah ibn Ma‘dān, who was ‘Anbusah al-Fil ('Anbasah of the Elephant); and Maymūn ibn al-Aqrān. Some of the scholars say that Naṣr ibn ‘Aṣim also studied with Abū al-Aswad.

Yahyā ibn Ya‘mar was a member of the ‘Awdān ibn Qays ibn ‘Ayālīn ibn Muṣṭar, and was said to be attached to the Banū Layth ibn

14 The name ‘Ali is omitted in the Arabic MS.

15 Because this happened, this probably means that the author of Al-Fihrist only had time to study one of the manuscripts in the old case carefully, hoping to study the others at some later time.

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Kinānah. He was trustworthy as well as learned, and because he had met Ibn ‘Abdān, Ibn ‘Umar, and others, he was quoted in connection with the Hadith. Thus Qutādāh quoted him.

‘Anbasah ibn Ma‘dān al-Fahri was one of the people of Maysān, but he went to live at al-Baṣrah. He was named after the elephant (al-fil), because his father, Ma‘dān, received the elephant of Ziyād with maintenance for it, being named after him.17

After ‘Anbasah there was ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Īdrīṣ al-Ḥadramī, a protégé of Ḥāfīẓ in whom al-Fāraḍiyyāt satirized, saying:

Although ‘Abd Allāh (the Slave of God) is the master of his satire, Nevertheless, ‘Abd Allāh is master of masteries.18

‘Īsā ibn Umar al-Thaqafī was an outstanding man in his generation. Abū Sa‘īd, to whom may Allāh be merciful, told me that Abū Mūsā’īn said that Ibn Abī Sa‘īd recounted that Abī ‘Uthmān al-Māzūn stated that al-A‘māsî passed on from ‘Īsā ibn Umar [al-Thaqafī] who said:

While we were walking with al-Hāsān [al-Baṣrī], ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī ḫaṭīb [al-Hadramī] being with us, al-Hāsān said, "Catch these ideas for they are rising." So ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī ḫaṭīb brought out his tablets and wrote on them saying, "We have received benefits from you, oh, Abū Sa‘īd [al-Hāsān al-Baṣrī], with eagerness."

Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Alī was also [one of those who learned grammar from Abū al-Aswad al-Du‘ali].
An Account of Ṣa`ī ibn `Umar al-Thaqafī

He belonged to the generation of Ābū ‘Amr ibn al-`Alā` and was Ṣa`ī ibn `Umar al-Thaqafī and not Ṣa`ī ibn `Umar al-Hamadhānī, who was one of the people of al-Kifāh. He was quoted by the [Qur’ānic] readers, being a man of al-Bajrah and one of the leading grammarians of al-Bajrah. He learned from Ābū Ṣalāḥ ibn Ābī Ḥishāq [al-Hadramī] and other persons. Al-Khalīl ibn ʿĀhmād [in turn] studied under Ṣa`ī ibn `Umar [al-Thaqafī].

He, I mean Ṣa`ī, was blind, but was one of those at al-Bajrah who recited the Qur’ān. He died during the year one hundred and forty-nine [A.D. 766/67]. Among his books there were:

The Compilation; The Perfected (Completed).

The judge, Ābū Sa`īd [al-Hasan al-Srāfī], may Allāh be merciful to him, recited to us [a verse] by al-Khalīl, commemorating Ṣa`ī ibn `Umar and his two books:

Grammar would not have been entire and complete, If it had not been for what Ṣa`ī ibn `Umar initiated, That is, completion, and this compilation, The two of them a sun and a moon for the people.

People lost these two books long ago. They have not fallen into the hands of anyone I know of and nobody has reported seeing them. There is also Ābū ‘Amr ibn al-`Alā`, about whom I have already given an account in the passage about [Qur’ānic] readers in the first chapter.

Account of Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ābū al-Ḥusayn al-Khazzā`ē, who said, “I think that Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb Ābū al-Raḥmān was a protégé of the Banū Layth ibn Bakr ibn ‘Ābd al-Manāh ibn Khināh Tribe.” He went on to say, “I am not sure about this, but he used to be with those people. I am also uncertain as to whether or not he was a protégé.” Ābū Sa`īd [al-Srāfī], to whom may Allāh be merciful, mentioned that he was surnamed Ābū Muḥammad and that he was a protégé of the Ḍabbah Tribe.¹⁴

¹⁴ For the tribes, see Durayd, General, pp. 105, 117.

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The author of Majākkhir al-`Aṣām said that his origin was Persian, among the inhabitants of al-Jabal,²⁸ and that he boasted about this. He knew more than anybody else about grammatical inflections and it is related about him that he said, “I do not heed (attend the lectures of) Ābī Allāḥ ibn Ābī Ḥishāq [al-Hadramī] but I once asked him, ‘Is anyone known to pronounce [the word] al-sawīq instead of al-sawīq (pounded grain)?’ He replied, ‘It is the vernacular of the ‘Amr ibn Tamīm Tribe.’”

Yūnus was a companion of Ābū ‘Amr ibn al-`Alā`, his circle (class) being at al-Bajrah. He was concerned with seekers after learning, men of letters, masters of literary style, and representatives of the Bedouins.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ābū ‘Ābd Allāḥ ibn Muqālah, that Ābī al-Abbas Tha`lāh said that Yūnus lived for over a hundred years, being free from senility and dying in the year one hundred and eighty-three [A.D. 799/800].

In the handwriting of İshaq ibn İbrahim al-Mawṣūlī [it is written]:

“Yūnus lived eighty-eight years; he did not marry or take a concubine, nor did he have any passion except for the seeking of learning and discourse with men.” Among his books there were:

Meaning of the Qur’ān; Languages (Vernaculars); the large book about rare forms [in the Qur’ān]; Similes (Proverbs); the small book of rare forms.

Account of al-Khalīl ibn ʿĀhmād

He was Ābū ‘Ābd al-Raḥmān al-Khalīl ibn ʿĀhmād. [ʿĀhmād ibn Zhuhaṣ] ibn Abī Khaythamah said that ʿĀhmād, the father of al-Khalīl, was the first person in Islam to be named ʿĀhmād. His origin was from the Azd Clan of the Farḥād Tribe, so that Yūnus [ibn Ḥabīb] used to call him Farḥādī, like the form of Arḍūs.²⁹ He excelled in deriving points of grammar and verifying the rules. He was the first person who evolved prosody by which he strengthened Arab poetry. He was indifferent to the world, consecrated to

²⁸ Majākkhir al-`Aṣām means Illustrious Deeds of the Persians; it has not been possible to identify the author. For al-Jabal, a town between al-ʿIrāq and Persia, see Khallīkān, IV, 460: Zirīṭkī, Part 9, p. 144: Yūsuf, Geog., II, 23.
²⁹ For the tribes, see Durayd, General, pp. 393 bottom, 393 n.
learning, and an indigent poet. Al-Khalîl died at al-Barah during the year one hundred and seventy [A.D. 786], when seventy-four years old, and one of the books which he composed was the book Al-‘Ayn.'

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abû al-Fath ibn al-Nâhi, the associate of the Banû al-Furâq Tribe, who was truthful, discerning, and analytical:

Abû Bakr ibn Durağh happened to see the Kitâb al-‘Ayn at al-Barah during the year two hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 865/66]. A warâq from Khurâsân brought it and it was in forty-eight sections. He sold it for fifty gold coins (sâ, dinâr). This book was reported to have been in Khurâsân in the library of al-Tâhiriyah, until the warâq took it. It is also said that al-Khalîl wrote Kitâb al-‘Ayn and then went on the pilgrimage, leaving the book in Khurâsân. Then he transferred it to al-Ṭârî from the library of al-Tâhiriyah.

No one has quoted this book [directly] from al-Khalîl, nor has anything been quoted from the traditions definitely asserting that he wrote it. It is said that al-Layth, a descendant of Naṣr ibn Sayyâr, was for a short time a friend of al-Khalîl and that al-Khalîl composed it [the book] for him, so that he learned the system [of al-Khalîl]. Then when death suddenly al-Khalîl, al-Layth completed it.

Its letters are those which come from the throat and palate. They start with the ‘ayn, then ha‘, kha‘, ghâm, qâf, kaf, jîm, shin, qâd, qad, sin, ra‘, dâl, tâ‘, zâ‘, dhâ‘, thâ‘, zâ‘, lám, mim, fa‘, mim, ——, alif, yâ‘, wa‘w.'

Another Account of Kitâb al-‘Ayn

Abû Muhammad ibn Duraşiyah recalls that he heard about

"Kitâb al-‘Ayn, the first Arabic dictionary.

See Duraş, Gneâl, p. 208 bottom.

On the margin of a copy MS there is a note saying, "Recorded from ‘Aṣim al-Ahwâl and others." ‘Aṣim was a scholar at al-Barah who became judge of al-Madî‘in. He died A.D. 760.

Al-Tâhiriyah was probably an official residence or institution named for Tâhir ibn al-Husayn; see Yaqût, GeoP, III, 494.

The dictionary starts with the letter ‘ayn, which is pronounced with the mouth wide open, and evidently bases the sequence of letters on the sound formations used to speak them. A note in the margin of a copy MS explains that ha‘ should fill the blank space before alif.

See the Biog. Index for spelling of this name.

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Kitâb al-‘Ayn through the following sequence: Abû al-Ḥasan ‘Alî ibn Mahdî al-Karâwî said:

Muhammad ibn Mansûr, known as al-Zâj al-Muṣâṣââr, related to me, saying that al-Layth ibn al-Muṣâṣââr ibn Naṣr ibn Sayyâr said, "I used to be with al-Khalîl ibn Ahmad, to whom may Allâh be merciful, and one day he told me, ‘If a man wants to, he can write the letters alif, kha‘, ghâm, and others like them, so as to include all of the Arabic words and to form a source [book] which has nothing lacking.’" He [al-Layth] went on to say, ‘I asked him, ‘How can that be?’ He replied, ‘It [Arabic word formation] is composed of words of two, three, four, or five [consonants], with no known words any longer than that.’"

Then al-Layth said, ‘I began to understand him as the matter was explained to me. But instead of being satisfied with what had been described, I returned to him in connection with this matter for a few days, until he fell ill and I went on the pilgrimage. I continued to be solicitous about him, fearing lest with his illness he might die, so that what he had explained to me might be lost. But when I returned from the pilgrimage, going to him, behold he had composed [the dictionary descriptions] for all of the letters of the first part of the book. Then he dictated to me the things in it which were to be preserved and the points which were doubtful. He would say to me, ‘Ask about this and, if the point was correct, he would confirm it. Thus I compiled the book.’"

‘Alî ibn Mahdî [al-Karâwî] said, “From Muhammad ibn Mansûr I obtained a copy of this book, that is, the Kitâb al-‘Ayn. Muhammad ibn Mansûr copied it from al-Layth ibn al-Muṣâṣââr.”

This al-Layth was a legal expert and acetic, whom al-Ma‘mûn tried to appoint as judge, but he did not succeed in doing this. He was quoted by Abû al-Ḥaydâm Kâlib ibn Ḥamzah al-‘Uqayli."

Thus said Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nâmî]: The manuscript in the possession of Dâ‘î was [originally] the manuscript of Ibn al-‘Alî al-Sâjûtî. Ibn Duraşiyah recalls that Ibn al-‘Alî was one of the persons who together used to listen to [the reading of] this book.

This short paragraph is not in the Beaty MS. In the Flügel edition, the name Ḥaydâm is spelled incorrectly.
CHAPTER TWO

A group of scholars corrected the errors and mistakes in the Kitāb al-Ayn of al-Khalil, as [for instance] when something mentioned as obsolete was really in use, or a thing mentioned as extant was obsolete. Among these there were Abū Ţalīb al-Mujaddal ibn Salamah, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad al-Karmānī, Abū Bakr ibn Durayd, and al-Humā'ī al-Dawād.28 Thus a group of scholars were helpful to him, showing the errors one to another. If Allāh so wills, we shall deal with this matter in its proper connection, when we speak of these men in their place in the book.

Al-Khalil also wrote some other books:

Chanting; Prosody; Witnesses; Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs]; Death of the 'Ayn.29 Harmony.

The Names of Famous Arabs Who Taught the Scholars, with Some Information about Them and Their Genealogies.30

Thus saith Muhammad [al-Nadīm]: It is necessary to mention them in this place, along with the diversities of their localities and the divergencies of their periods, although mention of the scholars who learned from them31 comes in a different order.

Affār ibn Laqīt

It is said that he used to sit on a high dung hill, while his companions (pupils) gathered around him, learning from him. It was asked, "What is this dust-colored thing?" And some said, "Perhaps you are the biggest part of it!"32

Abū al-Bayḑā' al-Rahībī

He married the mother of Abū Mālik 'Amr ibn Kirkirah. The name of Abū al-Bayḑā' was 'Aṣ'ad ibn 'Isāmah. He was an Arabian

SECTION ONE

who lived at al-_PKG, teaching throughout his life, the boys who learned from him paying tuition. He was a poet, and from his poetry we have:

The eloquent spoke of her (it) as spoke the hesitant,
Each rhetorical in describing her.
In the same way the enemy was not hostile,
But nicely spoke as speaks a friend.

Abū Mālik 'Amr ibn Kirkirah

He was an Arab who taught among the Bedouins and worked as a warāq in the settled communities. He was a protégé of the Banū Sa'd Tribe, who quoted Abū al-Bayḑā', his mother being second to Abū al-Bayḑā' al-Rahībī.34 It is said that Abū Mālik kept in his memory [all of the words of] the entire language. He belonged to the school of al-_PKG, and al-Jahmī said that he was one of the Fayyār,35 who suppose that the rich are more honored by Allāh, Mighty and Powerful, than the poor. They also say that Pharaoh was more honored by Allāh than Moses and that a person who swallows a sharp forbidden thing is not harmed by it.36 Among his books there were:

The Disposition of Man; Horses.

Abū 'Irār

He was an Arab from the Banū 'Ijī Tribe and a master of literary style, who it is said was almost as cognizant as Abū Mālik in his knowledge of language. He was also a poet.

It is related that when Jannah and Ibqā' ibn al-Jassās came to Abū 'Irār, Jannah said to him, "Hear something which I have rendered and do it justice."37 Upon his replying, "Speak," Jannah recited:

34 Warāq often refers to a man who kept a book and paper shop, but as this man spent most of his time among the tribes, the word probably means he was a scribe. His mother was the wife of Abū al-Bayḑā' al-Rahībī.
35 This word is in the Beatty MS. The sect is not included by Shahrestānī and Baghdādī.
36 The text of the Beatty MS differs from Flügel and is not entirely clear.
37 In the Beatty MS the name Jannah is not carefully written, but comparison with the account of Jannah in Chap. III. sect. 1, near n. 18, makes it clear that this is correct.
38 "Do it justice" is perhaps meant to be "I will cut it short."
CHAPTER TWO

If thou dost not comprehend what death is,
Behold the Convent of Hind, how its graveyard is outlined.49

Then Ishâq said:
Thou seest the wonder of things ordained by Allâh,
Among them, pledges of death, constrained by His omnipotence.

Abû 'Irâr continued:
Houses thou seest, their locks above their dwellers,
With a group of visitors, but the visitor is not spoken to.
He did not compose any books.

Abû Ziyâd al-Kilâbi
His name was Yazid ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Hurr and he was an Arabian nomad. Di'îl said, "He went to Baghdad during the days of al-Mahdi, when famine afflicted the people. He settled on the estate of al-'Abbâs ibn Mu'âmmâd, where he resided for forty years, also dying there. He was a poet from the Banû 'Amir ibn Kilâb Tribe, among whose books there were:
Rare Forms [in the Qur'ân]: Differentiation; Camels; The Disposition of Man.50

Abû Sawwâr al-Ghanawat
He was a master of literary style, with whom Abû 'Ubaydah and other distinguished persons studied. Once while he was meeting with Muhammed ibn Habîb and Abû 'Uthmân al-Mâzînî, Abû 'Uthmân said, "When I was a lad, I recited to my father, 'Thou seest the rain come forth from its clefts (khilâlî)."' Then Abû Sawwâr retorted, "If it were good literary style it would be 'come forth from khilâli.'" Then he added, "My father said 'from khilâli' when reading."51

Abû Sawwâr also said, "Have you heard the saying of the poet:

49 For the Convent of Hind at al-Hirah see Yâqût, Geog., II, 707, 709.
50 This last title inserted in the Beatty MS with a marginal note.
51 Qur'ân 24:43 and 30:48 have khilâlî ("clefts"), so that the father's form of reading was heterodox.
Abū Thawālah al-Asdī

He was an Arabian tribesman who was quoted by al-Umawi. This al-Umawi related, “We went in to Abū Thawālah, who said, ‘I have no sliced (muḥammad) food and no pleasing (muʿnīq) traditions.’”42

Abū Habrah

His name was Nahshal ibn Zayd, an Arabian of the Banū ‘Adi Tribe, who came to the settled regions and among whose books there was The Creatures.

Abū Shunbul al-‘Uqaylī

He was a poet whose name was al-Khulanj, an Arabian tribesman and a master of literary style. He went on a deputation to [Hārūn] al-Rashīd and became attached to the Barāmakah. Among his books there was Rare Forms, written in an ancient script, corrected by Abū ‘Amr [‘Umar] al-Zāhid, about three hundred leaves.

Dakhmaj ibn Muharrar al-Naṣīrī

He was Naṣr ibn Qu‘ayn of the Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah Tribe, among whose books there was Rare Forms, which was quoted by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Nuṣayr al-Anbārī; I saw it and it had about one hundred and fifty leaves, with corrections made by Abū ‘Umar al-Zāhid.

Abū Muḥallim al-Shaybānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d, but he was also called Muḥammad ibn Ḥishām ibn ‘Awf al-Sa‘dī. He was spoken of both as Muḥammad and Aḥmad and was an Arabian tribesman. He knew more than anybody else about poetry and language. Moreover, he used to roughen his manner, so as to make his words sonorous and his speech like that of a Bedouin. I read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Sīkēt saying that Abū Muḥallim was of Persian origin, being born in Persia, although he traced his lineage to the Banū Sa‘d Tribe.

42 There is also a form mu‘nīq which may have been used to make the play on words more perfect, although the meaning is not so well adapted to the passage. The Arabic is not clear enough here to tell which word is meant.

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It was related by al-Muḥarrad, “I heard him say [fifteen mortars]’” He went on, “One day he said to me, ‘I never saw a mortar among the nomads, so that when I did come across one, I was disdainful of it.’”43

He was a poet, and used to satireize Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm, al-Kāḥī, although the poetry of Abū Muḥallim was inferior to that of Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm. He said, “Mu‘ammaj had a better memory than other people. He caught a passage from me and remembered it all night, repeating it the next day, although it was about fifty leaves in length.” Abū Muḥallim said, “I was born during the year in which [the Caliph] al-Mansūr went on the pilgrimage.” He died during the year two hundred and forty-eight [A.D. 862/63]. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā‘; Horses: The Disposition of Man.

Abū Mahdiyah

He was an Arabian tribesman who was an authority for the obscure. He was quoted by the scholars of al-Ḥajar, and because of him there was agitation for a long time every year. He did not write any books.45

Abū Miḥḥal

He was an Arabian surnamed Abū Muḥammad, whose name was ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥarīsh. While on a deputation to al-Jāṣan ibn Sahil he settled at Baghdi, where he had arguments with al-Aṣma‘ī about declension. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; The Uncultured Obscure.44

43 The mortar was probably a brass vessel, too expensive for the nomads to buy, but used in settled regions for pounding salt and other things, or else a larger stone vessel used for pounding grain, which was too heavy for the nomads to carry on their camels and of little use for them, as they regard wheat as a luxury.

44 The word al-wahhābi usually means a simple scribe, but here refers to a government secretary.

45 In the Flügel text the name of al-Muḥarrad is mentioned in this paragraph, but the Beauty MS gives a different and probably more correct version.

46 The Flügel text gives the word al-wahhābi ("the uncultured") as the name of Abū Thawālah, but the Beauty MS gives it as part of the title of this book. It evidently refers to primitive colloquialisms.
Abū Thawrūn ibn ‘Ukli

He was an Arabian of the Banū ‘Ukla Tribe,88 a master of literary style, who taught among the nomads. This is what Ya‘qūb ibn Siddīk has recalled. Among his books there were:

The Disposition of the Horse; The Meaning of Poetry.

Ibn Dānuṣam al-Kilābi

He was Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Dānuṣam, an envoy to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahīl. He wrote some excellent poems, among which was a quīdāt (poem) the final words of which cannot be surpassed:

May the rain water a quarter in al-Liwā‘,
Where I used to know them;
From a long time ago
This was their covenant [custom].89

Al-Bahdālī

His name was ‘Amr ibn ‘Āmir and he was surnamed Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. He composed rajaz (metric poetry) and was a master of literary style, as well as one who quoted.90 Al-‘Aṣma‘ī learned from him, relied upon him as an authority and quoted his poems. From his poetry there is:

He offered as provender a sheep,
Which for long had been with him, strung up,
To the point that it was almost putrid.
He presented it, with the intestines wrapped.

Jahām ibn Khalaf al-Māzīnī

He was one who quoted [poetry and legends], and a scholar of obscure [words and expressions], as well as of poetry. He was contemporary with Khalaf and al-‘Aṣma‘ī. They had similarity, resembling one another in their study of poetry and the unusual.

86 For the Banū ‘Ukla Tribe, see Duraydī, Genāla, p. 113.
87 The final words for the second and fourth lines of this couplet form the kind of play on words which the poets enjoyed. For al-Liwā‘, see Yaqūt, Gog., IV, 336–67.
88 A scholar of this type would probably quote tribal poetry and legends, rather than the ḥadīth.
89 Al-Nadim apparently copied these names from old manuscripts. The names are evidently those of men acquainted with tribal legends and colloquialisms. Many of the names seem to be more accurate in the Beatty MS than in the Flügel edition. The spelling of the names is according to those in Duraydī, Genāla., and based on words in standard dictionaries. The Arabic text does not make clear which names were taken from al-Sukkari and which from other scholars.
90 ‘Umm means “mother.” This list shows that some of the tribal women were scholars. Over several names in this first group the Beatty MS has inserted al-Sukkari, suggesting that the name was obtained from this scholar.
91 Probable Ya‘qūb ibn al-Sīdīq.
92 On the margin of the Beatty MS there is a note probably referring to this man, saying: “Called al-War ibn Ba‘rī al-Kilābī.”
93 Another note in the Beatty MS may go with this name, saying: “Abū al-Qumāqīm al-Fa‘ ṣ ‘āḥil, who was quoted by al-Kinānī.”
CHAPTER TWO

Forms and Sources (Verbal Noun): from [what is written in] the handwriting of al-Sukkari. Abū Dithār al-Faqārī—there is a section of his [book] Al-Hurayjīyah; Abū al-Kabāb al-Bāhilī; Abū Sālih al-Tīfī; Abū al-Kūlī (Killī) al-Namrī (Namari); Abū al-Sanā'ī al-Tīfī, who was one of the persons summoned at the time of al-Mu'tazz, so that he could learn from him;64 Abū al-Yad al-Kīlūbī; Abū 'Ali al-Yamānī; al-Rahimī of the period of Qasim [Abū Muhammad] al-Anbārī, who quoted Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsimī; 'Umm ibn al-Aṣbah al-Salāmī; Abū Majdī Abū al-Raḥmān ibn Mānṣūr al-Kilūbī: from [what was written in] the handwriting of Ibn Abī Sa'd. Harīn ibn Zayd al-Kulaybī; Abū Zayd al-Māzīnī, who was quoted by Muhammad ibn Ḥabīb; Abū al-Nu'mān, an Arabian who was quoted by Muhammad ibn Ḥabīb; Abū al-Musallān al-Ghādī, who was quoted by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī in his [book] Rare Forms.

Among the Arabians the tribesmen, who were masters of literary style, there was Abū Mūsā al-'Arabī, a scholar who quoted [tribal poems and traditions] and whose origin was among the nomads. He dwelt for a long time with the townspeople, becoming attached to the Bārāmakāh. I read from [what was written in] the handwriting of al-Yūsufī, saying that his name was 'Ali ibn Burayd, [spelled] with a rā' ('). Among his books there was Poetry and the Poets.

Mu'arraj al-Sadūsī

He was Mu'arraj ibn 'Amr al-Sadūsī al-Ijī, surnamed Abū Fayd.

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SECTION ONE

Written in the handwriting of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz I found, "Mu'arraj ibn 'Amr was descended from the children [clan] of al-Mu'arraj. His name was Marthūd ibn al-Ṭāhir ibn Thaw ibn Ḥarmalāh ibn 'Aliqāmāh ibn 'Amr ibn Sadūs." He said, "Al-fayd is saffron. It is also said to be the odor of saffron, while the verb [forms] faib, fa'il, fa'dan, are used if someone dies.

Abū Fayd was a friend of al-Khālid. He died during the year one hundred and ninety-five [a.d. 810/11] on the same day on which there died Abī Nuwāz. Among his books there were:

Al-Anwā'; The Rare Forms in the Qur'ān; Communities of the Tribes; Meaning,

Al-Līqānī, [called] Guhlām al-Kisā'ī

His name was 'Ali ibn al-Mubārak, also said to be Khāzim,65 and he was surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He met with the scholars, the masters of style among the Arabians acquiring information from him.66 'Ubayd [Abū] al-Qāsim ibn Sallām [also] learned from him. Among his written books there was Rare Forms.

Al-Unnawī

His name was 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'id. He was not one of the Arabian literary men,66 but he met with the scholars and entered among the tribes, deriving knowledge from the masters of style among the Arabians. Among his books there were:

Rare Forms; Migrating with the Tent.

Abū al-Manhāl

He was Uyyaznāb ibn al-Manhāl, one of those who quoted [poems and traditions]. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Current Proverbs.66

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64 Before this name, the Beatty MS has what looks like kal, probably implying "on the contrary," or else it is a mistake meant to be Ibn.
65 The Beatty MS is not clear. It may be more correct to say that "he learned from the Arabian language experts."
66 'Ubdah is usually rendered in this translation as "masters of literary style," but in speaking of the tribesmen, it may be more correct to say "literary men" or "experts for pure tribal vernaculars."
67 The Beatty MS omits Drinks. The Fligel text adds, after Current Proverbs, "In another place I found Current Verses."
CHAPTER TWO

Jāmāt Abū 'Ali al-Hasan ibn 'Ali
This is how Muhammad ibn Dā'ud quoted his name from Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'id. He was an Arabian tribesman and quoter of traditions and poems, who went to al-Baqrah to live. He was connected with the Jāmāt ibn Malik ibn 'Anas ibn Tamim Tribe, it being said that because he lived among the Banū Jāmāt he was given their name. He was a poet and quoter of traditions and poems.

Jāmāt once said, "When a city woman was asked, 'By what do you recognize the dawn?' she said, 'By the coldness of the jewelry on my body.' When a village woman was asked, 'By what do you recognize the dawn?' she said, 'By the bursting forth of the flowers in the gardens.' When a barbarous type of woman was spoken to, she said, 'It loosens my bowels.' Among his books there was The Disposition of Man.

Abū al-'Amaythāl
He was an Arabian tribesman whose name was 'Abd Allah ibn Khulayd, a protégé of Ja'far ibn Sulaymān. "Abu 'Amaythāl" is the name of a horse, one that has a long stringy tail and struts as it walks. He was the tutor of the sons of 'Abd Allah ibn Tāhir in Kurāsān. Although his origin was said to be from al-Rayy, he spoke in a heavy way, giving a Bedouin articulation to his speech.

He used to say, "I am a protégé of the Banū Hāshim."
Sa'd was the name of his grandfather, who was a protégé of Abū 'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib. He served Tāhir ibn al-'Ubayd and his son, 'Abd Allah.

One day when he [Abū al-'Amaythāl] went to him ['Abd Allah] and kissed his hand, 'Abd Allah jokingly said, "You've scratched my hand with the sharpness of your moustache." Then Abū al-'Amaythāl replied quickly, "A hedgehog's quill doesn't hurt a lion's paw." The Ben not astonished him ['Abd Allah] so much that he ordered a rich reward for him.

One day when he [Abū al-'Amaythāl] came to him ['Abd Allah] and he was refused admittance, he said:

I shall leave this door while admittance to it
Remains as I now see it, until it grows somewhat easier;
Even if I did not find a day to gain permission for access,
I found a way of avoiding a meeting.

When this reached 'Abd Allah it displeased him, so that he ordered that he [Abū al-'Amaythāl] should be brought no matter in what way.

Abū al-'Amaythāl died during the year two hundred and forty [A.D. 853/54]. Among his books there were:
What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in Its Meaning;
Resemblance; Current Verses (Tents for Migrating);
The Meaning of Poetry.

Abū 'Abbās ibn Kusayb
He belonged to the Banū 'Amr ibn Jundab branch of the Banū al-Anbar Tribe. Nicknamed Abū al-Khansā', he was a quoter of the poetry of the Arabs and acquainted with their historical traditions.

Al-Faq'i
He was Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Asadi, who quoted tribal traditions about the Banū Asad Tribe, being learned in their great deeds and traditions. He was a poet, living as late as the time of al-Mansūr and his successor. The scholars learned from him about the heroic deeds of the Banū Asad. In one of the verses of his poetry he praised al-Faqi ibn al-Rubay'.

People are varied in their circumstances;
But Ibn al-Rubay' is on a course which is one.

Among his written works there was The Heroic Deeds and Poems of the Banū Asad.

The Arabic word for city is madīnah and for village, dīnah, but these are also place names (for Dīnah, see Yāsīr, Geor., II, 634). "City woman" might be "woman of al-Madinah." "Village woman" could be "woman of Dīnah," or also, "wife of a village headman." But as al-'Aṣīlah ("barbarous") is not mentioned as a place name by Yāsīr, the others are probably not meant as proper names either.

The Banū Hāshim was the clan of the Prophet's tribe.
Ibn Abī Ṣuhb
He was ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr ibn Abī Ṣuhb al-Māzīnī, an Arabian tribesman, who lived and died at Baghdād. He was a poet and master of literary style from whom the scholars derived knowledge, for like al-Faṣiṣṣī he had fresh information.

Dīnār said, ‘Al-Faṣṣī went to a house where there was a feast, which was also attended by Ibn Abī Ṣuhb, the Arabian. As they were crowded at the entrance, Ibn Abī Ṣuhb got ahead, entering in front of Muhammad al-Faṣṣī and saying:

Oh, would that thou, mother of ‘Amr,
Might see how I stand so as to excuse me,
With my shoving al-Asād’s shoulder away from me
 Quickly, in the Zabīn Quarter.
As though he were a lion in the house,
He hurled at me with his eyebrows and eyes,
So that if I had regarded the adversary’s right,
The adversary would have prevented them from receiving me.14

Rabi‘ah al-Baṣri
He was a nomad who became a townsman and was both a poet and quoter of traditions. Among his books there were:

Account of Khalid al-Almar
He was Khalīf ibn Ḥayyān surnamed Abū Muhriz, a protégé of Abū Miṣāḥ al-Adhārī. It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū Umayyah and, furthermore, that his origin was in Khurāsān, from the descendants of Qutaybah ibn Muslim. He was one of the keenest of the collectors of poetic verse and a poet who wrote his poetry in the vernacular of the nomads, plagiarizing them verse for verse.

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ishaq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-Ma‘ṣṣī], who said, “I heard Kaysān the grammarian when he asked, ‘Oh, Abū Muhriz, was ‘Alamakah ibn ‘Abdādh Pre-Islamic or one of the Banū Dabbah Tribe?’ Among his books there was, Biographies of the Arabs and What Is Said about Them in Poetry.16 Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nadīm]. Mention of the rest of the men who quoted and were Arabian tribesmen will be with the accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah, if Allāh so wills.

An Account of the Yazidis according to Their Sequence
The judge Abū Sā‘īd, may Allāh be merciful to him, brought out for me part [of a manuscript written] in the handwriting of Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj, which recorded:
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās al-Yazidī said, “Abū Muḥaṁmad Yahlīy ibn al-Muhāzh al-‘Adwī, known as al-Yazidī, was called ‘al-Yazīdī because of his friendship with Yāṣīd ibn Muṣṭur, the maternal uncle of [the Caliph] al-Mahdhī. Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Aṣī attached him [al-Yazīdī] to himself [as a protégé] while Yazīd ibn Muṣṭur attached him to al-Mahdhī. His sons were: Muḥammad ibn Abū Muḥammad, the most famous among them, as he was the grandfather of Abū ‘Abbās Allāh and the family’s greatest poet; also Ibrāhīm; Iṣā‘ī; ‘Abbās Allāh; Ya‘qīb; and Ḥāṣ; mentioned here in accordance with the sequence of their ages. Ya‘qīb and Ishaq were ascetics, learned in the Ḥadīth of the Prophet. Four of them were preeminent because of their knowledge of language and Arabic colloquialisms. The members of the family who were both companions of [the Caliph] al-Ma‘ṣṣī were Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Muḥammad was their foremost member and the one who went abroad with [the Caliph] al-Mu‘ṭamīn when he journeyed to [engage in combat with] the Mubayyadah17 in Egypt. It was there where he died, whereas the others died in Baghdaḏ.

13 The Beatty MS has variations, different from the Fligel text. The “mother of ‘Amr” might have been the poet’s grandmother, as his father was ‘Amr. There is a play on words. “Zabīn” was a quarter of the city, but also “a struggle, with crowding.” Al-Faṣṣī belonged to the Asad Tribe, and asad means “lion.”
14 The translation follows the Beatty MS, which gives what seems to be al-khāṣṣ ("selection"), but might be al-jāzāt ("funeral"). Fligel gives al-lāṣīt ("lives"). There are also other minor variations in this passage, but the translation follows the Beatty MS.
CHAPTER TWO

"Muḥammad had twelve sons, the most important of whom were ʿAbd Allāh; then ʿAbd Allāh, called as a rule by his nickname ʿAbdūs; and al-ʿAbbas, the father of Muḥammad Abbū ʿAbd Allāh. These three were their father's executors. There were also Jaʿfar, ʿAli, al-Ḥasan, the twins al-Ḥaḍir and al-Ḥesayn, Ṣādi, Sulaymān, ʿUbayd Allāh, and Yūsuf. The most distinguished among these were ʿAbd Allāh, al-ʿAbbas, Jaʿfar, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥaḍir, Sulaymān, and ʿUbayd Allāh."

"ʿAbd Allāh died before the year two hundred and sixty [A.H. 872/74]. Al-ʿAbbas died during the year two hundred and forty-one [A.H. 855/56], and ʿAbdūs somewhat earlier. He [ʿAbdūs] was so addicted to amusement and pleasure that his zeal culminated in his learning to play the lute and in teaching his two sons to play also. They were blessed with riches. Al-Ḥaḍir died in the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.H. 891/92], and ʿUbayd Allāh during the year eighty-four [A.H. 924/27]. Al-Ḥasan died in Egypt, because he accompanied Abbū ʿAmr, who was the vizier's nephew [sister's son] and the governor of Egypt. Jaʿfar died at al-Ṭalḥah later than the year two hundred and thirty [A.H. 844/45] and Sulaymān died in the year forty-five [A.H. 859/60]."

"It is not recorded that any of them quoted scholarly information, except for Abbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbas al-Yaṣṣī, and two of the sons of Abbū Allāh Muḥammad. One of these was Mūsā ibn Abbū Allāh, and one of the others was Iḥram ībni Abbū Mūsā. They quoted from their father and Iḥram ībni Abbū Muḥammad what the two of them heard spoken by Abbū Zayd and al-ʿAṣma'ī."

The books which Abbū Muḥammad al-Yaṣṣī wrote were:

Rare Forms, composed for Jaʿfar ibn Yabyā; The Shortened and the Lengthened; An Abridgment of Grammar, composed for some of the sons of al-Maṣūm; Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs].

The compositions of Iḥram ībni Abbū Muḥammad al-Yaṣṣī:

What Agree in Pronunciation but Differs in its Meaning; Building of the Kaʾbah; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Noun Forms in the Qurʾān—he reached as far as "Al-Hadīd" [Sūrah 57].

The Beatty MS gives Ibn Muḥammad ībni Abbū ʿAbd Allāh, which seems to be a mistake.

For the names of the members of this family, see Biog. Index, Yaṣṣī.

The Beatty MS is evidently more accurate than the Fligl text in giving this passage.

SECTION ONE

The compositions of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abbū Muḥammad, surnamed Abbū ʿAbd al-Ḥaṭīb al-Yaṣṣī:

The Strange in the Qurʾān; An Abridgment of Grammar; Raising of the Tongue in Speech; Stopping and Starting.

The composition of Iḥram ībni Abbū Muḥammad al-Yaṣṣī: Generations of Poets. The compositions of Abbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbas ībni Abbū Muḥammad al-Yaṣṣī:

Abridgment of Grammar; Horses; Virtues of the Banū ʿAbbas; Account of the Yaṣṣī Family.

Abbū ʿAbd Allāh al-Yaṣṣī died in the year three hundred and ten [A.H. 923/24]. At the end of his life he was summoned to teach the sons of al-Mustadrī bi-Allāh, whom he served for a time. I have been told that one of his friends met him after he had become associated with the ruler, asking him to read something quoted, whereupon he said, "I've persisted in giving it special attention, but I'm too busy for it."

Account of Sihayvāh, One of the Disciples of al-Khālid

Our shaykh Abbū Saʿdī, to whom may Allāh show mercy, said that the name of Sihayvāh was ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān ibn Qanbar. He was a protégé of the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʾb ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿUthib ibn Kahdāf ibn Mālik ibn Udād. He was surnamed Abū Buhār, some however saying that his surname was Abū al-Ḥasan. Sîḥayvāh (Per., sīhavah) in Persian is the odor of the apple.

He learned grammar from al-Khālid, who was his teacher, as well as from ʿĪsā ibn ʿUmar [al-Thaqaf], Yūsuf, and others. He learned the dialects (languages) from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Askāfī al-Khālid (the Elder) and others, too.

He composed his book, unequalled before his time and unrivaled afterwards. I have read what was written in the handwriting of

49 This was probably a commentary on the work of a well-known author, perhaps a commentary on one of Abbū ʿAbd Allāh's own compositions. Cf. Khalilīkhīn, III, 31. The translation is based on the Beatty MS, which again differs from Fligl. The meaning seems to be that although he tried to finish something he was writing, he was too busy instructing the sons of the caliph to complete his work.

50 For al-Ḥārith and ʿUthān, see Durayhī, Geneal., pp. 155, 237.
Abū al-`Abbās Thulāb, that forty-two persons cooperated in composing the Book of Sibawayh. Although Sibawayh was one of them, the principles and subjects were based on those of al-Khaṭṭī.

Sibawayh came to al-`Irāq in the days of al-Rashid when he was thirty-two years old and he died in Persia when he was somewhat over forty. Others say that [the purpose of] his coming to al-`Irāq was to seek Yahyā ibn Khalīd, who put him in touch with al-`Kisā`ī and al-Akhfash, who had discussions with him, checking [his answers] in connection with the questions which they addressed to him. They summoned him [to be tested] in the presence of some linguistic authorities, who had come as a delegation to the sultan. These were Abū Faqīs, Abū Dihār, Abū al-Jarrāb, and Abū Thurwān. Verification was for al-`Kisā`ī.

Al-`Kisā`ī spoke with Yahyā ibn Khalīd, who granted him [Sibawayh] ten thousand silver coins (s. dirham), after receiving which he journeyed to al-Baṣrah and from there to Persia, where he died during the year one hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 793/94].

In a source different from what was written in the handwriting of Thulāb it is recorded that if anybody desired to read the Book of Sibawayh with al-Mubarrad, he used to say, “Have you ridden through grammar, appreciating its vastness and meeting with the difficulties of its contents?” Al-Māzinī, moreover, used to say, “If anybody wishes to compose a great book about grammar in addition to the Book of Sibawayh, he ought to be ashamed of himself.”

Account of al-Nāṣr ibn Shumayl

He was al-Nāṣr ibn Shumayl ibn Kharashah ibn Yazīd ibn Kullūm ibn `Antarah ibn Zuhayr ibn `Umar ibn Juθumah ibn Hujr ibn Khuzaym ibn Māzin ibn Mālik ibn `Amr ibn Tamīm. Although his origin was at al-Baṣrah, he lived at Marw al-Rūdīf in the region of Māzin. He learned from al-Khaṭṭī and Arabs who were linguistic authorities. He died in the year two hundred and three or four [A.D. 818/9 or 819/20]. Among his books there was Al-Sīfār (Descriptions), a large work comprising a number of chapters, from which Abū `Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām drew material for his book The Strange in Compositions.

I have read something written in the handwriting of Abū al-`Hasan ibn al-Kūfī, which confirmed what I myself remembered about the book Al-Sīfār, so that I am not relying only upon what I myself saw in it. Ibn al-Kūfī said:

The first section deals with the character of man, liberality, generosity, and the qualities of women. The second section deals with tents, houses, descriptions of mountains and chains, and utensils. The third section is entirely devoted to the camel. The fourth section deals with flying clouds, the sun and the moon, night and day, milks, mushrooms, wells, cisterns, well ropes, buckets, and a description of wine. The fifth section deals with planting, vines, grapes, the names of herbs, trees, winds, clouds, and rain.

There were also some books of his which did not form a part of this volume.66

Weapons; The Disposition of the Horse; Al-Anwā; Meaning; The Strange in the Ḥadhīḥ; Al-Muṣafānah.66 Introduction to "Kitāb al-`Ayn"; The Jin (The J.); The Sun and the Moon.

Account of al-Akhfash al-Mujādī`ī

He was Abū al-`Hasan Sa`d ibn Masa`dah, a protégé of the Banū Mujādī`ī ibn Dārīm Tribe and one of the most famous of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah.68 He learned from Sibawayh, being one of his disciples, although al-Akhfash was the elder of the two. Thus he came into contact with the scholars with whom Sibawayh associated.

65 In the Beatty MS Weapons and The Disposition of the Horse are squeezed in with the fifth section of the large volume Al-Sīfār, but Yaqsīr, Ibnādī, VI (?), 218, gives them as written here.
66 Thā` is the measuring of the water that covers a pebble, to give as a share to a member of a desert band.
67 This title and the one following are in Flügel and Yaqsīr, Ibnādī, VI (?), 218, but are omitted in the Beatty MS.
68 For the Banū Mujādī`ī Tribe, see Qataybah, Mel`if, pp. 56 ff. 19, 37 l. 17.
CHAPTER TWO

The way to the Book of Sibawayh was through al-Akhfash. Nobody is known to have studied the Book with Sibawayh and Sibawayh himself did not expound it. When, however, he died, the Book was studied with al-Akhfash. Among those who studied it with him there were Abū 'Umar al-Jarrāh, Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzrī, and others besides them.

Al-Akhfash died during the year two hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 816], later than the death of al-Farrā'. In his book, *The Virtues of Khwārizm* al-Balḥāq said that his [al-Akhfash’s] origin was in Khwārizm. It is also stated that he died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 816/31]. Al-Akhfash quoted Hanmād ibn al-Zibriqān. He lived at al-Bayrāh and among his books there were:

- Al-Awsat (Middle Size), about grammar; Commentary on the Meaning of the Qur’ān; Measurements in Grammar; Prosody; The Four.
- Expositions; the large book, Questions; the small book, Questions; Al-Qawāfī; Kings;
- The Meaning of Poetry; The Full Stop; Voices; Description of Sheep, Their Colors, Remedies, and Ages.

Account of Qurṭubah

He was Abū ‘Alī Muhammad ibn al-Muṣṭanīr, also spoken of as Ahmad ibn Muhammad, but the first rendering is the more accurate. He learned from Sibawayh and a group of the scholars of al-Bayrāh, being reliable in his statements.

The *ṣuhrāb* is a small creature, crawling without resting. It is said that Sibawayh gave him [Qurṭubah] that nickname because of his way of greeting him in the early morning, for he said to him one day, “What are you but a *ṣuhrāb* of the night?”

Qurṭubah taught the sons of Abū Dūlaf al-Qasim ibn 'Isa, and then his own son, al-'Husayn ibn Qurṭubah, taught them after Qurṭubah died during the year two hundred and six [A.D. 821/22]. Among his written books there were:

- Meaning of the Qur’ān; Derivations; Al-Qawāfī; Rare Forms; Periods; Triple; Distinguishing; Voices; Descriptions (Adjectives,

99 “Four” may refer to cases in grammar, words of four consonants, the four seasons, or perhaps to certain periods of the spring and summer.

100 The title *Kings* in the Beatty MS looks more like *mulāk* than *mulāb*, so that it may mean “melancholy” or “fatigued.”

101 Three consonants, three dots, or some other meaning connected with linguistics.

Account of Abū 'Ubaydah

The shaykh Abū Sa‘īd, may Allāh be merciful to him, said, “Abū 'Ubaydah Ma‘mar ibn al-Muthannā al-Taymi was from the Taym of the Quraysh rather than Taym of the Ribāb, for he was a protégé of theirs.” It is also said that he was a protégé of the Banū 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma‘mar al-Taymī.

We have been told that Abū Bakr ibn Mujaḥid related, saying:

Al-Kudaymī recounted to me and Abū al-‘Aynā, saying, “A man once said to Abū 'Ubaydah, 'Oh, Abū 'Ubaydah, you have made records of people, penetrating into their genealogies, but by Allāh you haven’t informed me who your own father was and was his origin!’ Then he said, 'My father told me that his father was a Jew from Bījarwān.’”

I myself have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mujaḥt, that Abū al-‘Abbas Thulab said:

Abū ‘Ubaydah agreed with the doctrines of the Khwārizmī, so that when he read the Qur’ān he read it with reflection. He knew about the strange forms in the Qur’ān, as well as the metaphorical in the Qur’ān, but in spite of his learning, if he composed a verse of poetry he did not pay attention to its grammatical accuracy.

When he died no one attended his funeral, for he never used to greet a *shari‘* or anybody else. He wrote the book *Al-Matḥallḥ* (Faults), in which he spoke of the faults of some of the things connected with the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and give him peace.

Abū al-‘Abbas [Thulab] said:

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89 This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.
90 For the tribal groups, see Enc. Islam, IV, 622; Mat‘ul, IV, 223; Durayd, Gen., pp. 111, 228.
91 For several towns with this name, see Yaqūt, Geog., I, 454.
92 This sentence has been translated freely, so as to make it readable.
93 The Arabic for the phrase “the things connected with the Prophet” is *isḥāb al-Nabī*.
Abū 'Ubaydah lived to be nearly a hundred. He was heavy in speech, but possessed a knowledge of Islam and the Pre-Islamic period, and in his house there was a record of the Arabs. When he spoke with his friends, such as al-Aṣma‘, Abū Zayd, and some others, he was curt while he was with them. Then, moreover, he was foul, unsooed in religion and genealogy.

I read what was written in the handwriting of 'Allān al-Shu‘bī, that Abū ‘Ubaydah was nicknamed Saḥḥ (Rigid or Ovberbearing). His origin was Persian. Abū ‘Ubaydah was born in the year one hundred and fourteen [A.D. 732/33] and died during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26], or some say eleven. Abū Sa‘īd has said the year eight and some say nine. Among his books there were:
The Metaphor of the Qur'ān; The Strange in the Qur'ān; The Meaning of the Qur'ān; The Strange in the Hadith; Embellishment (Al-Dībā‘); Al-Bā‘ (Tribute, Tax, Revenue); Animals; Imperfections (Al-Naqa‘īs); Abna‘ (Sons of) Way; Restrictive Ordinances (Penalties); Grave of Eternity (Hufrat Khuld);" 99 Ma‘ṣīd; 100 Al-Baṣrah; The Blessing (Information) of the Quoter [of Traditions]; Khurāsān; Strifes of Qays and al-Yaman; Account of ‘Abd al-Qays; Account of Abnā‘ (Sons of) Baghīd; 101 The Khwārīj of al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamānīh; 102 Protégés; Stupidity; Owl (Al-Dirān); Al-Tariqāh (girl [female] ready for mating); The Field of Rāḥī‘; 103 The Contestants; The Combat; Account of al-Baṣrā (the Sandy Desert) (or Account of al-Baṣrā [the standard of Ibn Qays]).

Fugitives (Al-Farā‘irīn) (or Al-‘Izāzin [Noble], or Al-Ghīrārīn [Careless about Prayer]); 104 The Falcon; Pigeons (Doves); Snakes; The Eagle (Al-Uṣābī) (or Punishment Al-‘Iṣbī); Al-Nawākhī; 105 Al-Nawākhīd; 106
81 The Beatty MS has na‘at, which means "picked out hair," but when applied to scholarship has the connotation of being brief or curt.
82 For this tribe, see Durayd, Geneal., p. 165.
83 Flügel differs.
84 The fourth title of the last paragraph of the list is Ma‘ṣīd ibn ’Amr and His Murder. Here, ma‘ṣīd may refer to the same Ma‘ṣīd, or it may mean "prosperous."
85 For the tribe, see Durayd, Geneal., pp. 125, 165.
86 Rebellious tribes in eastern Arabia and the Island of Baḥrayn.
87 A battle near Damascus in which the rebel supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr were beaten by the army of the Caliph Marwān, A.D. 694.
88 The Beatty MS differs here from Flügel and, as the word lacks consonant signs, it may be one of numerous interpretations.
89 These are unusual plurals. Perhaps al-nawākhī refers to marriage and al-nawākhīd to persons resurrected.

100 This is different from the word in the Flügel text.
101 For Bihārīl, see Durayd, Geneal., p. 164, and for And, see "al-And," Enc. Islam, I, 259.
102 Omitted in the Beatty MS. Perhaps confused with Virtues of the Bihārīl Tribe, given in the previous paragraph.
103 These were two famous battles between 'Ali and his contemporaries; see Glossary.
104 The Arabic word here is probably an unusual plural (al-malātanāh) indicating either place of refuge, or chiefs offering refuge.
105 In the Beatty MS there is probably an error, or this may be What Influences the Arabs.
106 For this tribe see Durayd, Geneal., p. 164.
107 These forms are clear in the Beatty MS, but they do not fit together. Al-khānuṭa ("bearing") does not agree with al-khānūlūtī ("secret") . The Flügel text has al-hāmulūl all-l-hūlūl ("masculine and feminine forms").
108 A locality east of al-Kufah, where al-Hajjāj made his headquarters for a time while he was ruling al-Iraq. See Ya‘qūb, Geog., II, 833.
CHAPTER TWO

(Worke) Gives Thanks and Gratitute; The Strange [Foru]s of the Tribes of the Arabs; Naming of the Killings (Murderers) of the Banu Asad; The Plural and the Dual; Al-Aws and al-Khazraj Tribes; Muhammad and Ibrahim, the Two Sons of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan; The Days (Ayyam), which included, from what is written in the handwriting of al-Sudhait: The Days (Ayyam) of the Banu Yashkur and Information about Them,198 The Days (Ayyam) of the Banu Mazin and Information about Them; Similes (Proverbs),217 Freeborn Women; Inflection (Declension) of the Qur'an.

Among the Disciples of Abū 'Ubaydah

There was Dammād Abū Ghassān, whose name was Ruffi ibn Salamah ibn Muslim ibn Ruffi al-Aḥdī. He quoted Abū 'Ubaydah and copied his books, learning from him about genealogies, historical traditions, and heroic deeds.

Account of Abū Zayd

His name was Sa'id ibn Aww al-Anṣārī and he came from Ṣulṭān al-Khazraj. Abū al-'Abbās al-Muḥarrad said, "Abū Zayd knew a great deal about grammar, but not as much as al-Khalīl and Sibawayh. Yūsūf ibn al-Ḥabbār ranked with Abū Zayd in language study, and was more learned than Abū Zayd in grammar. As Abū Zayd knew more about grammar than al-'Ajma'ī and Abū 'Ubaydah, he was called Abū Zayd the Grammarian."

Abū Sa'id said, "I do not know of any of the scholars of grammar and language at al-Baṣrah, who derived information about the Arabs from the people of al-Kūfah, except Abū Zayd, who quoted al-Mufaddal al-D̄ālibī."

In the beginning of the book Rare Forms, Abū Zayd said, "Al-Mufaddal al-Dālibī recited for me [a verse by] Damrah ibn Damrah al-Nahshali of the Pre-Islamic period:

SECTION ONE

She awoke after midnight blaming you for generosity, But my blame and censure is wrong for you.128

I read what was written in the handwriting of Ishāq:139

Abū Zayd said to me, "I came to Baghdaḏ at the time when the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Maḏḥūb Muḥammad began to reign 775 [A.D.] and the scholars of every land arrived with different branches of learning. I did not see anyone more keen about poetic verse than Khaṭṭāf [ibn Ḥayyān] or more erudite and devoted to his learning than Yāmus [ibn Ḥābi]."

Abū Zayd died in the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 830/31]. Among his books there were:

The Oath of 'Uthmān; Subterfuge and Joking; Confusion and Watering of Camels; Displeasing (Corrupt); The Naked (Al-Mu'arrī) or The Comforter (Al-Mu'azzal) or The Radiant (Al-Maghzūl); The Camel; The Disposition of Man; Tents (Verses of Poetry); Rain; Water; Inmate Qualities (Khosyrs); Plants and Trees; Languages (Vernaculars); The Reading of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Ali'; Rare Forms; The Plural and the Dual; Diarrhea.

Aristocratic Families; Pronouncing the Hamzah Lightly; Khu'bah;228 Improvised Speech; Wild Beasts; Differentiation; Fā'āl wa-Fā'āl; The Strange among Names; Marking with the Hamzah; Verbal Nouns; The Session; Celebrated and Noted; The One (Unique);229 Dates; Description of Sheep; Description of Oral Ways of Speaking; Speech (Logic).

Account of al-'Ajma'ī

Thus saith Muḥammad [al-Naḏīm]: I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū 'Abd Allah ibn Muqāl: "Abū al-'Abbās Tha'līb said that al-'Ajma'ī was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayḥ ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'All ibn 'Ajma'ī ibn Muqāhil ibn Anṣur ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bāḥūlī."

It is quoted that someone said to Abū 'Ubaydah, "Ajlīn said to us, 'My father used to travel with Salīm ibn

198 The word translated as "tribes," fāṣhīn, might also mean "subtribes." For the tribal names which follow, see Dārāh, Gowd., p. 258, for Asad; p. 259 botton for Aww and Khazraj.
199 For the Banu Yashkur, see Qutbīyāh, Maṭārīl, pp. 38, 47. For the Banu Mazīn, in the title which follows, see "Maṭārīl," Enc. Islām, III, 413.
217 The order of titles in the list is different in the Beatty MS from the sequence in the Flügel edition. The Beatty MS omits these last three titles.
Qutaybah on a horse of his.” Abū 'Ubaydah remarked, “Praise be to Allah and thanks to Allah, for Allah is greater than his creatures.” One boasting of what he does not own is like a person wearing a false robe and, by Allah, the father of al-'Aṣma'ī never owned any animal other than the one inside of his robe.

Our sheikh Abū Sa‘īd said, “Abū al-'Aṣma'ī was most keen about poetry and rhetoric, as was also Abū 'Ubaydah, who excelled al-'Aṣma'ī in his knowledge of genealogy, although al-'Aṣma'ī knew more about grammar than he did.” He [al-'Aṣma'ī] was surnamed Abū Sa‘īd, the name of Quraysh [his father] being 'Āṣim, surnamed Abū Bakr.

Abū al-'Aṣma'ī related, saying:

Al-'Aṣma'ī died at al-Basrah when I was present, during the year two hundred and thirteen [A.D. 828/29]. There invoked Allah on his behalf al-Fadl ibn Abī Ḥāṣib, and I heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān, his brother's son, recite at the funeral, “To Allah we belong and to Him are we returning.” Then I said, “What matter to him if he has been called home, in accordance with what Allah has made known to him?”

It is also said that al-'Aṣma'ī died in the year two hundred and seventeen [A.D. 832/33]. Among his books there were:

1. The Disposition of Man; Types (Categories); Al-Anwā'; Marking with the Hamzah; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Differentiation; The Attributes of God (Descriptions); Doors; Al-Mayyīr and al-Qidālā; The Disposition of the Horse; Horses; The Camel; Sheep; Tents and Houses; Wild Beasts; Fa'ala wa-A'ala; Similes (Proverbs); Opposite Words (each bearing different meanings); Pronunciations (Dialects); Weapons; Languages (Vernaculars); Waters of the Arabs.

2. Rare Forms; Origins of Words; Grammatical Change and Substitution; The Arabian Peninsula; The Bucket; Etymology; Nomadic Migration; The Meaning of Poetry; Rajaz Poems; The Palm Tree; Plants and Trees; The Land Tax (Al-Kharij); What Agrees in Pronunciation but Differs in its Meaning; The Strange in the Hadith—i.e., I saw this

The Son of the Brother of al-'Aṣma'ī

In the handwriting of al-Yazīdī his name is written 'Abd al-Raḥmān, surnamed Abū Muḥammad, but he was also said to have been surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan. He was not bright, but he was relied upon for what he quoted from his uncle and other scholars. Among his books there was The Meaning of Poetry.

Abūd ibn Ḥātim

He quoted al-'Aṣma'ī and was surnamed Abū Naṣr. He also quoted Abū 'Ubaydah, Abū Zayd, and other [scholars]. He died in the year two hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 845/46], when he was over seventy years old. Among his books there were:

- The Camel; Verses of "Al-Ma'ānī"; Horses; The Sown and the Palm; Trees and Plants; First Milk [after Giving Birth] and [Ordinary] Milk; Derivations of Names; Birds; How the Populace Errs in Speaking; Locusts.

119 This title is not correct in the Flügel text and the word translated as “halter” is carelessly written in the Beatty MS. It must be al-harr, a kind of wooden camel halter.

120 This title and the ones which follow are not included in the Beatty MS.

121 The word translated as “minimized” is probably given incorrectly in the Flügel text and is garbled in the Beatty MS, but the meaning, as translated, seems to be fairly clear.

122 Probably Ma'ānī al-Shīr al-'Aṣma'ī, Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr of Ibn Qutaybah, or some similar book.

123 This title and the ones following are not in the Beatty MS.
Account of al-Athram, a Disciple\textsuperscript{131} of al-ʿAṣma‘i and Abū ʿUbaydah

He was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAli ibn al-Mughirah al-Athram, who quoted a group of scholars as well as language authorities among the Arabian tribesmen. He quoted the books of Abū ʿUbaydah and al-ʿAṣma‘i, from whom he was never separated.

[Aḥbāb al-ʿAbbās] Thaʿlab said, "We were with al-Athram, the disciple of al-ʿAṣma‘i, when he was dictating the poetry of al-Rā‘i."]\textsuperscript{132}

He continued, "When he ended the session, Yaʾqūb ibn al-Sikkīt being one of those with him, he put down the manuscript from his hand saying, 'I must ask him [ibn al-Sikkīt] about a verse of al-Rā‘i.'\textsuperscript{133} Then he [Thaʿlab] went on to say, 'I said to him [al-Athram], 'Don't do that lest he has no answer and you humiliate him in the presence of the leaders of the session.' But he [al-Athram] said, 'It must be,' as he jumped up excusing, 'What do you say about this line of al-Rā‘i?'

They ruminated the cud after their hunger,
Leaving Dhiḥ al-Abāriq and pasturing at Ḥaḍīl.\textsuperscript{134}

He [Thaʿlab] said, "The shykh [ibn al-Sikkīt] stammered and gulped, not answering at all. Then he [al-Athram] asked, 'What do you have to say about another of his verses?'

Like the high-rising smoke of a lonely man,
Hungry, causing wet thorn bushes to kindle.\textsuperscript{135}

Then he [Thaʿlab] continued, "I asked [ibn al-Sikkīt] relapsed into his state of embarrassment and we saw in his face disapproval and dissent. But al-Athram said (quoted), 'The loaded [camel] seeks relief with the neck.' Yaʾqūb [ibn al-Sikkīt] exclaimed, 'That's wrong, it's with its chin!' Then al-Athram said, 'You're trying to be the leading person in a hurry,' and he went into his house.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{131} He was called ʿilḥf of al-ʿAṣma‘i, and as he was much younger, it seems more accurate to translate this word as "disciple" rather than "associate."

\textsuperscript{132} There are some differences with the Ḥufīẓ text; the verses are taken from the Beatty MS. For a better understanding of this first couplet, see Rā‘i, Shi‘āt, p. 132 (355). Yaqūq, Cong., 1, 72.

\textsuperscript{133} For a better understanding of this couplet, see Rā‘i, Shi‘āt, p. 140 (59).

\textsuperscript{134} This story casts much light on medieval education. As a disciple or apprentice of the great grammarian al-ʿAṣma‘i, the younger man al-Athram was ambitious and successful. He was evidently teaching a class in poetry, not in a mosque or house, as was usual, but somewhere near his house, perhaps an open court. He tried to show off at the expense of the Shykh ibn al-Sikkīt, the tutor of the caliph's son and a man of dignity. Thaʿlab was a younger man, but one of the great scholars of his generation. His efforts to keep al-Athram from being rude failed. Al-Athram tried to show his pupils that he knew more lines of poetry than his senior, and was so convinced that he went into his house when Ibn al-Sikkīt accused him of making an erroneous quotation.

\textsuperscript{135} For these tribes see Maʿṣūdī, Ill., 348, 216.

\textsuperscript{136} Al-Jarāmī died A.H. 235 (A.D. 840). The date is omitted in the Arabic text.

\textsuperscript{137} Perhaps connected with a book of this name by Ṣibawayh.

\textsuperscript{138} Thaʿlab's text has Commentary on the Strange in Ṣibawayh.

\textsuperscript{139} This title and the two which follow are not in the Beatty MS.
Account of al-Māzini

His name was Bakr ibn Muhammad and he was from the tribe of the Banū Māzīn ibn Shaybān ibn Dhūhi ibn Tha'labah ibn 'Ukābah ibn Ṣa'b ibn 'Ali ibn Bakr ibn Wā'il. His father was Muhammad ibn Ḥabīb, a grammarian and reader [of the Qur'an], mention of whom has already been made in the account of Abū Sawwār al-Ghanawi. Al-Wāhiq brought al-Māzini from al-Baṣrah because of a poem sung by a slave girl in the following way:

ឥ sucker of all, oh tyrant, thy evil treatment of a man

Who has greeted thee with a salutation injustice?

When he [al-Māzini] reached Sāmarrā and, entering into the presence of al-Wāhiq, gave the verse its correct grammatical form, it happened to be in accordance with the opinion of al-Wāhiq, who bestowed upon him by the hand of Āmād ibn Abī Dunyād five thousand silver coins (ṣ, dirham) and sent him home to al-Baṣrah. He died ——. Among his books there were:

The Alīf (The A) and the Lām (the L); Deduction (Conjugation); Prosody; Embellishment (Al-Dībā), contradicting the book of Abū 'Ubaydah; How the Popular Err in Speaking; Al-Qawāṣ.

Account of al-Tawwāzī

Our shaykh Abū Sa‘īd, may Allāh be merciful unto him, said that his [Tawwāzī’s] name was ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad ibn Hārūn. According to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Wādī ibn al-ʿAqḍ al-ʿAsadi of the Quraysh, quoting Abū Sa‘īd, he was a protégé of the Quraysh named Abū Muhammad.

He studied (read) with al-ʿAṣma‘ī, quoted Abū 'Ubaydah and other authorities, and mastered the Book of Sibawayh under Abū 'Umar.143

143 For the Banū Māzīn ibn Shaybān Tribe, see “Māzīn,” Enc. Ism., III, 433. In the story which follows, al-Wāhiq (caliph) a.d. 842-47 was in his palace city at Sāmarrā. His slave girl, who had been trained to recite poetry by the great scholar al-Māzīn, recited the word of a poem in a way which the caliph believed to be correct. When his scholars disagreed with him, he sent for al-Māzīn to come to Sāmarrā from al-Baṣrah. The caliph was pleased when al-Māzīn said that the girl had been correct. Authorities differ about the author of the poem and Flügel gives some errors in his version. For this incident, see Zaybādī, Tabāṣqī, p. 260; Yaqūt, Iskāl, VI (2), 381; Rūshākīn, I, 265.

144 This title and the one following it are not in the Beauty MS.

SECTION ONE

al-Ḥarīrī. Abū ‘Ali al-Ṣaḥīḥ told us what he claimed to be true, saying:

Muhammad ibn Yaṣīd [al-Mubarrad] said to us, “In the presence of ‘Umārah ibn Aqīl ibn Bilāl ibn Jarīr, I read to Abū Muḥammad al-Tawwāzī a selection from Jarīr beginning:

The dove was happy in the trees exciting me;
For a long time may thou tarry in the branches and the forest verdure, until I came to this line:

But the heart remaineth bound by longing
For Jumānah or Rayyā, the Barren Place (al-ʿAqr).

Then ‘Umārah, having Abū ‘Ubaydah in mind, said to al-Tawwāzī, ‘What would your master say?’ Al-Tawwāzī replied, ‘That they are two women [referring to Jumānah and Rayyā].’ ‘Umārah laughed, saying, ‘These two, by Allāh, are two sandy places to the right and left of my house!’ Then al-Tawwāzī said to me, ‘Write down what he said.’”

He [al-Mubarrad] continued, ‘I refused out of respect for Abū ‘Ubaydah, but he [al-Tawwāzī] said, ‘Write, for if Abū ‘Ubaydah were present, he would accept this interpretation, as it is about the man’s own house.’”

Al-Tawwāzī learned so much from al-ʿAṣma‘ī that he was called [al-ʿAṣma‘ī] after him. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Sinūlūs (Proverbs); Contraries (Opposites); Horset. Racing Themselves, Their Ages (Teeth), Their Young, Their Eyes, Exercising Thems, and Which One Is Named for Its Mare; Fu‘ālā wa-Af‘ālū; Rare Forms.

Account of al-Ziyādī

Abū Sa‘īd, to whom may Allāh be merciful, said, “He was Abū ʿIṣāq Ḳibrīm ibn Ṣufyān ibn Sulaymān ibn Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād ibn Abīh. He was a pupil of [read with] al-ʿAṣma‘ī and other scholars and, although he studied the Book of Sibawayh, he did not finish it.” Among his books there were:

An Exposition of the “Book” of Sibawayh; Sinūlū (Proverbs); Points and Signs [consonant points and vowel signs]; The Writing of Historical Traditions; Names of the Clouds, the Winds, and the Rains.

144 This passage should be compared with the poet’s anthology; see Jarīr, Sharḥ Dīvān, pp. 304, 305. ‘Umārah knew all about Jumānah and Rayyā al-ʿAqr, as he was a great-grandson of the poet Jarīr, probably brought up in the old family home.
Account of al-Ri'astery

He was Abū al-ʿAböl-ʿAbbās ibn al-ʿAraf, a protégé of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥāshimī. Ri'astery was a member of the Ḥudhūm Tribe443 and, as the father of al-ʿAbbās [al-Ri'astery] was his [Ri'astery's] slave, the name derived from Ri'astery was attached to him.

He was a scholar of language and poetry who quoted al-ʿAjmaʾi’s copiously, also quoting other authorities. Abū al-ʿAshṭ Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-Jayybi (the Grammarian) said that al-Ri'astery studied the first half of the Book of Sībaʾwayh as a pupil of al-Maʿṣūmi. Abū Saʿīd related to us, saying:

Abū Bakr ibn Durayd said to us, “When I saw a wuqayṭ of al-Bayḥah reading [aloud] the book of logic by Ibn al-Sīkātī, some people of al-Kūfah being present, I asked al-Ri'astery, who was sitting among the wuqayṭiīn, 'What did he [Ibn al-Sīkātī] say?' [Al-Ri'astery replied.]’ He said, “We learned about language from ʿAbārāṭ al-Dībāʾ and ʿAkkāt al-Yarabī, who derived a knowledge of language from the inhabitants of al-Sawād: ʿabūl ʿIyāḥ al-Ḥurūmī al-Ḥurūmī, al-Dhabīt, and similar words.”

With reference to the year during which al-Ri'astery died, Abū Saʿīd said, “Abū Bakr ibn Durayd told us that it was the year two hundred and fifty-seven [A.D. 870/71].” Among his books were:

Horses; The Camel; How the Names465 Differ from the Words of the Arabs.

Account of Abū ʿHāimat al-Sijīštāni

Abū Saʿīd said, “His name was Sahib ibn Muḥammad. He quoted copiously from Abū Zayyad, Abū ʿUbaydah, and al-ʿAjmaʾi, being himself a scholar of language and poetry.” Abū al-ʿAbbas al-Mubarrad related that he heard him say, “I read (studied) the Book of Sībaʾwayh twice with [as a pupil of] al-ʿAbḥāsh.

He had an excellent knowledge of prosody, was a prolific writer of books about language, or it is said poetry,466 and was accurate in

443 See Daryād, Coned., p. 255.
444 These words from the dialects of southern ʿIraq cannot be identified.
445 In the Arabic of the Beatty MS the hamzah is omitted, but the word given evidently means “name” or “rooms.”
446 Perhaps this phrase should be translated as "with the speech of poetry." One of the letters is unclear in the Arabic text, making the meaning uncertain.

quoting. Abū Bakr ibn Durayd depended upon him in connection with linguistics.467 It has been told to me that he died during the year fifty-five [A.H. 255; A.D. 868/69] on a day of rain. Sulaymān ibn al-Qāsim, the brother of Jaʿfar ibn al-Qāsim, prayed for him when he was buried to the right of the place of prayer of ʿİyyūl al-Mayl. Among his books there were:

How the Populace Err in Speaking; Birds; Masculine and Feminine; Plants;468 The Shortened and the Lengthened; Differentiation;469 [Qurʾānic] Readings; Stopping and Starting; Elocution of Style; The Palm Tree; Contraries (Opposites); Bows, Arrows, and Archers; Swords and Spears; Planting and Going the Rounds at Night;469 Wild Beasts; Crippling Things; Spelling; Planting; The Disposition of Man; Incorporation of Letters [to make a double letter]; First Milk after Giving Birth, Cuts, and Milk; Generosity; Winter and Summer; Bees and Honey; The Camel; Herbs and Vegetables; Agreement [when one word follows another without altering the sense of the phrase]; Fertility and Drought; Contradictions of the Manuscripts [of the Qurʾān]; Locus,469 Yearning for the Homeland; Heat and Cold, Sun and Moon, Night and Day; The Difference between the Sons of Adam and All the Animate Creatures.

Account of al-Mubarrad469b

I read what was written in the handwriting of Abū al-ʿUsayn al-Khażāzī, that:

The name of Al-Mubarrad was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAkkār ibn ʿUmayr ibn Ṣaḥāni ibn Sulaymān ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Durayd ibn Mālik ibn al-ʿAbhāsh ibn ʿAmmīh ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Bilāl ibn Awīl ibn

467 The following sentence is found at this point in the Fligel edition and in the margin of the Beatty MS: “Ibn Durayd said, He was accomplished with books, clever and intelligent in explaining obscure passages.”
468 The Fligel text has Trees and Plants.
469 This title is written twice in the Beatty MS.
469b This title is not in the Fligel text. In the Beatty MS it seems to be Al-Zayn wa-al-Jawādīn, which gives the idea of planting and guarding the crops at night.
469c Omitted from the Beatty MS.
469b The Beatty MS gives al-Mubarrad, but in most of the translation the usual spelling, al-Mubarrad, is used. Yaqūt, Iskāl, VI (1), 177, says that al-Mārikī gave this man the nickname "Mubarrad" (meaning "head-headed in establishing the truth"), but the scholars of al-Kūfah changed it to "Mubarrad" ("chilly"), the name by which the grammarian is known.
Aslam ibn Ahjai ibn Ka'b ibn al-Jairith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn al-Azd, al-Azd said to be the son of al-Ghawīth. Our shaykh, Abū Sa'id, said that:

Our shaykh, Abū Sa'id, said that:

After the generation of al-Jarnī and al-Mazinī, grammar passed on to Abū al-'Abbas Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Ṣirāḥī [al-Mubarrad], who was descended from the Ṣirāḥī, a subtribe of al-Azd. He learned grammar from al-Jarnī, al-Mazinī, and other scholars, developing the work of al-Mazinī.

It is said that he [al-Mubarrad] started studying the Book of Sibawayh with al-Jarnī, but completed it with al-Mazinī. In the handwriting of al-Hakimī [there is the following quotation] from the book Devices of the Men of Letters, which says:

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Qasim said, "Al-Mubarrad was one of the Sūrāḥīs of al-Bayrānī who sweep the grounds. He was called Ḥayyān al-Sirāḥī, but as he traced his lineage to al-Yaman, al-Mubarrad married the daughter of al-Ḫafṣī al-Muhhammānī, this Ḫafṣī being a noble man (ṣahif) of the people of al-Yaman."

Abū Sa'id said:

According to what Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrājī and Abū 'Alī al-Ṣaffār have told us about him [al-Mubarrad], his birth was during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 826/25] and he died in the year two hundred and eighty-five [A.D. 908/99], when he was seventy-nine years old.

It is also said that his birth was during the year two hundred and seven [A.D. 823/24]. Abū al-Salī [Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yalāyī] said, "I heard him say that." He was buried in the cemetery of the Kūfah Gate. Among his books were:

Al-Kāmil (The Complete); The Garden; Improvisation; Etymology; Al-Anwā' and the Seasons; Al-Qawāfī; Penmanship and Spelling;

138 See Duzeyd, Genol., p. 258.
139 As this sect does not occur in Shahristānī, Baghdādī, Māzūrī, and other reference books, it is probably some local group at al-Bayrānī. The Beatty MS, which has been followed here, gives the idea that it was a band who were sweepers.
140 Recent Arabic editions of this famous book have been published by Dir al-Kutub and Maktabat Nahjat Misr in Cairo, and there is also the older edition put out by Kreysing of Leipzig in 1864.
Sibawayh, but they did not have (produce) a book equal to his, I mean to that of al-Mubarrad. An example [of those interested in Sibawayh] was Abū Dhakwān al-Qāsim ibn Ismā‘il. Abū Dhakwān wrote a book, *The Meaning of Poetry*, which was quoted by Ibn Durrāniyyah. He happened to go to Sirāf at the time of al-Zanj. He was erudite, an authority on historical tradition, and a member of a group [of scholars]. *Al-Tawwazzī* was the husband of the mother of Abū Dhakwān.

[Another] example was 'Ubayd ibn Dhakwān, surnamed Abū ‘Ali, who lived at ‘Askar Mukram and among whose books there were *Contraries*, *Reply of the Sileucers, Oaths (Divisions) of the Arabians*. [Another] example was Abū Ya‘lā ibn Abī Zurrāh, a friend of al-Māzinī, who was eminent, a scholar of grammar and language, and trustworthy in his quoting. One of his written books was *A Compendium of Grammar*, which he did not finish.

Among the Scholars of al-Baṣrah
Abū Ja‘far Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rustum ibn Yazdibān al-Ṭabarī, who belonged to the generation of Abū Ya‘lā ibn Abī Zurrāh. Among his books there were:
The Strange in the Qur‘ān; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Form of the Hamzah; Declension (Conjugation); Grammar.

An Example [of Those Interested in Sibawayh]: *Al-Ushnādīnī*
He was surnamed Abū Uthmān and was quoted by Abū Bakr ibn Dara‘y, whom he met at al-Baṣrah. Among his books there were:

The Meaning of Poetry; Verses (Tents) of the Arabs.

130  **CHAPTER TWO**

 SECTION ONE  131

An Example: *Al-Mabrinān*
He was Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Ismā‘il, surnamed Abū Bakr, who was one of the people of al-‘Askar. He had a dialogue with Abū Hāshim about instruction for explaining Sibawayh, which with the desire and help of Allāh we shall mention. Among his books there were:
The Letters ‘Ayn (Eyes, Springs); Grammar Compounded according to the Weak Letters; An Explanation of the “Book” of Sibawayh, which he did not complete; An Explanation of the Arguments (Proofs) of the “Book” of Sibawayh; The Illustrious Book of Streams (Events); Description of Thanks to the Beneficent.

Account of al-Zajjāj
He was Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sāri (Surri) al-Zajjāj, the first pupil (leading disciple) of al-Mubarrad, with whom he studied. Whoever, moreover, wished to become a pupil of al-Mubarrad first of all explained to him [al-Zajjāj] what he wished to study. Later al-Zajjāj rose higher to be with ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān [the vizier] and then with [the Caliph] al-Mu‘tāfīd, whose children he taught.

The reason for his connection with al-Mu‘tāfīd was that some of the court companions described for al-Mu‘tāfīd the book *Compendium of Speech*, which Maḥbarah al-Nādir wrote. The name of Maḥbarah was Muḥammad ibn Yāliyā ibn Abī ‘Abbād, surnamed Abū Ja‘far. The name of Abū ‘Abbād was Jābir ibn Zayd ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-‘Askārī. He [Muḥammad ibn Yāliyā] was highly cultured and a court companion of al-Mu‘tāfīd. When he composed his book in the form of tables, al-Mu‘tāfīd ordered [his vizier] al-Qāsim ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh to find out who could explain these tables. So he [al-Qāsim] sent to Tha‘lab, exposing the matter (problem), but he [Tha‘lab] did not undertake the solution of the tables, saying, "I am not acquainted with this problem, but if you wish [me to work on it]"

130 For al-‘Askar, see Yājūj, Geog., III, 676-77.
139 For Sirāf, see Yājūj, Geog., III, 676-77.
135 This evidently refers to al-Kāsif, the first title in the list of books in the account of al-Mubarrad.
134 For Sirāf, see Yājūj, Geog., III, 676-77.
133 A well-known town of southern Persia; see Yājūj, Geog., III, 676-77.
132 This title is not included in the Beatty MS. On the margin the following note is inserted: "Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Marwān quoted through Abū Dhakwān the book *Opposites* from al-Tawwazzī." This evidently refers to *Kitāb al-‘Addād* of al-Tawwazzī.
on Kitāb al-Ayn [of al-Khallal], it is available, and there is no quoting [public presentation] of it." Then he [al-Qāsim] wrote to al-Mubarrad, asking him to explain it [the Compendium of Speech], but he answered that the book was a long one, involving labor and toil, whereas he had grown old, with resulting weakness. But [he said], "If you will turn it over to my friend Ibrahim ibn Sari [al-Zajjaj], I hope that he can accomplish the task." Al-Qāsim neglected to mention al-Zajjaj to al-Mu’ta’id until al-Mu’ta’id pleased him. Then he informed him of what Tha’lab and al-Mubarrad had said and that the matter should be entrusted to al-Zajjaj. Al-Qāsim did this [referred the commentary to al-Zajjaj]111 and al-Zajjaj said, "Although I do not yet have the manuscript and have not yet seen the tables, I will undertake the work."

When, therefore, he ordered him to work on two parts,112 al-Zajjaj borrowed books about language from Tha’lab, al-Sukkari, and others, because he did not know much about language. He interpreted all of two parts, having it written in the handwriting of al-Tirmidhi al-Saghir Abū al-Ḥasan. After he had bound it and brought it to the vizier, the vizier took it to al-Mu’ta’id, who was delighted with it and ordered that three hundred gold coins (s., dinār) should be bestowed upon him. He also commanded him to write a commentary on the entire book. When al-Zajjaj had finished this, no manuscript was issued to any place other than the library of al-Mu’ta’id.

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nadim]: This commentary appeared during the misfortunes of the sultan, apart by itself. We saw it and it was on fine paper.113 It is said that because of it al-Zajjaj received a high position, there being assigned to him an allowance among the court companions, an allowance among the legal authorities, and an allowance among the scholars—about three hundred gold coins (s., dinār).

111 The Beatty MS clearly implies this insertion.
112 The Beatty MS, differing from Hāgdel here, gives al-dhimān. In this spot, the word may mean "two parts" or "half," although it more often means "double," or has some technical significance.
113 This manuscript may have been saved from the palace library when Ahmad ibn Burayd died, and bent the caliph in 945, in A.D. 945/4, and thus when al-Mu’ta’id died, probably due to poisoning.
CHAPTER TWO

Hātim [al-Sijistānī], al-Riyāḍī, al-Tauwazī, and al-Ziyādī. Ābū Bakr [Ibn Durayd], moreover, quoted the book Mūsālamāt al-Ashāfī (Gestures of Friendship of the Noble), written by his paternal uncle al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad. He died at Baghdād during the year three hundred and twenty-one [A.D. 933/34], and was buried in the cemetery known as al-ʿAbbāsīyyah on the east side to the rear of Sūq al-Sālīyah (the Weapon Bazaar).176 Among his books there were:

Al-Jamī‘ah (The Main Part, The Collection), about the science of language, which had diversities in its transcribing, with many additions and deletions, for he dictated some of it in Persia and also dictated some from memory at Baghdād. When the dictation was inconsistent, he added and subtracted. What he dictated to his pupils (young men) in Persia is known to be the beginning of the book, whereas the complete form, which is regarded as reliable, is the last transcription. The last person to make the transcription correct, in his copy, was Ābū al-Fath ʿUḥayd Allāh ibn ʿAbn the grammarians, who wrote it from a number of manuscripts and read it over with him [Ibn Durayd].177

Saddle and Bridle; Etymology (Al-Ishīqīq).178 Large Book of the Horse; Small Book of the Horse; Al-Anwāʾ; The Gathered; The Acquired; Errors in Speaking; Arab Pilgrims; What He Is Questioned about in Speech and Is Answered by Him from Memory—ʿAli ibn Ismāʿil ibn Ḥarb compiled it under his supervision (collected it from him); Languages (Vernaculars); Weapons; The Strange in the Qurʿān, which he did not complete; Training of the Scribe; similar to the book of Ibn Qutaybah—as he did not complete more than a rough draft, nothing resulted that can be relied upon; The Borrower of Passages (The Quoter);179 The Jeweled Girdle; Faʿalṭu wa-Afrʾalṭu; Description of Clouds and Rain.

Ābū al-Husayn al-Duraydī said to me:

I was present when Ābū ʿAli ibn Muqallāh Muhammad ibn ʿAli and Ibn Ḥaṭītī were studying, with Ābū Bakr [Ibn Durayd], the book of

176 See Yaqūq, Gog., III, 191.
177 This book, which resembles a dictionary, was published in Hyderabad, India, 1936–27, with the title Jamishar al-Laghah.
178 See Bibliography.
179 This title and the ones following it are omitted in the Beatty MS.

SECTION ONE

al-Muṣafādī ibn Salānah in which he refutes al-Khalīl. He [Ibn Durayd] was saying, “Ābū Tālib [al-Muṣafādī] told the truth about one thing which he happened upon, but Ābū Tālib made an erroneous statement about another matter.” Then I saw this passage, which Ibn Ḥafṣ collected on about one hundred leaves, his version being mediocre.

Account of Ibn al-Sarrāj

Ibn Duraydīyyah, [surnamed] Ābū Muhammad, said:

He was one of the brightest of the young men of al-Mubarrad, with sharpness of intellect and quickness to comprehend. Al-Mubarrad was fond of him, keeping him near him, explaining things to him, meeting him in private and social gatherings, and enjoying his company.

He went on to say:

One day I saw Ibn al-Sarrāj when he had joined al-Zajjāj, being transferred to him [as a pupil] after the death of al-Mubarrad. As some man asked al-Zajjāj about a certain matter, he said to Ibn al-Sarrāj, “Answer him, oh, Ābū Bakr!” He [Ābū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj] replied to him making a mistake. Then al-Zajjāj stopped him saying, “By Allāh, if I were at home I’d beat you, but the people here won’t stand for that. We were just comparing you for brightness and quick understanding with al-Ḥasan ibn Rajī, and then you make a mistake over this sort of a question!” So he [Ibn al-Sarrāj] answered, “You’ve beaten me, oh, Ābū lishqīq [al-Zajjāj], and you’ve trained me, but I’ve been neglecting what I studied while reading this book”—he meant the Book of Sibawayh—“because I’ve been diverted from it by logic and music, but now I’m going back [to Sibawayh and grammar].” He did return, writing the books which he composed and causing the leadership to fall to him after al-Zajjāj passed away.

He died in the year ———.181 Among his books there were:

The large book, Roots (Fundamentals).182 Collection of Roots; The Small Compendium; Etymology; Commentary on Sibawayh; Proving of Readings [arguments for ways of reading the Qurʾān]; Poetry and the Poets; Winds, Air, and Fire; The Camel; Sequences in Historical Traditions and Reports.183

181 The date of his death, omitted in the manuscript, was A.D. 929.
182 This probably refers to the roots or origins of words.
183 Here muṣafādī, translated as “sequences,” may refer to unbroken sequences in handing down traditions, or else to conjunctions used in relating traditions.
Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn 'Isa al-Rummāni said, "When Ibn al-Sarrāj was present, his book which he wrote about roots was mentioned and some speaker said that it was better than the book *Improvisation (Al-Muqādalah)*. Abū Bakr [Ibn al-Sarrāj] replied, 'Don’t say that,' and recited:

But she wept first, and her weeping moved me to weep with her,
And I said, the first one is the best one."

Account of Abū Sa‘īd al-Ṣaḥḥī, May Allāh Show Mercy to Him

The shaykh Abū Muhammad, may Allāh strengthen him, said to me:

Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Marzubān was of Persian origin. His birth was at Sirāf, where he started his search for learning, but he left before he was twenty years old, going to ‘Umnān. After engaging in legal work there he returned to Sirāf, later moving to al-Askar, where he dwelt for a time, and fell in with Muhammad ibn ‘Umar al-Ṣaymārī, the theologian, with whom he associated and whom he liked best among all his friends.

He was an authority for the law according to the codes of the ‘Iraqi scholars, and was the successor of the judge Abū Muhammad ibn Ma‘rūf, his grammar teacher, serving as a judge first on the East Side, then for both sides, and again for the East Side. The legal authority al-Karkhī used to meet with him and, being fond of him, formed him a circle (class) in which he interpreted the law. His birth was before the year seventy [A.H. 270: A.D. 883/84] and he died between the first two nights of Rajab [the seventh Muslim month] during the year three hundred and sixty-eight [A.D. 978/79]. Among his books there were:

184 This was a well-known book of al-Muhaţarr.
185 A more literal translation is "superiority is to the first."
186 This was probably the shaykh Abū Muhammad ibn Abī Sa‘īd, who was perhaps a son of Abī Sa‘īd al-Ṣaḥḥī. The word "strengthen" is given in different forms in the Beatty MS and Flügel text.
187 "His grammar teacher" is only in Flügel.
188 Abī Sa‘īd al-Ṣaḥḥī served as judge on different sides of the Tigris at Baghdad.
189 The Flügel version gives his birth as before A.H. 937: the translation follows the Beatty MS, which is probably correct, as Suyūti, *Baghyat*, p. 221, says he interpreted the law for fifty years.

Commentary on *Sihānayh*; The Alfi‘ (The A’s) at the End of a Line of Poetry and of Stopping; Accounts of the Grammarians of al-‘Aṣrāf; The Origins, about grammar, three hundred leaves; Stopping and Starting;189 The Art of Poetry and Good Style; Commentary on the "Maqāṣidah"190 of Ibn Durayd.

Account of Ibn Durutīyyah191

Abū Muhammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muhammad ibn Durutīyyah met al-Ḥubayr and Ṭhā‘lab from both of whom he received instruction. He was distinguished and learned in many of the sciences of the inhabitants of al-‘Aṣrāf, to whom he adhered with zealous loyalty. He wrote *A Refutation of al-Mustāfjād ibn Sālimah and Consideration of ‘Kithā al-‘Ayūd* He died some time after the year three hundred and thirty [A.D. 941/42].188 Among his books there were:

Directions, about grammar; Guidance, a commentary on al-Jarnī;
A Commentary on Elloquent Style; Training of the Writer (Scribe);188 Al-Muţāţammin; Masculine and Feminine; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Spelling; The Strange in the Hadīth; The Meaning of Poetry; The Living and the Dead; The Mediation between al-Abḥāsah and Ṭhā‘lab in Connection with the Meaning of the Qur‘ān, with the Point of View of Abū Muhammad [Ibn Durutīyyah] with Regards to the Matter; Commentary on the "Muṣafalāhabāyik," which he did not finish;191 Commentary on the Seven, which he did not finish; Meaning in the

184 This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.
185 Al-Fihrist does not include this title in the list of books written by Ibn Durayd, but Yaqūt, *Irkād*, VI (5), 489, gives as the title of one of his books Kithā al-Muṣafalāhabāyik ("The Shortened and the Lengthened").
186 See the Biog. Index for additional spellings of this name.
188 As part of this title the Beatty MS gives what must be either al-muţāţammin or al-muţāţammin, which would give the meaning *The Training of a Finished Scribe* (or *The Training of a Scribe Who Completes*). This translation follows Flügel, which gives Al-Muţāţammin as a separate title, in which case it may refer to the poet of that name; see Biog. Index.
189 This refers to the famous anthology of poetry; see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 94, and the Bibliography under Muṣafalāhabāyik. The title which follows must refer either to the Seven Readers of the Qur‘ān, or else to the Mu‘allaqat (see Glossary).
Qur’an, which he did not finish; Commentary on al-Shay’i, which he did not finish; The Secrets of Grammar, which he did not finish; Commentary on “Al-Muqtaṣabah,” which he did not finish; Criticism of the Book of Ibn al-Rawiḍa about the Grammarians; Refutation of Barzakh al-Aridī; The Seasons (Ages), which he did not finish; Refutation of Tha’labah concerning “Disagreement of Grammarians”; An Account and Explanation of Quss ibn Sā’idah; An Explanation of Speech and Its Structure, which he did not finish.

Refutation of Ibn Khilaṣwaḥ concerning the Whole and the Part; Refutation of Ibn Muqsim concerning his “Ikhṭiyār”; Contraries (Opposites); Accounts of the Grammarians; Refutation of al-Farā’i concerning “Meaning”; Collection of Prosody; Argument for the [Qur’anic] Reader; Explanation of the Poem of Shubayl ibn ‘Azrah; his epistle to Najīh al-Tininī, concerned with exalting Arabic; a statement to Ibn Quṭayyabah concerning “Mistakes of Scholars”; Refutation of Abū Zayd al-Balḫī concerning Grammar; A Refutation of Whoever Speaks of Supplementary Letters; and Says That There Is an Extra Letter in a Word; The Triumph of Sīwāyah over All of the Grammarians—this book comprised a number of sections but he did not finish it; A Refutation of Whoever Has Transmitted “Kisbah al-Ayn” from al-Khuṯi; Controversy of Sīwāyah with al-Muḥarrad.


Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn ‘Isā ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd Allāh the Grammarian traces his origin to Sāmarrah, but was born at Baghdād during the year two hundred and ninety-six [A.D. 908/909]. He is one of the most illustrious of the grammarians of al-Baṣrah and theologians of Baghdād, skilled in many of the studies (sciences) connected with the law, the Qur’an, grammar, and theology, and prolific, moreover, in authorship and composition.

Most of the works which he composed were taken by dictation from him, being still extant at the time this book is being formed. We shall mention at this point his compositions concerning grammar, language, and poetry, but list his books on theology in their proper place, doing the same with the law.

Commentary on Sīwāyah; Criticism of Sīwāyah; Aims of the “Book” of Sīwāyah; Basic (Elemental) Questions in the “Book” of Sīwāyah; Commentary on the “Introduction” [al-Maddhak] [about grammar] of al-Muḥarrad; Commentary on the Questions of al-Akhfāsi, the Younger and the Elder; Commentary on the “Abridgment” of al-Farman; Commentary on “The [Small] Compendium” of Ibn al-Sarrāj; Commentary on “The Alif (The A) and the Lām (The L)” by al-Maḵzūn; Declension (Conjugation); Spelling; Brevity in Grammar; The Subject in Grammar; the large book, Etymology; the small book, Etymology; The Alfaṣ (The A’s) in the Qur’an; Brevity of the Qur’an; Commentary on the Book “Roots” by Ibn al-Sarrāj.

Al-Fārist, [surnamed] Abū ‘Ali, May Allah Show Mercy to Him

He was al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaṭfār, the grammarian, who died before three hundred and seventy [A.D. 980/81]. Among his books there were:

Beneficial (Corrected) Questions, in which he refutes al-Zuqājī— it is known as The Neglected; Argument That the Seven Readers Were the Imams of the Cities, as Designated by Abī Bakr Ahmād ibn Mūṣā ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Mufṣīd, with Whom May Allah Be Well Pleased; The

200 The word “aṣṣīm” (apēṭā) may be instead “expositions” (a’ād).
201 The Arabic for “younger” and “elder” may indicate instead “small” and “large” commentators. Questions (“Mawsū’a”) is not included with the titles of the books of al-Akhfāsh the Elder, the Middle, or the Younger.
202 The full title of this book by al-Farmani is Abridgment of the Grammar of the Learned.
203 The full title of this book is The Large Book of Roots (“Kisbāh al-Uṣūl al-Kahīr”).
204 This date is omitted in the Beatty MS.
CHAPTER TWO

Recollection (Record); Elucidation in Grammar; Verses (Test) of the
Arabians; Digist of Governing Words in Declension (Conjugation);
Baghdadi Questions; Halabi Questions; Shirazi Questions.

This title and the one which follows are not in the Beatty MS.
110 These three titles are written in small letters under the list of books. Before
each title there are the words "and to him." The name "Baghdadi" is not written
correctly. "Halabi" refers to Aleppo. These titles were perhaps added by the same
scribe who transcribed the Beatty MS, but after he had written down the original
passage about al-Farrā. It is also possible that the book titles were added at a later
time by a different scribe.

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Second Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist with accounts of the scholars. This section includes
accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kūfah.1

Thus saith Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq [al-Nādhir]: We discussed the
scholars of al-Baṣrah first, because [scientific] knowledge of Arabic
was derived from them and also because al-Baṣrah was established
before al-Kūfah.2

Account of al-Ruʾāsī

I read [something written] in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib,
which stated that the name of al-Ruʾāsī was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbī
Ṣaḥūh, and that he was surnamed Abū Ḫāṣir but called al-Ruʾāsī
because of the large size of his head. As he used to dwell at al-Nīl3
he was also called al-Nīlī. He was the first scholar of al-Kūfah to
write a book about grammar.

Thaʾlab said, "Al-Ruʾāsī was the teacher of al-Kīsāʾī and al-
Farrāʾ." Moreover, al-Farrāʾ said:

When al-Kīsāʾī went to Baghdad, al-Ruʾāsī said to me, "Al-Kīsāʾī has
gone and you are more steadfast than he is." When I [also] went to
Baghdad, I saw al-Kīsāʾī and asked him some questions connected with

1 The Beatty MS contains the words, "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the
Compassionate," but Flügel omits them. The Beatty MS omits the words "the second
chapter." For al-Kūfah, see Flügel in ZDMG, XIII (1860), 377.
2 Al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah were established as military camps. Al-Baṣrah became
a town with buildings about a.d. 638 and al-Kūfah about a.d. 630. The first gram-
marian at al-Baṣrah lived during the seventh century, whereas al-Ruʾāsī lived in the
eighth century.
3 A suburb of al-Kūfah near ancient Babylon; see Yaʿqūb, Geogr., IV, 861.
al-Ru'āsī. When he answered me in disagreement with my point of view, I winked at a group of scholars from al-Kūfah who were with me. Then he said, "What's the matter with you? You haven't agreed [but] perhaps you're one of the people of al-Kūfah." I replied, "Yes." Then he said, "Al-Ru'āsī states thus and thus, but it is not correct. You have heard the Arabs say thus and thus," until he came to my question and I convinced him. This al-Ru'āsī was a righteous man. Once al-Ru'āsī said, "Al-Khalīl sent me asking for my book, which I sent to him. He read it and then wrote his own book." It is [also] said that in the Book of Sibawayh there spoke al-Kūfī, meaning al-Ru'āsī. Ibn Dunsītīyah said, "Tha'lab thought that al-Ru'āsī was the first of the grammarians of al-Kūfah to compose a book about grammar." He died ———. Among his books there were: Al-Fayāl [Judgment, Division], which many have quoted; The Diminutive [a form in grammar]; The Meaning of the Qur'ān, which is quoted to this day; the large book, Stopping and Starting; the small book, Stopping and Starting.

Account of Mu'ādh al-Harrāt

From what is written in the handwriting of Abū al-Tayyib, the brother of al-Shajī'ī.

Mu'ādh al-Harrāt was the paternal uncle of al-Ru'āsī. He was Abū Muslim Mu'ādh al-Harrāt, said to be surnamed Abū 'Ali, one of the protégés of Muhammad ibn Ka'b al-Qaqrā. His father called him Abū Muslim, but when he had a child, whom he named 'Ali, he was surnamed for him.

Mu'ādh was a friend of al-Kumayt, whom he advised to keep clear of Khalīl [ibn 'Abd Allah] al-Qasrāt, saying, "He is strongly prejudiced against the Mudjarīyah." When al-Kumayt did not take his advice and Khalīl arrested him, putting him in prison, 4 Mu'ādh lamented the occurrence, saying, 5:

4 Kūth al-'Ayn, the first Arabic dictionary.

5 This may mean that in the Book of Sibawayh, Sibawayh said "al-Kūfī," meaning "al-Ru'āsī."

6 Because a contemporary poet received a large gift for flattering Khalīl, the governor of al-Iraq, al-Kumayt also tried to flatter him. But Mu'ādh warned him that he belonged to the tribe of Mudar, was a Shī'ī and an 'Iraqī, whereas Khalīl belonged to a hostile tribe, was a Sunni and a Syrian; see Khalīlīkh, III, 371, 372.
It is said that when the disease of al-Kisâ‘î became serious at al-Rayy, al-Rashîd began to visit him, constantly returning to him. One day he heard him [al-Kisâ‘î] recite:

Fate has made you settle in Dhu al-Nu‘ayl,
But it has been shown to me, as I swear by my father,
that you shall not have Dhu al-Nu‘ayl as a residence.
Your abode should be in Dhu Baqar al-Himâl,
But how can Dhu Baqar be compared with the
place of pilgrimage (al-muzâfâr)?

Al-Rashîd came out saying, “By Allah, al-Kisâ‘î has died.” When they asked him, “How is that, oh Commander of the Faithful?” he replied, “He told me that a nomad who was staying with him fell ill and, using this verse as an illustration, died while he was with him.” It is said that al-Kisâ‘î did die on that day. He was called al-Kisâ‘î because he used to attend the class of Miṣ‘âd al-Harrâ‘ at which the others wore cloaks, whereas he wore a kisâ‘ and mantle. He died at al-Rayy in the year one hundred and ninety-seven [A.D. 812/13], both he and Abû Yûsîf the Judge being buried on the same day. Among his books there were:
The Meaning of the Qur’ân; Abridgment of Grammar; [Qur’ânic] Readings; Numbers; the large book, Rare Forms; the medium-size book, Rare Forms; the small book, Rare Forms; Terminations and Connections in the Qur’ân; Disagreement of Numbers; Spelling; Nouns; Poems of Contention and Their Forms; Forms of Surnames in the Qur’ân; Letters.  

* The Beasty MS; the Flügel edition; Yâqût, Ikhtibâr, VI (5), 195; Zubaydî, Taṣâbîq, pp. 344-45, give these lines with variations. The couplet mentions two localities. For Dhu al-Nu‘ayl, see Yâqût, Gog., IV, 764 l. 20; for Dhu Baqar al-Himâl, see Yâqût, Gog., I, 699 l. 19-22. Al-muzâfâr is a Persian word.

10 In this sentence “cloaks” (hu’dâ) very likely refers to costumes composed of three, inner robe, and large outer cloak. A kisâ‘ was probably a short cloak over the shoulders. “Mantle” (râ’dâ) is in the Flügel version. In the Beasty MS there is instead a word which seems to be rûsâ‘âl; it cannot be identified and may be a mistake. These names for garments signify different types of cloaks and mantles in different regions. For kisâ‘, see Khallûkîn, II, 238.  

11 This title is omitted in the Beasty MS.

Nâ‘îr ibn Yusuf

He was a friend of al-Kisâ‘î, a grammarian and philologist, among whose books there were:
The Camel; The Disposition of Man.  

Among the Scholars of al-Kufâ‘

Abû al-Hassan al-Ahmâr, not Khalaf, lived before and after al-Kisâ‘î. He started ahead of him, studying under al-Ra‘îsî, but reading [the Qur’ân] according to al-Kisâ‘î. Among his books there were:
Declension (Conjugation); Sure Knowledge of the Masters of Literary Style.

Among Their Scholars Also, and Those among Them Who Quoted

Khalid ibn Kultûh al-Kalbî, who according to what was written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kâfî handed down [traditions about] the poems and the tribes, being versed in the genealogies, surnames, and times of the people. He also wrote works about the poems and tribes. Among his books there were:
Poets Who are Remembered; Poems of the Tribes, dealing with a number of tribes.

Account of al-Farra‘

Abû Zakariyyah ibn Ziyâd al-Farra‘, a protegé of the Banû Mînqâr Tribe, was born at al-Kîfâh. According to [what is written in] the handwriting of Salamah, al-Farra‘ was called al-Âbî. From [what is written in] the handwriting of al-Yûsîf [he was called] Yâhîyâ ibn Ziyâd ibn Qâwî-Bahhû‘, ibn Dâwar ibn Kûdanâr. According to [what is written in] the handwriting of Abû ‘Abd Allâh ibn Muqâlah:

10 Seco d title not included in the Beasty MS.
11 See Biog. Index, Khalaf ibn Hâyân al-Ahmâr. The Flügel text has Ahmad, but the Beasty MS gives al-Ahmâr, which is correct.
12 Second title not included in the Beasty MS.
13 This name and the ones which follow are Arab transliterations of Persian names and probably inaccurate. Compare with Susîfî, Ikhvât, p. 431.