CHAPTER FOUR

Mutammin ibn Nuwayrah: Abü 'Amr al-Shaybānī and al-Āṣma'ī.
Bihār ibn Abī Khaţim: al-Āṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkit.
Al-Zubair ibn Bahr: al-Āṣma'ī, Abū 'Amr [al-Shaybānī], and others in addition to them.
Al-Mu’tamim ibn ‘Alas: a group.
'Adh ibn Zayd al-Hḍādī: a group.
'Adh ibn al-Riqa’ al-’Amili: a group.
Sa‘ā‘īn ibn Wathil: al-Āṣma'ī and Ibn al-Sikkit.
Al-Tirsimlī: al-Tūsī improved [his poetry] and a group [edited it].
Shabib ibn al-Bara’ī.
‘Amr ibn Sha’īs: al-Āṣma’ī and Ibn Ḥabīb.
Al-Namīr ibn Tawhīb: al-Āṣma’ī and Ibn al-Ar’ābih.
Al-Murr al-Fuqā‘ī.
Abū al-Tamāshān al-Qaynī.
Sālim ibn Wābisḥ.
Al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Utbah ibn Abī Lahāb.
Al-Shammāzhī.
Mān ibn Aws.
Al-Ri’āt ‘Ubayd.
Abū al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥaṣan and his son, Sā‘īd ibn Abū al-Raḥmān.
‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-Raqayyyī: al-Āṣma’ī and al-Tūsī.
Abū al-‘Awṣād al-Dāūrī: Abū ‘Amr [al-Shaybānī].
Firūz al-‘Aṣwād al-Numayrī.
Al-Hādīrah: Ibn Durayd also [edited his poetry].

SECTION ONE

Mudarras ibn Ribī’: al-Āṣma’ī and others, too.
Khuraybah: a group.
Khālid ibn Zuhayr.
Mas‘ūd ibn al-‘Uqaylī: a group.
Abū Ḥaḍīrah al-Numayrī: al-Āṣma’ī.
Al-Khansā: Ibn al-Sikkit, Ibn al-Ar’ābih, and others besides them.
Dhāl al-Rummaḥ: a group of scholars edited and quoted his poetry. It was Abū al-‘Abbās al-A‘dawāy who made an edition from all of these quotations. Al-Sukkārī also edited his poetry, adding to what was done by the group. Those who quoted the poetry of Dhāl al-Rummaḥ were al-Ḥāfiz ibn Nuwayrah, who learned it from his father; Ḥilāl ibn Māya’ūl, al-Munajjī ibn Nāfshā, quoted by Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh; al-Layh ibn Dūmān, who learned it from Abū al-Munajjī; and al-Nāṣir ibn Qūsim, who quoted Abū Jahl al ‘Adawāy.
Abū al-Nājīn al-‘Ijlī: Abū ‘Amr al-Sayyābī quoted the poetry of Abū al-Najm from Muhammad ibn Shaybān ibn Abī al-Najm and from Abū al-Ashār, who was the son of the daughter of Abī al-Najm. Abū Sā‘īd al-Sukkārī also edited his work, improving it.

13 This name is written clearly in the Beatty MS. It is cited as a name in Qayyabah, Mu‘ādī, p. 216, but not as the name of a poet. Fiālī gives Ḥārīhah. It is perhaps meant to be the poet Ḥārīhah ibn Bādī, but this is very uncertain.
14 The Beatty MS inserts the word suhālīth (“beginner,” “originator”), or mubāhīth (“relator”) at this point. It may be a mistake, or meant to be some other word.
15 In the next section the Beatty MS again takes up its customary horizontal lines, ending the double vertical columns of poet’s names (see n. 7).
16 In the Beatty MS this name is given as Abū Hurairī, but Fiālī suggests that perhaps Abū Jāzīl is meant.
17 In the Beatty MS this name is spelled Mansūr, probably a mistake. The name may be Māya’ūl, as translated, but this is too uncertain to identify and place in the Biqā‘, Index. See Durayd, Genā‘, p. 213.
18 This name seems to be given inaccurately in the Beatty and ‘Adawāy MSS.
19 In the Arabic texts the name is given as Abū Juhābah al-Adawāy, although it is probably meant to be the name given in the translation. For al-‘Adawāy, see Durayd, Genā‘, p. 130, l. 3.
Al-'Ajij al-Ra'is; al-Asha'ma' and Abi 'Amr al-Shaybani [edited his poetry].
Rahib ibn al-'Ajij, who was one of the more recent poets: al-Asha'ma' quoted the poetry of Rahib directly from him, as did also Abi 'Amr al-Shaybani and a number of other scholars. Abu Sa'id al-Sukkari edited and improved his poetry.
Al-Akhdhal: al-Sukkari edited his poetry, improving it.
Al-Farazdaq: al-Sukkari also edited his poetry and improved it.
Jarir: al-Sukkari did not edit his poetry. Those who did edit it belonged to a group of scholars, among whom were Abu 'Amr [al-Shaybani], al-Asha'ma', and Ibn al-Sikkat. The person who quoted the poetry of Jarir directly from him with his contentions was Mohaj ibn Kasib ibn 'Ammar ibn 'Ata' ibn al-Khatib. This is what is written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kifri.

The contests between Jarir and Farazdaq were edited by Abu 'Ukhaydah Ma'mar ibn al-Muthanna, while al-Asha'ma' quoted them from another source. Abu Sa'id al-Hasan ibn al-Husayn [al-Sukkari] edited and improved them. Abu al-Mughith al-Awliya also edited them, and Thalib quoted them from him.

The Names of Those Who Contended with Jarir and Whom Jarir Opposed

Contentions of Jarir and al-Akhdhal: Abu 'Amr [al-Shaybani] and al-Asha'ma' [edited them].
Contentions of Jarir and 'Umar ibn Laja': Abu 'Amr and al-Asha'ma' [edited them].
Contentions of Jarir and al-Farazdaq.

The Names of the Children of Jarir Who Were Poets, and Also of His Grandchildren

Nabil ibn Jarir, a poet who composed only a small amount.
Bilal ibn Jarir, a poet who composed only a small amount.

#4 In the Beatty MS this word is "shuis" (nasa'i'a), but because Jarir was known for his arguing, "contentions" (nasa'i'd) must be the word meant. See "Djarir," Enc. Islam, 1, 1024; also Jarir, Nasa'i'd.
#24 In this passage Fligel does not give the editors. The Beatty and Tonk MSS give the editors, but give the last title as simply Contentions of Jarir.
#25 Jarir had eight sons and two daughters; see Quraybah, Shi'i, pp. 283-89. The translation follows the Beatty MS.

A daughter of Jarir, whose name was ——, a poet who composed only a small amount.
'Aqil ibn Bilal, a poet who composed only a small amount.
'Umair ibn 'Aqil, an excellent and prolific poet.

The Names of the Tribes Whose Poetry Was Edited by al-Sukkari, as in the Handwriting of Some of the Scholars

Poems of the:

[ Tribe ]

Banu Dhuhr
Banu Shayban
Banu Rabah
Banu Yarbii
Al-Tayi
Banu Kinana
Banu Dabab
Fazara
Bajal
Al-Qaysi
Banu Yashkur
Banu Hanifa
Banu Mulhab
Al-Azd
Banu Nakhsh
Banu Adi
Adja
Banu Numayr
Banu 'Abd Wudd
Banu Makhrum
Banu Asad
Banu al-Harith

[ Reference ]

Qutaybah, Ma'arif, pp. 48, 49.
Qutaybah, Ma'arif, p. 49.
Hitti, Arabs, pp. 283, 502, n. 1.
Duryal, General, p. 317; Qutaybah, Ma'arif, p. 51.
Qutaybah, Ma'arif, p. 47.
Qutaybah, Ma'arif, p. 37.
Qutaybah, Ma'arif, pp. 39, 40.
Tabari, Annals, Part I, p. 851; Part II, p. 479.

#6 The phrase "as . . . scholars" is lacking in the Fligel edition. For the sake of convenience, the references are given in the right-hand column after the tribes to which they pertain.
#7 The Beatty MS gives this form, whereas Fligel and the Tonk MS have Abu Rabih.
#8 This name is in the Beatty and Tonk MSS; Fligel gives ab-Find.
#9 This form is given in the Beatty and Tonk MSS, although Fligel has Banu Tamim.
Among the Poems of the Poets There Was Also:
The poetry of Ḥudhayfah ibn Khashram and Ziyādah ibn Zayd; of al-Kaṣmāṣ ibn Mā'rūf; of al-Ṣimmah al-Qushayrī, edited by al-Muṣaffah ibn Sulamah.footnote{36}

This arrangement is taken from the Beatty MS, which differs from the other versions and which has a space between the two last names, evidently left for material to be added later.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Fourth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they wrote, including the names of the more recent poets and some of the Islamic ones, with the amount of their poetry, up to our own time.footnote{37}

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥāfīz al-Nadīm.footnote{38} At the beginning of this chapter we stated that we do not favor going into detail in connection with the poets, for we have already mentioned the scholars and men of letters who have undertaken this. We ourselves aim to present the names of the poets and the amount of poetry written by each poet among them, especially by the more recent ones, and also the variations occurring in their poems, so that whoever desires to collect books and poems can have this information and an insight into the matter. If we say that the poetry of a certain man fills ten leaves, we mean Sulaymānīyyah ones, holding twenty lines, I mean on each side of the leaf.footnote{39} We shall follow this designation in connection with all of the small and large amounts of poetry that are mentioned, giving approximate figures and basing our estimates on what we have observed during the course of years, but without verification or figures of final accuracy.

footnote{36} Beatty MS, "up to our own time," but the other versions omit this phrase. This passage suggests that al-Nadīm wrote his account of the poets as a catalogue for the customers at his father’s bookshop to use.

footnote{37} The Toke MS gives "the author," instead of the proper name.

footnote{38} Sulaymānīyyah was evidently the name of a kind of paper. A leaf refers to a single sheet of paper, often inscribed on both sides.
about eight hundred leaves, arranged also according to ten subjects. Abū Sa‘id al-Sūlī edited his work, too, but did not finish it. The part which he did edit was two thirds [of the whole], filling a thousand leaves.

Among the men of letters [who edited his work]:

- Al-Sūlī edited his work alphabetically, omitting what was falsely ascribed to him.
- ‘Ali ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḫaḫānī also edited his work alphabetically.
- Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah wrote an account about him and compiled a selection of his poetry.
- Abū Ḥifṣūn also wrote an account about him, with a selection of his poetry.
- Ibn al-Waḳāhīna Abū Ṭayyib, too, wrote an account about him and made a selection of his poetry.
- Ibn Ṭammūt wrote an account about him and made a selection of his poetry, with also an epistle about his faults and plagiarisms.
- In one of the books written by the family of al-Manṣūrīn about the poetry of the more recent writers, there is an account about him [Abū Nuwās] with a selection of his poetry. Mention of that has already been made. Abū al-Hasan al-Sumayyīlī also wrote an account about Abū Nuwās, with a selection of his poetry, and [about] his triumph, with remarks on his excellencies.

Mūsā ibn al-Walīd

He is famous, his poetry filling about two hundred leaves arranged alphabetically. Al-Sūlī edited [his poetry], and also a man known as ——, who is living in our own time.

Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣah al-Rashīdī, His Family and Descendants

Who Were Poets

Abū Ḥafṣah was the first. His name was Yazīd and he lived during the days of ‘Uthmān ibn Affān, with whom may Allāh be well pleased. Ḥafṣah wrote only a very small amount.

Yahyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣah lived at the time of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and was a poet who wrote a small amount, about twenty leaves.

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* The pious phrase is found only in Flügel.
**Section Two**

The Family of Abū al-ʿAtāḥiyah

Mention of Abū al-ʿAtāḥiyah has already been made, but here we shall record those among his children and grandchildren who were poets. Among them there were:

*Muḥammad* b. Abū al-ʿAtāḥiyah, surnamed Abū ʿAbd Allāh, was a hermit nicknamed al-ʿAtāḥiyah (the Foolish One). He was a poet whose poetry filled about fifty leaves.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abū al-ʿAtāḥiyah was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves. Abū Suwayd ʿAbd al-Qāwī b. Muḥammad b. Abū al-ʿAtāḥiyah was a poet whose poetry was fifty leaves.

The Family of Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn

Abū al-Ḥusayn Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was fifty leaves.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn was a poet, the amount of whose poetry was seventy leaves.

*Sulaymān* b. Abū al-Ḥusayn Tāhir was a poet: a small amount.

*Muḥammad* b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Tāhir was a poet: about thirty leaves.

ʿUḥayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Tāhir was a poet: his poetry: about one hundred leaves.

A Statement about the Quantities of the Poems, as Mentioned by *Muḥammad* b. Dāʾūd in *Kitāb al-ʿWarāqāh* (The Leaf)

At the beginning of this section there was mentioned a group of poets recorded by Muḥammad, and here, if Allāh so wills, there begins a statement of what he recorded other than what we have already mentioned.

*Muḥammad* b. Dāʾūd in *Kitāb al-ʿWarāqāh* (The Leaf) said that the beginning of this section there was mentioned a group of poets recorded by Muḥammad, and here, if Allāh so wills, there begins a statement of what he recorded other than what we have already mentioned.

This poem and the one following are not mentioned by Flügel but are included in the Beatty and Tonk MSS.

This whole section is omitted by Flügel. This family was famous as the Tāhirī Dynasty in Kharājān, A.D. 820-72.

It is probable that al-ʿNadīm used the book of *Muḥammad* b. Dāʾūd when he gave accounts of the famous poets at the beginning of this section. Now he uses the same book to add the names of a group of less famous poets. This subsection up to the eleventh name, *Muḥammad* b. Abū ʿUbayd, is missing in the Flügel edition, perhaps due to the loss of a page in the manuscript used by Flügel.
Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajājī, the composer of ṭajāz verse. His poetry was quoted by al-ʿAṣ少数民族 and edited by Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣadākī in nearly one thousand leaves.

Al-Sayyid ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, one of the poets of Ahl al-Bayt, among the men of wealth. I saw two sections, about three hundred leaves including only Al-Rūḥānī in Al-Sayyid. I also saw a section of about two hundred leaves containing only Al-Kaṣīf al-Da'ī in al-Sayyid. Then I saw his poetry as a collection: about five hundred leaves.


18 This is probably a book title. It could mean “ratios” or “ranks,” among several other things. It is probably correct as written, although there are no concordant marks.

19 This is also probably a book title. It refers to a sect. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭir, Aḥṣāār, Part VII, pp. 3, 5; Baghdādī (Seelye), pp. 34, 35; Khalīlīnī, II, 241, n. 2.

20 The number of leaves following each poet’s name refers to the quantity of his work.

21 After omitting nearly a page, the Flügel account starts again at this point (Flügel, p. 162, top).

22 Flügel omits Abū Dānilah, giving instead Zayd ibn al-Jāḥiṣ. The beauty and Tonk MSS give both names, each with fifty leaves. As Zayd ibn al-Jāḥiṣ cannot be identified, it is likely that the original was a corrected combination of the two.


Adam ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, who was accused of al-zandagh: twenty leaves.


Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ṣubḥ: thirty leaves. Abī Mālik al-ʿAṣr: thirty leaves. Abī al-Walid al-Zindrī: twenty leaves. Bishiri ibn al-Muṭṭir: an account of him will be given in the fifth chapter. This man was a poet, most of whose poetry was musammat and muṣaṣṣaṭ. He interpreted in poetry various ideas from books, as I am going to mention. Thus there were [among his books]:

Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd): The Happening of Things; Refutation of the Magians; The Proof to Confirm the Prophecy of the Prophet, for Whom May There Be Peace; Refutation of the Christians; Refutation of the Jews; Refutation of the Rūḥānī; Refutation of the Murîj: Refutation of the Khawārij;27 Refutation of Abū al-Hudhayli; Refutation of al-Nasīr: Refutation of Abū Shīr: against Ziyād al-Maswili; against Ḥadr ibn ʿAmr; against Abī Ḥaṣb28 against Ḥaṣbi al-Fārī: against Ḥishām ibn al-Ḥakam: against the adherents of Abī Ḥanīfah; Legal Interpretation by Personal

25 The Flügel text has Refutation of the Companions.

26 For references to books which explain the sects, see the Glossary.

27 Flügel gives Abī Khīlīd, evidently an error.
CHAPTER FOUR

Opinion: 26 Akhram ibn Shayf; 26 against al-Aṣamm; 31 The Strife between ‘Ali, for Whom May There Be Peace, and Talhah, with Whom May Allah Be Well Pleased; 26 also, Against al-Aṣamm, concerning the Imamate; Refutation of the Polyealthies.


The Family of Abū Umayyah, from [a Source] Other Than Kitāb al-Waraqah (The Leaf) 26


39 See Glossary.
40 Fīgīl has al-Husayn ibn ‘Abd al-Mu’tamid, the translation follows the Beatty MS.
41 This probably refers to al-Aṣamm Abū Bakr. But Bāghdādī (Scelroy), p. 119, suggests that it might refer to a heretical school of thought.
42 The Beatty and Twork MSS omit the two phrases.
43 See n. 17. The number of leaves following each poet’s name refers to the quantity of his poetry.
44 The names which follow this one probably should be separated from those of the family of Abū Umayyah. This is an inch of space at this point in the Beatty MS, evidently left for material to be added later.

SECTION TWO


Abūn al-Lahiqi and His Family

Abūn ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Lāhīq ibn ‘Ubayr was a prolific poet, most of whose poetry was mazdavij and muṣammāt. 47 He translated books of the Persians and other peoples, which I record as follows:

Kallīb wa-Dīnah: Balawhar and Būdāsī; Al-Sindi; Mazdak; Festivals and Retreats. 48 ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, his father, a poet: a small amount. 49 Lāhīq, Abi ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, a poet: a small amount. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, the brother of Abūn, a poet: a small amount. 50 Al-Mukhayyari is taken from the Tork MS. It is not clear in the Beatty MS, and is given as al-Muhanim in the Fīgīl edition. The next name, Al-Damashi, seems to be the name intended, but none of the versions gives it in exactly that form. 51 Omitted by Fīgīl.

Mazdavij and muṣammāt are technical terms, used for special types of poetry. 52 The Beatty and Twork MSS add a title which seems to be a repetition of Mazdak. For the first three titles, see the Glossary.

53 Fīgīl gives a different series of names and confuses Ibn with aḥū in several instances. The translation follows the Beatty and Tork MSS.
CHAPTER FOUR

Hammād ibn Abīn ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd: fifty leaves. 46
Ṣahī ibn Hārūn, a poet already mentioned: a small amount. 47
Al-‘Abbās ibn al-Ḥasāf, whose poetry al-Ṣūfī edited: about one hundred and fifty leaves.
Zanbūr al-Kāshi (the Secretary), a poet: fifty leaves.
Bakr ibn al-Nāṣīh, a poet: one hundred leaves.
Ṣālī ibn Abī al-Najm: fifty leaves.
Abū Šīkāb al-Khayyāt: twenty leaves.
Abū al-Ḥanīf al-Ḥuyayyāt: fifty leaves.
Da‘ūd ibn Rāzīn al-Wāsiṭī: thirty leaves. 48
Kalṭūm ibn ‘Amar al-‘Asāfī: one hundred leaves.
Mansūr ibn Salamah al-Naṣīf: one hundred leaves.
Abū Qāṭīb al-Shaybānī: one hundred leaves.
Yūnīs ibn Ṣayqal: fifty leaves.
Al-‘Abbās ibn Abī al-Sha’lī: one hundred leaves.
Al-Ṣūfī al-Ḥayyān: one hundred leaves.
Al-‘Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan al-Abbāsī: fifty leaves.
‘Abd Allāh ibn Ayyūb al-Taymī: one hundred leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣayyab: fifty leaves.
Al-‘Uṣayy al-Kalbī: ibn al-‘Albāh: one hundred and fifty leaves.
Ya‘qūb ibn al-Rabi‘: seventy leaves.
Al-Faḍl al-Raqāsī: one hundred leaves.
Ibn al-Arwad al-Shaybānī: fifty leaves.
Abū al-‘Udhīr al-‘Amīr: a small amount.
Al-Bayyān ibn Umayyah al-Ḥimṣī: a small amount.

SECTION TWO

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Fa‘ṣafī: one hundred leaves.
Ibn Abī Ṣaḥīḥ: a small amount. 49
Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Subayyī: seventy leaves.
Abū al-Naṣīr 50 and Abū al-Muṣrūq: small amounts.
Abū al-Shamasīn: seventy leaves.
Ṣahī ibn Abī al-Khaṭībah: a small amount.

The Family of Abū ‘Uṣayy al-Muḥallabī
‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Uṣayy: one hundred leaves.
Abū ‘Uṣayy ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Uṣayy: one hundred leaves. 45
‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Uṣayy: one hundred leaves.
Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī: one hundred leaves.
‘Abī ibn Ḥanẓah al-‘Kūfī: a small amount.
Al-‘Aṣmā: a small amount.
Rāzīn al-‘Arūṣī: one hundred leaves.
Al-Faḍl ibn al-‘Abbās ibn Ja‘far al-Khuwāṭī: a small amount.

Women: The Free and the Slaves
‘Uṣayy, the daughter of al-Muḥallabī: twenty leaves.
Zarẓar al-Zarqa‘: ten leaves.
‘Inā, the slave girl of al-Nāṣīfī: twenty leaves.
Al-Dhu’aiṣa‘: a small amount.
Khassā: a small amount.
Mukarrā: a small amount.
Ṣaḥīf: a small amount. 46
Mukhannathah: a small amount. 47

46 Flügel seems to repeat the reference to the name ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. After this name the Beatty MS leaves an inch of space, evidently with hopes of adding other names. There is a note on the margin of this manuscript which looks like “ibn ibn (the son of the son of) ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd,” perhaps confirming the fact that Hammād was a grandson. The amount or number of leaves following each poet’s name refers to the quantity of his work.
47 Sahī starts a new list, not connected with Abīn. Flügel omits the name of al-Ṣūfī in the next item.
48 Flügel confuses this name. On the lower margin of the Beatty MS a garbled note has been inserted.
49 Flügel gives Ibn Abī Shaykh.
50 Flügel gives Abī al-Ḥaṣāf, but the Beatty MS clearly indicates the name as translated.
51 Flügel omits ibn before Muhammad, but the Beatty MS correctly does not. The Beatty MS leaves an inch of space between this name and the one which follows it, evidently for material to be added later. ‘Abd Allāh begins a new list, unconnected with the family of Abū ‘Uṣayy.
52 This name is omitted by Flügel and carelessly written in the Beatty MS. Ṣaḥīf is a goem.
53 Flügel gives a different form, but in the Beatty MS the name might be as given, or Mukhannathah. This and the name following cannot be identified.
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Abū Ya‘qūb al-Khuwaynī: two hundred leaves.

Alī ibn Jabal al-‘Akwāwak: one hundred and fifty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥizām al-Bāḥilī: seventy leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Bahlīr: fifty leaves.

Ahmad ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.49

Al-Qūsīn ibn Yūsuf: fifty leaves.

'Alī ibn Muḥallīm: thirty leaves.

Al-Ghassānī Abū Muḥammad: a small amount.

Al-Husain ibn Ṭāhāh al-Qurāshī: a small amount.

'Alī ibn Abī Kathīr: fifty leaves.


Muḥammad and Iṣḥāq, the two sons of Ibrāhīm al-Fāzūrī: small amounts.

Waraqah al-Aswāqī: a small amount.

Abū Dūlā al-Jīlī: one hundred leaves.

Ma‘ṣīl ibn Isā, the brother of Abū Dūlā: a small amount.

Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣīlī: fifty leaves.

Al-Ma‘ṣīlī: twenty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Alī al-Dabbī: thirty leaves.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥamzah al-‘Uqaylī: a small amount.

Abū Ṣa‘d al-Ḍārī al-Kūfī: a small amount.

Abū Bakr al-‘Arḍāzī: fifty leaves.

Al-‘Alī ibn ‘Āṣim al-Ghassānī: a small amount.

Al-Husayn ibn al-Dāḥhāk al-Bāḥilī: a small amount.

Abī al-‘Aṣyābī: one hundred leaves.

Abū Asā’id ibn Hishām: fifty leaves.

'Alī ibn Hishām: fifty leaves.

Abū Ḥaṭf al-Shu`rānī: fifty leaves.

Abū al-Yanḥuqī: ten leaves.

Ja`far ibn ‘Abī Ṣafī al-Tālī, one of the poets of the Shi‘ah, whose poetry amounted to two hundred leaves.

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḍūlā al-Sukhūnī: a small amount.

Abū al-Ḥajjāj: a small amount.

Abū Qāsim ibn Sayyār al-Kūtīb: fifty leaves.

Ibn Abī al-Zuwailīd: fifty leaves.

Rauyī ibn ‘Abd al-Salām: a small amount.

Abū Daffūlah Ahmad ibn Manṣūr al-Basīrī: a small amount.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Badr al-Sulaimānī: fifty leaves.

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48 In the Beatty MS there is a space below Dānūrī, and below the space, the two names which follow in the translation, Faḍl al-Shu`rī and Baydūn al-Khīdīm, are written together on the same line. There are two possible interpretations of this arrangement. The two names below the space may begin a new list of poets, this one male, since Baydūn was a man and Faḍl al-Shu`rī may refer to some male poet such as al-Faḍl ibn al-‘Abbās. But it is more likely that the space was left to be filled in later with the names of other women poets, the list to be terminated with the name of the famous poetess Faḍl al-Shu`rī. If this is the case, then the manuscript is written carelessly at this point, for nothing is inserted to indicate the end of the list of female poets and the beginning, with Baydūn, of a new list of male poets.

49 This man and his brother, who follow, were important secretaries serving al-Ma‘ṣīlī.
Abū Ziyād al-Kilābī: thirty leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Maslama al-Ḥiṣnī: one hundred leaves.
Ikhtīṣāt ibn al-Ṣāḥibī al-Abī al-Ṭāhir: a small amount.49
Abū Ṣādiq al-ṣāḥibī: fifty leaves.
Abū Muḥāṣṣib al-Mukrī: fifty leaves.
Al-ʿAḥṣaf al-Baṣrī: a small amount.
Al-Ḥārīmī: fifty leaves.
Abū Ḥammām Rawḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Aʿlā: fifty leaves.
ʿAbd ibn Aḥmad al-Madīnī: a small amount.
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Jawālīfī: fifty leaves.
Al-ʿAdī al-Ḥanfī al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.
Saʿd ibn Dānūm al-Killābī: fifty leaves.
Abū ʿAbdullāh al-Sulamī: thirty leaves.
Isḥāq ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī: fifty leaves.
Munṣūr al-Hindī, the pupil (servant) of Ḥafṣawsūyāḥ: a small amount.
Abū ʿIsām al-Sulamī: fifty leaves.
Abū Shuḥbāl (Shahbūl) al-ʿUqayrī: a small amount.
Al-Ḥayyām ibn Maʿṣūl al-Fāfī (the Stutterer): a small amount.
Al-Qaṣī ibn Isḥāq ibn Suḥr al-Ḥāshimi: one hundred leaves.

The Family of al-Muʿādfahāl

Al-Muʿādfahāl ibn Ghuslān ibn Muḥārib ibn al-Buḥūṭī al-ʿAbī, sur-
named Abū ʿAmīr: fifty leaves.
ʿAbd al-Ṣāḥib al-Muʿādfahāl, a poet: one hundred and fifty leaves.
Almād, ʿIsā, and ʿAbd Allāh, poets already mentioned: small amounts.44
Abū Ḥizām al-ʿUqlī: fifty leaves.
Muḥammad al-Bayḍāqī: thirty leaves.
Al-ʿArrāf ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.
Al-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Muʿāffālī: fifty leaves.
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Makki: thirty leaves.48

49 The final name is given as al-Shiʿrī in the Beatty MS and differently by Flügel, but it is evidently meant to be al-Abī Shīrī.
44 The Beatty and Tonk MSS do not include the words “already mentioned.” After this name there is an inch of space in the Beatty MSS, evidently left for material to be added later. Apparently the names which follow begin a new list, not connected with the family of al-Muʿādfahāl.
45 Flügel gives variations for this name and the two which follow; the translation follows the Beatty MS.
46 This was very likely ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khayyāt (see Biog. Index), but may have been some less important author.

SECTION TWO

Yūsūf ibn al-Muqādrīh ibn Abīn al-Qasrāyī: a small amount.54
Iḥṣān ibn al-ʿAṭīb al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.
Iḥṣān ibn Muʿād al-Miṣrī: thirty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mudabbir: seventy leaves.
Abū Saʿd al-Makhrūmī: one hundred and fifty leaves.
Al-Kisāʿī ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh: ten leaves.
Muḥammad ibn Wuhayyib: fifty leaves.
ʿUmarah ibn Aṣil: three hundred leaves.
Fārūq ibn Ḥumayyāb al-Aṣāfī: fifty leaves.
Muḥāṣṣib Abī Salāmā al-Madīnī: a small amount.
Abū Tammām Ḥabīb ibn Aḥwāl al-Taʿāl, among whose books there were:
Al-Hanāsī: Selections from the Poetry of the Poets; Selections from the Poems of the Tribes; The Great Poets (al-fuḥūl).55
What amounted to two hundred leaves of his poetry remained unpublished until the days of al-Sūlī, who edited his work alphabetically in nearly three hundred leaves. ʿAbd ibn Ḥanāsī al-Ḥāshānī ascribed it too, and improved it according to subjects rather than alphabetically.54
ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUbtī: fifty leaves.
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Miṣrī: fifty leaves.
Iḥṣān ibn Ḥumayyāb al-Taʿāl: seventy leaves.
Abū Naṣr, Abū Naṣr, and Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayyāb: small amounts.
Ismāʿīl ibn Isḥāq ibn Dāʿud al-Khāṭībī: seventy leaves.
His brothers, Ḥanāsī and Dāʿūd, poets: each one fifty leaves.
Al-Ṭabarī, al-Wālīd Abū ʿUbādah, whose poetry was not arranged alphabetically until the time of al-Sūlī, who edited and arranged it according to the alphabet. Ḥabīb ibn Ḥanāsī al-Ṭabarī also edited it, improving it according to subjects. Among his books there were: Al-Hanāsī, similar to “Al-Ḥāsānī” of Abū Tammām; Meaning of the Poets (Maʿānī al-Shuraṭā).57

54 Flügel has Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Muʿāffāl.
55 Only the Flügel edition includes these four titles.
56 There is an inch of space at this point in the Beatty MS.
57 These anthologies are not mentioned in the Beatty or Tonk MSS.
Ibn al-Rumi, Ali ibn al-Abbas. His poetry was not arranged alphabetically, but al-Masarykhī quoted it and then al-Shuli edited and arranged it alphabetically. Abū al-Tayyib, the copyist of Ibn 'Abdīs, collected it from all of the manuscripts, adding what each of them contained, without reference to alphabetical order, to the extent of about one thousand verses.


Aḥmad ibn Abī Fana ʿn al-Kāṭib: one hundred leaves. Khālid al-Kāṭib, whose poetry was edited and arranged alphabetically by al-Shuli: two hundred leaves.

The Names of the Poets Who Were Secretaries, as Mentioned by Ibn Ḥajjib al-Nuʿmān in His Book in Which He Repeated What Came from the Book of Muḥammad ibn Dāʿūd.42


48 Flügel adds a name evidently meant to be a transliteration of the Greek form for George.

49 This name is given clearly in the Beatty MS, but is not made clear by Flügel.

46 This reference to ‘Ali is given by Flügel but not by the other versions.

45 This might be meant for Ibn Ḥijāb, mentioned in the Blog, Index, as he was interested in literature and a boy when Ibn al-Rūmī was alive, but it is more likely a less important person.

40 Some of the following government officials who wrote poetry were men of secondary importance, whose names cannot be identified. The amount or number of leaves following each poet’s name refers to the quantity of his work.


40 This is a known poet. The Beatty MS appears to have the name Ḥabbāb ibn Ḥanāh, which is unidentified.


44 Flügel gives “Abī ʿAbdīs,” but the Beatty MS has al-ʿAṭāʾah. This official cannot be identified.
Ahmad ibn Yahyâ ibn Jâbir al-Baladhuri: fifty leaves.
Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Râjînîn al-'Âsfi: one hundred leaves.
Jâd al-Kâtib;46 a small amount.
Sulaymân ibn Abû Suhâib ibn Nawwâb: fifty leaves.
Al-Hâsâba' ibn al-Salâh ibn Suhâib: a small amount.
Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Zaydânâbî al-Kâtib: thirty leaves.
Abû Hâkîmâr Râhîd ibn Hâshîd al-Kâtib: seventy leaves.
Abu Ebrîm ibn Muhammad, the secretary of al-Hâsan ibn Zayd: fifty leaves.
Harîmâhâ ibn al-Kâlîfi: a small amount.
Abû Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Kâtib: fifty leaves.
Ibrâhîm ibn lSâ al-Mââshînî: fifty leaves.
Abû al-Hâsa'n Ahmad ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Dî'ûd al-'Abârî: fifty leaves.
Abû Bakr Muhammad ibn Hârîn ibn Mukhîld ibn Abîn: a small amount.
Abû 'Ali Yahyâ ibn Hârîn ibn Mukhîld al-Kâtib: a small amount.49
Ahmad ibn lSâ, whose poetry I have read written in the handwriting of 'Ali ibn Ya'qûb:50 a small amount.
Abû Sâlih 'Abd Allâh ibn Muhammad ibn Yâzîd: thirty leaves.
'Abd Allâh ibn Naqî al-Kâtib: thirty leaves.
'Abd Allâh ibn Yazîd: a small amount.
Al-Qâsim ibn Yûsuf al-Sulami: fifty leaves.
Ahmad ibn Khâlid al-Riyâshî: a small amount.
Ghâlib ibn Ahmad, known as al-Fâgin (the Intelligent One): thirty leaves.
'Umar ibn 'Umâm ibn Istîdâr, one of the poets of Egypt: fifty leaves.
'Ali ibn al-Husayn, one of the poets of Egypt and a secretary: thirty leaves.
Saâib ibn Muhammad, a secretary and an Egyptian: fifty leaves.
'Abd Allâh ibn Ahmad ibn Yûsuf: fifty leaves.

46 Flügel gives Jâdîn, but the Beatty MS gives Jâdî. It is possible that there is an n, k, or y between the j and the z. The name has not been identified.
47 Zaydânâbî is taken from Flügel; the Tonk and Beatty MSS do not make the name clear enough to identify it.
48 Flügel divides the name into two names, but the Beatty MS is evidently correct in giving the form indicated here.
49 This name is omitted by Flügel. Beatty gives the name without the ibn before Hârîn.
50 The Tonk and Beatty MSS omit "written in the handwriting of."
CHAPTER FOUR

Aḥd Allāh ibn Tālīb al-Kātib: one hundred leaves.
Mūhammad ibn ‘Umar, known as ibn al-Khassāʾī: thirty leaves.
Aḥd ibn Mūhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Isa al-Hamadhānī, the secretary of Bakr [ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz]: fifty leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Mūhammad ibn Mūtawakkil, a resident of Egypt: fifty leaves.
Aḥd al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Mūhammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabīb al-Baġdādī: fifty leaves.
Aḥd Mūhammad al-Qāsim ibn Mūhammad al-Karkhī: fifty leaves.
Aḥd ‘Abb Allāh Ḥakam ibn Maʿbad al-‘Iṣbahānī, whose poetry we have not seen.
Aḥd al-‘Abbās ibn Thawā’ah: twenty leaves.
Aḥd al-Ḥusayn ibn Thawā’ah: a small amount.
Aḥd al-Qāsim ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān: a small amount.
Aḥd al-‘Abbās ibn al-Farāʾī: a small amount.
Mūhammad ibn ‘Abb al-Allāh al-Sūrī: one hundred leaves.
Jūfar ibn Qaḍāmī: one hundred leaves.
Aḥd al-‘Abbās al-Muẓaffar al-‘Abbāsī: about two hundred leaves.

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Hāmid ibn Jāmī al-‘Aṣhārī: a small amount.
Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyāʾ ibn Yaḥyā al-Uqdašī: a small amount.
‘Abb Al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf, unknown to us.
‘Abb Al-Allāh Aḥmad ibn Kāmil: a small amount.
Jūfa: fifty leaves.
Al-Ḥasan Saʿīd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tustārī, a Christian and a secretary: one hundred leaves.
This ends what was contained in the book of Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥāfīzh al-Nuʿmān al-Kātib from among the names of the secretaries who were poets and from whose poetry he made selections.

The Names of a Group of Recent Poets Who Were Not Secretaries and [Lived] after Three Hundred [A.D. 912/13] in This Our Time

Muṣṭafī ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī: two hundred leaves.
Abū Bakr ibn al-Allāf. Some of his relatives edited his poetry, with traditions about him, with something from those who praised him. The amount [of his poetry] was four hundred leaves.
Al-Tūfīhī  Abū Bakr: one hundred leaves.
Al-‘Abbāsī, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-‘Abbāsī: one hundred leaves.

75 The translation follows the Beatty MS, as Flügel gives variations with the last part of the name.
76 Here the Beatty MS is so carefully written that the translation follows Flügel.
77 The amount or number of leaves following each poet's name refers to the quantity of his work.
78 Al-Tūfīhī is taken from Flügel. In the Beatty MS it cannot be deciphered, but is obviously something quite different, and so it is not included in the Biogr. Index. After this name the translation follows the Beatty MS; the order of sequence in the Flügel edition is different.
79 Flügel introduces the name Abū al-Ḥasan Maṭūrī before al-‘Abbāsī, but omits al-‘Abbāsī.
CHAPTER FOUR

Al-Qatāţī, whose name was ——, three hundred leaves.
Abū Ja'far al-Dārī, whose name was ——: two hundred leaves.
Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ḥamdān al-Mawṣūli, the jurist: two hundred leaves.
Kushāmī, a descendant of al-Sanā'ī ibn Shāhik: one hundred leaves. He wrote a book, Training of a Court Companion.
Abū Iskāfī, whose name was ——: two hundred leaves.
Muhammad ibn Aḥmad, al-Sanā'wari, surnamed Abū Bakr, one of the people of Antioch, whose poetry al-Sūlī edited and arranged alphabetically: two hundred leaves.
Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, one of the people of Antioch: one hundred leaves.
Abū al-Mu'taṣim 'Ajān ibn Muhammad al-Antākī, whose poetry was edited by Abū Ahmad ibn al-Hallab. [He lived] before three hundred. [A.D. 912/15]: one hundred and fifty leaves.
Al-Khwāz Aruzī, whose name was Naṣr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ma'mūn and who was a poet of al-Baṣrah, refined in expression, but not expert in the technique of poetic composition. He edited and arranged his own poetry alphabetically, but this [editing] was ascribed to al-Sūlī: about three hundred leaves.
Abū 'Abd Allah Naṣir, whose poetry up to the time when he died was one hundred and fifty leaves. Abū Ahmad al-Hallab edited it.
Abū Mansūr ibn Abī Burāq, the teacher of al-Sarī ibn Aḥmad al-Kīndī, was an excellent poet. It is said that al-Sarī stole and plagiarized his poetry. The amount of it which I have seen is about two hundred leaves.

SECTION TWO

Al-Khudhāz al-Balādī, whose name was Muḥammad ibn ——, surnamed Abū Bakr. Al-Khālidīyān edited his poetry at al-Mawṣūl, making it excellent. About three hundred leaves.
Al-Shafā'ī, whose name was ——, wandered about and then attached himself to Sa'īf al-Dawghah. Before he died he edited his own poetry, which amounted to about five hundred leaves.
Abū Tāhir Sandīlī ibn Ḥabibah al-Wṣāṣī, whose poetry is well edited: five hundred leaves.
Al-Salṭīnī, one of the people of al-Baṭṭābah: less than two hundred leaves.
Al-Maġnum al-Mu'tami, one of the poets of Sa'īf al-Dawghah. His name was Abū al-'Aṣan Muḥammad ibn Sāmī al-Shānī. He is not remembered for what he wrote, except for a poem "Al-Dalālīkah": less than two hundred leaves.
Al-Bahbahānī, surnamed Abū al-Faraj, was 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Naṣr al-Shāhī, a poet of natural genius who fell in with Sa'īf al-Dawghah and wrote epistles and poetry: three hundred leaves.
Abū al-'Āṣyīb Aḥmad ibn al-'Uṣayn al-Mustanbībī, whose fame makes it unnecessary to say much about him. He was from al-Kūfah and became attached to Sa'īf al-Dawghah. The poetry composed for him [Sa'īf al-Dawghah] became famous: three hundred leaves.
Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn al-'Uṣayn fell in with Sa'īf al-Dawghah. His books: ——.
Abū Naṣr ibn Nubātā' al-Tāmīnī was one of the poets of Sa'īf al-Dawghah. He died after four hundred [A.D. 1000/10] in hiding: about four hundred leaves.
Ibn Zamān, Abū ——, al-Mawṣūli, was skillful in connection with satirical poetry, going deep into the meaning. His poetry was about three hundred leaves.
Al-Khālidīyān, Abū Bakr and Abū 'Uthmān, Muḥammad and Sa'īd, the two sons of Hīsham, were from a village of the district of al-Mawṣūl, known as al-Khālidīyān. Both of them were poets and men of

86 Flügel adds "ibn Jillib" to this name.
87 Flügel gives the name as Abū Ja'far Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Jalān. This book title is not found in the Beatty MS.
88 The Beatty MS omits these two first name elements.
89 The first part of the name was probably al-Nūshahī. This man was a contemporary poet; see Zirkilī, Part V, p. 143.
90 Flügel omits "Ājmim ibn Muḥammad," but includes "three hundred leaves." The Beatty MS has "before three hundred. [A.D. 912/15]."
91 The Flügel text gives "killed" instead of "before."
92 The Beatty MS gives only the two first elements; the other part of the name is in the Flügel edition.
93 Flügel gives the editor's name incorrectly and adds at the end of this sentence the name al-Khālidīyān. Thaurībī, Yatimāt al-Dahr, Part II, p. 292, calls the poet al-Khālidīyān al-Nīmān.
letters, who memorized [verses] and were quick with extemporaneous recital. One of these two, Abū Bakr, whose capacity for memorization and impromptu recitation, and whose ability to commit to memory made me marvel, said to me, “I retain in my memory a thousand passages, each one about one hundred leaves in length.”

But in spite of all this, if they admired anything they plagiarized it, whether the author was alive or dead, not because of inability to compose poetry, but because that was their nature. Abū ‘Uthmān edited his own and his brother’s poetry before he died and I believe that a young man known as Rāshī also edited it [to the extent of] about one thousand leaves. Abū Bakr died —— and Abū ‘Uthmān died ——. Among their books there were: Ḥamāshah, poetry of the recent [authors]; Traditions of al-Mawsil; about traditions of Abū Tammān and the beauties of his poetry; about traditions of the poetry of Ibn al-Rāmi; Selections from the Poetry of al-Baḥṣari; Selections from the Poetry of Muṣlim ibn al-Walīd.

Al-Sari ibn Aḥmad ibn —— al-Kindī

He came from al-Mawsil, and was a poet with natural genius, but he plagiarized a great deal. He had agreeable diction and good presentation. He was versatile in using similes and descriptions, which he attempted even when they lacked pleasing appearance and form. The only art in which he did well was the recitation of poetry. Before his death he edited his poetry [to the extent of] three hundred leaves. Later more was added and some of the recent men of letters have edited and arranged it [his poetry] alphabetically.

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Najīb

His name was —— and he was one of the people of Baghdād, but for a long time he resided at al-Mawsil. He was a theologian and a poet, and before his death edited his own poetry: about five hundred leaves.

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SECTION TWO

Al-Tamīnī Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad

He was from the people of Baghdād. He lived at al-Mawsil and edited his own poetry: about five hundred leaves.

From among the Syrian Poets Who Were Earlier than These [Poets Just Mentioned]

Abū al-Jūd al-Ras’ānī, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Ḥamd and whose poetry amounted to about one hundred leaves.

Abū Mūsā al-Bardhā‘ī, a modern poet, who wandered among the towns. He was an excellent poet, whose poetry amounted to about one hundred leaves.

Al-Khalī al-Raqqī, also called al-Ḥarānī, although he was not from that region. His name was Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Ghānī and he was an excellent poet, who inserted into his poetry homonyms (al-tajīn) and contrasts (al-taqīḥ), rarely having a verse without them. His poetry was not edited, but it amounted to [about] three hundred leaves. It is said that some of the men of letters of our own time have edited and arranged it alphabetically and that Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥallabī has made a selection of a portion of it.

Poems Recited about the Unusual (Strange)

Poem of al-Sharīṭi ibn al-Qaṭānī, who has already been mentioned; poem of Yabīṣ ibn al-Nayyīn; poem of al-Ḥazārī, whose name was ——; poem of Shankī ibn ‘Azrāḥ, who has already been mentioned; poem of Muṣāfi ibn Ḥazānī; poem of al-Abāarih.

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From the manuscripts available, it appears that when he wrote his original manuscript, al-Nābi omitted many of the well-known tenth-century poets from the list of recent poets, which ends here in the Beatty and Tink MSS. This fact makes it clear that he must have completed his book before the end of the tenth century. It indicates also that the Beatty MS was an early copy of the original. The extra material in the Flügel edition which is included in the translation shows that some copyist in later times added names to the original.

The name is lacking in the Beatty MS.

After this point a group of pages is missing in the Tink MS. The text of the Tink MS resumes in Chap. V, almost immediately after the Beatty MS ends, although at least one page must have been lost from the manuscript between the end of the Beatty MS and the resumption of the Tink. See Chap. V, sect. 1, ss. 237, 238.

The Beatty MS omits the reference to al-Muḥallabī.

The name is in the Beatty MS but not in the Flügel edition.
Poems with the Hamzaḥ

Poem of Ibn Harmah, beginning "Inna Sulaymān, Allāh will watch over her." Poem of Hāfṣ ibn Abī al-Nu'ūm al-Umawī, one of the Banū al-Qirrīyāh, which most of the transmitters quote as belonging to Abū Sa‘d ‘al-‘Amīrī. Its beginning is, "She watched the flashing of the lightning as it glittered." Because of its diction the people preferred this saying to the poem of Ibn Harmah, even though Ibn Harmah came before him.

What Has Been Composed about the Cooing of Pigeons and about Their Breeds

Poem of Yaḥyā ibn Abī Mūsā al-Nahrawānī about the breeds of pigeons.

Book: Sayings of the Arabs about the Conversations of Pigeons, by Ibn Ṭahā al-Basri, Species, by Thabit; Traditions of the Arabs and What They Have Said about the Lamentations of Pigeons and the Cooing of Birds.

Mention of Books about Literary Pursuits Which I Have Happened Upon, but Which Are Composed by Persons Whose Status Is Not Known after Careful Investigation

Pardon and Expiation, by Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Alamād ibn Najīb ibn Abī ‘Abbās; Pronunciations (Dialects), by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib; Pardon and Forgiveness, by Abū ‘Aṣīm al-Nahrawānī; He Who Composed a Verse and Was Nicknamed for It, and He Who Composed

108 Immediately after this heading there is a gap in the Beatty MS where some material has been lost. The manuscript begins again with the title of the fifth chapter. In the paragraph which follows, the poems of Ibn Harmah and Hāfṣ are mentioned together because the line from Ibn Harmah’s poem begins with the letter hamzaḥ, and the line from Hāfṣ ends with hamzaḥ. Flügel misspells the name Ibn Harmah.

109 For this tribe, see Qasayyab, Muḥammad, p. 206; Darnayd, General, p. 322.

110 After this paragraph Flügel gives a title with the word qatādah ("poem") written four times, but without an author or description to accompany it.

111 This may be an error, meant for the poet Ṭahā al-Basri himself.

112 This heading and what follows to the end of the chapter are taken from Flügel, as are the two preceding paragraphs. This material may never have been in the Beatty MS or may be in the lost pages. As it does not seem to go with the accounts of the poets, it is likely that some scribe inserted it into another copy of the book at a later period, after the Beatty MS had been completed.
Abridgment of "Book of the Bee" (Kitāb al-Nahj), by Muhammad ibn Iṣḥāq al-Ahwāzī. The History of Yabhāyā ibn Abi Bakr al-Miṣrī; Swords and Their Characteristics, by al-Khindī. Epitales for Which There Is Solely the Mention of Their Authors. Epistle of Al-Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Thawākah, Yabhāyā ibn Ziyād al-Harīthi; Abū 'Ali al-Baqīr, Ahmad ibn Yūnūs al-Kātib; Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakibī; Abū al-Hasan ibn Tārkhan; al-Sharīf al-Rādā; Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn Ja'far; al-Nayšībīrī al-Takīfī; Ahmad ibn Sa'd al-Iṣbahānī; Abū al-Hasan al-Tartībī; Muhammad ibn Mukram; Ahmad ibn al-Wīzīr—Alī ibn Muhammad al-'Askārī edited it. Muhammad ibn Ziyād al-Harīthi, the brother of Yabhāyā; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allāh, about extracting the erroneous and ambiguous. Epistles of Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn al-Harīth al-Tamīmī; epistles of Ibn 'Abdakān; epistles of al-'Ushāri, about the salaries of governors; epistle of Abū Ghazāwīn al-Qurashi, about pardon; epistles of Bāḥ [Muhammad ibn Ghiyāb]; a selection of portions and epistles of Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib; epistles of al-Bukhārī; epistles of al-Sāḥib. Completed is the fourth chapter of Kitāb al-Fīhirīst and finished entirely is the first part. If Allāh the Exalted wishes, it will be followed by the fifth chapter of the book, with accounts of the scholars and the various books which they compiled, in five sections. To Allāh be praise, for He is worthy and deserving of it and it is His due. For our Master Muhammad and his holy family and honored Companions be prayer and peace.
In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

CHAPTER FIVE

The Fifth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, in five sections.

The First Section

with accounts of the dialectic theologians (al-mutakallimûn) of the Mu'tazilah and the Muqallid, and of the beginning of dialectic theology (al-kalâm) and disputat (al-jûdûl).

Why the Mu'tazilah Were Called by This Name

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Nadîm: Abû al-Qasim al-Balkhi said that the Mu'tazilah were called by this name because of the disagreement occurring in connection with the terms for those who committed great sins among the people of prayer. The Kavârjîn said that these were unbelievers and polytheists, as well as sinners. The Muqallidîn said that they were believers and Muslims, but at the same time sinners. The Zaydiyyah and Ibadîyyah said that they did not believe in God's grace, and were neither polytheists nor Muslims, but sinners. The companions of al-Hasanî said that they were hypocrites and also sinners.

Most of the theological discussions were carried on by members of the heretical sect of the Mu’tazilah, until al-Khaṭâbī persuaded the orthodox scholars to use dialectic methods to defend their own doctrines.

At the beginning of the Arabic title there is the letter lam (l) which is evidently meant to express interrogation. Al-Mu’tazilah means those who are separated from the rest. This passage explains the reason for calling this sect by this name. For the founding of the Mu’tazilah movement, see Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, pp. 222-23; Khallîlîn, II, 531; Yaqût, Irshād, VI (2), 224; Jir Allâh, Mu’tazilah, p. 2; Nâdir, Synopses philosophicae, p. 4; Baghhdîdî (Seelye), p. 141; Shahrazûdî (Harbrucker), Part I, p. 47. The various sects and technical words are explained in the Glossary.

This evidently refers to pious Muslims.

This means that these rebels were not only transgressors against the ordinances of the Qur’ân, but also regarded as being outside of the Muslim community.


SECTION ONE

All of the Mu’tazilah separated themselves from the things about which these [groups] differed. They said, “We agree about what they join in calling sin, but we avoid matters about which they disagree concerning unbelief, belief, hypocrisy, and polytheism.”

Abû Bakr ibn al-Ikhshîdî said, “Separation (al-fîzîl) became attached to the Mu’tazilah during the days of al-Hasan [al-Bâqî], according to what some people record, but this is not confirmed among us, nor do we have quotations about it.” He said, “What is [better] known among the scholars is that the name originated after the time of al-Hasan.” He said:

The basis for it was that after al-Hasan had died and Qatâdah had taken his place, ‘Amr ibn ‘Ubayr and a group with him separated themselves from him [Qatâdah]. So Qatâdah called them al-Mu’tazilah (the Separatists). When ‘Amr heard about this name, he accepted and approved it, saying to his companions, “Al-fîzîl is a term which Allâh has praised in His Book,” so that this is unexpected good fortune,” and thus he accepted it.

Mention of the First to Speak About Predestination, Justice, and Oneness

Al-Balkhi said that the first person to speak about predestination and separation was Abû Yûnus al-Aswârî, a man from among the Aswârîyah known as Simuwaww, who was followed by Ma‘bad al-Juhanî. It is also said that Sulaymân ibn ‘Abd al-Makkî spoke about this matter.

The Names of Those from Whom Justice and Oneness Were Derived

I read [what was written] in the handwriting of Abû ‘Abd Allâh ibn ‘Abdûn [al-Jâshîyârî], that Abû al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Yahyâ ibn Ali ibn Yahyâ al-Munajîn said:

Al-fîzîl means “separation” or “turning aside.” It is mentioned in the Qur’ân 18:154(6), where it is said that Allâh will show mercy to those who separate from false worshipers to enter the cave; also in 19:36(49), where it speaks of Allâh’s reward for Abraham, when he turned aside from false worshipers.

For the idiom “good fortune,” see Richardson, Dictionary, p. 17; in Arabic it is insfâl hâmis.
CHAPTER FIVE

My father informed me, and my paternal uncle Ahmad as well as my
paternal uncle Harun also informed me, saying, "Abū Ya'iq Zayqūn,
whose name was Muḥammad ibn Shaddād, the companion of Abū
al-Hudhayfah, related to me saying, 'Abū al-Hudhayfah al-Allūf Muḥammad
ibn al-Hudhayfah told us saying, "I received,18 what I know about justice
and oneness from 'Uthmān al-Tawill, who was the teacher of Abū al-
Hudhayfah.' Abū al-Hudhayfah said, "'Uthmān told me that he learned
about the matter from Wāsīl ibn 'Aṭā', and that Wāsīl derived this from
Abū Ħāshim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah. 'Abd Allāh
received it from his father, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah. Muḥammad
informed him that he obtained it from his father 'Aṭā', for whom be peace,
and that his father received it from the Apostle of Allāh, for
whom be peace.18 The Apostle of Allāh told him that Gabriel (Jibrīl)
revealed it to Allāh, Glorious and Almighty.'"18

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḫaṣrī, surnamed Abū Sa'id
He was born two years before the end of the caliphate of 'Umar
and died when eighty-nine years old, during the year one hundred
and ten [A.D. 728].14 Abū al-Ḥasan served as secretary to al-Rabi' ibn
Ziyād in Khurāsān and for about three years was the secretary of
Anas ibn Malik at Sābūr.15 He was one of those who gave allegiance
unto Ibn al-Asbāh, but was also one of the ascetics and pietists.16
When Ibn al-Asbāh was overthrown, his adherents were hunted
down and he [Abū al-Ḥasan] went to al-Ḫajājī, who after disciplining
him gave him amnesty. But as Abū al-Ḥasan did not feel safe near
al-Ḫajājī, he hid until he [al-Ḫajājī] died.17

18 See Hqdp. Index, Munajjarin family.
19 In this passage forms of the Arabic word aḥab are translated as "received," "obtained," "derived," etc., to make the meaning clearer.
20 On the margin of the Beatty MS there is the note, "Abū Hudhayfah and 'Uthmān lie."17
21 There is a second note on the margin of the Beatty MS, saying that this passage is a lie against Allāh and His Apostle, with some extra words which are not clear.
22 'Umar was the second caliph, who died A.D. 644. The age of Al-Ḫasan is reckoned in lunar years.
23 See Yāẓīūra's, Croy. III, 4-6.
24 The word for "giving allegiance" implies electing him as the caliph. Ibn al-Asbāh revolted when al-Ḫajājī was the governor in al-Ṭiḥāq. The rebel was killed a.d. 701(1). Al-Ḫasan al-Ḫajājī was more famous as an early ascetic than as a man interested in politics.
25 Al-Ḫajājī was famous for his tyranny. He died A.D. 714.

SECTION ONE

Among his words despising al-Ḫajājī, when news of his death
reached him, there was "Oh, our God, thou is who has killed him
and cut short his way of life." Then he said, "Thou gavest us a
little blind bat, emitting poison (burning), miserable and afflicted,
with flapping of sides and shaking of buttocks, saying 'Know us,
know us! Truly we have known thee; Allāh has abhorred thee
and abhorred thee also have the righteously.' [He also said] 'He
stretched out to me a band with short fingers, and, by Allāh, it has
ever perspired from holding the reins to drive along the way of
God.'

Among the books of al-Ḫasan there were:

Commentary on the Qur'ān (Tafsīr li-al-Qur'ān), which a group quoted
from him;18 a book addressed to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān refuting the
Qadariyyah.

Wāsīl ibn 'Aṭā'
Abū Hudhayfah Wāsīl ibn 'Aṭā' was a protege of the Banū
Da'bah, or it is also said of the Banū Makhāsim.19 His birth was at
al-Madinah and he was called al-Ghazzāl because of his frequenting
Ṣūq al-Ghazāl in order to become acquainted with the chaste
women, to whom he distributed his alms.18 He had a long neck and
also mispronounced the letter rā' (r) but as he was a master of style,
eloquent and vigorous in speech, with versatility of expression, it
was possible for him to avoid the letter rā' (r) in his speech.

It was related that Wāsīl said about Baṣṣāh ibn Bured, "Is there
not someone to kill this blind man (a'māq) who is surnamed Abū
Ma'ūḏān? By Allāh, if it were not for the malice which is one of the
characteristics of the Ghulāt,20 I would have sent someone to rip
open his stomach on his bed. An 'UṣAYLi or Sādūs would attend

18 The members of this group were probably his pupils, who quoted his teachings
and wrote commentaries about them.
19 For these tribes see Qur'ān, Mā'dī, pp. 34, 35.
20 The Ṣūq al-Ghazāl was the bazaar where the women spun thread. The word
"chaste" probably refers to elderly women, needing aid and with no one to depend
upon.
21 The Arabic text gives the form al-Ǧhāliyyah, but the Glossary and translation
give the usual form, Ǧhālit.
to that.” Thus he avoided pronouncing ُرُبُتُ, for he spoke of the “blind man surnamed Abū Muḥād,” not saying either Bashshār or Ibn Burd. He mentioned al-dānī instead of saying al-darī and spoke of the characteristics of the Ghalār, rather than of the Mughārīyāh or the Manṣūrīyāh. He also said baʿatha instead of arṣahā and mentioned ʿalā maғżil iḥrī rather than saying ʿalā frāshīhī. He spoke of the Banū Ḫuqayl, because Bashshār was a protégé of theirs, and mentioned the Banū Sadūs because he dwelt among them. Avoiding letters is very difficult, especially one like ُرُبُتُ, which is used so much.

Wāqīl fell in with Abū Hāshim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al- Ḥanafiyyah and also attended the session (class) of al- Ḥasan al- Banṣirī. Because he kept very silent, he was thought to be dumb. His neck was very long, so that ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd remarked about it, saying “A man with such a neck cannot be of any use!” But when Wāqīl became proficient, his excellence being evident, ʿAmr said, “Perhaps I made a mistake about his sense of perception.”

Al-Balāghī said, “Wāqīl was one of the people of al-Madinah. His birth was during the year eighty [A.D. 699] and he died in the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 748].” Among his books there were:


Among the books of his associates (pupils), the authors being unknown, there were:

The Mashraḥāqīn,29 from the pupils of Abū Ḫudhayyāfah [Wāqīl ibn ʿAṣrā] to their brothers in North Africa, which included a number of chapters (books), among which there was, The Way to a Knowledge of the Truth [Al-Salīl ilā Maʿnīf al-Iṣqā].

For these tribes see Dūrayd, Genol., pp. 181, 211. The translation is given freely so as to make the passage readable.

These are both words for “blind.”

Synonyms meaning “sense.”

These words might be translated “bedding” and “mattresses,” signifying the same thing.

See Glossary for this phrase.

The Mashraḥāqīn was a name used for those living in the east. In North Africa it applied especially to members of the Shiʿah.

SECTION ONE

ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd

He was Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd ibn Bāb, a protégé of the Banū al-Adawiyah [clan] of the Ḥanżalāh [branch] of the Banū Tamūn Tribe.30 Al-Balāghī said that Bāb [the grandfather] was one of the prisoners from Kābul, a prisoner of Abū al-Raḥmān ibn Samurālī and a protégé first of the Banū ʿUqayl, but later of the Banū Ṭāfārī.31

He was born during the year in which Wāqīl was born, which was the year eighty [A.D. 699]. He was a man of medium stature, called between the eyes as the result of prostrating.32 He was a friend of the Caliph Abū Jaʿfar al-Mansūr and there were stories about him. He preached to al-Mansūr a number of times with a famous and well-known message (word). ʿAmr died while returning along the way to Makkah from al-Ṭāfārī, at a place known as Makkān,33 during the year one hundred and forty-four [A.D. 761], when he was sixty years of age.

Although it has never been heard of for a caliph to make an elegy for a person of lower rank, al-Mansūr composed an elegy for him, saying:

May Allāh bless you lying in the tomb, which I passed on the way at Marrān;

It is a tomb enfolding a believer, who revered and worshiped Allāh, believing the Qurʾān.

Had time spared a righteous man, it would have spared for us ʿAmr Abū ʿUthmān.

Among his books there were:

The Commentary (Al-Taṣāfār), taken from al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]; Justice and Oneness (Al-ʿAdl wa-al-Taṣāfā); a refutation of the Qudariyyah.

See Qutaybah, Maʿṣūf, p. 37.

This was a Companion of the Prophet who conquered Kābul; see Biogr. Index.


He prayed so often, touching his forehead to the ground, that the skin over his eyes became calloused.

See Yāqūt, Geog., IV, 479, where there is mention of a tomb at Marrān in Arabia.
Naming of Those Who Drew upon ‘Amr [ibn ‘Ubayd] and Wāqil [ibn ‘At‘a’]

One of those who drew upon ‘Amr and Wāqil, but no book of whom is known, was Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Khālid al-Ṭawil, the teacher of Abū Hudhayfah [al-‘Allāf]. There was also Abū Ḥaṣṣ ‘Umar ibn Abī ‘Uthmān al-Sāmarrī, who drew upon the Commentary (Kitāb al-Tafsīr) of ‘Amr and al-Ḥasan.

Abū al-Hudhayfah al-‘Allāf

He was Abū al-Hudhayfah Muhammad ibn al-Hudhayfah al-‘Allāf, a protégé of Abī al-Qays and al-Hudhayfah ibn ‘Ubayd. Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Makhṣūl al-‘Abdī. Abū al-Hudhayfah was born during the year one hundred and thirty-one [A.H. 748/9]; it is also said thirty-four. He learned theology from ‘Uthmān ibn Khālid al-Ṭawil, not coming into contact with either Wāqil [ibn ‘At‘a’] or ‘Amr [ibn ‘Ubayd]. Abū al-‘Aynā’ said that Abū al-Hudhayfah died at Sāmarrā during the year two hundred and twenty-six [A.H. 840/41] when he was one hundred and four years old.

When Abū al-Hudhayfah was asked about his birth, he replied, “I was born during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.H. 752/3].” On another occasion, when he was asked about this, he said, “My parents told me that ‘Abd Allāh ibn Husain was killed when I was a child of ten years old.” ‘Abd Allāh was killed during the year forty-five [A.H. 145/A.D. 762/3]. This remark of Abū al-Hudhayfah indicates, therefore, that his birth was during the year one hundred and thirty-five [A.H. 752/3].

Abū al-Hudhayfah died during the caliphate of al-Muta‘abbīd, in the year two hundred and thirty-five [A.H. 849/50], when he was one hundred lunar years old. At the end of his life he was stricken with senility. Although he did not lose sight of the fundamental principles of doctrine, he became weak in opposing adversaries and disputing with persons who disagreed with him, as his intelligence became weak.

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It was said that when a son of Sāliḥ ibn Abī al-Quddās died and [the father] grieved for him, Abū al-Hudhayfah came to mourn with him. Upon finding him distraught, Abī al-Hudhayfah said to him, “I do not know the reason why you grieve for your son if man, according to you, is like what is planted (al-zā‘).” Sāliḥ replied, “Oh, Abī al-Hudhayfah, I grieve for him because he never read the Book of Doubts (Kitāb al-Shukūk).” Then he [Abū al-Hudhayfah] asked him, “The Book of Doubts, what is that, oh, Sāliḥ?” He answered, “It is a book which I have written, in order that whoever reads it will be doubtful about what exists, imagining that it is nonexistent, and about what does not exist, imagining that it is existent.” So Abī al-Hudhayfah said to him, “Be doubtful about the death of your son, acting as though he did not die, even though he has passed away. Be uncertain about his reading the Book of Doubts, even though he never read it.”

Abū al-Hudhayfah wrote a book known as Miṣrī. This Miṣrī was a Magian, who embraced Islam because of a meeting which he arranged between Abī al-Hudhayfah and a group of dualists. When Abī al-Hudhayfah silenced them, Miṣrī immediately embraced Islam. Abū al-Hudhayfah had a son, whose name was al-Hudhayfah. Although he was a theologian, no book of his exists.

A person coming up behind Abū al-Hudhayfah stopped him and, seizing his throat, said, “Take off your clothes, so that I can see the proof you have of this [circumcision].” Then Abū al-Hudhayfah retorted to him, “My proof is that you are saying, ‘Take off your clothes,’ when to remove them while you are holding my throat is impossible. Let go your hand, so that I can take them off!” So he said, “Go in the care of Allāh, for if I postpone the proof for a day, you will take them off immediately.” So he did not take off his clothes.

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88. Cf. this passage with Khallīkīn, II, 668.
89. Because Abū al-Hudhayfah was a heretic, who was not born as a Muslim, he was accused of not being circumcised. Accordingly, he was told to take off his clothes, so as to show whether or not he was circumcised. In the second-to-last sentence, the implication is that if Abū al-Hudhayfah could have a day’s notice, he would immediately become circumcised. The last line is not clear, and the whole passage is so confused that the translation is given freely. The translation assumes that the word given in Arabic as ḥajj ("pilgrimage") is meant for ḥujjah ("proof").
Abū al-Ḥudhayl came to Baghdād during the year two hundred and thirty [A.D. 844/45]. He lived to be over a hundred, but lost his sight. Among his books there were:

The Imamate, against Ḥiḥām; against Abū Shīrā in connection with al-Ṭajjā; Obedience, Not for the Desire of Allāh (Ta'āh Lā Yurād Allāh bihā); against the Sophists; against the Magians; against the Jews; Birth, against al-Naẓẓām; The Promise and the Threat (Al-Wā'd wa-al-Wā'id); The Killing of Ghaylān; book to the Damascenes: The Sessions; The Proof (Al-Ḥujjah); Describing Allāh as Justice and the Rejection of Evil; Pretence (Proof) of the Heretics (al-Muḥyidān); Naming of the Innovators (Abū al-Iḥlālāt); against Diwīr [ Ibn Ṭāriq] who said that Allāh oppresses His creatures (Inna Allāh yaghidh min rāḥifah), against the Christians; Questions about Motions and Other Things; against 'Amir in the Christian, which was a refutation of the Christians; A Description of the Oppression and Good Will of Allāh, Exalted Is He; Oppression and Good Will; What Is Created [the Qur'ān]; against Hāfīz al-Fard; Refutation of Maḥbūf al-Madāni; Ordinance, against Ḥrāhim [al-Naẓẓām]; Refutation of the Ghaylāniyāh in connection with al-Ṭajjā.

Against Hāfīz al-Fard in connection with ālah wa-yaf'al; against al-Naẓẓām in connection with [God's] approval of the foreordainment of injustice; against al-Naẓẓām in connection with creation of a phenomenon, and the reply from him; Refutation of the Qadarīyāh and the Muḥriṣūn; against Diwīr, Jahn, Abū Hanīfah, and Hāfīz, in connection

With the created [the Qur'ān]; against al-Naẓẓām, about man; about totality (composition) of forms; Al-Iṣṭārāt; Motions; about the creation of a phenomenon from a phenomenon; Refutation of Abū al-Aḥyān [rationalists]; Understanding, Also, the Movement of the People of Heaven; answer of al-Aṭīb [Kulhīm ibn Ṭāriq]; against whoever speaks of punishing infants; The Leaps, against Ibrāhīm [al-Naẓẓām]; against the dualists; Essential and Accidental Properties (al-Jawāhīr wa-al-Ārād); Water, Intercession, and Punishment in the Tomb (Al-Hawd wa-al-Sharā'ah wa-Adīd al-Qabr); against the authorities for the 'Adīd (ṣafāb al-Ḥudhīh) in connection with metaphor; Relationship (qualification) of the Essential Elements; Hearing and Sight: Are They Active or Employed Phenomena?; Man: What Is He?; Indications of the Validity of the Apostle; The Duration of Man, His Color and Composition; Sound: What Is It.

Among His Associates

There was Abū Ya'ūs Muḥammad ibn Shaddād, known as Zuqūq, among whose books there were:

The Delightful Book of Discourses; The Created [the Qur'ān].

45 These men were almost certainly Iṣṭārāt ibn Ṭāriq, Jahn ibn Safwān, Abū Hanīfah al-Noʿayn, and Hāfīz al-Fard.
46 Cf. Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 139, bottom.
47 See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 135.
48 See Nādir, Système philosophique, p. 168.
49 This may refer to the heresy which holds that the people of Heaven are active, drink, and intermarry, among other things; see Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 127.
50 This evidently refers to the foreordainment of infants to go to Hell.
51 See Glossary.
52 Al-Hawd was the "watering trough of the Apostle," from which believers would be given a drink on the Day of Resurrection; see Lane, Lexicon, Part II, p. 670.
53 Abū al-Ḥudhayl defined the body as containing six elements; see Nādir, Système philosophique, pp. 150, 151, 278.
54 This is a free translation; the book evidently dealt with problems connected with the attributes of God.
55 See Nādir, Système philosophique, pp. 268 ff.
56 Cf. ibid., p. 164, for atomic composition and death of man; Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 135, for the body and color of man.
57 See Baghdādī (Seelye), p. 144, for the heresy about hearing.
Al-Aswārī

He was Abū 'Amr ibn Fāyid al-Aswārī, one of the important theologians among the people of al-Baṣrāh. He was attached to Mūhammad ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Ḥāshimi. Coming from Aswārāh he fell in with 'Amr ibn 'Ubayy, from whom he learned and with whom he had disputes. He died shortly after two hundred [A.D. 815/16].

'Amr ibn Fāyid [al-Aswārī] said to Abū al-Mundhir Sallām al-Qārī (the Qur'ānic Reader) in the presence of Mūhammad ibn Sulaymān, "From whom is the truth?" Sallām answered, "From Allāh." Then he said, "Who is the revealer of the truth (al-muttaq)?" He answered, "Allāh." He said, "From whom is the false?" He replied, "From Allāh." He said, "Who is the teller of falsehoods (al-muttaq)?" Whereupon Sallām was silent, cutting short [the conversation]. Among his books there were: ———.

Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir

Abū Sahl Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir was born at al-Kūfah, or some say Baḡdād. He was one of the great men and chiefs of the Mu'tazilah. The leadership was passed to him during his time. He quoted poetry and historical traditions and was also a poet, most of whose poetry was muqaddās. He turned prose books about theology, law, and other subjects into poetry. We have already mentioned, in the proper place [in connection] with poetry and the poets, the things which he transcribed.

A group of scholars preferred him to Abūl al-Lāhiqī. He wrote a poem nearly three hundred pages long about his arguments (evidence). No one was ever seen who was more capable than he was in [composing] muqaddamas and muqaddās. He had skin trouble, and died during the year two hundred and ten [A.D. 825/26] when he had grown old.

Al-Jāhidī said:

Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir slandered Abū al-Hudhayfah, whom he accused of hypocrisy. He said in describing Abū al-Hudhayfah, "For him to be ignorant, when the people think that he is learned, pleases him more than being learned but considered by the public to be ignorant. Moreover, to belong to a low social class, but to be considered by the people to be a member of an upper class, is better liked by him than that he should belong to the upper class, but by the people be assigned to a lower class. He also prefers to be stupid but appear to be intelligent, rather than to be intelligent but appear to be stupid. Thus he prefers hypocrisy to sincerity, and falsehood which is accepted to truth which is repudiated."

Bishr wrote [the following] prose works, in addition to the books already mentioned as being transmuted into poetry:

Refutation of Anyone Who Reproached Theology; Refutation of the Khawārij; Unbeliever and Faith; The Threat (al-Wa'd), against the Muḥājarah; against Khulāthīn [ibn 'Amr al-'Atāhī] and his associates; Interpretation of the Strange in the Qur'ān; Against al-Nagāżīm; Against Dirē in connection with the created [the Qur'an]; Refutation of the Hypocrites; Refutation of the Ignorant; Refutation of Abū al-Hudhayfah; The Imamate; Al-Isṭišā', against his manner; al-Bāḥṣam; Against al-'Adī; against al-Qasimī, about the created [the Qur'an]; al-Tawālīd; against al-Nagāżīm against upholders of predestination; Against Mazāid in connection with al-Isṭišā'; about the middle position (al-manṣūh bayn al-manzilatayn);48 about children (al-aṣfāl), against the Muḥājarah.

Al-Naẓẓām

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār ibn Hārī al-Naẓẓām was a freedman (proṣīf) of the Ziyādīyūn. He was born a slave, the servitude having befallen one of his ancestors. He was a theologian, poet, and man of letters, with a passion47 for Abū Nuwās, about whom he composed a number of short poems. Abū Nuwās had him in mind when he said,

45 This man was very likely the father of the better known 'Alī al-Aswārī.
46 A type of poetry composed of rhymed couplets.
47 A type of poetry in the form of five-line verse.
48 Abū is the word translated as 'skin trouble.' It means "leprous," but other skin diseases were often confused with true leprosy.
49 "This name is mentioned by Ḥafṣ Allāh, Mu'tazilah, p. 226, but cannot be definitely identified and is omitted in the Biographical Index." See Glossary.
47 Instead of "slave," the Arabic word may indicate that he was a member of the tribe of al-'Ubayy; see Durayd, General, p. 258.
47 The Cairo Appendix has "upbraiding" instead of "with a passion for."
Tell anyone who with learning lays claim to philosophy,  
That you have remembered some things, but other things have gone from  
you.44

In his poetry he adhered to the school of thought of philosophical  
dialectic, but at the same time he was eloquent in literary style,  
excellent in expression, and good in deliberate speaking. When  
describing ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafi there was among his sayings:45  
“He, by Allāh, was sweeter than security after fear, recovery after  
illness, fertility after barrenness, and wealth after poverty; [sweeter]  
than the obedience of the beloved, the rejoicing of the distressed, and  
unceasing association with tender youth.”46

From his poetry there was:

He was so slender that if his garments were torn  
The sky would hold him, because of his fineness.  
Repeatedly looking at him will wound him  
And if you ogle him with the eye he complains.47

It is said that when Abū al-Hudhayl was with him he [al-Nazzām]  
repeated these two couplets. Then he [Abū al-Hudhayl] said to  
him, “Oh, Abū Isḥāq, such [poetry] could not have been offered  
without some nobleness of mind.” From his poetry there was  
[also]:

I censure him, but with forgiving, turning my back on what my soul  
feels;  
I fear the persistent tattle of blame, feeling pain,  
For ignorance smites the heart of a forbearing man.  
I am humble with him, as though I were expressing to him repentence  
for his [own] sin committed against me.

44 The Cairo Appendix adds the following lines to the poem from the Bearetty MS: “Do not ban a benefit, as though it were something prohibited, for refusing is like repudiation in religion.” This was because he was appealing to him to accept the doctrine of the threat [al-wa’d], which he refused.
45 Here the Cairo Appendix adds, “apparently nothing was seen better than this.”
46 In the Bearetty MS the word for tender is al-na’im, but the Cairo Appendix has al-da’im (“lasting,” “eternal”).
47 This poem is given in Baghdādī, Ta’rīkh, Part VI, p. 98, and also in the Cairo Appendix.

Al-Nazzām died in the house of Hammawayh, [nicknamed] Ṣāḥib al-Tawāwīs (Owner of the Peacocks). Among his books there were:

Confirmation of the Apostles; Oneness of Allāh (Al-Tawḥīd); against the materialists (ṣāḥib al-hayyūlā); Refutation of the Dahriyyah; Refutation of the Adherents of the Dualists; Refutation of the Types of the Heretics (al-Muhḍūn); Rectifying and Making Legal; Knowledge (Al-Ma’rifā); Foreordaining (Al-Taqaddū); Predetermination; about the self-condictory (the impossible, al-muṣīb); The Created [the Qur’ān], against the Mujbirāh; about justice (al-adel); Substitution (Al-Badā’); Compliance (Al-Muṣṭaṣrīf); Al-Tawallud; The Threat (Al-Wa’d); Replies; Unraveling (Breaking an Agreement, Al-Nakhl).

The Atom; Al-Ma’ānī, against Mu’āmmar [al-Sulamī]; The Leap;79 Al-Makānānāh;80 Al-Mudkhalah [one who becomes a proelyte to a heresy]; about The Great World; The Small World; Event (Al-Hādhā); Man;81 Logic (Al-Manāqī); Motions; Essential and Accidental Properties (Al-jawāhir wa-al-ʿārāʾ); Bridegroom (Sulphur, Al-ʿArūṣ) [or Thrones (Al-ʿArūṣ)]; Riches (Possessions, Al-ʿArāq); The Movements of the People of Heaven;76 Creation of the Phenomenon; The Attributes;77 about the Qur’ān, what is it?79 Al-Ashīl [actions within the limits of space and time]; Refutation of the Murji’ah.

Al-Dimashqī Qāsim ibn al-Khalīfah98

He was in the group (class) of Ja’far ibn Mubashīr. Among his books there were:

The Imamate of Abū Bakr; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Commentary of the Qur’ān; The Threat (Al-Wa’d); Justice (Al-Adl), about the categories of the Mu’tazilah; The Created [the Qur’ān].

‘Īsā ibn Ṣāḥib al-Murda’

He was Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā ibn Ṣāḥib al-Murda’, one of the early  
chiefs of the Mu’tazilah, who was a pupil of Bishr ibn al-Mu’tamir,  
the man who introduced the Mu’tazilī schism [al-tīzīl] at Baghdād.

18 If a diacritical mark is added, the word might be al-baṣil (“clarification”).
19 See Glossary.
20 This Arabic word probably means “places of safe keeping,” or “places of hiding,” but it may have some religious significance in this title.
21 See Nādir, Système philosophique, pp. 268 ff.
22 See n. 50.
23 The Mu’tazilah denied the attributes of Allāh (see “attributes,” Glossary).
24 The Mu’tazilah claimed that the Qur’ān was created.
25 Some authorities spell this name al-Dimashqī.
and because of whom it was spread and made known. Al-Ṣihābi said that ʿĪsā died during the year two hundred and twenty-six [A.H. 840/41].

Al-Khayṣīt remembered him, saying, "When he met one of his friends he told him, 'We did not show sincere friendship when we met, but when we agreed.'" When Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīd addressed al-Maʿmūn, he referred to ʿĪsā ibn Ṣaḥīḥ in the following verse:

Oh, king, whose God is oneness,
Your judge Bihār ibn al-Walīd is a jackass;
He rejects the testimony of him who believes
What the Book has proclaimed and the Ḥadhīḥ handed down.
He considers to be correct the man who says that his deity
Is a ghost, his body surrounded by the regions of the world.
According to al-Maṭrīṣ, who believed in his lord,
Even though his doctrine of oneness was that of the Abūr [Mujbirah].

He was one of those who were fond of Bihār ibn al-Muṭamīn. Among his books there were:
Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd); Refutation of the Mujbirah; Justice (Al-ʿAṣl); Questions and Answers; Kindness (Al-Luṭf); Refutation of the Christians; against Abū Qurrah, the Christian; Refutation of the Heretics (al-Maḥṣūl); Considering What Is Lawful and Permitted (Al-Taʾṣīl)


As this name cannot be identified, it is not included in the Biog. Index. It may refer to al-ʿĀṣim ibn Ṣaḥīḥ, who had a residence at al-Ṣihī near Fām al-Ṣiḥ. See Yaqūṭ, Geogr., III, 413.

As Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīd died A.D. 817/18 and Bihār ibn al-Walīd was appointed as judge A.D. 824/25, this is probably meant for the son, Muḥammad al-Yazīd, who was an intimate associate of al-Maʿṣūm.

This poem is given in Ṭabarī, Anzalti, Part III, p. 1057. Page 1126 also throws light on it. Ṭabarī evidently makes bad mistakes, but, as he omits the two last lines, they may not belong to the poem. Al-Yazīd was probably making fun of ʿĪsā ibn Ṣaḥīḥ, because ʿĪsā was unable to persuade the friend[y] scholar Bihār ibn al-Walīd to accept his heretical ideas and those of Bihār ibn ʿAṣim al-Maṭrīṣ. Al-Maṭrīṣ was influenced by the Muṣṭafī doctrine that Allah does not wish believers to condemn sinners, but rather to leave their punishment for the Day of Judgment. The reference to the Book evidently is connected with the Muṣṭafī claim that passages from the Qurʾān itself prove that it was created. See Stricker, Muʿtaṣīs, p. 307; Galland, Essai sur les Muʿtaṣīs, p. 67; Nādir, SYNTHESE PHILOSOPHIQUE, p. 99. Mention of the ghost probably refers to the heresy which held that although Allah could be seen in Heaven, He would be without form; see Baghdaḍī (Seelye), p. 172.

SECTION ONE

wa-al-Tawḥīd; against the Abūr and Magians, in connection with justice and legalizing (ʿĀl al-ʿAṣl wa-al-Maṣūm fi al-ʿAṣl wa-al-Tawḥīd); Refutation of the Jihāḥiyyah; The Sources of Religion; The Created [the Qurʾān], against al-Naṣīḥah; Justice (Al-ʿAṣl); against the Mujbirah; Dialectic Theology (Al-Kāliyn) of the Learned and the Ignorant; Instructun (Al-Taʾṣīl); Substitution (Al-Ḥadāl), against al-Naṣīḥah; Knowledge (Al-Maʿṣūm), against Ṭabarī. Κnowledge, against al-Shāhānī; Creation of the Qurʾān (Khāl Qul al-Qurʾān); Power over Injustice (Al-Qaḍrah al-ʿāl al-Zulm), against al-Naṣīḥah; What Took Place between Him and the People of al-Baṣrā; The Arts of Dialectic Theology (Fūmīn al-Kāliyn), against those who uphold legal interpretation by personal opinion (ʿĀl al-ʿAṣl al-ṣaḥīḥ al-Qurʾān al-Rāʾis); Justice (Al-Ḥadāl); concerning what the Mujbirah are to be questioned about; Melodious Singing, a reply to the "Book of Repentance"; Counsel (Al-Naṣīḥah); He Who Speaks of the Punishment of Infants; Piety (Al-Dīyārān); Repentance (Al-Taʾṣīl); The Right (Middle) Way (Al-Iṣbāḥ); Traditions of the Qurʾān (Al-Kabīr al-Qurʾān).

Muʿṣammar al-Sulānī

He was Abū al-Muṭamīn, the chief of those who upheld al-Muʿṣammar. It is also said that he was [called] Abū ʿAṭmr Muʿṣammar ibn ʿAbbad al-Sulānī [descended] from the Banū al-Sulaym. He was one of the inhabitants of al-Baṣra, but he went to Baghdaḍ, where he had disputes with al-Naṣīḥah about matters connected with the doctrine (sect). Muʿṣammar satirized Bihār ibn al-Muṭamīn, the only poetry which he composed being as follows:

A blond-skinned man, his face overflowing with whiteness,
Considers slander a religion, his heart being diseased.

68 These were Hebrew scribes, but the word is perhaps meant to be al-qāhir, another form for the Mujbirah.
69 Cf. the heresy mentioned in Baghdaḍī (Halkī), p. 10, n. 2.
70 See Baghdaḍī (Seelye), p. 138, middle.
71 This word is not clearly written in the manuscript, but looks like al-naḥṣah ("melodious singing"). It very likely is intended for al-loğham ("obscure speech"). Book of Repentance (Khāl Qul al-Taʾṣīl) is the title of one of the author's own books and also a title used by other scholars.
72 See n. 51.
73 There is another title, but the text is not clear enough to be deciphered.
74 For al-ṭalāṭīr, see Fresk, Journal of the American Oriental Society, XXXVIII, No. 3 (July-September 1902), 376-99.
75 See "Sulānī," Enc. Islam, IV, 518,
He died during the year two hundred and fifteen [A.D. 839/30]. Among his books there were:

Al-Ma'āni; Al-Ittiṣāl; Falsifying of Weights, and Deceit (Allat al-Faraṣṭūn wa-al-Munā'ī); The Atom Which Is Not Divided and the Proposition of Accidental and Essential Properties (Al-Qawl bi-al-Arād wa-al-Jawāhir).

Thumāmah ibn Ashras

He was Abū Bishr Thumāmah ibn Ashras al-Nūmayrī, whose relationship was with the Bānū Nūmayr. He was one of the important men among the theologians of the Mu'tazilah and also a writer with an eloquent literary style. He attained an excellent position with al-Ma'mūn, who wished to make him a vizier, but he begged off. In connection with this there was a famous statement presented in an address to al-Ma'mūn, who released him. It was also he who advised him [al-Ma'mūn] to appoint Ahmad ibn Abī Khālid instead of himself.

Before the time of al-Ma'mūn he was with [Hārūn] al-Rashīd, who being displeased with him because of the Barmak family, placed him in the custody of one of his employees. When he was in custody, he wrote to al-Rashīd from his place of confinement:

I am a slave who confesses, a protégé who has sought
The grace of him about whom nomads and townsmen speak.
You can bestow upon him grace, repeating the grace
Of the past and the present, which will be known among the people.
Although absent, my obedience continues and my loyalty
Has not been marred for an hour by falsehood or shame.
If you pardon, it is a thing which I expect,
And if you give me aid, your Lord [Allah] will aid you.

Among his books there were:

The Proof; The Particular, the Universal, and the Threat (Al-Waḍ'īd); Knowledge, Which Is Learning; against all who speak of the created

[the Qur'an]; Refutation of the Mushabbikhah; The Created [the Qur'an], against the Muhjrīnah; Ease [Favors] of the People of Heaven; The Laws (Al-Sunan).

Ja'far ibn Mubadshīr

He was Abū Muḥammad Ja'far ibn Mubadshīr al-Ṭaqqāfī, one of the Mu’tazīlah of Baghdād, a jurist, theologian, and authority for the Ḥadīth. He had a place as a speaker with eloquence and leadership among his associates. He was also pious, ascetic, and virtuous. He had a brother named Ḥubaysh who, although acquainted with theology, did not equal Ja'far or come up to him. Ja'far died during the year two hundred and thirty-four [A.D. 848/319]. Among his books there were:

Drinks; Laws and Judgments (Al-Sunan wa-al-Aḥkām); Legal Interpretation; Narrative and What Is Told; Learning (Al-Ma’āni), against al-Jāhiz; Tanzih al-Anbiyyā'; The Proof, against the innovators (al-‘Ilmūn); The Abrogating and the Abrogated; Ritual Purification (Al-Tahāra); the large book, Traços (Al-Āḥār); The Meaning of Historical Traditions (Ma'ānī al-Akhbār) and Their Disclosure; The Court (Al-Dīn); against the people of favor (‘alā asḥāb al-luf); The Command for Good and Avoidance of Evil (Al-Amr bi-al-Ma’rif wa-al-Naḥy ‘an al-Munkar); Questions and Answers; The Land Tax (Al-Kharāj); Refutation of the Book of Ibn Shabiḥ, about al-‘aṣā; What Is Certain, against Burāghīth about the created [the Qur'an]; Consensus of Opinion (Al-ijma‘), What Is It?; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd), according to the classifications of the Mushabbikhah, the Jumhūrīlah, and the Rāfī‘īlah; against those who uphold analogy and personal opinion (‘alā asḥāb al-‘aṣās wa-al-ra‘y).

Al-Jāhiz Abū ʿUthmān

He was Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Bahr ibn Māḥbūb, a protégé of Abū al-Qallāmas ʿAmr ibn Qa‘īl al-Kīnānī, then al-Fuṣayīmī, whose

This means literally “purifying of the Prophets,” but it more likely should be translated, “The Prophets’ Declaration of the Purity of Allah.” See Abūlīm, Al-Thurūb wa al-Dhikr al-Dhālin, pp. 156, 97 n.

This is probably an attack on persons who depend upon the grace of Allah rather than their own free will to choose what is right.

See Glossary for the terms in this paragraph.

This account should be compared with those in Yaqūt, Ishāq, VI (6), 36, and Baghdādī, Taṣābīh, Part XII, p. 313. See also Pellat, Le Milieu byzantin, p. 51.
ancestor was one of the Nasāḥ (Nasā’ah). The grandparent of al-Jāḥīz was a Negro called ʿAqrārah, who was a porter of ʿAmr ibn Qaṣ.19
Abū ʿUbayd Allāh told us that Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad related that Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd [al-Muḥammad] the grammarian199 said:

I never saw anyone more avaricious for learning than these three: al-Jāḥīz, al-Fath ibn Khāṣṣān, and ʿAmr ibn ʿAqrārah (the Judge). Whatever book came into the hands of al-Jāḥīz, he read it from start to finish, while al-Fath carried a book in his slipper and if he left the presence of al-Fuṣayyimī the caliph, to urinate or pray, he took up the book as he walked, looking over it until he reached his destination. Then he did the same thing again while returning, until he regained his seat. As for ʿAmr ibn ʿAqrārah, whenever I went in to him there was in his hand a book which he was reading, or else he was turning over some books so as to choose one of them to read.201

Abū ʿUbayd Allāh [also] said, “Muḥammad ibn Yahyā said to me, ‘I heard Abū Miṣṣā al-Hāshimi relate that al-Jāḥīz said, ‘I am about the age of Abū Nuwās and older than al-Jannāz.’” 202 Al-Jāḥīz was

19 The name Qaṣ is also written Qaṣ. In the Beatty MS there is probably an error, as it is given as ʿAqrārah. The significance of the name “al-Fuṣayyimī” is not clear. Probably “ʿAmr ibn Qaṣ” was given this name as well as “al-Kinānī” because of some connection with the Fuṣayyim Tribe. Al-ʾAbnīqī quotes a tradition that “ʿAmr ibn Qaṣ” was called al-Kinānī al-Fuṣayyimī. For the tribes of Kinānī and Fuṣayyim, see “Kinānī,” Enc. Islam, II, 1037, and Duraydī, General, p. 152.

The ancestor of “ʿAmr ibn Qaṣ” was called Abū al-Qallāmās; see Maṣnīdī, III, 156. He was the first of the Nasāḥ, who were members of the tribe of Kinānī engaged in supervising observance of the sacred months. During these months riding ceased, making it safe to conduct trade and go on the pilgrimage. For the Nasāḥ, see Birnštei, Chronologie orientalischer Volkser, p. 13, 1, 7, or Birnštei, Chronology, p. 131, 19.

Fuṣayyim was evidently the grandfather of al-Jāḥīz. Either his name was Muhābbī and his nickname was Fuṣayyim, or else he was the maternal grandfather and Muhābbī the paternal grandfather. It is also possible that the names have been given erroneously, confused with those of other ancestors. Fuṣayyim may have been a porter (baṣmat) or a camel herder (jamāṣ); the texts differ.200

Abū ʿUbayd Allāh was evidently a friend of the author of Al-Fuṣayyim. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad may have been a son of al-Muḥammad.201

See Chap. III, sect. 3, near n. 12, where the same anecdote is told.

substituted for Ibrāḥīm ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūfī in the secretariat for a time.202

Al-Ṣūfī202 said:

Aḥmad ibn Yazīd al-Muḥallabī passed on to me from his father, [who said] that “[The Caliph] Al-Muṭтаṣez said, ‘Oh, Yazīd, news of the death of al-Jāḥīz has come! Then I [Yazīd] said to the Commander of the Faithful, ‘The long-lasting of existence and the duration of glory!’”203 He [Yazīd] said that this was during the year two hundred and fifty-five [a.c. 869]. [Yazīd continued.] “Al-Muṭtaṣez [once] said, ‘I desired to bring him to me and to have him remain with me,’ but I replied to him that even before dying he was crippled by paralysis.”

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAṭī ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Abī Jāfar, said to me, “One day al-Jāḥīz said to a physician, while complaining to him about his illness, ‘I have experienced contrary reactions in my body, for when I ate something cold it affected my foot, whereas if I ate something hot it affected my head.’”

Abū ʿUbayd Allāh said to me that Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAbbās the grammarian related:

I heard al-Jāḥīz say, “I am paralyzed on my left side, so that even if I pinch with scissors I do not feel it, whereas on my right side there is a swelling of the joints [neuritis], so that even if flies pass over it I feel the pain. I also have stones because of which my urine does not flow, but the most oppressive thing for me is ninety-six years [of age].”204

Al-Jāḥīz said:

When al-Maʿmūn read my books about the imamate, he found them to be in accordance with what I had been ordered to undertake. When I went to him, after he had instructed al-Yazīdī205 to inspect them and to tell him about them, al-Maʿmūn said to me, “A man whose intelligence we respect and who gives information accurately has submitted a report

200 Ibid., 116, says that al-Jāḥīz worked in the government secretariat of al-Maʿmūn for three days and then left. Abī Miṣṣā al-Hāshimi cannot be identified. Cf. Ahmad ibn Ibrāḥīm al-Hāshimi

201 Probably Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī. These anecdotes are translated freely.

202 In Arabic without case endings: ʿal al-ḥaq wa-dawān al-izz.

203 Cf. Ahmad ibn Ibrāḥīm al-Hāshimi, Nf al-maṣūm wa-dawān al-izz, II, 486, gives this interpretation, but the words might also be understood with a somewhat modified meaning.

204 See the Yazīdī family in the Biog. Index. It is impossible to be sure which member of the family is indicated here.
to us about these books, with precise details about the workmanship and abundance of useful material. He said to us, "The evaluation of the books might have been more favorable than what [actually] appears, but when I looked into them, I saw that what I found was even better than the evaluation. Then when I examined them carefully, the investigation disclosed even more than what had appeared [at first reading], just as what [actually] appeared amounted to more than the [preliminary] evaluation. For these books, moreover, there is no need for the author or for anyone else to be present in order to explain them, for the author has combined a study of the significant implications with a study of all of the rights [of the caliphate, expressed] in eloquent phrasing of the mood, with the ready manner of speech of the market place, of the kings, the populace, and special classes." 118

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nafis]: I suppose al-Jahiz elaborated this statement, glorifying himself and honoring his composition, for how could al-Ma'mun have spoken these words, praising the composition and commendng the authorship?

He [al-Ma'mun] wrote to the king of the Burghtar 119 a letter over one hundred pages in length, but although he did not seek anyone's aid or quote any verse from the Book of Allah, may His name be exalted, or any word from any wise man preceding him, al-Jahiz cajoled his tongue into saying, "This letter we have regarded as being taken in a favorable way from a discourse of al-Jahiz." In his [al-Jahiz's] epistle to Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik he said: 118 Benefit involves love, harm involves hatred, opposition involves enmity,

118 The Arabic form is abbreviated, while the sentences which follow are given in such a colloquial way that it is difficult to be sure of the original meaning. "Evaluation" is jihat, "more favorable" is asab, "appears" is yakin. The translation is given freely, so as to make sense, but it may not be entirely accurate, as the structure is somewhat confused.

119 The books about the caliphate undoubtedly tried to prove that it was the 'Abbasid caliph who had the divine right to rule the Islamic theocracy. Al-Jahiz put these words into the caliph's mouth to show that his arguments were not only sound, but were not exaggerated, and were told in a clear way, showing a wide knowledge of language.

118 Almost certainly al-Ma'mun wrote this statement, which al-Jahiz, according to a scholastic anecdote, claimed was taken from one of his own compositions. For the Burghtar, see Yaqut, Cosm., I, 668.

116 This was probably an epistle from al-Jahiz to one of his patrons, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyi'a.
Al-Jīḥīṣ died during the year two hundred and fifty [a.d. 869], during the caliphate of al-Mu’tazz. Among his books there were:
The Animal (Kitāb al-Ḥayawān). It is well known that it has seven sections and that there is appended to it another book entitled The Women (Kitāb al-Nunā‘), about the differences between male and female. There is another book, The Males (Kitāb al-Bighāl). I saw these two books written in the handwriting of Zākariyā’ ibn Yāhūy ibn Sulaymān, surnamed Abu Yahyā, who was the warranty of al-Jīḥīṣ. Added to these there was The Camel (Kitāb al-Insāl), which was not in the style of al-Jīḥīṣ and did not resemble it.

He composed this book (Kitāb al-Ḥayawān) in honor of Muḥammad ibn ’Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. Maymūn ibn Hārūn related: I said to al-Jīḥīṣ, ‘Do you have an estate at al-Ṭabar? ’ He smiled and said, ‘Verily, there is myself, a concubine, the handmaid who serves her, a manservant, and a donkey. I presented The Book of the Animal (Kitāb al-Ḥayawān) to Muḥammad ibn ’Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, who gave me five thousand gold coins (ṣ., dinār); I presented The Book of Eloquence and Exposition (Kitāb al-Insāl wa-al-Tabyīn) to Ibn Abī Dā’ūd, who gave me five thousand gold coins; and I presented The Book of Sowing and the Palm Tree (Kitāb al-Zar’ wa-al-Nabīd) to Ikhrājīn ibn ’Abdās al-Ṣūlī, who gave me five thousand gold coins. Then I went to al-Ṭabar and had an estate which did not require renovation or fertilizing.’

Order of the Sections of the Book

The first:
Its beginning: “Allāh has kept you clear of doubt, guarded you from perplexity, and established a relationship between you and learning.”

The second:
Its beginning: “Abū al-Yaṣṣān said about comparison of this derivation.”
Its ending: “And by Allāh I do not know where I put it,” about the cutting (baqqaz) of Sahl ibn Hārūn.

The third:
Its beginning: “We begin it, and with Allāh there is success, by mentioning the dove and what Allāh has bestowed upon it.”
Its ending: “In that there is praiseworthy work, benefit with great usefulness and with manifest good effects.”

The fourth:
Its beginning: “The discussion about the ant and the grub.”
Its ending: “Kūrūs al-Murādī said.”

The fifth:
Its beginning: “We begin in the name of Allāh by completing the statement about the fires of the Arabs and Persians.”
Its ending: “As though when we came to it we encamped at the side of the garden spot, its freshness quenching thirst.”

The sixth:
Its beginning: “We have spoken about scripts, their benefits and their advantages in general.”

114 See the Bibliography for a modern edition of this famous book.
115 This title is evidently given incorrectly by Yaṣṣā, Ishīḥ, VI (6), 75. For a modern edition of this book, with the title Al-Qawāf al-Bighāl (“The Saying about the Males”), see the Bibliography.
116 Kitāb al-Ḥayawān is assumed to be the book meant because of its mention in the statement which follows.
117 Yaṣṣā, Ishīḥ, VI (6), 76, gives Kitāb al-Zar’ wa-al-Nabīd (“The Book of Sowing and the Palm Tree”), but the Beatty MS gives the title as transcribed.
118 This is a list of the first and last words of the different sections of The Book of the Animal (“Kitāb al-Ḥayawān”). These quotations should be compared with the lines in the modern edition of this book; see Bibliography.
CHAPTER FIVE

Its ending: “Abū al-Muthannād prospered in al-Īraq and taught his people to eat al-khābīj.”

The seventh: Its beginning: “Knowing the animals. Oh, our God, verily we seek Thy protection from Satan.” Its ending: “Clad with encirclement of iron as though.”

[Additional Books by al-Jāhiz]


183 Ibid., VI, 110. The translation follows this passage cited, as the Beatty MS has the preposition ʿalā instead of ʿallan (“taught”). Al-khābīj is a dish of dates with butter.
184 Ibid., VII, 4. In al-Jāhiz’s own text, the first phrase is “Knowing the species of animals.”
185 Ibid., VII, 265. This line comes at the end of a poem and is metaphorical, following a simile about a mountain.
186 For this translation of the title, see Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, p. 147 top. The titles in the following list should be compared with the ones given in Yaqūt, Irshād, VI (6), 56, 77.
187 The following incomplete statement is found at this point; it is not translated in the text: “The beginning of the first section of the second.”
188 See n. 115.
189 In the Beatty MS the word jāwāḥī (”replies”) followed by several letters has been inserted under the word for book. Ḥijāl gives the singular, ”reply.”
190 The passage of Yaqūt (see n. 111) omits ḏī (”in”).
191 This refers to the adherents of Uthmān, the third caliph.

SECTION ONE


192 Yaqūt (see n. 131) gives ʿĪsām al-Muṣbūh, which might refer to a man called ʿĪsām the Seeker (after knowledge). The translation is taken from the Beatty MS, which seems to indicate either ʿĪsām al-Muṣbūh or, if a consonant point is placed over the first letter of the Arabic, Chamān al-Muḥād. ʿĪsām is a person with heavy speech, probably a nomen. Chamān is “sleep owner.” Al-Muḥād was the market place of al-Dārās, where al-Jāhiz used to talk with the nomads who came to sell their animals, so as to learn the tribal vernaculars. See Pellat, Le Milieu barbary, p. 63.
193 This very likely refers to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the two grandsons of the Prophet, although it might signify “day” and “night.”
194 The Arabic is ʾṢād al-Kalam, from the Beatty MS. Yaqūt (see n. 131) gives Siyyaḥ al-Kalam, which would imply Goldsmithing Speech and must be wrong.
195 The last word may be al-ḥabākamūn. This may refer to the appointment of arbiters to settle the famous dispute between: ’All and Muʿāwiyah.
196 The final word may be muwwakkilūn (“those who appoint deputies”) instead of muwākallūn.
197 This may be instead The Instructed (”Al-Muṣbūhīn”).
198 For a modern French translation, see Jihāl, Le Livre des oracles.
199 Abd Shams was the ancestor of the Usayyads, while Makhzūm was a noble family of Makkah. See Hitti, Arabs, p. 189; Makhzūn, Enc. Islam, III, 171. Yaqūt (see n. 131) has ʾal-dārās (”glory”), whereas the Beatty MS has ʾal-ṣaḥf (”difference”).
200 The translation follows the Yaqūt passage (see n. 131). Instead of al-ʿurjān (”lane”), the Beatty MS has a word which seems to be an error in copying.
201 These were the two original divisions of the Arabian tribes; see Hitti, Arabs, p. 12.
202 Reference to a modern edition of this book will be found in the Bibliography. To understand the significance of this book, see Pellat, Le Milieu barbary, p. 34 ff.