

Encyclopedia of  
Arabic Literature

Edited by  
Julie Scott Meisami  
and  
Paul Starkey

Volume 1

A - J



# **ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ARABIC LITERATURE**





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## Volume 1

*Edited by*

Julie Scott Meisami

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Paul Starkey



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# Introduction

The *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* has been a long time in the making. The first idea for a biographical dictionary in English of Arab personalities down the ages appears to have been put forward in the second half of the 1980s. In subsequent discussion this rather general idea was modified to a more specific proposal, centring on writers of literature in Arabic, and preliminary entry lists were drawn up on this basis in around 1987 by Philip Sadgrove with the involvement of Roger Allen – lists which proved valuable when the present editors assumed responsibility for the work in 1990. Taking as its model the series of literary *Companions* published by the Oxford University Press, the *Encyclopedia* was at this stage known as the *Companion to Arabic Literature*, and indeed it continues to be so known to many; the change in title was made at a somewhat later stage, as it became clear that the projected scope of the work brought it within the ambit of the series of *Encyclopedias* – both literary and other – already embarked on by Routledge.

Little needs to be said about the scope or rationale for a publication of this type. Although several reference sources of relevance to the field have existed for some time in European languages, there has been no work in English (or any other language, to our knowledge) which has covered in a single volume the most important authors, works, genres, key terms and issues in the Arabic literary tradition – classical, transitional and modern. At one end of the spectrum, the monumental English and French versions of the first and second editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* have been an indispensable reference tool for scholars and others interested in the writers and literature of the classical (and, to a more limited extent, the transitional) periods of Arabic literature, but have made no attempt to cover more modern

developments in any depth. At the other end of the spectrum, Volume III of Jaroslav Průšek's *Dictionary of Oriental Literatures*, published in 1974, covers the literatures of West Asia and North Africa including the modern period; but its greater linguistic and geographical range inevitably means that the literature of any individual language cannot be covered in any great detail. We therefore see the current publication as filling an important gap.

In compiling the *Encyclopedia*, our aim has been so far as possible to emphasize the state of the art of current scholarship on Arabic literature, relying on recent research and less on received traditional opinion. We have accordingly tried to provide an up-to-date assessment of the tradition by incorporating the latest views on the authors and subjects represented, which we hope will be less subject to rapid obsolescence than more traditionally oriented works. To what extent we have succeeded, must of course be for others to judge. In making our selection of entries, we have taken it as our assumption that the main users of the *Encyclopedia* will be students and academics working in Arabic language and literature and, more generally, in the fields of Middle Eastern culture, history and philosophy; to these may be added students and academics working in other Middle Eastern literatures, and students of comparative literature, non-Western literatures and world literature.

Inevitably, in a publication of this sort, there will be gaps, and specialists in particular fields will no doubt wish to draw attention to omissions which they regard as important. Some omissions have of course been inevitable: given the need to keep the volume to a manageable size, it has simply not been possible to include everything. In other cases, entries which appeared on the editors' original list have unfortunately had to be abandoned

when we failed to find contributors able and willing to produce suitable entries; while in other cases (fortunately only a few), promised contributions simply did not materialize. On the other side of the coin, a few entries have been included which may strike most readers as rather unexpected; proffered by enthusiastic contributors, they on occasion simply seemed too interesting to turn down. Particular difficulties were experienced in the case of living authors whose literary reputations are not yet secure; in general, writers who have come to prominence later than 1980 have not been included, but it has not been possible to operate a rigid cut-off date on any sensible basis and the inclusion or omission of contemporary authors is inevitably slightly arbitrary. Equally arbitrary has been the inclusion of some North African writers writing mainly (or in a few cases, exclusively) in French, where the general cultural context has suggested an exception to the usual principle that 'Arabic literature' is 'literature written in Arabic'. For the medieval period, the scope of 'literature' has not been restricted to *belles-lettres* but has been extended to other types of writing – history, biography, geography, philosophy and so on – as medieval writers and readers did not make the same distinctions between various types of 'literature' as do modern ones.

The principles on which the volume has been organized are largely self-explanatory. Medieval and transitional period authors have been entered under their *shuhra* (the best known element of their name), with cross-references where necessary. Modern authors have been entered under the final, or family, element of their name, with cross-references in the few cases where readers might perhaps have expected to find the entry elsewhere. For the medieval and transitional periods, dates have been given according to both the Islamic (AH/*hijrī*) and Christian (AD/CE/*mīlādī*) calendars, but for the modern period *hijrī* dates have not been included. Cross-references (in bold) within entries, and 'See also' references at the end of some entries, indicate other, related entries. For transliteration from Arabic and Persian the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* system has been used, as set out in detail on page xvii. Further information on Arabic names and some other technical points may be found in the Glossary (pp. 830–4); for further information on chronology, readers should consult the dynastic tables on pp. 835–41.

For reasons of space, no attempt has been made to compile exhaustive bibliographies for individual entries. The primary object has been to list translations and to refer the reader, where possible, to other secondary sources for further information on the subject of the entry; entries for classical authors may list published editions of the writer's main works, but this has not been thought practicable in the case of modern writers. In deciding which secondary sources to list, the primary emphasis has been on accessibility; in the context of the present volume, this has inevitably led to a certain preference for English-language works, for which I hope that we may be forgiven. In general, unless they are of particular importance, references to standard works such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur (GAS)*, Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, etc., have not been included in the bibliographies.

It remains to thank all those who have contributed in whatever way to the volume. Our primary thanks go to the contributors themselves and to the two editorial advisers, Professor Roger Allen and Professor Renate Jacobi, who have provided much valuable advice at various stages of the operation, as well as contributing several entries on their own account. Among contributors, it would in general be invidious to single out particular individuals, but special thanks are due, for the modern period, to Dr Philip Sadgrove and Professor Shmuel Moreh, who have each taken responsibility for more entries than could reasonably have been demanded of them, and, for the medieval period, to Dr G.H.J. van Gelder and Dr Philip Kennedy, who similarly contributed more than could or should have been expected, and to Dr Thomas Bauer and Dr Gert Borg, who stepped in at the last minute to take on entries which had not materialized. Three contributors, Dr Jean Déjeux of Paris, Dr Michael Young of the University of Leeds and Dr David Semah of the University of Haifa, have sadly not lived to see their entries in print. Finally, thanks are due to Dr Cathy Hampton and Dr Alma Giese, who translated several entries from French and German respectively, and to the succession of staff at Routledge who have shepherded the volume through the various stages of production with a seemingly almost inexhaustible patience – especially to Mark Barragry, who was responsible for getting the project off the

## Introduction

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ground in its present form, and to Denise Rea, who finally persuaded us that the volume had to see the light of day. For whatever imperfections remain, we are of course responsible.

Julie Scott Meisami, University of Oxford  
Paul Starkey, University of Durham

# Abbreviations: books

## 'Abbās Festschrift

*Studia Arabica et Islamica, Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās.* Ed. W. al-Qāḍī. Beirut 1981.

## Aghānī

Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī.* Editions: Bulaq 1285/1869; Cairo 1323/1905; Beirut 1960; Cairo 1345–94/1927–74.

## Ahlwardt, Divans

W. Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabian Poets,* London 1870.

## Arabicus Felix

*Arabicus Felix: Luminosus Britannicus: Essays in Honour of A.F.L. Beeston on his Eightieth Birthday.* Ed. Alan Jones, Reading 1991.

## Ayalon Festschrift

*Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon.* Ed. M. Sharon. Jerusalem/Leiden 1986.

## Baneth Festschrift

*Studia Orientalia Memoriae D.H. Baneth dedicata.* Jerusalem 1979.

## Browne Festschrift

*A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to E.G. Browne on His 60th Birthday.* Ed. T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson. Cambridge, Eng. 1922.

## CHALABL

*The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: 'Abbāsīd Belles-Lettres.* Ed. Julia Ashtiany et al. Cambridge 1990.

## CHALMAL

*The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Modern Arabic Literature.* Ed. M.M. Badawi, Cambridge 1992.

## CHALRLS

*The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbāsīd Period.* Ed. M.J.L. Young et al. Cambridge 1991.

## CHALUP

*The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period.* Ed. A.F.L. Beeston et al. Cambridge 1983.

## Chauvin, Bibliographie

V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes et relatifs aux Arabes publiées dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1883.* 4 vols, Liege/Leipzig 1892–1909; rpt. Paris 1985.

## CHIr

*The Cambridge History of Iran.*

## Fihrist

Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist.* Editions: ed. G. Flügel, 2 vols, Leipzig 1871–72, rpt. Cairo 1948; Cairo 1938; (Dodge) *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm,* ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, 2 vols, New York 1970.

## HIP

*History of Islamic Philosophy.* Ed. Oliver Leaman. Routledge 1997.

## Nöldeke Festschrift

*Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet.* Giessen 1906. 2 vols.

## Sachau Festschrift

*Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet.* Ed. G. Weil. Berlin 1915.

## Spuler Festschrift

*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients.* Ed. H.R. Roemer and Albrecht Noth. Leiden 1981.

**UEAI Proceedings**

*Proceedings of the Congresses of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants.*

**Wagner Festschrift**

*Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag, 2: Studien zur arabischen Dichtung.* Ed. W. Heinrichs & G. Schoeler. Beirut 1994.

## Abbreviations: journals and reference works

**Abh. Akad. Wiss. und Lit. Mainz**

*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literature, Mainz*

**Abh. G.W. Göttingen**

*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*

**AI**

*Annales Islamologiques*

**AIEO**

*Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales (Algiers)*

**AI[U]ON**

*Annali del Istituto [Universitario] Orientale di Napoli*

**AKM**

*Abhandlung für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

**AO**

*Acta Orientalia*

**ArO**

*Archiv Orientální*

**AS**

*Asiatische Studien*

**BEO**

*Bulletin d'Études Orientales*

**BGA**

*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*

**BIFAO**

*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*

**BJRL**

*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*

**BSOAS**

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

**CHM**

*Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*

**EI<sup>1</sup>**

*Encyclopaedia of Islam* (First edition; + Supplement)

**EI<sup>2</sup>**

*Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Second edition; + Supplements)

**EIr**

*Encyclopaedia Iranica*

**EJ**

*Encyclopaedia Judaica*

**EM**

*Enzyklopädie des Märchens*

**ERE**

*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*

**FO**

*Folia Orientalia*

**GAL**

Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* ... 2 vols, Leiden 1943–49.

**GAL(S)**

*Supplementbanden.* 3 vols, Leiden 1937–42.

**GAP**

*Grundriss der arabishe Philologie*. Vol. 1: *Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. W. Fischer; vol. 2, *Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. H. Gätje; vol. 3: *Supplement*. 3 vols, Wiesbaden 1982–91.

**GAS**

Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden 1967–

**IBLA**

*Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* (Tunis)

**IJMES**

*International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*

**IC**

*Islamic Culture*

**IOS**

*Israel Oriental Studies*

**IQ**

*Islamic Quarterly*

**IS**

*Islamic Studies*

**JA**

*Journal Asiatique*

**JAL**

*Journal of Arabic Literature*

**JAOS**

*Journal of the American Oriental Society*

**JCOI**

*Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute*

**JCS**

*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

**JE**

*Jewish Encyclopaedia*

**JIS**

*Journal of Islamic Studies*

**JNES**

*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

**JPHS**

*Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*

**JRAS**

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

**J[R]ASB**

*Journal and Proceedings of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal*

**JSAI**

*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*

**JSS**

*Journal of Semitic Studies*

**MFOB**

*Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université de St. Joseph* (Beirut)

**MMII**

*Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī*

**MMMA**

*Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*

**MO**

*Le monde oriental*

**MSOS**

*Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*

**MW**

*The Muslim World*

**OC**

*Oriens Christianus*

**OLZ**

*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*

**OM**

*Oriente Moderno*

**OP**

*Orientalia Pragensia*

**ParOr**

*Parole de l'Orient*

**PEPP**

*The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. Ed. Alex Preminger and T.F. Brogan, Princeton 1993.

**PO**

*Patrologia Orientalis*

## Abbreviations

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**QSA**

*Quaderni di Studi Arabi*

**RAAD**

*Revue de l'Academie Arabe de Damas*

**REI**

*Revue des Études Islamiques*

**REJ**

*Revue des Études Juives*

**RH**

*Revue Historique*

**RHR**

*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*

**RIMA**

*Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*

**RO**

*Revue Orientale*

**ROR**

*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*

**RSO**

*Rivista degli studi orientali*

**SA**

*Studia Arabica*

**SAV**

*Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*

**SBAW**

*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

**SI**

*Studia Islamica*

**TAPS**

*Transactions of the American Philological Society*

**WI**

*Die Welt des Islams*

**WO**

*Die Welt des Orients*

**WZH**

*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle*

**WZKM**

*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*

**ZDMG**

*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft*

**ZGAIW**

*Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*

# English transliteration system

## Consonants<sup>†</sup>

		A		P	
A	P	A	P	A	P
ع	'	ز	—	ك	—
ب	b	س	s	ل	l
پ	p	ش	sh	م	m
ت	t	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ث	th	ض	ḏ	ه	h
ج	j	ط	ṭ	و	w
ح	—	ظ	ẓ	ی	y
خ	ḫ	ع	'	ة	-a <sup>1</sup>
ك	kh	غ	gh	v o r u	
د	d	ف	f		
ذ	dh	ق	q	(-at in construct state)	
ر	r	ك	k		
ز	z		k o r g		

<sup>†</sup>Column Headings: A = Arabic, P = Persian

## Vowels

### Arabic and Persian

	Arabic and Persian
<i>Long</i>	ا or ي ā
	و ū
	ي ī
<i>Doubled</i>	يي iyy (final form ī), etc.
	وو uww (final form ū), etc.
<i>Diphthongs</i>	او aw
	اي ay
<i>Short</i>	ا a
	و u
	ي i





## Aba, Nouredine (1921– )

Algerian poet and dramatist writing in French. Born in Sétif, he attended the Nuremberg war-crimes trials as a journalist, then trained as a playwright with the actor Pierre Frenay at the Michodière Theatre in Paris. He is a member of the Académie des Sciences d'Outre-Mer and of the Haut Conseil de la Francophonie. He lives in Algiers and Paris. Nine collections of his poetry have been published since 1941, the last – *Et l'Algérie des rois, Sire?* (1992) – based on the disillusionment his country is currently experiencing. Six of his plays have also been published, many of which have been staged in France: they include *L'Aube à Jérusalem* (1979), *La Récréation des clowns* (1980), *Le Dernier jour d'un Nazi* (1982) and *L'Arbre qui cachait la mer* (1992), which tells of Algerian intellectuals destroyed by power.

J. DÉJEUX

## Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Lāhīqī (d. c.200/815–16)

'Abbāsīd poet (also called al-Raqāshī) whose family, of Persian origin, were clients (*mawālī*) of the Banū Raqāsh of Basra. Leaving Basra for Baghdad, Abān became attached to the Barmakids, and composed many panegyrics for them, as well as for the caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. He is perhaps best-known for his *muzdawija* poems, which include versified versions of earlier prose translations (by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and others) of works from Middle Persian, such as the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf*, *Book of Sindbād*, *Mazdaknāma*, and the romances of Ardashīr and Anūshīrvān. He also composed several original *muzdawijāt*, one, *Dhāt al-ḥulal*, on cosmology, another, *Fī al-ṣawm wa-al-zakāt*, on fasting and the poor-tax. None of

these have survived; fragments are preserved by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and other sources. Aban also exchanged *hijā'* with various poets, notably Abū Nuwās, who accused him of Manichean beliefs (refuted in al-Ṣūlī, pp. 37–8). Other members of his family, notably his son Ḥamdān, were also poets.

### Text editions

Fragments in Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, E. Wagner (ed.), Wiesbaden (1958– ), vol. 1, 24–6; *Aghānī* (Beirut), vol. 23, 2–38; al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, J. Heyworth-Dunne (ed.), Cairo (1934), 1–52.

### Further reading

Fariq, K.A., 'The Poetry of Abān al-Lāhīqī', *JRAS* (1952), 46–59.

Krimsky, A., *Aban al-Lahiki* (in Russian), Moscow (1913).

Vajda, G., 'Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside', *RSO* 17 (1937), 203ff.

J.S. MEISAMI

## Abāza, (Muḥammad) 'Azīz (1898–1969)

Egyptian poet and dramatist. Born in a village in Sharqīyya province into a prestigious and highly educated family, 'Azīz Abāza received his education at the Tawfīqīyya school, and from an early age associated with prominent writers and poets such as Ḥafīz Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad al-Sibā'ī. He is best known as a proponent of verse drama, many of his plays being on historical themes. His major works include: *Qays wa-Lubnā* (1943), *al-Nāṣir* (1950), *Shajarat al-durr* (1951), *Ghurūb al-Andalus* (1952) and *Qaysar* (1963). In 1959 he was elected to the Academy of Arabic Letters, and in 1965 received the Ja'izāt al-Dawla al-Taqdīriyya. His collected works were published in Beirut in 1993.

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M. MIKHAIL

**Abāza, Tharwat (1927– )**

Egyptian novelist, dramatist and short-story writer. Born in Cairo into a prominent literary family, cousin of the poet and dramatist ‘Azīz Abāza, Tharwat Abāza graduated from law-school in 1950 and soon began writing short stories and novels. Among his major works are: *al-Ḥayāh lanā* (1955), *Hārib min al-ayyām* (1956), *Thumma tushriq al-shams* (1959) and *al-Sibāḥa fī al-rimāl* (1972). A number of his works, including *Hārib min al-ayyām* and *Shay’ min al-khawf*, have been made into films.

Further reading

- Shalabī, Muḥammad, *Ma’a ruwwād al-fikr wa-al-fann*, Cairo (1982).

M. MIKHAIL

**‘Abbādids see Spain**

**Abbas, Ferhat (1899–1985)**

Algerian politician and political writer, born in Taher in Little Kabylia. A militant member of the national movement, Abbas founded the Union démocratique du Manifeste algérien in 1946. He was president of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic in 1958, and in 1963 became president of the National Assembly of Algeria. He retired from politics in the same year. Articles written in his youth were collected in *Le Jeune Algérien* (1931, reissued 1981). Abbas’s ideas on democracy did not accord with those of the single party that came to power at the time of independence. His views were set out in a series of essays, including *La nuit coloniale* (1962) and *Autopsie d’une guerre* (1980) on the subject of history, and *L’Indépendance confisquée*, a reflective piece published in 1984. But his ideal of an Algeria open to the world and respecting freedom found little response among his countrymen.

Further reading

- Naroun, A., *Ferhat Abbas ou les chemins de l’indépendance*, Paris (1961).

J. DÉJEUX

**‘Abbās, Iḥsān (1920– )**

Palestinian literary critic, historian and scholar. Born in ‘Ayn Ghazāl, ‘Abbās was educated in Palestine and Cairo, where he received a PhD in Arabic in 1954. He taught in Khartoum, then moved in 1961 to teach at the American University of Beirut, where he also edited *al-Abḥāth* for many years. Since 1985 he has lived in Amman.

‘Abbās has produced some ninety books, and hundreds of articles, on critical theory, practical criticism, literary history, comparative literature, and Arab and Islamic history, acquiring thereby an unrivalled reputation for high standards of scholarship, exactitude and refined artistic sensibility. He has also edited many important classical Arabic manuscripts, and translated works by American writers and others. After Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, he is arguably the most widely quoted writer among students of Arabic literature in the Arab world, and has been awarded many honours, including the Columbia University Prize for Translating American Literature in 1993.

Further reading

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A.-N. STAIF

**al-‘Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf  
(d. 188/803, or after 193/808)**

Abū al-Faḍl al-‘Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, of the clan Ḥanīfa, was a famous love poet. His family had emigrated to Khurasan, but probably returned to Basra before he was born (about 133/750). He began his career in Baghdad, where he became a favourite of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, whom he accompanied on campaigns to Armenia and Khurasan. His love poems (see *ghazal*), the only genre he cultivated, seem to have been in vogue among the ladies of the caliph’s harem, and were often set to music, but he was also highly esteemed by

scholars and critics. Although al-'Abbās was unequalled as a love-poet in his time, reports about his life contain no details of his own love-affairs. Speculations as to the identity of his beloved Fawz have so far been in vain (cf. Vadet, *L'Esprit courtois*, pp. 195ff.) He allegedly died while on a pilgrimage, and was buried in Basra. The poetry of al-'Abbās represents the summit of courtly love in Arabic literature. His verses inspired mystical poets (see **Šūfi literature: poetry**), such as al-Hallāj, and may have had an influence on Andalusian poets (see **Spain**) and the troubadours (cf. Hell, 'al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf'; Tomiche, 'Réflexions').

Al-'Abbās's *dīwān* (ed. al-Khazraǧī) contains 589 texts of varying length, some of them mere epigrams. He continues the tradition of Umayyad *ghazal* poetry, in both its frivolous and elegiac forms (see **Umayyads; 'Udhri poetry**), adapting it formally and conceptually to his own requirements. He also develops and enhances 'courtly' elements already apparent in the verses of **Bashshār ibn Burd**. Al-'Abbās's vocabulary is simple, his style fluent and easy. Two types of *ghazal* can be distinguished, although a sharp distinction cannot be made between them. First, there is a narrative *ghazal*, sometimes of considerable length (20–30 lines), in the manner of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a, but advocating chaste, faithful love. The misfortunes of love, its quarrels and reconciliations, the interference of the 'slanderer' (*wāshī*) and the 'spy' (*raqīb*), each playing their conventional roles – all are referred to, often by means of dialogue or quotations from correspondence. The beloved, Fawz, also called *Zalūm*, is depicted as cruel and capricious; she wrongs him, but he accepts it with perfect submissiveness. Their relationship is placed in an urban setting, and may well reflect conditions of 'Abbāsīd society around the caliphal court.

The second type of *ghazal* is shorter (4–20 lines) and purely lyrical. The poet is absorbed in his emotions and sufferings: he is lost to the world (*dīwān* no. 401), or even lost to the beloved (no. 221, 13), who is united with him spiritually (no. 191). The ambivalence of love (*ishq*), its torments and compensations, are described with remarkable psychological insight. The following points seem essential to 'courtly love', as conceived by al-'Abbās:

- 2 Love is a 'noble virtue' (*makrūma*, no. 221, 16); only lovers acquire true humanity (nos. 372, 1; 381, 4).
- 3 The beloved is placed far above the lover. She is his sovereign (*sayyida*, *amīra*, *mālīka*), he is her 'client' (*mawlā*) or 'slave' ('*abd*, *mamlūk*); she has magic, even cosmic, faculties (cf. Vadet, op. cit., pp. 249ff.)
- 4 Love, therefore, is a quest for the unattainable. This is the main difference between al-'Abbās and 'Udhri poets, who die because their love remains unfulfilled. For the 'courtly' lover, fulfilment is impossible; the quest never ends. Love transcends ordinary human experience and can only be described by paradox: 'the greatest bitterness is most sweet' (no. 581, 4). Its ultimate metaphor is death (no. 388, 2). In verses such as these, al-'Abbās reaches the border where profane love and mystical love meet.

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R. JACOBI

### al-'Abbās ibn Mirdās (seventh century CE)

A famous warrior in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, and also a poet, al-'Abbās ibn Mirdās may have died in the reign of 'Uthmān (23–35/644–56). He was a *sayyid* of Sulaym. **Al-Khansā'** is said to have been his mother or stepmother. His poetry is chiefly connected with tribal battles and disputes, notably a quarrel with his fellow-tribesman Khufāf ibn Nadba. Having converted to Islam shortly before the conquest of Mecca, he participated in the battle of Ḥunayn (9/630), after which, dissatisfied with his share of the booty, he had to be 'pacified' by the Prophet; thus he is one of those

- 1 Love is an overwhelming force, 'chaining' the lover (nos. 101, 14; 154, 12); its 'cup of terrors' is filled to the brim (no. 311, 3).

described as *al-mu‘allaḥ qulūbuhum* in Sūra 9:60. Among his poems is one of the so-called *munṣifāt* (‘fair poems’, so named because they give the opponents their due), which is included in anthologies such as *al-Aṣma‘iyyāt*.

Text edition

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Further reading

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

## al-‘Abbāsī (d. 963/1556)

‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Abbāsī was a leading scholar and literary figure whose long career – he lived into his nineties – coincided with the rapid expansion of the Ottoman empire. Born in Egypt, he studied under the pre-eminent scholars and in the most renowned *madrasas* of Egypt and Syria, and soon acquired a reputation for his vast knowledge of the Muslim religious and philological sciences. He lived for a time in Istanbul before the Ottoman conquests of the Arab lands, and quickly gained favour with the Ottoman court. Later, after the conquests, he settled permanently in that city. An accomplished composer of Arabic verse in his own right, al-‘Abbāsī was a major force in perpetuating the Arabic humanities during the heyday of the Ottoman empire. His chief legacy to posterity is his *Ma‘āhid al-tanṣīṣ*, a commentary on the examples from classical Arabic poetry (*shawāhid*) quoted in support of principles of **literary criticism** set forth in **al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī’s** widely studied *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*. In seeking to achieve his main purpose in this work – correct attribution of the *shawāhid* – al-‘Abbāsī engages in highly subtle and sophisticated comparative analyses of classical verse.

Text edition

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B. WEISS

## al-‘Abbāsī, Muḥammad Sa‘id (1881–1963)

Sudanese poet. Born in al-Kawwa into a leading religious family, al-‘Abbāsī studied Islam and Arabic literature, then entered the Military Academy in Cairo in 1899. Unable to endure the constraints of city life, he cut short his study after only two years, but his feelings of affection for Egypt remained evident in his poetry.

Al-‘Abbāsī’s strongest attachment was to the nomadic life of the Kababish tribe of western Sudan. His poetry is mostly concerned with vivid descriptions of wanderings and love-adventures among the nomadic settlements – a lifestyle which is often contrasted with the decadence of the city. Although his work remains within the traditional classical forms, it conveys a powerful sense of individuality and originality. His *dīwān* was published in Cairo in 1948.

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M. I. SHOUSH

## ‘Abbāsids

The second Islamic caliphal dynasty. They traced their descent to the Prophet’s uncle, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Claiming that only a direct descendant of the Prophet’s house (through the male line) could be the legitimate caliph, they overthrew the **Umayyads** in 132/749 and reigned (if in some periods only nominally) until the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 656/1258.

### 1 The early ‘Abbāsīd caliphate

The ‘Abbāsīd *da‘wa* (‘call’) was strongest in **Khurasan**, where in 128/746 its leader, the charismatic Abū Muslim, proclaimed the ‘Abbāsīds openly and put to flight the last Umayyad governor, Naṣr ibn Sayyār. Abū Muslim then marched westwards across Iran, crossed the Euphrates in 132/749, and seized

**Kufa**, where the first 'Abbāsīd caliph, Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāh (r. 132–6/749–54), was proclaimed. The Umayyads were decisively defeated; their last caliph, Marwān II, fled to Egypt, where he was killed. (On the Umayyad caliphate founded in Spain in 138/755–6, see **Spain**.)

The political and cultural centre of the empire now shifted eastwards, from Syria to Iraq. Kufa remained the caliphal seat until, in 145/762, the second caliph, Abū Ja'far al-Manšūr (r. 136–59/754–75), built the round city of **Baghdad** on the banks of the Tigris, near the old Sasanian capital Ctesiphon (Madā'in). Baghdad became a magnet for scholars and men of letters, and retained political and cultural importance throughout the 'Abbāsīd period. The cities of **Basra** and Kufa conducted a lively cultural exchange with the capital, and as the 'Abbāsīds extended their hegemony, other regions – notably **Khurasan** – came under their cultural influence.

The 'Abbāsīd 'revolution' had been fuelled in part by the aspirations of the *mawālī* (Muslims of non-Arab descent), who hoped that the new dynasty would make good the egalitarian principles preached by Islam. The administrative system was established on the Sasanian model, and *mawālī* (especially of Persian descent) entered the state bureaucracy in increasing numbers. Persian, Greco-Byzantine and Aramean traditions were absorbed into the Arabic-Islamic milieu, producing a cultural florescence hitherto unequalled – even though, in many ways, literary developments built on tendencies already seen in the late Umayyad period.

The influence of Sasanian imperial traditions led gradually to the caliph being seen as an absolute monarch who, addressed as 'shadow of God', was 'a magnificent figure, remote in a world of awesome luxury, walled off by an elaborate courtly etiquette, whose casual word was obeyed like divine law' (Hodgson, *Venture*, 1: 283). Veiled from ordinary mortals by a screen, approachable only through a chain of officials and with elaborate rituals of submission, his power of life and death over his subjects was symbolized by the executioner who was always at his side. The actual administration was left largely to powerful viziers, such as the **Barmakids**, and to court officials.

A second consequence of non-Arab cultural influence was the growth of the *Shu'ūbiyya*, a reaction on the part of non-Arabs (in particular, secretaries and poets) to Arab claims of literary

and cultural superiority, which was at its most intense in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. While primarily a literary phenomenon, the *Shu'ūbiyya* cannot be entirely divorced from politico-religious movements like that of the **Khārijīs**, who preached the absolute equality of believers, or from the persecution of the *zandaqa* (sg. *zindīq*), 'heretics' accused of Zoroastrian or Manichaean beliefs, especially under al-Manšūr, al-Mahdī (r. 159–69/775–85) and al-Hādī (r. 169–70/785–6).

A representative figure of the time was **Ibn al-Muqaffa'**, a former secretary of the Umayyads who rose to prominence in the reign of al-Manšūr and was executed by him on charges of heresy. His translations of Middle Persian works (composed under the Umayyads) and his writings in the **Mirrors for Princes** genre contributed to inculcating Persian ideals of government, and to developing the new, rhetorical prose style which became known as *kitābat al-inshā'*, the 'chancery style' (see **artistic prose**; **prose (non-fiction)**, **medieval**).

It was during the reign of **Hārūn al-Rashīd** (r. 170–93/786–809), and particularly under the patronage of the Barmakids, that 'Abbāsīd literature flowered. The new, urban poetry of the *muhdathūn* competed with the older, 'Bedouin' style for primacy. Some poets specialized in hitherto minor genres: **Abū Nuwās** in the wine-poem (*khamriyya*), **Abū al-'Atāhiya** in ascetic poetry (*zuhdiyya*), **al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf** in love poetry (*ghazal*); and the *badī'* style was developed by poets like **Bashshār ibn Burd**, **Abū Nuwās** and **Muslim ibn al-Walīd**. The caliphal court patronized singers and musicians like **Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī**, as well as scholars in the developing disciplines of **grammar**, **fiqh**, and **hadīth**, and promoted extensive translations from Middle Persian, Syriac and Greek.

Hārūn divided his succession between his sons **Muḥammad al-Amin** (r. 193–8/809–13), **'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn** (r. 198 218/813–33), and **al-Mu'taman** (whom al-Ma'mūn deposed from the succession); this led to a bitter civil war, culminating in 197/812–13 with the siege of Baghdad, which was broken a year later by al-Ma'mūn's general **al-Tāhīr ibn al-Husayn** (see **Tāhīrids**), who entered the city with his Khurasanian troops, and captured and killed al-Amin. Al-Ma'mūn was faced by outbreaks of rebellion in various regions of the empire, and by the brief anti-caliphate in Baghdad of **Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī** (Muḥarram 202/July 817–Dhū al-Ḥijja 203/May 819); he returned from Khurasan to

Baghdad only in 204/August 819. Some four months before his death, in Rabi' I 218/March–April 833, he declared the Mu'tazilī doctrine of the **Koran** as created to be the official one, and instituted an inquisition (*miḥna*) in which prominent religious figures (among them the *faqīh Ibn Ḥanbal*) were questioned as to the correctness of their beliefs. His religious policy was continued by his two immediate successors, but was reversed by al-Mutawakkil (see below). (On the *miḥna* see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.)

Under al-Ma'mūn and his successors the character of courtly patronage changed. The 'new' modes of wine poetry and love poetry, with their irreverent overtones, were out of favour (though they still flourished as minor genres); al-Ma'mūn's tastes ran to the more traditional Arab modes. His patronage of scholarship was extensive, and he founded the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* ('House of Wisdom') in Baghdad as a centre for the translation of Greek works into Arabic. (See **translation, medieval**.)

During the period from al-Manṣūr to al-Ma'mūn, Arabic literature underwent developments which laid the foundations for subsequent elaboration. In poetry, the elevation of minor genres influenced the form of the later *qaṣīda*. The spread of the *badī'* style, later exploited to the fullest by **Abū Tammām**, left an indelible mark on poetry. The ideal of the cultivated, eloquent *adīb* was promoted by the secretaries, and various types of *adab* literature, comprising all that the secretary-courtier might need to know, made their appearance. This ideal of universal knowledge undoubtedly encouraged the growth of such disciplines as grammar (including the collection and editing of the pre-Islamic poetic heritage); while Mu'tazilī *kalām* was to stimulate subsequent developments in philosophy and in Sunnī theology. The period also saw the beginnings of the systematization of the sciences of *ḥadīth* and of Islamic law at the hands of **Mālik ibn Anas**, **Ibn Ḥanbal** and others, as well as the rise of Koranic exegesis.

## 2 The Samarra period and the dissipation of caliphal authority (833–945)

Al-Ma'mūn died while on campaign against the Byzantines; he was succeeded by his brother al-Mu'taṣim (r. 218–27/833–42), who continued his religious policies, his warfare with the Byzantines (*jihād* – holy war against the infidel – had been revived and

pursued with vigour by Hārūn al-Rashīd), and his efforts to put down rebellions and heterodox movements like that of Bābak the Khurramī (201–22/816–37) in Azarbaijan. A new, and ultimately disastrous, element entered the political scene when al-Mu'taṣim placed his personal military guard, formerly headed by prominent free men, under the command of his personal slaves, chiefly of Turkish origin. Their unpopularity with the populace of Baghdad may have been a factor in al-Mu'taṣim's decision to move the capital to Samarra (Ar. *surra man ra'a*, 'the beholder's delight'), on the Tigris north of Baghdad, founded in 223/838; the city served as an administrative centre until 279/872, when the capital was moved back to Baghdad. While the 'Samarra period' produced some of the most brilliant architectural and literary achievements of the 'Abbāsīd age, politically it isolated the caliph from the populace at large and from the Baghdadi milieu, and increased the power of the Turkish praetorians to the point where they became the kingmakers of the empire. (On the Samarra period see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.)

Al-Mu'taṣim's campaigns against the Byzantines, and his success in quelling the revolt of Bābak, were celebrated by **Abū Tammām** and his younger contemporary **al-Buḥturī**, whose neo-classical style became widely admired and was contrasted to the *badī'* style cultivated by **Abū Tammām**. Arguments over the respective merits of the two provided a major impetus to the growth of literary criticism in the late third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries. The field of *adab* was further developed by the Mu'tazilī **al-Jāhīz**, whose prolific output had a lasting impact on later Arabic prose, and by the anti-Shu'ūbī **Ibn Qutayba**, grammarian, exegete, anthologist and critic, whose works encompassed a wide range of disciplines.

Under al-Mu'taṣim's successor al-Wāthiq (r. 227–32/841–6) caliphal authority was not seriously challenged; but with al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/846–61), who came to power with the help of his Turkish guard, things reached a crisis. Al-Mutawakkil left public religious policy largely to the Traditionists, who persecuted Shi'īs and demolished their shrines, thus creating widespread unrest, while the caliph indulged in a life of extravagant ceremony. His murder by his own Turkish slave-soldiers (with the complicity of his son and successor al-Muntaṣir) led to a ten-year period of intense rivalry between Turkish and Khorasani fac-

tions for the power to make and unmake caliphs.

A succession of weak caliphs was followed by three stronger ones – al-Muwaffaq (r. 256–78/870–91; the real power during the titular reign of his brother al-Mu'tamid), his son al-Mu'tadid (r. 279–89/891–902), and his grandson al-Muktafi (r. 289–96/902–08) – who managed to recover some authority. But their efforts came too late to restore the caliphate to its former absolutism, as other factors, internal and external, were contributing to its decline. The emergence of virtually autonomous principalities – like those of the Ṭāhirids in Khurasan, the Ṣaffārīds in Sistan and the Ṣāmānīds in Khurasan and Transoxiana, the Ḥamdānīds in Syria and the Jazīra, and the Ṭūlīd governors of Egypt – was accompanied by revolts such as that of the Zanj (255–69/869–83), black slaves from the salt works near Basra, who, led by a Khārījī, sacked Basra and founded their own state in the marshes of southern Iraq. The Zaydīs established a Shī'ī state on the Caspian littoral (another branch founded a state in Yemen around 277/900); the Carmathians were active in Iraq, Syria and eastern Arabia; the Fāṭimīds established their caliphate in the new city of Cairo in 359/969. All these, in addition to internal power-struggles in the capital, contributed to the diminution of caliphal power.

The economic decline of Iraq, intensified during the Samarra period, was exacerbated by the excesses of al-Muqtadir (r. 295–320/908–32) and his successors al-Qāhir (r. 320–22/932–4) and al-Rāḍī (r. 322–9/934–40); and from 324/936 Baghdad was controlled by various war-lords who took the title *amīr al-umarā'* ('commander-in-chief'). In 334/945 Aḥmad ibn Būya (who, with his brothers, had controlled the emergent Būyīd principality in western Iran since 320/932) occupied Baghdad, where the caliph al-Mustakfi bestowed on him the title of *amīr al-umarā'* and the honorific Mu'izz al-Dawla. Thus the caliphate came under Būyīd control.

While the period between al-Mu'tasim's move to Samarra and the Būyīd occupation of Baghdad was one of political turmoil, sectarian conflict and social unrest, it was equally one of great literary and scholarly development. Although Baghdad remained the centre of intellectual activity, its primacy was increasingly challenged by the courts of local rulers. Poetry saw a new outburst of creative

activity, with attention once more turned towards minor genres such as the *ṭardiyya* or hunting-poem, cultivated by **Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī**. *Wasf* (descriptive poetry) was especially popular, as poets were increasingly required to compose poems on the appurtenances of court life – from palaces and gardens, to elaborate objects often exchanged (like poems themselves) as gifts, to more mundane items (candle, scissors, compass, etc.). *Wasf* is prominent in the *dīwāns* of **Ibn al-Rūmī** and of the caliph-for-a-day **Ibn al-Mu'tazz**; **al-Ṣanawbarī** was known for his descriptions of gardens, spring scenes, and flowers.

This period saw the systematization of both the 'Arab' sciences – grammar, lexicography, the study of poetry and rhetoric, *ḥadīth*, Koranic exegesis, *fiqh* – and the 'non-Arab' disciplines such as philosophy, logic, and the natural and physical sciences. The study and criticism of poetry – and particularly that of the *muḥdathūn*, the 'moderns' – flourished. Poetry was discussed not only by philologists and critics but by philosophers such as **Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī**. *Adab* witnessed an increase in specialized works dealing with the knowledge and conduct essential to specific professions (e.g. secretaries, boon-companions, judges and so on). Historical writing saw the development of both annalistic history (culminating in the great universal history of **al-Ṭabarī**) and narrative history (e.g. **al-Ya'qūbī**, **al-Dīnawarī**); while geographical writing became increasingly detailed. In the religious sciences the period saw the systematization of the four major legal schools, and the completion of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*. The Sunnī theologian **al-Ash'arī** applied the techniques of Mu'tazilī *kalām* to defend the orthodox position which was to bear his name.

### 3 The Būyīd period (334–440/945–1048)

Daylami by origin, Shī'ī by religious persuasion, and Persophone with respect to language, the Būyīds extended their patronage to all with talent, creating an eclectic and dynamic cultural milieu. They adopted imperial Iranian titulature and insignia and promoted some Persian cultural traditions, as well as Shī'ī practices such as the commemoration of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at Kerbela in 61/681 – but nevertheless Arabic retained its supremacy as the language of literature and scholarship.



The Būyid princes ruled over numerous territories in Iraq and Iran; their provincial centres such as Rayy, Hamadhan and Isfahan, Shiraz, and Kirman attracted scholars and men of letters in search of patronage. **Al-Mutanabbī** spent the last year of his life in Arrajan, at the court of the Būyid vizier **Ibn al-‘Amīd**, and enjoyed a brief stay at that of ‘Aḍud al-Dawla in Shiraz; **Ibn Sinā**, rejecting advances from the Ghaznavid court, sought the protection of various Būyid patrons. Many men of letters migrated between the Būyid courts and those of other local rulers (including their cultural and political rivals). The diplomatic correspondence of governors like **al-Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād**, and viziers like **al-Muhallabī** and **Ibn al-‘Amīd**, with their opposite numbers at rival courts, furthered the development of ‘ornate’ or ‘artistic’ prose, which from its primary use in chancery documents and correspondence came to encompass many other genres, notably the *maqāma* and historical writing. The collected epistles of these officials became models of style; prose became firmly established as a medium of eloquent communication, and critics such as **Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī** devoted attention to prose stylistics. History became increasingly the province of court officials such as **Miskawayh**, librarian to **Ibn al-‘Amīd** in Rayy, and the two **al-Ṣābi**’s – **Abū Ishāq**, patronized by **al-Muhallabī**, and his grandson **Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin** – both chancery officials whose works focused largely on Būyid history.

The salons (*majālis*) of Būyid viziers and officials attracted the most brilliant minds of the age, whose conversations on an infinite range of topics are recorded by **Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī**. Philosophy was among the topics discussed in such salons, one of which witnessed the famous debate on the relative merits of logic and grammar between the philosopher **Mattā ibn Yūnus** and the grammarian **al-Sirāfī** in which the former (due largely, it seems, to his poor command of Arabic) was decisively bested.

Much has been made of the period’s interest in the ‘seamy’ side of life, the lower or marginal strata of society, and the obscene. A chapter in **al-Tawḥīdī**’s *Kitāb al-imtā’ wa-al-mu’ānasa* describes a session of *mujūn* in the *majlis* of his patron, the vizier **Ibn Sa’dān**. **Ibn al-Ḥajjāj** and **Ibn Sukkara** cultivated both *mujūn* and the style of *sukhf*; **Abū Dulaf** composed his *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya* for the Ṣāhib; **Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdī**’s *Ḥikāyat Abī al-*

*Qāsim al-Baghdādī* described the low-life of Baghdad. Such tendencies reflect the generally tolerant atmosphere of the period; to see the Būyid age as one of unrestrained licence and corruption is to diminish its very real achievements.

These include a massive burst in the anthologizing of both earlier and contemporary poetry and prose by **al-Ābī** and **al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī**, to name only two examples. **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī**’s *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was composed for the vizier **al-Muhallabī**. **Ibn al-Nadīm**’s *Fihrist* is a comprehensive list of Arabic works produced to the end of the fourth/tenth century, with valuable comments; **al-Tha’alibī**’s *Yatīmat al-dahr* (continued by **al-Bakharzī** and **‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī**) provides information on poets and prose writers of the period, with often extensive samples of their work. Major works of literary criticism were produced by such writers as **al-Āmidī** and **al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī**, along with important commentaries like that of **al-Marzūqī** on **Abū Tammām**’s *Ḥamāsa*. Not least among the achievements of this period was the elaboration of Shī’ī law and theology by such scholars as **Ibn Bābawayh**, and of Mu’tazilī theology by, for example, the **Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār** of Rayy. Shī’ī-orientated poetry was written by the likes of **Mihyār al-Daylamī** (the chief exponent of what S. Spertl has termed the ‘mannerist’ style) and the brothers **al-Sharīf al-Murtadā** and **al-Raḍī**; the latter is also credited with compiling the *Nahj al-balāgha*, a compendium of sayings attributed to ‘**Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib**, and his correspondence with **Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi**’ and others became a model of epistolary style.

The great amir ‘Aḍud al-Dawla (r. 367–72/978–83) had managed to unite the Būyid territories under his rule, but after his death they became fragmented into warring principalities which became easy prey for, first, the Ghaznavids, who conquered their eastern provinces in 420/1029, and then the **Saljūqs**, who took Baghdad in 477/1055, ushering in the final chapter in the history of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate.

#### 4 From the Saljūqs to the Mongols (1055–1258)

The defeat of Mas’ūd I in 430/1040 left the Ghaznavids’ western territories open to the Saljūqs. When **Ṭughrīl I** entered Baghdad in

477/1055, he was welcomed by the caliph al-Muqtafi (r. 530–55/1136–60) as the deliverer of the caliphate from the Shi'ī Būyids. After the defeat, in 451/December 1059, of the Turkish general al-Basāsīrī, who had entered Baghdad at the end of 450/1058 and proclaimed the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, Ṭughrīl secured Saljūq control. Though his nephew and successor Alp Arslān (r. 455–65/1063–72) – perhaps most famed for his defeat of the Byzantines at Malazgird (Manzikert) in 463/1071 – did not reside in the capital, it remained firmly under Saljūq domination; and Alp Arslān's vizier, the redoubtable Nizām al-Mulk (d. 484/1092), continued to exercise power under the sultan's son and successor Malikshāh (r. 463–84/1072–92).

The Saljūqs presented themselves as staunch defenders of Sunnism against heterodoxy, both external (the Fāṭimids) and internal (the Ismā'īlis). Their claim to legitimacy was based largely on religious patronage; and an important offshoot of this policy was the institutionalization of the *madrasa* system (see **education, medieval**). In 459/1157 Nizām al-Mulk founded the Nizāmiyya Madrasa in Baghdad as a counter-institution to the Fāṭimid college of **al-Azhar** in Cairo; one of its early heads was the great religious scholar **al-Ghazzālī**. Throughout the Saljūq period the *madrasa* system was extended, and important schools were established in Iraq, Syria, Khurasan and, later, in Anatolia, the Turkicization of which region had begun with Alp Arslān's victory at Malazgird.

In 484/1092 Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated by an Ismā'īlī. Malikshāh's own death soon after inaugurated a series of succession struggles, and rivalries between warring princes and military leaders, which resulted in the increasing fragmentation of the Saljūq domains. While Malikshāh's son Sanjar (d. 552/1157) retained a firm grip upon Khurasan for some time, this was broken when he was captured and imprisoned by the Turkic Ghuzz tribes in 548/1153, marking the effective end of Saljūq rule in the east. In the west, fragmentation set in rapidly after the death of Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh in 511/1118. The 'Abbāsīd caliphs took advantage of the Saljūqs' weakness to reassert themselves and acquire some degree of emancipation, first in 529/1134, with al-Mustarshid and his son al-Rashīd, who managed to restore, in part, the caliphal army – but most notably during the

reign of the last great 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (r. 575–622/1180–1225).

Al-Nāṣir (whose efficient spy-system, and tolerance of Shi'ī and other heterodoxies, did not meet with universal approval) aspired to restore the authority of the caliphate. Perhaps his most remarkable achievement was his patronage of the *futuwwa* brotherhoods; in 578/1182 he officialized one such brotherhood and placed himself at its head, inviting other Muslim rulers, both Sunnī and moderate Shi'ī, to join under his leadership. In 604/1207 he declared all other brotherhoods illegal and announced that he, the caliph, entrusted with maintaining the sacred Law, was the model for others to follow; and in 608/1211 al-Nāṣir succeeded in wooing the leader of the Nizārī Ismā'īlis into his following, under the aegis of Sunnism. One of his advisers, the famous Ṣūfī *shaykh* 'Umar ibn Muḥammad **al-Suhrawardī**, conceived a theory for unifying the caliphate, the *futuwwa*, and Sufism. Al-Nāṣir's activities reflect a tendency towards synthesis of various esoteric and heterodox doctrines under Sunnī Islam; the teachings of the *futuwwa* and of Sufism have much in common both with each other and with those of the Ismā'īlis – and in this period, all three were moving towards a coalescence. Mysticism and mystical writings, orthodox and heterodox theology, and gnosticism (reflected in the interest in astrology, alchemy and magic), all heavily coloured by esotericism, flourished.

Al-Nāṣir's dream of a restored caliphate was not to be realized. The caliph, involved in a succession struggle among the Saljūq atabeks, sought the help of the Khwārazmshāh Takesh against the sultan Ṭughrīl III and his supporters; after defeating and killing Ṭughrīl in battle in 693/1194, Takesh occupied the former Saljūq territories. Iran and Iraq were devastated by successive waves of invaders, and were briefly absorbed into the Khwārazmshāh's empire, which stretched from Transoxiana to the Caspian, and which itself fell to the Mongols shortly after (see further **Khwārazm**). Even when driven back from the west, the Khwārazmshāhs continued to have designs on Saljūq territories. In 614/1217 an impending confrontation between the Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad II and the caliph in Baghdad was forestalled by the first Mongol onslaught in eastern Iran, led by Chingīz (Genghis) Khān (1218–22). Al-Nāṣir's successors were contemplative quietists; the last

caliph al-Musta'sim (r. 640–656/1242–58) was totally unprepared for the second Mongol incursion under Genghis Khan's grandson Hūlāgū (Hulegu), who, beginning in 681/1253, pushed through Persia towards Iraq, destroying the Ismā'īli stronghold of Alamut in 654/1256 and entering Baghdad after a short siege in Šafar 656/February 1258, where he murdered the caliph, and sacked the city.

The Saljūq period is often viewed as one of decline for Arabic letters, as a result of the increasing patronage of Persian. This seems an unjust verdict, particularly since much of the surviving literary output of the period remains unexamined due to this very prejudice. Certainly, the nature of patronage changed; certainly also, the Saljūq rulers and their officials, as well as local princes, patronized Persian letters, and New Persian became the chief medium of expression in poetry and in many prose genres, especially in the east. But Arabic remained virtually unchallenged as the language of religious learning, and the spread of the *madrassa* system undoubtedly helped to preserve its pre-eminence. Al-Ghazzālī produced, among many works, the definitive work on the religious sciences, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*; **Ibn Abī al-Hadīd** – who although a Shī'ī, enjoyed caliphal patronage and eventually became director of Baghdad's libraries – included among his prolific and varied output a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha*.

The linguistic sciences also flourished, perhaps because of a perceived necessity to preserve and codify threatened standards of Arabic. The grammarian **al-Jawālīqī**, who held a chair at the Nizāmiyya, wrote a number of treatises dedicated to this purpose, as did his pupil (and, for a time, successor) **Ibn al-Anbārī**. Commentaries on both early and later poetry were written by philologists like **al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī**, who also taught at the Nizāmiyya (al-Jawālīqī was among his pupils). History, biography and *adab* were practised by the likes of **Ibn Ḥamdūn** (an official in caliphal service), **Ibn al-Sā'ī** (librarian of the Nizāmiyya and Mustanširiyya colleges), and **'Imād al-Dīn al-İsfahānī**. It is greatly to be regretted that so much of the literary and scholarly output of the Saljūq period perished in the Mongol invasion, leaving us with a distorted view of the accomplishments of the period.

It was perhaps the Arabic court poets and writers of *belles-lettres* who, for various reasons, were most incommoded. As the Saljūq rulers increasingly favoured Persian panegyri-

ists, many Arabic poets migrated elsewhere – to the courts of the Syrian Zangids and **Ayyūbids**, for example – in search of patronage. While poets like **al-Abīwardī** – also a librarian of the Nizāmiyya – and **al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī** were highly productive, the generations which followed produced few worthy successors. In belletristic prose, the major achievement was perhaps **al-Ḥariri's** *Maqāmār*; these lack, however, the immediacy of those of his predecessor and model, **Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī**. The monuments of Arabic poetry and belletristic prose in this period must be sought elsewhere.

The 'Abbāsīd caliphate endured – though often in a weakened state – for over 500 years. (The caliphate set up in Cairo in 659/1261 by the **Mamlūks** was never truly authoritative, and is beyond the scope of this discussion.) Those 500 years saw continuous developments in all fields of literature and intellectual endeavour. The caliphate not only attracted brilliant talents to its centre, Baghdad, but spread its cultural influence, either through migration or through emulation, in all directions throughout the Islamic world.

#### Further reading

Histories and secondary works on the 'Abbāsīd period are many.

##### (a) Histories

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J.S. MEISAMI

### 'Abbūd, Mārūn (1886–1962)

Lebanese journalist, poet, literary critic and writer of fiction. One of the most prolific and versatile writers of modern Lebanon, 'Abbūd wrote about fifty books ranging from literary criticism, literary biographies and social essays to short stories, vignettes, poems, novels and plays. A graduate of the al-Ḥikma Maronite school of Beirut, and a career teacher and literary journalist, he spent most of his life directing Arabic studies at the National University in 'Ālayh, while vigorously participating in the literary journalism of his day.

His social and literary criticism is noted for its sharp and witty language; he is ever ready to denounce antiquated ways and styles, and to laud creativity and innovation. He is at his best when dealing with Lebanese village-life and values, both as a writer of fiction and an observer of real situations. He wrote with enthusiasm of the simple and happy rural life on Mount Lebanon, and of its age-old customs, and described some of its most memorable personalities, as in his collections *Wujūh wa-ḥikāyāt* (1945) and *Aḥādīth al-qarya* (1956). It is, however, for his literary criticism and its insights – in such books as *'Alā al-miḥakk* (1946), *Judud wa-qudamā'* (1954), and *Naqadāt 'ābir* (1959) – that 'Abbūd is likely to be remembered, rather than for his unassuming poetry, novels and plays. He will also be remembered for his literary history in such works as *Ruwwād al-nahḍa al-ḥadītha* (1952), for his literary biographies

(including *Ṣaqr Lubnān*, 1950, on Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq), and for his original study of Lebanese vernacular poetry (*zajal*) entitled *al-Shi'r al-'ammī* (1968).

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I.J. BOULLATA

### al-'Abbūshī, Burhān al-Dīn (1911– )

Palestinian neo-classical poet and dramatist. Born in Janīn, al-'Abbūshī studied there, in Nablus and at the American University of Beirut. He was active in the Palestinian national movement from an early age, and was wounded in the 1948 war against the establishment of the State of Israel. After the war, he left for Baghdad, where he worked as a teacher of Arabic and religion.

Al-'Abbūshī published four versified historical dramas, characterized by a logical, declamatory tone, full of advice and warnings: *Waṭan al-shahīd* (1947), depicting the Arab revolution of King Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī; *Shabah al-Andalus* (1949), on the battle of Janīn in the 1948 war; *'Arab al-Qādisiyya* (1951) and *al-Fidā'* (1968). He also published two anthologies: *Jabal al-nār* (Baghdad, 1956) and *Dīwān al-nayāzīk* (Baghdad, 1968) – the first of which includes *al-Hitlariyyāt*, in which he praises Hitler's attacks on Britain.

Further reading

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S. MOREH

### 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr al-Miyānījī see 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī

### 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluggīn see Ibn Zīrī

**'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz see Ibn al-Mu'tazz**

**'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir see Ṭāhirids**

**'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥalim (1913–70)**

An Egyptian novelist, and a prominent contributor to Egyptian romantic fiction, 'Abd Allāh earned considerable popularity by combining in his novels a depiction of some of the major social issues of the pre- and post-revolutionary period – the fate of the lower-middle classes, and especially those who came from the provinces to the big city – with a romantic love-theme. This aspect emerges clearly from titles such as *Laqīṭa* (1947), *Shams al-kharīf* (1952), and *Ghuṣn al-zaytūn* (1955). Later works, such as *al-Bayt al-ṣāmit* (1967) and *Li-l-zaman baqīyya* (1969), dwell more on the sufferings of his characters, and thus adopt a less idealistic tone. Like one of his Egyptian forebears, Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī, 'Abd Allāh's works were much admired for their style; for many years he served as an editor at the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo.

Further reading

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R. ALLEN

**'Abd Allāh, Yahyā al-Ṭāhir (1938–81)**

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. Born in Upper Egypt, 'Abd Allāh was a friend of Amal Dunqul and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Abnūdī, the Egyptian colloquial poet. He began writing in 1961, and in 1964 moved to Cairo, where he soon became a celebrity. For greater impact, he used to recite his short stories (which combined sophisticated techniques with those of popular oral narratives) in coffee-houses. Because of this, and because his subject-matter was based on the lives of people in Upper Egypt, he was portrayed by some critics as the 'instinctive' writer *par excellence*.

'Abd Allāh published four volumes of short stories and three novels during his lifetime; a further collection of short stories and one long story were published posthumously.

Text edition

*The Mountain of Green Tea*, D. Johnson-Davies (trans.), London (1991).

W. HAMARNEH

**'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Aḥwaṣ see al-Aḥwaṣ**

**'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa (c.580–6/629)**

Poet from the tribe of Khazraj in Medina, contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad. He was among the first Medinans to embrace Islam and supported the Prophet with invective poetry against the Meccan unbelievers (in which he was deemed less successful than Ḥassān ibn Thābit) as well as panegyric poems. Little more than fifty lines are preserved. He fell during the Mu'ta expedition as one of its leaders.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ziba'rā see Ibn al-Ziba'rā**

**'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Ismā'il al-Nābulusī (1050–1143/1641–1731)**

A renowned religious figure, al-Nābulusī was a legal authority, poet, traveller and travel-writer, theologian, and – perhaps most importantly – mystic. He studied Ṣūfism assiduously in Damascus under the auspices of both the Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya orders. He made many journeys for spiritual and intel-

lectual reasons, as well as to see new places. In particular, these journeys provided him the opportunity for meeting Ṣūfī figures of his own persuasion. Al-Nābulusī's travel writings, famous for their detailed descriptions, are his best-known works. But it was his mystical treatises which were al-Nābulusī's great contribution, in his own writings and in his commentaries on the works of great Ṣūfis, including the mystical poet **Ibn al-Fāriḍ**. Most important here was the commentary on **Ibn al-'Arabī's** *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, titled *Jawāhir al-nuṣūṣ*. Al-Nābulusī developed a style and method of commentary which maintained the most daring teachings of the *Fuṣūṣ* while also upholding 'orthodox' principles. This was often achieved by implicit general agreement with some 'heterodox' idea, while at the same time referring to one aspect of it disapprovingly. The commentary on Hārūn (Aaron) serves as an example: al-Nābulusī seems to agree with Ibn al-'Arabī's notion of God's immanence in idols, but he also describes the idols as 'other than God'. This style and method of commentary helped to make Ibn al-'Arabī's thought an integral part of religious studies in al-Nābulusī's milieu.

#### Text editions

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R.L. NETTLER

### 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, Shawqī (1936?– )

Egyptian dramatist. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm's theatre is sometimes known as the *Masraḥ al-fallahīn*, since it is inspired by the rural ethos and reflects the beliefs and customs of the peasantry. It has also been characterized as 'abstract theatre' (*'al-Masraḥ al-tajrīdī'*), a feature which continues to be prominent in the Egyptian theatre. Before moving to drama, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm experimented with a number of different literary genres, including the short story

and novel. His plays contain many folkloristic elements, including symbolism, proverbs, and the use of the *ḥikāya* and chorus, which give them a distinctive character. His major works include a collection of short plays entitled *Malik 'ajūz wa-ma'āsin ukhrā; Shaftīqa wa-Mitwallī* and *al-Kalām*; the highly popular play *Ḥasan wa-Na'īma*, inspired by the well-known ballad of the same name; and *al-A'yān*. In 1964–5 he took leave-of-absence to produce his play *Khūfū*, which harks back to ancient Egyptian history. Later works include *al-Mawt wa-al-tafāha* (1975), *al-Daḥik wa-al-damāma* (1976) and *Ru'yat Bayrūt wabukā'ī laylan* (1985). In addition to plays, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm has also written a number of critical works, including *al-Shī'r al-sha'bī wa-al-fulklūrī 'ind al-'Arab*.

#### Text edition

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M. MIKHAIL

### 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yahyā al-Kātib (c.66–132/ c.685–750)

A Muslim of non-Arab, probably Persian, descent, who was born in Iraq, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd worked as a peripatetic teacher, then as a private tutor. Shortly before 86/705, he went to Damascus, where he began his formal training as a scribe at the chancery. There he met the established secretary **Ṣalīm Abū al-'Ālā'**, who became his teacher and father-in-law (or brother-in-law). He was eventually promoted, and by 106/725 at the latest he was already writing official letters on behalf of the Umayyad caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik. In 114/732, he was appointed secretary to the Umayyad governor of Armenia and Azarbaijan (and commander-in-chief of the Muslim army there), Marwān ibn Muḥammad, a member of the Umayyad ruling family. He remained in Marwān's service until 126/743, when Marwān hurried back to Syria after the outbreak of discord within the caliphal house, and was subsequently declared caliph. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd went with Marwān and became head of the chancery during his reign, which ended upon

the overthrow of Marwān, and with him the whole Umayyad dynasty, in 132/750. Both the caliph and his chief secretary were killed by the agents of the victorious new regime, that of the 'Abbāsids. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd is considered the founder of Arabic prose, having brought the Arabic epistle to new heights in terms of length, content and style. His surviving personal and public letters, most of which can be authenticated, indicate that he was an enthusiastic propagandist of the Umayyad cause, a first-rate exponent of the state's political and ideological vision, and a leading professional in the art of secretaryship.

Text editions

'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yahyā al-Kātib wa-mā tabaqqā min rasā'ilih wa-rasā'il Salīm Abī al-'Alā', Iḥsān 'Abbās (ed.), Amman (1988) (the best collection of his epistles and the best study on him published so far).

Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, Franz Rosenthal (trans.), Princeton (1958), vol. 2, 29–35 (English translation of his 'Letter to the secretaries').

Schoning, Hannelore, *Das Sendschreiben des 'Abdalḥamīd b. Yahyā ... an den Kronprinzen 'Abdallāh b. Marwān II*, Stuttgart (1985) (includes a German translation of his 'Letter to the Crown Prince').

Further reading

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Kurd 'Alī, Muḥammad, "'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib', *RAAD* 9 (1929), 513–31, 557–600.

—, "'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib', *Umarā' al-bayān*, Cairo (1355/1957), vol. 1, 38–98.

Latham, D., "'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib', *CHALUP*, 164–79.

al-Qāḍī, Wadād, 'Early Islamic state letters: the question of authenticity', in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Vol. 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, A. Cameron and L. Conrad (eds), Princeton (1992), 215–75.

—, 'The impact of the Qur'ān on early Arabic literature: the case of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's epistolography', in *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, A. Shareef and G. Hawting (eds), London (1993), 285–313.

—, 'The religious foundation of late Umayyad ideology and practice', *Saber religioso y poder político en al-Islam*, Madrid (1994), 231–273.

W. AL-QĀḌĪ

See also: artistic prose; secretaries

## 'Abd al-Hayy, Muḥammad (1944–89)

Sudanese poet and scholar. After studying at Khartoum University and in Oxford, 'Abd al-Ḥayy taught English and Comparative Literature at Khartoum University. His aesthetic formulation of the 'Sudanese identity' first appeared in his long poem *al-'Awda ilā Sinnār*, published in 1973. According to 'Abd al-Ḥayy, the new Sudanese poets have, since the 1960s, spoken with an authentic voice of Afro-Arab identity. For these poets, there 'is no longing for a fusion of the twin thread of African and Arab culture'; rather, they are convinced that, 'on the poetic level, things are already reconciled' (*Conflict and Identity*, Khartoum, 1976). Among his later volumes was *Ḥaḍīqat al-ward al-akhīra* (1984).

C. E. BERKLEY

## 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad, al-Qāḍī see al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār

## 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī (767–832/1365–1428)

Quṭb al-Dīn ibn Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī (or al-Jilānī), whose name indicates his descent from the famous 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, was a mystic about whose life little is known – apart from a period in India in 790/1387 and a stay in Zabid in the Yemen with his *shaykh* Sharaf al-Dīn al-Jabartī (796–805/1393–1402–3). His fame rests in large part on his *al-Insān al-kāmil* (*The Perfect Man*) (Cairo, many editions), but he also wrote an *Arba'in martaba* (*The forty degrees [of being]*) and a commentary on the *Futūḥāt* of Ibn al-'Arabī, all of which are in the tradition of the Shaykh al-Akbar and his doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the oneness of being). The Perfect Man of al-Jilī's text is the Prophet Muḥammad, although he is capable of taking any form; he is the manifestation of God and that through which the universe is brought into existence. The grades of being – from the divine manifestation (*tajallī*) of the essence to the world of the senses, and the corresponding upward degrees of illumination, the highest of which (the divine essence) is available only to the fully knowing Perfect Man – are informed by the author's own visionary experiences, not only of the heavens and the angels, but of

heaven and hell and of meetings with the prophets.

Text editions

*Das Buch der vierzig Stufen*, Ernst Bannerth (ed.), Vienna (1956).

*De l'homme universel, extraits du livre al-Insān al-kāmil*, Titus Burckhardt, (trans.), Lyon (1953); 2nd ed. Paris (1974).

Ibn al-'Arabī, *Journey to the Lord of Power: a Sufi Manual on Retreat, with notes from a commentary by 'Abdul-Karim Jili ...*, Rabia Terri Harris (trans.), London (1981).

*al-Insān al-kāmil fī ma'rifat al-awākhir wa-al-awā'il*, Cairo (1328/1910).

*al-Kahf wa-al-raqīm fī sharḥ bismillāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm*, Hyderabad (1917, rept. 1921).

*Die risāla Arba'in mawāḥin*, D. Mann (trans.), Saarbrücken (1970).

*Sharḥ mushkilāt al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Yūsuf Zaydān (ed.), Kuwait and Cairo (1992).

*Universal Man*, Angela Culme-Seymour (trans.), Sherbourne (1981).

Further reading

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J. COOPER

'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī  
(557–629/1162–1231)

A scholar from Baghdad, who wrote on many scientific and literary subjects. His intellectual autobiography is quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. Among his preserved works is an interesting description of Egypt, *al-Ifāda wa-al-i'tibār*. Numerous other works – on grammar, rhetoric, poetics, medicine, philosophy, theology and the natural sciences – are either lost or still in manuscript.

Text editions

*Der Diabetestraktat*, H.J. Thies (ed. and trans.), Bonn (1971).

*The Eastern Key/Kitāb al-Ifāda wa 'l-i'tibār*, K.H. Zand and J.A. and I.E. Videan (eds and trans), London (1965).

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Stern, S.M., 'A collection of treatises by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī', *IS* 1 (1962), 53–70.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad  
(1871–1931)

Egyptian poet. Born in Bāṣūna in the Girgā province of Upper Egypt, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib graduated from Dār al-'Ulūm in 1896 and, after working as a primary-school teacher in Sohag for about ten years, was appointed professor at the School of Religious Law. He subsequently became professor at Dār al-'Ulūm. His poetry followed the conservative, neo-classical manner of writing. Unlike other neo-classical poets, such as al-Bārūdī and Shawqī, however, his main poetic exemplars were not the 'Abbāsīd but the pre-Islamic and Umayyad poets. Moreover, his traditional linguistic education had such a firm hold on him that he failed to find a suitable style for the description of modern realities. In his famous poem *al-'Alawīyya*, for example, in which he praised 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib substituted the aeroplane for the camel of classical poetry, describing 'Alī's flight as 'rising to set tents upon the clouds'. Although he participated in Egyptian politics through his nationalistic poems, the focus of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's poetic imagination remained in ancient Arabia – indeed, he was referred to as the 'bedouin poet'. His poetry includes a variety of traditional, thematic types such as *rithā'*, *fakhr* and *ghazal*.

Further reading

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R. SNIR

'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Umar al  
Baghdādī (1030–93/1631–82)

'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, who was born in Baghdad and died in Cairo, was a writer of commentaries – for example, on the verses quoted in al-Astarābādī's commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Shāfiya*, and the *Mughnī* of



**Ibn Hishām al-Nahwī.** He also wrote a super-commentary on Ibn Hishām's commentary on the famous poem *Bānat Su'ād*, by **Ka'b ibn Zuhayr**, which includes much biographical information about **grammarians**. But he is best known for his *Khizānat al-adab*, a commentary on the verses quoted in al-Astarābādhi's commentary on the *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥājjib. This is perhaps less important for its philological content than for the enormous number of sources it quotes: 945 principal titles have been counted in the *Khizāna*, in addition to many subsidiary works.

Text editions

*Khizānat al-adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-'Arab.* Būlāq (1882), reprinted several times – new edition in progress; A.S. Hārūn (ed.), Cairo (1967).

*Sharh abyāt Mughnī al-labīb.* A.A. Rabāh and A.Y. Daqqāq (eds.), Damascus (1973–81).

Further reading

Maiman, M.A., *Iqlīd al-Khizāna or Index of Titles of Works Referred to or Quoted by 'Abdalqādir al-Baghādāī in his Khizānat al-Adab*, Lahore (1927).

M.G. CARTER

**'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilāni**  
(470–561/1077 or 8/1166)

A Sūfī writer, he was born in Jilān (Gilan), and died in Baghdad. The Qādiriyya Sūfī order consider him to be their spiritual founder. In Baghdad al-Jilāni received an education in *fiqh* – to begin with in Ḥanafī *fiqh*, but he later studied Ḥanbalī jurisprudence as well. He then turned to Sufism, achieving success particularly as a preacher. His numerous works include written versions of his sermons, as well as pious treatises which deal with theological questions. No systematic study has so far been carried out addressing the problem of the authenticity of the works attributed to him. The tone of his writings is orthodox throughout. His best-known works are *al-Ghunya li-ḥālībī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq* (a Ḥanbalī Sufi handbook); *al-Faṭḥ al-rabbānī* and *Futūḥ al-ghayb* (collections of his sermons).

Text editions

There are no critical editions.  
*al-Faṭḥ al-rabbānī*, Cairo (1393/1973).  
*al-Ghunya*, Cairo (1375/1956).

Further reading

Braune, W. *Die Futūḥ al-ḡaib des 'Abd al-Qādir*, Berlin (1933).

*Elr* 1, 132f.

B. RADTKE

**'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjāni**  
(d. 471/1078 or 474/1081)

'Abd al-Qāhir Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Majd al-Dīn al-Jurjāni, was a grammarian, minor poet, and highly influential literary theorist. He never left his native Jurjan, which was unusual in a culture where 'travel in the search of knowledge' – i.e., teachers – was a way of life for budding scholars. It is not unlikely that, by foregoing the receptive mode of studying with many teachers, he stimulated his own original thinking.

Apart from a number of grammatical writings, some of which have only recently come to light and been published, al-Jurjāni composed two substantial books in the field of literary theory. The first is the *Asrār al-balāgha, Mysteries of Eloquence*, which, in spite of its vague title, deals mostly with the theory of imagery. Due to a confluence of poetic and Koranic studies of metaphor, which had created considerable confusion, he was faced with the difficult task of clarifying the situation. He distinguishes between *tashbīh*, 'simile' (comparison of single terms) and *tamthīl*, 'analogy' (comparison of a set of terms), and – more importantly – between *isti'āra*, 'metaphor', based on *tashbīh*, and *isti'āra* based on *tamthīl*. He is also the first to identify and describe a phenomenon of central importance in the Modern poetry of the 'Abbāsīd era (see **ancients and moderns**) which might be defined as a fantasy-reinterpretation of natural data (e.g. 'The wind blew the veil across her face, I had not thought the wind to be jealous'). Al-Jurjāni calls this *takhyīl*, 'make-believe', and describes several sub-categories, such as mock aetiology and mock analogy. In all of this he displays a sharp mind, a deep sensitivity for poetry, and a style which, despite the mazes of subordinations he favoured, is of astounding clarity.

Al-Jurjāni's other work is the *Dalā'il al-i'jāz, Proofs for the [Koran's] Inimitability*. Like most other philologically inspired scholars, al-Jurjāni believes that the inimitability (which is the miracle proving the prophethood of Muḥammad) rests in the elo-

quence of the **Koran**. His central notion is that of *naẓm* (literally, 'stringing of pearls'), which might be rendered as 'syntactic ordering of words in accordance with semantic aims'. Al-Jurjānī's own definition of the term is *tawakkhkhī ma'ānī al-naḥw*, 'minding the meanings of syntactic relations'. Thus he fights the mistaken idea, current among his contemporaries, that the generally acknowledged dichotomy of 'wording' and 'meaning' refers to 'sounds and single words', on the one hand, and a 'general intention', on the other. For him, only the relations of the words establish (relations of) meanings; thus, wording and meaning mirror each other. The relations that exist on both sides are called a 'form' (*ṣūra*). A diagram might look like this:

words as sounds > wording (syntactic relations)  
> form <  
meaning (semantic relations) < intention

There is thus only one appropriate wording for each meaning, and the proof that the Koran is the most eloquent text has to start from here. This *naẓm* approach to the problem of Koranic inimitability (see *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*) has the advantage that it is applicable throughout, as opposed to an evaluation of certain features, such as the metaphor, that occur only at intervals. Al-Jurjānī insists that even a metaphor becomes metaphor only through *naẓm*: the context requires it to be such. All other explanations of the inimitability of the Koran – such as divine intervention when the pagans were challenged to produce something similar to the Koran – are rejected by al-Jurjānī. This is also the main topic of a small treatise called *al-Risāla al-shāfiya*, *The Epistle that Leaves Nothing to be Desired*.

In both his works al-Jurjānī appears as a highly original and sensitive thinker who constantly grapples with his topic and looks at it from different angles. Both works, the *Dalā'il* more so than the *Asrār*, have a tail of appendices and additional treatises attached to them – impressive proof of how his thoughts never ceased to circle around the problems which moved him. From the point of view of systematic presentation, this was very unsatisfactory. The situation was mended first by **Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī** (d. 606/1209) and then by **al-Sakkākī** (d. 626/1229) who used the *Dalā'il* and the *Asrār* as the basis for *ilm al-ma'ānī*, 'stylistics', and *ilm al-bayān*, 'theory of imagery', respectively. Al-Jurjānī's works, thus, underlie two

important fields within the science of eloquence.

#### Text editions

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*Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst*, Hellmut Ritter (trans.), Wiesbaden (1959).  
*Dalā'il al-i'jāz*, Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (ed.), Cairo (1404/1984).  
*al-Risāla al-shāfiya*, Muḥammad Khalaf Allāh and Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām (eds), in *Thalāth rasā'il fi i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, Cairo (no date).  
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#### Further reading

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Weisweiler, Max, "'Abdalqāhīr al-Curcānī's Werk über die Unnachahmlichkeit des Korans und seine syntaktisch-stilistischen Lehren', *Oriens* 11 (1958), 77–121.

W. HEINRICHS

*See also:* Literary criticism, medieval; *ma'nā*; metaphor; rhetoric and poetics

### 'Abd al-Qays see tribes

### 'Abd al-Quddūs, Iḥsān (1919–90)

Egyptian journalist, novelist and short-story writer. Born in Cairo, the son of Rūz al-Yūsuf (see Fāṭima al-Yūsuf), 'Abd al-Quddūs graduated in law from Cairo University in 1942. He worked as a staff member and later chief editor of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, from which he launched a series of editorial attacks on the British and their Egyptian supporters, and on the ineffectiveness of Arab political institutions; for these views, he was fined and imprisoned. After the 1952 Revolution, 'Abd al-Quddūs continued as chief editor of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, but devoted an increasing proportion of his time to the output of 'romantic' short stories and novels, producing in all several dozen volumes. Among his declared aims was

to break the existing taboos on what could be discussed in Arabic literature, and much of his writing revolves around sexual themes, particularly the search for emancipation by young Egyptian women. Despite this professed social and literary purpose, 'Abd al-Quddūs's writings are often marred by a tendency to sensationalism. This – together with the fact that his Arabic style makes few demands on his readers – probably accounts for his popularity with the average Egyptian reader: a poll conducted in 1954 for the American University in Cairo found him to be the most popular living Arab writer, and many of his stories have been adapted for radio, television and cinema.

Text edition

English translation: Trevor LeGassick (trans.), *I am free and other stories*, Cairo (1978).

P. STARKEY

### 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Ā'isha [Bint al-Shāṭi'] (1912–74)

Egyptian scholar and short-story writer. Born in Damietta into a religious family, 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān graduated from Cairo University in 1939. She took an MA in literature in 1941 and in 1950 was awarded a PhD. She subsequently lectured in literature at Cairo University, served as editor of the periodical *al-Adab* and worked on *al-Ahrām*.

Among other literary studies, 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān (who wrote under the pseudonym Bint al-Shāṭi') published a study of the life and works of Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri and edited the text of al-Ma'arri's *Risālat al-ghufrān*, for which she was awarded a prize by the Arab Language Academy in Cairo. She also wrote a series of biographies of women in early Islam (including *Baṭalat Karbalā'*: *Zaynab bint al-Zahrā'*, n.d.; *Banāt al-nabī*, 1956; and *Umm al-nabī*, n.d.), and published several collections of short stories (including *Sirr al-shāṭi'*, 1952; *Imra'a khāṭi'a*, 1958; and *Ṣuwar min hayātihinna*, 1959). Her autobiography, *Alā al-jisr*, was published in 1967. Although some of her works have been described as 'feminist', they lack the radicalism of some other women writers of her generation, and it is primarily as a scholar and writer on the medieval Arabic literary tradition that she is likely to be remembered.

P. STARKEY

### 'Abd al-Rahmān, Jilī (1931– )

Sudanese poet. Born to a poor family in Say, in the north of Sudan, 'Abd al-Rahmān moved at the age of 9 to Cairo, where his father had emigrated to look for work. Much of his poetry reflects the poverty of the Cairo slums in which he grew up. Despite this, his verse succeeds in transcending the poet's immediate environment to express the hopes and aspirations of the poor and downtrodden everywhere; the effect is heightened by the use of a straightforward language and imagery, which makes his poetry immediately accessible. A collection of his verse was published in 1967 under the title *al-Jawād wa-al-sayf al-maksūr*.

P. STARKEY

### 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ishāq al-Zajjāji see al-Zajjāji

### 'Abd al-Rāziq, 'Alī (1888–1966)

Egyptian writer and man of letters, the brother of Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq. After studying at al-Azhar, he studied political economy and sociology in England, returning to Egypt in 1915. He then became a judge at the religious court in al-Manṣūra. In 1925 he provoked a vehement discussion on the caliphate with his thesis *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-hukm* (an attack on theological arguments for secular power), and was dismissed from all his official positions. He later became minister of Waqfs and a member of the Arab Language Academy. He contributed essays and articles on social life to the reformist review *al-Sufūr*.

Further reading

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*al-Talī'a* (November 1971), 90–160.

E. C. M. DE MOOR

### 'Abd al-Rāziq, Muṣṭafā (1885–1947)

Egyptian writer and man of letters, son of Hasan 'Abd al-Rāziq (one of the founders of *al-Jarida*) and brother of 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq. After studying at al-Azhar, where he was

influenced by the ideas of Muḥammad 'Abduh, he studied sociology and philosophy in France between 1909 and 1914. On his return to Egypt, he held various academic and official posts, including that of minister of Waqfs (1938) and *shaykh* of al-Azhar (1945). Muştafā 'Abd al-Rāziq was one of the founders and editors of *al-Sufūr*, in which he published a series of essays on literature and cultural life. His memoirs of his stay in France were published in *Mudhakkirāt musāfir*. His most important writings were edited by his brother in *Min āthār Muştafā 'Abd al-Rāziq* (Cairo, 1957).

Further reading

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de Moor, E. 'Egyptian love in a cold climate ...', *Orientalions*, 1 (1992).

E.C.M. DE MOOR

**'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī  
(d. 730/1239)**

Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Ghanā'im 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, famous Şūfī and religious writer. Al-Qāshānī's date of birth is nowhere attested, and details of his life are few. He seems to have been born, and spent most of his life, in the Persian province of Qāshān (Kāshān) under the rule of the Ilkhanids. Al-Qāshānī wrote numerous works on mysticism, the Koran, and theological thought. Most prominent amongst them were: *Iştilāhāt al-Şūfiyya*, a compendium of Şūfī technical terms with explanation; *Ta'wilāt al-Qur'ān*, an exegesis of the Koran from a mystical perspective; *al-Risāla fī al-qaḍā' wa-al-qadar*, a theological treatise evincing a mystical metaphysics and Neoplatonic cosmology; *Sharḥ Fuşūş al-ḥikam*, a commentary on Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuşūş*. This final work is al-Qāshānī's best-known and most influential writing, and for centuries has been the most widely studied of the many commentaries on the *Fuşūş*. Al-Qāshānī employs a literary method of stylization and formalization of Ibn al-'Arabī's technical terms and concepts which effaces much of the ambiguity and subtlety of the original, as well as deflating some of its esoteric daring. This feature of al-Qāshānī's commentary made its wide reception possible, and helped to deflect potential criticism. But

for al-Qāshānī's commentary, it is doubtful the *Fuşūş* would have achieved the prominence it did.

Text editions

- Les commentaires ésotériques du Coran d'après 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī*, P. Lory (ed.), Paris (1980).  
*Iştilāhāt al-Şūfiyya*, M.K.I. Ja'far (ed.), Cairo (1981).  
*Sharḥ Fuşūş al-ḥikam*, Cairo (1892).  
*Traité sur la prédestination et le libre arbitre*, S. Guyard (ed.), Paris (1978).

R.L. NETTLER

**'Abd al-Razzāq al-Şan'ānī see  
al-Şan'ānī**

**'Abd al-Şabūr, Şalāh (1931–81)**

Egyptian poet and dramatist. 'Abd al-Şabūr graduated from Cairo University in 1951, where he had specialized in classical Arabic poetry. He worked as a teacher, and later as a journalist for the periodical *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. He was a director of the General Egyptian Book Organization, a cultural counsellor in India and chief editor for various literary magazines, including *al-Kātib*.

'Abd al-Şabūr experimented with various literary forms, but is best known for his poetry and drama. He also wrote literary criticism, distinguished like all his writing by its lucid expression. He was influenced both by Arab writers such as *Jubrān* and *al-Manfalūṭī*, and by Western movements such as *romanticism*, *realism* and *surrealism*; his profound interest in Western literature is evident from his studies and translations of, among others, T.S. Eliot, Lorca, Walt Whitman and Mayakovsky.

Most of the poems in 'Abd al-Şabūr's first collection, *al-Nās fī bilādī* (1957), deal with the poet's personal anguish and his social and political commitment. The poem which gives the collection its title deals with village life under the tyranny of a pervasive image of God, presented mainly through the narrator's old pious uncle Muştafā. The villagers accept this idea willingly, as it distracts them from the bitter reality of their lives, but their view is challenged by Muştafā's young grandson.

In his second collection, *Aqūlu lakum* (1961), 'Abd al-Şabūr's philosophical ideas are expressed in a meditative atmosphere. We see here the unity of philosophy with art, and the

harmony of reason and emotion. His subsequent collections – *Ahlām al-fāris al-qadīm* (1964) and *Ta'ammulāt fī zaman jariḥ* (1971) – deal with themes related to social values; they were followed by two further collections, *Shajar al-layl* (1972) and *al-Ibhār fī al-dhākira* (1979). 'Abd al-Ṣabūr set out his own account of his poetic development and his views on literary values in a lengthy study entitled *Ḥayātī fī al-shi'r*.

In the field of verse-drama, 'Abd al-Ṣabūr is regarded as a pioneer. His first play, *Ma'sāt al-Ḥallāj* (1964), shows clear evidence of T.S. Eliot's influence, especially of *Murder in the Cathedral*, and to a lesser extent of Greek drama. He later experimented with absurdist drama in *Musāfir layl* (1969), *al-Amīra tantazir* (1971) and *Ba'da an yamūt al-malik* (1973). These three plays, which deal with the human condition in a mysterious world, were influenced by Ionesco's *The Chairs*, which played in Egypt in 1962–3. The events in these plays are suffused with an atmosphere of myth, mystery and distant unreality, demonstrating man's cruelty to his fellow man. *Laylā wa-al-Majnūn* (1970), by contrast, deals with the political situation in Egypt before the 1952 revolution, depicting a group of journalists who challenge the corrupt government; under pressure, one of them spies on the rest of the group and eventually they despair and shut down their magazine.

Freedom, justice and human rights are some of the recurring themes in 'Abd al-Ṣabūr's poetry and plays. The prevailing mood of his work is one of pessimism, closely associated with the changing realities of the time, be they political, cultural or social. Because his language and style is close to everyday expression, some critics have thought his style crude and journalistic. However, his creative daring in adapting the syntax and rhythms of everyday speech to a poetic context made him one of the most innovative poets of his time. His deep and humane sadness, and the sense he conveys of being in a permanent state of siege, open the way to creative doubt and rebellion, through which he gives expression to an ironic view of human misery and demystifies the notion of the poet as hero.

#### Text edition

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R. HUSNI

### 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal see Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal

### 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad (1897[?1900]–1991)

Egyptian singer, actor and composer. Well-trained in the traditions of Arab musical composition and performance, 'Abd al-Wahhāb was influenced by European music, which he successfully reflected in his works. His meeting with the poet Aḥmad Shawqī was a critical moment in his career: Shawqī introduced him to the Egyptian intelligentsia and aristocracy and 'Abd al-Wahhāb gave Shawqī wider publicity by singing his poetry. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's compositions include many pieces of instrumental music, a form of composition less common in the Arab musical tradition; he is probably the most celebrated twentieth-century composer in the Arab world.

#### Further reading

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A. UBAYDLI

### 'Abduh, Muḥammad (1849–1905)

Pioneer of Islamic modernism. Born in a Lower Egyptian village, 'Abduh received a traditional religious education and graduated from the *Azhar* as an 'ālim. Attracted to mysticism as a young man, he later came into contact with al-Afghānī; their collaboration marked the politically activist phase of 'Abduh's career. After a period of exile, he returned to Egypt in 1889 to devote himself to gradualist educational reform. His most important works were a theological treatise,

*Risālat al-tawhīd*, and his Koranic commentary, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ḥakīm* (recorded and continued by his disciple, Rashīd Ridā). He was active in journalism, where his main concerns were the defence of Islam and the reform of Islamic thought and doctrine. He combated the rigidification of legal thought by calling for *ijtihād* (human reasoning) and stressing the principle of *maṣlaḥa* (the public interest). As chief *muftī* of Egypt, he issued several controversial *fatwās*, one of which declared interest on deposit accounts to be lawful. His teachings tended to demythologize Islam and reinstate human reason *vis-à-vis* revelation, although theoretically maintaining the pre-eminence of the latter. Through such ideas, he unwittingly encouraged secularist tendencies among some of his followers, including Luṭfī al-Sayyid. Although the quality of 'Abduh's thought has been criticized, he undoubtedly facilitated for many Muslims the transition into the modern age without loss of faith.

#### Text edition

*The Theology of Unity*, K. Cragg and I. Musā'ad (trans.), London (1966).

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K. ZEBIRI

See also: *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā*

### 'Abduh, Ṭāniyūs (1870–1926)

Lebanese journalist, novelist, translator, poet and teacher, born in Beirut. He composed songs for a theatrical troupe, in which he acted. He founded the *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* newspaper (1896), *al-Raqīb*, *al-Dhimār* (1903) and the daily *al-Sharq* (1903) in Alexandria, and *al-Riwāyāt al-qīṣāsiyya* magazine in Cairo. When the Ottoman constitution was announced he returned to Beirut, and published *al-Ayyām* newspaper and the weekly *al-Rāwī* (1909). He returned to Egypt in 1923, working on *al-Ahrām*. He wrote no fewer than 700 works of fiction in Arabic, many pub-

lished in *al-Nafa'is*, and made many free translations from French, including Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. He also translated a number of plays – including Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* – and dramatized Alexandre Dumas le père's *El Salteador* and *La Dame de Monsoreau*.

#### Further reading

Dāghir, Y.A., *Maṣādir al-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyya*, Beirut (1956), ii, 593–6.

P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Ābī (d. 421/1030)

Abū Sa'd (or Sa'id) Manṣūr ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī was a man of letters, vizier at the Būyid court in Rayy, protégé of al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād. Besides a (lost) *Tā'rikh al-Rayy* (*History of Rayy*) he is famed for the largest Arabic encyclopaedia of historical and humorous anecdotes, *Nathr al-durr* (*Scattering of Pearls*), a seven-volume compilation of several thousand short narratives without any linking passages, of which at least one complete copy has survived. The book, containing 102 chapters, does not have a concise structure; the anecdotes are presented in an order reflecting their thematic and moral content, ranging from such topics as the **Koran** and **Muḥammad** to popular sayings and jokes on homosexuality or fartars. Al-Ābī draws his material mainly from the large body of previous *adab* literature, while on the other hand his influence is still visible in the fourteenth-century encyclopaedia *Nihāyat al-arab* by al-Nuwayrī or the seventeenth-century *Nuzhat al-udabā'*. Notably, *Nathr al-durr* furnished about 80 per cent of the anecdotes compiled in the well-known Syriac *Book of Laughable Stories* by the Maphrian Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286).

#### Text edition

*Nathr al-durr*, M.'A. Qarna *et al.* (eds), 7 vols, Cairo (1980–91); vol. 7, 'U. Būghānmī (ed.), Tunis (1983).

#### Further reading

- Boughanmi, O., *Studien über al-Ābī und sein Werk Nathr ad-durr*, PhD dissertation, Munich (1963).  
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—, *Arabia ridens*, Frankfurt am Main (1992), vol. 1, 38–45.

U. MARZOLPH

See also: *adab*; anthologies, medieval; encyclopedias, medieval

## Abī Shaqrā, Shawqī (1935– )

Lebanese poet. Abī Shaqrā has worked as a teacher and journalist and has served as cultural editor of the Lebanese daily *al-Nahār*. During the 1950s and 1960s he was a member of the editorial board of *Shi'r*, the magazine founded by Yūsuf al-Khāl to promote the modern poetry movement. He has published several collections of poetry including *Khuṣuwāt al-Malik* (1960), *Mā' ilā ḥiṣān al-'ā'ila* (1962) and *Yatba' al-sāḥir wa-yaksir al-sanābil rākiḍan* (1979); his most recent work is *Ṣalāt al-ishṭiyāq 'alā sarīr al-waḥda* (1995). Abī Shaqrā's poetry, which is experimental and often complex in nature, represents a significant contribution to the development of the **prose poem**; its language reflects the poet's modern vision while preserving an element of spontaneity.

P. STARKEY

## 'Abid ibn al-Abrāṣ (sixth century CE)

Pre-Islamic poet, born c.500. 'Abid was spokesman of his tribe (the Asad) after Ḥujr, the last king of the Kinda, had been killed in an Asad revolt (c.530) and Ḥujr's son Imru' al-Qays was seeking vengeance on the tribe. 'Abid's few remaining poems give valuable insight into the early history of Arabic poetry. His most remarkable poem is a polythematic *qaṣida* (*Dīwān* no. 1) which was included among the *Mu'allaqāt* by al-Tibrīzī. It ends with a famous description of a mare compared to an eagle preying on a fox. The *Dīwān* of Imru' al-Qays (ed. Ibrāhīm, no. 33) contains a poem which shares many images with 'Abid's poem. This is one of the earliest examples of direct intertextuality in Arabic poetry.

Text edition

*The Dīwāns of 'Abid ibn al-Abrāṣ and 'Āmir ibn at-Tufail*, Charles Lyall (ed. and trans.), Leiden (1913).

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T. BAUER

## al-Abīwardī (c.457–507/c.1064–1113)

Abū Muẓaffar Muḥammad al-Abīwardī was an Arab poet, historian and genealogist. Born in Kūfa near Abīward in Khurasan, he was a direct descendant of the Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya II. In his youth he moved to Baghdad, where he served one of the sons of the great Saljūq vizier, Nizām al-Mulk, and gained favour through his poetry at the caliphal court. Probably after 498/1104–5, he was put in charge of the Nizāmiyya Library. He then became *walī al-ashraf* ('protector of the Sharīfs') in Isfahan, where he incurred the displeasure of Sultan Muḥammad, who had him poisoned. Al-Abīwardī's *dīwān* consists of two sections, *al-'Irāqīyyāt* (dealing with the caliphs al-Muqtadī and al-Mustazhir and their viziers) and *al-Najdiyyāt* (pastoral pieces). He composed several other works, listed by Yāqūt but no longer extant, including a history of Abīward and Nasā. A genealogical treatise, attributed to al-Abīwardī and entitled *al-Mukhtaliḥ wa-al-mu'taliḥ*, came to light in 1957.

Text editions

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*Muqaṭṭa*, Cairo (1277/1860–1).

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al-Tāhir, A.J., *La poésie sous les Seldjoukides*, thesis, Sorbonne University (1953).

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C. HILLENBRAND

## abjad

The name for the alphabet, an acronym of the first four letters of the Semitic alphabet, in Arabic *alif*, *bā'*, *jīm*, *dāl* (compare Greek *alpha*, *beta* [*gamma*, *delta*]). The letters had

numerical values and were regularly used for mathematical notation, numbers being written in descending order from right to left, often with a bar over them to distinguish them from actual words. Conversely, any word can be read as a number for religious, mystical and superstitious purposes (e.g. Aḥmad =  $1 + 8 + 40 + 4 = 53$ ), likewise dates can be encoded in the form of chronograms. The current Arabic alphabet is adapted from the old *abjad* with the letters largely regrouped according to orthographic similarities – hence *alif*, *bā'* [tā', thā'], *jīm* [hā', khā'], *dāl* [dhāl] etc. – though the original *abjad* survives for numbering paragraphs, rather like our Roman numerals.

#### Further reading

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M.G. CARTER

See also: chronogram; lexicography

### Abkāryūs, Iskandar Āghā (c.1827–85)

(Sometimes spelt *Abkāriūs* or *Abqāriyūs*.) Christian poet, historian and journalist of Armenian extraction, who was born and died in Beirut. In about 1873 he went to Egypt and was employed in the Finance Ministry. With Nakhla Qilfāt he wrote a play, *Fursān al-'Arab*, about the wars of the 'Abs, the tribe of 'Antara, whose *Dīwān* (1864) he published; his own *Dīwān* (1882) includes panegyrics to the khedives Tawfiq and Ismā'il. He also wrote a panegyric biography of Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt (with M. Makkāwī, 1881); an impartial political study *The Lebanon in Turmoil: Syria and the Powers in 1860* (1920), and two books on pre-Islamic poets (1858) and the ancient Arabs of the Peninsula (1867).

#### Further reading

'Iskandar Āghā', *El*<sup>2</sup>, iv, 130.

P.C. SADGROVE

## abridgements

(Ar. *mulakhkhaṣ*, *mukhtaṣar*, *tahdhīb* and related terms.) Abridgements scarcely appear in Arabic writing before the fourth/tenth century; this is not surprising, since they presuppose the existence of lengthy works in a fixed form, and early books often underwent revision and reformulation in the course of transmission. In fact, the appearance of abridgements can be said to mark the emergence of a concept of the written work similar to the one we are familiar with today.

The motives for making abridgements were various. In some cases it was felt that a book was simply too long and could easily be shortened by omission of the *isnāds*; **al-Ṭabari's Koran** commentary was one work subjected to this treatment. In other cases the impulse was didactic, as for instance with the seventh/thirteenth-century grammarian and legal scholar **Ibn al-Ḥājib**, who owed much of his reputation to his ability to abridge and comment on the works of his predecessors. Again, a work might be considered too complicated for the average cultivated reader to peruse: this was one of the reasons why **Ibn Rushd** abridged **Aristotle's** works. Finally, parts of the original work might have ceased to be understood: as far as can be established, all the abridgers of **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's Kitāb al-Aghānī** leave out the musical indications for performing the songs, and one writer admits that they were meaningless to singers in his day.

Sometimes the abridger was the author of the original work – like **al-Mas'ūdī**, who claims to have extracted from his historical *summun* an intermediate (*awsaṣ*) study – but usually another writer took the task upon himself. The abridgement is almost always an interpretation of the original; this is especially evident in *adab* books, with their multifarious content, where one adapter may prefer the poetry, another the entertaining anecdotes, and a third historical narratives. Each abridgement thus acquires a certain individuality, which may increase if the abridger adds explanatory material to passages which he fears his readers may not understand. Moreover, an adapter may decide to recast the whole work, if it seems to him to lack organization. Different abridgers rearranged the articles of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* in alphabetical order and according to chronological periods – which evidently facilitates its use as a work



of reference, even if that was not the original author's intention.

Abridgements are found in all branches of Arabic writing. They are the antithesis of another well-developed strand of scholarly activity, the **commentary**. Both represent a continuing discussion of major texts within the culture, and as such can be viewed positively. Unlike the commentary, however, the abridgement (especially of a literary work) is not necessarily designed for an audience of scholars and students. It can furnish insight into the taste, not only of the adapter, but also of the public to which he addresses himself. A careful study of the abridgements of texts, especially those which have frequently been adapted – like the *Aghānī* or **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's** *al-'Iqd al-farīd* – can make a valuable contribution to the history of Arabic literature.

H. KILPATRICK

'Abs see tribes

**Abū al-'Abbās al-Nāmī see  
al-Nāmī, Abū al-'Abbās**

**Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī  
(363–449/973–1058)**

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, Syrian poet and prose-writer, is one of the most important figures in Arabic literary history. He studied literary and Islamic sciences at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (where he was born) and at Aleppo. Though blind from an early age, he made a career in Syria as a poet and scholar. In his thirties he set out for Baghdad, but left after a short period: the city did not agree with him, and vice versa. He was, it seems, not prepared to make a living with flattering panegyrics; there are reports of friction with such leading Baghdadi figures as **al-Sharīf al-Murtadā**. After his return to Ma'arra in 400/1010 he chose a life of seclusion at home, until his death almost fifty years later.

His brilliant early poetry, collected in *Saqt al-zand* (*The Spark from the Fire-stick*), owes much to **al-Mutanabbī**. It includes a group of poems (called *al-Dir'iyyāt*) devoted to the description of armour; some of them are dramatic monologues put into the mouths of

coats-of-mail. His second collection of poems, *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* or *al-Luzūmiyyāt*, is very different and unconventional. It owes its title to the self-imposed constraint of 'rich rhyme', with two rhyme-consonants, and the inclusion of poems on every rhyme-letter, including unusual ones, in four forms (ending in each of the three vowels or unvowelled). The style is highly ornate, with much paronomasia, unusual diction and many learned allusions. Instead of conventional *qasīdas* the collection contains mostly short poems of *hikma* and *zuhd* (see *zuhdiyya*). The poet shows himself a pessimist, full of scepticism and fatalism. No consistent philosophy is to be extracted from the *Luzūmiyyāt* – though some later writers have accused al-Ma'arrī, probably unjustly, of heresy and unbelief.

Among his prose works, by far the most famous is *Risālat al-ghufrān* (*The Epistle of Forgiveness*), in which a scholar, Ibn al-Qāriḥ, is mockingly depicted as a hypocrite who visits heaven and hell and engages in discussions with poets, scholars and heretics from earlier ages. The book is a strange mixture of highly imaginative and sometimes daring satire – among other things, on popular ideas on the hereafter – and philological pedantry. Original too is *al-Ṣāhil wa-al-shāhij* (*The Neigher and the Brayer*), rediscovered only in recent times, in which political events of the time are discussed by a horse, a mule and other animals. It is addressed to the Fāṭimid governor of Aleppo – but not, it seems, without a measure of irony. This work, too, contains lengthy philological digressions. It shows, as do some of his other works, that al-Ma'arrī, in spite of his seclusion and ascetic way of life, was not entirely cut off from contemporary society and politics. He was, after all, a much respected figure and was visited by numerous pupils and scholars.

A work with religious and moralistic admonitions in rhymed prose, alphabetically arranged and entitled *al-Fuṣūl wa-al-ghāyāt* (*Paragraphs and Periods*), was supposed by some later writers to be a blasphemous attempt to surpass the *Koran* (see *i'jāz al-Qur'an* and *mu'ārada*).

He wrote commentaries on the poetry of **al-Mutanabbī**, **Abū Tammām** and **al-Buḥturī**, as well as on some of his own works. Many other works are listed by the biographers, but most of them have not been preserved.

Al-Ma'arrī liked to call himself 'twice-confined', i.e. by his blindness and his seclu-

sion; in an epigram he mentions a third prison: his soul in his body. One might add several more: as a writer, he is imprisoned in a style dominated by philology (grammar, lexicography, prosody) and poetry; as a thinker, he is the prisoner of his pessimism and misanthropy. His extraordinary knowledge of Arabic language and poetry is employed in highly intricate ways, disguising his ideas in the form of riddles and rhetorical ornament. Obfuscation serves partly as a means of displaying erudition, partly for the sake of dissimulation, to avoid embarrassment; but partly, too, it is due to his obsession with language and poetry, which for him constitute almost a higher form of reality than reality itself. His greatness as a writer is a direct consequence of his various forms of captivity.

Text editions

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Abū al 'Alā' Sālim see Sālim Abū al-'Alā'**

**Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr (d. after 252/866)**

Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl ibn Ja'far al-Baṣīr, poet and *kātib* of Persian origin, was born in Kūfa. He moved to Samarra after it was built as the new caliphal residence, and made a name for himself both as a panegyrist of caliphs and high officials – in spite of his Shī'ī tendencies – and as a writer of epistles. He was blind, hence his nickname ('endowed with eyesight', antiphrastically), although some say he was called al-Baṣīr on account of his intelligence. He is said to have died during the disturbances of 251/865: but his poem on the accession of al-Mu'tazz in the following year belies this. His numerous epistles and poems were well-known, according to **Ibn al-Mu'tazz**, but only fragments of his poetry remain, together with anecdotes involving him and various contemporaries, in particular **Abū al-'Aynā'**.

Text editions

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 G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Abū al-'Amaythal (d. 240/854)**

'Abd Allāh ibn Khulayd Abū al-'Amaythal, secretary, poet and philologist of the early 'Abbāsīd period. A native of northern Persia and apparently of *mawlā* or client origin (see *mawālī*), he nevertheless became famed for his pure Arabic and knowledge of **Bedouin** ways. He served the governor of **Khurasan**, Tāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, as a secretary, later becoming court poet and eulogist to Tāhir's son 'Abd Allāh at Nishapur, and tutor to his son. His *Dīwān* has not survived as such, his poetry being only known to us from citations in other authors, and of his works a few on rhetoric and philology are known to us only from their names.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

**Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'**  
**(65 or 68–144 or 147/684 or 687–771 or 774)**

Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā' al-Zabbān (the name varies) ibn 'Ammār ibn 'Uryān was a dominating figure in early philology. As a pupil of Yahyā ibn Ya'mar, Naṣr ibn 'Āṣim and 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ishāq, he associated with the first generation of Islamic scholars, who had enjoyed personal contact with the original Islamic community in the vital decades after the Prophet's death. He took a holistic approach to the text of the **Koran**, regarding poetic usage as a legitimate critical tool; indeed, he insisted on consulting the **bedouin** directly, a practice which later became standard long after they had ceased to be reliable informants. However, he apparently abandoned the formal collecting of poetry after deciding to devote himself to the Koran. He is one of the seven 'Readers', i.e. those whose version of the Koranic text is accepted as legally authoritative. His pupils include Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, **al-Aṣma'ī**, **Abū 'Ubayda**, **Khalaf al-Aḥmar**, **al-Khalīl** and **al-Ru'āsī**, all (except the last), outstanding linguists associated with **Basra**.

Further reading

Pellat, C., *Le Milieu basrien et la Formation de Ḡāhiz*, Paris (1953), 76–8 and *passim*.

M.G. CARTER

See also: grammar and grammarians

**Abū al-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī**  
**(213–75/828–88)**

Abū al-'Anbas Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Ṣaymarī was born in Kufa. He was a poet who was appointed a judge in Ṣaymara, and who became a buffoon, a jester (*mutaṭayyib* or *muḍḥik*) and a boon companion (*nadīm*) of the caliphs al-Mutawakkil (847–61) and al-Mu'tamid (870–92). According to **Ibn al-Nadīm**, he was an astrologer and compiler of at least forty books on various subjects such as astrology, sexual topics, pimps and whores, and popular works and literary compositions. Some of these were in the dramatic form of *munāzara* (rivalry) and *mufaḥkhara* (vainglory) (see **debate literature**).

Al-Ṣaymarī was considered to be the caliph's fool, one of the *ahl al-fukāhāt wa-al-murāṭazāt* (jesters and clowns); in an anecdote attributed to him, ridiculing astrology, he defined himself as a *ṣaf'ān* (slapstick comedian or slap-taker) (see **acting and actors, medieval**).

In his book *The Laughable Stories*, **Bar Hebraeus** (Ibn al-'Ibrī) translated into Syriac anecdotes by al-Ṣaymarī, **Abū al-'Ibar** and many other Arab actors and jesters, attributing them to anonymous actors, and classifying them under 'comedians' (*qōmiqē*) and 'actors' (*mīmasē*).

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S. MOREH

## Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī (d. c.69/688)

Abū al-Aswad Zālim ibn 'Amr al-Du'alī was a poet and scholar from the Banū Bakr ibn Kināna. He rose to prominence during the caliphate of 'Alī, on whose side he fought at the battle of Šiffin, and is remembered principally as the father of Arabic **grammar** – it is said he was commissioned by 'Alī to write the first book on the subject. His poems were collected by **al-Sukkari**, but are devoid of much literary import; they are short, topical pieces, and are significant only where they express Shī'i sympathies.

### Text edition

*Dīwān*, Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl-Yāsīn (ed.), Beirut (1975).

### Further reading

Dajani, 'Abd al-Fattāh Fathī, *Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī wa-nash'at al-nahw al-'Arabī*, Kuwait (1974),

P. F. KENNEDY

## Abū 'Aṭā' al-Sindī (d. 159/774)

Aflaḥ (or Marzūq) ibn Yasār Abū 'Aṭā' al-Sindī, poet, was born in Sind, and lived in Kufa as a *mawlā* or slave of Banū Asad ibn Khuzayma. He knew **Ḥammād al-Rāwīya** personally, and was a supporter of the **Umayyads**, but with their demise he sought the patronage of the 'Abbāsids, whom he praised as the descendants of Hāshim; he had no luck with al-Manšūr and died shortly after the caliph (other evidence, including a panegyric on al-Mahdī, places his death as late as 170/786). He was considered a 'good poet' whose elegy on Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayra was especially famous. Other poetry includes *hijā'*, *ḥikma*, *ghazal* and *madiḥ*; though he probably also composed wine-poetry, none is extant.

### Further reading

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## Abū al-'Atāhiya (131–211/748–826)

Abū al-'Atāhiya Ismā'il ibn al-Qāsim, a *mawlā* of 'Anza, was born at 'Ayn Tamar near Kufa. In his youth he worked through necessity as a pot-seller; though he was deprived of a formal literary and religious education, he kept the company of the wealthy and ruling classes, and for a time was part of a circle of poets that centred around **Wāliba ibn Ḥubāb** and included **Abū Nuwās**. In the early years of the reign of al-Mahdī (158–69/774–85), he moved to Baghdad; there he made a living from his poetry, which in this period included panegyrics, love songs and *khamriyyāt*. Very little of this relatively early material survives. Not long after his arrival in Baghdad he fell in love with 'Utba, one of al-Mahdī's slave-girls; she became the chief object of his amorous verse. She consistently rejected the poet's advances, and in protest he eventually, during the reign of **Hārūn al-Rashid**, devoted himself exclusively to pious poetry; in this way he snubbed the caliph – whom, he may have felt, had done little to help him in his pursuit of 'Utba – and gave up the court. This course of action, which coincided with accusations of *zandaqa*, only aroused the caliph's anger and resulted in Abū al-'Atāhiya's imprisonment.

The above is a standard view of the poet's conversion to ascetic poetry; however, it may be too subjective. Another modern interpretation of the poet's ascetic output is that it was precisely to ward off the charges of *zandaqa*. Whatever the motivation, from a purely circumstantial rather than literary perspective, the pious poems (*zuhdiyyāt*) which he began to compose at this time preached the eschewal of worldly pleasures in preparation for the Hereafter. His name subsequently became inextricably associated with this genre of poetry; indeed his surviving *dīwān*, which is extensive (about 5,500 verses), is made up almost exclusively of *zuhdiyyāt*. Only a few poems give us an idea of his poetic temperament before his conversion to ascetic poetry.

Abū al-'Atāhiya did not create this genre *ex nihilo*; it has precedents going back to pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, such as the work of 'Adī ibn Zayd (d. c.606), Sābiq al-Barbarī (d. in the first quarter of the second/eighth century) and Šālīh ibn 'Abd al-Qudūs (d. 167–8/783–4). Yet though he did not create the *zuhdiyya* Abū al-'Atāhiya's devotion to it, and the quantity which he produced,

meant that he developed it into a genre with a set repertory of themes and style of diction; he consciously chiselled out the pious poem from the existing and traditional canon of poetry, and thus gave the *zuhdiyya* a recognizable literary backdrop – for example, he reinterpreted classical motifs of the *qaṣīda*: the abandoned abode was no longer the erstwhile encampment of the beloved but this world, despoiled by Death of the living, in contrast to the next world. The language and style of this poetry was simple and became popular among the vulgar classes, for he used 'the language of the *sūq* [marketplace]'.  
 It is impossible to establish the sincerity of the poet in his pious mode; however, we cannot ignore the force of tradition – during his lifetime **Salm al-Khāsir**, amongst others, lampooned the poet's disingenuous piety, and two centuries later **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** was particularly scathing about him: '*qāla al-dāhiya Abū al-'Atāhiya*' ('that disastrous man Abū al-'Atāhiya said ...'); we must therefore assume that impulses other than genuine piety lay behind his devotion to the *zuhdiyya*. This poetry was either the appropriation of a genre (the poet is said to have warned Abū Nuwās not to trespass on his 'territory') and a literary pose which set itself against other contemporaneous poetry (i.e. the *khamriyya* and poetry of *mujūn*); or, as other evidence also suggests, the poet was motivated to attack both the **Barmakids** and **Hārūn al-Rashīd**; this explains the pervasive note of rancour which accompanies his pious admonishments.

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P.F. KENNEDY

See also: *zuhdiyya*

**Abū al-'Aynā'**  
**(c.191–c.283/c.806–c.896)**

Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Khallād Abū al-'Aynā', poet and man of letters, lived in Basra and Baghdad. He was born in al-Ahwāz and grew up in **Basra**, where he studied with **al-Aṣma'ī**, **Abū 'Ubayda** and other famous scholars. He was known for his wit, eloquence and satirical verse, as attested in numerous anecdotes found in many anthologies. A collection of such stories by **Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr** has not been preserved.

Further reading

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**Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī see al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yahyā**

**Abū al-Barakāt al-Anbārī see al-Anbārī, Abū al-Barakāt**

**Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus see Mattā ibn Yūnus, Abū Bishr**

**Abū Dahbal (d. after 126/744)**

Abū Dahbal Wahb ibn Zama'a al-Jumāhī, a Qurayshī poet of the **Umayyad** period who resided mainly at Mecca. He was at times a partisan of the anti-caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr (d. 77/692), as some panegyrics on a Zubayrid governor show. On the other hand, two poems on the death of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (killed 61/680), the son of the fourth orthodox caliph, are ascribed to him. These latter pieces, however, are not contained in his *dīwān*; 'Abd al-Muḥsin's claim (*Dīwān*, pp. 21–2) that he was a staunch Shi'ī therefore cannot be taken for granted. The edition contains sixty pieces with 461 verses from the *Dīwān* and other

sources. Apart from panegyrics, he composed many love-poems, among them several poems on Mu'awiya's daughter 'Ātika – not what one would expect from a Shi'ī.

#### Text editions

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

## Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī see Hudhayl

## Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī (sixth century CE)

One of the earliest pre-Islamic poets, Jāriya ibn al-Ḥajjāj Abū Du'ād of the Ḥudhāqa (Iyād) was an inhabitant of **Hira** contemporaneous with King al-Mundhir ibn Mā' al-Samā' (r. c.505–54), whose imperial equerry he reputedly was. The traditions concerning his life are, for the most part, suspect: the anecdotes of his three marriages are inspired by a literal reading of von Grunebaum Fragments 54 and 66 – the latter is the commonplace reproach of the carping wife, frequent in both early Arabic verse and in the poetry of other oral societies; the detailed accounts of the patronage of al-Ḥārith ibn Hammān (or Ka'b ibn Māma) are produced to elucidate the proverb *jār ka-jār Abī Du'ād* ('a protector like the protector of Abū Du'ād'), already common in the time of the poet **Tarafa** (Ahlwardt Fragment 14.2, 189), with support being sought in verse 25 of poem no. 65 in the *Aṣma'īyyāt*. **Imru' al-Qays** is said by some medieval authorities to have been his **rāwī**. Indeed there are numerous parallels in metrical and linguistic practice between the two, although they are not so striking as to warrant an unqualified acceptance of this tradition. Abū Du'ād's two poems in the *Aṣma'īyyāt* (nos 65, an emotional *qaṣīda* combining reproach and personal vaunt, and 66, an early hunting-poem, in which many of the later features of the genre are present) can profitably be compared with odes by **Imru' al-Qays**

(Ahlwardt 17 and 4 respectively), although they are essentially examples of the common tradition of early *Jāhili* verse. Abū Du'ād was prized, above all, for his equine descriptions and is often associated with **Tufayl al-Ghanawī** and **al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī**. Sezgin (*GAS* 2: 168) discusses fully **al-Aṣma'ī**'s statement that the verse of Abū Du'ād and of **'Adī ibn Zayd** was deemed to be unconventional and alien to the dialect of the Najd.

#### Text edition

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#### Further reading

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*al-Aṣma'īyyāt*, A.M. Shākir, and 'Abd al-Salām M. Hārūn (eds), Cairo (1941).

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## Abū Dulaf (fourth/tenth century)

Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil al-Khazrajī, Arabic poet and traveller, whose precise birth and death dates are unknown. His patrons included the **Samanid** amirs of Transoxania and the **Saffarids** of Sistan; the later part of his life was spent at the courts of the **Būyids** at **Rayy** in northern Persia, and at Shiraz. His surviving works include two *risālas* or epistles, the first allegedly describing his travels through the Turkish lands of central Asia to China, but whose authenticity is generally doubted. The second one describes his travels through northern and western Persia, and seems genuine; it is especially valuable for its information on the minerals and natural phenomena of those regions. Of his poetry, there survives only a *qaṣīda Sāsāniyya*, written for the **Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād**, notable as a social document on the low-life of medieval Islam and as a linguistic source for the cant and jargon of beggars and thieves.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

See also: Banū Sāsān; travel literature

## Abū Dulāma (d. c.161/777)

The poet Abū Dulāma Zand ibn al-Jawn, a black client of Banū Asad, was born in Kufa in the late Umayyad period. Little is known about his early life; he came to prominence in the early 'Abbāsīd period as the buffoon poet or court jester of al-Saffāh, al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. All his poetry dates from this time. **Ibn al-Nadīm** mentions a fifty-'leaf' collection of poems which has not survived. His extant poetry comprises forty-six pieces which are mostly fragments of a few lines in length; the exception is a long *qaṣīda* describing his mule that parodies the detailed *wasf* of bedouin poetry. Notably irreverent themes in his poetry are complaints about fasting and prayer, advice to a sick man to drink forbidden wine and a *hijā'* of his own wife which constitutes an eloquent and amusing parody of the *nasīb*.

Text edition

*Dīwān*, Rushdī 'Alī Ḥasan (ed.), Amman (1985).

Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

## Abū al-Faḍl al-Mikālī (d. 436/1044)

Abū al-Faḍl 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Mikālī, poet and prose stylist, was the most important literary patron in Sāmānid and Ghaznavid Nishapur. A scion of the leading family of the city, he inherited the post of *ra'īs*, or official city spokesman, but is best known for his patronage of Arabic letters. He was praised by such figures as **Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhāni** and Abū Bakr al-**Khwārazmī**, and was the dedicatee of several important works by his friend **al-Tha'ālībī**. His own works, including a *dīwān* of poetry and a *dīwān* of epistles, are largely lost, but we do possess a general poetic anthology which he compiled for the use of epistolographers, as well as a collection of his own poetry

and prose assembled by his protégé Abū Ḥafṣ al-Muṭṭawwi'ī. His fondness for concocting verses exhibiting homonymic paronomasia (*tajnīs* – see **rhetorical figures**), a fad introduced by **Abū al-Faḥh al-Bustī**, has resulted in the attribution of many such poems to both men.

Text editions

*Dīwān al-Mikālī*, J. al-'Aṭīya (ed.), Beirut (1985). *al-Muntaḥal* (attributed to al-Tha'ālībī, perhaps an abridgement by the latter, under the title *al-Muntakhab*, of al-Mikālī's *al-Muntakhal*), Cairo (1901).

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Further reading

*Et*, s. v. Āl-i Mikāl.

E.K. ROWSON

## Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (284–c.363/897–c.972)

Abū al-Faraj 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī, 'Abbāsīd man of letters, historian, musicologist and poet. A descendant of the **Umayyads**, Abū al-Faraj grew up in **Baghdad**. His paternal uncle, from whom he learned much about the history of court-life, was a prominent civil servant in Samarra. After studying in **Kufa** and **Baghdad** with teachers such as the historian and theologian **al-Ṭabari**, the grammarian and *ḥadīth* scholar **Ibn al-Anbārī** and the philologist and lexicographer **Ibn Durayd**, Abū al-Faraj had an unremarkable career as a higher civil servant. He belonged to the literary circle of al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad **al-Muhallabī**, chief minister and vizier of the **Būyid** Mu'izz al-Dawla and a generous patron, who shared his love of music. There is no reliable evidence for Abū al-Faraj's contacts with the **Hamdanid** ruler Sayf al-Dawla. After al-Muhallabī's death, Abū al-Faraj disappeared from public life; he seems to have suffered a stroke. The sources disagree about the date of his death.

A **Zaydī** (moderate) Shī'ī by conviction, Abū al-Faraj was mainly interested in poetry, music, political and social history, genealogy and philology. He impressed contemporaries with his phenomenal memory, wide reading and knowledge extending to unusual domains,

such as veterinary science; and he was appreciated as a companion at court for his wit and fund of stories. His poetry combined elegance with scholarly precision, and his savage satires were feared.

Of his twenty-five titles listed in the sources – mainly on historical, genealogical, literary and musical subjects – four have survived: the *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (*Killings of the Ṭālibids*), completed in 313/927, which describes the violent ends of descendants of Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet's uncle; *al-Imā' al-shawā'ir* (*The Slave Poetesses*), on the poetical activity of slave-girls from the beginning of 'Abbāsīd rule to the end of the Samarra period, which was written at al-Muhallabī's request; the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*Book of Songs*), on which Abū al-Faraj spent many years, but which is incomplete; and the *Adab al-ghurabā'* (*Culture of Strangers*), written at the very end of Abū al-Faraj's life, on the condition of being a stranger and its literary expression. The *Kitāb al-diyārāt* (*Book of Monasteries*) and *Kitāb al-qiyān* (*Book of Singing Girls*), both published recently, are not editions of Abū al-Faraj's books on these subjects but collections of quotations from him, gathered from later sources.

These four books are all compilations; that is, Abū al-Faraj is responsible for assembling the material, but his own voice is seldom heard, except in occasional comments. He is fairly unusual among literary compilers of this period in painstakingly mentioning *isnāds*, except in the *Adab al-ghurabā'*, a more informal work.

The *Maqātil* and the *Imā'* are both organized in sections round individuals in chronological order; they provide an originally conceived history of *Shi'ī* opposition to the rulers of the Islamic state, and a survey of the literary activity and role in society of women poets.

The *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Abū al-Faraj's masterpiece, is a much more complex work. Its starting point is the aim to present a correct version of the melodies of the hundred best songs chosen, it is said, for *Hārūn al-Rashīd* and revised by *Ishāq al-Mawṣilī* for al-Wāthiq. Abū al-Faraj attaches to each song information about the poet and the composer, the poem from which the words were taken, the event which occasioned the poem and the circumstances in which the song was performed. The articles relating to the Hundred Songs take up about a third of the book; they are followed by a section on royal composers, caliphs and their

descendants, and by a third, much longer, section of articles relating to songs chosen by Abū al-Faraj himself. In the third Cairo edition the *Aghānī* runs to some 9,000 pages.

Although it contains much historical material, the *Aghānī* is not a history. Rather, it provides a series of portraits of poets, musicians and personalities from pre-Islamic to 'Abbāsīd times. The subjects, some of whom are extremely obscure, are drawn from all kinds of milieus and exhibit a great variety of behaviour; the poetry, artistic prose and anecdotes in the book provide a panorama of Arabic literature up to the end of the third/ninth century. Recurrent themes – such as the truthfulness of poetry or the permissibility of listening to music (see *samā'*) – give the work a certain unity, while the juxtaposition of disparate material presents the reader with unexpected parallels and comparisons.

Although other books of songs are known to have existed, Abū al-Faraj's is unique in its scope and richness of meaning, as later writers recognized. Modern research has exploited it as a source for literary and cultural history, but like other *adab* (of which it is an outstanding example) it needs to be approached as a literary creation in its own right too.

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H. KILPATRICK

See also: *adab*; anthologies, medieval; music and poetry, medieval; singers and musicians

### Abū al-Fath al-Bustī (335–400/946–1009)

Abū al-Fath 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Bustī, poet and prose stylist, spent his entire life in the eastern Islamic world, serving in the chancery of the Ghaznavid *amīr* Sebuktegin and his son Maḥmūd. His ornate victory announcements (*kutub futūḥ*), of which only fragments survive, were particularly admired. His *dīwān*, only partially preserved, includes verses in all the standard genres, but the bulk of his poetic output consists of very brief poems contrived to display his skill at elaborate forms of paronomasia. In particular, his extensive use of one form of the latter (*tajnīs mutashābih*), based on full homophones (e.g., *dhāhibā*, 'going', and *dhā hiba*, 'giver of a gift'), initiated a fad in his lifetime and was ultimately of considerable influence on both formal and folk poetry in Arabic. His single most famous poem, known as the '*Unwān al-ḥikam*' ('Banner of Adages'), is a sixty-line series of general ethical pronouncements. At the end of his life he was forced to flee, for unknown reasons, to the Turkish lands of Transoxania, where he died.

#### Text editions

*Abū al-Fath al-Bustī: ḥayātuḥu wa-shi'ruḥ*, M.M. al-Khawli (ed.), Beirut (1980) (study and edition of *dīwān*).

*Dīwān*, R. al-Khaṭīb and L. al-Ṣaqqāl (eds), Damascus (1989).

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al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo (1934), vol. 4, 285–309.

E.K. ROWSON

### Abū al-Fidā (672–732/1273–1331)

Abū al-Fidā Isma'īl ibn 'Alī, al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, the Ayyūbid prince of Hama, governed that province as a client of his friend the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. As a youth he studied mathematics, prosody and

medicine. He wrote poetry and versified al-Māwardī's legal treatise, *al-Hāwī*. His *Taqwīm al-buldān* (*Survey of the Lands*), completed in 721/1321, is for the most part an unoriginal compilation from earlier geographers, save for the section on Syria and Palestine which is based on his own observations. *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī ta'rikh al-bashar* (*The Compendium of the History of Humanity*) is a history of the Islamic world up to 729/1329, which in its account of earlier centuries relies heavily on Ibn al-Athīr. Inevitably Abū al-Fidā's chronicle is of most interest for the events of his own times, in which he was a leading player. Parts of Abū al-Fidā's geography and chronicle were translated into Latin in the seventeenth century, and for a long time his books were the major sources for European knowledge of Islamic history.

#### Text editions

*Memoirs of a Syrian Prince, Abu 'l-Fidā, Sultan of Hamah (672–732/1273–1331)*, P.M. Holt (trans.), Wiesbaden (1982).

*al-Mukhtasar fī ta'rikh al-bashar*, 2 vols, Cairo (1907).

*Taqwīm al-buldān*, J.S. Reinaud and M. de Slane (eds), Paris (1840).

R. IRWIN

### Abū Firās al-Ḥamdani (320–57/932–68)

Abū Firās al-Ḥārith ibn Abī al-'Alā' Sa'id al-Ḥamdānī was the son of a Greek slave-girl and cousin of the *amīr* Sayf al-Dawla, patron of al-Mutanabbi, with whom Abū Firās was at variance and whom, according to some reports, he bested in contemporary estimation of their poetic worth. He was appointed governor of Manbij in 336/947–8 and took part in the wars with Byzantium. He was twice taken captive: in 348/959, when he was held at Kharshana whence he escaped, and in 351/962, when he was detained for four years in Byzantium itself. He died in an attempt to oust Sayf al-Dawla's heir, Abū al-Ma'ālī.

His *dīwān* was edited, with a commentary principally by the poet himself, by his tutor, the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh. The complex manuscript tradition has been amply documented by S. Dāhhān in his edition. The most important component of his *oeuvre*, in a literary-historical sense, is the *Rūmiyyāt*, the poems composed during his four-year imprisonment in Byzantium, mostly addressed

to Sayf al-Dawla, importuning his payment of the ransom, although some were also dedicated to his mother, brother and friends. The tone of these odes alternates between elegiac resignation and truculent petulance; throughout the poet never loses his sense of form – they are models of sophisticated and suave composition. This combination of emotion expressed through convention, coupled with an intellectual toying with form, is very typical of Abū Firās. Also remarkable are the monumental *qaṣīda* of 225 verses celebrating the *Ḥamdānīd* dynasty, the hunting-poem *urjūza muzdawīja* (a paired poem composed in the *rajaz* metre; see *muzdawīja*) of 137 lines, a masterpiece of *ṭardiyya* narrative, and his politically inspired vaunting odes (*fakhr*). Abū Firās also penned a number of epigrammatic trifles, descriptive and gnomic in character, over 100 erotic pieces, rarely extending beyond six verses in length, and some four Shī'i propagandist odes, the most significant being an anti-'Abbāsīd, pro-'Alīd manifesto of 61 lines.

## Text edition

*Dīwān*, S. Dahhān (ed.), Beirut (1944).

## Further reading

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

### Abū Ḥadīd, Muḥammad Farīd (1893–1967)

Egyptian novelist and translator. Born in Cairo, Abū Ḥadīd studied at the Higher Training College for Teachers and received a BA in law from Cairo University. He contributed to periodicals such as *al-Risāla* and *al-Thaqāfa*, and as a civil servant held posts in various government and cultural institutions, including the Ministry of Education and *Dār al-Kutub*. He is chiefly remembered today as a historical novelist, his work *Ibnat al-Mamlūk* (1926) being the first novel of importance to appear in Egypt since Muḥammad Husayn *Haykal's* *Zaynab* in 1913. Abū Ḥadīd went on to produce some half-dozen more novels with various historical settings; the most successful

of these is probably *al-Wi'ā' al-marmarī* (1951), set at the time of the Abyssinian invasion of the Yemen at the beginning of the sixth century AD. *Anā al-sha'b* (1954), his only novel to be published after the Egyptian Free Officers' Revolt of 1952, contains substantial elements of social criticism of pre-revolutionary Egypt.

In addition to his novels, Abū Ḥadīd also translated works from English, including Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

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P. STARKEY

### Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (473–565/1080(81)–1169(70))

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Māzinī al-Gharnāṭī, Andalusian geographer and traveller. Born in Granada, he abandoned the Iberian peninsula in about 1106, never to return. His travels led him to North Africa, Egypt, the Middle East and Eurasia. Attributed to him with certainty are *Tuhfat al-albāb* and *al-Mu'rib 'an ba'd ajā'ib al-Maghrib*, writings which are compendiums of natural history, cosmography, astronomy and ethnography. He was especially interested in collecting and documenting 'ajā'ib, marvels or wonders of the world. The accounts of his voyages are punctuated with many fantastic stories which lend a novelistic charm to his work. His work became one of the principal sources for the famous fourteenth-century geographer al-Qazwīnī.

## Text editions

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*Tuhfat al-albāb*, G. Ferrand (ed.), Paris (1925).

L. ALVAREZ

### Abū Hanīfa (80–150/699–767)

Abū Hanīfa al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit was a prominent jurist and theologian from whom one of the four major schools of Sunnī law, the Ḥanafī, takes its name. He lived in *Kufa*, which was a major centre of Muslim thought, and gathered around himself a circle of disciples, who transmitted much of his teaching,

adding elaborations of their own and thereby laying the foundations of the Ḥanafī school. He surpassed his contemporaries in the degree to which he used systematic reasoning in the justification of legal rules, and thus helped to move Muslim jurisprudence in the direction of the classical formulations which it was to receive in the following generations. The attribution to him of early doctrinal creeds entitled *fiqh akbar* testifies to his importance in the development of Muslim theological thought as well.

Text edition

*Musnad*, A.H. Maḥmūd (ed.), Cairo (1981).

Further reading

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B. WEISS

See also: *fiqh*

**Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Shushtarī** see **al-Shushtarī**

**Abū al-Ḥasan al-Rummānī** see **al-Rummānī, ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā**

**Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān (d. 322/933–34?)**

Ismā‘īlī *dā‘ī* (missionary) and religious scholar, active in Rayy and Daylam during the first two decades of the fourth/tenth century; he is said to have died in Azarbaijan. Three of his works are extant: *Kitāb al-Zīna* is a voluminous work on the superiority of the Arabic language and on Islamic religious terminology. It contains quotations from many poets and scholars (including the mystic al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī) and enjoyed great prestige among Sunnis (e.g. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī). *Kitāb a‘lām al-nubuwwa* is Abū Ḥatīm’s version of a debate between himself and the physician and philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, who is only referred to as *al-mulḥid* (‘the apostate’) and who appears as the rationalist anti-authoritarian opponent of prophetic religion. Abū Ḥatīm’s is the first among several theological works written against the

famous physician. *Kitāb al-Isḫāh* is the oldest extant Ismā‘īlī work presenting a Neoplatonic world-view. It was written to ‘correct’ the apparently more radical, gnostic views propounded by Abū Ḥatīm’s fellow *dā‘ī*, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nasafī, and reflects doctrinal controversies within fourth/tenth century Ismā‘īlism.

Text editions

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*Kitāb al-Zīna*, fasc. 1 & 2, H.F. Ḥamdānī (ed.), Cairo (1957, 1958); fasc. 3, A.S. al-Sāmarrā‘ī (ed.) in *al-Ghuluww wa-al-firaq al-ghāliya fī al-ḥadāra al-Islāmiyya*, Baghdad (1972), 228–310.

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H. LANDOLT

See also: Ismā‘īlis

### Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī see al-Sijistānī, Abū Ḥātim

### Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (654–745/1256–1344)

A scholar and man of letters who distinguished himself as the foremost Arab grammarian of his age. Born and educated in Granada, Abū Ḥayyān left al-Andalus and started off on the extensive wanderings that finally took him to Cairo, where he held a number of important teaching posts. Apart from his studies of grammar, Abū Ḥayyān made significant contributions to Koranic exegesis, biography, history, jurisprudence and poetry. His poetical works (love lyrics, odes, satire, didactics, elegies etc.) are elegant, witty and prosodically flawless. They intricately combine Andalusian elements (especially those pertaining to *muwashshahāt*) with themes typical of the Eastern tradition. Abū Ḥayyān used his poetic talent to explain grammatical intricacies and to praise the merits of grammar, his favourite subject.

#### Text editions

*Manhaj as-Sālik: Abū Ḥayyān's Commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik*, S. Glazer (ed.), New Haven (1947).

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#### Further reading

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A. KNYSH

### Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī see al-Tawḥīdī

### Abū Hiffān al-Mihzamī (d. 255/869)

Abū Hiffān ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Mihzamī, the ‘young apprentice’ (*ghulām*) of Abū Nuwās, was a transmitter of poetry and anecdotes. Ibn al-Nadīm ascribed to him a couple of lost volumes in the *Fihrist* (i.e. *Kitāb al-arba’a fī akhbār al-shu’arā’* and *Kitāb*

*Ṣinā’at al-shi’r*). He has a prominent role as transmitter in the *Aghānī* – for example, for the poetry of Di‘bil ibn ‘Alī – but more significantly, he is the author of a life of Abū Nuwās: *Akhbār Abī Nuwās wa-al-mukhtār min shi’rih*.

#### Text edition

*Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, ‘Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj, (ed.), Cairo (1954).

#### Further reading

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P. F. KENNEDY

### Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (d. after 395/1005)

Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Askarī, philologist, poet and literary critic. Born in the early decades of the fourth/tenth century in ‘Askar Mukram, Ahwāz province, and of Persian, or even royal Sasanian, descent (as he proudly declares in his own poetry), he seems to have earned his livelihood mostly as a cloth-merchant. Al-Bākhari in his biography of the poets of his time, *Dumyat al-qaṣr* (Cairo 1968, 1: 528–29) lists him among poets who had to earn their living by hard work, alongside al-Khubzaruzzi, al-Sarī al-Raffā’, and al-Wa’wā’ al-Dimashqī. His main teacher was Abū Aḥmad al-‘Askarī (d. 382/992), a religious scholar, philologist and littérateur, who left among other things a treatise on the relative merits of Arab and non-Arab eloquence (*Risāla fī al-tafḍīl bayn balāghatay al-‘Arab wa-al-‘Ajām*).

Of Abū Hilāl’s works, twelve have been published, six more survive in manuscript, and about ten seem to be lost. The following are of literary importance:

- 1 *Kitāb al-Ṣinā’atayn al-kitāba wa-al-shi’r* (*The Book of the Two Arts: Epistolography and Poetry* – original title: *Ṣan’at al-kalām, The Crafting of Speech*). Based on the earlier works of Ibn Qutayba, Ibn al-Mu’tazz, Qudāma and al-Rummānī, this is the first comprehensive compilation in

the field of literary theory. In the introduction the author states that the ultimate goal of this field of study is to demonstrate the dogma of the stylistic inimitability of the **Koran** (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān*).

- 2 *Dīwān al-ma'ānī* (*The Register of Motifs*), a topically arranged catalogue of poetic topics (*ma'ānī*, see *ma'nā*), with quotations of successful treatments from the existing poetry (including the author's own).
- 3 *Kitāb Jamharat al-amthāl* (*The Book of the Gathering of Proverbs*), an alphabetically arranged collection of ancient proverbs (explicitly excluding all *muwallad*, 'post-classical', material) together with their aetiologies.
- 4 His own *dīwān* has not survived, but two collections of fragments have been published. He is an admirer of Ibn al-Mu'tazz and seems to have especially cultivated descriptive poetry.
- 5 *Kitāb al-Awā'il* (*The Book of Firsts*), includes mention of first-time occurrences in the field of literature.
- 6 *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī Miḥjan al-Thaqafī* (*Commentary on the Diwan of Abū Miḥjan al-Thaqafī*). Abū Hilāl mentions at the beginning that the great *dīwān* redactors of a century or more ago had not paid much attention to the *poetae minores*, and that he wanted to remedy this situation, starting with Abū Miḥjan. He promises a whole series of similar works, but nothing apparently came of it.

Abū Hilāl's strength was assiduous and circumspect compilation (although in the *Book of the Two Arts* the mixing of non-homogeneous sources has led to unnecessary terminological confusion). He commanded a large amount of transmitted materials, he was not devoid of novel ideas, as his additions to the list of **rhetorical figures** show, and he had a firm poetic taste.

Text editions

*Dīwān*, Muḥammad Ghayyād' (ed.), Beirut (1975); Georges Qanāzi' (Kanazi) (ed.), Damascus (1400/1979).

*Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, Cairo (1352/1933).

*Kitāb Jamharat al-amthāl*, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-Majīd Qatāmish (eds). 2 vols, Cairo (1384/1964).

*Kitāb al-Awā'il*, Walīd Qaṣṣāb and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī (eds), 2 vols, 2nd ed., Riyadh (1400-1/1980-1).

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W.P. HEINRICHS

*See also*: literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

**Abū al-Hindī (d. c.132-40/750-7)**

The poet Ghālīb (or 'Abd al-Mu'min or 'Abd al-Salām) ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs ibn Shabath al-Yarbū'ī, known as Abū al-Hindī, was born in **Kufa** at the end of the first century *hijrī*, but spent most of his life in **Khurasan** and **Sijistan**, where he died. He was considered by **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** as the first poet to describe wine in Islam (which must be taken to mean that he was the first whose poetry is devoted solely to wine), and **Abū Nuwās** is said to have plagiarized much of his imagery (though too little of his poetry survives for us to judge properly - there are just thirty-seven fragments or short poems). The extant *khamriyyāt* must be noted for containing narrative and *Shu'ūbī*/anti-bedouin elements (see *Shu'ūbiyya*), as well as the delicate fusion of the bacchic and erotic registers. There are allusions in his surviving poems to **Imru' al-Qays** and **Abū Miḥjan al-Thaqafī**.

Text edition

*Dīwān Abī al-Hindī wa-akhbāruh*, 'Abd Allāh al-Jubūrī (ed.), Baghdad (1969).

Further reading

Abū Deeb, Kamāl, *Jadaliyyat al-khafā' wa-al-tajallī*, Beirut (1984).

Bencheikh, J.E., '*Khamriyya*', *El<sup>2</sup>*, vol. 4.

P.F. KENNEDY

*See also*: *khamriyya*

## Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. between 226–35/840–50)

A prominent theologian of the **Muʿtazilī** school, who flourished in **Baghdad** at a time when the school enjoyed the support, of the ʿAbbāsīd state. His influence upon the development of Muʿtazilī thought lay chiefly in two areas. He laid the foundations for future discussions within the school – and among Muslim theologians in general – of the divine attributes, which he refused to separate from the divine essence; and he also furthered the development of a Muʿtazilī cosmology by incorporating into his thought the complementary concepts of atoms (*jawāhir*) and accidents (*aʿrāq*).

### Further reading

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B. WEISS

See also: Muʿtazilīs

## Abū al-ʿIbar (c.175–250/ c.791–864 or 5)

Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Hāshimī, known as Abū al-ʿIbar, a descendant of the ruling ʿAbbāsīd dynasty, was one of the most famous comedians and buffoons during the ʿAbbāsīd period. He was a poet and author of various works on fools (*ahl al-ḥamāqāt wa-al-raqāʿāt*) of the ʿAbbāsīd courts. His anecdotes also were translated by **Bar Hebraeus** in his *Laughable Stories* and attributed to an anonymous actor (*mīmasē*).

His career began as a serious poet, but like many unsuccessful poets he indulged in frivolous poetry and anecdotes and practised comedy and tomfoolery (*taḥammuq*), which included buffoonery and the art of comedy (*ḥazl*), a profession which brought him fame and riches. In one of his anecdotes, he relates that when he was young he studied under a master comedian, together with other boys. Their comedies were based on dialogue and acting, doing the opposite of what the master said. The students would say 'Good morning' in the evening, and if asked to come they would walk backwards, a method known also in the Muslim shadow plays.

Abū al-ʿIbar's technique of jesting was also based on the use of absurdity. He used to record everything he heard from passers-by in public places; then he would tear the scroll into two halves and stick one on the back of the other; as a result of this he had a composition that which 'nothing in the world was more foolish' (al-Ṣūlī, *Ashʿār*, 328). He used the technique of contrariness, not only in his performances but also in his anecdotes and correspondence. To entertain his patron al-Mutawakkil, he put his clothes on the wrong way round – wearing his slippers on his head as a turban, two tall hats on his feet, trousers instead of a shirt, and a shirt worn as trousers – and answered questions in opposites.

Like al-Mutawakkil, he was hostile to the caliph ʿAlī and, when he slandered him, was killed by some Shīʿīs in an inn near Kufa. After his death he was succeeded by al-Kutanji, the famous jester and author of books of fools and slapsticks (*Safāʿina*) (*Fihrist* [1970] 1: 336).

### Further reading

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S. MOREH

## Abū Ishāq al-Ilbīrī (c.391–459/ c.1000–67)

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Masʿūd al-Ilbīrī, *faqīh* and poet in Zīrid Granada. A disciple of the ascetic poet Ibn Abī Zamanīn, al-Ilbīrī was *kātib* to a vizier of Granada. Expelled from Granada, he retired to a retreat near Elvira, the destruction of which he lamented in a *marthiya* (see *rithāʿ*). Returning to Granada, he composed a famous poem inciting the Sanhāja against the Jewish vizier Yūsuf ibn Naghriḷa, precipitating a riot (459/1066) in which Yūsuf and some 3,000 Jews were killed. Though opposed to secular poetry, al-Ilbīrī composed some *madīḥ* and a fine *marthiya* on the death of his wife. Most of his poems are on asceticism (*zuhd*; see *zuhdiyya*); they were popular among professional mourners and preachers.

Text edition

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R.P. SCHEINDLIN

**Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi' see al-Ṣābi',  
Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl**

**Abū Ishāq al-Ṣūlī see al-Ṣūlī, Abū  
Ishāq**

**Abū Jandal al-Numayrī see al-Rā'ī  
al-Numayrī**

**Abū Jilda al-Yashkuri (d. 83/702)**

Abū Jilda ibn 'Ubayd ibn Munqidh of Yashkur (of Bakr ibn Wā'il) was a Kufan poet of the early *Umayyad* period; he was killed during an insurrection against al-Ḥajjāj. He was an exuberant versifier who composed both *rajaz* and *qaṣīd* (particularly *madīh* and *hijā'*) and was one of the few poets to lampoon *Ziyād al-A'jam*. His poetry is significant in the development of the *khamriyya* for partaking in a series of *naqā'id* about the consumption of wine; here the type of *hijā'* which Abū Jilda directed against his adversary brought bacchism into the mainstream of Arabic poetry. In this respect he is similar to Ḥāritha ibn Badr. Though the term is mildly anachronistic in the post-Islamic era, he was described in the *Aghānī* as a *ṣu'lūk* ('brigand') poet (see *ṣa'ālik*).

Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

See also: *khamriyya*

**Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī see Hudhayl**

**Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī see  
Hudhayl**

**Abū Mādī, Īliyyā (1889–1957)**

**Mahjar** poet. Born in Muhaydatha (Lebanon), Abū Mādī emigrated to Alexandria in 1900, where he sold cigarettes for his uncle. He used his spare time to perfect his knowledge of Arabic and of the prosodic rules of classical Arabic poetry. His first volume of poetry, *Tadhkār al-Mādī*, was published in Cairo in 1911. In the same year he left for the USA and settled in Cincinnati, becoming editor of *al-Majalla al-'arabiyya*, the periodical of Palestinian youth, then editor of *al-Fatāḥ*; he was editor of *Mir'āt al-gharb* from 1918 to 1925. In 1929 he founded his own periodical, *al-Samīr*, which appeared as a fortnightly until 1939, then became a daily; it continued until Abū Mādī's death in 1957.

Abū Mādī published another volume of poetry in New York in 1916. In 1919, he published *al-Dīwān al-thānī*, with an introduction by *Jubrān*; this volume was severely criticized by Mīkhā'il Nu'ayma on the grounds that the poems did not express the poet's emotions. Nu'ayma claimed that he had won over Abū Mādī to his ideas, but Abū Mādī never abandoned classical prosody, and he continued to compose the occasional poetry so much decried by Nu'ayma.

In 1927 Abū Mādī published *al-Jadāwil*, followed in 1940 by *al-Khamā'il* and by the volume *Tibr wa-turāb*, all three printed in Brooklyn, New York. He is considered by most critics to be the most important poet of the Northern Mahjar, combining a perfect knowledge of classical prosody with a modern style and original motifs. One of his most important pieces is *al-Ṭalāsīm*, a long poem of 284 lines.

Abū Mādī became a 'worker' of al-Rābiṭa al-Qalamiyya in 1920, and his house became a meeting-place for poets and authors. He died in New York.

Further reading

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C. NIJLAND

**Abū Madyan al-Tilimsānī**  
**(c.520–94/c.1126–97)**

Abū Madyan Shu'ayb ibn al-Husayn al-Tilimsānī was born in Cantillana (near Seville) and died in al-'Ubbād (near Tlemcen). He was a Šūfī master in Fez, Mecca and Bougie. 'The sheikh of the West' was initiated into Sufism by Abū Ya'azzā al-Hazmīrī in Fez, and studied the works of al-Ghazzālī in the East, where he met 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, 'the sheikh of the East'. He taught in Bougie and is buried near Tlemcen, of which he is the patron saint.

Abū Madyan is famous for his maxims; he was one of the first to write Šūfī poetry in *muwashshah* form; he also wrote a *qaṣīda* upon which his disciple **Ibn al-'Arabī** and others wrote commentaries. He is considered a *qutb*. Through his influence on the Shādhilī movement he helped shape North African mysticism.

Text edition

- Dīwān*, al-'Arabī ibn Muṣṭafā al-Shuwār al-Tilimsānī (ed.), Damascus (1938).

Further reading

- Bannerth, Ernst, 'Der Diwan des maghribinischen Sufi Shu'aib abū Madjan' *WZKM* 53 (1957), 28–56; 237–66.

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

**Abū Mihjan al-Thaqafī**  
**(d. soon after 16/637)**

Mālik (or 'Abd Allāh) ibn Ḥabīb, or 'Amr ibn 'Amr, Abū Mihjan al-Thaqafī was a *mukhaḍram* poet who became a Muslim in 3/625. He is famous for his *khamriyyāt* and poems of apparently sincere contrition. He is the first Arab wine poet to have treated wine consistently as an independent theme, and most significantly, with respect to the development of wine poetry, he introduced

'the attitude of refusal that would characterize his successors'; he both challenged Islam and reconciled himself to it, setting the pattern for many subsequent poets. Very specific echoes of his verse are to be found in the bacchic poetry of **Abū al-Hindī** and **Abū Nuwās**.

Text edition

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Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

See also: *khamriyya*

**Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdī**  
**(early fifth/eleventh century)**

Abū al-Muṭahhar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Azdī, writer in **Baghdad**, about whose life nothing is known. His sole surviving work, the *Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī*, probably written c. 400/1009–10, shows that he wrote in the tradition of libertine literature of the time, that of *mujūn*, whose most notorious representative at that time was the scatological poet **Ibn al-Ḥajjāj**. The *Ḥikāya* purports to depict a day in the life of a Baghdad parasite (*tufaylī*), Abū al-Qāsim, who intrudes at a feast and insults the guests until he collapses in a drunken stupor; it thus forms an Arabic counterpart to the *Cena Trimalchionis* in Petronius's *Satyricon*. It has been surmised that the designation *ḥikāya* (literally 'imitation') may indicate that these successive scenes of Abū al-Qāsim's dubious activities depict the activities of contemporary buffoons and entertainers in Baghdad, and were meant to provide material for some sort of dramatic representations or mimes; there seem to be echoes of the *Ḥikāya*'s phraseology in the later **shadow plays** of **Ibn Dāniyāl**.

Text editions

- Mez, A., *Abulkāsim, ein bagdāder Sittenbild*, Heidelberg (1902); partial Ital. trans. in F. Gabrieli, 'Sulla *Ḥikāyat abī l-Qāsim di Abū l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī*', *RSO* 20 (1942), 33–45.



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C.E. BOSWORTH

**Abū Naḍḍāra see Ṣanū', Ya'qūb**

**Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī**  
(fl. early second/eighth century)

The Umayyad poet Abū al-Najm al-Faḍl (or al-Mufaḍḍal) ibn Qudāma was deemed the second-best *rajaz* poet of 'Ijl (Bakr ibn Wā'il), conceding supremacy to al-Aghlab al-'Ijlī, and the third-best of the Arabs, surpassed by al-Aghlab and al-'Ajjāj of Tamīm – although al-'Ajjāj's son Ru'ba referred to him (perhaps ironically) as *rajjāz al-'Arab* and to the *lāmiyya* which Abū al-Najm recited in a flyting with him as *umm al-rajaz* (Aghānī [Bulaq 1869], 9: 78). The theatricality of the flytings (see *hijā'*), at the *Mirbad* in Basra is well depicted in the splendid story of how Abū al-Najm, mounted on a bull-camel and dressed in rags, routed the sumptuously attired al-'Ajjāj who was sitting astride a she-camel. Abū al-Najm's facility for extemporaneous composition is much attested in the sources, as is his declamatory exuberance, which included foaming at the mouth and wild gesticulation. He also composed a few poems in the traditional metres, as for example at the impromptu poetry competition instigated by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān when, at the insistence of al-Farazdaq, Abū al-Najm was coerced into composing a *qaṣida*. He lauded, in *rajaz*, the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and Hishām and the governor al-Hajjāj, but did not always meet with their favour. Abū al-Najm also composed *tardiyyāt* in *rajaz*, depicting both the aristocratic chase (Aghā 4, and ostrich hunt, and 9, coursing with cheetahs) and the 'primitive' hunt (Aghā 25, in which the hunter is successful, and 56, the structure of which is that of the bipartite *qaṣida*). Aghā 9 was commissioned by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Bishr and seems to be the first extant extemporaneous *tardiyya* bereft of *nasīb* (see *qaṣida*). The principal importance of these hunting pieces is the shift in emphasis

from the hunted to the hunter. Abū al-Najm died sometime before the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate.

Text edition

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Further reading

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

**Abū al-Naṣr al-Manfalūṭī, 'Alī**  
(1811–81)

Egyptian poet, born in Upper Egypt. He was a poet-companion to the khedival family from the time of Muḥammad 'Alī to that of Khedive Tawfīq, dedicating poetry to them and the Egyptian élite. Although he was the best of the versifiers (*nazzāmīn*) of that era, his poetry, published in 1883, is today considered conventional and in poor style. None the less, he was not afraid to criticize injustice on occasions in his poetry. His name is often linked with his friend, the poet 'Alī al-Laythī.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Aḥmad**  
**ibn 'Abd Allāh**  
(336–430/948–1038)

A native of Isfahan, Abū Nu'aym is known to have visited Baghdad, among other places, during his youth. His most important work is the biographical dictionary *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, one of the richest sources for our knowledge of early Islamic piety and theology. The work consists of ten volumes in the printed edition; it presents biographies, dicta and actual documents containing important information which would otherwise have been lost. **Ibn al-Jawzi** (d. 601/1200) produced an abridged version with the title *Ṣafwat* (*Ṣifat*) *al-safwa*. In addi-

tion to a series of minor writings, Abū Nu'aym wrote a history of the city of Isfahan, entitled *Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān*. This is undoubtedly his second most important work and is organized on the basis of biographies.

#### Text editions

*Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, Hyderabad (1320/1902, 1369/1950) (on the life of the Prophet).

*Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān*, Sven Dederich (ed.), Leiden (1931).

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#### Further reading

*Elr* 1: s.v.

B. RADTKE

## Abū Nukhayla (second/eighth century)

Ya'mar ibn Ḥazn al-Ḥimmānī, known as Abū Nukhayla ('he of a small palm-tree') al-Rājiz, of the Ka'b ibn Sa'd (Tamim), was a contemporary of the renowned *rajaz* poet **Ru'ba ibn al-'Ajjāj**. He composed panegyrics, both in *qaṣida* format and in *rajaz*, for a number of notables, both **Umayyad** and 'Abbāsīd, among them the caliphs Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. 105–25/724–43), al-Saffāh (r. 132–6/749–54) and al-Manṣūr (r. 136–58/754–75), as well as the governor of Yamāma and Bahrain, al-Muhājir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kilābī, a patron of **Dhū al-Rumma**, **Jarir** and **al-Farazdaq**. He was also an extortionist poet whose vituperations caused people to comply with his demands. The long article devoted to him in the *Aghānī* (Cairo, 1283, 18: 139–52) portrays him as an opportunist whose ready wit and shrewd perception ensured his not inconsiderable success as a court panegyrist to both the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsīds (he designated himself *shā'ir Banī Hāshim*, the Poet of the Banū Hāshim). That he was, like so many Umayyad poets, actively involved in tribal propaganda is revealed by the story of his intercession on behalf of a Tamimite (in one version al-Farazdaq) imprisoned by Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayrah, Marwān II's governor in Iraq.

#### Further reading

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

## Abū Nuwās (c.140–c.198/c.755–c.813)

Abū Nuwās Al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī' al-Ḥakamī, 'Abbāsīd poet, born near al-Ahwāz (between 130–145/747–62); died in Baghdad. His father was a member of the army of Marwān II, the last **Umayyad** caliph; his mother was a Persian.

As a young man, Abū Nuwās went to **Basra**, and later to **Kufa**. He attended lectures on **Koran**, *Ḥadīth*, philology and grammar. His most important teachers were **Walība ibn al-Ḥubāb** (d. around 170/786), bohemian and poet from Kufa, and **Khalaf al-Aḥmar** (d. around 180/796), *rāwī* and poet from Basra. Wāliba, who composed bacchic, amatory and ribald poems and who was said to have had an erotic relationship with the young Abū Nuwās, introduced him to the 'light' genres of Arabic poetry – the undisputed master of which he was later to become. Through Khalaf he came to know and understand above all the ancient bedouin poetry with its difficult vocabulary.

In 170/786, after finishing his education, Abū Nuwās went to Baghdad, desiring to become a court poet. With the **Barmakid** family of viziers he had hardly any more luck than with the caliph **Hārūn al-Rashid**. However, after the fall of the Barmakids he was remarkably successful with their successors, the **Āl al-Rabī'**. His life in Baghdad was interrupted by a pilgrimage and a lengthy stay in Egypt (190–1/805–7). The climax of his career was his time as the caliph al-Amīn's confidant and boon companion (*nadīm*). Soon after the caliph's death (198/813) Abū Nuwās also died.

Among Arab critics Abū Nuwās was considered to be the most excellent representative of the early *muhdathūn*. Few Arab poets are as versatile as he. This can be seen in the way his *dīwān* is arranged: his is the first *dīwān* of an Arab poet arranged according to genres (earlier collections of poems were mostly arranged in alphabetical order, in accordance with the rhyming letter of the poems; see *dīwān*). In the edition by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, the *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās consists of ten chapters: 1. *khamriyyāt* (wine poetry);

2. *tardīyyāt* (hunting poetry); 3. *madīh* (panegyrics); 4. *hijā'* (lampoons); 5. *mudhakkārāt* (love poetry addressed to young men); 6. *Mu'annathāt* (love poetry addressed to women); 7. *mujūn* (ribald poetry); 8. *mu'ātabāt* (poetry of blame); 9. *marāthī* (dirges); 10. *zuhdiyyāt* (ascetic poems).

Abū Nuwās gained his highest fame through his wine poetry. For the Arabs he was the wine poet *par excellence*, and later poets who dealt with this topic (e.g. **Ibn al-Mu'tazz**, **Šafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī**) are all dependent on him. In his *khamriyyāt*, Abū Nuwās describes the appearance of the wine (often through comparisons with jewels or light), its age, its effect on the drinkers – but also the young man or girl who serves the wine, the male or female singer who entertains the boon companions, and many more things.

His hunting-poems were composed predominantly in the *rajaz* metre (*urjūzas*). Very often, they begin with a description of the early morning and the riding out to the hunt, and then mainly contain descriptions of the animals trained for hunting (e.g. the hound, the falcon) and of different kinds of game. These poems excel because of their rich and difficult bedouin vocabulary. (See *tardīyya*.)

Abū Nuwās's panegyrics consist partly in *qaṣīda* form and partly in longer or shorter monothematic poems (*qif'a*). The *qaṣīdas* are usually in two parts (prologue and *madīh*; *rahīl* and *madīh*), less often in three (*nasīb*, *rahīl* and *madīh*). Remarkable in this respect is the fact that the poet frequently replaces the *nasīb*, which conventionally forms the prologue of the *qaṣīda*, with a parody of the topic (mocking the weeping at the deserted traces of the camp) or a completely different topic (description of wine, a hunting scene). The main part of the poem consists of the (mostly hyperbolic) praise of the addressee's virtues.

Concerning the love poems it is noteworthy that al-Šūlī (and also the other *dīwān* redactors) divide them into those addressed to young men (*mudhakkārāt* – about two-thirds) and those addressed to women (*mu'annathāt* – about one-third). However, these two types can usually scarcely be distinguished and in many cases the redactors disagree as to how to classify a poem, all the more so as the girls are sometimes denoted *'alā al-tadhkīr* with the pronoun of the masculine gender. Abū Nuwās also praises the so-called *ghulamīyyāt*, i.e.

young girls disguised as men. Within the *mu'annathāt*, a special group is formed by those poems that he dedicated to his beloved Janān – the only woman whom he really seems to have loved. In his *ghazals*, Abū Nuwās describes the appearance of the male or female beloved, the pain of the lover (his tears, emaciation, insomnia, submissiveness, etc.), but also the joy of reunion. Furthermore, he describes the blamer, the jealous watcher and the one who slanders the lovers; also, a procuress, the apple that serves as harbinger of love, and many other things.

These poems do not contain any obscenities; for poems of that kind the redactors established the chapter *mujūn*. In this chapter, on the other hand, there are, alongside the ribald poems as such, also jesting poems of different kinds, and others which cannot be accommodated in the other chapters (dislike of Ramaḍān, the month of fasting, testaments to the rakes, riddles, poetical descriptions of the chess game, etc.).

The other genres are of less importance in Abū Nuwās. The chapter *marāthī* is very meagre: here, the only remarkable poems are those in which the (often shorter) personal elegy is preceded by an (often longer) description of an animal or bird (ibex, eagle, bull). The link is that, just as these strong creatures which are apparently safe from all danger cannot escape their fate, so he who is lamented cannot escape his.

Abū Nuwās's *zuhdiyyāt*, which likewise form only a slim chapter, can hardly be distinguished from those composed by his contemporary Abū al-'Atāhiya, with whom he sometimes competed in this genre.

The remaining genres need not be considered here.

Abū Nuwās's language varies according to the topic treated. As already mentioned, he uses difficult bedouin vocabulary, rich in strange words (*gharīb*) for his hunting poems, whereas in the poems on love and jesting, he occasionally presents colloquial expressions, sometimes even Persian words (once a complete Persian sentence). All in all, however, the language Abū Nuwās uses is the correct standard Arabic. Above all, being a typical *muḥdath* (see *muḥdathūn*) Abū Nuwās frequently uses images (comparisons, metaphors) and figures of speech, especially in his descriptions.

Abū Nuwās made a name for himself because of his presumed libertine lifestyle

which he describes in his poems, and his love for joking and for mocking and shocking people. There are many anecdotes about him, and his character was finally instrumental in the poet's entering legend as a jester. In some of the stories of the *Arabian Nights* (see *Alf layla wa-layla*) he appears – in a completely unhistoric manner – as Hārūn al-Rashīd's court jester.

Abū Nuwās did not compile his poems himself. The most important collections of his poems which have been preserved – those of **Ḥamza al-Isfahānī** (d. around 360/970) and of al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) – came into being about 150 years after the poet's death. However, older collections did exist. The transmission of the *dīwān*, which for a long time went without philological control, resulted in a large amount of spurious poetry being included in it. Al-Ṣūlī endeavoured to remove those poems that he thought to be wrongly attributed to Abū Nuwās. Ḥamza, on the other hand, included everything that was within his reach. The different working methods of these two redactors resulted in Ḥamza's collection being three times as voluminous as that of al-Ṣūlī.

#### Text editions

Critical edition of the *dīwān* (on the basis of Ḥamza al-Isfahānī's redaction, but also taking into account Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī's and Abū Hiffān's readings as well as those of a third editor, Tūzūn): *Dīwān*, vols 1–3, ed. E. Wagner; vol. 4, ed. G. Schoeler (vol. 5 forthcoming); Wiesbaden and Cairo (1958), resp. Wiesbaden and Beirut (1972–88). There are many other uncritical editions.

Critical edition (on the basis of al-Ṣūlī's redaction): *Dīwān*, ed. B. 'A. al-Ḥadīthī, Bagdad (1980).

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—, 'Abū Nuwās', *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

G. SCHOELER, trans. A. GIESE

See also: *khamriyya*

## Abū al-Qāsim al-Āmidī see al-Āmidī, Abū al-Qāsim

## Abū al-Raqa'maq (d. 399/1009)

Originating from Antākiya (Antioch) in northern Syria, the poet Abū al-Raqa'maq spent much of his life in Egypt. The medieval biographers agree that he is a poet of repute. Abū al-Raqa'maq excelled in two genres: *madīh* and *mujūn*. His panegyrics were addressed to the representatives of the **Fāṭimid** state. The basic feature of his *mujūniyyāt* is obscenity (*sukhf*), which is typical of the genre at his time, and comparable with the poetry of **Ibn al-Hajjāj** (d. 391/1001), **Ibn Sukkara** (d. 385/995) and **Ṣarī' al-Dilā'** (d. 412/1021). The indigenous Arab literary critics disagree on the morals of this kind of poetry – which allows the use of vulgarisms, as opposed to traditional poetry – but agree on its literary value. In al-Tha'ālībī's *Yatīma* nearly 500 verses are quoted. Until now there have been no studies analysing the *oeuvre* in terms of literary criticism.

#### Text edition

al-Tha'ālībī, *Yatīma* (1934), vol. 1, 269–99.

O. WEINTRITT

## Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī see al-Bīrūnī

## Abū Rīsha, 'Umar (1910– )

Syrian romantic poet. Born in Aleppo, Abū Rīsha studied chemistry in Beirut and Manchester, but returned to his home-town in 1932 without having completed his studies.

Thereafter he devoted himself to literature and politics. He published four collections of poetry: *Shi'r* (1936), *Min 'Umar Abū Rīsha: Shi'r* (1947), *Mukhtārāt* (1959) and *Diwān 'Umar Abū Rīsha* (1971). In addition, he composed four dramas in verse. He spent most of his professional career in the diplomatic service of his country, holding ambassadorial posts in Brazil, India and Austria.

Abū Rīsha is the most prominent Syrian representative of the Romantic mode in modern Arabic poetry. His poetry demonstrates the main strands of his cultural formation, namely a profound knowledge of and expertise in classical Arabic poetry, and an enthusiasm for the later English Romantics such as Keats, Shelley and Byron. His enthusiasm for French literature was more muted, apart from a clear admiration for the work of Baudelaire. In terms of form and language, Abū Rīsha is probably the most 'conservative' of the Arab Romantics, although few if any of his more radical contemporaries could rival his command of the language of poetry. His clear concern for social and political issues also lifts his verse beyond their largely egocentric limits – yet his highly subjective approach to such themes situates him firmly among the Romantics. The close fusion of the socio-political and the subjective makes him akin in some respects to the Tunisian Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī.

Abū Rīsha's amatory poetry reveals the traditional Romantic preoccupation with the dualism of physical passion and platonic love, although to a much less intense degree than the work of Abū Shabaka. He will be remembered primarily for his concern with political issues, and the succession of defeats suffered by Arab aspirations in the twentieth century. One of his best-known treatments of such a theme is his poem *Nisr*: the humiliation of an aged eagle is simultaneously a natural tragedy, and a symbol of the sorry state to which the Syrian nation and Arab nationalism has been reduced – and, one suspects, a symbol of the poet's own existence.

Further reading

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R. C. OSTLE

**Abū Sa'id al-Sirāfi** *see* al-Sirāfi,  
**Abū Sa'id**

**Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī** *see* Hudhayl

**Abū Shabaka, Ilyās (1903–47)**

Lebanese Romantic poet. Abū Shabaka was born in New York of Christian Lebanese parents, but the family returned to Lebanon while Ilyās was still an infant. His career as a poet had relatively inauspicious beginnings, but reached heights of dramatic intensity achieved by few of his contemporaries.

His first collection, *al-Qūthāra*, was published in 1926 and shows clear influences of classical poets such as Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri and Abū Nuwās, whose work he came to know during his student days. It is marked by a pessimistic endurance of the vicissitudes of fate, and a heavy sense of morality which seems strange in the work of such a youthful poet. His first attempt at narrative poetry, *al-Marīd al-ṣāmit* (1928), shows little advance on the first collection, although even at these stages in his career his wide knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, French literature and criticism was very obvious.

Abū Shabaka's reputation was made by his next two volumes: *Afā'i al-firdaws* (1938), which contains thirteen poems written between 1928 and 1938, and *Ghalwā'*, which was written between 1926 and 1932 but not published until 1945. These collections complement each other, and see the poet confronting the taboo-ridden areas of sexuality, lust, love and the sinister fascination of sin. Biblical themes – such as the stories of Samson and Delilah and Sodom and Gomorrah – provide Abū Shabaka with the inspiration to write in graphic and dramatic terms of the struggles between strength and degradation, nobility and treachery, love and the animal nature of sexual passion. *Ghalwā'* is a narrative poem inspired by the poet's fiancée Olga, to whom he was engaged for ten years before finally being able to marry. Like its companion volume, it is obsessed with the dilemma of reconciling the lusts of passion with genuine desires for purity and virtue, and is undoubtedly one of the most accomplished narrative poems in modern Arabic.

In the later collections – *al-Alḥān* (1941), *Ilā al-abad* (1944), *Nidā' al-qalb* (1944), and the posthumous volume *Min ṣa'id al-āliha* (1958) – there is a strong sense of the poet having finally emerged from the trials and

temptations of sin and achieving a state of grace and redemption. The ruthless honesty and skill with which the poet exposed his most intimate dilemmas earned him widespread acclaim.

#### Further reading

Badawi, M.M., *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge (1975), 145–57.

R.C. OSTLE

### Abū Shādī, Aḥmad Zakī (1892–1955)

Egyptian Romantic poet. After pursuing medical studies in England from 1912 to 1922, Abū Shādī returned to Egypt, where he embarked on a career of remarkable talent and variety. His consuming passions were literature, painting and bee-keeping, and he founded a number of scientific and agricultural societies; in the course of a distinguished academic career he was appointed to the Chair of Bacteriology in the University of Alexandria in 1942.

Abū Shādī was outstanding among the academics, intellectuals and men of letters who graced Egyptian cultural life from independence to the Second World War. Most literary histories pay fulsome tribute to his contribution to modern Arabic literature as the founder and editor of the *Apollo* magazine and as the creator of the Apollo Society. There is no doubt that, without his tireless efforts and financial backing, the review might not have seen the light of day, and many younger writers would have missed this crucial outlet for their work, as well as the unflinching support and encouragement which Abū Shādī gave them. The evaluation of his own poetry is sometimes obscured by his role as editor of *Apollo* and position as figure-head in the movement as a whole; it is also made more difficult by the enormous bulk of his work, and by its uneven quality. He was the author of no fewer than nineteen collections of poetry, some of them extremely lengthy, as well as scripts intended as operas, some translations and literary studies.

Two aspects of Abū Shādī's poetic *oeuvre* stand out: his love-poetry and his nature-poetry. Throughout his collections, numerous poems are written to Zaynab, a female figure who may have originated in an unrequited love-affair dating from before his studies in

England. This was also the title of his first *dīwān* published in 1924 after his return to Egypt. Much of this amatory poetry is distinguished by spiritual imagery and a platonic intensity characteristic of the love-poetry of the European Romantics, whom Abū Shādī both admired and translated into Arabic. In this respect, he did much to make a new diction and style familiar to modern Arabic poetry. In his nature-verse, in which he celebrates the beauties of rural Egypt in an unashamedly pastoral mode, he imbues natural scenery with spiritual qualities which at times border on the pantheistic, again reminiscent of the European Romantic tradition.

Abū Shādī's huge volume *al-Shafaq al-bākī*, published in 1926, illustrates the problems of a proper evaluation of his verse. Its 1,336 pages contain verse-manifestos on subjects such as literature, art, social problems, science and religion, alongside genuine passages of love-poetry or nature-poetry of considerable quality and originality. Many of his *dīwāns* read almost like the numbers of the literary periodical which *Apollo* was to become in 1932.

After the death of his wife, Abū Shādī left Egypt for the United States in 1946, disillusioned by the lack of recognition which he felt was his fate in Egypt, and bitter at the attacks which he suffered from his opponents. His final *dīwān*, *Min al-samā'*, was published in New York in 1949.

#### Further reading

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*CHALMAL*, 110–15.

R.C. OSTLE

### Abū Shāma (599–665/1203–67)

Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Abū Shāma, spent practically all his life in Damascus, teaching and writing. A religious and literary scholar and author of several lost histories, his fame rests on two which survive. *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* (*The Two Gardens*) celebrates Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin and their *jihād* against the Crusaders. The text is a patchwork of passages quoted from the sources of that period, some of which have not survived directly. Relevant poems and semi-official correspondence are also called upon. The whole is linked by the author's own

perceptive and critical comments. The other work is a 'Continuation' (*Dhayl*), concentrating on events in Damascus and biographical notices of local scholars.

Text editions

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D.S. RICHARDS

**Abū al-Shamaqmaq**

(d. c.180/769)

Abū Muḥammad Marwān ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Shamaqmaq was born in **Basra** as a *mawlā* of the Banū Umayya; his *laqab* alludes to his large nose and mouth. He probably came to Baghdad before the accession of **Hārūn al-Rashīd**, to whose reign most of his poetic activity can be dated. He had relations with many poets of his day, including **Bashshār**, **Abū al-'Atāhiya** and **Bakr ibn al-Naṭṭāh**. In his poetry he expresses bitterness at his neglected talents, and his most famous poems describe cats deserting his impoverished household (fragments 23 and 45). They should be noted for parodying elements of the *nasīb* and *raḥīl* of formal poetry. Some fragments are obscene.

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P.F. KENNEDY

**Abū Shaqrā, Shawqī see Abī Shaqrā, Shawqī**

**Abū al-Shīṣ**

(c.130–c.196/c.748–c.812)

The poet Muḥammad (ibn 'Abd Allāh) ibn Razīn al-Khuzā'ī, known as Abū al-Shīṣ, was a courtier of **Hārūn al-Rashīd** and one of the circle of poets which included **Abū Nuwās**, **Abū al-'Atāhiya** and **al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf**. His *dīwān* (said by **Ibn al-Nadīm** to have consisted of 150 'leaves') has been lost but much poetry survives in various sources. **Ibn al-Mu'tazz** held his poetry in high regard, especially the descriptions of wine (always contained in composite poems) and *madīḥ* – he was a *shā'ir maṭbū' raqīq al-lafz* ('a natural poet of delicate expression'), whose lexicon and style was 'modern' (*muḥdath*) but who was still influenced by bedouin imagery and patterns of composition.

Text edition

*Dīwān Abī al-Shīṣ wa-akhbāruh*, 'Abd Allāh al-Jubūrī (ed.), Beirut (1984).

Further reading

al-Najjār, Muḥammad, *Majma' al-dhākira aw Shu'arā' 'Abbāsiyyūn mansiyyūn*, vol. 1, Tunis (1983).

P.F. KENNEDY

**Abū Sinna, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm**

(1937– )

Contemporary Egyptian poet. Abū Sinna belongs to a group of writers (including the late **Amal Dunqul** and **Fārūq Shūsha**) who began their careers in the late 1950s and early 1960s. His first collection, *Qalbī wa-ghāziluh al-thawb al-azraq*, dates from 1965, although he had begun to publish in newspapers and journals as early as 1959. Since then, he has published a number of collections, including *Ajrās al-masā'* (1975), *al-Baḥr maw'idunā* (1982), and *Marāyā al-nahār al-ba'id* (1987). Over the past two decades Abū Sinna and his fellow-poets in Egypt have struggled to maintain the tradition of Egyptian poetry against conflicting cultural pressures, and their works have not received the degree of attention accorded poets in other regions of the Arab world. Abū

Sinna's poetic corpus deserves recognition as a notable contribution to contemporary Arabic poetry.

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R. ALLEN

**Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī**  
(d. between 375–80/985–90)

Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī, philosopher, moved from Sīstān to Baghdad (towards 327/939) where he studied logic with the Christian **Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī** (hence his own *laqab* al-Mantiqī) and became the leading figure of a group of Muslim intellectuals, while enjoying varied fortunes in the circles of the **Būyid** court. Of his few written works, only three treatises on cosmological themes have been preserved. Vivid reports of the discussions going on in his circle are given by Abū Ḥayyān **al-Tawḥīdī**, who revered him as a teacher, in his *Muqābasāt and Kitāb al-Imtā' wa-al-mu'ānasa*, transformed into the literary prose of *adab*, and depicting Abū Sulaymān as a philosopher taking a passionate interest in the intellectual conflicts of contemporary Islamic society.

A product of his school is the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, extant in three different recensions of an early fifth/eleventh-century source, and ascribed to Abū Sulaymān by some of the witnesses: a collection of prosopographical notices and wise sayings of the Greek (sections 1–136) and Arab (sections 137–70) philosophers in the tradition of the Greek *gnomologia* (see *ḥikma*).

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G. ENDRESS

**Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī** *see* **al-Makkī**,  
**Abū Ṭālib**

**Abū Ṭālib al-Ma'mūnī** *see*  
**al-Ma'mūnī**, **Abū Ṭālib**

**Abū Tammām**  
(c.189–c.232/c.805–45)

Abū Tammām Ḥabīb ibn Aws al-Ṭā'ī, 'Abbāsīd poet and anthologist. Born in Syria to Christian parents, Abū Tammām converted to Islam, changed his father's name from Tādus (Thaddeus?) to Aws, and invented a genealogy tracing his descent to the Arab tribe of Ṭayy (for which he was frequently mocked). He appears to have gone to Cairo to study Arabic poetry; his first panegyrics were composed either there or on his return to Syria (around 214/829). An early panegyric was offered to the caliph al-Ma'mūn on his return from a campaign against the Byzantines in 215/827 ('Azzām no. 133); according to **Abū Hilāl al-'Askari**, the caliph first thought the poet an Arab (he appeared dressed in **bedouin** garb), but then found his style to be that of the urban poets, which diminished him in the caliph's opinion (*Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, Cairo 1352/1933, 2: 120). It was perhaps around this time that the younger poet **al-Buḥturi** became his student.

Abū Tammām's fame stems primarily from his association with the caliph al-Mu'taṣim (r. 218–27/833–42), for whom he composed a number of important panegyrics, including his *qaṣīda* on the conquest of Amorium in 223/838 ('Azzām no. 2). He was introduced to the caliph by his patron, the Mu'tazilī judge Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād al-Iyādī (see **Mu'tazilīs**), who took care to provide him with a *rāwī* with a pleasing voice, as the caliph had once remarked on the harshness of the poet's own voice. In addition to the caliph, he



eulogized many important officials, such as al-Ḥasan ibn Wahb, secretary to the vizier **Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt**, and military leaders such as Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Thaghri, who led many campaigns against the Byzantines.

Abū Tammām also travelled to the courts of provincial governors, notably the governor of Armenia, Khālid ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī, who had interceded for him on the occasion of a feud with Ibn Abī Du'ād. The cause of this was Abū Tammām's praise of the northern Arabs (with whom he associated himself), and his denigration of the southern (from among whom his patron came); several apologetic poems, as well as Khālid's intercession, were required before the poet was reinstated in his patron's favour. A trip to the court of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir in Nishapur met with little success: the governor's scanty reward, and the cold climate, prompted the poet to return to Syria. *En route*, snowed-in in the mountainous city of Hamadhan, Abū Tammām composed his famous anthology the *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, using the library of his friend Abū al-Wafā' ibn Salāma. (He had already compiled several other collections of both tribal and modern poetry.) Shortly before his death, al-Ḥasan ibn Wahb obtained for him the post of *ṣāhib al-barīd* (postmaster) of Mosul. A dome was erected over his grave by Abū Nahshal ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī, whose brother was killed in one of the campaigns celebrated by the poet; it was visited in the thirteenth century by **Ibn Khallikān**.

Abū Tammām's poems have been particularly valued by European scholars for the historical information they contain. His style aroused controversy from the very beginning of his career; the poet **Di'bīl** announced that it was 'one-third good, one-third bad, and one-third plagiarized' (al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, p. 67), whereas **Alī ibn al-Jahm** supported him. Certainly his poetic style is uneven, often contorted, with a mixture of registers and a tendency towards an archaic vocabulary and a liking for abstractions. H. Ritter accuses him of using 'unhappy personifications of abstract ideas', and of 'an unfortunate tendency towards paronomasia and subtly-reasoned antithesis', sacrificing the clarity of his verse (*ET*<sup>2</sup>, 1: 154). Many of the distinctive features of Abū Tammām's style have been linked to the Mu'tazilī milieu of his age, and to his desire to revitalize early Arabic poetic conventions within the frame-

work of the new, urban *qaṣīda*; the *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* has also been linked to this project (see Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām*). Many Arab critics debated his style, including **al-Ṣūlī**, **al-Āmidī**, **al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī**, **al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā**, **al-Marzūqī** and, in later times, **Hajjī Khalīfa**. He is considered to represent the *maṣnū'* or 'artificial', mannered style, opposed to the *maṭbū'* or 'natural' style of his pupil and rival al-Buḥturī, to whom he is often unfavourably compared; al-Marzūqī contrasts his poetic style with the 'classical' good taste exhibited in the *Ḥamāsa*. His *dīwān*, of which various recensions exist, has produced many commentaries by such critics as al-Ṣūlī, al-Marzūqī, **al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī**, and others.

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See also: *badī'*; literary criticism, medieval; *maṭbū'* and *maṣnū'*

## Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī see al-Mutanabbī

## Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094)

Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Bakrī, Córdoba geographer. His *Mu'jam mā ista'jam* (*Dictionary of What is Found Incomprehensible*) is an alphabetical dictionary of places mentioned in *Jāhili* poetry and in the Prophetic *ḥadīths*. A general geography by him, called (like so many geographies) *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik* (*The Roads and the Provinces*), does not seem to have survived in its entirety, but there are many copies of the section dealing with West Africa. The *Masālik*, which contains a lot of ethnographical and historical information, is also valuable for its coverage of Spain and Eastern Europe. Al-Bakrī was also well-known for his *khamriyyāt* verses, and he wrote other works, now mostly lost, on theology, *belles lettres*, botany and philology.

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R. IRWIN

## Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā (110–209/728–824 or 5)

One of the most important early Arabic philologists and scholars of the culture and history of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Born in **Basra**, he was of non-Arab descent. His studies of the *manāqib* and *mathālib*, the virtues and vices of the Arab tribes, earned him the perhaps undeserved reputation of adhering to the views of the *Shu'ūbiyya*. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions the titles of more than one hundred of his works; Ibn Khallikān speaks of nearly 200 treatises. Among his published works are *al-Khayl*, a lexicographical study concerned with horses, and *Majāz al-Qur'ān*, on difficult words and idiomatic expressions in the **Koran**, with an important introduction on Koranic stylistics. He edited poetical collections such as the *naqā'id* of Jarir and al-Farazdaq. Although many of his works are not preserved, his importance is indicated by the very numerous quotations by later authors.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: exegesis, Koranic; medieval; lexicography, medieval; *majāz*

**Abū al-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī**  
(c.418–c.440/c.1026–c.1048)

Secretary, vizier, and favourite of the Qāḍī Ibn ‘Abbād, the *tā’ifa* ruler of Seville, al-Ḥimyarī composed for his master an anthology of flower poetry in rhymed prose interspersed with verses. This work, *al-Badī fī waṣf al-rabī*, is the oldest extant anthology from al-Andalus. In the introduction, al-Ḥimyarī gives as his reason for composing the book his desire to promote the poetry of al-Andalus at the expense of eastern Arabic poetry, which, according to him, is excessively familiar and not as original in its similes as the local poetry. All the examples of poetry and rhymed prose quoted in the book are by Sevillian poets, mostly his own acquaintances. The work includes the famous epistle by Abū Ḥafṣ Ibn Burd on the superiority of the rose over the narcissus, and al-Ḥimyarī’s own epistle defending the narcissus, written in the form of a continuation to the epistle of Ibn Burd. It also contains a fragment of a *muwashshah*, a rare case of such a poem being quoted in an anthology.

Text edition

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R.P. SCHEINDLIN

**Abū Ya’qūb al-Khuraymī**  
(d. 214/829)

Abū Ya’qūb Ishāq ibn Ḥassān ibn Qūhī al-Khuraymī, a poet from a Turkish/Persian family of Soghdia and a *mawlā* of Khuraym ibn ‘Amir, spent his life in the Arabian peninsula, Syria and Basra. He was part of **Hārūn al-Rashīd**’s circle of court poets and was later attached to al-Ma’mūn. His poetry, which was highly praised by **Ibn al-Mu’tazz** and others, includes a long *qaṣīda* describing the destruction of Baghdad during the siege laid by al-

Ma’mūn, and pleading with him to end the fraternal feud. He was principally an author of panegyrics and dirges, and composed some moving verse upon the loss of his second eye. Though his poetry was enjoyed by the secretaries of the bureaux (of non-Arab origin) it was not, one should note, of *Shu’ubī* motivation (see *Shu’ubiyya*).

Text edition

*Dīwān*, ‘A.J. al-Tāhir and M.J. al-Mu’aybid (eds), Beirut (1971).

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P.F. KENNEDY

**Abū Ya’qūb al-Sijzī, Ishāq ibn Aḥmad** (fourth/tenth century)

Influential Ismā’īlī thinker of the Neoplatonic ‘Persian school’ (also known as al-Sikzī, al-Sigzī or al-Sijistānī. Standard reconstructions of his (uncertain) biography identify him as the successor of the *dā’īs* **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī** in Rayy and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 332/943) in Khurasan, where he was apparently executed under **Ṣaffārid** rule (between 353/964 and 393/1002). Abū Ya’qūb defended Nasafī’s radical positions against Abu Ḥātim’s ‘Correction’ (*Kitāb al-Iṣlāh*) in his *Kitāb al-Nuṣra* (extant in extracts only). His *Kashf al-mahjūb* (extant only in a fifth/eleventh-century Persian translation or paraphrase) and his *Risāla al-Bāhira* were noted for views considered heterodox by **Fāṭimid** standards, notably a form of metempsychosis. Most of his extant works appear, however, to have been written with the blessing of the Fāṭimid al-Mu’izz (r. 341–65/953–75), whom he recognized as the seventh *khalīfa* after the seventh *imām* while still expecting the latter’s *parousia* (*zuhūr*) as the *qā’im* or the ‘lord of resurrection’. One of his latest works, the *Kitāb al-Ifṭikhār*, was definitely written in 361/971 or soon after; but it is uncertain whether he was alive much beyond that time.

Text editions

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H. LANDOLT

See also: Ismā'īlīs

**Abū Zayd, romance of see Banū Hilāl, romance of**

**Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, Aḥmad (c.235–322/c.849–934)**

Scholar of Khurasan who was, on the evidence of Yāqūt's list of his works, equally proficient in philosophy, astrology, the natural sciences and Koranic studies. He is, however, best-known for a geographical work, probably called *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm* (c.308–9/920), which comprised a set of maps with explanatory commentary. Like virtually all his works, it is lost as such, but formed the basis for the full-scale geographical works of al-Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal and was the pioneer of the so-called Balkhī school of geographical writing, which gave a more definitely Islamic tinge to the genre than had previously existed.

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- C. E. BOSWORTH

See also: geographical literature

**Abū Zayd al-Qurashī (late third/ninth or early fourth/tenth century)**

Abū Zayd Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī, a philologist for whom no biographical details are available, is known solely through his anthology, the *Jamharat ash'ār al-'Arab*, the dating of which is approximate. The

preface to this work includes philological comments on poetry, a discussion of the Prophet's views on poetry, a comparison of poetic metaphors with those of the **Koran**, comments on the origins of Arabic poetry, and poetic extracts attributed to Adam, Satan, the angels, and the *jinn*. The anthology itself contains 49 poems by 49 poets of the *Jāhiliyya* and early Islam, arranged in seven categories beginning with the *Mu'allaqāt* (the first anthology to group these poems together); it is valuable for presenting poems in their entirety.

Text edition

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J. S. MEISAMI

See also: anthologies, medieval

## al-Abyaḍ (sixth/twelfth century)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (or Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad) al-Anṣārī al-Ishbīlī al-Abyaḍ, an Andalusī poet of whom very little is known. (Stern's statement – 1974: 104 that he died after 530/1136, quoted from Ibn Dihya via al-Maqqarī, seems to be an error.) He is best-known as a writer of *muwashshahāt*, a number of which are quoted in the sources. **Moses Ibn Ezra** and Yehuda Halevi both imitated his *muwashshahāt* in Hebrew poems. He was condemned to death for satirizing the Almoravid governor of Córdoba.

Text editions

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Abyaḍ, Jūrj (1880–1959)

Lebanese actor and impresario. Born in Beirut, Abyaḍ emigrated to Egypt and settled in Alexandria in 1898. His acting attracted the attention of the Khedive 'Abbās Hilmī, who sent him to Paris where he studied with the actor Sylvain. On his return to Egypt in 1910 he formed his own troupe which presented mainly tragedies and historical dramas, including Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* (in Farah Anṭūn's translation) and Shakespeare's *Othello*. Although financial problems later forced him to make concessions to popular taste, Abyaḍ was largely responsible for introducing the educated public, both in Egypt and in other Arab countries, to the idea of a classical theatre, and his performances were attended by, among others, the young Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm.

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P. STARKEY

## acting and actors, medieval

The absence of specific terms in classical Arabic denoting acting and actors, the paucity of dramatic works and descriptions of plays, and the failure of many scholars to distinguish between differing acting terms – such as *khayāl* (live acting) and *khayāl al-ẓill* (**shadow play**) – has led to the widespread belief that the Arabs practised shadow plays but did not have a tradition of live theatre. More confusion was created by Arab authors who used various acting terms interchangeably with those for dramatic literary genres intended for recitation, such as *ḥikāya*, *bāba*, *khayāl*, *maqāma*, and *risāla*. The free usage of these terms has made the question of live acting and actors one of the great enigmas of medieval Arabic culture.

In Christian communities of various eastern Mediterranean and North African countries, church dramas were still acted. Just before the rise of Islam, Arabs such as the general 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ (d. 42/663) and the poet Ḥassān ibn Thābit (d. 54/675?) witnessed performances and plays. The former saw them in a theatre (*mal'ab*) in Alexandria, while the latter speaks of *mayāmis* (comedians) in Gaza. Jewish actors and comedians were also known after the spread of Islam. In the time of the caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (24–35/644–55), a Jewish magician and actor named Baṭrūnī or Bustānī, from a village near Kufa, performed magic, buffoonery and mimicry before al-Walīd ibn 'Uqba in the mosque of Kufa.

According to *ḥadīth* and literary works dealing with *muzāḥ* (jest, entertainment), the verbal noun *li'b* (also *la'b*, *la'ib*) was used to mean play or acting, and not merely to mean game, joke, jest or fun. Sometimes *li'b* is given as a synonym of *raqs* (meaning play, as well as its actual meaning of dance) and of *ḥikāya* (mimicry or pantomime). When the *ḥikāya* became a recorded genre, it was replaced during the late tenth century by the terms *khayāl* and *bāba*.

On the eve of the Islamic period, some ritual traces of seasonal fertility cults were still practised in Egypt, greater Syria and Mesopotamia, which were under the influence of both the Byzantine and the Persian empires. Festivals and carnivals such as the *Maiumas* in greater Syria and Egypt, and the Persian and Coptic festival of *Nayrūz*, which were celebrated during the Islamic period, were vestiges of ancient Greek and Persian festivals. The *Nayrūz*, for instance, was a Persian festival celebrating the vernal equinox in plays called *Kōsa nishin*, which, in the transformation from ritual to profane, became known in Arabic culture during the 'Abbāsīd period as *rukūb al-kawsaj* ('the ride of the thin-bearded').

Although the Prophet Muḥammad was hostile to entertainment, as is clear from various *ḥadīths*, he allowed 'Ā'isha to play with her dolls and allowed slave girls to play tambourine (*duff*) on feast-days. Moreover, a joker called Suwayda used to play (or perform mimetic dance) in 'Ā'isha's presence and made her laugh ('*tal'ab bayna yadayhā watuḥḥikuhā*'). Furthermore, the Abyssinians (Ḥabasha) were allowed by Muḥammad to simulate duels with spears and shields, and

finally, a hobby-horse (*kurraj*) actor was allowed to play in Muḥammad's camp in what is seen as a ceremony celebrating a Muslim victory.

The performers of such entertainments were given various names in different periods, the earliest among them being *ḥākiya* and *la'āb*. The earliest *ḥāki* or *ḥākiya* (imitator, mimic or actor) known in Islamic history is al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-'Āṣ, who was named *al-Ḥāki* because he used to mimic the Prophet Muḥammad's gait. Other terms given to actors in various periods were *la'ābūn*, *khayāliyyūn* or *mukhāyilūn*, *mukhannathūn*, *raqqāṣūn* and *ṣafā'ina*, and the latest were *muḥabbāz* and *Awlād Rābiya*, while the clown was called *khulbuṣ*. In Muslim Spain, the acting and actor (*representacio* and *representador*) are interpreted in Arabic as *tamthil* and *mumaththil*.

During the 'Abbāsīd period these became established terms not only for entertainers in general – such as singers, musicians, dancers and jokers – but also for actors. These entertainers received wages (*arzāq*) from the treasury of various caliphs, especially in the late 'Abbāsīd period. Some of them were wealthy, and became boon companions (*nadīms*) of caliphs, the most famous of these being 'Abbāda al-Mukhannath.

From the time of the rise of Islam, it is possible to detect the following types of acting:

- 1 Short scenes of mimicry or pantomime, improvised by professional or amateur actors, and imitating other people's accents, attire and behaviour, with dancing or without, to ridicule or humiliate an opponent. An example was a performance by Ḥusayn ibn Sha'ra, a wealthy singer known as 'the jester (*muḥḥik*) of al-Mutawakkil'. To please his patron ibn al-Mudabbir, Ibn Sha'ra used to imitate Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn (835–84), dressing like him, ridiculing his gravity and manner of speech. When Ibn Ṭulūn became the governor of Egypt, he found an excuse to punish Ibn Sha'ra, had him flogged and demolished his house.
- 2 The miming of a scene by professional actors using props, with or without dance, according to verses describing the characters and their play, accompanied by music and claps of the audience and/or a chorus. An example is the performance of 'Abbāda's favourite play, one in which he

imitated 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. He used to tie a pillow on to his stomach under his clothes, take off his head-gear (although he was bald), and dance before al-Muta-wakkil to the accompaniment of singers, impersonating (*yaḥki*) 'Alī. This play was among the main reasons why the regent al-Muntaṣir regarded committing patricide as lawful.

These actors, according to Ibn al-Hājj (*al-Madkhal* 1: 146–7), are called *mukhāyilūn*; he called their clothes *shawb shuhra* (*shuhra* literally means disgrace, thus theatrical dress), although they wore the attire of *qāḍīs* (judges). Their technique was to perform a pantomime dance while criticizing the judges' attire, in which they were clothed.

- 3 A scene or a play, acted with props and according to a written text in poetry or prose, performed with gestures and dialogue. Such a play (*ḥikāya*) was written by 'Alluwayh the singer, ridiculing the judge al-Khalanjī, and handed to the dancers (*zaffānūn*) and actors (*mukhannathūn*) for performance (see *Aghānī* (Cairo 1927–74), vol. 11, 338f; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-'udabā'*, Cairo (1936–8), vol. 2, 220–4). In the time of the caliph al-Mahdī (158–69/775–85) a mystic (*ṣūfī*) used to ride on a reed (*qaṣaba*) to the top of hill twice a week, followed by multitudes, to perform a play with young actors representing various Muslim caliphs (Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, Cairo (1949), vol. 6, 152ff.).
- 4 Performances with hobby-horse (*kurraj*) (Persian for a colt, donkey or mule), which seem to be vestiges of various dramatic rituals in shamanic rites, as well as seasonal fertility rites, 'to help established contact with spirits' (Metin And, *Culture, Performance and Communication in Turkey*, Tokyo (1978), pp. 78–9). The *kurraj* is defined in Arabic lexicography as 'a wooden foal with which one plays', while actors and players with *kurraj* were given the degrading term *mukhannathūn* (literally, 'effeminate, bisexual', meaning actor, entertainer). Such actors are said to have performed some profane plays (*ḥikāyāt*) in the time of Muḥammad.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *kurraj* is the wooden figure of a horse used for dancing and playing (*raqs*). The actors simulated attack and withdrawal, and

competed in skill with weapons. The acting was accompanied by poems and songs to the music of tambourines and flutes. Maimonides adds that women also used the *kurraj* to simulate cavalry duels, wearing comical shirts of special, fine fabric and nets on their heads.

Apart from their monthly wages in the caliphs' courts, actors were given gratuities (*nuqūt*) in the form of money scattered on their heads by the audience. Their performances combined anecdotes which imitated mannerisms and idiosyncrasies of speech, sometimes using special attire and various improvisations, with an exchange of sharp retorts with the audience. They acted in courts, in market-places and streets (the audience forming a circle round them), at feasts, births, circumcisions, weddings and religious occasions, especially in *mawlid*s.

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See also: theatre and drama, medieval

## adab

This crucial term in classical Arabic literature means, according to the context, 'good breeding', 'manners', 'culture', 'refinement', '*belles-lettres*'. It thus bears essentially upon behaviour within a given social group, which it both reflects and defines. Verbal communication plays a dual role in relation to it, for speaking, and later writing, are both important forms of social intercourse and the means of recording norms of behaviour for future generations. The complex of meanings around *adab* can be explained by the fact that, while the word has acquired new senses over the course of time, it has never entirely shed the older ones. Its semantic evolution mirrors the changes which Arab society and culture have undergone.

In pre-Islamic times, *adab* meant behaviour conforming to tribal social norms; as in other pre-literary societies, these norms were

enshrined in proverbs, poetry, anecdotes and *ayyām* narratives (see **Battle Days**), which those aspiring to behave correctly needed to know. Islam brought with it a new ethic, inspired by the Revelation (see **Koran**), and the examples of the Prophet's and Companions' approved behaviour contained in the *hadīth* became a new point of reference. The early conquests radically changed Arab society, bringing it into contact with other communities and confronting it with new political tasks; it incorporated a large number of non-Arab officials, heirs to Near Eastern bureaucratic and political traditions, and imbued with the precepts contained in wisdom literature. Finally, the experience of living in the cosmopolitan early Islamic state stimulated enquiring spirits to make their own the heritage of Hellenistic and other 'foreign' learning, and to embark on their own scientific, sociological, geographical, linguistic and other investigations.

Some or all of these cultural components are found in books seeking to depict or inculcate *adab* in one or more of its senses. Among the earliest extant examples of these *adab* books are **Ibn al-Muqaffa**'s treatises on statecraft and his translation of fables, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, discussing the conduct of courtiers. They stand at the beginning of a genre of 'Mirrors for Princes'. In his treatises and compilations **al-Jāhīz**, another pioneer, reveals a wide range of interests: linguistic phenomena, the literary achievements of the pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabs, the natural world, human character, ethical problems and social developments; he discusses them all in a spirit of open-mindedness. His method of debating subjects according to their good and bad aspects (*al-mahāsin wa-al-masāwi*) was copied by later authors with a dialectical bent. Historical and philological information, together with sensitive discussions of poetry, form the basis of **al-Mubarrad**'s *al-Kāmil fī al-adab* (*The Perfect Book of Culture*), while **al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār** related historical anecdotes for their pedagogical value in *al-Akbār al-Muwaffaqiyyāt* (*Narratives for al-Muwaffaq*). For the increasingly important class of bureaucrats **Ibn Qutayba** organized much information already in circulation in a series of handbooks, of which some, like the *Adab al-kātib* (*The Secretary's Culture*), are specialized, while others, like the 'Uyūn al-akhbār (*Quintessential Reports*), are intended to instruct and advise the general public. Of these

early writers **Ibn Abī al-Dunyā** is the most single-minded propagator of Islamic ethical teachings.

With this range of themes, the early writers established a repertoire from which their later successors drew at will. A few subjects, such as music, were later added, and others, in particular history and literature, followed current development – as, for instance, a comparison of the contents of **al-Tha'ālibī**'s *Yatimat al-dahr* (*The Solitaire Pearl of the Century*) with the equivalent literary sections in **al-Jāhīz**'s and **Ibn Qutayba**'s books shows. Occasionally, a speculatively inclined author like **Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī** reflected contemporary philosophical debates. And in the fourth/tenth century a distinct narrative genre, the *maqāma*, made its appearance.

Formally the majority of these *adab* books are compilations of texts exemplary both in style and in meaning. The reluctance of writers to include much of their own work is connected with the social, communal nature of *adab*, which many evidently felt could be most appropriately treated in maxims, anecdotes, lines of poetry and so on, sanctioned by transmission. But although the same quotations are often encountered in different works, their significance changes according to their context; thus a compiler was able to give fresh insights into familiar material, even when he refused the radically new. And with anecdotes he could go further, subtly changing the narrative in different ways, while still adhering to the fiction of verbatim transmission.

Early *adab* compilations offer much factual information and their organization is simple, if it exists. By the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, the emphasis has shifted towards the literary formulation of the material, which is arranged far more systematically, according to themes or genres, for instance. A further development, exemplified by **al-Nuwayrī** and **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī**, is the extensive copying from major sources and the ordering of information in a universal system.

Compared with the *adab* compilations, *adab* treatises reflect a greater individuality, not only in style but also in choice of themes and conception; **al-Mas'ūdī**'s *Murūj al-dhahab* (*Golden Meadows*), for instance, is poles apart from **al-Jāhīz**'s *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (*Book of Living Beings*), despite the similarity of the spirit inspiring them. What distinguishes them all from technical studies is that they



supply the stuff of culture or, when treating specialized subjects, approach them from the point of view of norms of knowledge and conduct in the profession concerned.

Characteristic of *adab* works is the tendency to change tone so as not to bore the reader. Funny stories and other entertaining material were introduced with this justification, or an author sometimes used it to explain his embarking on a new subject. But this general rule was broken whenever a writer felt that a subject was sufficiently important to be discussed thoroughly; accurate information then took precedence over reader fatigue.

Moral and social upbringing, intellectual education, entertainment – these are the ingredients of the very varied corpus of writing devoted to *adab*. Modern scholars have often described *adab* itself as a genre, but the term 'genre' does not normally correspond to the reality of *adab*. Rather, *adab* can be seen as an *approach* to writing, in which the themes and aims mentioned here have their place. This approach continued to be used by some writers even in the early part of this century.

In modern Arabic *adab* and its plural *ādāb* are used to mean 'literature', while *ādāb* translates 'humanities' or 'arts' in the academic context.

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H. KILPATRICK

See also: anthologies, medieval

**al-Adab al-sha'bi see popular literature**

**'Adī ibn al-Riqā' (d. c.95/714)**

Abū Dawūd 'Adī ibn al-Riqā' of 'Āmil was in his day the foremost panegyricist and apologist

of the Banū Umayya (see **Umayyads**). His *dīwān* (29 *qaṣīdas*/1,093 verses) includes poems in praise of al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 'Umar ibn al-Walīd, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and 'Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān. **Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī** placed him in his seventh category of poets, and **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** claimed that he produced some of the finest descriptions of a steed or mount (similarly **Ibn Qutayba** admired his descriptions of gazelles). His *nasibs* (see *qaṣīda*) were admired by **Jarīr**.

Text edition

*Shi'r 'Adī ibn al-Riqā' al-'Āmilī*, N.H. al-Qaysī and H.Š. al-Dāmin (eds), Baghdad (1987).

P.F. KENNEDY

**'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādi (d. c.600 CE)**

Christian poet of **Hīra** where, in the heyday of his career, he served as counsellor to the Lakhmid phylarch, al-Nu'mān III; his status at Hīra was matched by his influence at Ctesiphon where he served the Persian ruler, Chosroes Parwiz. Though his important *dīwān* (of which only fragments survive) is distinct from the mainstream of bedouin Arab (i.e. Najdī) poetry of the late – and increasingly established – canon of **Jahilī** poetry, he remains a significant figure in the literary history of this period for three reasons:

- 1 His political and social stature: he was a court poet and this must have had an influence on his urbane manner of expression (internal rhyming, ease of language, etc.). On the other hand, where elements of desert poetry appear in his expression, this must be regarded as 'an attestation to its vogue' (Montgomery).
- 2 His detailed descriptions of wine (which had a subsequent influence on **al-Walīd ibn Yazīd** and **Abū Nuwās** – perhaps more by its very conspicuousness than in the details of its imagery). There is an attempt in some of these poems to establish a meaningful connection between the erotic and bacchic registers (though the relationship is far more static than in later poetry).
- 3 His elegiac and overtly religious (Christian and biblical) poetry; the lexicon of this

material is both non-Islamic (as one would expect) and strikingly Islamic (e.g. *Dīwān* 245: *in yasha'i llāhu*). He is consistently evoked as the ultimate source of much in the repertory of the 'Abbāsīd *zuhdiyya*. Authenticity is not thought to be an issue here, unlike the case of the religious material of the Ḥanīf, **Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt**. The narrative feature of some of this poetry recurs in certain ballad-like compositions.

A further category of poetry with which he is associated is constituted by a number of poems composed in prison at the end of his life; these are poems of *i'tidhār* (apology), and range from spontaneous and topical pleas to al-Nu'mān III for his release (to no avail – he died in prison) to more conventional contemplative musings; they are an emotional mix.

#### Text edition

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P.F. KENNEDY

## adīb

A cultivated person, a man of letters and of good manners. It was not until the twentieth century that Arab intellectuals in Egypt assigned *adab* as an equivalent to the term 'literature' in European languages (see M. Peled, in *Asian & African Studies* 10: 7) and the derivative *adīb* began almost solely to denote 'writer'. However, the medieval significance of *adīb* was broader; the title of Yāqūt's biographical work (*Irshād al-arīb = Mu'jam al-udabā'*) consecrated to *udabā'* (plural of *adīb*) is rendered by D.S.

Margoliouth as *Dictionary of Learned Men*. Those (e.g. S.A. Bonebakker – on his attitude and the review criticizing it, see bibliography below) who are inclined to define the concept *adab*, even in its medieval stage, as simply literature, and show that the term itself encompasses poetry, would depict *adīb* as being a poet as well, whereas medieval Arab biographical literature often portrays an important personage as *shā'ir* (poet) and *adīb*; this combination manifests the distinction made between both terms, as well as the great respect commanded by poets. Such distinctions may be further delineated: *adab* certainly embodies a familiarity with poetry, but a collection of mere poems is defined as *shi'r* (poetry); *adab* embodies, as well, a certain knowledge of Muslim traditions, but a work containing only traditions is defined as *ḥadīth*. In the same manner, it is the generalist approach which qualifies the learned person as *adīb*; however, within any domain in which he may choose to specialize, he is also entitled to be called otherwise: a poet, a *muḥaddīth* (expert in the science of Muslim traditions), a grammarian and the like. An *adīb* is often described as *zarīf*, for *zarf* is a code of good manners which any *adīb* is likely to follow.

#### Further reading

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J. SADAN

## 'Adnān see tribes

## Adonis see Adūnis

## 'Aḍud al-Dawla see Būyids

## Adūnis (1930– )

Syrian poet and literary critic ('Alī Aḥmad Sa'īd). Born in Qassabin, Adūnis studied

philosophy at Damascus University and at St Joseph University in Beirut, where he obtained his Doctorat d'Etat in 1973. After his arbitrary imprisonment for six months in 1955 for political activities and membership of the Syrian National Socialist Party, he settled in Lebanon in 1956, later becoming a Lebanese national. He received a scholarship to study in Paris in 1960–1. From 1970 to 1985 he was professor of Arabic literature at the Lebanese University; in 1976 he held a visiting professorship at Damascus University, and in 1980–1 was professor of Arabic at the Sorbonne (Paris III). He has also taught and lectured in a number of other Western universities. He returned to Paris to live in 1985.

Adūnis's formative years were strongly influenced by the teachings of Anṭūn Sa'āda, and by the new poetic sensibility which had been developed by such poets as Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān, Ilyās Abū Shabaka, Sa'id 'Aql and Ṣalāh Labakī; he had also been educated in the classical traditions of Arabic literature by his father, a learned man steeped in ancient Arab culture and Islamic theology. Until the late 1950s, his poetry represented an attempt to fuse these early sources, as he tried also to give poetic expression to his political and social beliefs – specifically, the quest for national identity and the drive to achieve the 'great leap forward' of Arab society. It is to Sa'āda rather than T.S. Eliot that he owes his awareness of the importance for poetry of myth and history – poetry being seen by Adūnis and many of his contemporaries as having a vital role in the response to the challenge of the West. Particularly after the loss of Palestine in 1948, the 'new poetry' began its ascendance, taking the form initially of a rebellion against traditional rhythmic and prosodic forms. Adūnis's role in the evolution of free verse was crucial; at the same time, he wanted to maintain for poetry an autonomous space and a refined language which refused to descend to the level of daily speech. The turning-point – both for Adūnis and for modern Arabic poetry as a whole – came with *Aghānī Mihyār al-Dimashqī* (1961), in which he achieved a balance between poetry's socio-political role and the demands of a symbolic 'language of absence' which poetry, as he saw it, required. Although his subsequent poetry has become richer and more experimental, in the view of many it has never surpassed *Mihyār*. His most complex work, the 400-page *Mufrad bi-ṣiḡhat al-jam'*, is a dazzling piece

of writing, but one which has remained a closed world to the majority of readers.

Both as a poet and a theorist on poetry, and as a thinker with a radical vision of Arab culture, Adūnis has exercised a powerful influence both on his contemporaries and on younger generations of Arab poets. His name has become synonymous with the *hadātha* (modernism) which his poetry embodies. Critical works such as *Zaman al-shi'r* (1972) are landmarks in the history of literary criticism in the Arab world. His role in providing platforms for modernist literature has also been significant. In 1957 he joined Yūsuf al-Khāl in founding the *avant-garde* journal *Shi'r*, and in 1968 established the equally influential, though more culturally and politically orientated, journal *Mawāqif*.

Adūnis's critical statements on poetry lack the controlled tone of academic criticism, but possess the power and missionary-spirit of a pioneer and visionary. Well-acquainted with Western literary traditions, he has produced some fine and influential translations of European (mainly French) poetry and drama. Of particular importance are his translations (or, more accurately, renderings) of the poetry of St John Perse and the dramatic works of Georges Schehadeh. His most lasting work, however, will undoubtedly be his own poetry, at the heart of which lies a desire to change the *world* and to bring about a fundamental transformation of *language*; these two realms in Adūnis's vision are so intertwined that changing the one without the other is impossible. The impulse behind both is the same: his sense of the stagnation of his society and its culture – including language and poetry – and his vision of history as a corpse, a burden which has to be shed by a spirit searching for a creative role for man in history. This theme manifests itself in a varied range of imagery, finding one of its most vivid embodiments in an early poem entitled 'al-Ba'th wa-al-ramād'.

At times, Adūnis's poetry is both revolutionary and anarchic; at other times, it approaches the mystical. His mysticism derives essentially from the writings of the Ṣūfī poets. Here he aspires to reveal the underlying unity between the contradictory aspects of man's existence and the fundamental similarity of the outwardly dissimilar elements of the universe. But although his poetry appears to be polarized between the mystical and the revolutionary, it often dissolves these two poles into a single

harmonized vision which gives his work its distinctive character. His struggle to invent a new poetic language and his aspiration to change socio-political realities often fuse to produce a new poetics – a poetics which asserts the power of human creativity to reveal the hidden (*al-bāṭin*) enshrouded by the manifest (*al-zāhir*). In this respect, his upbringing within the Shi'ite tradition has had a decisive influence on his work. It is these aspects of his poetry which often bring it close to the poetry of the French symbolists and to European surrealism; indeed, he has argued (e.g. in *al-Ṣūfiyya wa-al-suryāliyya*, 1992) that the deeper sources from which symbolism and surrealism flow are identical to those of Sufism.

The lucidity, elegance, and the opulence of the rhythmic structure of some of Adūnīs's early poetry contrast sharply with the complexity and absence of regular rhythmic patterning of some of his later poems. He is a poet of paradoxes and extremes, who seems to transcend himself in every new work. Recently, he advocated 'writing' as opposed to 'poetry', suggesting that a poetic text should go beyond the traditional concept of genre to become a total poem incorporating a multiplicity of levels, languages, forms and rhythmic structures.

In everything he has produced, Adūnīs reveals his mastery of language and the power to structure a text in the manner of a skilful architect. Some of his more recent poetry has lost the abstractness of his work of the 1970s; it has also lost the lyricism of, for example, *Aghānī Mihyār al-Dimashqī*, in which he uses the figure of Mihyār the Damascene as a poetic *persona* through which to articulate his vision of the world. He has also displayed a new fondness for the 'poetry of place', in contrast to the 'poetry of time' which dominated his earlier work: in his later texts, places like Marrakesh, Fez, Cairo and Sana'a occur more often as specific places with their own powerful material presence and distinct personalities. Above all, what distinguishes his poetry is a tone of quest and a refusal to accept present reality: he is the master of the incomplete, one of his recent volumes consisting of a series of poems, the title of each of which contains the phrase 'awwalu al-...' ('The beginning of...').

Adūnīs has remained uncompromisingly adventurous well into his sixties. His *al-Kitāb* (1995) – invoking the name of the holy Koran – has a complex structure dividing the page into four sections of texts and margins, each

representing a different aspect of Arab history and employing a different voice, centred on the personality and experience of **al-Mutanabbī**. This spirit of adventure has kept his work at the forefront of the modernist movement and rendered his poetry uniquely relevant to the work of younger generations.

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KAMAL ABU-DEEB

**al-Afghānī, Jamāl al-Dīn (1839–97)**

Islamic philosopher, reformer and political activist. Although al-Afghānī's origins and early life are somewhat obscure, he was probably born in Persia of Shi'ite descent. For most of his life he travelled between the capitals of the Muslim and Western world in pursuit of his pan-Islamic and anti-imperialist objectives, but ultimately he failed to find a co-operative Muslim ruler. Although he wrote relatively little, he inspired and mobilized countless followers, among them Muḥammad 'Abduh and the Egyptian nationalist leader Sa'd Zaghlūl. Critical scholarship suggests that his religious views were somewhat heterodox, and that his teachings were subordinated to political ends; nevertheless his thought is seminal to Islamic modernism.

Text edition

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See also: *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā*

K. ZEBIRI

### Africa, Arabic literature in

Arabic has been used as a literary language in three broad areas of sub-Saharan Africa: the East African coast (including the Horn of Africa), the Nilotic Sudan and West Africa. There are considerable contrasts between the three.

#### East Africa

East Africa had contacts with Arabia from the early days of Islam and perhaps before. During the Islamic era, Arab merchants from the Ḥaḍramawt and Oman settled along the East African coastlands and islands as far south as Zanzibar, marrying locally and through their descendants giving rise to a distinctive Swahili language and culture. Although we know that Arabic language and Islamic culture flourished in such centres as Lamu, Mombasa, Kilwa and Zanzibar, no adequate study has yet been made of teaching traditions and the literary output of such centres – though this will soon be remedied in the multi-volume *Arabic Literature of Africa* (see bibliography below). Better known is the Swahili Islamic literature of the coast, which is celebrated for its long *mawlidī* poems in honour of the Prophet **Muhammad** and its great epic poems (*utenzi*), such as the majestic *Inkishafi*. The Horn of Africa and Ethiopia have been even less studied from the point of view of Arabic literature. While *nisbas* such as 'Jabarti' (from the Ethiopian highlands) and 'Zayla'i' (from a town on the northern Somali coast) are quite common in Arabic scholarly writing, we know as yet almost nothing about the local Islamic cultures of these regions.

#### Nilotic Sudan

The Nilotic Sudan is a very different story. Arabic language and culture began to penetrate the broad area to the south of Egypt following the fall of the Christian Nubian kingdom of Dongola in the mid-fourteenth century CE. Other Arab influences were to come across the Red Sea, especially in the late fifteenth and

early sixteenth centuries, so that by the nineteenth century most of the area north of latitude 15° had become Arabic-speaking. The foundation of the Funj kingdom of Sinnar (on the Blue Nile) in the early sixteenth century and the almost immediate Islamization of the ruling family led, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to the settlement of Muslim holy men in the area between the Blue and the White Niles. Centres such as Kutrānj and Ḥalfāyat al-mulūk, where teaching institutions (known as *khalwa* or *masīd*) were established, produced successive generations of learned and pious teachers who combined a strong attachment to Sufism with high competence in Mālikī jurisprudence. This tradition is reflected in the great biographical work written by one of their number, the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt fī khuṣuṣ al-awliyā' wa-al-ṣāliḥīn wa-al-'ulamā' wa-al-shu'arā'* of Muḥammad al-Nūr ibn Ḍayf Allāh (d. 1224/1809–10) (ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, 2nd edn, Khartoum, 1974), the title of which well reflects the different preoccupations of Sudanese Muslims of the period and the genres of their literature. The Funj kingdom was itself chronicled in an untitled work of which several rescensions exist, and there have been published: (i) ed. Makkī Shibayka, Khartoum, 1948, (ii) ed. Shāṭir Buṣaylī 'Abd al-Jalil, Cairo, c.1963.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Sūfī *ṭariqas* – Sammāniyya, Khatmiyya, Majdhūbiyya-Shādhiliyya, Tijāniyya etc. – have produced an extensive literature of piety, their leaders in many cases having wide-ranging contacts with Sūfī *shaykhs* in Egypt, the Hijaz and West Africa. Like Sūfīs elsewhere they composed a great deal of poetry in praise of the Prophet (generally sung rather than recited) and their own *shaykhs*, as well as hagiographical works in prose. In the 1880s and 1890s the Mahdist movement gave rise to a literature of its own, as well as a counter-literature. Six of seven projected volumes of the complete works of the Mahdi Muḥammad Aḥmad (1844–85) have been published (ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, Khartoum, 1990–3).

It is impossible to do justice to the Sudanese literary production of the twentieth century in these few lines. Two features only will be mentioned: first, the continuation of a strong poetic tradition exemplified by poets such as Tijānī Yūsuf Bashīr (d. 1937) and 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib (b. 1921) the former a lyric poet and the latter a very 'classical' poet

(see, for example, his *Aṣḍā' al-Nīl*, 2nd edn, Khartoum, 1969), as well as a philologist and *mufasssīr*. The second feature is the emergence in the 1960s of the novel and short story. The best-known novelist is undoubtedly al-Ṭayyib Sālīh whose *Mawsim al-hijrān ilā al-shimāl* (*A Season of Migration to the North*) and *'Urs al-Zayn* (*The Wedding of Zein*) were both translated into English (trans. Denys Johnson-Davis, London 1969). Two important literary and political journals were published in Omdurman in the 1930s: *al-Nahḍa* and *al-Fajr*.

### West Africa

West Africa again presents a contrast. There was never any Arab conquest of the region, and Arab migration into the area reached only its borders (Shuwa Arabs in Borneo and northern Nigeria, and various branches of the Banū Hassān in northern Mali). Arabic, therefore, has been an acquired language, occupying down to the twentieth century a position analogous to Latin in Europe down to the fifteenth century. Islam and Arabic followed trade. Hence we find the earliest centres of Islamic learning and Arabic writing in Timbuktu (Mali), Tagidda (Niger) and Katsina (Nigeria). In sixteenth-century Timbuktu the intellectual leaders were Ṣanhāja Berbers (notably the Aqīt family) and Mande Dyula, followed in the following century by Fulani scholars. In Tagidda, in the desert west of Agades, Tuareg scholars led the way, while in Katsina it was again mainly Fulani who had migrated into the area from Futa Toro on the Senegal River. In the early nineteenth century it was Fulani in north-western Nigeria who provided the intellectual leadership for an Islamic revivalist movement which led to the creation of a large state over much of northern Nigeria. Shaykh 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad Fūdī (d. 1817), his brother 'Abd Allāh (d. 1829) and his son Muḥammad Bello (d. 1837) between them wrote over 300 works covering a wide range of the Islamic sciences, and the latter two composed a considerable number of poems celebrating the victories of their movement, mourning its dead and calling men to repentance. Muḥammad Bello wrote an account of the *jihād* including much of his own and his uncle's poetry, entitled *Infāq al-maysūr fī ta'rikh bilād al-ṭakrūr* (ed. C.E.J. Whitting, London, 1950), while 'Abd Allāh collected together his verse on similar themes

in his *Tazyīn al-waraqāt* (ed. M. Hiskett, Ibadan, 1963).

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the spread of Islam southwards from the savannahs towards the forests, and new centres of scholarship and writing came into prominence: in Nigeria, Ilorin and Ibadan; in Ivory Coast Bondoukou and Bobo Dioulasso; Kankan in Guinea; Touba and Kaolack in Senegal. As in Sudan, so in West Africa, the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqas* play an important role both in the spread of Islam and the spawning a literary tradition. While there are traces of *ṭarīqas* before the mid-eighteenth century (such as the Shādhiliyya and the Khalwatiyya), it is the Qādiriyya that first makes a major impact through the teaching and extensive writings of the nomadic *shaykh* al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1811) and his son Muḥammad (d. 1826), leaders of a fraction of the Arabic-speaking Kunta tribe in the area of the Niger Bend to the north-east of Timbuktu. They and their descendants produced a body of Ṣūfī literature which remains virtually unstudied, though some of their writings were known as far afield as Morocco and Sudan. Their disciples carried Qādiriyya teachings and the *wird* down to the forests, and in Senegal a Qādiri *shaykh*, Aḥmad Bamba (d. 1927) established a sub-order (the Muridiyya) which now has millions of adherents. Aḥmad Bamba made an important contribution to Arabic literature in Senegal with some forty works including much in verse. Senegalese writers in Arabic have delighted in composing both didactic works and creative literature in verse, like their Nigerian counterparts. Although much of this is imitative of classical models, it is not necessarily devoid of sensitivity and personal feeling. One of the great exponents of Ṣūfī poetry in the Qādiriyya tradition is Muḥammad al-Nāsir al-Kabārī of Kano (Nasiru Kabara, b. 1916) whose writings to date total well over 150.

The other great Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* of the region is the Tijāniyya, which was carried from Morocco through the Western Sahara down to Senegal and Guinea even during the lifetime of its founder Aḥmad al-Tijānī (d. 1815). One of the early great writers of this *ṭarīqa* was the Tukolor scholar al-Hājj 'Umar ibn Sa'īd of Futa Toro (Senegal). Before embarking on his state-building *jihād* in Mali in 1854, he wrote a major treatise on the Tijānī way, *Rimāh hizb al-Raḥīm 'alā nuḥur hizb al-Rajīm*, which has been printed many times on the margins of the

*Jawāhir al-ma'ānī* of 'Alī Ḥarāzīm Barrāda. In the twentieth century, the chief propagandist of the Tijāniyya has been Ibrāhīm Niasse (d. 1975), a Senegalese scholar who from his base in Kaolack (Senegal) took his teachings to millions in Ghana and northern Nigeria through well over thirty books and a mass of poetry. In Nigeria, his followers in Kano and Zaria in particular produced a literature of their own, both didactic and polemical, as they fought off challenges to their Šūfī beliefs from the Wahhābī-inspired 'Yan Izala movement led by Abū Bakr Gumi (d. 1992), himself a *qāḍī* and *mufasssīr* (exegete).

Finally, mention should be made of the Arabic historiographical tradition in West Africa. One of the earliest known works is, in fact, a work of history: the two-part chronicle of the internal and external campaigns of Mai Idrīs Alawma (r. 1564–99) of Borno (Nigeria), written by his chief *imām*, Aḥmad ibn Farṭuwa. In the following century we see the emergence of a chronicle tradition in Timbuktu, with the *Ta'riḫ al-Sūdān* (written c.1655) of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'dī (ed. and trans. O. Houdas, Paris, 1898–1900, English trans. J.O. Hunwick, in prep) and the contemporary *Ta'riḫ al-fattāsh* of Maḥmūd Ka'ti and his grandson Ibn al-Mukhtār (ed. and trans. O. Houdas and M. Delafosse, Paris, 1911–12). Smaller-scale efforts went on at state and city level over much of West Africa, and king-lists and fragmentary chronicles have been published, for example, from Kano (trans. H.R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, Lagos, 1928, vol. 3, 92–132), Fouta Toro (Senegal) (Siré-Abbās Soh, *Chroniques du Fouta sénégalais*, Paris, 1913) and Gonja (Ghana) (Ivor G. Wilks, *Chronicles from Gonja*, Cambridge, 1986) – to mention only some of the best-known. A major history of western Africa by the Senegalese scholar Mūsā Camara (d. 1943) – *Zuhūr al-basātin fī ta'riḫ al-sawādīn* (sic) – is in the process of being edited and translated by a group of French scholars.

Arabic remains a language of religious and scholarly discourse in West Africa, despite the more widespread use of English or French. In northern Nigeria virulent polemics were conducted in Arabic between Šūfīs and their opponents in the 1980s; in Borno (NE Nigeria) the Shuwa scholar Ibrāhīm Šālih (b. 1941) has published a history of Kanem-Borno in Arabic and a two-volume biographical dictionary awaits publication. In southern Nigeria Sh.

Ādam 'Abd Allāh al-Ilūrī of Agege (author of over seventy books) was writing in Arabic up to his death in 1992. What is more, he and many others throughout the entire region have opened *madrāsas* where all teaching is in Arabic, and departments of Arabic have been established in many of West Africa's universities.

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J.O. HUNWICK

### Agapius (fourth/tenth century)

Agapius is the Greek and most commonly-known form of the name of Maḥbūb ibn Quṣṭanṭīn, Melkite bishop of Manbij in northern Syria in the mid-tenth century, and author of an important Christian Arabic chronicle. Almost nothing is known about Agapius' life, although to judge from the reaction of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), his history was known and appreciated outside Christian circles.

His history, *Kitāb al-'unwān* (*Book of the Title*, probably in the sense of 'indication [of what can be learned from the past]'), begins with Creation and works through a variety of Christian sources in Syriac and Greek up to early Islamic times. The surviving text suffers from a number of important gaps, and ends abruptly in 780 CE. Agapius at one point makes a comment indicating that he is writing in the 940s, but there is no evidence that he brought his chronicle down to his own time, or ever planned to do so.

The work is important both historically and culturally. Historically, Agapius' work directly used the now-lost Syriac chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa (written c.132/750) for most of its information on early Islamic times, and thus preserves the testimony of a crucially important and extremely early source. He also made use of at least one early Muslim source which seems to have been of Syrian provenance, but about which little is so far known. Culturally, Agapius joins Euty chius as the first Eastern Christian authors to compile histories in Arabic. This was an important shift, since it highlighted the increasingly prominent role of Arabic in Christian literary life in the Near East, and served to broaden contacts between Christian and Muslim

scholars interpreting the past to the people of their communities.

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L.I. CONRAD

### al-Aghānī see Abū al Faraj al-Iṣbahānī

### al-Aghlab al-'Ijlī (d. 21/641)

*Rajaz* poet of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. Al-Aghlab is said to have been killed in the battle of Nihāwand. A *dīwān* of his has not survived; the authenticity of the poems transmitted under his name was from very early on disputed. According to medieval Arabic scholars, it was he who paved the way for the flourishing of *rajaz* poetry from the time of al-'Ajjāj onwards, but this seems to be a misinterpretation of a line by the latter in which he calls himself the 'renascent Aghlab'. The collection of fragments by Hāmeen-Anttila, containing 41 poems with 283 verses, shows nothing which differs much from what was usual in ancient *rajaz* poetry. Only a satire on the pseudo-prophets Sajāh and Musaylima goes beyond the average, in so far as it is 34 lines long.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

See also: *rajaż*

**Aghlabids see Maghrib**

**Ağhrād al-shi'r see genres, poetic**

**al-Aḥḍab, Ibrāhīm (1827(?)–91)**

Poet, dramatist, scholar and Ḥanafī *faqīh*. Born in Tripoli, he died in Beirut. He was legal counsellor to Sa'īd Junbulāt (governor of al-Shūf); worked in the *sharī'a* court in Beirut for about thirty years; and taught in Beirut and Tripoli. He wrote works on morphology, composition and logic, published in verse the popular collection of proverbs of al-Mayḍānī (1894), and imitated the *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarirī and al-Zamaksharī. He also edited the historical anecdotes, poems, and epistles of Ibn Hījja, and a work of literary criticism by Diyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, and wrote a commentary on *Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's* epistles. The governor of Syria c.1868, invited him to perform his version of Racine's *Alexandre le grand* in one of the first performances in Damascus. In all, he wrote some twenty plays and operettas, including two verse plays written to illustrate points of grammar and rhetoric, and a number of plays based on Arab history and legend; he also translated Racine's *Phèdre* and Alexandre Dumas *le père's Pauline de Meulien*.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Aḥḡmad, Muḥammad Sulaymān see Badawī al-Jabal**

**Aḡmad ibn Faḡlān see Ibn Faḡlān**

**Aḡmad ibn Ḥanbal see Ibn Ḥanbal**

**Aḡmad ibn Mājid (late ninth-early tenth/late fifteenth-early sixteenth century)**

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḡmad ibn Mājid, of Omani origin, was the leading Arab navigator of the Indian Ocean and its shores. He wrote several works in both prose and verse on these regions, displaying an advanced knowledge of the theoretical principles of navigation and astronomy, and describing authoritatively the coasts of Arabia, East Africa and India from his own practical experience of seafaring. He served as a guide for the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama. His authority in these fields gave him a semi-legendary reputation among later generations of mariners, and his works were used by the famous Turkish navigator and cartographer, Pīrūs Re'īrs.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

**Aḡmad ibn Ṣāliḡ ibn Abī al-Rijaḡ see Ibn Abī al-Rijaḡ**

**al-Ahrām (1876– )**

Newspaper founded by two Lebanese brothers, Salīm and Bishāra Taqlā, originally published in Alexandria, and from 1899 in Cairo. For many years the leading newspaper in Egypt and the Arab world, it still commands a position of respect and influence. It started as a political, scientific and commercial weekly, becoming a daily in 1881. In the 1882 'Urābī revolt, its press was set on fire for the support it had given to the khedive against the nationalists. From the mid-1880s, however, it turned to support Egyptian nationalism against the British occupation, while retaining its loyalty to the reigning dynasty. Amongst its early contributors were the nationalist leaders Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Sa'd Zaghūl, the poets Khalīl Muṭrān and Aḡmad Shawqī, and leading writers such as Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḡī, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī and Ṭāḡā Ḥusayn. It later became the mouth-

piece for the 1952 revolution. In 1960 it was nationalized, enjoying a golden age under Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, President Nasser's confidant. *Al-Ahrām* has always carried material of a literary nature, such as book reviews, poetry and fiction, including, in its early days, translations of Alexandre Dumas. It is still a major forum for literary activity, many of Najīb Maḥfūz's novels being first serialized in it. Its columns publish the current affairs views of the Arab literati, several of whom have been in its employ, and a few of whom have become chief editors, including the prominent writer Iḥsān 'Abd al-Quddūs, and the popular novelist and short-story writer Yūsuf al-Sibā'ī.

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P. C. SADGROVE

### al-Aḥwaṣ (c.40–c.105/660–724)

'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, called al-Aḥwaṣ ('the Slit-Eyed'), al-Anṣārī, poet of the Medinan Bohemia, middle Umayyad period. He had cordial relationships with the caliphs al-Walid I (d. 96/715) and Yazīd II (d. 105/724) but was (probably under Sulaymān, 96–9/715–17) publicly punished and banished to the Dahlak Islands in the Red Sea. The reason for this was a quarrel with Ibn Ḥazm, *qādī* and governor of Medina, and indecent allusions to love affairs with several ladies of the local high society. He was pardoned and allowed to return during the reign of Yazīd II. A *diwān* has not been transmitted; the collection of fragments by al-Sāmarrā'ī contains 194 poems with 800 lines. Besides panegyrics and satires, there are love poems which especially contributed to his reputation in later times. In these, he was more conservative than, for example, his contemporary 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a, still using the long metres and maintaining the *qaṣīda* form.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### 'ajā'ib literature

'Ajā'ib literature ('*mirabilia*'), a type of largely geographical or cosmographical writing with an emphasis on those real or imaginary phenomena in the physical world which challenged human understanding; these included man-made objects – prominently among them the great monuments of the pre-Islamic past – and natural phenomena, as well as marvels recounted in mariners' tales and other *mirabilia* of a folkloric nature. Thus writings on 'ajā'ib, or the use of the term in titles, did not *per se* imply an exclusion of realistic observation, although the attribution of impressive structures to such superhuman figures as Solomon and Alexander the Great did shroud them in a semi-mythic haze. In Arabic and Persian 'ajā'ib literature, three strands of transmission intertwined: one was derived from Hellenistic learning, another from the religious tradition of Islam – *Koran* and *ḥadīth* – and the third consisted of a store of popular tales and, at times, floating, fairy-tale motifs, continually enlarged by the thriving long-distance trade within and outside the Islamic world. In the *Koran*, God's creation is cause for wonder and pious awe; subsequently, the term 'ajā'ib came to be applied to those aspects of creation which included, but were not restricted to, extraordinary phenomena beyond the range of normal human experience. In Hellenistic writing, it was not only the scientific works of the Aristotelian tradition, but also a variety of texts of a more popular nature which contributed to the emergence of an Islamic *mirabilia* genre (e. g., *Physiologus*, *Problemata Physica*).

However, while the occult and the miraculous were essential ingredients of travel writing in medieval Arabic and were never entirely absent even from scientific literature (including geography), their relative importance notably increased with the 'adab-ization' of geography and cosmography from the sixth/twelfth century onwards (see *adab*). Among the earliest witnesses, roughly

contemporary with, but distinct from, factual geography, are the pseudepigraphic '*Ajā'ib al-Hind* (*Marvels of India*) attributed to the sea-captain **Buzurg ibn Shahriyār** al-Rāmhurmuzī (after 341/952), and the second of two 'epistles' (*risāla*) by the 'great traveller' (*jawwāla*) **Abū Dulaf** Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil, which can be dated to shortly after 341/952–3. Pseudo-Buzurg, testifying to the flourishing maritime trade in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean during the heyday of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, is replete with mariners' tales, while Abū Dulaf's account of Iran and Armenia illustrates the tight constraints which operated on the sight and mind of medieval men, even as eye-witnesses; more often than not, natural and man-made '*ajā'ib* met with a response of unshakable credulity in superhuman and supernatural agents and causes.

If the distinction between a tendentially critical, factually oriented geographical literature and a more *mirabilia*-conscious genre of travel writing is correct, a second phase of writing on '*ajā'ib* began in the sixth/twelfth century, when the two began to merge. This period is represented by **Abū Ḥamid al-Gharnāṭī** (d. 565/1169–70), the author of two pertinent books, *al-Mu'rib 'an ba'd 'ajā'ib al-Maghrib* (*Clear Exposition of Some Marvels of the Maghrib*) and *Tuhfat al-albāb wa-nukhbat al-a'jāb* (*Gift to Minds and Choice of Marvels*). The notable impact which his *Tuhfa* (in particular) had on the later '*ajā'ib* genre was in part mediated through Zakariyyā' **al-Qazwīnī** (d. 682/1283), the most widely received author on the subject; al-Qazwīnī's '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (*Marvellous Things of Creation and Wondrous Things of Existence*) freely drew on the earlier work. By equally exploiting the Persian *Tuhfat al-ghārayib*, which is roughly contemporary with al-Gharnāṭī, al-Qazwīnī effected a combination of the Arabic and Persian *mirabilia* traditions; the two linguistic spheres clearly shared a common cultural horizon, although their precise relationship awaits further study. Largely the same ground is covered by Shams al-Dīn **al-Dimashqī** (d. 727/1327) in *Nukhbat al-dahr*; detailed comparison of critical texts of both works is needed to determine the extent – if any – of al-Dimashqī's dependence on al-Qazwīnī.

As is to be expected, the discussion of '*ajā'ib* was not restricted to monographic treatments, but also figures in various works on natural history, such as Muḥammad ibn Mūsā

al-Damīrī's (d. 808/1405) *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (*Life of Animals*), and the great encyclopedias of the Mamlūk age, such as **al-Nuwayrī**'s (d. 732/1332) *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (*The Ultimate Goal in the Disciplines of Refined Learning*), and al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī šinā'at al-inshā'* (*The Morning of the Nightblind Concerning the Art of Drafting Chancery Documents*).

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L. RICHTER-BERNBURG

See also: geographical literature

'Ajam

An Arabic word which, in early Islam, came to have an ethnic denotation, that of non-Arabic speakers – above all, the Persians. The term literally means 'mumblers, indistinct speakers', in contrast to the '*Arab*, 'clear speakers'; semantically it is thus the equivalent of the classical Greeks' opprobrious term for non-Greek speakers, *barbaroi*, i.e. barbarians. The proud Arabs used '*Ajam* in a social and political context as a pejorative term, but could not withhold admiration for the Persians as heirs to an ancient civilization far more glorious than any the Arabs had known. In the literary controversies of the early 'Abbāsīd period, the '*Ajam* became, among other things, the proponents of non-Arab culture in Islam, and of social equality with the Arabs.

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C. E. BOSWORTH

See also: *alamia*; *Shu'ubiyya*

**al-‘Ajjāj (d. c.90/715)**

‘Abd Allāh ibn Ru’ba al-‘Ajjāj (‘the Bawler’), an influential *rajaz* poet of the early Umayyad period, resided mainly at Basra. Al-‘Ajjāj exclusively used the *rajaz* metre (as did his son Ru’ba), which is less well suited for longer poems. Although several poets before him composed longer poems and down-right *qaṣīdas* in *rajaz* (al-Aghlab al-‘Ijlī, Labīd, al-Shammākh), it is due to his obsession with *rajaz* and his poetical genius and audacity that this metre could conquer new literary fields. The version of his *dīwān* which was worked out by al-Aṣma‘ī has survived; it contains forty-four poems, many of them in *qaṣīda* form and some of an excessive length (six are longer than 150 verses). With respect to content (for example, in self-praise, *fakhr*) as well as to linguistic means, al-‘Ajjāj’s poetry is characterized by a certain want of moderation which results in a humorous-grotesque coinage. He composed panegyrics on, among others, the governor al-Ḥajjāj (d. 95/714) and the caliphs Yazīd I (d. 64/683) and Sulaymān (d. 99/717).

## Text editions

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

See also: *rajaz***al-Ājurri see Ibn Ājurrūm****al-‘Akawwak see ‘Alī ibn Jabala  
al-‘Akawwak****Akhbār see historical literature****al-Akhras, ‘Abd al-Ghaffār  
(1805–74)**

Iraqi poet. Born in Mosul, he died in Basra.

His nickname, *al-Akhras* (‘the mute’), was derived from a speech impediment. He was close to Dāwūd Pasha, governor of Baghdad, who showered patronage upon him. He often went to Basra, praising the notables of that city, of Kuwait, and of Arabistān where he went in about 1831–2. One of the leading Iraqi poets of the nineteenth century, he was dubbed the **Abū Nuwās** of his age for his bacchic songs. There are various editions of his *dīwān*; his poems display genuine feelings, spontaneity, and a masterly control of poetic language.

## Further reading

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P. C. SADGROVE

**al-Akḥṭal  
(c.20–c.92/c.640–c.710)**

Ghiyāth ibn Ghawth al-Akḥṭal was one of the great poets of the **Umayyad** period. Although he was, like his tribe, Taghlib, a (monophy-site) Christian, he was favoured by leading Umayyad statesmen such as Ziyād ibn Abihi and al-Ḥajjāj, and even became the most important court-poet of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik. He was probably born in Hira in Iraq. In his youth he was a close companion of caliph Yazīd I, with whom he shared a taste for heavy drinking. The many passages on wine and drinking in his poems make al-Akḥṭal an important early bacchic poet. His fame as a poet rests mainly on his panegyric and invective, which are often combined in his numerous poems supporting Umayyad policy and attacking its opponents – state politics being, to a large extent, tribal politics. His career is closely associated with that of his contemporaries al-Farazdaq and Jarir; siding with the former against the latter, he produced a series of flytings or *naqā’id* in which personal and tribal invective mix with politics. In his poetry, which serves as both political propaganda and literary entertainment, he builds on the diction, themes and forms of pre-Islamic poetry. The panegyric ode of al-Akḥṭal and his contemporaries acquired a classical status: it became a model for subsequent periods. Not yet affected by the characteristics of the ‘modern poets’ or *muḥdathūn*, its

language and diction were accepted by philologists and critics as sources of 'pure Arabic'.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

See also: *naqā'id*

## al-Akḥṭal al-Ṣaghīr (1890–1968)

Lebanese poet and journalist, pen-name of Bishāra 'Abd Allāh al-Khūrī. Born in Beirut, he studied French at al-Ḥikma School, then privately familiarized himself with French romantic poetry. In 1908 he founded the newspaper *al-Barq*, which became a literary weekly after World War 1, featuring translations of French romantic literature, and works by leading Lebanese and Mahjar poets and critics.

The poetry of al-Akḥṭal al-Ṣaghīr was published late in his career, when experiments in form and content were ushering in a new poetic era. *Al-Hawā wa-al-shabāb* appeared in 1952, and in 1961 *Shi'r al-Akḥṭal al-Ṣaghīr* earned him the title 'Prince of Poets'; but it remained largely anachronistic among the modernists. Most critics, however, acknowledge his formative influence on the romantic poets of his generation, and credit him with successfully investing the rhythms of everyday life with the rhythms of his soul, and with a lyricism and melodiousness unknown to his neo-classical counterparts.

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M. T. AMYUNI

## al-A'lam al-Shantamarī see al-Shantamarī

## Aleppo see Syria

## Alexander romance

The legendary deeds of the Macedonian conqueror are recounted in Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Romance of Alexander*, dating from the early centuries of the Christian era, of which there are various Oriental versions (Pahlavi, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Ethiopic, etc.). Nothing ranking as a full Arabic translation of the romance has come down to us: only some material presumably derived from a lost Pahlavi version, from Syriac homily and from Jewish narratives. By studying manuscripts of the *al-Siyāsa al-'āmmiyya*, M. Grignaschi has identified in the selection of conversations and letters exchanged between Alexander the Great and his master Aristotle the translation of a Hellenistic original, probably done by Salīm Abū al-'Alā' during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (105–25/724–43). Fabulous accounts of Alexander circulated widely in the Islamic world, to the extent that they were repeated (in fragmentary fashion) in the works of historians like al-Tabarī, al-Dīnawarī and al-Mas'ūdī, geographers such as Yāqūt and Ibn al-Faqīh, and collectors of zoological traditions like al-Damīrī.

Alexander's journey to the furthest ends of the earth, to the Land of Darkness in search of the source of the water of life, is recalled in the Sūra of the Cave (xviii, 83–98), in the exploits of Mūsā (Moses), al-Khaḍīr (al-Khiḍr) and Dhū al-Qarnayn, 'the Man with Two Horns' – a figure Muslim exegesis has identified with Alexander. After many adventures he built a dyke in the Far East to stop the barbarian peoples of Gog and Magog. In the Yemenite tradition, as exemplified by the *Kitāb al-tijān*, similar feats are attributed to the *tubba'* al-Ṣa'b Dhū al-Qarnayn, whose

companion in adventure is Mūsā al-Khiḍr. It was supposedly Mūsā who called him Dhū al-Qarnayn, meaning 'lord of the sun's two horns' (i.e. where it rises and sets), but there are also other explanations. **Wahb al-Munabbih** and **Ka'b al-Aḥbār**, transmitters of the Yemenite sagas, do not consider these characters the same as the Dhū al-Qarnayn and Mūsā of the Koran tradition. Alexander is held to be the founder of many cities in both East and West, among them (some say) the famous City of Brass. His adventures have found a place in the storytellers' repertoire and in the Arabian Nights (464th night; see *Alf layla wa-layla*). The *Ta'riḫ al-Iskandar al-Rūmī wa-wazīrihi al-Khaḍir*, summarized by I. Friedländer, is a still unpublished romanticized history by Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mufarrij al-Ṣūrī (c.900/1495).

In Arabic literature there has been no artistic elaboration of the story comparable to that undertaken by the Persian poet Nizāmī (d. 1207), who reshaped the traditional narrative material into two cycles: in the first (*Sharaf-nāma*), Alexander appears as the conqueror of the world, in the second (*Iqbāl-nāma*) as philosopher and prophet.

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G. CANOVA

**Alexander the Great**

Alexander appears in Arabic literature as al-Iskandar, but also as Dhū al-Qarnayn, 'the Man with Two Horns (rays of light?)', on the basis of his identification with the personage of this name who is mentioned in **Koran** 18: 83–98, as the ruler who erected a barrier against the inner Asian giants Gog and Magog. Some Muslims accounted Alexander a prophet. The figures of Alexander and his tutor **Aristotle** appear frequently in Arabic aphoristic or *ḥikma* literature, and occasionally in the **Legends of the Prophets** or *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, but his most important role in Arabic literature is as the hero of the **Alexander romance** (the correspondence with Alexander attributed to Aristotle forms the basis for the *Sirr al-asrār*.)

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C.E. BOSWORTH

See also: Alexander romance; *Sirr al-asrār*

**Alf layla wa-layla**

*Alf layla wa-layla* is the Arabic title of the celebrated story-collection known in English as the *Thousand and One Nights* or *Arabian Nights*. Medieval Arab authors acknowledged Persian story-collections, most notably the *Hazār afsāna* (*Thousand Tales*) as the immediate source of the *Nights*; but many other cultures also contributed to the formation of the various Arabic texts known collectively as *Alf layla wa-layla*: Indian, Persian, Baghdad, and Cairene. Each 'stratum' corresponds to a deposit of stories reflecting the influence on the *Nights* of a given society and geographical locale during a particular historical period (see E. Littmann, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; and see especially H. and S. Grotzfeld 1984).

Throughout the medieval and early modern eras the *Alf layla* was never a static or fixed collection, but continued to grow until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. H. Zotenberg (1888) notes that numerous manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries consist of a '*fonds primitif*', or 'original core', of stories, always comprising fewer than 300 nights, to which individual redactors added tales borrowed from other, independent story-collections. Many of these manuscripts demonstrate a consistent relation with a certain fourteenth-century text of the *Alf layla* (Bibliothèque Nationale 3609–3611; henceforth G); a text which once belonged to the French scholar Antoine Galland, who used it as the basis for the first European translation of the *Nights*, *Les mille et une nuits* (1704). Galland's manuscript also formed the basis for Muhsin Mahdi's edition of the *Alf layla* (1984). G is of Syrian provenance, and is by far the oldest sizable *Nights* manuscript extant. G does not, however, contain 1,001 nights, but goes only as far as night 282.

According to Zotenberg, G represents the 'original core' of *Alf layla* stories on which later writers relied in compiling more extended collections. For example, comparison of BN 1491A – a seventeenth-century Egyptian manuscript containing 870 nights – with G shows that the first part of 1491A includes virtually all the story-titles in G, with the same titles and in the same order, after which the redactor of 1491A then added a miscellany of tales, including lengthy borrowings from other, independent story-cycles: the adventures grouped together in '*Umar al-Nu'mān*, which recounts military expeditions against the Frankish Crusaders, and the animal-fables of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* of *Ibn al-Muqaffa*' (d. 137 or 9/755 or 6). A seventeenth-century Turkish text of the *Alf layla* (BN 356) likewise begins by reproducing the titles contained in G, followed by another miscellany of tales drawn from independent story-cycles. Some of these are the same as in 1491A (e.g. '*Umar al-Nu'mān*'), but others represent borrowings from completely different sources, such as *The Tale of Sindbad the Sailor* (see *Sindbād*). Zotenberg deduced from such evidence that by the seventeenth century there existed a tendency among redactors to add to the 'original core' of *Alf layla* stories by borrowing tales from other, independent, cycles, but that these supplementary tales varied from collection to collection; hence nothing on the order of a fixed, definitive text as yet existed. Various story-cycles were perhaps subjoined to the *Alf layla* because the latter enjoyed a certain prestige and recognition-value among the professional reciters who purchased such manuscripts as reference-material for their repertoires.

These expanded *Alf layla* texts did not coalesce into anything resembling a fixed arrangement of tales until the late eighteenth century, when a group of Arab scholars in Cairo produced a new version. Like BN 1491A and BN 356, this text followed G for its initial cycles of stories but added sufficient additional stories to make a full complement of 1,001 nights. Zotenberg named this late eighteenth-century Cairene collection '*la rédaction moderne d'Égypte*'; and since his day it is referred to as the Zotenberg Egyptian Recension (ZER). Zotenberg counted a dozen manuscripts in European libraries which derived directly from this recension, and he observed that it also served as the basis for the best-known nineteenth-century Arabic editions of the *Nights*, Bulaq (B) and MacNaghten (MN). B was first published in Cairo in 1835, MN in Calcutta from 1839 to 1842; both contain many stories not found in Mahdi's edition or in the fourteenth-century manuscript from which it is derived.

Mahdi's research has resulted in an even more nuanced understanding of the history of the *Nights*. He demonstrates the existence of two major branches or families of *Alf layla* manuscripts, a Syrian and an Egyptian. The fourteenth-century G belongs to the Syrian branch; whereas the eighteenth-century ZER (and the B and MN editions derived therefrom) is a very late descendant of the Egyptian manuscript tradition. Both the Syrian and Egyptian branches ultimately derive from a common, early medieval manuscript source; this common derivation explains whatever similarities the two traditions share.

Zotenberg's distinction between the earlier 'core' of the *Alf layla*'s stories and its later additions is helpful in approaching the question: to what extent are the later supplementary stories thematically linked to the overarching Scheherazade-frame which informs the entire *Alf layla*?

We can begin to address this issue first by surveying the 282 nights comprising the G manuscript. King Shahrīyār's behaviour in the outermost frame is triggered by his first wife's deceit and infidelity. This leads the king to kill one wife after another; Scheherazade tries to ward off this violence by offering stories as ransom for her life. Bearing this in mind, it is instructive to glance over the other tales in G. Most of the story-cycles contained therein – including *The Merchant and the Genie*, *The Fisherman and the Genie*, *The Porter*, *The*

*Three Apples*, and *The Hunchback* – all feature very prominently the threat of violence and the use of stories to postpone or avert this violence. Moreover, some of the tales enframed by the above-mentioned cycles enunciate themes which may be understood as further commentary on the action of the Scheherazade-frame – e.g., *The Husband and the Parrot* (contained within the *Fisherman* cycle): the husband gives way to an impulse to kill a loyal pet, and experiences keen regret thereafter; or G's version of *The Enchanted Prince*, a tale featuring marital violence and graphically depicted tortures in which King Shahrāyār – who sits listening to Scheherazade's recital – is described as feeling anguish for the sorrows undergone by the protagonist.

Despite the close thematic links uniting many of the G tales with the Scheherazade-frame, it is not necessary to posit that these stories were created especially for the *Alf layla*. It seems more likely (and more consistent with the historical testimony concerning the earlier *Hazār afsāna*) that many, if not most, of these tales pre-dated the Arabic *Alf layla* and were modified and re-told for inclusion in the *Nights*. In fact, a separate Arabic manuscript-tradition completely independent of the *Nights* exists for many of the stories now found in the *Alf layla* – for example, *The Fisherman and the Genie* and *The Enchanted Prince* (in both G and ZER), or *The False Caliph* and *The City of Brass* (in ZER but not G). Moreover, these stories continued to be transmitted in manuscript-collections unaffiliated with the *Alf layla* even after their incorporation into the *Nights*. Such collections can be described as '*Alf layla* analogues': they are usually untitled, lacking the Scheherazade-frame and any division into nights, but containing one or more narratives also present in *Alf layla* texts of the Syrian and Egyptian traditions. The significance of these analogues is that, in those instances where such independent manuscript-collections survive, it becomes possible for us to compare two distinct versions of the same story – one assimilated to the *Nights*, one independent (see, for example, Wehr, 1956).

The discussion of violence and narrative-ransom motifs in the oldest stories of the G core is crucial when we turn to the question of thematic unity in the later ZER text. I would assert that the degree to which a given ZER tale is linked to the overarching Scheherazade-

frame depends primarily on whether the story is also found in the *fonds primitif* or *Alf layla*-core represented by G. Later additions to the collection are for the most part linked only in a formal sense to the frame; and while they are divided into enumerated nights, each of which begins and concludes with conventional patterned sentences (e.g., 'Then dawn overtook Scheherazade ...'), their themes rarely relate directly to those of the outermost frame.

This is not to say, however, that these later story-cycles lack any thematic unity of their own. For example, the structure of *The City of Brass* (which does not seem to have been added prior to the eighteenth-century ZER) is defined by a set of thematic concerns informing each of the tale's enframed subordinate narratives (the Black Castle, the Imprisoned 'Ifrīt, Queen Tadmur's story, etc.), which restate and add further emphasis to the themes of ascetic piety and the need for humble acceptance of God's will articulated in the main narrative-frame. In adding such tales to the *Alf layla*, the later redactors seem mostly to have preserved the thematic integrity of their sources. In general it is more fruitful to look for the themes which define each supplementary story-cycle individually rather than insist on anything more than a perfunctory and largely formal link with the G-core and its narrative-motifs.

In comparing the nineteenth-century *Alf layla* texts with G, Mahdi faults the editors of B and MN for having rendered the Arabic of their source-manuscripts into neo-classical *fushā*, and for having abridged the exchanges of dialogue and frequent repetitions of episodes found in the earlier sources. According to Mahdi, B and MN thus obscure the colloquial language and narrative recitation techniques associated with the oral-performance background out of which the *Alf layla* grew. Mahdi's charge holds true for many stories of the *Nights*; but comparison of the Egyptian texts with Mahdi's edition of G reveals that, in some stories, B and MN offer more fully articulated versions of key episodes. Furthermore, the editors of B and MN would probably not have considered it their task to hand on their earlier sources unchanged: like earlier redactors, they wished to re-tell a given story rather than issue a critical edition of the text. We may find it easier to be more generous in evaluating B and MN if we regard their redactors as successors in a long tradition of reciters and professional storytellers; these



redactions can be seen as the written record of individual 'performances' of the *Alf layla* (as described by A. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 1960, for the ancient Greek epics and as defined by Mahdi himself for the earlier manuscripts of the *Alf layla*), performances composed by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editors who, in a process of deletion, rewording and creative interpolation, retold the stories they found in their source-manuscripts.

### **The oral-performance dimension of the *Alf layla***

The tales comprising the *Alf layla* were originally oral evening-entertainments and were meant to be recited and listened to; their performance dimension is reflected in the very manuscripts used to record various versions of the tales. For storytellers who could afford them, texts incorporating some or all of the *Alf layla* adventures served as reference material and sources of narrative inspiration. D.B. MacDonald (1924) has described the story-manuscripts comprising the library of a professional reciter in Damascus; Lane (1836) remarked on public recitations from the *Nights* in Cairo during the early nineteenth century, noting that storytellers frequently read aloud from written texts as part of their performance (although the cost of a complete *Alf layla* manuscript was too high for most reciters).

Peter Molan (1988) has argued that phrases such as *qāla al-rāwī* ('the storyteller said') and *qāla ṣāhib al-ḥadīth* ('the master of the tale said') – which recur throughout many manuscript texts of the *Nights* and which he considers 'anomalous' or extrinsic to the dialogue and narrative context within which they occur – are linked to the oral provenance of the stories. I myself have found that such phrases tend to appear at transition points. That copyists who inserted such phrases sometimes penned them in disproportionately large letters, or in an ink which varied from that of the surrounding text, suggests that they may have served as visual guides and markers alerting reciters to an imminent change in narrative voice; however, these are common procedures in other kinds of manuscripts not necessarily intended for oral performance.

### **Storytelling techniques and the use of source material**

Much of the *Alf layla*'s narrative art lies in the

creative use of sources. A story such as *The City of Brass* demonstrates a reworking of medieval chronicles and geographers' accounts. The tale's protagonist, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, is known from Umayyad history as the conqueror of the Maghrib. According to later geographers, Mūsā's army discovered a lost city in the Sahara, but failed to scale its walls or gain entry as it was magically guarded by unseen demons. The historical sources state that Mūsā became jealous of the military successes of his lieutenant, Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, who had defeated the Visigoths of Andalusia. Mūsā had Ṭāriq put in chains on a charge of insubordination. He also claimed for himself booty seized by Ṭāriq in Spain, most notably a gem-encrusted table said to have been made by the *jinn* for King Solomon. On returning to Damascus, Mūsā appeared before the caliph and took credit for the Andalusian conquest, only to find himself denounced for the theft of Solomon's table; he was then stripped of his rank and expelled from caliphal favour, ending his life as a beggar in the Hijaz.

In the *Alf layla* this historical and legendary material is shaped into a tale treating of the need for ascetic renunciation in preparation for the afterlife. Succeeding in entering the magically guarded city of brass, Mūsā is tempted by the sight of a dead queen's treasure, but resists the corrupting lure of material wealth. He also finds a wondrous table in a deserted palace; but he prizes it only for its inscription on the evanescence of worldly pleasures. And when he returns from the desert to Damascus, he voluntarily surrenders both rank and possessions to devote himself to a life of pious solitude in Jerusalem. In the *Nights*' reworking of its source material, Mūsā's unedifying behaviour has been changed so that he functions as a moral exemplar; while the unentered city of brass is penetrated and becomes the dramatic and moral focus of the tale.

A different example can be found in the cycle of stories known as *The Fisherman and the Genie* which appears in G. Like the Scheherazade-tale, *The Fisherman* uses the motif of storytelling-as-ransom and the themes of violence and the need for mercy. In G, this generates several subordinate narratives – *Yunan and Duban*, *King Sindibad and his Vizier*, *The Jealous Husband and the Parrot*, and *The King's Son and the Ghoul* – all of which involve questions of betrayal, trust and violence. In B and MN the *Vizier* and *Parrot* stories are replaced by *King Sindibad and the*

*Falcon*, the themes of which likewise correspond to those found elsewhere in the cycle. Thus in all the major Arabic editions *The Fisherman* includes enframed tales which function as exempla illustrating the thematic issues treated in the overarching Scheherazade-narrative. But two eighteenth-century *Alf layla*-analogues (Paris MS 3651 and MS 3655) contain versions of *The Fisherman* which lack both the Scheherazade-tale and the enframed subordinate narratives. It is open to question whether these analogues or the Syro-Egyptian editions represent the older version of the story; our oldest surviving text, the fourteenth-century G, comes complete with *Yunan* and a complex inner-frame structure. But *The Fisherman* is intelligible as a coherent narrative, even with all exempla missing, despite the weakening of certain thematic emphases.

The absence of inner frames from two of our five *Fisherman*-texts is suggestive; before deriving any conclusions from this evidence, however, I should draw attention to three other significant points. First, within the texts that do contain subordinate narratives the content of the inner frames differs from the Syrian to the Egyptian versions, as we have already seen: B and MN have *Sindibad and the Falcon* where G contains two other stories, *Sindibad and his Vizier* and the *Husband and Parrot*. Second, some of the exempla appear as separate stories elsewhere in the *Nights* in completely different narrative-cycles: B contains a long series of stories known as the *Seven Viziers* which uses versions of *The Husband and Parrot* and *The King's Son and the Ghoul*, tales very similar to those found in *The Fisherman*. Third, some of the material from *The Fisherman*'s inner frames is analogous to narratives found in story-collections completely independent of the *Alf layla*: Burton (1885) cites a 'Persian version' of the *Parrot* from the *Book of Sindibad*; Chauvin (1892) notes the presence of both the *Parrot* and *Ghoul* stories in a number of story-collections including *The Seven Viziers*, the Greek *Syntipas* and the Persian *Book of Sindbād*. Furthermore, the device of a merchant's using a talking bird to monitor his wife's activities in his absence appears in the fourteenth-century Indo-Muslim *Ṭūī-nāma* (*The Book of the Parrot*), the Indian original of which may have been composed as early as the sixth century CE. Thus narrative-analogues of the *Parrot* seem to have existed in collections much older than the *Arabian Nights*.

All this evidence suggests that the inner-frame narratives in *The Fisherman* were independent creations and not the literary product of the *Alf layla* redactors as such, and that we may regard stories such as *Sindibad and his Vizier* or the *Falcon* as detachable narrative building-blocks. Each redactor of *The Fisherman* chose whether to insert such narrative blocks within his larger frame and which units he wished to include. The creativity of the *Arabian Nights* collections, in the final versions as they have come down to us, consists not in the creation of entirely new inner-frame stories, but in the redactor's arrangement of given story-units and his nesting them within one another so that they function as exempla illustrating the themes of the overarching frame-stories.

One of the least studied aspects of *Alf layla* composition is the use of poetic citations within prose contexts. Ever since Horovitz (1915) demonstrated that many of the poems constitute borrowings from earlier verse anthologies, there has been a tendency to set poetic citations to one side in literary analyses of the stories. Thus Littmann (*EL*<sup>2</sup>) generalizes (of MN): 'These poems and verses are mostly of the kind that might be omitted without disturbing the course of the prose texts'. Dawood dropped the verses altogether in his translation of the *Nights* (1973), charging that 'they are devoid of literary merit' and that 'most of the verses were injected at random into the text by various editors'.

It is my contention that in many tales the redactor seems to have inserted verse borrowings in such a way that they reinforce the themes of the surrounding prose context. Thus in *The City of Brass*, Mūsā's party discovers various admonitory moralizing poems in the form of inscriptions on the walls of deserted palaces which feature motif-words ('the adornment of the world', 'death', 'departure', 'take warning') that recur in the main prose narrative. In *The False Caliph*, Hārūn al-Rashid and Ja'far listen to a series of four poems chanted by a woman lutenist in the mansion of a handsome but mysterious young jeweller named Muḥammad 'Alī. The verses themselves are unremarkable love-poems replete with highly conventional imagery; their derivative quality is reflected in the fact that parts of these same poems recur in other stories from the *Nights*. We might be tempted to dismiss these poems as 'random injections' of the type decried by Dawood; yet the jeweller's

response signals otherwise: at the end of each recital he cries aloud and rends his garments. The texts of these poems, conventional sentiments and all, are arranged to form an intelligible narrative progression of their own: the lutenist begins with a declaration of love, describes the stages of longing, fulfilment and abandonment, and concludes with a plea for reunion. Together these verses comprise a commentary on, and foreshadowing of, the tale's major narrative action: a tormented love affair involving the young jeweller. So violently does he tear his clothes on hearing the fourth recital that he exposes to the startled Hārūn the marks of scourging on his back; the guests press him for an explanation and Muḥammad then tells them the tale of how he came to be scourged in the sorrowful service of love. Thus *The False Caliph's* poems are bound up with the prose text in such a way as to advance the main narrative action.

This episode from *The False Caliph* follows a pattern found in other stories such as *The Merchant of Oman*, *The Hunchback*, and *The Enchanted Prince*: the introduction of a mysterious youth; his inexplicable behaviour before guests; his revelation of maiming, scars or other bodily defects; the arousal of the guests' curiosity, followed by requests for an explanation; an inner-frame narrative, serving as explanation of events in the outer frame. This narrative configuration emerges in various stories at transition points between outer- and subordinate-frame narratives. Elsewhere I have argued that such sequences can be said to conform to a formulaic system – part of the storyteller's repertoire on which the redactor relies to advance his tale from one narrative-frame to the next. Patterned systems of representation appear to govern many of the recurrent episodes throughout the *Nights*; many of the constituent sentences comprising these episodes are characterized by conventionalized *saj'* prose-rhyme clusters. Such formulaic phrasing evokes the oral-performance environment in which the *Alf layla* first developed.

Redactors of the various versions of the *Nights* appear to have had a large narrative repertoire on which to draw: legends and chronicles; entire stories from independent 'analogue' traditions; poetic anthologies; formulaic systems and formulaic prose-rhyme clusters for the rendering of recurrent episodes. Their artistry lay not in the invention of original fiction *ex nihilo* but in the creative

arrangement of conventional material and traditional narrative motifs.

### Translations and modern literary imitations

As noted above, Galland's *Mille et une nuits* (1704) comprised the first European translation of the *Alf layla*. In addition to the fourteenth-century Syrian G manuscript described earlier, Galland drew on numerous tales recited to him by a Christian Arab of Aleppo. The *Alf layla* is best-known in the English-speaking world today through two nineteenth-century translations, E.W. Lane's *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* and Richard Burton's *Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, both based on printed editions of the ZER family – Lane working primarily from Bulaq, Burton from both Bulaq and MacNaghten. Lane limited himself to translating only a selection of outstanding story-cycles from the ZER (appending a series of notes reflecting his long residence in Cairo), and expurgated the work for family audiences. His product reads easily but is unexciting. Burton's text is exhaustive (drawing much more fully on the ZER) but remains controversial to this day, partly because he borrowed heavily from John Payne's (1882) translation (as he himself acknowledged freely in his Foreword to vol. 1), but largely because of the 'anthropological notes' which attend every story. These are provocative and at times calculatedly scandalous; but for every scurrilous comment there are a dozen showing a sympathetic interest in the Muslim East. 'This translation', Burton explains in his Foreword, 'is a natural outcome of my Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah'; and in his footnotes he cannot resist exclaiming over the parallels between *Alf layla* episodes and Arab and Indian customs which he himself witnessed in his travels. Noteworthy too is the characteristically forceful and eccentric style which Burton brought to his renderings of the *Alf layla's* poetry and *saj'* ornamentation.

Among recent translations, the most valuable is Haddawy's (1990), which renders carefully Mahdi's recent edition; Haddawy proceeds as far as Night 271. E. Littmann's German translation still remains the most reliable.

With the translation of the *Alf layla* into English came a number of imitations. Robert Louis Stevenson's *New Arabian Nights* (1882) demonstrates a fascination with form and

storytelling devices; a reading of his 'Story of the Young Man with the Cream Tarts' reveals borrowings from the Hārūn al-Rashīd cycle. Prince Florizel and a companion wander London in disguise, and in a tavern discover an aristocratic youth who displays bizarre behavior. Pressed for an explanation, the young man tells his new friends of a 'suicide club', and leads them to a mysterious house where adventure upon adventure await them. Baghdad of the Nights has been transposed to London, with every doorway, pub and alley holding promise of a new tale. Something, too, of the Hārūn-cycle's moral order has been captured by Stevenson: the taste for novelty at whatever cost, the sense of capricious powers at work upon struggling humans who blunder into the realm of unseen forces they but little understand.

Hārūn al-Rashīd and his entourage also figure in James Elroy Flecker's verse-drama *Hassan* (first staged in 1923). Hārūn cruelly imprisons and tortures to death a pair of faithful lovers; the honest merchant Hassan, horrified by what he has seen at the caliph court, flees Baghdad eastward as a pilgrim along the 'Golden Road to Samarkand', accompanied by another *Alf layla* character, the lutenist Ishak al-Mousili. Hārūn is portrayed as almost a demonic force, the Fate-like destroyer of earthly joys. Given the relentless harshness of human life, the pilgrims are to take comfort in the sensual experience of the Golden Road with its caravans, and the capturing of that experience in poetry. The author uses the *Arabian Nights* setting and characters to craft a meditation on the perdurance of Art in a flawed and evanescent world: the East serves Flecker (who himself experienced the Levant as British vice-consul in Beirut) as a catalyst for heightened awareness and aesthetic sensitivity.

The American novelist John Barth reprises themes from the *Alf layla* in the opening section of his novel *Chimera* (1972). Barth explores the nature of literary creativity, comparing the situation of authors today to that of Scheherazade: their survival, like hers, depends on capturing and satisfying their audience's interest. And Scheherazade-like, Barth demonstrates a way to ensure literary survival by drawing on the storytelling heritage of the past (notably Greek myth and the *Alf layla* itself) and retelling these tales with a freshness that makes them relevant to contemporary readers. Barth has Dunyāzād

(Scheherazade's sister) encounter Shahrayār's brother Shāh Zamān in a contentious and lively courtship sketched so as to illuminate male-female relations in late twentieth-century America.

In most educated circles of Arab society the *Alf layla* was until recently considered too disreputable to be a worthy model for imitation or literary inspiration. Part of this disregard stemmed from its level of diction, an uneven blend of colloquial vulgarisms, ornamental *saj'* and classicizing *fushā* (sometimes ungrammatically rendered). In polite circles retelling *Alf layla* tales in any form might also have caused embarrassment to one's vocational standing and social rank: the learned courtier would not have wanted to be confused with the common *hakawātī* who harangued marketplace crowds with his stories; the *Alf layla* was the province of those who told tales for a living.

Opinions changed in the twentieth century. Western critics' admiration for the *Nights* made Arab authors re-evaluate their own narrative heritage. The Egyptian writer Ṭahā Husayn, in *Ahlām Shahrazād* (*The Dreams of Scheherazade*; trans. Magdi Wahba, Cairo, 1974), has the resourceful storyteller continuing her recitations past the thousand-and-first night for an ever-restless Shahrayār. But these new tales carry explicitly enunciated themes concerning the ruler's obligation to resist the gratification of selfish lusts and to act on behalf of the governed. Between recitations Scheherazade, by magic art, makes Shahrayār experience the consequences of his former actions. The monarch is rowed out on to a lake whence he glimpses a dark wood filled with sorrowful winged shadows: a Hades-like vision of the broken souls of the maidens he has slain. The parable resonates with political significance, composed as it was in 1942-3, in the reign of the corrupt King Farouk.

More recent works reflect the themes of alienation and societal disorder which have preoccupied so many contemporary Arab authors. Yaḥyā al-Tāhīr 'Abd Allāh's 'Story of the Upper Egyptian' (in *The Mountain of Green Tea*, trans. D. Johnson-Davies, London, 1983, 50-6) opens with a scene reminiscent of the *Tale of the Merchant and the Genie*: a demon threatens to murder a peasant who has inadvertently killed its son. In 'Abd Allāh's version the motif triggers a story in which the peasant is dispossessed of land and home, and forced to seek work in Cairo. There, as a crew-

member on a building site, he meets a death as capricious and sudden as the one he first tried to escape. In 'Sindbad' (1972; trans. in M. Shaheen, *The Modern Arabic Short Story*, London, 1989, 119–21) Muḥammad al-Mansī Qindīl presents the famous sailor on his return to Basra after his last voyage. But Sindbad finds himself held captive while his ship and cargo – choice manuscripts, scientific instruments, herbs and flowers lovingly acquired – are auctioned off by profit-crazed businessmen. Qindīl portrays the *Alf layla* hero as a wanderer who suffers alone in search of wisdom and then is unappreciated by his own people when he seeks to communicate his truths. Khalīl Ḥāwī meditates on the same figure in the poem, 'The Eighth Voyage of Sindbad' (1958; trans. in Shaheen, 1989: 104–13). Like Tennyson's Ulysses, Ḥāwī's Sindbad cannot bear to abide quietly at home once his journeys are over. So he sets out again, in a voyage which exposes him to vistas of stagnation, aridity and violence; yet he is buoyed, too, by visions of hope, of spring verdure bursting forth from late-winter soil. Such imagery recalls *The Wasteland* of T.S. Eliot; elsewhere Ḥāwī echoes Koranic language, as when he describes Gabriel's enlarging and cleansing of the poet's heart – a parallel to the divine mercy bestowed on the Prophet Muḥammad (Koran 94: 1–2). In an age of disorientation the varied images assembled by Ḥāwī voice an anguished cry for the renewal of Arab civilization.

In *Layālī alf layla (Nights of the Arabian Nights)* Najīb Maḥfūz uses the best-known of the characters from the *Alf layla wa-layla*. But Maḥfūz in this retelling gives explicit, focused attention to the themes of distrust, obsession with control, and the misuse of power – motifs all present, even if only implicitly, in the oldest narrative cycles (especially the Scheherazade-Shahrayār frame) of the original. Maḥfūz's *Arabian Nights* is a dark world of violent forces which threaten to consume us even as we exploit them: thus, for example, a genie brings the humble Ma'rūf the Cobbler wealth and prestige, but then orders him to kill a saintly Ṣūfī *shaykh*. We are also re-introduced to King Shahrayār, still restless after 1,001 nights of tales. Hearing that Sindbad has returned from his seventh voyage, Shahrayār summons the traveller, who gives the briefest summary of each voyage, emphasizing the lessons he brought away: the necessity of distinguishing between reality and self-

deceptive fantasy, the need for moderation and self-restraint. Sindbad leaves, and the king paces about his garden alone, brooding over his past and what is now revealed to him of himself, 'like a torn paper mask, behind which, no longer concealed, coil serpents of cruelty and injustice, theft and bloodshed'. In the last section of Maḥfūz's novel, a penitent Shahrayār abdicates his throne and goes forth to wander the desert in search of forgiveness and salvation. Artists like Maḥfūz are making the medieval *Alf layla wa-layla* a living and influential part of the Arab literary heritage today. (See further F. Sa'd, *Min waḥy Alf layla wa-layla*.)

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## Algeria, modern

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Following a long period of obscurity, punctuated only by a few figures such as **Ibn Khaldūn** in the fourteenth century and the *amir* Abdelkadir in the nineteenth century, modern Algerian literature in Arabic has finally begun to show lasting promise. Its origins may be traced to the years following World War 1, when a period of restless activity began, connected with the literary *nahḍa* of the Mashriq. Newspapers belonging to the Association des Ulémas (Ben Badis) opened their columns to historians, poets and novelists, among whom Redha Houhou was outstanding. In the aftermath of Algerian independence from France (1962), a second generation of short-story writers emerged, some of whom had begun writing during the War of Liberation; in thirty years, some hundred collections had been produced, of greatly varying merit, the majority dealing with the themes of the military campaign and the War of Liberation. Several of these short-story writers went on to write novels, a trend started in 1971 with **Benhedouga's** *Rih al-janūb*. Between 1971 and 1985, some thirty-five novels were published in Arabic – the pioneers in this field (in addition to Benhedouga) being Rachid **Boujedra** and al-Tāhir **Waṭṭar**.

In the field of poetry, however, there has been no masterpiece reflecting the country's historical situation. Before 1962, there were two established poets dealing with religious and socio-political themes: Mohammed Al 'Id Khalifa (1904–70), whose *dīwān* reflects the questioning spirit of the 1920s and 1930s; and Mufdi Zakaria (1908–77), whose collection *al-Lahab al-muqaddas* contains a number of patriotic songs, one of which, 'Qassaman', became the national anthem. The generation that saw independence in 1962 went on to produce works in the 1970s which were influenced both by the new poetry of the Mashriq and by the events they had themselves experienced. These poets included Abdelali Rezagui, Hamri Bahri, Ahmed Hamdi and Azraj Omar. As regards the 1990s generation of poets, an anthology entitled *Diwan de la modernité* has been published which includes works by some thirty poets under the age of thirty.

Between 1969 and 1989 two arts reviews appeared, sponsored by the Ministry of Culture: *al-Thaqāfa* and *Āmāl* – the latter being a forum for young poets and short-story writers. These reviews were succeeded by *al-Riwāya*,

of which only a single edition appeared in 1990, and *al-Ṭabyīn*, a cultural and creative periodical founded by the Al Gahizia association, of which five editions appeared between 1990 and 1993. Despite having some talented writers, Algeria has not yet produced the literature it deserves. Among the major difficulties faced by Algerian writers are problems of publishing and distribution; the absence of any genuine literary criticism; readers' prejudices (many readers have been unable to separate the literary merits of an author from his ideological beliefs); and the deficiencies of the school system.

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**Algeria, pre-colonial** *see* **Maghrib**

**'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/660)**

The Prophet's first cousin, his foster-brother and his son-in-law. He took part in Muḥammad's raids and acted as his secretary, but under the first three Rightly-Guided caliphs (see **Orthodox Caliphate**) played little part in public affairs until his election as caliph in 35/656. His reign saw a continuation of the *fitna* or civil strife of the previous years, culminating in his own assassination by one of the **Khārijīs**. The religious significance of his caliphate was as the starting-point for the claims of his later partisans, his Shi'a or 'party' (see **Shi'is**), that 'Alī was not merely a temporal successor to Muḥammad but was imbued with an inner light as *Imām* or divinely-designated 'model' leader for mankind. Hence, they held, recognition of these claims, and obedience, was incumbent on all true believers.

'Alī has accordingly become the object of innumerable eulogistic works by later Shi'i

authors, and a special role is attributed to him in Arabic literature as the author of a *ḍiwān* of mediocre poetry, whose authenticity is very suspect, and as the utterer of sermons, political discourses and aphorisms, which have been prized as models of eloquence by later generations; all these last were collected together in the fifth/eleventh century anthology **Nahj al-balāgha**, probably by **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī**.

Text editions

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**'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī**  
*see* **al-Jurjānī, al-Qāḍī 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz**

**'Alī ibn Ḥamza al-Kisā'i** *see* **al-Kisā'i, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh**

**'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Rummānī** *see* **al-Rummānī, 'Alī ibn 'Īsā**

**'Alī ibn Jabala al-'Akawwak**  
**(160–213/776–828)**

Poet from Baghdad, of Khurasani descent. He was blind, short and fat (hence his nickname, al-'Akawwak). He was counted among the *maṭbū'* ('naturally gifted') poets (see *maṭbū'* and *maṣnū'*) and was esteemed especially for his panegyric poems, made for al-Ma'mūn, for his two famous generals, Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī and Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī, and for al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl the governor. He excelled in the recitation of his verse: **al-Jāhīz** had never heard his like among bedouin or urban poets. It is said that he died after his tongue was torn out on the order of al-Ma'mūn, angered by

what he considered excessive eulogy on Abū Dulaf. The lines most often quoted in connection with this incident seem to equate Abū Dulaf with 'the World' – cosmic proportions thought to be blasphemous. **Ibn al-Mu'tazz**, however, says that the poet died a natural death. Anthologists have preserved a number of longer odes and elegies, as well as fragments and epigrams. The famous poem entitled *al-Yatīma* has been ascribed to him, probably incorrectly.

Text edition

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### 'Alī ibn al-Jahm (c.188–249/c.804–63)

Born in Baghdad into a Qurayshī family from Khurasan, he was a prominent 'Abbāsīd poet of the third/ninth century. Although he had a good knowledge of philosophy and *kalām* he was principally a man of letters and a poet; he was a close friend of **Abū Tammām**. He was held in favour by the caliph al-Mutawakkil, but envious courtiers caused his downfall and he was exiled in 239/853–4 to Khurasan. Eventually pardoned, he returned to Baghdad in 241/855, and died a few years later in Syria. Most of his poetry survives from the reign of al-Mutawakkil; while his panegyrics are cast in the standard mould of this genre, his verse should be noted for the frequent inclusion of religious elements and the strongly pro-'Abbāsīd stance he took due to his Khurasani origins. Apart from his panegyrics, three poems deserve mention: an apparently sincere elegy written upon the death of al-Mutawakkil; a lengthy narrative *muzdawija* which praises the 'Abbāsīd caliphs as successors of the biblical prophets; and a *lāmiyya* which, while being a poem of *mujūn*, is an excellent example of literary parody with a fine intertextual quality.

Text edition

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### 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Asākīr see Ibn 'Asākīr

### 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Māwardī see al-Māwardī

### Alī ibn al-Munajjim see Ibn al-Munajjim, 'Alī

### 'Alī ibn Nāfi', Abū al-Ḥasan see Ziryāb

### 'Alī al-Zībaq, romance of

There are several references in the *Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*) to the famous trickster 'Alī al-Zaybaq (or al-Zībaq). His adventures are narrated in particular in nights 708–719, in the context of the rogue-story of Aḥmad al-Danaf, Ḥasan al-Shūmān, Dalīla the Crafty and her daughter Zaynab, which is part of the Egyptian cycle and is based on picaresque and pseudo-historical elements. In describing the Baghdad disturbances of 444/1052 **Ibn al-Athīr** refers to the proliferation of '*ayyārūn* (vagabonds) and names Zaybaq as one of their leaders. The folk romance of 'Alī al-Zībaq al-Miṣrī Ibn Ḥasan Ra's al-Ghūl is considerably longer and reflects the life of the people in Mamlūk Cairo. The first half tells of 'Alī's childhood and youth in Cairo, and ends with his becoming a doughty warrior and avenging his father's death. The second half, similar to the account in the *Nights*, sees 'Alī travel to Syria and then join his fellow tricksters in Baghdad, where they have become police officials. The romance is set in the reign of caliph **Hārūn al-Rashīd**, with some reference in the closing stages to Ṭūlūnid Egypt.

Text editions

*al-Sira al-kubrā lil-'ā'iq al-shāṭir al-muqaddam* 'Alī al-Zaybaq al-Miṣrī, Cairo, s.d.

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See also: *Sira* literature

## al-‘Ālim, Maḥmūd Amin (1922– )

Egyptian literary critic, intellectual historian, poet and political activist. Born in Cairo, al-‘Ālim received an MA in philosophy from the University of Cairo in 1953. For the following year he taught in the Department of Philosophy there, but was dismissed by the new regime on the grounds of having Communist connections. He was appointed editorial secretary of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in 1955 and later became managing editor of *al-Risāla al-jadīda*. Al-‘Ālim was arrested in 1959 and kept in custody for almost five years. On his release he joined *al-Muṣawwar* and held senior positions in various cultural institutions, but was arrested again in 1971. He later moved to Oxford (England), then taught in France, before returning to Egypt after President Sadat’s death.

Besides his philosophical writings and works on modern Arab intellectual history and politics, al-‘Ālim has produced two volumes of poetry, more than a dozen books of literary and cultural criticism, and numerous articles published in the Middle East or Europe. He is best-known for his *Fī al-thaqāfa al-miṣriyya* (1955), written jointly with ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Anīs, and still regarded by many as the most serious Arabic articulation of Marxist literary

thought in the 1950s. He also produced important works on Arabic drama and fiction, including *Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm mufakkiran wa-insānan* (1975), *Ta’ammulāt fī ‘ālam Najīb Maḥfūz* (1970) and *Thulāthiyyat al-rafḍ wa-al-hazīma* (1985), on works by Ṣun’ Allāh Ibrāhīm. *Al-Bunya wa-al-dalāla fī al-qīṣṣa wa-al-riwāya al-‘Arabiyya* (1995) brings together an impressive collection of his critical essays and studies from the 1950s to the 1990s, not only presenting a panoramic view of the development of Arabic fiction but also illustrating the development of his critical assumptions and concepts over the same period. A similar volume on Arabic poetry is expected shortly.

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## Aljamía

Spanish word, derived from the Arabic, ‘*ajamiyya* (foreign language), which came to refer to the Arabized Romance vernaculars spoken by the Moriscos in the Iberian peninsula, and to the corpus of texts written by them in Castilian, Portuguese, Aragonese, Galician or Catalan (depending on the region), using Arabic characters. These writings, most dating to the sixteenth century, are usually of a religious or legal nature and include biographies of Muḥammad, biblical and Koranic stories, and documents dealing with issues such as matrimonial law, inheritances and trials. Some scholars extend the definition to include later texts written by Moriscos in Roman characters after their expulsion from the peninsula.

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See also: Spain

**al-'Allāf** see **Abū al-Hudhayl**  
**al-'Allāf**

## allegory

There is no specific Arabic word for 'allegory', though it is often referred to by such terms as *ramz* ('symbol') and *ishāra* ('allusion') and encompassed by such rhetorical figures as *ta'riḍ* and *kināya* as well as by metaphor (*isti'āra*). While in Western theory allegory is often restricted to narrative, even here, as in Arabic, it is found also in lyric poetry and, similarly, is both a compositional and a heuristic technique. Allegory can be either historical (subsuming topical and political allegory) or philosophical/religious.

Allegory is closely linked to the concept of *ta'wīl* (allegorical exegesis; see **exegesis**, **Koranic**), which assumes (as does allegory itself) that meaning is multiple, that for every discourse there is an outer, 'surface' meaning (the *zāhir*) and an inner, 'deeper' or hidden meaning (the *bāṭin*) which can be revealed through the application of exegetical hermeneutics. The 'inner meaning' derived varies according to the beliefs of the exegete, as does the use of literary imagery based on such interpretation. *Ta'wīl*, in both the exegetical and the literary sense, was used by many different groups: by mystical exegetes like **Sahl al-Tustarī** and **Ibn al-'Arabī**; by the **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'** in their philosophical and ethical writings; by **Ismā'īlis** like **al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shirāzī** and many others; and by Twelver **Shi'īs**.

Mystical allegory is represented in both prose and poetry from about the third/tenth century onwards, for example in the poetry of **al-Hallāj**, **al-Shibli** and others, and in prose works such as the *Mawāqif* of **al-Niffarī** and the *Maqāmāt al-qulūb* of **al-Nūrī**. Among the most famous of the mystical poets are **Ibn al-Fārīd** – who in his *Khamriyya*, for example, describes mystical ecstasy in terms of intoxication – and **Ibn al-'Arabī**, whose *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, a series of lyric poems in the conventional Arab style, expresses his mystical

experiences (he himself wrote a commentary defending this work against critics by pointing out, perhaps with tongue in cheek, its mystical significance).

Philosophical/religious allegory often adopts the form of the *risāla* or treatise. Early examples were **Ibn Sīnā's** *Risālat al-tayr*, in which the birds (representing the soul) journey in search of spiritual illumination; his depiction of the character **Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān**; and his *Salmān wa-Absāl*. These brief treatises provided models for later writers in both prose and verse, among them the Andalusian **Ibn Ṭufayl** and the Illuminist philosopher **Yahyā al-Suhrawardī**, who composed a number of allegorical *rasā'il* in both Arabic and Persian.

The animal fable was a popular allegorical vehicle. The **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'** included in their *Rasā'il* an allegorical 'Debate between the Animals and Man', in which the animals dispute man's leadership but are eventually convinced of its justice. The *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is both an allegory of statecraft (a **mirror for princes**) and, in its Arabic version by **Ibn al-Muqaffa'**, a political allegory of the caliph court. Political allegory also informs much panegyric poetry (see *madīh*); the motifs of the *nasīb* in particular – the coming of spring, the hope of reunion with the beloved – often represent such political events as the accession or restoration of a ruler, or express covert criticisms of actions or policies.

### Further reading

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J.S. MEISAMI

See also: **Ismā'īlis**; **Ṣūfī literature**

**allusion** see **ishāra**

## allusion and intertextuality

It is likely to be universally true that, as the history of a literature unfolds, intertextuality

becomes an ever more powerful instrument in the poet's hand, enabling him to enter into a dialogue with the past and to project multi-layered meaning for a literate audience of true connoisseurs. This is particularly true of Arabic poetry, which has at its beginnings a corpus of texts that soon became classical and never lost its appeal. It is, however, difficult to draw a clear dividing line between allusion and other methods of intertextuality, on the one hand, and the notion of *sariqa*, 'plagiarism', on the other. The following should thus be read in conjunction with the entry on *sariqa*.

It has recently been argued that the tribal poetry of pre- and early Islamic times was already a literary art rich in quoting other poets, borrowing from them, and trying to outdo them (Bauer, 1992, 1: 259–62). However, these poets were all more or less contemporary and in direct competition with each other. When the Umayyad poet **al-Farazdaq** enumerates a number of early poets in one of his poems and calls himself their heir, the situation is clearly beginning to change. The early poetry is gradually seen as a corpus of classical verse of model character, and this idea gained momentum, especially after the philologists had produced more or less critical editions and influential anthologies of the early poetry. This peculiar historical configuration was the trigger for the pronounced mannerism characteristic of much of the later Arabic poetry, which is to be understood as the tendency of each poet to be inspired more by earlier poetry than by the reality confronting him. As time progresses, not only ancient but also later poetry becomes part of this process. Intertextuality thus becomes an ever-increasing phenomenon on various levels. In the most general sense, it is represented by the imbrication of motifs, i.e., the continual reshaping of a poetic motif, often with the help of various rhetorical figures and metaphorizations, thus rendering it more complex at every step. Entire family trees of motifs can be extracted or reconstructed from motif catalogues and works on plagiarisms. The critic **Ibn Rashīq** uses the term, 'letting the motifs breed' (*tawlid al-ma'ānī*) for the activity of motif derivation, placing it between 'original creation' (*ikhtirā'*) and 'plagiarism' (*sariqa*). Frequently, contiguous motifs from ancient poetry are welded together into a 'formal unity' by linguistic means such as expressing them in homologous language, usually with the help of metaphorization (e.g.,

'The lots [of the former encampment], through my tears and sighs, were continuously exposed to wind and rain': this constitutes a merger of the motif, 'former encampment obliterated by wind and rain', and the motif, 'the poet's mourning over his lost love at that place', by metaphorically homologizing 'tears' and 'rain', as well as 'wind' and 'sighs'). Similarly, two topics may be superimposed, in that one is expressed in the metaphorized vocabulary of the other (e.g., Abū Nuwās: 'The vestiges of sleep between [my] eyelids are one year old; long weeping over you has obliterated them'); as a result, the line has two levels of meaning, one topical and one metaphorical. This technique is perfected and rigorously exploited by the later mystical poets, such as **Ibn al-'Arabī** and **Ibn al-Fārid**.

Intertextuality of a more explicit nature is achieved by various kinds of allusion. The poet may evoke a well-known earlier line (or a Koranic verse, a Prophetic tradition, or a proverb) by using tell-tale words (*talmih*); in doing so, he may create an enigmatic line which can only be understood with reference to the original line (*ramz*, literally 'wink'). Even more obvious is the *taḍmīn*, an incorporation of an entire line, usually at the closure of the poem and put into the mouth of one of the poem's speakers, e.g., the songstress in wine poems. (Abū Nuwās even plugs his own poetry in this way by means of auto-quotation.) If the quotation is not from a well-known poem, it is mostly marked as such to avoid a charge of plagiarism. A specific type of intertextuality is the ironic flouting of genre expectations. Particularly famous is Abū Nuwās's scornful rejection of the initial 'ancient encampment' motif of the *nasīb*, with its desert context, as unsuitable for a poem set in the milieu of urban carousers.

On the level of entire poems, the following cases of referring back to an older poem may be mentioned:

- 1 the 'counter-poem' (*mu'ārada*), written in the same rhyme and metre, often presenting an opposing point of view, or else just meant to outdo the original poem;
- 2 the 'fiver gloss' (*takhmīs*), an expansion of a given poem into a strophic poem of five-line stanzas in which the last two lines consist of one line (two hemistichs) from the original poem, and the three new lines at the beginning rhyme with the first hemi-

stich (thus *a a a a a*, *b b b b a*, *c c c c a*, etc., where *a a*, *b a*, *c a*, etc., form the original poem, while the italicized lines/rhymes are the additions);

- 3 centos and cento-like compositions which consist exclusively of (rearranged) lines or hemistichs of existing poems (e.g., **Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī** (d. c.749/1348) composed a poem in which the first hemistichs were all taken from **al-Ṭughrā'i**, while the second hemistichs came from **al-Mutanabbī**).

While counter-poems appeared early on in Arabic poetry, the glosses and centos are later developments.

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W.P. HEINRICHS

### Almohades *see* Spain

### Almoravids *see* Spain

### 'Alqama ibn 'Abada (mid-sixth century CE)

'Alqama ibn 'Abada, surnamed *al-Fahl* ('the Stallion'), a pre-Islamic poet from the tribe Tamīm, was the author of three of the most prominent poems of ancient Arabic literature, all of them tripartite *qaṣīdas*. Poem no. 1 (ed. Ahlwardt) is related to a poem of **Imru' al-Qays** (ed. Ibrāhīm, no. 3). The two poems are said to have been contributions to a competition which was decided by the judge Umm Jundab (Imru' al-Qays' wife) in favour of 'Alqama. Both poems contain a lengthy

description of a horse as part of a hunting scene. Poem no. 2 is a panegyric on the **Ghassānid** king al-Hārith ibn Jabala (529–69). The third of 'Alqama's famous odes (no. 13) is remarkable for its much admired *nasīb*, an ostrich episode, and a final *fakhr* (self-glorification) including a wine scene.

#### Text editions

*Dīwān*, in Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*, London (1870); Lutfī al-Ṣaqqāl *et al.* (eds), Aleppo (1969); Oskar Rescher (trans.), *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, vol. 7, pt. 2, Istanbul (1961), 1–34.

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T. BAUER

### al-Ālūsī family

Baghdadi Sunnī family of writers, *mufīīs* and scholars, active in the traditional religious, philological and literary fields from the eighteenth century onwards, and later also in the more modern fields of history and the social sciences. For the most significant members of the family, see separate entries on Abū al-Thana' **al-Ālūsī** and Maḥmūd Shukrī **al-Ālūsī**.

#### Further reading

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*EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'al-Ālūsī'; (H. Péres).

W. WALTHER

### al-Ālūsī, Abū al-Thana' Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd (1802–54)

Iraqī writer and scholar. For many years a teacher in a famous *madrasa* and *mufī* of Baghdad, Abū al-Thana' is known chiefly for his voluminous commentary on the Koran – *Rūḥ al-ma'ānī* (Cairo, 1883–92; reprinted Beirut, 1970) – and for his accounts of his

journey to Istanbul – *Nashwat al-shumūl fī al-safar ilā Islāmbūl* (Baghdad, 1291/1879) – and his return to Baghdad *Nashwat al-mudām fī al-'awd ilā madīnat al-salām* (Baghdad, 1293/1881). He also wrote commentaries on works by al-Ḥarīrī and the Iraqi poet 'Abd al-Bāqī al-'Umārī, and produced a small collection of *maqāmāt* (1273) in classical style, in which he criticized the Ṣūfī orders for their attempt to influence contemporary youth. In his books *al-Ajwiba al-'Irāqīyya 'alā al-as'ila al-Lāhūrīyya* (Baghdad, 1301/1889) and *al-Ajwiba al-'Irāqīyya 'an al-as'ila al-Īrānīyya* (Istanbul, 1889/90), he raised philosophical and religious questions and answered them from his Sunnī viewpoint, proving his excellent knowledge of classical religious texts from al-Ash'arī to Ibn al-'Arabī.

Further reading

'Awwād, Kurkīs, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin al-'Irāqīyyīn*, vol. 1, Baghdad (1969), 59f.

W. WALTHER

**al-Ālūsī, Maḥmūd Shukrī Abū al-Ma'ālī (1857–1924)**

Iraqi philologist, historian, and religious and literary scholar. Born in Baghdad, he was the grandson of Abū al-Thana' al-Ālūsī. As a teacher in a Baghdad mosque, he became involved in the contemporary religious debates about heresies, and for a time was banished to Anatolia. He left fifty-two books and epistles, some of which remain in manuscript. Among the most important are *Bulūgh al-arab fī ma'rīfat aḥwāl al-'Arab* (3 vols, Baghdad, 1896), in which he discusses the cultural and social phenomena of pre-Islamic Arabia; *al-Misk al-adḥfar fī tarājīm 'ulamā' Baghdād* (Baghdad, 1930) and *Ta'rīkh masājid Baghdād wa-āthārihā* (Baghdad, 1927), which form the second and third parts of his *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (the first part of which remains only partly edited); and *Ta'rīkh Najd* (Cairo, 1925), a historico-geographical treatise on the homeland of the Wahhābīs. His *Masā'il al-jāhiliyya* (Cairo, 1928) is a commentary on a book by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb arguing against the veneration of saints and shrines; while *Mukhtaṣar al-tuḥfa al-ithnā 'ashariyya* (Cairo, 1967) is a Salafite commentary on the Arabic translation of a book by the Persian

'Abd al-'Azīz Ghulām Ḥakīm al-Dihlawī. Some of his epistles have been published in recent years: *Ithāf al-amjād fī mā yaṣīḥḥu bihi al-istishhād* (Baghdad, 1982) about the right quoting of poetry and prose; *al-Mā' wa-mā warada fī shurbihī min mazād* (Rabat, 1985) consists of quotations from *ḥadīth* and *adab* works about the drinking of water; *Kanz al-sa'āda fī sharḥ al-shahāda* (Beirut, 1991) comments on the doctrinal formula of Muslim creeds.

Further reading

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'Awwād, Kurkīs and 'Awwād, Mikhā'il, *Adab al-rasā'il bayn al-Ālūsī wa-al-Kirmilī*, Beirut (1987), 11–47.

W. WALTHER

**al-A'mā al-Ṭūṭilī (d. 525/1130–1)**

Abū al-'Abbās (or Ja'far) Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-A'mā al-Ṭūṭilī was a blind professional poet of whose life little is known, except that he was active mostly in Almoravid Seville, that he was in contact with other important *washshāhs* like Ibn Baqī, and that he was frustrated by the 'eclipse' of poetry in Seville in his time. He wrote panegyrics (one in *muwashshah* form) for 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn, members of the Banū Zuhr family, and other dignitaries of Seville and Córdoba. Several of his panegyrics and funeral poems are in honour of women, including a touching funeral poem for his wife. Nature description, so typical of the poetry of his period, is nearly absent from his *diwān*, and he has few *muqatta'āt* (see *qū'a*) on love or wine. He is best known for his *muwashshahāt*, of which twenty-two are preserved, three with Romance *kharjas*. One is known as 'the gilded'; several were imitated by other poets, both in Arabic and in Hebrew.

Text edition

*Dīwān*, Ḥsān 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1963)

Further reading

García Gómez, E., *Un eclipse de la poesía en Sevilla: la época Almorávide*, Madrid (1945).

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Stern, Samuel M., *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, Oxford (1974), index.

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

See also: *muwashshahāt*

### al-Āmidī, Abū al-Qāsim (d. 371/987)

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan ibn Bishr al-Āmidī, a literary critic from Basra. He worked in Basra and Baghdad as a *kātib* (see *secretaries*). Yāqūt mentions in his biography thirteen titles by him, mostly on poets and poetry, as well as a collection of poetry. Two works are preserved and published: *al-Mu‘talif wa-al-mukhtalif*, an alphabetical dictionary of names of poets that may cause confusion, being identical or similar, together with fragments of their poetry; and *al-Muwāzana* (*The Weighing*), a large-scale comparative evaluation of the poetry of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī. The two poets, standing respectively for ‘artificial’ (*maṣnū‘*) and ‘natural’ (*maṭbū‘*) styles, were the subjects of a controversy which al-Āmidī attempts to settle once and for all. Although his balance is clearly tipped towards al-Buḥturī, the book is one of the most important monuments of Arabic literary criticism.

#### Text editions

*al-Mu‘talif wa-al-mukhtalif*, F. Krenkow (ed.), Cairo (1354/1935).

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: literary criticism, medieval; *maṭbū‘* and *maṣnū‘*

### al-Āmidī, Sayf al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (551–631/1156–1233)

A major jurist of the Shāfi‘ū school and Ash‘arī theologian. His *magnum opus* in jurisprudence, *Kitāb al-ihkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, is one of the most comprehensive works of its kind. Indeed, its sheer comprehensiveness was frequently regarded by later jurists as unsurpassable, and jurist writing thereafter commonly takes the form of shorter, summative treatises, often abridgements of works such as Āmidī’s to which commentaries and glosses are subsequently added. His lengthy and as yet unedited and unpublished theological work, *Abkār al-afkār*, is representative of a trend towards devoting greater space to metaphysics and cosmology and less space to dogmatics in the strict sense. He incorporates leading ideas from the Islamic philosophical tradition, such as the notion of God as Necessary Being (*wājib al-wujūd*), and for this reason had a stormy career owing to the widespread antipathy toward philosophical speculation in his time.

#### Text edition

*al-Ihkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, Cairo (1914).

#### Further reading

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B. WEISS

### al-‘Āmilī, Bahā’ al-Dīn (953–1030/1547–1621)

Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī, Arab Shī‘ī author. Of Lebanese origin, he emigrated with his father from Ottoman-dominated Syria to the Persia of the Shī‘ī Ṣafavids, where he served Shāh ‘Abbās the Great (r. 996–1038/1588–1639). He was a prolific writer in both Arabic and Persian on an array of subjects, from law and theology to mathematics and medicine, his interests reflecting those of the ‘Isfahan school’ of philosophical Shī‘ism. In Arabic literature, he is best-known for his two literary anthologies, the *Mikhlāt* (*Nose-bag*) and the better-known *Kashkūl* (*Begging-bowl*), which combines prose sections with copious poetry in Arabic and Persian, including much Ṣūfī mystical

verse; the *Kashkūl* has continued to be very popular, because of its representativeness and its entertaining qualities, until the present day.

Text editions

*al-Kashkūl*: many prints, the most recent Beirut (1983).

*Kulliyāt-i ash'ār-i Fārsī va-Mūsh u gurba*, M. Tawhīdī-Pūr (ed.), Tehran (1336/1958).

*al-Mikhlāt*, Cairo (1377/1957).

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C. E. BOSWORTH

**al-Amin see 'Abbāsids**

**Amin, Ahmad (1886–1954)**

Egyptian scholar and intellectual historian. One of the leading Egyptian scholars of the second quarter of the twentieth century, Ahmad Amin wrote more than twenty books on Islamic culture and thought, and edited several works of classical Arabic literature and Islamic philosophy. His traditional schooling had prepared him to be a *sharī'a* judge; but he abandoned his career as law teacher (1911–21) and judge (1921–6) when he became a professor of Arabic studies at the University of Cairo (1926–46). In 1914 he founded the Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publication, which he chaired until 1954, and through it helped to publish works by young Egyptian writers, editions of Arabic classics, translations from Western literature, and textbooks in several fields. As editor of this Committee's literary weekly *al-Thaqāfa* from 1939 to 1953, he influenced both literary development and Islamic thought. Over 500 of his essays originally published in *al-Thaqāfa* and other journals were later collected in ten volumes entitled *Fayḍ al-khāṭir* (Cairo, 1939–56).

Amin is best-known for his monumental series on Islamic intellectual history: *Fajr al-Islām* (Cairo, 1929), *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* (3 vols, Cairo, 1933–6) and *Zuhr al-Islām* (4 vols, Cairo, 1945–55), in which he traces the development of Islamic culture in the first four centuries of Islam in the fields of religion, theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, historiography and philology. His autobiography,

*Hayātī* (Cairo, 1950, 1952), tells the interesting story of a self-made man whose intellectual life moved from tradition to modernity without impairing his love for his cultural heritage.

Text editions

'The Kuttāb of al-Rammāh Mosque', in 'The early schooling of Ahmad Amin and Mārūn 'Abbūd', I.J. Boullata (trans.), *Muslim World* 65 (April 1975), 93–106.

*My Life: The Autobiography of an Egyptian Scholar, Writer, and Cultural Leader*, I.J. Boullata (trans.), Leiden (1978).

*Orient and Occident*, W.H. Behn (trans.), Berlin (1984).

Further reading

Cragg, K., 'Then and now in Egypt: the reflections of Ahmad Amin, 1886–1954', *Middle East Journal*, 9 (1955), 28–40.

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I.J. BOULLATA

**Amin, Qāsim (1863–1908)**

Pioneer of Egyptian feminism. A member of the Turko-Circassian aristocracy, Amin studied law in Egypt and France, where he collaborated with al-Afghānī and 'Abduh on *al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* and was exposed to European liberal intellectual traditions. He is best-known for two works, *Tahrīr al-mar'a* (1899) and *al-Mar'a al-jadīda* (1901). In the former, he argued for a reinterpretation of the *sharī'a* in areas appertaining to women such as seclusion, polygyny and divorce. As regards divorce, he compared the situation of Egyptian women unfavourably with that of European women, and advocated Westernization of social mores. It was principally his implied separation of religion and civilization which provoked heated conservative opposition, for his actual demands were modest. He set the tone for future Egyptian feminism by linking the idea of national progress with the social situation of women.

Text edition

Abdel-Malek, A., *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, vol. 2, Paris (1965), where some pages from *Tahrīr al-Mar'a* are translated.

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Abdel Kader, S., *Egyptian Women in a Changing Society, 1899–1987*, Boulder (1987), 54–61.

Hourani, A., *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, London (1970), 164–70.  
Sakākinī, W., *Qāsim Amin*, Cairo (1965).

K. ZEBIRI

### al-Amīr, Daisy (1935– )

Iraqi short-story writer. Born in Basra, Daisy al-Amīr taught briefly in Baghdad, before moving to Beirut. She worked in the Iraqi Embassy as assistant press attaché until the Lebanese civil war broke out, and then became director of the Iraqi Cultural Center. In 1985, she returned to Iraq. However, she soon left again, first for a year in the US and then back to Beirut. She has written six collections of short stories. She published *al-Balad al-ba‘īd alladhī tuḥibbuh* in 1965, *Thumma ta‘ūdu al-mawja* in 1969 and *al-Bayt al-‘Arabī al-sa‘īd* in 1975, just before the war. She wrote two collections on the Lebanese civil war itself: *Fī dawwāmat al-ḥubb wa-al-karāhiya* (1979) and *Wu‘ūd lil-bay‘* (1981). Her most recent collection, which emerged out of her experience of the Iran-Iraq war, is *‘Alā lā‘iḥat al-intiḏār* (1988). Most of her short stories revolve around a poignant moment in the life of a woman – her most powerful writing emerging out of war situations when she describes how single women survive crisis. A few of her short stories have been translated into English.

#### Text edition

*Blood into Ink: South Asian and Middle Eastern Women Write War*, Miriam Cooke and Roshni Rustomji-Kerns (eds), Boulder, Colo. (1994). English translations of some of her stories.

M. COOKE

### ‘Āmir ibn ‘Āmir al-Baṣrī (fl. 700/1300–1)

Ismā‘īlī poet. Little is known about the life of this poet, who operated as an Ismā‘īlī missionary (*dā‘ī*) based in the Anatolian town of Sivas. He is mentioned by his contemporary Ibn Taymiyya as a ‘dangerous person’, an Ismā‘īlī ‘passing as an *ittiḥādī* mystic’ in the manner of Ibn al-Fāriḏ and Ibn al-‘Arabī, of whose works he may or may not have been aware (cf. Marquet, [ed.] 30–33). He is known for his *Tā‘iyya* (‘poem rhyming in -t’), completed in 700 AH, a lengthy didactic poem of some 506 verses which employs the same rhyme and metre as Ibn al-Fāriḏ’s *al-*

*Tā‘iyya al-kubra*; in this poem ‘Āmir expounds, in a series of ‘illuminations’ (*anwār*; sg. *nūr*), aspects of Ismā‘īlī theosophy and doctrine, in an often detailed and methodical way, with occasional flights of enthusiasm as well as complaints about the difficulties of his life.

#### Text editions

*Poésie ésotérique ismaïlienne: La Tā‘iyya de ‘Āmir b. ‘Āmir al-Baṣrī*, Yves Marquet (ed.), Paris (1985). (Includes text, translation, commentary, and a valuable introduction on Ismā‘īlī poetry).

J.S. MEISAMI

### ‘Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl (c.570–c.10/632)

Famous warrior and chief from the central Arabian tribe ‘Āmir ibn Ṣa‘ṣa‘a. He is reported to have been hostile to the Prophet Muḥammad whose contemporary he was. From his youth, ‘Āmir was permanently engaged in skirmishes, raids and battles many of which he refers to in his poetry. Nearly all of his poems are short, and treat the subject of war, boldness, weapons and horses in the tradition of pre-Islamic warrior-poets like ‘Alqama. ‘Āmir’s poetry shows much less susceptibility to the changes of his time than that of his cousin Labīd.

#### Text edition

*The Dīwāns of ‘Ābid ibn al-Abraṣ and ‘Āmir ibn aṭ-Ṭufayl*, Charles Lyall (ed. and trans.), Leiden (1913).

T. BAUER

### ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm (fl. sixth century CE)

A pre-Islamic chieftain of the Taghlib, inhabitants of the middle Euphrates, and grandson of the poet-warrior al-Muhalhil. His fame as a poet rests upon his *Mu‘allaqa*, which figures in all the varying lists of poets so honoured. No *dīwān* has survived (Ibn al-Sikkīt is reputed to have edited one – see GAS 2: 128); the manuscript published by Krenkow is an anthology. During the early Umayyad period, ‘Amr seems to have donned the mantle of legend: his exploits, hailed as historical, are, in fact, inspired by verses from his *Mu‘allaqa*. His death from drinking wine neat was clearly



inspired by the spurious verse 8 (**al-Zawzanī's** recension: 'And truly the Fates will overtake us – they are fated for us and we for them'); his decapitation, in 569 CE, of the **Lakhmid** monarch 'Amr ibn Hind, when the latter tried to force 'Amr's mother, Laylā, to wait upon his own mother, Hind, was derived from verses 56 ('Be soft in your commination and intimidation of us! When were we serfs of your mother?') and 26–27 ('A chieftain of a host whom they had crowned with the crown of the kingdom, defending the refugees/We left our horses standing upon him, their reins draped on their necks, lifting one of their hooves'; cf. also 37–38 and 42). The traditional association of 'Amr's poem with the *Mu'allaqa* of **al-Ḥarīth ibn Ḥilliza**, also addressed to 'Amr ibn Hind, is to be dismissed, being inferred from the apostrophe of the Banū Bakr in verse 75: the two odes have precious little in common. 'Amr ibn Kulthūm has left behind nothing else of poetic worth. His *Mu'allaqa*, rhetorical in its style, replete with parallelism and repetition, frenetic to the point of demagoguism, may be a genuinely oral pre-Islamic poem.

Text edition

*Dīwān of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm*, F. Krenkow (ed.), Beirut (1922).

Rescher, O., *Orientalische Miscellen*, Constantinople (1925–6), vol. 2, 110–12.

J.E. MONTGOMERY

See also: *Mu'allaqāt*

### 'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib (d. after 16/637)

Abū Thawr 'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib al-Zubaydī, poet and leading figure of the Yamanite tribe Zubayd in the time of the Prophet. Many reports tell of his heroic deeds in the battle of Qādisiyya (636 or 637) against the Sasanian army. His poetry is dedicated mainly to the glorification of himself and his tribe, and to the description of battles, weapons and horses. In some of his poems, these themes are preceded by a *nasīb* in order to yield a *qaṣīda* in two parts.

Text edition

*Shi'r 'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib al-Zubaydī*, Muṭā' al-Ṭarābīshī (ed.), Damascus (1974). (Collection of fragments.)

T. BAUER

### 'Amr ibn Qamī'a (fl. sixth century CE)

'Amr ibn Qamī'a ibn Dhariḥ ibn Sa'd, known as al-Ḍā'i' ('the Lost One'), of the Qays ibn Tha'laba, a clan of the Bakr ibn Wā'il, is one of the earliest poets whose works have survived. He was a member of a household of poets; his grandfather Sa'd has a piece in the **Ḥamāsa** of **Abū Tammām**, his uncle was **al-Muraqqish al-Akbar**, while **Ṭarafa**, **al-Muraqqish al-Aṣghar**, **al-A'shā** Maymūn and the lesser-known Bishr ibn 'Amr were his cousins. It is possible, given the close ties between Bakr and **Hira**, that this group should be thought of as similar to the family-guilds which W. G. Lambert has established for cuneiform literature ('Ancestors, authors and canonicity', *JCS* 11 (1957), 1–14). The attempted seduction of 'Amr by his aunt, and his trip to Byzantium, at the age of ninety, in the company of **Imru' al-Qays**, are fabrications.

Six poems treat of 'Amr's ostracism from his tribe (1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 9); two are contemplative meditations on old age (3 and 4); two are panegyrics (10, of Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amra, and 15, an *i'tidhār* (apology) addressed to al-Mundhir III [r. 505/6–554]); poem 11 is personal *fakhr* proper, 12 is an epigram on wine, 13 contains a wild-ass description and 14 and 16 are apocryphal. 'Amr displays a fondness for the bipartite *qaṣīda* format, and frequently effects his transitions with exquisite care, rendering the connections lucid and logical. His diction is unaffected.

Text editions

*Dīwān*, H.K. al-Ṣayrafī (ed.), Cairo, (1970).

*The Dīwān of 'Amr b. Qamī'a*, C.J. Lyall (ed.), Cambridge (1919).

J.E. MONTGOMERY

See also: *Mu'allaqāt*

### Amrani, Djamal (1935– )

Algerian poet and short-story writer, writing in French. Born in Sour el-Ghozlane in central Algeria, he was arrested during the War of Independence, and after 1962 played a role in starting a number of Algerian periodicals written in French, including *Al-Chaab*, *Révolution Africaine* and *An-Nasr*. Amrani, who travelled

to the USSR and Cuba, was a producer of poetry programmes for Algerian radio and television. Several of his collections of poetry are heavily tinged with memories of the 'revolution'; they include *Chant pour le 1er Novembre* (1964), *Soleil de notre nuit* (1964) and *Bivouac des certitudes* (1968). His later collections, however, such as *Jours couleur de soleil* (1979), *L'été de ta peau* (1982) and *Vers l'amont* (1989), show a greater bias towards love. Amrani's account entitled *Le Témoin* is an effective testimony to personal tragedy.

Further reading

Achour, Christiane, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres algériennes en langue française (essais, romans ...)*, Paris (1990).

J. DÉJEUX

'*amūd al-shi'r*

'*Amūd al-shi'r*, 'the mainstay of poetry', is a label, used by certain medieval critics, for an aggregate of essential qualities of good poetry; some critics even draw up a list. It is first attested in the *Weighing of the Poetry of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī* by al-Āmidī (d. 370/980), who quotes al-Buḥturī (d. c.284/897) as saying that, while Abū Tammām is a better 'diver' for poetic ideas/conceits (*ma'ānī*), he, al-Buḥturī, sticks closer to the 'mainstay of poetry'. The context shows that the mainstay idea is a reaction to the more outrageous manneristic features of 'modern' poetry (see *muḥdathūn*). These features are the result of the increasing rhetorization of poetry, and al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī (d. 392/1001), in his critical book on the poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 254/965), explicitly says that the 'Arabs' (meaning the ancients and possibly later bedouin poets composing in their vein) do not care about paronomasias, antitheses and the rest, if only they succeeded within the pale of '*amūd al-shi'r*'. While this notion could be used to discredit all 'modern' poetry, it was more typically applied to separate the 'natural' (*maṭbū'*) from the 'artificial' (*maṣnū'*) poets (or poetry), as in the case of al-Buḥturī and Abū Tammām (see *maṣnū'* and *maṭbū'*).

Since what is artificial in one generation can easily become natural in the next, the 'mainstay of poetry' soon fell into desuetude as a critical tool. The latest and most explicit presentation of this notion is found in al-Marzūqī's introduction to his commentary on

the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām. He enumerates the following ingredients of '*amūd al-shi'r*':

- 1 elevatedness and appropriateness of the meaning;
- 2 firmness and straightness of the wording;
- 3 accuracy of description;
- 4 appositeness of simile;
- 5 coherence and congruity between the parts of the composition together with the choice of a pleasant metre;
- 6 affinity between the donor and receptor of a metaphor;
- 7 that the wording fit the meaning without dissonance, both strongly anticipating the rhyme-word.

Further reading

(For texts by individual authors, see the entries for those authors.)

'Abbās, Ihsān, *Ta'riḫ al-naqd al-adabī 'ind al-'Arab*, Beirut (1971), index.

Ajami, Mansour J., '*Amūd al-Shi'r*: legitimization of tradition', *JAL* 12 (1981), 30–48.

—, *The Neckveins of Winter: The Controversy over National and Artificial Poetry in Medieval Arabic Literary Criticism*, Leiden (1984).

Stetkevych, S.P., *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the 'Abbāsīd Age*, Leiden etc. (1991), 257–64.

W. P. HEINRICHS

See also: ancients and moderns; literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim (231–328/885–940)

*Ḥadīth* scholar and philologist, often referred to as Ibn al-Anbārī (and thus to be carefully distinguished from Abū al-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, d. 577/1181, also a grammarian). His teachers were his own father, Abū Muḥammad al-Anbārī, himself a well-known scholar, and Tha'lab, the leading Kufan grammarian of the day.

Al-Anbārī's main interest was lexicography and morphology, and his output represents the typical range for the time: gender, rare words in the *ḥadīth*, the starting and stopping points in Koranic recitation, and other features of Koranic orthography. He also wrote a commentary on the famous group of pre-Islamic poems known as *al-Mu'allaqāt*. He is probably best-known for his *Kitāb al-aḍḍād*, a treatise on words with simultaneously opposite meanings, in which a strong concern to defend

Arabic against imputations of linguistic inadequacy can be perceived. Another work, *al-Zāhir*, is a remarkable exploration of the idiomatic usage of devotional language.

Text editions

- Īdāh al-waqf wa-al-ibtidā' fī al-Qur'ān al-karīm*, M. A. Ramaḍān (ed.), Damascus (1971).  
*Kitāb al-aqdād*, M.T. Houtsma (ed.), Leiden (1881); A.F. Ibrāhīm (ed.), Kuwait (1960).  
*al-Mudhakkār wa-al-mu'annath*, A.K. 'Uḍayma (ed.), Cairo (1981); T.A. al-Jannābī (ed.), Baghdad (1987).  
*al-Mukhtaṣar fī dhikr al-alifāt*, H.S. Farhūd (ed.), Cairo (1980).  
*al-Zāhir fī ma'ānī kalimāt al-nās*. H. S. al-Ḍāmin (ed.), Baghdad (1970).  
 For his commentaries on the *Mu'allaqāt* see *El<sup>2</sup>* s.v. Anbārī; *GAS* 2, index.

M.G. CARTER

**al-Anbārī, Abū al-Barakāt** *see* **Ibn al-Anbārī, Abū al-Barakāt**

**ancients and moderns**

Coinciding with the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in the mid-eighth century CE, a new era in poetry also began. This soon became labelled *muḥdath*, literally 'newly created', a term which, by extension, was also applied to the poets, who thus became known as the *muḥdathūn*, mostly rendered the 'moderns'. All previous poets became *ipso facto* the 'ancients' (*qudamā'*), who thus included, according to the indigenous literary historians, the pre-Islamic (*Jāhiliyyūn*; *see* **Jāhiliyya**), the straddling (*mukhaḍramūn*), and the Islamic (*Islāmiyyūn*) poets up to the end of the Umayyad dynasty.

The rise of the new style goes hand in hand with the shift in cultural orientation brought about by the 'Abbāsīd revolution. The type of the truly Arab poet with a tribal background is gradually replaced by non-Arab or racially mixed (*muwallad*) poets with Iranian (e.g., **Abū Nuwās**) or Greek (e.g., **Abū Tammām**) ancestry; this also means that the living tradition of bedouin oral poetry, composed by competent native speakers of the ancient poetic language, is gradually superseded by a new approach to the poetic heritage, by which a well-recorded corpus of now classical texts is used as a subtext for their own compositions by poets who were brought up in a new, cultivated urban Arabic.

A *querelle des anciens et des modernes* did not really take place in Arabic poetry, but certain comments, including adverse ones, were stirred up by the rise of 'modern' poetry. Since the corpus of ancient poetry was also a repository of correct linguistic usage, which was important, among other things, for Koranic exegesis, the philologists were careful to exclude all 'modern' verse from their professional attention; some went even further and considered only old poetry to be true poetry. Against this, even an otherwise conservative critic like **Ibn Qutayba** (d. 276/889) states that the birth-date of a poet should not be held against him, and he includes the 'moderns' in his literary history and in his *adab* encyclopaedia. The tenth-century grammarian **Ibn Jinnī** (d. 392/1002) reflects a changed attitude when he states that one quotes the 'ancients' for the *alfāz* (words) and the 'moderns' for the *ma'ānī* (motifs).

The contrast between old and new poetry made the critics conscious of certain basic questions of poetic production, thus giving a boost to literary theory. Characteristically, the 'ancients' were felt to deal with truths (*ḥaqā'iq*), whereas the 'moderns' focused on the artful way in which their motifs were presented – this is how **Ibn Ṭabāṭabā** expresses the movement towards increasing mannerism in Arabic poetry. The keyword here is *badī'* ('original'), the hallmark of the 'modern' poets, initially used to describe their audacious imaginary metaphors (of the type 'the eyes of religion were cooled') (*see* **metaphor**) but then developing into a collective noun approximately meaning 'rhetorical figures' and 'symbolizing the rhetorization' of 'modern' poetry.

But the transition from 'ancient' to 'modern' poetry is not only marked by change but clearly also by continuity. The pool of motifs remains to a large extent unchanged, although there are exceptions (e.g. the *tashbihāt 'uqm*, 'sterile similes', which die out due to changes in taste); consequently, when a 'modern' poet takes up an 'ancient' motif, it is a case of intertextuality rather than of plagiarism, although the latter word is sometimes used by critics. The early 'modern' poet **Bashshār ibn Burd** represents this continuity in his two honorifics: *Khātimat al-shi'r* (the *Termination of [True Ancient] Poetry*) and *Abū al-Muḥdathīn* (*The Father of the 'Moderns'*).

Text editions

Ibn Tabāṭabā, *'Iyār al-shi'r*, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Naṣīr al-Mānī' (ed.), Riyadh (1405/1985), 12–15.  
 al-Ṣūlī, *fi Akhbār Abī Tammām*, Khalīl Muḥammad 'Asākir et al. (eds), repr. Beirut (n.d.), 16–17 and *passim*.

Further reading

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 Gibb, H.A.R., 'Arab poet and Arab philologist', *BSOAS* 12 (1948), 574–8.  
 Goldziher, Ignaz, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 2 vols, Leiden (1896–99), vol. 1, 122–76 ('Alte und neue Poesie im Urtheile der arabischen Kritiker').  
 Heinrichs, Wolfhart, 'Paired metaphors in *muḥdath* poetry', in *Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies of the University of St Andrews* 1 (1986), 1–22.

W. P. HEINRICHS

See also: *badī'*; literary criticism, medieval; *maṣnū'* and *maṭbū'*; rhetoric and poetics

al-Andalus see Spain

'Anḥūrī, Salīm Bey (1856–1933)

Catholic poet, lawyer and journalist. Born and died in Damascus. After working in local government in the Levant, he founded the Egyptian weekly *Mir'āt al-sharq* in 1879 (inspired by *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*) and much later the monthly *al-Shitā'* (1906). After his return to Damascus he worked on the official *Dimashq* paper (1879), his fortnightly *Mir'āt al-akhlāq* (1886) and *al-Mishkāh* (1912). He was exiled from the Levant to Anatolia during World War I. 'Anḥūrī wrote books on women, the *jinn*, the pre-Islamic Arabs, a poetical thesaurus of the Arabic language, two plays, six volumes of poetry, and about twenty stories.

Further reading

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P. C. SADGROVE

al-'Ānī, Yūsuf (1927– )

Iraqi dramatist and actor. Born in Baghdad, al-'Ānī studied law before transferring to a drama course at the Institute of Fine Arts in Baghdad.

He has held a number of posts in official Iraqi cultural institutions, including that of Director-General of the Cinema and Theatre Authority. His early works consist mainly of one-act plays on social themes, but he later produced a number of longer works, among the best known of which are *al-Miftāḥ* (1967), *al-Kharāba* (1970) and *al-Khān* (1976). Socially and politically 'committed', al-'Ānī's plays make use of popular traditions and folklore to reinforce a message which is often overtly didactic in the manner of Brecht.

Text edition

'The key', in S.K. Jayyusi and R. Allen (eds), *Modern Arabic Drama: An Anthology*, Bloomington (1995).

Further reading

Badawi, M.M., 'Modern Arabic drama outside Egypt', *Theater Three*, 6 (1989), 53–64.  
*CHALMAL*, 394–6.

P. STARKEY

Anīs, 'Abd al-'Azīm (1923– )

Egyptian mathematician and Marxist literary, cultural and social critic. Born in Cairo, Anīs studied mathematics in Cairo and London, and has taught in Cairo, London and Beirut. In addition to his work as a mathematician, he has translated several books on economics and written others, both in his specialization and in the field of social, cultural and literary criticism. He is best known, however, for his contribution to *Fī al-Thaqāfa al-Miṣriyya* (Beirut, 1955), originally published the previous year in *al-Thaqāfa al-waṭaniyya* as a series of articles on Egyptian novels. Anīs's contribution generated a widespread discussion on issues such as the role of dialogue in the Arabic novel, the concept of the hero, and the *avant-garde* vision in contemporary Arabic narrative. This, together with Maḥmūd Amin al-'Ālim's contribution on Arabic poetry and culture, made the book a landmark in the history of modern Arabic literary criticism.

A.-N. STAIF

al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad (396–481/1006–89)

Famous in Persian as Kh<sup>w</sup>āja 'Abd Allāh (Anṣārī), he was a native of Herat, in modern

Afghanistan, and was buried north of the city at Gāzurgā. He was a Ṣūfī master, a Ḥanbalī traditionist, a commentator on the Koran, and an often violent polemicist against *kalām* and *falsafa* (philosophy), who wrote in both Persian and Arabic. His most significant spiritual encounter was with Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharaqānī, a mystic in the ecstatic tradition of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, although Kh<sup>w</sup>āja 'Abd Allāh claimed his spiritual pedigree through the sober Baghdādī Ṣūfīs. He transformed Kharaqānī's spiritual realization through intoxication into realization through love, leading to a mystical doctrine of unification in the Self. Of those extant writings which can be ascribed to him with certainty, the following are in Arabic: *Kitāb dhamm al-kalām wa-ahlih* (*The Condemnation of Kalām and its Practitioners*), unpublished, a polemical work; *Kitāb manāzil al-sā'irīn* (*The Stages of the Wayfarer*), a small but dense work outlining the stages of the soul's journey to absorption in the Self – this is the most celebrated of Anṣārī's works, and the basis for numerous commentaries, including one by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (litho. Tehran (?), 1315 Sh.); *Kitāb 'ilal al-maqāmāt* (*The Difficulties Inherent in the Stages*), a short treatise on the stages, written towards the end of his life; *Kitāb al-arba'in fī dalā'il al-tawhīd* (*Forty ḥadīth concerning the Proofs of Unification*), unpublished.

#### Text editions

*Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu* (*Manāzil al-sā'irīn*), S. de Laugier de Beaucueil (ed. and trans.), Cairo (1962).  
*Kitāb 'Ilal al-maqāmāt*, S. de Laugier de Beaucueil (ed. and trans.), in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus (1956), vol. 1, 153–71.

#### Further reading

de Beaucueil, S. de Laugier, *Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī mystique hanbalite*, Beirut (1965).  
 Farhadi, A.G. Ravan, *Abdullah Ansari of Herat (1008–1089 C.E.): an Early Sufi Master*, London (1996).

J. COOPER

## al-Anṭākī, Dā'ūd ibn 'Umar (d. 1008/1599)

Syrian scholar, physician, teacher and author. He settled in Damascus for a time, and then in Cairo, gaining a reputation in philosophy and

medicine, and died at Mecca. The son of a village chief, he is said to have been lame from age seven and was also blind – hence his nickname 'al-Darīr' or 'al-Akmah'. At a *ribāt* to which his father carried him daily for lessons, a Persian *shaykh* is said to have cured his lameness. Afterwards he studied medicine, Greek and other subjects with this teacher. Considered especially authoritative was al-Anṭākī's comprehensive medical handbook, influenced by the studies on drugs by Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248). Nearly thirty other treatises on medical or philosophical topics survive, most in manuscript. His literary reputation is owed to a large anthology on love and lovers, or **love theory**, which includes material from earlier such anthologies.

#### Text editions

*The Nature of the Drink Kauhi or Coffe [sic], and the Berry of Which It Is Made* (trans. from *Tadhkirat Ūli al-albāb*), English and Arabic text, Oxford (1659) (copy in microfilm series, *Early English Books 1641–1700*, 140: 2, Ann Arbor, 1964).  
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*Tazyīn al-aswāq bi-tafṣīl* (or *tartīb*) *ashwāq al-'ushshāq*, M. Ṭanjī (ed.), 2 vols, Beirut (1993) (some earlier editions are printed with the *Dīwān al-Ṣabāba* of **Ibn Abī Ḥajala**, both works on love).

#### Further reading

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 Ullmann, M., *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden (1970), 181–2 and index.

L.A. GIFFEN

## al-Anṭākī, Yahyā ibn Sa'id (c.370–458/c.980–1066)

Abū al-Faraj Yahyā ibn Sa'id al-Anṭākī, historian and a Melkite Christian, left Egypt in 404/1013 during the persecutions of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, and went to live in Antioch (hence his *nisba* al-Anṭākī), which was then under Byzantine rule. His historical work, a continuation (*Dhayl*) of the chronicles of his relative **Eutychius**, does not survive for any date later than 425/1034,

although the author probably continued his writing well beyond that date. His origins and experience give his work a valuable and unique perspective for his times, as does his use of Muslim, Byzantine and local north Syrian Christian sources. His history does not follow any strict annalistic form, but organizes its material by dynasty and by reign. A manuscript of three polemical theological works by him is said to be in private hands in Aleppo.

#### Text editions

*Histoire de Yahya b. Sa'id d'Antioche*, I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev (eds and trans), in *PO* 18 (1924); 23 (1932) [until year 404/1013–14].

*Ta'rikh al-Antākī*, L. Cheikho., B. Carra de Vaux and H. Zayyat (eds), in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptorum arabici*, 3rd series, vol. 7, Paris (1909); 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī (ed.), Tripoli (1990).

#### Further reading

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D.S. RICHARDS

## 'Antar, romance of

'Antara ibn Shaddād is the famous pre-Islamic poet of the 'Abs tribe, author of a renowned *Mu'allaqa*; because of his dark skin he is considered one of the Arab 'ravens'. His exploits in war and the story of his love for 'Abla (their main features already related in *Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's Kitāb al-Aghānī*) provided the inspiration for numerous legends from an early date. The conjunction of these legends between the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE produced a lengthy chivalrous romance, the *Sīrat 'Antar*, which was the subject of public recitals by professional storytellers, especially in Syria, Iraq and Egypt, where they were known as *'anātira*. The romance's various manuscripts and printed editions feature the names of the numerous 'authors' to whom it has been attributed: al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Ubayda, Yūsuf ibn Ismā'il, Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-'Antarī, etc. The romance is in fact a popular work, though distinguished from the other *sīras* by language closer to literary usage. 'Antar is an example of the perfect knight of the *Jāhiliyya*; in the romance he is also the champion of Islam, and there are many references to the period of the conquests and the Crusades. Two versions of the *Sīrat*

'*Antar*, a briefer Syrian-Iraqi one and a Hijazi (Egyptian) one, have come down to us. Its characters speak in verse, whereas the *rāwī's* descriptions are in rhyming prose. Four groups of stories, with numerous digressions, may be identified:

- 1 'Antar's childhood and his love for 'Abla;
- 2 his exploits in Mesopotamia, Iran, Africa, etc.;
- 3 his relations with the Christians;
- 4 the contest with his rival al-Asad al-Rahiṣ, who eventually killed him.

The early part also contains such episodes of the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (see **Legends of the Prophets**) as the stories of Nimrod and Abraham. This romance drew the interest of nineteenth-century Orientalists, who saw 'Antar as the paramount bedouin hero, the Arab Achilles. Later research from the viewpoint of comparative literature (B. Heller) has brought out themes common to the *Sīra* and to great epic poetry. H.T. Norris has analysed 'Antar's African adventures, pointing out the knowledge of Ethiopia common to the late medieval Arab world. P. Heath's recent work seeks to trace the romance's literary structure, moving beyond traditional approaches based on historical philology.

#### Text editions

*The Adventures of 'Antar*, H.T. Norris (trans.), Warminster (1980).

*Antar, A Bedoueen Romance*, T. Hamilton (trans.), 4 vols, London (1819–20).

'*Antara ibn Shaddād*, A.'A. Ṣāliḥ (ed.), n.p. (1972). *Le Roman d'Antar d'après les anciens textes arabes*, G. Rougemont (ed.), Paris (1923).

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G. CANOVA

See also: *sīra* literature

### 'Antara ibn Shaddād al-'Absī (second half of sixth century CE)

Pre-Islamic poet and hero. As son of a noble bedouin and an Abyssinian slave-girl, he himself had the status of slave, and it is reported that only after he had proven his prowess in battle did his father acknowledge him to be free. The struggle to make up for his lowly birth by bravery and success in combat is more than once reflected in his poetry. He took part in the War of Dāḥis between his tribe ('Abs) and the Dhubyān. Most of his poetry is about this war and other battles, or is dedicated to the glorification of military virtues. Besides his *Mu'allaqa*, his best and most important poem, only few lines could gain greater fame. The story of his life, however, which served as an example for the superiority of personal virtue over noble descent, made him a legendary figure and he became the hero of a celebrated epic, the *Sīrat 'Antar* (see '*Antar, romance of*').

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T. BAUER

### anthologies, medieval

The Arabic equivalent, *mukhtārāt* or *munta-khabāt*, often does not appear in the titles of anthologies, which form a very important category of classical Arabic literature. Anthologies may be of poetry, prose or a combination of the two. Anthologies of prose, or of prose and poetry, are distinguished from other compilations in that the individual texts not only represent the best in their genre, but also are to be appreciated for their own sake, without reference to the wider context in which they have been placed. A political speech, for example, is read as an example of eloquence, whereas in a history or a chapter on statecraft it acquires other dimensions of meaning. It is sometimes hard to draw the line between anthologies and other compilations within *adab* literature: **al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī's** *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, for instance, has elements both of the **encyclopedia**, in its coverage of all possible subjects of conversation, and the anthology, in its selection of the best examples of their treatment in prose and poetry.

The appearance of anthologies was necessarily preceded by the collection and recording of the extant literary works, poetry in the first place. The earliest anthology is the famous **Mufaddaliyyāt**, named after its collector, **al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī** (d. 164/780), which contains over 200 poems of varying length, most of them pre-Islamic. A younger philologist, **al-Aṣma'ī** (d. c.216/831), made a smaller collection of the same type, the *Aṣma'iyyāt*, while the late third/ninth-century scholar **Abū Zayd al-Qurashī** brought together seven groups of seven *qaṣidas* in the *Jamharat ash'ār al-'Arab* (*Assembly of Arab Poems*).

The poet **Abū Tammām** (d. 231/846), a fine connoisseur, compiled an anthology of poems and excerpts in ten chapters according to themes such as praise, lampoons, hospitality and love poetry; it is known after the title of the first chapter, on valour, as the *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa* (*Collected Poems on Valour*). Abū Tammām's preference is for pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, though he includes some 'Abbāsids too. His younger contemporary **al-Buḥturī** (d. 284/897) modified the conception

in his own *Ḥamāsa*, which contains shorter excerpts arranged in 174 chapters subtly graded according to theme in the manner of the *ma'ānī* books (see *ma'nā*). Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa* served as a model for several similarly entitled anthologies in later centuries, although they sometimes include quotations from the whole range of Arabic poetry up to their time. Abū Tammām also compiled an anthology of tribal poetry which has not survived. It was the first of a series of anthologies of work by individual poets or groups of poets, of which 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's (d. 471/1078) selection from the *dīwāns* of al-Mutanabbī, al-Buḥturī and Abū Tammām himself is an example.

Thematic organization underlies Ibn Dā'ūd's (d. 294/904) *Kitāb al-zahra* (*Book of the Flower*), the first fifty of whose hundred chapters are devoted to different aspects of love. The *Zahra* is more than an anthology, for it also offers an analysis of love which the poetry serves to illustrate (see *love theory*). Other collections round a theme include the fifth/eleventh-century Spaniard Abū al-Walid al-Ḥimyarī's *al-Badī' fī waṣf al-rabī'* (*The Newest Thing in Descriptions of Spring*) which contains artistic prose as well as poetry. A poetic form, the *muwashshah*, is the focus of the anthological part of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's (d. 609/1211) *Dār al-ṭirāz* (*The Embroidery Factory*). Rhetorical and critical concerns lie at the heart of Ibn Abī 'Awn's (d. 322/933) *Kitāb al-tashbihāt* (*Anthology of Similes*) and the fourth/tenth-century Khālidi brothers' *Kitāb al-ashbāh wa-al-naẓā'ir* (*Book of Analogues and Equivalents*); this last sets out to prove the superiority of pre- and early Islamic poetry, partly through comparisons with later poets.

Prose was included with poetry in anthologies from an early date in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr's (d. 280/893) *Kitāb al-manthūr wa-al-manẓūm* (*Book of Prose and Verse*). One of the most remarkable of such mixed anthologies is al-Tha'ālibī's (d. 429/1038) *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsīn ahl al-'aṣr* (*The Solitaire Pearl of the Century on the Graces of our Contemporaries*), in which the selections of poetry, artistic prose and occasional anecdotes are arranged according to the geographical origin and social status of their authors, al-Tha'ālibī's near-contemporaries. The *Yatīma* generated sequels up to the eleventh/seventeenth century; it also inspired other geographically defined anthologies, the

best-known being Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī's (d. 543/1147) fine survey of Andalusian writings, *al-Dhakhira fī maḥāsīn ahl al-Jazīra* (*Memory's Store of the Graces of the Spanish Moors*).

With the recognition of artistic prose as a literary medium, letters (*rasā'il*) by the major stylists, such as Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi' (d. 384/994) and al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995), were collected not merely for the cultivated public but also in particular for budding secretaries to use as models (see *artistic prose*). Anthologies of maxims of the sages and selections from the extensive proverb literature were made in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, around the time when al-Ābī (d. 421/1030) compiled his seven-volume treasury of prose, *Nathr al-durr* (*Scattered Pearls of Prose*), including samples of speeches, prayers, proverbs, anecdotes and other genres, arranged partly according to form, partly according to author (e.g. companions of the Prophet), and partly according to subject. It starts with a section of Koran quotations grouped by theme.

Songs were collected in anthologies very early on. The list of a hundred best songs selected in the early 'Abbāsīd period survived because it was used by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī as the starting-point for his fresco of musical and literary life, and political and social history, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, but other selections of the songs of individual singers have been lost. (See also *music and poetry, medieval*.)

The *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and other compilations sometimes slide into anthologizing when they seize the occasion of mentioning a poet to quote some of his best lines. This illustrates a reflex among writers working within the *adab* tradition to select what they consider to be noteworthy literary samples even while they are concerned with something else. This helps to explain the great number of anthologies in classical Arabic literature, which range from the famous examples mentioned above to selections made by individuals for their private use, which are only available in a single manuscript. Yet many anthologies are not simply records of literary achievement; rather, they represent a contribution to critical debates and the forming of taste by compilers working within a tradition which had come to believe that the best had already been said and only a few details remained to be added. The fact that the anthologies differ widely in



inspiration and aim, and often find room for recent writing, indicates that this belief was sometimes questioned in practice.

Text editions

For details of editions and translations of the texts mentioned here see the entries on the individual authors.

H. KILPATRICK

See also: *adab*; encyclopaedias, medieval

**Antioch see Syria**

**Anṭūn, Farah (1874–1922)**

Lebanese dramatist, journalist, translator, novelist and secularist. Born in Tripoli, he died in Egypt. He published *al-Jāmi'a al-Uthmāniyya* magazine in Alexandria (1899–1904) before moving it to New York as the more famous *al-Jāmi'a* (1906–9). After his return to Egypt, he eked out a living on newspapers and in the theatre. His writings reflect the latest European thought, including that of the French writers Jules Simon and Ernest Renan, and of the Russian Leo Tolstoy. One of the leading Arab propagandists of socialist ideas, he wrote a number of moral and didactic novels on this theme, including *New Jerusalem or the Arab Conquest of the Holy City of Jerusalem*. A study of the philosophy of **Ibn Rushd** led him to a confrontation with Muḥammad 'Abduh over secularism. Farah Anṭūn translated Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*, Rousseau's *Emile* and works by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Maxim Gorky, Anatole France, Chateaubriand and others; he also translated and adapted several plays and operettas from the works of Alexandre Dumas and other playwrights, many for the company of Jūrj **Abyad**. His main original contribution to Arabic drama, *Miṣr al-jadida wa-Miṣr al-qadima*, deals with problems of contemporary Egyptian society under the negative influence of the West.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**aphorism see hikma**

**Apollo Group**

Egypt was very much the centre of the Romantic movement in modern Arabic poetry, as it was indeed the home of most innovations in modern Arabic literature until 1940. The focal point of this Romantic movement (see **romanticism**) was the monthly periodical *Apollo* (1932–4), founded, edited and largely financed by Aḥmad Zakī **Abū Shādī**, who also created the Apollo Society: both the review and the literary association were designed to promote the cause of literature in general and to foster co-operation between Arab writers both inside Egypt and from other Arab countries.

Unlike the **Diwān Group**, the Apollo Group encompassed a wide range of writers and styles. The first president of the Society was the neo-classical poet Aḥmad **Shawqī**, and when he died in 1932, he was succeeded by Khalil **Mutrān**, a cautious precursor of romanticism. In fact, Abū Shādī was deliberately attempting to move away from the conflicts which had marked the cultural life of Egypt during the previous decade. As well as publishing poems by the Egyptian neo-classicists and Romantics, *Apollo* also contained work by poets from Lebanon, Iraq, Tunisia, Sudan and the Mahjar (see **Mahjar literature**). Its international reputation, combined with its *avant-garde* literary mission, gave it a significance at home and abroad which was out of all proportion to its brief, two-year existence.

In spite of Abū Shādī's avowed intent to build bridges, he could not surmount the political backbiting which was such a feature of the age. Indeed, his determination to avoid party politics was probably one of the reasons why he and *Apollo* were attacked, for example by the Wafdist **al-'Aqqād** and his followers. The very title *Apollo* was symptomatic of its editor's cosmopolitan cultural tastes: its pages abound with translations from English (and some French) poetry, with reproductions of works of European painting and sculpture, and with representations of scenes from Greek and ancient Egyptian mythology.

The Society and its periodical became natural attractions for younger Romantic writers in Egypt who yearned for cultural and social liberation from the increasingly repres-

sive politics of the 1930s. As well as household names such as Ibrāhīm Nāji and 'Alī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, the wider group included writers such as Ṣāliḥ Jawdat, Maḥmūd Ḥasan Ismā'īl and Mukhtār al-Wakīl. *Apollo* magazine was a particularly important publishing outlet for writers such as Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī, who lived under the harsh regime of the French Protectorate in Tunisia, and writers remote from the Mediterranean centres of culture such as the Sudanese Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Maḥjūb. Although the particular literary style with which the Apollo Society was most closely associated has long since been superseded, the broad-minded and cosmopolitan nature of its cultural endeavour is still a source of pride and nostalgia today.

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R. C. OSTLE

### apostrophe see rhetorical figures: *iltifat*

### 'Aql, Sa'id (1913?– )

Lebanese poet. Born in Zahle, 'Aql's reputation rests on his position as the leading Arabic symbolist poet of his day. A Christian who had none the less studied the *Koran* for its literary merits, 'Aql produced a series of works (some in dramatic form) in which the influences of French nineteenth-century poets such as Mallarmé and Paul Valéry are apparent. His most important work, *al-Majdaliyya* (1937), based on the story of Mary Magdalene's meeting with Christ, was published early in his career, and although he continued to produce poetry during the 1950s and 1960s, he had by this time become an outmoded figure, his emphasis on poetic beauty for its own sake seeming strangely out of place in the new atmosphere of literary commitment. None of his later poems (for example, those of *Rindalā*, 1950, or *Ajmalu minki? Lā*, 1960) had the impact of *al-Majdaliyya*. Despite the almost mystical emphasis on love and beauty in much of his work, Sa'id 'Aql was also a spokesman for Lebanese nationalism, for example in his verse play *Qadmūs* (1944). In

his volume of colloquial poetry *Yārā* (1960), he experimented with a modified form of Roman script as a means of writing Arabic, but his orthographically awkward system is today little more than a curiosity.

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P. STARKEY

### *al-Aqlām* (1964– )

Cultural magazine concentrating on modern Arabic and world literature, issued by the Ministry of Culture and Information in Baghdad. In addition to regular articles, texts, translations and bibliographies, it has published special issues on a variety of subjects, including the literature of the occupied territories, Zionist (Israeli) literature, Arab poetry and world theatre, and on literary figures such as Fu'ād al-Tikīrlī, Tawfiq Yūsuf 'Awwād, Najīb Maḥfuḥ and Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā. Since the Iraq-Iran war, when it began to devote many of its numbers to glorifying the Ba'th party and President Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, the magazine has lost much of its independence.

P. C. SADGROVE

### al-'Aqqād, 'Abbās Maḥmūd (1889–1964)

Egyptian poet, critic, prose writer, journalist and politician. For many decades a tireless proponent and defender of his country's cultural values (as he perceived them), al-'Aqqād rose from humble beginnings and a modest education in Aswan to become one of the major figures in twentieth-century Egyptian thought. He began his writing career in 1907 as a journalist, initially for *al-Liwā* but then for *al-Dustūr*, a mouthpiece for Muṣṭafā Kāmil and his Nationalist Party. In the 1920s he wrote for several other newspapers (including *al-Ahrām*) and in 1925 became a member of the Egyptian Senate. Elected to the House of Representatives in 1929, his fearless advocacy of individual liberties frequently brought him into conflict with authority. In 1930 he was imprisoned for making a typically inflammatory comment about the lack of freedom in Egypt during the tyrannical regime of Ismā'īl

Ṣidqī Pasha, the prime minister who, with the support of the king, had suspended the constitution. Al-'Aqqād emerged from prison in 1931 as a public hero. However, his individualism made it difficult for him to remain within the confines of a single political party, and, after a conflict with the leaders of the Wafd in 1935, he was expelled from membership. Although he joined another party named after the Nationalist leader Sa'd Zaghlūl, and served its cause in parliament, this period marks the limit of al-'Aqqād's political influence.

Stimulated in part by an awareness of his lack of formal education, al-'Aqqād read widely on a variety of subjects throughout his life. It was at the beginning of his journalistic career that he became interested in Romantic poetry, and in conjunction with Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī (fellow members of the *Dīwān group*), he became a vigorous advocate for a change in poetic sensibility both through his critical writings and through his own poetry.

Al-'Aqqād was a prolific poet, producing collections throughout his career; titles include *Yaqqat al-ṣabāḥ* (1916), *Hadiyyat al-karawān* (1933), and *A'āṣir maghrib* (1942). They contain a mixture of occasional poems, including some in praise of Sa'd Zaghlūl, romantic excursions clearly influenced by his readings of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, and imitations of classical poets, including *Ibn al-Rūmī*, on whom he wrote an interesting critical study (1931). One collection, *'Ābir sabīl* (1937), was a less-than-successful attempt to modernize Arabic poetry by addressing itself to more popular topics, and contains poems on such topics as ironing-shops and policemen; this aroused the ire of the Lebanese critic Mārūn 'Abbūd who in a characteristically acerbic remark dubbed al-'Aqqād the 'Ford Motor Company of Arabic poetry'.

Al-'Aqqād also wrote a novel, *Sāra* (1938) – a work which clearly belongs to a decade in which many Egyptian *littérateurs* turned their attention to experiments with what was still a developing genre. Al-'Aqqād's contribution is now mostly of historical interest, but the way in which the chronology of this story of a love-affair (which, according to many commentators, contains strong autobiographical elements) is fractured, and the psychological insight into character afforded by the analytical framework, serve to make it one among several interesting exercises in novel-writing

during a crucial period in that genre's development.

It is, however, within the context of criticism, the establishment of its principles and their application to the textual heritage of Arab-Islamic culture, that al-'Aqqād's role is most significant. The breadth of his reading is rivalled by the number of studies which he produced in a lifetime of scholarship. Prominent figures from the classical period on whom he published studies include (in addition to Ibn al-Rūmī) *al-Mutanabbī* (1923–4), *Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri* (1939), *'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a* (1943), *Jamil ibn Ma'mar* (1944), *al-Fārābī* (1944), *Ibn Sinā* (1946), *Ibn Rushd* (1953), and *al-Ghazzālī* (1960). During the 1930s and 1940s al-'Aqqād was one of a number of Egyptian intellectuals who set themselves to discuss the early history of Islam and its major figures within a modern scholarly context; in al-'Aqqād's case this took the form of a series of works under the title *'Abqariyya'*. In other studies, he surveyed the writings of a number of important figures in world history (Goethe, Francis Bacon, Benjamin Franklin, Gandhi, and Bernard Shaw, for example), as well as more local topics, such as the impact of Nazism in Egypt (1940), democracy in Islam (1952), communism (1956), and women in the *Koran* (1959).

Al-'Aqqād's critical method was strongly influenced by such writers as Hazlitt, Carlyle and Lamb. His early emphasis on the role of feelings in poetic creativity led him to embark on a series of analyses of classical poets in which primary emphasis was placed on the linkage between personality and creativity; this penchant on al-'Aqqād's part seems to have been given much of its impetus by his wide readings in the natural sciences. His later writings stressed a greater role for intellect, however, and by 1950 he could suggest that in all great poetry the intellectual aspect was never absent. One might suggest that such a statement on his part brought his critical statements more into line with his own poetic output.

Along with his illustrious contemporary Tāhā Ḥusayn, al-'Aqqād fulfilled a crucial role by assimilating an enormous range of information and ideas and presenting his reformulation of them to an emerging generation of young, educated Egyptians. Few writers of the current and previous generations are unfamiliar with al-'Aqqād's *oeuvre*. In 1940 that status was given formal recognition

when he became a member of the Arabic Language Academy. However, it is surely an apt reflection of the pace of change in modern Arabic literature that, in the years following World War 2, both al-'Aqqād and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn came to be seen in literary circles as defenders of all that was traditional. Al-'Aqqād, who had excoriated Shawqī in *al-Dīwān* (1921) for writing traditional verse, found himself roundly criticized in 1956 when, as chair of a prize panel for poetry, he referred all poems submitted in free verse to the prose panel; the vituperative nature of the immaculate 'classical' poem which the Egyptian poet Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mu'ī Ḥijāzī composed in response can be viewed as an apt rejoinder to al-'Aqqād's attack on Shawqī a mere thirty years earlier.

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R. ALLEN

### **a'rāb** see **bedouin**

## Arabia

Geographically, Arabia is a rectangular peninsula, with an average length of 2,200 km and width of 1,200 km, situated between the continents of Africa and Asia but constituting part of the latter. To the west, south and east it is bounded by the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Arabian Gulf; topographically, its northern borders are more difficult to define since the sands of the Nafud shade imperceptibly into the Syrian Desert, which extends over the modern political boundaries of Syria, Jordan and Iraq. The salient feature of this peninsula is that – apart from coastal areas of cultivation, and settled areas in its interior and in the mountainous regions of Yemen and Oman – it

is composed principally of semi-desert (e.g. the northern plain of Najd) and desert (most notably the Dahna and Rub' al-Khālī lying in the east/south-east). Semi-desert – which, despite its aridity, is normally subject to seasonal rainfall – is suitable terrain for nomadic pastoralism, and it is in this connection that the first mention of its eponymous inhabitants first occurs: Gindibu the Arab set out in 854 BCE with 1,000 camel-troops from Aribi territory, an area which lay between Syria and Mesopotamia.

With the introduction of the camel (c.1100 BCE) and the riding-horse (c.500 BCE), the elements were in place for the flowering of the bedouin way of life, which persisted unchanged in the interior of Arabia until the present century. This way of life was organized along tribal lines, and it was largely the incessant inter-tribal conflicts which created the wellspring from which literature was drawn in ancient Arabia. Arabic, the language of the northern Arabs descended from 'Adnān (see **tribes**), which had more or less eclipsed the South Arabian languages of Himyar and Sabea by the fifth century CE, is the youngest of the Semitic languages but, 'is generally allowed to be nearer akin than any of them to the original archetype ... from which they are all derived, just as the Arabs, by reason of their geographical situation and the monotonous uniformity of desert life, have in some respects preserved the Semitic character more purely ... than any people of the same family' (Nicholson, *Literary History*<sup>2</sup>, p. xiv).

Arabic literature of the *Jāhiliyya* period can be divided into prose and poetry. The former, mainly gnomic literature, consisting of collections of *ḥikam* by individual tribesmen (especially Tamīm), was held in high esteem at the supra-tribal level. The later, highly polished metrically varied poems written in *qaṣīda* form – thought to have developed from more primitive rhymed prose (*saġ'*) and simpler metres (*raġaz*) – thrived against a background of inter-tribal rivalry. By the sixth century CE the *qaṣīda* had developed its essentially tripartite thematic structure as well as its basic functions: *hijā'* (satire), *madiḥ* (praise), *rithā'* (elegy), *nasīb* (amatory), *fakhr* (boasting) and *ḥamāsa* (verses on bravery in war). Both the thematic structure of the *qaṣīda* and its functions reflected the realities of desert life, in which conflict was fomented by competition for scarce resources of pasture and livestock, and inter-tribal raiding provided an

opportunity to display chivalrous virtues such as valour, generosity and magnanimity. The tribal poet (*shā'ir*), as the repository of genealogical information, acted as orator whose eloquence, as much as prowess in arms, contributed to the glory and honour of the tribe.

The *qaṣīda* remained the dominant form in Arabic poetry until the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd age, although certain of its functions evolved: the *hamāsa* mode was used expound Islamic values by *mukhadram* poets such as **Hassān ibn Thābit**; while the *nasīb* (amatory prelude) was expanded into the love-poem (*ghazal*) by 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a (d. 93/711) and **Jamil ibn Ma'mar** (d. 82/701). The Umayyad dynasty, with its capital in Damascus, was characterized by secularism and urbanization (although it preserved a specifically Arabian orientation), and increasingly the Arab poetic tradition was carried on outside Arabia. The three pre-eminent Umayyad poets – **al-Akhtal**, **al-Farazdaq** and **Jarīr** – were all born and bred in Mesopotamia. The Umayyad era witnessed two famous collections of pre-Islamic poetry – the *Mu'allaqāt* (or ten Golden Odes) selected by **Hammād al-Rāwīya** (d. 156/772) and the *Mufaddaliyyāt*, compiled by **al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī** (d. 151/768).

In the 'Abbāsīd era the spotlight was shifted to the new capital **Baghdad**, around which there grew up an essentially urban society, whose poets were as likely to be non-Arabs as Arabs. Although the Arabs of the desert were still regarded as the guardians of the pure Arabic language, this was a time when the ancient poetic traditions were satirized and new forms developed by sophisticated court poets such as **Abū Nuwās** (d. 195/810). During the 'Abbāsīd era a considerable amount of pre-Islamic poetry and prose was codified and committed to paper. **Al-Khalil ibn Ahmad** (d. 175/791) laid the foundations of the science of metrics in his *Kitāb al-'arūḍ*. **Abū al-Faraj al-Isbahānī's** *Kitāb al-Aghānī* constituted a comprehensive record of poetry and prose drawing on the accounts of *Ayyām al-'Arab* (the combats which the Arabian tribes fought among themselves in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic eras; see **Battle Days**) and **Abū Tamām's** *Hamāsa* was a celebrated anthology comprising poems classified according to genre.

After the *Jāhiliyya* period *fushā* ('literary') Arabic, a variety captured at a given moment

and frozen in time, was increasingly to become a literary and administrative vehicle of expression used by writers outside Arabia; but the earlier values cherished by the Arabs in the pre-Islamic period, and reflected in their literature, have remained a source of inspiration for Arab writers down to the present day. From the fourth/tenth century, when 'Abbāsīd authority in Arabia began to break down, literature (both *fushā* and vernacular) mirrored the rise and fall of movements and dynasties. The teaching of *fushā* Arabic was maintained in centres of culture (especially in Mecca and Medina) but vernacular poetry also flourished (termed *al-shi'r al-ḥumaynī* in Yemen and *al-shi'r al-nabaṭī* in Najd). *Da'wa* poetry was a feature of the preaching of the Isma'īli **Car-mathians** in the fifth/eleventh century, as well as much later in the Wahhābī *salafiyya* movement in Najd. In an independent poetic tradition in Oman, canons and forms of *fushā* poetry were maintained by **Aḥmad al-Sitālī** (d. 676/1277) and the poet-ruler **Sulaymān al-Nabhānī** (d. 915/1509). In addition, ascetics and philosophers such as **Ibn al-'Arabī** (d. 638/1240) and 'Umar **al-Suhrawardī** (d. 632/1234) were inspired to compose their philosophical and religious treatises in Mecca.

Little is known about literary composition in Najd in this period; oral history has transmitted names of celebrated *nabaṭī* poets such as **Rashīd al-Khalawī** (fl. tenth/sixteenth century) and **Ibn Li'būn** and **al-'Awnī** (fl. thirteenth/nineteenth century) but we must look to the present century for a renaissance in *fushā* literature, encouraged in large part by the growth of the written media and the emergence in modern Saudi Arabia of poets of the generation of **Ghāzi al-Gosaibi**, who have experimented with new forms and genres such as **free verse** and social realism. According to **al-Ḥāmid** (1986), there is a persistent tendency in the Arab world to identify poets who live in present-day Arabia with the *badāwa* tradition of vernacular literature. However the former, often writing in a simplified urban diction invaded by *fushā* usages (Booth, 1992), should be distinguished from the latter tendency which perpetuates the ancient Arab tradition of oral poetry in a dialect which has now strayed from the linguistic norms of *fushā*.

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P.G. EMERY

See also: Bedouin; Nabaṭī poetry; tribes

### **Arabian Nights see *Alf layla wa-layla***

## **Arabic language**

The term 'Arabic' describes a complex body of linguistic phenomena, one of the most prominent features of which is a sharp contrast between a more-or-less uniform and universal literary language and highly diverse colloquial dialects. The dialects are located within what is generally called the Arab world, and it is the co-existence of a colloquial dialect and the literary language that constitutes one of the most important constituents of Arabness. The literary language itself enjoys currency well beyond the confines of the Arab world. Throughout the vast world of Islam Arabic was, before modern times, the exclusive language of theology, law and jurisprudence, commentary on sacred texts (all of which were themselves in Arabic), philosophy, linguistic study and science. Even today, although most non-Arab Muslims are conversant with Arabic only to the extent of being able to recite from memory certain verses from the **Koran**, Muslim religious scholars everywhere are required to attain a competence in reading, writing and even speaking Arabic which approaches and sometimes equals that of the educated Arab.

Although the literary language is sometimes called 'written' Arabic, in contrast to the 'spoken' Arabic represented by the dialects, those who have truly mastered the language are generally able to speak it with a fair degree of fluency and do so in certain rarified situations – as, for example, when religious

scholars gather to discuss law or theology, or when Arabs from opposite ends of the Arab world discover they are better able to communicate with each other through it than through their own vastly different dialects. Within Arab countries, different levels of refinement in spoken language exist according to the varying degrees to which the literary language influences, or is incorporated into, a particular speaker's usage. Often, educated speakers will, in certain settings, attain a level of refinement which approaches, but yet falls short of, pure literary usage.

In written texts, however, the literary language generally reigns supreme. Occasionally, colloquial usage is found in written form, especially in modern **drama**, but this is on the whole rare and contrary to common practice (see further **dialect in literature**). The educated Arab, even when writing a letter to a friend with whom he would speak face-to-face in colloquial Arabic, would use the literary language.

The literary language is distinguished from colloquial dialects by a number of features, including inflection of words to indicate case and mood, and certain major lexical and syntactic idiosyncracies. While some dialects are closer to the literary language than others, none merge with it entirely: the gap between literary and colloquial is omnipresent in the Arab world.

The origins of the literary language and its historical relationship to the dialects are shrouded in mystery. The dialects themselves are the product of multifarious forces which were at work before and during the Arab conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries CE. In place of the original tribal dialects which were spoken in the Arabian peninsula (see **Arabia**), regional dialects developed over time in consequence of the scattering of the Arabs over a vast domain, and the adoption of Arabic by indigenous populations in the various parts of that domain. The emergence of an elevated (i.e. literary) language clearly predated Islam, but it is difficult to reconstruct that language in its pre-Islamic form because of the problems entailed in the dating of the relevant literary material.

Literary Arabic in its classical form is very much the product of the linguistic institutionalization which took place in conjunction with the institutionalization of Islam during the first two or three centuries of the Islamic era. Since Arabic was the language of the two

vehicles of divine revelation, the **Koran** and the *ḥadīth*, the study of Arabic became a religious duty, and there developed alongside the religious sciences proper (*‘ulūm al-dīn*) the all-important, ancillary ‘sciences of language’ (*‘ulūm al-luḡha*). The latter included **lexicography**, phonetics, morphology, syntactics and etymology. The methodology of these sciences required that every principle be substantiated on the basis of authentic specimens of uncorrupted Arabic. All such specimens had to be drawn either from the sacred texts (Koran, *ḥadīth*) or from what was believed to be authentic pre-Islamic literature, especially poetry (see *Jāhiliyya*). In addition, a linguistic scholar might live among contemporary **bedouins** on the supposition that, among them, uncorrupted usage survived.

All of this endeavour presupposed a certain view of the Arabic language which was consonant with the requirements of the Islamic world-view. Among the pre-Islamic Arabian **tribes** there had existed, according to this view, a language of literary expression the aesthetic potentialities of which were extraordinary as compared to other languages. This language had been faithfully preserved from generation to generation among the Arabian tribes and could still, even after the rise of Islam, be found intact among hinterland tribes not yet corrupted by the new Arabized urban culture which emerged as a result of the conquests. Linguistic scholars living in cities endeavoured merely to enshrine in their writings what was transmitted naturally among bedouins. Language was thus seen as belonging within the domain of tribal custom (*sunna*). Just as the tribes preserved faithfully the lifestyles established by their ancestors, so they preserved faithfully the lexical codes and ways of speaking established by those ancestors. Thanks to the endeavours of linguistic scholars and of institutions of religious learning (in which language instruction was central), the Muslim community, once detached from tribal life and rooted in urban settings, could also preserve the linguistic heritage and keep correct usage alive.

Great poets and *littérateurs* who continued to engage in creative composition through the medium of literary Arabic might or might not adhere perfectly to the canons of correct usage established by linguistic scholars. Always, however, they were influenced by those

canons (which gives classical Arabic literature a strongly conservative character, notwithstanding the appearance from time to time of important new trends), while being unable in turn to influence the canons themselves. The canons remained always the province of scholars committed to preserving an essentially unchanging sacred tongue.

The entire complex of both literary language and spoken dialects belongs to the Semitic family of languages and is, like other languages of that family, characterized by a morphological system entailing the imposition of word-forms on consonantal roots, which are normally triliteral. Thus from the root *k-t-b* are engendered words such as *kataba*, *yak-tubu*, *kitāb*, *kātib*, *maktūb*, *maktaba*, and *kuttāb*. In any given word, both root and form have the status of morphemes in the sense of having a distinctive semantic value. Furthermore, as with other (but not all) Semitic languages, the alphabet of Arabic contains no signs for the short vowels, which require, if they are to be indicated in texts, special diacritical marks.

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B. WEISS

### ‘Arabīyya see Arabic language

### ‘Ar‘ār, Muḥammad al-‘Āli (1946– )

Algerian novelist and short-story writer. Born in Khenchela (Aurès), his first novel – *Ce que les vents ne peuvent effacer* (1972) – shows a hero torn between a fascination with Parisian life and a feeling of nationalist conscience. The theme, though interesting, is badly developed; the psychological analysis of the character is not true to life. His second novel – *L'Ambitieux* (1978) – is an attempt to remedy these defects, but still has many clumsy, awkward moments – long, descriptive passages bursting with irrelevant details. The protagonist personifies, in a confused

way, the plight of the individual crushed by family pressures, institutions and other forms of authority. ‘Ar’ār has produced one other novel – *La quête de l’autre visage* (1981) – and a collection of short stories, *Le rêveur* (1980). All his works betray a painful quest for identity.

M. BOIS

### al-‘Arawī, ‘Abd Allāh (1933– )

Moroccan historian, novelist and intellectual, writing in both Arabic and French. Born in Azmur, al-‘Arawī studied in Paris and was professor of history at Mohammed V University, Rabat. Less well known for his fiction than for his theoretical studies, his published creative work includes four novels in Arabic: *al-Ghurba* (1971); *al-Yatīm* (1979); *al-Fariq* (1985) and *Awrāq* (1989). He has also written extensively on Arab and North African history, and on Arab political thought and ideology.

Text edition

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H. HILMY

### ‘Arīb see singers and musicians

### ‘Arīb ibn Sa‘īd al-Kātib al-Qurṭubī (c.300–c.370/c.912–c.80)

Abū al-Ḥasan (or Abū ‘Alī) ‘Arīb ibn Sa‘īd al-Kātib al-Qurṭubī, from a *muwallad* family, served the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III of Córdoba in various posts. His importance lies, however, in his literary activity. He is known to have been productive in many fields, including poetry, but his surviving works of significance are:

- 1 part of a continuation of the *History* of al-Ṭabarī covering the years 290–320/902–32, which contains some useful material also for Andalusian history;
- 2 a work on obstetrics;
- 3 a calendrical work which includes much material from a similar work by a Christian writer, Recemundo (the exact relationship between the two writers, and

that between the two works, remains to be determined).

‘Arīb shows extensive knowledge of oriental Arabic sources and, through them, also of Greek medical materials.

Text editions

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

### ‘Arīḍa, Nasīb (1887–1946)

**Mahjar** poet. Born in Homs (Syria), ‘Arīḍa was a schoolmate of Mikhā’il Nu‘ayma in Nazareth, where he attended the Russian school from 1900 until 1904. He was chosen to continue his studies in Russia, but his admission was postponed because of the Russo-Japanese war. In 1905 he emigrated to New York, where he founded an Arabic printing house in 1912. The following year he began the publication of the literary monthly, *al-Funūn*, but the periodical did not have the success he had hoped for: publication was suspended intermittently, and only twenty-nine issues were published before it folded in 1918, with fewer than three volumes complete. ‘Arīḍa’s poetry was collected in a single volume, *al-Arwāḥ al-ḥā’ira* (New York, 1946). One of the ‘workers’ of **al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya**, he is a poet of the dark side of life – his verse characterized by pain, tears and separation, by nostalgia for his country of birth, and by bewilderment.

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C. NIJLAND



## Aristotle

Aristotle (Aristūṭālīs, Aristū) was regarded by many Islamic philosophers as the *mu'allim al-awwal*, the first teacher, and as the most important of all Greek thinkers. The only Aristotelian works not to be translated into Arabic were the *Politics*, the *Eudemian Ethics* and the *Magna Moralia*, and a large number of works not actually by him, such as the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* and the *Secretum Secretorum* (see *Sirr al-asrār*), were credited to him by the translators. This gave some in the Islamic world the impression that his views were close to Neoplatonism, and indeed to those of Plato himself (see **Platonism**), and there was a tendency to view Aristotle as the founder of a dogmatic, closed system, which in many ways misrepresents the character of his thought. Particular Aristotelian doctrines were examined with great interest, due to their apparent incompatibility with Islam, in particular the eternity of the universe, the difficulties surrounding the notion of an immaterial soul existing without a body, and whether God could be credited with knowledge of individual events and things. Aristotle's delineation of a system of different levels or types of argument of varying demonstrative force was seen as particularly exciting, and his *Organon* was regarded very much as an exposition of these different argumentative forms, which represent the logical structure of different forms of expression and life. This was also an important reason for regarding Aristotle's output as constituting a system.

Two other aspects of Aristotelian thought fascinated the Islamic philosophers:

- 1 His discussion of the nature of the intellect and its relationship with what makes it possible. Aristotle makes some quite tentative remarks about the links between how we think and the abstract notions which may be part of that thinking, and this led to a long debate in Islamic philosophy about how this should be interpreted. Out of this debate arose many interesting and complex models of how the mind can be understood to work;
- 2 his suggestion of a link between the primary (intellectual) virtues and the secondary (social) virtues. At one point Aristotle seems to argue that the life of thought is the only life really worth living, while at other times he suggests that a

precondition of achieving intellectual perfection is leading a satisfactory social, and by implication religious, life. The contrasting demands of the solitary life of the thinker and the necessity to become involved in political life was much discussed in Arabic thought, and set a challenge to most of the philosophers. They had to explain how God could create a world in which most believers were apparently excluded from the highest form of human existence due to their natural inability to indulge in intellectual thought. Aristotle put the problem in a non-religious context, and it was the Arabic philosophers who reformulated it in the language of Islamic culture.

The translations and commentaries of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* (as well as of other works) played a significant role in Arabic literary criticism, and influenced such critics as **Qudāma ibn Ja'far**, **Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Wahb**, and **Hāzim al-Qartājannī**. The definition of poetic statements as imaginative and the conception of poetry as affective and ethically orientated accorded with indigenous views on poetry and were assimilated with them in the writings of, for example, 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjārī.

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(For an extensive bibliography of translations and commentaries see 'Aristūṭālīs', *El*.)

O. LEAMAN

*See also:* Greek literature; literary criticism; philosophical literature; rhetoric and poetics; translation, medieval

## al-'Arjī, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (c.68–c.124/687–741)

Love poet of the middle Umayyad period who resided mainly near al-Tā'if. Surnamed after his estate, 'Arj, al-'Arjī was a great-grandson of the third orthodox caliph 'Uthmān (d. 35/656) (see **Orthodox Caliphate**). He took part in several military campaigns led by Maslama

ibn 'Abd al-Malik and later led the life of a squire. Probably motivated by political envy, he picked a quarrel with the governor Muḥammad ibn Hishām, calling him a 'hedgehog' (*duldul*, cf. poem no. 83 ed. Baghdad, 1956). In killing one of his own clients, he gave Ibn Hishām a pretext to have him publicly punished and imprisoned; he died in prison nine years later. The Baghdad edition of his poems, based on an ancient *dīwān* recension, contains seventy pieces with 1,114 verses to which were added twenty-two fragments from other sources. The ascription of many poems was already in medieval times called into doubt. Apart from satires, he composed only love poems, revealing his conservatism in his conventional fashioning of the *nasīb* and in long descriptions of animals and deserts.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### al-Arnā'ūt, Ma'rūf Aḥmad (1892–1948)

Syrian novelist. Of Albanian origin, al-Arnā'ūt was born in Beirut and studied at the Ottoman Islamic College. In 1916 he was posted to Istanbul as an officer in the Ottoman army. At the end of World War I he settled in Damascus, where he worked as a journalist. He was elected a member of the Arab Language Academy after the publication of his novel *Sayyid Quraysh* (1929).

His principal works are historical novels, of which he was the first writer in Syria: *Sayyid Quraysh* (in three parts), *'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* (1936; only two of the four planned parts appeared), *Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād* (1941) and *Fāṭima al-batūl* (1942). He collected these into one work, to which he gave the title *al-Malḥama al-kubrā*.

Arnā'ūt's writing is characterized by an agreeable style, which is filled with imaginative images; he paid greater attention to his style than to historical details, which he was not averse from changing or distorting.

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M.J.L. YOUNG

### Arrabita see al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya

### artistic prose

Variouly termed *kitābat al-inshā'* (loosely, the 'chancery' or 'secretarial' style, so called because it was used by secretaries for official documents), 'rhetorical', 'ornate' or 'ornamental' prose, artistic prose (*al-nathr al-fannī*) emerged in the late Umayyad period, and ultimately came to dominate most types of prose writing.

Umayyad secretaries like 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib and Ibn al-Muqaffa' had developed a polished, but largely unrhymed, prose style for use in official documents and memoranda, as well as in other prose writing. Under the 'Abbāsids the use of rhyme was increasingly cultivated. Al-Jāhiz, himself a notable stylist who developed the genre of the *risāla* ('epistle' or 'treatise', used to treat a wide variety of topics), defended the use of rhymed prose – which in pre-Islamic times had been associated with pagan soothsayers, *kāhins*, who were denounced in the Koran – see, for example, 52: 30 – saying that just as they have passed away, so has the prohibition against its use. Al-Mubarrad divided prose styles into *khuṭba* (an 'oratorical' style using balanced parallelism but without rhyme), *kalām manthūr* ('loose' or 'unadorned' prose), and *saj'* (rhymed, assonential prose, often featuring rhetorical embellishments). Manuals of style began to recommend the use of this embellished style to poets and prose writers alike; and critics such as Abū Hilāl al-'Askari devoted much attention to the stylistics of prose as well as of poetry, and to features shared by both. Like poetry, prose writing was considered an accomplished craft (see *ṣinā'a*).

Artistic prose is 'poeticized' prose. It is characterized by rhyme and assonance, parallelism, balanced phrases and division into proportional sections (*fuṣūl*), richness of description, the use of metaphor and of rhetorical figures (*badi'*) hitherto largely reserved for poetry, and the use for both structural and thematic purposes of quotations in verse and prose (proverbs, Koranic verses, Prophetic sayings), creating a mixed style in which there is a close relationship between narrative or discursive passages and inserted interpolations. In earlier prose, verse insertions were largely linked to context, as in historical writing or *adab* works; in artistic prose, however, such insertions (typically without attribution) become a conscious principle of composition.

Zaki Mubārak saw the roots of artistic prose in the style of the **Koran**, which also influenced Islamic oratory. He linked its development to the increasing importance of Arabic as a written language; but as he also pointed out, the transmission and diffusion of written works was predominantly oral, and many genres retained close ties with oral methods of instruction (the teaching assembly; the oration and popular sermon) and with popular oral genres such as storytelling. Official documents and correspondence were intended to be read aloud, and were in every sense display pieces meant to impress by their demonstration of the writer's rhetorical skills, as well as of his erudition. The epistles of such officials as the Būyid viziers **Ibn al-'Amīd** and the **Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād**, and the correspondence of the likes of Abū Ishāq **al-Ṣābi'**, **Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī** and Abū Bakr **al-Khwārazmī**, became collected as examples of eloquent style.

Artistic prose permeated or affected many established genres – history, biography and hagiography, philosophical and mystical treatises, story-collections – as well as generating new ones, perhaps the most notable of which was the *maqāma*. An early and influential example of chancery historiography was **al-'Utbi's** (d. c.1036 CE) *Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī*, a history of the first decades of the **Ghaznavid** dynasty, which featured rhymed prose, rhetorical embellishments, and poetic citations. The later Egyptian writer Taqī al-Dīn **al-Subkī** (d. c.1496) observed that al-'Utbi's reputation in eastern Iran 'was greater than that of Ḥarīrī's famous *Maqāmāt* in Egypt and Syria' (Rubinacci, 1964: 263). **Al-Tha'ālibi** boasted

that his own history of the Persian kings was written in the 'secretarial style', as were his many other works. Story-collections both literary and popular, such as those by **al-Jahshiyārī**, **al-Tanūkhī** and **Miskawayh**, and the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and *Alf layla wa-layla*, used rhymed prose and poetic insertions. And even when the bulk of a work might be written in a plainer narrative or discursive style, it became established practice to use artistic prose for its dedicatory exordium.

Artistic prose was widely practised throughout the Islamic world, including the **Maghrib** and **Spain**, where among its important exponents were **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih**, who modelled his style on that of al-Jāhīz, and **Ibn Shuhayd**, who criticized al-Jāhīz's 'inferior' prose style. Its stylistic techniques were adapted by prose writers in languages other than Arabic (Hebrew, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, etc.), and it continued to be widely used up to the early decades of the twentieth century.

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J. S. MEISAMI

See also: *maqāma*; oratory and sermons; prose, non-fiction, medieval; secretaries

'**Arūd** see prosody

**Asad** *see* tribes

**al-Asad wa-al-ghawwāṣ** *see*  
fables

**al-Asadābādī, Jamāl al-Dīn** *see*  
**al-Afghānī, Jamāl al-Dīn**

**Asāṭir** *see* legends

**Asāṭir al-awwalīn** *see* **Legends of the Elders**

**al-'Asalī, Shukrī Bey ibn 'Alī**  
(1868–1916)

Syrian lawyer and journalist. Born in Damascus, he studied there and in Istanbul, becoming a licentiate in law. He served as an administrative officer in the district of Qāsh and elsewhere. Al-'Asalī was elected to the Ottoman parliament representing Damascus, and was the first to raise there the issue of Zionism. He published the daily *al-Qabas* for a short period, and was appointed civil inspector to the provinces of Aleppo and Dayr al-Zūr. He was a member of the secret society, *al-Qaḥṭāniyya*, calling for an Arab kingdom within a dual monarchy. Extremist Turks were enraged at his demands for decentralization; when the Arab Revolt broke out he was sentenced to death for treason and executed in Damascus. He wrote a short history of the judiciary in the Islamic states (1909); a treatise on the *kharāj* tax in Islam (1910); a story about the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn, and stories, *Fajā'ī' al-bā'isīn*, published serially in *al-Muqtabas* magazine.

Further reading

al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, 172.

P.C. SADGROVE

**ascetic poetry** *see* **Zuhdiyya**

**al-A'shā (before 565 CE–c.7/629)**

Abū Baṣīr al-A'shā Maymūn ibn Qays, from the clan Qays ibn Tha'laba (Bakr), hence also

called A'shā Qays ('the Night-Blind of the tribe Qays') or A'shā Bakr, one of the most outstanding and celebrated pre-Islamic poets. The influence of his predecessors from Qays ibn Tha'laba (e.g. al-Muraqqish, 'Amr ibn Qamī'a, al-Musayyab, and Ṭarafa) is clearly discernable in his poetry. Like some of them, al-A'shā was rooted in the urban milieu of Hīra and probably belonged to its Christian community, but also travelled through the whole of Arabia in search of patrons who would reward him for his panegyrics. His poetry therefore combines characteristics of both urban and bedouin traditions. His style is more complex and sophisticated, and he uses more phonological and morphological stylistic devices, than his contemporaries. Besides panegyric and lampoon (his two main themes), al-A'shā contributed substantially to most other genres. He is by far the most important pre-Islamic wine poet. The musical instruments and garden plants he mentions in his descriptions of wine parties often bear Persian names, thus pointing to the cultural contact between Hīra and the Sasanian empire. One of his poems (no. 6) was sometimes reckoned among the *Mu'allaqāt*. Further, a ballad about the loyalty of al-Samaw'al, the portrayal of a pearl-diver (in no. 80) and a divorce-poem (no. 41) gained great fame. Though al-A'shā did not convert to Islam, a panegyric on the prophet Muḥammad is ascribed to him (no. 17).

Text editions

*Dīwān*, Muḥammad Ḥusayn (ed.), Cairo (1950).

*Gedichte von Abū Baṣīr Maimūn ibn Qais al-'A'shā*, R. Geyer (ed.), London (1928).

Further reading

Bauer, Thomas, *Altarabische Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden (1992), vol. 1, 216f.; 2, 68–85.

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Dalgleish, K., 'Some Aspects of the Treatment of Emotion in the *Dīwān* of al-A'shā', *JAL* 4 (1973), 97–111.

Geyer, R., *Zwei Gedichte von Al-'A'shā*, 2 vols, Vienna (1905, 1919).

T. BAUER

**A'shā Bāhila (sixth century CE)**

Abū Quḥāfa 'Āmir ibn al-Hārith, nicknamed A'shā Bāhila ('the Night-Blind of the tribe

Bāhila'), lived in pre-Islamic times and became famous for a single poem, namely an elegy (*marthiya*) lamenting the death of his half-brother al-Muntashir. Hardly anything else is known about his life and poetry. His *marthiya* is preserved in several anthologies and considered to be one of the most splendid elegies of ancient Arabic poetry. It is almost exclusively dedicated to an enumeration of the deceased's virtues and thus gives a vivid portrait of the ideal of pre-Islamic bedouin heroism.

### Text edition

al-A'shā, *Gedichte*, R. Geyer (ed.), London (1928), 266–9.

T. BAUER

## A'shā Hamdān (c.30–83/650–702)

Umayyad poet. Born at Kufa, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh, nicknamed A'shā Hamdān ('the Night-Blind of the tribe of Hamdān'), married a sister of the famous traditionist al-Sha'bī and studied **Koran**. He left this field and took up poetry, it is said, after a dream about a *bayt* (room/verse) full of *sha'ir* (barley, cf. *shi'r* 'poetry'). He served as a soldier, not wholly voluntarily it seems, in the eastern campaigns under Ibn al-Ash'ath. One story tells of his romantic escape as a prisoner of the Turks, aided by a Turkish girl. He became involved in the factional strife of the period, acting as a spokesman for the Yamānī group and Ibn al-Ash'ath, who had rebelled against the governor al-Ḥajjāj. When the former was defeated at the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim, al-A'shā fled, but was captured. A panegyric poem on al-Ḥajjāj could not outweigh the invective verse he had written on the governor: al-Ḥajjāj had him executed. His poetry is an interesting mixture of the personal and the political.

### Text edition

*Gedichte von Abū Baṣīr Maymūn al-'A'shā*, R. Geyer (ed.), London (1928), 311–43 (Arabic text), 305–28 (Intro.).

### Further reading

von Goutta, Guido Edler, 'Der Aganiartikel über 'A'shā von Hamdān', Diss. Freiburg i.B. (1912).

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

## Ash'ab (early second/eighth century)

Nicknamed al-Tammā' (the Greedy), singer, poet, comedian and professional entertainer active in Medina. Ash'ab's provocative jocular behaviour, as well as his allegedly outstanding greed, are major elements of a prospering legendary tradition focusing on him. This legend is already fully fledged in **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's** *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and continues to be prominent until the present day, where in popular joke-books Ash'ab has come to represent the stereotyped stingy and greedy person. In addition to some 200 anecdotes on Ash'ab dispersed throughout classical literature, literary production dealing with him ranges from Yūsuf ibn al-Wakīl al-Milāwī's (eleventh/seventeenth century) *al-Ṭirāz al-mudhahhab fī nawādir Ash'ab* to Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's *Ash'ab*.

### Further reading

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Rosenthal, F., *Humour in Early Islam*, Leiden (1956), passim.

U. MARZOLPH

## al-Ash'arī (260–324/873–936)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'il al-Ash'arī, a theologian famed for his adoption of rational argumentation in defence of orthodox Islamic doctrine. Though not the first to do so, al-Ash'arī acquired a following that developed into a distinct school which bears his name. Having himself been trained within the **Mu'tazili** school (which he later forsook), al-Ash'arī became skilled in its methods of argumentation, which he used to refute its principal heterodox tenets and defend, instead, the positions of the orthodox opponents of the Mu'tazilis.

### Text edition

*al-Ibānah 'an uṣūl ad-diyānah*, (*The Elucidation of Islam's Foundation*), W.C. Klein (trans.), New Haven (1940).

### Further reading

Allard, M., *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Aṣ'arī et de ses premiers grands disciples*, Beirut (1965).

McCarthy, R.J., *The Theology of al-Ash'arî*, Beirut (1953).

Watt, W.M., *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, Edinburgh (1973), 313–22.

B. WEISS

### al-Ashja' al-Sulamî (d. c.195/811)

The poet Abû al-Walîd al-Ashja' ibn 'Amr al-Sulamî was born in al-Yamâma and brought up as an orphan in Basra. After Bashshâr of 'Ukayl's death, the Qaysites adopted al-Ashja' as their poet by fabricating his genealogy. He moved to Raqqa and through the intercession of Ja'far al-Barmakî became both a panegyricist and *nadîm* of Hârûn al-Rashîd upon whose death (in 193/809) he wrote an elegy. Most of his poetry, which is *muhdath* (see *muhdathûn*) with erudite allusions to the pre-Islamic canon, constitutes *madîh* and survives through the transmission of the Qaysites.

Further reading

al-Hassûn, Kh. B., *al-Ashja' al-Sulamî, Hayâtuhu wa-Shi'ruhu*, Beirut (1981).

P.F. KENNEDY

### 'Āshūr, Nu'mān (1918–87)

Egyptian dramatist and short-story writer. Born in Mît al-Ghamr into a middle-class family living in the countryside, 'Āshūr moved to Cairo in 1936 to study at university. In 1942 he became a bank employee in Giza, and began to participate in the cultural life of Cairo, becoming acquainted with drama critics such as Rushdî Şâlih, 'Alî al-Râ'î and Muḥammad Mandûr and starting to read Marxist literature. (He was later arrested for his Marxist sympathies.) An account of this formative period is to be found in his *Masrah hayâtî* (1975). From 1945 onwards he began to write articles on literature; his first collection of short stories, *Hawādîth 'Amm Farag*, appeared in 1952, and was followed by three others. From then on, his literary career began to flourish. He started writing drama for broadcasting, then emerged as a stage playwright with *al-Maghmâtis* (1955); this was followed by his most famous plays, *al-Nās illî taht* (1956) and *al-Nās illî fōq* (1957), both written in the vein of social realism. *Sîma awanṭa* (1958) was an attack on the malpractices of the Egyptian film-industry; *Jîns al-ḥarîm* (1959) treated the subject of polygamy; while

'Ā'ilat al-Dughrî (1962) – a late highlight in 'Āshūr's work – expresses his disappointment with post-revolutionary Egypt. Later writings, which tend to repeat well-worn themes, are considered of less value. The main dramatic influences on 'Āshūr were the comedies of Najîb al-Rihānî and Tawfiq al-Hakîm.

Further reading

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Manzalaoui, M., *Arabic Writing Today: The Drama*, Cairo (1977).

E.C.M. DE MOOR

### al-Asîr, Yûsuf (1815–89)

Lebanese writer, journalist, poet, teacher and *faqîh*. Born in Sidon, he died in Beirut. After studying at al-Azhar, he taught in Tripoli and Beirut, then worked as a public prosecutor before travelling to Istanbul, where he was chief corrector of Arabic publications at the Ministry of Education. On his return to Beirut he was chief editor of *Thamarât al-funûn*, and taught in a number of schools, including that of Buṭrus al-Bustânî. Although a Muslim, he composed many of the hymns used in Lebanese evangelical churches, and helped to correct a translation of the Bible. He wrote a *dîwân*, a criticism of a book of Shaykh Nâşîf al-Yâziĵî, a defence of Fâris al-Shidyâq's grammar, a commentary on al-Zamakhsharî's apophthegms, verses on the law of inheritance, and a play *Sayf al-naşr*.

Further reading

Dâghîr, Y.A. *Maşâdir al-dirâsât al-adabiyya*, Beirut (1956), vol. 2, 123–5.

P.C. SADGROVE

### al-'Askarî, Abû Hilâl see Abû Hilâl al-'Askarî

### Aşlân, İbrâhîm (1939– )

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. A gifted writer of fiction, Aşlân – like several of his contemporaries from the 'generation of the sixties' – has encountered the greatest

difficulty in finding conducive circumstances to practise his craft. His first published collection of short stories, *Buḥayrat al-masā'* (1971), was well received by critics and showed evidence of an instinctive talent which combined a gift for physical description and psychological insight with the process of portraying the more mundane aspects of daily life, and the alienation of the individual in modern society. In 1983, he published his only novel, *Mālik al-ḥazin*, and he has recently published a second collection of short stories, *Yūsuf wa-al-riḍā'* (1987).

Further reading

Hafez, Sabry, 'Innovation in the Egyptian short story', R.C. Ostle (ed.), *Studies in Modern Arabic Literature*, Warminster (1973), 86–98.

R. ALLEN

**al-Aṣma'ī (122–213?/740–828?)**

Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb al-Bāhili al-Aṣma'ī was born in poor circumstances in Basra, where he studied under 'Isā ibn 'Umar, Abū 'Ubayda and Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', as well as with some of Abū 'Amr's pupils, notably Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, Khalaf al-Aḥmar and al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad. He became so well-known for his interest in language that not only scholars but informants used to seek him out, and eventually the caliph Hārūn al-Rashid summoned him to Baghdad to tutor his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. With Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī and Abū 'Ubayda (his great rival, though evidently al-Aṣma'ī's superior social refinement gave him the advantage), he formed a triumvirate of early scholars, all of them disciples of Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', whose influence on lexicography was extensive, profound and durable. Al-Aṣma'ī's pupils include Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistāni, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, al-Riyāshī and al-Sukkari.

Possessed of an astonishing memory and a critical mind, al-Aṣma'ī was one of the first to treat pre-Islamic poetry as a corpus to be collected and edited: his personal anthology of early examples, known as *al-Aṣma'īyyāt*, shows him confronting the growing problem of the unreliability of transmitters (see *rāwī*). In subsequent literary history he has become the ideal speaker of Arabic, combining the merits of complete orthodox piety with the forthright simplicity of the Bedouin, symboli-

cally reconciling the new religion with its pagan linguistic roots.

Some sixty works are ascribed to him (not always correctly; see GAS 4: 334), of which a sizeable number are extant and have been edited, covering such topics as dialect usage, proverbs, classified word-lists of bedouin vocabulary (e.g. terms for horses, sheep, camels, dwellings), names of plants, rare words, topographical names, phonology, morphology and gender, and one, *Kitāb al-ishṭiqāq*, on the etymology of proper names which is a forerunner of Ibn Durayd's work of the same title.

Text editions

*al-Aṣma'īyyāt*, W. Ahlwardt (ed.), in *Sammlugen alter arabischen Dichter*, Berlin (1902), vol. 1.

*Kitāb al-aḍḍād*, A. Haffner (ed.), in *Drei arabische Quellenwerke über die Addād*, Beirut (1913).

*Kitāb al-ibil* and *Kitāb khalq al-insān*, A. Haffner (ed.), in *Texte zur arabischen Lexikographie*, Baghdad (1905).

*Kitāb al-ishṭiqāq*, S. al-Nu'aymī (ed.), Baghdad (1968).

(For other works and editions see GAS 2, index; 4: 334; 8: 72–6; 9: 66–7.)

Further reading

al-Sirāfi, M., *Biographies des grammairiens de l'école de Basra*, F. Krenkow (ed.), Paris, Beirut (1936), 58–68.

M.G. CARTER

See also: anthologies, medieval; grammar and grammarians

**al-Astarābādhi (seventh/thirteenth century)**

Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādhi, usually called Raḍī al-Dīn or simply al-Raḍī, remains an enigma both in the obscurity of his life and the subtlety of his ideas. Nothing at all is known about his place or date of birth, and even his death date is uncertain, though it is believed to be in the same year that he wrote his commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's *Shāfiya*, 688/1289.

This work, being concerned with phonology and morphology, gives perhaps less scope to his brilliance than his other commentary, on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's *Kāfiya* (686/1287), which deals with syntax. Here he reveals himself as a profound analyst of language, heavily leaning towards semantics (hitherto not a prominent

feature of Arabic grammatical theory) with strong influences from philosophy and theology. In some ways, he anticipates the discoveries of the linguistic philosophers and pragmatists of this century, though there is as yet no complete interpretative evaluation of al-Astarābādhi's achievement.

#### Text editions

For editions of both the *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* and *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* see P. Larcher, 'Note sur trois éditions du *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* de Raḍī l-Dīn al-Astarābādhi', *Arabica* 36 (1989), 109–13.

#### Further reading

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Fleisch, H., 'Note sur al-Astarābādhi', *Historiographia Linguistica* 1 (1974), 165–8.

M. G. CARTER

### al-'Attābī, Kulthūm ibn 'Amr (d. 208 or 220/823 or 835)

Poet, secretary and courtier of the early 'Abbāsīd period. Born in northern Syria, he traced his ancestry from the celebrated author of the *Mu'allaqa*, 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, and spent his life in the service of the Barmakids and the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. He excelled in eulogistic poetry, being highly regarded by the critics as representing the neo-classical current which later achieved its full flowering with Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, and was also famed as a prose stylist; but his *dīwān* has not survived and only brief citations of his works are known.

#### Further reading

*EI*<sup>2</sup> article 'al-'Attābī' (R. Blachère)

C. E. BOSWORTH

### al-'Aṭṭār, Ḥasan (d. 1250/1834–5)

Egyptian *shaykh* and religious author. One of the most respected Azharī *shaykhs* of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, al-'Aṭṭār was an intimate of al-Jabartī and a teacher and mentor to Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Taḥṭāwī. During the French occupation of 1798–1801 he maintained close contacts with French scientific circles and was impressed by what he saw, realizing the need for reform in

Egyptian education, science and society. After the departure of the French, he travelled widely in Syria and Anatolia (1802–15), where he married a Turkish woman. (His prolonged absence from Egypt, unusual for an 'ālim of his time, suggests that he may initially have been branded by Muḥammad 'Alī as a French collaborator.) The peak of his influence came on his return to Egypt, when Muḥammad 'Alī appointed him rector of al-Azhar and editor of the official Egyptian gazette, *al-Waqā'i' al-Misriyya*. When Egypt's ruler subsequently asked him to nominate a religious leader to oversee the first Egyptian educational mission to France in 1826, al-'Aṭṭār chose al-Taḥṭāwī; and when the latter returned to Egypt from France in 1831, al-'Aṭṭār apparently suggested to him that he write an account of his experiences abroad. This became the immensely successful *Takhlīṣ al-ibriz fī talkhiṣ Bārīz*.

Some scholars believe that al-'Aṭṭār assisted al-Jabartī in writing *Mazhar al-taqdīs bi-dhahāb dawlat al-Faransīs*, an account of the French occupation of Egypt. Al-'Aṭṭār himself wrote mainly on religious subjects; many of his writings are in the form of unpublished fragments.

#### Further reading

Gran, P., *Islamic Roots of Capitalism: Egypt, 1760–1840*, Austin and London (1979).

J. CRABBS

### autobiography, medieval

There is no term in classical Arabic for 'autobiography' as distinct from 'biography'. Although few in comparison with the number of biographies, books and essays claiming to be autobiographies are an established genre. Most of them trace the intellectual career of scholars or the spiritual journeys of mystics.

Scholars' autobiographies include names of teachers, titles of books studied, mention of meetings with rulers or influential men who furthered their career, details of their work as teachers and lists of their writings. The philosopher and physician Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) (d. 428/1037) has left a famous example of this type, though it covers only the early part of his life. In the spiritual itineraries the author represents the course of his life as inevitably leading up to the particular religious or philosophical choice he has made; the central



experience of conversion is retold in a way which accords with the account of his life as a whole, rather than as it actually happened. An early spiritual autobiography is that of the third/ninth-century mystic **al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī**; the most famous one is by the great theologian **al-Ghazzālī** (d. 505/1111), *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl* (*Deliverer from Error*).

The best-known example of an autobiography by someone in public life is the Syrian nobleman **Usāma ibn Munqidh's** (d. 584/1188) *Kitāb al-i'tibār* (*Book of Life's Examples*). This comes closer to a modern autobiography in the profusion of incidents it recounts (it is set in the time of the **Crusades**) and its unusual concern with the presentation of characters. But the material is arranged not chronologically but thematically, as a logical consequence of the author's desire to emphasize the exemplary message conveyed by the events he is relating; the subjects include hunting and encounters with holy men, as well as the more predictable warfare and customs of the Franks.

As well as extended autobiographies, autobiographical fragments have been preserved. These date from the early 'Abbāsīd period onwards, and have often gone through a process of partly oral transmission before being incorporated into the texts in which they have survived. Their authors come from more varied backgrounds: some are scholars, but others statesmen, administrators, poets or singers. The texts into which they are incorporated often have wider-ranging preoccupations than the simply biographical. A special category of these fragments are the asides made by geographers and travellers in their books, including impressions they noted down while on the road, and recollections of the dangers and delights of the journey.

Self-proclaimed autobiographies shed little light on their subjects' inner lives (except sometimes through dreams), and they lack a central total view of the personality; such traits have been noted for the genre in other medieval literatures too. The fragments can be more revealing, not least because their subjects are often not pillars of the religious and scholarly establishment, but by their nature they fall short of being real autobiographies, in the modern sense of the term.

#### Text editions

Of the autobiographies mentioned, the only one not translated is al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's *Baḍ' sha'n al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī*, 'Uthmān Yahyā (ed.),

Beirut (1965). Autobiographical fragments are particularly well-represented in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-udabā'* and Ibn Abi Usaybi'a's *'Uyūn al-anbā' fi tabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*.

(For other texts and translations see the entries for the individual authors mentioned.)

#### Further reading

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Rosenthal, F., 'Die arabische Autobiographie', *SA* 1 (1937), 1–40.

H. KILPATRICK

See also: biography, medieval

## autobiography, modern

Autobiography in the strict sense of the word (*tarjama dhātiyya* or *sira dhātiyya*) is a self-account of the private life and development of a man or woman entering a particular social context. It may take the form not only of personal notes or diaries (*yawmiyyāt*), but also of the autobiographical novel (*riwāyat al-tarjama al-dhātiyya*). It should be distinguished from autobiographical writing in the wider sense, e.g. as may be found in 'memoirs' (*mudhakkirāt*) modelled on French or English examples, in which a well-known author presents himself as functioning in a social or historical context.

Autobiographical writing in modern Arabic literature began in the nineteenth century with the works of Egyptians and Syrians who travelled to Europe, such as **al-Taḥṭāwī**, 'Alī **Mubārak**, Aḥmad Fāris **al-Shidyāq** and Muḥammad **al-Muwayliḥī**. Especially in the works of the last three authors, one finds strongly autobiographical elements in a fictional setting, although they are not strictly autobiographical novels. Examples of autobiographical *mudhakkirāt* may be found in early review literature, especially in women's magazines and in reformist reviews such as *al-Sufūr*, *al-Bayān* and *al-Hilāl*.

The first modern autobiography in the Western sense was Jurjī **Zaydān's** *Sīrat ḥayātī*, published in 1908. Typical examples of memoirs written by public personalities in the

1930s and 1940s are Aḥmad Amin's *Ḥayātī* and Salāma Mūsā's *Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā*. The intention of these books seems to be to offer the reader a clear account of the cultural and social experiences of the author. In this category fall also Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's *Mudhakkirāt fī al-siyāsa al-Miṣriyya* (1951–3) and Nu'ayma's *Sab'ūn* (1959–66). Ḥusayn Fawzi's *Sindbād* books and al-'Aqqād's *Anā* are also autobiographical, although somewhat fictionalized.

The autobiographical novel as such came into vogue with Tāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām* (Parts I and II, 1926–9). This was followed by Ibrāhīm al-Māzini's *Ibrāhīm al-Kātib* (1931), Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm's *'Awdat al-rūḥ, Yawmiyyāt nā'ib fī al-aryāf* and *'Uṣfūr min al-sharq*, and al-'Aqqād's *Sāra*. These Egyptian novels inspired other authors, such as the Iraqi Dhū al-Nūn Ayyūb (*al-Duktūr Ibrāhīm*, 1939) and the Moroccan 'Abd al-Majid Bin Jallūn, whose novel *Fī al-tufūla* describes the youth of a Moroccan boy spent in England and his return to Morocco. A strong impact of the author's own experiences can be found also in Suhayl Idris's *al-Ḥayy al-Lātīnī* (1954) and al-Ṭayyib Ṣalīḥ's *Mawsim al-hijra ilā al-shimāl* (1966).

In the 1930s several (often anonymous) autobiographical *mudhakkirāt* were published in Egypt, both in *fushā* and colloquial. These mostly short autobiographies often have a comical character and appear to have been inspired by the picaresque novel and the *maqāmāt*. They are not genuine autobiographies; rather, the form of the *mudhakkira* has been used as a literary fictional frame for the description of the lives of prostitutes, gamblers and others living on the margins of society.

After 1952, the *mudhakkira*, the autobiographical novel and the ego-novel received a new boost with the rise of existentialism and feminism, in the works of, among others, the Lebanese writers Laylā Ba'labakkī, Imīlī Naṣr Allāh, Ḥanan al-Shaykh, the Palestinian Saḥar Khalifa, the Syrian Colette Khūrī and the Egyptian Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī. The autobiographical element has also strongly coloured much neo-realist and surrealist writing since 1967 (as in the works of Ṣun' Allāh Ibrāhīm, Idwār al-Kharrāt, Muḥammad Zafzāf and Muḥammad Shukrī), and plays a role in the novels of 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Qāsim and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Munif. In this period the autobiographical element seems to serve as a

means of projecting the ills of contemporary society. Recently the *sīra dhātīyya* has acquired new impetus with the works of Fadwā Ṭuqān (*Rihla jabaliyya, rihla ṣa'ba*, 1985), Jabrā I. Jabrā (*al-Bi'r al-ūlā*, 1987) and Luwīs 'Awaḍ (*Awraq al-'umr*, 1989). To this may be added the interest of important poets like Adūnis, Qabbānī and Darwish in writing autobiography.

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E.C.M. DE MOOR

**Avempace** see Ibn Bājja

**Averroes** see Ibn Rushd

**Avicenna** see Ibn Sīnā

**'Awaḍ, Luwīs (1915–90)**

Egyptian literary critic, translator, poet and creative writer. Born in Shārūna, 'Awaḍ was inspired in his formative years by three major Arabic writers: Tāhā Ḥusayn, al-'Aqqād and Salāma Mūsā. He studied English at the University of Cairo and in Cambridge, England, where he received an MA in English Literature in 1940. On his return to Cairo, he was appointed a lecturer in the Faculty of Letters. After surviving an intellectual crisis in the early 1950s, he continued his studies, receiving a PhD in Comparative Literature from the University of Princeton in 1953. For the

remainder of his life, he held various academic, literary and official positions, including that of cultural adviser at *al-Ahrām* – a post he held until his death.

ʿAwaḍ has to his credit over forty books and dozens of articles (in Arabic, English and French). His original works include an avant-garde collection of free verse (*Plutoland wa-qaṣāʾid ukhrā*, 1947), a novel (*al-ʿAnqāʾ aw tārikh Ḥasan Miṭṭāh*, 1966), a play (*al-Rāhib*, 1961) and two volumes of autobiography (*Mudhakkirāt ṭālib baʿtha*, written in Egyptian dialect, 1965, and *Awraq al-ʿumr*, 1989). He translated works by Aeschylus, Horace, Shakespeare, T.S. Eliot and others. His career as a critic, which extended over more than forty years, began with an influential series of articles published in *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* on Oscar Wilde, T.S. Eliot, Bernard Shaw, James Joyce and H.G. Wells, in which he put forward a clearly Marxist interpretation of literature. These articles were later collected in his *Fī al-adab al-Injilīzī al-ḥadīth* (1950). Most of ʿAwaḍ's numerous volumes of criticism are also in fact collections of articles previously published in periodicals: they include *Dirāsāt fī adabīnā al-ḥadīth* (1961); *al-Ishṭirākiyya wa-al-adab* (1963), in which he expounded his concept of 'literature for life's sake'; and *Thaqāfatunā fī muftaraq al-ṭuruq* (1974). He also published a five-volume history of modern Egyptian thought, anthologies of dramatic and Greek critical texts, and several controversial books including his *Muqaddima fī fiqh al-luḡha al-ʿArabiyya* (1980), which was eventually banned. His uninterrupted contribution to modern Arabic culture over half a century made him one of the most influential figures in Arab cultural life, resembling in this respect his mentor Ṭahā Ḥusayn.

Further reading

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A. -N. STAIF

**al-ʿAwdāt, Yaʿqūb see al-Badawī al-Mulaththam**

**Awlād Rābiʿa see theatre and drama**

**Aws see tribes**

**Aws ibn Ḥajar**  
**(fl. sixth century CE)**

Itinerant pre-Islamic panegyrist, one of the earliest professional threnodists, best known as the 'father' of a long and distinguished line of inter-tribal transmitter poets: Aws – Zuhayr – Kaʿb ibn Zuhayr and al-Ḥuṭayʿa – Hudba ibn Khashram – Jamil ibn Maʿmar – Kuthayyir ʿAzza. Al-Farazdaq is included by some in this chain. Aws's son Shurayḥ was also a poet. Aws's poetic style is most manifest in Kaʿb ibn Zuhayr and al-Ḥuṭayʿa. The attribution of his verse was much debated and no manuscript of his *dīwān* has been found. His verse is much concerned with tribal politics, in particular with *hijāʾ* of hostile tribes (Najm 1, 8, 14, 21 22, 31 and 44). There are also several chronicles, some of which treat of the defeats suffered by his tribe Tamīm at the hands of the ʿAmir ibn Ṣaʿsaʿa (Najm 2, 22, 28, 34, 45 and 48). Najm 22 is an exhortation of the Lakhmid ʿAmr ibn Hind to avenge the assassination of his father al-Mundhir III. His most popular poems are the threnodies (*marāthī*; see *rithāʾ*) (Najm 4, 26, 40 and 41) which he composed on Faḍāla ibn Kalada, a chieftain of the Banū Asad, for political or professional reasons, and the two odes in which weaponry, especially the bow, is celebrated (Najm 35 and 37). Only one significant description of the wild ass is extant (Najm 30), an aspect of his verse singled out for comment by Ibn Qutayba (ed. de Goeje, p. 99).

Little is known about Aws's life. Ibn Qutayba's discussion concentrates on the diction and the aphoristic aspects of his verse. The story of Aws's discovery by Ḥālīma, daughter of Faḍāla, when he had been thrown by his camel, shattering his femur, is very reminiscent of the discovery of Odysseus by Nausicaa (Odyssey 6) and was probably inspired by a literal reading of Najm 17.

Text edition

*Dīwān*, M.Y. Najm (ed.) Beirut (1960).

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

### 'Awwād, Tawfiq Yūsuf (1911–89)

Lebanese novelist, short-story writer, poet and journalist. Born in the mountain area of al-Matn, 'Awwād was deeply moved by the famine and disease he witnessed there during World War 1, and which he faithfully depicted in his pioneering novel *al-Raghīf* (1939). He started to write in newspapers at an early age under the pseudonym 'Bashshār', and was closely associated with al-'Uṣba al-'Ashara ('The Group of Ten'), which revolutionized the Beirut literary scene in the early 1930s. Two collections of short stories – *al-Ṣabī al-a'raj* (1937) and *Qamiṣ al-ṣūf* (1937) – together with *al-Raghīf* quickly propelled him to the forefront of fiction-writing in Lebanon and the Arab world. His works express with courage and realism the Arabs' struggle for liberation, and their deep need for sustenance and for liberty. In his last prophetic novel, *Tawāhīn Bayrūt* (1972), he created a mosaic of the cosmopolitan Beirut scene just before the start of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 – a mosaic made up of splinters and burnt fragments, as all the 'casseroles of the Arab world were boiling in Beirut'. His tragic death in a bomb-blast during that same war brought to an ironic conclusion a lifetime of heroic commitment to life and art. In 1974 Unesco included 'Awwād in a list of authors who best represented his epoch and recommended that his works be translated into several languages.

#### Text editions

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M. T. AMYUNI

### 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī (492–525/1098–1131)

Abū al-Ma'ālī 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Miyānījī, known as 'Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadhānī, was born in Hamadan to a family of scholars and judges from Miyāna in Azarbaijan. He had a conventional religious education, and himself qualified as a judge as a young man. While still a youth he was introduced to Sufism by his father, and met his most influential master Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, brother of the more famous Abū Ḥāmid, at the age of 25. He incurred the hostility of the 'ulamā' (religious scholars) mainly for his

views on the elevated nature of sainthood, and was briefly incarcerated in Baghdad. Returning to Hamadan, he was later cruelly tortured and executed on the night of 6–7 Jumādā II 525/5–6 May 1131, apparently as much as a consequence of political squabbling as for religious reasons.

His mystical teachings are more audaciously expressed in his Persian works (the *Tamhīdāt*, where he expounds his Ḥallājīan theme of Iblīs's pure love of God, and his own doctrine of the mystical conjoining of belief and unbelief; the *Lawāyih*; and his spiritual correspondence). But he also wrote nine works in Arabic, only two of which have survived: *Zubdat al-ḥaqā'iq* (not to be confused with the Persian *Tamhīdāt*, also subtitled *Zubdat al-ḥaqā'iq*), an elegant work on mystical theology giving an account of the author's struggle to rise above the rational approach to theology and reach intuitive, mystical understanding; and *Shakwa al-gharīb*, his spiritual defence written in prison in Baghdad.

#### Text editions

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*Zubdat al-ḥaqā'iq*, 'Afīf 'Usayrān (ed.), Tehran (1341/1962).

J. COOPER

### al-'Aynī, Badr al-Dīn (762–855/1361–1451)

Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī was born in 'Aintāb (Gaziantep). He moved to Cairo as a young man, where he held many religious offices, became a confidant of Mamlūk sultans and was a prolific author in the conventional manner of his times. Much of his writing was commentary (especially his monumental and methodical '*Umdat al-qārī*' on al-Bukhārī's *ḥadīth* collection) or abridgments. His major chronicle of Islamic history, the '*Iqd al-jumān*', has not yet been fully edited and evaluated. He wrote flattering monographs on the sultans al-Mu'ayyad and Ṭaṭar with elements of the 'Mirror for Princes' genre. A

'Life of Sultan Barsbāy' has been lost, along with several other works.

**Text editions**

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- 'Umdat al-qārī' fi sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo (1308/1890–1); 11 vols, Constantinople 1309–10/1891–3).

D.S. RICHARDS

**Ayyām al-'Arab see Battle Days**

**Ayyüb, Dhū al-Nūn (1908–88)**

Iraqi prose writer and translator. Born in Mosul, Ayyüb graduated from the Baghdad Higher College for Teachers' Training, where he studied as a teacher of mathematics. He translated works from English (H.G. Wells, Hemingway) and Russian (Turgenev). He was editor of the Mosul literary journal *al-Majalla* from 1938 to 1944, and published most of his stories therein. These were subsequently collected in eleven anthologies from *Rusul al-thaqāfa* (1937–8) to *Qīṣaṣ min Fiyanna* (1957); they are full of social criticism and marked by a tone of biting irony. His novels *al-Duktūr Ibrāhīm* (1939) and *al-Yad wa-al-arḍ wa-al-mā'* (1948) depict the hard life in Iraqi villages, *al-Yad* reflecting the author's personal experiences in an agricultural project. In 1948 Ayyüb was elected deputy of Mosul, but he was later court-martialled with some friends and had to return to teaching. He later became Director of the Institute of Fine Arts in Baghdad. In 1954 he emigrated to Vienna. After the 1958 revolution in Iraq he returned to work for the Iraqi Broadcasting Corporation, but emigrated again in 1961 to Vienna, where he lived until his death on 6 September 1988.

**Text edition**

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W. WALTHER

**Ayyüb, Rashīd (1872–1941)**

Mahjar poet. Born in Biskinta (Lebanon), Ayyüb lived for three years in Paris from 1889, and another three years in Manchester, before travelling to New York. His first volume of poetry, *Ayyūbiyyāt*, appeared in New York in 1916; his second volume, *Aghānī al-darwish*, was published in New York in 1928, with a foreword by Nu'ayma; his third volume, *Hiya al-dunyā*, appeared in New York in 1940 with a foreword by Shukr Allāh al-Jurr from Rio de Janeiro. One of the 'workers' of al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya, Ayyüb is a poet of love, of pain and of wine – many of his poems reflecting his nostalgia for his country of birth and his younger years. He died in New York.

**Further reading**

- al-Sā'ih: al-'adad al-mumtāz* (1927), 4.

C. NIJLAND

**Ayyūbids**

The dynasty of the Ayyūbids was founded by the Kurdish general Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: 532–89/1138–93). It is named after Saladin's father Ayyüb who, together with his brother Shīrkūh, rose to prominence in the service of the house of Zangī. After participating in various expeditions to Egypt sent by Nūr al-Dīn, son of Zangī, Saladin took power there, initially as vizier of the last Fāṭimid caliph. Nūr al-Dīn died in 569/1174, and Saladin, assuming the mantle of leadership of the anti-Crusader *jihād*, spread his control to Syria and Mesopotamia. This religious and political role of the dynasty is celebrated by an impressive series of contemporary historians. His descendants, and those of his brother al-'Ādil, ruled until the Mongol invasions and the rise of the Mamlūk sultanate in the middle of the thirteenth century CE. The Ayyūbid state was a loose confederation with overall control normally in the Egyptian branch. There were separate principalities in Damascus, Aleppo, Mesopotamia, Homs, Hama and Transjordan.

After Saladin the dominant sultans were al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr (d. 615/1218), al-Kāmil Muḥammad (d. 635/1238) and al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249).

The members of the Ayyūbid dynasty were noted patrons of literature, although this was only what was expected of rulers and need not in all cases indicate a real love of literature. Several of the family, however, were themselves practitioners of literature, mainly as poets and historians. The prince of Baalbek, al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh (d. 628/1231), a great-nephew of Saladin, was considered the best poet of the dynasty. The letters of the Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Dā‘ūd (d. 658/1258) were collected and survive till now. Among the administrative servants of the dynasty were famous stylists, such as **al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil** and **‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī**, whose official productions, apart from their histories and other writings, were collected and much admired by later generations. To these must be added **Diya’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athir** for his letters and literary criticism. Saladin himself was fond of poetry, and particularly admired the work of **‘Usāma ibn Muṇqidh**. Saladin’s lack of concern for the fate of the rich and vast Fāṭimid library may count against him as a bibliophile, but is perhaps explicable on ideological grounds. The Ayyūbid regime promoted Sunni religious learning and writings.

The branch of the Ayyūbid family which ruled in the Syrian town of Hama is particularly noteworthy not only for its patronage of historiography but also for its practise of that branch of literature. The prince Muḥammad ibn Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar (d. 617/1220) was the author of *Miḍmār al-ḥaqā’iq*, and the well-known **Abū al-Fidā**, under Mamlūk suzerainty the last Ayyūbid of Hama, wrote a resumé of Islamic history, which is especially valuable for his own times. The other historians of the period, native to Hama, are Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Naẓīf, author of *al-Ta’rikh al-Manṣūrī*, Ibn Abī al-Dam, and the more famous **Ibn Wāṣil**.

During this period fresh elements of Šūfī mysticism were introduced into poetry by ‘Umar **Ibn al-Fāriḍ** and **Ibn al-‘Arabī**, who was of Spanish origin. The latter, along with **Ibn Sanā’ al-Mulk**, gave the *muwashshah* form a place in the literature of Egypt and Syria. Two other noted poets closely connected to the dynasty were Ibn Maṭrūh and **Bahā’ al-Dīn Zuhayr**, the latter especially remarkable for the directness and charm of his lyrics.

#### Text edition

al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh al-Ayyūbī, *Dīwān*, Nāẓim Rashīd (ed.), Baghdad 1983.

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D.S. RICHARDS

### al-‘Āzār, Iskandar (1855–1916)

Greek Orthodox satirical journalist, dramatist, actor and poet, born in Beirut. He wrote for a number of papers, the weekly *al-Barq* publishing his articles under the pseudonym *Min ḥawāḍir al-bayt*. He also worked as a bank-clerk, managed silk factories, and became a member of the commercial court. He served the Arab cause from the time of Miḍḥat Pasha to that of the Hashemite Sharif Ḥusayn. Al-‘Āzār wrote plays on the legendary pre-Islamic war of al-Basūs, on famine in Anatolia, and in support of the education of women. His literary circle in Beirut was the meeting-place for most contemporary Lebanese poets; his own poetry, though rooted in classicism, displays a tendency towards modernism.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Azdī (fl. c.190/805)

Abū Ismā‘il Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Azdī, a historical compiler and author of a controversial *Futūḥ al-Shām (Conquest of Syria)*. The text begins with the caliph Abū Bakr summoning the tribes to arms in Medina, continues through the Syrian campaigns, and concludes with a brief note on the conquest of Caesarea. The work relies heavily on letters and speeches to tell its story, and also includes a number of popular tales (some rather lengthy)

relevant to the period and subject. Though once dismissed as a Crusade-period forgery, this work proves to be the earliest extant text on the Syrian conquest; it stresses the pre-eminence of the northern Syrian city of Ḥimṣ and the role of the southern Arab tribes. Its particular importance lies in its presentation of unique historical information and the way in which it highlights early perceptions and interpretations of the conquests among the early tradents circulating *akhbār* and *qiṣaṣ* on these events.

#### Text editions

*Futūḥ al-Shām*, William Nassau Lees (ed.), Calcutta (1854). (Currently the best edition, though with a number of gaps in the text, with a long English abstract; a new Arabic edition and English translation are forthcoming from Lawrence I. Conrad).

#### Further reading

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L.I. CONRAD

### al-Azdi, Abū al-Muṭahhar see Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdi

## al-Azhar

In 359/970 the Fāṭimid general Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī laid the foundations of what would become one of the most well-known institutions in the Islamic world. Completed two years later, it was inaugurated by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz on his arrival in Cairo in 361/973. Originally intended to serve as the congregational mosque of the new Fāṭimid capital of Cairo, it was known first as Jāmi' al-Qāhira, the 'Cairo mosque'; the name al-Azhar ('the most resplendent') was given to it around a century later, as more mosques came to be built in Cairo.

Al-Azhar was both a place of worship, where the Fāṭimid caliph himself often led the Friday prayer and the *khuṭba* was pronounced in his name (see **oratory and sermons**), and a centre for the teaching of **Ismā'īlī** law. Its status as a teaching institution was officialized in 378/988 with the appointment of scholars to study at al-Azhar and the construction of living quarters for them. One important work studied was the *Da'ā'im al-Islām* (*Pillars of Islam*) by the Qādī al-Nu'mān, taught by his son 'Alī. The study of law and of other religious sciences (Arabic languages; **grammar**; **Koran** and **exegesis**; *ḥadīth*) was open to the public (including women); contrary to popular belief, al-Azhar was not a centre for propagation of esoteric Ismā'īlī doctrines (which were taught only to initiates, in the palace itself) or for the training of missionaries (*dā'īs*).

Al-Azhar flourished under the Fāṭimids; the Sunnī **Ayyūbids** (567–648/1171–1250), however, destroyed the Fāṭimid books it housed, and the *khuṭba* was no longer read there. This practice was restored by the **Mamlūk** sultan Baybars in 665/1256; subsequent Mamlūk rulers made many further improvements and expanded the buildings attached to the mosque, and al-Azhar became one of the foremost centres of Sunnī workshop and study. Under the Ottomans (1517–1798) it continued to flourish, and from the eighteenth century onwards gained a monopoly over religious studies in Egypt. It was damaged by bombardment by Napoleon's troops during his occupation of Egypt in 1798–9, and was not greatly favoured by the modernizing **Muhammad 'Alī** (1805–48); the Khedives Tawfiq (1897–2) and 'Abbās Ḥilmī II (1892–1914) renovated and improved it and instituted major curricular and administrative reforms. Since then it has expanded further, with new buildings for administration, teaching and the housing of its teachers and students, who were originally assigned to *riwāqs* ('galleries') by nationality; students are now housed in a City for Foreign Students completed in 1959.

Like its physical site, al-Azhar's curriculum has changed and expanded over the centuries. Formerly an Ismā'īlī centre, and later a major Sunnī institution, it was also a site of **Ṣūfī** gatherings for preaching and worship. In Ottoman times a rector was appointed to head it, and its 'graduates' were issued with *ijāzas* (licences to teach). From the late nineteenth century onwards (due in part to the efforts of

Muḥammad 'Abduh) successive reforms introduced examinations and the issuing of diplomas (successful candidates received the title of 'ālim, 'religious scholar'); other Egyptian institutes became affiliated with it; salary regulations and a governing council were established; conditions for admission and curricula were reorganized and new subjects introduced (e.g. foreign languages; history of religions; mathematics and sciences). Between 1930 and 1936 laws were passed establishing al-Azhar as a university; in 1952 it became fully state-supported.

Al-Azhar's libraries are home to many important manuscripts. The institution's journal, *Majallat al-Azhar* (originally *Nūr al-Islām*), began publication in 1349/1936. Al-Azhar has known many famous teachers, including the physician 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī in the late sixth/twelfth century, and the historian Ibn Khaldūn in the eighth/fourteenth. The famous Ṣūfī poet Ibn al-Fārid resided there during the latter part of his life. More recently, the Egyptian writer Ṭāhā Ḥusayn has left a memoir of his student days at al-Azhar.

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J.S. MEISAMI

See also: education, medieval; education, modern

'Azzām, Samira (1925–67)

Palestinian short-story writer. Born in Acre, 'Azzām spent most of her life as a journalist and broadcaster in Iraq and the Levant. She produced five collections of short stories: *Ashyā' ṣaghīra* (1954), *al-Zill al-kabīr* (1956), *Wa-qīṣaṣ ukhrā* (1960), *al-Sā'a wa-al-insān* (1963) and *al-'Īd min al-nāfidha al-gharbiyya* (1971). Her novel *Sinā' bilā ḥudūd* remains in manuscript form.

Thematically, 'Azzām's short stories are dominated by the plight of the Palestinians after the 1948 war and the quest of Arab women for personal and social liberation in a male-dominated society. **Commitment** (*iltizām*) is a distinguishing mark of her outlook. 'Azzām believed that Arab women's quest for freedom was part and parcel of an overarching quest for political freedom by all Arabs, male and female – though the two issues are largely kept distinct in her works.

'Azzām's short stories are variable in quality. In those which show most artistic maturity, she relies on a psychoanalytic mode of narrative expression, dominated by what might be termed an 'internal monologue' technique. As a result, objective time is fractured and subjugated to the complex psychological states of her characters, creating a constellation of subjective temporal cadences which organize the flow of the narrative without, however, dominating it.

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Y. SULEIMAN



# B

## **Bā Makhrama, 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh (884–952/1479–1545)**

Famous Sūfī poet of South Arabia. Born into a celebrated family of scholars from Ḥaḍramawt (see **al-Ṭayyib Bā Makhrama**), he studied under the best 'ulamā' of his epoch, including his learned father, both in Ḥaḍramawt and Aden. Having mastered Islamic theology and law, he then turned to Sufism, and became one of its foremost exponents in Ḥaḍramawt, where he spent most of his life. His opposition to the high-handed dealings of the Ḥaḍramī sultan led to his expulsion to the port of al-Shiḥr, where his son 'Abd Allāh, the future theologian of high repute, was born in 907/1501. Eventually the sultan summoned Bā Makhrama to the capital, Saywūn, where he was later buried in a shrine still visited by pilgrims.

Although Bā Makhrama wrote at least two Sūfī treatises in prose, he is primarily known as a mystical poet. Influenced by the ideas of Sūfī classics – e.g. **al-Qushayrī**, **Ibn al-Fāriḍ**, and 'Umar **al-Suhrawardī** – Bā Makhrama made a point of propagating their mystical outlook among his countrymen. To this end, he wrote poetry in the local dialect and indigenous metre, making use of simple but vivid imagery. Apart from the classical Sūfis of old, Bā Makhrama also praised later Arabian saints and his pious contemporaries. His poetic works appealed to all audiences, including uneducated ones, who would have made little sense of classical Arabic. For all its simplicity, his poetry is elegant and pleasant to read and to hear. As a result, it enjoyed great popularity both in Ḥaḍramawt and the rest of Arabia. His verses were (and still are) recited at pious gatherings in the saints' shrines, during Sūfī recitations and religious festivals; yet none of his numerous poetical collections have so far been published.

### Further reading

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al-Saqqāf, 'Abd Allāh, *Ta'rikh al-shu'arā' al-Ḥaḍramiyyīn*, Ta'if (n.d.), vol. 1, 130–41.  
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A. KNYSH

## **bāba**

A term used to mean 'scene' and 'play', in both medieval live theatre and *shadow plays*, and as a synonym of the Umayyad term *la'ba* (play) and the ninth-century term *faṣl* (scene). As in the case of the term *khayālī* (actor of shadow and/or live theatre – see *khayāl*), such as 'Alī and Muḥammad **Ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī**, *bāba* is also used as a family name, as in the case of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Bāba (see Rosenthal, *Humour in Early Islam*, 11).

The definition of the term *bāba* by Aḥmad **al-Khafājī** (d. 977/1569) was misunderstood by many scholars who thought that it denoted only shadow play scenes. In fact the author distinguishes between *khayāl al-izār* (the curtain play, i.e. shadow-play) and the performances of the twelfth-century actor Ja'far al-Rāqīṣ (the dancer), who performed live plays with pantomime dancing (*Shifā' al-ghalīl*, Cairo, 1952, p. 73). **Ibn Dāniyāl** (1248–1311) called his shadow-plays *bāba*, and **Ibn al-Ḥājj** (d. 1336) described in his *al-Madkhal* (Cairo, 1952, 1: 146–7) a live play called *Bābat al-qāḍī* (*The Scene of the Judge*), performed by dancing actors wearing a judge's robes and uttering abuses against judges.

### Further reading

- Brakel, C. and Moreh, S., 'Reflections on the Term *Bāba*: From Medieval Arabic Plays to Contemporary Javanese Masked Theatre', *Edebiyāt*, n.s. 7 (1996), 21–39.  
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Sa'd, Fārūq, *Khayāl al-ẓill 'inda al-'Arab*, Beirut (1991).

S. MOREH

See also: acting and actors, medieval; theatre and drama, medieval

### al-Babbaghā' (313–98/925–1008)

Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Naṣr al-Babbaghā', poet and prose writer from Naṣībīn (Nisibis) in Iraq. Being called 'The Parrot' on account of a speech defect (or perhaps because of his fluency) did not prevent him from establishing a reputation in Aleppo at the court of Sayf al-Dawla (see **Ḥamdānids**). After Sayf al-Dawla's death he lived in various places; he died in **Baghdad**. Some of his verse (which **Ibn al-Nadīm** describes as filling 300 folios) and prose is preserved in the *Yatīmat al-dahr* by **al-Tha'ālībī**.

Text editions

*Shi'r*, Hilāl Nājī (ed.), *MMII* 34 (2) (1983), 280–314; 34 (3) (1983) 287–330; Su'ūd Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Jābir (ed.), Doha (1983).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### al-Badawī, Maḥmūd (1911?–85)

Egyptian short-story writer. Born in al-Akrād, al-Badawī studied literature at the University of Cairo. His first publications were translations from the Russian of short stories by Chekhov, which he published in the periodical *al-Risāla* in 1933. His first book, *al-Raḥīl*, appeared in 1935. From then on – unusually for an Egyptian writer – he devoted himself exclusively to the short story, producing in all some nineteen collections. Al-Badawī's work shows clearly the influence of Russian literature, especially Chekhov, in both theme and technique. Building on the work of **Lāshīn** and al-Madrasa al-Ḥadītha (New School), he expanded the scope of the Egyptian short story through his wide variety of locations and characters; his stories demonstrate a keen awareness of the social structure of Egyptian society, and his treatment of sexual themes (often linked with themes of death) is at times unusually bold.

Further reading

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P. STARKEY

### Badawī al-Jabal (1907–81)

Pseudonym of Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Aḥmad, Syrian poet. Born in Dīfa in Latakia province to a Shī'ī Alawite family, his father, the *imām* of the Alawites and a member of the Arab Academy of Language in Damascus, trained him in the best traditions of the classics. In 1925 he published his first *dīwān*, which contained conventional poems of occasion and of public interest. His early idea was of the poet as a public spokesman of his community, and during his political career he was active in al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī (the National Party), serving as a member of parliament six times, and a minister four times. As a result of his political involvement he was imprisoned and exiled. His public elegies are considered to be some of the best elegies written by any poet of his time. Moreover, he was regarded as one of the few creative neo-classical poets within the traditional classical framework.

However, his poetry, although traditional in form, showed considerable development over the years, as did his idea of the poet, because of his extensive reading of Ṣūfī literature: extolling the kingdom of the heart, he states that, 'When a poet finds his way to the world of his heart, then he has found his way to the beauty of his God, and sipped the wine of His knowledge and love'. Under the influence of the Ṣūfī poets, especially **Ibn al-Fāriḍ**, he penetrated the abysses of the self, expressing a pantheistic fusion with the whole of nature and the universe. His diction was both fresh and classical, and his imagery was never alienated from the classical concept; indeed, his style has been compared to that of **al-Buḥturī**. He rejected the innovation of *shi'r ḥurr* (**free verse**), arguing that the classical forms are entirely adequate for all that needs to be expressed. A full collection of his poetry was published in Beirut in 1978 with an introduction by Akram Zu'aytar.

Further reading

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R. SNIR

## al-Badawī al-Mulaththam (1909–71)

Pseudonym of Ya'qūb al-'Awdāt, Jordanian writer, literary critic and scholar. Born in al-Karak, he studied in Irbid and worked in teaching for about five years. He subsequently moved to Amman, where he worked in the prime minister's bureau and parliamentary secretariat until 1941. He was then employed as a translator in Jerusalem. He returned to Jordan in 1948, and after spending about two years in South America was appointed to the government accounting department in Amman until he retired. His numerous books and essays cover a variety of cultural and literary subjects: among them are *al-Bustānī wa-Ilyādhat Hūmīrūs* (1963) and *A'lām al-fikr wa-al-adab fī Filasṭīn* (1975). He also wrote many essays and books about Palestinian and Jordanian poets including Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān and 'Arār (pseud. for Muṣṭafā Wahbī al-Tall).

### Further reading

Farhūd, Kamāl Qāsim, *A'lām al-adab al-'Arabī fī al-'aṣr al-ḥadīth*, Haifa (1989), 424.  
*al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ* (23 September 1993), 19.

R. SNIR

## *badī'*

Literally, 'something novel, original', *badī'* starts out as a critical term denoting a certain new phenomenon in 'modern' poetry and gradually evolves, as a technical term, into a collective noun meaning 'rhetorical figures'.

### Before Ibn al-Mu'tazz

Indigenous literary history credits the poet **Muslim ibn al-Walid** (d. 208/823) with being the first to have cultivated *badī'* poetry and to have called it by that name, albeit in conjunction with a similar adjective – *al-badī' wa-al-laṭīf*, 'the novel and refined'. Earlier poets are sometimes named as inventors of *badī'*, but the words used in conjunction with Muslim point to his major role in creating a new style of poetry: he 'expanded' the *badī'*, he 'strove'

for it, he 'refined' it or, from the enemies of the new development, he 'corrupted poetry'. The texts do not offer a definition of the term, but the earliest interpretable occurrences – those accompanied by poetic example(s) – refer without exception to verses containing a borrowing-metaphor of the type, 'death sinks its claws in', where the 'claws' are 'borrowed' from a predator and given to death 'on loan'. The 'modern' poets were very audacious in creating such metaphors – often on the basis of existing figurative usages – and Muslim is no exception.

A more general understanding of *badī'* has also been suggested (S.P. Stetkevych), one in which *badī'*, as an encoding metaphorizing process, is the opposite of the *ta'wīl* (allegorical exegesis) of the **Mu'tazilī** theologians, which consists in decoding Koranic anthropomorphisms as figurative usages (see also **exegesis, Koranic**). The textual basis for this idea is, however, rather shaky.

### Ibn al-Mu'tazz

**Ibn al-Mu'tazz** (d. 296/908) was the first to devote a monograph to this topic, aptly called *Kitāb al-Badī'* (*The Book of the Novel [Style]*). He subsumes five phenomena under the general category of *badī'*: borrowing-metaphor, paronomasia, antithesis, anticipating the rhyme-word with an echo-word, and theological cant. Far from being adamant about this, he allows the reader to limit or to extend the compass of the term; obviously it was still rather fluid. In order to show that he is aware of more figures of speech than the five just mentioned, he adds a chapter on twelve 'beauties' of speech. This distinction is almost immediately given up after Ibn al-Mu'tazz. The borrowing-metaphor is still very prominent, being the first *badī'* phenomenon to be treated and often being combined with the other four types – which is probably the reason that Ibn al-Mu'tazz brought them together under the common name *badī'*. However, the main intention of the book is not to be a systematic account, but an apologetic piece of writing: Ibn al-Mu'tazz affirms that, contrary to its name, *badī'* is nothing 'new': it can be found in the ancient literature, including the **Koran**; and that it is only the conscious search of the 'moderns' which makes a difference. This is clearly a legitimizing effort to defuse the criticism of those who abhor this innovation.

### Later developments

Al-Āmidī (d. 371/981), in his comparison of the poetry of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, does in fact restrict the application of *badī'* to the first three figures in Ibn al-Mu'tazz's list. But only a few decades later Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. 395/1005), compiling the various lists of rhetorical figures including Qudāma's (who does not use the term *badī'*), arrives at thirty-nine different types. This figure increases dramatically through the centuries: in Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1348, other dates are also given) it reaches 151.

With al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), the knowledge of rhetorical figures ('*ilm al-badī'*') becomes an independent discipline within rhetoric or the 'science of eloquence' ('*ilm al-balāgha*'), as it is called in the handbooks of the later Middle Ages. The figures of speech are divided into two groups, those of the wording, such as paronomasia, and those of the meaning, such as antithesis. Since the theory of imagery ('*ilm al-bayān*') is a separate field within rhetoric, the metaphor, which started the *badī'* history, ends by being taken off the list of rhetorical figures, as do simile, analogy and periphrasis. (See **rhetoric and poetics**.)

Starting with Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī a special type of poem called *badī'iyya* is introduced into Arabic literature. These are poems in praise of the Prophet in which each line contains one figure of speech, and sometimes more than one. Normally, the poet would write his own commentary to explain the figures involved and give further examples. This may result, as it does in the case of Ibn Ma'sūm (d. 1117/1705), in an enormous anthology of poetry arranged according to figures of speech.

Late pre-modern poetry became almost synonymous with rhetorical and technical artifices; it was against this '*badī'* poetry', as it came to be known, that the fathers of modern Arabic poetry, under Western influences and harking back to the golden ages of Arabic poetry, made a new beginning.

### Further reading

(For texts by individual authors, see the entries for those authors.)

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W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: ancients and moderns; literary criticism, medieval; metaphor; rhetorical figures

### Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (358–98/968–1008)

Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, *adīb* and poet, famous as the originator of the *maqāma* genre of Arabic prose. Born in Hamadan, where he studied with the grammarian Aḥmad ibn Fāris, he began his career at the age of twenty-two, at the court of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād in Rayy, then travelled east to Jurjan and Nishapur, spending the rest of his life in the Iranian east. A *Wunderkind* who could compose ornate epistles backwards and dazzle with other verbal pyrotechnics (the sobriquet Badī' al-Zamān, 'Wonder of the Age', was apparently bestowed on him early in his career), he achieved his first literary triumph by defeating the celebrated but ageing *adīb* Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī in a contest in improvisation in prose and poetry in Nishapur.

By this time he had already begun to compose his *maqāmāt*, brief (between 200 and 2,000 words) fictional narrative vignettes in rhymed prose (*saj'*), interspersed with verse, designed to show off his verbal artistry. Fifty-two of these survive, each introduced as a report by a narrator named 'Īsā ibn Hishām, who in most of them encounters a rogue named Abū al-Faḥ al-Iskandarī, each time in a different part of the Islamic world. Abū al-Faḥ's manifold ways of exploiting his eloquence to trick a gullible public, his identity often being revealed only in a surprise ending, is the major thread running through the 'plots' of these sketches (although some of them lack any such tricks, and a dozen of them even lack this protagonist). Many of them consist essentially of framed rhetorical pieces (a sermon, a parody of a father's admonitory testament to his son, a series of riddles, a cursing match), and perhaps the most persuasive of the various interpretations which have been proposed for the term *maqāma* ('standing') is that it represents an informal, or disreputable, parallel to the *majlis* ('sitting, session') of the proper Muslim or Arabic scholar. Al-Hamadhānī's *maqāmāt* were quickly imitated by other

littérateurs, and the spectacular success of those of al-**Harīrī** a century later, following a much more rigid format, canonized the *maqāma* as a major genre of Arabic literature up to modern times. (Al-**Harīrī**'s *maqāmāt* seem to have put those of al-Hamadhānī somewhat in the shade; unlike the former, the latter were never the occasion for philological commentary.)

Unlike the vagabond hero of his *maqāmāt*, al-Hamadhānī seems to have been a good bourgeois, adhering to the dominant Shāfi'ī legal school and Ash'arī theology of his adopted lands and marrying into the gentry of Herat, where he settled after making a triumphant circuit of the local courts of the east and offering panegyrics to their rulers. (Six of his *maqāmāt* praise Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, the *amīr* of Sijistan.) Besides his *maqāmāt*, we have a collection of 136 of his epistles, written in an equally elaborate and brilliant style and addressed to various patrons and other notables, scholars, and littérateurs throughout the east, as well as a relatively modest poetic *diwān*. Al-Hamadhānī died in Herat, barely forty years old.

Text editions

- None of al-Hamadhānī's works have been critically edited. The most useful editions are:  
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*Kashf al-ma'ānī wa-al-bayān 'an Rasā'il Badī' al-Zamān*, I.A. al-Ṭarābulī (ed.), Beirut (1890).  
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- Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī', *JAOS* 107 (1987), 653–73.  
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E.K. ROWSON

See also: *maqāma*

**badīha** see improvisation

badī'iyāt

The growing popularity of *badī'* – the branch of rhetoric that concerned itself not with imagery but mainly with the 'embellishments' which could be moulded by toying with the phonetic or graphic forms of words – led to the creation of a new genre: poems in praise of the Prophet, the main aim of which was to illustrate every one of the 'schemes' that ingenuity could devise.

**Safī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī** (c.677–c.749/1278–1349) is widely recognized as the creator of the first *badī'iyya*, although credit is sometimes given to his younger contemporary, Shams al-Dīn ibn Jābir al-Andalusī (d. 780/1378). A string of emulators followed, stretching down to modern times, each attempting to swell the number of devices – mainly by subtle sub-divisions – so that the total was brought up to more than 150.

Al-Ḥillī also initiated the practice of writing a commentary on his own composition. The most elaborate of the late imitations, such as that of 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (1050–1143/1641–1731) whose commentary reviews the efforts of most of his predecessors, amount to veritable treatises of *badī'*.

In the nineteenth century, a Maronite priest, al-Khūrī Arsānyūs al-Fākhūrī, composed two *badī'iyyas* in which the theme was changed to the praise of Jesus.

Text edition

- Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Nafahāt al-azhār 'alā nasamāt al-ashhār fī madh al-nabī al-Mukhtār*, Bulaq (1299 AH), Beirut (1299 AH).

Further reading

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P. CACHIA

**Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī** *see* **al-'Aynī**,  
**Badr al-Dīn**

**badw** *see* **bedouin**

**Baghdad, medieval**

The capital of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate from the city's foundation in 145/762–3 to its capture by the Mongols in 656/1258, apart from a period in the third/ninth century when the caliphs resided in Samarra. The name 'Baghdad' belonged originally to a village with a Christian monastery near the site where the second 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr chose to build his new capital, which was officially called Madīnat al-Salām, the City of Peace. The site was on cultivated land on the west bank of the Tigris about 30 km upstream from the former Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon. The land was irrigated by navigable canals bringing water from the Euphrates, and the location provided the new city with a fertile agricultural hinterland as well as excellent long-distance riverine communications. The city or conurbation grew quickly into a rich mosaic of built-up areas, market-gardens, fields and date plantations. Building was mostly of mud-brick, easily produced on-site and as easily reducible to its original state.

Al-Manṣūr's original foundation was his famous Round City, a massive circular double rampart of mud-brick enclosing a space about 2 km in diameter, with a mosque and the caliph's palace at its centre. This was not the first such bastion thrown across the Tigris from the east; the Sasanians too had built a round walled city on the west bank of the Tigris opposite their capital on the east bank at Ctesiphon (Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton, 1984, p. 143). Al-Manṣūr's city was a heavily fortified seat of government, with only the caliph, his household and the leading officers of his Khurasani army and administration settled within its ramparts. The bulk of the army was settled in new suburbs outside the Round City, to the north, west and south. To the north, the suburb of al-Harbiyya became a large popular quarter, while to the south, the existing market settlement of al-Karkh grew into a great commercial district.

The Round City did not long remain the seat of government, and apart from its mosque it gradually fell into disuse. Its ramparts seem to have mostly disappeared during the fourth/ninth

century. During his own lifetime al-Manṣūr moved into a new palace just outside the Round City on the west bank of the Tigris, and began the construction of a new palace-complex on the opposite east bank for his son and successor al-Mahdī. East Baghdad soon became the favoured residence of the government élite, while west Baghdad saw the development of a truly urban economy and society. These were still underpinned by the military salaries and pensions paid to a large part of the population, but Baghdad also became the centre of an enormous free market in both trade and scholarship, rapidly eclipsing all other such centres throughout the Muslim world.

The relationship between city and state broke down in the civil war of 193–204/809–19, which ended, after a long siege, in military and political defeat for the Baghdadis. The caliphs were recruiting new armed forces in the east, and the Baghdadis could not prevent the consequent dilution of their political status and privileges. When the caliph al-Mu'taṣim took his new Turkish army off to Samarra in 220/835, Baghdad was left under the control of the **Tāhirids**, a family of military and political leaders who held simultaneously the autonomous governorship of **Khurasan**. This arrangement confirmed the city's original character as a bridgehead across the Tigris for a regime that drew its strength from the east, and seems to have suited the Baghdadis. Apart from a second long siege by the army of Samarra in 251/865–6, they were mostly insulated from the high politics of the 'Abbāsīd court, which at Samarra degenerated into a reckless and brutal struggle for pay amongst a barely civilized soldiery.

Tāhirid power was destroyed in Persia by the **Ṣaffārīds**, who tried but failed to replace them in the structure of the 'Abbāsīd empire. Al-Mu'taḍid, who became caliph in 279/892, once more took up residence in Baghdad. Cut off from its roots in the east, the city became for once in its history the true centre of a reduced, but for a time still vigorous, empire. However, it was during this period that the caliphs constructed yet another palace-complex on the east bank of the Tigris, downstream from the original eastern city and without its organic links to west Baghdad.

Baghdad was again occupied from the east when the **Būyīds** captured the city from their base in Fars in 334/945, bringing its people some respite from the renewed depredations of the caliphs' ungovernable armed forces, and affording protection from the rising power of

Bedouin tribes in the eastern Fertile Crescent. Yet Baghdad and the 'Abbāsīd caliphate remained marginal to the Būyids, and the key strategic link with Khurasan maintained by the Tāhirids was not restored. Būyid Fars became the favoured route for trade between eastern Persia and the Gulf, with a corresponding decline in the commercial prosperity of Baghdad. Life in the city became poisoned by religious fanaticism and intercommunal violence between Sunnīs and Shi'īs, both groups taking on their distinctive sectarian characters in the Būyid period. It was from this conflict that Baghdādī Sunnism and the 'Abbāsīd caliphate each found a new role as the protector of the other, a relationship which prospered with political underpinning once again from the east following the establishment of Saljūq power in Persia, and the Saljūq capture of Baghdad in 447/1055.

Baghdad's days as a great conurbation had nevertheless gone with those of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate as the great state that could guarantee its security. The city began to cluster around the caliphs' palaces of lower east Baghdad, and was surrounded there for the first time in its history with a permanent city wall. The surviving suburbs on the west bank became separate townships with their own walls. City and caliph yet maintained a certain dignity under the Saljūq political order, perhaps best symbolized by the newly founded Nizāmiyya college of Sunnī religious science and the work of al-Ghazzālī, a teacher at the college and the most widely respected of Sunnī intellectuals. In the late sixth/twelfth and early seventh/thirteenth centuries the 'Abbāsīd caliphs enjoyed a period of unaccustomed political independence, and Baghdad the status of a provincial city state, before the onslaught of the Mongols. Their siege of the city in 656/1258 ended with a massacre of its inhabitants, much looting and destruction of property, and the execution of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, the last to live in Baghdad.

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R. A. KIMBER

See also: 'Abbāsīds

**al-Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Laṭīf see 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī**

**al-Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Umar see 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Umar al-Baghdādī**

**Baghdādī, Shawqī (1928– )**

Contemporary Syrian short-story writer. Born in Bāniyās, Baghdādī took a degree in literature and a diploma in education at the University of Damascus. He has been a prominent representative in Syria of the movement of socialist realism, and was one of the founders of the Rābiṭat al-Kuttāb al-Sūriyyīn. His story *Hīna yabshuq Daman* (Beirut, 1954) may be taken as representative of the work of the social realists. He has introduced a new technique to the art of the short story by using predominantly first-person narrative rather than third-person narrative. His later works include *Bayna wisāda wa-al-'unuq* (Damascus, 1974), *Baytuhā fī safh al-jabal* (Damascus, 1978) and *Laylā bilā 'ushshāq* (Beirut, 1979).

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M. J. L. YOUNG

**Bagtache, Merzak (1945– )**

Algerian novelist and short-story writer. Born in Algiers, he studied at a School of Interpreting, before holding various posts in information and the arts. He published his first short story in 1963. Since then he has published three collections of short stories and three novels. A gifted bilingual writer, he has also translated many works, including Boujedra's *Les 1001 années de la nostalgie*. Bagtache was one of the first writers to introduce the theme of the town into

Algerian literature, at a time when most short-story writers were producing rustic visions of life and society. The hero of his last novel, *Azzouz al-Kabrān*, is a character who imposes his rule on a whole village; below the surface, however, events and characters have a symbolic value and serve to introduce the author's theories on the exercise of power.

M. BOIS

**Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī see  
al-'Āmilī, Bahā' al-Dīn**

**Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād see Ibn  
Shaddād, Bahā' al-Dīn**

**Bahā' al-Dīn al-Ibshihī see  
al-Ibshihī**

**Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr  
(581–656/1186–1258)**

Abu al-Faḍl ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Azdī al-Muhallabī, called 'al-Bahā' Zuhayr', Egyptian poet born in Mecca; two poems from his *dīwān* deal with his juvenile years in the Hijaz. Al-Bahā's next residence was the city of Qūṣ, on the Nile in southern Egypt, the closest cultural centre for him to move to. In spite of his religious education under supervision of learned men like Ibn Daḡīq al-'Īd, he devoted most of his time to poetry. The ancient poets were high in his admiration, as seen from the allusions to and quotes from **Imru' al-Qays**, **Ḥassān ibn Thābit** and **al-Mutanabbī** which occur in his *dīwān*. In Qūṣ, al-Bahā' made friends with another poet, Ibn Maṭrūḥ, with whom he was to exchange poems of correspondence for a long time. In 607/1210 he addressed his first laudatory poem to the local governor of Qūṣ, Majd al-Dīn Isma'īl ibn al-Lamṭī.

The poet travelled extensively: in 612/1215 he appeared in Damascus, trying in vain to attract the attention of al-Malik al-'Ādil, a member of the then reigning Ayyūbid dynasty. Returning to Qūṣ in 618/1221, he sent from there a congratulatory poem to the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil celebrating the latter's victory over the Crusaders, who had just surrendered Dumyāt (Damietta). In 625/

1227 al-Bahā' settled in Cairo, serving al-Kāmil's son and substitute, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, whom he was to accompany as chief of his personal chancery (*ṣāhib dīwān al-inshā'*) on several military expeditions into Syria and northern Mesopotamia. When after some disappointment, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was chosen in 637/1240 as the new sultan of Egypt, al-Bahā' was rewarded for his loyalty by an appointment as vizier. Some ten years later, however, the Sultan had him dismissed because of an unfortunate error in the wording of a letter, at a time when there was the increasing threat of an invasion of the Delta by St Louis, leader of the Seventh Crusade. Though the Sultan conveniently died of old age in 647/1249, al-Bahā' could never again find a position as high as the one he had lost. He died in 656/1258, an obscure victim of a plague epidemic.

As well as laudatory poems, al-Bahā' composed much love poetry (*ghazal*). Though he always added an excessive number of rhetorical figures (in particular, *jinās*, paronomasia), his poems nevertheless give the impression of a natural flow of words. This naturalness was further enhanced by the language he used; he preferred keeping the style of his poems close to the spoken idiom of Egypt. It is interesting to note how some of his love-poems evoke the descriptions of ecstatic love found in the utterance of certain mystical poets like Ibn al-Kīzānī and **Ibn al-Fāriḍ**.

Text edition

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P. SMOOR

**Bāhila see tribes**

**Bahlūl see Buhlūl**

**Bahr see prosody**



## Bahrām, romance of

The Sasanian ruler Bahrām V, nicknamed Gōr ('Onager [hunter]'), ruled from 420 to 428 CE after living his early life among the Arabs of Hira. Information about his life is given by **Ibn Qutayba**, **Abū Ḥanifa al-Dīnawarī** and **al-Ṭabarī**. Legends concerning Bahrām were in oral circulation at a popular level, and these were elaborated into literary form in the Persian works of Firdawsī (d. 1020) and Nizāmī (d. 1207). An author as early as **Ibn al-Nadīm**, in his chapter on Persians' *asmār* ('evening stories'), refers to a *Kitāb Bahrām wa-Tersī* (sc. Narsi?). Our knowledge of the Arabic romance of Bahrām derives from M. Pantke's study of a Cairene folk-book discovered by her. Its 'author' is 'Abd Allāh al-Šawī (born in 1902), an Egyptian man of letters who published **al-Tha-'ālibī**, **al-Mas'ūdi**, **Ibn Qutayba**, etc.; he is said to have used a recent manuscript, adding some information taken from works of history and geography. Pantke's analysis of the romance's contents draws parallels especially with Nizāmī's *Haft paykar* (also known as *Bahrām-nāma*). The source of the romance might be an Arabic work which has not survived, containing a compendium of Persian romantic and epic literary texts. The romance's contents are: (1) Bahrām's childhood and youth; (2) the struggle for the throne; (3) the story of the slave-girl Fitna; (4) war against the king of China; (5) the campaign against the emperor of Rūm; (6) his Indian adventure; (7) Bahrām and the seven princesses; (8) the story of the unfaithful vizier and Bahrām's death.

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G. CANOVA

## Bahri Mamlūks see Mamlūks

## Bāhūt, Wadī' (c.1885–1952)

Maronite Lebanese Mahjarī writer. Born in Kafr Mattā, Bāhūt worked in trade. A member of **al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya**, his contribution to the Association was a comparatively minor one. Indeed, according to Mikhā'il Nu'ayma, the counsellor of the Association, Bāhūt, after he had joined the Association, wrote only one essay, *al-Barghasha*, published in the Association's first (and last) collection, entitled *Majmū'at al-Rābiṭa al-Qalamiyya li-sanat 1921*. This essay, a dialogue between the writer and the most despised creatures, expressed socialist and humanistic views. Bāhūt, together with Ilyās 'Aṭā' Allāh and William Catzefflis, are sometimes referred to by critics of the Mahjarī school as the 'unknown soldiers' of this school (see also **Mahjar literature**).

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R. SNIR

## Bākathīr, 'Alī Aḥmad (1910–69)

Poet, novelist and dramatist. Born in Indonesia to Ḥaḍramawti parents, Bākathīr moved in 1934 to Egypt, where he spent the rest of his life. He graduated in English language and literature from Cairo University. An early pioneer of experiments in Arabic metre, he translated part of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* into Arabic free verse while still a student. After graduating in 1940, he worked first as a schoolmaster, then in the Egyptian Ministry of Culture.

Bākathīr's output was both prolific and varied. In addition to poetry and novels, he

produced more than thirty plays, many in verse, as well as a massive dramatization of early Islamic history entitled *al-Malḥama al-Islāmiyya al-kubrā*: 'Umar. His plays – which show a preference for subjects derived from history, legend and folklore – deal with a range of subjects including the character of the caliph al-Ḥākim (*Sirr al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh*, 1947), Shahrzād (*Sirr Shahrzād*, 1953), and the Koranic story of the two angels (*Hārūt wa-Mārūt*); for the last of these, he was awarded the State Prize for Literature in 1962. Although less comfortable with subjects based on social themes, many of Bākathīr's works have contemporary relevance: *Mismār Juḥā* (1951), for example, based on the traditional character of **Juḥā**, makes allusion to the British occupation of Egypt; while the novel *al-Thā'ir al-aḥmar* (1952) is an attempt to promote the return to Islamic principles as a solution for the Arab world's problems.

Bākathīr's work is of uneven quality. Many of his plays lack dramatic qualities, and his work suffers from a narrowness of vision associated with the author's passionate belief in Islam and his anti-Marxist stance.

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P. STARKEY

### al-Bākharzī, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan (c.418–67/ c.1027–75)

Poet, prose stylist, and anthologist, born in the district of Bākharz near Nishapur, in eastern Iran, where he also died. Educated in Shāfi'i law and Arabic prose and poetry in Nishapur, he travelled extensively in Saljūq Iran and Iraq throughout his life, enjoying patronage and employment in the chanceries under numerous major officials, of whom the most important were the viziers al-Kundurī (on whom he composed a famous elegy) and Niẓām al-Mulk. His most important work is the *Dumyat al-qasr* (*Female Statue of the Palace*), an anthology of contemporary Arabic poets and prose writers from throughout the Islamic world, intended as a sequel to the *Yatīmat al-dahr* and *Tatimmat al-yatīma* of al-Tha'ālībī

and dedicated to Niẓām al-Mulk. His poetic *dīwān* and a brief epistle on hunting have also been published, and a few verses in Persian are recorded by 'Awfī.

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E.K. ROWSON

### Bakhtīshū' see Bukhtīshū'

### Bakr ibn al-Naṭṭāh (d. 222/837)

'Abū Wa'il Bakr ibn al-Naṭṭāh ibn Abī Ḥimār al-Hanafī was from Basra; a one-time *ṣu'lūk* poet (see *ṣa'ālik*), he moved to Baghdad and became attached to the circle of Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī. He wrote panegyrics on Mālik ibn 'Alī al-Khuzā'i (governor of Basra) and Mālik ibn Ṭawq (governor of Damascus in the reign of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd). Both long and short poems survive of an accessible but eloquent language. Much in his diction echoes the desert tradition of Arabic poetry.

#### Text editions

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P.F. KENNEDY

### Bakr ibn Wa'il see tribes

### al-Bakrī, Abū 'Ubayd see Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī

## Bakrī family

1. 'Alī Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (898–952/1492–1545), and 2. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Abī al-Surūr (998–c.1060/1589–c.1650).

They belonged to the Egyptian Bakrī family residing in Cairo which produced many 'ulamā' and shaykhs of the Bakriyya ṭarīqa. 'Alī Abū al-Ḥasan; himself a shaykh of the order, is more famous according to the biographers and chroniclers than the historian Ibn Abī al-Surūr, who left a large number of works, some of which are erroneously ascribed to his father Muḥammad Abū al-Surūr in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

(1) The authorship of Abū al-Ḥasan's writings is not in each case unquestioned; other Bakrīs might be their authors. They deal with mystical topics and Koran exegesis. Like other Sūfīs, he spent much time in Mecca. His poetry is collected in *Tarjumān al-asrār wa-tajalliyyāt al-akhyār. Hidāyat al-murīd lil-sabīl al-ḥamīd* consists of Sūfī treatises. Other writings deal with *tafsīr* (exegesis) and theological themes. A *Kitāb al-nubdha fī faḍā'il Sha'bān* was abridged by his grandson Muḥammad Abū al-Surūr (d. 1007–8/1598), father of Ibn Abī al-Surūr (Muḥibbī. *Khulāṣa*, vol. 1, 117), who is supposed to have written several works on *tafsīr* ('Alī Mubārak, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 3: 427–8). *Al-Durra al-mukallala fī faṭḥ Makka al-Mubajjala and Dhakhīrat al-'ulūm wa-natījat al-fuhūm* are erroneously ascribed to him by Brockelmann in *El*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 1, 965.

(2) Ibn Abī al-Surūr's *oeuvre* includes universal histories which are partially related to each other. These works almost all end with the history of the Ottoman state and events in Egypt in the author's own period (respectively the time of composition). 'Uyūn al-akhbār wa-nuzhat al-abṣār, his main work, is accompanied by a summarized version called *Wasīṭat al-'iqd al-farīd li-mā ḥawā min al-durr al-naḍīd and al-Minaḥ al-raḥmāniyya fī al-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, limited to the Ottoman state, a topic not found in the 'Uyūn. Further works belonging to this group are *Nuzhat al-abṣār wa-juhaynat al-akhbār and Tuḥfat al-zurafā' fī dhikr al-mulūk wa-al-khulafā'*. Works dealing exclusively with the history of Egypt start with a pre-Ottoman item but then narrate events running to different time limits. To this cate-

gory belong half a dozen works at least. Where Egypt's history in Ottoman times is described, Ibn Abī al-Surūr arranges events according to the period of office of successive governors or in annalistic form using the reigns of the Ottoman sultans and their pashas in Egypt as a framework reminiscent of the later sultan–pasha chronicle. Among other works should be mentioned *Kashf al-kurba fī raf' al-fulba* (ed. 'A.'A. 'Abd al-Rahīm, *Egyptian Historical Review*, 23 [1976]: 291–384), which refers to the governor's successful suppression of the troops' claim to impose taxes themselves in a certain district in the year 1017/1608–9.

### Further reading

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O. WEINTRITT

## al-Bakrī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Wā'iz (seventh/thirteenth century?)

The alleged author of numerous colourful and largely fictional prose romances dealing with the life of the Prophet and the early Islamic conquests. Al-Dhahabī and other 'ulamā' of the Mamlūk period denounced him as an inveterate liar. Typical of the work ascribed to him is the *Futūḥ al-Yaman*, in which 'Alī fights against the wonder-working pagans of Yemen and has many fairy-tale adventures. The *al-Anwār wa miṣbāḥ al-surūr wa-al-afkār fī dhikr Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā al-Mukhtār* is a life of the Prophet, graced with mystical and supernatural embellishments. Al-Bakrī's various works, some of which seem to have been written in the Mamlūk period (though others are centuries older), show a considerable variation in style. Therefore one should think of 'al-Bakrī' as designating a sub-genre of entertaining literature rather than as a single author.

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R. IRWIN

## al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfiq (1870–1932)

Egyptian poet and prose writer. Born to a distinguished family belonging to the Bakriyya Ṣūfī brotherhood, he was appointed in 1892 to be *shaykh* of the brotherhood, and was also involved in politics as a member of parliament. His relations with the khedive 'Abbās II deteriorated following a poem he had written in 1897 (together with al-Manfalūṭī) which was considered an insult to the khedive. As a result, he began suffering from paranoia, and in 1911 was admitted to a psychiatric hospital in Beirut. He returned, uncured, to Cairo in 1928. Al-Bakrī is a typical representative of the neo-classicist rhetorical Egyptian prose tradition. He is best known as the author of *Ṣahārij al-lu'lu'* (Cairo, 1907), in whose introduction he declares that he aims at the eloquence of al-Ḥarīrī and the language of Ru'ba ibn al-'Ajjāj. This work contains three travel impressions (two from France and one from Constantinople); an ode to solitude; a description of a ball in Vienna; a glorification of Saladin; and finally the announcement of the birth of the author's son. The prose material is interspersed with several poems – indeed, some critics have appreciated al-Bakrī more as a poet than as a prose writer. His love-poem *Dhāt al-qawāfī* was considered by al-'Aqqād to be the first to employ *shi'r mursal* (blank verse). Among his other works is *Bayt al-ṣiddīq* (1323/1905–6), in which he outlined his biography as well as his public and literary career until that year (pp. 11–26).

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R. SNIR

## al-Balādhuri (d. 279/892)

Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī, a leading Iraqi historian, lived for most of his life in Baghdad (but travelled widely in the course of his studies) and was a prominent figure at the 'Abbāsīd court. His fame rests on two important histories. The first is his *Futūḥ al-buldān* (*Conquests of the Regions* – his own

title for the work was more accurate: *Umūr al-buldān*, *Affairs of the Regions*), a history of the Arab conquests, beginning with the campaigns of Muḥammad and then proceeding by region, but also including much information on culture, administration, social developments, taxation, and relations with Byzantium. One of the main reasons for writing this book, of which only a shorter version now survives, seems to have been a desire to treat separately matters he planned to exclude from his second work, which he began but never finished. This was the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* (*Genealogies of the Notables*), a history of famous personalities arranged by tribe, beginning with Muḥammad, the 'Alids, the Banū Hāshim/'Abbāsīds, 'Abd Shams (especially the Umayyad caliphs), and then other tribes. Al-Balādhuri used both written sources and oral accounts, and in numerous cases he incorporated into his text entire books or sets of lecture notes by earlier authorities (especially his teacher al-Madā'inī), either scattering these through his own text or copying them out in one place. Though often providing less detail than his younger contemporary al-Ṭabari, his histories remain sources of the first importance for the conquests and subsequent Islamic history.

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L.I. CONRAD

See also: *futūḥ*; historical literature

## Balāgha see rhetoric and poetics

### al-Ballanūbī (fifth/eleventh century)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ballanūbī, al-Kātib al-Ṣiqillī, Siculo-Arabic poet. He was born in Villanova (Sicily), and emigrated to Egypt at the time of the Norman conquest. Al-Ballanūbī was a well-known and well-appreciated panegyrist; in Cairo he celebrated such notables as the viziers of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanshir, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Anbārī (d. 1046), and al-Mudabbir (d. 1061). His contemporaries averred that he was the best grammarian in Alexandria and the most admired poet; this judgement has remained unchanged until today in both the East and the West.

In panegyric, elegies and descriptive verses al-Ballanūbī uses the language and style of the neo-classical school, with an original capacity for observing reality. Due to the mistake of a copyist, a small part of his work has been transmitted under different names: Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kātib, or Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī al-Bishr; Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Bishrī al-Kātib. On the base of comparisons between the Escorialensis manuscript of his *dīwān* and poems reproduced in other anthologies, it is clear that the same verses are attributed both to him and to the two Bishrīs.

A particular aspect of al-Ballanūbī's production is found in a poem that has been considered as the sole surviving example of Siculo-Arabic strophic poetry, but which is in fact in the classical language readable according to different metres. It may be possible to place the poem in the transitional phase when the old metres were being adapted to new poetic forms. In this particular poem there are three different rhymes; each verse has two feet (six if we consider the whole stanza as a verse). It may be that the metre, indicated by the transmitter, was that of the first Spanish

strophic poems: the stanza of five verses (see *muwashshah*; strophic poetry.)

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F.M. CORRAO

### al-Bannā', Ḥasan (1906–49)

Islamic activist and founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. After receiving a traditional Islamic education and training as a school-teacher, in 1928 al-Bannā' was inspired by his perception of the moral decay and cultural confusion resulting from the British occupation of Egypt to found the organization which was to represent his life's work: the Muslim Brotherhood. Intellectually he was influenced by al-Afghānī, 'Abduh and Riḍā, but his originality lay in his insistence on activism and on the comprehensiveness of Islam. So extensive were his organization's activities (social, educational, medical, economic and political) at the height of its influence in the 1940s that it became almost a 'state within a state'. His assassination followed the murder of the Egyptian prime minister al-Nuqrāshī in 1948.

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K. ZEBIRI

### Bannūna, Khannātha (1940– )

Moroccan novelist and short-story writer, writing in Arabic. Born in Fez, Bannūna worked as a teacher and is at present headmistress of a secondary school in Casablanca. She

has contributed to newspapers and periodicals throughout the Arab world. Her published works include a novel, *al-Ghad wa-al-ghaḍab* (1981), and several collections of short stories: *Li-yaṣqū al-ṣamt* (1965), *al-Nār wa-al-ikhṭiyār* (1968), *al-Ṣawt wa-al-ṣūra* (1975), *al-ʿAṣifa* (1975) and *al-Ṣamt al-nāṭiq* (1987). Her works reflect the quest for identity of a new generation of Moroccans in the modern world.

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H. HILMY

## Banū Hilāl, romance of

In the second half of the tenth century, after rebelling against the caliphate of Baghdad, the bedouin tribe Banū Hilāl moved from Arabia to Egypt. In 1049 the Zīrid ruler of Tunisia, Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, declared independence from Cairo; to punish him the Banū Hilāl were incited to advance on Ifriqiyya. The Hilali tribes fell on Tunisia like 'a cloud of locusts' (**Ibn Khaldūn**). The first core of the saga was probably formed around the paeans of exultation and victory composed by Hilali poets, who by bedouin tradition glorified their tribe's deeds. The main historical characters are left in the shadows, with exaltation reserved for military leaders like Dhiyāb ibn Ghānim, Abū Zayd al-Hilālī and Zanātī Khalīfa, whose names are rarely or even never mentioned in the chronicles. Oral tradition was to cause the proliferation of Hilali dialect poems which **Ibn Khaldūn** mentioned and in some cases included at the end of the *Muqaddima*.

The *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* divides up into the following main cycles:

- 1 the *Sīra*, telling the story of the first Hilali generation (in the Yemen?);
- 2 the *Rihla*, with their wanderings in Najd up to the time of the great famine;
- 3 the *Riyāda*, about their exploring in search of new lands;
- 4 the *Taghriba*, with their great westwards migration and the conquest of Ifriqiyya;
- 5 Dhiyāb ibn Ghānim's tyranny and the revolt of the Hilali heroes' orphans (*Dīwān al-aytām*).

The romance has come down to us in two recensions, Hijazi (i.e. Egyptian) and Shami (Syrian). It was mainly told in Cairo, Beirut and

Damascus cafés by professional storytellers, but poetry and prose versions have been found in many areas, from north and sub-Saharan Africa to Yemen and Oman. Recent research, especially in Egypt and the Maghrib, has concentrated on the oral tradition: light has been thrown on the poets' and storytellers' repertoire, their narrative techniques and strategies, their social position and the poetry-music nexus, and important contributions made to the current debate on oral poetry and traditional literature.

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G. CANOVA

See also: popular literature; *sīra* literature; storytelling

**Banū Nawbakht** *see* **al-Nawbakhtī****Banū Sāsān**

In the Islamic world during the Middle Ages, urbanization, a rising number of unemployed learned people and economic development widened the gap between rich and poor. A class of beggars, rogues, criminals and tricksters developed from the third/ninth century onwards. This new class, called Banū Sāsān (Sons of Sāsān), attracted the interest of contemporary writers and poets.

Such vagabond, outcast and teeming underworld groups generally used the name of a dethroned dynasty or a rich and powerful family to claim noble descent. The Egyptian gypsies (*ghajar*), and the Egyptian female dancers (the *ghawāzī*), both claimed to be descended from the fallen Persian family of the **Barmakids**, destroyed by **Hārūn al-Rashīd**. The Banū Sāsān claimed to be of even more ancient Persian descent, from the king Sāsān ibn Bahman ibn Isfandiyār, who was deposed in favour of his sister, as a result of which he became a vagabond beggar followed by wanderers, rogues and beggars who formed the class of the Banū Sāsān in Persia.

Medieval writers from **al-Jāhīz** onwards were interested in the lower classes of society, and recorded their anecdotes and adventures to warn against their trickery and deceptions. Various talented poets were among the Banū Sāsān, among them Abū al-Ḥasan 'Uqayl al-'Ukbarī, to whom **al-Tha'ālībī** (d. 428/1037) devoted several pages, describing him as being elegant, and the wittiest poet of the beggars. It seems that he was the first poet to compose a *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya*, dealing with beggars and wanderers. Later, he was imitated by the traveller and physician **Abū Dulaf** al-Khazrajī, a poet and boon-companion to the **Sāhib Ibn 'Abbād** (326–85/938–95), in his own *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya*. In this long poem, published and edited with an English translation by C.E. Bosworth, Abū Dulaf described Sāsānī practices and their peculiar argot.

Another poem quoted by al-Tha'ālībī, also called a *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya*, is by Abū al-Qāsim **al-Wāsānī**, in which he described the calamities he had suffered at the hands of uninvited vagabonds who had attended his party, held near Damascus (see al-Tha'ālībī,

*Yatīma*, 1: 300–9). The third well-known *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya* was composed by the Iraqi poet **Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī** (d. 740/1339).

It seems that farces on the Banū Sāsān were performed by live actors, and were later integrated into the *maqāmāt* of both **Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī** and **al-Ḥarīrī** (see Moreh, *Live Theatre*, pp. 104–22). Bosworth describes the hero of these *maqāmāt* as 'a picaresque figure ... moving from town to town of the Islamic world, living by his wits and taking advantage of the infinite gullibility of the masses'. ('Jewish Elements', p. 289).

Later **Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl** (d. 710/1310–11) composed his *bāba 'Ajīb wa-Gharīb* (*The Wonderous Preacher and the Vagabond*), which contains tableaux of 'the affairs of vagabonds and the fraud among men of letters, who practise their professions and speak the argot of the Sheikh Sāsān' (Ibrāhīm Ḥamāda, *Khayāl al-zill wa-tamthiliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo, 1963, pp. 188–231). In the first scene Gharīb (the vagabond) enumerates the ways he earns his living: he frequents brothels, serves as a pimp, works at training animals (bears, rams, snakes, cats, dogs, mice), as a gambler, as a *faqīh* (jurist), poet, grammarian, quack doctor, oculist, herbalist, veterinarian and preacher. After presenting his professions, successive tableaux of Banū Sāsān appear: the vagabond (Gharīb), the snake-charmer (*al-ḥāwwā*), the maker of *ma'jūn*, the herbalist (*'ashshāb*), the acrobat, the conjuror (*musha'widh*), the astrologer (*munajjim*), the writer of amulets, charms and horoscopes, the trainers of lions, elephants, and goats, the lady's maid (*ṣāni'a*), the trainers of mice, cats, dogs and bears, the sword-swallower, the monkey-holder (*qarrād*), the equilibrist, the quack doctor and the executioner (*mashā'ilī*).

Besides the books of anecdotes on the Banū Sāsān collected by authors such as **al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī** (*Muḥādarāt*, Cairo 1870, 2: 108), the Syrian author 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Jawbarī revealed their tricks in his *Kitāb al-mukhtār fi kashf al-asrār wa-hak al-astār* (*Select Work on the Uncovering of Secrets and Tearing Away of Veils*) (c. 1222) – see Wild, 'Jugglers', 58–63 and Bosworth, 'Jewish Elements', 289–94). A great service to the study of the Banū Sāsān's literature, society and argot is rendered in C.E. Bosworth's excellent study *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld*: volume 1 deals with their social history, volume 2 with the texts of the *qaṣīdas* of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī,

critically edited and translated with linguistic and historical notes.

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S. MOREH

## Banū Umayya see Umayyads

### al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Qāḍī al-Bāqillānī, Mālikī jurist, controversialist of the orthodox Ash'arī school of theology, and early writer on *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, also known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī and, in Ash'arī writings, simply as al-Qāḍī ('the Judge'). He studied theology with two disciples of al-Ash'arī in Basra and, together with his fellow-students Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī and Ibn Fūrak, became the real founder of the Ash'arī school. His prowess in disputations was legendary, and two instances became particularly famous: one when he was summoned by the Būyid ruler 'Aḍud al-Dawla to Shiraz (in about 360/970–1) to debate with the Mu'tazilī scholars at the latter's court, when he did so well that the ruler entrusted him with the education of his son Ṣamsām al-Dawla, for whom he wrote his major theological work *al-Tamhīd fī al-radd 'alā al-mulhida* (*The Paving of the Way in Refuting the Heretics*), and the other when, in 372/982–3, he was sent by 'Aḍud al-Dawla on a diplomatic mission to the Byzantine emperor and engaged in religious debates. He is credited with a book, *al-Masā'il al-Qusṭanṭīniyya* (*The Constantinopolitan Questions*), possibly the source of the disputes mentioned in the biographical literature.

He was the first to devote a whole book, his *Kitāb i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, to the dogma of the inimitability of the Koran. To prove the stylistic unsurpassedness of the Holy Book he

analyses two poetic masterpieces, the pre-Islamic *Mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qays and a 'modern' poem by al-Buḥturī, with the express purpose of proving them deficient. He has a section on rhetorical figures (*badī'*) which, according to him, are not relevant for establishing the *i'jāz*, as the latter is rather embedded in the structural composition (*naẓm*) of the Koranic verses. One of his original contributions here is the analysis of verses into *kalimāt*, literally 'words', here: 'cola'.

#### Text editions

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W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*; literary criticism, medieval

## Baqṭāsh, Mirzāq see Bagtache, Merzak

### Bar Hebraeus (d. 685/1286)

Latin form of Ibn al-'Ibrī (Syriac Bar 'Ebhṛāyā), Abū al-Faraj (Grīghōr), a Jacobite ecclesiastical leader and author who was active in numerous fields of endeavour. His rapid rise through the church hierarchy culminated with his appointment as *maphrian* of the East in 662/1264. As a literary figure he was an accomplished master in many fields, and wrote in both Syriac and Arabic. Of his several Arabic works, the most important is his so-called *Ta'rikh mukhtaṣar al-duwal* (this title is conventional, but unlikely to be correct), a history from Creation down to the author's own time. Based on his own Syriac world history,



this work incorporates many corrections, adopts a more rigorous critical attitude, and adds much new material, especially from Arabic and Persian Islamic works on history and the sciences. His brother Barṣawma states that it was written in Marāgha in the last month of Bar Hebraeus' life, and at the request of Muslim friends there; but the text itself is clearly aimed at a primarily Christian audience, and its sophistication suggests that it was a book he had been working on for a considerable length of time.

Text editions

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L.I. CONRAD

## Barakāt, Ḥalīm (1936– )

Syro-Lebanese novelist, sociologist and political scientist. Born in Kafrun (Syria) and raised in Beirut, Barakāt received his BA (1955) and MA (1960) degrees in sociology from the American University of Beirut. In 1966, he received his PhD in social psychology from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. He taught at the American University of Beirut from 1966 to 1972, and at the Lebanese University from 1973 to 1975. Since 1976, he has been a Research Professor of Sociology and Arab Studies at Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

As a novelist, Barakāt is deeply concerned with the social and political problems of Arab society, focusing on issues of justice, freedom, democracy and equality. He is an Arab nationalist and a committed writer whose message clearly emphasizes the need for a radical change in Arab society and the re-creation of 'the new Arab man'. He is concerned with the

Palestinian issue and the continual exile of the Arab intellectual who is seeking change in his society and in the world. His novels, though vividly realistic, are suffused with symbolism and allegory, expressing a humanistic and universal interpretation of historical events.

Barakāt has published six novels and a collection of short stories. Translations of his fictional works have appeared in English, French, German and Japanese. His novel *Sittat ayyām* (1961) is prophetically named for a real war yet to come in 1967; as such, it became a prelude to the later novel 'Awdat al-tā'ir ilā al-baḥr' (1969), which unfolds the existential drama of the June war of 1967. His other works of fiction include *al-Qimam al-khaḍrā'* (1956), *al-Šamt wa-al-maṭar* (1958) and *Tā'ir al-ḥawm* (1988). He has also published a number of sociological and political studies written in English.

Text edition

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Further reading

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B.K. FRANGIEH

## **Barlaam and Josaphat see Bilāwhar wa-Yūdāsaf**

## Barmakids

A celebrated family of state secretaries and viziers under the early 'Abbāsīd caliphate. The name or title *barmak* denoted the custodian of a Buddhist shrine that still existed in early Islamic times at Balkh in eastern Khurasan. The son of the last such custodian was Khālid ibn Barmak, who took part as a Khurasani Muslim in the military rebellion that overthrew the Umayyad caliphate and established the dynasty of the 'Abbāsīds. He and his descendants became one of several leading Khurasani families under the new caliphate, but distinguished themselves in administration rather than military service, seeing themselves as heirs to the administrative tradition of the Sasanian kingdom.

During the caliphate of al-Mahdī, Khālid's son Yahyā was an administrative assistant to Hārūn al-Rashīd, a son of the caliph who was

nominated to the succession after his older brother Mūsā al-Hādī. When al-Mahdī died Yahyā is said to have dissuaded al-Hādī, at considerable risk to himself, from removing al-Rashid from the succession, and in this way was instrumental in ensuring al-Rashid's eventual succession when al-Hādī died suddenly after only a year in office.

On his accession in 170/876 Hārūn immediately appointed Yahyā as head of the civil administration, with unlimited powers to act in the caliph's name. This began what is often described as a seventeen-year vizierate, during which Yahyā and his two sons al-Faḍl and Ja'far had the effective government of the 'Abbāsīd empire. In fact, official Barmakid influence ended with the first decade of Hārūn's caliphate. Unofficial influence may have been exercised thereafter by Ja'far, a clever and manipulative sycophant whom the caliph finally executed when Yahyā and al-Faḍl were imprisoned and confiscated in 187/803.

This tragic end to a glittering career, though not untypical of the fate of 'Abbāsīd secretaries, accounts for much of the Barmakids' appeal to later writers. In their own time they were generous patrons of literature, the arts and sciences, though often at the state's expense. Many stories and panegyric verses tell of their fabulous generosity and their aristocratic indifference to their own material interests. Much of the panegyric was self-serving, but the gratitude towards the Barmakids of the court musician Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, to whom some of the best stories about them are attributed, was apparently deep and sincere. For later generations of administrators who suffered the depredations of an ungovernable army the Barmakids represented a golden age of bureaucracy, when noble and disinterested civil servants of refined intelligence held the state aloof from the vulgar greed and brutality of soldiers and their political masters.

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R.A. KIMBER

### **al-Barq**

Literary and financial newspaper founded in Beirut in 1908 by the Lebanese poet al-Akḥḥal al-Ṣaghīr. *Al-Barq* helped to change the face of poetry in the Lebanon, publishing the works of leading Arab poets in the Lebanon and the Maḥjar. After World War 1 it became a conduit for the influence of French Romanticism, both through translation and directly through **Maḥjar literature**. Originally published weekly, it became a daily newspaper c.1927.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### **Barqūq, al-Malik al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn see Mamlūks**

### **Barsbāy, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr see Mamlūks**

### **al-Bārūdī, Maḥmūd Sāmī (1839–1904)**

Egyptian neo-classical poet. Born in Cairo into a family of Circassian origin, al-Bārūdī graduated from one of the military academies established by Muḥammad 'Alī, and spent the early part of his professional career in Istanbul, working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His life was equally distinguished in literature, the army and in politics. He was fluent in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and found particular favour in the eyes of the Khedive Ismā'il, who ruled Egypt from 1863 to 1879. He headed the 'Urābī revolutionary cabinet before the British Occupation. Because of his high-profile participation in the rebellion, he was tried and exiled to Ceylon where he spent seventeen years. In the course of this sad period his wife and daughter died, and his own health gradually deteriorated. He was not allowed to return to Egypt until 1900.

Two volumes of al-Bārūdī's *dīwān* were published posthumously in 1915, but even today not all his poems have appeared in print. The *dīwān* has a preface of considerable interest in that the author sets forth certain

ideas about the nature of the poet and the creative process which anticipate later trends in Romantic poetry (see **romanticism**). However, in his own work he demonstrates a conscious return to the literary heritage of classical Arabic poetry, in particular the 'Abbāsīd period. Another of his important posthumous publications was the anthology of thirty poets which appeared in 1909, beginning with **Bashshār ibn Burd** who spanned the end of the Umayyad and the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd periods. Al-Bārūdī's own poetry is full of intertextual references to 'Abbāsīd poets such as **Abū Nūwās**, **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī** and **al-Mutanabbī**, and the themes on which he writes are the traditional *aghrāḍ* of satire, elegy, boastfulness and various categories of *wasf*.

His period in exile was responsible for much of al-Bārūdī's best poetry, concentrating on the understandable subjects of home-sickness, nostalgia and grief at the deaths of friends and relatives. In this work, the force of his personal feelings assumes a dominant tone, thus modifying the usual perception of the impersonality of the neo-classical mode. Particularly noteworthy are the elegies which he wrote after the death of his wife and of his friend 'Abd Allāh Fikrī. Nostalgia for his native country led to much impressive poetry on the beauties of the Egyptian countryside. Prior to his exile he also wrote political poetry, often attacking the despotism of Ismā'il and Tawfiq, and calling for greater democracy and more representative government.

Thanks to the praise lavished on his work by the influential critic Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī in his published lectures *al-Wasīla al-adabiyya*, al-Bārūdī was followed in the neo-classical style by a number of poets, particularly in Egypt and Iraq. Neo-classical poetry continued to vie for public affection with the Romantic style throughout the period between the two world wars.

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R.C. OSTLE

**Bashshār ibn Burd, Abū Mu'adh**  
(c.95–c.167/c.714–84)

Nicknamed al-Mura'ath ('wattled'), a poet whose career spanned the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. Bashshār's family were of Persian origin; his grandfather had been taken as a captive to Iraq, his father was a freedman and client (*mawlā*; see *mawālī*) of the tribe of 'Uqayl. Bashshār himself boasted (probably without foundation) of his descent from the ancient Persian kings; this, along with his famous 'fire-poem' (which survives only as cited by al-Jāhīz in his *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*), earned him the reputation of a *Shu'ūbī* (see *Shu'ūbiyya*) and (with less foundation) a *zindīq*, a heretic with Zoroastrian tendencies.

Blind from birth and said to have been exceptionally ugly, Bashshār grew up in the rich cultural milieu of Basra (where he is said to have met Jarīr when the latter was at the height of his fame), and showed his poetic talents at an early age. He associated with many of Basra's famous grammarians, including Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', Abū 'Ubayda, and al-Aṣma'i, and his diatribes against Ḥammād 'Ajrad were notable. He also fell foul of prominent religious figures, such as the ascetics Malik ibn Dinār and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who condemned his poetry for its licentiousness, and to whom he replied with lampoons. Strongly anti-Mu'tazilī, he satirized the theologian Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā' and exchanged *hijā'* with the poet Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī.

Bashshār was a master of panegyric (*madīḥ*) and of the erotic elegy (*ghazal*), and his barbed satires (*hijā'*) were much feared; his bad temper and sharp tongue earned him a reputation as one whose displeasure was to be avoided, and people often went to great lengths to avert his satirical outpourings. His *mujūn* and his parodic poems were greatly popular (and often condemned); he was also a notable orator and prose writer, though specimens of these genres have not survived. Despite his ugliness, he was widely sought after both by women, who frequented his literary gatherings and figured in many amorous escapades, and by important officials. Under the Umayyads he eulogized various governors of Basra such as Ibn Hubayra, Salm ibn Qutayba and Sulaymān ibn Hishām, and composed a panegyric for the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II. His career as

**Bashīr, al-Tijānī Yūsuf see**  
**al-Tijānī Yūsuf Bashīr**

court poet continued under the 'Abbāsids, and he moved from Basra to Baghdad when that city was founded in 145/762, although he continued to write panegyrics to prominent Basran figures such as al-Manṣūr's governor, 'Uqba ibn Salm.

In Baghdad, Bashshār became associated with the caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158–68/775–85), with whom his relationship was notoriously volatile. On one occasion, because of the criticisms levelled against his libertinism, al-Mahdī forbade him to write love poetry, a ban which was, however, quickly breached. He met his death as the result of a plot against him which, according to the *Aghānī*, was provoked by a satire against the caliph and his vizier in which he accused the caliph of devoting himself to pleasure while the vizier ruled. He was charged with heresy, imprisoned, and beaten to the point of death; his body was sewn up in a sack and thrown into the Tigris.

Bashshār depended on *rāwīs* to recite his poetry; the most notable of these was Khalaf al-Aḥmar. His *diwān* was only collected very late; it is known principally through anthologies, and not in its original form, and hence there are many questionable attributions (such as the famous parodic poem on his ass who died of love, which al-Mas'ūdī attributes to Abū al-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī). The edition by Ibn 'Ashūr is based on a partial, unique manuscript of the sixth/twelfth century, and contains poems with rhymes in only the first six letters of the Arabic alphabet.

Many of the Arab critics considered Bashshār the first of the 'modern' (*muḥdath*) poets and one of the pioneers of *badī'*. Most of his panegyrics employ the tripartite form of the *qaṣīda* and its bedouin conventions, sometimes manipulated (especially in the *nasīb*, which is often dedicated to his beloved 'Abda) to reflect the new urban values of 'Abbāsīd court poetry. His *hijā'* is also largely traditional; while his *fakhr* typically expresses his *Shu'ūbī* sentiments, boasting of the achievements of his Persian ancestors and denigrating the uncivilized Arabs. His *ghazal*, particularly the love elegies addressed to 'Abda, ranges from the sensual to the courtly, and often parodies the latter; Schoeler notes the overlapping of the three major styles of *ghazal*, 'Udhri, Hijazi, and Kufan, the latter style often leading to *mujūn* (*CHALABL*, p. 281). His modernism, in Schoeler's view, lies primarily in his conscious use of *badī'*, seen as 'primarily a

socio-psychological phenomenon': the effort of a poet of *mawālī* origins to outdo the 'classical', bedouin-inspired poets by appealing to increasingly sophisticated audiences (*ibid.*, pp. 284–5). Bashshār exerted a great influence on the subsequent generation of poets, who were to adopt the *badī'* style in increasing numbers.

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J.S. MEISAMI

## Bāsil, Ilyās Faraj (?–1914)

Lebanese writer and poet, born in Kisrawān. He became a teacher at the Terrae Sanctae school in Aleppo in the 1860s, then helped to correct Arabic works for the Franciscan press in Jerusalem. He published a pilgrims' guide to the Islamic and Christian sanctuaries of the Holy Land (1865), a manual on letter-writing (1861), an anthology of poetry by Melchite and Maronite authors (1873), a collection of religious poetry (1871) by himself and others and a book on the principles of reading (1861). He also collected a book of prayers (1870).

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P.C. SADGROVE

## Basisū, Mu'in (1927–84)

Palestinian poet, essayist and dramatist. Born in Gaza, Basisū studied there and at the American University in Cairo. In addition to his literary activities, he worked as a teacher and journalist, and was also active politically; exiled for his Marxist affiliations, he worked for the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut from the time of its establishment in 1965. Basisū published several volumes of poetry, including *Filasīn fī al-qalb* (1965), *al-Ashjār tamūt wāqifa* and *Difa'an 'an al-baṭal* (1975); he also published a collection of memoirs (*Yaymiyyāt Ghazza*, 1971) and many essays. Like his poetry, his three full-length plays (*Ma'sāt Guevara*, 1969; *Thawrat al-Zanj*, 1970; *Shamshūn wa-Dalīla*, 1971) are all characterized by a strongly nationalist stance – the Palestinian cause being linked in *Thawrat al-Zanj* to the Zanj revolution of the 'Abbāsīd period.

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P. STARKEY

## *Basīf* see prosody

## Basra

Arabic: al-Baṣra; sometimes rendered as Basora; not to be confused with the Syrian town Buṣrā or Bostra. Town in SE Iraq, on the confluence of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. Laid out in 17/638 as a military camp to serve as a base for further conquest in the East, it soon developed into a town which has been of prime importance in Arab political, cultural, religious, linguistic and literary history, especially in its formative period before Baghdad took over.

It was in Basra – and a few other towns which began as garrison towns, such as Kufa – that Arab tribesmen settled and mixed with Persians and other non-Arabs; from here, Arabic began to spread as the dominant language throughout much of the Middle East. This

was an important factor in the beginning of the study of Arabic grammar and lexicography. Numerous famous grammarians and philologists lived and worked in Basra, including Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī, Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā', al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, Sibawayh, Abū 'Ubayda, al-Aṣma'ī and al-Mubarrad.

Hand in hand with the study of the language went the study of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. Poetry was popular not merely for its linguistic value, however. In Umayyad times tribal poets such as Jarir and al-Farazdaq often performed their works in Basra, where tribal feelings always ran high. The market-place, al-Mirbad, was an especially important meeting-place for poets and grammarians alike. In the early 'Abbāsīd period Basra was the cradle of a new, urban Arabic literature. The first great representative of the 'modern' poets or *muḥdathūn*, the Persian Bashshār ibn Burd, was born and lived in Basra; Abū Nuwās spent his youth there. As for literary prose, the names of key figures such as Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Sahl ibn Hārūn are linked with Basra. The greatest writer of Arabic prose, al-Jāhīz, spent part of his life in Baghdad, but he often returned to his home town of Basra, retiring there towards the end of his life.

Basra lost its leading position, first because of the brain-drain to Baghdad; second, because of the destruction brought about by revolts such as that of the Zanj and the Carmathians in the late ninth and early tenth centuries; and lastly because of the decentralizing process from the tenth century onwards, during which many cultural centres arose outside Iraq; Basra became one centre among many. It preserved some importance, however, throughout the centuries, unlike its great rival, Kufa. This rivalry forms a common topic in Arabic literature. Al-Madā'inī is credited with a work entitled *Mufākharat ahl al-Baṣra wa-ahl al-Kūfa* (*The Boasting Contest of the Basrians and the Kufans*), and many works of *adab* contain discussions and disputes on the merits and demerits of both towns, which run from the climatological (Basra was often deemed unhealthy, unlike Kufa) to the politico-religious (Mu'tazilism was to a large extent concentrated in Basra, whereas Kufa was strongly Shī'ī). In grammatical studies the traditional contrast between the Basrian and the Kufan approach is partly a backward projection developed in Baghdad, but has some historical basis.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**al-Bašrī, ‘Āmir ibn ‘Āmir see  
‘Āmir ibn ‘Āmir al-Bašrī**

**al-Bašrī, al-Ḥasan see al-Ḥasan  
al-Bašrī**

**Bašrī, Mīr (1911– )**

Iraqi Jewish writer, poet and journalist. Born and educated in Baghdad, Bašrī's first efforts in poetry were in Hebrew and French, but he later concentrated on Arabic poetry. In 1928 he joined the Iraqi Foreign Ministry, and he subsequently held administrative posts in both public and private sectors. He also edited a number of magazines. During the difficult period from 1971 to 1974 he was head of the Iraqi Jewish community (*al-Ṭā'ifa al-Mūsawiyya*), but he resigned and settled in London.

Bašrī's first writing, of 'poetry in prose', was influenced by **Jubrān** and **Amin al-Rihānī**. He also wrote epics and short stories influenced by the French Romantic trend, collected in *Rijāl wa-zilāl* (1955), and was the first Iraqi poet to attempt the sonnet form. His sonnets, epics and other poems were collected in *Aghānī al-ḥubb wa-al-khulūd* (Jerusalem, 1991). A prolific writer, Bašrī also published several biographical books on Iraqi, Kurdish and Turkish writers, and a volume of memoirs, *Rihlat al-'umr min dīfāf Dijla ilā Wādī al-Tāymis* (Jerusalem, 1992).

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S. MOREH

**al-Basyūnī, Shaykh Muḥammad  
'Alī (?–1892)**

Egyptian littérateur, poet and teacher. He studied at **al-Azhar**, teaching there and at the School of Law and Administration, where he recognized and helped to develop the poetic talent of one of his students in the Arabic language, Ahmad **Shawqī**. He was *muftī* to the court of the khedive Tawfīq, and the khedive's *imām* for prayers, as well as teacher of religious sciences and literature to his children. He published an epilogue on the compendium of Mālikite law of Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī (1870) and a work on rhetoric (1883). He was a regular contributor of panegyric poetry to the official newspaper, *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, in the late 1870s and 1880s.

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**al-Baṭalyawsī, Ibn al-Sīd see Ibn  
al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī**

**Bāṭiniyya see Ismā'ilīs**

**al-Baṭṭāl see Dhāt al-Himma,  
romance of**

**Battle Days**

The term *ayyām al-'Arab* ('the [battle] Days of the bedouin Arabs') designates both the wars and skirmishes of Arab tribes, fought in the pre-Islamic era, as well as the stories that remain of these intertribal conflicts. Each of these events has a name, often connected to a specific site: so, for instance, *Yawm Shi'b Jabala* ('The Day of Shi'b Jabala', a mountain pass of that name) or *Yawm Kulāb* ('The Day of Kulāb', a pool in the mountains of Thahlān). The scale of such skirmishes varies from longer, wholesale wars between large tribal affiliations to much smaller family or even individual conflicts, fought with sticks and stones.

In their typical form of epic, but sometimes also realistic, prose and poetry the *ayyām al-'Arab* constitute a semi-factual history of pre-Islamic Arabia; they contain the names of participants, their motives, the events leading to the conflict, the main skirmishes and where they took place, and sometimes even the effects of the conflict. There are problems in interpreting these stories as historical sources, in that most of them consist of observations and indications by contemporaries for contemporaries who already knew the situations and facts referred to; thus it may often prove difficult to establish a relative chronology of events for one *yawm*, and an 'absolute' chronology in the framework of what is known about the history of pre-Islamic Arabia.

Most of these *ayyām* consisted of raids and lootings, and, although the immediate causes given may be many, they usually resulted from acute shortages in food supplies or from the limited number of watering places for the tribes' livestock: most of these 'Arab were nomads, living on the margins of what was ecologically possible.

Once such a raid took place it would be reciprocated, certainly if blood had been shed. In most cases vengeance attacks took place a year later, because the best season for this was spring, the rainy season marking the transition from extreme shortage to relative abundance of food and water supplies. Not only food was looted, but also cattle, horses, furniture, weapons and clothing. Prisoners were sold or held as slaves. Women of the raided tribe could be married by the looters and eventually be integrated into their new tribe.

Information about the *ayyām* was collected by Abū 'Ubayda (d. 209/825) and Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 203/819), but these works have been lost, so our main sources are of a secondary nature: e.g. the *Naqā'id* of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, the *'Iqd al-Farīd* by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, and Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. Medieval Arabs appreciated the *ayyām al-'Arab* as – in the words of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih – 'monuments of the pre-Islamic era and shining examples of morality'.

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G. BORG

**Bayān see rhetoric and poetics**

**al-Bayātī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1926– )**

Iraqi poet. One of the leading Arab poets alive today, al-Bayātī graduated from the Iraqi Teachers' Training College in 1950. He lost his teaching post and was imprisoned in 1954 because of his leftist activities against the royalist Iraqi government, and left Iraq on his release. Four years later, following the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy, he returned and was appointed cultural attaché in Moscow in 1959. He taught at the Asian and African People's Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for some time, then travelled in Eastern Europe before settling in Cairo in 1964. After the assumption of power by the Ba'th Party, he returned to Iraq in 1970 and was appointed cultural consultant at the Ministry of Culture and Information, then cultural attaché in Madrid, finally returning to Iraq. He now resides in Amman, Jordan.

Al-Bayātī's life of exile – away from Iraq, his wife, and his four children – left its mark on his poetry. So did poets like T.S. Eliot, Mayakovsky, Neruda, Lorca, Eluard, Aragon, Nazim Hikmet and revolutionaries like Che Guevara. He quickly transcended the romanticism of his first collection, *Malā'ika wa-shayāṭīn* (1950), to embrace a revolutionary commitment to the cause of the poor, the workers, and the downtrodden everywhere – a commitment which is already clear in his second collection, *Abāriq muhashshama* (1954), written mostly in free verse. In his next collections – *al-Majd lil-aṭfāl wa-al-zaytūn* (1956), *Ash'ār fī al-manfā* (1957), *'Ishrūn qaṣīda min Berlin* (1959), and *Kalimāt lā tamūt* (1960) – he supports national struggles in all parts of the developing world against the hegemony of the West. His style in free verse is dominated by an economy of words, by myths, and by a montage of images and literary allusions as he celebrates Algeria's struggle against France, Egypt's heroism in the Suez war, Vietnam's bid for independence, or other people's fight for justice. This celebration of political struggles reaches a climax in his

*Sifr al-faqr wa-al-thawra* (1965), establishing him as one of the leaders of socialist realism in modern Arabic poetry.

The Arab defeat in the 1967 war with Israel strengthened al-Bayātī's criticism of Arab regimes and his love for the struggling Arab masses, as can be seen in his *Bukā'iyya ilā shams Hazīrān wa-al-murtaziqa* (1969) and *Yawmiyyāt siyāsī muḥtarif* (1970). While retaining his commitment to fight injustice, imperialism and reactionary governments, his poetry began to acquire mystical dimensions of love, using symbols and allusions derived from the great Arab mystics, as in his collection *Qaṣā'id ḥubb 'alā bawwābāt al-'ālam al-sab'* (1971). In addition, he began to use figures from past Arab history and world culture as *personae*, who speak of their experience as it relates to modern times – figures such as al-Mutanabbī, Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, Hamlet, Picasso, Waddāḥ al-Yaman, al-Hallāj, Ibn al-'Arabī and his beloved 'Ayn al-Shams, and the Persian poet 'Umar al-Khayyām's beloved 'Ā'isha. The last of these in particular epitomizes al-Bayātī's love for all that is good: she is not only the ideal female and the symbol of divine love, but also the paragon of harmony, as in several of his later collections, and especially in *Bustān 'Ā'isha* (1989). The use of a *persona* as a mask reduces al-Bayātī's direct engagement with the present humiliating conditions in the Arab world, allowing him to criticize its evils objectively and present its aspirations for a better life without sounding didactic or ideological. His voice calling for radical change in Arab society remains one of the strongest today.

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I.J. BOULLATA

Baybars I see Mamlūks

Baybars, romance of

The *Romance* or *Sīrat al-Zāhir Baybars* is a folk epic which has survived in many variant Egyptian and Syrian manuscripts, the oldest of which, in the Vatican Library, appears to date from the sixteenth century. Some manuscripts attribute the work to an obscure figure called Ibn al-Dinarī, but this seems doubtful. The *Sīra*, which was a stock-in-trade of street-corner storytellers, deals with the exploits of the historical Mamlūk sultan of Egypt and Syria, al-Zāhir Baybars (658–76/1260–77). However, there is very little genuine history in this epic, which is a long, rambling farrago full of imaginary battles, heroic exploits and magical occurrences. Baybars battles against internal enemies, including traitorous Mamlūk *amīrs* and bedouin brigands, as well as external enemies, including the Pope, various Crusader lords and the fire-worshipping Mongols. Baybars's arch-enemy is a sinister Moriarty-like figure called al-Kāhin Juwān, a Portuguese masquerading as a Muslim *qāḍī*. Juwān is a master of disguise, forgery, drugs, poisons and kidnapping. Baybars is helped in his struggles by the humble folk of Cairo and Damascus (some of them repentant gangsters) and (curiously) by members of the *Ismā'īlī* Assassin sect. In general, the *Sīra* paints an unflattering portrait of the ruling Mamlūk élite. However, it is fairly clear that in later recensions of the epic it is really the Ottoman Turkish soldiery in Egypt who are being reviled and guyed. Baybars and his merry men have many adventures in foreign parts, and even in such a far-flung infidel land as Britain. Wangelin has studied the striking folkloric and mystical features of the epic. Many motifs found in other romances, such as those devoted to the exploits of 'Umar al-Nu'mān (see *Alf layla wa-layla*) and Sayf al-Dīn Baṭṭāl (see *Dhāt al-Himma*) resurface in the *Sīra*. The medieval versions of the epic are strong on feuilletonist plot, but sadly weak in characterization and description. The prose style is naïve, and the Arabic syntax defective.



A French translation of an inordinately long but relatively sophisticated nineteenth-century Aleppo version of the epic is in progress.

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R. IRWIN

See also: popular literature; *sira* literature

## Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325)

A *mamlūk* (slave) of Qalāwūn, the eventual Sultan of Egypt al-Manṣūr, who rose under Qalāwūn and his successors to the highest offices of state, short of the sultanate. He died aged about 80. Devoted to learning and literature, he wrote his histories, it is said, with the assistance of a Coptic secretary. His chronicle of Islamic history from the Hijra up to his own times, the *Zubdat al-fikra*, is still unedited (in preparation in Oxford). A lively eye-witness account of Mamlūk history, entitled *al-Tuhfa al-mulukiyya*, is independent of the *Zubda*. A religious treatise by Baybars (partly edited) is also extant.

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D.S. RICHARDS

## Baydās, Khalīl (1875–1949)

Palestinian short-story writer, novelist, editor and translator. Baydās was educated at the Nazareth Russian Seminary and later studied in Russia. He began by producing translations into Arabic from the Russian, but soon turned to writing his own novels and short stories. From 1908 to 1914 and from 1919 to 1923 he edited the influential magazine *al-Nafā'is al-ʿaṣriyya*. Baydās occupies an important position both as a pioneer in the development of the Arabic short story, and for his role in disseminating an appreciation of Russian literature in the Arab Middle East; his editorial work demonstrated a keen awareness of the role of fiction in Arab society, but his own fiction is characterized by an immaturity of style, and an inability to apply his critical perceptions to the actual creative process. Baydās's short stories were collected in *Masāriḥ al-adhhān* (1924).

Further reading

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P. STARKEY

## al-Baydāwī, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (d. between 685–91/1282–91, or perhaps as late as 716/1316)

He came from a family of jurists and was himself a judge in Shiraz and Tabriz. He is the author of a highly celebrated commentary on the *Koran*, the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*, which is based on al-Zamakhshari's *al-Kashshāf*. Indeed, al-Baydāwī's commentary is meant to have occasioned the composition of numerous super-commentaries. In addition, he wrote on juridical subjects, grammar and philosophy. Likewise, a world history which he wrote in Persian has come down to us.

Text editions

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*Baydāwī's Commentary on Sūrah 12 of the Qur'ān*, A.F.L. Beeston (ed.), Oxford (1963).

B. RADTKE

See also: exegesis, Koranic

## al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (384–458/994–1066)

A jurist and *ḥadīth* specialist, his writings constitute major classical texts of the Shāfi'ī school. Though reputed to be an extremely prolific writer, two of his writings in particular were to become a basic staple of Shāfi'ī learning in subsequent centuries: *al-Mabsūṭ fī nuṣūṣ al-Shāfi'ī* and *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*. The former is a collection of statements of al-Shāfi'ī on matters of law and dogma, many of which had been transmitted orally. The latter, which is probably al-Bayhaqī's most important work, is a massive multi-volume study of *ḥadīth* which tends to use *ḥadīth* to support the doctrine of the Shāfi'ī school. Al-Bayhaqī symbolizes the school's continuing commitment to the centrality of *ḥadīth* for which its founder had contended.

B. WEISS

## al-Bayhaqī, 'Alī ibn Zayd (d. 565/1169–70)

Zāhīr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Zayd, al-Bayhaqī, also known as Ibn Funduq, and not to be confused with the earlier Persian historian Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, was a Persian polymath and author of numerous works in Persian and Arabic. Born into an eminent family, he was educated in the main cultural centres of Khurasan; though he held several official posts, his life was primarily spent as a scholar. In addition to literary anthologies, he composed books in Arabic on history, medicine, astronomy, and the Koranic sciences. His extant Arabic *oeuvre* includes a fragment of an anthology of poetry and some verse of his own, but his most important work is his supplement (*Tatimma*) to the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (*The Storage Chest of Wisdom*) of Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī. This work provides 111 accounts, some of them quite lengthy, of the careers of scholars in various fields, primarily medicine and philosophy, which had not been included in al-Sijistānī's text. He is also the author of an important local history (in Persian) of his native town, Bayhaq.

### Text editions

*Ta'riḫ ḥukamā' al-Islām* (= *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*), Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (ed.), Damascus (1365/1946); Russian translation by S.G. Bagirova, Tashkent (1987).

*Tāriḫ-i Bayhaq*, Aḥmad Bahmanyār (ed.), 2nd edn, Tehran (n.d.).

L.I. CONRAD

## al-Bayhaqī, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad (early fourth/tenth century)

Author of the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa-al-masāwī* (*The Good and the Bad Sides of Things*), he lived during the reign of the caliph al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32) and belonged to the circle of Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Al-Bayhaqī's book is one of the first and probably the most influential of a number of works antithetically treating diverse topics of mostly moral and social relevance. The subjects, discussed in more than 100 chapters, some of them extremely short, are arranged in a loosely declining order, starting with Muḥammad, his heavenly voyage (*mi'rāj*), alleged prophets after Muḥammad (*mutanabbi'ūn*) and the 'righteous caliphs' (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn* – see **Orthodox Caliphate**), continuing by treating either the 'good sides' (*al-maḥāsin*) or the 'bad sides' (*al-masāwī*) of a great variety of topics such as generosity, poverty, friendship, lying, silence, cowardice, filial piety and burdensome or stupid persons. Al-Bayhaqī's influence is apparent in the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa-al-aḍḍād* (*The Good Sides of Things and their Opposites*), which though presenting itself as a work of al-Jāhīz, is an imitation probably compiled in the fourth/tenth century.

### Text editions

*Kitāb al-maḥāsin wa-al-masāwī*, F. Schwally (ed.), Giessen (1902).

(Pseudo-)al-Jāhīz, *al-Maḥāsin wa-al-aḍḍād* (*Livre des beautés et des antithèses*), G. van Vloten (ed.), Leiden (1898), rpt Amsterdam (1974).

### Further reading

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U. MARZOLPH

See also: *adab*; *maḥāsin wa-masāwī*

## al-Bayrūnī see al-Bīrūnī

## bayt see prosody

## Bayt al-Ḥikma

The House of Wisdom, also known as *khizānat al-ḥikma* (the Storehouse of Wisdom), a

library and institute in Baghdad dedicated to the collection and translation into Arabic of mainly Greek scholarly texts. It is usually said to have been founded by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn, but had existed at least as a library since the caliphate of his father, **Hārūn al-Rashīd**. At that time its patrons were probably the **Barmakīds** rather than the caliph himself, but al-Ma'mūn took an active personal interest in promoting secular scholarship and the Greek-Arabic translation movement, and as caliph gave the library his official patronage and support. No more is heard of the Bayt al-Ḥikma under his successors, and it is possible that the collection found its way into private hands (see **al-Fath ibn Khāqān**; **Ibn al-Munajjim**).

Further reading

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R. A. KIMBER

**al-Baytjalī, Iskandar al-Khūrī see al-Khūrī, Iskandar al-Baytjalī**

**bedouin**

Bedouin (Arabic *badw*) denotes the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the *bādiya* (semi-desert/steppe) who earn their living by livestock-rearing and pastoral nomadism. Bedouin, also termed *a'rāb* by sedentary dwellers since the beginning of Islam, are found principally in the Arabian peninsula and northern Arabian desert regions, but also in other uncultivated regions of the Arab world – in Sinai, Egypt, Sudan and the Maghrib states.

In the absence of written records, the exact connection between the nomads who reared camels in the Aribi region of northern Arabia at the beginning of the first millennium BCE and the bedouin tribes who came to occupy peninsular Arabia in the first millennium CE, is unclear. Suffice to say that by the sixth century CE the tribal dispositions in Arabia reveal 'a curious patchwork in which the ranges of many Arabs of southern descent lie north of those belonging to Arabs of northern descent' (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, 1: 544). Bedouin society is organized along tribal lines, the tribe being the major unit whose members are related to a common

ancestor. The tribe is subdivided into clans ('*ashā'ir*'), the chief of the most powerful of these often being chosen as paramount *shaykh* (e.g. the Dūshān clan of the Muṭayr tribe in eastern Arabia). Further subdivisions are the *fakhdh* (a maximal lineage unit of five generations) and the kin-group or *bayt* (a minimal lineage unit of three generations). In the past the clan was an effective political grouping, controlling wells and grazing rights and using the same brand (*wasm*) for its livestock. Clan cohesion was maintained in various ways: appeal to shared values and common ancestry, marriage within the group (endogamy), and mutual assistance by *abnā'* 'amm in case of attack or injury.

The inevitable converse of tribal solidarity was intertribal rivalry; in the competition for scarce resources in a harsh environment, a tribe's status was reflected in its control of pasture, water and livestock. These social and environmental conditions underpinned the values of tribal life, celebrated in the poetry of the *Jāhiliyya* period, which not only constituted a record of these values but actively shaped individual conduct by prescribing a strict moral code. The components of this code, which can be summarized under *mur-uwwa* (chivalrous conduct) and *sharaf* (honour), were:

- 1 Valour, whether in battle or in raiding, and display of fortitude in the face of adversity or suffering. This applied to men and women equally: al-Quṭb (1968) recounts the story of a bedouin woman, in great pain in childbirth, refusing to cry out; and Dickson (1983) tells of the composure of a woman whose infant son had just died. Underlying this physical and mental toughness was a strong sense of fatalism in life: man is powerless to change events but must bear adversity bravely.
- 2 Generosity, usually manifested in the form of liberal hospitality. This is related to the first concept, since a warrior was expected to be generous with the spoils of battle. The *ṣa'ālīk* (outcast poets) were admired because, despite their indiscriminate plundering, they were generous with booty and showed courage and strength. Several writers comment on the inevitable evolution of liberal hospitality customs in an environment where the alternative might be starvation. Related virtues were magnanimity in battle (as shown by the

laws of *wajh* by which an opponent's life could be spared) and support for the weak, the sick and the defenceless.

- 3 Faithfulness, especially in keeping one's word. The right of *dakhāla* (refuge), the protection of one's *qaṣīr* (tent-neighbour) and the laws relating to the *rafiq* (a man deputed to show strangers through his tribe's *dīra*) were scrupulously kept until within living memory.
- 4 Vengeance for injury or death of a kinsman and the need to requite any action whether good or bad (see Sowayan, 1985, 61).
- 5 The celebration of tribal virtues and merits (*fakhr*) and the converse process of satirizing a rival tribe's faults (*hijā'*).

These ideals were all mirrored in the *qaṣīdas* of tribal poets in the *Jāhiliyya* era. 'Antara ibn Shaddād boasted of his prowess in battle and made light of whatever vicissitudes fate had in store. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī became a byword for generosity when he gave away all the camels that he was herding for his father to a passing caravan. Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā's *mu'allaqa* commemorates the self-sacrificing action of two chiefs of Dhubyān who paid all the blood-money (*dīya*) due to the 'Abs tribe, thus bringing to an end the war of Dāḥis. Similarly, the name of al-Samaw'al ibn 'Adiyya became proverbial for fidelity in keeping one's word when he refused to give up property in his charge, an action which led to the death of his son. Al-Shanfara, in his verse and in his deeds, gave the fullest possible expression to the pre-Islamic ideal of revenge and 'Amr ibn Kulthūm's extravagant eulogy of his tribe (Taghlib) became a model for future poets. Tribal lampooning reached its apogee in the Umayyad age in the *naqā'id* of al-Farazdaq and Jarīr, and al-Akhtal's satiric verses on the people of Medina (*al-Anṣār*) were used to great effect by Yazīd I to avenge a slight on his daughter's honour by one of their poets.

From earliest times poetry has been the supreme art of the bedouin Arabs. The declaiming (or singing) of poetry is in their blood, reflecting a fascination with the richness of language, all the more striking against the background of a predominantly bleak landscape. This talent came to full fruition in collections such as the *mu'allaqāt*, which are the product of a lengthy oral poetic tradition of increasing intricacy and sophistication in

rhyme and metre. Eloquence was an admired quality, and there was rejoicing at the discovery of a poet in the tribe. Eloquence was also a necessary attribute of a tribal leader who ruled by effective persuasion rather than from a position of authority. The poet-leader constituted a long and honourable tradition, extending from the time of Imru' al-Qays to Si'dūn al-Nāji of the Wild Slemān clan of the 'Anayza tribe in the nineteenth century (see Sowayan, 1985). Until comparatively recently in tribal Arabia, poetry was a means of disseminating information (the poet having more influence than the modern written media), as well as a means of social control. It was through poetry that the codes of tribal honour were maintained in the knowledge that violation of the code would bring down everlasting shame on the individual's tribe.

Basing his observations on informants' oral recollections as well as written records, Sowayan has vividly demonstrated the continuity of the bedouin poetic tradition in Arabia down to the early years of the twentieth century. But what is the perception of the bedouin and their poetry now that conditions have irrevocably changed? From an official standpoint, nomadism was until recently perceived as an obstacle to economic progress, and policies aimed at settlement of the bedouin were adopted. However, in adapting to modern conditions (e.g. by using modern means of transport and distribution, and by switching from camel- to sheep-rearing) the bedouin have demonstrated that pastoralism in semi-desert terrain can be complementary rather than counter to economic development (Chatty, 1986). The Arab town-dweller still perceives the bedouin as the guardians of certain ideals at the heart of the Arab psyche – al-Quṭb (1986), for example, admires their hospitality, democratic values, openness and fidelity – but their oral poetry, in spite of its glorious past, remains, like their livelihood, on the margins of the settled world.

#### Further reading

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P. G. EMERY

See also: Arabia; Nabāfi poetry; tribes

### Beirut, modern

The capital of modern Lebanon, Beirut contains a third of the three million inhabitants of the country, with a high population-density, a high literacy-level and a generally young population. The city looks out on the Mediterranean and the West, while being deeply rooted in the civilizations of the East. A city of sharp contrasts and a crossroads of languages, cultures and religions, it is unique in the Middle East for its liberal, democratic, pluralistic system, its tolerance and its freedom of thought and action.

Geographer André Bourgey has described Beirut as the mirror of all the tragedies of the area in the twentieth century. The Lebanese themselves belong to some twenty different Islamic and Christian sects; in addition, Beirut has been a refuge for several waves of immigrants since the end of World War 1, including Armenians, Kurds, Palestinians and Syrians. It expanded swiftly between Lebanese independence in 1943 and the outbreak of civil war in 1975, quickly becoming the most important centre in the Middle East for education, medicine, finance, business, trade, banking services and tourism. Its dynamic publishing and press sectors justified its being called 'the printing press of the Arab world'.

A few milestones roughly define Beirut's modern cultural history. The 1930s and 1940s witnessed the rise of the founding fathers in fiction, poetry and painting (Khalil Taqī al-Dīn, T.Y. 'Awwād, Mārūn 'Abbūd, Sa'īd 'Aql, etc.). These were followed by Michel Asmar's Cénacle Libanais, a literary group, whose regular publications (1946–66) became the platform for cross-currents of thought and ideologies from East and West. The Shi'r group (1957–67), under Yūsuf al-Khāl, Adūnis, Unṣī al-Ḥājī and others, helped to instigate a poetic revolution; their journal *Shi'r* dominated the literary scene, and their weekly meetings (*khamīs shi'r*) allowed the new voices of the Arab world to be heard. This 'golden epoch' of Beirut (1957–75) saw the proliferation of theatre, art galleries, concerts, festivals and debates, bringing East and West together in a cosmopolitan environment.

Beirut's development was abruptly arrested when the Lebanese civil war broke out in 1975, tearing the city apart for sixteen years. Post-war Beirut is still licking its wounds and coming back to life with a resilience and courage which justify its reputation as the 'laboratory' of the Arab world. In the new environment, a crop of young artists moulded by a war sensibility are finding a new language to express a new epoch. They include Ilyās Khūrī and Rashīd al-Da'if in fiction, Youssef Bazzi, J. Fakhreddine and Abbas Baydoun in poetry, and prominent women writers such as Imīlī Naṣr Allāh, Ḥanān al-Shaykh, and Hudā Barakāt. No city in the area has been able to replace Beirut: people are, once again, flocking into it with wide open perspectives ahead.

#### Further reading

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M. T. AMYUNI

### Belamri, Rabah (1946–95)

Algerian poet, novelist and storyteller, born in Bougaâ. Belamri's works present a fusion of poetry and narrative, fantasy and reality. Fervently interested in the oral literature of Algeria, he has collected tales and fables from the region where he was born (*Contes de l'Est algérien*, 1982; *L'Oiseau du grenadier*, 1986); he has also published Arabic/French bilingual texts (*Proverbes et dictons algériens*, 1986; *L'Âne de Djeha*, 1991). He has been blind since 1962, and his works portray a world of light and shadows. There is always an autobiographical element in his poetry and fiction (*Le Soleil sous le tamis*, 1982; *Le Galet et l'hirondelle*, 1985; *Mémoire en archipel*, 1990).

Belamri's hauntingly lyrical style has won him several literary prizes, including the Prix France-Culture and the Prix Kateb Yacine for his novels *Regard blessé* (1987) and *Femmes sans visage* (1992) respectively.

Further reading

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F. ABU-HAIDAR

**Ben Jalloun 'Abd al-Majīd see  
Bin Jallūn, 'Abd al-Majīd**

**Ben Jelloun, Tahar (1944– )**

Moroccan poet, short-story writer, novelist and essayist writing in French. Born in Fez, he now lives in Paris. Ben Jelloun studied philosophy at the University of Rabat and taught in Tétouan and Casablanca. He went to Paris in 1971 and studied psychology there. In Morocco, he was one of the founders of the review *Intégral*. His poetic output served as a voice for those unable to speak out, for those who were rejected and for the Palestinians, as in *Hommes sous linceul de silence* (1971) and *Cicatrices du soleil* (1972). His novels, of which he has written nine to date, often present characters with ambiguous sexual identities: among them are *Harrouda* (1973), *L'Enfant de sable* (1985), and *La Nuit sacrée* (1987) for which he was awarded the Prix Goncourt. Ben Jelloun's novels are full of the phrases and expressions of his native Morocco.

Text editions

*The Sacred Night*, A. Sheridan (trans.), London (1989).

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*Silent Day in Tangier*, D. Lobdell (trans.), London (1991).

*Solitaire*, G. Stanton and N. Hindley (trans.), London (1989).

Further reading

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J. DÉJEUX

**Benhedouga, Abdelhamid  
(1925– )**

Algerian novelist and short-story writer, writing in Arabic. Born in Mansourah, near Sétif, the son of an educated Arab father and a Berber mother, Benhedouga studied in Constantine, then at the Zitounia and School of Dramatic Art in Tunis. In 1954 he began writing radio plays for the RTF, the BBC and the RTT. He published his first essay, 'L'Algérie entre le passé et le présent', in 1958, and now has some fifteen works to his credit, including four collections of short stories and five novels: *Rih al-janūb* (1971); *Nihāyat al-ams* (1975); *Bān al-ṣubḥ*, (1980); *al-Jāziya wa-al-darāwīsh* (1983); and *Ghadan yawm jadīd* (1992). His first novel marked the emergence of the Algerian novel written in Arabic; it has been filmed, translated into some ten languages, and studied in schools and universities in Algeria and abroad.

Benhedouga's work encompasses the following themes: women; the earth; tradition and modernity; authenticity and openness; the generation gap; town and country; the war of liberation; and problems of language and education. These can in turn be summarized under two broad headings: paternalism and/or freedom. The events of the first four novels take place in post-independence Algeria. Social and political paternalism prevents freedom of expression and constructive dialogue at every level. In a situation such as this, the people become dumb (like the shepherd's mother in *Rih al-janūb*) or remain forever childlike (like *Jāziya*) or are prevented from speaking out (like Na'ima in *Bān al-ṣubḥ*, Urkiyya in *Nihāyat al-ams*, and Nafisa in *Rih al-janūb*). This leads to the popular uprising of 1988, described in *Ghadan yawm jadīd*, which links the period preceding independence (the 1930s) with the disruption and confusion of the later 1980s.

Benhedouga's first three novels are constructed in a traditional manner. His later works embody new techniques – such as the portrayal of the same event from several different angles, and the superimposing of new myths on a historical backdrop. Thus, in *Jāziya wa-al-darāwīsh*, the author combines a portrayal of Algeria as the object of both internal and external ambitions, with the struggle of women as a symbol of the country, the revolution and the future.

M. BOIS

**Bidpai, Fables of see *Kalila wa-Dimna***

***Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf***

Arabic tale based on an originally Sanskrit legend of the Buddha. The subsequent transmission of the story was through a Manichaean intermediary in middle Iranian to Arabic and Persian. There are several Arabic versions, as well as accounts in Hebrew and Georgian, and from Georgian it was transmitted into Greek, Armenian, Christian Arabic and Old Slavonic.

The tale relates the story of Yūdāsaf (a corruption of Būdhāsaf, i.e. Bodhisattva), the son of a long-childless king; when it is predicted that the boy will come to greatness in other than worldly things, the father sends him into confinement in a distant city to prevent him from becoming aware of worldly misery. Yūdāsaf eventually leaves, however, and learns of the ways and woes of the world from various incidents and informants, especially the elderly sage Bilawhar. Even Yūdāsaf's father is eventually won over to Bilawhar's ascetic (but not identifiably Islamic) ways, and Yūdāsaf renounces the world and sets out on missions of preaching and teaching that continue until his death and the handing over of his doctrine to a disciple.

The narrative structure of the story varies with the ordering of the main fables of which the work consists (sixteen in the Arabic and Georgian, but only eleven to thirteen in other versions). While clearly based on Indian legend, the book has picked up many other elements in the course of its transmission, including quotations from the New Testament. In the medieval Islamic world, it comprised a much-appreciated part of the popular lore taken up from ancient India through Pahlavi and Syriac intermediaries.

**Text editions**

There are numerous translations and studies of various versions of this work. The following are among the best, and include useful introductions:

Gimaret, Daniel, *Le livre de Bilawhar et Būdāsf*, Paris (1971).

Lang, David Marshall, *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, London (1957).

—, *The Balavariani*, London (1966) (with an introduction by Ilia V. Abuladze).

L.I. CONRAD

**Bin Ḥadūqa, 'Abd al-Ḥamid see Benhedouga, Abdelhamid**

**Bin Jallūn, 'Abd al-Majīd (1915–81)**

Moroccan poet, novelist and short-story writer, writing in Arabic. Born in Casablanca, Bin Jallūn spent some years in Manchester (England) as a child with his parents. He was educated at the Qarawiyyīn in Morocco, and at Cairo University, where he studied literature and journalism. An active nationalist, he was a founder, and later secretary-general, of the Arab Maghrib Bureau in Cairo. He attended the Bandung Conference and subsequently worked as editor of the daily *al-'Alam*, as Moroccan ambassador to Pakistan, and for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Bin Jallūn's works include two collections of short stories (*Wādī al-dimā'*, 1947; *Lawlā al-insān*, 1972); a volume of poetry (*Barā'im*, 1963) and two volumes of an autobiographical novel, *Fī al-tufūla* (1957, 1968).

H. HILMY

**Binnūna, Khannātha see Bannūna, Khannātha**

**biographical dictionary see biography, medieval**

**biography, medieval**

In Arabic *tarjama* (pl. *tarājim*) or *sīra* (pl. *siyar*), the biography is perhaps the most durable genre of literary expression in Islamic civilization, and one which the Muslims most perfected. It is not clear how this genre evolved, although some modern scholars (Heffening, Levi Della Vida, Lichtenstadter, Abiad, see bibliography below) have suggested that its roots go back to the pre-Islamic historical tradition, specifically genealogy and/or *ayyām al-'Arab* (see **Battle Days**). What is certain is that it is an indigenous Arabic Islamic genre, and that it has been considered from the beginning as a form of **historical literature**. Islamic history, however, is essentially the history of a religious community, and the makers of its political

history (the Prophet, Companions, caliphs, governors, army-commanders, *thughūr*-fighters, rebels, sectarians, *qurrā'*, and so forth) are often the major participants in the shaping of its religious history; therefore biographical literature was bound to address, from its inception, personalities not only from the political sphere but also from the religious one. Again, due to the special place which the community accorded at a relatively early date to its founder, the Prophet **Muḥammad**, and due to the fact that the Prophet's tradition was transmitted by individuals, generation after generation, biography was to be closely connected quite early with the discipline of *ḥadīth*. Finally, biography could not escape the influence of the philologists, the expounders of the language of the community's Book, the **Koran**.

Islamic biographical writing began early, certainly before the middle of the second/eighth century, for the first biography which has survived, **Ibn Ishāq's** (d. 151/769) *Sīrat rasūl Allāh*, dates to this period. Many other works, which were written between this time and the beginning of the third/ninth century, have unfortunately been lost. Their titles, however, as cited by **Ibn al-Nadīm**, point almost certainly to some kind of biographical content – works such as Abū Mikhnaf's *Kitāb al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd (Fihrist [1970], 1: 202)*, **Ibn al-Kalbi's** *Kitāb akhbār al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib* (ibid.: 213), **al-Wāqidi's** *Sīrat Abī Bakr wa-wafātih* (ibid.: 215), al-Haytham ibn 'Adī's *Akhbār Ziyād ibn Abīhī* (ibid.: 218) and **al-Mada'ini's** *Kitāb 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiya* (ibid.: 222). From the third/ninth century onwards, the picture changes, and the development of the biography genre becomes clear.

The two foremost biographical works which appeared at the beginning of the third/ninth century were **Ibn Sa'd's** (d. c. 230/844) *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* and **Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī's** (d. 231/845) *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, dealing with the biographies of *ḥadīth* transmitters and poets, respectively. These books ushered in a new and complex form in which the biography was embedded: the biographical dictionary (in Arabic, frequently, *ṭabaqāt*), the most enduring form in which the Arabic Islamic biography survived until the modern age. As in those two books, the first biographical dictionaries were restricted, each exclusively specializing in the

biographies of the scholars of one discipline of learning, school of thought, or locality; only from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, with **Ibn Khallikān's** (d. 681/1282) *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, did biographical dictionaries become general and all-inclusive. They were also arranged at first according to 'classes', or successive generations of individuals. Later, however, other criteria were introduced, such as the chronological and the alphabetical.

But there were other forms of book in which the biography was embedded. Annalistic historical chronicles included either brief or lengthy biographical entries under the subjects' years of death (e.g. **al-Ṭabari's** *Tārīkh* and **Ibn al-Jawzi's** *al-Muntazam*); while the genealogical chronicles, like **al-Balādhuri's** *Ansāb al-ashraf* placed those biographies primarily under the tribe or clan to which the subjects belonged. Some geographical dictionaries, such as **Yāqūt's** *Mu'jam al-buldān*, also included biographies, placed under the towns with which the subjects were associated. And even some regular lexicons, particularly al-Murtaḍā **al-Zabidi's** *Tāj al-'arūs*, had brief biographical entries for people whose names were peculiar, placing them under the root of the person's name. Travel-books and catalogues of teachers (*mashyakhāt, barāmiy*) often also included biographies. Biographies also abound in the literary works of particularly gifted and interested litterateurs, the most outstanding of whom is Abū Ḥayyān **al-Tawhīdī**. As for the monograph (e.g., **Ibn Shaddād's** *al-Nawādir al-sulṭāniyya*) and the autobiography (e.g., **al-Ghazzālī's** *Munqidh*), they remained relatively uncommon. The *manāqib* and *mathālib* books (see *manāqib literature*) can be also considered as peculiarly biographical in nature.

The length of biographies varied greatly, some not exceeding a few lines, others going well beyond 100 pages. The same applies to the contents of biographies, although here some fixed elements are discernable. A typical biography thus begins with the name of the subject (including his descent), his *kunya*, his connection to a town, school of law or of theology, area of knowledge, craft, and profession. If his date of birth is known, it is mentioned here. Thereafter comes an account of his teachers, travels, and students, and perhaps some remarks about his physical appearance and character. Between this point and the end of the biography comes the most 'fluid' part of the biography



(which in reality dictates its length): *akhbār*, anecdotes, about the subject, in the manner of the chroniclers or the philologists (sometimes preceded by chains of transmitters, in the manner of the *muhaddithūn*), selections from his area of expertise (poetry, prose, *ḥadīth* transmissions, legal judgements, theological opinions), and digressions or comments by the author. The final part includes the subject's date of death, and a bibliographical list of his compilations, where relevant.

In spite of the rather formal, impersonal nature of most Arabic biographies, they remain extremely important sources for almost all aspects of Islamic history (cf. Humphreys).

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W. AL-QĀḌĪ

### al-Biqā'ī, Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar, al-Shāfi'ī (c.809–85/ c.1406–80)

Multifaceted scholar-writer and harsh critic of the mysticism of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn al-'Arabī. A native of the Bekaa Valley, in his youth he narrowly survived the slaughter of most of his family; he then went to study and to make a career in Damascus, and later in Jerusalem and Cairo. Among the disciplines in which he wrote were religious sciences,

history, biography, dialectics, and mathematics. He took part in the 844/1442 *ghazw* against Rhodes and Cyprus. His legacy to literature was an anthology on love, *Aswāq al-ashwāq fī Maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, reworking material from earlier books on love theory.

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L. A. GIFFEN

### al-Bīrūnī, Abū Rayḥān (362–c.442/973–c.1050)

Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (or al-Bayrūnī), the great scientist, was a native of Khwārazm, born in the 'outskirts' (Persian *bērūn*, Arabicized as *bayrūn*) of the capital city, Kāth. As a young man he served the local rulers, the Khwārazm-shāhs, but also spent some time at the court of the ruler of Gurgān, Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs, and in the early part of the fifth/eleventh century moved, apparently under duress, to, the court of Maḥmūd at Ghazna (see *Ghaznavids*), where he spent the remainder of his long life as court astrologist. More than 150 of his works are known by name and about two dozen of these have survived; the majority were concerned with astronomy and related sciences (trigonometry, chronology, mathematical geography, etc.), but he also wrote on pharmacology, mineralogy, history, philosophy and, surprisingly, also wrote (or translated) a few works of trivial fiction, now not extant. He

knew Khwārazmian, Persian and Arabic, but wrote exclusively in Arabic, which he considered the only language suitable for scientific works. He also had at least a superficial acquaintance with Syriac, Greek and Sanskrit. Though deeply interested in, and proud of, the past of his native Khwārazm (he wrote a book about its ancient history, now sadly lost), he was an opponent of the *Shu'ūbiyya* and consistently took a Muslim standpoint (though a markedly broad-minded one) when dealing with other religions or with the Islamic philosophers. His early work shows sympathies with the *Shi'is*, but later he conformed to the strict Sunnism of his masters in Ghazna.

All of al-Bayrūnī's works, even the most technical ones, contain a wealth of information on history and culture. Among those of most interest to general (non-scientific) readers are: the *Chronology* (*al-Āthār al-bāqiya 'an al-qurūn al-khāliya*), the most important work by a Muslim author on calendars and dating; his 'Controversies' with the philosopher *Ibn Sīnā*; his account of the religions and sciences of **India** (*Kitāb taḥqīq mā lil-Hind min maqūla maqbūla fī al-'aql aw mardhūla*), by far the best-informed Muslim work on the subcontinent and an important primary source for the cultural history of India; his bibliography of the works of *al-Rāzī* (and of his own works), with an account of the history of Greek medicine; his mineralogy (*Kitāb al-jamāhir fī ma'rifat al-jawāhir*), the work of his old age, with a very interesting introduction on the economic role of gold and silver.

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F. DE BLOIS

## Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim (d. around 600 CE)

Most important pre-Islamic poet of the tribe Asad. He took part in the wars of his tribe in the last decades of the sixth century and is reported to have been killed in one of them. Though his poetry deals to a large extent with warfare, Bishr proves to be a much more sophisticated artist than the warrior-poets of his time. His *dīwān* contains forty-six poems (c.800 lines) and shows a remarkable predilection for di- and tripartite *qaṣidas*. Two-thirds of his poems are polythematic and introduced by a *nasīb*. Of particular importance are five oryx episodes, which indicate that he played a major role in the development of this purely artistic genre; his many descriptions of horses; a portrayal of a sea-journey (no. 10); and an elegy on his own death (no. 5). Bishr, a pupil of 'Abīd ibn al-Abras, influenced *Labid* and was mentioned by *al-Farazdaq* as one of his models.

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T. BAUER

## Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamir (d. between 210–26/825–40)

Founder of the *Mu'tazili* circle of Baghdad. The early roots of the *Mu'tazili* school had been in Basra, and the establishment of a branch in Baghdad gave the school a presence in the capital of the 'Abbasid caliphate. In addition to being a creative theological thinker, Bishr was also a poet of considerable talent who expressed the ideas of his school – and in some cases his disagreements with fellow *Mu'tazilis* – in exquisite verse which came to be widely recited. Though he fell out of favour with *Hārūn al-Rashīd*, he was able to acquire high standing in the 'Abbasid court under al-Ma'mūn.

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B. WEISS

blank verse

(Ar. *al-shi'r al-mursal*). Classical Arab prosodists defined Arabic poetry as 'speech in metre (*wazn*) and rhyme (*qāfiya*)', denying unrhymed verse the title of poetry. Under the influence of European literature (especially Shakespeare), however, some modern Arab poets have tried to free themselves from the constraints of monorhyme by using Arab and European strophic forms – especially in translating foreign poetry into Arabic and in experimenting with new poetic genres borrowed from the West.

The first experiment in blank verse in modern Arabic literature was by Rizq Allāh Ḥassūn (1825–80), in his versified translation of part of the Book of Job. In 1905, the Iraqi poet al-Zahāwī published his first poem in blank verse, terming it *shi'r mursal* after Ibn Khaldūn's term for unrhymed prose, *nathr mursal*. Zahāwī used unrhymed, end-stopped verses of two hemistiches in the *ṭawīl* metre, with no enjambment. Other Arab poets who believed that metre was an essential condition in poetry while rhyme was not, succeeded in using enjambment – though the experiments of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī, whose anthology *Kalimāt al-'awāṭif* (1909) contained four poems in blank verse, were not successful in this respect.

The Egyptian poet Abū Shādī, who studied in England and admired Shakespeare, later defended the use of blank verse in his periodicals *Apollo* (1932–4 – see **Apollo Group**) and *Adabi* (1936–7). Abū Shādī experimented with blank verse in his translation of European poetry and in his narrative poetry, using run-on lines and omitting the caesura; he believed that the form of the poem should be dictated by the poetic experience and originality of the poet. Egyptian poets such as Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd and 'Alī Aḥmad Bākathīr later joined the movement. In 1936 Bākathīr translated Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* into Arabic blank verse – the success of this experiment encouraging him to write an original drama based on the life of the Pharaoh Akhnatun (*Akhnātūn wa-Nafrītīī*, 1940), using irregular numbers of *mutadārik* feet with no caesura. Although this experiment was an important step towards the use of *vers irregulier*, blank verse

failed in its aim of allowing dramatic, epic and narrative poetry in Arabic. In 1913 al-'Aqqād expressed optimism about its future; but in 1943 he expressed disappointment, finding that in thirty years no Arab poet had been able to compose a poem in blank verse which he was able to enjoy. Only a few talented poets such as Yūsuf al-Khāl and Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr were able to make effective use of the technique, and today no Arab poet is practising it.

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S. MOREH

books and book-making

There were no books in Arabic before the **Koran**. The pre-Islamic literature of the Arabs (see *Jāhiliyya*) was preserved in songs, stories and recitations retained in memory and transmitted orally. The oldest extant written examples are no earlier than the middle of the sixth century CE. But it was only during the **Umayyad** period that Islamic literary culture inspired the collection and codification of the ancient literary remains (see **anthologies, medieval; diwān**). The origins of this literary culture are to be found in the scribal development centred on the Koran after the seventh century, during which the Arabic book was defined. For its form, Islamic craftsmen borrowed materials and techniques developed by their Coptic (Egyptian) and Ethiopic neighbours, who had been making parchment and papyrus codices bound with boards and leather from as early as the fourth century CE. The scroll, already supplanted by the codex by the third century CE, hardly counts for consideration in the history of the Arabic book. Islam distinguished the sacred (i.e., the **Koran**) from the profane (i.e., writings on scrolls); the form itself was identified specifically as the Holy Book.

The earliest Arabic book, according to the traditions, was a collection of verses from the Koran on sheets held together between wooden boards called in Arabic *muṣḥaf* or *maṣḥaf*, the Ethiopian word for 'book'. Although it began simply, book production became a complex art form which required the expertise of scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders, as well as of

those who made paper, ink, pens and pigments, thread, cloth, leather and parchment.

### Earliest writing materials

Before the advent of paper (*kāghad*), the secret of whose manufacture was one of the spoils taken following the 'Abbāsīd defeat of the Chinese near the Tarāz river in Central Asia in 133/751, the earliest writing materials for short records, notes and memoranda were bones ('shoulder blade', *katf* or *lawḥ al-katf*, and the 'rib', *dil*), boards (*lawḥ*) of wood, stones, sherds, and palm stems (*asīb*, pl. *'usub*). Longer documents were written on 'leaves' (*ṣuḥuf*, singular, *ṣaḥīfa*) of leather (*adīm*, 'red leather', or *qaḍīm*, 'white leather', or *raqq abyad*, 'white *raqq*' or 'white thin leather', i.e., 'parchment'), on papyrus (*qirtās*, apparently derived from the Greek *khartēs*, *khartēria*), and on palimpsests (*tirs*, pl. *ṭurūs*, *aṭrās*, almost always a piece of leather or parchment from which the writing has been obliterated for reuse), among other objects. When the sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*) were first collected, papyrus and parchment were the standard writing materials.

The writing instrument was the reed pen (*qalam*, from the Greek *kalamos*), common in the Mediterranean basin. The reed was cut with a sharp knife, its point cut carefully with the knife on a piece of bone or something similar (*miqaṭṭa*). Writing-materials were kept in a box with an inkwell (*dawā*) at one end. Of all these materials, the reed pen was the most important, for it came to symbolize the whole class of scribes. It also became mystically exalted as the divine instrument by which all that happens or is fated to happen is written down, and is therefore a manifestation of God's purpose in all things.

Black ink (*hibr*, *midād*) was made from lampblack and, like red ink (from cinnabar), was mixed in small bowls. The black ink was prepared by placing lighted wicks under a funnel-shaped iron hood; when it was coated black, the soot was brushed off, collected and mixed with a medium such as gluten or gum. Honey, salt or gallnuts were sometimes added. In Egypt lampblack was sometimes derived from burning old papyrus leaves. A number of recipes for ink have been handed down. The ideal colour was a pure black for the text; red, green and blue were also used, and red especially was employed in Korans for vowels, *surā* headings, and sometimes for matter in the text that required emphasis.

**Ibn al-Nadīm** (c.377/987) in the *Fihrist* contrasts the Byzantines' writing materials – *raqq*, the skin of the wild ass, or parchment and vellum – with those of the Persians, which were of buffalo, cow or sheep skins. When the storehouses were plundered in the civil war between the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Amīn (193–8/808–13) and his brother al-Ma'mūn, the people of Baghdad were forced to write on palimpsests softened with *nura*, the main ingredient of which was lime (the Kufan method of preparation was with dates, which made such palimpsests much more desirable). Goat and sheep skins were the usual materials of the early Islamic parchments, but the skins of wild animals such as the gazelle were also used. The quality of the skins was very high: they were velvety, pliable and of a light cream colour. Following methods used by the Byzantines, parchments were sometimes dyed a deep blue and written upon in gold ink.

### The established writing traditions

When the Muslims conquered the Byzantine province of Egypt in 18/639, they came into close contact with the Copts who kept their Holy Scriptures and sacred writings in codex form using both parchment and papyrus. It is likely that 'Abbāsīd craftsmen were influenced by their Coptic neighbours to adopt the codex form for the Koran. By 126/743 Islam's armies occupied territories from Spain to the frontiers of China. Under the late Umayyads and more especially under the 'Abbāsīds in **Kufa** and in **Baghdad** political and social institutions expanded rapidly, which stimulated the compilation and codification of religious and other writings. Although political unity could not be maintained, the core culture, centred in Islam, was communicated in Arabic, which became the language of religion, philosophy, law and ethics as well as of the natural sciences and medicine. The Arabic language, and the Arabic book, became bound up with Islam through the Koran, and it was not until the tenth century and after that Arabic was challenged by other Islamic vernaculars such as Persian and, later, Turkish.

Under the 'Abbāsīds the written word not only was encouraged but also became a state-sponsored craft. The *warrāqūn* (see below) were a dominant force and the craft of *wirāqa* flourished because of the demand for copies of the Koran in the Islamized territories. As the political powers of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs

expanded, the need increased for written records and communications in the official bureaucracy.

The text of the Koran, compiled during the reign of Abū Bakr (11–13/632–4), had been issued in a definitive edition under the caliph 'Uthman ibn 'Affan (24–36/644–56). In addition, the sayings and actions of the Prophet (*ḥadīth, sunna*) were collected; these set forth from the perspective of the first generation of Islam what was right and obligatory in matters of faith and practice for personal as well as governmental conduct, and were eventually assembled and codified in the canonical collections known as the 'six books' (*al-kutub al-sitta*). Other extensive discussions of canonical law and summaries were the 'collection of forty' (*Arba'ūn* – forty morally significant sayings which contain the leading principles of religious life).

The development of religious writing continued alongside that of poetry, history and geography, *belles lettres*, and philosophical and scientific literature. The significant place given to the study of the Koran resulted in a proliferation of **commentaries** and **exegesis** which explored everything, including the historical connections and references of the text, grammatical comments, rhetorical observations, dogmatic and juridical matters. Writing itself occupied a central role in Islamic statecraft and learning. The greatest aid to this development came from the manufacturing process of rag paper (*kāghad*). With this technology rag paper became the foundation not only of the government bureaucracy but also of the vast cultural requirements of a society based on the interpretation of the written word.

### The acquisition of paper-making technology

Evidence from Egyptian collections suggests that the first writing material for the Arabic book was papyrus. Large numbers of examples, mostly single sheets dating from the second–third/eighth–ninth centuries, have been found. Conservative institutions, such as the Imperial Chancery, retained papyrus rolls for imperial documents until the middle of the fifth/eleventh century when they were forced to adopt paper. According to historical and literary sources, among the Chinese prisoners captured by the 'Abbāsid general Ziyād ibn Ṣālih in the battle of Ṭarāz and brought to Samarkand were artisans who manufactured paper there; it was from them that the Islamic craftsmen learned the craft of paper-making.

From the mention of a paper market in Baghdad in 215–17/830–2, we may assume that an import trade in paper was already in existence by the middle of the third/ninth century. By 300/912, paper-making had spread along the North African coast, from whence it crossed the Strait of Gibraltar into Spain, where the first mention of a paper-mill is in Toledo, in 478/1085.

Sheet sizes were determined by the size of the moulds. The manufacturers provided a range of sizes, and certain types of papers became associated with certain regions. In the third–fourth/tenth–eleventh centuries, the best paper was regarded as pure white, full-size, smooth and with symmetrical edges; for luxury items there was a preference for a large-format heavy paper. From the fourth/eleventh century onwards a flourishing trade exported Islamic paper, along with the techniques of paper-making itself, to the Byzantine Empire and other areas of Christian Europe. In the eighth/fourteenth century, as the paper-making industry became established in Europe, the direction of this trade began to reverse; by the middle of the 700s/1300s, the Arab chancelleries of North Africa were using some European papers, although it would be centuries before the paper-making industry declined in the central Islamic world.

### Book-making and the *wirāqa*'

*Wirāqa* is the trade concerned with matters related to producing books: copying, correcting and binding. The *warrāq* was chancery secretary, copyist, scribe and bookseller; he could also be editor, corrector, secretary and research assistant, as well as paper merchant and bookbinder. Because they were involved in almost every aspect of book production, the *warrāqūn* were central to intellectual as well as political circles. They flourished especially during the 'Abbāsid period and shared an interest in the various branches of knowledge. Their practices and certain elements of their trade were inherited from the Christians, Manichaeans and Jews. The organization behind the book trade was tightly interwoven, composed of many branches, and stretched across the Islamic world. The importance of the *warrāqūn* of the Koran and the *ḥadīth* reflects the particular importance of their objects. Theological attitudes towards the crafts allied to book production were likewise important. Because of their association with

the Koran, book makers could assume the stature of artists without dishonour. Thus, with the expansion of aspects of the craft devoted to editing, copying and collecting books in the sciences of philology, grammar, history and philosophy, a special group of *warrāqūn* emerged to attend to these various subjects.

### Calligraphy

The veneration of the written word gives Islamic calligraphy a significance that cannot be overstated. Arabic, the language chosen by the Creator as the vehicle through which His Prophet communicated with humankind, was preserved not only in sound but in symbols on a page. The calligraphers (*khattāt*), however, did not constitute a guild like the *warrāqūn*. To copy the Koran in a beautiful and elegant hand was an act of piety, and while copyists accepted payment for their work, they also anticipated rewards in the hereafter. But economic motivations were not absent: sometimes copyists charged high prices for elegant copies, and some copyists were in particularly high demand because of the beauty of their calligraphy.

Calligraphy occupies a privileged position in Islam as it is the progenitor of the traditional Islamic visual arts (see **Literature and the visual arts**). Most extant early Korans were written in the square Kufic script (named after the Iraqi city of Kufa), characterized by a strong horizontal emphasis. The development of the Arabic script culminated near the end of the third/ninth century when Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940) laid down the laws of calligraphy and defined rules for every letter of the Arabic alphabet. From the time of his student Ibn al-Bawwāb, the scripts known as *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq*, and *rayḥān* were used primarily for copying the text of the Koran; inscriptions, *sūra* headings, colophons and all other materials were written in *tawqī'*, *riqā'*, *thulth*, and Kufic.

### Bookbinding and book-making

By the first/seventh century the codex had evolved into an established and well-functioning combination of materials and mechanical forms that could be adopted for the needs of the Islamic *warrāqūn*. Subsequent close contacts between Arab and Coptic communities in Egypt are reflected in later Arabic books. The surviving pre-Islamic bindings of

Coptic Egypt show high technical quality and remarkably innovative decorative techniques. Since most of the work was carried on in isolated monastic communities, the tradition remained relatively undisturbed for centuries and was passed on to Islamic craftsmen. Characteristic of both Coptic and Islamic bindings are the use of large geometrical patterns which fill the central field, an extension of the upper cover to form a fore-edge flap, link-stitch sewing of the signatures (whereby each signature is attached to the adjacent gathering), and a simple spine affixed directly to the sewing and the folds of the text block.

The fore-edge and pentagonal envelope flap which is the characteristic feature of the Islamic binding originated in the wrap-around flap systems found in early Christian oriental bookbindings. Although it was customarily tucked under the upper cover when the book was closed, it is often depicted as exposed.

Wooden boards were used very early – according to tradition for the first copy of the Koran – and their use for covers is seen in most of the early bindings.

Very early on, discarded papyrus leaves were also pasted together and dried under pressure to form thin boards as the basis for book covers. The latest recorded use of papyrus pasteboards is a fifth/eleventh-century book cover in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo. Such boards were the precursors of the paper pasteboards characteristic of later Islamic bookbindings.

While Western books are characteristically in vertical format, early Islamic books showed a preference for the horizontal, influenced by the rotulus form, or perhaps in response to the characteristics of the Kufic script itself, or in imitation of epigraphical Koranic panels in architecture. The use of the vertical format in the fourth/tenth century accompanied the transition from parchment to paper and the introduction of the lighter Eastern Kufic script. The paper gatherings were made from large sheets folded in half on their long side, each successive fold being at right angles to the one preceding it. By folding one, two, three or four times, two, four, eight or sixteen leaves, respectively, result. The gatherings were produced by inserting groups of bifolia into one another. After having been folded and gathered, the leaves were ruled with indented, evenly spaced lines for the written text and margins, by means of a straightedge or a ruling

frame (*mīṣṭarah*); when leaves of paper were pressed over the wires or strings of the ruling frame, these left their impressions as guidelines for writing.

When the scribe's task was finished, the binder assembled the leaves for sewing and attached board covers. Sometimes, however, lengthy manuscripts were not sewn and bound, but collated, trimmed and put into a portfolio constructed to size, which consisted of an upper and lower cover joined by a spine and supplied with a fore-edge envelope flap extended from the lower cover. The portfolio itself was sometimes enclosed in a sleeve-case open at the head and tail, through which the portfolio might be inserted. Normally, however, the gathered folded sheets were sewn, using link-stitch, or 'Coptic' or 'chain stitch', sewing. In order to connect the signatures, at each sewing station the needle and thread were passed from the inside of the spine fold through to the outside and down so as to loop around the thread which emerged from the corresponding sewing station of the gathering immediately below it. Frequently there were two sewing stations; regardless of the format, using a fine, coloured silk thread. The board covers were generally attached by means of a hinge which was held in place by the paste-downs.

### Covering

Although textiles and paper were used for covering the binding-boards, the usual material was leather, applied with paste. The leather was first pasted on to the boards, then lined with cloth, parchment, or leather, and decorated. Finishing, or decorating the covering, took a number of forms. The boards were covered with sewn leather appliqué or with leather which had been painted, stamped, incised, blind and gold-tooled, or decorated with inlaid filigree work, or with painted or stencilled patterns. Lacquered bindings became particularly popular in Persia from the late Timurid period (c.1500) and flourished throughout the nineteenth century; these use a technique whereby the pasteboard binding was covered with gesso on which a scene was painted in water-colour; this was then sealed with several layers of transparent lacquer.

### Illustrations

Although Islam is generally said to have pro-

hibited pictures, surviving illustrated books indicate that the prohibition cannot have been taken too seriously. Even in the earliest days of Islam the walls of private homes and of religious buildings were decorated with pictures. The Umayyad hunting lodges in Syria and Palestine contained magnificent wall paintings, and their successors the 'Abbasids promoted art in Iraq. At the court of the **Mamlūks** splendid copies of the Koran were produced. Scientific, historical and belletristic works were often lavishly illustrated. Finely illustrated volumes of Persian poetry and of histories were produced by artisans at the courts of the Mongols, Timurids, Ṣafavids, Mughals and Ottomans. Often these splendid works were of large size and covered in richly decorated leather-gilt covers. (See further **literature and the visual arts**.)

### Libraries and bibliophiles

In learned institutions not only books were copied, but notes from lectures were transcribed, expanded and finally issued as editions. As learned men gathered collections about them, these collections became valuable in themselves. Caliph and craftsman alike competed in the search for valuable and rare books. Already an important bio-bibliography had been compiled by **Ibn al-Nadīm** in the *Fihrist*, in 377/987. There is also a vast literature containing innumerable names of learned and literary men, calligraphers and copyists. Extensive knowledge about many of the libraries is scattered throughout the literature in notices in works on biography, history and *belles-lettres*.

The first organized and comprehensive collection of books in medieval Islam was in the **Bayt al-Ḥikma** (House of Wisdom) founded in Baghdad by al-Ma'mūn (197–218/813–33), which combined a translation bureau, a library and an astronomical observatory, and contained books in all branches of knowledge. It flourished until 657/1258 when Baghdad was sacked by the Mongols. One of the most important libraries was that assembled by the **Fāṭimid** leader al-Ḥākim in Cairo in 395/1005. In his academy the Dār al-'Ilm, connected with the royal palace, was a well-stocked library as well as rooms for meetings. The founder made provision for the copying and repair of books and the general maintenance of the library, which at one time was said to contain one million volumes.

In Córdoba, al-Ḥakam II (351–66/961–6) founded a library in the palace. The library staff, under the management of a librarian named Bakīya, included copyists and book-binders. Al-Ḥakam had agents in every province to procure books for him, both by purchase and by transcription. Unfortunately, under his successor, al-Manṣūr, the dissenting party disapproved of the ancient sciences – works of philosophy, astronomy, mathematics and the like – and these were removed from the library and burned. In 401/1011, when Córdoba was battling against the Berbers, the minister Waḍīḥ sold the major part of the library to obtain money for the war; the rest was destroyed by the enemy (see further **libraries, medieval**).

### Printing

The first book printed in Arabic was a *Diurnale Graecorum Arabum*, printed in Italy in 920/1514. Two years later P.P. Porrus's *Polyglot Psalter*, including an Arabic version, was printed in Genoa, and the Koran in Arabic was printed in Venice two years later. In Heidelberg Jakob Mylius issued an Arabic grammar with a translation of the Epistle to the Galatians in 991/1583. The Medici presses, founded in Rome (992/1584), Pisa (1037/1627) and Florence (1096/1684), were prolific. In addition to Johannes Raimondi's Arabic grammar and al-Idrisī's description of the world, they printed Ibn Sinā's medical treatise *al-Qānūn*.

In the Arabic-speaking world, printing was first introduced through the Church, the first printing press being established at the monastery of Quzahīya, south of Tripoli, around 1009/1600. In Aleppo in 1118/1706 Arabic type was introduced into Syria for printing the Gospels, the Psalms and other religious books. Later a press was established in the Greek Orthodox monastery of St George in Beirut. Printing became a thriving business in 1834 when American Protestant missionaries moved a press from Malta to Beirut, where they printed books on subjects as various as Christian dogma, geography, mathematics, physics and other branches of natural science, as well as dictionaries of European languages.

Printing was introduced with difficulty. In 890/1485 the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazid II issued a ban on the possession of printed matter which was reissued and enforced in 921/1515 by Selim I. It was argued that God's name,

which appears on every page of a Muslim book, would become defiled through the process of printing. But people gradually became accustomed to the printed book, primarily through printed newspapers (see **the press**).

The Koran, like other books, had been printed from movable type, but only a few times. The difficulties of setting the multiple forms of letter combinations and diacritics were overcome by using lithography, a printing process in which actual handwriting could be reproduced. (See further **printing and publishing**.)

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J.L. SHARPE

See also: printing and publishing

**boon companion see nadim**

**Boujedra, Rachid (1941– )**

Algerian novelist writing in Arabic and French. Born in Aïn-Beïda, he was educated in Tunis, Algiers and at the Sorbonne (Paris). He taught philosophy for several years. Boujedra first became known through his novels in French: *La répudiation* (1969); *L'insolation* (1970); *Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée* (1975); *L'escargot entêté* (1977); *Les 1001 années de la nostalgie* (1979); and *Le vainquer de coupe* (1981). Since 1982 he has produced the following novels in Arabic: *al-Taffakuk* (1982); *al-Marath* (1984); *Layliyyāt imra'a āriqa* (1985); *Ma'rakat al-zuqaq* (1986); and *Fawqā al-ashyā* (1991). These novels were quickly translated into French by the author, either working alone or in collaboration with another writer. Boujedra's work is typical of the contemporary novel in its wandering, unilinear style. He willingly makes reference to Faulkner, Joyce, Claude Simon, Proust, Dos Passos and other Western writers. He sees writing as a cathartic experience – hence his obsession with a childhood 'betrayed by adults' and 'ridiculed by a father' in his first works. In a narrative

frenzy which is part of his technique, he scribbles down on paper his fears and fantasies. Whatever theme he tackles, he develops it through a process of questioning, denial, negation and demystification, believing that literature of high quality will bring about a revolution of beliefs and a destruction of taboos. Of all Algerian writers, he is the most outspoken and iconoclastic – as is shown by his essay 'FIS de la haine' (1992). Boujedra desires a purely literary reading of his work rather than an ethnological, political or social reading. Speaking of his progression from writing in French to writing in Arabic, he said: 'What could be more normal than seeking to use one's mother tongue to create literature which is essentially centred on one's mother and father ... This is a political act: stating, claiming and taking on one's differences'.

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M. BOIS

**brevity see ijāz**

**brigand poets see Ṣa' ālik**

**Bū Zayd al-Hilālī see Banū Hilāl, romance of**

**Buhlūl (d. c.190/805)**

Buhlūl (Bahlūl), Abū Wuhayb ibn 'Amr ibn Mughīra was a contemporary of **Hārūn al-Rashīd**. Some kind of uncompromising, probably mentally deranged ascetic character, Buhlūl (by way of contamination with several other contemporaries) became the stereotype wise fool in the popular tradition of the Islamic world. Shi'i sources from the sixteenth century onwards regard Buhlūl as a pupil of the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and treat him as a model Shi'i. The extremist Shi'i religion of the Kurdish Ahl-i Ḥaqq even understands him to be a prime incarnation of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Buhlūl, purportedly buried in Baghdad, remains extremely popular even today, notably in Persian and Turkish oral tradition, and may

be regarded as second in fame in the Islamic world only to **Juhā**/Nasreddin Hoca.

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U. MARZOLPH

See also: humour

### al-Buḥturī (206–84/821–97)

Abū 'Ubāda al-Walīd ibn 'Ubayd (Allāh) al-Buḥturī, 'Abbāsīd poet. Born in Manbij (Syria) to a family belonging to a branch of the Ṭayy, al-Buḥturī's early poetic efforts were devoted to praising his tribe. His first patron was the general Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Thaghri, at whose house the young poet met **Abū Tammām**, who recommended him to the nobles of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān as a panegyrist (no poems from this period survive). He then joined Abū Tammām under the patronage of the governor of Mesopotamia, Malik ibn Tawq, and followed him to **Baghdad**, where he studied language and poetry (notably with **Ibn al-A'rābi**) and sought a patron, without success; in 230/844 he and Abū Tammām left Baghdad to join Abū Sa'īd al-Thaghri in Mosul.

On the accession of al-Mutawakkil (r. 233–47/847–61) al-Buḥturī returned to Baghdad, where, through the good offices of 'Alī **Ibn al-Munajjim**, he secured the patronage of **al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān**, who introduced him to the caliph in about 234/848. Thus began the most brilliant period of his career, as he eulogized the caliph al-Faṭḥ and other notables. According to **al-Mas'ūdī**, al-Buḥturī was present at the murder of al-Mutawakkil and al-Faṭḥ by Turkic slave-soldiers; finding it prudent to leave Baghdad, he went to the **Hijaz** on pilgrimage, before returning to eulogize al-Mutawakkil's successor al-Muntaṣir. Despite his panegyrics to al-Muntaṣir and succeeding caliphs – the last being al-Mu'taḍid, in 279/892 – al-Buḥturī seems to have found little success, and after Abū Tammām's death he left Baghdad to become the panegyrist of Khumārawayh ibn Ṭulūn (murdered 282/896), the Ṭulūnid governor of Egypt and Syria, for a brief period. His famous 'Īwān

Kisrā' *qaṣīda* (al-Ṣayrafī 470), composed in 270/884, expresses his disillusionment with the Iraqi milieu and his preference for Syria: 'It is as if time's affection has come to cherish only the most base; and in buying Iraq I was swindled, after selling Syria at a loss', he complains.

Al-Buḥturī is considered representative of the *maṭbū'*, or 'natural', style of poetry, in contrast to Abū Tammām, whose poetry represents the *maṣnū'* ('artificial') style. (On the debate over these styles see further **Abū Tammām**; *maṭbū'* and *maṣnū'*.) S. Spertl considers him as exemplifying the 'classical' style of Arabic poetry. He is known primarily for his panegyrics; his *ghazal* is (perhaps unjustly) considered colourless, and his *hijā'* is sparse and relatively chaste. His *qaṣīdas* are generally of the tripartite variety and use the classical, desert conventions; his *nasīb* is often dedicated to an Aleppan woman, 'Alwa bint Zurayqa, to whom he was attached, but the name is also used metaphorically (e.g., in the *qaṣīda* to al-Mu'tazz, al-Ṣayrafī 71). His *qaṣīdas* are valued by scholars as much for their documentary interest as for their style. His poetry was commented on by **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** ('*Abath al-Walīd*'). He also composed a *Ḥamāsa* (dedicated to al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān), generally considered inferior to that of Abū Tammām; a (lost) *Ma'ānī al-shi'r* is also attributed to him.

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J.S. MEISAMI

## Bukhara see Sāmānids

### al-Bukhārī (194–256/810–70)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī, collector of *ḥadīth*. Born in Bukhara, al-Bukhārī travelled widely on the proverbial search for traditions related from Muḥammad. It is said that he heard 600,000 reports from which he culled some 3,000 (although including the reports cited more than once the total is nearly 8,000) deemed to be reliable, and gathered them into his book known as *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Reliable Collection [of ḥadīth]*) or simply *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Reliable [ḥadīth]*). It is said that the book took him sixteen years to compile. This work, along with one of the same name by Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, became accepted as the most authentic collection of prophetic traditions by the Sunnī community, considered as second only in authority to the Koran. Organized according to the existing legal topics of discussion, al-Bukhārī's work is divided into ninety-seven 'books' covering topics from the Five Pillars of Islam through commerce, medicine, good manners and marriage. Theological issues, such as the concept of faith, revelation and the unity of God, are also prominent. Numerous commentaries have been written on his book. Al-Bukhārī also wrote a number of other books, including a number of works of biographical history relating to the men who transmitted the *ḥadīth* reports.

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A. RIPPIN

See also: *ḥadīth*

### Bukhtīshū' family

A family of Christian doctors who attended the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs. They came originally from the hospital and medical school which had existed at Jundaysābūr (*Jund-i Shāpūr*) in Khuzistan since Sasanian times. From there Jurjīs ibn Jibril ibn Bukhtīshū', the director of the hospital, was summoned to Baghdad to attend the caliph al-Manṣūr. His son Bukhtīshū' (the Elder) became the personal doctor of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and on his death in 185/801–2 was succeeded in that office by his son Jibril. Their medical expertise gained them the caliph's highest regard and confidence, and they were richly rewarded. After Jibril's death in 212/827–8, his son Bukhtīshū' (the Younger) continued the family tradition, and despite the increasing precariousness of life at court enjoyed for the most part wealth and favour until his death in 256/870. He was not the last of his family to study and practise medicine, but after him the family suffered from the general decline of the 'Abbāsīd court. Their importance to literature lies in the prestige that their relatively successful medical interventions lent to the Greek medical science which they in particular were able to apply – thanks to the tradition that had been maintained at Jundaysābūr. This helped to motivate the Greek-Arabic translation movement of the early 'Abbāsīd period, to which members of the Bukhtīshū' family themselves contributed.

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R.A. KIMBER

See also: translation, medieval

## al-Bundārī, al-Fath ibn 'Alī (seventh/thirteenth century)

Arabic historian; his dates of birth and death are unknown. He probably worked for the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā (d. 624/1227), to whom he dedicated his major work, the *Zubdat al-nuṣra wa-nukhbat al-'uṣra*, a dynastic history of the Great Saljūqs, summarizing the *Nuṣrat al-fatra* of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. Al-Bundārī says he began his composition in Rabī' I 623/March 1226. His avowed aim was to prune his predecessor's ornate style while retaining the choicest rhetorical devices. Al-Bundārī's other extant works are an Arabic translation of Firdawsī's (d. c. 1020) *Shāhnāma*, dated 624/1227, and a continuation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* (autograph ms., BN Arab 6152). His summary of 'Imād al-Dīn's *al-Barq al-Shāmī* survives in part.

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C. HILLENBRAND

## al-Būrīnī, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (963–1024/1556–1615)

Palestinian/Syrian historian, religious legal scholar and poet, born in the Galilee town of Ṣaffūriyya. Al-Būrīnī was educated mainly in the al-Sāliḥiyya *madrasa* in Damascus, after which he spent some years in Jerusalem, and then lectured in a number of *madrasas*. He also served as a *qāḍī*. His main work was his collection of biographies, *Tarājim al-a'yān min abnā' al-zamān*; but his most influential works were his commentaries on the *Dīwān* and the *Tā'iyya al-ṣuḡhrā* of Ibn al-Fārid. Al-Būrīnī's Ṣūfī orientation was to make itself felt in the later development of Syro/Palestinian Sufism, particularly in the work of 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Ismā'il al-Nābulusī. There are no critical editions of his works.

R.L. NETTLER

## al-Būṣīrī (608–c.694/1212–c.1294)

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī, of Berber origin. An Egyptian author of poems in praise of the Prophet and an adherent of the Shādhilī Ṣūfī order, he held various posts in the Mamlūk administration. His great fame stems from his *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, an encomium on the Prophet said to have been composed in thanksgiving for the author's recovery from paralysis after seeing, in a dream, Muḥammad throw his cloak (*burda*) over his sick body, just as the Prophet had done in pardoning his foe Ka'b ibn Zuhayr over six centuries previously. Innumerable commentaries, super-commentaries and supplementary poems like *takhmīs* have been written on the *Burda* in all the major Islamic languages, and it has further acquired a magical power in the popular mind, its verses being used as talismans, recited at funerals, etc.

### Text editions

The *Burda* has had many printings, commentaries and translations, including an English translation by Sir J.W. Redhouse, in W.A. Clouston, *Arabic Poetry for English Readers*, Glasgow (1881), 332–41.

### Further reading

*EP*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Burda' (R. Basset); *Suppl.* art. 'al-Būṣīrī' (ed.).

C.E. BOSWORTH

## al-Bustānī, 'Abd Allāh (1854–1930)

Maronite linguist, poet, dramatist and journalist. Born in al-Dibbiyya, he died in Beirut. He studied under Nāṣif al-Yāziǰī and Yūsuf al-Asīr. He taught in a number of schools, including al-Dāwūdiyya School in 'Abayh, the government school in al-Dāmūr, and for the American missionaries in Sidon. In Cyprus in 1879 he published the newspaper *Juhaynat al-akhbār*, banned by the Ottoman government, and also wrote for *Lisān al-ḥāl* and *al-Rawḍa*. Al-Bustānī wrote a grammar expanding that of Archbishop Jarmanūs Farḥāt, compiled a huge dictionary entitled *al-Bustān*, wrote plays (including several on biblical and pre-Islamic themes), and translated Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and the *Fables* of La Fontaine.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Bustānī, Buṭrus (1819–83)**

Lebanese linguist, lexicographer, translator and journalist. Born in al-Dibbiyya, he died in Beirut. After studying at the 'Ayn Warāqa school, he converted to Protestantism and helped found an independent native Protestant church, teaching Arabic to the American missionaries and at their school in 'Abayh. He also helped to translate the Pentateuch. He was an interpreter at the American Consulate from 1848–62 and a founder member of the Syrian Learned Society. After the 1860 civil war, he published a broadsheet *Nafīr Sūriyyā* (*The Syrian Bugle*), containing a series of patriotic essays against sectarianism, and was later responsible for the periodical *al-Jinān* (1870–86), and the newspapers *al-Janna* (1870) and *al-Junayna* (1871). He founded the first national secondary school (1863) in Beirut open to all creeds. One of the greatest pillars of the *nahda*, he helped develop an expository prose capable of expressing modern thought simply and accurately. Much of his life's work was spent on reviving knowledge and love of Arabic. His most important works were the first modern dictionary (*al-Muḥīṭ*) (1867–70), and the first volumes of the first Arabic encyclopaedia (*Dā'irat al-ma'ārif*) (1876–82). He also wrote and translated elementary works for schools on the English language, arithmetic, bookkeeping and grammar. He published an edition and commentary on the *dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq's history *Akhbār al-a'yān fī Jabal Lubnān* (1859), and a lecture on ancient and modern literature (1859), and translated John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and a number of other Western works on history and religion. An anonymous version of the incidents leading to the death of As'ad al-Shidyāq (1860) is also attributed to him.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Bustānī, Salīm (1846–84)**

Pioneering Lebanese journalist and story-writer. Born in 'Abayh, he died in Bawārij. He studied with Nāṣif al-Yāziḡī and with his father, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, whom he helped in his literary and newspaper activities, editing *al-Jinān*, *al-Janna* and *al-Junayna*, and writing dozens of valuable articles on science, politics, literature, history and society. He also served as deputy head of his father's National School, and as vice-president of the Syrian Learned Society. His numerous translations and adaptations (mostly from French fiction) in *al-Jinān*, though of little literary merit, are considered the earliest examples of the short story and the historical novel in Arabic; he took some of his themes from Arab and Syrian history and some from the contemporary world, arguing against adopting a meaningless veneer from the West. The favourite subjects of his stories were love and marriage. He also wrote several plays, on the love story of Qays and Laylā, Alexander the Great and Yūsuf and Iṣṭāk.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Bustānī, Sulaymān (1856–1925)**

Lebanese writer, poet, journalist and statesman. Born in Ibkishtūn, he died in New York. He was engaged in various activities in Iraq for a number of years from 1876, and on his return to Beirut helped write parts of his cousin Buṭrus al-Bustānī's encyclopaedia. In 1893 he was in charge of the Ottoman section at the Chicago Fair, where he issued the first Turkish magazine in America. He was elected deputy of Beirut in the Ottoman parliament (1908). A bitter enemy of Hamidian rule, he backed the

Young Turks, becoming Minister of Works and Minister of Trade, Commerce and Agriculture from 1913, but resigned in protest against Turkey's entering World War 1, and went to live in Switzerland. His most celebrated work, his poetic translation of Homer's *Iliad*, was the first major attempt to present a classical masterpiece in a form acceptable to Arab readers. He also wrote two poems on his recovery from an illness and on the political situation in Turkey, and a work on the Ottoman state before and after the Constitution.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Bustī, Abū al-Faṭḥ** *see* **Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Bustī**

**de Busturus, Salīm (1839–83)**

Lebanese merchant, translator and poet. He traded in Alexandria, and travelled to Europe on business, enjoying a considerable standing in London literary and financial circles. His writing fuelled the debate about the reasons for Europe's more advanced development. His poetry was published in 1887. His translation of Madame Reybaud's novel, *Mademoiselle de Malepeire* (1860), was considered a major advance in the development of Arabic prose style under the influence of French syntax. He also edited the poetry (1873) of Fransīs Marrāsh.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**Buṭṭī, Rufa'īl (1901–56)**

Iraqi Christian writer, literary critic and journalist. Born in Mosul, Buṭṭī studied at the Teachers' Training College in Baghdad and

worked as a teacher, then joined the school of law and graduated in 1929. He participated in the activities of the Jam'iyat al-Thaqāfa al-'Arabiyya (the Association of Arabic Culture) established in 1931. After working in the newspaper *al-'Irāq* Buṭṭī established the newspaper *al-Bilād* in 1929, and started an intensive independent journalistic and literary career. His critical approach to the government led to his imprisonment, as well as deportation to Irbīl on the charge of 'attempting to overthrow the government'. As the editor of *al-Hurriyya* magazine, Buṭṭī encouraged revolutionary experiments in modern Arabic poetry, spreading new poetic ideas such as *shi'r mursal* (blank verse) and *shi'r manthūr* (see **prose poem**). He also advocated the necessity of adopting Western civilization as the road to the renaissance of the Arab civilization, arguing that Iraqi society was facing two options: 'either true life which can be developed and guided by western civilization, or certain death'. His book *Sihr al-shi'r* (1922), which contains articles by eminent poets and critics of Arabic poetry, is an exposition of the distinguishing features of modern poetry. Among his other books is *al-Adab al-'aṣrī fī al-'Irāq* (Baghdad, 1923).

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R. SNIR

**Buwayhids** *see* **Būyids**

**Būyids**

(Buwayhids). A Persian dynasty originating from Daylam in the Caspian highlands. It arose out of the shrinkage and virtual collapse of the political authority of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, and its members came to control most of Iraq and western, central and southern Persia for over a century (320–454/932–1062). The Būyid dominions were a confederation of smaller states – in Iraq, Fars and Khuzistan, Kirman, Jibal and Rayy – ruled by princes of the family, rather than a unitary state, but rulers like 'Aḍud al-Dawla (338–72/949–83) were forceful enough to

unite more than one of these states and to make the Būyids a powerful force in the central Islamic lands. Their power was only curtailed by internal disunity in the fifth/eleventh century, and was then ended by the new force of the Turkish **Saljūqs**.

Although ethnically Persian and originally barbarians, the Būyids soon came into the mainstream of the essentially Arabic-based culture of Islam. Hence **Baghdad** and the various provincial courts of the family – Shiraz, **Rayy**, Isfahan, Hamadhan, etc. – became outstanding centres of Arabic literature and science. The *amīrs* themselves were **Shī'ī**, from their origin among the **Zaydī** Shī'īs of north western Persia, and they eagerly promote Shī'ī festivals in their lands; Rukn al-Dawla invited the Shī'ī scholar **Ibn Bābawayh** to his capital Rayy. Indeed, in the elaboration of Imāmi Shī'ī law and theology which took place at this time, the role of the Būyid *amīrs* as patrons of leading divines was considerable; and not a few of their ministers had Shī'ī or **Mu'tazilī** inclinations. Nevertheless, the cultural supremacy of Baghdad as the fount of Arabic learning, and its role as the centre of **Sunnī** Islam and seat of the caliphs, inevitably influenced the *amīrs* to what was, at least in the literary and scientific spheres, an even-handed approach. 'Aḍud al-Dawla attracted to his capital Shiraz the great poet **al-Mutanabbī**, whose *Aḍudiyyāt*, i.e. *qaṣīdas* addressed to the *amīr*, include some of his finest poems; and it was this ruler who commissioned a history of his family, the *Kitāb al-Tāj* (only partially extant today) from the secretary and stylist **Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi'**. He also founded celebrated hospitals in Baghdad and Shiraz, and was especially interested in astronomy and mathematics; his son Sharaf al-Dawla built an observatory and a library in Baghdad.

But it was equally the viziers and officials of the Būyids who assembled round themselves brilliant circles of poets, *adībs*, philosophers and scientists. Often these ministers were themselves scholars of high calibre, such as the **Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād**, **Abu al-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd** and **Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī**, whose compositions are treated by the literary biographers; thus the **Ṣāhib** wrote works in such fields as Mu'tazilī theology, Arabic prosody and literary criticism, and has left behind a collection of fine *Rasā'il* or official epistles. Such ministers were, like their Būyid masters, patrons of some of the

most noted scholars of the time. Thus **Ibn Sa'dān**, the vizier of **Ṣamsām al-Dawla** in Baghdad, was the patron of the philosopher **Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī** and the littérateurs **al-Muḥassin ibn 'Alī al-Tanūkhī** and **Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī** – the last of these mentions that the vizier's lively and brilliant sessions (*majālis*) included Muslim and Christian philosophers, the historian and philosopher **Miskawayh**, the mathematician **Abū al-Wafā' al-Būzajānī**, the poet **Ibn al-Ḥajjāj**, etc. **Al-Muhallabī's** circle, when he was vizier to **Mu'izz al-Dawla**, included the poets of the **Banū al-Munajjim** family, the compiler of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** and **Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi'**. **Bahā' al-Dawla's** vizier **Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ghālib** was the patron of the poet **Mihyār al-Daylamī** and the historian **Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi'**. The philosopher and physician **Ibn Sīnā** (Avicenna) found refuge from the Sunnī zealot **Maḥmūd** of Ghazna at the Būyid courts of Rayy and Hamadhan, becoming vizier to the *amīr* of Hamadhan at one time. Like their masters, these ministers founded their own institutions of learning, such as **Shāpūr ibn Ardashīr's** *Dār al-'Ilm* (House of Knowledge) in Baghdad, an academy which was further imitated by **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī**. These were Shī'ī institutions, and Būyid rule in general was favourable to the formation of an eclectic and tolerant Arabic culture which was broad enough to include both Sunnī and Shī'ī scholars and also Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and Sabians.

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C. E. BOSWORTH

### Buzurg ibn Shahriyar (fourth/tenth century)

Persian sea-captain from Ramhormuz in the province of Khuzistan, who wrote in Arabic. His *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* (*Marvels of India*), written around 341–2/953, is an account of the wondrous things to be encountered in and around the Indian Ocean. It was written for entertain-

ment rather than instruction, and is rather similar to Sir John Mandeville's fourteenth-century travel book. Its 136 stories are arranged in no particular order and cover such matters as strong women in India, whales, mermaids, ritual suicides, dragons, cannibals, the sex of lizards and the fabulous islands of Waqwaq. Buzurg, who wrote in a lively and unpretentious style, drew on the tall stories of sailors. Adaptations of similar tales found their way into the adventures of **Sindbād**.

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R. IRWIN

See also: geographical literature; travel literature

## Byzantines

The successors to rule of the eastern Roman Empire until the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453. In Arabic they were called al-Rūm, 'the Romans', or Banū al-Aṣfar, the 'Yellow Folk'. Used of language or in defining Greek words, 'Rūmi' meant Byzantine colloquial Greek, as opposed to classical Greek, for which the term 'Yunāni' was used. The terms 'Rūm' and 'Rūmi' also denoted Chalcedonian Christians.

Comments on the Byzantines in ancient Arabic poetry and prose tend to view them in terms of imperial power and advanced civilization. Imagery based on coins and aspects of material culture abounds, and several legends refer to Arabs meeting and negotiating with the Byzantine emperor himself (called Qayṣar, 'Caesar'). There seems to have been a genuine historical basis for this awareness, as many accounts only mention private trading trips to **Syria**, as opposed to embassies to Constantinople.

With the Arab conquests the perception of Byzantium underwent important changes, as exemplified in the opening verses of *Sūra 30* of

the **Koran**, which refer to how the Byzantines, though defeated, will eventually triumph. Through changes in vowelings this straightforward reference to the Persian wars of the early seventh century was turned into a prediction of the Arab conquests stating that the Byzantines, though victorious, will eventually be defeated, i.e. by the Muslims. In historical accounts of the conquests (see *futūḥ*), in apocalyptic traditions, and in popular lore of various kinds, the Greeks were now presented as tyrants deposed by God in favour of the Muslims, as an archetype of vain worldly dominion, and as the former masters of rich lands turned over to the Muslims as their reward for following **Muḥammad**. Heraclius himself is portrayed as sympathetic to Islam and inclined to respond positively to the Prophet's summons to convert, but prevented or dissuaded from acting on his convictions. Greek forces always vastly outnumber the Muslims, but hesitate to fight them and prefer to offer bribes; some are treacherous and cowardly, other are mighty warriors, but all are utterly defeated by the Muslims, who fight in God's cause with no care for their lives or worldly concerns.

This kerygmatic view of Byzantium comprised the basis for the accounts of the Syrian and Egyptian conquests by such historians as **al-Azdi** (fl. c.190/805), **Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam** (d. 257/870), **al-Balādhuri** (d. 279/892) and **al-Ṭabari** (d. 310/923), and was also influential – often with paradoxical results – in other genres of Arabic literature. The danger of major Byzantine incursions into Syria by land and sea was widely discussed in the eighth and ninth centuries, while apocalyptic predicted the imminent fall of Constantinople long after this ceased to be a realistic goal. The Byzantine emperor was regarded as the clandestine defender of Christianity in Islamic lands, and fear of the activities of Greek spies along the frontier figured in works written for the benefit of march warriors; literary accounts vilified the emperor as the 'tyrant' or 'dog' of the Rūm, and had Muslim rulers demanding his compliance on often trivial matters, e.g. silencing the church clappers (*nawāqis*) of **Damascus** so that the caliph could sleep.

A more practical view of Byzantium was of course required for purposes of diplomacy and defence, and was available from numerous sources: trade (which continued even in times of serious conflict), embassies between the two sides, spies and freed prisoners. Constantinople had a Muslim quarter, and Arab



physicians, for example, are known to have practised in the city. The Arab geographers, some of whom were state employees and probably worked from official documentation, were thus able to offer largely accurate accounts of Byzantine domains. Useful insights also emerge in literature; the poetry of **al-Mutanabbī** (d. 354/965) contains insights on the Byzantines, and the *Rūmiyyāt* of **Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī** (d. 357/968) record the experiences of a poet twice taken captive and for some time a resident of Constantinople. The works of **al-Mas'ūdī** (d. 345/956) contain especially important accounts of Byzantine domains and customs and even provide a description of Constantinople.

Arabic literature regarded Byzantines themselves with some disdain: described as pale, lanky and red-haired, they were criticized as ill-mannered, uncouth and lacking in attributes that the Arabs deemed especially important, such as hospitality and generosity. They were regarded as unhygienic and notorious adulterers, but their women were widely celebrated as paragons of feminine beauty.

The achievements of Byzantine civilization were not unknown. The Rūm were noted for their cuisine, music and skills in painting and architecture, and Byzantine silks and other luxury items were held in high esteem. In philosophy, medicine and the sciences, however, the link between Byzantium and ancient Greece was minimized, largely because the Arabs regarded themselves as the heirs to the heritage of **Aristotle**, **Ptolemy** and **Galen**. Byzantium was viewed as one of the civilized nations of the world, but its achievements were placed in the arts and crafts rather than the sciences.

In later medieval texts the Crusaders and the Christians of Spain are called 'Rūm', perhaps based on an assumed connection among the

various Christian enemies of Islam. With the advent of the **Saljūqs**, and especially after the catastrophic Byzantine defeat at Manzikert in 463/1071, interest in the Byzantines in Arabic literature tended to wane, and continued primarily in those areas, such as history, *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* (exegesis), where ancient materials still attracted attention. The specificity of the term 'Rūm' was further eroded, and came to be used of any inhabitant of Anatolia, and quite often of the Saljūqs themselves.

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L.I. CONRAD

See also: Greek literature

## Cairo, medieval

In strict terms 'Cairo' – Arabic (*al-Madīna al-Qāhira*) – refers only to the residential, administrative and military centre founded in 359/969 by the general Jawhar al-Şiqillī on behalf of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz. However, in practice, the name was applied to the whole complex of pre-Fāṭimid centres, the Fāṭimid foundation and subsequent developments. As early as the thirteenth century CE **Ibn Sa'īd** was insisting that Fustāt and al-Qāhira should be treated as one city, and stating that members of the élite usually had a house in each part. **Al-Maqrīzī** speaks of one continuous city at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a time of great development.

The **Azhar** mosque (completed in 361/972) served as the centre of **Ismā'īlī** scholarship and teaching. After the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty the Azhar was neglected for some time, but was restored under Sultan Baybars I in 665/1266. That was the beginning of its long career as one of the foremost institutions of Sunnī learning in Islam. During the **Ayyūbid** and **Mamlūk** periods many *madrasas* (colleges primarily for the teaching of Islamic law) and Şūfī *zāwīyas* were founded and endowed. The positions and salaries these provided helped to maintain a vastly productive learned class. Cairo had many great libraries at various periods. Chief among these was the library of the Fāṭimid palace, which was said to have contained more than 100,000 volumes. **'Imād al-Dīn al-İsfahānī** lamented its wanton and random dispersal in the early days of Saladin.

As a major cultural centre Cairo attracted many scholars and writers from various parts of the Islamic world, not least those on the pilgrimage route from Spain and North Africa. Many scholars sought security in Egypt when Mongol rule was established east of the Euphrates during the thirteenth century.

Cairo's pre-eminent role in the cultural and intellectual life of Islam dates from this period.

Cairo itself has been the subject of a considerable amount of Arabic literature, in the form of topographical descriptions and in celebrations of the beauties and advantages of the city, works in the *Faḍā'il* ('Virtues') genre. Many of the earlier examples of such writing have not come down to us. Works by authors such as **Ibn Zūlaq**, al-Quḍā'ī, and **Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir** have not survived, but they provided material for later writers. Of these the most noteworthy are **Ibn Sa'īd** and al-Maqrīzī, whose *Khīṭaṭ* offers an invaluable mine of information on the history and topography of Cairo. Other writers of the Mamlūk period, such as **al-Suyūṭī**, ploughed the same furrow, and the genre continued into the Ottoman period with the sixteenth-century *Beauties of Fustat and Cairo* by Ibn Zāhira. Mamlūk Cairo provided the setting and ambience for much **popular literature**, such as *The Thousand and One Nights* and the surviving shadow-plays.

It is worth calling attention to the accounts of early European travellers and pilgrims, who were greatly impressed by the size and beauty of 'Babylon' or 'Grand Cairo'. Later the *savants* who accompanied the French expedition led by Napoleon Bonaparte left an incomparable description of the city at the very end of the eighteenth century.

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See also: Egypt to 1798

## Cairo, modern

The largest city not only in the Middle East but also in Africa, Cairo has occupied a leading position in the literary and cultural development of the modern Arab world. Although social and economic changes were already evident by the end of the eighteenth century, during the French occupation of 1798–1801 it remained essentially a traditional Islamic city with a population of some 250,000. Little change, either in population level or in the organization of the city, occurred during the first part of the nineteenth century. The era of Ismā'īl, however, saw a radical development programme involving new buildings, roads and suburbs in European style, as well as improvements in the city's infrastructures, many of them carried out under the supervision of 'Alī Mubārak. These developments paved the way for the city's seemingly inexorable growth, both in area and population, during the twentieth century.

Despite the problems inherent in such a growth rate – compounded in the twentieth century by industrialization and the explosion in motor traffic – Cairo has continued to occupy a unique place in the development of modern Arabic culture. As the capital of one of the leading nations of the modern Arabic *nahḍa*, it has pioneered institutions that have frequently served as models for developments elsewhere in the Middle East. In the cultural sphere, these have included theatres, the Cairo Opera House, the National Library (**Dār al-Kutub**), and the headquarters of the Egyptian cinema industry (which dominates the Arab world). Modern institutions such as Cairo University have reinforced Cairo's position (which the city already enjoyed as home to **al-Azhar**) as the educational 'capital' of the Arab world, attracting students from many parts of the Middle East and beyond. On the political level, Cairo has also accommodated (when political rivalries have allowed) the headquarters of the Arab League and other international organizations.

Cairo's importance in the development of modern Arabic literature has been particularly obvious in the field of **printing and**

**publishing**. Though not the first press in the Middle East, the **Bulāq** press played a crucial role in the nineteenth century in aiding the diffusion of classical texts. From the mid-nineteenth century the city has served as headquarters for some of the longest-lived and most respected Arabic newspapers and periodicals – notably *al-Ahrām*, founded in 1876 by the Lebanese Taqlā brothers. With **Beirut**, Cairo has continued to hold its position as one of the two leading publishing centres in the Arab world – their relative importance varying with the fluctuations of Egyptian state censorship, the Lebanese civil war and, more recently, the emergence of émigré publishing houses in the West, particularly in London and Paris. The annual Cairo Book Fair is the leading event of its kind in the Arab world.

Cairo has also fulfilled an important function as an inspiration for Egyptian writers, particularly novelists. In this respect, the works of Najīb Mahfūz, though not the first novels to be set in Cairo, hold a pre-eminent position: his series of novels named after Cairo streets, from *Khān al-Khalīlī* (1945) to *al-Sukkariyya* (1957), presents a unique portrait of the lives of the city's inhabitants sketched with love and affection. More recent novelists have used Cairo as the setting for a number of works in which the capital, and Egyptian society, is portrayed in a less affectionate light: in Ṣun' Allāh Ibrahim's *Tilka al-rā'iḥa*, for example, the protagonist – newly released from prison – drifts around the city in an aimless fashion; while in Yūsuf al-Qa'id's *Shakāwā al-Misrī al-faṣīh* an impoverished family makes its way from the City of the Dead to Maydān al-Taḥrīr through streets rife with corruption.

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## calligraphy see books and book-making

## Carmathians

The Carmathians, or Qarāmiṭa (sing. Qarmaṭī) as they are known in Arabic, were

members of a revolutionary wing of the **Ismā'īlis**. The origins of the name **Qarmaṭi** are a matter of some dispute among scholars, but it may well be that it does not derive from the name of the **Ismā'īli** leader **Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ** (indeed, **Shaban** derives the name 'from **Garama**, the ancient **Libyan** trade centre', p. 130). **Qarāmiṭa** movements appeared in **Kufa** (277/890) and **Bahrain** (286/899), while the **Qarāmiṭa** of **Syria** spent two years terrorizing and attacking the caravan routes (293–4/905–6). The sacriligious action which brought the **Qarāmiṭa** most lasting historical fame was their seizure of the **Black Stone** from the **Ka'ba** in 317/930. This was only returned in 339/951. The **Qarāmiṭa** are a difficult group, or series of groups or movements, to pin down historically, theologically, or from a literary point of view: for example, their exact relationship with the **Fāṭimid** dynasty remains a matter of dispute; and it has been claimed that the *Rasā'il* of the **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'**, since they were 'written in **al-Baṣra**, at this time practically a dominion of the **Qarmaṭis** of **al-Baḥrayn** ... must have had at least their passive approval if ... not actually encouraged or commissioned by them' (**Madelung**, p. 663). The latter seems unlikely. The **Qarāmiṭa** are really of greater interest for the development of **Arab** history, or as a focal point of **Arab** polemic, than for the development of **Arabic** literature.

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1. NETTON

**Casablanca see Maghrib**

**censorship in Arabic literature**

Censorship in the modern **Arab** world falls into two broad categories: religious and political. In the religious sphere, dozens of writers across the **Arab** world have been imprisoned or even executed for their religious views, the

most notable being **Sayyid Quṭb**. Several **Islamist** writers remain in detention across the **Arab** world.

Conversely, official religious bodies frequently seek to exercise powers of censorship. In 1925, **al-Azhar** demanded a ban on the writings of 'Alī **Abd al-Rāziq**, who had called for **Egypt** to become a secular state. In 1983, the **Shaykh al-Azhar** issued a decree for the confiscation of 'deviant' writings from the **Cairo Book Fair**. The courts have also been used as a tool of religious censorship. In **Egypt**, **Cairo University** professor **Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd** has been tried for apostasy and in June 1995 the **Egyptian Appeals Court** ruled that he had to separate from his wife.

**Islamist** organizations have also sought to exercise powers of censorship, through campaigns of assassination, often using the justification of apostasy. This charge cost the life of the leading **Egyptian** satirist **Farag Foda**, gunned down by radical **Islamists** in June 1992. In October 1994 the **Nobel prize** winner **Najīb Maḥfūz** was stabbed in the back for his book *Awlād ḥaratinā*, banned by **al-Azhar** in 1959. In **Algeria**, at least sixty journalists and writers have been assassinated by armed **Islamist** opposition groups.

On a political level, near-total control of publishing by government in countries such as **Libya**, **Iraq** and **Saudi Arabia** ensures a compliant press. In **Algeria**, **Egypt**, **Sudan**, **Syria** and the **Israeli-Occupied Territories**, emergency legislation gives the authorities draconian powers of censorship. Most countries have laws that prohibit criticism of many issues, including, most commonly, the head of state or ruling family and **Islam**. In **Egypt**, the press law of 1995 provided for lengthy prison terms for those who published 'false news'. Writers critical of ruling authorities have been subjected to administrative detention, beatings and even extra-judicial killing – for example, **Ghassān Kanafāni**, allegedly killed in **Lebanon** by **Israeli** agents. Censorship bureaus operate at many airports to screen the contents of imported literature, and access to the electronic media (including satellite dishes) is subject to state control.

Despite these restrictions, in a few countries, including **Morocco**, **Yemen** and **Jordan**, a more critical press is gaining strength. Some other sections of the **Arab** media have relocated to **Europe**, particularly **London** and **Paris**, in search of a greater freedom of expression.

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N. PELHAM

**Cheikho, Louis see Shaykhū, le Père Luwīs**

**Chraïbi, Driss (1926– )**

Moroccan novelist writing in French. Born in El Jadida, Chraïbi attended **Koran** school, French school and the Casablanca grammar school before studying chemistry in Paris. He travelled extensively and held many different jobs. He became a producer with French Radio and for many years lived on the Île d'Yeu in the Atlantic. He now lives in France.

To date, Chraïbi's literary output consists of thirteen novels and collections of short stories. The first, *Le Passé simple* (1954), expressed his revolt against the bigoted Moroccan bourgeoisie and caused a considerable scandal. In *Les Boucs* (1955) he spoke out on behalf of immigrant workers. Other favourite themes include the modern world, the consumer society, the quest for the absolute, as in *La Foule* (1961) and *Un Ami viendra vous voir* (1967), and women's liberation, as in *La Civilisation, ma mère ...!* (1972). In *Une Enquête au pays* (1981), a work full of linguistic pungency, he showed a satirical side, but again changed direction with *La Mère du printemps* (1982) and *Naissance à l'aube* (1986), where he returned to the themes of paganism and ancient history. These novels are rich in vocabulary and in cosmic resonances and also illustrate Berber values; their underlying theme seems to be a defence of the Berbers and of a Moroccan Islam in possession of its own territory. In *L'Inspecteur Ali* (1991), Chraïbi unfortunately abandons these profound concerns to adopt the style of a thriller writer.

Driss Chraïbi is a fertile, vigorous and resourceful writer who flourishes on a certain thirst for the absolute, which he seeks through language and through writing.

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J. DÉJEUX

**Christian Arabic literature**

The medieval Christian communities of the Arab Islamic world – Coptic Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) and Assyrian (Nestorian) – created a rich literature in Arabic, the use of which spread from the late ninth century CE onwards. Apart from contributions of Christians to classical poetry and other genres of literature, the main topics of Christian literature were religious. Theological writing – often connected with apologetic purposes, either as a defence against Islam or in pursuit of the inner Christian discussion – including translations of the Bible and of the patristic works, as well as biblical exegesis, forms the core of this literature. For example, **Ibn Mufarrij** (d. after 343/955), known for his history of the Coptic Patriarchs, and the physician Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043), composed books in nearly all of these fields. Canon law and civil law, translated from Byzantine and Syriac sources, were also an important part of Christian Arabic literature. The collections of *canones* made by Ibn al-Ṭayyib and Šafi' al-Dawla Ibn al-'Assāl (d. before 660/1260) have won renown. In historiography, the Christian point of view and traditions from non-Arabic sources complement the Islamic chronicles. Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq (**Eutychius**, d. 330/940), Maḥbūb ibn Quṣṭanṭīn (**Agapius**, tenth century) and al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd (d. 672/1273) are among the best-known authors of the works preserved. An especially important contribution was achieved by the transmission of the sciences of antiquity (medicine and philosophy, exact sciences). Endowed with the knowledge of Greek and Syriac, Christian scholars such as **Hunayn ibn Ishāq** (d. c.260/873) and his son Ishāq, **Qusṭā ibn Lūqā** (d. c.300/912) and the philosopher and theologian **Yaḥyā ibn 'Adi** (d. 363/974) translated and commented upon an impressive body of scriptures (see further **translation, medieval**).

In the aftermath of the Mongol invasions Oriental Christianity was weakened and underwent additional fragmentation caused by the schism between Roman Catholic and Orthodox traditions within the different communities. Therefore, during the seventeenth and eigh-

teenth centuries, authors were strongly engaged in inter-Christian polemics. Apart from this, and over the centuries, some Christian poets and authors, or authors of Christian origin (e.g. **Qudāma ibn Ja'far**) have contributed to medieval Arabic literature. In modern times, and with the beginning of the twentieth century, Christian authors played an important role in *Mahjar* literature and in the Arabic *naḥḍa* movement.

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S. LEDER

## chronogram

A chronogram (*ta'rikh*) is the hidden indication of a year by means of the added numerical values of the letters of a few words. This artifice is sometimes found in prose but more often in poetry, where it mostly forms the last hemistich of an elegy or a congratulatory poem celebrating an event. It may be recognized because it is usually preceded by a phrase containing the word *ta'rikh* or a form of the verb *arrakha*. 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī was the first to include the technique in a list of kinds of *badī'*. The earliest examples date from the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century. An example, by 'Abd al-Ghanī, is the line 'Wa-l-majdu qāla mu'arrikhān: bi-Muḥammadin atasharrafu' ('Glory said in a chronogram: I am honoured by Muḥammad'). The year indicated is AH 1075 (note that doubled letters are here counted twice).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## cinema and literature

Egypt, the first Arab country in which a professional cinema industry developed, was producing films as early as the late 1920s. Since then, Cairo has become the capital of Arab cinema, producing up to fifty full-length

films each year and serving the entire Arab world. Many devoted film-makers are at work in other Arab countries (e.g. Lebanon, Syria and Iraq), but their works have rarely attained a leading position in modern Arabic culture. In recent years, there have been some attempts to establish a viable cinema in the Maghrib (Algeria, Morocco, etc). Since the 1970s, Palestinian film-makers have also been active.

Although many Arab films are intended for a non-sophisticated public and thus often have simplistic plots, several important literary works have nevertheless been used as the basis for films. At times, topics for films have come from classical Arabic literature, including anecdotes from the *Alf layla wa-layla* and stories of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets and heroes. Works by modern authors have also been used by film-makers. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's story *Zaynab*, one of the first true Arab novels (it was originally published in 1913), was filmed as early as 1930 by Muḥammad Karīm, one of the pioneers of the Egyptian cinema. Several other important Egyptian novels have also been filmed over the years, including *Du'ā' al-karawān* by Tāhā Ḥusayn, the 'dean' of Arabic literature; *Yawmiyyāt nā'ib fī al-aryāf* by Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm; *al-Ḥarām* by Yūsuf Idrīs; and *al-Arḍ* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sharqāwī. Works by major non-Egyptian writers such as the Sudanese al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ, the Palestinian Ghassān Kanafānī and the Iraqi Ghā'ib Ṭu'ma Farmān were also filmed, mostly outside Egypt.

Critics often find the quality of cinematic adaptations of Arabic literary works disappointing. The intricacies of a fine novel more often than not turn into a naïve melodrama, and socially controversial issues raised by perceptive authors are often lost or diluted. Fear of loss of audience or, in certain cases, censorship (at times self-imposed), can sometimes be blamed for omissions and distortions of literary texts.

Najib Maḥfūz, the 1988 Nobel Prize laureate, seems to be the novelist most adapted by film-makers. Some thirty full-length films draw their plots from his novels and stories, including three based on his famous Cairo trilogy. Critics often praise the adaptations of two of Maḥfūz's early novels, both directed by Ṣalāḥ Abū Sayf: *Bidāya wa-nihāya* (written in 1951 and filmed in 1960); and *al-Qāhira 30* (filmed in 1966), based on Maḥfūz's novel *al-Qāhira al-Jadīda*, originally published in 1946.

Many important Arab writers have, at various times, played an active role in shaping Egyptian cinema. Najīb Maḥfūz, for example, wrote screenplays during the 1960s, although he never adapted any of his own novels for the screen. Until his retirement from the civil service in 1972, he also served for many years as the head of the government film institution. Some critics detect in Maḥfūz's later works the influence of cinematic techniques, for example flashbacks and stories structured as screenplays, as in his short story 'Taḥt al-miẓalla', written in 1967.

The impact of modern cinema on Arabic literature goes beyond the works of Maḥfūz. Many other Arab writers today use cinematic techniques and rhythms in their prose and poetry. Some of them consciously imitate cinematic styles, while others are only indirectly influenced by the cinema. The latter are following in the footsteps of earlier writers worldwide who have already popularized 'cinematic' modes of writing.

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S. SOMEKH

**colloquial literature** *see* **dialect in literature; popular literature; see also Arabic language**

## commentaries

Commentaries are abundant in classical Arabic literature: respect for ancient texts and authorities led to many works of great learning and sometimes original scholarship being composed in the form of a commentary (in Arabic, usually *sharḥ*, pl. *shurūḥ*). The original text itself is called *matn*. A Koranic commentary is called *tafsīr* (a term rarely used for other kinds of commentary), or *ta'wīl* (used especially for those commentaries that seek a more hidden esoteric or allegorical interpretation). (For the extensive genre of Koranic commentary, see **exegesis**, **Koranic**.) The fundamentally

important collections of *ḥadīth*, such as those by **al-Bukhārī** and **Muslim**, also gave rise to several commentaries.

Producing commentaries on poetry was the logical sequel to the activities of collectors and redactors, which began during the eighth century. Soon, commentaries were made on important collections: tribal or individual *dīwāns*, or particular **anthologies**. Among the latter, the *Mu'allaqāt* and the *Ḥamāsa* collected by **Abū Tammām** were very often provided with extensive commentaries. Some authors limited themselves to the more problematical verses. There were also commentaries on single poems, such as the famous *Bānat Su'ād* or 'Poem of the *Burda*' by **Ka'b ibn Zuhayr**, or **al-Buṣīrī**'s poem called *al-Burda*. A great quantity of commentary on poetry is also contained in anthologies and so-called works of *adab*, like *al-Kāmil* by **al-Mubarrad** or the many books entitled *Amālī*.

The simplest and perhaps earliest kind of *sharḥ* involves the explanation of difficult and unusual words. More extensive commentaries also deal with points of grammar, and may explain allusions to persons, places and events mentioned in the text. The stylistic and rhetorical aspects are discussed less often, although many commentators provide additional lines and fragments of poetry containing particular words or motifs. Medieval commentaries are still a great help for the understanding of the poetry, although they are by no means infallible, and often seem to shirk difficulties, to digress into irrelevancy, or to explain the obvious. By modern standards the commentary is often superficial, and refrains from addressing any deeper layers of the text or from giving an interpretation allegorical or otherwise, of the text as a whole.

Not only pre- and early Islamic poets but later ones as well received their share of commentary. By far the most popular poet in this respect is **al-Mutanabbī**. At a time when the poet and the scholar often were one and the same, it is not surprising that some poets should have written commentaries on their own works. As for the genre of the *maqāma*, this is designed (or so it seems) almost for the sole purpose of engendering commentaries – as the *Maqāmāt* of **al-Ḥarīrī** certainly did.

Commentaries on scholarly and scientific works are especially numerous. Works like **al-Mubarrad's** *Kāmil* or **al-Qālī's** *Amālī*, themselves full of commentary already, were in turn provided with commentaries. Many works

of grammar were written in the form of commentaries (see **grammar and grammarians**). Whereas some are true commentaries which explain or criticize, other works only take the original text as a starting-point for becoming something multifarious and almost encyclopaedic. An example is the great *Khizānat al-adab* by the eleventh/seventeenth century 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, which is a *sharḥ* on the 957 illustrative verses (*shawāhid*) of a *sharḥ* on a work of grammar by Ibn al-Ḥajīb.

Especially in the period of scholasticism after the eleventh century, works are related in extended and complex families: commentaries, super-commentaries or glosses (which are usually notes written in the margin and are called *ḥāshiya*, pl. *hawāshī*; also *ta'liq*, pl. *ta'liqāt*), epitomes and compendia (among the terms used are *talkhīṣ*, *mulakkhaṣ*, *khulāṣa*, *mukhtaṣar*, *mūjaz* – also *mūjiz* – and *jāmi'*, pl. *jawāmi'*) (see **abridgements**). Very often the flowery titles show the relationship by means of rhyme; thus the great dictionary by al-Murtaḍā al-Zabidī, *Tāj al-'arūs* (*The Bridal Crown*) is in fact conceived as a commentary on al-Firūzābādī's *Qāmūs*. An intricate example is formed by the countless commentaries which ultimately go back to *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*, a standard compendium on rhetoric (see **rhetoric and poetics**) by Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī, which is itself a critical resumé of *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* by al-Sakkākī.

The paraphrases and adaptations of Aristotle's works by the great philosophers, notably Ibn Rushd, are often called 'commentaries' – though it is obvious that Ibn Rushd's contribution goes beyond what is usually understood by commentary.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

## commitment

The accepted Arabic term for 'commitment' (*iltizām*) seems to have first been used in about

1950, as a translation of Jean-Paul Sartre's *engagement*. The issue of 'commitment' itself, however, was thrust into prominence in January 1953, with the publication in Beirut of the first issue of the literary journal *al-Ādāb* edited by the novelist and critic Suhayl Idris, in which he proclaimed the journal's advocacy of the concept of 'committed literature': 'it is the conviction of this review', he wrote, '... that literature ... influences society just as much as it is influenced by it'. This call – rooted as much in Arab nationalism as in literary theory – was followed by a series of debates in *al-Ādāb* and elsewhere about the precise meaning and implications of 'commitment', and by arguments about related issues, such as the relationship between content and form in literature. Some debates were characterized by a 'generation gap' – Ṭāhā Husayn and 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, for example, defending a position of 'art for art's sake' against a younger generation of 'committed' writers and critics. The younger generation was itself, however, disunited: various shades of 'commitment' are apparent, mingling the influences of Marxism, existentialism and Arab nationalism, not to speak of other, more esoteric '-isms' of one kind and another. Moreover, although the launch of *al-Ādāb* in 1953 served as the catalyst for these debates, the issue had begun to preoccupy some leading Arab intellectuals before that date: Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, for example – usually reckoned among the least 'committed' of authors – devotes a complete section of his collection of essays *Fann al-adab* (1952) to 'al-Adab wa-iltizāmātuḥu'.

The attractiveness of the concept of 'commitment' to Arab writers of this period may be attributed to a combination of social and political factors, some negative (for example, the Palestinian War of 1948), others positive (in particular, the Egyptian Free Officers' Revolt of 1952). The new mood is perhaps best epitomized by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sharqāwī's *al-Ard* (1954), but its effects extended to prose, poetry and theatre throughout the Arab world, and for most of the 1950s and 1960s the idea of 'commitment' was one which no Arab writer could ignore.

The next great change in the prevailing mood of Arabic literature coincided with the Arab defeat in the Six-Day War of 1967. By this time, although many Arab writers remained 'committed' in some sense or other, the sense of purpose and optimism which had



characterized the committed literature of the 1950s and early 1960s had already begun to disappear, and the prevailing mood quickly changed to one of bitterness and frustration.

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P. STARKEY

**compilations** *see* **adab**;  
**anthologies, medieval**;  
**encyclopedias, medieval**

**conciseness** *see* **ijāz**

**Constantinople** *see* **Byzantines**

**Córdoba** *see* **Spain**

**Courier de l'Égypte**  
**(August 1798–June 1801)**

Official newspaper of the French occupation forces, published in Cairo on Napoleon's instructions. The first Egyptian newspaper, its editors included the engineer Costaz, the mathematician Fourier, and the chief medical officer Desgenettes, who aimed to publish an issue of four pages every five days. It informed the French colony of political and military events, collected notes on the 'literary history of the expedition', and published studies on the journeys and research of members of the Commission of Science and Arts, and on the work of the Institut d'Égypte. It also published occasional poetry of doubtful quality by members of the expeditionary force.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**courtly love**

As in medieval European languages, there is no Arabic term for 'courtly love', and the existence of the concept itself is often dis-

puted. Much of the critical literature on the subject (see the bibliographies in Boase, Menocal) is concerned with demonstrating or refuting connections between the Arabic and European traditions; these need not detain us here.

The phenomenon of courtly love as a 'stylized and idealized treatment of love widely employed [in] amatory poetry' (*PEPP*, 1993, s.v.) associated with aristocratic society and linked to courtly manners is shared (with local differences) throughout the medieval world. The frequent equation of courtly love with the 'Platonic' love of 'Udhri poetry appears to have been a backward projection of the concept in 'Abbāsīd times to an idealized bedouin origin; courtly love is the product of an intellectualized, sophisticated urban environment.

The poetry of al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf (d. 808) presents a literary portrait of the courtly lover. In principle, he is devoted to a single lady (although this is not universally maintained even by al-'Abbās), from whom he is separated by some accident of geography or otherwise ('Abbās's lady, Fawz, was married to another and taken to the Hijaz). The lover serves his lady with humility and devotion; afflicted with the 'disease' of love, for which she is the only remedy, he spends sleepless nights, pines and wastes away, and, above all, composes poetry. The beloved need not, however, be a 'lady' in either the social or the generic sense: much love-poetry was addressed to singing-girls or young males, as for example the poems of the secretary **Khālid ibn Yazīd**. In fact, a major point of difference between the Arabic and European traditions is that, in Arabic literature, the beloved is almost always socially inferior to the lover, yet exerts on him a powerful emotional effect.

From the third/tenth century there developed an extensive prose literature dealing with all aspects of love, which produced such works as **Ibn Dā'ūd's** *Kitāb al-zahra*, an anthology of poetry describing the various states and stages of love interspersed with the author's commentary; **al-Washshā's** *Kitāb al-muwashshā* which describes the refined atmosphere in which this ideal flourished (love being the true sign of the *zarīf*; *see zarf*) and the protocol to be observed by the lover (the exchange of letters, tokens, poems and so on); and the Andalusian **Ibn Ḥazm's** *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, inspired by his love for a slave girl and illustrated by his own poetry. Collections

of accounts (*akhbār*) of famous poet-lovers – such as **Qays ibn al-Mulawwah** ('al-Maj-nūn'), 'Urwa ibn Hīzām and others – developed into veritable romances in which the accounts serve primarily to explain the poetry; other works dealt with the 'martyrs of love'. Criticism of such 'obsessive' love was also voiced, a notable work in this respect being **Ibn al-Jawzī's** *Dhamm al-hawā*.

The literary ideal of courtly love, expressed poetically in *ghazal* (love poetry), was parodied in *khamriyya* and *mujūn* by poets such as **Bashshār ibn Burd**, **Abū Nuwās** and **Ibn al-Hajjāj**. This ideal was also adapted for use in the *nasīb* of the panegyric *qaṣīda* (see also *madīh*), where the relationship of submissive lover with the dominant, cruel beloved provided an analogue to that between poet and patron. Mystical poets also exploited the diction and imagery of the poetry of courtly love to express their yearning for the divine Beloved.

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See also: love theory

## criticism see literary criticism

## Crusades

If the term 'Crusades' (to describe the whole historical phenomenon) was only coined in Europe in modern times, then *a fortiori* medieval Islam lacked a comprehensive term. The word *ṣalībī* ('man of the cross, Crusader') was derived from the late Western term. However, the armed pilgrimages of *al-Faranj* ('the

Franks') and the states they created had significant effects on Arabic literary history.

It is generally accepted that in political and cultural terms the Crusades had little impact on the vast stretches of the Islamic world far away from the Mediterranean. The events in Syria and Palestine were recorded by many historians as part of Islam's changing fortunes, but it was in the areas directly affected by the Frankish presence that the Crusades became a dominant subject of historiography, and this is the most obvious field in which Arabic letters were touched.

Very little historical writing survives from the first half of the twelfth century CE, but, starting with **Ibn al-Qalānisi** and continuing to the end of the thirteenth century and beyond, a wide and impressive range of such writing is extant, in which the overriding theme is the development of the Muslim response to the Crusades and the celebration of such heroes of the *jihād* as Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin. In the works of such writers as Bahā' al-Dīn **Ibn Shaddād** and **Abū Shāma** their careers are transformed into paradigms of the ideal Islamic ruler. 'Imād al-Dīn **al-İṣfahānī**, a secretary of Saladin, used the great events he lived through as a backdrop to his own career, charted in a literary *tour de force*.

'Imād al-Dīn's historical works are written in elaborate rhymed prose, full of rhetorical devices and poetic imagery which was by this period a *sine qua non* of official documents and diplomatic correspondence. Many such productions of his own are quoted by 'Imād al-Dīn and also used by later compilers. Saladin's senior administrator, **al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil** ('the Learned Judge'), was a greatly admired stylist. Collections of his official correspondence with the leading men of the day survive in several libraries, awaiting an editor.

What is lacking throughout this historical corpus is any thoroughgoing interest in the politics, culture and motivation of the Crusaders themselves. One can only speculate on the possible contents of a lost *History of the Franks*, written in Antioch early in the twelfth century by Ḥamdān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm. Even earlier, at the very beginning of the century, al-Sulamī, an obscure jurist of Damascus, made some penetrating remarks on the current strategic position of the Franks and their religious aims, and added some prescient comments on the pre-conditions for a Muslim response. He wrote all this in a conventional exposition of the theory and duties of *jihād*, a

striking example of the effect of the First Crusade on one man's literary output. Some well-known, entertaining and enlightening comments on Frankish *mores* and on contacts with them are to be found in the *Memoirs* of **Usāma ibn Munqidh**, a member of an Arab princely family of Shayzar. This is an outstanding work on account of its immediacy, its liveliness and its admixture of colloquial language.

The Frankish occupation of the Levant, and above all of the city of Jerusalem, the third most holy site of Islam, gave a new boost to a branch of an old genre, the so-called *Faḍā'il* literature. This produced monographs celebrating the 'excellencies' or 'virtues' of Syria and of individual towns, containing texts of Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*) relating to them, and listing major places of worship and the sites associated with Companions of the Prophet or later 'saints' of Islam.

Unsurprisingly, in the field of poetry there was a wide response to the conquests and continued presence of the Crusaders. The themes variously expressed were those of pity for the sufferers, blame, exhortation or praise directed towards political leaders, confidence in the ultimate success of Islam. The prose works of the period, especially 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī's anthology, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, quote many examples of such writing to illus-

trate the changing mood. Some of the poets were themselves refugees, such as **Ibn al-Qaysarānī** and Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī, and not unnaturally their poetry has been compared with that of Palestinians of our own days, expressing the same sense of anger, loss and regret.

Finally, it is suggested that the development of the popular epics, such as the *Sirat 'Antar* and the pseudo-**Wāqidi** *Futūḥ al-Shām*, was influenced by the circumstances and the attitudes of the era of the Crusades.

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(See also the entries for individual authors.)

D.S. RICHARDS

See also: Syria, medieval

**al-Dabbāgh, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad (605–99/c.1208–1300)**

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Uṣaydī al-Dabbāgh, also called Ibn al-Dabbāgh, scion of an old family of *fuqahā'*. He wrote a valuable biographical work on saints and scholars who lived in or visited his native Qayrawan (Kairouan). Attributed to him also is a work on the theory of mystical love, of Neoplatonic inspiration, *Mashāriq anwār al-qulūb*, on the nature of love between the mystic and God and the stages of mystical progress. He supports the doctrine of *ḥulūl*, i.e., that God's perfection and beauty may be glimpsed as one gazes at a beautiful youth, the soul of the mystical lover being thus trained upwards towards God. This training was so essential, he taught, that the danger of sin ought to be risked and overcome; it is not the physical body which is admired, but the spiritual being which God made in his image shining forth.

**Text editions**

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L. A. GIFFEN

*See also:* love theory

**al-Ḍabbī, al-Mufaḍḍal see al-Mufaḍḍal al Ḍabbī**

**al-Daḥḍāh, Rushayd (1813–89)**

Maronite merchant, scholar, journalist, poet and translator from Mount Lebanon. He studied Italian, Syriac, Arabic and Turkish. In 1838 he was appointed secretary to Prince Amīn al-Shihābī, son of Prince Bashīr, governor of Mount Lebanon. Having taken part in conspiracies against the Sublime Porte, he fled in 1843 to the French consulate in Sidon. He lost his fortune in the silk-trade in Marseilles, then in 1858 founded the newspaper *Birjis Bārīs* in Paris. He revised the Arab dictionary of Germanos **Farḥāt** (1849), edited two commentaries on the poetry of 'Umar **Ibn al-Fāriḍ** (1853), and translated *Portrait politique de l'empereur Napoléon III* (1860) by the French minister, de la Guéronnière. He published Abū Maṣṣūr **al-Tha'alībī's** work on Arabic synonyms, *Fiqh al-lughā* (1861), and a collection of his own articles on literature, history and politics (1880).

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P. C. SADGROVE

## al-Dahhān, Muḥammad Sāmī (1912–71)

Syrian scholar and literary critic. Born in Aleppo, he taught there and in Damascus before moving to Paris, where he received a doctorate in 1946. He worked for the Institut Français d'Etudes Arabes de Damas (IFEAD) and the Syrian University, and was elected a member of the Arabic Academy in Damascus in 1952. Al-Dahhān travelled widely in the Arab world, Europe and the USA searching for manuscripts for the Arab Academy and IFEAD, which published his critical editions of works by **Ibn al-'Adīm**, **Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī** and others. He also lectured at the Institute of Arabic Studies in Cairo, and wrote several important works on Arabic literature, published by Dār al-Ma'ārif in Cairo. His autobiography, *Darb al-shawk*, was published in 1969.

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A.-N. STAIF

## al-Ḍa'if, Rashīd (1945– )

Lebanese poet and novelist. Born in Beirut, al-Ḍa'if's work is distinguished by a constant search for new techniques, a dry style of humour, and a highly concentrated manner. Two early collections of poetry – *Ḥin halla al-sayf 'alā al-sayf* (1979) and *Lā shay' faḥw al-waṣf* (1980) – set the complex, ironic tone of his work, in which a great distance, mingled with great intimacy, is established between the poet and his world. In concrete images, al-Ḍa'if conveys absence, failure, fear, anguish, despair, sexual ecstasy and well-being, while an absurdist streak situates him in a Kafkaesque tradition balanced by an 'oriental' sense of communal life.

Six novels by al-Ḍa'if appeared between 1983 and 1991, during and shortly after the Lebanese civil war. In these works, war-torn Beirut becomes a universal urban stage where man's tragedy is endlessly re-enacted so that 'there was not one stone left which did not cry out'. A humorous twist erases the tears and creates an atmosphere of fantasy in which man moves amidst happy dreams; but these dreams change abruptly into nightmares, obsessions and killings. Rashīd al-Ḍa'if's technique is an

effective expression of a new epoch in post-war Lebanon.

### Text editions

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M.T. AMYUNI

## Damascus, medieval

Unlike other cities in the Islamic world, medieval Damascus never had any literary circle of fame centred around a patron. The **Umayyad** caliphs and princes, who favoured poets and men of learning, often resided elsewhere in Syria. With their fall in 149/750, Damascus lost the status of a capital, and during the unruly times that followed it became, sometimes to the profit of local élites and urban independence, a bone of contention between the rival powers of Cairo and Aleppo. The conquest by Nūr al-Dīn in 549/1154 established stability, and subsequently, under the patronage of the **Ayyūbids**, many schools and libraries were founded, which engendered an abundant literary output lasting throughout the Bahrī **Mamlūk** period till the end of the fourteenth century CE. Most of Damascus's famous authors belong to this period of cultural bloom. Many of them, however, did not spend all of their careers in Damascus which was, at that time, politically and culturally linked with Cairo. Damascus, famous for the beauties of its oasis and the banks of its river and canals, was adorned with many fine buildings.

In general, traditional scholarship, particularly with respect to Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*) and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), clearly outweighed creativity in the field of *belles-lettres*. This may be due to the fact that Damascus did not accommodate any long-lasting court and was, even at its best times, much less a metropolis than a stronghold, a logistic centre and symbol of defence against Crusaders and Mongols, thus giving firm ground to the permeating influence of a traditionalist religious outlook.

Among the poets engaged by Umayyad patrons in Damascus (cf. GAS 2: 316–36) the prominent **al-Akḥṭal** may be mentioned. The traditionist and collector or author of historical

narratives (*akhbār*), Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742; cf. *EI*<sup>1</sup> 4: 1342f.), who was closely linked to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik and his successors, seems to have spent much of his scholarly life in Damascus. Not much is preserved, however, of Syrian or Damascus historiography (i.e. historical narration) dating from these times, but more can probably be said when the monumental *History of (scholars and rulers of) Damascus (Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq)* by Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176) has been edited and analysed.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Damascus was a centre of sophisticated scholarship and the home of many famous authors. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 3: 927), al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277; see Pouzet, 'Une herméneutique') and al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 7: 212f.) may be named as examples for the development of *ḥadīth*-sciences. Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 620/1223; see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 3: 842f) and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) represent the achievements of Ḥanbalī and Shāfi'ī jurisprudence, and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) proclaimed here and in Cairo his reformist ideas. Universal historiography and biography flourished with al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), whereas Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (d. 763/1363) wrote large compendia of a more cultural and literary orientation. Abū Shāma (d. 645/1268) left a Damascene history of the epoch which is more personal in character than was usual at this time. Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274) here wrote his standard works on Arabic grammar.

Poetry in Damascus, documented in medieval collections together with Syrian poetry in general, was brought to new prominence by court poets like Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Sā'atī (d. 604/1209), al-Shihāb al-Shāghūrī (d. 615/1218) who is known for his description of the city and its surroundings, and Ibn 'Unayn (d. 630/1233), the last of these being also a witness for the light-hearted side of life at this time. At this time, Damascus, saw the emergence of a class which had long dominated *belles-lettres* and literary criticism elsewhere: the state secretaries, who were already considered in the *Kharīdat al-qasr* of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), such as Ḍiyya' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Fahd (d. 725/1325; *GAS*, S 2: 42). These men of high cultural standards serving foreign rulers practised an ornate, 'artificial' prose-

style, extreme versions of which may be observed in the descriptive prose of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī or the stylistic exercises of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363). (See further **artistic prose**.) A late revival of the religious sciences can be seen with the encyclopedic works of Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), and Ibn Ṭulūn (d. 909/1503). However, historiography and works on religious sciences of the late Middle Ages were of a rather local focus and significance.

#### Further reading

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S. LEDER

See also: Syria, medieval

## Damascus, modern

Damascus is the capital of the Syrian Arab Republic and is one of the oldest continually inhabited cities in the world. In addition to Greek and Roman remains, the city has monuments from every era of Islamic history.

In early modern times one of the biggest caravans set off from the city for Mecca at the time of the *ḥajj* with pilgrims from Syria, Turkey, the Balkans and Central Asia. In spite of its rich Islamic heritage, however, the present population of three million includes a Christian community of nearly half a million. In the last generation there has been a fivefold increase in the total population and Damascenes are today in a minority.

Since independence in 1946, successive Syrian governments have tightened their control over freedom of expression. In the 1970s and 1980s censorship was strict, (though recently there have been signs of

some relaxation) and dissenting writers were imprisoned. Independent-minded spirits such as the short-story writer Zakariyyā **Tāmīr**, the novelists Hānī al-Rāhib and Ghāda al-Sammān, and the poet Adūnis have chosen self-exile. On the other hand, Damascus has provided a home for writers from other Arab countries, most notably the Saudi Arabian novelist 'Abd al-Rahmān **Munif**.

The government encourages writers who are not dissenters. Since 1976 the Minister of Culture has been Dr Najāh al-'Aṭṭār, herself a writer and scholar with a PhD from the University of Edinburgh. She has extended state patronage to writers such as the novelist Hannā **Mīna**, the playwrights Sa'd Allāh **Wannūs** and the poets Nizār al-Qabbānī and Shawqī **Baghdādī**. The Ministry has published new poets and publishes a cultural magazine, *al-Ma'rifa*. Another Damascus literary magazine is *al-Thaqāfa*, privately owned and edited since its foundation in 1958 by Midhat al-'Ukāsha.

To avoid trouble, writers avoid criticizing the president, the ruling party or the army. Outside these constraints, writers can comment on bureaucracy and the nature of the police-state without particularizing Syria. Sa'd Allāh **Wannūs**'s plays satirize official postures, using techniques of the theatre of the absurd. 'Abd al-Salām al-'Ujaylī has written short stories about the capriciousness and brutality of political imprisonment.

There are other safeguards for the writer – such as to be published by Dār Tlās, the publishing house owned by the Minister of Defence, a close friend and political ally of President Asad since the 1950s. The proximity of Beirut allows writers to publish there with fewer worries about censorship, and it is not difficult to smuggle books in from Lebanon.

Damascus is a popular theme with writers. Nādyā **Khust** and Ulfat al-**Idilbī** both write evocatively of the social life and cuisine of a vanishing Damascus. There is also a nostalgia for the time of the brief reign of King Fayṣal (1918–20) immediately before the French Mandate, and for the heroic national revolt against that Mandate which led to the French bombardment of the city of Damascus in 1925.

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P. CLARK

## Dār al-Hikma

Literally 'House of Wisdom', a large library founded in Cairo in 395/1005 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākīm on the model of earlier library-institutes. Located in the north-western part of the Western Palace, it included a reading room and discussion areas, and became an important academic centre for scholars of both Islamic and Greek branches of learning. Its administrator was the Fāṭimid chief missionary (*dā'ī al-du'āt*) who invited scholars to the Dār every Monday and Thursday. This demonstrates that one of the Dār's primary concerns was support, at an institutional level, of the Fāṭimid mission (*da'wa*, propaganda) and **Ismā'īlī** doctrine (also known as *ḥikma*).

In 435/1045, the library's catalogue listed 6,500 volumes, of which twenty-five camel-loads were pillaged in 481/1088. It was closed by the vizier al-Afḍal (d. 495/1100), following political and religious turbulence, and reopened and relocated by the vizier al-Ma'mūn in 517/1123. In 567/1171, the Sunnī **Ayyūbid** Ṣalāḥ al-dīn (Saladin), closed the Shī'ī Fāṭimid centre and sold its treasures.

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S.M. TOORAWA

See also: Fāṭimids

## Dār al-'Ilm see libraries

## Dār al-Kutub

The Egyptian National Library (properly Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyya al-Miṣriyya), founded in Cairo in 1870 by 'Alī **Mubārak**, and initially known as al-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiyya. Sited at first in Darb al-Gamāmiḥ, it moved in 1904 to Bāb al-Khalq before moving to its present premises in Corniche al-Nil. A number

of other private and institutional libraries have been incorporated in the library since its foundation. The first 'modern' library in the Arab Middle East, Dār al-Kutub has served as both training-ground and sinecure for a succession of distinguished Egyptian literary figures, including Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, 'Alī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā and Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, as well as for the nationalist Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid. Despite a widespread reputation for inefficiency, Dār al-Kutub remains of unique importance as a depository of Arabic and other Middle Eastern manuscripts and books, and as a research facility for the study of Arabic literature, especially from the early period.

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P. STARKEY

### Dār al-'Ulūm

Egyptian Teachers' Training College established by 'Alī Mubārak in Cairo in 1870, with the aim of combining traditional Islamic culture with Western learning. A number of important literary figures graduated from Dār al-'Ulūm, including 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukri and Ibrāhīm al-Māzinī, and the College provided a forum for Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī's lectures on reforming the teaching of literature. As an institution for the training of teachers, however, Dār al-'Ulūm suffered from serious defects, and a more up-to-date training school was established by Tawfiq Pasha in 1880. Dār al-'Ulūm was incorporated in the first Egyptian State University when it opened in 1925.

Further reading

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P. STARKEY

### *Ḍarb al-maṭhal* see proverbs

### al-Darīmī, Miskīn see Miskīn al-Darīmī

### *Ḍarūra* see prosody

### al-Darwish, 'Alī (1796–1853)

Egyptian poet, born and died in Cairo. Educated at al-Azhar, he wrote poetry for Muḥammad 'Alī, was court-poet of 'Abbās I, and was only surpassed in his time by his rival at court Shihāb al-Dīn. As one of the first to Arabize official correspondence (previously written in semi-colloquial and foreign languages in a highly rhetorical style), he prepared the way for other *dīwān* (government) secretaries. His *dīwān* of poetry, *al-Ish'ār bi-ḥamīd al-ash'ār* (1853), contains *maqāmāt* and strophic songs.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

### Darwish, Maḥmūd (1941– )

Palestinian poet. Born in al-Barwa, near Acre, Darwish joined the Israeli Communist Party and for some time edited the Party's Arabic newspaper *al-Ittihād*. He left Israel in 1971 to live in Beirut, and now lives in Paris, Tunis and Jordan. Both his life and his poetry have been dominated by the tragic history of his native country and his people.

Darwish's early poetry is characterized by lyrical simplicity, thematic immediacy and direct imagery, which has given way in his later poetry to a more involved imagery, complex poetic structure and haunting musical cadences. His talent is also apparent in his rich and invigorating symbolism. This includes the symbolic universalization of local themes, the creation of new constellations of symbolic motifs and the novel exploitation of old ones – for example, 'sand' and 'wind' – to create a galaxy of thematically dense poems which are characterized by highly charged imagery. In Darwish's later poetry the emotion behind the idea fuses with the idea in an indissoluble unity; as a result, it may be characterized as poetry of soul and mind in equal measure. His later poetry shares with his earlier poems, however, an abiding optimism about achieving a better future, the unbending belief that justice will prevail, and the intense desire to be united with the beloved – be it land, mother, or the real and true love.

In addition to his many *dīwāns*, Darwish



has published several books of prose, including *Shay' an al-waṭan*, *Wadā'an ayyuhā al-ḥarb*, *Wadā'an ayyuhā al-salām* and *Dhākira lil-nisyan*. Even in his prose writings, however, Darwish cannot but speak with the unmistakable voice of the poet, as is clear from the melodic quality of his discourse and the undulating flow of his tormented emotions. It is therefore not surprising that he has actively participated in the debate over the role of *ḥadātha* ('modernism') as a critical force in the regeneration of Arabic poetry. Darwish rejects the extreme manifestations of this literary outlook because they simplistically seek to divorce modern Arabic poetry from its earlier literary roots and to place it in the orbit of Western literary codes, particularly English and French literatures. In response, Darwish argues that Arabic poetry is capable of regeneration only if it remains true to its heritage, while at the same time seeking to integrate itself more fully into the mainstream of world literatures. He is accordingly critical of the many poor imitations of Western poetic forms in Arabic literature, especially those which belong to 'prose poetry', though he is careful not to direct his criticism at successful experiments in this field by poets such as Muḥammad al-Māghūṭ and Unsī al-Ḥājj.

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Y. SULEIMAN

**al-Dasūqī, Ibrāhīm (1811–83)**

(Also known as al-Dusūqī.) Egyptian poet, teacher of Arabic and the most famous corrector of texts of the *nahḍa*; from Dasūq, he died in Cairo. He studied at al-Azhar mosque. From 1832 he was employed to polish the Arabic of the medical, mathematical and scientific textbooks used in higher educational institutes in the reigns of the khedive Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors. For several years he collaborated with Edward William Lane in the collection of material for

his *Arabic–English Lexicon*. He also served as assistant editor of the official gazette, *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, in Sa'īd's reign, and of the medical journal *Ya'sūb al-ṭibb* in 1865.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Dawānī, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn As'ad (830–908/1426–1502)**

Prominent philosopher and theologian, born in southern Iran in the village of Davan. He first studied there with his father before going on to further and complete his education in philosophy, theology and law in Shiraz. Like other leading religious scholars of his time and place, he was directly caught up in the turbulent politics of Iran in the second half of the fifteenth century. He held various religious offices, and many of his works were dedicated to Āq Qoyunlū and Tīmūrid rulers and princes. He also achieved fame as a teacher in the Begum *madrasa* (Dār al-Aytām) in Shiraz. The question of his religious allegiance, whether Sunni or Shī'ī, has been debated (he wrote theological works of both persuasions). He died in 908/1502 near Kāzarūn, a year or so before the Ṣafavid capture of Shiraz, and is buried in his home-town. He came early to the note of Western scholars through W.F. Thompson's 1839 English translation of his Persian ethical treatise, the *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, based on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*. Although most of his work, written in Arabic, has been little studied, he did write extensively, and engaged in a famous and lengthy philosophical dispute with another leading philosopher, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī (and subsequently the latter's son Ghiyāth al-Dīn) in Shiraz. He emerges as a thinker who combined elements of illuminationist and peripatetic philosophy (and possibly also interests in Ibn al-'Arabī) to confront theological, ethical, political and mystical concerns.

Text editions

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*Shawākīl-al-ḥūr fī sharḥ-i Hayākīl-al-nūr*, crit. ed. with intro. and notes by M. Abdul Haq and Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, Madras (1953) (a commentary by al-Dawānī on the illuminationist al-Suhrawardī's *Hayākīl al-Nūr*).

J. COOPER

### Dayf, Aḥmad (1880–1945)

Egyptian literary critic. After graduating from **Dār al-'Ulūm** in 1909, Dayf was sent to Paris to prepare a thesis entitled *Le lyrisme et la critique littéraire arabe* (1917), in which he severely criticized traditional methods of literary criticism. He held a number of academic posts between 1917 and his retirement in 1940. Dayf was one of the first theorists of the so-called *adab qawmī*, which aimed to create a new literature marked by realism, local colour and a Western style. He played a secondary role in the group of authors associated with *al-Sufūr*, in which he published most of his literary essays. He also co-operated with the French author Bonjean on two novels, and was the author of *Balāghat al-'Arab fī al-Andalus* (1924).

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E.C.M. DE MOOR

### Dayf, Shawqī (1910– )

Egyptian literary critic and historian, editor and scholar. Born in lower Egypt, Dayf received a BA in Arabic literature from the University of Cairo in 1935. He worked under Aḥmad Amin and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn in the Faculty of Arabic there, becoming one of its most eminent professors. His many textbooks and reference works, and his supervision of students from many Arab countries, have made him one of the most influential figures in contemporary Arabic scholarship. In addition to a nine-volume history of Arabic literature, he produced a study of the artistic development of poetry and prose in classical Arabic culture (*al-Fann wa-madhāhibuhu fī al-shi'r al-'Arabī*, 1943; *al-Fann wa-madhāhibuhu fī al-nathr al-'Arabī*, 1946) and several other books on various

aspects and personalities of classical and modern Arabic literature. He edited important manuscripts by Ibn Hazm and others, and wrote a history of Arabic rhetoric, a widely-used book on the schools of Arabic grammar (*al-Balāgha: Taṭawwur wa-tārikh*, 1965) and an interesting attempt at modernizing Arabic grammar (*Tajdid al-naḥw al-'Arabī*, 1982). His autobiography, *Ma'ī: sīra dhātīyya*, was published in two volumes in 1981 and 1988. In recognition of his contribution to Arabic scholarship, he was awarded the Egyptian State Prize for literature in 1979 and the King Fayṣal Prize for Arabic Literature in 1984. He was elected president of the Arabic Academy in Cairo in 1996.

#### Further reading

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al-Dasūqī, 'Abd al-'Aziz, *Shawqī Dayf wa-juhūduhu al-naqdiyya*, Cairo (1986).  
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A.-N. STAIF

### al-Daylamī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad (c.337– c.392/c.949– c.1001)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Daylamī, a Persian Sunnī mystic of the middle 'Abbāsīd period. The facts known about his life are extremely few: he originated from the area of Daylam in Iran, on the Caspian Sea; he travelled in search of knowledge to Mecca, Arrajan and Antioch, and probably also to Baghdad. In Shiraz, he was for many years a disciple of the Ṣūfī Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/982), whose memory he perpetuated through a biographical work, a *Sīra*, which is extant only in the form of a Persian translation. Al-Daylamī, a proponent of a modified version of the mystical doctrine of al-Ḥallāj (executed 309/922), was gifted with an eclectic curiosity; his second great work, the *'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'alā al-lām al-ma'jūf*, relies on a remarkable number of mystical and non-mystical sources. The *'Atf* has the credit – apart from the very conventional *Kitāb al-maḥabba* of the third/ninth-century author Abū Ishāq al-Khuttalī – of being the earliest monograph on the subject of mystical love. Al-Daylamī also wrote a lost work on the lives of his Ṣūfī masters, *Kitāb al-mashyakha*, and an *Asrār al-ma'arīf*, of which only the name is known. Through the composition of the *'Atf*, al-Daylamī has played a significant role in the Sūfism of the

Persian-speaking world in general and in the transmission of certain ideas of al-Ḥallāj in particular. Important reflections of the 'Atf are to be found in the work of the great Persian Ṣūfī author Rūzbihān al-Baqlī (d. 606/1209).

Text editions

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*Book of the Attachment of the United Alif to the Attached Lām*, J.N. Bell, and H.M. Abdel Latif, (trans), Cairo (forthcoming); includes the most comprehensive study of al-Daylamī.  
*Le Traité d'amour mystique d'al-Daylamī*, J.-C. Vadet (trans.), Geneva (1980).  
 Rukn al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Junayd-i Shīrāzī, *Sīrat al-shaykh al-kabīr Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Khafīf al-Shīrāzī*, A. Schimmel-Tari (ed.), Ankara (1955) (Persian trans. of al-Daylamī's Arabic vita).

Further reading

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F. SOBIEROJ

Daylamids see Būyids

debate literature

*Munāzara* is the most common term for both the scholarly and the literary debate. The debate is a common mode in various types of Arabic literature, but only the literary debate may be called a genre in its own right. In a typical *munāzara* (which may be in prose, *saj'* or verse) two or more contestants, often personified objects (e.g. pen and sword, rose and narcissus) or concepts (e.g. the various sciences), are represented as speaking in turn and proclaiming their own superiority and their opponents' inferiority, sometimes by means of logical argument but more often by rhetorical persuasion or simple invective. Not infrequently the debate is supposed to take place in front of an arbiter, who may be the author of the text or its dedicatee. The genre has obvious links with the early tribal verbal contest, *mufākhara* or *munāfara*, in prose or poetry (cf. *naqā'id*), as well as with the genre of *mahāsīn wa-masāwī*. Some scholars believe therefore in an independent Arabic development. Others deny this, in view of the fact that the genre has been practised in the Middle East in Sumerian, Akkadian, Persian and Syriac before it appeared in Arabic.

A key figure in the history of the genre is

al-Jāhīz, who wrote what may be called early stages: essays in which one thing is declared superior to another (blacks to whites, bellies to backs), or where two persons discuss the pros and cons of something (e.g. the lover of girls versus the lover of boys). His 'Contest of Winter and Summer', which is lost, may have been a 'true' literary debate where the concepts themselves are the antagonists. The earliest surviving true debates date from the eleventh century. Their style and function resemble those of the *maqāma*. They are, first of all, a more-or-less playful exercise in rhetoric. The theme may be trivial or frivolous, but at times they reflect a real conflict of interests: pen and sword may stand, among other things, for civil administration versus military rule respectively, or literature versus warfare, words versus deeds. Jocular poetic debates, in dialect, may be found in the twentieth century.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**La Décade Égyptienne  
(September 1798–March 1801)**

A 'journal littéraire et d'économie politique', published in Cairo during the French occupation and designed to appear every ten days (*décade*). The organ of the Institut d'Égypte, its object was to make Egypt known to French residents and to readers in France and Europe. The editors were

the medical officer Desgenettes and the mathematician Fourier. It contained no news or political discussions, limiting its coverage to the sciences, arts, commerce, industry and archaeology. Although the literary content was poor, it printed some odes on Egypt and an Arabic poem by the Syrian Niqūlā al-Turk praising Bonaparte on his capture of the country. It also published a biography of the Arab fabulist Luqmān.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**Delhemma, romance of see  
Dhāt al-Himma, romance of**

**al-Dhahabī (673–748/1274–1348)**

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, historian, biographer, *ḥadīth* scholar and theologian. Born in Damascus, he began his studies in *ḥadīth* and other religious disciplines there, but later travelled to Baalbek, Cairo, Mecca, Aleppo, Alexandria and Nablus for the same purpose. A sharp, towering personality, he taught *ḥadīth* in Damascus, attracted numerous students, and was nicknamed 'muḥaddith al-*ʿaṣr*' (*ḥadīth* relator of the age). With amazing prolificness, he compiled numerous multi-volume books and abridged many earlier classics, despite going blind several years before his death. Many of these works, like *Ta'riḫ al-Islām*, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, *Mizān al-i'tidāl* and *al-'Ibar*, are invaluable reference books for scholars today.

Text editions

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W. AL-QĀDĪ

**Dhāt al-Himma, romance of**

The inspiration for the *Sīrat al-amīra Dhāt al-Himma* is provided by the Arab Byzantine wars fought between the reigns of the Umayyad caliph Marwān I (694–5) and the 'Abbāsīd al-Wāthiq (842–7). It recalls the legendary feats of Arab champions like Abū Ayyūb and Maslama. The romance was composed in about the eleventh century, under the influence of the Crusades. It incorporates various oral tales and historically vague reminiscences, constituting a voluminous prose work with a sprinkling of poems. M. Canard holds that this *Sīra* includes two distinct cycles: the first, which is Syrian-Umayyad, recounts the exploits of the Kilābite *amīr* al-Ṣaḥṣāh in leading the Maslama expedition against Constantinople; the heroes of the second, the Malatyan *geste*, are Dhāt al-Himma (also known as Dhū al-Himma or Delhemma) and his son 'Abd al-Wahhāb. An important part is also played by al-Baṭṭāl, hero of the Turkish romance of the same name, and by 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, *amīr* of Malatya. The scene of the events ranges from Hijaz to Syria, Asia Minor, Constantinople and Malatya. The rivalry between the Banū Kilāb and the Sulaym for control over the bedouin tribes remains in the background. The romance is particularly important for its relationship to the Byzantine *geste* of Digenis Akritas. *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himma* is very probably the source of the story of 'Umar al-Nu'mān, included in the *Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*) in a reduced version, with no reference to the Umayyads.

Text edition

*Sīrat al-amīra Dhāt al-Himma*, 70 parts in 4 vols, Cairo (1327/1909).

Further reading

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G. CANOVA

See also: *sīra* literature

### Dhū al-Himma, romance of see Dhāt al-Himma, romance of

### Dhū al-Qarnayn see Alexander the Great

### Dhū al-Rumma (d. 117/735?)

Nickname of Abū al-Hārith Ghaylān ibn 'Uqba, a controversial Umayyad poet of the clan of Sa'd ibn Milkān ibn 'Adī, a member of the Ribāb alliance (Tamīm). He came of a family of poets and was accused of appropriating the verses of his three brothers, as well as those of Ru'ba ibn al-'Ajjāj. The tradition that he died at the age of forty is based on an obscure line in one of his poems: his panegyrics in honour of the *qādī* of Basra, Bilāl ibn Abī Burda, among his finest creations, suggest that 117/735 should be accepted as his date of death, placing his (conjectural) date of birth at 77/696. Most information concerning his life is of dubious validity; his relations with Mayya, variously reported, bear the stamp of romance (Dhū al-Rumma and Mayya being elevated to the legendary level of tragic lovers) and are inspired by verses gleaned from his *diwān*, as are the aetiological narratives concerning the origin of the nickname Dhū al-Rumma (He of the Frayed Cord); in Macartney 22, verse 8, the poet uses the word *rumma* of a 'tent-peg', whence derives his name. Some authorities confuse another beloved, Kharqā' (to whom ten odes are dedicated), with Mayya (the paramour of fifty-five odes), although in Macartney 66 and 70 they are spoken of as distinct persons. Other beloveds include Umm Sālim (Umayma), Bint Faḍḍāḍ and Ghalāb. His supposed bedouin lifestyle, despite his

continued presence in Basra and Kufa and postulated visit to Isfahan, is clearly dictated by his poetic predilections, to the extent that he is rumoured to have been buried in the desert: in the case of Dhū al-Rumma, poetry is reality.

In the opinion of contemporaries and moderns alike, he is sorely defective in the genres of eulogy and vituperation, his poetic forte being the extended simile. Criticism is levelled against his sense of structural proportion. The structure of his odes is unconventional but by no means defective. His reluctance to conform to the poetic trends of the early Umayyad period induced him to place disproportionate emphasis on his interpretation of his pre-Islamic heritage. His 'open' *qaṣā'id* – i.e., those without a traditional *gharaḍ*, such as Macartney 1, his most celebrated ode – represent a distillation of the *Jāhili* ode, the culmination of his antiquarian interests, coupled with a scientific attitude to emotion in the erotic passages, which latter also reveal the influence of the 'udhri *ghazal* (see also *qaṣīda*; 'Udhri poetry). His panegyrics concentrate on the symbolic, encomiastic properties of the camel-description and associated similes, a portrayal of the dedicatee which was not always appreciated. His repeated vituperative sallies are unexceptional. Most of his verse is composed in the *ṭawīl* metre, although *rajaz*, typically for the period, is well represented. That he was beloved by later philologists is attested by the frequent quotation of his verses: the *Lisān al-'Arab* quotes him on 985 occasions. He was often called upon to determine the authenticity of pre-Islamic poems, being the doyen of the grammarians, and the existence of many of his odes is associated with his desire to impress them linguistically.

The textual tradition of his *diwān* (discussed in detail by Sezgin, *GAS* 2: 394–7) is of consummate interest in view of his ability to read and write and his preference for written versions of his poems. His *rāwīs* may still have elected to transmit his poems orally.

#### Text editions

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J. E. MONTGOMERY

## Dhū al-Wizāratayn *see* al-Maghribī, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī

### dialect in literature, medieval

The stylistic ideal of the *fushā* (literary Arabic) given by the *Koran* (the Muslim Scripture), has dominated linguistic development in all Arab countries and in Arabic literature until today. It has led to a diglossia, in that in all Arab countries there is a gap between the literary and the spoken language; the latter differs from one region or country to another. While the *fushā* is taught at school as the language of education and civilization, the *'ammiyya* (colloquial) is the mother-tongue of every Arab, the everyday language, but it is not regarded as 'real Arabic'.

The assumption of the German Arabist K. Vollers in his *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (1906) that the *Koran* was recited or 'revealed' originally in Hijazi vernacular and redacted after *Muḥammad*'s death into the *fushā*, the common language of old Arabic poetry, by addition of the desinential inflexions (*i'rāb*) and vocalization, has been refuted. The earliest written documents in the so-called 'Middle Arabic' or 'Neo-Arabic' – the spoken language in contrast to the literary ideal – are found in quotations from *rajaz* poetry, used for instance for working songs and nursery-rhymes (*'Knierleiterliedchen'*) from early Islamic times. But the ideal of the *fushā* as perhaps the most important status symbol of the educated members of the upper class, even (or especially) when of non-Arab origin, dominated Arabic literature written by Muslims to an extent that examples of dialects or sociolects are rare, at least in *adab* literature. But they do exist: the famous Basra polymath *al-Jāhīz* (d. 255/869), for example, mentions in his *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* and his *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn* examples of the spoken Iraqi dialect, which was mixed with Persian lexical items, and gives examples of

the sociolects of physicians, sailors and rogues. A long *qaṣīda* of *Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī* (tenth century) focused on the argot of the rogues, the *Banū Sāsān*, members of the underworld, which included educated urban proletarians. Arabic papyri prove that not every letter, especially in trade and business, was written in *fushā*, as books about medicine, books for the market supervisors and books concerning other practical purposes of everyday life show the influence of the vernacular. Even the Syrian knight *Usāma ibn Munqidh*'s memoirs from the time of the Crusades, the *Kitāb al-I'tibār* (*The Book of Example*) are influenced by the spoken language. The Persian captain *Buzurg ibn Shahriyār*'s *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Hind* (*The Wonders of India*), which contains a lot of sailor's yarns, is written (after 342/953) in a style influenced by its author's profession and origins – i.e. with numerous vulgarisms. The poetry of Muslim *Spain*, beginning with that of *Ibn Quzmān* (d. 508/1144), and especially the *muwashshaḥa* and the *zajal*, is characterized not only by strophes, but also by the influence of the then-spoken Arabic of al-Andalus, which was mixed with Spanish vocabulary. The different manuscripts of the *Alf layla wa-layla* preserved from the fifteenth century onwards, composed as *aides-mémoire* for the narrators, are written in the spoken language of their time. The so-called 'Breslau Edition' (1824–43) by M. Habicht and H.L. Fleischer, based on different sources, has conserved this Middle or Neo-Arabic status without any corrections. The second 'Calcutta Edition' (1839–42) by W.H. MacNaghten, based on an Egyptian manuscript, 'raised' the stylistic level, but preserved Middle-Arabic peculiarities. Prints of Arabic popular novels also show the influence of the vernacular.

While among the many works of Arab-Islamic 'high literature' only a few show the influence of a dialect or the vernacular, most Arab Jewish and Christian authors, not bound to the ideal of the *fushā* as the language of the *Koran*, wrote in the vernacular of their time and region. Thus Arab Jewish and Christian literature, much more than that of the Muslims, provides documentation of the real development of the Arabic language.

Beginning with the direct contacts of some Arab countries with European colonial powers (especially France and Britain), along with the arrival of Christian missionaries who, from the mid-nineteenth century, founded printing-

houses and schools and inspired educational circles in the big towns, Arab Christians engaged in the revival of the *fushā*. As teachers and writers they informed others of the high points of Arab-Islamic culture and history; they included, for instance, members of the **Yāziji** and **al-Bustānī** families in Beirut, the Carmelites in Mosul (especially Anastās Mārī **al-Karmili**), the Syro-Lebanese Christian Jurjī **Zaydān**, and other Christian immigrants in Cairo around 1900. The Egyptian Muslim Rifā'a **al-Taḥṭāwī**'s fascinating book about his sojourn in France in 1826–31 (*Takhlīṣ al-ibriz ilā talkhiṣ Bārīz*, 1834), despite its author's pedagogical goals, shows the influence of Egyptian Arabic; while the Syrian Christian Nāṣif **al-Yāziji**'s *maqāmāt* (*Majma' al-Baḥrayn*, 1850), inspired by S. de Sacy's printed and carefully commented edition of **al-Ḥariri**'s *maqāmāt* (Paris, 1822), are written in a highly artistic *fushā*.

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W. WALTHER

See also: Arabic language; popular literature

dialect in literature, modern

Texts of artistic quality in regional dialects of Arabic have long existed, even outside folk literature. What is at issue is their acceptance within the literary canon.

The attachment of Arab intellectuals to the classical language of pre-Islamic poetry and the Koran has in recent times been reinforced by the notion that it bolsters Arab unity. Yet modern conditions favour a wide outreach, especially in journalism. As early as 1877, the satirical paper founded by Ya'qūb **Ṣanū**' was written entirely in colloquial Egyptian. For didactic purposes, 'Abd Allāh **al-Nadīm** experimented with colloquial dialogues in his own *al-Uṣṭādh* (1892–3), but ultimately adopted a style close to everyday speech without breaching classical grammar. Except in satirical verse (see below) and humorous pieces, **al-Nadīm**'s formula has prevailed in the news media.

It is in the theatre that the colloquial has made its deepest inroads. In the first play staged in Beirut in 1847 by Mārūn **al-Naqqāsh**, differences between regional dialects were already being humorously exploited. Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl translated not only comedies but also three of Racine's tragedies into colloquial verse, although this initiative did not immediately prove normative. In any event, literary reputations were not made by dramatists before Tawfiq **al-Ḥakīm**, almost all of whose published plays are in standard Arabic, although he also experimented with an orthography that lent itself to production in any dialect.

In practice, the colloquial has imposed itself only in comedies. In serious drama, various accommodations with the classical have been made, but only the boldest authors – such as Najib **Surūr** – have attempted entire plays in colloquial verse.

Dialect has also been tolerated in the dialogue of works of fiction from 1913, when Muḥammad Ḥusayn **Haykal** wrote *Zaynab*, the first modern Arabic novel of note. In 1942, Luwis 'Awaḍ pointedly wrote of his student-days in Cambridge in colloquial Egyptian. However, when the book was eventually published, it drew vehement denunciations. He later declared himself content to use classical Arabic in his scholastic work.

In poetry, verse-forms defying classical norms in both prosody and language have long had currency, but only outside the mainstream. As in the medieval period, established poets like Aḥmad **Shawqī** occasionally composed such poems, but seldom incorporated them in their collected works. Satirical and humorous verse has been disseminated in newspapers and journals, more recently in cassettes, and masters of the genre like Maḥmūd Bayram **al-Tūnisī** and Aḥmad Fu'ād **Nigm** have attained notoriety, but not admission to the canon.

Only a handful of poets belonging to the educated élite have made the colloquial their principal vehicle. Among the pioneers were Miṣhāl **Trād** in the Lebanon, and Fu'ād **Haddād** and Ṣalāḥ **Jāhīn** in Egypt. They have had some attention from critics; nevertheless, they are not studied in the same context or included in the same anthologies as poets faithful to the classical idiom.

Maḥmūd **Taymūr** soon abandoned his forecast of 1931 that dialect would become the 'national language' both in writing and in speech. Opposition to change in this respect

has come not only from conservatives, but also from leading modernists such as Tāhā Ḥusayn and the Nobel laureate, Najīb Maḥfūz.

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P. CACHIA

See also: dialogue in literature, modern

### dialogue in literature, medieval

In classical Arabic literature, this is the standard structure upon which a prose text is usually founded (*ḥadīth* structure). Originating in a society which basically produced and preserved its literature orally, the overbearing and most authoritative model for the classical Arabic text was that of an utterance (*qawl*) or an exchange of utterances presented as quoted from the mouth of a distinguished figure or figures, usually mentioned by name. In oral tradition proper, which keeps no record of its texts other than in the memory of professionals, a text cannot be recognized as such and gain legitimacy unless introduced as a quotation of spoken words. This is unlike the situation of written literature proper, in which a text gains its ontological status merely by being written down, independently of its producer or transmitters. In the oral tradition, the credibility of the text even if committed to writing is established through the authority of the speaker and the transmission chain. Whether full or reduced to even a short formula like *qīla* 'it is related that', the transmission chain consequently becomes an index indicating 'text-ness', the official status of a text, or simply its beginning. The initial oral context of the classical Arabic model for prose texts, as well as its subordination to religious ideology which claimed the absolute historicity of the text (namely, its being 'authentic', i.e. non-fictional), thus jointly account for the dominance of dialogue, rather than narration, in the canonized literary repertoire of prose writing (e.g. *adab* – in popular, more fiction-orientated literature, the situation could be different).

So well established was the association of

dialogue with authenticity that dialogue became the marked characteristic feature of the 'authentic' or 'realistic' text. Even in poetry – which was always regarded as a 'noble lie' and was traditionally associated with fiction and with embellishing reality rather than with 'realism' and 'authenticity' – when a demand for 'realistic' impression emerged (usually for humoristic purposes), this function was mainly fulfilled through dialogue. For instance, some of **Abū Nuwās's** wine poems, in which he aimed at truthfully conveying the frivolous atmosphere of wine-drinking in the taverns rather than developing metaphorical descriptions of wine, are constructed almost solely on a dialogue between a band of boon companions and the owner of the tavern, with almost no mention of any reality-items. The mere structure of dialogue (with all the constraints of metrics and line length imposed upon a poetic dialogue), rather than any attempt to imitate actual speech – not a vernacular dialogue, nor even a 'third language' one (cf. Somekh, 1981) – was enough in this case to create a realistic impression.

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R. DRORY

See also: fiction, medieval; truth and poetry

### dialogue in literature, modern

Throughout its long history, Arabic culture regarded *fushḥā* (i.e., the classical language, the language of the Koran and the bulk of medieval literature) as the only medium suitable for literary writing. Works were also being produced on the popular level in the various Arabic dialects (*'āmmiyya*), mainly orally, but they were treated by the literary system as non-literary or sub-canonical. At times, words and expressions in dialect would surface in the prose of 'respectable' writers, especially when they were recording events involving simple people – but such cases are few and far between. In general, medieval Arab writers of fiction did not feel the need to represent spontaneous speech in their works as



a means of achieving characterization or verisimilitude.

The situation of modern Arabic literature is different. The bulk of modern Arabic writing has *fushā* as its vehicle; but the practitioners of several literary types, notably those pertaining to the realistic mode, find it difficult to use *fushā* exclusively. This is especially true in dialogue, which in realistic fiction and drama is supposed to represent the 'real' speech of 'real' characters. Therefore, modern Arab novelists often resort to using 'ammiyya in the dialogue of their novels and short stories. This is true of many Egyptian novelists (e.g. Yūsuf Idrīs) as well as in the works of important novelists in other Arab regions (e.g. 'Abd al-Malik Nūrī in Iraq, Ḥannā Mīna in Syria, al-Bashīr Khurayyif in Tunisia). Other novelists resort to a stylistic device which may be termed 'colloquialized *fushā*', wherein the dialogue-passages are written in sentences which are demonstrably *fushā*, although many of the 'inner' features of the dialect are injected into them. This type of dialogue is characteristic of many of the works of two of the most important contemporary Arab novelists, Najīb Mahfūz and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Munif.

A more straightforward type of *fushā* is used to represent the speech of non-Arab characters in fiction as well as characters in historical novels (and, of course, in translated fiction).

The problem of the language of dialogue is particularly acute in modern Arabic drama. Although some playwrights, including Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, used *fushā* in writing their dramatic works, plays thus written have usually been recast – indeed, translated – into the colloquial before being staged. In the 1950s and 1960s, al-Ḥakīm experimented with a 'third language', a device whereby one-and-the-same written text can be construed as *fushā* and as 'ammiyya, thanks to the ambiguity of the unvowelled writing system of Arabic (e.g. the combination of letters *yqul-lh* can be read as *yaqūlu lahu*, as in *fushā*, or as *y'ullu(h)*, as in the Cairene dialect). This style did not meet with success owing to its artificiality. In recent decades, many Arab dramatists, especially those in Egypt, have written their plays entirely in straightforward 'ammiyya.

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S. SOMEKH

See also: dialect in literature, modern

## Dib, Mohammed (1920– )

Algerian novelist, poet and playwright writing in French. Born in Tlemcen in western Algeria, he now lives near Paris. In his youth, he held various jobs before being expelled from Algeria in 1959. His travels have taken him as far afield as Finland and the USA. Mohammed Dib is one of the Maghrib's best-known writers. He is first and foremost a poet, having written five collections of verse. The earliest of these, *Ombre Gardienne* (1961, republished 1984) deals with his homeland, Algeria, and with his exile. The later collections (for example, *O Vive*, 1987) are marked by an erotic tone and are written in a very bare language. To date he has written sixteen novels and collections of short stories, beginning with the trilogy *La Grande Maison* (1952), *L'Incendie* (1954) and *Le Métier à Tisser* (1957), which may be regarded as the testimony of the 'public' writer towards his people. His latest, 'Nordic' trilogy – *Les Terrasses d'Orsol* (1985), *Le Sommeil d'Eve* (1989) and *Neiges de Marbre* (1990) – deals with mixed relationships, the questioning of identity and the theme of the odyssey. *Le Désert sans Détour* (1992) is a radical questioning of the limits of writing, in which Dib asks the questions, 'Who am I? What am I waiting for?' His play *Mille Houras pour une Gueuse* (1980) deals with the disenchantment which accompanied the return of the maquis. In his works Dib has now moved (to use his own terminology) from 'factual writing' to 'visionary writing', concerned with the metaphysical examination of basic human questions.

Text edition

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J. DÉJEUX

## Di'bil ibn 'Alī al-Khuẓā'ī, Abū 'Alī (148–246/765–860)

Poet and philologist living in Kufa and Baghdad, known especially for his invective poetry (*hijā'*). Di'bil was his nickname: his real name is not known with certainty (Muḥammad, 'Abd al-Raḥmān or al-Ḥasan). He grew up in Kufa, where he may have been born. He was a pupil of Muslim ibn al-Walid. He was appointed governor of Siminjan in Khurasan, and in Aswan. Because of his Shī'ism and his partisanship for the Northern Arabs against the Southern Arabs, together with his virulent invective, he became involved in many quarrels and intrigues, one of which cost him his life when he was attacked with a poisoned stick at the instigation of Mālik ibn Ṭawq, governor of al-Ahwāz. Predominant in his collected poetry are satires on many leading personalities, including caliphs, and panegyric or elegiac poems especially on the 'Alids. His poetry was highly esteemed by later critics. Towards the end of his life he wrote a book on poets, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, of which fragments are preserved in the form of quotations in later works. In contrast to his contemporary Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī he gives relatively much space to the 'modern' poets (*muḥdathūn*).

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## dictionaries see lexicography

## didactic literature

Omnipresent in classical Arabic literature, given the educational and moralistic connotations of the word *adab*. Although entertainment and aesthetic enjoyment often dominate the moralistic or didactic elements, there is little 'art for art's sake' in classical literature. There is hardly a genre in Arabic literature

which does not somehow teach a moral: in particular, gnomic, ascetic and satirical poetry (see *ḥikma*, *zuhdiyya* and *hijā'*) may be called didactic. The same may be said of fables and the collections of entertaining stories such as *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* (*Relief after Distress*) by al-Tanūkhī. The *maqāma* was a vehicle of satire, irony and verbal display, but was also used extensively to impart specific knowledge; a good example is *Majma' al-bahrayn* by Nāṣif al-Yāziǧi.

Historical works (see **historical literature**) are, first of all, informative, and at the same time often entertaining; but the didactic element is rarely wholly absent, since the past serves as an *'ibra*, a lesson and an example, for the present. Strongly didactic, too, is the genre of **Mirrors for Princes**. Some philosophers clothed their ideas in the form of philosophical tales, e.g. the two different tales entitled *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān* by Ibn Sinā and Ibn Ṭufayl; it is obvious that they did this at least partly for didactic reasons.

There is a difference between scholarly and didactic works, even though they cannot always be clearly distinguished. The former try to inform or to convince; the latter to instruct, to admonish and to induce. Theologians wrote both kinds. Two books by al-Māwardī may serve as examples: the scholarly *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, and the didactic *Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*. The great work by al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (*The Revivification of Religious Knowledge*), on the other hand, is both scholarly and didactic at the same time.

In the following the term 'didactic literature' will be restricted to works which set out to instruct in a particular field of learning or to teach a particular skill, in a more or less systematic fashion. The titles of several of such works begin with the word *adab*, as in *Adab al-kātib*, *Adab al-qāḍī*, on the knowledge required by the civil servant or *kātib* (see **secretaries**) and the judge, respectively. In the case of the highly cultured class of *kātib*s such works tended to become encyclopaedic rather than didactic; witness the great, almost universal encyclopaedic handbooks *Nihāyat al-arab* by al-Nuwayrī or *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* by al-Qalqashandī (see further **encyclopaedias**). With the rise of scholasticism and the *madrasa* (see **education**), especially from the twelfth century onwards, there was a growing need for textbooks which were systematic and manageable for students. The result was a profusion of compendia, some of which were so compact as

to be little more than a mnemonic aid, to be learned by rote. Such basic texts, called *mutūn* (sing. *matn*), often served as the basis for shorter or longer **commentaries** and super-commentaries.

The most obviously didactic genre is the *urjūza*, strictly speaking any poem in the metre *rajaz*, but very often used for the versification of a branch of learning. Instead of monorhyme they usually employ paired rhyme (see *muzdawija*), which allows for any desired length. These, too, were often meant to be memorized; the subject-matter is not infrequently condensed to the extent of incomprehensibility, unless one has previously studied the subject, or is aided by a commentary (which means that, at least by modern educational standards, they are far from being 'didactic'). Mostly devoid of any poetic merit, they are neglected by the literary theorists. **Ābān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiqī**, who used the same form for his versification of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, also made an early didactic *urjūza* on the subject of fasting and alms-tax. He was not the first, however, to use this form for didactic purposes, for **al-Jāḥiẓ** mentions a poem on hunting and animals which seems to have been of a didactic nature, by Khālid (ibn Ṣafwān) al-Qannās, who may have lived in the seventh or eighth century CE.

In subsequent centuries thousands of such poems were produced on every conceivable subject: on linguistics, the best-known being the *Alfiyya*, a poem of 1,000 couplets on grammar by **Ibn Mālik**; on prosody, as by **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih**; on medicine, as by **Ibn Sinā**; on rhetoric, logic, jurisprudence, doctrine, Koranic sciences, history, calligraphy, navigation, agriculture, chess, sex, the interpretation of dreams, arithmetic, alchemy, magic, and a host of other subjects. The astrologers may have found their models in Indian practice, but on the whole there is no reason to suspect much influence from other cultures.

The *urjūza* was not the only form used for versified instruction; see (as an accessible example) the relatively short poem in monorhyme, employing the *kāmil* metre, on calligraphy by Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022) quoted in **Ibn Khaldūn's** *Muqaddima*.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Dik al-Jinn al-Ḥimṣī**  
**(161–c.235/778–c.850)**

'Abd al-Salām ibn Rağhbān Dīk al-Jinn al-Ḥimṣī, Syrian poet. He was born in Ḥims and never left Syria. A **Shī'i**, he made elegies on al-Ḥusayn; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimi and his brother Ja'far were his main patrons. He seems to have lived a life of pleasure. Suspecting his wife Ward of infidelity, he killed her, subsequently repenting and expressing his grief in numerous poems – a subject which became very popular with biographers and anthologists, who embellished and expanded the story. **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** links him with **Abū Tammām** and the 'Syrian school' of poetry; but his rather facile style differs considerably from that of Abū Tammām.

Text editions

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**Dimashq see Damascus**

**al-Dimashqī, Shams al-Dīn**  
**Muḥammad (654–727/1256–1327)**

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Tālib al-Ṣūfī al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, also known as 'Sheikh [i.e., Ṣūfī prefect] of Ḥaṭṭīn' (a village in the hills of Galilee) and subsequently, 'Sheikh of al-Rabwa' (a village near Damascus). He died in Safad (upper Galilee); to quote his younger contemporary **al-Ṣafadi**, he was a dilettante writer in a variety of discip-

lines, from cookery to theology. His best known work is the 'cosmography' *Nukh(a)bat al-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa-al-baḥr* (*The Choice of the Age, on the Marvels of Land and Sea*), completed, or at least updated, in 723/1323.

Not unlike Zakariyyā' al-Qazwīnī, his predecessor in cosmography, al-Dimashqī clearly represents the compilatory trend in contemporary scholarship; but his uncritical and excessive reliance on earlier authorities notwithstanding (direct dependence on al-Qazwīnī cannot be asserted on the basis of the published texts), he presents a wealth of useful knowledge. While theoretically the entire inhabited earth is his subject, with the lands of Islam taking pride of place, his information on Asia and Africa is far more substantial than that on non-Muslim Europe. In a final chapter, al-Dimashqī praises man as the flower of God's creation, his viceregent on earth, and indeed, based on the microcosm-macrocosm correspondence, as the exemplar of the entire universe.

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L. RICHTER-BERNBURG

See also: geographical literature

### al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad ibn Dā'ūd (d. no later than 290/902–3)

Famous polymath from western Iran during the early 'Abbāsīd period. He studied with such scholars as Ibn al-Sikkīt and was highly regarded for his works on the names of plants, Arabic proverbs, mathematics, and astronomy/astrology. He also wrote an important narrative history, the *Kitāb al-akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*. The title has variously been

translated as *History of Long-lived Men, Legends in Ṭiwāl Metre*, or, most accurately, *The Book of Lengthy Narratives*. It is an elegantly written book of history beginning with Adam and continuing to the death of al-Mu'taṣim in 227/842, organized around relatively extensive accounts of a few key events: the exploits of Alexander, the reign of Kisrā Barwīz, the Arab conquest of Iran, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥusayn, the 'Abbāsīd revolution. Most of the authorities it cites were philologists; Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Haytham ibn 'Adī are the only major historians mentioned as sources. Often described as a kind of nationalistic Persian history, its purpose might better be understood as an attempt to emphasize the historical unity and central importance of Iraq and western Iran in both pre-Islamic and Islamic times. It also develops a specific conception of legitimate monarchy, which the author views as having passed from the Sasanians to the 'Alids and finally to the 'Abbāsīds.

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See also: historical literature

### dirge see rithā'

### dīwān

A collection of poetry (pl. *dawāwīn*). The term is of Persian origin denoting 'register, archive', and was first applied at the time of the caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (see **Orthodox caliphate**) in financial administration. In literature it was used up to the tenth century in the general sense of 'collection', as evidenced in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, who applies it to collections of verses, epistles, **proverbs** and oratory. Later the meaning of *dīwān* came to be limited to the collected verses of **tribes** or poets.

Arabic poetry was first transmitted orally (see *rāwī*). In Islamic times it was systematically collected, first in the form of tribal *dīwāns* (see **Hudhayl**), subsequently as *dīwāns* of individual poets. A *dīwān* often contains biographical and historical information and is usually arranged according to rhyme consonants (see **prosody**). From the ninth century onwards, owing to a greater variation of genres, there are also collections arranged from a thematic point of view, e.g. the *dīwān* of **Abū Nūwās**.

R. JACOBI

See also: anthologies, medieval

## Dīwān Group

The title usually given to three Egyptian poets, 'Abd al-Rahmān **Shukrī**, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir **al-Māzinī** and 'Abbās Maḥmūd **al-'Aqqād**, who challenged the masters of **neo-classicism** during the second decade of the twentieth century. The key points in their attack were contained in the book which gave them their name as a group, *al-Dīwān: Kitāb fī al-adab wa-al-naqd* (Cairo, 1921) – though by that time Shukrī had become estranged from his two colleagues so that the book appeared under the names of al-Māzinī and al-'Aqqād alone.

The work of the Dīwān poets illustrates the extent to which English literature had become one of the major formative influences on Arab culture. Despite the fact that several plays by Shakespeare had been available in Arabic since the late nineteenth century, the principal external cultural influence on **Muṭṭarān** and his generation had been French. Shukrī, however, attended Sheffield University College from 1909 to 1912 and all three members of the Dīwān Group were closely acquainted with the English lyrical poetry contained in Francis Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury*, which covered the period from Shakespeare to the mid-nineteenth century. This somewhat partial view of English poetry, together with the work of a number of 'Abbāsīd poets, constituted the most important materials from which the Dīwān Group derived both their inspiration and their principles and theories of poetry. For political as much as for literary reasons, they were anxious to distinguish themselves from the previous generation. Al-'Aqqād led the attack on Aḥmad **Shawqī**, the figurehead of the neo-classical movement, by reshuffling the

lines of Shawqī's 'Elegy on Muṣṭafā Kāmil', thus demonstrating the lack of organic unity in the piece. Another favourite trick was to take Shawqī's lines at random and, without making any allowances for poetic licence or conceit, force them to ridiculous interpretations never intended by the poet. The book *al-Dīwān* is typical of its time in that it is a mixture of excellent practical criticism – see, for example, al-Māzinī's analysis of the style of **al-Manfalūṭī** – and extreme attacks, more personal than literary.

Of the three members of the group, Shukrī is the poet of the greatest range and interest, while al-Māzinī and al-'Aqqād are remembered mainly for achievements other than poetry. Al-Māzinī published two short volumes of poetry in 1913 and 1917, but thereafter made his reputation as a journalist and essayist, and a pioneer in the development of the Egyptian novel. Although al-'Aqqād published eight volumes of verse throughout his long and prolific career as a writer, it is as a critic rather than a poet that he left his mark. He proclaimed Hazlitt the primary inspiration for the new literature which he sought to promote, and in his pleas for simple, everyday subjects and language to become the raw-materials of Arabic poetry, was instrumental in changing the taste and sensibility of poets who abandoned the neo-classical style in increasing numbers after World War 1.

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R.C. OSTLE

**Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr** see **Ibn al-Athīr**, **Ḍiyā' al-Dīn**

## Djaout, Tahar (1954–93)

Algerian poet, novelist and journalist, writing in French. A mathematician by training, he worked for the official FLN (Front de Libération nationale) French-language weekly *Algérie-Actualité* and was its editor-in-chief at the time of his death. In January 1993 he co-founded another French-language weekly,

*Ruptures*. Djaout began to write poetry while still in his teens. Many of his early poems were published in two volumes, *Solstice barbelé* (1975) and *L'Arche à vau-l'eau* (1978). He helped to launch the career of other Algerian poets when he edited a collection of their poetry, *Les Mots migrants* (1984). His four novels tackle pressing issues in contemporary Algeria: being deprived of one's heritage and language through colonialism (*L'Exproprié*, 1981, 2nd ed. 1991); glorifying the dead at the expense of the living (*Les Chercheurs d'os*, 1984); religious fanaticism (*L'Invention du désert*, 1987); bureaucracy and lack of freedom of the individual (*Les Vigiles*, 1991, winner of the Prix Méditerranée).

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F. ABU-HAIDAR

### Djebar, Assia (1936– )

Algerian novelist, dramatist and film-producer, writing in French. Assia Djebar (real name Fatima Zohra Imalayen) was born in Cherchel on the Algerian coast. She attended grammar schools in Blida and Algiers before entering the Fénelon in Paris. In 1955 she was accepted to sit the entrance examination for the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Sèvres, but did not take the examination because of a strike during the War of Independence. Djebar worked as a reporter during the Tunisian war. Since spending a period in Algeria in 1962 (working in the Arts Faculty of the university), she has lived in Paris. Assia Djebar made her name in 1957 with *La Soif*; to date she has written eight novels and collections of short stories, the most significant of these being *L'amour, la fantasia* (1985) on the theme of the conquest of Algeria. Her work *Loin de Médine* (1991) followed a re-reading of **al-Ṭabari's** *Chronicles*. Djebar is a talented writer who writes in a traditional, classical style.

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J. DÉJEUX

### al-Du'ājī, 'Alī (1909–49)

Tunisian short-story writer and journalist. Born in Tunis into the *petite bourgeoisie*, he lived in the comfortable Bab Souika area of the city, working as a shopkeeper before becoming a caricaturist. Al-Du'ājī wrote for satirical journals and moved in educated circles; he was a member of a group which met in the Taḥt al-Sūr (Under the Rampart) café, and it was under this name that his works were published in 1975. In 1935 he began publishing *Jawla bayna ḥānāt al-baḥr al-mutawassīt*, a relaxed and lively work written in a bold, modern style. In his short stories, collected and published under the title *Sahirtu minhu al-layālī* (1969), he uses a style at once affectionate and ironical. In al-Du'ājī's work ordinary people are shown to experience an extraordinarily wide range of feelings. He is deservedly called the father of the Tunisian short story, but he also has 163 radio plays and nearly 500 songs to his credit.

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J. FONTAINE

### dūbayt

(Also *dubayī* or *rubā'īyya*). A quatrain written in classical Arabic to a metrical pattern essentially identical with that of the Persian *rubā'ī* (quatrain). Its rhyme-scheme is mostly *aaaa*, but *aaba* also occurs. The single line has between eleven and thirteen syllables, which is about half the length of a line in *shi'r* (traditional classical poetry). The four-line stanza is therefore often written out as two lines, which explains the name (*dū* from the Persian for 'two'; *bayt* meaning 'line of

verse'). Its metre is :

- - uu - | u - u - | - uu -

or

- - uu - | - u u - | - uu -

The genre probably originated in eleventh-century Khurasan. Many *dūbayts* are included in *Kitāb al-Mudhish* by **Ibn al-Jawzī** (d. 597/1201). Some thirty mystical quatrains are in the *dīwān* of **Ibn al-Fārid** (d. 632/1235). Among theorists of the genre are Abū al-Ḥakam ibn al-Muraḥḥal (1207–99 CE) and Abū Bakr al-Qalalūsī (d. 1307). **Ḥāzim al-Qartājannī** (d. 1285) finds the *dūbaytī* exquisite in spite of its non-classical origin and therefore approves of its being practised (*Minhāj*, Tunis, 1966, p. 243). The most extensive collection of *dūbayts* is in Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *Dīwān al-dūbayt fī al-shi'r al-'arabī*, 1972 (with supplements in *al-Mawrid* of 1975 and 1977). The *dūbayt* is said to be still in use in Kuwait, Bahrain and Oman.

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W. STOETZER

### Dunqul, Amal (1940–83)

Egyptian poet. Born in Qinā (Upper Egypt), Dunqul began publishing in periodicals in the 1960s. Enjoying the reputation of a modern *ṣu'lūk* poet (see *ṣa'ālik*), his early work was influenced by that of Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr and Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mu'ī al-Ḥijāzī. Dunqul's

work is often directly related to contemporary political events, exposing the disintegration of Egyptian society through the use of symbol and allegory; though modernistic, it is characterized by a refreshing directness and simplicity of tone. His most famous poem is 'al-Bukā' bayna yaday Zarqā' al-Yamāma', written a few days after the Arab defeat in the 1967 Arab–Israeli war. Dunqul died prematurely in May 1983 after a long struggle with cancer.

P. STARKEY

### Durayd ibn al-Ṣimma (d. 8/630)

Poet and warrior of the tribe Jusham, killed in the battle of Ḥunayn where, already too old to fight, he was giving military advice to the pagan enemies of **Muḥammad**. Most of his *qaṣīdas*, as well as his laments for his brothers, are dedicated to the description of battles and the glorification of manly virtues. He is famous for his verses in praise of steadfastness (*ṣabr*).

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T. BAUER

### al-Dusūqī, Ibrāhīm see al-Dasūqī, Ibrāhīm

**Ecclesiasticus see Geniza**

**education, medieval**

In medieval Islam, elementary instruction and higher education were strictly differentiated. Elementary instruction took place in primary school (*kuttāb*, pl. *katātīb*; also *maktab*, pl. *makātīb*). About the beginnings of this institution no details are known. However, it is known that knowledge of writing had spread to a certain extent in Mecca by the time of the Prophet **Muḥammad** and also, allegedly to a lesser extent, in Yathrib (Medina). In the **Umayyad** period, the existence of *katātīb* is well attested and in the **ʿAbbāsid** period they had spread over the entire Islamic empire. The poet **Abū Nuwās** (d. c.200/815), in one *ghazal*, describes a schoolboy in the *maktab* who writes the alphabet on a tablet (*lawḥ*) and then wipes it out; in another he describes a schoolmaster chastising a boy in a school in Kufa. The prose writer **al-Jāḥiẓ** (d. 255/868–9) composed a *Risāla fī al-muʿallimīn* (*Treatise on Teachers*) which is only partly preserved. In it he advises the teacher (*muʿallim*, *muʿaddib*) to teach the pupils a minimum of grammar, but above all arithmetic and writing. Apart from providing the elements of writing and arithmetic, Koranic instruction played the main part in elementary instruction. In Koranic instruction and elsewhere great importance was attached to memorization.

As a rule, teachers were paid in kind or in money by the children's parents, on the basis of a contract. Instruction could take place anywhere – in the teacher's home, or outside it. School buildings were either rented by the parents or built at the parents' (or other persons') expense; pious endowments (*awqāf*) were also established for this purpose. There was no obligation to go to school and no age limit. As a rule, schoolchildren of all age

groups were together in one class. Fridays were free, and the two great Islamic festivals were holidays. The *katātīb* were almost exclusively attended by boys, but there are rare attestations of co-education. Daughters of wealthy families were given private instruction at home. The caliphs had special tutors for their sons; starting in the second/eighth century many famous scholars (mostly philologists) were appointed as private tutors (e.g. the grammarian al-Kisā'i, **al-Aṣma'i**, **Ibn al-Sikkī**).

In the early days of Islam and for a long time thereafter, higher education was on an informal basis. Traditionists, Koran readers and exegetes, scholars of law, etc., and also philologists (grammarians, lexicographers), would give their lectures chiefly in mosques, but also in other places (often at home). The learned assemblies in which either the teachers themselves (*samā'*) or a pupil would read (*qirā'a*) were called *ḥalqa*, 'circle', or *majlis* (*muḥālasa*), 'session'. Higher education was not institutionalized. Whoever felt the call would teach, and the number of pupils was dependant on the teacher's reputation. Most of the time the teachers (*shaykh*, pl. *shuyūkh*) also pursued other means of livelihood.

In the second/eighth century (and possibly already in the second half of the first/seventh century) there were discussions – especially among the traditionists – as to whether or not (religious) 'knowledge' (*ilm*) could be written down. Those who opposed it were of the opinion that the **Koran** should remain the only book of the Muslims, and all other knowledge should only be transmitted orally, from person to person. There were still opponents of written knowledge – mostly in Iraq (especially in Basra) – well into the third/ninth century. Nevertheless, in practice it became more and more common – in the second/eighth century at the latest – for teachers to use notes as the basis of their lectures and for the pupils to write down the lectures (increasingly at the



teacher's dictation). However, personal instruction in both the religious and the profane sciences remained the cherished goal during the entire Middle Ages. There was a demand for 'heard tradition' (*riwāya masmū'a*; *samā'*) even at a time when carefully redacted texts had long been in existence. The reason repeatedly given for this was the inadequacies of the Arabic script.

There was no final examination. Starting at a particular point in time the teachers would, however, give out attestations that a pupil had 'heard' or 'read' this or that text or work (*samā'* or *qirā'a* certificates) and give him permission (*ijāza*) to transmit the text or the work himself (*ijāza* certificates were inscribed at the end of the book studied).

In the old days students generally studied only at their own centre, but the desire to acquire knowledge from as many teachers as possible, in different centres, or, later, to collect as many *ijāzas* as possible, soon led the seekers after knowledge (*ahl al-'ilm*) to undertake study-trips (*riḥālāt fī ṭalab al-'ilm*). However, these journeys seem to have become general practice only by the middle of the second/eighth century.

In the eastern part of the empire (**Khurasan**, especially Nishapur; Transoxania) a development started in the fourth/tenth century the final result of which was the institution known as the *madrasa*. Private persons established buildings (often their own houses, but also the burial places of famous ancestors) not only for their own teaching, but also for the lectures of the *ahl al-'ilm*. At times they would provide these establishments with a pious endowment (*waqf*). This meant that after the death of the owner, the management of the institution could stay in the hands of his family. Since during their study trips the *ahl al-'ilm* needed to lodge in hostels (*khāns*) and instruction could be given at any suitable place, the *majālis* often took place in the *khāns*, or *khāns* would be founded in the vicinity of mosques. From the combination of *khān* and place of teaching, the *madrasa* developed. Henceforth its function as a lodging place remains characteristic of this institution. There did not yet exist any tenured professors nor any fixed teaching programmes in these early *madrasas*; teachers and students taught and were not yet strictly separated from each other.

In the fifth/eleventh century the endowment of *madrasas* was undertaken by repre-

sentatives of the law schools which were becoming stronger (especially those of the Hanafis and Shāfi'is), and particularly by personalities with a high position at court (the sultan, vizier, high officials). A *waqf* ensured the continuity of the institution in compliance with the donor's wish. The *madrasas* offered lodging both to professors and students. Professors were now permanently appointed. Originally, there was only one chair, which was occupied by the professor for Islamic law (*mudarris*). He could be assisted by (usually two) tutors or repetitors (*mu'idūn*; sing. *mu'id*) and (often several) assistants (*nuwwāb*, sing. *nā'ib*) who taught in his absence. The main subject was law (*fiqh*), but also – taught by subordinate professors, tutors etc. – its propaedeutic disciplines (Koranic sciences, grammar etc.; the basics of mathematics for calculating the *farā'id*, 'shares of an inheritance'; and later on, among the Shāfi'is, also logic).

The *madrasas* were mostly reserved for one *madhab* (legal school). More rarely, however, there were compounds which accommodated all four law schools. Only exceptionally was medicine also taught at *madrasas*. Instruction in philosophy and most of the other 'foreign sciences', as well as theology (*kalām*), were excluded.

As a rule, the method of teaching at the *madrasas* did not consist of dictation, but of explanation of a text (*tadris*). In this case, the text was read (usually by one of the pupils) and the professor then added his commentary. To be sure, the pupils often wrote down their teachers' commentaries. 'Published' commentaries could then become a new work, a commentary work, which itself could then again be commented on in class. Commentaries, super-commentaries and glosses are characteristic of the literature which has emerged from the *madrasas*. (See further **commentaries**.) In law classes, in addition to the lectures, a certain method of disputation (*munāzara*) came into being which consisted in choosing and defending one of a number of divergent scholarly opinions. In jurisprudence (but only in this field) a teaching permission for an entire discipline (*ijāza lil-tadris wa-al-iftā'*) was now issued which included the permission to give legal opinions (*fatāwā*).

The Saljūq vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) founded half a dozen Shāfi'i *madrasas* (*Niẓāmiyyāt*) in Baghdad and the large cities of the eastern half of the empire. These had as

one of their goals the stabilization of Sunnī Islam, and thus they competed with the **Azhar**, the **Ismā'īlī** centre of propaganda in Fātimid Egypt since the second half of the fourth/tenth century. The *madrasas* spread out over the entire area of Sunnī Islam and remained the common institution for higher education into the twentieth century.

Due to the development of the *madrasa*, the education of law students ('*ulamā*') as *mudarris*, 'professor', *mufī*, 'issuer of legal opinions', and *qāḍī*, 'judge', became institutionalized. However, free education continued to be given in mosques and elsewhere. From the fifth/eleventh century, other educational foundations were started which were especially dedicated to instruction in the **Koran** (*dār al-Qur'ān*), in *ḥadīth* (*dār al-ḥadīth*) or in grammar (*dār al-naḥw*). The study of medicine was usually undertaken in hospitals (*bimāristān*) where the practical training of doctors also took place. Philosophy and other 'foreign sciences' (except medicine) had to be studied in private classes (in a library and/or with a private instructor).

In Sūfī education there was a transition from a free to a school education similar to that in the academic field. The change took place at about the same time, i.e., in the fifth/eleventh century. The *shaykh al-ta'lim* ('the enlightening master', i.e. the Sūfī who was a teacher of wisdom) became the *shaykh al-tarbiya* ('the "educating" master', psychologist); the Sufi pupil became a novice; the institutions of early Sufism which had rested on a personal basis were replaced by orders and family enterprises which in many cases were upheld by patrons and the government. The Sūfīs' equivalent of the *madrasa* as the place of education was the convent (*ribāṭ*, *khānqāh*, *zāwiya*). Although the institution of *ribāṭ* has been attested since the second/eighth century it only began to flourish as an actual place of education in the fifth/eleventh century.

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G. SCHOELER; trans. A. GIESE

## education, modern

In 1800, elementary Koran schools and higher mosque schools or *madrasas* – such as Cairo's **al-Azhar**, Fez's Qarawīyyīn and Tunis's Zaytūna – provided an Islamic religious education. Being central to Islam, Arabic was also taught far beyond the Arabic-speaking world. Only a small fraction of the population was literate.

Since 1800, education in the Arab world has passed through five phases, in which:

- 1 Islamic schools were unaffected by the West;
- 2 reformist Muslim states founded Western-style schools and tolerated missionary and other private schools;
- 3 colonial rulers harnessed education to imperial goals;
- 4 post-colonial regimes diversified, expanded, and Arabized their schools;
- 5 sharp contrasts emerged between education in the oil-rich and poor Arab states, and Islamists challenged the *status quo*.

The timing and intensity of these phases varied. Missionaries had Roman Catholic schools in Lebanon and Egypt before 1800; isolated Saudi Arabia and Yemen, on the other hand, escaped colonialism and did not enter phases 2 and 4 until well into the twentieth century.

Defeats by Russia and by Bonaparte's 1798 Egyptian expedition convinced the Ottoman sultans and the Muḥammad 'Alī dynasty in Egypt of the need for Western-style military and professional schools (engineering, medicine, veterinary science, translation – and later, administration, law and teaching). In Tunisia, Aḥmad Bey founded the Bardo military academy in 1840. Such reformers hired European instructors, sent students to

study in Europe, and had textbooks translated into Arabic – all features which persist to this day. In the 1860s Istanbul and Cairo set up centralized ministries of education on the French model, and planned for full systems of primary, secondary and higher schools. By 1914, the Ottoman state-school system was taking root in the Fertile Crescent provinces.

Lord Cromer, Egypt's real ruler from 1883 to 1907, epitomized the colonial era. He pared the state-school system to the bone, charged fees to limit enrolments, and expected the few graduates to be docile clerks and technicians. He vetoed plans for a university, relegated the poor to dead-end 'elementary' schools, and treated al-Azhar gingerly for fear of religious protests.

Schools for settlers received priority in Algeria, Libya and Palestine, the colonies of European settlement. The University of Algiers (1909) capped the French system in Algeria, with Muslim students mostly in 'Arab-French' schools. In Palestine under the British, the Zionists ran their own Hebrew schools, leaving the state schools to Arab Palestinians.

Missionary schools flourished under colonial rule, and even predominated in Lebanon where the state was weak, and in the south Sudan, which Britain isolated from the Arab-Islamic north. Unable to proselytize Muslims,

missionaries tried to convert Jews and eastern Christians, or stressed education and medicine for all.

Emphasizing free, compulsory schooling, post-colonial regimes rapidly expanded their educational systems and subordinated missionary, minority, and Islamic schools to the state. The American universities of Cairo and Beirut and the Jesuits' Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut) survived by adjusting to the new era. Nasser forced on al-Azhar engineering, medicine and commerce colleges, and even a college for women. The pan-Arabism of Nasser, and the Ba'th in Syria and Iraq, brought pressures to Arabize the language of instruction, but most universities (except in the French-influenced Maghrib) still use English for scientific and some technical subjects.

Phase 5, beginning in the 1970s, brought polarization between 'have' and 'have-not' Arab educational systems. The oil-rich Gulf states and Libya built impressively-equipped schools and universities – but had to turn to the poorer but educationally more developed Arab countries to staff them. This temporary emigration of Egyptian, Sudanese, Palestinian and Jordanian educators aggravated educational conditions in their own countries, where enrollments mushroomed, standards fell, and teachers and students alike despaired.

**Data on Education and Literacy**

country	% literate (1990)	% school-aged enrolled in school (1990)	first state university	number of universities (1992)
Algeria	52 (1991)	94 (1991)	1909	10
Egypt	44		1925	13
Iraq	60 (1991)		1957	8
Jordan	71 (1989)		1962	5
Kuwait	71 (1989)		1966	1
Lebanon	75 (1991)	93 (1991)	1951	5
Libya	64 (1991)	90 (1991)	1955	5
Morocco	50 (1990)		1959	7
Oman	20 (1989)	80 (1989)	1986	1
Saudi Arabia	62		1961	7
Sudan	27 (1991)	50 (1991)	1956	7
Syria	64	94	1923	4
Tunisia	62	85	1961	5
UAE	68 (1989)		1976	1
West Bank & Gaza	—	—	—	6
Yemen	38	59	1970	2

Sources: *The World of Learning 1995* (London, 1994); *The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1995* (New York, 1994). Dates of opening have been preferred to dates of founding decrees, and dates when an institution acquired university status have been preferred to founding dates of component colleges or schools. Enrolment percentages are either general or for primary school only.

Some Egyptian primary schools have to accommodate three shifts daily. Vocational education is unpopular, rapid population growth sustains high illiteracy rates, rural and female school enrollments lag, and many graduates remain unemployed.

Islamist movements have flourished amidst such problems. They have prescribed an Islamization of the curriculum, demanding veils on females, and sometimes an end to co-education. Despite its official Wahhabism and the absence of co-education, Saudi Arabia's intimate American ties in education and other matters have left even it vulnerable to Islamist challenge. The Islamic Republic of Iran, although non-Arab and Shi'i, has offered another model. Most Arab states balance uneasily in educational matters between a semi-secular present and Islamist challenges.

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D.M. REID

**effeminates** *see mukhannathūn*

## Egypt to 1798

Egypt (Ar. *Miṣr*), divided into two geographi-

cal districts – the Delta (*Asfal al-arḍ*) and the Valley proper (*al-Ṣa'īd*) – since ancient times, was conquered from the Byzantines by the Arab general 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ who, in the service of Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, seized the frontier town of al-ʿArīsh in 18/639, and forced the garrison at Babylon (south of modern Cairo) to surrender on 2 Rabi' II 20/9 April 641. By the following year, the Byzantines had been compelled to abandon Alexandria, and Egypt became a major province of the nascent Islamic Empire. By treaty arrangement, Egypt's inhabitants, who identified overwhelmingly with the Coptic Church, retained their religious autonomy in return for payment of a poll-tax (*jizya*), initially two *dīnārs* (gold coins) per head. 'Amr and his viceregal successors left the Byzantine system of fiscal administration largely intact. Few cultural changes of significance are apparent in Egypt during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods.

But when a Turkish governor, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (254–70/868–84), consolidated his authority over the country, he retained the bulk of Egypt's tax revenues for his personal use and for the enhancement of local agriculture. Ibn Ṭūlūn thereby set a precedent for the emergence of a distinctively Egyptian hegemonic status within the central Islamic lands which would be revived sporadically up to the arrival of the French under Napoleon Bonaparte in 1213/1798. The Ṭūlūnid episode was followed by the ephemeral regime of the Ikhshīdīds (323–57/935–68), which duplicated its predecessor's agenda of infrastructure development in the Nile Valley and extension of Egyptian influence into Syria, but with less vigour. Dissatisfied with the prevailing state of despotic control by the eunuch Kāfūr over his Ikhshīdīd protégés, prominent residents of the capital, Fuṣṭāṭ, offered the Fāṭimīd caliph al-Mu'izz in North Africa (341–65/953–75) sovereignty over the country in return for his restoration of order and fiscal solvency.

The Fāṭimīd caliphate (358–567/969–1171) evolved into the first genuine independent regime of medieval Egypt. The caliphs presided over an Ismā'īli Shi'i ruling élite (the *Da'wa*), and secluded themselves within their new capital of Cairo (al-Qāhira, 'the Victorious') north of Fuṣṭāṭ. But they continued their predecessors' tolerant policies, and the great majority of the indigenous population, now converting to Islam in both urban and rural areas, remained Sunnis. Until a series

of low Niles, beginning in 444/1052, inaugurated a period of devastating famines, the Fāṭimid era witnessed exceptional economic growth and cultural pluralism. Egypt became a major Mediterranean power which attracted a diverse host of cosmopolitan immigrants to the capital metropolis. Large numbers of Jews and Christians took service in the imperial bureaucracy. Its officials left a rich treasure-trove of chronicles and handbooks compiled from archival documents no longer extant. Their writings initiate a tradition of historical analysis and administrative commentary which has persisted in Egypt to the modern age.

The second half of the fourth/tenth century saw a waning of prosperity which the Armenian vizier, Badr al-Jamālī (466–87/1073–94), could ameliorate but not reverse. The later Fāṭimid caliphate also had to contend with the resurgence of Byzantine expansionism in the eastern Mediterranean and the arrival of the Crusaders from Western Europe. By the sixth/twelfth century, the Fāṭimid caliphs had become virtual puppets of ambitious Crusader princes, thus compelling Muslim dynasts in Syria to intervene. Shirkūh, an adjutant of the Amir of Aleppo Nūr al-Dīn, entered Cairo in 564/1169, ostensibly to shore up the moribund Fāṭimid state. On his death that year, his nephew, Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) succeeded him as vizier. In 567/1171, Saladin deposed the last Fāṭimid caliph, proclaimed himself sultan and formally restored Egypt to orthodoxy.

The Ayyūbid sultanate (567–648/1171–1250) in Cairo was but one of several principalities in a dynastic federation which extended from Egypt to northern Iraq. Saladin himself ruled from Damascus for much of his reign. Egypt was subjected to an extensive fiscal reorganization in which all the agrarian land in the country was divided into allotments (*iqṭā's*), and parcelled out to the sultan's officers in lieu of salaries. This system of military infeudation endured, with modifications, until the Ottoman conquest of 922/1517. The *iqṭā'* system made vast sums available to Egypt's military élites, who in turn lavishly supported the scholastic class (*'ulamā'*) of Cairo and other cities. Under military patronage, the *'ulamā'* began to generate a corpus of literary compositions, historical surveys and treatises on law and theology unparalleled for its size and scope in the medieval Muslim world. Their productivity continued unabated to the Ottoman conquest.

While Saladin enjoys renown in the West as the champion of Sunnī Islam against the Crusaders, he never managed to dislodge them from the Levant. Since his descendants fared no better, this task devolved upon the Ayyūbids' eventual successors, the Mamlūks. Cairo's last monarch of Saladin's line, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, fearing the ambitions of his Syrian relatives, founded a corps of slave-soldiers (*mamlūk*, pl. *mamālik* – 'one/those owned') on whose loyalty he could depend. On his death in 647/1249, the senior officers of his slave unit, having distinguished themselves in the Battle of Manṣūra (648/1250) against the French Crusaders under Louis IX, rejected the claims of al-Ṣāliḥ's heir, Tūrān Shāh, assassinated him and seized power for themselves.

The Mamlūk Sultanate, born of usurpation, proved remarkably durable. Under its architect, Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (658–76/1260–77), already famous for his valour against the Mongols at the Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt in Palestine (658/1660), the Mamlūk regime (648–922/1250–1517) became the hegemonic state of the eastern Mediterranean and south-west Asia, reducing the Syrian provinces of Damascus and Aleppo to the status of buffers warding off aggression from the east. The 'Abbāsīd caliphate, brought down in Baghdad by the Mongols (656/1258), was transferred to Cairo for the sole purpose of legitimating the Mamlūk autocrat. Cairo extended its authority over western Arabia as well, thus bringing all four holy cities (Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Hebron) under its protection. Contemporary historians divided the sultanate into two chronological segments: the Bahriyya (to 784/1382), named after the corps housed in the 'river' barracks built on Rawḍa Island by al-Ṣāliḥ, reshaped by Baybars and his successor al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678–89/1279–90) and ruled by the latter's progeny; and the Burjiyya (784–922/1382–1517), so called after Mamlūks stationed in the 'tower' barracks of the citadel who were recruited by Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (784–801/1382–99, with interregnum), a Circassian who favoured troops from this region. Most subsequent autocrats initiated their careers as Mamlūks from Barqūq's Zāhiriyya regiment.

The Mamlūk sultanate was noteworthy for the stability it preserved in the central Muslim world. Riven by factional rivalries endemic to its peculiar political ethos, the Mamlūk regime none the less presided over Egypt's last era as a great power. Up to the time of the death of

Qalāwūn's younger son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709–41/1310–41), Egypt flourished with the blessings of agrarian prosperity and commercial ascendancy previously attained during the Fātimid caliphate. Cairo became the unchallenged centre of orthodox scholarship and literary refinement during the Islamic middle period, attracting luminaries among the 'ulamā' from afar. The proliferation of chroniclers, essayists, jurists and theologians who wrote under Mamlūk sponsorship rendered this era a 'silver age' of medieval Arabic literature.

While the Egyptian economy declined in the aftermath of plagues (the Black Death) and rural disorders (bedouin marauding) during the ninth/fifteenth century, the regime preserved Egypt's primacy in the region until the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I (918–26/1512–20). Having equipped itself with gunpowder weaponry, the Ottoman army proved invincible against its Muslim rivals who had disdained this critical innovation. The Mamlūk army was defeated at the site of Marj Dābiq on the Syrian frontier with Anatolia in 922/1516. Cairo fell to the Ottomans several months later.

Although Egypt was formally reduced to a province under Ottoman authority until the French arrived in 1798, the indigenous Mamlūk elite was not eliminated after the conquest but blended with the Ottoman conquerors to form the military ruling class which dominated Egyptian society up to the time of the European invasion. Ultimately, Ottoman viceroys, appointed from Istanbul, found themselves precarious strangers among their subjects. Real power lay in the hands of Beys who emerged from the Mamlūk-Ottoman hierarchy. During the nearly 300 years of Ottoman suzerainty in Egypt, politics were characterized by incessant struggles for power and control of revenues among rival households of the military grandees. These disputes, largely confined to the military class, did not constrain the literary activity of the 'ulamā', who continued to write most of their works in Arabic. The wealth and diversity of their output during the Ottoman occupation is still being explored.

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## Egypt, modern

The development of modern Egyptian literature is characterized by an underlying tension between three distinct traditions of cultural activity: an Arabic-Islamic 'élite' tradition, associated with literature in *fushḥā*; a less well-documented tradition of 'popular' culture, frequently involving the use of 'āmniyya; and new influences and literary forms derived from the West.

The starting-point for this process has traditionally been set at 1798, the date of Napoleon's invasion. Although this begs questions both about the socio-economic development of Egypt and about the state of Arabic literature during the preceding period, it remains a convenient starting-point, for the brief French occupation saw developments that radically changed the cultural orientation of the country. These developments gathered pace, particularly during the reigns of Muḥammad 'Alī and Ismā'il, when changes in educational patterns and a wider use of **translation** from modern European languages began to take effect. Intellectual life was further stimulated by an influx of Syrian refugees fleeing from the religious strife of 1860, whose contribution was particularly important in the **theatre** and **press**. With the British occupation beginning in 1881–2, increased political awareness was accompanied by an urgent re-examination of the relationship between Islam and the West and the need for religious and social reform, in which leading roles were played by Muḥammad 'Abduh and by Qasim Amin.

In formal terms, the period 1798–1919 represents a transitional phase. Economic factors ensured that the dominant prose forms were the essay and article. For more extended narrative, traditional forms such as the

*maqāma* continued to be used by a few writers, for example **al-Muwayliḥi**, but writers were increasingly opting instead to use Western models: an important landmark was the publication of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's *Zaynab* in 1919. In poetry, traditionally regarded as the most prestigious of Arabic literary forms, the movement for 'renewal' began later than in prose. In the work of Maḥmūd Sāmī **al-Bārūdī**, however, we see the beginnings of the neo-classical movement, combining a new attempt at an expression of the poet's personality with a conscious return to the style of an earlier age. This approach was further developed by Aḥmad **Shawqī** and Muḥammad **Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm**, whose work reveals an increasing concern with social and political questions.

The period between the 1919 uprising and the Free Officers' coup of 1952 saw the coming to maturity of the modern Egyptian novel, short story and drama, and the rise and fall of romanticism in poetry against a political background preoccupied with an attempt to emerge from Western domination. An increasing trend towards methodical criticism was also heralded in 1921, when 'Abbās **al-'Aqqād** and Ibrāhīm **al-Māzinī** published *al-Diḡān*, in which they mercilessly attacked conservatives such as Shawqī and **al-Manfalūṭī**.

Most novels of this period were autobiographical in tone. The most significant was perhaps Tawfiq **al-Ḥakīm**'s *'Awdat al-rūḥ*, which depicts the frustrated loves of an Egyptian family, culminating in the 1919 revolt; it was followed by three further novels, in all of which the autobiographical element plays a part. *'Uṣfūr min al-sharq* (1938) explores conflicts between East and West – a theme subsequently developed by writers from many parts of the Arab world. Meanwhile, the short story had also been developing rapidly. The genre benefited from the influx of Syrians, but the key role was played by the Egyptians Maḥmūd Ṭāhir **Lāshin**, Muḥammad and Maḥmūd **Taymūr**, and other writers of the 'Modern School' ('al-Madrasa al-ḥadītha'), which played a key role in developing a new literary sensibility, influenced not only by French literature but also by the Russian tradition.

Until the 1920s Egyptian theatre centred mainly around melodramas, which often relied on music for their effect. Few original plays of literary value had been written, and the question of whether to use classical or colloquial

Arabic remained unresolved. Significant contributions to the development of the *genre* were made by Faraḥ **Anṭūn**, Anṭūn **Yazbak** and especially Muḥammad **Taymūr**, whose dramas treated contemporary social themes, but they were unable to compete with the popular entertainment provided by Najīb **al-Riḡānī** and others. The next phase in the development of Egyptian theatre was dominated by the figure of Tawīq **al-Ḥakīm**, whose play *Ahl al-kaḥf* (1933) represented the first in a series of 'intellectual' dramas of a type unprecedented in the Egyptian theatre. The play was followed in 1934 by *Shahrazād* and a series of other 'philosophical' plays in the same mould, and al-Ḥakīm continued to dominate the Egyptian theatrical scene until well after the fall of the monarchy.

The period between the two world wars was, in poetry, above all the period of romanticism. A key figure in the new trend was the Syrian-born Khalīl **Muṭrān**, but it was left to the members of the **Diḡān** group – al-'Aqqād, al-Māzinī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān **Shukrī** – to bring the influence of the neo-classical poets to an end. Their emphasis on the importance of emotion was further developed by members of the **Apollo Group**, a loose association of poets whose membership stretched beyond Egypt and which was subsequently to form the core of the Romantic movement.

In prose other debates were also finding expression. The 'Pharaonic' trend in Egyptian thought was eloquently expressed by al-Ḥakīm, but the place of Egypt in the contemporary world was more complicated than to yield to such potentially isolationist theories; in *Mustaqbal al-thaqāfa fī Miṣr* (1938), Ṭāhā **Ḥusayn** argued that Egypt belonged to a wider, Mediterranean civilization – suggesting in effect that Egypt's future lay with Europe rather than the Arab world. Equally important was the restatement of the Islamic heritage undertaken by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Aḥmad **Amīn** and Ṭāhā **Ḥusayn** himself.

The inter-war period also witnessed developments in popular literature. A particular phenomenon was the appearance during the 1930s of spurious autobiographies, many in the colloquial, purporting to be written by lower-class characters. Popular *zajal*-type verses had served during the 1919 revolt to articulate nationalist sentiment, and a number of newspapers now employed *zajāls* as columnists. The interplay of vernacular liter-

ature with contemporary developments is well illustrated in the career of Maḥmūd Bayram al-Tūnīsī who astutely realized the advantages of the colloquial as a medium for the development of political consciousness.

Egyptian cultural life since World War 2 again illustrates the close relations between intellectual and political trends. World War 2 and the Palestine War of 1948 heightened Egyptian awareness of the failure of the democratic experiment, and there was an increasing interest in alternative philosophies. Although the mass appeal of Marxism was limited by its atheistic foundations, writers such as Salāma Mūsā stressed the need for literature to promote socialist values. Equally important in literary terms was Sartre's existentialist philosophy, with its advocacy of commitment – a concept that henceforth no Egyptian writer could ignore.

In poetry, although other parts of the Arab world proved more innovative, the first generation of post-war poets quickly began to experiment with free verse, while in prose Najīb Maḥfūz produced a series of 'realistic' novels set in the quarters of Old Cairo which reflected the search for new moral values in contemporary society. The new mood of commitment was signalled best by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sharqāwī's *al-Ard* which, though set in the 1930s, almost certainly expressed the author's unspoken fears about the future course of developments in contemporary Egypt. Among the new generation of short-story writers, Yūsuf Idrīs was the outstanding figure. In drama, the need for reconciliation following the 1952 Revolution found an early echo in Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's *al-Aydī al-nā'ima* (1954); this was followed by a series of plays which, though sometimes focusing on wider questions, were of direct relevance to contemporary Egypt. At the same time, a more impassioned generation of playwrights was beginning to make its mark, heralded by Nu'mān 'Āshūr's *al-Nās illi taḥt* (1956), which combined social criticism with an element of popular comedy. 'Āshūr's plays are among the first manifestations of a 'new wave' of Egyptian dramatists, which includes also Luṭfī al-Khūlī, Alfrīd Faraj, Sa'd al-Dīn Wahba and Yūsuf Idrīs. The development of Egyptian drama during this period was helped by the new regime's recognition of the theatre's potential as a vehicle of propaganda.

The Arab defeat in the 1967 war with Israel set the seal on a mood of disillusion that was

already widespread. The new mood was reflected both in the works of established writers such as Najīb Maḥfūz and in the work of a new group of writers – sometimes known as the 'generation of the sixties' – who shared a characteristic outlook of rejection and disillusion. The new trend was heralded by Ṣun' Allāh Ibrāhīm's *Tilka al-rā'iḥa* (1966), in which the sense of alienation is at times almost overpowering; his later work *al-Lajna* represents one of the most powerful attacks on dictatorship published in the modern Arab world. Other prominent members of this group include Yūsuf al-Qa'īd and Jamāl al-Ghiṭānī.

On a more popular level, the post-1952 period has seen the development of a new generation of colloquial poets led by Fu'ād Ḥaddād and Ṣalāḥ Jālin, whose work reflects both the optimism of the post-1952 period and the despair of the 1967 defeat, and the growth of 'popular Romantic' fiction by such writers as Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥalīm 'Abd Allāh, Iḥsān 'Abd al-Quddūs and Yūsuf al-Sibā'ī. The mass appeal of the latter has, however, been outstripped by developments in the media: as in the past, there is a close relationship between literature and the press; and the development of the novel is increasingly bound up with radio, television and the cinema. Although the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1988 to Najīb Maḥfūz has recognized the 'coming of age' of the modern Arab literary tradition, Egyptian literature continues to be characterized by unresolved tensions, reflecting the divide between 'serious' and 'popular' culture, unresolved arguments about the use of *fushā* and 'ammiyya, and the fluctuating demands of political and religious censorship.

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**elegy see rithā'**



## encyclopedias, medieval

Although no technical term for 'encyclopedia' exists in classical Arabic, the genre, in its pre-modern form of a work aiming to inform about all branches of human knowledge, is well represented. It is not always easy to determine what belongs to this category, however, for many books are wide-ranging in subject-matter. If the encyclopedia's distinguishing trait is that information should be both comprehensive and organized in such a way as to be readily accessible, this excludes books such as **al-Jāhīz's** monumental but chaotic *Kitāb al-hayawān* and **Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī's** (fourth/tenth century) *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, simply an introduction to terminology in the sciences and to chancery practice.

The pioneer encyclopedist is the third/ninth century **Ibn Qutayba**, who organized the knowledge of his time into a series of handbooks, for the cultured public, and especially for aspiring government servants. The largest of these handbooks, the '*Uyūn al-akhbār* (*Quintessential Reports*), has chapters on sovereignty, warfare, worldly eminence, human and animal qualities, knowledge and rhetoric, asceticism, the art of friendship, requests and their satisfaction, food and table manners, and women. Combined with the *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* (*Book of Knowledge* – chiefly about prominent actors in early Islamic political, religious and intellectual history), the *Kitāb al-shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'* (on poetry and poets), and the *Adab al-kātib* (giving secretaries a linguistic formation), it forms an encyclopedia. Each of the '*Uyūn's* sections contains relevant material from the **Koran** and Bible, *ḥadīth*, sayings of philosophers and *Jāhilī* and early Islamic Arabs, anecdotes, proverbs and quotations of poetry; the passages are arranged in a certain hierarchy, with religious texts first.

The Spaniard **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** (d. 328/940) compiled an integrated encyclopedia, *al-'Iqd al-farīd* (*The Precious Necklace*), in twenty-five books, which covers essentially the same ground as Ibn Qutayba's books but greatly expands the historical sections and adds subjects such as metrics, music and singing. Unlike his predecessor, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih omits *isnāds*, which makes for a smoother presentation. The '*Iqd* is a major compendium of the knowledge expected of the average cultivated man at the time.

Later examples of this type of encyclopedia

are from the **Mamlūk** period: **al-Nuwayrī's** thirty-one volume *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (*The Heart's Desire in the Arts of Culture*) and **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī's** twenty-seven volume *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (*Paths of Perception through the Metropolitan Dominions*). Both of them draw extensively on geographical works in their account of the universe and man's place in it, while their historical sections continue up to their own time (the eighth/fourteenth century). They also incorporate much material from previous writers, though Ibn Faḍl Allāh in particular is critical of his sources. Modern scholars see them as essentially conserving the memory of earlier cultural achievements, but as Ibn Faḍl Allāh stresses in his preface, their concern was to provide relevant information for their contemporaries at a time when **Cairo** had replaced **Baghdad** as the centre of Arab-Islamic culture.

A tendency within *adab* literature from the fourth/tenth century onwards to favour the literary expression of ideas at the expense of conveying basic information lies behind the appearance of some encyclopedias, in which the subjects are treated chiefly through quotations from poetry and various forms of **artistic prose**. **Al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī's** *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* and **al-Zamakhsharī's** *Rabī' al-abrār* (*Springtime of the Pious*) illustrate this type; they can also be viewed as comprehensive anthologies. The ninth/fifteenth century Egyptian **al-Ibshihī's** *al-Mustatraf fī kull fann mustatraf* (*The Novel Extreme in Every Clever Theme*), a short work for a wider public, redresses the balance somewhat in favour of facts, as well as quoting many *ḥadīths*. In each case the arrangement of the subjects reflects the author's individual approach to the world and man's place in it; al-Rāghib, for instance, starts his book with reason and knowledge, whereas al-Ibshihī puts them second, after the fundamental concepts of Islam. **Al-Zamakhsharī** begins with heaven and the universe, and ends with the animal creation; in between he surveys human nature and society in a series of chapters arranged alphabetically according to the main concept in each.

A very different kind of encyclopedia is the collection of fifty-two treatises (*Rasā'il*) by the fourth/tenth-century **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'** (*Sincere Brethren*). The identity of this group is not certain; if more than one person was engaged in producing the *Rasā'il*, then this is a unique example of a co-operative approach to

encyclopedia-writing in classical Arabic literature. The aim of the *Rasā'il* is not so much to expound basic information as to offer a path to salvation. Unlike other groups with esoteric beliefs, the Sincere Brethren were concerned to spread their teaching as widely as possible, and their *Rasā'il* are graded to introduce the reader gradually to their intellectual system. The treatises fall under four headings: mathematical sciences; natural sciences; metaphysics; and religion and magic. Studied in the right order and under suitable guidance, they lead the soul to a true understanding of the realities of creation and enable it to approach the Creator. The Brethren drew extensively on translations of Greek scientific and philosophical texts, as well as on revealed Scripture and fables of Persian and Indian origin, but the style of the *Rasā'il* is remarkably homogenous – unlike that of other encyclopedias, where the many quotations create a motley effect. Another unusual trait is that the *Rasā'il* have very little poetry, and of what they include some is in Persian.

Finally, **al-Qalqashandī's** (d. 821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī šin'at al-inshā' (The Blind Man's Illumination in the Art of Chancery Communication)* is perhaps the first example in Arabic of an encyclopedia devoted to one branch of knowledge – that of the secretary's craft. The information contained in its fourteen volumes is partly theoretical (grammar, rhetoric, law, geography) and partly practical (examples of documents, recipes for ink, indications for the correct use of titles and suchlike).

As can be seen, most classical Arabic encyclopedias seek to purvey the knowledge needed by the cultured, reputable citizen; only the *Rasā'il* and the *Muḥāḍarāt* are to some extent speculative. The ordering of subject-matter, the relative importance accorded to different themes, the sources used, the manner of quotation, all vary from one encyclopedia to another and endow each one with a distinctive character. More than most other genres, the encyclopedia acts as a mirror of the intellectual and literary life of the period which gives birth to it.

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## epic poetry

The seventh/thirteenth-century critic Ḍiyā' al-Dīn **Ibn al-Athīr** remarks that Arabic literature has no poem akin to the Persian *Shāhnāma*. Sulaymān **al-Bustānī**, translator of the *Iliad*, identified the *qaṣīda* as the characteristic Arab form of epic poetry, mirroring bedouin heroism and tribal life. It is in this poetry, in particular in the *Ayyām al-'Arab (Battle Days)* and the *Futūḥ*, that G.E. von Grunebaum, C. Pellat and F. Gabrieli have recognized 'seeds of epic', but epic material did not receive any literary elaboration. Epic poetry is called *shī'r qaṣāṣī*, *buṭūlī* or *malḥamī*. Popular epic cycles like the *Sīrat 'Antar* (see '**Antar, romance of**) are generally considered chivalrous romances (see *sīra literature*). These romances are the result of elaboration by generations of storytellers and took shape around a core of oral poems, whose formulaic character is in some cases still recognizable. The poetry sections seem to be older than those in rhyming prose (*saj'*), introduced by the *rāwīs*. It may be said that Arab epic poetry is essentially an oral tradition. In Egyptian popular circles the Banū Hilāl *sīra* (see **Banū Hilāl, romance of**) is considered real *shī'r* (poetry); its declaimer, the *shā'ir*, is a professional poet, often with gipsy origins. He sings of the ancient heroes' duels, wanderings and loves to the accompaniment of a *rabāba* or a tambourine. The language used is dialect, with some semi-literary expressions, following peculiar metrical patterns.

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See also: popular literature; storytelling

## epigram

There is no Arabic term for 'epigram', even though the epigram is ubiquitous in classical Arabic poetry, and much Arabic poetry may be said to be profoundly epigrammatic in character. A *qit'a* is a shortish poem which lacks the structure of the *qaṣīda*, or it may be a fragment of an originally longer poem; but this does not necessarily make it an epigram in the sense of a poem characterized by brevity, wit and a 'point'. Nevertheless, numerous *qit'as* and fragments may be called true epigrams – the result of a few general tendencies in classical Arabic literature. Brevity or *ijāz* was highly esteemed; moreover there was a general consensus among poets and critics that a poem, and ideally every line of verse, ought to be more than merely a statement of a fact or a factual description: it should have a 'point', either by means of striking imagery or a form of wit. Longer poems of all periods were ransacked by the anthologists for striking and detachable fragments. Pre- and early Islamic poets produced a quantity of short occasional

poems, often invective or vaunting, that may be called epigrams; but it was in the early 'Abbāsid period that the 'modern' poets (see *muḥdathūn*) began to expand the range of the epigram on a large scale. All major poets produced epigrams; many minor poets specialized in them. The great majority of epigrams are invective or satirical (see *hijā'*), descriptive or 'ekphrastic' (see *wasf*), or gnomic (see *ḥikma* and *zuhdiyya*), but there are also many epigrams on lyrical themes: love (see *ghazal*) and wine (see *khamriyya*). Even panegyric or elegiac epigrams are found. Short forms such as the *dūbayt* and *mawāliyā* readily lend themselves to epigrammatic treatment.

Epigrams could be produced in every imaginable situation. There is no well-attested tradition, as in the history of the Greek epigram, of verse epigrams on tombs; but occasionally epigrams were inscribed on objects such as rings, pieces of clothing or fruit. In **anthologies** and works of **adab** they abound, often grouped by subject.

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**epistle** see **artistic prose**; **prose literature**, **non-fiction**, **medieval**

**epistolary prose** see **artistic prose**; **secretaries**

**erotic poetry** see **ghazal**; **mujūn**

## Eutychius (d. 328/940)

Eutychius is the name taken by Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq, a Melkite historian, physician and Christian apologist, upon becoming patriarch of Alexandria in 321/935. Born in al-Fuṣṭāṭ in 263/877, he studied medicine, enjoyed a career as an eminent physician, and wrote an as yet unedited medical compendium. He also authored a number of apologetic and polemical works in defence of Chalcedonian doctrine. None of these survive; the *Kitāb al-burhān* (*Book of Demonstration*) once attributed to him is now known not to be his work.

Eutychius is best known to posterity for his *Naẓm al-jawhar* (*The String of Gems*), a universal history extending from Creation to his own time, and the first Christian history to be written in Arabic. The work aims to uphold and promote Chalcedonian orthodoxy and identity in a world increasingly dominated by other Christian sects and, at a more general level, Islam. His framework is chronological, based on reigns of the rulers of various dynasties, and he uses a broad range of sources that can for the most part be identified; these include a Sasanian history translated into Arabic by **Ibn al-Muqaffa'** and material transmitted by 'Uthman ibn Ṣāliḥ (d. 219/834). Manuscripts of the work end at different points, and it was later continued by Yahyā al-Anṭāki; it seems likely that Eutychius's own authorship ended with events of 326/938.

Michel Breydy has shown that a Sinai manuscript related to this text represents the original Alexandrian recension of Eutychius's history, and that the text of the *Naẓm* represents a different recension by later hands in Antioch. His further argument that the Sinai manuscript is Eutychius's autograph, however, is impossible to verify, and his minimalist interpretation of him as a historical figure seems excessive.

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## exegesis, Koranic medieval

Like all sacred revealed texts, the Koran lived in continuous interaction with an evolving parallel body of interpretative literature. Indeed, in some respects it is very difficult to speak of the Koran as separate from its various interpretations. The origins of Koranic exegesis, according to numerous traditional accounts, go back to the Prophet himself, who, it is said, often sought to interpret what had been revealed to him. However, it is also thought that as the Prophet and the people of his time were Arabs in the Koranic milieu, the amount of revelations for which they required interpretation would have been very small.

As time passed, more and more of the Koran was unclear to later generations, and exegesis developed to explain its difficulties. No doubt this also reflects the historical reality of non-Arabic-speaking populations being Islamized. Whatever the status of these claims, they reflect a serious communal commitment to exegesis of the Koran and a recognition of the significance attached to it. There are contrary indications, however, showing some opposition to exegetical activity in the early Islamic period. This was probably the case, particularly with respect to particular types of verses; but scholarly opinion varies concerning the exact sources, nature and extent of such opposition.

The origins of the exegetical literature cannot be known with certainty. Many commentators would see 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās (d. 68/687) as the 'father' or 'founder' of Koranic exegesis, and certain texts have been associated with him, but without certainty (or even probability) of attribution. The nature of this very early exegesis is rather unclear, but it no doubt was intertwined with the emerging *Ḥadīth* collections, historiography (see **historical literature**) and Prophetic biographies (see **Muḥammad, the Prophet**). The

literary style was loosely narrative and rambling, showing little of the rigorous structure of the various types of fully developed later medieval exegetical texts. This early rudimentary exegesis was usually referred to as *ta'wīl* (literally, 'going to the depths'), until later, by the eleventh century, a shift to the term *tafsīr* ('explanation, interpretation') occurred, and, it seems, *ta'wīl* would subsequently often (but not invariably) be used mainly to refer to esoteric exegesis.

One focus of early exegesis may have been the 'ambiguous verses' (*al-mutashābihāt*) of the Koran, but this is not clear, and in any case no agreement of Muslim scholars has ever been reached concerning which verses (or portions of verses) were 'ambiguous'. A long period of development in exegetical literature took place prior to the emergence of the medieval *tafsīr* works in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. One view is that this developmental period saw the emergence of different types of, and approaches to, exegesis, which would ultimately be incorporated in the medieval *tafsīr* literature. Some examples of types are narrative exegesis (incorporating historiography, *ḥadīth* and legendary material), grammatical exegesis (emphasizing the philology of the Koran) and legal exegesis (giving topical ordering of the Koranic text in legal categories). Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 150/767), an early exegetical writer, was particularly influential on these three types.

Two main exegetical approaches were recognized: *al-ma'thūr*, based mainly on *ḥadīth*, and *bil-ra'y*, based on some theological doctrine or other particular intellectual or religious concern. The medieval exegetical works are typified by a high degree of organization and precision, with verse-by-verse commentary being very prevalent. Literary form and style are generally typical of the religious sciences in medieval Islam, i.e. a 'scholastic method' expressed in finely detailed argumentation using various systems of technical terminology. The Arabic is that rather vague type often referred to as 'Middle Arabic' (see **Arabic language**). The distinction between the exegesis of *al-ma'thūr* and *bil-ra'y* was conventionally invoked, but the two approaches were in practice often not clearly distinguished: the former was sometimes organized and carried out according to some conception or doctrine, and the latter was usually not devoid of *ḥadīth* and other tra-

ditional material. The two were rather emphases on a continuum.

Some of the more important general, comprehensive *tafsīr* works will be discussed here, as well as some examples of more specialized types. **Al-Ṭabārī's** (d. 310/923) *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān* is the great and authoritative exegesis in the *al-ma'thūr* mould. Comprehensive and universal in its range and approaches to the text, al-Ṭabārī's work served as an example for later *tafsīr*. Its literary content was special in the amount and variety of legendary material it contained. The *tafsīr* of the famous **Mu'tazili** thinker **al-Zamakhsharī** (d. 538/1144), *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq ghawāmiq al-tanzīl*, is an example of exegesis with an emphasis on doctrine rather than *ḥadīth*. Interpreting the Koran from a primarily Mu'tazili theological perspective, al-Zamakhsharī often sees issues in terms of the principles of divine justice and unity. However, his *tafsīr* is also a philological commentary, elucidating in fine detail linguistic features of the text. **Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's** (d. 606/1209) *Mafāṭih al-ghayb* is written from an 'orthodox' **Sunni** Ash'arī theological perspective, and includes much extended commentary on the Koranic, prophets as well. Rich legendary sources are evident in this commentary. The work of **Ibn Kathīr** (d. 774/1373), *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*, is the later medieval counterpart of al-Ṭabārī's *tafsīr* in its standing as a great *al-ma'thūr* exegesis. Imbued with a Hanbali ethos (see **fiqh**), Ibn Kathīr, however, also evinced a prominent doctrinal slant. This is particularly apparent in his widely cited methodological introduction to his work. The *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* of **al-Suyūṭī** (d. 911/1505) and al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) is a work of exegetical compression. Masterfully succinct, it epitomizes a great deal of the range of earlier commentaries, providing an exegesis for wide popular use.

More specialized were the **Sūfī** and **Shī'ī** esoteric works of exegesis. An example of the first is the work of **al-Qushayrī** (d. 465/1072), *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*. This text uses the explicit meanings of words as pointers to deeper, esoteric spiritual truths. Prominent in Ithnā 'Asharī (Twelver) Shī'ī circles was al-Ṭabārī's (d. c.548/1153) *Majma' al-bayān li-'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. This work is a great compendium similar to al-Ṭabārī's *tafsīr* but from a Shī'ī perspective. Rich in *ḥadīth* material as well, the *Majma'* has had much to offer **Sunni**

Muslims as well as Shī'ī. In literary form, style and structure, medieval Koranic exegesis remained the dominant pattern of interpretation until the early twentieth century.

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See also: Koran; Sūfī literature (prose)

## exegesis, Koranic, modern

The science of Koranic exegesis has seen a renaissance in the twentieth century parallel to that in Arabic literature generally. A key figure in this renewal was Muḥammad 'Abduh, whose exegesis *Tafsīr al-manār*, recorded and extended by his pupil Rashīd Riḍā, was a seminal work. Muḥammad 'Abduh rejected the dry scholasticism of the medieval works of exegesis and, in straightforward language, stressed the relevance of the Koran to contemporary moral and social issues. Thus began the popularization of Koranic exegesis, previously the exclusive domain of the religious scholars. Almost all subsequent commentators have agreed on the general aims of greater simplicity

and didactic content of exegesis, and it has become a vehicle for Muslim scholars to respond to contemporary challenges.

New attitudes have given rise to innovations in form, content and style. The text of modern exegeses varies from brief lexical glosses to 'streams of consciousness'; there is a large hortatory element in some, e.g. *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān* by Sayyid Quṭb. Some exegetical works no longer deal with the text in strict verse-by-verse fashion. Echoing developments in literature, the atomistic and fragmentary view of the Koran has been replaced by a more organic and comprehensive one, and much has been written on the organic unity of the sura or the Koran, both in the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent. This organic unity is widely believed to demonstrate the literary *i'jāz* (inimitability) of the Koran, which has received considerable attention in recent decades – as, for example, in Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Dirāz's *al-Naba' al-'azīm* (Kuwait, 1977).

Another important development has been that of topical exegesis (*tafsīr mawḍū'ī*), of which Amīn al-Khūlī was a leading exponent, where systematic comparison of Koranic verses on the same topic is required. Exegetes who have followed this method include Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Muḥammad al-Bahī of Egypt and Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī of Iran.

These developments have given rise to new formats, such as monographs on Koranic topics or studies on individual suras, which have somewhat eroded the distinction between exegesis and general religious writings.

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**exemplum see rhetorical figures:  
tamthil**

# F

## fables

Arabic literature does not have a corresponding terminology for the ancient Greek concept of fables, originally comprising tales with animal and vegetal as well as human protagonists. The nearest terms are *mathal*, here generally denoting parables and instructive sayings (see also **proverbs**), *ḥikāyāt al-ḥayawān* (animal tales), and the more specific *amthāl/nawādir 'alā alsinat al-ḥayawān* (roughly: 'parables involving talking animals'). This terminological reduction illustrates the topical concentration on those fables dealing with animal protagonists. The *amthāl* attributed to **Luqmān**, never gathered in a canonical collection, comprise some fables of Aesopic origin, but on the whole rather belong to the field of wisdom literature.

The best known collection of fables is the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, most influential in the later Oriental as well as the Western literary tradition. Its Arabic translation was prepared by 'Abd Allāh **ibn al-Muqaffa**' (second/eighth century) from a now lost Pahlavī text, itself an adapted version of a hypothetic Indian precursor of the famed Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*. Besides the fables contained therein, which are mostly of Indian origin, several works of *adab* literature contain singular items or small chapters of fables. As for their origins, according to C. Brockelmann, these fables can be divided into the categories of (a) Aesopic or (b) indigenous Arabic origin, as well as (c) contaminations of motifs from diverse sources. Considerably large numbers of fables are incorporated into **al-Ābī**'s *Nathr al-durr* (vol. 7, ch. 14), **al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī**'s *Muḥādarāt al-udabā'* (end), and **Ibn al-Jawzī**'s *Akhhbār al-adhkiyā'* (ch. 33), up to the Ottoman period compilation *Nuzhat-al-udabā'* (ch. 27).

Internationally known fables documented in Arab sources include the one about the fox

pretending that he does not want those grapes he cannot reach, or the one about the faithful falcon reproaching the chicken for her faithlessness towards man, but being told in return that the chicken has never yet seen a roast falcon. Although, according to a list compiled by V. Chauvin, which might today be supplemented by additional findings, at least some sixty different items are represented in medieval Arabic literature, fables never seem to have been a favourite narrative genre, since Arabic literature did not produce a single collection of independent indigenous origin. Even the (anonymous) *al-Asad wa-al-ghawwās* (*Lion and 'Diver'* [nickname of the jackal]), written in 530/1136, is but a cleverly enlarged adaptation of a single chapter from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, incorporating additional tales from Arabic sources, notably **al-Iskāfi**'s *Luṭf al-tadbīr*. The Arabic mind obviously responded much more to the moral appeal of historical anecdotes or the subtle humour of jocular tales than to the didactic purposes underlying purely fictitious events on the animal level.

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See also: Fiction; *Kalila wa-Dimna*; translation, medieval

## Faḍl al-Shā'ira (d. 257/871 or 260/874)

Faḍl al-Shā'ira was the leading poetess of her generation (hence her nickname). Though claiming noble Arab origin, she grew up as a slave in Basra and was given to the caliph al-Mutawakkil, who later freed her. A beautiful, educated and witty woman, she had a literary salon, where she held her own in exchanges with poets and men of letters; she was also a singer. She is chiefly remembered for her love affair with the poet Sa'id ibn Ḥumayd. The verses that they addressed to each other and which reflect all the vicissitudes of a passionate attachment are unique in the period for providing both sides of the story.

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## al-Fajr (1925–7)

Egyptian literary magazine, launched in January 1925 by Aḥmad Khayrī Sa'id, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lāshīn and Ḥusayn Fawzī, members of the so-called 'Modern School' (al-Madrasa al-Ḥadītha) – a literary association originating in the national movement of 1919. This group of young artists and intellectuals, headed by Muḥammad Taymūr and Aḥmad Khayrī Sa'id, met first in November 1918 in the Lipton teahouse; claiming to be the New School of Arts and Literature (Madrasat al-Ādāb wa-al-funūn al-jadīda), they subsequently gathered in cafés in 'Imād al-Dīn Street to discuss a new culture and literature marked by realism, a modern (i.e. European) style and 'Egyptianism'. At first inspired

mainly by French literature, they subsequently turned their attention to Russian prose literature, particularly after the death of Muḥammad Taymūr in 1921.

*Al-Fajr* intended to realize a radical change in the field of prose writing through 'demolition and reconstruction', but the movement broke up at the end of 1926 for practical reasons, after a short period of fruitful activity by Lāshīn, Khayrī Sa'id, Fawzī, Maḥmūd Taymūr and Yahyā Ḥaqqī.

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## fakhr

*Fakhr* is self-vaunting poetry; the term is virtually synonymous with *mufākhara*, *fikhār* and *iftikhār*, all of which are used in a technical sense in medieval Arabic works on poetics. Sometimes referred to as a genre, it is more correct to view *fakhr* as an attitude and/or mode of poetry that infiltrates and forms one of the dominant elements of the polythematic *qaṣīda* from pre-Islamic times. From the earliest times *fakhr* also survives in monothe-matic fragments/poems (*qit'as*).

There are two types of *fakhr*: personal, where the poet distinguishes himself from his peers, within the tribe but more emphatically outside the tribe, and tribal, where he extols the virtues of his group and sets himself, explicitly or otherwise, against his adversaries and/or those of the tribe. Here a close connection emerges between *fakhr* and *hijā'*, which often feed off each other, or exist in juxtaposition, thus forming a contrast (this can be seen especially in the Umayyad period in the *naqā'id* of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, where there is a constant and dynamic shift between personal self-praise, praise of the clan (the two poets belonged to different clans of the same tribal group, Tamīm) and violent lampooning.

*Fakhr* is in essence the articulation of the cardinal, bedouin virtues of *muruwwa*, principally generosity, martial prowess (heroism), fidelity to the tribe, *hilm* (the ability to govern



one's passions and thus pursue the most noble course of action, the antonym of *jahl*, which correspondingly has a broader sense than simply that of 'ignorance'). *Hilm* is effectively commensurate with the sagacity of old age; a frequent posture, typically contained within an extended *nasīb*, is that of the aged poet, having now acquired *hilm*, reflecting self-vauntingly on the erstwhile pleasures of youth which he has come to eschew. This attitude of *fakhr* was absorbed, by the early 'Abbāsid period, into developments in *khamriyya* (bacchic) and *mujūn* poetry where heroic self-praise is often transformed and parodied. Although Islam came to be reflected in some areas of poetry, especially in *madīh*, *muruwwa* was not abrogated by the new religion, and thus the essential fabric of *fakhr* was not significantly altered in the Islamic period.

*Fakhr* dominates pre-Islamic poetry (see *Jāhiliyya*) and thus the later poetry which modelled itself on the *Jāhili* canon. But the dividing line between *fakhr* and another theme/mode is frequently hard to discern. One recent study has, for the pre-Islamic period, viewed the art of poetry itself as an integral facet of *muruwwa*. This view facilitates an understanding that the whole *qasīda* (despite a variety of constituent parts, typically *nasīb* ⇒ *rahīl/wasf* ⇒ *madīh*) is imbued with *fakhr*. The proposition may not be entirely helpful, but it is symptomatic of overlapping themes, e.g. where the beloved of the *nasīb* is asked to consider the heroic exploits of the poet there is a clear transition from one phase (*nasīb*) to another (*fakhr*); there is also, however, a sense that *fakhr* exists within the *nasīb* (certainly the amorous exploits in the first 40 or so lines of *Imru' al-Qays' Mu'allaqa* are self-vaunting, although one may be more inclined to attach the broad label *nasīb* or *ghazal* to this composite section of the poem). If in *Jāhili* poetry demarcation lines are hard to establish, in *Umayyad* poetry the dynamic boundaries that separate one 'theme' from another are on the whole easier to discern, although there was still no fixed structure governing the position of *fakhr* within a schema of themes.

The spirit of *fakhr* is detectable in any essay that gives a full and general (if abstracted) account of early Arabic poetry; see, for example, Renate Jacobi's observation in *re* the *Mufaddaliyyāt* (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.): 'whether the tribal poet recounts his experience in love and war, or reflects in old age and death, he

displays the same indomitable spirit, the "heroic attitude" ... the poet's recklessness and pride are most clearly expressed in his self-praise, *but* [our italics] they appear equally striking in verses on the transitoriness of life, where hope is abandoned and fate accepted without submission or humility', i.e. self-praise is both explicit and implicit.

For Arab commentators *fakhr* was part of praise in general and was thus related to *madīh* (eulogy/panegyric) and *rithā'* (elegy/praise of a dead person). The constituent parts of praise are essentially the same, although the attitudes that characterize these various genres are markedly different.

In later periods the poetry of **al-Mutanabbi** (d. 354/965) most clearly illustrates that *fakhr* was an attitude (with possibilities of affecting all parts of the poem) as much as a separate theme. His elegy on the death of his grandmother is an excellent example, and though the poet may be criticized for contravening the norms of *rithā'* one should be reminded of **Durayd ibn al-Šimma's** famous elegy on his brother 'Abd Allāh where there are conspicuous verses of *fakhr* that delineate clearly some articles of *muruwwa*, especially fidelity to the tribe.

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P.F. KENNEDY

### Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar (543–606/1149–1209)

Major theologian and Koranic exegete; he should be distinguished from the philosopher-physician Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī. Fakhr al-Dīn has been described as 'the only equal of al-Ghazālī in philosophical erudition in the twelfth century', and 'one of the last encyclopedic writers of Islam' (Fakhry, p. 319). He was born and studied in Rayy, where he also spent a part of his career, much of which was marked by journeys to Khwārazm and Transoxiana, where, an ardent supporter of the doctrines of al-Ash'arī, he engaged in controversies with Mu'tazilis and other non-Ash'aris (e.g. the Karrāmiyya in Khurasan, many of whom he converted to his own brand of Sunnī Sufism). He finally settled in Herat – having secured the patronage of the Ghūrid ruler Ghiyāth al-Dīn – where he lived out the rest of his life.

Al-Rāzī was the author of a massive corpus whose subject matter ranged from Koranic exegesis and history to *fiqh*, medicine and mineralogy. Early in his life he was a student of alchemy and magic (his great opus on the occult sciences, *al-Sirr al-maktūm*, remains unpublished), but later turned to the religious and philosophical sciences, writing, among other things, a commentary on several works by Ibn Sīnā, whom he often criticized sharply. A celebrated teacher, he was known by the title of Shaykh al-Islām. In the breadth and depth of his erudition he resembles not only al-Ghazzālī but the great Ibn Sīnā himself, and made a notable contribution to Arabic literature in diverse branches. Noteworthy among his works are his great Koran commentary the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, and his book on metaphysics, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*. His teachings were later to be criticized by the celebrated philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.

Text editions

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(See also *El<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. (G.C. Anawati) for a detailed discussion of his major works.)

I. NETTON/J.S. MEISAMI

### Fākhūrī, 'Umar (1895–1946)

Lebanese man of letters, social and literary critic, and political activist. Born in Beirut into a well-known, conservative family, Fākhūrī studied at several educational institutions, including the Ottoman Medical School. Politically active from an early age, his first book, *Kayfa yanḥaq al-'Arab* (1913), would have resulted in his execution, had it not been for his father's intercession before the Ottoman Governor. In 1920, while in Paris studying for his law degree, he helped to form the Syrian Arab Society, and in 1941 founded, with others, La Ligue contre le Nazisme et le Fascisme en Syrie et au Liban. Supported by the Communists, he fought the 1943 election as an independent, but failed to win a seat in the Lebanese Parliament.

Fākhūrī's importance as a gifted writer and committed intellectual was widely recognized. In 1918 he was invited by King Fayṣal I to edit *al-'Āṣima* in Damascus, and he became a regular contributor to periodicals throughout the Arab East. In addition to producing ten books, and a collection of letters published posthumously in 1981, he translated works by Romain Rolland and Anatole France, and a collection of articles by orientologists on Arab culture, published in Damascus in 1925 as *Ārā' gharbiyya fī mas'ā'il sharqiyya*.

In his critical writings Fākhūrī drew on his wide readings in Arabic, French, English and Turkish to expound a critical approach to both Arabic and Western literature. For the first time in modern Arabic literature, he attempted to outline a framework for the process of

literary production, and his books and articles – with their precise and elegant style – are landmarks in the history of modern Arabic critical theory.

Further reading

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A.-N. STAIF

**al-Fārābī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad**  
(c.259–339/c.872–950)

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭarkhān al-Fārābī was quite rightly called the *mu'allim al-thānī*, the second master, coming only next to Aristotle in importance in Islamic Peripatetic philosophy. He wrote many commentaries on Aristotelian texts and original works on Greek philosophy and on religion, together with a wide variety of books on a vast range of themes. Due to the clarity of his expression and the intellectual depth of his arguments, he came to hold great influence on the future direction of Islamic philosophy. Even Jewish philosophers such as **Maimonides**, who wrote in Arabic centuries later, acknowledged the significance of his views. Al-Fārābī touched on all the major philosophical issues of his time and dominated an important school of thinkers comprising **Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī**, **Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī**, al-'Āmirī, **Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī** and their followers.

Coming quite early on in the development of philosophy in the Islamic world, he played a crucial part in the battle between the grammarians and the logicians. The former were suspicious of the claim of the latter that they were in possession of a technical apparatus that was capable of analysing language. The grammarians argued that Greek logic was only appropriate for analysing the Greek language, while Arabic grammar was the only suitable technique for the analysis of the Arabic language (see further **grammar and grammarians**). Al-Fārābī argued that logic was so general that it was capable of analysing all languages, and that it could go further and deeper than grammar, a debate that was important since it established a role for logic in the Islamic world. He also established a theory of the different levels of language which came to have great importance in Islamic philoso-

phy. According to him, there are a whole variety of different types of language – religious, philosophical, political, aesthetic and so on – and they are all linked. They are all valid, but possess different degrees of logical force. Philosophical language represents the most powerful logical methodology, and it explains demonstratively how things are, but this is not to challenge the validity of any other form of expression. They all have a use and a value, but they are based upon philosophy, whether they realize it or not, and can in principle be translated into philosophical language. Reason and revelation complement each other, and the philosophically sophisticated will understand how and why this is the case. However, the relationship between philosophy and religion, which al-Fārābī defended, remained a highly controversial issue throughout the next few centuries of Islamic philosophy.

Text editions

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O. LEAMAN

**al-Fārābī, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm**  
(d. 350/961)

The author of a highly influential Arabic dictionary, the *Dīwān al-adab fī bayān lughat al-‘Arab*. What was remarkable about this work is that he separated the nouns from the verbs, and ordered the forms (*wazn*) in alphabetical order based on the last radical consonant. This came to be influential for a period, and was a model that subsequent lexicographers had to consider before deciding what form their dictionary would take. His nephew **al-Jawhārī** composed the celebrated *Ṣiḥāh*, which was definitely influenced by al-Fārābī. It is the fact that al-Fārābī’s dictionary was so early, together with his firm views on how language should be represented, that came to set the agenda for many of his successors.

Text edition

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O. LEAMAN

See also: lexicography

**Farah Anṭūn see Anṭūn, Farah**

**al-Farāhīdī al-Azdī see al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad**

**Faraj, Alfrid (1929– )**

Egyptian dramatist. Born in Alexandria, Faraj worked as a journalist and adviser to the Theatre Administration. He was imprisoned for political activities in the 1960s and spent several years in England following the 1967 Arab–Israeli War. His work comprises a wide variety of themes and styles, ranging from lightweight comedy to serious political drama, and includes works in both classical and colloquial Arabic. In many of his more serious works, the influence of Brecht is clearly apparent and he has also acknowledged his

indebtedness to Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm. Among the characteristics of his plays is the reworking of material from the historical or literary heritage to produce works of contemporary relevance. Of particular interest are *Sulaymān al-Ḥalabī* (1964), in which he uses the historical murder of General Kléber by Sulaymān in 1800 as a peg on which to hang questions about freedom and justice; *al-Zir Sālim* (1967), a reworking of a medieval Arab romance; the comedy *‘Alī Janāḥ al-Tabrizī* (1968) – perhaps his most successful play – in which he draws on the heritage of the *Thousand and One Nights* (see *Alf layla wa-layla*) to construct a work in which the interplay between fantasy and reality forms a major part; and *al-Nār wa-al-zaytūn* (1970), on the Palestinian question.

Text edition

‘‘Ali Janah al-Tabrizi and his servant Quffa’’, in S.K. Jayyusi and R. Allen (eds), *Modern Arabic Drama: An Anthology*, Bloomington (1995), 305–52.

Further reading

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P. STARKEY

**al-Farazdaq, Hammām ibn Ghālib**  
(c.20–110/c.640–728)

One of the great poets of the Umayyad period. Born in Eastern Arabia, of **bedouin** upbringing in his tribe Tamīm, he attached himself to various leading personalities in Basra, Medina and Damascus, producing numerous panegyric poems, often combined with satire on opponents. In these poems tribal, political and personal invective and boasting usually go together. With his great rival **Jarīr ibn ‘Atiyya** he exchanged, over a period of some forty years, the most famous series of flytings or *naqā’id* in the history of Arabic poetry. In the many scattered biographical notices both his personality, which seems to have been eccentric and rather dissolute, and his poetry are often discussed and compared with those of Jarīr and **al-Akḥṭal** (who took his side against Jarīr). The question of who is the best poet – Jarīr, al-Farazdaq or al-Akḥṭal – is a common topos in Arabic works on poetry, which abound in anecdotes and sayings on this matter, some of which may be contemporaneous with the poets themselves;

for they were popular among the common people and in court circles, and appreciated by both grammarians and literary critics of later generations.

Al-Farazdaq's poetry (over 7,000 preserved lines) builds on the pre-Islamic forms and diction. The amatory theme is not much developed in his verse; he often omits the *nasīb* (see *qaṣīda*). His panegyric and invective (the latter vigorous and often obscene) are much praised by the critics, who admire his rich and sometimes rugged diction.

Text editions

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: *naqā'id*

**Farès, Nabile (1940– )**

Algerian novelist, poet and academic, writing in French. Born in Collo, Farès belongs to the generation of writers including Rachid **Boudjedra** who made a forceful impact on Algerian literature in the 1970s, denouncing in uncompromising language all that they disapproved of in their society. Farès's first novel, *Yahia, pas de chance* (1970), part fiction, part autobiography, is an evocation of the central character's involvement with the FLN (Front de Libération nationale), his student days in France and his first serious romantic encounter. In his next novel, *Un Passager de l'Occident* (1971), he explores the theme of exile, a theme that recurs more intensely in his trilogy *La Découverte du nouveau monde* (1972, 1974, 1976) into which he introduced the legends and oral poetry of his Berber heritage. A fervent

nationalist, Farès was disillusioned when he found that there was little provision made for Berber culture in the newly independent, Arab-oriented Algeria. His sixth and last novel to date, *La Mort de Salah Baye* (1980), depicts the despair of those who, through no fault of their own, find themselves at the mercy of whoever happens to be in power. Farès has also written poetry, which, like his novels and academic works, often focuses on Berber oral literature.

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F. ABU-HAIDAR

**Farḥāt, Ilyās (1893–1976)**

**Mahjar** poet. Born in Kafr Shīma (Lebanon), Ilyās Farḥāt had little formal training, leaving school at the age of 10 and never returning to it. During his schooldays, however, he had already performed as a *qawwāl*, or popular poet, at weddings and celebrations. He emigrated to Brazil in 1910 doing many odd jobs. In Brazil he began to write poetry in the classical style. He married in 1921, then settled as a cattle farmer, raising pigs, sheep and poultry. His first volume of quatrains was published in São Paulo in 1925, the first edition of his *dīwān* appearing in São Paulo in 1932; other volumes of his poetry were published in Beirut, Damascus and Cairo, as well as in Brazil. In his poetry, Farḥāt protested against the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon; he became a member of al-'Uṣba al-andalusiyya, but withdrew when a poem of his, sharply attacking the Maronite patriarch, was refused by the monthly *al-'Uṣba*. He died in Belo Horizonte (Brazil).

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C. NIJLAND

### Farḥāt, Jarmānūs (1670–1732)

Syrian cleric, lexicographer, grammarian and poet. Born in Aleppo, Farḥāt served as Maronite archbishop there from 1725 to 1732 and travelled extensively in the Middle East and Mediterranean. A precursor of the nineteenth-century *nahḍa*, he attached considerable importance to education in the Arabic language, producing textbooks in the fields of lexicography, grammar and rhetoric which enjoyed a wide circulation. Farḥāt also wrote poetry in some of which he applied traditional Arabic poetic forms to Christian themes; his *Dīwān* was published in Beirut in 1850.

Further reading

*ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Farḥāt, Djarmānūs', Kratschkowsky, I.

P. STARKEY

### Farīd, Muḥammad (1868–1919)

Egyptian nationalist and political writer. Succeeding Muṣṭafā Kāmil as leader of the National Party (al-Ḥizb al-Waṭānī) in 1908, but lacking Kāmil's charisma, Farīd led the party into a series of squabbles with political rivals and with the Egyptian court, thereby substantially reducing the party's effectiveness. He was exiled from Egypt in 1912 and died an obscure figure in Berlin in 1919.

Like his mentor, Kāmil, Farīd wrote incessantly on politics, mostly in the party journal *al-Liwā'*. His most important historical works were an account of the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī (*Kitāb al-bahja al-Tawfiqiyya fī tāriḫ mu'assis al-'ā'ila al-khodaywiyya*, 1891) and a history of the Ottoman Empire (*Tāriḫ al-dawla al-'aliyya al-'Uthmāniyya*, 1894). The former is flawed, at times coming near to a series of blow-by-blow battle stories, but the latter is, for its time, a sophisticated, modern and highly interpretative study. Both works demonstrate the new 'direct style' of Arabic prose.

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J. CRABBS

### al-Fārisī, Muṣṭafā (1931– )

Contemporary Tunisian playwright and novelist, born in Sfax. He gained a *diplôme*

*d'Etudes supérieures* in Paris for his work on the Carmathians, then returned to Tunisia in 1956 where he wrote several radio plays and published some poems in French. He has been, in turn, director of the Tunisian Company for Cinematographic Production and Expansion (SATPEC), then head of the department of theatre at the Ministry of Culture, Director of Current Affairs and Director of Arts. To date he has published ten books. His novel *al-Mun'araj* (1966) expresses the ambiguities present within the generation that achieved independence. The hero wonders whether he will be reduced to a state of despair by the problems of committing himself to the cause, or whether he will be able to realize his potential and, by assuming his own freedom, enable others to be free. *Ḥarakāt* (1979) stretches traditional literary genres to the limit: the text is constructed of layers of superimposed passages, through which the author speaks out on behalf of justice and freedom.

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J. FONTAINE

### Farmān, Ghā'ib Ṭu'ma (1927–90)

Iraqi prose writer. Born in Baghdad, he graduated from the College of Arts of Baghdad University and worked as a teacher in Lebanon and Cairo. After the 1958 revolution he returned to Baghdad, but emigrated to Moscow some years later. He worked there as a translator from classical and modern Russian literature until his death. Farmān's first collection of short stories, *Ḥaṣīd al-rahā*, was published in 1954 and his second, *Mawlūd ākhar*, in 1960. Here and in his novels *al-Nakhla wa-al-jirān* (1966), *Khamsat aṣwāt* (1967), *al-Makhḥāḍ* (1974), *al-Qurbān* (1975), *Zilāl 'alā al-nāfidha* (1979), *Ālām al-Sayyid Ma'lūf* (1982), *al-Murtajā wa-al-mu'ajjal* (1986) and *al-Markab* (1989) (some published in Beirut), he depicted in a plain language and with increasing literary skill the problems of the Baghdadi bourgeoisie and *petit bourgeois* society since the 1960s. His last works reflect the resignation of Arab leftists and the alienation of Arab emigrants.

Text edition

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*Erkundungen. 28 irakische Erzähler*, Berlin (1985), 161–71.

Further reading

Shubayba, Z.: *G.T. Farmān*, Beirut (1996).

W. WALTHER

**al-Farrā' (144–207/761–822)**

Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā ibn Ziyād al-Farrā', born in Kūfa, was mostly active in **Baghdad** where, perhaps because of his alleged **Mu'tazilī** tendencies, he enjoyed the favour of the caliph al-Ma'mūn. As the most prominent pupil of Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kisā'ī and **al-Riyāshī**, he is reckoned among the leaders of the so-called 'Kūfan' school of grammar, although he also studied with the famous 'Baṣran' Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb. He does indeed reveal some individuality in terminology and to a lesser extent in methodology (which we might know more about if a lost work, *al-Ḥudūd*, ever came to light), but this merely confirms that the 'canonical' grammatical system was still not established in his time, rather than implying a rigid differentiation into 'schools'. Author of several lexicographical and morphological works, his most significant production is a grammatical commentary on the **Koran**, *Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* (a source for al-Ṭabarī). Here al-Farrā' gives ample evidence of a sophisticated grammatical intelligence which would undoubtedly appear more systematic if he had not been obliged to subordinate his ideas to the sequence and contents of the Koranic text.

Text editions

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*Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, A.Y. Najātī and M.A. al-Najjār (eds), Cairo (1972–80).

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*English Summaries, and Extensive Citations*, Leiden, New York and Köln (1996).

M.G. CARTER

See also: grammar and grammarians

**Farrūkh, 'Umar (1908–87)**

Lebanese literary scholar, historian, poet and educator. Born in Beirut, Farrūkh received his BSc from the American University of Beirut in 1928, and his PhD from Erlangen (Germany) in 1937. He taught in Palestine, Syria and Iraq, working for most of his life for the al-Maqaṣid al-Khayriyya Society's schools. He wrote some sixty books and innumerable articles, and translated works from English, French and German. Farrūkh is best known for his books on Islamic and Arab philosophy and their relation to their Greek and Western counterparts. He also wrote works on the history of Arabic literature, on the classical and modern history of the Arabs, and on Arab science. His autobiography, entitled *Ghubār al-sinīn*, covers aspects of his life between 1916 and 1982. Farrūkh's contribution to Arab-Islamic culture was recognized with the award of several medals and orders from Pakistan, Mauritania and Lebanon.

Further reading

*al-Bāhith* (Beirut) 9, no. 48 (October–December 1987), special issue on 'Umar Farrūkh.

A.-N. STAIF

**al-Fārūqī (or al-'Umarī), 'Abd al-Bāqī (1790–1862)**

Iraqi official, poet, historian and biographer. Born in Mosul, he died in Baghdad. He held various posts in Mosul and participated in two campaigns to put down the rebellious **Mamlūks of Baghdad** at the request of the Ottoman authorities. Al-Fārūqī was fond of writing Ṣūfī poetry and panegyrics to the Prophet and his family. Described as the *imām* of the poets of his time, his *dīwān*, *al-Tiryāq al-fārūqī fī munsha'āt al-Fārūqī* (1863), was published in various editions.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**faṣāḥa** see literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

**al-Fāsī, Taqī al-Dīn**  
(775–832/1373–1429)

Mālikī judge of Mecca, who distinguished himself as a foremost historian of this holy city. Born into a family of Meccan nobility, al-Fāsī spent his early years in Arabia, then travelled to Egypt, Syria and Yemen, studying with the best scholars of his age, including **Ibn Khaldūn** and **Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī**. Al-Fāsī left a voluminous corpus of writings (more than twenty titles), but is primarily famous for his histories of Mecca, *Shifāʾ al-gharām* and *al-ʿIqd al-thamīn*, which serve as a continuation of the earlier works of this kind by al-Azraqī (d. c.244/c.858–9) and al-Fākihī (d. c.272/c.885–6). These works are still regarded as the most important sources on Mecca's history. In the *Shifāʾ* al-Fāsī provides an account of the city's physical features, history, rulers, historical sites and sanctuaries. The *ʿIqd* consists mainly of the biographies of scholars who lived or temporarily stayed in Mecca. Al-Fāsī's autobiography, which includes a list of his teachers and an account of his travels in search of knowledge, features in the latter work.

Text editions

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A. KNYSH

**Fath al-Andalus**

An incomplete anonymous chronicle, written in crabbed Arabic, dating in its present form from the end of the fifth/eleventh century (although it includes earlier material) and composed probably in al-Andalus. Despite its name, it is concerned not only with the period

of the Islamic conquest of al-Andalus but also (in less detail) with subsequent developments. It was poorly edited, with a worse Spanish translation, at the end of the last century. Lévi-Provençal dismissed the work as a 'late collection of legends', but this is true only of the earlier sections; the apparent confusions and errors in the latter parts of the text probably derive from inefficient conflation of longer original texts. If this is the case, then the text may have considerable value as a source.

Text edition and translation

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**al-Fath ibn Khāqān**  
(c.200–47/c.817 or 818–61)

A favourite companion of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Mutawakkil. He was born the son of a Turkish commander in the ʿAbbāsīd army in the early third/ninth century, but instead of following his father in a military career he flourished as a courtier and patron of letters. He was well regarded for his intelligence, culture and geniality. Scholars and especially the exponents of refined Arabic were often at his house, and he collected a large library dedicated to the secular sciences (see **Ibn al-Munajjim**). Al-Mutawakkil is said to have taken him as a brother, and he had a uniquely close and confidential relationship with the caliph. He collected intelligence on the court and army, and was closely associated with al-Mutawakkil's political moves against the leading Turkish army commanders. He was murdered together with the caliph in 247/861 when the commanders struck back, and was publicly blamed for the caliph's murder by the perpetrators. Among the poets who praised him **al-Buḥturī** is particularly noteworthy. Of his own writings, only a few verses, preserved by **Yāqūt**, survive.



Text edition

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R. A. KIMBER

**Fāṭima al-Yūsuf see al-Yūsuf, Fāṭima**

**Fātimids**

A dynasty that reigned first in Ifrīqiya (Tunisia) and then in Egypt (297–567/909–1171), and who traced their descent to Fāṭima, the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter and the wife of 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib. Although the ruling élite espoused Ismā'īli Shī'i doctrines (and their caliphs were considered Imāms), they were tolerant of those who adhered to other beliefs (including Sunnis), and their reign in Egypt represented a flourishing period for Arabic literature, in particular poetry. This was especially so since the Fātimid caliphs sought to propagate their faith by all available means, and had their *da'wa* (propaganda) supported by poets. A steady flow of poets thus reached the Fātimid court who, irrespective of being Sunnī or Shī'i adapted their compositions to the Fātimid creeds in order to further their careers.

The Fātimids began their activity in the Maghrib. They first concentrated their centre of power in Ifrīqiya (present-day Tunisia), where they took over already existing or established new capital cities like al-Raqqāda, al-Manṣūriyya and al-Mahdiyya. In the African period and still later, the dynasty found support in the Kutāma tribes, part of the tribal conglomerate of Ṣanhāja. (For the few poets connected with the African period of the Fātimid reign, the reader is referred to Mohammed Yalaoui, *al-Adab bi-Ifrīqiya*.) An important panegyrist, not only of minor local dynasties but also of the Fātimid caliphs, was Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī; in the work of this relatively early poet one may already discern that strange assimilation of the Imām's special creed and terminology. In his description of cultic emblems like the umbrella (*shamsa*), shading the Imām at solemn processions

(*mawākib*, plural of *mawkib*), the holy position of the latter between God and ordinary humans is emphasized. Ibn Hānī's poems of praise were chiefly dedicated to al-Mu'izz, who must have appreciated their value in view of his imminent campaign to conquer Egypt.

As soon as Egypt was conquered, thanks to the energetic general Jawhar al-Ṣaqlabi, the caliph lost much of his interest in affairs in the Maghrib, hoping instead to expand his territory toward Baghdad, the seat of the 'sinful' Sunnī caliphate of the 'Abbāsids. From their new residence in Cairo (al-Qāhira 'the Victorious'), the caliphs organized their extended empire according to the planning of the dynasty's first vizier, Ya'qūb ibn Killis, who had converted from Judaism to Islam. The new judicial system was structured by an originally Mālikite *faqīh* (see *fiqh*), the Qādī al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad al-Maghribī. His book on the new law, the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, was in later decades to be accepted as authoritative. Another book, his *al-Majālis wa-al-musāyarāt*, renders a report on his experience as Ismā'īli *qādī* serving under al-Mu'izz as well as his predecessors. The latter's son, Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz, was a gifted poet and was to devote his time almost exclusively to the composition of poetry; his poems were often intended to support the dynasty. Tamīm's love and wine poems, however, show another characteristic of his work as a poet. In spite of its conventional imagery and structure, after his death one of his love poems attracted some severe criticism in the writings of a later Ismā'īli *dā'i* (propagandist) who composed a *naqīda* (see *naqā'id*), a poetical answer in identical rhyme and metre, in order to correct Tamīm's attitude. The *dā'i* concerned, al-Mu'ayyad fi al-Dīn al-Shirāzi, preferred the didactic approach, and apparently considered his poems as an explication, set in metre and rhyme, of various teachings in prose. These are contained in his *al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, which holds altogether some 800 sermons.

It was during the reign of al-Mustanṣir, al-Mu'ayyad's own ruler, that the slow process of disintegration of the Fātimid state would begin. In 466/1074, al-Mustanṣir appointed the Turk Badr al-Jamālī as vizier; but the latter began to exert more influence than the caliph himself. Badr's son and successor, al-Afḍal Shāhinshāh, became so independent that he was capable of thwarting al-Muntanṣir's designation (*naṣṣ*) of his son,

Nizār, as successor to the throne, and al-Musta'li billāh was appointed instead. Al-Afḍal and his literary salon (*majlis*), and al-Musta'li's successors al-Āmir and al-Ḥāfiz billāh, became subjects of praise in the poems of the self-appointed poet and blacksmith **Zāfir al-Ḥaddād**. A more prosaic view of Egyptian culture and geography in Zāfir's time is offered by the *Risāla Miṣriyya*, an extensive letter sent to al-Zāfir by his literary friend Umayya ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Abū al-Ṣalt from the remote city of al-Mahdiyya. Umayya had spent several years in Egypt, including some time during the reign of al-Afḍal in the latter's dungeons; thus he was well acquainted with Egypt's literary life.

Not all the poets of this period were inclined to produce laudatory poems. **Ibn Wakī' al-Tinnīsī**, though he belonged to the Fāṭimid period, did not praise any of its rulers or officials – that is, as far as we know, because his *dīwān* is lost at present. Well-known poems of his, quoted by some authors of literary history (for instance **al-Tha'ālībī** in his *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Beirut (1973), vol. 1: 356–85), are his remarkable 'Urjūza of the Four Seasons' and his satirical *Qaṣīda murabba'a* (strophic poem) of love, dealing with a young Christian boy who is unwilling to respond to the poet's appeals for love and who as a result finds himself confronted with such higher Christian authorities as a deacon and a bishop, who are asked to intercede for the poet. Another poet, **al-Sharīf al-'Aqīlī**, also found his principal interest in creating poems on love and wine, and so-called 'garden poems' (*rawdīyyāt*).

The further weakening of the caliph's power finds its illustration in the murder of Imām al-Zāfir, which also offered an occasion for the creation of a new literary salon around Ṭalā'ī ibn Ruzzik (495–556/1102–61), an Armenian Imāmī Shī'ī who had risen to the powerful post of governor of Qūṣ in southern Egypt. The bereaved women and family of the caliph addressed a strong appeal to this governor, demanding that he take revenge, and in 549/1154 Ṭalā'ī indeed came and punished the murderers. The newly appointed child caliph al-Fā'iz granted him royal prerogatives and the honorific title 'al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ' (the pious king). The new king, alleged to be a poet himself, was to form the centre of a circle of poets who celebrated the dynasty's final years.

Among the visitors and panegyrists at al-

Malik al-Ṣāliḥ's literary salon were the two brothers, Aḥmad ibn al-Zubayr 'al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd' and al-Muhadhdhab, both originally from Aswān. Well-known is the latter's *Qaṣīda nawwāḥa*, with which he tried to evoke the sympathy of a Fāṭimid *dā'ī* in Aden, who had accidentally confined Muhadhdhab's brother Aḥmad in his dungeons; the curious report on Aḥmad's pretensions to the function of *dā'ī*, adduced as cause for his imprisonment, seems unfounded. Close to the end of the dynasty an outsider, the Shāfī'ī *faqīh* 'Umāra al-Yamanī, wrote prose and poetry which gave detailed accounts of his companions at the salon of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and the latter's successors. 'Umāra's untimely death, his execution in 569/1174, took place at the orders of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), the first **Ayyūbīd** sultan of Sunnī, and therefore non-Fāṭimid, persuasion. The reason for this was not merely 'Umāra's participation in a plot to restore the Fāṭimids, but also a poem in which he lamented and wept over their deposition and their palaces that would remain empty.

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P. SMOOR

See also: Cairo, medieval; Egypt to 1798

## Fawwāz, Zaynab (c.1850–1914)

Lebanese poet, essayist and novelist. Born between 1845 and 1860 to a family of modest means in the village of Tibnīn, Jabal 'Āmil, in the southern Lebanon, Fawwāz began her working life as a domestic employee in the household of the local ruler 'Alī Bek al-As'ad. Taken under the wing of 'Alī Bek's wife Fāṭima bint As'ad al-Khalīl, Fawwāz learned to read and write. Only the barest outlines of her life are known; sources disagree on her first marriage(s) and how and why she moved to Beirut, and then to Alexandria. Once in Egypt, she attracted the notice of Ḥasan Ḥusnī Pasha al-Ṭuwayrānī, proprietor of *al-Nīl* newspaper (founded 1891), and furthered her education under his tutelage and that of other scholars. Many of Fawwāz's essays on women's rights and other subjects were published in *al-Nīl*. She spent about three years in Syria, having married the *littérateur* Adīb Naẓmī after a courtship by mail, but left him to return to Egypt. She is best known as a prose non-fiction writer on the question of women, advancing views that were bold for the time and enriched by a non-élite perspective. Her essays were published in many leading Egyptian newspapers as well as in women's magazines. Her essays and some poetry were published as *al-Rasā'il al-Zaynabiyya* (n.d.). She compiled the biographical dictionary of women *al-Durr al-manthūr fî ṭabaqāt rabbāt al-khudūr* (1894). She published two novels, *Husn al-'awāqib*, *aw Ghāda al-zāhira* (1899) and *al-Malik Kurush awwal mulūk al-Fars* (1905), and a play, *al-Hawā wa-al-wafā'* (1893). She is said to have left at least three works in manuscript.

Text edition

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M. BOOTH

## Fawzī, Ḥusayn (1900–88)

Egyptian prose writer. After studying medicine in Cairo, Fawzī studied natural sciences and oceanography at the Sorbonne and elsewhere in Europe, returning to Egypt in 1930. He held a number of official positions in the field of sciences and culture, including that of Secretary of State at the Ministry of Culture. Famous for his *Sindbad* books – well-written travel books concerning his oceanographic experiences in East and West – he was an active member of the so-called 'al-Madrasa al-ḥadītha', and published short stories in *al-Sufūr* and *al-Fajr*.

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E.C.M. DE MOOR

## al-Faytūrī, (Muḥammad) Miftāḥ (1930– )

Sudanese poet and diplomat. Born of a Sudanese father and Egyptian mother, al-Faytūrī is the most famous of a group of young, émigré social-realist Sudanese poets who spent most of their lives studying or working in Egypt. Though retaining some

metre and rhyme in their poetry, they generally broke away from the form of classical Arabic poetry. Of this group, it is al-Faytūrī who identified most completely with his African image, rejecting his Arab heritage completely; his first collection, *Aghānī Ifriqiyya* (1955), reflects that violent conflict. He now lives in Morocco.

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C.E. BERKLEY

### Fayyād, Ilyās (1872?–1930)

Lebanese poet, writer, translator, journalist and politician. Brother of Niqūlā Fayyād, Ilyās studied law, which he practised for a time in Egypt. On his return to Lebanon, he was appointed head of police under the French Mandate, but failed to manage the post successfully. He held several other legal and ministerial posts, including that of Director-General of the Ministry of Education, and ended his life as a member of the Lebanese Parliament.

Ilyās was a talented poet, devoted to 'Abbāsīd poetry, and an admirer of al-Mutanabbi and Abū Nuwās, whose influence on his poetry is clear. His poetry is distinguished by a vivid and light humorous flavour, with short metres and stirring rhythms and an inclination towards modernism and the use of strophic verse. His romantic poems were collected in his anthology *Dīwān Fayyād* (Beirut, 1918; 2nd edn, 1954) with an introduction by Jurjī Bāz.

Ilyās also composed three plays and translated twenty-two plays by French dramatists such as V. Hugo, Sardou and Casimir Delavigne, mainly for the troupe of Salāma Hījāzī.

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S. MOREH

### Fayyād, Niqūlā (1873–1958)

Lebanese poet, writer, orator, translator and physician. The younger brother of Ilyās Fayyād, Niqūlā graduated as a physician from the French Medical School in Beirut in 1899 and studied in Paris before practising medicine in Egypt. In 1930, after the death of Ilyās, he returned to Lebanon, where he was elected a member of the Lebanese Parliament and later appointed director of the General Post Office. After his retirement he devoted himself to literature.

Niqūlā was well versed in French literature and its modern poetic trends, especially symbolism. Some of his versified translations, such as those of Lamartine's 'Le lac' (*al-Buḥayra*) and Musset's 'Rappelle-toi' (*Udhkurīnī*), were masterpieces known throughout the Arab world. Influenced by French poetry, he argued that it was not essential to adhere to features such as monorhyme and mono-metre in Arabic verse. His *Wiṣāl al-khayāl*, published in 1924 in *al-Ḥurriyya* magazine (Baghdad), used an irregular number of *ramal* feet and an irregular rhyme scheme which the author called *al-shi'r al-ṭalq*, after the French symbolists' *vers libre*. In this respect, he anticipated all other modern Arabic poets.

Besides his translations from French of historical and scientific works, Niqūlā published medical books, and literary articles in many Arab periodicals and newspapers. Towards the end of his life he also published two romantic anthologies, *Rafīf al-uḥuwān* (Beirut, 1950) and *Ba'd al-aṣīl* (Beirut, 1957).

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S. MOREH

### Fayyād, Sulaymān (1929– )

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. A member of the older generation of Egyptian writers of fiction, Fayyād has tended to remain in the shadow of his more famous

contemporaries. Trained at al-Azhar University in Cairo, he has concentrated on the short-story genre, producing some six collections including *Aṣḥān yā ṣabāyā* (1961), *al-'Uyūn* (1972) and *Wafā' 'āmil maṭba'a* (n.d.). He is perhaps best known for his short novel, *Aṣwāt* (1972), a work that convincingly portrays the tensions aroused in an Egyptian village in the Nile delta when one of its sons returns from a prolonged period spent in Paris, bringing his French wife with him. Here, as elsewhere, Fayyād's control of the narrative point of view shows the hand of a skilful craftsman.

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R. ALLEN

### Feraoun, Mouloud (1913–62)

Algerian novelist writing in French. Feraoun (real name Tizi Hibel) was born in Grand Kabylia and worked as a teacher at the Ecole Normale in Bouzaréa before moving in 1957 to become headmaster of the Clos-Salembier school in Algiers. In 1960 he became involved in the Service des Centres Sociaux founded in 1955 by G. Tillion. Feraoun was a non-violent 'front man', who tried through his novel-writing to portray his compatriots as real human beings. *Le Fils du pauvre* (1950, republished 1954) has an autobiographical ring to it, telling the story of a boy who succeeds in entering the Ecole Normale from humble origins as a shepherd. *La Terre et la sang* (1953) discusses emigration and describes the return of a mixed-race couple to the Kabylia mountains. *Le Journal 1955–1962* gives a poignant and truthful account of the Algerian War of Independence.

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J. DÉJEUX

### fiction, medieval

Canonical Arabic literature (CAL) is basically rejective of fiction. Like other literatures (such as ancient Hebrew) that developed out of religious motivations, CAL claims to make absolute, definitive statements on the course of history, and to derive from them mandatory behavioral edicts. It is therefore necessary that the reader or listener believe the texts to be 'true', not 'fictional'. A great deal of effort is thus made to persuade the reader of the veracity of the texts, by appending a transmission chain (in *ḥadīth* texts by developing a full-fledged apparatus for checking the credibility of that chain), and by incorporating historical figures and the names of real people and places. The major poetic claim of classical Arabic literature is its historicity, a claim that is so authoritative that it is made in all the prose genres, even in those that have no direct association with religion. There is hardly a story, a saying, an anecdote or even a joke in classical Arabic literature, not in the *adab* and certainly not in other genres, that does not claim that its events were actual and not invented by the author. Fiction obviously exists – and in many cases can be clearly demonstrated – but it claims the validity of historical truth. It should be noted, however, that the reality model offered by CAL is not a realistic model in the sense that it purports to present reality 'as it is', but rather one that claims to present reality in its most correct and desired form.

Obviously, such a strict and powerful literary model would not permit the introduction of any kind of openly declared fiction into classical Arabic prose, and certainly not into its canonized genres. Any such attempt would be condemned as a lie (*kidhb*, or *bāṭil*); its fate would be a total theological prohibition to employ such a model in literature. Consequently, theoretical discussions on the subject seem to be quite rare, and can be randomly found in *ḥadīth* literature. And interestingly enough, even Aristotle's discussion of mimesis in his *Poetics* (known to the Arabs at least by 940 CE from *Mattā ibn Yūnus*'s translation from Syriac) did not seem to arouse interest outside philosophical circles, or prompt the Arab literati to deal with fiction as a literary problem (the Andalusian *Ḥāzīm al-Qartājanni* (d. 684/1285) is exceptional in this respect). However, there are indications to the fact that fiction was tolerated in semi- or

non-canonical genres, usually of non-Arabic origin (Persian or Greek), like the *khurāfāt* (see *khurāfa*), for example the *Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*), of which the 'Abbāsīd court was very fond.

We can learn of the official literary stand towards fiction as well as of the status that fictional texts held within the classical Arabic literary system from the few attempts to legitimize fiction that can be traced. An attempt to legitimize the *khurāfāt* genre by means of *ḥadīth* tools, for instance, teaches us that, though circulated in respectable *adab* gatherings, the genre was considered as entertainment of the kind consumed by women and youths – obviously an audience of an inferior social status – rather than as part of serious male education.

Another attempt to legitimize fiction had to do with the appearance on the literary scene of the *maqāma* genre, whose major innovation was the introduction, for the first time, of openly declared fiction. But while authors of *maqāmāt* do declare their works to be fiction, at the same time they try to blur the impact of such an exceptional break of poetic rules by relating their works to well-accepted literary traditions which, they argue, also employ fiction. The pros and cons used in this debate teach us of other 'grey areas' of fictionality within CAL, and of their ambivalent status.

One established literary tradition to which the *maqāmāt* are related is that of animal fables, and in particular the book *Kalila wa-Dimna*. In this book, animals are given the voices of human speakers; they talk and behave like human beings, telling stories and fables about human situations and relationships. Choosing animals for human roles was a poetic convention rooted in a literary tradition quite remote from that of the official *ḥadīth* and *adab*. Yet although the semi-allegorical model represented in this Indo-Persian imported work was indeed very different from the prevalent 'realistic' prose models of CAL, the book acquired a high status and considerable popularity in court circles, and became one of the most famous works of medieval Arabic literature. Its double status in the Arabic literary system, of representing an alien poetic model yet being a recognized and highly appreciated literary work, made this work a perfect banner for promoting new literary initiatives. *Maqāma* authors turned to it in order to gain recognition for their literary innovation precisely because of the fundamen-

tal poetic basis of evident fictionality, which they felt was common to both *Kalila wa-Dimna* and their own compositions. But it was precisely this alleged common basis of fictionality that caused a row on the part of defenders of normative *adab* poetics. Animal fables, it was argued, created no confusion between 'truth' and 'falsehood' because they were understood according to a purely allegorical key; their fictional model was clearly a non-realistic one, so no 'realistic' illusion, or any confusing imitation of *adab* reality presentation norms, could occur. The *maqāmāt*, by contrast, represented a fictional model which necessarily declared itself to be a lie: although using the standard realistic model of classical prose, it nevertheless exonerated itself from pretending to be 'actual reality' and in this way stood in complete opposition to the poetic basis of *adab* literature, and misled the reader into believing 'a lie'.

Another established tradition to which the *maqāmāt* are related is that of love poetry (*tashbīb*; see *ghazal*). The non-commitment of classical Arabic poetry to conveying 'reality' is notorious, and was acknowledged by both poets and critics throughout the classical period (suffice it to mention here the famous saying *aḥsanu al-shi'r akdhabuhu*, 'falsehood makes the best poetry' [see further **truth and poetry**]). At the same time, the social function of love poetry and its thematic conventions demanded a pseudo-autobiographical description of love. This was met by incorporating into the love-poem details from 'reality' such as the name of the beloved and of her tribe and allusions to amorous rendezvous that supposedly occurred between beloved and poet. Relying on creating a realistic impression on the one hand, and on renouncing any commitment to conveying 'true reality' on the other, *tashbīb* poetry reflected a double standard with respect to the relationship between poetry and life. This is also discernible from the many *tashbīb* anecdotes scattered throughout *adab* literature. In the final analysis, the world that was represented in such poems was that of an explicitly proclaimed fiction. This was the common basis, shared by both love poetry and the *maqāmāt*, which was called upon to legitimize the *maqāmā*'s new poetics.

If we were, then, to re-examine our traditional definitions of poetry versus prose, the conclusion could not be avoided that the fundamental distinction between these two major modes of writing seems to lie first and

foremost in the question of fictionality, in the commitment to conveying reality in a fictional or a non-fictional way, rather than in the formal constraints of metre and rhyme.

Because of the fact that fiction was fundamentally rejected, but at the same time acknowledged in certain texts and manipulated in various ways and degrees in others, it could be suggested that the issue of fictionality played a role in defining the canonized body of CAL for its audience. In prose writing, fiction could only be accepted as representing 'foreign', non-Arabic literary norms (as in the case of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the relatively few works that followed that model), or in texts considered as entertainment rather than as serious and beneficial material for study and, further, associated with an audience of traditionally inferior status in terms of learning and education – an audience of women and young people.

Although the *maqāmāt* did introduce openly proclaimed fiction into canonical *adab*, the successful acceptance of the genre was accompanied by a process of extensive blurring of its fictionality. From fictional characteristics emphasis was shifted to language, style and edifying subject matter. It seems that fiction could never avoid being regarded as a poetic norm that belonged more to the sphere of *hazl* (amusing literature) than to that of *jidd* (serious literature) – if we were to adopt this traditional classification – and in consequence was never considered proper for serious literary expression. This might account for the fact that in classical Arabic prose, fiction has never been assigned the function of carrying a serious message about 'reality'. Before the emergence of modern Arabic literature, it was never permitted to become an instrument for conveying a meaningful message about human life and existence, as was the case in European literature.

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R. DRORY

## fiction, modern

Between the thirteenth century and the beginning of the literary and cultural revival (*nahḍa*) in the nineteenth century there appears to have been little development in traditional Arabic narrative forms. During this transitional (and so far seriously under-researched) period, forms such as the *maqāma* and *risāla* had continued to survive, and the *maqāma* in particular found many practitioners; many examples, however, are characterized by verbosity, stock imagery and an emphasis on demonstrating mastery of traditional rhetorical devices, especially *sajʿ*. A lively tradition of 'popular' narrative literature had also continued to flourish during this period but had little influence on the narrative forms of 'high' literature and culture as it lacked the social and institutional bearers to perform this function.

The tumultuous period from the beginning of the nineteenth century to World War 2 witnessed the beginning of the wholesale confrontation of the Arabs with European modernity and the recognition (at least by large segments of the ruling and educated élites) of the material superiority of the West. This period also witnessed great economic, social, political and cultural changes in the Arab world. These changes were, however, very uneven and differed from one area to the other: Egypt and Greater Syria experienced them earlier than the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq and most parts of North Africa, despite the fact that some of these areas made contact with the West at the same time as the Levant. The prose and narrative works of the great luminaries of the nineteenth century such as Naṣif al-Yazījī, Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Taḥṭāwī and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq belong to the traditional genres of narrative (especially the *maqāma* in the case of the first and last), while those of Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his son Salīm al-Bustānī belong to the modern narrative genres. The turn of the century saw a big increase in the number of longer narrative writings, due largely to the increasing popularity of translations and the large number of periodicals in which novels were serialized (over twenty between 1884 and 1914) and

periodicals that specialized in publishing novels (fifteen between 1884 and 1914). Among the authors of this period were Farah **Anṭūn**, Zaynab **Fawwāz**, Labība Hāshim and even Ya'qūb **Şarrūf**, the editor of *al-Muqtataf*, who began by refusing to publish novels in his magazine but eventually not only published them but also wrote them. Narratives such as Muḥammad **al-Muwayliḥī**'s *Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām*, M.Ṭ. Ḥaqqī's *'Adhrā' Dinshawāy*, Jubrān Khalīl **Jubrān**'s *al-Ajniḥa al-mutakassira* and Muḥammad Ḥusayn **Haykal**'s *Zaynab* soon followed.

The most successful novels during this period were translations (mostly from French), in most cases rewritten or adapted rather than being literally rendered into Arabic (thus giving the literary establishment more reason to consider the novel morally dubious and aesthetically inferior). Although *Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām* and a few other works had some success, it was above all Jūrjī **Zaydān**'s twenty-one historical novels, written between 1891 and 1914, that first combined respectability with popularity; indeed, they have remained among the most popular novels in the Arab world until today. The traditions of the historical novel were continued through the writings of 'Alī **al-Jārim**, Muḥammad Farīd **Abū Ḥadīd**, 'Alī Aḥmad **Bākathir**, 'Abd al-Ḥamid Jūda al-Saḥḥār and the early Najīb **Mahfūz**. The historical novel thus provided an important transitional step towards the development of formal realism, as can be seen in the case of Mahfūz and al-Saḥḥār.

It was in the interwar years that the novel became more 'respectable' as a literary genre and the short story also began to make inroads. Among the significant authors of this period are Ṭāhā **Ḥusayn**, Tawfīq **al-Hakim**, Ibrāhīm **al-Māzinī**, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir **Lāshin**, Maḥmūd **Taymūr**, Shakīb **al-Jābirī**, al-'**Aqqād**, Tawfīq Yūsuf **'Awwād** and Yaḥyā **Ḥaqqī**. The adoption of a model of the novel that was Western-oriented and not a direct development from indigenous forms was the result of such extra-literary factors as journalism, the literary market, the emergence of the educated and semi-educated urban strata as the largest section of the reading public, and shifts in literary and cultural language reflecting these and other cultural phenomena.

One of the most important characteristics of this period was the more critical attitude to the inherited literary production and conventions. This critique was launched from four main

perspectives, which may be described as emotionalism, naturalism, neo-classicism and rationalism. These perspectives did not develop in that order, nor did they follow one another: in most cases they were contemporaneous, or even present in a single work – although one can discern a paradigmatic dominance of one over the others during certain periods. Emotionalism took the form either of idealized romanticism (as in **al-Manfalūṭī**) or a more melodramatic form as in many popular early novels and adaptations from European literatures. Naturalism assumed different forms, ranging from elements of literary naturalism (as in **al-Muwayliḥī** and M.Ṭ. Ḥaqqī) to the more mundane manifestations of many popular fictional works. It was, however, most prominent in writings about fiction by novelists – many of whom did not live up to their own pronouncements. Neo-classicism dominated the scene to the end of the nineteenth century, attacking traditionalism by utilizing the legitimating principles of the traditionalists to subvert it. Instead of emphasizing the immediate tradition, the neo-classicists rediscovered a multiplicity of traditions, most of which were different from those championed by the traditionalists. Most luminaries associated with the nineteenth-century cultural renaissance (*nahḍa*) – for example, Nāṣif al-Yāzījī, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, al-Bustānī, al-Shidyāq and the Muwayliḥīs – adopted such a stance. Rationalism, which was late in developing, found its most prominent spokesman in Ṭāhā Ḥusayn.

Despite the differences in sensibility and attitude among these positions, they were united not only by their critique of traditionalism but also, and more importantly, by their shared emphasis in the context of literary language on the referential function. Traditionalism was seen as deficient because it emphasized one set of conventions and the self-reflexivity of literary language. Although the neo-classicists were keen on conventions and their preservation, they acknowledged the possibility of multiple sets of conventions, thereby providing an opening for referentialism to steal through. Rationalism and emotionalism also provided emphasis on reference, while the various forms of naturalism made reference the ultimate objective of prose through the propagation of the theory of representation.

Emphasizing representation and the referential function of literary language in prose



opened the door for ideas to play a bigger role in prose fiction. This, however, was a source of the problematic character of the Arabic novel and short story from the moment of their birth. One of the fundamental principles of the construction of the novel as it developed in the West is a concept of the individual as a sovereign entity that is capable of both thinking and agency. Such an individual is generally associated with the rise of the entrepreneurial class in Europe and the ensuing philosophical, political, economic and cultural conceptions associated with it. Modern Arabic prose fiction was championed by intellectuals and writers educated in or through the modern West, and assumed at their hands the function of mediating (i.e. representing as well as containing) the clash between the ideologies of modernity as derived from the West and the unrealized project of modernization plagued by a rising indigenous middle class incapable of leading a radical political or ideological transformation of society. This gave prose fiction a prominent role in the development of the modernizing aesthetic of these intellectuals as they helped to transform the literary tradition to better accommodate fiction, especially the novel.

This helps to explain the shift of the novel and short story towards formal realism following World War 2. This was the period of political independence, the Palestinian defeat (*nakba*) of 1948, the Suez war (1956), the rise of radical nationalisms and the Arab defeat of June 1967. In literature and culture it saw the rise of the political aesthetic, which in turn gave a central place to realistic and naturalistic narrative at the expense of other literary trends and genres, especially poetry. Najīb Maḥfūz dominates this period; but the basic tenets of formal realism were also adopted by prose writers such as 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sharqāwī, Laṭīfa al-Zayyāt and Yūsuf Idrīs in Egypt, and the Palestinian Ghassān Kanafānī. Novelists like Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥalīm 'Abd Allāh, Yūsuf al-Sibā'i and Iḥsān 'Abd al-Quddūs also adopted some of the formal tenets of formal realism, combining them with the traditions of idealized and/or popular romanticism. A few novelists, including the Tunisian Maḥmūd al-Mas'adī and the Egyptian Badr al-Dīb, who attempted to chart paths that differed from those of formal realism, remained relatively unknown until 'discovered' in the 1970s and 1980s. The two underlying premises of realism during this period (of which Maḥfūz is paradigmatic)

were the knowability of reality (a concept founded on the idea of the existence of reality outside of and independent from our consciousness) and the representability of this reality (which in turn is based on the idea of the transparency of language). The shifts that took place during the 1960s within realism – most prominently in the works of Maḥfūz, beginning with *Awlād ḥāratinā* (1959) – were characterized by experimentation but did not in any way problematize realism so much as a specific conception of reality. Reality during this period, although still knowable and representable, was more complex and accordingly necessitated more complex forms in order to be properly represented. Problematizing the knowability and representability of reality, however, had to wait until the 1970s.

The formal realistic trend survived the 1960s and is still very much alive in the 1990s, having transformed itself into socialist realism in the works of the Syrian Ḥannā Mīna, the Algerian al-Ṭāhir Wattār and the Iraqi Ghā'ib Ṭu'ma Farmān, or into neo-realism as in the works of the Saudi 'Abd al-Rahmān Munif, the Sudanese al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ and the Egyptian novelist and short-story writer Yahyā al-Ṭāhir 'Abd Allāh. Although many novelists and short-story writers have continued to adopt a realistic stance, however, most have found formal realism too restrictive and have started experiments in form, using either the fund of narrative traditions from the West (as in the writing of the Palestinian Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā and the Syrian Ḥalīm Barakāt) or rediscovered narrative traditions of Arab culture (as in the works of the Egyptian Jamāl al-Ghiṭānī and the Palestinian Imīl Ḥabībī).

Since the 1970s, one can discern a shift towards experimentation and the adoption of diverse fictional modes and strategies by most writers. The impact of modernisms, the boom writers of Latin America, and recent textual and narrative theories can be discerned, together with a stronger emphasis on the poeticity of language and the search for open forms. The most interesting of these writers are the Egyptians Idwār al-Kharrāt, Badr al-Dīb, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Qāsim and Ṣun' Allāh Ibrāhīm, the Jordanian Ghālīb Halasā, the Lebanese Ilyās Khūrī and Hanān al-Shaykh, the Syrian Zakariyyā Tāmīr and the Moroccans Muḥammad Shukrī and Muḥammad Zafzāf.

Recent decades have also witnessed an increasing number of women writers in Arabic, especially in prose fiction. Although

women had been active in journalism, poetry and prose from the last few decades of the nineteenth century, their participation in cultural life declined during the interwar period. Since the 1960s, however, women novelists and short-story writers have started to assume a central position in the field of prose writing. The most prominent are the Egyptians Laḥifa **al-Zayyāt**, Nawāl **al-Sa'dāwī**, Alifa Rif'at and Salwā Bakr, the Iraqi Daisy **al-Amīr**, the Lebanese Imilī **Naṣr Allāh**, Ḥanān al-Shaykh and Hudā Barakāt, the Moroccan Khannātha **Bannūna**, the Palestinians Saḥar **Khalifa** and Liyāna Badr, and the Syrian Ghāda **al-Sammān**.

The richness of the mature Arabic novel, together with the explosion of fiction writing in countries outside Egypt and the Levant, make it no longer possible for a specific trend to assume a paradigmatic status as was the case in the 1950s and 1960s. The increasing number of writers writing in Arabic rather than French in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria has added a new dimension to the development of modern Arabic fiction. The Arabic novel has now come of age and is taking more ambitious paths than ever before.

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## figural poetry

Figural poetry (also pattern poetry or emblematic poetry), a conceit uniting literary and visual art, is poetry written in a particular shape or design. It plays a minor role in Arabic literature. Diyā' al-Dīn **Ibn al-Athīr** describes in his *al-Mathal al-sā'ir* (Cairo, vol. 3, [1962]: 211) a poem, made by 'someone from the West', in the shape of a tree, the verses of which could be read in several ways; he condemns it as doggerel and more akin to jugglery than to eloquence. The pattern or figure may be formed in two different manners: either by a certain arrangement of lines or words, or by

calligraphic 'deformation' of ordinary script. The former method results in geometric figures (circle, rosette, square, chessboard, etc.) or stylized objects such as a tree; the latter may have any shape. Often there is no obvious relationship between the shape and the content of the text (for which not only poetry but also prose or Koran may serve). Figural poetry was more popular in Persian literature than in Arabic: it is discussed by the earliest authors on poetics in Persian but was ignored by their Arab colleagues.

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## figures of speech see rhetorical figures

## *al-Fihrist* see Ibn al-Nadīm

## Fikri Pasha, 'Abd Allāh (1834–90)

Egyptian official, scholar, translator and poet. Born in Mecca, he studied in **al-Azhar**, then worked as a translator in government departments, helping to organize the khedival library (1870). After holding various posts in school administration, he became Minister of Education in 1882, just before the 'Urābī revolt, in which he was accused of participating. He led the Egyptian delegation to the Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm (1889). Fikri Pasha is considered second only to **al-Bārūdī** in the renaissance of Arabic poetry. He also helped to create a simpler, more modern Arabic literary style through his official correspondence. A number of his works were published, including school textbooks; a *maqāma* (1872), translated from Turkish and describing an imaginary journey to an unknown world; verses containing aphorisms and proverbs, nearly all by others; books on his journeys to Europe, Ba'albek, and to Mecca and Medina; and his collected works (1897).

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## fine arts and literature *see* literature and the visual arts

### fiqh

An Arabic word meaning 'understanding', used in the Muslim religious tradition to refer to the law considered as a body of rules formulated by human scholars on the basis of the **Koran** and the *Sunna* in accordance with certain methodological principles. This scholarly effort is called *ijtihād*. Since human scholars are fallible and the results of their effort can vary, **Sunnī** tradition permits a diversity of schools of legal doctrine to exist, of which four (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī) eventually became predominant. **Shi'is**, on the other hand, insist upon conformity to one school, that of the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. However, even within a school differences of opinion inevitably arise, and Shi'is accept this fact as readily as Sunnīs.

Considered as a divine institution, the law is called *sharī'a*. *Fiqh* may thus be described as the product of fallible scholarly endeavour to reduce the *sharī'a* to a body of precisely articulated rules.

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B. WEISS

## al-Firūzābādī, Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb (d. 817/1415)

Abū al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī enjoyed a long and distinguished life which took him all through the Muslim world from the Yemen to Delhi and was crowned by his marriage to the daughter of the Yemeni ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf. His renowned dictionary *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* is the quintessence of a massive project for a 100-volume work which was never completed. A brilliant condensation of several earlier lexical

works, the *Qāmūs*, with its 60,000 or so words, has become the single most influential dictionary in both the Arab world and the West.

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*See also:* lexicography, medieval

### fityān *see* futuwwa

### flytings *see* naqā'id

### folk poetry *see* popular literature

### folklore

Since the English archaeologist W.J. Thoms in 1846 recommended the term folklore ('lore of the people') instead of the somewhat clumsy 'popular literature' and 'popular antiquities', different definitions of this term have been given, ranging from 'oral literature' to every kind of folk art, including folk beliefs, folk medicine, folk music, etc. 'Popular literature' as folk literature is handled here under this and other entries (e.g. **popular literature**, **oral composition**, *Alf layla wa-layla*, **Battle Days**, **legends**, **proverbs**, *sira* literature, etc.); this entry will outline folk belief, popular Islam and popular superstitions, as reflected in older and modern literature.

To begin, one should stress that what is regarded today as folklore in the above meaning was in former centuries at least partly supposed to be reality, knowledge, even science (for instance, the belief in demons, onomantry and divination, and parts of medieval pharmacy and medicine). The belief in *jinn* and ghosts of varying shape already existed in ancient **Arabia** and found its way into the

**Koran**, where believing and not-believing *jinn* are mentioned as intelligent beings created of smokeless flame and existing beside men and angels (55: 15, 31–33, 39, 56); they have been accepted as real beings until today, although their nature has been explained differently by commentators through the centuries. The Baghdad bookseller and bibliographer **Ibn al-Nadīm**, in the eighth chapter of his catalogue of then known books *al-Fihrist*, finished in 377/987/8, mentions sixteen collections of stories about the love between a man or a woman and a *jinn*; he stresses that stories like these enjoyed popularity in the days of the early 'Abbāsids, particularly under al-Muqtadir (r. 296–320/908–32), and that booksellers and copyists invented them. Such stories are found later in anthologies about love and its results, e.g. the *Maṣāri'* *al-'ushshāq* by Ja'far ibn Aḥmad **al-Sarrāj** (d. 500/1106). Ibn al-Nadīm, like **al-Jāhīz** (d. 255/869), who devotes a special chapter to the *jinn* in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, mentions them with scepticism. Al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405) in his much later *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* seems to have had no doubts about their existence. Philosophers before **al-Fārābī** (d. 339/950) avoid a definition, but **Ibn Sīnā** (d. 428/1037) declares them non-existent. The famous North African historian and philosopher of history **Ibn Khaldūn** (d. 780/1378) reckons them as belonging to the knowledge that God has reserved for himself. But, especially in popular literature like the *Arabian Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*), they, like *ghūls*, 'ifrits and other demons, play an important role in helping human beings or fighting against them. Their outward appearance is described as frightful. They have to be subdued by a good, helping demon or by a talisman or a formula which one must possess or know. Sometimes they act in bigger groups or troops, commanded by a prince or sovereign, himself a ghost. Ibn al-Nadīm also mentions other anonymous literary works which can be regarded as folkloristic: books about the wonders of the sea, the earth and the trees, which might have influenced fairy tales in the *Arabian Nights* as did later cosmographical works. He enumerates books about sorcery, magic, charms, exorcists, and tricksters and jugglers who believe and/or make people believe that the devil and the demons obey them. According to him, Egypt was the 'Babylon of magic and magicians'. Ibn al-Nadīm distinguishes between commendable and objectionable belief in demons and magic,

both reflected in books; belief in Solomon (Sulaymān) and the seventy demons who obeyed him is commendable, because Solomon is mentioned in the Koran. He also mentions many narratives about famous couples and passionate lovers, and merry tales about famous fools and buffoons like **Juhā**, all anonymous and mostly lost today, which may be regarded as part of the 'popular literature' of the fourth Islamic century in which oral and written tradition were interwoven and which influenced later works of *adab* and folk literature alike.

Also folkloristic may be regarded the belief in the salvative power of dreams, seen for instance in the *al-faraj ba'd al-shidda* genre and in books about the interpretation of and divination from dreams. None of the ten books about dreams that Ibn al-Nadīm mentions in his eighth chapter is anonymous. Antique origins (Artemidorus) are evident from the first titles mentioned, and it is obvious from the name of **Ibn Sīrīn** (d. 110/728) that they were easily assimilated by Muslim folk belief: Ibn Sīrīn was a famous and pious transmitter of *hadīth* to whom even rather late oneiromantic works were ascribed, probably to present them as trustworthy. Perhaps the adoption became easy, because oneiromancy has its roots in the Ancient Near East. Another kind of divination by arrows, pebbles, ankle-bones, signs or letters carved in the sand or, later, written on paper, was the game called *maysir*. Although forbidden by the Koran, there existed books about it, for instance **Ibn Qutayba's** (d. 276/889) *Kitāb al-Maysir wa-al-qidāh*, which prove that it was still in use in his time. Ibn Khaldūn in his famous *Muqaddima* mentions it, as he does oneiromancy and several other kinds of divination, under 'ilm ('science') among other then known sciences; but he tries to differentiate between realistic and unrealistic kinds of divination and rejects especially the simple kind of oneiromancy that explains dreams as natural consequences of events and experiences.

The encyclopaedias of beasts by al-Jāhīz and al-Damīrī also contain much folkloristic material among the information about animals, as well as proverbs and fables; they provide information about inherited ideas, superstitions and the interpretation of dreams concerning the animals mentioned. Recipes of popular medicine, or what one might call the medieval 'muck pharmacy', are found especially in sexological treatises as medicaments

recommended for strengthening male potency, female beauty, female procreative potencies and regaining virginity. A kind of 'underdog culture', known for example from **Abū Dulaf's** *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya* and from **al-Hariri's** *Maqāmāt*, was the socio-cultural ambience of the **Banū Sāsān**, the urban rogues, with their sociolect and special kind of behaviour and clothes. A popular entertainment belonging to folk literature was the **shadow play**, imported (probably from China) to Egypt in the fourteenth century.

The confrontation with the European colonial powers, in particular France and England, which began in Egypt with Napoleon's 'French Expedition' (1798–1801), caused a critical reflection on socio-cultural traditions. The critical attitude of Arab intellectuals towards folk beliefs, popular superstitions and their social dangers was later expressed in genres adopted from European literatures like the short story and the realistic novel. On the other hand, there arose a real interest among writers and poets in the narrative and poetic heritage of popular literature, hitherto despised by the educated élite because not composed in the literary language or coming up to the educational ideal of the urban élite. European interest in the *Arabian Nights* since its translation (or, better, adaptation) by A. Galland in the early eighteenth century stimulated early and later Arab dramatists, prose writers and poets to look for motifs and characters in this famous collection. For many authors Scheherazade became the symbol of women's liberation, for women's mentally and sensually liberating potencies for men, or at least for women's cleverness, as **Sindbād** the sailor became a symbol of man's never-ending search for fulfilment as well as for his alienation. Iraqi writers between 1909 and 1920 used *ru'yās* ('dreams, visions') to portray utopias of social and political justice and the national and cultural revival of Iraq. Many other writers created short stories and novels based on motifs and figures from the *Arabian Nights* and other works of popular literature and folk beliefs – in Iraq especially **Shī'i** and **Sūfī** belief – as metaphors for the critical depiction of modern socio-political realities. Much modern Arabic poetry was inspired formally by the Andalusian strophic poetry of the *muwashshahāt* and *zajal*, themselves influenced by Hispano-Arabic folk poetry. Arab poets since the late 1940s have used a wide spectrum of figures and devices inspired by

Arabic folklore and folk literature. There are also attempts to revive the shadow play, especially in Tunisia, and the art of public popular narrations in Morocco and Syria.

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See also: popular literature

### free verse (*shī'r ḥurr*)

Under the influence of European poetry, some twentieth-century Arab poets have sought to free themselves from the conventions of the traditional *qaṣīda*, seeking a new medium which would give them greater freedom to express their emotions and imagination. These attempts were carried forward by two 'free verse' schools: the first, the Egyptian school (1926–47), headed by **Abū Shādī**; the second, the Iraqi school (1947– ), headed by **Badr Shākīr al-Sayyāb** and **Nāzīk al-Malā'ika**.

Encouraged by the experiments of **Khalīl Muṭrān** and the **Mahjar** poets, **Abū Shādī** was convinced that Western free verse could give a talented poet greater ability to express his creative personality. **Abū Shādī** was acquainted with both French *vers libre* and

English–American free verse. However, the latter was more appealing to Abū Shādī because it applied various types of metre and cadence. His method of free verse, which he defended in 1926, was based on Harriet Monroe's book *Poets and their Art* (New York, 1926). Abū Shādī argued that English–American free verse would enable the Arab poet not only to liberate himself from conventional rhyme, but would also permit the mixing of metres. The development of this technique of free verse was continued by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd, ʿIlīyā Abū Mādī and others. Most of these poets, however, failed to compose convincing examples of Arabic free verse based on mixed metres, and many Arab critics shunned this technique.

The second school applied the term *shi'r ḥurr* to another type of versification based on Arabic metres which employ only one type of foot (or which differ only in the last foot), in irregular line lengths and irregular rhyme schemes. This method follows the *vers irrégulier* in which the English Cowleyan ode is composed. This school – led by social realists, leftists and nationalist poets, and influenced mainly by T.S. Eliot and the Russian poets – abandoned the division of the verse into two hemistiches, employing enjambment and a combination of technical, mythological and symbolic devices to communicate its new poetic vision.

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## futūh

A term used to refer to the Arab–Islamic conquests of the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries and to the related literature. There are no extant manuscripts of any *futūh* work compiled prior to the mid- to late second/eighth century, but earlier texts are quoted in later works of various kinds, allowing for an assessment of the genre's development.

*Futūh* literature originated with accounts transmitted by participants in the campaigns, by those who had heard about the events second-hand, and by a variety of storytellers. These reports (*akhbār*) were short narratives on discrete topics, related orally and subject to variation and embellishment. The transmitters' aims were not 'historical' in a modern sense; rather, they sought to entertain, to boast of individual and tribal glories, and to assert claims to benefits and privileges. Military stipends were linked to participation in key campaigns; huge financial benefits accrued to the residents of a garrison town that could prove that its forces had conquered a given city or region; tax rates in a city varied depending on whether it had surrendered on terms (*ṣulḥan*) or been conquered by force (*'anwatan*). Such topics were by their very nature and origin controversial, so discrepancies and contradictions must have been present from the beginning.

The prominence of martial valour and the exaggerated exploits of great champions have led to the claim that the *futūh* genre was heavily influenced by, even a continuation of, the *ayyām al-'arab*, the tales of the 'battle days' of the pre-Islamic Arab tribes (see **Battle Days**). Though attractive as a means of identifying a common background for both genres and of explaining their many shared features, this theory is severely flawed. The *ayyām* and the *futūh* differ in spirit, scope and narrative technique, and while in the *ayyām* the main point of the prose text is almost always to elucidate an accompanying poem, in

## freedmen see *mawālī*

## *al-Funūn* (1913–18)

**Mahjar** literary monthly, founded in New York by the Syrian poet Nasīb 'Ariḍa and edited by Mikhā'il Nu'ayma. Devoted to the advancement of modern Arabic literature, it published avant-garde poetry, including that of Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān and Amīn al-Rihānī, opening the eyes of many readers to Western literature. *Al-Funūn* was popular in Syria,

the *futūh* it is the prose narrative that is primary. Citation of poetry, at best illustrative and sometimes almost entirely absent, seldom carries the account forward and in some cases sharply digresses from it. Further, the theory finds no support in attested transmission; while *futūh* collections can be traced back to many transmitters and compilers of the second/eighth century, *ayyām* narratives are cited only on the authority of the Baṣran philologist and anthologist Abū 'Ubayda (d. 209/824–5), who lived at least a generation later.

The development of Islamic society and the articulation of a coherent system of education in the latter half of the first/seventh and first half of the second/eighth centuries had important effects on the *futūh*. Increasing distance in time led to more pronounced emphasis on the glories and achievements of one's conqueror ancestors, now no longer present to assert their family's or tribe's claims to status or material benefits. In some cases so little genuine information was available that entirely baseless accounts, constructed from a repertoire of stock motifs (speeches, letters, lists, etc.), could emerge and gain credence. An increasingly sophisticated audience also expected more sophisticated material; this led to the introduction of a variety of literary techniques and devices. Discrepancies between rival claims drew attention to the relative authority on which the accounts had been handed down, and led to an interest in specifying chains of transmitters in the form of *isnād*, a device probably borrowed from *ḥadīth* but not applied with the same rigour.

Of equal significance were two other closely related developments. First, as Islam developed into an increasingly sophisticated spiritual system, the gradual sharpening of a sense of communal identity, and especially one distinct from Christianity and Judaism – its monotheistic rivals – encouraged kerygmatic interpretations of the conquests. Perhaps inspired by the *Koran*'s explicit argument that God's truths could be discerned in the wonders of the physical world, the collectors of *akhbār* read the historical record of the *futūh* in terms of divine plan. In pre-Islamic times, it was proposed, the Arabs had lived a life of privation and ignorance in the barren wastes of Arabia. Then, through the Prophet Muḥammad, God had called upon them to believe; they responded positively, and the result was the victory of Islam in Arabia. As

reward for their efforts and sacrifices, God allowed them to continue on to campaigns of conquest in neighbouring lands, thus punishing the Byzantines and the Sasanians (especially the former) for their unbelief and tyranny. This paradigm, which also asserted the truth of Islam and the special role of the Arabs, spread rapidly, and encouraged both the retelling of old accounts with a new spiritual emphasis and the creation of further new reports; in this way, the *futūh* soon acquired tremendous religious significance. The paradigm also served to link pre-Islamic history, the Prophet's career and the conquests both organically and thematically, and so prepared the way for a comprehensive treatment of early Islamic history as a whole.

The second development had to do with the rapid expansion of Islamic culture and the rise of the educational structures necessary to circulate and promote its constituent elements, including history. An accompanying increase in literacy, coupled with an intensifying concern to verify and check divergent accounts, led to the introduction of *futūh* as a subject of study by circles of teachers and students, and hence to the collection in written form of sets of lecture or study notes on various aspects of the subject. Although interest in *futūh* in general was surely the motivating factor, in the first instance it was probably *akhbār* on specific battles, towns and provinces that were collected, followed later by the compilation of more comprehensive works covering all the conquests. These required the fixing of the chronology of events for which earlier accounts often provided no dates, and involved the co-ordination of events in different regions into a harmonious overall scheme. Such harmonization was extremely difficult, and it is hard to see how these works could have been compiled without recourse to earlier, more limited compilations that had already laid much of the groundwork.

It was at this stage that the earliest extant collections began to appear. The *Futūh al-Shām* (*Conquest of Syria*) of al-Azdī (fl. c. 190/805) is a limited work on the conquests in one region, and clearly reflects the paradigm of divine plan. A similar work by Abū Mikhnaḥ (d. 157/744) appears to underlie the account of the Syrian conquests by Ibn A'tham (wrote 204/819–20); much – perhaps most – of the *Futūh Khurāsān* (*Conquest of Khurāsān*) by al-Madā'īnī (d. 228/843) survives as quotations in the *Ta'rikh al-rusul*

*wa-al-Mulūk* by **al-Ṭabarī** (wrote 303/915); and the *Futūh Miṣr (Conquest of Egypt)* by **Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam** (d. 257/870) may be an expanded version of an earlier work on the subject.

Two important works represent a trend towards expansion of the domain of *futūh*. The *Kitāb al-futūh* by Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 180/796) (al-Ṭabarī's primary source for the reigns of the first three caliphs), large fragments of which have recently been discovered and published, extends his history to the murder of the caliph 'Uthmān in 35/656. Ibn A'tham continued his history to the battle of Karbalā' in 61/680. Such subjects more appropriately represented the theme of *fitna* ('civil strife'), another primary theme of early Arabic historical tradition; but here they were incorporated into the domain of *futūh*, perhaps reflecting an effort to extend the paradigm of divine plan to provide an answer to the sensitive question of why Islam's golden age (regarded as such by the latter half of the second/eighth century) had collapsed so suddenly with the murder of a caliph and violent civil war. For his part, Ibn A'tham was simply acknowledging a trend already under way among pro-'Alid and Shi'ī scholars and transmitters to seek a similar explanation for the massacre of al-Ḥusayn and many other members of the Prophet's family. Again one can observe the powerful influence of the paradigm of divine plan toward the broadening of historical perspectives.

These compilations and others like them were the sources used by the great third/ninth-century historians. Al-Ṭabarī, as noted, was heavily dependent on Sayf ibn 'Umar for information on *futūh*. **Ibn 'Asākir** (d. 571/1176), author of the *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq (History of the City of Damascus)*, collected vast amounts of material from Sayf and many other authorities. Quotations from these two historians are especially valuable since they include *isnāds*, allowing us to trace them back to earlier stages of transmission, although it is clear that this process also involved varying degrees of rearrangement, abridgement and recasting of the accounts cited. Other compilers, such as Khalifa ibn Khayyāt (d. 240/854) and **al-Ya'qūbī** (d. 284/897), provide more synoptic accounts without the same rigorous attention to citation of authorities, but are also of importance.

The *Futūḥ al-buldān (Conquests of the Regions)* by **al-Balādhuri** (d. 279/892) is

probably the most renowned of the *futūh* books. Written as a background work to which his later *Ansāb al-ashraf (Genealogies of the Notables)* would refer, it provides synoptic accounts of conquests arranged by region and with administrative and taxation considerations in mind. Al-Balādhuri's own title for the book was not *Futūḥ al-buldān* but *Umūr al-buldān (Affairs of the Regions)*; he includes much information on administration, taxation and more general cultural affairs.

The *futūh* tradition reached its apogee with al-Balādhuri. Later authors usually mined the main third/ninth century compilations, repeating what was already readily available, rather than retrieving from obscurity lesser known works that had become rare. One exception was Ibn 'Asākir; another was the Andalusian Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. 584/1188), *qāḍī* of Murcia, who was commissioned by the Almohad caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf to write his *Kitāb al-ghazawāt wa-al-futūḥ (Book of Raids and Conquests)* in order to encourage the faithful to the *jihād* against the Christian north. The text covers military affairs in the reigns of the first three caliphs, including the *ridā* wars, and continues through the **Umayyad** campaigns in Central Asia; its sources include a number of rare and otherwise unknown early works of the second-third/eighth-ninth centuries. Several other late works also contain valuable early material never or seldom cited elsewhere. *Futūḥ* accounts were likewise taken up by collectors and compilers in other fields, with the result that relevant material also appears in works of Koranic *exegesis*, *ḥadīth* and *belles-lettres*.

The *futūh* tradition also gave rise to a more popularizing type of text that recalled the colourful vitality of the early stages of the tradition, but was subject to extreme exaggeration and fancy and pronounced textual instability. A whole series of such books attributed to **al-Wāqidi** (d. 207/823) purports to relate the conquests of **Syria**, **Iraq**, the **Jazīra** and the **Khābūr**, **Āmid**, **Diyārbakr**, **Egypt** (including **Memphis**, **Alexandria** and **Bah-nasa'**) and **Ifriqiya**, but in fact consists primarily of baseless confessions of later times. The pseudo-al-Wāqidi *Futūḥ al-Shām (Conquest of Syria)* has traditionally been linked to efforts to arouse the Muslim populace to *jihād* against the Crusaders, and in some of its (numerous) versions there are passages that would seem indirectly to support this (e.g. references to Byzantine collusion



with the Pope in Rome, and to crosses on the tunics of the Byzantine troops). But **Ayyūbid** armies required experienced warriors, not untrained civilians inflamed by *futūh* books; and this explanation does not account for the numerous works belonging to the same genre but dealing with regions not touched by the **Crusades**.

*Futūh* literature provides a vast array of information; detailed accounts of campaigns and battles, descriptions of how cities were captured and on what terms, reports on the achievements and glories of tribes and individuals, and so forth. Letters and speeches are quoted, sometimes extensively, eyewitnesses describe their impressions and conclusions, and the frequent citations of poetry often add a more personal or emotional dimension. The tradition is rich in literary devices and techniques; and even if much of the material cannot be accepted as accurate reporting, it offers a wealth of insights on how attitudes towards and interpretations of the conquests developed and changed as Islamic society itself developed and changed, and came to ask new and different questions of the tradition. Nor is the *futūh* tradition a monolith of equally problematic material; the accounts of early second/eighth-century conquests in the East in al-Madā'īni's *Futūh Khurāsān*, for example, do not pose the same difficulties as accounts for the campaigns of the early first/seventh century in Syria and Iraq. While it is true that current and future research will have to be satisfied with much less detail than previous research expected to gain from the sources, the conclusions that are reached are likely to be far more secure, perhaps even in areas where traditional research would have not dared to tread.

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See also: historical literature

## futuwwa

A term derived from *fatā* (pl. *fityān*), 'young man', meaning generally 'youth', but more specifically 'chivalry' or 'manliness', and also used to designate a 'brotherhood' or society of young men practising certain ideals of manly virtue. Some scholars have linked *futuwwa* brotherhoods with Islamic 'guilds', others have emphasized their 'chivalrous' aspects or their links with Sufism. Claude Cahen considers the *futuwwa* as 'strictly speaking an urban phenomenon' (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.) with connections both with professional groupings and with Sufism, and notes the involvement of such groups in urban factionalism from an early period. Some contemporary writers portray these groups as communities of young adults living together and free of family and other attachments; others associate them with the urban rabble and term them 'vagrants', 'outlaws', 'riff-raff' and so on.

Perhaps the most important moment in the long history of the *futuwwa* was its 'officialization', in the sixth/twelfth century, by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir, who placed himself at the head of a unified order and invited other rulers to join the *futuwwa* under his leadership (see further 'Abbāsids), and whose adviser Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī conceived a theory that would unite the caliphate, the *futuwwa* and Sufism. Schimmel notes that 'it has even been suggested that al-Nāṣir organized the *futuwwa* order, in part, to diffuse Suhrawardī's teachings' (*Mystical Dimension of Islam*, 1975: 245). Al-Nāṣir's project did not survive the Mongol invasions; and although urban *futuwwa* lingered for a while in Egypt, the Anatolian version (the *Akhī* movement) was a more popular form and more closely linked to craft guilds.

A considerable corpus of literature on the *futuwwa* developed (not only in Arabic, but in Persian and Turkish as well), describing its values and the practices of societies of *fityān*, especially as a result of the impetus of al-Nāṣir; the most notable writer of this period, Ibn al-Mi'mār, wrote an important treatise on the subject, the *Baṣṭ madad al-tawfiq*. *Futuwwa* writing may be said to form a distinct literary genre, alongside others such as 'ajā'ib ('mirabilia'), *nawādir* ('rareties') and *awā'il* ('famous firsts').

The eighth/fourteenth-century Maghribi traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta relates in his famous

*Rihla* an encounter with the *fityān* of Anatolia. He admired their concern for strangers and travellers, described their communal life and dwelling, and applauded their chivalrous conduct. Invited to a meal with the *fityān*, he was clearly delighted with their hospitality, with their finely carpeted hospice with its profusion of Iraqi glass and brassware, and with the banquet provided.

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# G

## Galen (d. c.216 CE)

Galen of Pergamon (in Arabic Jālinūs), Greek physician and medical writer whose vast range of works, more than 150 of which survive today, marked the culmination of ancient Greek medicine. His interests also extended to philosophy, and his writings embody comments on almost every aspect of human experience.

The medical works of Galen that had survived to Islamic times were assiduously sought out and translated into Arabic, often through Syriac intermediaries, under the early 'Abbāsids (see translation, medieval). His work quickly became an authoritative standard for medical knowledge and remained so until the nineteenth century; he was essential reading for anyone aspiring to a medical career, and it was practically impossible to uphold a medical opinion that ran counter to Galen. With the *Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), the various strands of his thinking, which in his Greek writings had nowhere been drawn together, were for the first time organized into a complete medical system, framed against the philosophy of Aristotle. The Galenism of the *Qānūn* was further disseminated through commentaries and abridgements, and even more through the appropriation of its main points by compilers of cultural encyclopedias and other non-specialist works.

Galen's philosophical writings were, by contrast, a topic of controversy, and several of his theories were repeatedly criticized. Doubts expressed about him in this field, however, never detracted from his unassailable position as the premier authority in medicine.

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## Galland, Antoine see *Alf layla wa-layla*

## Geniza

Hebrew *genizah*, 'a hiding, storing place', is derived from a root meaning 'to cover, conceal a thing'. Traditional Jewish reverence for God's name required that anything containing that name must be treated with respect. Damaged, worn-out and no longer used books, documents and ritual objects bearing the divine name were usually collected in a special synagogue room, Geniza, for eventual cemetery burial.

The Cairo Geniza, usually referred to in scholarly works, was found either in the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fuṣṭāṭ (Old Cairo) or in the Basāṭīn Jewish cemetery. For some reason the vast hoard of material accumulated in the synagogue, mostly between the tenth and fourteenth centuries (with some earlier and some later material), was never buried. From as early as the eighteenth century, materials from these Geniza sources began to appear in private and public collections, rapidly increasing after renovation work on the synagogue in 1890 laid bare the Geniza room. In 1896, Solomon Schechter, then Reader in Rabbinics at Cambridge University, recognized some

leaves purchased in Cairo as part of the long-lost Hebrew original of the apocryphal book of *Ecclesiasticus*, or *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, until then known only in its Greek translation. He collected some 100,000 leaves from the Geniza, which now form the basis of the Taylor–Schechter collection at Cambridge. Most later material probably came from the Basātīn cemetery in Cairo. Geniza collections today are to be found in Oxford, London, St Petersburg, Budapest, New York, Philadelphia, Paris, Washington and Vienna, in addition to Cambridge.

Early scholarly interest centred on the religious and literary texts in these collections. Primarily through the efforts of Prof. S.D. Goitein and his students, much work has since been done on the documentary material: business letters, deeds of sale, marriage and divorce documents, book lists, private letters and the like. While the vast majority of the material is written in Judaeo-Arabic (Arabic in Hebrew script), reflecting a wide range of Arabic styles and usage, some texts are written in Arabic script. The other languages used range from Hebrew to Ladino (Judaeo-Spanish) to early Yiddish.

Aside from the religious, linguistic and literary value of some of the texts, Goitein has shown the great importance of others in reconstructing the cultural, religious, social and economic life of the middle and lower classes. The value of the Geniza in expanding our knowledge both of Jewish (and Muslim) culture and society in the medieval Islamic world, and of the actual mechanisms of Mediterranean trade and commerce, is enormous.

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W.M. BRINNER

genres, poetic

The most common Arabic term for 'genres' is *aghrāḍ* (sing. *gharaḍ*), although others – e.g.

*anwā'* ('kinds'), *asālīb* or *aṣnāf* ('types') and *funūn* ('arts') – are also used. *Gharaḍ* in a general sense refers to the 'purpose' of a poem; for example, the purpose of a panegyric *qaṣīda* is praise, *madḥ* (see *madīḥ*). The polythematic *qaṣīda* typically combines a number of *aghrāḍ* – erotic, descriptive, or bacchic in the *nasīb*, descriptive in the *madīḥ* – in conjunction with its dominant purpose, and may incorporate others such as *hijā'*, *fakhr*, *'itāb* ('reproach') and so on. The terms *gharaḍ/aghrāḍ* are often translated as 'theme/s'; but if a theme is taken as encompassing the entire poem, this is inaccurate.

Discussions of genre are complicated by variations in terminology and by the proliferation of *aghrāḍ* treated by the critics. Many scholars have attempted to discern some sort of systematic classification of genres, but the critics disagree both as to what constitutes the *aghrāḍ* and as to how they are classified. According to **Ibn Rashiḳ al-Qayrawānī**, who provides a convenient summary, one view is that there are four 'pillars' (*arkān*) of poetry – *madḥ* (encomium), *hijā'* (invective), *nasīb* (erotic) and *rithā'* (elegy); another, that it has four 'basic principles' (*qawā'id*), namely, the provoking of desire, fear, pleasure and anger. **Al-Rummānī** considered that the most common *aghrāḍ* were *nasīb*, *madḥ*, *hijā'*, *fakhr* and *wasf* (which included *tashbīḥ* [simile] and *isti'āra* [metaphor]); but the early inclusion of *wasf* among the *aghrāḍ* was dropped by later critics. Some critics (e.g. **Ibn Wahb**) divide poetry into four main types (*aṣnāf*), *madīḥ*, *hijā'*, *ḥikma* (gnomic poetry) and *lahw* ('pleasure'), each type (*ṣinf*) subdivided into *funūn* (thus, for example, *madīḥ* includes *marāthī* [elegies], *iftikhār* [self-praise, boasting] and *shukr* [expressions of thanks]). Still others divide poetry into only two, *madḥ* (subsuming *rithā'*, *iftikhār*, *tashbīḥ* ['erotic elegy'], related descriptions of virtues and great deeds, and proverbs, maxims and the like) and *hijā'* (subsuming their opposites), while *'itāb* ('reproach') and *ighrā'* ('incitement') occupy a middle ground, constituting neither praise nor blame. Ibn Rashiḳ himself lists ten genres (*al-'Umda*, Cairo [1907], vol. 1, 77–8; see also Trabulsi, *Critique*, 215–47, for these and other classifications).

This apparent confusion as to both the nature and the number of the poetic genres reflects in large part the relation of criticism to other disciplines such as grammar, exegesis

and rhetoric; hence the variety of criteria employed to define a genre. While some critics invoke grammatical categories (cf. **Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal**: 'When you praise, you say *anta* [you are], when you write invective you say *lasta* [you are not], and when you write elegy you say *kunta* [you were]' – Ibn Rashīq [1907], vol. 1, 79), others note the psychological effect of different types (provoking admiration or fear, desire or avoidance), which leads to the *madh/hijā'/ḥikma/lahw* classification of Ibn Wahb. A third criterion might be called that of 'character' (cf. the Aristotelian *ethos*), the notion that discourse is produced by a given state or emotion in the speaker; but the most common classification divides poetry into praise or blame (*madh, hijā'*) and marshalls sub-genres under these headings. Further complications arise from the desire of anthologists or redactors of poetic *dīwāns* to classify the poems included; thus, for example, a descriptive statement such as *qāla fī al-ghazal*, 'he said on (the topic of) love', or *qāla fī wasf al-khamr*, 'he said, describing wine', tend to become transformed, with some critics at least (and especially in later times), into generic classifications. Whole classes of poetry (not all of which would be recognized as distinct 'genres') thus emerge: **al-Ṣanawbari's** *rawḍiyyāt* and *zahrīyyāt*, for example, or the *ḥabsīyya* or prison-poem, to say nothing of such types (recorded by **al-Tha'ālībī**) as *filiyyāt* ('poems on elephants'), *birdhawniyyāt* ('elegies on horses') and so on.

Given these varied notions of genre (or, more generally, of classifying poems), it is irrelevant to enquire (as does Trabulsi) how many genres 'actually existed' in Arabic poetry, or to criticize the omission of 'important' genres from any given list (see *Critique*, 215, 219). Lists of genres are, by definition, partial, and often merely exemplary. What is notable about these classifications is, first, the absence of formal criteria (discussions of prosodic form have little bearing on questions of genre); and second, that whatever the criteria employed, the result is generally a listing according to content. Moreover, the *aghrād* themselves are typically broken down even further into *ma'ānī* (topics; see *ma'nā*) associated with them; and a major method of poetic innovation involves the transfer of topics from one genre (in which they were seen to have originated) to another (e.g. from wine poetry to *ghazal*), a procedure

that was extensively discussed by the critics, who also approved of poets who could handle a variety of genres skilfully.

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geographical literature

In the 'pre-modern' ages, geographical learning was never constituted into a well-defined discipline like, for example, astronomy or history, with both of which it partially overlapped; nor did the integrative approach that it shared with, for example, modern geographical science win it an inclusive, distinctive name. The term *juḡhrāfiyā*, transcribed from the titles of Marinus of Tyre's and Ptolemy's works in the field, or its Arabic equivalent *ṣūrat al-arḍ* ('image' or 'depiction of the earth'), referred, true to their Greek antecedents, to mathematical geography and cartography rather than to descriptive physical or human geography. Descriptive terms employed in titles of geographical treatises include, in addition to *ṣūrat al-arḍ, masālik* ('stage-routes'), *mamālik* ('dominions'), *buldān* ('countries'), *aqālīm* ('climes'); while suggesting specific disciplinary and cultural areas of origin and indicating obvious subjects of geographical study, none of these terms gained currency as the received name of 'geography'. **Al-Muqaddasī** (fl. fourth/tenth century) approximates a modern definition of geography, albeit restricted in its scope to 'the Islamic lands' (*al-aqālīm al-Islāmiyya*), in his enumeration of the subjects comprised by what he calls a 'science' (*ilm*) and a 'discipline' (*fann*). ('*Ajā'ib*, 'mirabilia', which occur in virtually all Arabic texts of geographical interest, are discussed separately under that heading.)

Arabic-Islamic geography owes its emergence to the intellectual cross-fertilization and gestation period which can be dated roughly from the mid-second/eighth to the later third/ninth centuries. The exigencies of administering a far-flung empire, burgeoning long-distance and 'intercontinental' trade and a well-nigh unlimited curiosity for the entire world, within and without the borders of the Islamic empire, its cultures and learning also propelled geographical study and writing. It stands to reason that the traditions of Hellenism, Sasanian Iran and Hindu India shaped the emerging 'geographical' interests of the Muslims as they did all branches of learning and Islamic civilization at large – evidently in interaction with specifically peninsular Arabian and Islamic impulses. A telling example of the latter is the ritual requirement of keeping the *qibla*, the 'direction' of Mecca, in communal and private prayer; mathematically speaking, this meant the determination of the azimuth of Mecca for any given location.

In terms of mathematics and in the chronological sequence of appropriation, Sanskrit and Greek authorities proved the most important, with Middle Persian – Pahlavi – largely restricted to a mediating role. However, the administrative tradition of Sasanian Iran, including its system of routes, stage-houses and intelligence service, left its mark on the 'Abbāsīd empire as well, and along came geographical notions, whether the quarterwise division of the world by the cardinal points or the image of the seven 'lands' (*kishvar*), with Iran in the dominant centre of a circle of the other six great empires.

The astronomical and mathematical premises of Arabic geography, e.g. the earth's sphericity and its measurements, distribution of land and sea, methods for determining geographical co-ordinates, essentially derived from Sanskrit and Greek. The most noteworthy Sanskrit title is Brahmagupta's (d. c.665 CE) astronomical manual (*Brahmasphuta-*) *Siddhanta* of 628 CE; under the Arabicized title *al-Sindhind*, it was translated as early as the reign of al-Manšūr (136–58/754–75) and quickly disseminated. Growing acquaintance with Greek texts, which began under **Hārūn al-Rashīd** (169–93/786–809), eventually overshadowed and displaced these earlier versions from Sanskrit, although Hindu mathematics and astronomy lastingly contributed to the make-up of all mathematical disciplines.

Among the earliest Greek works to be translated into Arabic, and of towering influence, was Ptolemy's *Megale Syntaxis* (medieval Latin 'Almagest', from Arabic *al-Majīstī*); a list of geographical entities and co-ordinates such as that included in it was an obvious vehicle for geographical information and became a standard feature in all Islamic astronomical manuals (*zīj*, a Pahlavi term).

Together with his magisterial astronomical synthesis, Ptolemy's *Geographike Hyphegesis* decisively influenced Arabic mathematical geography and cartography. Whereas the exact transmission of Ptolemy's 'Geography' into Arabic has yet to be elucidated, its contents are materially extant in Arabic in Muḥammad ibn Mūsā **al-Khwārazmī**'s (d. c.236/850) *Šūrat al-arḍ* and one Suhrāb's (fl. first half fourth/tenth century) *'Ajā'ib al-aqālim al-sab'a* (*Marvels of the Seven Climes*); the 'climes' here named are latitudinal belts from the equator northward which are measured by half-hour increments of daylight at summer solstice (subsequently the term lost its original precision and came to mean any kind of 'region').

The first extant Arabic works of descriptive geography also date from the middle to late third/ninth century. The earliest author to be named here is Abū al-Qāsim **Ibn Khurradādhbih**; in his revealingly titled *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-manālik* (*Book of Stage-Routes and Dominions*), of which he revised a first draft of 232/846 around 272/885, he lists all the factual data about the provinces of the Islamic empire which a civil servant might have use for; in a manner normally associated with *adab*, he includes a variety of additional information as well. It ranges from elements of a 'literary geography', especially of the Arabian Peninsula, with the requisite verse quotations ('philology' was to remain a constituent of geographical writing), to data relevant for merchants and diverse curiosities; in these sections, the author does not restrict himself to the lands of Islam. In the body of the book, Ibn Khurradādhbih divides his material according to the Sasanian model in four parts, but adds a fifth, central one, on al-'Irāq, the heartland of the caliphate as it used to be *dil-i Irānshahr* ('heart of the realm of Iran'); Ibn Khurradādhbih, who was himself of Iranian background, quotes this in Persian.

Ibn Khurradādhbih can be considered one of the foremost representatives of what has been called the Iraqi school of geography; it

includes authors such as **al-Ya'qūbī** (wrote 276/889–90), **Ibn al-Faqīh** (wrote about 290/903), **Aḥmad ibn 'Umar Ibn Rusta** (wrote just after 290/903), **Qudāma ibn Ja'far** (d. 337/948); for its rich contents and impact on subsequent authors, the lost *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* by the Sāmānid vizier al-Jayhānī (wrote around 287/900) requires mention here as well. However fragmentary and uneven these authors' coverage of extra-Islamic territories may be, their horizon extends beyond the frontiers of Islam, and otherwise lost, precious eyewitness accounts survive in their texts.

Most of them do not feel constrained to adhere to a certain format of presentation; their works vary between administrative utilitarianism and the seemingly haphazard diversity of *adab*. Not all of them are Iraq-centred like Ibn Khurrādādhbih; instead they give the 'two sanctuaries' of the Hijaz pride of place, thus adopting a self-consciously Muslim principle of organization. His wide-ranging geographical scope, which again includes non-Muslim lands, would put **al-Mas'ūdī** (d. after 345/956) into this group too; however, the combination of (cultural) history and geography which he cultivated in his highly individual, even idiosyncratic, *adab*-like prolix works, defies classification.

The other so-called geographical school refers back to **Abū Zayd al-Balkhī** (d. 322/934), the author of an 'atlas of Islam' (*Šuwar al-aqālīm, Images of the Climes* – 'regions', not latitudinal zones). His work, which consisted of a set of regional maps and accompanying text, inaugurated a creative process of revision during the entire fourth/tenth century (**al-Iṣṭakhri**, **Ibn Ḥawqal**, al-Muqaddasī). Without shunning Greek geography, and relying on Ptolemaic cartography, al-Balkhī undertakes to reconcile them with data gleaned from the **Koran** and *ḥadīth* and gives pride of place to the Arabian Peninsula and the two sanctuaries in the Hijaz.

In the fifth/eleventh century, an entirely individual, outstanding synthesis of mathematical, physical and human geography was achieved by a towering figure in medieval science, **Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī** (d. after 442/1050); while perhaps best known as an astronomer and mathematician, his scholarly interests covered natural and cultural history as well, thus giving his geographical observations a unique compass.

In addition to mathematical geography and

the two schools just introduced, it was, from the third/ninth century onward, the genre of travelogues that gave Arabic (and Persian!) geographical literature distinction. Evidently, many such reports were never drawn up for publication by their original authors; instead, they were directly incorporated into larger works such as those cited here. However, from the fourth/tenth century on, monographic travelogues are extant too; outstanding examples include **Ibn Fadlān** (who journeyed to the Volga Bulgars in 309–10/921–2), **Abū Dulaf** (travelled 331–41/943–52), **Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī al-Turṭūshī** (travelled in Europe around 354/965), **Ibn Jubayr** (d. 614/1217), **Ibn Baṭṭūṭa** (travelled 725–54/1325–53), **'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Ismā'il al-Nābulusī** (d. 1141/1731); neither the Persian **Ismā'ilī Nāṣir-i Khusraw** (travelled 437–8/1045–7) nor the Hebrew author **Benjamin of Tudela** (travelled around 1175) should go unmentioned here, as both basically shared the same culture with their fellow travel writers. Of course, some of the authors of a more systematic approach also were passionate travellers, and their works are equally informed by autopsy; the difference may be more one of literary form than of geographical outlook.

From the later fifth/eleventh century to the end of the **Mamlūk** period, geography increasingly took on scholastic features to the neglect of its empirical foundation. Existing knowledge tended to be systematized and practically organized in geographical dictionaries and, at times, in universal **encyclopedias**. Not all authors fit into that mould, however; foremost mention among these is due to al-Sharīf **al-Idrīsī** for his famous *Book of Roger* (*Kitāb Rujjār*), known also by its formal title *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī 'khtirāq al-āfāq* (*Diversion of the Yearning, on Traversing the Regions*); the book, dedicated to King Roger II of Sicily in 548/1154, combines a descriptive text by latitudinal climes – based on authoritative texts as well as contemporary eyewitness accounts – with a set of regional maps which together represent the entire inhabited 'quarter' of the earth; the royal dedicatee's copy of this planisphere was engraved in silver. As for the more usual compilations, it should be stressed that they preserve invaluable earlier materials which are otherwise lost; particularly noteworthy compendia are *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam* (*Dictionary of What is Obscure*, i.e., in toponymy) by **Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī** (d. 487/

1094), *Mu'jam al-buldān* ("Dictionary of Countries") by Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), and *Taqwīm al-buldān* ("Register of Countries") by Abū al-Fidā (d. 732/1331). The cosmographers Zakariyyā' al-Qazwīnī and Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashqī also belong here, as do the encyclopaedists al-Nuwayrī and al-Qalqashandī (cf. 'ajā'ib literature); unusual for its coverage of the Mongol empire is the equally encyclopaedic *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (*Routes of the Sight, on the Dominions of the Capitals*) by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari (d. 749/1349).

Given the fluid identity of Arabic geography, relevant materials are to be found in many texts not covered here. In particular, there is a whole range of works on 'regional geography' and topography, in monographic form or as an adjunct to collections of biographies. Frequently travelling and travel writing also served a religious function or was simply occasioned by the duty of pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca; the *hajj*, pious visits to Medina and Jerusalem and to a host of lesser shrines, gave rise to 'pilgrims' guides', such as *al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifaṭ al-ziyārāt* (*Directions to the Knowledge of Devotional Visits*) by 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī (d. 611/1214).

Finally, the flourishing maritime trade of Arabs and Muslims has left an impressive group of texts on navigation which also contain ample geographical information. The most prominent author in this field is the experienced sea captain and prolific author Aḥmad ibn Mājīd; his handbook *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl 'ilm al-baḥr wa-al-qawā'id* (*Useful Information on the Principles and Foundations of Maritime Science*) dates to 895/1490. Ibn Mājīd is said to have assisted Vasco da Gama in his circumnavigation of Africa.

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See also: travel literature

## Ghallāb, 'Abd al-Karīm (1917– )

Moroccan novelist. Ghallāb is principally recognized for his use of fiction as a weapon in the fight for social justice in his homeland. The narrator of *Sab'at abwāb* (1965) recounts the tales of fellow prisoners who have been incarcerated and tortured for their nationalist activities. *Dafannā al-māḍī* (1966) provides a vivid depiction of resistance before the declaration of independence, but is also concerned with class differences and the roles of secular and religious education within the society. *Al-Mu'allim 'Alī* (1971) takes as its primary focus the exploitation of poor labourers in the city of Fez and the role of unions in the struggle for workers' rights. While Ghallāb's novels may have been superseded recently by more experimental works by a younger generation of writers, they have undoubtedly had a political and critical impact in his homeland.

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## Ghamūqāt, Ismā'il (1951– )

Algerian novelist writing in Arabic. Born in Guelma, Ghamūqāt has produced five novels: *al-Shams tushriq 'alā al-jamī'* (1977), *al-Ajsād al-maḥmūma* (1979), *al-Tahawwur* (1984), *al-Shayāṭīn* (1986) and *al-Maṣā'id* (1988). These works, all fairly short, deal with themes of love, and the confusion of young people who encounter cynical manipulation by adults. The novelist shows boldness, but his writing remains too schematic. Ghamūqāt puts his finger on the many worrying problems facing Algeria as a young developing country,



but despite this his work remains tinged with optimism.

M. BOIS

### Ghānim, Fathī (1924– )

Egyptian novelist. Born in Cairo into a modest family, Fathī Ghānim graduated from the law school of Cairo University in 1944, and was editor-in-chief of the weekly *Ṣabāḥ al-khayr* and *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. His first novel, *al-Jabal*, appeared in 1959. In 1961 he completed his most important work, the quartet *al-Rajul alladhī faqada ẓillahu*, covering events during the period 1922–56. In 1981 he published his novel *al-Afyāl* and in 1985 wrote *Qalīl min al-ḥubb wa-kathīr min al-'unf*, a commentary on the open-door policies of Egypt. His novel *Aḥmad wa-Dāwūd*, published in 1989, is an attempt at understanding the Arab–Jewish question. Ghānim's most recent work, *Sitt al-ḥusn wa-al-jamāl* (1991) deals with the treacherous world of the cinema.

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M. MIKHAIL

### Ghannām, Ḥusayn (19??– )

Iraqi poet and translator. Like his predecessor **al-Zahāwī**, Ghannām defended the use of **blank verse** for narrative poetry in Arabic and succeeded in developing it a step further towards **free verse** using an irregular number of feet. In 1945 he was involved in controversy when he criticized a seven-stanza poem by **Bākathīr** entitled 'A specimen of blank (*mursal*), free (*ḥurr*) verse' on the grounds that the poem was dull and prosaic and lacked poetic music. As a successful example of what Ghannām defined as 'blank verse of similar metres', he presented his translation of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, using lines with an irregular number of feet and an irregular rhyme scheme – a method that Ghannām called *shi'r mursal*, but which was termed *shi'r ṭalq* by Niqūlā Fayyād and *shi'r ḥurr* by Abū Shādī.

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S. MOREH

**al-Gharīd** *see* singers and musicians

**al-Gharnāṭī, Abū Ḥāmid** *see* Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī

**al-Gharnāṭī, Abū Ḥayyān** *see* Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī

### Ghassānids

A branch of the southern Arab tribe of al-Azd that migrated to Syria in the fifth century CE and soon managed to establish itself as the pre-eminent power on the desert fringe. As allies of Byzantium, they protected the eastern flank of the empire against raiders and the more serious threat posed by the **Lakhmids**, a rival Arab tribe based in Iraq and allied with the Sasanians. Extremely powerful in the sixth century, the Ghassānids conducted successful operations against the Lakhmids and burned their capital at **Ḥīra** in 570; in their own Syrian territory, they were keen sponsors and promoters of Monophysitism and built numerous churches and monasteries. Although they had no stable urban centre of their own, they were responsible for the establishment of several small towns in the hinterlands south of Damascus, and perhaps also for some of the so-called 'desert palaces' of the Syrian steppe.

The significance of the Ghassānids for Arabic literature lies in their patronage of Arab poets active in the second half of the sixth century. Numerous poets praised them in verse, celebrated their military victories and mourned their deaths; poems were also composed to commemorate, for example, places where they camped and events that affected them, and the bounty of their tribal court. The most renowned of these poets were **al-Nābigha al-Dhubyāni**, who came to Syria after an altercation with the Lakhmids, and **Ḥassān ibn Thābit**, a Medinan who travelled extensively between the Hijaz and Syria.

The Ghassānids also inspired much early Islamic verse circulated in the name of Ḥassān

and other poets, as well as folklore recalling their personal lives, affairs of court and military exploits. While this material makes it difficult to distinguish historical accounts from other more dubious reports about them, it attests at the same time to the enduring memory of their heyday on the Syrian steppe long after the Islamic conquests of the 630s put an end to their hegemony and scattered the remnants of the tribe as far as Byzantine Asia Minor.

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### Ghaṭafān see tribes

### Ghaylān ibn 'Uqba see Dhū al-Rumma

## ghazal

Poetry about love, whether incorporated into the *qaṣīda* or in an independent, brief poem. Etymologically the term is associated with the verb *ghazila*, 'to spin', and, probably by contamination, with the gazelle (*ghazāl*), to which the beloved is often compared. A *ghazal* is primarily a love-song addressed by a man to a woman; its connection with youth (the time of love) is seen in the near-synonymous *tashbīb* (from *shabāb*, 'youth'). The love-poet is called a *ghazil*; the verb *taghazzala* denotes composing love poetry.

*Ghazal* is seen in the *nasīb* of the *qaṣīda* at least from the late sixth century CE, in the poetry both of bedouin poets and of poets associated with the Lakhmid court of Ḥīra. Its 'invention' is variously attributed to a certain Ibn Hidhām, to al-Muhalhil ibn Rabī'a and to Imru' al-Qays, the latter two especially noted for their *ghazal*, which is often associated with *fakhr*, 'boasting': the poet's exploits in love complement his exploits in battle. In pre-Islamic poetry *ghazal* encompasses the poet's apostrophe to the *aḥlāl*, the traces of his beloved's former camp (with, perhaps, a description of the tribe's departing

women), his complaint of separation and loss and remembrance of happier days. In the *qaṣīda* this evocation of the past customarily leads to the *raḥīl*, the journey movement, as the poet renounces the 'sickness' of love (*ṣībā*) and praises the mount who bears him on his desert journey, which also takes him to the primary topic of his poem: boasting, praise or invective.

In the Islamic period the development of *ghazal* was linked to changes in contemporary society. Under the Umayyads it is relatively scarce among the Iraqi poets, who addressed themselves primarily to panegyric (*madiḥ*), elegy (*riṭhā'*) and invective (*hijā'*), and is seen almost exclusively in the *nasīb* of the panegyric *qaṣīda*, although *ghazal* (often obscene) sometimes introduces *hijā'*, where it serves to cast aspersions on the womenfolk (hence the honour) of the victim. By contrast, in the towns of the Hijaz with their elegant salons, independent *ghazal* poems were composed by such poets as al-'Arjī, al-Aḥwas and especially 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a, who often forsook desert conventions for more urban themes. A favourite topic was the encounter of lovers while on pilgrimage to the shrines of Mecca and Medina. Poets composed *ghazals* to be sung, and began to cultivate light, musical metres in preference to those typical of earlier poetry (see *prosody*). While the Hijazi poets stressed the lady's nobility and the lover's submissiveness, they also expressed the willingness of both to consummate, rather than deny, their passion.

The Hijazi *ghazal* contrasts with the 'Udhri variety, which stresses the lover's chastity. 'Udhri poetry developed around the same period, but in the desert rather than in the towns. Poets like Jamil and Qays ibn al-Mulawwah 'al-Majnūn', the 'madman' or 'fool of love', sung of the fatal nature of love, to which the lover is not only victim but martyr, and of his chaste devotion to the beloved, from whom he is inevitably separated by circumstances. Love is often expressed in religious terms: the beloved is the object of the lover's total devotion, the shrine to which he makes his pilgrimage.

In the late Umayyad/early 'Abbāsīd period a third tendency appeared: the urban *ghazal* of poets in the Iraqi cities of Basra, Kufa and later Baghdad. Especially in Kufa, with its heritage from the court poets of Ḥīra, poets practised an outspoken, licentious (*ibāhī*) *ghazal* which contrasted with both the Hijazi

and 'Udhri varieties. The poems of **Bashshār ibn Burd** encompass both this type and the more courtly *ghazal*: those dedicated to his beloved 'Abda, stressing devoted and passionate love, contrast with more outspoken erotic poems verging on *mujūn*. The latter earned him the censure not only of conservative religious figures but of the caliph al-Mahdi, who forbade the poet to begin his *qaṣīdas* with *tashbīb*.

In the urban milieu of the Hijaz, Syria and, later, Iraq, *ghazal* poetry was also composed by women, both by aristocratic ladies (especially in the earlier periods) and by the *jawārī* and *mughanniyyāt*, slave-girls and singers, many of whom became well known for their poetry. The courtly poet *par excellence* was perhaps al-'Abbās **ibn al-Ahnaf**, who developed *ghazal* into a self-sufficient, independent form. Al-'Abbās celebrated his love for Fawz, who was removed to the Hijaz by her husband, leaving the poet alone to remember her and mourn her loss. In the 'anti-*ghazal*' of **Abū Nuwās**, courtly motifs are parodied in erotic poems more often expressing desire for an attractive boy than for a distant and idealized lady, and the homoerotic *ghazal* (absent in early Arabic poetry) comes into its own, often as a component of the wine poem (*khamriyya*).

The heyday of the independent *ghazal* was at the court of **Hārūn al-Rashīd**. Under his successors its status declined somewhat, although it continued to be an important feature of convivial gatherings. Such poets as **Abū Tammām**, **al-Buḥturī** and later **al-Mutanabbī** cultivated love themes in the *nasīb* of the *qaṣīda*, reviving the desert conventions of earlier poetry. The *nasīb* often exploits the parallel between beloved and patron through relations of similarity (the beloved's cruelty suggests the patron's) or of contrast (the patron's beneficence compensates loss of the beloved). Other poets, like **Ibn al-Mu'tazz** and **Muslim ibn al-Walid** (princes who did not have to earn their living through panegyric), continued to write independent love poems which combined the courtly spirit with intense emotionalism. As a minor form, *ghazal* was a favourite with secretary-poets like **Khālid ibn Yazid al-Kātib**, who expressed homoerotic love in refined, courtly verse. The fourth/tenth century saw a revival of the *mujūniyya* or 'obscene' *ghazal* at the hands of, for example, the **Būyid** poet **Ibn al-Hajjāj** and the **Fāṭimid** poet **Ibn Hānī** al-

**Andalusī**; the former especially wrote both brief independent *ghazals* and parodic *nasīb*s which parody both courtly and desert conventions, often coupled with a *madīḥ* in which the patron is praised for his beauty and his exploits with women. (See further *mujūn*.)

The development of *ghazal* gave impetus to the appearance of an extensive literature on love incorporating both poetry and accounts of poet-lovers; authors such as **al-Washshā'** and **Ibn Dā'ūd al-Iṣbahānī** drew extensively on love poetry to illustrate their dicta (see further **courtly love; love theory**). *Ghazal* was also adapted to the expression of religious and mystical love, especially in later periods by such poets as **Ibn al-Fāriḍ** and **Ibn al-'Arabī**. While the literary critics had less to say on the conventions and decorum of *ghazal* (**Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī**, however, devotes considerable space to the genre), many anthologies were dedicated, in whole or in part, to the themes and topics of love poetry.

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### al-Ghazāl (156–250/772–864)

Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam al-Ghazāl was an Andalusian poet and diplomat. He was given the name of al-Ghazāl because of his exceptional physical beauty, which he retained up to an advanced age. Although many sources revel in colourful anecdotes related to his diplomatic missions – his successes are attributed to his

skills in winning the affections of women – he is also considered one of the most important poets of the emiral period. His poetry is marked by its dialogic character and intimate tone, and the simplicity and directness of his vocabulary, qualities that Jāyūsī sees as emblematic of the tendency toward ‘direct and unlaboured’ expression in the Andalusī style of the time (1992, 327). He maintains his unaffected style throughout his work, even in his ascetic and contemplative poetry.

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## Ghaznavids

The first major Turkish dynasty in the eastern Islamic world, named for their capital at Ghazna, in south-eastern Afghanistan. Founded by the **Sāmānīd** commander Sebuktegin, the dynasty acquired its independence and reached the apex of its power under his son Maḥmūd (r. 388–421/998–1030). With the disintegration of Sāmānīd power, Maḥmūd inherited their territories south of the Oxus River; he also initiated a series of annual plundering expeditions into northern India, and campaigned against the **Būyīds** in the west, capturing **Rayy**, one of their capitals, in 420/1029. His son and second successor Mas‘ūd (r. 421–32/1031–41), however, lost most of the Ghaznavid territories in Iran to the **Saljūqs** at the disastrous battle of Dandānqān in 431/1040, and the dynasty was reduced to its possessions in Afghanistan and India, the latter governed from a secondary capital at Lahore. In 545/1150 Ghazna was sacked by the Afghani Ghūrīds, and the last Ghaznavid sultans ruled from Lahore, until the Ghūrīds put an end to the dynasty in 582/1186.

The reign of Maḥmūd is celebrated most of all for producing the first real florescence of the Persian literary renaissance, represented by

the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, dedicated to the sultan, and a galaxy of panegyric poets including ‘Unṣurī and Farrukhī. But Maḥmūd was also anxious to attract scholars writing in Arabic to his court, and in fact achieved a certain notoriety for ‘collecting’ them from the various cities he conquered. Certainly his biggest prize was **al-Bīrūnī**, the greatest Muslim scientist, who wrote all his works, including the famous *India*, in Arabic, and had scant regard for the resources of the Persian language.

Of strictly literary figures, Sebuktegin and Maḥmūd both patronized such Arabic poets as **Abū al-Faḥ al-Bustī**. But the most important Arabic literary figure at Maḥmūd’s court was the secretary **al-‘Utbi**, who produced a history of the rise of the dynasty and chronicle of Maḥmūd’s triumphs, couched in the ornate style developed in the chanceries, which was to have a profound influence on later historical writing in both Arabic and Persian. From al-‘Utbi we learn of an abortive attempt by Maḥmūd’s first vizier to change the official language of the chancery from Arabic to Persian, a policy reversed by his successor, under whom the head of chancery, Abū Naṣr ibn Miškān, promoted the use of Arabic both within and without the bureaucracy. **Al-Tha‘ālibī**, in his anthologies the *Yatīmat al-dahr* and its sequel the *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, offers samples of the Arabic prose and poetry produced at the Ghaznavid court; while including a few panegyrics of the sultan, it mostly reflects a certain *esprit de corps* within secretarial circles. It is probably significant that several of its exponents were sent to man the bureaucracy in the west, in Rayy, after its conquest.

Under Maḥmūd’s successors, Arabic literature continued to maintain a presence in Ghazna, but a dwindling one, as is clear from the selections in **al-Bākhharzī**’s sequel to al-Tha‘ālibī’s anthologies. Al-Bākhharzī still includes some prose selections by the head of chancery under the sultan Farrukhzād (r. 444–51/1053–60), but the literature of the later Ghaznavid court seems to have been almost entirely in Persian.

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E. K. ROWSON

### al-Ghazzālī (450–505/1058–1111)

Abū Hāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī is perhaps the most prestigious scholar of medieval Islam. Born in 1058 in Tūs in eastern Iran, he had an early acquaintance with Sufism and studied the religious sciences under the famous Shāfi'i scholar, al-Juwaynī. After the latter's death in 1085, al-Ghazzālī attached himself to the entourage of Nizām al-Mulk, the famous **Saljūq** vizier, who was so impressed by his intellectual abilities that he appointed him to the post of chief teacher at the Nizāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad in 1091. There al-Ghazzālī lectured to large audiences and wrote some of his most important books, including the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, a powerful critique of Islamic philosophy, the *Iqtisād fi al-i'tiqād*, an exposition of **Ash'ari** theology, and, at the behest of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, a fierce attack on the **Ismā'ilis**, the *Faḍā'iḥ al-Bāṭiniyya*. After a major spiritual crisis in which he recognized Sufism as the sole path to the experiential religious certainty he so urgently sought, he left Baghdad in 1095 and spent the next ten years in seclusion, before returning to eastern Iran. There he composed many more religious works and was persuaded to re-emerge as a public figure, teaching for a short time in the Nizāmiyya college in Nishāpūr and founding a *khānqāh*. He died in 505/1111.

A major problem with evaluating al-Ghazzālī's contribution to Arabic scholarship is authenticity. He allegedly left more than 400 works, but many of these, especially in the sphere of mysticism, are clearly not by him. Other works attributed to him may contain sections that were not written by him at all, or may have been compiled under his name by his disciples with or without his authorization. Nevertheless, there is a solid core of works confidently attributable to him. Another more intangible problem is consistency. The apparently chameleon-like quality of his work arises, in part at least, from the wide variety of topics he discusses, the diverse genres he uses and the fact that he wrote in both Arabic and

Persian (the relationship between the majority of his works written for the scholarly élite of the whole Muslim world in Arabic and a small corpus of writings in Persian for Sūfī disciples and Saljūq notables in his native Khurasan needs to be explored).

What al-Ghazzālī said was not new. His emphasis on the 'moderate' approach to Sufism, within the framework of the *shari'a*, is the culmination of a long tradition. His work may be seen as the synthesis of many currents of thought, organized and expressed with consummate skill in a dazzling array of genres (embracing Shāfi'i jurisprudence, Ash'ari theology, anti-philosophical tracts, logic, ethics, **Mirrors for Princes**, Sufism, Islamic ritual and Koranic meditation). His knowledge was not compartmentalized and although he was deeply involved with Sufism, he did not devote a single work to it exclusively, preferring instead to suffuse many of his writings with a mystical dimension. He remained to the end an 'ālim, convinced of the all-important role of the *shari'a* in the Islamic community. In later life he was viewed as the 'renewer' (*mujaddid*) of the faith in a period of turmoil and indeed much of his underlying intention was to avoid division within the Islamic community, to stress its common Islamic heritage and to harmonize differences of approach to the truth.

Although his works written before 1095 reveal intellectual exhibitionism, his later writings display restraint and balance. Underlying much of his writing is the belief that knowledge is tiered, that literal interpretations suffice for the masses but that more esoteric truths should be the preserve of the few. His writing, especially on Sūfī themes, is sometimes opaque and circumspect. The study of al-Ghazzālī's massive *oeuvre* is still largely restricted to his well-known works, while his 'minor' writings remain largely unexploited. Scholars have tended to trawl his works to extract ideas and a proper assessment of his literary skills in Arabic has yet to be made. In fact, al-Ghazzālī's *oeuvre* demonstrates literary prowess harnessed to didacticism. His spiritual 'autobiography', the *Munqidh*, is written with considerable elegance, exploiting diverse stylistic devices to the full – rhetorical questions, antitheses, puns and exclamations – without a flood of bombastic conceits; it is a fine example of a mature Arabic prose, both immediately accessible to the reader and yet highly nuanced and subtle. Parts of his *magnum*

*opus*, the *Ihyā'*, display an ability to orchestrate legal and mystical themes within an overarching and grandiose structure, while his polemical skills – invective, syllogistic argumentation, adversarial dialogues – are evident in his works written against the Ismā'īlīs, the philosophers and other opponents.

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## **ghinā' see music and poetry, medieval; singers and musicians**

### **al-Ghīṭānī, Jamāl (1945– )**

Egyptian novelist, journalist and short-story writer. Born in Upper Egypt, al-Ghīṭānī later moved with his family to Cairo, where he studied carpet design and worked as a designer between 1962 and 1968. His first short story was published in the Lebanese periodical *al-Adīb* in 1963.

One of the most talented of the Egyptian so-called 'generation of the sixties', al-Ghīṭānī's style is characterized by the use of 'intertextuality' – the advancing of a narrative through the incorporation of texts from outside the main text itself. This technique – which

may well owe something to his training as a carpet designer – is already apparent in his first novel, *al-Zaynī Barakāt* (1971), which immediately established him as a leading Arab novelist. Set in Cairo just before the Ottoman invasion of Egypt in 1517, the work revolves around the historical figure of al-Zaynī Barakāt ibn Mūsā, who served as *muhtasib* of Cairo, surviving in office after the collapse of the **Mamlūks** into the first years of Ottoman rule. Al-Zaynī is both an opportunist and a survivor, and in this, as in his almost puritanical obsession with reform, he seems to be a metaphor for Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, whose survival of the defeat of 1967 parallels al-Zaynī's survival of the Mamlūk defeat of 1517. In the course of the narrative, al-Ghīṭānī both quotes and parodies the Egyptian historian **Ibn Iyās**, as well as introducing other 'fictional' medieval texts; in using a historical period as an analogy for the present, the book illustrates a device commonly adopted to avoid the attention of the censor.

The use that al-Ghīṭānī makes of Ibn Iyās's text in *al-Zaynī Barakāt* is paralleled by his use of newspapers and official reports in his second novel, *Waḳā'i' Hārat al-Za'farānī* (1976), which also deals with themes of power and coercion, this time in the contemporary setting of a working-class Cairo quarter. As the alley succumbs to an epidemic of impotence, the mysterious Shaykh 'Aṭīyya uses his position to assert his control. The work is as replete as its predecessor with contemporary political allusion, however, the author giving us in Ḥasan Anwar a cruel, but prophetic, caricature of Anwar al-Sādāt; his last actions are a series of demented commands, which parallel al-Sādāt's own increasingly desperate moves, culminating in the mass arrest of intellectuals in 1981 a short time before his assassination.

In his later novels al-Ghīṭānī has continued to use the classical Arabic literary tradition as a source of inspiration. In *Khiṭaṭ al-Ghīṭānī*, he returns to the medieval historiographical form of the *khiṭaṭ* to create a fictional *khiṭaṭ* of modern Egypt; the relationship to contemporary political events and personalities, however, is again self-evident. Al-Ghīṭānī's most ambitious work to date, *Kitāb al-Tajalliyāt* (3 vols, 1983–6), uses **Ibn 'Arabī's** *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* as a source text for a work that mingles personal and mystical elements with social and political criticism of contemporary Egypt.

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P. STARKEY

**Ghiyāth ibn Ghawth al-Akḥṭal** *see*  
**al-Akḥṭal**

**Ghulāmiyyāt**

Slave girls, especially professional singers, who adopted the attire and general appearance of an adolescent young man (*ghulam*). According to **al-Mas'ūdī** this fashion began at the 'Abbāsīd court in Baghdad when Zubayda, the mother of the dissolute caliph **al-Amīn** (r. 193–8/809–13), successfully won her son over from his infatuation with eunuchs by dressing up the court slave girls in male costume. They remained in vogue in Iraqi aristocratic circles for several generations, being particularly popular with **al-Mutawakkil** (r. 232–47/847–61). Besides wearing boys' close-fitting tunics and sashes, the *ghulāmiyyāt* bobbed their hair and sometimes applied sidecurls and mustaches of black perfume to their faces. **Abū Nuwās** and other poets celebrated their charms in verse.

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**al-Ghuzūlī (d. 815/1412)**

'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bahā'i al-Ghuzūlī was a literary anthologist. Originally a Turkish slave, he lived in Damascus and made a number of visits to Egypt; little else is known of his life. His one known work, the *Risings of Full Moons in the Mansions of Pleasure*, is a rather original compilation of poetry and prose

anecdotes, organized according to the conceit of building a house and organizing a household; topics treated include neighbours, doors and fountains, but also wine, food and animals, and the work concludes with a chapter on the mansions of paradise. Material from all periods is included, but there is a particular concentration on poets of the **Mamlūk** period.

Text edition

*Maṭāli' al-budūr fī manāzil al-surūr*, 2 vols, Cairo (1882–3).

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**ghuṣn** *see* **muwashshah**

**Gibran, Gibran Kahlil** *see* **Jubrān, Jubrān Khalīl**

**gnomic poetry** *see* **ḥikma**

**grammar and grammarians**

**Origins**

More than any other religion Islam asserts the absolutely verbal nature of its revelation, the explicit Word of God as recorded and transcribed in the **Koran**. It was therefore inevitable that the Arabic language sciences would eventually develop and go on to assume a fundamental status in Islamic learning. We have hardly any evidence, beyond anecdotal back-projections, of the sort of thinking that preceded the first reliably recorded grammatical discussions, but certainly within decades of the Prophet's death various attempts were made to disambiguate the bare consonantal script of the **Koran** in the effort to preserve and standardize it. None of this, however, can be regarded as truly scientific grammatical activity.

By the second half of the second/eighth century there are clear signs of an evolving science of grammar with an elementary terminology and methodology, doubtless encouraged by the interchange of ideas with non-Muslims in the cosmopolitan environment of **Basra** and **Kufa**. It is often maintained that the speech errors of the new citizens of the empire stimulated the need for a grammar, but a more compelling motive was surely the awareness that as direct, living contact with

the original Muslim community faded into the past, the survival of Islam depended on establishing forever the language in which that religion was embodied.

### Sibawayhi and the *Kitāb*

The earliest grammatical reasoning resembled the experiments of primitive law with its simple and arbitrary application of the principle of analogy. Credit for the invention of a systematic grammar goes to **Sibawayhi**, a Persian who came to Basra in the second half of the second/eighth century to study law and *ḥadīth* and died around 177/793, aged about 40. In his one work, untitled and known only as *Kitāb Sibawayhi* (*Sibawayhi's Book*), he presents the first exhaustive description of Arabic based on a coherent and comprehensive theory of language. Although he drew upon the existing tradition, particularly for the nomenclature of the parts of speech (which are essentially only three: the noun, *ism*, 'name'; the verb, *fi'l*, 'action'; and a third defined as being neither of the other two, i.e. the particle, *ḥarf*, 'marginal item') and various formal features such as the case names (inscrutably ancient), his theoretical standpoint is quite new. True to his legal background, he regarded language as a 'way' (*naḥw*, henceforth the term for 'grammar' *per se*) of behaving and evaluated it by the same ethical standards as jurists already applied to behaviour. Speech is thus a set of overt, social actions ('describing', 'questioning', 'stating', 'dualizing', 'pluralizing', 'eliding', etc.) composed of speech elements having a given status (*manzila*) and an equivalent function (*mawḍi'*, literally 'place'). Every speech act can be classified as *ḥasan*, 'morally = structurally good', or *qabīḥ*, 'morally = structurally bad', according to whether its elements occur 'in the right place' (*mawḍi'* again), and as *muṣtaqīm*, 'right, righteous', if it successfully conveys the intended meaning, or *muhāl*, 'wrong, perverse', if it is intrinsically meaningless. At the heart of the system lies the concept of '*amal*, 'action, operation', probably Sibawayhi's most original and lasting contribution to grammar, the principle that speech elements normally occur as binary units consisting of an '*āmīl*, literally 'actor, operator', and a '*ma'mūl fihi*, literally 'thing acted upon, operated upon' by the other. These terms remarkably prefigure the Western notion of governance without, however, having the slightest connection historically or technically. Subsequent developments in grammar may

have modified Sibawayhi's ideas but have never made them redundant, and the *Kitāb* remains to this day the most revered treatise of its kind.

### Basrans and Kūfans

The *Kitāb* passed into temporary eclipse immediately after Sibawayhi's death, but it was not long before its authority was restored by such pedagogically inclined grammarians as al-Māzinī (d. 249/863), **al-Mubarrad** (d. c.285/898) and al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923). By this time a fierce rivalry had erupted between grammarians identifying themselves with Sibawayhi and Basra on the one hand and disciples of al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805) and **al-Farrā'** (d. 200/822) of Kufa on the other. Although this polarization owes its origins largely to personal competition between grammarians at the court of the new capital of **Baghdad** (it reached its peak with **al-Mubarrad** and **Tha'lab**, d. 291/904), there is no doubt that the Basran and Kūfan schools of grammar, as biographers and historians label them, genuinely reflect two opposing approaches to language. The conflict was probably unavoidable in a civilization that was still testing its conceptual boundaries, and the 'Basran' role was to defend the position of total systematic regularity against the 'Kufan' tolerance of anomalies and exceptions. We may see this as analogous to the gradual distribution of **Sunni** law into four distinct *madhhabs* of varied strictness and flexibility.

### Language as thought: the philosophical approach

By the fourth/tenth century philosophical and logical intrusions into grammatical analysis are conspicuous: language is no longer the external manifestation of intent (like any other legal act) but the image of thought, indeed of logic itself. Reports of sometimes acrimonious debates between grammarians and philosophers reveal the intellectual context in which the grammarians now confronted the fundamental principles of their discipline. The *Kitāb uṣūl al-naḥw* (*The Principles of Grammar*) of Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/928) is a re-systematization of grammar completely different from Sibawayhi's and al-Mubarrad's, treating grammar as a science capable of explaining linguistic phenomena not as pure behaviour but as a rational activity: once the *uṣūl* are established, e.g. that it is a property of statements to be falsifiable or



of verbs to denote events in time, grammatical theory reduces to a set of postulates. Ibn al-Sarrāj's student **al-Zajjāji** (d. c.337/949) questions all the presuppositions of grammar (why are there only three parts of speech?, etc.) not to undermine the discipline but to show that it has its own distinctive answers to these problems independently of the philosophers. Significantly it is about this time that the phrase *ṣinā'at al-naḥw* (*tekhne grammatikē*) first appears, denoting grammar as an independent science with its own methodology, rules and definitions.

### Language as religious behaviour: the legalistic approach

While deflecting the attacks of philosophy, grammar was consciously assimilating itself to the science of jurisprudence (see *fiqh*). Both Arabic grammar and Islamic law depend entirely on the integrity of the data transmitted from the period of the perfect community in the Prophet's lifetime, and we see very clearly, for example, in the *Ṣāhibī* of **Ibn Fāris al-Lughawī** (d. 395/1004), a deep awareness of the unrecoverability of the past and the corresponding need for a reliable linguistic reflection of it. His more adventurous and profound contemporary **Ibn Jinnī** (d. 392/1002) concerns himself with other aspects of the same topic: what is the origin of language and are its principles ('*ilal*, 'causes, reasons that things happen') closer to those of dogmatic theology (i.e. rational) or law (i.e. essentially arbitrary)? This line of thought reached its apogee in the *Kitāb al-Luma'* of **Ibn al-Anbārī** (d. 577/1181), who argues that the sciences of grammar and law are identical in their methodology and principles, thus affirming what was already well known, that the Arabic *naḥw*, 'way, grammar', and the Islamic *Sunna*, 'way, Orthodoxy', were in this respect synonymous. Knowledge of grammar is now a *farḍ kifāya*, a general religious obligation.

### Institutionalization: the great masters

The ripening of grammar as a system coincided with the evolution of that most characteristic institution of medieval Islamic learning, the *madrassa*, so that by the fifth/eleventh century grammar was a firmly established element in the educational curriculum (see further **education, medieval**). Grammatical textbooks written for this purpose are

recognizable by their extreme schematicization and inflexible prescriptivism: notable examples are the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Bābshādh (d. 469/1077), the *Mi'at 'āmil* of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjāni (d. 471/1078) and the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144). In the following centuries the techniques of presentation were refined even further by the three great masters **Ibn al-Hājib** (d. 646/1249), **Ibn Mālik** (d. 672/1274) and **Ibn Hishām al-Nahwī** (d. 761/1360), all of whose pedagogical texts have become classics and are still in use today, as are some of the juvenile and elementary textbooks that appeared around this time, such as the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Muṭarrizī (d. 610/1213), the *Muqaddimat al-Ḍarīrī* of al-Quhandizī (d. 666/1267), the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* of Ibn Mas'ūd (d. early eighth/fourteenth century) and, most famous of all, the *Ājurrūmiyya* of **Ibn Ājurrūm** (d. 723/1323). It is these late works that, perhaps unfortunately, came to be taken by Western scholars as representative of all Arabic grammar.

### Modern developments

Grammar continued to be written in the traditional manner, largely as commentaries on the works of Ibn al-Hājib, Ibn Mālik and Ibn Hishām, spurred on by the revivalist efforts of Germānūs Ibn Farahāt (**Jarmānūs Farhāt**) (1680–1732), Nāsif al-Yāziḡi (1800–71), Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804–87) and others, nearly all Lebanese. The twentieth century, however, presents a somewhat confused picture. The desire for reform was first publicly addressed in 1881, but it has always had to choose between the hitherto irreconcilable alternatives of adapting the written language more closely to the various vernaculars, thereby disconnecting Arabic from its religious roots, or simplifying the grammatical theory and teaching of Classical Arabic, thus perpetuating a form of the language no longer real or even materially relevant to many native speakers. Proponents of outright vernacularization will probably fail against the conservative policy of pedagogical simplification and enhancement, which was, after all, advocated many centuries ago by the patron saint of language reformists, Ibn Maḏā' al-Qurṭubī (d. 592/1196). As expatriate Arabs with foreign training in linguistics and pedagogy enter the debate, the problem acquires fascinating new religious, cultural, political and linguistic dimensions.

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M.G. CARTER

**Granada see Spain****Greek literature**

A very rich body of Greek literature was available to the Islamic world in the early centuries of its expansion. The 'Abbāsids in particular came to control large populations that were not initially Muslim and which had their cultural origins in the Greek and Syriac worlds. It was discovered that that culture possessed many examples of practical and

theoretical learning which were entirely novel to the Arab world. This learning was available in the form of books, and there were people who could understand and explain them to the new rulers. The sort of literary material available was very varied in form, ranging from quite practical medical texts to poetic and entirely fictional works, and there was a tendency for translators to concentrate upon those materials in which their new rulers showed most interest, these initially being those works that were felt to be most practical. Yet it is difficult to disentangle the practical from the theoretical, and with the factual reports of astronomical observations came works dealing with the principles of science as such, mathematics, philosophy, astrology and mechanics. In Baghdad in the third/ninth century the **Bayt al-Ḥikma** was instituted, a 'house of wisdom' which formalized and organized the main official translating processes and which supplied new Arabic texts of existing Greek texts that were felt to be important. Missions were organized to centres of Greek texts such as Constantinople in order to retrieve important works and deliver them to the translators.

The outstanding translator was **Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī**, who established a school of translators and indeed a theory of translation. He was not satisfied with coming as close as possible to representing terms from Greek in Arabic, which often resulted in confusion and misunderstanding of the meaning of the original text. He appreciated that the normal method of transmission, from Greek to Syriac and then to Arabic, was replete with a host of potential problems, and he grappled with the issue of creating a technical vocabulary capable of producing a reliable and entirely accurate text. He and his son Ishāq translated some very difficult texts by **Aristotle**, **Plato**, **Galen**, **Alexander of Aphrodisias**, **Ptolemy** and **Proclus**, and composed original works of their own, those on grammar being particularly interesting since they reveal so much of their theory of translation. For several centuries subsequently there were to be distinguished translators into Arabic, and the field was dominated by Christians. The latter had the literary and cultural skills required in order to understand the range of languages and concepts involved in the transmission of Greek thought into Arabic, and while there continued to be curiosity in the Islamic world about Greek learning, there were individuals available who could satisfy the demand.

It is interesting to note how selective the translation movement actually was, which does not appear obvious given the vast variety of types of translated texts. It seems that very few Greek literary texts dealing with poetry or drama were translated, and that Hunayn's legendary facility for quoting Homer did not furnish him with any material for translation. Greek literature was used in so far as it was felt that it could supplement what was missing in Arabic. There was understood to be no need to transmit Greek views on poetry, for example, since there already existed a perfectly adequate, and indeed superb, tradition of Arabic poetic composition. The Arabic term *adab* can be translated as 'literature', though it has a rather different sense from what might traditionally be regarded as such. Part of this sense is the ability to lead an audience to good deeds and to provide them with an understanding of the rules of Arabic composition. Arabic literature was perfectly adequate for this purpose, while the Arabic language itself does not require any assistance from Greek in order to understand how it is to be used. There is clear evidence of both lack of understanding and lack of interest when Greek literary forms are discussed in Arabic. Even philosophers such as **al-Fārābī**, **Ibn Sinā** and **Ibn Rushd** who deal with Aristotle's *Poetics* interpret it entirely differently from Aristotle. They are not at all interested in the approach to aesthetics employed by the Greek philosopher. They were much more interested in what he had to say about the use that different sorts of arguments about subjective experience might have, and their religious and political implications. In some ways this is a good example of the attitude in Arabic literature to Greek literature. The latter is useful in filling in gaps in what is available to the former, but on the aesthetic level Arabic literature has no need to borrow anything from outside itself.

There was often a tendency to identify Greek literature with the 'foreign sciences' and to contrast it with the 'Islamic sciences';

yet there is no doubt that Greek approaches became part and parcel of theoretical work in Islam, especially in areas such as theology and law. Here the discussions of dialectical reasoning were employed in order to present arguments more securely, and once Greek thought was naturalized in Arabic it painlessly became part of the Islamic approach to justification and explanation. The very rich tradition of Hellenic thought as it developed up to the time of the Prophet was thus available to Arabic literature and was incorporated at many levels of Islamic thought, enabling Muslims to express themselves in terms that were appropriate for debate and argument with non-Muslims. Once the need for inter-faith argument had passed, Greek thought became important in helping the Islamic world to present its arguments in as universal a form as possible, employing demonstrative and rigorous forms of reasoning which transcended the specificity of Islam itself. This was what many Arabic thinkers found exciting about Greek literature: its ambitions to encompass all of humanity or reality with its assertions, and its construction of a methodology that is powerful enough to carry this out.

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O. LEAMAN

*See also:* Aristotle; *kalām*; literary criticism; philosophical literature; Platonism; translation; medieval

**Habāba** *see* singers and musicians

**Ḥabīb ibn Aws al-Ṭā'ī** *see* Abū Tammām

**Ḥabībī, Imīl (Habīby, Emīle) (1921–96)**

Palestinian novelist and short-story writer. Ḥabībī began publishing short stories in the 1940s when he was involved in communist activities under the British mandate. He later became one of the founders of the Israeli Communist Party and won a three-term membership of the Knesset on its list. In addition to his many political writings, he has written a number of highly acclaimed fictional works. *Sudāsiyyat al-ayyām al-sitta* (1968) is a collection of six stories expressing the joy of Palestinians from Israel and the occupied West Bank on meeting each other after the 1967 war and years of separation. His novel *al-Waqā'i' al-gharība fī ikhtifā'* *Sa'īd Abī al-Naḥs al-Mutashā'il* (1974) portrays the anguish of Palestinians as Israeli citizens with insecure present and future. His dramatic narrative *Luka' ibn Luka'* (1980) denounces harsh Israeli policies and weak Arab reactions to it in metaphorical language. His novel *Ikhtayyi* (1986) celebrates the memories of Palestinian social life before it was destroyed by Israel. A master of irony and black humour, Ḥabībī has an unconventional style calculated to shock and awaken the reader's conscience. He was awarded Israel's 1992 Prize for Literature, the cash amount of which he donated to a Palestinian medical centre.

Text edition

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I. J. BOULLATA

**Ḥaddād, 'Abd al-Masīḥ (1890–1963)**

**Mahjar** writer and journalist. Born in Homs, he emigrated in 1907 to New York, where he founded the newspaper *al-Sā'ih* which continued to be published until 1957. He then sold his newspaper to *al-Bayān*, which continued until 1960. He contributed at least one article to every issue of his own paper, and then to *al-Bayān*. Ḥaddād was a 'worker' of **al-Rābi'a al-qalamiyya**, and *al-Sā'ih* became the official paper of the circle. The 'adad *mumtāz* (special issue), which appeared in 1916, 1918–23, 1925 and 1927, was completely devoted to literature and mainly filled by the 'workers' of the group. His *Ḥikāyāt muḡtarīb* were published in New York in 1921. After a short visit to Syria he wrote *Inṭibā'āt muḡtarīb* (Damascus, 1962). His brother Nadra Ḥaddād (1881–1950) had a *dīwān* published in New York in 1941.

C. NIJLAND

**Ḥaddād, Fu'ād (1927–85)**

Egyptian colloquial poet. A leading founder of Egypt's contemporary colloquial poetry movement, Ḥaddād composed more than thirty *dīwāns*, some of which remain to be published. Probably more than any other colloquial Arabic poetic corpus, Ḥaddād's has attracted serious critical attention and is recognized by today's poets as crucial to the radical redirection of colloquial poetry away from the *zajal* tradition. A student of the *zajal* corpus of Maḥmūd Bayram al-Tūnisī,

Ḥaddād went beyond al-Tūnīsī's critical realism to fashion a dialectic, confrontational poetic voice which both celebrated and probed ideologies of collective identity. Ḥaddād's familiarity with French experimental poetry and his concern with subaltern identities and resistance movements the world over are as important to his poetic voice as are his immersion in Ṣūfī beliefs and expressive forms (see, for example, *al-Ḥaḍra al-zakiyya* 1985), Arab and specifically Egyptian popular cultural expression (particularly a career-long experimentation with the *mawwāl* form), Islamic and Egyptian history (e.g. in *Min nūr al-khayāl wa-ṣun' al-ajyāl fī tārikh al-Qāhira*, 1984), revolutionary pan-Arabism and a commitment to Palestinian self-determination (see *al-Ḥaml al-filasīnī*). Although in the earlier *dīwāns – Aḥrār warā' al-quḍbān* (1952), *Bi-quwwat al-fallāḥīn wa-bi-quwwat al-'ummāl* (1967), *Kalimat Miṣr* (1975) – and in his long *rithā'* to 'Abd al-Nāṣir (*Istishhād Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir*, composed 1970–1) it was the more specifically Egyptian and political voice that emerged, this was a voice already seeking broader notions of 'nation' and 'folk', as the later collections attest.

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M. BOOTH

**al-Ḥaddād, Najīb ibn Sulaymān (1867–99)**

Syro-Egyptian journalist, poet, novelist, playwright and translator, born in Beirut. In Egypt he worked as a journalist on *al-Ahrām*, founded the *Lisān al-'Arab* (1894) and *al-Salām* (1898) newspapers and *al-Bayān* magazine (1899), and edited *Anīs al-jalīs*. One of the most competent translators of the period, he translated fiction by Alexandre Dumas *le père*, Lamartine and others, and was also considered an excellent poet. His greatest contribution to literature was, however, his twenty-odd plays. These did much to invigorate the theatre in Egypt at the turn of the century. Among his own works were his

popular *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī*, inspired by Walter Scott; a tragedy about the legendary Lakhmid king, 'Amr ibn 'Adī; *al-Mahdī*; and a drama about Iphigenia. His usually faithful, if melodramatic, adaptations included Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and works by Corneille, Racine, Molière, Voltaire and Victor Hugo. His plays remained popular for a decade or so after his death.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Ḥaddād, al-Tāhir (1899–1935)**

Modern Tunisian nationalist and intellectual, born in the commercial area of Tunis at the time when the French colonization of Tunisia was becoming entrenched. After finishing his studies at the Zitouna University, he became involved in militant political action through writing articles and poetry. In 1924 he played a part in the formation of Tunisian trade unionism, through which he was able to continue to question the protectorate system of government. He published *al-'Ummāl al-Tūnusiyyūn wa-zuhūr al-ḥaraka al-niqābiyya* (1927), and *Imra'atunā fī al-sharī'a wa-al-mujtama'* (1930), in which he contrasted the eternal truths of the **Koran** with their temporal applications such as polygamy, which he demanded be stopped. For this last work he was savagely attacked by the traditionalists, and was also denied the right to witness deeds – a step that effectively denied him his livelihood. He died as a result of this persecution after two years of illness, just as the nationalist movement was becoming more radical following the founding of the Néo-Destour, the political organization from which Bourguiba derived his power base.

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J. FONTAINE

## hadith

As a general literary category, a *ḥadīth* is a short narrative focused upon a single incident in which a particular saying or deed of a well-known figure holds the central place. Typically, it is a saying or deed of the Prophet **Muḥammad** that is reported, and thus the term *ḥadīth* has come to refer pre-eminently to that narrative material in which the second source of revelation in Islam, after the **Koran**, is embodied, namely the *Sunna* (Custom) of the Prophet. Although the term is frequently applied generically to the entire body of such material, it should be kept in mind that it is the individual, discrete narrative that is properly called *ḥadīth*.

In the early centuries of Islam, Prophetic *ḥadīths* (the Arabic plural is *aḥādīth*) proliferated rapidly, leading to the emergence of a critical scholarship which sifted this material and assembled what were deemed to be the more reliable *ḥadīths* in written compilations. The principal criterion adopted in this endeavour was the trustworthiness of the narrators, and thus in order even to be considered for retention a *ḥadīth* had to be accompanied by a 'chain' (*siilsila*) of transmitters, which constituted the only acceptable support (*sanad*) for its credibility.

Two types of compilations emerged out of this endeavour, one that arranged the *ḥadīths* under the names of famous early transmitters (the *musnad*) and one that arranged them according to subject matter so as to make them useful as source material in the various religious sciences of Islam, especially law (the *muṣannaf*). The former type is represented pre-eminently by the *musnad* of **Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal**, whereas, in Sunnī Islam, the latter type embraces six famous compilations, the most widely used and highly respected of which are those of **al-Bukhārī** and **Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj**. **Shīʿis** have compilations of their own.

Although the great proliferation of *ḥadīths* had produced, among some Muslim scholars, scepticism about their reliability as sources of information about the Prophet, the idea that *ḥadīths* were an indispensable channel of revelation and an important supplement to the **Koran** ultimately prevailed. Not only did the

critical endeavours help to give respectability to *ḥadīths*; the growing practice among jurists of relying upon them as a source of law – a trend for which the great **al-Shāfiʿī** was largely responsible – assured them of a crucial place within the Islamic system of jurisprudence.

For classical Muslim thought as crystallized in the ninth and tenth centuries, the major difference between the **Koran** and *ḥadīth* lay in the fact that the **Koran** was the literal Word of God recited verbatim by the Prophet (and by all reciters since) whereas the *ḥadīths* contained the Word of God as mediated through the sayings and deeds of the Prophet. In the case of the **Koran**, both words and meaning were from God; in the case of the sayings and deeds of the Prophet, meaning was from God, but the expression of the meaning in words or actions was the Prophet's. Furthermore, whereas the **Koran** was believed to be so widely transmitted as not to require critical scrutiny of chains of transmitters to establish its authenticity, the *ḥadīths* could only be treated as authoritative in consequence of such scrutiny.

From a literary point of view, the **Koran** and the body of *ḥadīth* share a common feature: both are collections of originally discrete units. They differ, however, with respect to the collection process. Whereas in the case of the **Koran** the collection took place under the aegis of the Prophet and the early caliphs, giving rise to a continuous document that may not be subsequently tampered with in any way, in the case of the *ḥadīths* the collection was the work of much later individual scholars, and the integrity of their compilations *qua* compilations did not become a principle of religious doctrine. As a result, a *ḥadīth* remained for all practical purposes a discrete unit divorced from any contiguous contextual matrix made up of other *ḥadīths*.

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(For an extensive bibliography of other works see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.)

B. WEISS

See also: *fiqh*

**Hāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad see  
Ibrāhīm, (Muḥammad) Hāfiẓ**

**Hafsa bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya  
(c.530–85/c.1135–91)**

Poet and teacher in Granada and Marrakesh. A beautiful and cultured woman of Berber origin, Hafsa had a long love affair and exchanged poems with Abū Ja'far ibn Sa'id. When Abū Sa'id 'Uthmān became governor of Granada, Abū Ja'far became a minister in his government. Abū Sa'id then fell in love with Hafsa and turned against Abū Ja'far. The latter fled to join the rebel Ibn Mardanish, but he was apprehended and crucified. Hafsa became a teacher; the Almohad caliph Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr brought her to Marrakesh as tutor to his daughters. Eighteen short poems from her Granada period, mostly on love, are attributed to her.

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R. P. SCHEINDLIN

**Hafšids see Maghrib**

**haglography see manāqib  
literature**

**al-Hā'ik, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan  
(fl. twelfth/eighteenth century)**

North African compiler of a unique song-text collection (*Majmū'at al-nawbāt*) which seems to represent the North African repertoire of the eleventh/seventeenth to twelfth/eighteenth centuries. The comprehensive materials (there are over 700 entries) include most of the major categories of song and are organized according to their place within the eleven *nawbāt*, the complex cyclical forms of the classical Maghribi musical tradition. There are at least three different versions extant, one of which contains a general introductory survey

of music and the melodic modes. As well as indicating which modes occur in each *nawba*, reference is also made to category and metre, but there are no internal indications of structure or of the nature of the setting. The collection is also important as a literary document, recording as it does the major part of the poetry that was sung during this period, including items that survive from the Andalusian *muwashshahāt* repertoire of the fourteenth century.

Text edition

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O. WRIGHT

**al-Hājī, Unsī (1937– )**

Lebanese poet, journalist and translator. Born in Beirut, al-Hājī was a leading member of the group of modernist poets associated with *Shi'r* magazine. In addition to his own verse, he has translated poems by Breton, Artaud and other French writers into Arabic. His own poetry is itself greatly influenced by French poets such as Saint-John Perse and Rimbaud, much of it being written in the form of prose poetry, and, with Adūnis, he has acknowledged his indebtedness to Suzanne Bernard's book *Le Poème en prose de Baudelaire jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1959). Among his collections are *Lan* (1960), *al-Ra's al-maqfū'* (1963) and *Māḍī al-ayyām al-ātiya* (1965). Al-Hājī has seen his own poetry as an expression of revolt against the Arabic literary tradition; his preface to *Lan* may be considered almost as a manifesto for the new trend.

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P. STARKEY

**al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf  
(c.41–95/c.661–714)**

The most famous, or notorious, provincial governor of the Umayyad caliphate. He was both agent and symbol of the restoration of Umayyad power under 'Abd al-Malik in the

second civil war, a restoration founded on the outright military conquest of rebellious provinces. After 'Abd al-Malik's victory al-Ḥajjāj was appointed governor of Iraq, the most rebellious of the provinces, together with the vast eastern marches of Khurasan and Sijistan. His harsh but effective government ensured a long period of relative internal stability and a wave of new conquests in the east, but also made his name a byword for Umayyad oppression. Al-Ḥajjāj was famed for his oratory; examples of his speeches (and of his correspondence) have been preserved by al-Jāhīz.

#### Text edition

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R.A. KIMBER

### Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abd Allāh (1017–67/1609–57)

Outstanding Ottoman historian and bibliographer. Born to a father in the military in Istanbul, he studied mainly there, then served as a bureaucrat in the Ottoman army, participating in its campaigns, and thus became known as 'Kātib Ḥelebi'. In later life, he settled down in Istanbul, studying, attending lectures, and eventually writing his own books in Arabic and Turkish, and translating some Latin books into Turkish with the help of a French convert. These books, mostly still unpublished, are on history, travel, literature and dogma. He is best known for his *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, an invaluable bibliography of about 14,500 titles of Islamic compilations in Arabic, Turkish and Persian until his time. Available in several editions, it has also been translated into Latin by G. Flügel (London and Leipzig, 1853–8).

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WADĀD AL-QĀDĪ

### *hajw see hijā'*; satire, medieval

### al-Ḥakamī see Abū Nuwās

### al-Ḥakīm, Tawfiq (1898–1987)

Egyptian dramatist, novelist, essayist and short-story writer. Born in Alexandria, al-Ḥakīm's early enthusiasm for literature was reinforced when he moved to Cairo to prepare for his Intermediate Certificate. In addition to attending performances by Jūrj Abyaḍ and other theatre companies, he began to improvise plays with friends and soon started writing. When the 1919 revolt broke out, he composed patriotic songs before being arrested. Having failed his first-year exams at the Cairo Law School, his father arranged for him to study at the Berlitz School, where he was encouraged to read French literature and, from this point, his main intellectual interest was the theatre.

The six plays dating from this period – the majority composed for the popular theatre of the 'Ukāsha brothers – were written under the name 'Ḥusayn Tawfiq' to escape the attention of his family. Their themes give an early indication of the author's versatility, two of them combining political or social comment with the elements of comedy and melodrama found in most Egyptian drama of the period: *al-Dayf al-thaqīl* builds on the nationalistic sentiments of the 1919 Revolt; while *al-Mar'a al-jadīda* is an assault on the movement for the unveiling of women, presaging in its misogyny an attitude that al-Ḥakīm later used as one of his hallmarks.

Although al-Ḥakīm passed his law examinations in 1925, he was unable to obtain a government post, and his father accordingly dispatched him to France to study for a doctorate. From 1925 to 1928 al-Ḥakīm was in Paris. This period provided him with an acquaintance with Western culture which radically changed his literary development. He both acquired a taste for Western avant-garde authors and, like other Arabs studying in the West, found himself challenged by the West's material



superiority. Henceforth, the relationship between Eastern and Western culture, and the nature of the Egyptian identity, became dominant concerns in his writing.

In 1928, al-Ḥakīm was recalled by his father to Egypt. For two years he was employed in the Egyptian legal service in Alexandria, and was then appointed a deputy public prosecutor, serving in Tanta, Disuq and Damanhur until 1934. This period provided the inspiration for his finest non-theatrical work, *Yawmiyyāt nā'ib fī al-aryāf* (1937), which depicts the gulf dividing the mentality of the Egyptian *fallāh* from the officials charged with administering justice on the basis of the Napoleonic Code.

The decisive date in al-Ḥakīm's career as a writer was 1933, when he published not only his first 'philosophical' play *Ahl al-kaḥf*, based on a story from the *Koran*, but also his first novel, *'Awdat al-rūh*, a work that marked the beginning of a new realistic trend. *Ahl al-kaḥf* was followed in 1934 by a second full-length play, *Shahrazād*, in which the uncertain relationship between dream and reality of *Ahl al-kaḥf* is even more pronounced. Despite its title, however, al-Ḥakīm makes little use of the *Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*) and the play owes less to popular Arabic literature than to Maeterlinck, the 'symbolist' aspects of al-Ḥakīm's technique being here particularly in evidence.

Al-Ḥakīm's attempts to combine literature with an official career proved difficult, and he was several times in trouble with the authorities. From 1934 to 1939 he served in the Ministry of Education; in 1939, following another literary storm, he was transferred to the Ministry of Social Affairs, where he served until he resigned from government service in 1943. His output during this period was remarkable for its variety, including plays, articles and short stories; in addition to *Yawmiyyāt nā'ib*, he also published a further major novel *'Usfūr min al-sharq*, based on his experiences in Paris, in which he further explored the conflict between East and West. In 1942 he produced another 'philosophical' play, *Pygmalion*, whose main theme revolves around the relationship of the artist to his work, and in 1949 published *al-Malik Ūdīb*, an unsuccessful attempt to rework the Oedipus legend to conform with Islamic beliefs.

Although al-Ḥakīm's concerns in these works are primarily intellectual, elsewhere his

themes clearly relate to contemporary Egypt. Both *Praxagora* (1939) and *Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm* (1943), for example, discuss issues concerning the morality of power, and these themes are continued in *Īzīs* (1955), in which al-Ḥakīm derived his inspiration for the first time directly from an Ancient Egyptian myth – the central problem of the play being whether the end justifies the means. A similar topic forms the subject of *al-Sultān al-ḥā'ir* (1960), in which he used a historical setting to pose the question whether a solution to the world's problems should be sought in law or in force. Despite the relevance of these plays to contemporary Egypt, they also share a concern with wider issues; in this respect, they differ from the plays of *Masraḥ al-mujtama'*, a series of short plays on social themes originally published between 1945 and 1950 in the Egyptian daily *Akhbār al-yawm*. Unlike many Egyptian writers of his generation, al-Ḥakīm had refused to identify himself with any political party, arguing that a writer must maintain his independence to preserve his moral authority; his articles in the 1930s and 1940s satirized Egyptian politicians of all persuasions, and he continued to attack corruption in all spheres of public life.

Al-Ḥakīm's lack of affiliation to any political party enabled him to find a position of favour with the Free Officers' regime after 1952, and in the succeeding period he received many honours, while continuing to adopt a detached position towards politics. His attitude towards the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy found expression in the play *al-Aydī al-nā'ima* (1954), the main theme of which was the need to work for reconciliation in Egyptian society. This conciliatory tone was continued in *al-Ṣafqa*, a play of interest also for its attempt to solve the dilemma of classical versus colloquial Arabic by employing a 'third language' which could be read either way.

Two main trends can be seen in al-Ḥakīm's work after 1952. First, his major works during this period were, with few exceptions, all plays. Second, he began to show a new fondness for experiment, with a view both to narrowing the gap between the theatre and the audience, and to importing new techniques from contemporary Western theatre. This taste for experimentation derived largely from a visit to Paris in 1959–60, when he became acquainted with works of the 'Theatre of the Absurd'. The first play to show these influences was *Yā ṭālī'*

*al-shajara* (1963), the innovations of which were quickly followed by other plays in the 'Absurd' tradition, and by experiments of other kinds in which differing influences – for example, that of Brecht – are apparent.

Towards the end of his life, and particularly after the death of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-Ḥakīm attained something of the position of an 'elder statesman' among Egyptian writers. Despite an earlier tendency to 'sail with the wind' politically, however, he did not go out of his way to avoid friction with Nasser's successors and in 1974 published an extended essay, *'Awdat al-wa'y*, in which he described the change in his attitude to the new regime from one of hope to disillusion. He also found himself at odds with many of his fellow writers for his favourable view of the Camp David Agreement, and with Muslim fundamentalists for his liberal religious views.

The bewildering variety of themes and influences apparent in al-Ḥakīm's drama make an overall evaluation of his output difficult, particularly as the quality of his work is inconsistent. His name was virtually synonymous with serious Arabic drama during the 1930s and 1940s; and the best of his plays are unquestionably masterpieces, the potential appeal of which goes far beyond the Arab world. Although most of the younger generation of Egyptian playwrights owe little to him directly, he will continue to be regarded as the founder of serious Egyptian drama, as well as a major contributor to the establishment of the modern Arabic novel.

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P. STARKEY

### al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī

(b. between 205/820 and 215/830;  
 d. between 295/905 and 300/910)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī was the most prolific mystical writer of the third/ninth century. His writings are for the most part extant. Together with his autobiography, the earliest to survive of any mystic, the following are his most important works: *Sīrat al-awliyā'*, also called *Khatm al-walāya* or *Khatm al-awliyā'*; *'Ilm al-awliyā'*; *Nawādir al-uṣūl*; *'Ilal al-sharī'a*; *Kitāb al-amthāl*; *Kitāb al-manhiyyāt*; *Kitāb al-furūq*; *Kitāb al-akyās wa-al-mughtarrīn*; *Kitāb al-ḥuqūq*; *al-Farq bayna al-āyāt wa-al-karamāt*. (The contents of these works are described in Radtke and O'Kane, 1996: 2–5.) In addition, numerous smaller *Masā'il* and letters to his contemporaries have come down to us.

Al-Tirmidhī can best be described as a theosophist. He combines Islamic theology (*ḥadīth*, *fiqh*) with a method of introspection (*'ilm al-bāṭin*) and diffuse Gnostic speculations. From his works a particular anthropology and cosmology emerges. Along with influences from earlier mystics, especially al-Muḥāsibī, he takes up some Shi'ī ideas without, however, being a Shi'ī himself. He is best known for his teaching concerning the *khatm al-walāya*, which he develops in *Sīrat al-awliyā'*. In this treatise he works out for the first time the theory of a hierarchy of saints or Friends of God. Centuries later the theory was to be of influence on Ibn al-'Arabī, and through him has come to influence the whole of modern Sufism.

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B. RADTKE

### Halasā, Ghālīb (1932–89)

Jordanian novelist, short-story writer, critic, translator and political activist. Born in Ma'in, Halasā studied in Jordan, Beirut, Baghdad and Cairo, where he received a BA in journalism from the American University. Joining the Communist Party wherever he went, he lived in a state of near permanent exile in the Arab world and was jailed in Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt. He left Jordan for the last time in 1956, although his body was returned there after his death in Damascus.

Halasā was recognized as a gifted short-story writer from the age of 14. He worked for the China News Agency and later the East German News Agency in Cairo for sixteen years from 1956, contributing regularly to the leftist press and publications throughout the Arab world. He was an active participant in the cultural life of the Arab capitals in which he lived, and a vigorous defender of Palestinian culture, establishing various organs for this purpose. During the 1982 siege of Lebanon, he risked his life to remain with the Palestinian freedom fighters.

Halasā wrote two collections of short stories, seven novels, including *al-Ḍahīk* (1971), *al-Su'āl* (1979) and *al-Bukā' 'alā al-aṭlāl* (1980), four books of literary criticism, three books on intellectual history, traditions and Palestinian affairs, and dozens of articles yet to be collected. He also translated several books from English. Halasā was a founding member of the Gallery 68 group of writers in Egypt; he was widely respected as a gifted and committed writer of integrity, whose life was closely related to the various Arab societies in which he lived.

Further reading

*Afkār* (Amman) 108 (December 1992), special section on Ghālīb Halasā.

A.-N. STAIF

### al-Ḥallāj, Abū al-Mughīth al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr (244–309/857–922)

A highly significant early Islamic mystic, whose legacy has exerted its influence to the

present day, al-Ḥallāj was born in Fars, but moved with his father (*ḥallāj*, cotton-wool carder) round the textile centres of southern Iran and Iraq. At the age of 16 he went to study with **Sahl al-Tustarī**, and then with **al-Makkī** in **Basra**. Difficulties in his relationship with the latter caused him to seek **al-Junayd's** advice in **Baghdad**. For the next thirty years he travelled extensively: three visits to Mecca (270–1/884–5, 281/895 and 290–1/904–5), on two of these occasions spending over a year there in spiritual discipline; to **Khurasan**, Transoxania, Sijistan and Kirman (274–9/888–93); to India, and as far as Turkestan (284–9/897–902). His gradual involvement in 'Abbāsīd politics through association with the nobility brought him in 282/895 to Baghdad, where he came to incur the enmity of certain officials, theologians and jurists, who, in a time of widespread corruption, saw him as a fomenter of popular discontent and a charlatan miracle-worker with an undesirable influence at court. The last eight years of his life were spent as a prisoner at the court in Baghdad, and in 309/922 he was finally brought to trial on charges of advocating the spiritual circumambulation of the Ka'ba of the heart, and, by implication, of supporting Qarmaṭī insurrection (see **Carmathians**). He was tortured and exhibited on a gibbet (*ṣalīb*, cross), and on the next day he was executed, his body burned, and his ashes cast into the Tigris. His fame in the West is largely due to the lifetime's work of the erudite French orientalist Louis Massignon, who saw a particularly Christian echo in many elements of his hero's life, overplaying them to some extent and downplaying the importance of other aspects, such as al-Ḥallāj's extremist **Shi'ī** connections.

Al-Ḥallāj wrote and preached entirely in Arabic. He is said to have written a work on the duties of viziers, and many of his sayings, particularly those of his last night, were collected; he is famous for his 'ecstatic utterances' (*shath*, pl. *shataḥāt*), in particular the possibly apocryphal '*Anā 'l-Ḥaqq*' ('I am the Truth/God'). In his *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn* Iblis (Satan) and the Prophet, **Muḥammad**, are cast as ultimate witnesses to the inaccessibility of God's unity, but opening, each in their own way, the divine threshold for spiritual beings to enter union with God through a total self-identification engendered by supreme love, the doctrine with which al-Ḥallāj's name became inextricably linked.

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J. COOPER

**ḥamāsa** see epic poetry**al-Hamadhānī, Badī' al-Zamān**  
see Badī' al-Zaman al-Hamadhānī**Ḥamdān ibn Abān al-Lāḥiqī**  
(third/ninth century)

Minor poet of the early 'Abbāsīd period. Ḥamdān was the son of the poet Abān al-Lāḥiqī who is of some importance to the development of *muzdawij* poetry (see *muzdawija*). An ancient *dīwān* of his poems, of about fifty leaves, seems to be lost. As far as can be judged from the fragments in Arabic sources (above all in Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī's *Kitāb al-Awrāq*), he mainly composed shorter, quite robust *hijā'* poems. A peculiar contribution to love theory is a long *rajaz muzdawij* poem on the different types of lovers, of which 108 double lines are preserved. It is designed as a didactic poem for lovers, who until then, as the author remarks (line 7), had not been guided by any book. Ḥamdān describes the lover who is consumed by his passion, the lover who conceals his love, the lover who is satisfied with speaking to and glancing at his beloved, etc., and often adds value judgements of a moral or a more practical character.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

**al-Hamdānī**  
(fl. mid-fourth/tenth century)

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad al-Hamdānī, also known as Ibn al-Ḥā'ik, was a Yemeni scholar and poet and authority on South Arabian antiquities, genealogy and geography. A broadly educated and much travelled scholar, he was also well connected in official circles in Yemen and several times became involved in controversies leading to his imprisonment. He was a proud exponent of the South Arabian tradition, and his works reflect this. The *Ṣīfat Jazīrat al-'Arab* (*Description of Arabia*) is a classic topographical and antiquarian account of the peninsula recording information not found elsewhere. His *magnum opus* was his *al-Iklīl* (*The Crown*), an encyclopedic account of South Arabia in ten books (only four survive today), covering Creation and the ancient descendents of Mālik ibn Ḥimyar, the vaults of Yemen and the southern tribes of the Qaḥḥān group, history up to the rise of Islam, an exposé of false anecdotes, South Arabian antiquities, Ḥimyarite sayings and records, and tribal genealogy. The work pointedly asserts a sense of regional pride and cultural identity at a time when South Arabia was becoming increasingly marginalized within the Islamic world generally. His famous *qaṣīda*, *al-Dāmigha* (*The Mortal Wound Cleaving the Brain*), of 600 verses, is a vigorous defence of his tribe of Ḥamdān against the attack of a group of poets belonging to the northern Arab tribe of 'Adnān.

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L.I. CONRAD

## Ḥamdānids

A Taghlibī family from the eastern Jazīra (Mesopotamia) which in the fourth/tenth century produced two local dynasties, one centred in Mosul and ruling over the Jazīra, the other more important branch ruling Syria from Aleppo. They traced their descent to Ḥamdān ibn Ḥamdūn ibn al-Ḥārith, imprisoned by the caliph al-Mu'taḍid (r. 279–89/892–902) in 282/895 for his support of the **Khārijīs** in the Jazīra (cf. the praise of Ḥamdān by Abū Firās al-Ḥamdāni, *Dīwān*, Dahhān [ed.], Beirut [1944], 148). The rise to power of Ḥamdān's successors exemplifies the increasing role of local military and tribal leaders as the caliphate weakened and actual political power was assumed by the **Būyid** commanders; this was accompanied by increased regional separatism and the rise of virtually autonomous local centres of power, by the insurrections of the **Carmathians** in Bahrain, and by the establishment of the **Fātimid** caliphate in Cairo. The Ḥamdānids, pro-Shi'ī and pro-'Alid, continued to support the caliphate in hopes of supplanting the Būyids.

The most important of the Ḥamdānid princes was Sayf al-Dawla 'Alī ibn Abi al-Hayjā' 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān (r. 336–56/947–67), who ruled Aleppo from 333/944 onwards, extended his control over much of Syria, and was responsible also for the defence of the Syro-Mesopotamian frontier; he conducted many notable campaigns, celebrated by his court poets, against both rebellious Syrian tribes and the Christian Byzantines. During his twenty-year reign (the latter part of which was increasingly unstable) Sayf al-Dawla's court, his sumptuous palaces outside Aleppo and Mayyafariqin, became a magnet which attracted talent from far afield, and the brilliance of the 'circle of Sayf al-Dawla' made this ruler famous among royal patrons.

The literary output of this circle was prolific and varied, reflecting the sophisticated atmosphere of Sayf al-Dawla's court and the intellectual richness of a milieu in which poets, secretaries and scholars competed for the patron's favour. Both the formal *qaṣida* in its varied genres and the brief *qit'a* flourished, the latter enjoying a revival after its relative decline. The Ḥamdānid poets were noted in particular for their *jihād* poetry praising Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns against the **Byzantines**, and for descriptive poetry (*wasf*) of all sorts, in particular the garden poems (*rawḍiyyāt*, *nawriyyāt*) which drew their inspiration from the beauties of Aleppo's gardens and the surrounding countryside, and which present an animated vision of nature which is quite special in Arabic poetry. (See further *nature*, in **classical poetry**.)

One of the notable poets of this circle was Sayf al-Dawla's cousin **Abū Firās al-Ḥamdāni** (d. 357/968), governor of Manbij, known especially for his *tarḍiyyāt* (hunting-poems) and his *ḥabsiyyāt* (prison-poems), written to Sayf al-Dawla during his four-year detainment in Byzantium. Foremost among the panegyrists was **al-Mutanabbī** (d. 354/965), who spent some nine years (337–46/948–57) with Sayf al-Dawla and often accompanied him on his campaigns, which he described in many of his *qaṣidas*. Al-Mutanabbī's enemies at court included Abū Firās and his circle and a number of other poets and scholars, including the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh, tutor to Sayf al-Dawla's sons, a dispute with whom provoked the final rupture between the poet and his royal patron.

The names of those patronized by Sayf al-Dawla would make a lengthy catalogue. They included the philosopher Abū Naṣr **al-Fārābī**; the young philologist **Ibn Jinnī**, who became an ardent supporter of al-Mutanabbī; the theologian and poet **al-Nāshī al-Aṣghar**; the Khālidi brothers (**al-Khālidiyyān**), famous as poets and prose writers; Sayf al-Dawla's panegyrist **al-Nāmī**; and other poets including **Ibn Nubāta al-Khaṭīb**, **Kushājīm**, **al-Wa'wā' al-Dimashqī**, **al-Babbaghā'**, **al-Ṣanawbarī** and **al-Sarī al-Raffa'**. As a patron, Sayf al-Dawla demanded constant and copious production, and he and his circle favoured the urban, mannered poetic style represented by **Abū Tammām** and exemplified by the descriptive poetry of al-Ṣanawbarī.

With Sayf al-Dawla's death his court gradually ceased to be the flourishing centre it had been during his lifetime, and under his less

notable and talented successors lost its former status. Nevertheless, its brief period of brilliance represents the peak to which the patronage of learning and poetry might rise.

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J. S. MEISAMI

**Ḥamid al-Din al-Kirmānī** *see*  
**al-Kirmānī, Ḥamid al-Din Aḥmad**  
**ibn 'Abd Allāh**

**al-Ḥāmidī (d. 557/1162)**

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī was the second *dā'i muṭlaq* of the Ṭayyibī **Ismā'ilis** in the **Yemen**. His writings are important because their form came to be much copied, especially for the colourful use of Neoplatonic imagery which came to be so characteristic of the *ḥaqā'iq* style of writing. Although this was very much a feature of the Ṭayyibī movement, it affected other similar literature also, and al-Ḥāmidī was influential in his use of the **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'** (Brethren of Purity) for illustrative material. The imagery of a 'drama in heaven' was obviously designed to catch the imagination of the reader, and al-Ḥāmidī's works are effective in translating difficult and abstract ideas into figurative language. His main work is his *Kanz al-walad*, which had a readership and influence far wider than his movement.

Text edition

- Die ismaelitische Theologie des ... al-Ḥāmidī (=Kanz al-walad)*, M. Ghaleb (ed.), Wiesbaden (1971).

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O. LEAMAN

**Ḥammād 'Ajrad**  
**(d. between 155/772 and 168/784)**

Late **Umayyad** and early 'Abbāsīd poet famous for his satire. **Ḥammād ibn 'Umar** (or **Yaḥyā**), nicknamed 'Ajrad ('Naked'), grew up as a *mawlā* in Kufa. He and two namesakes, his friends **Ḥammād al-Rāwiya** and **Ḥammād al-Zibriqān**, were notorious for their dissolute life and were suspected of Manichaeism (*zandaqa*); **Muṭī' ibn Iyās** was another of his associates. He was boon companion (*nadīm*) of the Umayyad caliph **al-Walīd ibn Yazīd**. Anthologies such as *al-Aghānī* contain numerous anecdotes about him; especially well known is the series of invective epigrams that he exchanged with **Bashshār ibn Burd**. Although **Ḥammād** was decidedly inferior to his rival as a poet, his verse proved effective. Most of his preserved poetry is invective, but he also made some panegyric and elegiac poems.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**Ḥammād al-Rāwiya**  
**(75–155/695–772)**

Abū al-Qāsim **Ḥammād ibn Abī Laylā** al-Rāwiya ('the transmitter of poetry') was brought up in **Kufa** and was intimate with a number of *mujjān*; like **Muṭī' ibn Iyās**, another Kufan reprobate, he was accused of *zandaqa*. **Ḥammād** is unlikely truly to have been a *zindīq*, but for him nothing was sacred, and most significantly he appears to have fabricated a fair number of 'pre-Islamic' poems. He had close contact with some **Umayyad** caliphs who sought from him anecdotes and poetry of the **Jāhiliyya** (especially **Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik** and **al-Walīd ibn Yazīd**). His fortune waned with the 'Abbāsīds, although he had some contact with al-Mahdī in 158/775. **Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī** reports that he was the first to collect Arabic poetry and to transmit anecdotes about it; he also points out that, despite his vast knowledge, he was untrustworthy. **Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī**, his fellow Kufan, accused him of having ruined

the tradition of **bedouin** poetry beyond repair by his clever forgeries. It is generally perceived that Ḥammād collected the seven **Mu'allaqāt** whose authenticity is certainly more suspect than the **Mufaḍḍaliyyāt** of al-Ḍabbī. The most informed view, however, is that 'he transmitted the seven Jāhili Odes from the collection of Mu'āwiya and that he discarded the collection of 'Abd al-Malik. Later literary tradition attributed the selection to [him]' (Kister).

Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

**Hamza al-bahlawān**

Popular romance on **Muḥammad's** uncle, Ḥamza ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 3/625), narrating the fictitious adventures of Ḥamza together with his *alter ego* companion 'Umar Umayya and an ever expanding group of warriors while fighting against the allies of the infidel Persian king Anūshīrwān, with whose daughter Mīhrnigār Ḥamza falls mortally in love, and spreading the message of Islam (in pre-Islamic times!) even unto the lands of the fabulous wolfmen and the giant cannibals of worlds beyond the regions inhabited by human beings. After Ḥamza's army of some 70,000 people has been destroyed in a huge fire, he returns to Mecca to take part in the battle of Uḥud, where he is slain (a scarce historical fact). The Arabic version of this romance most probably originates from Persian literature where a book on Ḥamza's military expeditions is mentioned as early as the eleventh century. In the fourteenth century, its popularity is attested by the theologian and jurist **Ibn Taymiyya's** complaint about the romantic tales on Ḥamza, favourites with the Turcoman population of Syria, as contrasting with historical reality. It is not clear at which date a full copy of the romance, today circulated in cheap bazaar imprints under the title of *Qiṣṣat al-amīr Ḥamza al-bahlawān* (from Persian *pahlavān*, hero, warrior), was translated into Arabic. However, and not only in the light of such anachronisms as the mention of photographs or binoculars within the text, it seems

likely that this was done not much earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century.

Further reading

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U. MARZOLPH

See also: popular literature

**Hamza ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib see  
Hamza al-bahlawān**

**Hamza al-Iṣfahānī**

**(b. c.280/893; d. 350/961 or, more likely, 360/971)**

Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī was a prolific author who flourished in Isfahan at the beginning of the **Būyid** period. He is known to have travelled to Iraq where he studied with such famous scholars as Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī and the traditionist 'Abdān al-Jawālīqī. Most of his own writings dealt with aspects of philology, including books on Arabic proverbs, similes, prayers, epistles, and uncertain words in the **Koran**.

Hamza wrote at least two major works of history, a *Ta'riḫ Iṣbahān* (*History of Isfahan*) and the *Ta'riḫ sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-al-anbiyā'* (*Chronology of the Kings of the Earth and the Prophets*). The *History of Isfahan* was probably the more important work, as it is cited and praised by such authorities as al-Sam'ānī, Yāqūt and Ḥājji Khalifa, but unfortunately no copies of it are now extant. The *Chronology*, a complete text of which has survived, is not mentioned in the usual listings of Ḥamza's books but is probably identical with a *Ta'riḫ al-unun* (*History of the Nations*) attributed to him.

In his introduction to the *Chronology*, Ḥamza explained that he intended to provide detailed chronologies of the rulers of various nations of the world, divided into periods, and showing the correlations between them. He emphasized that dating (*ta'riḫ*) was his major concern, with a view to establishing a comparative framework of the chronologies of the various dynasties and harmonizing their respective solar or lunar calendars. Most of the *Chronology* thus consists of little more than lists of names and dates, as best as Ḥamza could determine them from personal research into sources which he usually names, of ten major groups of rulers: those of pre-Islamic

Iran, 'Rome' (after Alexander the Great), the Greeks (before Alexander), the Copts, the Hebrews, the Lakhmids, the Ghassānids, the Ḥimyarites, Kinda and the Quraysh. This is followed by appendices on disturbances within the 'Abbāsīd realm, natural calamities, the Hijrī dates on which the Persian New Year (*Nayrūz*) fell, and the governors of Khurasan and Tabaristan. This unusual approach to historical writing no doubt reflected a fascination with astrology and a search for patterns in the rise and fall of dynasties. One may suspect a political purpose as well: by implicitly reducing the caliphate to one of numerous dynasties of fixed duration, and emphasizing the disasters that had befallen the 'Abbāsīds at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, Ḥamza could have been seeking to legitimize the ascendancy of the Būyids, with whose occupation of Isfahan the work concludes.

#### Text editions

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#### Further reading

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E.L. DANIEL

See also: historical literature

### al-Ḥanafī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr (late sixth/twelfth century)

A noted author of *maqāmāt*, al-Ḥanafī modelled his *maqāmāt* after those of the eminent **Badī al-Zamān al-Ḥamadhānī** (d. 398/1008) and **al-Ḥarīrī** (d. 516/1122). Thirty of these compositions were dedicated to the grand *qāḍī* of Damascus, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī (c.510–86/1116–90).

#### Text edition

*El<sup>2</sup>*, art. *Maqāma*.  
*Maqāmāt*, Oskar Rescher (ed.), in *Beiträge zur Maqamen-Literatur*, vol. 4, 1–115.

J.E. LINDSAY

### Ḥaqqī, Yahyā (1905–93)

Egyptian short-story writer, novelist, essayist and literary critic. Born in Cairo, Ḥaqqī

graduated from the Sulṭāniyya Law School in Cairo and, after a brief spell in practice, was posted as an administrative assistant to Manfalūt. His two years spent in this dusty town by the Nile in Upper Egypt provided material for many volumes of short stories. He was particularly fascinated by the relationship that officials from the capital – people like himself – established with the farmers and villagers. His own alienation from the people of Manfalūt informs all of his stories on rural Egypt, but particularly 'The Postman', a story written in the 1930s which has been transformed into a film.

Ḥaqqī left Manfalūt in 1929 to work for the Egyptian foreign service in Jeddah, Ankara, Paris and Tripoli. His only novel, *Ṣaḥḥ al-nawm*, was published in 1954. Written just after the Free Officers' Revolution of 1952, it represents one of the earliest and most pessimistic prognostications of what the Revolution would achieve: the complete alienation of the government (as represented by a Cairo-educated villager) from its people, the villagers who never left. His best-known work, however, much to his chagrin, remains the 1946 novella *Qindīl Umm Ḥāshim*. This tells an almost paradigmatic story of the successful accommodation of Eastern (spiritual) and Western (material) values. Again, the hero has rural connections: although he was born in Cairo, his parents are first-generation immigrants from the country. It is easier for villagers to come to terms with the capital than it is for the 'city slickers' to become accepted in the village.

Ḥaqqī also wrote extensively of the urban poor and lower middle classes. He eschewed the panoramic approach of **Maḥfūz** to focus on the daily lives of struggling individuals. Blending satire and compassion, he exposed the unjust system within which these men and women functioned. His recurring themes are those of survival in a changing world and the importance of human relationships.

In addition to his novel, his seven collections of short stories, nine collections of essays and newspaper articles, six collections of literary criticism and his many introductions to the works of young writers, Ḥaqqī wrote an autobiography, appropriately entitled *Khallihā 'alā Allāh* or *Leave it to God*. His works have been translated into English, French, German, Romanian and Russian.

#### Text editions

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*The Saint's Lamp and Other Stories*, M. Badawi (trans.), Leiden (1973).

#### Further reading

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M. COOKE

## Harb see tribes

### al-Ḥarīrī (446–516/1054–1122)

Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī (or: Ibn al-Ḥarīrī) was an Arab poet, philologist, man of letters and official. He divided his life between al-Mashān, a village near Basra where he had his palm tree plantation, and Basra and Baghdad, where he conducted his literary activities. His mentioned works are: a book on common misuses of Arabic words and phrases (*Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awḥām al-khawwāṣ*); a didactic poem on Arabic grammar, accompanied by his own commentary (*Mulḥat al-i'rāb*); collected epistles; collected poems. But he is best known for his book of *Maqāmāt*, a collection of fifty rhymed-prose (*saj'*) narrations interspersed with verse, which share two constant protagonists, the narrator and the hero, and a common plot-scheme built on a combination of confidence tricks, imposture, and demonstration of Arabic erudition.

By his own declaration, al-Ḥarīrī modelled his *Maqāmāt* after those of **Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī** (d. 398/1008), who is considered to be the initiator of the genre. While the similarity is indeed apparent, the basic cultural model has in fact been changed: whereas al-Hamadhānī composed his narrations publicly, as oral improvisations at the end of *adab* sessions, and apparently did not take care to arrange for an authorized collection (to the effect that various manuscripts have different numbers of *maqāmāt*), al-Ḥarīrī composed his privately, in writing, and presented them in an authorized version of fifty pieces. A different conception of 'text' underlines his work, which, unlike that of oral composition, regards the text as finalized and therefore unchangeable. Thus, admitting that a suggestion offered by a colleague indeed improved the text, he

nevertheless refused to correct it, claiming that he could not make any changes in a text that he had already authorized in 700 copies. The function of the *maqāma* texts has also been changed: whereas al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* were basically created as parodies of the high literature studied in scholarly circles, al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* became scholarly material from the moment of their inception, and were studied and transmitted as such. Their amusing function became secondary to their instructive one.

Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* captured the literary taste of the period within a short time of their appearance. The explicit praise of literary critics, the many commentaries written on his *Maqāmāt* almost from the time they were first published in Baghdad, and the testimonies of learned men who came from distant places, including Spain, to hear the authorized version of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* from his own mouth, all provide ample evidence of an almost immediate prestige and popularity. Their exemplary status initiated many imitations, and set up the model for the *maqāma* genre in a way that overshadowed all previous models, including that of al-Hamadhānī, whose collection seems to have been rearranged to conform with this model. Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* became a symbol of Arabic eloquence and stylistic dexterity, and preserved their prominent status up until modern times. The cost of canonization was, however, a demand to dispense with the great innovation of the *maqāma* genre: its self-proclaimed fictionality (see **fiction, medieval**). With the success of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, a 'real', historical biography was invented for its fictional hero Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī.

Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* were highly admired in al-Andalus (see **al-Saraqustī; Spain**). They were translated into Hebrew in northern Spain or Provence at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Judah al-Ḥarīzī (1170–1235), who then composed his own *Maqāmāt* on al-Ḥarīrī's model. They became known in the West from the seventeenth century, first through Latin translations and then through other European languages.

#### Text editions

*The Assemblies of Al Hariri*, Th. Chenery and F. Steingass (eds and trans), London (1867–98), rpt 1969.  
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#### Further reading

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R. DRORY

See also: *maqāma*

## al-Ḥarīth ibn Ḥilliza (fl. sixth century CE)

A pre-Islamic poet of the Yashkur of Bakr ibn Wā'il, to whom a *Mu'allaqa*, criticized as to its authenticity, undervalued as to its merit, has been attributed. Its inclusion in the collection is a result of the tribal partisanship of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya. Because it is a panegyric dedicated to 'Amr ibn Hind the Lakhmid and tribal vaunting directed against the Taghlib, it has been erroneously connected, chronologically and contextually, with the *Mu'allaqa* of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm. Its *gharaḍ*, of some sixty verses, is an eloquent and masterly piece of oratory, alternating encomium and braggadocio, chronicle and *paraenesis*, transforming the *qaṣīda* into a poetic annals of Bakr and Taghlib. He may have visited

the Ghassānid court, if *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 25 is a eulogy of al-Ḥarīth al-A'raj. Three other, fragmentary, poems are political (Krenkow 1, 2, 10), two are tribal *fakhr* (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 62 and Krenkow 8) and three are gnomic meditations (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 128, Krenkow 4 and 6).

#### Text editions

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

## Ḥārītha ibn Badr, Abū al-'Anbas (d. 64–6/683–6)

Poet and notable from the clan of Ghūdān (Tamīm) in Basra. He fought for 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at the battle of the Camel and in the Umayyad period became attached to Ziyād ibn Abīhi and his son 'Ubayd Allāh. His poetry is significant for referring to Khārījī unrest and for its role in the development of the *khamriyya*; he celebrated wine in independent poems, several of which are addressed to a specific adversary (Anas ibn Zuhaym) and which produce a series of bacchic *naqā'id*. The opening line of Abū Nuwās's most famous *khamriyya* (the *Hanziyya*) appears to rework a line from Ḥārītha.

#### Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

## al-Harrādī, Muḥammad (1946– )

Moroccan novelist and short-story writer, writing in Arabic. Born in Sūq al-Arba'ā', al-Harrādī currently teaches in Rabat. He has published two collections of short stories (*al-Lawz al-murr*, 1980, and *Dhayl al-qitt*, 1989) and a novel, *Ahlām baqara* (1986).

H. HILMY

## Harrān see Sabians

## Hārūn al-Rashīd (145–93/763–809)

Fifth 'Abbāsīd caliph, often taken to personify

the early splendour of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate and its capital Baghdad. He succeeded his elder brother Mūsā al-Hādī, who died suddenly in 170/786. Much of his fame is due to the Barmakids, who controlled his civil administration and several provincial governorships during the first decade of his caliphate, but later suffered arrest and confiscation. The Barmakids' admirers blame al-Rashīd's difficulties, including the civil war after his death, on his gradual alienation from the family and reliance on their enemies.

Al-Rashīd devoted himself as caliph to the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, to raiding the Byzantine empire and to the question of the succession. In 180/796–7 he left Baghdad, where the city's military establishment had become demanding and mutinous, and moved to a new military base closer to the Byzantine frontier at Raqqa in northern Syria. His succession arrangements left the capital, most of the western provinces and the title of caliph to his son Muḥammad al-Amin. Another son, 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn, received the governorship of Khurasan independently of his brother, and a third son, al-Qāsim al-Mu'taman, was given control of the base at al-Raqqa. The outcome was a civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn in which the military power of Baghdad was crushed.

The court of Hārūn al-Rashīd was noted for its brilliance and opulence. The caliph and his viziers patronized notable poets (including, for example, Abū Nuwās, al-'Abbās ibn al-Ahnaf and Abū al-'Atāhiya), men of letters, religious scholars, singers and musicians, and convened many gatherings (*majālis*) for discussion and entertainment. Hārūn also founded the Bayt al-Hikma for the encouragement of translation, especially of Greek science and philosophy. Altogether, his reign saw the flowering of Arabic literary and intellectual culture.

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R. A. KIMBER

See also: 'Abbāsīds

## Ḥasan, Tāj al-Sirr (1930– )

Sudanese poet, literary critic and scholar. Born on the northern Sudanese island of Artūli to a religious family, he studied in al-Azhar and later in Moscow where he earned a PhD in comparative literature from the Lumumba University. He is considered among the most prominent of the Sudanese poets who were active in Cairo in the 1950s and were labelled by Muḥammad al-Nuwayhī the 'Sudanese Mahjar in Egypt'. In 1956 he published with his compatriot Jilī 'Abd al-Raḥmān a joint collection entitled *Qasā'id min al-Sūdān* in which the two poets expressed their social realist views. His best-known collection is *al-Qalb al-akhḍar*, published in the mid-1960s. Influenced by his Šūfī background as well as the ideas of social realism and existentialism, Ḥasan concentrated in his poetry on themes such as the tragedy of human existence, the miseries of the people both in his own country and world-wide, and the tragedy of the refugees. He also wrote poetry for children and several studies in literary criticism.

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R. SNIR

## al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī (21–110/642–728)

Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī, whose grandfather was apparently Iranian, belonged to the generation of the Successors (*tābi'ūn*), and his name is associated with early asceticism and the

Qadārī movement. Various claimed by theologians and Šūfīs as one of their own, he was influential as a model of piety and righteousness in a period when a more personal, as opposed to political, vision of Islam was beginning to find widespread appeal. The Epistle (*Risāla fī al-qadar*) of al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī, which was written in reply to a request from the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (66–86/685–705), is the only surviving Qadārī document and depicts man as essentially free in his actions, at least to the extent that man's evil actions are entirely his own, as opposed to his good acts, which are God's. The attribution of this epistle to al-Ḥasan has been questioned, but the views contained in it fit in with reports of him as a stern figure of probity, in constant fear of God's displeasure, pursuing a path independent of political affiliation, whose eloquent preaching, fragments of which survive, with its warnings to rulers against moral laxity, made him the object of Umayyad suspicion. His sayings are frequently cited in *adab* literature, as well as in mystical and ethical works.

Further reading

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 van Ess, Josef, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühe Islam*, Berlin and New York (1992), vol. 2, 41–121.

J. COOPER

**al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Kātib**  
 (fl. fifth/eleventh century?)

Author of two works on music, only one of which survives. Entitled *The Perfection of Musical Knowledge (Kamāl adab al-ghinā')*, it is datable to the late fourth/tenth or early fifth/eleventh century and provides a fascinating compilation of materials from the scientific tradition (especially Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, who is quoted at length) juxtaposed with more descriptive and discursive discussions of musical behaviour and practical issues which echo some of the concerns of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (see **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī**). If the treatment of standard theoretical topics such as scale, mode and rhythm is occasionally confusing, compensation is

provided by the unique insights given into such matters as performance etiquette (for both musician and audience) and musical training, and, in particular, by the wealth of technical vocabulary displayed, pointing to subtle discriminations and a high degree of sophistication in both vocal and instrumental technique.

Text edition

- Kamāl adab al-ghinā'*, Gh. 'A. Khashaba and M.A. al-Ḥifnī (eds), Cairo (1975).  
*La Perfection des connaissances musicales*, A. Shiloah (trans.), Paris (1972).

O. WRIGHT

**al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī' see Abū Nuwās**

**al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Muḥallabī see al-Muḥallabī, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad**

**ḥāshiya, ḥawāshī see commentaries**

**Hassān ibn Thābit**  
 (d. probably before 40/661)

Hassān ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, most prominent of those poets who associated themselves with the Prophet **Muḥammad**. The dates of his birth (in Medina, in the tribe of Khazraj) and his death are uncertain; he died at an advanced age. At the time of his conversion to Islam, which took place soon after the Hijra, he was already an esteemed poet. The Prophet approved of and encouraged the invective against the unbelievers and panegyric on himself made by Hassān and others such as 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa and Ka'b ibn Mālik. This was often used in later times in the defence of poetry against pious puritans. Hassān's *dīwān* contains pre-Islamic and Islamic poems; but against Muḥammad's adversaries he employed the old style of invective, which was more effective than the more 'religious' approach of others. From an early date poems were falsely attributed to him, as in the biography of the Prophet by **Ibn Ishāq**, which was realized already by **Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī**.

Text edition

*Dīwān*, Walid Arafat (ed.), 2 vols, London (1971); Sayyid Ḥanafī Ḥasanayn (ed.), Cairo (1974).

Further reading

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—, 'Early critics of the authenticity of the poetry of the *Sīra*', *BSOAS* 21 (1958), 453–63.

—, 'The elegies on the Prophet in their historical perspective', *JRAS* (1967), 15–21.

Monroe, J.T., 'The poetry of the *Sīrah* literature', in *CHALUP*, 368–73.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**Hassūn, Rizq Allāh (1825–80)**

Armenian journalist and poet. Born in Aleppo, he died in London, allegedly poisoned by an agent of the Sultan. Ḥassūn is said to have founded the first non-official Arabic newspaper, *Mir'āt al-aḥwāl*, in Istanbul c.1854. He became private secretary to Fu'ād Pasha (whom he accompanied to Syria as Minister for Foreign Affairs after the civil war in 1860) but was accused of misappropriating funds and forced to flee to Russia. He subsequently went to France and London, from where – in addition to other journalistic activities – he issued a half-monthly *Solution of the Eastern and Egyptian Problems* (1879), calling on the Ottoman government to implement further reform. He also published versifications of biblical stories (1867) and the Gospels (1870) and the *dīwān* of the pre-Islamic poet renowned for his generosity, Ḥatīm al-Ṭā'i (1872); in his *Dīwān al-nafathāt* (1861) he turned a translation of the allegorical tales of the Russian Ivan Krylov (1769–1844) into a satire on Turkish politics.

Further reading

Ayalon, A., *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History*, New York (1995), 29–30, 47.

Dāghir, Yūsuf As'ad, *Maṣādir al-dirāsāt al-adabiyya*, Beirut (1955), vol. 2, 315–17.

P. C. SADGROVE

**Ḥatīm al-Ṭā'i (late sixth century CE)**

Ḥatīm ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭā'i was a pre-Islamic knight and poet from the North Arabian tribe Ṭayyī', known for his altruism

and generosity and considered the embodiment of bedouin virtues. The poems attributed to him are mostly short and glorify trustworthiness, honesty, modesty, noble descent and, above all, liberality and hospitality. Many poems of this kind may have been falsely attributed to this proverbial figure, who is also the subject of numerous anecdotes.

Text editions

*Dīwān*, 'Ādil S. Jamāl (ed.), 3rd edn, Cairo (1990). *Der Dīwān des arabischen Dichters Ḥatīm Ṭaj*, Fr. Schulthess (ed. and trans.), Leipzig (1897).

T. BAUER

**al-Ḥatīmī (d. 388/998)**

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥatīmī was a poet and critic from Baghdad. Some of his poetry is preserved in anthologies such as *Yatīmat al-dahr* by al-Tha'ālibī. His work on poetics and stylistics *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara* is an important source, especially on account of the careful indication of his sources; it deals with figures of speech, themes and motifs, plagiarism, etc., but it is in a sense an anthology rather than a work on poetics. A quarrel with al-Mutanabbī, which is said to have taken place in Baghdad in the presence of the Būyid ruler and his vizier, he wrote down himself in several lively versions containing some biting criticism (the term *mūdiḥa* in the title of his *risāla* means '[a wound] laying bare the bone'). Often quoted is a treatise in which lines by al-Mutanabbī are said to derive from sayings attributed to Aristotle; al-Ḥatīmī's authorship is not wholly certain.

Text editions

*Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara fī ṣinā'at al-shi'r*, Ja'far al-Kattānī (ed.), Baghdad (1979).

*al-Risāla al-Ḥatīmiyya*, Fu'ād Afrām al-Bustānī (ed.), Beirut (1985).

*al-Risāla al-mūdiḥa fī dhikr sariqāt Abī al-Ṭayyīb wa-sāqūḥ shi'rīh*, Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm (ed.), Beirut (1965).

'Die *Risālet el-Ḥatīmīje*. Ein Vergleich von Versen des Motenabbi mit Aussprüchen von Aristoteles', O. Rescher (trans.), *Islamica* 2 (1926), 439–73.

Further reading

Bonebakker, S.A., *Materials for the History of Arab Rhetoric from the Hilyat al-muḥāḍara of Ḥatīmī*, Naples (1975).

—, *Ḥatīmī and his Encounter with Mutanabbī: A Biographical Sketch*, Amsterdam (1984).

Yāqūt, *The Irshād al-Arib ila Ma'rifat al-Adib, or, Dictionary of Learned Men*, D.S. Margoliouth (ed.), Leiden (1907–27), vol. 6, 501–18.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## Hāwī, Khalīl (1919–82)

Lebanese poet. Born in Duhur al-Shuwayr, Hāwī worked in his early youth as a labourer in Syria's Hauran region before continuing his education as a mature student. He graduated from the American University of Beirut, then studied at Cambridge, where he presented a thesis on Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān; he later taught at the American University of Beirut and at the Lebanese University. He shot himself dead in his Beirut flat as the invading Israeli army penetrated Lebanon in June 1982.

By comparison with other contemporary poets, Hāwī's output was small: three volumes of poetry in his prime, and two works written in the years of decline. His influence, however, was immense and his presence constantly felt. His first collection, *Nahr al-ramād* (1957) represents a turning point in the history of *ḥadātha* ('modernism') in Arabic, powerfully portraying a vision of disillusionment; seldom had Arabic poetry been possessed by such vitality, power and explosiveness on the level of its rhythm and imagery. *Al-Nāy wa-al-rīḥ* (1961), a masterpiece of self-exploration, is charged with a powerful new faith in the possibility of resurrection and survival through others, especially the children of the younger generation. The collapse of the union between Egypt and Syria in 1961, however, led to a new despair, expressed in his great poem 'Lazarus 1962', later published in *Bayādir al-jū'* (1965); much of his subsequent work was repetitive, little more than an attempt to recapture the powerful rhythm of the 1950s which had exploded in *Nahr al-ramād*.

Hāwī's early work was greatly influenced by the poetry of Abū Shabaka and the political teachings of Anṭūn Sa'āda, and his disillusionment with Sa'āda's philosophy was one of the turning points of his life. His work is marked by a powerful sense of the passing of time, and a sense of helplessness and barrenness. Mythology and symbolism form the core of his poetic techniques, and his handling of myth is particularly masterly: themes and characters are often emptied of their conventional associations, empowering them to perform new functions. His mastery of poetic language and techniques reveals itself in the fact that, although one

cannot classify his poetry as a poetry of political or social criticism, it is clear that at its heart there is a political project of renewal and a strong Arab nationalist sentiment.

On a personal level, Hāwī was the epitome of a new breed of Arab poet: highly educated, well read in Arabic and Islamic thought as well as in Western philosophy and literature. In every aspect of poetic composition he was a first-class maker – structuring, writing explanatory notes and introductions and subjecting everything to his acutely intelligent mind. Yet he was hardly ever cerebral; what distinguished his poetry from that of Eliot or Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī was its overwhelming emotional power and the violent sense of involvement and commitment from which it burst out. Hāwī, together with Adūnīs, is the poet who has most given modern Arabic poetry its dimension of intellectual richness and philosophical contemplation and depth.

Text edition

*Naked in Exile: The Threshing Floors of Hunger*, A. Haydar and M. Beard (trans), Washington, DC (1984).

Further reading

Hāwī, Īliyyā, *Khalīl Hāwī*, Beirut. Jayyusi, S.K., *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, Leiden (1977), Chapter 8.

K. ABU-DEEB

## Haydar, Haydar (1936– )

Contemporary Syrian novelist and short-story writer. Born in Tartus, he graduated from the Teachers' Training College and the University of Damascus. A schoolteacher by profession, he worked for some years in Algeria. Although he is best known for his contributions to the short story, he has also written a novel (*al-Zaman al-mutawahhish*). He was elected a member of the Ittihad al-Kuttāb al-'Arab in 1970.

Haydar's work shows a tendency towards surrealism and the absurd, and a fondness for revolutionary ideas and slogans. He concentrates on the individual's subjective view of the world and preoccupation with the self. His fiction often takes the form of the story of the heroic individual plunging into a struggle with the duplicitous, fools and the police. In this he has much in common with, for example, Jūrj Sālim and Walīd Ikhlēṣī. His collections of stories include *Ḥakāyā al-nawras al-muhājir*

(Damascus, 1968) and *al-Wamḍ* (Damascus, 1970).

Further reading

al-Atrash, M.I., *Ittijāhāt al-qīṣṣa fī Sūriyya*, Damascus (1982).

Azrak, M.G., and Young, M.J.L. (trans), *Modern Syrian Short Stories*, Washington, DC (1988).

M.J.L. YOUNG

**al-Haydarī, Buland (1926–96)**

Iraqi poet. Born in Baghdad to a Kurdish family, al-Haydarī was largely self-educated. As a young man, he was a political activist, intellectually open to leftist and existentialist ideas. In the 1940s, he founded the Lost Time Group, which consisted of artists and poets who met in the Wāq al-Wāq Café in Baghdad to discuss avant-garde art and thought. Opposing the Iraqi monarchy no less than the Iraqi republic that succeeded it, he lived in exile in Beirut between 1963 and 1976, working in turn as a schoolteacher, a journalist and a bookstore manager, before returning to Baghdad. After 1980, he lived in London where in 1981 he founded and edited a short-lived magazine called *Funūn 'Arabiyya*.

In addition to two collections of essays on art and literature, al-Haydarī published nine volumes of poetry. His first volume, *Khafqat al-īn* (1946), was written in a Romantic vein, but his later ones exhibit an existentialist realism that expresses his deep political and social alienation in free verse with vividly flowing images and sprightly rhythms. His poems have a quiet, sad tone about them as they portray his inner private world, his pain for the suffering of others, and his quest for a better world. There is in them a recurring *Angst*, often expressed in the form of interior monologue and wistful musings on the human condition, the destiny of humankind and the Arab homeland. Although al-Haydarī's poetic language is plain, almost conversational, it conceals a masterful control of linguistic elements and imaginative speech.

Text editions

Alwan, J.B., 'Three poems by Buland al-Haydarī', *JAL* 9 (1978), 150–1.

Asfour, J., *When the Words Burn*, Dunvegan (1988), 81–3.

Boullata, I.J., *Modern Arab Poets 1950–1975*, Washington (1978), 19–28.

Jayyusi, S.K., *Modern Arabic Poetry: An Anthology*, London (1987), 242–6.

Khouri, M.A. and Algar, H., *Anthology of Modern Arabic Poetry*, Berkeley (1974), 120–30.

al-Udhari, A., *Modern Poetry of the Arab World*, London (1984), 42–7.

—, *Songs of the Tired Guard*, London (1977).

I.J. BOULLATA

**Haykal, Muḥammad Ḥusayn (1888–1956)**

Egyptian novelist, critic, journalist and politician. Haykal, who was born into a rich, land-owning family, was sent to study for a doctorate in law in Paris. While in France he wrote his most famous work, *Zaynab* (published in 1913), which represents an important step in the development of the Arabic novel in Egypt. Full of nostalgic descriptions of the countryside and of homiletic passages concerning the rights of women, it tells the story of an Egyptian peasant-girl who, because of the poverty of her true love, is forced to marry another. The story is filtered through the consciousness of Ḥamid, a young university student who clearly represents the sentiments of the author.

Haykal was a vigorous participant in Egyptian journalism and politics during the turbulent 1920s and 1930s, later becoming Minister of Education on two occasions. In his critical writings he showed the influence of his period in France by advocating the need for objective standards in evaluation; he was also an advocate of 'national literature' (*adab qawmī*) and of the continuity of the Egyptian tradition from ancient times to the present. These views were expressed in his most important collection of critical articles, *Thawrat al-adab* (1933).

During the 1930s Haykal turned to the Islamic aspect of the Egyptian heritage in penning a series of biographical studies, the first of which was *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (1935). This was followed by studies of the lives of Abū Bakr (1944), 'Umar (1945) and 'Uthmān (posthumously published in 1964).

It was also later in his long career that he published a second novel, *Hākadhā khuliqat* (1955). A semi-educated Egyptian woman living in Cairo manages to destroy the life and career of her husband, a doctor of peasant origins. The work reflects the disillusion of an author who had witnessed profound transformations in Egyptian society during the course of its confrontation with Western culture. His sentiments in this ephemeral work are those of a generation that had seen itself replaced.

## Text edition

Zainab, J.M. Grinsted (trans.), London (1989).

## Further reading

- Brugman, J., *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt*, Leiden (1984), 234–43, 357–61.
- Elad, A., *The Village Novel in Modern Egyptian Literature*, Berlin (1994).
- Jad, A.B., *Form and Technique in the Egyptian Novel: 1912–1971*, London (1983), 26–27 etc.
- Kilpatrick, H., *The Modern Egyptian Novel: A Study in Social Criticism*, London (1974), 20–6.
- Sakkut, H., *The Egyptian Novel and its Main Trends 1913–1952*, Cairo (1971), 12–21.
- Semah, D., *Four Egyptian Literary Critics*, Leiden (1981), 69–105.
- Smith, C.D., *Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal*, Albany (1983).

R. ALLEN

**Ḥayṣa Bayṣa (d. 574/1179)**

Abū al-Fawāris al-Tamīmī known as Ḥayṣa, Bayṣa, was an Arab poet. After having studied Shāfi'ī *fiqh* in Rayy, he took up poetry. He cut a striking figure, always wearing bedouin dress and speaking the 'purest Arabic'; he once pronounced the phrase *fī ḥayṣa bayṣa* (in dire straits), hence his nickname. His high-flown *qaṣīdas*, quoted by **al-Sam'ānī** and **'Imād al-Dīn al-İṣfahānī**, were much admired. His ornate *rasā'il* (now lost), often unintelligible to the recipient, made him the easy butt of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān's satire. His *dīwān* still awaits a critical edition.

## Further reading

- Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, Baron McGuckin de Slane (trans.), Paris (1842–71), vol. 1, 559; vol. 3, 337, 584–6; vol. 4, 119–21.
- 'Imād al-Dīn al-İṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, Baghdad (1980), vol. 1, 202–366 (with selections of his poetry).
- al-Tāhir, 'Alī Jawād, *al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Irāq wa-balad al-'Ajam fī al-'aṣr al-Saljūqī*, Baghdad (1958), 207–20.

C. HILLENBRAND

**Hayy ibn Yaqzān**

The prototypical sage who appears in works by **Ibn Sīnā** (*Ishārāt*; *Risālat al-qadrī*; *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*) and **Ibn Ṭufayl**. The singular work on which the fame of Ibn Ṭufayl (c.504–81/

1110–85) rests is connected by its title and the names of its characters to Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) mystical allegory of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* and their citation by **al-Suhrawardī** al-Maqtūl (Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā; d. 587/1191) and to the separate accounts of *Salāmān and Absāl* by Ibn Sīnā and the Persian poet Jāmī (d. 898/1492). Much of the interest in Ibn Sīnā's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* in modern scholarship has centred on its reiteration of the author's 'oriental' philosophy, whether it may be related to his overall peripatetic structure (A. Goichon, *Le récit de Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, Paris, 1959), or seen within the cycle of the 'tales of initiation' (H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*, Paris, 1954). Ibn Ṭufayl's philosophical tale is presented in a different style and with different characterizations and content although it has sometimes been historically confused with Ibn Sīnā's tales.

Such a complex genesis belies the clarity of Ibn Ṭufayl's narrative that enlivens the theoretical precepts of the peripatetics within the practical frame of the life of its chief protagonist, Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān, who grows up without human intervention in an island undiscovered by humankind but endowed with natural and animal habitation and graduates from scientific and rational development to a naturalistic, ascetic and holistic view that includes the divine experience in all creation leading to its perfection in his mystical ascension.

The archetypal story also occurs in early oriental tales of **Alexander** (García Gómez, 1926). Ibn Ṭufayl's rendition has produced one of the most sustained models of translation. Modern critiques have also discussed its comparative relevance to Western philosophical precepts and its co-relation with Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1717), generally presented in terms of narrative similarities. The anti-thesis by **Ibn al-Nafīs** (d. 687/1288) on the life of the Prophet and the political justification of the **Mamlūk** sultanate may be traced as a response to both the narrative by Ibn Ṭufayl and the oriental tale of Alexander.

## Text edition

*Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān li-Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Ṭufayl wa-Suhrawardī*, Aḥmad Amīn, (ed.), Cairo (1959), 3rd edn, Cairo (1966).

## Further reading

García Gómez, E., 'Un cuento árabe, fuente común de Abentofáil et de Gracián', *Revista de*



*Archivos, Bibliothecas y Museos* 30 (1926), 1–66.

P. HASANALI

See also: allegory; philosophical literature

**hazaj see prosody**

**Hāzīm al-Qarṭājannī (608–84/1211–85)**

Abū al-Hasan Hāzīm ibn Muḥammad al-Qarṭājannī was a grammarian, poet and literary theorist. He studied Mālikī law, traditions and grammar in Murcia, Granada and Seville, his main teacher in grammar being Abū 'Alī al-Shalawbīn (d. 645/1247 in Seville). The latter's unusual interest in philosophy – he was a student of **Ibn Rushd** and **Ibn Zuhr** – also informed his disciple. With the advance of the Reconquista (633/1236 fall of Córdoba) Hāzīm emigrated to Marrakesh and thence, before 693/1242, to Tunis where he made his second home.

His extant works include the following:

- 1 An incomplete collection of his poetry. Famous is a panegyric of 100 lines (metre: *ṭawīl*, rhyme: -*Cṣī*), with which he introduced himself to the first Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunis, Abū Zakariyyā' (r. 625–47/1228–49), entreating him to reverse the Reconquista – a sentiment, and a hope, not uncommon in the Andalusian émigré community of his time. A veritable *tour de force* is a 79-line poem in praise of the Prophet, in which the second hemistichs are all taken from the *Mu'allaqa* of **Imru' al-Qays**.
- 2 A versified grammar, incomplete (219 lines, metre *basīṭ*, rhyme: -*ṣmā*), appended to both *dīwān* editions.
- 3 *al-Maqṣūra*, 'The Poem Rhyming in -ā', a panegyric of 1006 lines (metre: *rajaz*) dedicated to the second Ḥafṣid ruler, al-Mustanṣir (r. 647–75/1249–77) and possibly the longest monorhyme poem in Arabic literature. It is full of nostalgic memories of the lost Spanish homeland. In his rhymed-prose introduction to the poem Hāzīm states that he is imitating the *Maqṣūra* of **Ibn Durayd**. The many historic allusions and linguistic intricacies of the poem called for commentaries, among which the rich and valuable commentary (*sharḥ*) of al-Sharīf al-Ghamāfī (d. 760/1359) has survived and been printed.

- 4 *Minhāj al-bulaghā' wa-sirāj al-udabā'*, (*The Path of the Eloquent and the Light of the Lettered*), one of the most original works in Arabic literary theory. Hāzīm is the first to combine the indigenous tradition with the logical poetics of the philosophers, known to him through the writings of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and **Ibn Sīnā**. The basic terms of his poetics, *takhyīl* (evocation of a mental image) and *muḥākāt* (imitation of a thing by describing it or likening it to something else), are taken from the philosophical tradition, the latter ultimately from the *mimesis* of **Aristotle's Poetics**. The *Minhāj* is divided into four parts, devoted to *lafz* (word) (this part is lost), *ma'nā* (meaning), *naẓm* (joining of words) and *uslūb* (joining of meanings). Everywhere Hāzīm comes across as an original and (sometimes all too) systematic thinker.

Text editions

- Dīwān*, 'Uthmān al-Ka'āk (ed.), Beirut (1964), 2nd edn (1979). Extant poetry, complemented by quotations from other works.
- Maqṣūra*, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb Ibn al-Khūja (ed.), Tunis (1972). (Includes *Dīwān*.)
- Minhāj al-bulaghā' wa-sirāj al-udabā'*, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb Ibn al-Khūja (ed.), Tunis (1966).
- al-Sharīf al-Ghamāfī, *Raf' al-hujub al-mastūra 'an maḥāsīn al-Maqṣūra*, 2 vols, Cairo (1926).

Further reading

- During the last two decades or so Hāzīm has received much interest in the Arab world and spawned a great number of studies. Among these are:
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- Cantarino, Vicente, *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age*, Leiden (1975), 206–20 (translation of a section from the *Minhāj*).
- García Gómez, Emilio, 'Observaciones sobre la "Qasīda maqṣūra" de Abū-l-Hasan Hāzīm al-Qarṭājannī,' *al-Andalus* 1 (1933), 81–103 (contains a translation of the prologue of the *Maqṣūra*).
- Heinrichs, Wolfhart, *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik. Hāzīm al-Qarṭājannīs Grundlegung der Poetik mit Hilfe aristotelischer Begriffe*, Beirut (1969) (including translation of a section from the *Minhāj*).
- Meisami, J.S., 'Imru' al-Qays Praises the Prophet,' in *Humanism, Culture and Language in the Near East*, Asma Afsaruddin and A.H. Mathias Zah-niser (eds), Winona Lake, IN (1997), 39–49.
- Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 52–3,

322–31 (introductory notes, text and translation of a panegyric).

Schoeler, Gregor, *Einige Grundprobleme der autochthonen und der aristotelischen Literaturtheorie. Hāzīm al-Qartājānī's Kapitel über die Zielsetzungen der Dichtung und die Vorgesichte der in ihm dargelegten Gedanken*, Wiesbaden (1975) (including translation of sections from the *Minhāj*).

van Gelder, G.J.H. 'Critic and craftsman: al-Qartājānī and the structure of the poem', *JAL* 10 (1979), 26–48.

W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: literary criticism, medieval

## hazl

The Islamic concept of *hazl* (joking), contrasted with *jidd* (seriousness), is most probably connected with an ancient Greek concept which in the European cultures was revived by humanist and Renaissance authors and lived on up to such collections as Johannes Pauli's influential chapbook *Schimpf und Ernst* in the sixteenth century. In the Islamic context, *hazl*, synonymous to *muzāh*, has to be considered as the less prominent partner of the antithetic couple: although Islam by no means openly condemns *hazl*, it regards extensive jocular activities with a definite amount of suspicion. Thus, authors of literary works containing humorous items succumb to the obviously experienced necessity of justifying their undertaking, mostly by quoting tricks played by the Prophet **Muhammad** himself, and referring to the often quoted fact that **Muhammad** himself used to laugh 'until his molar teeth became visible'. *Hazl* and *jidd*, at least up to the seventh/thirteenth century, formed a vital constituent of *adab* literature, which – notably in its entertaining branches – aimed at instructing without tiring: instructive passages were lightened up by interspersed jocular tales, although the latter should not win the upper hand before the argument would return to serious subjects. While this concept was more or less at the same time invented and perfected by **al-Jāhiz**, it probably became flexible soon after. Already in the late fourth/tenth century, **al-Ābī** in his voluminous encyclopaedia of several thousand jokes and anecdotes appears to refer to the need of a well-balanced mixture of *jidd* and *hazl* as a void duty, while the last important collections of humorous prose from the classical period, **Ibn**

**al-Jawzī**'s three booklets on witty, clever and stupid persons respectively, fully regard the justifying reference as a compulsory exercise, however all the more necessary to raise the traditionalistic author above all doubt of aiming to indulge in pure pleasure. In the transitional as well as modern periods of Arabic literature, the originally antithetic couple is broken up, and entertaining works beyond the limits of religious or moralistic devotion, such as the Ottoman period *Nuzhat al-udabā'*, tend to confess their humoristic claims more openly.

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See also: humour

## Hebrew literature, relations with Arabic

Throughout history Hebrew texts have always enjoyed a privileged status within the corpus of Jewish literature. Comprising only a segment (at times not even the largest) of the overall Jewish literary production, Hebrew literature seems nevertheless to have been the marked segment of it, the one towards which all cultural attention and literary awareness are drawn. But alongside Hebrew, Jewish literature was also produced in other languages, depending on the cultural environment of the Jewish community in each period. This means that the Hebrew corpus was never an independent one and – although this is not always the common academic procedure – it should be viewed and discussed in connection with the entire body of Jewish literature in each period, rather than in isolation.

This is the case with the Hebrew literature produced in the Middle Ages under the influence of Arabic culture. From ninth-century CE Persia and Babylonia until fourteenth-century CE Christian Spain and Provence (where Jews no longer lived under Muslim rule), we find Jewish literature created both in Hebrew and in Arabic written in Hebrew characters (Judaeo-Arabic). This entire body of Jewish literature is, in fact, a product of cultural contacts with Arabic.

While both Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic serve for writing, they maintain a clear-cut division of functions, established already in the middle of the tenth century CE. According to this division of functions Arabic served for lucid, straightforward expression, Hebrew for festive and grandiloquent writing, in no small measure at the expense of a clear and unequivocal message. The purpose of writing in Hebrew was to prove command of the language and to produce a text that would arouse admiration of its beauty and elegance; writing in Arabic was intended simply to produce a clear and understandable text. In this respect Hebrew had in the Jewish context a function similar to that of unadulterated classical Arabic within the Muslim context – to express particular aesthetic qualities.

Three distinct phases can be distinguished in the long course of Jewish contacts with Arabic literature: the early phase, beginning around the middle of the ninth century, in the East (Persia, Fertile Crescent, Syria and Egypt); the second one, beginning around the middle of the tenth century, in al-Andalus and later also in the **Maghrib**; and the third phase, from around the middle of the eleventh century in Christian Spain and Provence, which lasted well into the fifteenth century (when the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492), but has had a profound impact on both European and Eastern Jewish literatures up to modern times. Each phase has its own starting point in terms of time and place, but they obviously overlap greatly with one another, in particular chronologically. It would be quite misleading, however, to view them all as one consecutive process: each phase is in fact a product of a unique situation within the Jewish cultural setting. In each we find different groups competing for authority and dominance over the cultural field, different literary systems constructed, different bodies of scholarly knowledge and expertise established and different literary genres produced. Each phase seems to represent a new enterprise, involving a re-

challenge of Hebrew writing with literary options arising through contacts with different segments of Arabic culture.

Contrary to prevalent descriptions of the Arabic 'influence' on Hebrew literature, Jewish appropriation from Arabic did not start by borrowing distinct elements (such as imagery, topoi, phraseologies) or detailed writing models. The first, Eastern, phase of contacts with Arabic was characterized rather by a process of reorganization of the entire Jewish literary system after established Arabic paradigms. New scholarly activities emerged, new literary genres were produced, all entirely concentrated on Jewish contents; yet their appearance in this particular setting and the striking resemblance in structure to fundamental Arabic paradigms is inexplicable without assuming appropriation. Rabbinic literature, concentrating traditionally on Oral Law and enjoying a canonical status within the Jewish literary system, was now being challenged by an emerging peripheral group, the Karaites, who concentrated on the Bible as a source of ideological inspiration as well as a focus of scholarly activity and intense literary production. The Karaite output was distinctly different from the Rabbinic one (which seemed to be showing signs of stagnation in this period) in that it was produced in accordance with new literary models, borrowed from Arabic culture. The need for new literary models that would be distinct from the Rabbinic ones brought the Karaites to the Arabic repertoire. Contacts with Arabic literature served, then, to turn the option to the Oral Law that lay dormant in Jewish literature, namely the Bible, into a feasible literary possibility.

These contacts also brought about the granting of official status to writing. Writing gained legitimacy, and with it new models, made for writing and not for preservation by means of oral transmission (as was the norm in Rabbinic literature), were introduced into Jewish literature (biblical exegeses, refutations, Halakhic writings, studies of Hebrew grammar, philosophy, theology). Yet most of the literary output produced through appropriated Arabic models is written in Judaeo-Arabic; attempts to create new Hebrew models for both poetry and prose (mainly by **Sa'adia Gaon**) were ultimately doomed to fail at this early stage of appropriation from Arabic.

The next phase of Jewish contacts with Arabic literature, staged at the Andalusian Jewish courts, is characterized by an abundance of Hebrew secular poetry produced

according to Arabic poetic models. It is usually referred to as the Golden Age of Hebrew letters in medieval Iberia. At the court of Hisdai Ibn Shaprūt in Córdoba Biblical Hebrew was re-created as a poetic language through investigation of Hebrew grammar and formulation of its rules. The rules were immediately applied in the composition of new types of poetry, and the verses were again examined in light of the emerging grammatical conceptions. A new metrical system, based on Arabic prosody, was also employed here for the first time. With the development of Hebrew as a poetic language, new poetic genres were created, adapting Arabic themes, imagery and overall poetics to Hebrew writing. Hebrew love poems, wine poems, panegyrics, laments, satirical and even philosophical poems were composed by Jewish courtiers and literati such as Dūnash Ben Labraṭ, Samuel Ibn Naghrāla, Solomon **Ibn Gabirol**, Judah Halevi, **Moses Ibn Ezra** and others to celebrate public and private occasions, and amuse patrons and friends. Alongside the traditional long ode (*qaṣīda*) and short piece (*qīṭ'a*), Jewish poets also adopted the strophic form of the *muwashshah* for Hebrew, with the last strophe (*kharja*) often written in vernacular Arabic or Romance. Ornamented Hebrew rhymed prose modelled after the Arabic *maqāmāt* emerged, as well as festive correspondence. Yet the traditional division of functions between Arabic and Hebrew described above was still largely maintained. Arabic remained the principal written language (for Biblical and Talmudic exegesis, law, theology, philosophy, linguistics, poetics), while Hebrew provided only poetic registers.

It was not until the relocation of Jewish cultural centres to Christian Spain and Provence (as a result of the Almohad invasions of al-Andalus) that this division of functions began to break down, and Hebrew took over more and more functions that had traditionally been fulfilled by Arabic, gradually replacing Arabic as the major written language of Jewish literature. As a result, new literary genres developed in Hebrew, either through translations from Arabic or in original forms of Hebrew writing. New Hebrew literature, still based on Arabic models yet founded on a paradigm quite different from the one dominant in the Jewish literature of the Muslim period, came into being. It is apparently because of this particular tri-cultural encounter which took place outside the domain of Arabic

culture that Hebrew was assigned the role of marking Jewish collective identity against both Muslim and Christian cultures. For the first time Hebrew contacts with Arabic were manifested mainly in translation of specific texts, rather than in appropriation of paradigmatic models. Scientific and philosophical writings were intensively translated from Arabic into Hebrew (as also into Latin). Belletristic texts, like *adab* compilations or *maqāmāt*, were also either translated or adapted into Hebrew. Yet a different product of this encounter, a result of the confrontation of Andalusian Jewish emigrants with Jewish communities in the Christian kingdoms, is the only full-fledged formulation of Arabized Hebrew poetics: the *Kitāb al-muḥādara wa-al-mudhākara* of Moses Ibn Ezra. Written in Arabic for a Jewish milieu exercising scientific Hebrew and detaching itself from Arabic literary taste, this work sums up a sense of a disappearing Jewish world back in al-Andalus, for which that literary taste was self-evident.

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See also: Judaeo-Arabic literature; Spain

**Hibat Allāh ibn al-Shajarī** *see* **Ibn al-Shajari**

**Hibel, Tizi** *see* **Feraoun, Mouloud**

### **hijā'**

*Hijā'* ('invective, satire'; synonymous with *hajw*) is one of the main modes or **genres** of Arabic poetry; the term is rarely applied to prose. Instead of *hijā'* one also finds *hajw*, *muhājāt*, or *tahājī*.

The original meaning of the word might have been 'murmuring, casting a spell'; *hijā'* also has the meaning 'orthography' (cf. English 'spell'). It is likely that *hijā'* has its origin in magic: a curse or incantation that was supposed to destroy the honour of a person or a tribe by mentioning (or inventing) their shameful characteristics, *mathālib*. The exchange of invective ('flytings', *naqā'id*) between clans or tribes could be a substitute for or a preliminary to real fighting. It was often combined with vaunting or *fakhr*. Even though the magical connotations were largely lost in the course of time (although these might partly account for early religious opposition to *hijā'*), its destructive power was recognized by everyone, including the Prophet **Muḥammad**, who explicitly encouraged **Hassān ibn Thābit** to mock the opponents of Islam, which he did with great vigour. This episode was often adduced in defence of poetry in general and *hijā'* in particular. When the authorities punished poets for their invective (which they did in a rather haphazard manner) it was either for personal reasons or on account of the socially disruptive potential of *hijā'*.

*Hijā'* is a mode that may take many forms. There are a few, mostly early, examples in rhymed prose (see *saj'*), or it may form part of a formal ode or *qaṣīda*, in which case it may be combined with other modes such as love poetry and panegyric. Masters of this genre were the great Umayyad poets **al-Akḥṭal**, **al-Farazdaq** and **Jarir**, who exchanged many invective poems (*naqā'id*). Especially from the 'Abbāsīd period onwards there are lengthy poems that are wholly devoted to invective, one of the great specialists being **Ibn al-Rūmī**; but the form most characteristic of *hijā'* is the **epigram**: many believed that brevity was more effective than prolixity (cf. *ījāz*). Many

reputations were tarnished on account of one line of verse that happened to stick. Almost every poet, major or minor, produced invective poetry; some specialized in it to the extent of producing little else, such as Ibn Bassām al-'Abartā'i or Ibn 'Unayn. Others, like al-'Ajjāj or Nuṣayb ibn Rabāh, refrained from it altogether.

*Hijā'* may be directed at a person, a group, a sect, a race; it often has political, social or religious aspects, apart from the personal level. It was a powerful instrument in the hands of the Umayyad rulers, who exploited the poems of their court poets in their tribal politics; it was employed by both sides in the conflicts between **Shi'īs** and their opponents, or in the literary battle of the *Shu'ūbiyya*. Works of *adab* and history abound with anecdotes in which *hijā'* plays a role. It is an instrument for exposing and attacking vices and may thus be of a moralistic bent; but very often it takes recourse to mere vilification in the coarsest language and grossest obscenities imaginable, involving not only one's opponent but his (female) relatives and ancestors. Not rarely these two kinds are combined in one and the same poem. In many cases such poems are made in jest; on the receiving end this was not always sufficiently obvious, as is shown in many anecdotes. For some poets, like **al-Huṭay'a** or al-Ḥakam ibn 'Abdal (second/eighth century), *hijā'* was a source of income: they blackmailed their victims by threatening to compose or to publish their invective poems.

Amusement (of others than the victim) is one of the main functions of *hijā'*. Its style ranges from the lofty to the vulgar, from mildness to ferocity, from facility to obscurity. At times *hijā'* appears to be first of all an exercise in wit and rhetorical virtuosity; wit-ness, for example, the endless series of poems on one particular person in the works of **Ibn al-Rūmī** or **al-Buḥturī**, or poems on animals or objects (the moon, the rose, the month of Ramaḍān).

In the twentieth century the customary coarseness is thought to be incompatible with the refined sensibilities of modern times. The term *hijā'* is now rarely used in polite literature, although it lives on: either in poetry on political or social themes, or, outside polite literature, in unpublished form.

Traditional Arabic poetics recognizes *hijā'* as one of the few basic modes. Often the opinion of **Qudāma ibn Ja'far** is quoted, who

only approved of *hijā'* when it attacked moral rather than physical defects, and likewise a saying of **Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'** ('the best *hijā'* is that which a virgin may recite without impertinence'); but their views were, to all appearances, not shared by the majority of poets and anthologists. In the Aristotelian brand of Arab poetics considerable confusion was created by the translation of 'comedy' as *hijā'*.

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See also: *naqā'id*; satire

## Hijaz

The Hijaz (Arabic: *al-Hijāz*) is the northwestern region of the Arabian Peninsula. Its two principal towns are Mecca and Medina, which sufficiently indicates the importance of the Hijaz for the history of Arabic literature. In pre-Islamic times, however, the literary centre of gravity lay rather more towards the eastern and northern parts of the Peninsula. Accordingly, the form or register of the Arabic language that served as the standard literary vehicle, and which was later codified as what is known as classical Arabic, originates from central and eastern Arabia, although Hijazi features of the language and its pronunciation

left their traces in the language and orthography of the **Koran**.

Among the famous pre- and early Islamic poets from the Hijaz are **al-Samaw'al**, **Durayd ibn al-Ṣimma**, **Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt** (from al-Tā'if), **Waraqā ibn Nawfal**, **Ibn al-Ziba'rā** (the last two from Mecca), poets from Medina such as **Qays ibn al-Khaṭim** and the poets supporting the Prophet: **Hassān ibn Thābit** and **'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa**. The Hudhali poets (from the tribe **Hudhayl**) lived near Mecca. Poets from various regions outside the Hijaz might meet and recite their poems at the annual market held at **'Ukāz**, not far from Mecca. The tribe of Muḥammad, Quraysh, which dominated Mecca, did not yield many important poets in pre-Islamic times, 'because there was no hatred among them and they did not fight', as **Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī** explains somewhat simplistically.

In the early Islamic and **Umayyad** periods new types of love poetry (see *ghazal*) were developed especially in the Hijaz, one celebrating fulfilled love, and the other unfulfilled love. The former type culminates in the light-hearted, sometimes frivolous love poetry of **'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a**, who lived in Mecca and Medina; other poets associated with 'Umar's style are **al-Aḥwas**, **al-'Arjī** and **Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt**. The other type is often called **'Udhri**, after the tribe of some of its most famous representatives such as **Jamil ibn Ma'mar** and **'Urwa ibn Hizām**; other Hijazi poets of this kind of *ghazal* are **Qays ibn Dhariḥ** and **Kuthayyir**. The two types of love poetry are usually associated with the town and the desert, respectively: but they are not strictly separated, since both types may be found in one poet such as 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a. It was in the towns of Iraq, in 'Abbāsid times, that this *ghazal* poetry was studied, cultivated (and perhaps partly produced).

From the 'Abbāsid period onward the literary importance of the Hijaz lies mainly in its history rather than its present: a great amount of scholarly (historical, literary and religious) study carried out in Iraq and elsewhere is focused on what happened in Mecca and Medina during the lifetime of the Prophet and his 'companions'. Thus the Hijaz is the setting, whether in fact or fiction, of the vast corpus of *hadīth*. Of the founders of the major schools of Islamic law only one, **Mālik ibn Anas**, was himself an inhabitant of the Hijaz. If the Hijaz did not totally become a

backwater, it is because throughout the centuries Muslims visited it as pilgrims. Large portions of the famous travel accounts by **Ibn Jubayr** and **Ibn Baṭṭūta** describe the holy sites of Islam. The pilgrimage, a major theme already in the poetry of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a, remained a source of literary inspiration, for frivolous poets like **Abū Nuwās** as well as pious ones. In the poems and prose writings of the great mystics such as the Egyptian **Ibn al-Fāriḍ** and **Ibn al-'Arabī** from Spain, the Hijaz is very much present.

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See also: Arabia

**ḥikāya** see acting and actors, medieval; fiction

**Hikāyat Abī al-Qāsim** see **Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdi**

**Hijāzī, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mu'tī**  
(1935- )

Egyptian poet. Born in a small village in Lower Egypt, Hijāzī was educated in Cairo. His poetry, much of which is nationalistic in tone, expresses the bewilderment of the villager drawn to the metropolis in search of a living. Among his works are *Madīna bi-lā qalb* (1959), *Lam yabqa illā al-i'tirāf* (1965) and *Kā'inat mamlakat al-layl* (1978).

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P. STARKEY

**ḥikma**

A term meaning variously 'wisdom', 'science', 'philosophy'; also employed to designate certain types of prose and poetic compositions. In prose, *ḥikma* is often used in the sense of 'aphorism' or 'aphoristic wisdom'

(e.g. *ḥikmat Luqmān*, 'the wisdom of Luqmān', mentioned in *Koran* 31: 12-19).

Setting aside philosophical and esoteric writings that employ the term, the prose literature devoted to *ḥikma* incorporates several strands of wisdom literature: pre-Islamic Arabian, Persian (through which comes much Babylonian, Indian and Hellenistic material), and in particular the Greek gnomological works which were received by the Arabs through the school of Alexandria (transferred to Antioch in the reign of 'Umar II; see Gutas, 1975, 457-8) and subsequently translated into Arabic. These *gnomologia* 'were designed for public consumption, and as such were on the borderline between folk literature, like proverbs, tales, etc., which is mostly oral, and scholarly, philosophical and ethical literature' (ibid., 1). Such compendia of wisdom literature formed the basis for collections like **Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī's** (d. 260/873) *Nawādir al-falāsifa* (translated in the Middle Ages into Spanish, and into Hebrew by Jehuda al-Harizi (d. 1200)), **Mubashshir ibn Fātik's** (fifth/eleventh century) *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, **Miskawayh's** (d. 421/1030) *al-Ḥikma al-khālida (Jāvidān khirad)*, which included Arab, Persian and Indian materials, and **Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī's** (d. c.375/985) *Ṣiḥwān al-ḥikma*, among many others.

Literary criticism mentions *ḥikma* as one of the *aghrād* (genres) of poetry. Such pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets as **Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulma** and **'Adī ibn Zayd** were known for their sentential observations in their poetry; and a Prophetic saying states *inna lil-shi'r ḥikma*, 'in poetry there is wisdom'. With the influx of Greek and other materials, poets drew increasingly upon non-Arab sources for gnomological or sentential observations in their poetry, and *ḥikma* became a favorite genre of the *muḥdathūn* ('Moderns'). The critic **al-Ḥātīmī** (d. 338/998) accused **al-Mutanabbī** (d. 354/965) of heretical beliefs on the basis of his use of sententiae supposedly borrowed from **Aristotle**; other critics often deplored the use of 'philosophical' topics in poetry.

*Ḥikma* features prominently in *adab* works, which often devote a special chapter to wisdom drawn from various sources. Poetry based on *ḥikma* is generally admonitory in tone (see **oratory and sermons**, *zuḥdiyya*), often containing lengthy passages of aphorisms meant to instruct or admonish, as in the poetry of **Abū al-'Atāhiya**.

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**al-Hilāl (1892– )**

A major scientific, historical and literary monthly, still in existence, founded by the Lebanese Amīl and Jurjī **Zaydān** in Cairo and edited by Jurjī until his death in 1914. It published Jurjī Zaydān's historical novels as supplements serially from 1892 to 1914, as well as several series of articles, by Zaydān, Rawhī **al-Khālīdī** and others, on literary history and criticism. Other contributors have included major writers such as Jubrān Khalīl **Jubrān**, Amīn **al-Rihānī**, ʿIlīyā **Abū Mādī**, Tawfīq **al-Hakīm**, Maḥmūd **Taymūr**, Najīb **Mahfūz**, Yūsuf **al-Sibāʿī** and Aḥmad **Amīn**. It first published in instalments Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's masterpiece *al-Ayyām (The Days)* in 1926–7.

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**Hilāl, Muḥammad Ghunaymī (1916–68)**

Egyptian scholar and literary critic. Hilāl studied in France and earned his Doctorat d'État from the Sorbonne (1952). After returning to Cairo, he was appointed as a lecturer at **Dār al-ʿUlūm**. He wrote books on comparative literature (1953), romanticism (1956) and literary criticism (1958). Hilāl specialized in the comparative study of Majnūn and Laylā in Arabic and Persian literatures. He emphasized

the importance of literary theory in the study of literature, and was the first to introduce into Arabic the concept of comparative literature (*adab muqārīn*) as a field of studies closely related to literary history.

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D. SEMAH

**Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi' see al-Ṣābi', Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin****al-Ḥillī, Ḥaydar (1831–86)**

Iraqi poet. Born into a famous Shīʿī family in Hilla, where he lived and died, al-Ḥillī is best known for his elegies (*marthīyyāt*) in post-classical style on the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn (*al-Durr al-yatīm wa-al-ʿiqd al-naẓīm: al-ashjān fī marāthī khayr al-insān*) and for his book *al-ʿIqd al-mufaṣṣal fī qabīlat al-majd al-muʿaththal*. His *dīwān*, edited by ʿAlī **al-Khāqānī**, was republished in Beirut in two volumes in 1984.

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W. WALTHER

**al-Ḥillī, Ṣafī al-Dīn see Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī****al-Ḥimmānī, Yaʿmar ibn Ḥazn see Abū Nukhayla****Ḥimyar see Arabia; tribes****al-Ḥimyarī, Nashwān ibn Saʿīd see Nashwān ibn Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī****Hind see India****Hind bint al-Khuss**

Hind bint al-Khuss al-Iyādiyya was a wise woman from pre-Islamic times, sometimes



(probably erroneously) equated with the magician Zarqā' al-Yamāma. Nothing about her life is known. Scattered throughout *adab* and lexicographic literature there are more than seventy different sayings in rhythmical structured and rhymed prose (*saj'*) attributed to her. Most sayings are answers to advice-seekers about, for example, which men, women, camels, pasture-grounds or human experiences are best or worst; how to recognize a camel's pregnancy or the worth of cattle, etc. They are quoted either out of general interest in ancient Arab *bedouin* life or because of their unusual vocabulary. Bint al-Khuss sayings are still quoted in modern North African folklore.

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T. BAUER

## Hispano-Arabic literature see Spain

## Hira (al-Hira)

An Iraqi town southeast of Najaf which was of political and cultural importance in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. The site was at first an encampment for Arab tribes, attracted by its abundant supplies of water and pasturage for their herds; even at its apogee in the sixth century it mostly comprised tents and modest dwellings around numerous churches and monasteries and the residential compounds of its leading residents.

The town became important due to political and religious factors. The rise of the **Lakhmids** resulted in an alliance with the Sasanians, who used them as a buffer against tribal raiders and especially against the **Ghassānids** in **Syria**, allied with Byzantium. It was a Christian centre and seat of a Nestorian bishopric by 410 CE, with Jews and Manicheans likewise present. Its increasing importance on these fronts also made it a focus for the caravan trade with **Arabia** and **Syria**, and all these factors combined to make Hira a lively cultural centre.

In the pre-Islamic period this cultural activity consisted mainly of Arabic poetry. In addition to the poetry revolving around the Lakhmids themselves, poems were composed in praise of the town and its main sites and

amenities; references to the Nestorians' churches and monasteries are especially well known, but there are also frequent accolades for its residential compounds (*quṣūr*), taverns, waterways and rustic ambience. Many Arab poets came to Hira and sang of it, and two of these, **al-Nābigha al-Dhubayāni** and **'Abid ibn al-Abras**, lived there more or less permanently; the verse of one native son, **'Adi ibn Zayd**, rose to renown throughout Arabia. Prose is more problematic to judge. Eastern Christian monasteries routinely kept collections of books, and there are reports that this was the case in Hira. The detail with which it was later possible to name and date the various pre-Islamic rulers of the town suggests that at least a rudimentary historical tradition existed, but most probably in Syriac.

The Arab conquest of Sasanian Iraq in the 630s was soon followed by the founding nearby of the garrison camp of **Kūfa**. As this centre rapidly expanded it sapped the vitality of its older neighbour. Hira quickly shrank in both size and importance, and poets were soon describing the ruins of such previously grand structures as al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr. It continued to be of some significance in the **Umayyad** period, however, and as late as the fourth/tenth century it was still an attractive country residence and a stop on the pilgrimage route. The Nestorian presence also continued, and the town remained an important link in the chain of Christian religious establishments (mainly monasteries) extending throughout Iraq and linking up with similar networks in **Syria** and the **Jazīra**. This network became extremely important in the third/ninth century, when the Hīran Nestorian physician and translator **Hunayn ibn Ishāq** (d. 260/873) rose to prominence in the **'Abbāsīd** translation movement that resulted in the incorporation of much of the classical Greek scientific and philosophical heritage into Arab-Islamic culture (see **translation, medieval**).

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## historical literature

The writing of history has constituted one of the most prolific branches of Arabic scholarly prose literature. The historiographical genres included chronicles and annals, narrative histories, dynastic histories, cultural and literary history, historical encyclopaedias, world histories, local histories, and biography and prosopography. The best of the historians who participated in this tradition rank with Thucydides or Ssu-ma Ch'ien as masters of the historiographical art in the pre-modern world.

The origins of Arabic historiography are obscure because so many of the earliest works have been lost and are known only by fragments of uncertain authenticity quoted by later writers. On the evidence of the names of ancient authors and the titles of their works that have been preserved, it would appear that histories in Arabic came to be written for two primary reasons: first, to serve the needs of Islam as it developed into a world religion; and second, to perpetuate local historiographical traditions and integrate them into the framework of Arabic/Muslim high culture. Thus the oldest known examples of historical works include books on Jewish and South Arabian antiquities by authors such as **Ka'b al-Aḥbār** (d. c.35/655) and **Wahb ibn Munabbih** (d. c.114/732), on pre-Islamic Arabia and the Arab tribal genealogies by **Ibn al-Kalbī** (d. 204/819), on the life of the Prophet **Muḥammad** by **Ibn Ishāq** (d. 151/768), on the early Muslim military campaigns by **al-Wāqidi** (d. 207/823), on the history of Mecca by **al-Azraqī** (d. 219/834), on intra-Muslim factional strife by **Abū Mikhnāf** (d. 157/774) and **Naṣr ibn Muzāhim** (d. 212/827), and on the largely political history of the Muslim community by **al-Madā'ini** (d. 228/842–3) and others.

Building on these foundations, and expanding them to include other, notably Iranian, historiographical traditions, there was a great outburst of historical writing from the second century of 'Abbāsīd rule through the **Būyid** domination (late third/ninth to early fifth/eleventh centuries). This was in many ways the golden age of Arabic historiography. Generally speaking, the works from this classical period fall into three main categories: those which treat history as an ancillary science to religious studies, those that approach history in a cosmopolitan and essentially secular way, and those that view history mostly in terms of

politics but from a local or provincial perspective. These categories could overlap, and the distinction between them became increasingly blurred with the passage of time, but they provide a convenient descriptive framework for the historiography of this period.

The most useful of the historical genres in terms of the religious sciences were undoubtedly the chronicle and the biographical dictionary (see **biography, medieval**). The early phase of development of the chronicle may be seen in the *Ta'riḫ (Chronology)* by **Khalifa ibn Khayyāt** (d. 240/854), the *Kitāb al-ma'rifa wa-al-ta'riḫ (Book of Biography and History)* by **Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān al-Fasawī** (d. 277/890–1) and reconstructed, fragmentary pieces of the *Ta'riḫ* of **Abū Bishr al-Tamīmī** (d. 249/863) or the *Ta'riḫ al-khulafā' (History of the Caliphs)* by **Muḥammad ibn Yazīd** (fl. 293/905–6?). For the most part, these give only very brief lists, arranged year by year, of the appointments of government officials, the deaths of notables, and famous events. The purpose of such works was almost certainly to provide a chronological outline which would facilitate accurate dating of individuals involved in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. This prosopographical function is seen very clearly in al-Fasawī's work, the overwhelming bulk of which is devoted to biographies of traditionists. While serving this need, however, the annalistic genre could also be developed to include full narratives describing the events listed. The potential of this genre was fully realized in the greatest of all the early chronicles, the *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-al-mulūk (History of the Prophets and Kings)* by **Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī** (d. 311/923). Much praised by both traditional Muslim and modern scholars, al-Ṭabarī's chronicle eclipsed all its precursors and remains an indispensable source of information on early Islamic history.

The biographical dictionary tended to serve much the same purpose as the chronicle by providing information necessary for the study of transmitters of *ḥadīth*, but it too could be expanded to include accounts of other prominent political or cultural figures as well as accounts of significant historical events. One of the earliest and most important of the biographical compendia was the *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr (Great Book of the Classes)* by **Ibn Sa'd** (d. 230/845), a comprehensive account of the lives of the Prophet, his companions and the early generations of Muslims. It had few

competitors throughout the classical period, although there were numerous collections of biographies of traditionists for various localities. This genre reached its peak only later in the medieval period with the compilation of mammoth biographical dictionaries, including entries for many individuals other than traditionists, by **al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī** (d. 464/1071), **Ibn Khallikān** (d. 681/1282), **al-Ṣafadī** (d. 764/1363) and **Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī** (d. 852/1449).

The more secular-minded universal and dynastic histories were produced in great numbers and in great variety during the classical period. Whereas chronicles such as al-Ṭabarī's served primarily as repositories of raw historical data, these works were remarkable for their literary merit, their broad vision and their efforts at historical analysis. Their authors also tended to come from different social backgrounds, often being scientists, philologists or government officials rather than jurists and religious scholars; this is reflected in both their methodologies and their historical concerns and interests. **Al-Balādhurī** (d. 279/892), **al-Ya'qūbī** (d. 284/897) and **al-Mas'ūdī** (d. 345/956) were three of the greatest, but very different, exemplars of this tradition. Al-Balādhurī, an intimate of the 'Abbāsīd court in the time of al-Mutawakkil, wrote an account of the Arab conquests, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, which is still one of the most important, comprehensible and widely used sources of information on that subject. He also authored a kind of genealogical history of the noble Arab tribes, the *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, which has received less attention from modern scholars since it is only recently that parts of it have been published; it, too, is a mine of unique and important information and insights on Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd history. In both works, al-Balādhurī was clearly trying to develop the theme that the most important role in the affairs of caliphate had been played by, and still properly belonged to, the Arabs. His contemporary al-Ya'qūbī, an official in the service of the Ṭāhirid dynasty in Khurasan but who spent his last years in Egypt, took a very different view of the history of the Islamic world. Although supposedly a Shi'ī, such tendencies are manifested in his history only in the sense that he deals at some length with the history of members of the House of the Prophet and perhaps in his fondness for astrological lore and his interest in remote areas of the Muslim empire. His *Kitāb al-*

*buldān* (*Book of the Countries*), partly historical and partly geographical, emphasized the diversity of the lands of the caliphate and their inhabitants. His most important narrative history, the *Ta'riḫ*, portrayed the story of the caliphate against the backdrop of both the pre-Islamic cultural heritage of the Middle East and the relations of the Islamic empire with contemporary non-Muslim peoples.

This cosmopolitan and universalist approach reached its zenith with the works of al-Mas'ūdī, who has rightly been called 'the Herodotus of the Arabs'. His *Murūj al-dhahab* (*Fields of Gold*) was a remarkable multi-volume work combining a true sense of universal history with an appreciation of the social, geographical, economic and cultural as well as political elements in the historical process. Other historians who represented similar trends include **Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī** (d. 314/926), author of a lengthy and useful *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* on the Islamic conquests (see *Futūḥ*); **Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī** (d. before 360/970-1), who attempted to compile a universal chronology, the *Ta'riḫ sinī muluk al-arḍ* (*Chronology of the Kings of the Earth*); the encyclopaedist **Ibn Qutayba** (d. 276/889) who compiled the *Kitāb al-ma'rifa wa-al-ta'riḫ* (*Book of Biography and History*); **Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī** (d. c.335/946), a historian of 'Abbāsīd court life; **al-Jahshiyārī** (d. 31/942), author of an overview of the 'Abbāsīd bureaucracy, the *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*; and **al-Muqaddisī** (fl. 355/966), whose unique *Kitāb al-bad' wa-al-ta'riḫ* (*Book of Creation and History*) provided a kind of comparative religious history of the world. Although primarily an anthology of poetry, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*Book of Songs*) by **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** (d. c.363/972) could also be included in this category as a monumental literary history of the Arabs.

A number of other historians writing in Arabic during the classical period focused more narrowly on the history of particular cities or provinces or topics, but their works are also valuable both as sources of information and as examples of historiography. **Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr** (d. 280/893), for example, attempted a history of the city of **Baghdad**, but only a small portion of his work is still extant. **Abū Zakariyyā' al-Azdī** (d. 334/946) took the model of the chronicle but adapted it to treat the history of one city, Mosul, and its environs with great depth and insight. There was also a strong local historical tradition in

Egypt, as one might expect, with important works by **Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam** (d. 257/871) on the conquest of Egypt and Abū 'Umar **al-Kindī** (d. 350/961) on the governors and judges of Egypt. Spain and North Africa produced not only local historians, but also historians with unique perspectives on general history; especially noteworthy was **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** (d. 328/940), whose *al-'Iqd al-farīd* (*The Unique Necklace*) covered a broad range of political, literary and social history. A number of historians writing in Arabic also flourished in the Iranian provinces, but unfortunately few of their works have survived even in part. Among them may be noted *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (*The Lengthy Narratives*) by Abū Ḥanīfa **al-Dīnawarī** (d. c.290/902–3); it was, in a sense, a very selective history of Iran and Iraq and as much a literary as a historical masterpiece. By the end of the classical period, Persian had begun to replace Arabic as the language of choice for works of history in this region. Significantly, non-Muslims also began to write histories in Arabic during this period. Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq (**Eutychius**; d. 328/939) produced perhaps the first universal history in Arabic written from a Christian perspective, starting a tradition followed by Yahyā **al-Antākī** (d. 458/1066), al-Makīn (d. 672/1274) and **Bar Hebraeus** (d. 685/1286).

Generally speaking, the period from the fifth/eleventh century down to early modern times simply saw the elaboration and continued development of the types of historical writing that had grown up during the classical period. Most of the historians from this period are not notable for innovations in historiography but rather for the extent to which they attempted to surpass their predecessors in the scale and scope of their works. Mention has already been made of the voluminous biographical dictionaries compiled at this time; the chronicle also enjoyed a revival with the production of works impressive for their sheer bulk and the wealth of information they preserved. 'Izz al-Dīn **Ibn al-Athīr** (d. 630/1234) was a noteworthy precursor of this trend, which reached its culmination in the historiography of **Mamlūk** Egypt with the chronicles of **al-Dhahabī** (d. 748/1348), **Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī** (d. 855/1451), and **Ibn Taghribirdī** (d. 874/1469).

The tendency to emphasize detail and the collation of information from a diverse array of sources also manifested itself in other genres such as dynastic and local histories.

There are too many of these to mention, but significant examples include the works now attributed to Abū Maṣṣūr **al-Tha'ālībī** (d. 429/1038), including a detailed history of Islamic and pre-Islamic dynasties, a literary history of famous poets, and a collection of historical anecdotes; **Miskawayh** (d. 421/1030), author of a richly detailed chronicle on the Būyid period; **al-'Uṭbī** (d. 413/1022), a historian of the **Ghaznavid** dynasty; **Ibn 'Asākīr** (d. 571/1176), author of a massive history of Damascus; and **Ibn Wāṣil** (d. 697/1298), an authority on the **Ayyūbids**.

It is noteworthy, however, that there is evidence not only of a resurgence in the quantity of historical writing during this period but also of the expanding historical horizons of individual historians. This was most likely a consequence of the changes brought about by the **Crusades** and the Mongol invasions and constituted something of a counterpart to the revolution in historical writing taking place in Europe at much the same time. One aspect of this was a renewed emphasis on truly universal histories which sought to record information about the non-Muslim world as well as the remotest and most obscure of Muslim dynasties and territories. This concern was apparent in works as early as the *Akhbār al-duwal al-munqaṭi'a* (*Narratives of Extinct Nations*) by Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī (d. c.613/1216) and continued well into Ottoman times with the *Jamī' al-duwal* (*Comprehensive [Accounts] of Nations*) by Munajjim Bāshī (d. 1113/1702), an encyclopaedic account of numerous dynasties, both Muslim and non-Muslim. By far the best representative of the new historical horizons, however, was Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318). His great *Jamī' al-tawārīkh* (*Compendium of Histories*), written in both Arabic and Persian versions, not only synthesized the work of earlier chronicles but went on to add remarkable accounts of Mongol history, Buddhism and even European history. It is beyond doubt one of the supreme masterpieces of Arabic and Islamic historiography. Although **al-Maqrīzī** (d. 845/1441) did not have the broad geographical and cultural perspective of Rashīd al-Dīn, he did exemplify many of the fresh perspectives that were revitalizing Arabic historiography. The variety of his interests, ranging from topographical history to numismatic history to dynastic history and biography, and his ability to draw material from an ocean of sources were astounding.

Among his many books were works on the topographical history of Egypt, histories of Egyptian dynasties, biographies of Egyptian notables, a history of Muslim coinage and an analysis of the struggle between the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, this period witnessed the production of the justly famous work of **Ibn Khaldūn** (d. 808/1406), who attached a profound philosophy of history as a preface to his otherwise conventional chronicle. With these developments, Arabic historiography had clearly reached the point where it was ready to go beyond the compilation of historical data to the systematic exploration of the meaning of history itself.

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## homilectics *see* didactic literature; oratory and sermons

## Hudhayl (Hudhayli poets)

The Banū Hudhayl, a northern Arab tribe in the Hijāz, sided with the Meccans against Muḥammad and embraced Islam in 8/630. They are famous in Arabic literature because their collected poetry is the only surviving tribal *dīwān*, offering an opportunity to study a poetic tradition over five generations (c.550–81/700). Since the majority of Hudhayli poets are *mukhaḍramūn*, their verses constitute a primary source of political conditions at the time of Muḥammad and the Orthodox caliphate.

The *dīwān* is preserved in the recension of **al-Sukkari**. Their are several partial editions, some with translations into German, and a complete edition by A. Farrāj. The corpus

(c.4,600 verses) contains poems by sixty-nine Hudhaylis, among them two women and three anonymous poets, and a considerable number of verses by poets from other tribes, e.g. **Ta'abbata Sharran** of Fahm. Analysis of the *dīwān* from a literary aspect has scarcely begun. The principal study still is by E. Bräunlich (1937), who analysed wording and style, and established relations between individual poets. The region of Hudhayl, the highland between Mecca and Tā'if, evidently favoured certain themes, e.g. the description of thunder-storms and the topic of bees and the seeking of honey. Hudhaylis excel in the depiction of wild animals, whereas horses and camels are rarely described and with less artistic skill. There are also definite similarities in the composition of *rithā'*, such as a preference for hunting scenes exemplifying the inescapability of death. No references to Islam are apparent before the Umayyad period, which indicates a slow acceptance of the new religion. Several Hudhaylis disapprove of their tribesmen joining the Arab campaigns, regarded by them as 'emigration', e.g. Usāma ibn al-Ḥārith (*Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, vol. 3, Nos. 3, 4/*Neue Hudailiten-Diwane*, vol. 2, 51–4) and Abū Khirāsh (No. 21/*Neue Hudailiten-Diwane*, vol. 2, 40), who died during the caliphate of 'Umar.

Some poets are particularly valued by medieval scholars. Most famous after Abū Dhu'ayb is Abū Kabīr, of the first generation, although only four odes by him are known. They all begin in the same way and consist of a complaint about old age, followed by memories of youthful pleasures and pursuits (see *fakhr*).

Two poets of the following generation are closely related, Sā'ida ibn Ju'ayya, who lived to embrace Islam, and his *rāwī* Abū Dhu'ayb (d. c.28/649), the greatest Hudhayli poet. Sā'ida's *dīwān* contains thirteen poems, most of them monothematic (see *qū'a*). *Rithā'* and complaints about old age and the transitoriness of life are his favourite themes.

His motifs and techniques are developed and elaborated upon by Abū Dhu'ayb in an original way. He migrated to Egypt and joined a campaign to Ifrīqiyya in 26/647. Shortly afterwards he returned to Medina, but died on the way. In Egypt he lost five sons to the plague. His elegy upon their death (*Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, No. 1/*Neue Hudailiten-Diwane*, vol. 1, 10–14) is valued by medieval and modern critics alike. His

*dīwān* contains thirty-four poems, among them three *qaṣīdas* and ten elegies. These are of special interest, as Abū Dhu'ayb experiments with the genre, sometimes opening the elegy with amatory verses, which he links up ingeniously with the complaint for the dead. Of his monothematic poems six are devoted exclusively to the amatory theme and may be classified as *ghazal* (cf. Jacobi, 1984, 218–50). In his love poetry he shows more psychological insight and sensitivity than poets of the *Jāhiliyya*. He introduces realistic scenes, where his beloved appears as a definite personality who takes an active part in the relationship, contrary to the stylized beloved of the *nasīb*. Thus in more than one respect Abū Dhu'ayb anticipates Umayyad *ghazal* poetry, both of the Ḥijāzī and of the 'Udhri kind.

The last Hudhaylī poet of renown is Abū Ṣakhr, who fought with the Umayyads against 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, by whom he was imprisoned, and took part in the capture of Mecca in 72/692. Only twenty of his poems are preserved, among them several panegyrics and a remarkable *marthiya*, composed on the request of a patron still alive (*Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, vol. 2, No. 9). Abū Ṣakhr is most famous as a *ghazal* poet. His verses are of the elegiac variant and reveal his affinity to 'Udhri poets.

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R. JACOBI

See also: tribes

## Ḥujjat al-'Irāqayn see al-Kirmānī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh

### Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ (fl. c.80/700)

Ḥumayd ibn Mālik al-Tamīmī 'al-Arqaṭ' ('the Speckled', i.e. 'the Scarred'), *rajaz* poet of the middle Umayyad period, can be dated only approximately by his panegyrics on the governor al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (d. 95/714). The old *dīwāns* of his poetry being lost, his poetical role has to be judged from the scattered fragments attributed to him. Ḥumayd's importance for the most part is in his *rajaz* poetry; a fifteen-verse fragment describing an early morning ride, transmitted in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa*, shows that he participated in the development of hunting poetry (*ṭardiyya*). Some of his poems are composed in metres other than *rajaz*.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

See also: *rajaz*

## Ḥumayd ibn Thawr al-Hilālī (d. c.90/709?)

Poet of the early Islamic and early Umayyad period. Ḥumayd is said to have composed an elegy on the death of the caliph 'Uthmān (killed 35/656), but there is also a poem of thirty-two lines ascribed to him which is addressed to the caliph al-Walīd I (86–96/705–15). He thus seems to have lived to quite an old age, and in fact in many of his poems he complains about the discomforts of old age (cf. al-Maymanī, introd. p. 5 fn. 4). None of the ancient *dīwān* recensions seems to have survived; to the collection of fragments compiled by al-Maymanī, containing about 550 verses (fifty-nine pieces), al-Najjār added another 187 verses. The topics of his poetry are mixed; several descriptions of animals have become famous. Apart from that, love is a recurrent theme in his poems.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

humaynī

*Humaynī* (etymology doubtful) is a Yemenite poetic genre, with a wide variety of themes, mostly strophic in form and using a language that does not adhere completely to the rules of classical Arabic. Khalilian, as well as other prosodical features, occur (see **prosody**). The earliest *humaynī* poet mentioned in the literature is Ibn Falīta (d. 731/1331). The three major categories of *humaynī* poetry are the non-strophic *qaṣīd* (see *qaṣīda*), and the strophic forms *mubayyat* and *muwashshaḥa*.

The *mubayyat* is the commonest type. It consists of symmetrical strophes (*bayt*) of normally four lines with common rhymes in the fourth lines of the strophes (basic forms: bbbA/ cccA/ dddA/, etc.; or with internal rhymes: ab ab ab AB/ cd cd cd AB/ ef ef ef AB/; or: aa aa aa AA/ bb bb bb AA/ cc cc cc AA/).

In the dominant variant of *muwashshaḥa* each strophe has three distinct sections, each with its own rhymes and structure: *bayt* (usually four lines); *tawshīḥ* (mostly three lines, usually shorter than those of the *bayt* and those of the third section); and *taqfīl* (reproduces the metre of the *bayt*). Basic rhyme pattern: aaaA, bbb, AA/ cccA, ddd, AA/ eeeA, fff, AA/, etc. Another type of *muwashshaḥa* omits the *taqfīl*.

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W. STOETZER

See also: strophic poetry

humour

The concept of humour covers such a wide and diverse range that even within the limits of a single culture it is extremely hard to define.

While humour, deriving from the ancient Greek concept of the bodily fluids, means in the first place a specific mental disposition, the latter needs a specific reason to come into action, encompassing situation, momentary physical and psychical disposition of the recipient, as well as an initiating spark from the outside. In this way, humour on a very general level denotes the humoristic way of dealing with things. As far as literature is concerned, the concept of humour applies mostly to jocular tales relying on a certain amount of satirical or ridiculing qualities. Arabic literature in its classical period tends to combine the jocular element (*hazl*) with its antithetical counterpart seriousness (*jidd*), so as to avoid the suspicion voiced by traditional circles towards purely entertaining activities without any apparent moral values.

Due to the vast distance in time and cultural background, it is not altogether easy to appreciate what exactly humour means in classical Arabic literature. The reactions provoked by the quoting of jocular items are in some kind of accordance with their presentation and extend anywhere from an appreciative smile, to a generous donation, to roaring laughter which, in the conventional descriptions, makes the person laughing helplessly 'fall on his back'. The items almost invariably tell about some wondrous, clever or stupid act, while their form extends from straightforward reports to enigmatic hints or subtle allusions, whose wording might be of more interest than their actual content. Although early as well as contemporary traditional circles in the Islamic world would probably deny any such preponderance, classical compilations of jocular tales abound in obscenities, some of them most direct, leaving no other choice but to believe that the (most probably literate) recipients of such tales were either extremely tolerant or did in fact indulge in that kind of entertainment.

The terminology of humorous literature is admittedly vague: *nādīra* denotes a short, witty, subtle and amusing anecdote; *laṭīfa* an elegant, pointed anecdote; *mulḥa* a 'salty', e.g. pleasant, witty anecdote (in contrast to *bārid*, 'cold', dull); *fukāḥa* (funny, humorous anecdote) and *muḏḥika* (anecdote making somebody laugh) are relatively modern terms. The term *al-adab al-hazlī* might serve best as a general denomination.

Humorous literature in the Arabic world has largely concentrated on a number of well-known characters, some of which are still

popular today. This phenomenon was already familiar to **al-Jāhiz**, who noted in his *Kitāb al-bukhalā'* that any clever anecdote attributed to an unknown protagonist would remain stale, while even a dull joke attributed to a well-known trickster might meet with hilarious appreciation. Thus, in classical and post-classical sources, **Ash'ab** used to represent the stereotype greedy and stingy person, **Bunān** the sponger, **Qarāqūsh** the absurd judge, or **Buhlūl** the wise fool. The most prominent of all is **Juhā**, whose repertoire enlarged in Arabic tradition over the centuries until it mingled in the nineteenth century with that of the Turkish Nasreddin Hoca, procuring for both of them an unchallengeable supremacy over all similar characters of Arabic jocular prose.

Arabic literature contains the largest medieval body of humorous narratives in any Mediterranean culture and, besides Chinese, in any known world culture. The different implications of their sources, their spread in the Oriental cultures as well as the West, and their interpretation have yet to be scrutinized.

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U. MARZOLPH

See also: *adab*; *hazl*

**Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī**  
(194–260/809–73)

Christian Arab translator, physician and author, and the leading figure in the transmission of Greek learning during the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Hunayn, a Nestorian, is said to have learned his Greek in Alexandria, or even Byzantium. His biographers cast him as a brilliant outsider alternately patronized and persecuted by his co-religionists. Although he

served as physician to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and as director of the 'House of Wisdom' (**Bayt al-Ḥikma**), the caliphs are said to have imprisoned him twice: once for refusing to concoct a poison, and once for having desecrated an icon at the instigation of his rivals. The latter incident is the subject of Hunayn's purported autobiographical epistle (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 197f; 264f.).

On behalf of both Christian and Muslim patrons, Hunayn and his disciples collected and collated Greek manuscripts on the basis of which they corrected previous renderings or translated afresh into both Syriac and Arabic. Hunayn insisted upon rendering the sense, not the form, of the source text, and his translations were renowned for their accuracy and readability. He translated over a hundred Greek medical works – including practically the entire Galenic corpus – as well as Plato, Aristotle and the Old Testament; and composed over seventy scientific treatises of his own. Because of the Arabic technical vocabulary they created as well as the texts they made available, Hunayn and his colleagues were largely responsible for the success of the Islamic appropriation and naturalization of Greek thought.

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M. COOPERSON

See also: translation, medieval

## hunting poetry see *ḥardiyya*

### Husayn, Rāshid (1936–77)

Palestinian poet, writer, journalist and translator. Born in Muşmuş, Rāshid Ḥusayn graduated from Nazareth Secondary School. After three years of teaching he worked as a literary editor for the Histadrut monthly *al-Fajr* (1958–62) and the weekly *al-Muṣawwar*. He was an active member of the Mapam (United Workers' Party), editing its literary and social weekly *al-Mirṣād*.

In 1967 he joined the PLO office in New York, but in 1971 left for Damascus, where he helped to establish the Palestinian Research Center 'al-Arḍ' and worked in the Hebrew Programme of the Syrian Broadcasting Service (1973). He returned to New York as correspondent of the Palestinian News Agency (Wafa) in 1973, but in 1977 was killed in a fire in his flat. His tomb in Muşmuş became a symbol for nationalist Palestinians and an association was established in Israel, publishing a commemorative volume and works by Ḥusayn, including *Qaṣā'id Filastīniyya* (Shfaram, 1980). Ḥusayn also translated selections from Bialik's poetry and prose from Hebrew into Arabic.

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S. MOREH

### Husayn, Tāhā (1889–1973)

Egyptian critic, essayist, novelist, short-story writer, historian, journalist, translator, editor and educator.

Born in 'Izbat al-Kilū near Maghāgha in Upper Egypt in a large family of modest wealth, Tāhā Ḥusayn was blind from the age of 2. When he had exhausted the local educational resources, which included the memorization of the *Koran*, he was sent to

Cairo in 1902 to join the University of al-Azhar. There he heard the last two lectures of Muḥammad 'Abduh. He was out of sympathy, however, with the institution's attachment to outworn practices and values. He boycotted the classes of all but a handful of its professors, and antagonized its authorities by his outspoken criticisms. When he presented himself for the final examination in 1912, he was failed. However, he had already started attending lectures at the modern Egyptian University (later known as Cairo University) from the time it started functioning in 1908. There he came under the influence of European Arabists, especially Carlo Nallino. In 1914, he became the University's first graduate, with a thesis on *Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri* in which he sought to apply Western canons of criticism to an Arab poet and thinker. He was awarded a scholarship to study in France, and in 1918 obtained a doctorate from the Sorbonne for a thesis entitled 'Étude analytique et critique de la philosophie sociale d'Ibn Khaldoun', as well as a *doctorat d'État* in the following year. He also married his French reader, and had a daughter and a son with her.

Back in Egypt, he became Professor of Ancient History in his home university in 1919, then Professor of Arabic Literature in 1925, and was the first Egyptian to become Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1930. But his *Fī al-Shi'r al-Jāhili* (1926), which questioned the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry, had religious implications which caused storms of protest. It was banned and he was tried for apostasy, but not convicted. Nevertheless, the controversy and his involvement in party politics led to his dismissal from government service in 1932. In 1940, he was elected to the Academy of the Arabic Language, and eventually became its President. He returned to a succession of educational posts in 1942, interspersed with non-governmental activities. Between 1946 and 1949, he ran a publishing house, al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, which issued a periodical of the same name. He reached the apogee of his public career as Minister of Education in the last Wafdist Government (1950–2). During his tenure, he greatly expanded the state school system, at the same time giving effect to a popular measure he had long advocated: the abolition of school fees. He had also been instrumental in the creation of two new universities.

Even in his student days, Tāhā Ḥusayn had

established himself as a versatile and prolific writer. He had in his early youth tried his hand at poetry, but he soon disowned those efforts. To almost every other genre, however, he contributed either original works or translations, producing in all more than sixty books (including six novels) and 1,300 articles. His prose, although faithful to the strictest standards of classical syntax, was much admired for its limpidity and suppleness. The first volume of his fictionalized autobiography, *al-Ayyām*, which appeared serially in *al-Ḥilāl* in 1926/7 and later in a book, was the first product of modern Arabic literature to gain international recognition and was translated into a number of languages.

Well versed in the Arab-Islamic heritage and contributing substantially to its revival, study and re-evaluation, Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn was a stout defender of the purity of the Arabic language. This led him to oppose the use of the colloquial idiom in works of art, and to deny the validity of folk literature. Yet he was also a keen admirer of things Western, especially French, and it was by Western canons that he judged the achievements of the past. In his *Mustaqbal al-thaqāfa fī Miṣr* (1938) he argued – perhaps inspired by Duhamel – that Egypt's culture had always been not so much Oriental as essentially Mediterranean. Combining the two main strands in his formation, he propounded, and in a succession of vehement polemics doughtily defended, a form of modernism whose aim was proclaimed to be not innovation but renovation.

It is above all as a literary critic that he is celebrated, for although he did not systematically expound an aesthetic philosophy, and indeed resisted defining the touchstone of literary quality as anything but the expression of emotion, he was extremely influential in popularizing, through works of applied criticism as well as through the example he set in his creative writing, an essentially Romantic approach to literature.

Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn was made a *bey* in 1936 and a *pasha* while Minister of Education, but all titles were abolished after the fall of the Egyptian monarchy. Other honours were heaped on him by Arab and European governments, universities and academies, and in 1949 André Gide nominated him for the Nobel prize. Although ill health greatly reduced his activities after the 1950s, he remained a popular and highly esteemed personality, revelling in the unofficial title of Dean of Arabic Literature.

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P. CACHIA

### al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk (155–250/772–864)

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn 'al-Khalī' ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, poet, was brought up in Basra and moved to Baghdad at the end of Ḥārūn al-Rashid's reign. He subsequently enjoyed good relations with most of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs up to al-Muntaṣir. He was essentially a light-hearted poet who kept dissolute company and was sought after by pleasure-seeking notables; it was mostly in the role of eloquent profligate that he frequented the caliphal courts. He was known especially for his wine poetry, whose muse he shared with Abū Nuwās. However, his reputation has been eclipsed by the latter's and, according to most sources, much of his wine poetry has been falsely attributed to Abū Nuwās. Unlike the occasional poets, the impulses behind his bacchic compositions are similar (judging from extant material) to those of Abū Nuwās; in his finest *khamriyya*, the *hamziyya* (38 lines), he mocks the *aṭlāl* motif and produces many descriptive conceits that have found their way into his friend's *dīwān*. There is a nine-line tavern poem rhyming in *ḥā'* which shows a striking resemblance in its internal consonantal harmony to a longer tavern poem by Abū Nuwās. Although his *dīwān* is lost, significant material survives which includes most of the genres of poetry. A notable sub-category of his poetry is *i'tidhār* – there are three types: apologies for drunken behaviour, apologies on political topics and apologies written in old age when he excused himself from joining the drinking parties of al-Mutawakkil.

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P.F. KENNEDY

See also: *khamriyya*

### al-Ḥusaynī, Ishāq Mūsā (1904–90)

Palestinian writer, educator and university professor. Born in Jerusalem, al-Ḥusaynī studied in Cairo, and in 1934 received his PhD in Semitic languages from London University. He taught in Jerusalem and, after 1948, at the American University of Beirut and American University in Cairo. After retirement, he returned to Jerusalem in 1974. He wrote about twenty books on subjects such as the Muslim Brothers, **Ibn Qutayba**, Arabic literature, criticism and prosody. His famous work *Mudhakkirāt dajāja* (1943) was seen as an allegory on Arab–Jewish relations in Palestine, an interpretation rejected by the author. In recent years, this work has aroused renewed interest.

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D. SEMAH

### al-Ḥuṣrī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī (d. 413/1022)

Man of letters and famous among his contemporaries as a poet, born at Qayrawan, and died at Maṣūriyya nearby. Few details are known about his life in Qayrawan (Kairouan), which was the focus of a lively cultural life in which he was a central figure. Mentor of Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī and others, he is credited with having deeply influenced, in his relatively short life, the flowering of literature in the Muslim West in the fifth/eleventh century. His celebrated *Zahr al-ādāb* is an exquisite anthology selected from an entire library of the works of the finest contemporary poets and prose stylists which had been recently purchased in the Islamic East by

a high official. Avoiding the too familiar, he moves with unerring judgement and balance from poetry – emphasizing 'moderns' – to prose and from weighty to pleasurable themes. This large work became a classic, spreading knowledge of the best in literature and educating tastes far beyond his immediate circle. In Spain in the next century, for example, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbilī (502-75/1108–79) listed it in the standard curriculum. Three shorter but equally well-constructed anthologies take up particular subjects and the light and humorous. Of these, *al-Maṣūn fī sirr al-hawā al-maknūn*, on keeping the secret of love, contributed to the medieval Arabic literature on the theory of love (see **love theory**). He also introduced into Ifriqiyya the *maqāma* form, later used successfully by his pupil Ibn Sharaf.

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L.A. GIFFEN

### al Ḥuṣrī, 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Ghānim (c.420–88/c.1029–95)

Poet in Qayrawan and al-Andalus. Driven from Qayrawan by the invasion of the Banī Hilāl in 449/1057–8, al-Ḥuṣrī, who was blind, went first to Ceuta, then, in 462/1069–70, to al-Andalus, where he served several of the party kings, notably **al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād** of Seville. His wife

left him for her Berber lover; a year later, in about 475/1082–3, his favourite son died. He returned to North Africa in 483/1090, settling in Tangiers. When al-Mu'tamid passed through Tangiers on his way to Aghmāt, al-Ḥuṣrī tactlessly offered him a compilation of his panegyrics in expectation of a reward. Al-Mu'tamid responded by giving him his last coins, together with a poem; when al-Ḥuṣrī did not bother to respond, al-Mu'tamid sent a rueful poem of rebuke.

Expert in **Koran** readings, al-Ḥuṣrī composed a lengthy didactic poem on the subject, on which later readers wrote commentaries. His most famous individual poems are a lengthy and much imitated *madīh*, beginning *yā layla 'l-ṣabbi*, and a *ghazal* in the form of *takhmīs*, a strophic poem consisting of five-line strophes, of which the first four rhyme with one another and the fifth links the strophes with an unchanging rhyme. Al-Ḥuṣrī is also known to have written a lament on the fall of Qayrawan, *muwashshahāt*, panegyrics, lampoons and epistles, most of which are lost.

Al-Ḥuṣrī's lasting fame is based on two collections of poems, each embodying a formal principle, and each commemorating a major event in his life. *Diwān al-mu'ashsharāt*, written in sorrow over the betrayal of his wife, consists of a ten-line *ghazal* for each letter of the alphabet. The successive letters of the alphabet provide both the rhyme and the first letter of each line of the successive poems. Al-Ḥuṣrī seems to have invented the form, which had imitators. *Iqtirāḥ al-qarīḥ wa-ijtirāḥ al-jarīḥ*, written to commemorate the death of his son, contains both prose and poetry, and is the only collection edited by the poet himself. One of the book's sections contains a series of fifteen-line poems, one for each letter of the alphabet.

The collections and the individual poems mentioned here reflect al-Ḥuṣrī's extreme formalism and virtuosity, which are in line with his predilection for complex rhymes and rare vocabulary. (The description of the formal properties of his poems given here has been much simplified.) Yet his poetry is regarded as passionate and emotional, dealing explicitly as it does with the events of his family life. He may have been influenced by **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri**, whose works reached Qayrawan and al-Andalus in his lifetime.

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R.P. SCHEINDLIN

## al-Ḥuṣrī, Ṣāṭi' (1880–1968)

Educationist and Arab nationalist writer, the son of a judge in the Ottoman civil service. His father, who came from Aleppo, was posted to Istanbul in 1896, where the boy received a secular education. Al-Ḥuṣrī remained loyal to the Ottoman Empire until its collapse, serving as an administrator and educational expert for much of his early life. In 1919 he went to Damascus where Faisal ibn Husain made him responsible for education in Syria. It was at this point that he began to learn Arabic, a language in which he was never completely at home.

After Faisal's defeat in July 1920 al-Ḥuṣrī followed him to Iraq, where he became successively Director-General of Education, Head of the Teachers' College, Dean of the College of Law and Director of Antiquities. After Rashid 'Ali's failed coup in 1941 al-Ḥuṣrī was exiled to Syria, where he became adviser to the ministry of education and adviser to the cultural committee of the Arab League. Between 1953 and his retirement in 1957 he was Director of the Institute of Arab Studies at the Arab League in Cairo. A prolific writer greatly influenced by Fichte, Herder and the Turkish nationalist Ziya Gökalp, al-Ḥuṣrī adumbrated a form of Romantic cultural nationalism which greatly influenced both Nasserist nationalism and Ba'ṭhism. Perhaps even more significantly, his views as set out in school textbooks in Egypt, Iraq and Syria moulded the thoughts of generations of schoolchildren in these three countries from the 1920s to the 1960s.

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P.J. SLUGLETT

## Hussein, Taha see Ḥusayn, Tāhā

**al-Ḥuṭay'a**  
(fl. first/seventh century)

Jarwal ibn Aws al-Ḥuṭay'a ('the Dwarf') belonged to one of the Qaysite clans and was an itinerant *mukhadram* extortionist poet. He was the *rāwī* of Zuhayr, or, according to some authorities, of Ka'b ibn Zuhayr. His own *rāwī* was Hudba ibn Khashram. The tradition that gives al-Farazdaq as his *rāwī* is inspired by their invective skills. He participated in the Ridda wars and inveighed against Abū Bakr. His vituperation of the governor of Medina, al-Zibriqān ibn Badr, and his partisanship of Baghīd ibn 'Amr (poems no 1, 4, 5, 8, 20 and 73) led 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to incarcerate him. Poems 10, 46, 47 and 85 are addressed to him. If poem 13, a panegyric of Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, is authentic, then his death is to be dated after 41/66l.

His *diwān*, the transmission and manuscript tradition of which are discussed by Goldziher (48–53) and Sezgin (*GAS*, 2: 237), principally contains politically motivated poems: eulogy considerably outweighs vituperation. Goldziher 6, a poem in praise of the Banū Sa'd, is much influenced by the practice of his

mentor Zuhayr, whereas Goldziher 3 and 77 (praise of 'Alqama ibn 'Ulātha) are in the style of Zuhayr's master, Aws ibn Ḥajar. Goldziher 79 is an interesting example of *ghazal*: al-Ḥuṭay'a was esteemed for his erotic verse. The structure of his odes is predominantly conventional but there are examples of experimentation in which he is indebted to al-A'shā Maymūn: the character and predilections of the maecenas would have dictated the poet's choice of style.

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

**hyperbole see rhetorical figures:**  
***mubālagha***

**Ibādīs** see **Zaydīs**

**Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī**  
(733–92/1333–90)

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī was a Šūfī master active in Fez. Ibn 'Abbād studied religious law in Ronda and then Šūfī writings in Tlemcen and Fez. In Salé his spiritual guide was Aḥmad ibn 'Āshir, and in Tangiers, Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik. About 777/1375 he was named *imām* and preacher at the Qarawiyīn mosque by the Marinid Sultan. He wrote an influential commentary, the *Tanbīh*, or *Sharḥ al-ḥikam*, on **Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's** (d. 709/1309) religious maxims; two series of epistles, the *Rasā'il kubrā* and *Rasā'il ṣuḡhrā*; and sermons, many of which are extant. His Sufism is non-ecstatic, stressing chastity, self-abnegation and *qabd*, the contraction of the soul. His writings contributed to the dominance of the Shādhilī order in the Maghrib.

Text edition

*al-Rasā'il al-ṣuḡhrā*, Paul Nwiya, (ed.), Beirut (1958).

Further reading

Asín Palacios, M., *St. John of the Cross and Islam*, E. Douglas and E. Yoder (trans), New York (1981).

Nwiya, Paul, *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda (1332–1390): un mystique prédateur à la Qarawiyīn de Fez*, Beirut (1961).

Renard, John, *Ibn 'Abbad of Ronda: Letters on the Sufi Path*, New York (1986).

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

**Ibn 'Abbād, al-Šāhib** see **al-Šāhib**  
**Ibn 'Abbād**

**Ibn al-Abbār, Abū 'Abd Allāh**  
(595–658/1199–1260)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Quḍā'ī ibn al-Abbār was a historian and littérateur. Ibn al-Abbār lived in Valencia until the Christians took it in 636/1238; then he moved to Tunis, where he was eventually killed by the ruler. His surviving works are mainly biographical collections, but we also have some poetry, formal documents and a book on the secretary's art. Writing on the family of the Prophet he gives evidence of **Shi'i** sympathies. His main works are: (1) *Kitāb al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Šila* (Madrid, 1888–9; an 'Apéndice', *Miscelánea de Estudios y Textos árabes*, Madrid, 1915, 147–690), a continuation of the biographical dictionary of Ibn Bashkuwāl; (2) *al-Mu'jam fi aṣḥāb al-qāḍi Abī 'Alī al-Šadafī* (Madrid, 1886); (3) *Kitāb al-Ḥulla al-siyarā'* (Cairo, 1963); (4) *Tuḥfat al-qāḍim*, abridged by al-Balfiqī, *al-Muqtaḍab min Kitāb Tuḥfat al-qāḍim* (Cairo, 1957) (this and the last concerned with literary biography); (5) *l'tāb al-kuttāb* (Damascus, 1961); (6) *Durar al-Simṭ fī khabar al-Sibṭ* (see A. Ghedira, 'Un traité inédit d'Ibn al-Abbar à tendance chiite', *Al-Andalus* 22, 1957, 31–54).

Further reading

*Ibn al-Abbar Polític i Escriptor Arab Valencia (1199–1260)*, *Actes del Congrés Internacional 'Ibn al-Abbar i el seu temps'*, Onda, 20–22 febrer, 1989, Valencia (1990).

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**Ibn al-Abbār, Abū Ja'far**  
(d. 433/1041)

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khawlānī ibn al-Abbār was a poet in the court of the Qāḍi Ibn 'Abbād (the *tā'ifa* ruler of Seville), and of

his successor al-Mu'taqid Ibn 'Abbād. Although he is said to have been prolific, his *dīwān* has not survived. From the quotations scattered in the anthology of his fellow courtier **Abū al-Walid al-Ḥimyarī** and in later works, he seems to have written mostly descriptive poems on flowers, poems on love and other aspects of the life of pleasure, as well as *mujūn*. Part of a panegyric to the Qāḍī Ibn 'Abbād is extant.

Text editions

al-Ḥimyarī, Abū al-Walid, *al-Badī fī wasf al-rabī'*, Henri Pérès (ed.), Morocco (1989), index.

Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira fī mahāsīn ahl al-jazīra*, Ḥsān 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1399/1979), vol. 3, 135–58.

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

**Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namari**  
(368–463/978–1070)

Abū 'Umar Yūsuf ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namari was born in Córdoba and died in Játiva. He was a scholar who wrote in various fields, mostly connected with law and *ḥadīth*, including genealogy and biographies of the Companions of the Prophet. He studied in cities all over al-Andalus, but seems never to have travelled outside the peninsula. He was a friend of **Ibn Ḥazm**, by whom he may have been influenced in the direction of Zāhirism in his youth. Later on he developed Shāfi'i leanings, but as *qāḍī* in Lisbon in the service of the Aftāsids of Badajoz he always judged in accordance with Mālikī teachings, the norm in al-Andalus. About a dozen of his many writings survive.

Text editions

*Bahjat al-Majālis wa-uns al-mujālis wa-shahdh al-dhāhin wa-al-hājis*, Muḥammad Mūsā al-Khūli (ed.), 3 vols, Beirut (1982).

*al-Qaṣd wa-al-amam fī al-tarīf bi-uṣūl ansāb al-'Arab wa-al-'Ajam*, I. al-Abyārī (ed.), Beirut (1985).

Further reading

Wasserstein, D., *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings*, Princeton (1985), index.

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871)**

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam was an Egyptian historian-

compiler. A member of an Egyptian family that achieved renown as Mālikī jurists and historians, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam is best known as the author of the earliest extant history of Islamic Egypt, his *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā* (*Conquest and Other Narratives Concerning Egypt*) in seven books. The work considers the features and merits of Egypt, its ancient history, the Arab conquest of the country, the founding of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and early Arab administrative organization, and further conquests across North Africa into Spain. Books VI and VII present accounts of judges down to the author's own time and entries on fifty-two Companions of the Prophet who came to Egypt and related *ḥadīth* there. The book does not just compile historical narratives, but in doing so also justifies later administrative arrangements and offers a broad sampling of the popular lore that had served to shape a regional Egyptian sense of identity by the author's time.

Text edition

*History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain (= Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā)*, Charles C. Torrey (ed.), New Haven (1922); partial translations of the part on North Africa and Spain into English by John Harris Jones, Göttingen (1856), Spanish by Eliseo Vidal Beltran, Valencia (1966), and French by Albert Gateau, 2nd edn, Algiers (1947); the only complete translation is into Russian by S.B. Pevzner, Moscow (1985).

Further reading

'Āṣī Ḥusayn, *'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam wa-kitābuhu Futūḥ Miṣr wa-lfrīqiya*, Beirut (1992).

Brunschvig, Robert, 'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes: étude critique', *AIEO* 6 (1942–7), 110–55.

Duri, A.A., *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, L. Conrad (trans.), Princeton (1983), 71–2.

Khalidī, Tarif, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge (1994) 65–7.

L.I. CONRAD

See also: historical literature

**Ibn 'Abd Rabbih**  
(246–328/860–940)

Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Rabbih was an Andalusian writer and anthologist, best known for his *'Iqd al-farīd*. He was born in Córdoba, but there are scant details

about his life. He was a freedman employed as an official panegyrist at the **Umayyad** court. His *al-'Iqd al-farid* (*The Unique Necklace*) is a compendium of Arabic culture and letters, drawn almost exclusively from Eastern sources and compilations such as those of **al-Jāhiz**, **Ibn Qutayba** and others. Its range is encyclopaedic: politics, history, religion, manners, education, love, death, poetry, music, science, dress, gifts and countless other topics (see *adab*). The title of the work corresponds to its organization. It is divided into twenty-five books, each of which is named after a precious stone or jewel. The thirteenth book is called *al-wāsiṭa* (the central one), and the second series of twelve books bears the same names as the first, in inverse order, with the adjective *al-thāniya* (the second). Thus the work is a perfect necklace.

One noteworthy element of the book is a historical *urjūza* of 445 verses, composed by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, which narrates the military exploits of 'Abd al-Rahmān III, in the years 300–22/912–34 in which he consolidated his hold over al-Andalus and declared himself the first Caliph of Córdoba. The poem itself is regarded to have little literary merit, but it has been the object of much speculation on the part of literary historians about some possible relationship to a lost Mozarabic epic or an Arabic influence on the Spanish epic tradition (see Marcos Marín).

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's poetry is marked by uneven levels of diction and a sometimes very plain style. His laudatory poems are not generally held in high regard; his personal poetry has been more warmly received. In his youth he wrote of love and pleasure. Later, with the contrite heart of an old man, he wrote, in the same rhyme and metre, what he called *al-munahḥḥaṣāt*, ascetic poems that would efface his earlier sin.

#### Text editions

- Dīwān*, M.R. al-Dāya (ed.), Beirut (1979).  
*al-'Iqd al-farid*, A. Amin (ed.), Cairo (1962); M.M. Qumayḥa (ed.), Beirut (1983) (for outlines of the contents see A.J. Chejne, *Muslim Spain, Its History and Culture*, Minneapolis, 1974).  
 Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 74–129.  
 Shafi', M., *Analytical Indices to al-'Ikd al-farid*, Cairo (1321).

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Jayyusi, S.K. (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden (1992), 328–30 (see also index).

Marcos Marín, F., *Poesía narrativa árabe y épica hispánica*, Madrid (1971).

Monroe, J., 'The historical *urjūza* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih', *JAOS* 61 (1971), 69–75.

Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 35–42.

Pons Boigues, F., *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabe-españoles*, Madrid (1993), 51–7.

L. ALVAREZ

See also: anthologies, medieval

### Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (620–92/1223–92)

Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir was born and died in Cairo. He served the early **Mamlūk** state in Egypt and Syria as an administrator and head of the Chancery, and wrote the histories of three sultans, Baybars, Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl. Panegyric in tone, all have been edited but have lacunae. A work on Cairene topography is lost. He employed the elaborate rhymed prose (*saj'*) of the government secretary in his official documents, and quotes many documents in his histories, whose style is more sober. His personal involvement in affairs adds immediacy and authority to his account.

#### Text editions

- al-Aḥfāf al-khāfiyya min al-sira al-sharīfa al-Sulṭāniyya al-Ashrafiyya*, A. Moberg (ed.), Lund (1902).  
*al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir*, 'Abd al-Azīz al-Khowaiter (ed.), Riyadh (1976).  
*Tashrīf al-ayyām wa-al-'uṣūr fī sirat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, Murād Kāmil and M. 'Alī al-Najjār (eds), Cairo (1961).

#### Further reading

- Holt, P.M., 'Three biographies of al-Zāhir Baybars', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, D.O. Morgan (ed.), London (1982), 19–29.

D.S. RICHARDS

### Ibn Abī 'Awn (c.250–322/c.864–934)

Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Awn Abū Ishāq al-Kātib was a littérateur and compiler.



Born in **Baghdad** into a family of poets and civil servants, he lived for some time in Samarra, Wasit, Basra and Yamama, before finally settling in Baghdad. There he had a literary and philological education, and later became secretary to al-'Abbās ibn Thawāba and **Ibn al-Furāt**. The sources attribute his killing to his adherence to the heresy of Ibn al-Shalmaghānī, also known as Ibn Abī al-'Azāqir; it was probably the result of the power struggle within the 'Abbāsīd state. He wrote several books on literary topics, two of which have survived: *Kitāb al-tashbihāt* and *Kitāb al-ajwiba al-muskita*.

Text editions

- Kitāb al-Tashbihāt*, M. Mu'id Khan (ed), London (1950).  
Rosenthal, F., 'Witty retorts of philosophers and sages from the *Kitāb al-Ajwibah al-Muskitah* of Ibn Abī 'Awn', *Graeco-Arabica* 4 (1991), 179–221.  
Yousef, M.A., *Das Buch der schlagfertigen Antworten von Ibn Abī 'Awn*, Berlin (1988).

Further reading

- al-Dhahabī, 'Ibar, Abū Hājar Muḥammad Zaghlūl (ed.), Beirut (n.d.), vol. 2, 14–15.  
Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Ihsān 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1972), vol. 2, 156.  
Mu'id Khan, M.A., 'Ibn Abī 'Awn, a litterateur of the third century', *IC* 16 (1942), 202–12.  
Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, D.S. Margoliouth (ed.), Cairo (1923–30), vol. 1, 296–307.

W. AL-QĀḌĪ

**Ibn Abī al-Dunyā**  
(208–81/823 or 4–94)

Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd ibn Abī al-Dunyā was a Baghdadi traditionist and author whose family had been clients (*mawālī*) of the **Umayyads**. In later life he enjoyed the patronage of al-Muwaffaq, the politically and militarily powerful brother of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'tamid, who resided in **Baghdad** while the seat of the caliphate remained at Samarra. Al-Muwaffaq employed him to tutor his son al-Mu'tadid, who succeeded to the caliphate in 279/892, and his grandson al-Muktafī. He was well regarded as a traditionist, and composed over a hundred books, mostly of a religiously edifying character promoting abstemiousness and simplicity of living, virtues for which he himself was respected. He could be entertaining as well as

solemn, and reduced al-Muwaffaq to helpless laughter on occasion.

Text editions

- Majmū'at rasā'il*, Cairo and Beirut (1988).  
*Kitāb al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*, Cairo (1987).  
*Muḥāsabat al-nafs*, Cairo (1987).  
*Morality in the Guise of Dreams* (= *Kitāb al-Manān*), Leah Kinberg (ed.), Leiden (1994).  
*The Noble Qualities of Character* (= *Makārim al-akhilāq*), James Bellamy (trans.), Wiesbaden (1973).

R.A. KIMBER

**Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd**  
(586–655 or 6/1190–1257 or 8)

'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, a prolific scholar of Arabic, poetry, *adab*, rhetoric, *kalām*, history and *uṣūlī fiqh*, was born and spent his youth in al-Madā'in. There he studied *kalām* and was inclined toward Mu'tazilism (see **Mu'tazilis**). His strong **Shi'i** leanings are reflected in the seven *qaṣīdas* he composed as a young man, known as *al-Qaṣā'id al-sab' al-'alawiyāt*. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd then moved to **Baghdad** where he moderated his views somewhat and led an active life as a scholar, enjoyed the patronage of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and was appointed to several official positions: *kātib* in the *dār al-tashrifāt* (protocol), then in the *dīwān al-khilāfa*, then *naṣīr* in the *bīnārīstān* (hospital), and finally director of the libraries of Baghdad. He resided in Baghdad until his death either just before or just after it fell to the Mongols.

Text editions

- Ali, an Illustrious Personality of Islam*, Tehran (1982). (Translated extracts of *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah*).  
*Hadhā kitāb al-falak al-dā'ir 'ala al-mathal al-sā'ir*, Bombay (1891).  
*Les Invasions mongoles en Orient vécues par un savant médiéval arabe, Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd al-Madā'ini, 1190–1258 J.C.: extrait du Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, Paris (1995).  
*Qaṣā'id al-sab' al-'Alawiyāt*, Bombay (1913); Beirut (1986); Beirut (1994).  
*Sharḥ al-āyāt al-bayyināt*, (1996).  
*Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha* Cairo (1959–95); Beirut (1975); Qum (1985); Beirut (1987); Beirut (1995).

Further reading

*El*<sup>2</sup> art, 'Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd'.

- Mallāh, Maḥmūd, *Tashriḥ sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha li Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd*, Baghdad (1954).
- Qādī, Muḥammad, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha li Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd: al-fahāris al-‘amma*, Baghdad (1989).
- Qalqīla, ‘Abduḥ ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, *Naqḍ al-naqḍ fī al-turāth al-‘Arabi*, Cairo (1975).
- Rabī‘ī, Aḥmad, *al-Ushayq al-nadīd bi-maṣādir Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd, 586–656H: fī Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, Baghdad (1987).

J.E. LINDSAY

### Ibn Abi Ḥajala (725–76/1325–75)

Shihāb al-Din Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abi Ḥajala was a compiler of anthologies and author of poetry and *maqāmas* of the Bahrī Mamlūk period. He was born in Tilimsān; later in life he became head of a Šūfī congregation near Cairo. In his works, however, *taṣawwuf* does not play an important role. The *Dīwān al-Šabāba* (*Divan of Ardent Love*) is the best known of his books, an anthology of stories and poetry on love in which he uses material from related works by earlier, authors, e.g. **Ibn Dā‘ūd al-Iṣbahānī’s** *Kitāb al-Zahra* and **Ibn Ḥazm’s** *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*. Mention can be made also of the *Sulwat al-ḥazīn fī mawt al-banīn* (*Comfort of Those who Mourn over the Death of a Child*), one of the earliest compilations on this topic (which is, however, dealt with only in the first part of the work).

#### Text editions

- Dīwān al-Šabāba*, Cairo (1279, 1291, 1305).
- Robson, J., ‘A chess *maqāma* in the John Rylands Library’, *BJRL* 36 (1953), 111–27.
- Sulwat al-ḥazīn fī mawt al-banīn*, Mukhaymir Šāliḥ (ed.), Amman (n.d., c.1987).

#### Further reading

- Giffen, L.A., *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs*, New York (1971), 38–41 and *passim*.
- Rizzitano, U., ‘Il diwān aṣ-ṣabāba dello scrittore magrebino Ibn Abi Ḥaḡala’, *RSO* 28 (1953), 35–70.

T. SEIDENSTICKER

### Ibn Abi al-Iṣba‘ (c.585–654/c.1189–1256)

‘Abd al-‘Azīm ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Abi al-Iṣba‘ was an Egyptian poet and scholar who wrote on stylistics. Very little is known of his life. Apart from some poetry, three of his

books have survived and have been published. *Tahrīr al-taḥbīr* is a voluminous compendium of *badī‘* in which he discusses 125 different tropes and figures of speech, thirty of which he claims to have discovered himself. In his introduction he lists more than forty works on *badī‘* consulted by him. He often takes pains to point out the differences between seemingly identical figures. His lack of system and indifference towards theory, together with his attention for practical criticism, make him an exponent of the ‘Western’ school of rhetoric, in contrast to the ‘Eastern’ school of his contemporary **al-Sakkākī** and others. A shorter work, *Badī‘ al-Qur’ān*, is wholly devoted to Koranic figures of speech. *Al-Khawātir al-sawāniḥ* is a treatise on the opening verses of the *sūras* of the **Koran**.

#### Text editions

- Badī‘ al-Qur’ān*, Ḥifnī Muḥammad Sharaf (ed.), Cairo (1957).
- al-Khawātir al-sawāniḥ fī asrār al-fawātiḥ*, Ḥifnī Muḥammad Sharaf (ed.), Cairo (1960).
- Tahrīr al-taḥbīr*, Ḥifnī Muḥammad Sharaf (ed.), Cairo (1383/1963–4).

#### Further reading

- van Gelder, G.J.H., *Beyond the Line: Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem*, Leiden (1982), *passim*.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Ibn Abi Layla see Ḥammād al-Rāwiya

### Ibn Abi Randaqa see al-Ṭurṭuṣhi

### Ibn Abi al-Rijāl (d. 1092/1681)

Aḥmad ibn Šāliḥ ibn Abi al-Rijāl was a famous historian, legist and littérateur of Zaydī Yemen. He studied under the prominent Zaydī scholars of his epoch including al-Mu‘ayyad ibn al-Qāsim, the cultured head of the Zaydī state. Later on he struck up a friendship with the learned Zaydī Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā‘il ibn al-Qāsim (d. 1087/1677), whom he served as secretary. Ibn Abi al-Rijāl spent most of his life in San‘ā, the capital of the Zaydī state, where he died. His literary legacy is vast and variegated. It includes an extensive biographical work on

celebrated Zaydī scholars, politicians and men of letters, which provides unique information on the cultural life of the Yemeni state. Ibn Abī al-Rijāl also wrote a number of works on legal theory, the genealogy of the Zaydī Imāms, Koranic exegesis, philology and apologetics of the Zaydī doctrine. His poetry deals mainly with religious motifs but also contains some spirited verses praising his beloved city of San'ā'.

Further reading

- al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, Cairo (1284 AH), vol. 1, 220.  
 al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tāli'*, Cairo (1348 AH), vol. 1, 59–61.

A. KNYSH

**Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849)**

Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shayba was a Kufan traditionist. Born into a family of religious scholars, he travelled widely in Iraq and Syria, studied with some of the foremost authorities of his day, and lived for a time in Baghdad. He had numerous students and was highly respected; most of the scholars responsible for the great canonical *ḥadīth* collections, for example, studied with him, as also did quite a few historians and literary figures.

Ibn al-Nadīm and other later bibliographers credited him with numerous works, but without exception these are parts of his *Muṣannaf*, a *ḥadīth* compendium of such a large size that some students studied, copied and transmitted only certain chapters. Of particular interest is the fact that this compilation devoted whole chapters to subjects that had not yet become standard topics in such collections (and in some cases would never do so), e.g. medicine (325 traditions), history (167), 'famous firsts' (*awā'il*, 316), *maghāzī* (572), apocalyptic (*ḥitan*, 647), and the Battle of the Camel (187). Even in conventional areas, Ibn Abī Shayba often cites old material that would later be disapproved. This problem, plus the fact that most of his traditions fail to invoke the authority of the Prophet, earned him a reputation as 'weak' (*da'if*) in certain circles, but in North Africa his collection eventually came to be ranked among the ten regarded as canonical. For modern historians the *Muṣannaf* is a source of the first importance.

Text editions

*al-Muṣannaf*, 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Afghānī (ed.), Bombay (1399–1403/1979–83); this unsatisfactory printing has now been superseded by that of Beirut (1409/1989), but retains some importance, none the less, since the detailed four-volume indices published by Muḥammad Salīm Ibrāhīm Samāra *et al.*, Beirut (1409/1989), are keyed to it.

Further reading

Noth, Albrecht, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-critical Study*, 2nd edn. in collaboration with Lawrence I. Conrad, Michael Bonner (trans.), Princeton (1994), 32, 34.

L.I. CONRAD

**Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (204–80/819 or 20–93)**

Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr was a Baghdadi historian and literary dilettante whose family came originally from Marwarudh in Khurasan. He started life as an elementary school teacher, but went on to seek greater fortune among the social and political élite. In this he was not immediately successful, and an entertaining story is told of a farcical stratagem by which he and a similarly indigent companion attempted to raise funds from a wealthy neighbour (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. 1, 153). Later he was able to visit the court at Samarra, where he plied the state secretaries with bad but remunerative panegyric poetry. He may himself have worked in the state secretariat. He is best known as the author of an important early history of Baghdad, of which the part covering the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn survives, and for which his official contacts may have provided him with materials. About fifty other works are ascribed to him, including a large anthology of prose and poetry, anthologies devoted to individual poets, various other monographs on poets and poetry, **Mirrors for Princes**, and works on horses and hunting. His history of Baghdad was continued by his son after his death.

Text editions

*Balāghāt al-nisā'*, A. al-Alfi (ed.), Cairo (1908), rpt. Tunis (1985).  
*Kitāb Baghdād*, H. Keller (ed.), Leipzig (1908); M.Z. al-Kawthārī (ed.), Cairo (1949).  
*al-Manthūr wa-al-manẓūm: al-qaṣa'id al-mufradāt*

*allatī lā mithla lahā*, M. Ghayyād (ed.), Beirut and Paris (1977).

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R. A. KIMBER

See also: historical literature

### Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (c.590–668/c.1194–1270)

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a was a Syrian physician and biographer of classical and Islamic physicians. He came from a medical family established in Damascus and practised there himself and in Cairo under the last Ayyūbids and early Mamlūks. His '*Uyūn al-anbā'*' is a collection of 380 biographies of medical men arranged by country and by generation (i.e. in *ṭabaqāt* form); it is extremely valuable for historians of Islamic science, and has been extensively used by Western scholars since the mid-nineteenth century.

#### Text edition

'*Uyūn al-anbā'*, A. Müller (ed.), Cairo (1882); N. Riḍā (ed.), Beirut (n.d.).

#### Further reading

Ullmann, Manfred, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden and Cologne (1970), 231–2.

C. E. BOSWORTH

### Ibn Abī Zar' (d. after 726/1326)

'Alī ibn Abī Zar' was the author of *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* – a principal source for the history of the Maghrib in general and Fez in particular. Little is known about his life, and even his true identity and first name are a matter of dispute. Ibn Abī Zar''s *al-Qirṭās*, which seems to be his only extant work, was written during the reign of the Marinid dynasty of Morocco; the author dedicated it to the sultan Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān al-Marīnī (r. 710–31/1310–31). The structure of *al-Qirṭās* follows the dynastic principle: after a brief survey of the origins of a Maghribi ruling family, Ibn Abī Zar' proceeds to discuss its political history. He then mentions the major social and economic events, deaths of scholars and notables as well

as unusual natural phenomena that occurred during the dynasty's reign. Although Fez is the primary focus of Ibn Abī Zar''s history (he provides valuable information on its population, historical monuments and religious institutions), developments in other parts of the Maghrib and al-Andalus are also treated in some detail. The significance of *al-Qirṭās* as a precious historical source was recognized early by European scholars. Its first French translation appeared in 1693; during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *al-Qirṭās* was also translated into Latin, German and Portuguese. Later historians, i.e. al-Jaznā'ī and Ibn al-Qādi, made extensive use of Ibn Abī Zar''s chronicle in their own histories of the Maghrib and Fez.

#### Text edition

*al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās* (the complete title; usually abbreviated as *al-Qirṭās*), Rabat (1972) (the latest edition so far).

#### Further reading

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Lévi-Provençal, E., *Islam d'Occident*, Paris (1948), 4–5, 33–4.

A. KNYSH

### Ibn al-'Adīm (598–660/1192–1262)

Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Adīm belonged to the distinguished Aleppan family of the Banū al-'Adīm. He served the local branch of the Ayyūbid dynasty as judge (*qāḍī*) and on diplomatic missions. In 658/1260 he fled the Mongol invasion led by Hulagu and died in Cairo two years later. Ibn al-'Adīm was famous as a calligrapher and some of his writings reflect that interest. Among his minor works are a treatise on perfumes (unpublished) and a belletristic essay on parenthood and 'offspring' (*fī al-dharā'ir*). He compiled an unpretentious history of his native city, Aleppo (*Zubdat al-ḥalab*, etc.), organized by dynasty and governor, which from early Islam reaches the year 641/1243. His *magnum opus* is entitled *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī ta'rikh Ḥalab*, a biographical dictionary of persons of note who had any connection, however passing, with Aleppo. This work was most probably modelled on, and designed to emulate, the similarly vast

biographical dictionaries written for **Baghdad** and **Damascus** by, respectively, **al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī** and **Ibn 'Asākir**, and like them begins with a relevant geographical survey.

Text editions

- Bughyat al-ṭalab* etc., Suhayl Zakkār (ed.), 11 vols, Damascus (1988–9).  
*al-Darārī fi al-dharārī*, in *Thalāth rasā'il* (Three Essays), Constantinople (1298/1881), 21–50.  
*Zubdat al-ḥalab min ta'riḥ Ḥalab*, Sāmī Dahhān (ed.), 3 vols, Damascus (1951–68).  
*Histoire d'Alep*, E. Blochet (trans), Paris (1900) (extracts).

Further reading

- Canard, M., 'Quelques observations sur l'introduction géographique de La Bughyat al-ṭalab de Kamāl ad-dīn ibn al-'Adīm d'Alep', *AIEO* 15 (1957), 41–53.  
 Khoury, Nuha N.N., 'The autobiography of Ibn al-'Adīm as told to Yāqūt al-Rūmī,' *Edebiyât*, n.s. 7, 2 (1996), 289–311.  
 Morray, D.W., *An Ayyubid Notable and his World: Ibn al-'Adīm and Aleppo as Portrayed in his Biographical Dictionary of People Associated with the City*, Leiden (1994).

D.S. RICHARDS

**Ibn al-'Afif al-Tilimsāni**  
**(661-88/1263-89)**

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-'Afif al-Tilimsāni was a poet. Born in Cairo, he was the son of a well-known mystic originally from Tlemcen, who took him as a child to **Damascus**, where he spent the rest of his life. He was successful, especially as a panegyrist, very early, but soon gave everything up and retired from the world. His poetry, small in bulk, has been published a number of times (in Cairo and Beirut; as yet no critical edition, but see *EL*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.); it is concerned mainly with wine and love (some of his poems seem to reflect homosexual leanings). He also wrote *muwashshahāt*, *maqāmāt* and other minor works.

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**Ibn 'Ā'isha**  
**(early second/eighth century)**

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Ā'isha was a singer and composer. A Medinan of uncertain paternity, Ibn 'Ā'isha studied with the masters Ma'bad and Mālik ibn Abī al-Samḥ, and was

considered their equal. His attack when beginning a piece became proverbial, and he is reported to have stopped the pilgrims in their tracks when he sang at Mecca. He performed before **al-Walid ibn Yazid** on several occasions and was showered with gifts; he died while returning to the **Hijaz** from one of his visits to Syria. His biography illustrates the growing importance played by royal patronage in the world of music.

H. KILPATRICK

See also: singers and musicians

**Ibn Ājurrūm**  
**(672–723/1273 or 4–1323).**

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd al-Ṣanhāji, known as Ibn Ājurrūm, was of Berber origins (as shown by the tribal epithet Ṣanhāji and the father's name Ājurrūm, explained as meaning 'faqir, devotee'); he died in Fez, where he was a teacher of **grammar** and **Koran** recitation. He has been immortalized by his one work, *al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya*, the most widely known and used Arabic grammatical textbook of all time (even today the corruption of the name *agramiyya* denotes 'grammar' in colloquial Egyptian). In it the whole of Arabic grammar is reduced to about a dozen printed pages of easily memorized general rules and stereotypical examples. There are literally hundreds of manuscripts of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and innumerable commentaries, paraphrases and glosses. Introduced into the West in Latin translation in 1592, it has exerted rather more influence on our perception of Arabic grammar than is perhaps deserved by a work originally written for young children (it was published in the form of a catechism in Beirut in 1841).

Text editions

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 Bresnier, M., *Djaroumiya, grammaire arabe élémentaire de Mohammed ben Dawoud el-Sanhadjy*, Algiers (1846).  
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## Further reading

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Grohmann, A., *Il 'kitāb al-'āgurrūmiyyah'*, Rome (1911).

M. G. CARTER

See also: grammar and grammarians

## Ibn 'Alīwa (1286–1353/1869–1934)

Ahmad ibn Muṣṭafā ibn 'Alīwa, also known as al-Shaykh al-'Alawī, was a popular Algerian Ṣūfī master and the founder of the al-'Alawīyya al-Darqāwīyya mystical brotherhood. Born at Mostaganem, Algeria, of a noble but impoverished family, Ibn 'Alīwa was soon attracted to Ṣūfī life. At first he joined the miracle-working 'Isāwa brotherhood, then, disaffected, became a disciple of Shaykh al-Būzīdī, head of the more sober Darqāwa, a branch of the great Shādhilī *ṭarīqa* of the Maghrib. In 1327/1909, upon the death of his master, Ibn 'Alīwa decided to found his own brotherhood, which was to become popular not only among Algerian Muslims but also with some Western intellectuals, especially French, who flocked to his lodge, attracted by his serenity, versatility and openness to all religious teachings, including Christianity. Later on, his European visitors, e.g. R. Guénon, F. Schuon, T. Burckhardt, M. Vālsan, etc., took to propagating his ideas among theosophically-minded Western intellectuals. They presented him as an exemplary Ṣūfī master and a faithful follower of the great Ibn 'Arabi.

In his native Algeria, however, Ibn 'Alīwa's activities met a much more restrained reception. He ran afoul of the local reformers led by Ibn Bādīs, who accused him of fostering Ṣūfī superstitions incompatible with the 'pure' Islam of the Prophet's epoch. Unabashed, Ibn 'Alīwa vigorously defended traditional Ṣūfī values and practices. His poetical works, Koranic commentaries and theological tracts evince a heavy indebtedness to the controversial monistic ideas of Ibn 'Arabi, Ibn al-Fāriḍ and 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī. This fact was duly exploited by his detractors, who viewed those mystics as dangerous heretics. For all his tolerance, Ibn 'Alīwa was critical of the 'corruptive' influence of Westernization on Algerian society, a point over

which he agreed with Ibn Bādīs and his reformist followers. Despite his Western followers' claims to the contrary, his influence was mostly confined to North Africa and some Algerian communities in France.

## Further reading

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Merad, A., *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie*, Paris and The Hague (1967), 75–6.

A. KNYSH

## Ibn al-'Allāf (d. 319/931 at a great age)

Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Allāf al-Nahrawānī was a poet, transmitter of poetry and companion of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid. He was brought up in Baghdad, but little is known of his life. He was greatly admired by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, who quotes several examples of his poetry in which a mastery of rhetorical figures serves to enhance the expression of authentic feeling. Ibn al-'Allāf is best known for an elegy of his cat, which runs to over sixty lines; although this poem is believed by some simply to commemorate the cat's death at the hand of irate neighbours after it had killed their pigeons, others regard it as a covert elegy of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, whom Ibn al-'Allāf did not dare to mourn openly.

## Text editions

*Dīwān ibn al-'Allāf*, Ṣabīḥ Radif (ed.), Baghdad (1974).

Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj (ed.), 4th edn, Cairo (1981), 358–9.

Ibrāhīm al-Najjār (ed.), *Majma' al-dhākira*, vol. 4, *Masālik al-rithā' wa-al-tafajju'*, Tunis (1990), 135–41 (gives the text of the cat's elegy).

H. KILPATRICK

## Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 360/970)

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-'Amīd was a Būyid vizier, prose stylist, poet and patron. Born in Qumm into a secretarial family, he served as vizier to Rukn al-Dawla,

mostly in **Rayy**, from 328/940 until his death. Especially famed for his literary style, which was displayed most effectively in his official and private correspondence, he was dubbed 'the second **al-Jāhiz**', and it was said that 'the art of the secretary began with '**Abd al-Ḥamid** and ended with Ibn al-'Amīd'. Unfortunately, his collected epistles are apparently lost, except for selections in anthologies and a group of five letters to his pupil 'Aḍud al-Dawla, son of Rukn al-Dawla, replying to the latter's questions on a variety of scientific topics. The latter confirm his reputed interest in the mathematical and physical sciences, and in particular his expertise in mechanics. A further scientific work, *On Building Cities*, as well as a *Gilded Book on Eloquence*, are also lost. As patron, he made the court at Rayy a major cultural centre, employing **Miskawayh** as his librarian, building an observatory for the astronomers Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī and Abū al-Faḍl al-Harawī, and entertaining such literary figures as **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī**. He was also the subject of panegyrics by **al-Mutanabbi**.

## Text editions

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## Further reading

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E. K. ROWSON

*See also:* secretaries

**Ibn 'Ammār (422–79/1031–86)**

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār was a poet and political figure in fifth/eleventh-century al-Andalus. Of lowly origin, Ibn 'Ammār acquired a literary education and attached himself while young to the 'Abbāids of Seville, to whom he addressed many panegyrics. His friendship with **al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād** encouraged him in political ambitions which finally led to his killing by that ruler. His surviving poetry (the *diwān* has not reached us) is of high technical quality, but characterized by a taste for satire.

## Further reading

- Dozy, R.P.A., *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, 2nd edn, Leiden (1932), vol. 3, 83–117.  
 Khāliṣ, Ṣ., *Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār al-Andalusī*, Baghdad (1957).

D. J. WASSERSTEIN

**Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181)**

Abū al-Barakāt Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Abi Sa'īd, usually known as Ibn al-Anbārī (hence to be carefully distinguished from Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim **al-Anbārī**, also known as Ibn al-Anbārī).

Ibn al-Anbārī studied at the Nizāmiyya *madrasa* under **al-Jawālīqī** and **Ibn al-Shajarī**, eventually succeeding to a chair at the same institution, although he later abandoned it in favour of the contemplative life. His ascribed works number more than seventy, and offer a perfect conspectus of the scholastic system of which he was a distinguished product: they include a treatise on words ending in *ā* and *ā'* (*al-Maqṣūr wa-al-mamdūd*), a simple grammar (*Asrār al-'Arabiyya*), a treatise on unusual parsings in the **Koran** (*al-Bayān fī gharīb i'rāb al-Qur'ān*), a biographical dictionary of grammarians (*Nuzhat al-alibbā'*), a fundamental anthology of the disputes between the Basrans and Kufans (*al-Inṣāf fī masā'il al-khilāf*), a textbook to assist grammarians in dialectical argument (*al-Ighrāb*) and one arguing for the essential identity of grammatical and legal reasoning (*Luma' al-adilla*).

## Text editions

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*al-Ighrāb fī jadal al-i'rāb*, S. al-Afghānī (ed.), Damascus (1957).  
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*Nuzhat al-alibbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-'ulamā'*, I. al-Samarrā'i (ed.), Baghdad (1959); A. Amer (ed.), Stockholm (1963); M.A.F. Ibrāhīm (ed.), Cairo (1967).

M. G. CARTER

*See also:* grammar and grammarians

## Ibn al-Anbārī, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar (fourth/tenth century)

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn al-Anbārī was a minor poet, whom Ibn Khallikān calls *aḥad al-'udūl bi-Baghdād*, 'one of the just (witnesses) of Baghdād' (i.e. one whose testimony is legally admissible). Nothing is known about his life. He is famed for his elegy on Ibn Baqiyya, the vizier of the Būyid ruler 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār, executed in 267/977 for his role in inciting 'Izz al-Dawla to revolt against his brother 'Aḍud al-Dawla, a revolt that ended in 'Izz al-Dawla's defeat. 'Aḍud al-Dawla had the vizier trampled by elephants and then crucified; Ibn al-Anbārī's elegy, which begins 'Elevated in death as in life, indeed, you are one of (the world's) miracles', became immediately popular, and is said to have moved 'Aḍud al-Dawla to remark: 'Would that I had been crucified instead!'

### Text editions

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I. 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1977), vol. 5, 120–1 (under the entry for Ibn Baqiyya; text of the elegy on 120–1).  
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### Further reading

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J.S. MEISAMI

## Ibn al-'Arabi (560–638/1165–1240)

Muḥyī al-Din Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn (al-)'Arabi, the great exponent of metaphysical Sufism, was born in Murcia, Spain, and died in **Damascus**. From about the age of 30, he travelled widely in both the Western and Eastern realms of Islam. Occasioned both by a quest for knowledge and by threats of persecution, these journeys, like the man's works, were often directed by visionary experiences.

While Ibn 'Arabi's visionary metaphysical Sufism was his mark of distinction, he was also a profound commentator on exoteric religion, and sometimes formed alliances with rulers, for his own protection and their edification. In Egypt (1206–7) he was accused of heresy and might have been killed but for the

intervention of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-'Adil. Kay Kā'ūs, the Anatolian Saljūq ruler, sought Ibn 'Arabi's advice on certain legal matters, and the latter even predicted the ruler's victory at Antioch. Ibn 'Arabi's closeness to the Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Zāhir, was well known.

Ibn 'Arabi produced hundreds of works, many still unedited. The majority are prose works (with interspersed poetry); some are mainly poetry, e.g. the *Tarjumān al-ashwāq* and the *diwān*. The former is a book of mystical love poetry inspired by Nizām, whom Ibn 'Arabi had met in Mecca (599–601/1204); the spiritual symbol of Mecca was here combined with Ibn 'Arabi's reverential love for this girl. The *diwān* – a collection of mainly religious poetry – has not yet been satisfactorily edited or studied.

Two of the prose works are thought to be the most important: *al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiya* (*The Meccan Conquests*) and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (*Bezels of Wisdom*). The *Futuḥāt* is a massive work covering many subjects, exoteric as well as esoteric; it concentrates on the explication of Ibn 'Arabi's Ṣūfī metaphysics, while much autobiographical material is also included. The *Fuṣūṣ* is Ibn 'Arabi's metaphysical *magnum opus*. A concise work, it presents his Ṣūfī metaphysics through the 'prophetology' of twenty-seven prophets (one of them non-Koranic, Khālid ibn Sinān), each one inspiring a separate chapter. The *Fuṣūṣ* is considered Ibn 'Arabi's most difficult writing. It has engendered a large commentary literature through which it has been highly influential on both Sufism and Islam in general.

Like all Ṣūfis, Ibn 'Arabi was inspired by an experimental and symbolic religiosity. He expressed this in language through his unique metaphysics; this radically altered the meaning of the experiential in Sufism, through the 'intellectualization' of experience. Mystical 'knowing' would now be intellectual in a certain way, in a new expression of the inspirational state and the unitive experience. Dependent on the notion of 'absolute being' (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*), which metaphysically connoted God (Allāh, al-Ḥaqq), Ibn 'Arabi's metaphysics evinced a whole vocabulary designed to explicate this idea. Here was a 'system' of great subtlety, employed with studied ambiguity to transform Islam's personal God into the principle of absolute being. Here, all is God and God is all, with human-kind occupying a central role as theophany.



But the transformation was always qualified; the 'old God' remained as the source of the 'new'. Ibn 'Arabī's 'system' can be understood, then, as 'esoteric exegesis'. His metaphysical discourse, juxtaposed with traditional Koranic and *ḥadīth* discourse and mediated by his unique hermeneutic, resulted in a new vision of Islam. Two examples from the *Fuṣūṣ* will illustrate the method.

Father of John the Baptist, the Koranic Zakariyah (Zakariyyā') is best known as the recipient of a special form of God's mercy (cf. Koran 3: 37–40; 19: 7–8; 21: 89–90). Integral and central to the Koranic, exegetical and theological texts, God's mercy – and God as Merciful – was for Sufism God's *main* characteristic. Ibn 'Arabī adhered with great fidelity to this conception, but at the same time he profoundly changed its meaning. Stating in the name of Zakariyah the Koranic idea that 'God's mercy encompasses everything' (cf. 7: 156), Ibn 'Arabī added to this the adverbial qualifiers 'in giving existence' (*wujūdān*) and 'in its necessary ontological governance' (*ḥukman*). With the addition of these qualifiers, the basic transformation of God's mercy was accomplished. Mercy was now redefined as existence (*wujūd*) and the giving of existence (*ijād*), existence having a specific meaning in Ibn 'Arabī's scheme. *Ḥukman* refers to the inexorable process whereby existence-giving is effected, and this depends on a particular metaphysical meaning of the term *ḥukm*. With some further explication, Ibn 'Arabī is able to say, 'Mercy's remembering things is the same as its bringing them into being'.

Ibn 'Arabī's treatment of Adam is similar to his transformation of God's mercy in the story of Zakariyah, although in Adam we have a person as Koranic motif rather than idea. In the Koran Adam is portrayed as God's favourite, His successor on earth, the recipient of 'the secrets of the heavens and the earth', and one into whom God breathed (Koran 2: 30–2; 7: 10; 15: 31; 28: 48; 38: 74). Ibn 'Arabī adhered with the greatest fidelity to the framework Koranic story, while transforming Adam into a metaphysical principle by naming him the 'all-encompassing being' (*kawn jāmi'*), Ibn 'Arabī's metaphysical correlative of the Koranic Adam, the jewel in God's creation. But the *kawn jāmi'*, as First Principle, *is* creation, and thereby theophany, as God and His creation are for Ibn 'Arabī as one. From being God's favourite creature in the Koranic story, Adam here becomes God's most perfect self-expression.

Most of Ibn 'Arabī's mystical prose writings were Ṣūfī metaphysical transformations of Koranic and traditional stories and themes, as in these examples; he thus practised a 'Ṣūfī metaphysical storytelling' of Koranic tales. Unprecedented in Islamic religious, cultural and literary history, this form of storytelling was to be highly influential on later Ṣūfī literature. Mainly through the written and oral dissemination of the many commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, Ibn 'Arabī's highly particular approach to Koran and tradition influenced not only the Ṣūfī élites but the great later movements of popular Sufism as well.

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R.L. NETTLER

### Ibn 'Arabshāh (791–854/1392–1450)

Polyglot historian and belletrist. Born in Damascus, he spent years in Samarkand as the captive of Timūr (Tamerlane) before being set free to travel and work as a secretary in the lands of the Golden Horde, the Ottomans and

the **Mamlūks**. His *'Ajā'ib al-maḡdūr*, or *Marvels of Destiny* is a venomous biography of the Turco-Mongol conqueror **Timūr**, written in an extraordinary flowery and convoluted Arabic rhymed prose. *Fakihāt al-khulafā'* or *Flowers of the Caliphs* a revised and greatly expanded version of Warawīnī's Persian *Marzubān-nāma*, is a work in the **Mirrors for Princes** genre, containing both animal fables and reminiscences of the exploits of Genghis Khan and **Timūr**. Again the inflated, metaphor-laden style is hard going. His *Ta'līf al-Ṭāhir*, a fragmentary panegyric life of the Mamlūk sultan **Jaḡmaq**, remains mostly unpublished.

#### Text editions

*'Ajā'ib al-maḡdūr fī nawā'ib Timūr*, A.F. Himsi (ed.), Beirut (1986).

*Fructus Imperatorum et Iocatio Ingeniosorum, Fakihāt al-Khulafā' wa Mafākihāt al-Zurafā'*, G. Freytag (ed.), Bonn (1832).

*Tamerlane or Timur, the Great Emir*, J.H. Sanders (trans.), London (1936).

R. IRWIN

### Ibn Arfa' Ra'suhu (fifth/eleventh century)

Andalusian court poet whose *muwashshahāt* are reputed to have attained great popularity in al-Andalus. His name is sometimes given as **Ibn Rāfi' Ra'suhu**. Little is known of his life save that he composed verse at the court of **Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn** in Toledo. He is praised by **Ibn Khaldūn** for the beginning and ending lines of his famous *muwashshah*: *al-'ūdu qad tarannam* (in *'Uddat al-Jalīs*).

#### Text editions

**Ibn Bishrī**, *'Uddat al-jalīs*, A. Jones (ed.) Cambridge (1992), 362–4, 401–3.

**Ibn al-Khaṭīb**, *Jaysh al-tawshīh*, Tunis (1967), Chs x, 1–10).

Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 224–7.

#### Further reading

Stern, S., 'Four famous muwaššahs from **Ibn Bishrī's** anthology', *al-Andalus* 23 (1958), 339–69.

L. ALVAREZ

### Ibn 'Asākir (499–571/1105–76)

**Thiqat al-Din Abū al-Qasim 'Ali ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Asākir** was a member of a prominent

family of **Shāfi'ī** jurists and scholars of **Damascus**, famed as the historian of his native city. After a period of education and travel, he settled down in Damascus under the patronage of **Nūr al-Dīn Zangī** as a promoter of the **Sunni** cause there. His *Ta'riḡh madīnat Dimashq* (still in course of publication in full) is essentially a biographical dictionary, on a grand scale reminiscent of that for **Baghdad** by **al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī** of all the personalities dwelling in or visiting Damascus and certain other Syrian cities; it begins with a valuable survey of the historical topography of Damascus, and then deals with the persons in question, treating them alphaalphabetically.

#### Further reading

Elisséeff, N., *La Description de Damas d'Ibn 'Asākir*, Damascus (1959).

C.E. BOSWORTH

See also: biography, medieval

### Ibn 'Aṭā', Abū al-'Abbās Aḡmad (d. 309/922)

A **Sūfi** of the **Baghdad** school and a friend of **al-Ḥallāj**; he was killed during the course of **al-Ḥallāj's** trial. He appears in numerous anecdotes and his dicta are extensively quoted in all the handbooks and biographical dictionaries that deal with **Sufism**. **Ibn 'Aṭā's** lengthy **Koran** commentary was collected by **al-Sulamī** and incorporated into his own work, the *Ḥaḡā'iq al-tafsīr*.

#### Text edition

Nwyia, Paul, *Trois œuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans*, Beirut (1972), 23–182 (edition of the **Koran** commentary).

#### Further reading

Gramlich, Richard, *Abu l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā'. Sufi und Koranausleger*, Stuttgart (1995) (= *AKM* 51(2), 1–346) (collects all material concerning **Ibn 'Aṭā'**).

B. RADTKE

### Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh (d. 709/1309)

**Aḡmad ibn Muḡammad Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh** was the third master of the **Shādhiliyya**, a **Sūfi** order founded by the Moroccan **Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili** (d. 656/1258). Originally from **Alexandra**, **Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh** spent most of his

life in Cairo, where he studied and taught. His works on mysticism and asceticism include the *Laṭā'if al-minan*, a biography of al-Shādhili and his successor, the Andalusian Abū al-'Abbās (d. 686/1288). He is best known, however, for his *al-Ḥikam al-'Atā'iyya*, a collection of spiritual aphorisms (*ḥikam*), treatises (*rasā'il*) and supplications (*munājāt*), which is probably his earliest work. Written in a graceful and lyrical rhyming prose, this work inspired numerous commentaries, among them one by the Andalusian Ṣūfī Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390). He was a determined adversary of the Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), and it was in part his accusations that led to the latter's arrest in 707/1308. Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's tomb, in Cairo's Qarāfa cemetery, became a shrine for pious visitors.

#### Text editions

*al-Ḥikam al-'Atā'iyya* (with the commentary of Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī), Muḥammad 'Abd al-Maqqūd Haykal (ed.), Cairo (1988).

*Ibn 'Atā' Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie Shadhilite: édition critique et traduction des Ḥikam, précédées d'une introduction sur le soufisme et suivies de notes sur le vocabulaire mystique*, Paul Nwyia (ed. and trans.), Beirut (1972).

*Ibn 'Atā'illāh's Sufi Aphorisms*, Victor Danner (trans.), Leiden (1973).

*Sobre el abandono de sí mismo*, Juan José González (trans.), Madrid (1994).

*al-Tawwīr fī isqāt al-tadbīr*, Mūsā Muḥammad 'Alī and 'Abd al-'Al Aḥmad al-'Arabī (eds), Cairo (1973).

*Traité sur le nom Allāh*, Maurice Gloton (trans.), Paris (1981).

J. S. MEISAMI

## Ibn A'tham al-Kūfi (fl. early third/ninth century)

Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfi was an early Iraqi *akhbārī*. The date of c.314/926–7 is usually given for his death, but this is an old Orientalist error. Ibn A'tham was the son of one of the students or tradents of the sixth Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). A poet and *qāṣṣ* ('preacher'; see **oratory and sermons**) of Shī'ī persuasion, he was the author of an extensive *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* (*Book of Conquests*), which he compiled in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn by cobbling together a number of existing monographs by other authors. A first recension was brought down to

the battle of Karbalā' (61/680), but was abandoned in 204/819 during the disorder following the overthrow and execution of al-Ma'mūn's brother and rival al-Amīn; this version was translated into Persian by al-Mustawfī in 596/1199–1200. Ibn A'tham later returned to his work and brought the text down to the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–93/786–809). This second recension was then continued by two successive Sunnī scholars to the reign of al-Muqtadir (r. 295–320/908–32). Yāqūt refers to these extensions as a *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh* (*Book of History*) by Ibn A'tham, but this attribution is unfounded. A Bankipore manuscript preserves part of the first recension, and the Persian translation of this text also survives; all other extant Arabic manuscripts represent parts of the final version of the book.

Ibn A'tham's work in some cases offers valuable historical narratives not found elsewhere, but it is not in this that the primary importance of the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* lies. His text demonstrates how easily a *qāṣṣ* could enter the field of historical studies in early 'Abbāsīd times, and offers valuable perspectives on the materials then in circulation. He also offers early versions of some of the same sources later used by the more formal historians of the third/ninth century, and so helps to elucidate the methodologies of these compilers as well.

#### Text editions

*Kitāb al-Futūḥ*: a fragment of the first recension of the text has been published under the name of al-Wāqīdī in Muḥammad Ḥamid Allāh, *Kitāb al-Ridda wa-nubdhā min futūḥ al-'Irāq*, Paris (1989); an uncritical rendering of the second recension in its final form was published by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān *et al.*, Hyderabad (1968–75). More recent editions are of no value.

#### Further reading

Conrad, Lawrence I., *Ibn A'tham and his History*, Winona Lake (1997) (which cites further bibliography).

L. I. CONRAD

See also: *futūḥ*; historical literature

## Ibn al-Athīr, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn (558–637/1163–1239)

Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr was an

epistolographer, literary theorist and critic. Born in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, present-day Cizre (southeast Turkey), to a father who was in the employ of the Zangid dynasty of Mosul, he was the youngest of three brothers who all left their mark on Islamic intellectual history, the other two being the *hadīth* scholar Majd al-Dīn (d. 606/1210) and the historian 'Izz al-Dīn (d. 630/1233). He had a distinguished, if chequered, career as a statesman, serving briefly with Saladin, then as vizier with the latter's son al-Malik al-Afḍal in **Damascus** and elsewhere, and finally, after many ups and downs, ending his administrative life as chief chancellor in Mosul under the last Zangid ruler and his successor, the atabeg Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'.

His literary output is exclusively addressed to the needs of the state scribe and epistolographer. It includes the following. (1) A collection of his *Rasā'il* (*Letters*), 169 in all. Together with **al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil** (d. 596/1200), with whom he was in friendly competition, he was considered the greatest stylist of his age. His letters are partly official (some of them of distinct historical value), partly private; some are ghost-written for friends, e.g. a *maqāma*-like description of a drinking party and even a love-letter. Descriptive passages that take their topics from poetry are not uncommon (candle, hunting animals, orchard). (2) *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr fī šinā'at al-manẓūm min al-kalām wa-al-manthūr* (*The Large Collection on the Craft of Verse and Prose Speech*), on 'ilm al-bayān ('the science of clear expression') in the sense of a theory of literary composition. Possibly an early work, it may be taken as a trial run of the following. (3) *al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa-al-shā'ir* (*The Talk of the Town* [lit. 'the current saying']; *on the Knowhow of the Scribe and the Poet*), like its predecessor, deals with the methodology underlying literary composition (*ta'līf al-naẓm*) in both poetry and prose, of which the latter – the author being a scribe! – is said to be more excellent than the former. In both works Ibn al-Athīr claims that intensive reading of the **Koran** had opened his eyes to a number of figures of speech that had not yet been identified by his predecessors. He is greatly interested in the invention (*ikhtirā'*) of new motifs or conceits from existing materials, comparing it to the finding of the unknown in algebraic equations; in many places he offers examples from his own *oeuvre*. Of particular

significance is a passage in which he attacks the logical interpretation of the Aristotelian *Poetics* in vogue with the philosophers (in this case **Ibn Sinā**). He is often somewhat cantankerous in his polemics against his predecessors, which prompted **Ibn Abī al-Hadīd** (d. 655/1257), a scribe in the caliphal chancery in **Baghdad**, to write up, within a fortnight, all the faults he found with Ibn al-Athīr's work, which had just arrived in Baghdad (*al-Falak al-dā'ir 'alā al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, *The Revolving Sphere Crushing the 'Talk of the Town'*). Later, **al-Şafādī** (d. 764/1363) went through both works and added what Ibn Abī al-Hadīd had overlooked (*Nuṣrat al-thā'ir 'alā al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, *Support of the Rebel against the 'Talk of the Town'*). (4) *Al-Waṣḥy al-marqūm fī ḥall al-manẓūm* (*The Striped Embroidery, on Turning Verse into Prose*) serves the practical purpose of showing, with many examples, how to transform poetic motifs elegantly into the prose of ornate epistolography. The book contains similar sections on Koranic verses and Prophetic traditions. All these text genres may serve as subtexts to the accomplished scribe. (5) *Al-Istidrāk fī al-akhdh 'alā al-ma'ākhidh al-Kindiyya min al-ma'āni al-Ṭā'iyya* (*The Rectification of the Critique of the Kindite Borrowings from the Ṭayy'i'ite Motifs*) is a critical assessment of Ibn al-Dahhān's (d. 569/1174) book on **al-Mutanabbī**'s alleged borrowings from the poetry of **Abū Tammām** and **al-Buḥturi**. This, as well as an as yet unpublished anthology from the same poets, indicate Ibn al-Athīr's aesthetic preference for Syrian poetry of the 'neo-classical' kind. He is also quite open about his greater liking for 'modern', as opposed to ancient, poetry.

As a person Ibn al-Athīr comes on as a rather arrogant and conceited man, but his works show him as an independent mind who brings new life for a while to the already ossifying discipline of literary theory.

#### Text editions

- al-Istidrāk fī al-akhdh 'alā al-ma'ākhidh al-Kindiyya min al-ma'āni al-Ṭā'iyya*, Ḥifnī Sharaf (ed.), Cairo (1958).  
*al-Jāmi' al-kabīr fī šinā'at al-manẓūm min al-kalām wa-al-manthūr*, Muṣṭafā Jawād and Jamīl Sa'īd (eds), Baghdad (1956).  
*al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa-al-shā'ir*, Aḥmad al-Ḥufī and Badawī Ṭabāna (eds), 3 vols, 2nd edn, Riyadh (1983–4).  
*Rasā'il Ibn al-Athīr*, Anīs al-Maqḍisī (ed.), Beirut (1959).

*al-Washy al-marqūm fī ḥall al-manzūm*, Jamil Sa'īd (ed.), Baghdad (1989).

Further reading

Cantarino, V., *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age*, Leiden (1975), 191–205 (translations from *Mathal* and *Falak* dealing with the relative merits of poetry and prose).

Goldziher, I., *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden (1896), vol. 1, 161–5 (on his attitude toward 'modern poetry').

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *al-Falak al-dā'ir 'alā al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, Aḥmad al-Ḥūfī and Badawī Ṭabāna (eds), 2nd edn, Riyadh (1984).

Margoliouth, D.S., 'On the "royal correspondence" of Diyā'eddin el Jazari', *Actes du Dixième Congrès International des Orientalistes. Troisième partie*, Leiden (1896), 9–21.

al-Ṣafādī, *Nuṣrat al-thā'ir 'alā al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, Muḥammad 'Alī Sulṭānī (ed.), Baghdad (1972).

W. P. HEINRICHS

**Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn (555–630/1160–1233)**

'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr was born in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar (modern Cezre); his father was an official of the Zangid dynasty, and his brothers, Majd al-Dīn and Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, were both prominent in public life and men of letters. 'Izz al-Dīn lived a more private and scholarly life. He studied in Mosul and in Baghdad and, after Saladin's victories, spent periods in Syria; he died in Mosul.

Ibn al-Athīr compiled a version of Sam'ānī's work of *nisbas* (*al-Lubāb*, etc.) and a biographical dictionary of the Prophet's Companions, called *Usd al-ghāba*, etc. (*The Lions of the Thicket*); but his true fame rests on two histories. A monograph on the Zangid dynasty, with the title *al-Ta'rikh al-bāhir*, etc., is a dutiful and panegyric work, written between 609/1212 and 615/1218. His major chronicle (*al-Kāmil*), from the Creation to the year 628/1231, is largely an epitome of previous historians, principally al-Ṭabarī and including others whose works are no longer extant. His historiographical theory is expounded in an elegant introduction. He has been criticized for his biased selecting and rearranging of material in favour of the Zangid dynasty. He wrote in an accessible style and his narrative is enlivened by dramatic scenes. A famous section describes the impact of the first Mongol incursions.

Text editions

*al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rikh*, C.J. Tornberg (ed.), 12 vols, Leiden (1851–76), rpt Beirut (1965–7).

*al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*, Cairo (1358/1939).

*al-Ta'rikh al-bāhir fī al-dawla al-Atābakiyya*, A.A. Ṭulaymāt (ed.), Cairo (1963).

*Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifa al-Ṣaḥāba*, Cairo (1285–7/1869–71); rpt Beirut (1994).

D. S. RICHARDS

See also: historical literature

**Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafādī, Khalīl see al-Ṣafādī, Khalīl ibn Aybak**

**Ibn Bābak (d. 410/1019)**

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Bābak was a poet of the Būyid period. He was a member of the entourage of the vizier the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, on whom he composed numerous panegyrics. He was accustomed to spending the winter at the Ṣāḥib's court, in Rayy and Jurjan, and the summer at his home, apparently in Baghdad. Besides panegyrics on other important figures, including the Ṣāḥib's master Fakhr al-Dawla and the Baghdad vizier Sābūr ibn Ardashīr, his verses include some fine examples of description (*wasf*), as well as conventional wine and love poetry. His *dīwān* is extant but remains unpublished.

Text edition

Selections in al-Tha'libī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo (1956), vol. 3, 377–85.

Further reading

al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo (1947), vol. 1, 59–70.

E. K. ROWSON

**Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991)**

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Bābawayh, known as al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, was one of the most famous fourth/tenth-century Shi'ī scholars, a *faqīh* and a collector of *ḥadīth*. His date of birth is uncertain but was some time after 305/917. He became famous at an early age for his learning, which he acquired in Qum from, among others, his father. Around 339/950–1 he left for Rayy, then the Būyid capital, where he continued his studies with the famous scholars of the time, and was associated with

the ruler Rukn al-Dawla. In 352/963 he set out on the first of his extensive travels in the process of which he heard the vast number of *ḥadīth* that make up most of his written output. His journeys took him to Mashhad, then to the Hijaz (to perform the *hajj*, 353/964), Iraq (and, particularly Baghdad, where the Shaykh al-Mufid studied under him), and, from 367/978 onwards, Mashhad (again), Nishapur, and Transoxania, before he returned to Rayy where he ended his life. His most famous work is *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, which is one of the four central Shī'ī books of *ḥadīth* (*al-kutub al-arba'a*). He was the last prominent member of the Shī'ī traditionalist school of Qum, and after him the centre of Shī'ī scholarship switched to Baghdad where *kalām* became the focus of the theological studies.

Ibn Bābawayh's works have survived and most of these have been printed, notably *al-Tawḥīd* and *al-I'tiqādāt* in theology, and other works in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*. *Al-I'tiqādāt* set the style for later books of dogmatics, being neither purely *ḥadīth* in content nor, properly speaking, demonstrative, but setting down the beliefs of Shī'ī orthodoxy in a more accessible form. In *fiqh* Ibn Bābawayh rejected many of the rationalist approaches to legal methodology, and his legal works (such as *al-Muqni'*) were collections of *ḥadīth*, usually without *isnāds*; but he was a critical recorder of *ḥadīth* who concerned himself with their validity from the point of view of both transmission and textual content. He also wrote works on history and *tafsīr*, but these, together with most of the 200 titles by him recorded by the early Shī'ī bibliographers, are now lost.

#### Text editions

- al-I'tiqādāt*, litho., Tehran (1300/1883).  
*Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, Ḥasan Mūsawī Khirsān (ed.), Beirut (1401/1981).  
*al-Muqni'*, Tehran (1276/1860).  
*al-Tawḥīd*, Hāshim Ḥusaynī (ed.), Tehran (1387/1967).

#### Further reading

- Fyze, A.A., *Islamic Creed*, Oxford (1942) (see intro.).  
 —, 'The creed of Ibn Bābawayh', *Journal of Bombay University* 12 (1943), 70–86.

J. COOPER

### Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1139)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ibn Bājja al-

Andalusī (known as Avempace in the medieval Latin west) was an Andalusian vizier, poet and philosopher, possibly of Jewish descent, who died young. He spent most of his career in the service of the Almoravids in al-Andalus, dying, possibly of poisoned fruit, in Fez. He wrote poetry, which is highly praised, and many philosophical works; these survive both in Arabic and in medieval Hebrew translations. Despite his fame in the medieval West, no evidence is known of medieval Latin versions of his works. He composed commentaries on the works of al-Fārābī; a *Risālat al-wadā'*, a *Risālat Ittiṣāl al-'aql bil-insān* and the *Tadbīr al-mutawahḥid* (the last unfinished; all edited by M. Asín Palacios) are concerned with the possibility of the union of the soul with the Divine. Ibn Bājja's thought in these works has a clear Neoplatonic character. Like al-Fārābī, he considered the virtuous man a stranger in this world, suggesting withdrawal to internal speculation. Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn Rushd were influenced by Ibn Bājja, the former possibly deriving from him the basic theme of his *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*.

#### Text editions

- Kitāb al-naḥs*, M.S.H. al-Ma'sūmī (ed.), Damascus (1960).  
*El Régimen del Solitario*, M. Asín Palacios (ed. and trans.), Madrid and Granada (1946).

#### Further reading

- al-Ma'sūmī, M.S.H., 'Avempace, the great philosopher of al-Andalus', *JC* 36 (1962), 35–53, 85–101.  
 Rosenthal, E.J., 'The place of politics in the philosophy of Ibn Bājja', *JC* 25 (1951), 187–211.

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

### Ibn Baqī, Abū Bakr Yahyā (d. 540/1145–6)

Poet in al-Andalus. On the conquest of Toledo by Castile, Ibn Baqī fled to Seville; from there, he sought his fortune as a poet in various courts including Córdoba, Granada and Fez. He had difficulty finding suitable patronage and lived in hardship until becoming attached to Yahyā ibn 'Alī ibn al-Qāsim in Salé. He died in Guadix. Although he wrote much poetry in the classical styles, Ibn Baqī is most esteemed as a composer of *muwashshahāt*, of which he is supposed to have written 3,000; several anecdotes place him in the company of al-Ṭūṭilī, who is said to have torn up his

*muwashshah* on hearing Ibn Baqī recite one of his.

Text editions

Ghāzī, Sayyid, *Dīwān al-muwashshahāt al-Andalusiyya*, Alexandria (1979), vol. 1, 411–86.

Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 256–9.

Stern, Samuel S., *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, Oxford (1974), 101–4.

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

**Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī  
(477–542/1084–1147)**

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī was an Andalusian poet and literary historian and anthologist, known for his *Dhakhira*, today considered a fundamental resource in the study of Hispano-Arabic literature. Born in Santarem, he fled when the town was taken by Alfonso V, eventually settling in Seville. Having lost his wealth, he made his living collecting the correspondence and *diwāns* of important figures of his time. He also received some payment from the men of letters included in his *Dhakhira fī mahāsīn ahl al-Jazīra* (*The Treasury of Excellent Qualities of the People of the Peninsula*). In the prologue to this he makes explicit his desire to promote Andalusian literature as equal to that of the East. The work is a compendium of biographies and verses of leaders and poets of the Peninsula divided into four parts according to geographical criteria: (1) Córdoba and its outskirts; (2) western part of the Iberian Peninsula; (3) eastern area of al-Andalus; (4) African and Levantine writers who wrote verses in praise of al-Andalus. Many gems of Andalusian literature are extant only because they were included in the *Dhakhira*.

Text edition

*al-Dhakhira fī mahāsīn ahl al-Jazīra*, I. 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1975–9).

Further reading

Pons Boigues, F., *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabe-españoles*, Madrid (1993), 108–16.

de Slane, M.G., 'Note sur les historiens arabes espagnols Ibn Haiyān et ibn Bassām', *JA* (1861) 259–68.

L. ALVAREZ

**Ibn Baṭṭūṭa  
(d. 770/1368–9 or 779/1377)**

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Baṭṭūṭa was a Maghribī traveller, the record of whose journeys, lasting nearly three decades, comprises the most famous travel book in medieval Arabic literature. Departing from Tangiers in 725/1325, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled east, to Egypt and Syria, and in 726/1326 proceeded to Mecca on pilgrimage, after which he visited various parts of Iraq and southern Iran and returned to Mecca three more times by 730/1330. He then went down the Red Sea to Yemen and East Africa and returned via the Persian Gulf to Arabia, Syria, Asia Minor, the lands of the Golden Horde, and Constantinople and southeastern Europe. Turning east once again, he travelled through Transoxania and reached the Indus valley in 734/1333. A long stay in India was followed by sojourns in the Maldives and Sri Lanka, a tour of Southeast Asia, and a visit to China. In 748/1347 he returned to the central Islamic lands, made a further pilgrimage, and in 750/1349 journeyed across North Africa to Fez and visited Spain. In 753–4/1352–3 a southward look took him to the Niger and other African lands.

In 756/1357 the text describing his travels and adventures was dictated by him to a colleague, Ibn Juzayy, who then edited the text for final publication. This resulted in the reordering of certain voyages, and the introduction of a tendency to exaggerate and stress the fantastic. It is also clear that in some cases Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had to reconstruct events from memory alone; an attack by Chinese pirates in which he lost almost everything he owned, for example, must have involved the loss of important notes. In other cases he used earlier travel books; his account of Syria is based on **Ibn Jubayr** (d. 614/1217), and al-'Abdarī (*fl.* seventh/thirteenth century) was the source for what he has to say about Palestine. Other journeys, such as the visit to Bulghār in Russia, he surely never made at all.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his travels is nevertheless of foremost importance for the cultural history of his time. A career-minded scholar and opportunist, he often gained patronage and official favour that gave him a unique perspective on events; at the same time, his text is full of insights on aspects of everyday life from Fez to the Far East. And ultimately, his journeys indicate the extent to which opportunities

for long-distance travel were available to those with the stamina and ambition to undertake them, and the sort of cultural interactions that must have occurred across the vast territories accessible to voyagers in the medieval Islamic world.

#### Text editions

*The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveller of the 14th Century*, Ross E. Dunn, London (1986). (An excellent introduction.)

*The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, H.A.R. Gibb (trans.), Cambridge (1958–71). (The definitive translation for the Hakluyt Society, now being completed by C.F. Beckingham, Cambridge (1994–); this work includes a good introduction and copious notes.)

*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (eds and trans), Paris (1853–9). (The best Arabic edition.)

L.I. CONRAD

See also: travel literature

### Ibn al-Bīṭrīq see Eutychius

### Ibn Buluggīn see Ibn Zīrī

### Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066)

Al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān was a Christian physician, littérateur and theologian. A native of **Baghdad** and student of the renowned Christian philosopher and physician Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043), Ibn Buṭlān was a well-travelled and broadly learned scholar honoured and patronized by numerous Muslim rulers and officials and by the Byzantine Patriarch in Constantinople. He was most active in the field of medicine, and was best known to posterity for his controversies with the physician **Ibn Riḍwān** in Cairo. His extant medical works include several products of this dispute, an important digest of medicine presented in tabular form, and works on the purchase of healthy slaves and medicine for monks and monasteries. Of a more literary nature is his account of his journey from Baghdad to Cairo in 440–1/1049. Perhaps his best work is his *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'* (*The Physicians' Dinner Party*), a witty allegorical/autobiographical work in which a young physician is invited by an eminent older colleague in a strange town to dine with a circle of medical worthies, only to discover their petty

weaknesses and faults as the evening wears on. His elegant literary style was admired already in medieval times, and his works are characterized by their originality and insightful observations on the society and culture of his time.

#### Text editions

*'Alī Ibn Riḍwān and al-Mukhtār Ibn Buṭlān: Texts and Studies*, Fuat Sezgin (ed.), Frankfurt (1996).

*Das Ärztebankett*, Felix Klein-Franke (trans.), Stuttgart (1984) (includes a valuable account of Ibn Buṭlān and this work).

*The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo*, Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof (eds and trans), Cairo (1937) (a detailed discussion of the author and his controversies with Ibn Riḍwān, with abridged editions and translations of the relevant texts).

*The Physicians' Dinner Party (Da'wat al-aṭibbā')*, Felix Klein-Franke (ed.), Wiesbaden (1985).

#### Further reading

Conrad, Lawrence I., 'Scholarship and social context: a medical case from the eleventh-century Near East', in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, Don Bates (ed.), Cambridge (1995), 84–100.

Ullmann, Manfred, *Die Medizin in Islam*, Leiden (1970), 157–8.

L.I. CONRAD

### Ibn al-Dabbagh see al-Dabbagh, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muḥammad

### Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310)

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl was a poet and humorist. Born in Mosul, at the age of 19 he moved to Cairo, where he practised as an oculist. He quickly made a name for himself as a witty and ribald poet, enjoying favour among members of the élite and the court. Although his poetic *dīwān* does not survive intact, a large selection of his verses, made by his great admirer **al-Ṣafādī**, has been published; it includes some conventional panegyrics and praises of the Prophet, but is dominated by poems of mockery (see *hijā'*) and licentiousness (see *mujūn*), and al-Ṣafādī appropriately describes Ibn Dāniyāl as 'the **Ibn al-Ḥajjāj** of his age and the **Ibn Sukkara** of his city'. But he owes his unique place in Arabic literature to his three shadow plays.



Composed in the form of actual scripts, these mix verse in both classical and stanzaic forms with sections in rhymed prose, and present a vivid and bawdy picture of life among the dregs of Cairo society. *Ṭayf al-khayāl* mocks the attempt by the sultan Baybars to crack down on vice, with a reformed degenerate trapped into marriage to a hag by an unscrupulous matchmaker; *'Ajīb and Gharīb* offers a parade of street entertainers and charlatans; and *al-Mutayyam* mocks romantic conventions with a tale of homosexual lust, concluding with a banquet attended by representatives of every conceivable sexual persuasion. The value of these texts for linguistics and social history is generally recognized; their literary status and implications for the history of Arabic drama are much debated.

Text editions

al-Ṣafadī, *al-Mukhtār min shi'r Ibn Dāniyāl*, M.N. al-Dulaymī (ed.), Mosul (1979).

*Three Shadow Plays*, Paul Kahle (ed.), prepared by Derek Hopwood and Mustafa Badawi, Cambridge (1992).

Translations of selections in the following articles by Paul Kahle, 'The Arabic shadow play in Egypt', *JRAS* (1940), 21–34, 'A gypsy woman in Egypt in the thirteenth century A.D.', *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 29 (1950), 11–15, 'The Arabic shadow play in medieval Egypt (old texts and old figures)', *JPHS* 2 (1954), 85–97.

Further reading

Ḥamāda, Ibrāhīm, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa-tamthiliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo (1963).

Moreh, S., 'The shadow play (*Khayāl al-ẓill*) in the light of Arabic literature', *JAL* 18 (1987), 46–61.

—, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Islamic World*, Edinburgh (1992), 108–14 and *passim*.

E.K. ROWSON

See also: shadow play; theatre and drama, medieval

**Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī  
(347–421/958–1030)**

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī was a court poet in Córdoba and elsewhere in al-Andalus. He was one of the most distinguished poets of al-Andalus in the Amirid and early Taifa periods. He won recognition for a

panegyric to al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir and became court poet to him and his two successors. In his panegyrics, he portrayed al-Manṣūr as the champion of Islam against Christianity, recalling the panegyrics of **al-Mutanabbī** to Sayf al-Dawla and winning himself a reputation as the Mutanabbī of the West. His poems, which include many battle descriptions, deal with the important events of the age. One of his *qaṣīdas* on the conquest of Santiago de Compostela in 997 contains a description of the shrine.

After al-Manṣūr's death, Ibn Darrāj's position gradually weakened, and he sought positions in Ceuta, Almería, and other *tā'ifa* courts, especially in Saragossa, where he spent ten years. He may have ended his career in Saragossa or in Denia.

A master of the neo-classical style, Ibn Darrāj was the first Andalusian poet to be appreciated in the Muslim East. He is widely quoted, and a large *diwān* has survived. He wrote almost exclusively official *qaṣīdas*, and did not employ the distinctively Andalusian *muwashshah* form. In the *nasīb* of his panegyrics, he often substitutes for the evocation of the lost beloved his longing for his wife and daughter, a most unusual personal note; sometimes he employs floral motifs in the *nasīb*, prefiguring a regular feature of the later Andalusian *qaṣīda*. He seems to have invented the practice of ending the poem with an *envoi* using parallelism, a common feature of later Andalusian Arabic verse.

Text edition

*Diwān*, Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī (ed.), Damascus (1961).

Further reading

Blachère, Régis 'La Vie et l'oeuvre du poète-épistolier andalou Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī', *Hespéris* 16 (1933) 99–121.

Makkī, Maḥmūd 'Alī, 'La España cristiana en el Diwān de Ibn Darrāj', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 30 (1963–4), 63–104.

Monroe, James T., *Risālat at-tawābī' wa z-zawābī': The Treatise of Familiar Spirits and Demons by Abū 'Āmir ibn Shuhaid al-Ashja'i, al-Andalusī*, Berkeley (1971).

Viguera Molins, María J., 'La corte tuñibí de Zaragoza en el diwān de Ibn Darrāj', *Actas del IV Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino, Palma de Mallorca, 1979*, Madrid (1983), 243–51.

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

### Ibn Dā'ūd al-Iṣbahānī (c.255–97/c.868–910)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd al-Iṣbahānī was a Zāhirī jurist and compiler of an anthology of poetry. He was the son of the famous founder of the Zāhirī legal school, whom he succeeded in this position. A few books on Islamic law and three polemical treatises have not been preserved, while his famous *Kitāb al-Zahra* is extant in manuscript and printed form. It was finished prior to 196/908, but it seems that the first fifty of its 100 chapters were written earlier than the second. Each chapter originally contained 100 lines of poetry. The first fifty chapters contain love poetry, a peculiarity which is explained by the author's alleged desire to make his book resemble a *qaṣīda*. The contents of the latter fifty chapters, however, do not follow the *qaṣīda* scheme but are devoted to different 'genres' (*afānīn*) such as elegy, wisdom, *madih*, *hijā'*, *fakhr*, etc., or to motifs (*ma'ānī*). Within groups of chapters on single genres or motifs, the poetic material is subdivided into several types of contrasts (as, e.g., avarice/generosity, praise of an object/censure of the same). The book is dedicated to a special friend whose identity remains unknown. A number of poems in the *Kitāb al-Zahra* are ascribed to 'a contemporary'; according to later authors these poems were composed by Ibn Dā'ūd himself, but this has not yet been proven. In the second half of the fourth/tenth century, Aḥmad ibn Faraj al-Jayyānī composed his *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq* as an Andalusian counterpiece to Ibn Dā'ūd's work (cf. GAS, vol. 2, 669).

#### Text editions

- Kitāb al-Zahra, the first half*..., A.R. Nykl and I. Tūqān (eds), Chicago (1932).  
*al-Niṣf al-thānī min Kitāb al-Zahra*, I. al-Sāmarrā'ī and N. al-Qaysī (eds), Baghdad (1975).  
*al-Zahra*, I. al-Sāmarrā'ī (ed.), al-Zarqā' (1985).  
*al-Zahra*, M. Vallaro (ed.), Naples (1985), chs 51–5.

#### Further reading

- Giffen, L.A., *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs*, New York (1971), 8–13 and *passim*.  
 Raven, W., *Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī and his Kitāb al-Zahra*, Amsterdam (1989) (PhD thesis, Leiden).

T. SEIDENSTICKER

See also: love theory

### Ibn al-Dāya, Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Ja'far (245 or 50–330 or 40/859 or 64–941 or 51)

Ibn al-Dāya's father, Yūsuf Ibn al-Dāya, who had served the 'Abbāsīd prince and musician Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī as chancellor, had to leave Baghdad after the latter's death; he and his family settled in Fuṣṭāṭ (Egypt), during the reign of the Tūlūnid dynasty.

Aḥmad was interested in astronomy and philosophy, but only a few of his books survive. His *Compendium of Logic* (*Mukhtaṣar al-manṭiq*), dedicated to 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Dāwūd, a vizier serving the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Muqtadir, presently lost, suggests that the author moved from Egypt to Baghdad in his later days. Aḥmad's interest in history appears from his *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn wa 'bnihi Khumārawayh*, presumed lost, but of which a manuscript exists in the Zāhiriyya library (Damascus); fragments from this book survive in *Ibn Sa'id, al-Mughrib fī ḥulā' al-Maghrib* (the part on Fuṣṭāṭ). In connection with the activity of translation from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, Aḥmad wrote a glossary on the Pseudo-Ptolemaic Centiloquium, his *Kitāb al-Thamāra*. Another book, discussing the problem of the superiority of Greek or Persian culture, derives from Plato's *Politeia*, and is known as the *Kitāb al-'uhūd al-Yūnāniyya al-mustakhrāja min rumūz Kitāb 'al-Siyāsa' li-Aflāṭūn wa mā inḏafa ilayh*.

A completely different and more humorous genre appears in the anecdotes and reports on historical events collected in the *Kitāb al-Mukāfa'a* (*Book of Compensation*). The insecurity which the author experienced during his lifetime and the hearsay about events during his father's life undoubtedly exerted real influence on the contents of these stories, which implicitly express a warning to the rich to beware of life's vicissitudes and to make friends with the poor while there is still time to do so that they may find support in some future time of need. Apart from their historical background, the stories may be considered as belonging to the literary genre of 'deliverance after distress' (*al-faraj ba'da al-shidda*).

#### Text editions

- Ibn Sa'id, *Al-mughrib fī ḥulā' l-Maghrib* (part on Fuṣṭāṭ), Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, Shawqī Dayf and Sayyida Kāshif (eds), Cairo (1953), 205–49.

*Kitāb al-'uhūd al-Yūnāniyya al-mustakhraja min rumūz Kitāb 'al-Siyāsa' li-Aflātūn wa mā indāfa ilayh*, Omar El Malki (ed.), *La Philosophie chez les Arabes* (= *Aḥmad ibn al-Dāya, al-Falsafa al-siyāsiyya 'inda l-'Arab*), Algiers (1971).  
*al-Mukāfa'a*, Aḥmad Amīn and 'Alī al-Jārim (eds), Cairo (1941).

P. SMOOR

## Ibn al-Dumayna (second/eighth century)

'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Dumayna was a love poet from the southern **Hijaz**, probably early 'Abbasid period. Ibn al-Dumayna seems (contrary to what is said in early sources) to have been killed not until the days of the caliph **Hārūn al-Rashīd** (r. 170–93/786–809). He had killed his wife's lover, his wife and their common daughter out of jealousy and then himself fell victim to blood-revenge. There is considerable uncertainty with respect to the authorship of the poems handed down under his name. The edition of al-Naffākh contains sixty-one pieces (based on an ancient *dīwān*) and sixty fragments. The greater part of his production is love poetry of a quite conservative making; for example, two-thirds of the *dīwān* poems are composed in the *ṭawīl* metre.

### Text edition

*Dīwān*, A.R. al-Naffākh (ed.), Cairo (1959).

### Further reading

*El*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.

T. SEIDENSTICKER

## Ibn Durayd (223–312/838–933)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Durayd al-Azdī was a scholar of true Arab (Omani) stock. Born in **Basra**, he travelled to Oman and thence to Nishapur, where he enjoyed the patronage of the governor 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mikāl. When the latter was deposed Ibn Durayd went to **Baghdad** and lived on a pension from the caliph al-Muqtadir until his death. He is a central figure in the linguistic scholarship of the period, a pupil of Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistānī, al-Riyāshī and al-Tawwazī, and the master of Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī, Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, al-Qālī, Ibn Khālawayh and many others. His works include the *Qaṣīda al-maqṣūra*, a pedagogical

poem about words ending in *-ā* and *ā'*; *al-Ishtiqāq*, an etymological dictionary of Arab proper names (allegedly composed to refute the criticism that Arabic names were meaningless); an anthology of wise sayings from many sources entitled *al-Mujtanā*; and his monumental dictionary, the *Jamhara*, distinguished by its unique arrangement (see **lexicography, medieval**).

### Text editions

*Dīwān*, U. Ibn Sālim (ed.), Tunis (1973) (includes the *Kitāb al-Maqṣūra wa-al-mamdūd naẓman [al-Maqṣūra al-ṣuḡhrā]*).

*Jamharat al-luḡha*, F. Krenkow (ed.), Hyderabad (1925–36); R. Baalbaki (ed.), 3 vols, Beirut (1987–8).

*Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, F. Wüstenfeld (ed.), Göttingen (1854); A.S.M. Hārūn (ed.), Cairo (1979).

*al-Mujtanā*, Hyderabad (1980).

### Further reading

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Krenkow, F., 'The beginnings of Arabic lexicography till the time of al-Jauharī, with special reference to the work of Ibn Duraid', *JRAS Centenary supplement* (1924), 255–70.

Wild, S., *Das Kitāb al-'Ain und die arabische Lexicographie*, Wiesbaden (1965), 60–5.

M.G. CARTER

## Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (700–49/1301–49)

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī was a member of a distinguished family of officials of Syrian origin, which traced its origin back to the second caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and which served the **Mamlūks in Damascus and Cairo**. Ibn Faḍl Allāh put his official experience into two important works, His *al-Ta'rif bi-al-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf* is a technical manual for **secretaries**, especially concerned with official correspondence and the correct preparation and addressing of diplomatic documents; his *Masālik al-abṣār* is an extensive encyclopaedia, of a type typical of the Mamlūk period (cf. **al-Qalqashandī, al-Nuwayrī**), containing all sorts of knowledge necessary for the well-informed secretary, such as historical geography, political relations with external

powers, etc. Both books throw valuable light on the history and the working of the Mamlūk empire during the author's time and on its relations with neighbouring powers, such as Il-Khānid Persia.

#### Further reading

*El*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (K.M. Salibi).

Quatremère, E., 'Notices de l'ouvrage intitulé Masālek-el-absār', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 13 (1838), 151–384.

C.E. BOSWORTH

See also: encyclopaedias, medieval

### Ibn Faḍlān, Aḥmad (fl. early fourth/tenth century)

Arabic writer and traveller, about whose life almost nothing is known. His fame stems from the travel narrative, perhaps part of an official report composed for the administration in Baghdad, which he wrote concerning his embassy in 309–10/921–2 from the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Muqtadir to the King of the Bulgars, recently converted to Islam, on the middle Volga. Only his account of the outward journey has survived. Itself formerly known only by citations, it is now extant as an independent document. Its value arises from Ibn Faḍlān's acute observation of the customs and social organization of the pagan Turkish tribes through whose territories he passed and his account of the Turkish Khazars and Bulgars and of the Scandinavian–Slavonic Rūs of the Volga basin, so that his book is a prime source, often the unique one, for the history and ethnology of these peoples at this early date.

#### Text editions

*Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, A.Z.V. Togan (ed. and trans.), Leipzig (1939).

'La Relation du voyage d'Ibn Faḍlān chez les Bulgares de la Volga', M. Canard (ed. and trans.), *AIEO Alger*, 16 (1958), 41–146.

C.E. BOSWORTH

See also: travel literature

### Ibn Fahd (644–725/1246–1325)

Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sulaymān (or Salmān) ibn Fahd was esteemed as a poet,

prose stylist and calligrapher. Born at Aleppo, he was educated by the leading scholars of Damascus, after which he served in several Hanbali judgeships. A half-century career in affairs of state began when he was taken to Cairo by a vizier and appointed there to the chancery (*dīwān al-inshā'*). He later returned to Damascus to head that office as secretary of state (*al-kātib al-sirr*). He illustrated his book on letter-writing with examples from his state correspondence. The value of his book on chaste love, belonging to the genre on love theory, was recognized by later authors.

#### Text editions

*Ahnā al-manā'ih fī asnā al-madā'ih*, Cairo? (1916) (poems in praise of the Prophet Muhammad).

*Husn al-tawaṣṣul ilā ṣinā'at al-tarassul*, Cairo (1298/1881, 1315/1897).

*Manāzil al-aḥbāb wa-manāzih al-albāb*, 'Abd al-Raḥīm M. 'Abd al-Raḥīm (ed.), Cairo (1989).

#### Further reading

Bosworth, C.E., 'Administrative literature', in *CHALRLS*, 155–67 (on the genre to which *Husn al-tawaṣṣul* belongs).

Giffen, Lois Anita, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs*, New York (1971), 31–3, Table 1 and index.

L.A. GIFFEN

### Ibn al-Faqih (fl. late third/early tenth century)

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhānī was an Iranian littérateur about whose life nothing is known. In c.290/903 he wrote an important and apparently very large geography, the *Kitāb al-buldān* (*Book of the Regions*), of which there survives today only an abridged version made more than a century later.

Beginning with an introduction stressing the role of knowledge of people and climes in the promotion of an individual's personal culture, the text discusses the creation of the world and then proceeds to consider various regions of the Islamic lands: Arabia, Egypt and the Nile, the Maghrib, Syria, the Jazīra, the 'land of the Greeks' and Iraq, and then the eastern provinces (these last consume half of the work). Much influenced by the style of al-Jāhīz, Ibn al-Faqih offers a wealth of anecdotal material, cites poetry copiously, and

often engages in long digressions into such topics as the superiority of the grape vine over the date palm, praises and criticisms of building, and the merits of foreign travel. His book is thus of importance not only to history and geography, but also and more generally to the study of Arabic literature.

Text editions

*Abrégé de Livre des pays*, Charles Pellat (ed.), Henri Massé (trans.), Damascus (1973).

*Kiṭāb al-buldān*, M.J. de Goeje (ed.), Leiden (1885) (BGA 5).

Jamgotchian, A.S., *Ibn al-Faqīh, Akhbār al-buldān: Izvestia o Stranakh*, Erevan (1979) (includes edition and translation, into Russian, of a Mashhad ms. containing a different version of the text, with important elaborations especially for Iraq).

Further reading

Miquel, André, *La Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle*, Paris (1967–80), vol. 1, 153–89.

L.I. CONRAD

See also: geographical literature

**Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576–632/1181–1235)**

Abū al-Qāsim Sharaf al-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Alī ibn al-Fāriḍ was an Egyptian mystical poet who was born and died in Cairo. After studying Shāfi'i law and *ḥadīth* he experienced a mystical conversion and retired to the Muqattam hills in Cairo to devote himself to piety. While visiting the Hijaz he had a vision of the Prophet Muḥammad, and is said to have written most of his poetry there. On his return to Cairo, he was venerated as a saint; his tomb is still frequented as a shrine.

Although Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetic output is small, it is both important and original. Many of his shorter poems may have been composed to be sung at Sūfī gatherings (see *samā'*); of these, R.A. Nicholson remarks that 'the outer and inner meanings are so interwoven that they may be read either as love-poems or as mystical hymns' (*EP*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 3, 763). He is best known for his *Khamriyya* (wine-poem) and the lengthy *Nazm al-sulūk* ('Poem of the way'; also known as *al-tā'iyya al-kubrā*, 'long poem rhyming in t'); both have become classics of Sufism and have occasioned many commentaries by such figures as 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Ismā'il al-

Nābulusī and al-Būrīnī, and the Persians 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1498) and 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī. He also composed a number of riddles (*alghāz*; see *lughz*), as well as short *dūbayts*.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ's outpourings on the topic of divine love earned him the title *sultān al-'āshiqīn*, 'king of lovers'. In his poems he employs the traditional imagery of bacchic and erotic poetry, and the complex rhetorical devices characteristic of his age, to express mystical allegory (as he himself declares, 'I shall present to you hidden allusions [*ishārāt*] which will be to you like clear statements [*'ibārāt*]'). In his *khamriyya* he celebrates the wine of divine love, 'with which we became drunk before the vine was created', and the drinking of which is no sin but an obligation. The *Nazm al-sulūk* describes the stages of the path of divine love: from helpless longing, to the final brilliant vision of the divine beloved. In a famous passage the poet compares this world to a shadow play in which puppets manipulated by the divine puppeteer cast their images on a screen; after a vivid description of various scenes (battles; fishermen going about their work), he states: 'All that you have witnessed is the work of One alone, but behind the veils of of the playhouse. Were the veil removed you would see no other, and would remain in no doubt about these forms; you would know with certitude, on its removal, that you have been guided by His light to His works in the darkness'.

Text editions

*Dīwān*, Rushayyid ibn Ghālib al-Daḥḍāh (ed.), Marseilles (1853). (Incorporates a biography of Ibn al-Fāriḍ written by his son.)

*Dīwān*, Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'i (ed.), Amman (1985).

*L'Éloge du vin: poème mystique de Omar ebn al-Faridh, et son commentaire par Abdel-Ghani an-Nabolsi*, E. Dermenghem (trans.), Paris (1931).

*The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, A.J. Arberry (ed.), London (1952). (Presents the poems in transcription.)

*The Poem of the Way*, A.J. Arberry (trans.), London (1952).

Further reading

Hilmī, M.M., *Ibn al-Fāriḍ wa-al-'ishq al-ilāhī*, Cairo (1945).

Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge (1921), 199–266 (includes the *tā'iyya*, with commentary).

Schimmel, Annemarie, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill (1975) (see index).

—, *As Through A Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam*, New York (1982), 41–5 and *passim*.

J.S. MEISAMI

See also: Šūfī literature: poetry

## Ibn Farīghūn, Sha'yā (?)

An enigmatic figure who worked in the upper Oxus lands in what are now northern Afghanistan and Tadjikistan in the mid-fourth/tenth century. He seems to have been a pupil of the geographer **Abū Zayd al-Balkhī**, and he wrote for a petty local ruler a pioneer survey of the so-called 'Arab' and 'Ajami' or non-Arab sciences, the *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* (*Connections of the Sciences*), written in the form of 'trees' and 'branches' for groups and sub-groups. It anticipates, but is not so clearly arranged as, the better-known encyclopaedia of the sciences composed by **Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī**, the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*.

### Text edition

*Ġawāmi' al-'ulūm, Compendium of Sciences* (facsimile ed.), F. Sezgin (ed.), Frankfurt am Main (1985).

### Further reading

Biesterfeldt, H.H., 'Ibn Farīghūn's chapter on Arabic grammar in his *Compendium of the Sciences*, in *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar, II*, K. Versteegh and M.G. Carter (ed.), Amsterdam (1990), 49–54.

—, *Die Zwięge des Wissens: Theorie und Klassifikation der Wissenschaften in mittelalterlichen Islam in des Darstellung des Ibn Farīghūn*, Bochum (1985). (Includes ed. and trans. of the major part of the text.)

*El<sup>2</sup>, Suppl.*, art. s.v. (C.E. Bosworth).

Rosenthal, F., *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd edn, Leiden (1968), 34–6.

C.E. BOSWORTH

## Ibn Fāris al-Lughawī (d. 395/1004)

Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Fāris ibn Zakariyyā' al-Lughawī was probably born in Qazwīn; he studied there and in Hamadhān and Baghdad. Called to **Rayy** by the **Būyid** Fakhr al-Dawla as his son's tutor, he there became friendly with the vizier **al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād**. His considerable output covers most areas of **lexicography** and **grammar**: he left several works on individual lexical themes, a continuation of the

*Faṣīḥ* of **Tha'lab**, treatises on synonyms, assonance, morphological and other problems, including linguistic topics in the **Koran** and *ḥadīth*, as well as several small works on gender, the function of particles and pedagogical grammars.

Three outstanding works deserve attention. He left two remarkable dictionaries, the *Maqāyīs al-lughā* and the *Mujmal fī al-lughā*, and he wrote a penetrating investigation of the nature of the Arabic language which he dedicated to his patron under the title *al-Šāhibī fī fiqh al-lughā wa-sunan al-'Arab fī kalāmihā*. This work (contemporaneous with but apparently unconnected with the *Khaṣā'iṣ* of **Ibn Jinnī**) is evidently directed at his colleagues in the legal profession, and it argues with great conviction that since the Arabic language is the source of all Muslim authority it is only by a true knowledge of pre-Islamic speech habits that Islam itself can be understood.

### Text editions

*Maqāyīs al-lughā*, A.S.M. Hārūn (ed.), Cairo (1947–52).

*al-Mujmal fī al-lughā*, S.H.H. Hamoudi (Hamūdi) (ed.), Kuwait (1985); Z.A.M. Sulṭān (ed.), Beirut (1984).

*al-Šāhibī fī fiqh al-lughā wa-sunan al-'Arab fī kalāmihā*, M. Chouémi (ed.), Beirut (1964).

(For other works and editions see GAS, vol. 8, 209–14; vol. 9, 194, 316–17.)

### Further reading

Bergsträßer, G., 'Das *Kitāb al-Lamat* des Ahmad ibn Fāris', *Islamica* 1 (1925), 77–99.

Carter, M.G., 'Language and law in the *Šāhibī* of Ibn Fāris', in *Festschrift für Wolf Dietrich Fischer*, H. Bobzin and O. Jastrow (eds), ZAL 25 (1993), 139–47.

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Kraemer, J., 'Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie', *Oriens* 6 (1953), 215–16.

Roman, A., 'L'origine et l'organisation de la langue arabe d'après le *Šāhibī* d'Ibn Fāris', *Arabica* 35 (1988), 1–17.

Wild, S., *Das Kitāb al-'Ain und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden (1965), 77–9.

M.G. CARTER

See also: lexicography, medieval

**Ibn al-Farrā' see al-Farrā', Abū Zakariyya'****Ibn Funduq see al-Bayhaqī, 'Alī ibn Zayd****Ibn al-Furāt  
(735–807/1334 or 5–1405)**

Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Furāt earned his living as a court notary (drawing up marriage contracts) and as a Friday preacher in a Fuṣṭāṭ *madrassa*. History, however, was said to be his passion, and he wrote in draft a vast work, called *The History of Dynasties and Princes*, of which he revised and completed twenty volumes, covering the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Succeeding historians described it as 'extremely useful' but deplored its colloquial language. Apart from its author's own contemporary evidence, for modern scholars it has value as a transmitter of otherwise lost historians, Ibn Ṭuwayr and Ibn Abī Ṭayy'.

## Text editions

*Ta'riḫ al-duwal wa-al-mulūk*, C.K. Zurayk (ed.), Beirut (1936, 1942) (for years 672–96/1274–97 and 789–99/1387–97); M.H.M. al-Shamma (ed.), Basra (1967–70) (for years 563–615/1167–218).

D.S. RICHARDS

**Ibn al-Fuwaṭī  
(642–723/1244–1323)**

'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Fuwaṭī was a librarian, historian and biographer, born and educated in Baghdad. He was imprisoned in 656/1258 when the Mongol armies sacked Baghdad. In 660/1261–2 he travelled to Marāgha and eventually became the librarian of the Observatory Library there. He returned to Baghdad in 679/1280–1, where he was appointed director of the Mustanṣiriyya Library, a post he held until 712/1312–13. During the last twenty years of his life Ibn al-Fuwaṭī undertook several scholarly journeys of some length to Azarbaijan. Original autographs of about two-thirds of his biographical dictionary, *Talkhiṣ majma' al-ādāb*, have been preserved. Unfortunately the remainder of his many historical, biographical and other works appear to have been lost.

## Text editions

*al-Hawādith al-jāmi'a wa al-tajārib al-nāfi'a fī al-mi'a al-sābi'a*, Baghdad (1932), Beirut (1987). (Apparently ascribed erroneously to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.)

*Majma' al-ādāb fī mu'jam al-alqāb*, Tehran (1994, 1995).

*Talkhiṣ majma' al-ādāb fī mu'jam al-alqāb*, 4 vols, Damascus (1962–7).

## Further reading

al-Shabībī, M.R., *Mu'arrikh al-'Irāq Ibn al-Fuwaṭī*, 2 vols, Baghdad (1950–8).

Weissman, Keith, 'Mongolian rule in Baghdad: evidence from the chronicle of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 656–700 AH/1258–1301 CE' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1990).

J.E. LINDSAY

**Ibn Gabirol (c.411–50/c.1021–58)**

Solomon ben Judah (Sulaymān ibn Yahyā) ibn Gabirol was a Jewish philosopher and poet in Malaga, Saragossa and Valencia. His early patron was a Jewish courtier in the *tā'ifa* court of Saragossa; a later patron may have been Ismā'il ibn Naghralla of Granada, with whom he had a falling-out. Author of Arabic treatises on ethics (*Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāq*) and metaphysics (*The Source of Life*, extant only in Latin translation), Ibn Gabirol was an Andalusian Jewish Neoplatonist philosopher. He was also one of the most important and innovative Hebrew poets, using Arabic metrics in his secular poetry and introducing both Arabic metrics and philosophical themes into liturgical poetry. His one preserved Hebrew *muwashshah* has an Arabic *kharja*. His secular Hebrew poetry reflects the bitterness of a social outsider and yearning for spiritual fulfilment through intense intellectual activity.

## Text edition

*Fons vitae*, Johannes Hispanus and Dominicus Gundissalinus (trans), C. Baemker (ed.), Münster (1891–5).

## Further reading

Loewe, Raphael, *Ibn Gabirol*, London (1989).

Schlanger, J., *La Philosophie de Salomon ibn Gabirol*, Leiden (1968).

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

*See also:* Hebrew literature, relations with Arabic; Spain

## Ibn Gharsiya (fifth/eleventh century)

Abū 'Āmir Aḥmad Ibn Gharsiya, of Basque origins, was a poet and *kātib* in the *tā'ifa* court of Denia. He is known only for an epistle written between 443/1051 and 469/1076 attacking the Muslims of Arab origin as inferior in rank and lineage to non-Arab Muslims. The epistle represents the adoption by Andalusian 'Slavs' or the Eastern *Shu'ūbī* protests against Arab exclusivity as expressed in their treatises comparing the Arabs unfavourably with Persians and Byzantines. Ibn Gharsiya's epistle is written in Arabic courtly prose; thus it does not represent a rejection of Arabic literary culture but only of Arabic lineage. The treatise elicited at least seven refutations.

### Further reading

Monroe, James T., *The Shu'ūbiyya in al-Andalus*, Berkeley (1970).

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

## Ibn al-Habbāriyya (d. 504 or 9/1110–11 or 1113–16)

Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad al-Baghdādī ibn al-Habbāriyya was an Arab poet. After a religious education, he preferred to write poetry. His acerbic satires displeased his patrons, including Ibn Jahīr, and he moved to the Saljūq court at Isfahan where he gained notoriety by satirizing Nizām al-Mulk. His predilection for obscene verse casts him in the same mould as **Ibn al-Hajjāj**. Among his extant works is *al-Ṣādīh wa-al-bāghim*, a versified collection of fables. The *Urjuza shi'riyya*, a work on chess, and the *Fulk al-ma'ānī*, an anthology, also survive in manuscript. His lost works include a versification of *Kalīla wa-dimna* entitled *Natā'ij al-fitna*, and an extensive *dīwān*, extracts of which are quoted by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, al-Bundārī and others.

### Text edition

*Kitāb al-ṣādīh wa-al bāghim*, Cairo (1292/1875); Beirut (1886).

### Further reading

al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, Leiden (1889), 64–5, 103–5.

*Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, Baron McGuckin de Slane (trans.), vol. 3, 150–3.

Sibt ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, VIII/I, Hyderabad (1951), 58–62.

C. HILLENBRAND

## Ibn al-Ḥaddād (d. 480/1087)

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥaddād (d. 480/1087) was a poet in Almería. In his youth, Ibn al-Ḥaddād loved a Christian girl; to her he devoted many love poems, in which he mentioned Christian doctrines, rites and festivals. He spent most of his career as a poet in the *tā'ifa* court of Almería, except for two and a half years in Murcia and Saragossa, where he fled after angering al-Mu'taṣim. Besides being a prolific poet, he was learned in many fields of scholarship, including mathematics and philosophy, and he was adept at solving riddles. He wrote a book on metrics, synthesizing poetic with musical metre, and two other books.

### Text edition

*Dīwān*, Yūsuf 'Alī Ṭawīl (ed.), Beirut (1990).

### Further reading

Dozy, R.P.A., *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, 3rd edn, Leiden (1881) vol. 1, 253–6.

Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 194–5.

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

## Ibn Haduqa, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd see Benhedouga, Abdelhamid

## Ibn al-Ḥā'ik see al-Hamdānī, al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad

## Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773–852/1372–1449)

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī was a famous Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar, biographer and historian. He was born in Cairo to a well-to-do family of merchants interested in scholarship. An orphan by the age of 4 and **Koran** memorizer by 11, he grew up fond of poetry and history. In his early twenties, he decided to specialize in *ḥadīth*, and travelled widely to collect it. He lectured on *ḥadīth*, and was appointed professor, head of a



college, preacher, *muftī*, librarian and judge. An influential teacher and extraordinarily prolific writer, he compiled numerous multi-volume works which remain indispensable for scholars today, such as *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, a commentary on **al-Bukhārī's** *Ṣaḥīḥ*; *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, on the Prophet's Companions; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*; *Lisān al-mizān*; *al-Durar al-kāmīna*; *Raf' al-iṣr*; and *Inbā' al-ghumr*. Ibn Ḥajar's student, **al-Sakhāwī**, wrote two biographies of him, a relatively short one in his *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, and a long one in his *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat shaykh al-Islām ibn Ḥajar*, cited by F. Rosenthal (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Askalānī'), and based on Ibn Ḥajar's third-person autobiography in his *Raf' al-iṣr* (vol. 1, 85–8).

Text editions

*al-Durar al-kāmīna*, Hyderabad (1929–31).  
*Faṭḥ al-bārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo (1319–29/1901–11).  
*Inbā' al-ghumr bi-anbā' al-'umr (fī al-ta'riḫh)*, Ḥ. Ḥabashī (ed.), Cairo (1967–72); Hyderabad (1967–76).  
*al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo (1323–5/1905–7).  
*Lisān al-mizān*, Hyderabad (1911–13).  
*Raf' al-iṣr*, Cairo (1957–61).  
*Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad (1907–9).

Further reading

Rosenthal, F., *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden (1952) (see index).  
 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, Beirut (n.d.), vol. 2, 36–40.

W. AL-QĀDĪ

**Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d. 646/1249)**

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar, known as Ibn al-Ḥājjib after his father's occupation of chamberlain (*ḥājjib*), was born and educated in Egypt, then moved to **Damascus** about 617/1220–1 but was obliged to leave some seven years before his death in Alexandria. He produced a number of works in the fields of grammar and law, but his fame rests on two masterly condensations of grammatical lore, the *Kāfiya* in syntax and the *Shāfiya* in morphology and phonology. Both works are extremely widely distributed and have occasioned a large number of commentaries (including by Ibn al-Ḥājjib himself), and they were among the earliest Arabic works to be translated and printed in Europe (Rome 1592).

Text editions

*Al-Kāfiya, al-Shāfiya*, numerous editions and published commentaries, e.g. by al-Astarābādī with 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī's commentary on the evidential verses, and *al-Fawā'id al-Diyā'iyya* of Mullā Jāmī (see *GAL* vol. 1, 304, Suppl. 533, item 13).

Further reading

Fück, J., *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig (1955), 54.  
 Pouzet, L., 'Deux grammairiens à Damas au VII<sup>e</sup>/XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *MFOB* 49 (1975–6), 767–84.

M.G. CARTER

**Ibn al-Ḥājjib al-Nu'mān (340–423/950–1032)**

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥājjib al-Nu'mān, famed secretary of the **Būyid** period, was himself the son of the great **al-Muhallabī** who was Mu'izz al-Dawla's vizier. He acted as secretary and vizier, with the title *Ra'īs al-ru'asā'*, for the 'Abbāsīd caliphs al-Ṭā'i' and al-Qādir, for forty years. He was famed for his epistles, cited by Hilāl **al-Ṣābi'**; **Yāqūt** mentions an extensive *dīwān* of poetry by him; and in **Baghdad** he was the patron and friend of poets such as **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri**. None of his works, however, has survived.

Further reading

Busse, H., *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945–1055)*, Beirut and Wiesbaden (1969), 248–9, 253–4 and index.  
 Yāqūt, *The Irshād al-Arib ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb, or, Dictionary of Learned Men*, D.S. Margoliouth (ed.), London (1923–31), vol. 5, 259–61.

C.E. BOSWORTH

**Ibn al-Ḥājj (eighth/fourteenth century)**

Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥājj al-Abdarī was the son of a well-known North African traveller who wrote a *riḥla* treatise. Ibn al-Ḥājj himself was born in Cairo in 737/1336. A Mālikī rigorist, his own reputation is based on a single lengthy work, the *Madkhal*, a treatise on *bidā'* (unacceptable innovation). Although this can hardly have been Ibn al-Ḥājj's intention, the *Madkhal* has proved to be a wonderful source on the social history of **Cairo**, especially of

the lower and middle classes in the fourteenth century. Ibn al-Ḥajj provides details about folkloric practices, sorcery, funerals, pilgrimages to Ṣūfī shrines, popular festivals, craft techniques, the social life and sexual practices of women, costumes, eating habits and so on. As one reads about the immense number of practices of which Ibn al-Ḥajj disapproved, one gets a clear picture of what many of his contemporaries actually enjoyed doing. Ibn al-Ḥajj took an even more dour view of life than most of his contemporaries among the *'ulamā'*, whom he denounced for their slackness regarding the importance of *niya*, or (good) intention. The manuscript of a magical treatise, the *Shumūs al-anwār* (in the Bibliothèque Nationale), purports to be by Ibn al-Ḥajj, but, given the *Madkhal's* hostility to occultism and alchemy, this seems most unlikely.

## Text edition

*Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā tanmīyāt al-a'māl bi-taḥsin al-nīyāt*, 4 pts in 2 vols, Cairo (1929).

## Further reading

B. Langner, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen*, Berlin (1983).  
*EF*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Ibn al-Ḥajj', J.-C. Vadet.

R. IRWIN

## Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (c.333–91/c.941–1000)

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥajjāj was a Baghdādī poet of the **Būyid** period. A **Shī'ī** (like the Būyids themselves), Ibn al-Ḥajjāj came from a family of government officials; he held a secretarial post under Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi' before turning to poetry, which he found more profitable. He was patronized by the vizier **al-Muhallabī**, among others, and wrote panegyrics for both officials and rulers, including 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār (d. 978), who appointed him *muḥtasib* of Baghdād in the vizierate of Ibn Baqiyya, and 'Aḍud al-Dawla (d. 983).

While he wrote many poems in the classical style (Hilāl al-Ṣābi' terms him a *maṭbū'*, 'naturally gifted' or classicist poet; see *maṭbū'* and *maṣnū'*), Ibn al-Ḥajjāj is best known for his obscene poetry, by which, he states, he gained his livelihood. He special-

ized in the style termed *sukhf* (see also *mujūn*), in which he wrote both short monothematic poems (*qīṭ'as*) and long *qaṣīdas*, the latter often parodying poems in the classical style. In these poems he often employs colloquialisms and Baghdādī slang, as well as some Persian vocabulary and allusions to Persian cultural traditions, customs, popular tales and so on. His poetry was highly popular; **al-Tha'ālībī**, who includes many examples in his *Yatīmat al-dahr*, notes that despite his obscenity he was widely admired by his patrons. He himself justified his style by saying, 'My poetry must have such obscenities; for can a house exist without a privy?' He satirized **al-Mutanabbī** (whose style may be an object of his parody), and is said to have prevented that poet's attaching himself to the circle of al-Muhallabī. His *dīwān* was widely copied and exists in various recensions, notably those of al-Aṣṭurlābī (d. 435/1140; *Durrat al-tāj fī shī'r Ibn al-Ḥajjāj*) and **Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī** (d. 768/1366; *Talṭīf al-mizāj min shī'r Ibn al-Ḥajjāj*); it has not yet been published in its entirety (most of the extant manuscripts are, moreover, incomplete). His serious poetry was collected and commented on by his friend **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī** (*al-Nazīf min al-sakhīf*), who also composed an elegy on his death. Although modern critics tend to condemn his obscene style, it is often highly humorous, and contemporaries considered him one of the most innovative poets of his time.

## Text editions

al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid al-tanṣīs fī shawāhid al-Talkhīṣ*, M.M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (ed.), Cairo (1948), vol. 3, 188–201.

*Der Dīwān des Ibn al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ*, *Teilausgabe: Der Reimbuchstabe nūn*, Abdelghafur A.A. El-Aswah (ed.), Giessen (1977).

*The Historical Remains of Hilāl al-Ṣābi*, H.F. Amedroz (ed.), Leiden (1936), 430–4. (Extracts.)

al-Tha'ālībī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, 2nd edn, Cairo (1934), vol. 3, 188–201.

## Further reading

Kraemer, Joel, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age*, Leiden (1986), 199–200 and *passim*.

Mez, Adam, *The Renaissance of Islam*, D.S. Margoliouth and S. Khuda Bakhsh (trans), Patna (1937), 268–70.

J.S. MEISAMI

**Ibn Ḥamdīs (447–527/1056–1133)**

ʿAbd al-Jabbār Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ḥamdīs was a Siculo-Arabic poet. Born in Syracuse, he took part in the first battles against the Normans, then emigrated to Seville. In his work Sicily is present in the memories of the happy meetings of his youth. The conventional motifs of bacchic or elegiac poetry in Ibn Ḥamdīs's production are coloured with a deep nostalgia that distinguishes his work and places him among the most important Arabic poets of the Middle Ages. In his descriptive poems he creates new lyric metaphors developing and varying the traditional stylistic repertory. Ibn Ḥamdīs's panegyrics have earned him the claim to be the most important heir of **al-Mutanabbi**. His most sincere verses are those composed during his exile in Seville at the court of the poet-prince **al-Mu'tamid ibn ʿAbbād** (d. 488/1095). The friendship between the poet and the maecenas is seen in his elegiac verses, where his sincerity infuses every commonplace of panegyric.

Ibn Ḥamdīs remained in Seville until his prince was exiled (484/1091), then emigrated to the Algerian and Tunisian courts. Here he celebrated, but with less concern, the Zirid princes of Mahdiyya. A crude sadness emerges in the verses of this period, when the memories of his passionate youth are far away, and the sorrows of old age increased by the loss of his loved ones and the bitterness of exile. The poet's spirit vibrated again at hopes of an Arab reconquest of Sicily at the time of the Muslim victory against Roger II at Cape Dimas (1123). Some time later Ibn Ḥamdīs emigrated, perhaps to Bigaya in Algeria, or to Majorca, where he died.

## Text editions

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F.M. CORRAO

**Ibn Ḥamdūn (495–562/1102–66–7)**

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamdūn was a man of letters and statesman at the caliphal court in **Baghdad**. He came from a family of Baghdad notables whose members were employed in the caliphal administration. Following the family tradition, he embarked on a courtly career, and was promoted to high governmental offices by the caliphs al-Muqtafi and al-Mustanjid. Ibn Ḥamdūn became famous for his *al-Tadhkira*, a collection of historical notices, pieces of literature, anecdotes and poems. This work was typical of the genre of **adab** in that it combined entertainment with education, gaiety with seriousness. It soon became very popular with the cultivated readers of the ʿAbbāsid state and enjoyed wide circulation. Some of its passages, however, aroused the ire of al-Mustanjid, who had interpreted them as a veiled defamation of caliphal authority. On the caliph's orders Ibn Ḥamdūn was thrown into prison, where he died soon afterwards. Apart from being a versatile compiler of polite literature, Ibn Ḥamdūn himself was a writer of no mean talent. His sophisticated verses, puns and prose display a sharp wit and an intimate knowledge of the Arabic language and literary tradition.

## Text edition

- al-Tadhkira* (bk 2), Cairo (1927) (*al-Rasā'il al-nādira*, 3).

## Further reading

- Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad (1358), vol. 10, 221–2.  
*Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, Baron McGuckin de Slane (trans.), rpt Beirut (1970), vol. 3, 90–2.

A. KNYSH

**Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad (164–241/780–855)**

Jurist and *ḥadīth* scholar after whom the Ḥanbalī school of law is named. His most

famous written work is the *Musnad*, a massive compilation of *ḥadīths* which are arranged under the names of their principal transmitters. Although Ibn Ḥanbal expressed his views on a wide variety of legal questions, he did not produce a systematic doctrinal treatise, and his views have therefore been preserved in the works of his followers. During the period when the **Mu'tazilī** school enjoyed the support of the state, he became the popular champion of doctrines opposed by the Mu'tazilīs, which were to constitute **Sunnī** Muslim orthodoxy.

#### Text edition

*al-Musnad*, Cairo (197–).

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B. WEISS

### Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī, Muḥammad (d. c.362/973)

Court poet of the Banū Ḥamdūn, rulers of Masila in Ifriqiya (Tunis), and panegyrist of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (r. 341–65/953–75). The details of Ibn Hānī's life are obscure. Of the Yemeni tribe of Azd, he was born in Seville between 322/934 and 326/938; his father Hānī', himself a poet, appears to have been an **Ismā'īlī** missionary (*dā'ī*). The young Ibn Hānī's open support of the **Fāṭimids**, then active in Ifriqiya and Egypt, obliged him to leave al-Andalus; his wanderings led him first to Morocco, where he joined the Fāṭimid army under the general Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī and wrote invective poems against the **Umayyad** rulers of Spain; to Zab (central Algeria), where he praised its ruler Ja'far ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥamdūn (beg. 348/959); to al-Manṣūriyya in Ifriqiya, where he became panegyrist at the court of al-Mu'izz; and finally to Barqa (Benghazi), where he died, perhaps murdered, in mysterious circumstances.

Ibn Hānī's panegyrics are filled with references to **Ismā'īlī** thought and politico-religious beliefs, and provide valuable information on Fāṭimid poetic propaganda. He composed *hijā'* of the Fāṭimids' opponents, and poems in minor genres including *mujūn*. The poet's use of obscure **Ismā'īlī**/Fāṭimid symbolism, his often ornate and

hyperbolic style, and his frequent obscenities (*sukhf*) seem to have deterred editors from undertaking a proper critical edition of his *dīwān*.

#### Text editions

*Dīwān*, M. Anīs (ed.), Beirut (1884); Zāhid 'Alī (ed.), Cairo (1352/1934); Beirut (1964).

Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 130–45.

Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 28–30.

#### Further reading

Dewhurst, R.P., 'Abū Tammām and Ibn Hānī', *JRAS* (1926), 639–42.

Tāmir, 'Arif, *Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī*, Beirut (1961).

von Kremer, A., 'Über den shi'itischen dichter Abū 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad ibn Hānī', *ZDMG* 24 (1870), 481–94.

Yalaoui, M., *Un Poète chiite d'Occident au IV<sup>ème</sup>/X<sup>ème</sup> siècle: Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī*, Tunis (1976).

J.S. MEISAMI

### Ibn Harma al-Qurashī (90– c.176/709– c.792)

Umayyad poet of Medina about whom little is known. Despite his poetry in praise of the **Umayyads**, he apparently found favour with the **Abbāsīd** caliph al-Manṣūr. He is portrayed in anecdotes as difficult and opportunistic. The few verses of his that survive are scattered throughout numerous *adab* anthologies. Ibn Harma is considered the last of the classical poets by some ninth-century philologists but others classify him as an early *muḥdath* poet in the class of **Bashshār ibn Burd**. A work by the anthologist **Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Tayfūr** entitled *Akhbār Ibn Harma wa-mukhtār shi'rih* (*Accounts of Ibn Harma and Selections of his Poetry*) is not extant. Ibn Harma is the last poet mentioned in **Abū Tammām**'s anthology, *al-Ikhtiyār al-qabā'īlī*.

#### Further reading

*Aghānī* (Beirut), vol. 4, 101–13.

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Jawharī, R., *Fannān al-badī': al-shā'ir Ibn Harma al-Qurashī*, Alexandria (1988).

S.M. TOORAWA

**Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. 331–78/943–88)**

Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Naṣībī (i.e. from Nisibis) ibn Ḥawqal was a travelling merchant and, probably, **Ismā'īlī** missionary, author of *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ wa-ṣifat ashkālīhā wa-miqdārihā fī al-tūl wa-al-'arḍ* (*Depiction of the Earth and Description of Its Features and Magnitude by Longitude and Latitude*), a major work of the Balkhī school of geography. Apart from autobiographical information scattered in his work, no source on his life exists.

Ibn Ḥawqal's work cannot be assessed without reference to its exemplar, *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik* (*Book of the Routes of the Provinces*), by **al-Iṣṭakhri**; indeed, his dependence on al-Iṣṭakhri, which he acknowledges only in general terms, has been termed plagiarism. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥawqal, in addition to editing al-Iṣṭakhri's text stylistically, takes great care to situate it in time and to integrate into it the information gleaned during the three decades of his own travels; especially notable are his comments on current economic conditions in certain regions he visited. In short, he gave the text, which in earlier works had taken second place behind the maps it accompanied, equal and autonomous importance.

## Text editions

*Configuration de la terre*, J.H. Kramers and G. Wiet (trans), 2 vols, Beirut and Paris (1964).

*Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, J.H. Kramers (ed.), Leiden and Leipzig (1938–9) (BGA. 2).

L. RICHTER-BERNBURG

See also: geographical literature

**Ibn Ḥayyān (377–469/987–1076)**

Abū Marwān Ḥayyān ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān was an Andalusian historian. Born and brought up in Córdoba (where his father was secretary to al-Manṣūr), he acquired a strongly pro-Umayyad outlook. His fame rests on two works, the *Muqtabas* and the *Matīn*. The first, a history of Islamic Spain, consisted mainly of extracts from earlier writers, now mostly lost. However, his main production was the *Matīn*, a huge work devoted entirely to the history of the fifth/eleventh century. Most of this is also lost, but the extensive quotation of it by **Ibn**

**Bassām al-Shantarīnī** in his *Dhakhīra* shows us much of its structure and contents. The great detail and huge scale give even the surviving parts of both works significance today, for both the history and the medieval historiography of al-Andalus.

## Text editions

*El Califato de Córdoba en el 'Muqtabis' de Ibn Ḥayyān. Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Ḥakam II, por 'Īsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī* (360–364 H. 971–975 J.C.), E. García Gómez (ed.), Madrid (1967).

*Chronique du règne du calife [sic] umayyade 'Abd Allāh à Cordoue*, M.M. Antuña (ed.), Paris (1937).

*al-Muqtabas fī akhbār balad al-Andalus*, 'A. al-R. 'A. al Ḥajjī (ed.), Beirut (1965); M. 'A. Makkī (ed.), Cairo (1971); *al-Muqtabas*, vol. 5, F. Corriente et al. (eds), Madrid (1979).

## Further reading

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García Gómez, E., 'A proposito de Ibn Ḥayyān', *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946), 395–423.

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**Ibn Ḥayyūs, Abū al-Fityān Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān (394–473/1003–81)**

Syrian poet. He was born in **Damascus** and made a career as a poet of panegyric odes. His poems are devoted to various patrons, among them Anūshtakīn al-Dizbiri, **Fāṭimid** governor of Damascus. During the last eight or nine years of his life he was attached to the Mirdāsids of Aleppo, having abandoned his allegiance to **Ismā'īlī** ideology for Imāmī–**Shī'i** principles. When Aleppo was taken by the 'Uqaylid ruler Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim ibn Quraysh he did not hesitate to transfer his loyalty. He died, however, in the same year.

## Text edition

*Dīwān*, Khalil Mardam (ed.), 2 vols, Beirut (1951).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## Ibn Ḥazm (384–456/994–1064)

ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm was a jurist, belletrist, heresiographer, and one of the most important and prolific scholars of al-Andalus. Born in Córdoba, the son of a vizier to the ʿAmirids, Ibn Ḥazm received a superior education in all branches of learning cultivated in his time. After the fall of Córdoba, he remained pro-Umayyad. Until c.402/1013 he was active in political life, including attempts to re-establish the Umayyad dynasty, resulting in repeated imprisonment and periods of retirement; thereafter he devoted himself to intellectual activities at his family estate in Manta Lisham. Because of his hostility to the political establishment, his freedom to teach was restricted. He died at the family estate.

Ibn Ḥazm is said to have written more than four hundred books, including *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, on Arab and Berber genealogy; *Naqt al-ʿarūs*, on caliphal history; *Kitāb al-akhlāq wa-al-siyar*, on ethics; *Kitāb al-ihkām fi uṣūl al-ahkām*, on the principles of religious law; *Kitāb al-muḥallā*, on *fiqh* (a Shāfiʿī work, written before he adopted Zāhirism); *al-Taqrīb ilā ḥadd al-manṭiq*, on logic; and *Kitāb al-fiṣal fi al-milal wa-al-nihal*, on religions, Islamic heresies and philosophical systems. This latter, essentially a dogmatic and polemical work, shows unusually accurate knowledge of other religions; its purpose is to refute them and to prove the authenticity of Islam.

In law, Ibn Ḥazm opposed the Mālikī school, regnant in al-Andalus, espousing instead first Shāfiʿism, then Zāhirism, a system characterized by extreme literalism and rejection of analogical reasoning. He is its most prominent representative.

As a belletrist, he wrote a sketch of the chief intellectual achievements of Andalusians down to his own time (*Risāla fi faḍl al-Andalus*), preserved by al-Maqqarī. He is best known outside the Islamic world for his *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma fī al-ulfa wa-al-ullāf* (*The Dove's Neck Ring: On Love and Lovers*), a treatise on the theory and practice of love in thirty chapters, replete with anecdotes and quotations of poetry, the most important treatise on the subject in Arabic. The work's contents have ample precedent in earlier Arabic works like Ibn Dāʿūd's *Kitāb al-Zahra*, but Ibn Ḥazm's treatise has a distinctive charm of its own. Unlike earlier treatises on the subject, the *Ṭawq* cites verses that are mostly by the author himself and by other

Andalusian poets, and its anecdotes are drawn from his own experiences and those of friends, rather than from the literary heritage of the Muslim East. The work thus has a more personal cast than other Arabic treatises on the subject, as well as a particularly Andalusian character harmonizing with the local pride that informs the *Treatise on the Excellent Qualities of al-Andalus*. (See further **love theory**.)

The *Ṭawq* could have been one of the channels through which some of the ideas of **courtly love** reached Christian Europe. At the least it attests the presence of these ideas in a particularly Andalusian form on the Iberian peninsula in the early part of the century that was to produce the first troubadours in nearby Languedoc.

### Text editions

*Abenhamaz de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, M. Asín Palacios (trans.), 5 vols., Madrid (1927–32) (Spanish translation of *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, with a study in vol. 1).

*Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, E. Lévi-Provençal (ed.), Cairo (1948); A.M. Hārūn (ed.), Cairo (1977).

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*al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Naḡrīla al-Yahūdī wa-rasāʾil ukhrā*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās (ed.), Cairo (1960).

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*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, D.K. Pétrouf (ed.), Leiden (1914); M. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf *et al.* (eds), Cairo (1975) (many other editions).

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*The Ring of the Dove: A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love*, A.J. Arberry (trans.), London (1953).

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- Lévi-Provençal, E., 'En relisant le 'Collier de la colombe'', *al-Andalus* 15 (1950), 335–75.
- Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946).
- Stern, S.M., 'Literary connections between the Islamic world and Western Europe in the early Middle Ages: did they exist?', in *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry: Studies by Samuel Miklos Stern*, L.P. Harvey (ed.), Oxford (1974), 204–30.

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

## Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (270–354/884–965)

A widely travelled traditionist and prolific writer, well known for his careful compilations and interpretation of *ḥadīth*. Beliefs that did not square with Ḥanbalī teachings forced him to leave Sijistan for Samarkand, probably in 320/932, where he was made judge. A book he composed there on the **Carmathians**, for the **Sāmānid** vizier al-Muṣ'abī, apparently resulted in his being driven out by the townsfolk. After a stint in Nishapur, he returned to his native Bust in 340/951, where he became an administrator. Of his numerous works, most concern *ḥadīth* and few survive. *Al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ 'alā al-taqāsīm wa-al-anwā'* was still used in the nineteenth century. His *adab* anthology, the *Rawḍat al-'uqalā' wa-nuzhat al-fuḍalā'* (Cairo, 1949) also survives.

### Text editions

- Kitāb mashāḥir 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, Cairo (1959).
- Kitāb al-Thiqāt*, Hyderabad (Deccan), (1973–83).

### Further reading

- Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, Beirut (1971), vol. 5, 113 ff.

S.M. TOORAWA

## Ibn Hījja al-Ḥamawī (767–837/1366–1434)

Abū Bakr Taqī al-Dīn ibn Hījja al-Ḥamawī was a poet, prose writer and literary critic. He was born and died in Ḥamāh (Syria); he worked in Syria and Egypt as a chancery official. He collected many of his letters in *Qahwat al-inshā'* (preserved in manuscript).

Among his several anthologies of prose and poetry the most famous is *Thamarāt al-awraq*. On his own *badī'iyya*, which he called *Taqdīm Abī Bakr*, a poem of 143 lines, he wrote an extensive commentary, entitled *Khizānat al-adab*, which is both an important treatise of *badī'* and an anthology of (mainly) poetry, much of it contemporary with the author.

### Text editions

- Bulūḡ al-amal fī fann al-zajal*, Riḍā Muḥsin al-Qurayshī (ed.), Damascus (1974).
- Kashf al-lithām 'an wajh al-tawriya wa-al-istikhdām*, Beirut (1313/1895–6).
- Khizānat al-adab wa-ghāyat al-arab*, Būlāq (1291/1874).
- Thamarāt al-awraq*, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ed.), Cairo (1971).

### Further reading

- Salīm, Maḥmūd Rizq, *Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Hījja al-Ḥamawī*, Cairo (1962).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## Ibn Hindū (d. 420/1029)

Abū al-Faraj 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hindū was a courtier, *adīb*, poet and scholar. He spent most of his life at the **Būyid** court in **Rāy**, where he worked as a secretary first for the vizier **al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād**, and then for the queen regent al-Sayyida; late in his life he moved to the Ziyārid court in Jurjān, where he died. Although his *dīwān* is lost, later anthologies preserve samples of his lyric poetry, mostly *ghazal*, as well as fragments of his humorous *Arbitration between the Fornicators and the Sodomites*. Ibn Hindū studied the Greek sciences with the philosophers al-'Āmirī and Ibn al-Khammār, and wrote elementary introductions to philosophy (unpublished) and medicine, as well as a collection of sayings of the Greek philosophers. A work on proverbs, as well as his letters, are lost.

### Text editions

- al-Kalīm al-rūḥāniyya fī al-ḥikam al-Yūnāniyya*, Cairo (1900).
- Mifḥāḥ al-tibb wa-minḥāj al-tullāb*, M. Mohaghegh and M.T. Daneshpazhouh (eds), Montreal and Tehran (1989); partial trans. by A. Shiloah, 'Ibn Hindū, le médecin et la musique,' *IOS* 2 (1972), 447–62.

E.K. ROWSON

## Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833)

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām was an Egyptian scholar of south Arabian origin, best known for his edition of the *Sīra*, or *Life* (of the Prophet **Muḥammad**), of **Ibn Ishāq** (d. 150/767).

Ibn Hishām's edition of the *Sīra* was based on the Kūfan recension of al-Bakkā'ī (d. 183/799), extensive quotations from which were used by al-Azraqī (d. c.250/865), **al-Ṭabari** (d. 310/923) and others, and provide a basis for assessing how Ibn Hishām proceeded. The most significant change was the suppression of much of the *Mubtada'* section of the work, which dealt with the pre-Islamic background of Muḥammad's life and contained much legendary material to which some authorities objected. Ibn Hishām also reduced the amount of poetry, and added many remarks, clearly separated from the main text by the introductory phrase *qāla*, 'Ibn Hishām said', to explain obscure allusions to individuals, define unusual words, provide variants, or elaborate when he felt he had relevant material to offer. In this new form the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq was very popular and rapidly became the authoritative interpretation of the life of Muḥammad.

Also extant from Ibn Hishām's pen is his *Kitāb al-Tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar wa-al-Yaman* (*Book of Crowns, concerning the Kings of Ḥimyar and Yemen*), a book of Biblical and ancient Arabian lore based on an earlier collection of such materials by **Wahb ibn Munabbih**. The work begins with Creation, Adam and Eve, and the early patriarchs; all this is made to lead to the history of **Yemen** and the southern Arabs. The rest of the book stays with this subject, relating early folklore about the glories and achievements of the Yemenites, most particularly the exploits of al-Sa'b Dhū al-Qarnayn. Legends pertaining to the Quraysh are also introduced, and the work ends with tales about **Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan**. The *Kitāb al-Tijān* is clearly a composite work that probably had not stabilized even in the time of Ibn Hishām, but nevertheless reflects a type of early material that was becoming increasingly marginalized as scholars excluded it from their more formal studies.

### Text editions

A modern critical edition of Ibn Hishām's *Sīra* would be very desirable, but the older editions by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Göttingen (1858–60), and by Muṣṭafā al-

Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Shalabī, Cairo (1355/1937) (both reprinted) are still serviceable. *The Life of Muhammad*, Alfred Guillaume (trans.), Oxford (1955) seeks to restore al-Bakkā'ī's recension by separating Ibn Hishām's notes from the main text and restoring passages dropped by him but quoted elsewhere.

*Kitāb al-Tijān*, Fritz Krenkow (ed.), Hyderabad (1347/1928)

### Further reading

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Khoury, Raif Georges, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, Wiesbaden (1972), vol. 1, 286–302.

Krenkow, Fritz, 'The two oldest books on Arabic folklore', *IC* 2 (1928), 55–89, 204–36.

L.I. CONRAD

## Ibn Hishām al-Nahwī (708–61/1310–60)

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf, known as Ibn Hishām, was born and died in Cairo, having left the city only twice, both times to make the pilgrimage. A prolific author, his talents were pedagogical rather than theoretical, and he attracted the unrestrained admiration of **Ibn Khaldūn** for his complete mastery of grammar.

His works include a commentary on **Ibn Mālik's** *Alfiyya*, an elementary treatise on syntax entitled *al-I'rāb 'an qawā'id al-i'rāb*, some not very profound grammatical riddles and two longer works, *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā* and *Shudhūr al-dhahab*, which both follow the fashion of the time in consisting of a base text and commentary by the same author. His *Mughnī al-labīb 'an kutub al-a'arīb* is a more original work both in structure and content. Arranged alphabetically, it is a concentrated and erudite survey of the main concepts of syntax and the functions of the particles, conjunctions and prepositions.

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*al-I'rāb 'an qawā'id al-i'rāb*, in S. de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, Paris (1829), text 73–92, translation 155–223; A.F. Nil (ed.), Riyadh (1981).



*Mughnī al-labīb 'an kutub al-a'ārīb*, many editions. *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā. La pluie de rosée, étanchement de soif*, A. Goguyer (ed. and trans.), Leiden (1887). (*Sharḥ*) *Shudhūr al-dhahab*, many editions.

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M.G. CARTER

See also: grammar and grammarians

**Ibn al-'Ibrī see Bar Hebraeus**

**Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī (eighth/fourteenth century)**

All that is known about Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī's life is that he was an official in Fez and that in 712/1312–13 he was still writing his main work. He is the author of two works, one on oriental Muslim history, now lost, and another, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, which is one of our major sources for North African and Andalusian history. Most of this has survived. Like many other such works, it quotes extensively from earlier works themselves now largely lost, and is on this account particularly valuable. The first part deals with the history of Islamic North Africa up to the start of the seventh/thirteenth century (see *Maghrib*); the second part with al-Andalus up to the end of the Taifa period; and the third with the Almoravids and Almohads in both North Africa and al-Andalus.

Text editions

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**Ibn Idrīs al-Fāsī (d. 1264/1847)**

Moroccan statesman and man of letters. He started his career as a copyist, but due to exceptional talents rose to the position of vizier at the sultan's court in Fez and Marrakesh. Ibn Idrīs al-Fāsī is famous as a master of the epistolary genre and rhymed prose. His reform of epistolary style was imitated by later Moroccan writers. He was also an elegant poet. His poetry and prose are mostly descriptive and typical of a courtier: vivid accounts of religious festivals, of the sights of the Moroccan capital, of the sultan and his palace, etc. Like other Maghribī scholars, he praised the virtues and miracles of *Ṣūfī* saints and extolled the descendants of the Prophet (*shurfā*), to whom he himself traced his genealogy. He deeply resented the French occupation of Algeria in 1246/1830, and wrote a poem condemning it. Ibn Idrīs al-Fāsī's son, Abū al-'Alā' Idrīs, was also a statesman and writer of some renown (see *Maghrib*).

Further reading

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A. KNYSH

**Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767)**

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq was a Medinan scholar of *ḥadīth* and compiler of one of the earliest biographies of the Prophet Muḥammad. Born into a *mawālī* family in Medina, Ibn Ishāq studied *ḥadīth* with his father and several of the great Medinan scholars of the day, including al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742). He travelled to Egypt to study in Alexandria, then returned to Medina for a time before setting out for Iraq, where he taught and wrote in *Hira* and *Kufa*. He then journeyed to northern Mesopotamia and Persia before returning to *Baghdad*, where he lived until his death.

Ibn Ishāq's studies in *ḥadīth* culminated in his *Sīra*, or *Life of Muḥammad*, a subject on which he taught extensively. At least sixty-one of his students studied this topic with him, and transmitted various versions of his text or lecture notes based upon it. It is thus a great mistake to view any one of these versions as the author's 'original' work. The fullest version was one transmitted by al-Bakkā'ī (d. 183/799) and edited by **Ibn Hishām** (d. 218/834); the text in this revised form became extremely popular and was regarded as authoritative.

Ibn Ishāq divided his work into three sections. The first, the *Mubtada'*, deals with pre-Islamic history from the Creation to the time of Jesus, ancient **Yemen**, the Arab tribes and their pagan religion, and finally the Prophet's immediate ancestors and the cult of Mecca. The second section, entitled the *Mab'ath*, treats Muḥammad's birth, his early life, signs of his future prophethood, his call to be a prophet, his travails in Mecca, and the *Hijra*. The final section, the *Maghāzī*, covers Muḥammad's raids and campaigns up until his death. As in all such compilations, the underlying motivations of the various accounts cited are kerygmatic; details from Muḥammad's life were used not only to assert his special position as a prophet, but also to dispose of the rival claims of Christians and Jews, argue the relative merits and religious credentials of contemporary or later individuals or groups, and claim prophetic sanction for views on issues of later times.

Ibn Ishāq also wrote a *Kitāb al-Khulafā'* (*Book of Caliphs*) apparently cited by **al-Ṭabarī** (d. 310/923). A papyrus fragment on the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb has been assigned to this work, but is too brief to suggest its overall character.

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L.I. CONRAD

## Ibn Iyās (852–c.930/1448–c.1524)

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad 'Ibn Iyās' was a historian of the **Mamlūks** and chronicler of their overthrow by the Ottomans. His family had close connections with the Mamlūk hierarchy. A grandfather was Özdemir, a *mamlūk* of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and an aunt and a sister both married Mamlūk emirs.

Ibn Iyās may be looked upon as the last of the long line of Egyptian historians of the Mamlūk period, who laboriously epitomized the works of their predecessors to produce ever more reduced summaries of early Islamic history and then chronicled, often in great detail, the times that they themselves lived through. In the case of Ibn Iyās all the usual matter of such chronicles, above all the changes in the personnel of the Mamlūk civil and religious administration, are recorded with little or no regard for literary effect. His account of the Mamlūk defeats at the hands of the Ottomans has authenticity and directness.

Ibn Iyās also wrote a cosmography, *Nashk al-azhār*, and produced an abbreviated version of his chronicle, but there remains a doubt about the attribution of one or two other historical works.

#### Text editions

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- Alltagnotizen eines ägyptischen Bürgers*, A. Schimmel (trans.), Stuttgart (1985).
- Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duḥūr*, 3 vols, Bulaq (1311–12/1893–4).
- Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās*, Mohamed Mostafa (ed.), 5 vols, Wiesbaden (1960–75).
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D.S. RICHARDS

## Ibn Jallūn *see* Bin Jallūn, 'Abd al-Majid

## Ibn Jāmi' *see* singers and musicians

## Ibn al-Jarrāh (d. 296/908)

'Abbāsīd administrator and man of letters of Iranian origin, uncle of the vizier 'Alī ibn 'Īsā. A secretary under al-Mu'taḍid, he was made director of taxes for the eastern provinces by his father-in-law, the vizier 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān, then became secretary of the army under al-Muqtafi. He helped to depose al-Muqtadir, and was the short-lived vizier of the equally short-lived **Ibn al-Mu'tazz**. **Ibn al-Furāt**, vizier under the reinstated al-Muqtadir, remembering old political and administrative differences, had Ibn al-Jarrāh executed. Though remembered as an administrator, Ibn al-Jarrāh is known for a slim but highly regarded collection *al-Waraqā*, a poetic anthology biographically organized. His four other known works, including a *Kitāb akhbār al-wuzarā'*, do not survive.

## Text edition

*al-Waraqā*, Cairo (1953).

S.M. TOORAWA

## Ibn al-Jawzī (c.511–97/1116–1201)

Jurisprudent, traditionist, historian and preacher of the late 'Abbāsīd period, who lived primarily in Baghdad. Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Alī ibn al-Jawzī became head of two *madrasas* in Baghdad in 556/1161; later in life he directed five *madrasas*. During the caliphate of al-Muqtafi (530–55/1136–60) his extraordinary career as a preacher (*wā'iz*) began; his audience is said to have included at times up to 300,000 people. His success can be explained by his tradition-

alist Ḥanbalī attitude together with his immense rhetorical gift; through his influence on the masses, he was politically important for those caliphs who, in their struggle with the military and the **Saljūqs**, followed a Ḥanbalī–Sunnī orientation. Diminishing influence under other caliphs was due to different policies adopted by them. His long exile in al-Wāsiṭ (590–5/1194–9) towards the end of his life, however, had reasons of a more personal character.

Besides his political career, Ibn al-Jawzī wrote an enormous amount of books (figures given in Arabic sources vary from 200 to 1,000). These works deal with a wide range of Islamic culture, including tradition (*ḥadīth*), law, **Koran** and history. Within this latter group, the universal history *al-Muntaẓam* is important as a source for the history of the caliphate from 257–574/871–1179. By far the most important group of works is related to preaching (*qaṣaṣ, wa'z*; see **oratory and sermons**); besides several collections of model sermons, e.g. *al-Tabṣira* (arranged thematically), a sort of manual for future preachers has been preserved (*Kitāb al-Quṣṣaṣ wa-al-mudhakkirīn*). Even works that prima facie have a biographical content have, by the very nature of the biographees (the first four caliphs, ascetics and pious men), a paraenetic character. A collection of Ibn al-Jawzī's own poems (al-'Alwajī, *Mu'allafāt* 155, no. 332) seems to be lost. His compilation on ardent love (*Dhamm al-hawā*) is intended as an admonition against the harmful consequences of passion. Of first-rate importance for folk narrative research are his three compilations about clever men and buffoons (*Akhbār al-zirāf wa-al-mutamājīnin*), on intelligent or astute men (*Akhbār al-adhkiyā'*) and on stupid and simple-minded people (*Akhbār al-ḥamqā wa-al-mughaffalīn*).

Between his critical view of popular narratives and love poetry, as put forward in, for example, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣaṣ*, and the four last-mentioned works as well as the sermons contained in *Kitāb al-Mudhish* or *Kitāb al-Khawāṭim*, there is an interesting discrepancy. Ibn al-Jawzī's negative attitude towards mystics, especially in *Talbis Iblis*, is not a condemnation of mysticism in general, but rather a critique of alleged later deformations; in his work *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, he deals not only with outstanding pious men but also with the great mystics of the early centuries.

## Text editions

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- Das Kitāb el-aḏkiyā' des Ibn al-Ġauzī*, O. Rescher (trans.), Gálata (1925).
- Akhbār al-ḥamqā wa-al-mughaffalīn*, K. al-Muzaffar (ed.), Najaf (1966).
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T. SEIDENSTICKER

**Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 395/1005)**

Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Jazzār was a famous physician and historian of Ifrīqiya (Tunisia) during the reign of the Zīrids. Born in Qayrawān, the capital of the Zīrid dynasty, he studied medicine under the celebrated Jewish doctor Ishāq ibn Sulaymān. He soon attained high reputation as a teacher and practitioner. Despite his wealth, he disdained courtly pomp and royal favours and led a humble, ascetic life. He reportedly provided free treatment to his destitute countrymen, for whom he composed a treatise entitled

*Medicine for the Poor*. Ibn al-Jazzār spent all his life in Qayrawān, where he died aged over eighty. Most of his medical works, including the one just cited, are lost; but his *magnum opus* *Zād al-musāfir* (*Provisions for Travellers*) not only survived but met with universal acceptance and was translated into Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Apart from medicine, Ibn al-Jazzār took a keen interest in history and wrote three works on the history of Ifrīqiya from the Arab conquest until the reign of the Fātimids and their Zīrid lieutenants. His variegated legacy also included a few biographical works and an essay on world geography. All these writings are probably lost; they were, however, extensively used by later historians and geographers, including such important figures as Ibn Ḥayyān and Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī.

## Further reading

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A. KNYSH

**Ibn Jinnī****(b. before 330/943, d. 392/1002)**

Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī was the son of a Greek slave; born in Mosul, he attached himself for forty years to his teacher Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and succeeded him on his death in 377/987 as the leading grammarian of Basra. He later travelled to Aleppo where he became a good friend of al-Mutanabbī, on whose poetry he wrote two commentaries which provoked a considerable number of critical refutations and responses. As well as minor works on Koranic philology, gender, orthography, weak radicals and the like (including the well-known *Taṣrīf al-mulūkī* on morphophonological processes and a popular teaching grammar, *al-Luma'*), he left several major treatises. His *Sirr ṣinā'at al-i'rāb* and *al-Munṣif* (the latter a commentary on al-Māzinī) are profound and valuable studies of Arabic phonology, while his *Khaṣā'iṣ* is a brilliant investigation of the nature of language viewed from the logocentric perspective of Islam but with countless insights of a

universal import and far greater subtlety than the similar work of **Ibn Fāris al-Lughawī**, *al-Šāhibī*, which appeared about the same time. Because of his unconcealed **Mu'tazilī** views Ibn Jinnī was the object of a polemic some century and a half later by the Andalusian **Zāhiri** grammarian **Ibn Maḍā'** al-Qurṭubī (d. 592/1187).

Text editions

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*al-Luma' fi al-naḥw*, H. Kechrida (ed.), Uppsala (1976).  
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Further reading

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M.G. CARTER

**Ibn Jubayr (540–614/1145–1217)**

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr was a Spanish traveller, who was born in Valencia and died in Alexandria. He left Granada in 578/1183, travelling via Alexandria, and stayed in Mecca for nearly a year; he then went to other parts of Iraq and Syria before returning to Spain, after many adventures, in 581/1185. He visited the east again twice. His account of his

first journey is one of the earliest and most readable of medieval travel books; it was copied from frequently by later writers, and still constitutes a valuable source for many aspects of medieval Mediterranean life.

Text editions

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*The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, R.J.C. Broadhurst (trans.), London (1952).

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819)**

Abū al-Mundhir Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Kalbī was an early Iraqi polymath of 'Alid sympathies. Son of a notable scholarly family of **Kufa** (he often cites his father Muḥammad), he wrote more than 100 books in fields such as history, genealogy and poetry, and enjoyed the patronage of the 'Abbāsid court, which secured his livelihood after some years of penury.

His reputation rested primarily on his genealogical studies, now represented by what are two separate works, the *Jamharat al-nasab (Compendium of Genealogy)* on the northern tribes, and the *Nasab Ma'add wa-al-Yaman al-kabīr (Large Book of Genealogy on Ma'add and the Yemenite Tribes)*, perhaps originally a part of the *Jamhara* on the southern (see further tribes); this material consists essentially of tribal rosters to which are attached a variety of biographical and other historical details, with further comments and additions by later transmitters and commentators. Two other extant works of importance are his *Kitāb al-aṣnām (Book of Idols)*, on pre-Islamic pagan religion, and the *Ansāb al-khayl (Genealogies of Horses)*, a work on famous Arabian horses noteworthy for its many citations of poetry and its heroic view of Arabian antiquity.

Ibn al-Kalbī presented a vision of history dominated by the kinship relations among the Arab tribes; he did so at a time when the old Arab aristocracy was rapidly declining in importance, and indeed perhaps with the aim of organizing genealogical lore while the necessary resources were still available. His research inspired and informed other genealogical works, especially the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* of **al-Balādhuri**; while criticizing him for his use of dubious lore of various kinds,

later authors esteemed his knowledge of Arab genealogy and frequently quoted him not only for this, but also for, for example, 'famous firsts' (*awā'il*), chronological details, the ancient prophets, the pre-Islamic **Battle Days** (*ayyām*) of the Arab tribes, and Iranian history. They thus confirmed the broad range of his interests and secured his reputation as an authority on early Islamic history and its relations with its past.

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L.I. CONRAD

## Ibn Kathīr (c.700–74/c.1300–73)

'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il ibn Kathīr was a historian, the author of a lengthy chronicle, the *Bidāya wa-al-nihāya* (*The Beginning and the End*), which runs from the Creation up to his own times. (Indeed, in the manuscript version, but not in the printed edition. Ibn Kathīr provides details about the predestined sequence of events during the Last Days.) He modelled his work on the chronicle of another Damascan religious scholar, al-Birzālī. Ibn Kathīr's history is most useful for events in **Damascus**

in the first part of the fourteenth century, particularly in so far as they affected members of the religious élite. The chronicle covered events up to 739/1338–9. It is not clear whether a *Dhayl*, or 'Continuation', carrying the story on to 768/1366–7 is by the pen of Ibn Kathīr or not.

Ibn Kathīr was also noted as an expert on *ḥadīth* and this provided him with an income as a teacher. His own teacher had been **al-Dhahabī**, whom he succeeded as professor when he died. Ibn Kathīr was strongly influenced by the rigorist ideas of **Ibn Ḥanbal** and **Ibn Taymiyya**, and shared the latter's hostility to the cult of saints and to pilgrimages to shrines. In the wake of the Crusaders' sack of Alexandria in 1365, and the outrage thus generated, Ibn Kathīr also wrote a short treatise on *jihād* (holy war), a work on *fitan* and *malāḥim* (*ḥadīths* relating to the End of Days), and an important Koran commentary, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm* (see **exegesis, Koranic (medieval)**).

#### Text edition

- al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya fī al-ta'rīkh*, 14 vols, Cairo (1932–9).  
*Kitāb al-ijtihād fī ṭalab al-jihād*, 'A.'A. 'Usaylan (ed.), Beirut (1981).  
*al-Nihāya fī al-ḥudūd wa-al-malāḥim*, M.A. 'Abd al-'Azīz (ed.), 2 vols., Cairo (1980).  
*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, 'A.M. al-Bajāwī (ed.), Cairo (1978); Muqṭil ibn Hādī al-Wadī'i (ed.), Kuwait (1985–).

#### Further reading

- Haarmann, U., *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamluk-zeit*, Freiburg im Breisgau (1970).  
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 Little, D.P., *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography*, Wiesbaden (1970).  
 Schafer, B., *Beiträge zur mamlukischen Historiographie nach dem Tode al-Malik al-Nasirs*, Freiburg im Breisgau (1971).

R. IRWIN

## Ibn al-Kattānī (d. c.420/1029)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) ibn al-Kattānī was a physician and littérateur from Córdoba. He died at an advanced age in Saragossa. All but one of his books and epistles on various subjects, well known according to **Yāqūt**, are lost, including his *al-Taḥfīm*, on simple medicines. The

existence of his *al-Tashbihāt min ash'ār ahl al-Andalus* was unsuspected until a manuscript was rediscovered in the 1960s. It is a thematically arranged anthology, devoid of any criticism, of short poems and fragments containing poetic similes by Hispano-Arabic poets, on the lines of a similar work by **Ibn Abī 'Awn**. It is an important source for the history of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic poetry in Spain.

Text editions

*Kitāb al-Tashbihāt min ash'ār ahl al-Andalus*, Ihsān 'Abbās (ed.), 2nd edn, Beirut (1981); 'Abd al-Sattār Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ḥasanayn (ed.), Kiel (1969) (diss).

*Dichterische Vergleiche der Andalus-Araber*, Wilhelm Hoenerbach (trans.), Bonn (1973) (a richly annotated translation).

Further reading

Schoeler, Gregor, 'Ibn al-Kattānī's *Kitāb al-Tashbihāt* und das Problem der andalusisch-arabischen Dichtung', *ZDMG* 129 (1979), 43–97.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/912 or, less likely, 320/932)**

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (or Ibrāhīm) ibn Kaysān was an early Baghdādī grammarian who studied under both leading figures of the opposing 'Basran' and 'Kūfan' schools, **al-Mubarrad** and **Tha'lab** respectively, although he is said to have favoured the 'Basran' approach and is even credited with being the first to apply the name 'Kufan' to the opponents. Hardly anything of his work survives, but he was acknowledged by **al-Zajjājī** as an authority. His short, elementary grammar, named *al-Muwaffaqī* after the caliph to whom it was dedicated, is a necessarily superficial work remarkable only for its relatively early date in the history of pedagogy.

Text edition

*al-Muwaffaqī*, A. al-Fatli and H.T. Shilāsh (eds), *al-Mawrid* 4(2) (1975), 103–24.

Further reading

al-Yasīnī, A.M., *Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Kaysān wa-ārār-uhū fī al-naḥw wa-al-luḡha*, Baghdād (1979).

M. G. CARTER

**Ibn Khafāja, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm (450–533/1038–1138 or 9)**

Poet in al-Andalus. Ibn Khafāja was wealthy enough to live a retired life in Alcira and to write poetry for his own pleasure. His few poems of a public nature include a panegyric on Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn and a lament on the fall of Valencia to El Cid. He is considered the most distinguished of the many poets of al-Andalus who wrote nature poetry; this theme, which won him the epithet *al-jannān* (the gardener), dominates his *dīwān*, which was compiled by the poet himself when he was about 64 years old. It includes an introduction describing some of the poet's ideas about poetry and defending himself against critics who complained of the immorality of his early verse. The *dīwān* does not follow the expected alphabetical order of rhymes; it includes prose introductions to many of the poems (often written in the third person, although they are undoubtedly by the poet himself) and letters that had been sent with them. The few panegyrics and laments in the *dīwān* are often in the neo-classical style, with *aṭlāl* and *riḥla* sections and evocation of Arabian scenes (see *qaṣīda*).

Nature in Ibn Khafāja's poetry is often highly personalized, being described not only as the background for scenes of love, drinking and pleasure, but as participating in a range of human feelings. Sometimes Ibn Khafāja reduces the external description of natural phenomena to a minimum, concentrating instead on such feelings as yearning, sadness, alienation, mortality and homesickness and projecting them onto the natural object. A magnificent example is his most famous poem, a *qaṣīda* in *bā'* in which the main speaker is a vast, dark and melancholy mountain.

Text edition

*Dīwān*, S.M. Ghāzī (ed.), Alexandria (1960).

Further reading

'Abbās, Ihsān, *Ta'riḫ al-adab al-Andalusī: 'aṣr siyādat Qurṭuba*, 2nd edn, Beirut (1981), 223–5.

Bürgel, J.C. 'Man, nature, and cosmos as intertwining elements in the poetry of Ibn Khafāja', *JAL* 14 (1983), 31–45.

Monroe, James, T., 'Hispano-Arabic poetry during the Almoravid period: theory and practice', *Viator* 4 (1974), 65–98.

al-Nowaihi, Magda M., *The Poetry of Ibn Khafāja: A Literary Analysis*, Leiden (1993).  
 Schippers, Arie, 'Love and war: a poem of Ibn Khafāja', *JAL* 17 (1986), 50–68.

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

## Ibn Khaldūn (732–808/1332–1406)

Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn was born in Tunis and died in Cairo. His life was spent in almost perpetual turmoil, first as a courtier at various courts in the **Maghrib** and at Granada, and later as a scholar and controversial *qādī* in **Cairo**. He spent the latter half of his life in Cairo, with brief absences to Jerusalem and **Damascus**, outside the walls of which he had an encounter with Tamerlane.

As an apprentice scholar and courtier in Fez, Ibn Khaldūn composed an epitome of a classic compendium of Muslim dogmatic theology (**Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's** *al-Muḥaṣṣal*). Later, patronized by the illustrious vizier at the Naṣrid court in Granada, **Ibn al-Khaṭīb**, he composed epitomes of works of **Ibn Rushd** and of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, as well as a treatise on logic and another on arithmetic. Except for the epitome of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, these works seem no longer to be extant.

In Granada, Ibn Khaldūn composed a more important work, *Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*, a comprehensive polemic against the immanentist theosophy of **Ibn al-'Arabī** and his school. It was later, during a long retreat at the edge of the Sahara, that he wrote his celebrated *Muqaddima*, the prolegomenon to his universal history, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, on which he worked until the end of his life.

*Kitāb al-'Ibar* is a universal dynastic history in the traditional manner. It is distinguished, however, by two main features. The first is that the work ignores accounts of the beginning of the world and the pseudo-histories of the antediluvian world, and eschews eschatological histories of the future. The second distinguishing feature is its concision of style, coherence of narrative and clarity of outline. Overall, it provides a history, organized along dynastic lines, of Persians, Israelites, Arabs, Romans, Byzantines, Frankish peoples and Berbers. Although the material he uses is not novel, his judgement is almost always acute, and sense of plausibility and implausibility finely tuned. He provides novel and particularly important historical materials of Maghribi and Andalusian history.

The *Muqaddima* itself reflects and amplifies the stylistic achievements of the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* as a whole. It joins together, unusually for an age of stylistic profligacy and semantic redundancy (particularly noted in Ibn Khaldūn's mentor and erstwhile friend Ibn al-Khaṭīb), an exact and straightforward use of language and a rigorous use of the terminologies he commanded, with a classicist vocabulary and rhetoric which is kept under quite severe control, lending an air of formidable objectivity wedded to an extraordinary degree of bookish culture as well as of urbanity. Both of these features have created problems for translators, and are often said to have had a profound effect on the emergence in the nineteenth century of modern forms of Arabic writing, especially journalism.

As to content, the *Muqaddima* is a discourse on human habitation and sociality, on the formation of political society and especially of the state, and on the vicissitudes of the state and what it makes possible: forms of economic activity, urbanism, and the arts, sciences and letters. The last section, on letters and other crafts, contains an account of the linguistic sciences: grammar, lexicography, rhetoric and literature. Literature, exemplified by poetry, is presented along conventional lines as a skill of the spirit, cultivated by a form of poetical apprenticeship, the reading of the classical poetic canon. The section on poetry also contains an account (with rare texts) of Maghribi classical and dialect poetry contemporary with Ibn Khaldūn.

The *Muqaddima* deploys a number of distinct vocabularies derived from Avicennan natural philosophy, Muslim legal theory and dogmatic theology, and narrative sciences such as history and the exemplary history contained in works on statecraft and of *hadīth*. In addition, a realist regard for the political life of society lends a decided edge to the grand theoretical construct that structures this great work. It was perhaps the character of Ibn Khaldūn's innovativeness, consisting of applying the unfamiliar concepts to familiar material (such as the concepts of matter and form to society and the state, conceived along the familiar physiognomy in which they usually appear in works of history and of statecraft), which led to the incomprehension of his contemporaries, and to the fact that he was almost ignored until the nineteenth century, except for the Ottoman Khaldūnism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which solicited from the *Muqaddima*



the sort of political technique that normal works of statecraft were seen as unable to deliver.

Text editions

For the *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, the re-edition of Hürinī's edition (*Kitāb al-'Ibar*, 7 vols, Būlāq, 1284) by Y.A. Dāghir (*Tā'rikh al-'allāma Ibn Khaldūn*, 7 vols, Beirut, 1956) is the best available. The parts dealing with Maghribi history were edited by W. McGuckin de Slane as *Tā'rikh al-duwal al-Islāmiyya bil-Maghrib* (2 vols, Algiers, 1263/1847). Selections from *Kitāb al-'Ibar* have more recently been translated by A. Cheddadi as *Peuples et nations du monde* (2 vols., Paris 1986, rpt 1995). The autobiography is more fortunate: *al-Ta'rif bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-riḥlatuhu gharban wa sharqan*, M. ibn Tāwīt al-Tañjī (ed.), Cairo (1370/1951); this was translated by A. Cheddadi as *Voyage d'occident et d'orient* (Paris, 1980). Ibn Khaldūn's treatise on sufism (*Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*, ed. M. Tañji, Istanbul, 1958) has been translated by René Pérez as *La voie et la loi ou le maître et les juristes*, Paris, 1991.

Further reading

Ayad, M.K., *Die Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Khaldūns*, Stuttgart and Berlin (1930).  
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Mahdi, M., *Ibn Khaldūn's Philosophy of History: A Study in the Philosophical Foundations of the Science of Culture*, London and Chicago (1957).  
Nassar, N., *La Pensée réaliste d'Ibn Khaldūn*, Paris (1967).  
Schmidt, N., *Ibn Khaldun: Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher*, New York (1930, rpt 1967).

A. AL-AZMEH

See also: historical literature; *muqaddima*

## Ibn Khaldūn, Yahyā (734–80/1333–78)

Maghribi historian and statesman, famous for his chronicle of Tlemcen during the reign of the 'Abd al-Wādid dynasty (eighth/fourteenth century). Born in Tunis of a well-known family of scholars and statesmen (his brother was the great Arab historian Abū Zayd **Ibn Khaldūn**), Yahyā was employed in the service of several North African rulers. In the course of his career he repeatedly fell out of favour with his masters and suffered a number of imprisonments. He spent his last years at the court of the 'Abd al-Wādid sultan of Tlemcen, Abū Ḥammū II, where he was assassinated by his political rivals, led by the sultan's son.

Yahyā ibn Khaldūn owes his fame to his annalistic work *Bughyat al-ruwwād*, which skilfully combines the historical and biographical genre with that of literary anthology. In this work, a solidly documented historical narrative provided by the political insider is interspersed with long quotations from the work of contemporary poets and scholars of the 'Abd al-Wādid state. The book also includes excerpts from Yahyā's own writings that are characterized by a great literary talent and an exquisitely elegant style. These features account for the twofold importance of the *Bughyat al-ruwwād* as both literary and historical source. Yahyā ibn Khaldūn's work, accomplished with an exquisite literary taste, places him squarely among the greatest Maghribi representatives of the historio-literary genre such as **Ibn Marzūq**, **Ibn al-Qāḍī**, **al-Maqqarī**, **al-Kattānī**, etc.

Text editions

*Bughyat al-ruwwād fī dhikr al-mulūk min Banī 'Abd al-Wād*, 2 vols, Alger (1980).  
*Histoire des Benī 'Abd al-Wād, rois de Tlemcen*, 2 vols, A. Bel (ed.), Algiers (1903).

Further reading

Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *The Muqaddimah*, F. Rosenthal (trans.), Princeton, 2nd edn (1967), vol. 1, xxxviii, 1–li.

A. KNYSH

## Ibn Khallikān (608–81/1211–82)

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Abū al-'Abbās Shams al-Dīn al-Barmakī al-Irbilī ibn Khallikān was a famous Arabic biographer. He was born in Irbil to a Kurdish family of learning which traces its descent to the **Barmakids**. He studied *ḥadīth* first in Irbil and Mosul, then in Aleppo (with one intervening year in **Damascus**), where he studied language, grammar, literature, *ḥadīth*, exegesis, law and *uṣūl* (sources of legal decisions) with distinguished scholars. In 636/1238 he went to Egypt, where he continued his studies, and was appointed in 645/1247 as deputy *qāḍī al-quḍāt*. In 659/1261, he went to Damascus, following his appointment as *qāḍī al-quḍāt* in all Syria, 'from al-'Arīsh to Salamiyya', with a commission to teach in seven colleges. His Syrian sojourn lasted ten years, until 669/1271, when he was dismissed from office. He returned to Egypt, where he spent seven

years, after which, in 676/1277, he was reappointed *qāḍī* in Syria, so he returned to Damascus, where he stayed until his death. He has been described as a man of integrity, eloquence, generosity, sociability and culture. He wanted to write a major history. However, the only book he wrote (in addition to poems, *dūbayts* and drafts) was his famous and popular *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, an invaluable multi-volume, alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary, with 855 biographies of notable Muslims whose death dates are known. Published several times, it has been translated into English by de Slane (Paris, 1842–71).

#### Text editions

*Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Ihsān 'Abbās (ed.), 8 vols, Beirut (1968–72); rpt. Beirut (1997).

*Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, Baron McGuckin de Slane (trans.), 4 vols, Paris (1842–71).

#### Further reading

Abū al-Fidā, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, Beirut (1966), vol. 13, 301.

Ibn Tūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, Ş. Munajjid (ed.), Damascus (1956), 76.

al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, I. 'Abbas (ed.), Beirut (1973), vol. 1, 110.

al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, M.M. Ṭanāhī and A.A.M. Ḥulw (eds.), Cairo (1971), vol. 8, 33.

(See also introductions of text editions.)

W. AL-QĀDĪ

See also: biography, medieval

### Ibn Khamīs (650–708/1252–1308)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Khamīs, was a North African Arab poet. Very little is known of his origins, which he traces to the tribe of Ḥimyar in the **Yemen**. He claimed to have known poverty but evidently received a very solid education which allowed him to earn his living by teaching and writing. He loved to travel but was often caught in the instability and political turmoil of the times, and was finally assassinated in Granada at the age of 58. Ibn Khamīs was reputed to be a scholar with a wide range of interests, a philosopher, an alchemist and an anthologist, but his poems are his only surviving works. Their themes are mostly conventional: panegyric and eulogy, regrets of youthful dissipation, sharp satire of his enemies. Still, he displays an unusually deep erudition for his circumstances

and sets his poems against a detailed historical backdrop of stories from Arabian, Persian and Graeco-Roman antiquity. He is mostly known for his very dense style, marked by his penchant for the use of obscure vocabulary.

#### Text edition

'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Maṣṣūr, *al-Muntakhab al-nafis min shi'r Ibn Khamīs*, Tlemcen (1365).

#### Further reading

Meziane, A., 'Ibn Khamīs, poète tlemcenien du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Deuxième congrès de la Fédération des sociétés savantes de l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers (1936) vol. 2, 1057–66.

L. ALVAREZ

### Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Lisān al-Dīn (713–76/1313–75)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb was a scholar and courtier in Granada and Fez. He was a courtier and confidant of Yūsuf I of Granada, then *dhū al-wizāratayn* (vizier in charge of both civil and military matters) under his successor, Muḥammad V. Imprisoned on the latter's deposition (760/1359), he later accompanied him to Morocco, settling in Salé. On Muḥammad's restoration (763/1362), he was again vizier in Granada. In 773/1371 he fled secretly to Morocco because of the intrigues of the Qāḍī al-Nubāhī and the poet **Ibn Zamrak**, his former student, now Muḥammad's private secretary, who tried to have him extradited. In Morocco he served two Mārinid sultans. Accused of heresy by his Granadan enemies, he was imprisoned in Fez, tried by a Granadan delegation, condemned, and strangled in prison.

Author of more than sixty books, Ibn al-Khaṭīb was the last of the great Andalusian savants. He composed travel accounts, epistles, *maqāmāt*, medical works, a *diwān* of his own poetry (some of which decorates the walls of the Alhambra), two poetry anthologies, and a collection of *muwashshahs*, the *Jaysh al-tawshih*, an important source for the study of the genre. His main historical works are: *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, a biographical dictionary; *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya fī al-dawla al-Naṣriyya*, a history of the kingdom of Granada; and *A'māl al-a'lām fī man biyī'a qabla al-iḥtilām*, a general history of Islam

with special value for the Almoravid and Almohad periods in North Africa and al-Andalus and including a history of Christian Spain.

Text editions

*El*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (bibliography).

*Jaysh al-tawshih*, Muḥammad al-Sharīf (ed.), Algiers (1973).

Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 338–45.

*Mushāhadāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī bilād al-Maghrib wa-al-Andalus (Majmū'a min rasā'ilih)*, A.M. al-'Abbādī (ed.), Alexandria (1958).

Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 363–6.

Further reading

al-'Abbādī, A.M., 'Mu'allafāt Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī al-Maghrib', *Hespéris* 46 (1959), 247–53.

Arié, Rachel, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, Paris (1973).

al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-tīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, Beirut (1968) (final sections).

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

**Ibn Khurradādhbih (205 or 211?–300?/820 or 825?–911?)**

From a distinguished family of Persian origin, Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Khurradādhbih received a sound education and became a Director of Posts and Intelligence (*ṣāhib al-barīd wa-al-khabar*) and at the same time a court familiar of the caliph al-Mu'tamid. Related to this latter role are many of his lost works (listed by **Ibn al-Nadīm**) on boon companions (*nudamā'*; see *nadīm*) and topics of interest to them: food, drink and music. Only on the last is there an extant treatise, an interesting compilation reflecting the eclectic interests of practising musicians and amateurs rather than the more rigorous approach of theorists. He also wrote on history and genealogy, but it is to his professional role that his major surviving work relates, one of the earliest extant works on geography, the *Book of Roads and Countries (Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik)*. This was to provide a model for later writers in its combination of materials from classical sources (chiefly Ptolemy, whom he translated) with Persian-derived principles of organization, the inhab-

ited world being divided into seven zones with **Baghdad** at their centre.

Text editions

*Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*, M.J. de Goeje (ed.), (BGA, vol. 6), Leiden (1889).

*Mukhtār min kitāb al-lahw wa-al-malāhī*, A.'A. Khalifa (ed.), Beirut (1961).

Further reading

*El*<sup>1,2</sup>, s.v. *Djuḡhrāfiyā*.

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O. WRIGHT

See also: geographical literature

**Ibn Kunāsa, Muḥammad (123–207 or 9/741–823 or 4)**

Minor poet of the early 'Abbāsīd period. A nephew of the ascetic Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, ibn Kunāsa grew up in **Kufa** and later went to **Baghdad**. He composed two books on poetry and one on astronomy (*anwā'*); in addition, he was interested in prophetic tradition, ancient Arabic tribal history and philology. His *dīwān*, attested to in the late fourth/tenth century and containing fifty leaves, is lost; the collection of fragments by M.Q. Muṣṭafā contains only thirty-nine poems with about ninety verses. The topics dealt with are mixed; besides several elegies, some pieces with a moralizing attitude can be mentioned.

Text edition

Muṣṭafā, M.Q., 'Muḥammad Ibn Kunāsa al-Asadī, ḥayātuhu wa-shi'ruhu', *Ādāb al-Rāfidayn*, 6 (1975), 287–340.

Further reading

McDonald, M.V., 'A minor early Abbasid poet: Muḥammad b. Kunāsa', *JAL* 25 (1994), 107–15 (without reference to Muṣṭafā; contains trans. of eight fragments).

T. SEIDENSTICKER

**Ibn al-Labbāna (d. 507/1113)**

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā al-Dānī ibn al-Labbāna was a court poet who served several *ṭā'ifa* princes before becoming attached professionally and personally to **al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād** of Seville. When al-Mu'tamid was

deposed (484/1091), Ibn al-Labbāna described his departure for Morocco in a famous poem. He visited al-Mu'tamid in prison and continued to write panegyrics to him. After al-Mu'tamid's death, Ibn al-Labbāna sought patrons in Bougie and Majorca. His *dīwān* and his prose works about the 'Abbāids are lost, but his poetry, with its pathetic strain, is widely quoted, as are several of his *muwashshahāt*, one with a Romance *kharja*. Because of his loyalty to al-Mu'tamid he has been called 'the Samaw'al of the poets'.

#### Further reading

- Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 214–17.  
 Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 163–5.

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

### Ibn Lankak (d. c.360/970)

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Lankak was a poet and littérateur from Basra. He moved to Baghdad, where he associated with the vizier al-Muhallabī. According to al-Tha'ālībī, his *qaṣīdas* were rarely successful; his strength lay in epigrams of no more than two or three lines containing 'complaints on the times' and invective on his contemporaries, among them more successful poets such as al-Mutanabbī and Abū al-Riyāsh al-Yamāmī. His *dīwān*, once appreciated by al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, is lost; some fifty epigrams are quoted in al-Tha'ālībī's *Yatimat al-dahr*.

#### Text edition

- Shi'r*, Zuhayr Ghāzī Zāhid (ed.), Basra (1973).  
 G. J. H. VAN GELDER

### Ibn Mā' al-Samā', 'Ubāda (d. 419 or 421/1028 or 1030)

Eleventh-century Andalusian poet, composer of *muwashshahāt*. He had been believed to be the earliest *washshāh* to have an extant *muwashshah*; however, with the full publication of the *Uddat al-jalis* of 'Alī ibn Bishrī (ed. A. Jones, Cambridge, 1992), that honour goes to the tenth-century poet Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-'Aṭṭār. Ibn Mā' al-Samā's innovation

was to extend the use of internal rhymes (*taḍmīn*; see *prosody*) to the *aghṣān* of the *muwashshah*. Two of his poems are extant: *Man walī* and *Ḥubbu al-mahā* (in *Tawshī' al-tawshīh*, fol. 44 verso). He was also the author of *Tabaqāt shu'arā' al-Andalus* of which only some quoted fragments survive.

L. ALVAREZ

### Ibn Mālik (600 or 1–672/1203 or 5–1274)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Mālik, was an Andalusian who moved East to study in Aleppo under al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ya'īsh and finally settled in Damascus, where he taught grammar, lexicography, Koran recitation, *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence until he died. His dealings, if any, with his great contemporary Ibn al-Ḥajīb in Damascus must have been cool at best, if indeed they ever met. Several influential grammatical works by him are extant, among them a text with a long commentary in the scholastic mode entitled *al-'Umda* and a very condensed and hence somewhat obscure survey of syntax called *Tashīl al-fawā'id*. But Ibn Mālik is best known for his fondness for versification which led him to produce a number of textbooks in poetic form, the most famous being a poem of about one thousand lines, titled accordingly *al-Khulāṣa al-alfiyya* or simply *al-alfiyya*. This grammar is second only to the *Ājurrūmiyya* (see Ibn Ājurrūm) in popularity and the great number of commentaries it inspired, including one by his own son Badr al-Dīn.

#### Text editions

- La Alfiyyah de Ibn Mālik, suivie du Lāmiyyah du même auteur*, A. Goguyer (ed. and trans.), Beirut (1888).  
*al-Khulāṣa al-alfiyya*, many editions, e.g. S. de Sacy, Paris (1833).  
*Lāmiyyat al-af'āl*, W. Volck (ed.), St Petersburg (1864).  
*Tashīl al-fawā'id*, M.K. al-Barakāt (ed.), Cairo (1967).  
*'Umdat al-ḥāfiẓ wa-'uddat al-lāfiẓ*, A.R. al-Dūrī (ed.), Baghdad (1977).

#### Further reading

- Dieterici, F., *Ibn 'Akīl's Commentar zur Alfijja des Ibn Mālik, aus dem Arabischen zum ersten Male übersetzt*, Berlin (1852).

Glazer, S., 'The *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik: its importance and place in Arabic grammatical science', *MW* 31 (1941), 274–9.

Pouzet, L., 'Deux grammairiens à Damas au VII<sup>e</sup>/XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *MFOB* 49 (1975–6), 767–84.

M. G. CARTER

See also: grammar and grammarians

## Ibn Manzūr (630–711/1233–1311)

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mukarram al-Ifriqī, known as Ibn Manzūr in the West and usually as Ibn Mukarram in the East, spent the whole of his career in Tripoli either as a judge or chancery official. Apart from a short treatise on star and time names, he seems to have devoted his energies to making epitomes of other people's works such as the *Aghānī* of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (he is said to have left behind some 500 volumes of such abridgements). Even his best-known work, the great dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab*, is essentially an amalgamation of a number of earlier dictionaries.

Text editions

*Lisān al-'Arab*, Būlāq (1883–91); Beirut (1955–6).

Further reading

Haywood, J.A., *Arabic Lexicography, its History, and its Place in the General History of Lexicography*, 2nd edn, Leiden (1965), 77–82.

Wild, S., *Das Kitāb al-'Ain und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden (1965), 86–9.

M. G. CARTER

See also: abridgements; lexicography, medieval

## Ibn Maryam, Muḥammad (d. 1014/1605)

Author of a famous collection of biographies of the saints of Tlemcen and its environs. Nothing is known about his life. His work, *al-Bustān (The Garden)*, whose genre should be identified as hagiography rather than biography, furnishes a sympathetic description of the activities of the holy men who lived in present-day western Algeria in the ninth/fifteenth–tenth/sixteenth centuries. They are portrayed as tireless missionaries preaching among the unruly Berber tribes, as religious warriors fighting against the

Christian encroachments on the Mediterranean coast, as men of learning engaged in the study of Mālikī *fiqh*, rhetoric, grammar and theology. Like other North African hagiographers, Ibn Maryam paid much attention to the miracles of the saints that particularly appealed to their uncouth Berber followers. He also emphasized their selfless charity, which they dispensed freely among the poor and the oppressed. Oftentimes, the saints depicted by Ibn Maryam present themselves as mediators in the frequent conflicts between rival Berber clans. Ibn Maryam's work fits neatly into the Maghribī hagiographical tradition represented by such writers as Ibn al-Zayyāt, al-Bādīsī, Ibn Qunfudh and al-Kattānī.

Text edition

*al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyā' wa-al-'ulamā' bi-Tilimsān*, Ben Cheneb (ed.), Algiers (1907); (new edition) Algiers (1986).

A. KNYSH

## Ibn Marzūq (710–81/1310–79)

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Marzūq was a Maghribī scholar, statesman and man of letters. He was born of a famous Šūfī family of Tlemcen. While still a child, he was taken by his pious father to the East (Medina, Mecca, Jerusalem and Cairo), where he studied under the best teachers of his time. Upon his return to the Maghrib he continued his education (he names 250 masters), and soon became a scholar of great renown. The Marīnid sultan Abū al-Ḥasan made Ibn Marzūq his secretary, confidant and court preacher. Occasionally he also served as the sultan's envoy to Christian and Muslim kings. His close association with the powers that be repeatedly got him into trouble, especially during the political turmoil under Abū al-Ḥasan's successors. After several spells in prison and exile, he finally took refuge in Egypt, where he spent the rest of his life in the respectful service of a Mamlūk sultan in Cairo.

Most of Ibn Marzūq's written legacy remains in manuscript. His best-known work, *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ*, which he dedicated to the sultan Abū al-Ḥasan, provides an 'insider' account of the religio-social life and politics of the Marīnid state. His other writings deal with such traditional topics as *fiqh*, religious ethics, grammar and literary criticism. They are written in an elegant and lucid Arabic that deserved the praise of his biographers. Among

Ibn Marzūq's disciples were such famous persons as the Andalusian viziers **Ibn al-Khaṭīb** and **Ibn Zamrak** and the Ṣūfī historian **Ibn Qunfudh**.

Further reading

- Blachère, R., 'Quelques détails sur la vie privée du sultan Mérinide', *Mémorial Henri Basset*, Paris (1928), vol. 1, 83–9.  
 Ibn Maryam, *al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyā'* ..., Algiers (1908), 184.  
 Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās*, Rabat (1973–4), 225–7.  
 Ibn Qunfudh, *Uns al-faqīr*, A. Faure and Muḥammad al-Fāsī (eds), Rabat (1965), 93–4.  
 Lévi-Provençal, E., 'Le *Musnad* d'Ibn Marzūq', *Hespéris* 5 (1925), 1–82.  
 Nwyia, P., *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda*, Beirut (1961), xiii–xvi.

A. KNYSH

**Ibn Ma'sūm**  
**(1052–1107/1642–1705)**

Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī Khān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ma'sūm was a poet and prose-writer. Born in Medina, he moved to **India** with his family in 1066/1655. After a career under the Moghuls he settled in Shiraz, where he died in 1107/1705 (other dates are also given). His best-known work is a *badī'iyya* together with an extensive commentary by himself, called *Anwār al-rabī'*, on the lines of similar works by **Ṣafi al-Dīn al-Hillī** and **Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī**. *Sulāfat al-'aṣr* is an anthology of contemporary poetry.

Text editions

- Anwār al-rabī' fī anwā' al-badī'*, Shākir Hādī Shukr (ed.), 7 vols, Karbalā' (1968–9).  
*Rihlat Ibn Ma'sūm al-Madani*, Shākir Hādī Shukr (ed.), *al-Mawrid* 8(2) (1979), 137–202.  
*Sulāfat al-'aṣr fī maḥāsīn al-shu'arā' bi-kull miṣr*, Cairo (1324).

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**Ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī, 'Alī**  
**(seventh/thirteenth century)**

Very few names of actors and comedians of live theatre and **shadow plays** are mentioned in Arabic literature. Among the few are Muḥammad Fattāt al-'Anbar and Burraywa, both masters in the art of live theatre, and Abū al-Khayr, the shadow play presenter of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir (c.904/1498).

Another is 'Alī ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī, the presenter of **Ibn Dāniyāl's** three shadow-plays (*bābār*; see *bāba*). Such actors either wrote their plays by themselves or ordered them from talented poets who composed frivolous (*hazl*) poetry which was despised by serious (*jidd*) poets.

'Alī ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī was an Egyptian maestro (*rayyis*) of a troupe of shadow-play presenters in **Cairo** and a maker of shadow play figures. He was a friend of Ibn Dāniyāl, whom he asked to compose some new shadow plays for his repertoire, complaining that 'the shadow play had become burdensome for the listener and that men's minds had turned from it due to the repetitious nature of the content'. Accordingly, Ibn Dāniyāl composed three plays for him: *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (*The Phantom Vision*), *'Ajīb wa-Gharīb* (*The Wondrous Preacher and the Vagabond*; the names of two characters, an underworld beggar of the **Banū Sāsān** and a preacher). The third play is *al-Mutayyam wa-al-dā'i* *al-yutayyam* (*The Infatuated and the Lost Orphan*), two characters in the play). In the first play 'Alī ibn Mawlāhum, the *rayyis*, presents the prologue, while at the end of the first and the third plays both the *rayyis* 'Alī and the author, who is called *al-Ḥakīm*, take part.

Further reading

- Badawi, M.M., 'Medieval Arabic drama: Ibn Dāniyāl', *JAL* 13 (1982), 83–107.  
 Kahle, P., 'The Arabic shadow play in Egypt', *JRAS* (1940), 21–34.  
 —, 'The Arabic shadow play in medieval Egypt: old texts and old figures', *JPHS* (1954), 85–113.  
 Moreh, S., and Sadan, J., *Two Medieval Arabic Plays* (in press).

S. MOREH

See also: acting and actors, medieval; shadow play; theatre and drama, medieval

**Ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī,**  
**Muḥammad**  
**(seventh/thirteenth century)**

Author of two plays on tradesmen, discovered by Professor J. Sadan. The first is *al-Maqāma al-mukhtaṣara fī al-khamsīn mar'a* (*The Abridged Assembly on the Fifty Tradeswomen*), extant in the British Library B.M.

Add. 19.411, included in a collection entitled *Majmū' min hikāyāt*, fols 89a–104a). In the prologue of this play, the author defines his profession as *khayālī* (see *khayāl*). The second play is mentioned by al-Bilbaysī in his *al-Mufākhara fī ādāb al-mu'āshara* (c.1345) as a *mu'āraḍa* (imitation) of Muḥammad ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī's *Maqāmat Ibn Mawlāhum al-muḥtawiya 'alā munādamāt al-ṣunnā* (*Ibn Mawlāhum's Assembly Comprising the Intimate Drinking Conversation of Craftsmen*).

Muḥammad ibn Mawlāhum's first *maqāma* is a play composed in honour of the *amīr* 'Alam al-Dīn al-Masrūrī, who was in office c.1265; he must thus be a contemporary, if not a brother or a cousin of 'Alī ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī mentioned by Ibn Dāniyāl as the representer of his *shadow plays*. It is interesting to note that Muḥammad directed his speech to Awlād Mawlāhum, which could indicate that 'Alī was a member of his troupe. However, in his poetry Ibn Dāniyāl says that shadow and live players used to play together in taverns.

Further reading

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 —, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World*, Edinburgh (1992), 114–18.  
 Moreh S. and Sadan, J., *Two Medieval Arabic Plays* (in press).  
 Sadan, J., 'Kings and craftsmen, a pattern of contrasts', *SI*, 57 (1985), 83–5.

S. MOREH

See also: actors and acting, medieval

**Ibn Maymūn see Maimonides**

**Ibn Mayyāda  
(d. c.136–46/753–63)**

Abū Sharaḥbil (or Sharāḥīl) al-Rammāḥ ibn Abrad ibn Mayyāda (Mayyāda was his mother's sobriquet) was a poet of Thawbān (a clan of Banū Murra). In later life he was at the court of al-Walid ibn Yazīd, for whom he composed a famous panegyric rhyming in *bā'*. He was a fair, handsome man but blunt, heavy-handed, overtly proud of his father's *nisba* and given to *hijā'* (in reply to others); he composed mainly *ghazal* and *madīh*. His

*ghazal* is 'Udhri in sentiment (he mentions Jamil and 'Urwa ibn Ḥizām in verse) and his devotion to Umm Jaḥdar of the Banū Murra was no better fated than Majnūn's love for Laylā (see Qays ibn al-Mulawwah, al-Majnūn). He was considered to be one of the last of the classical poets.

Text edition

- Shi'r*, M. Nā'if al-Dulaymī (ed.), Mosul (1968);  
 H.J. Ḥaddād (ed.); Damascus (1982).

P.F. KENNEDY

**Ibn Miskawayh see Miskawayh**

**Ibn al-Mu'adhdhal (d. c.240/854)**

'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn al-Mu'adhdhal was a poet of Arab descent from Basra. Of the many members of his family who wrote poetry 'Abd al-Ṣamad was the most prominent. Little is known of his life. He was known and feared particularly for his satirical and invective verse, which he made freely on enemies and friends alike. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, his poetry once filled 150 folios; a small portion of it is preserved in anthologies, especially *al-Aghānī* by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī.

Text edition

- Shi'r*, Zuhayr Ghāzī Zāhid (ed.), Najaf (1970).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī  
(d. 96/689)**

Abū 'Uthman Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn Rabī'a ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī was a minor Basran poet of the first/seventh century, noted principally for his dealings with the sons of Ziyād ibn Abīhi ('Abbād and 'Ubayd Allāh). His life is of a legendary stature and was spent in and out of prison in Iraq, Sijistan, Syria and Kirman. After the death of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya (64/684), when 'Ubayd Allāh was chased out of Basra by its population, Ibn Mufarrigh returned to pillory the ex-governor with invective. Although his poetry is mildly anti-Umayyad it does not have the vehement tone of his 'Alid (Kaysānī) grandson, al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī. What survives of his poetry (*ghazal*, *madīh* and *hijā'*) points to the copious amount that he composed in his lifetime, for it is

extracted seemingly from lengthy *qaṣīdas*. He is also said to have composed some of the oldest surviving examples of New Persian poetry.

#### Text editions

*Dīwān*, Abū Šāliḥ 'Abd al-Quddūs (ed.), Beirut (1975).

#### Further reading

Pellat, Ch., 'Le Poète Ibn Mufarrig et son oeuvre', in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus (1956), vol. 3, 195–232.

Rempis, Ch., 'Die ältesten Dichtungen en Neupersisch', *ZDMG* 101 (1951), 222–3.

*Shi'r Ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyari*, Dāwūd Sallūm (ed.), Baghdad (1968).

P.F. KENNEDY

### Ibn Mufarrij (d. c.1100 CE)

Abū al-Barakāt Mawḥūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarrij al-Iskandarānī waṣ the compiler of an important history of the Coptic Church in Egypt. A native of Alexandria, he served the **Fāṭimid** authorities in his town in important financial and commercial capacities, and although he is sometimes referred to as a deacon, he seems primarily to have performed lay duties and served as an intermediary when there was friction between the Church and the Muslim authorities. He is best known for his associations with the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, which he compiled in Arabic from various Coptic and Arabic texts available to him; the text began with St Mark and continued down to Ibn Mufarrij's own day. This original version is lost, but the text was continued in various recensions down to the mid-twentieth century. In one of these, the text was ascribed to the famous Coptic theologian Severus ibn al-Muqaffa', an error that was taken up by modern scholarship and only recently corrected.

The importance of the text lies in the first instance in its reliance on a broad array of Coptic sources no longer extant, although the refraction of material through translation from Coptic into Arabic and the editing of Ibn Mufarrij and later redactors must be taken into account. It also marks an important moment in Coptic cultural history, as the first Coptic history to be written in Arabic. In later medieval Egypt the book also served as a crucial intermediary between Coptic and Islamic historiography; **Ibn Khaldūn** (d.

808/1406), **al-Qalqashandī** (d. 821/1418) and **al-Maqrizī** (d. 845/1441), for example, all knew the work and used it.

#### Text editions

The best edition of the text, with English translation, was begun by B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church, PO*, Paris (1904–15), vol. 1, 99–214, 381–619; vol. 5, 1–215; vol. 10, 357–551, and completed by a series of later editors as *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, Cairo (1943–74).

#### Further reading

den Heijer, Johannes, *Mawḥūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarrig et l'historiographie copto-arabe: étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, Leuven (1989). (On the text, and on Coptic historiography in general).

L.I. CONRAD

### Ibn Mukarram see Ibn Manẓūr

### Ibn Munādhir, Muḥammad (d. c.199/814)

The poet Ibn Munādhir was born in Aden in the late **Umayyad** period; he studied *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and *adab* in Basra in his youth and came to prominence in the time of the caliph al-Manṣūr. As a professional panegyricist he received annual stipends from the **Barmakids** and **Hārūn al-Rashīd**. He was prone to disputes with scholars and poets, including **al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad**, **Abān al-Lāhiqī** and **Abū al-'Atāhiya**, and came to be known as a *dahrī zindīq*. He fell in love with a youth called 'Abd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī who died tragically and whom he mourned in verse. Although he composed in most of the genres of poetry, he achieved success mainly in satire due to his malicious wit. There are also elements of *mujūn* in his verse.

#### Further reading

Zolondek, L., 'Ibn Munādhir: poet and critic', *IC* 36 (1962), 1–7.

P.F. KENNEDY

### Ibn al-Munajjim, 'Alī ibn Yahyā (200–75/815 or 816–888 or 889)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yahyā ibn al-Munajjim was one of the **Munajjim** family and a lead-



ing courtier of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mutawakkil and his successors. He lived first in **Baghdad**, then in Samarra, where he gained an introduction to the caliph through **al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān**. He was a cultured conversationalist, poet and musician and became wealthy in the caliph's service. He assembled for al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān a great library of secular scientific works, which, after al-Faṭḥ was murdered in 247/861, may have become the library he himself maintained for visiting scholars on his own estate near Baghdad. He was a generous patron of letters and scholarship, and himself composed a history of the Arabic poets.

#### Further reading

Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, Ihsān 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1993), vol 5, 459–77.  
(For further bibliography, see **Munajjim family**.)

R. A. KIMBER

### Ibn al-Muqaffa' (early second/eighth century)

Secretary, translator and prose writer. He converted to Islam as an adult, on which occasion he changed his name from Abū 'Amr Rōzbih to Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh; before this he was evidently a Manichaean (or possibly a crypto-Manichaean posing as a Zoroastrian) and indeed many Muslim authorities accuse him of having remained a Manichaean (*zindīq*) even after his ostensible conversion. Some tantalizing fragments of a treatise in which he attacked Islam from the standpoint of Manichaeism have been preserved together with a verbose refutation by the third/ninth-century **Zaydī** Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm, while a few quotations from a burlesque parody of the **Koran** are ascribed to him by a later Zaydī Imām, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad billāh (d. 411/1020). Ibn al-Muqaffa' served as a secretary to 'Isā and Sulaymān ibn 'Alī, two uncles of the second 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr, and was executed by order of the latter in the aftermath of a failed revolt by his patrons' brother, 'Abd Allāh, the date of his death being given by some as 137/755, by others as 139/756.

He was famous mainly for his translations of Middle Persian books. The most influential of these was his rendering of the *Khwadāy-nāmag*, or *Book of Kings*, which, though lost

to us, was the principal source from which Muslim historians (notably **al-Ṭabarī**) derived their knowledge of pre-Islamic Persia. His (augmented) translation of *Katīla wa-Dimna* has survived, if in a much altered form. He also translated the *Letter of Tansar*, a very interesting political treatise from Sasanian Iran; although his Arabic version is lost, we do have a seventh/thirteenth-century translation (much expanded with verse quotations and other rhetorical ornament) into neo-Persian by Ibn Isfandyār. A large number of political maxims (many of them certainly taken from Sasanian books, although this has not as yet been properly investigated) are collected in his *Kitāb ādāb al-kabīr*. By contrast, his *Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba* appears to be an original work of political counsel addressed to the caliph. Unfortunately, its deferential style and our almost total ignorance of the actual political issues of the time make it very difficult to say what precisely Ibn al-Muqaffa' was trying to achieve with it.

**Ibn al-Nadīm** and others state that Ibn al-Muqaffa' composed abridgements of **Aristotle's** works on logic, based, presumably, not on Greek or Syriac sources (there is no evidence that he knew these languages) but on an adaptation of the *Organon* in Middle Persian. Arabic epitomes of the *Categories*, *De interpretatione* and *Prior Analytics* have been published as the work of Ibn al-Muqaffa', although in the manuscripts these are in fact attributed (perhaps wrongly) to his son Muḥammad (see van Ess, *Theologie*, 27, with further literature). Whichever of the two is the author, we have to do in any case with the earliest surviving philosophical works in Arabic.

Despite their freely expressed disapproval of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s religious opinions, medieval Muslim scholars are virtually unanimous in their praise of his eloquence and his Arabic style. He is also supposed to have been a fine poet. His works exerted a great influence on the development of Arabic prose and were the main vehicle through which Iranian and Indian impulses entered Islamic literary culture.

#### Text editions

*Kitāb ādāb al-kabīr*, *Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba* and a few other (probably spurious) works are published in M. Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*, Cairo (1913), and frequently reprinted. A German translation of the former was published by O.

Rescher, *MSOS* (1917), 35–82, and a French version of the second (with the Arabic text, introduction and a very useful vocabulary/concordance) by C. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffa' ... 'conseiller' du caliphe*, Paris (1976). The Aristotle epitomes can be found in *al-Mantiq li-Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, M.T. Dānishpazhūh (ed.), Tehran (1978). The *Letter of Tansar* was translated (under this title) by M. Boyce, Rome (1968). Text and Italian translation of al-Qāsim's refutation of the Manichaean pamphlet are in M. Guidi, *La lotta tra l'Islam e il manicheismo*, Rome (1927); for the parody of the Koran cf. J. van Ess, 'Some fragments of the *Mu'aradat al-Qur'an* attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' in 'Abbās Festschrift, 151–63.

#### Further reading

- Amir Arjomand, Said, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa and the 'Abbasid revolution', *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994), 9–36.  
 Gabrieli, F., 'Ibn al-Muqaffa', *EI*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Latham, J.D., 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' and early 'Abbāsīd prose', in *CHALABL*, 48–77.  
 van Ess, J., *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra II*, Berlin and New York (1992), 22–36.

F. DE BLOIS

*See also:* Mirrors for Princes; Persian literature; translation, medieval

## Ibn al-Muqaffa', Severus *see* Ibn Mufarrij

## Ibn Muqbil (fl. first/seventh century)

Tamīm ibn 'Ubayy ibn Muqbil, of the Banū 'Ajlān of the 'Amir ibn Ṣa'sa'a, was a *mukhadram* poet whose conversion to Islam is generally held to have been superficial: indeed, poem 17 is supposed by some to be an epitaph for the bygone splendours of the *Jahiliyya*, the spirit of which informs much of his verse. His flytings with the pro-'Alid poet al-Najāshī reveal his support for the cause of Mu'āwiya: poem 42 treats of the battle of Ṣiffin; poem 3 is a threnody for the Caliph 'Uthmān murdered in 35/656. The tradition of his appeal to the caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, when bested by al-Najāshī, is a fabrication engendered by his later conflict with this lampoonist. Poems 4 and 9 are vituperations of al-Akḥṭal.

Text edition

*Dīwān*, 'I. Ḥasan (ed.) Damascus (1962)

J. E. MONTGOMERY

## Ibn al-Muqri, Ismā'il (d. 837/1433)

Yemeni scholar, regarded by many as the foremost poet of Yemen during the reign of the Rasūlid sultans (632/1235–858/1454). Destined by his learned father for a scholarly career, Ibn al-Muqri, who spent most of his life in Zabīd, took to writing poetry. However, he never abandoned his study of religious sciences, especially *fiqh*, and wrote a number of popular elucidations of Islamic law. Ambitious and talented, he aspired to the post of the grand *qāḍī* of Yemen. When the sultan granted the post to another candidate, Ibn al-Muqri became embroiled in a fierce theological controversy with his successful rival over the philosophy of the mystical thinker Ibn al-'Arabī. A sizeable part of Ibn al-Muqri's poetry is devoted to refuting and mocking Ibn 'Arabī and his teaching, as well as of his Yemeni followers led by the rival scholar. He also composed many elegant lyrical verses, panegyrics and elegies, didactic and ascetic poetry, all of which were written in a flawless classical Arabic, and are sometimes viewed by contemporary Arab critics as artificial and stilted. Unlike later Yemeni poets (e.g. 'Umar Bā Makhrama), Ibn al-Muqri thoroughly avoided the colloquialisms of everyday speech and catered to the taste of the educated public. Nevertheless, his vivid and scathing anti-Ibn 'Arabī satires had some success even among the uneducated masses of Zabīd, who rallied around him against the Ṣūfī 'heretics'.

Further reading

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 al-Burayhī, *Ṭabaqāt ṣulāḥā' al-Yaman*, Ṣan'a'a (n.d.), 300–05.  
 al-Ḥibshī, *Dirāsāt fī al-turāth al-Yamanī*, Beirut (1977), 27–43.  
 Knysh, A., 'Ibn Arabī in the Yemen', *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, 11 (1992) 38–63.  
 al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, Cairo (1345–55/1926–36), vol. 2, 292–5.  
 al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tāli'*, Cairo (1348), vol. 1, 142–5.

A. KNYSH

## Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325)

Al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Alī ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī Jamāl al-Dīn, known as al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, was born and died in Ḥilla, southeast of Baghdad. His father, a leading religious scholar who was involved in the surrender of that town to the Mongols in 656/1258, was his first teacher, and later he became a pupil of, among others, the great Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal, Ja'far ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277), and the brothers Jamāl al-Dīn (d. 673/1274) and Raḍī al-Dīn (d. 664/1266) ibn Tāwūs, in legal studies and theology. He studied the rational sciences with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274; al-Ḥillī wrote the most famous and widely used commentary on his metaphysical/theological text *Tajrid al-i'tiqād*, the *Kashf al-murād*) and al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī (d. 675/1277; al-Ḥillī's commentary on this philosopher's *Ḥikmat al-'ayn* is titled *Īdāḥ al-maqāṣid*), presumably at the observatory at Marāgha, and disputation (*jadāl*) and Arabic grammar in Baghdad, where he studied with a number of Sunnī scholars and became familiar with the mystical ideas of Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191). He seems to have played an instrumental role in the adoption of Shi'ism by the Mongol Uljaytū, who had become a Ḥanafī when he converted to Islam, then a Shāfi'i. Al-Ḥillī and his son, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771/1369–70), also a scholar of repute, were at Uljaytū's court for about seven years from 709/1309, partly engaged in the theological disputes that Uljaytū so enjoyed. Al-Ḥillī spent the rest of his life teaching in Ḥilla. He was the leading Shi'i scholar of his day, and an enduring influence, particularly in the areas of jurisprudence, law and theology (*Nihāyat al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl* (MS), *Tadhkirat al-fuqahā'* (Tehran, 1984) and *Nihāyat al-marām fī 'ilm al-kalām* (MS) are, respectively, his major works in these fields), yet his writings (almost 130 of them are recorded, most of them still in manuscript) cover philosophy, logic, biography (*rijāl*), grammar, exegesis and *ḥadīth* as well. His sobriquet, al-'Allāma (The Most Learned), indicates his exalted position in the pantheon of Shi'i scholars.

### Text editions

*Al-Bābu 'l-hādī 'ashar, with commentary of Miqdād-i-Fāḍil al-Ḥillī*, W.M. Miller (trans.),

London (1928) (a good English version of one of al-Ḥillī's texts in Imāmi theology).

*Īdāḥ al-maqāṣid*, 'Abbās Munzawī (ed.), Tehran (1959).

*Kashf al-murād*, Ḥasan Ḥasanzāda al-Āmulī (ed.), Qum (n.d.).

### Further reading

Schmidtke, Sabine, *The Theology of al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)*, Berlin (1991) (a comprehensive introduction to Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, which gives a complete list of his works, and discusses several of his theological positions).

J. COOPER

## Ibn al-Mu'tazz (247–96/861–908)

Abū al-'Abbās Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu'tazz, 'the caliph of one day', was a poet and critic, son of the thirteenth 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'tazz (r. 247–55/861–9). His mother was a slave and may have been of Byzantine origin. He was born in Samarra and received his education from the philologists al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab. When al-Mu'taḍid (279–89/892–902) left Samarra for Baghdad, Ibn al-Mu'tazz was invited to follow him. He addressed several panegyrics to the caliph (his cousin) and celebrated his deeds and the splendour of his reign in a historical *urjūza* (see *rajaz*) consisting of 419 couplets. He was a partisan of the 'Abbāsīd cause and strongly opposed to the Shi'is, but seems to have had no political ambitions of his own. By all accounts, he was a sensitive poet, an intellectual of refined tastes, the perfect *adīb*. His literary circles have been described by his friend Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, who also collected and edited his poetry. After the death of al-Muktafī (296/908) Ibn al-Mu'tazz was fatally drawn into the struggles for his succession. One of the contending factions proclaimed him caliph, and he was assassinated the same day by the supporters of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32).

Ibn al-Mu'tazz' fame is intimately related with *badi'* 'the new style' created by 'modern' poets (see *muhdathūn*), which he propagated both by his verses and by his works in prose. As evidenced in his *dīwān*, he was a versatile poet who cultivated most genres and even experimented with the epic form of the *urjūza*. In his *ghazal* and *khamriyya* he continued the tradition set by Abū Nuwās. The rhetorical brilliance and originality of his conceits, especially in his descriptive verses (see *wasf*),

have been greatly admired by medieval critics; 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī often quotes him in his *Asrār al-balāgha*. Viewed in its entirety, his poetry marks the transition from 'modern' poets to the great mannerists of the tenth century.

Of his prose writings only four works are extant (cf. Kratchkovsky, 'Une Liste des oeuvres d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz'). Of special interest is his *Kitāb al-Badī*, the first treatise on rhetorical figures in Arabic poetics. In his *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'* he offers short biographies of 'modern' poets with ample verse quotations, beginning with the generation of **Bashshār ibn Burd**. His selection of verses, many of them not transmitted elsewhere, and his personal judgements document the fundamental change in literary aesthetics brought about by the *muḥdathūn*. There is further an anthology of prose and verses about wine (*Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*) and a *Kitāb al-Ādāb*, a collection of aphorisms, possibly compiled from his works after his death. Some of the material may be common heritage, but Ibn al-Mu'tazz also reflects upon his own time, deploring its decline in morals, education and culture.

#### Text editions

- Dīwān*, B. Lewin (ed.), Istanbul (1945–50); R. Al-Ṣaffār (ed.), Cairo (1958–9); K. al-Bustānī (ed.), Beirut (1961).  
*Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, M.Ṣ. al-Kurdī (ed.), Cairo (1344/1925).  
*Kitāb al-Ādāb*, I. Kratchkovsky (ed.), *MO* 18 (1924), 56–121.  
*Kitāb al-Badī*, I. Kratchkovsky (ed.), London (1935).  
*Rasā'il*, M.'A. Khafājī (ed.), Cairo (1946).  
*Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'* (*al-muḥdathūn*), 'A.A. Farrāj (ed.), Cairo (1956).  
*al-Urjūza fī al-Mu'taḍid*, C. Lang (ed. and trans.), *ZDMG* 40 (1886), 356–61, 41 (1887) 232–79.

#### Further reading

- Bonebakker, S.A. 'Reflections on the 'Kitāb al-Badī' of Ibn al-Mu'tazz', UEA Proceedings, 3rd, Naples (1967), 191–209.  
 —, 'Ibn al-Mu'tazz and *Kitāb al-Badī*', in *CHALABLI*, 388–411.  
 Jacobi, R., 'Ibn al-Mu'tazz: Dair 'Abdūn. A Structural Analysis', *JAL* 6 (1975), 35–56.  
 Kratchkovsky, I., 'Une liste des oeuvres d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz', *ROR* 3 (1925), 255–68.  
 Schoeler, G., *Arabische Naturdichtung*, Beirut (1974), 234–72.  
 Stetkevych, S.P., *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the 'Abbāsīd Age*, Leiden (1991), 19–37.

R. JACOBI

*See also:* literary criticism; rhetoric and poetics

## Ibn al-Nabīh (c.560–619/c.1164–1222)

Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nabīh, a poet who praised in well-established courtly tones several **Ayyūbid** princes in Egypt and Mesopotamia and various other leading men of state, and who also served in the chancery of al-Ashraf Mūsa at Nisibis. He was born in Egypt where, in his early days, he was a friend of Ibn Mammātī. He moved to Nisibis in about 600/1204 and died there, having written poems of nostalgic longing for Egypt. His *dīwān*, which he selected himself for 'publication', is not large.

#### Text editions

- Dīwān*, Beirut (1299/1881); Cairo, (1315/1895).  
*Dīwān al-Qādī Kamāl al-Dīn ... Ibn al-Nabīh*, A. Wormhoudt (trans.), Oskaloosa (1974).

#### Further reading

- Rikabi, J., *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyubides et ses principaux représentants*, Paris (1949), 87–104.

D. S. RICHARDS

## Ibn al-Nadīm (d. between 380/990–1 and 388/998)

Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-Nadīm was a Baghdādī bookseller and the author of the *Fihrist*, a work of unique importance for the history of Arabic literature. Very little is known about him. He may have had access to court circles, and certainly did associate with scholars of the secular sciences. He seems to have been an Imāmī Shī'ī.

*Al-Fihrist (The Catalogue)* is basically a list by subject area and author of all the books in Arabic known to the compiler, including works translated from other languages. The ten subject areas covered are scripture, philology, history, poetry, theology, law and tradition, philosophy and the secular sciences, tales and magic, non-monotheistic religions and alchemy. There are notes on many individual authors, with occasionally more extensive information on subjects such as the **Ismā'īlis**, the history of philosophy and the translation movement into Arabic, magic and superstition,

non-monotheistic religions, and the pyramids of Egypt. The author relies to some extent on the work of earlier compilers, but it was no doubt his trade as a bookseller that provided him with most of the material for his thousands of entries.

Text editions

*al-Fihrist*, G. Flügel (ed.), Leipzig (1871–2); rpt. Cairo (1948); Beirut (1964); Persian trans. by R. Tajaddud, Tehran (1968).  
*The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, B. Dodge (trans.), New York (1970).

R. A. KIMBER

**Ibn al-Nafis (607–87/1210–88)**

‘Alī ibn Abī al-Haram ibn al-Nafis was an important physician and polymath of the seventh/thirteenth century. Born in Syria, he later became principal physician in Cairo and wrote commentaries on the works of Hippocrates, Galen, Ibn Sīnā, Hunayn ibn Ishāq and Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzi, *inter alia*, as well as his own compilations on such topics as ophthalmology and the human organs. He is famous for having described the lesser circulation of the blood in human beings three hundred years before the European formulations of Servetus, Colombo and de Valverde. However, in modern times the book of Ibn al-Nafis that has achieved most prominence is his *al-Risāla al-kāmiliyya fī al-sīra al-nabawiyya*, described by Meyerhof and Schacht as a ‘theological novel’ and given by them the epithet *Theologus Autodidactus*. This *risāla* falls within a tradition in Arabic literature that has been labelled ‘philosophical allegory’ (see *allegory*). Both Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Ṭufayl wrote works within this tradition under the same title of *Risāla Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. Ibn al-Nafis’s work is closer to Ibn Ṭufayl’s than Ibn Sīnā’s. ‘The main idea of both treatises is the same; a human being originated by spontaneous generation on an uninhabited island comes to know by his own reasoning the natural, philosophical, and theological truths’ (Meyerhof and Schacht, 29). The latter authors characterize Ibn al-Nafis’s work as ‘an intellectual tour de force’ (33).

Text editions

*Kompendium über die Wissenschaft von den Grundlagen des Hadīṭ (Muḥtaṣar fī ‘ilm uṣūl al-hadīṭ)*, H. Amarat (ed. and trans.), Hildesheim (1986).

*The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn al-Nafis*, M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht (eds), Oxford (1968) (With full bibliography).

Further reading

Schacht, J., ‘Ibn al-Nafis, Servetus and Colombo’, *al-Andalus* 22 (1957), 317–36.  
 Wiet, G., ‘Ibn al-Nafis et la circulation pulmonaire’, *JA* 244 (1956), 95–100.

I. R. NETTON

**Ibn al-Najjār, Muḥibb Allāh ibn Maḥasin (578–643/1183–1245)**

Born and educated in Baghdad, Ibn al-Najjār was a historian and leading Shāfi‘ī *muhaddith* of his day. He was a lecturer as well as director of the Mustanṣiriyya *madrasa*. Of his twenty-one known works, only his history of Medina (*al-Durra al-thamīna fī akhbār al-Madīna*) has been preserved complete, and only fragments of his continuation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s *History of Baghdad (Dhayl ta’rikh Baghdād)* and his biographical work (*al-Kamāl fī ma’rifat al-rijāl*) have survived.

Text editions

*Dhayl ta’rikh Baghdād*, Beirut (1978, 1980, 1989); Hyderabad (1978, 1986).  
*al-Durra al-thamīna fī ta’rikh al-Madīna*, Cairo (1995).  
*al-Mustafād min dhayl ta’rikh Baghdād*, Hyderabad (1979); Beirut (1986).

Further reading

Fahd, Badri Muhammad, *Ta’rikh Baghdad lil-mu’arrikh Ibn Najjār al-Baghdādī*, Baghdad (1986).  
 Farah, C.E., ‘Ibn al-Najjār: a neglected Arabic historian’, *JAOS* 84 (1964), 220–30.  
 Zaghūl, Abū Hajar Muhammad, *Fahāris dhuyūl ta’rikh Baghdād*, Beirut (1987).

J. E. LINDSAY

**Ibn Nāqiyā (410–85/1020–92)**

‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Nāqiyā was a Baghdadi man of letters and writer. His writings (including poetry, epistles, works on Koranic imagery and Arabic rhetoric, an abridged version of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī’s *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, and *maqāmāt*) display the typical erudition of a literary scholar of the period.

His collection of *maqāmāt*, of which only the introduction and eight narrations are known today, is of special significance for the history of the genre, being a rare example of a formative yet uninformed stage in its development: that between the initiator of the genre **Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī** (d. 398/1008) and its canonizer **al-Ḥarīrī** (d. 516/1122). Like al-Hamadhānī's, these *maqāmāt* draw heavily on the *adab* literary reservoir; each narration is built on a different theme, and the hero combines imposturing skills with learning and eloquence. Yet there is no specific narrator, as was to be the case after al-Ḥarīrī. The introduction discloses a first attempt to declare openly the *maqāma*'s fictionality and argue for its legitimacy by relating the genre to recognized literary traditions whose fictionality is presumably well established, like love poetry and animal fables (see **fiction**, **medieval**).

#### Text editions

*al-Jumān fī tashbīhāt al-Qu'rān*, Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadija al-Ḥadīthī (eds), Baghdad (1968).  
*Maqāmāt al-Ḥanaḫī*, Istanbul (1912), 123–53; as *Beiträge zur Maqāmen – Literatur*, D. Rescher, Istanbul (1914).

#### Further reading

Huart, M.CI., 'Les Séances d'Ibn Nāqiyā' *JA* 12 (1908), 435–54.  
 Wild, S., 'Die zehnte Maqame des Ibn Nāqiyā: eine Burleske aus Baghdad', *Wagner Festschrift* 2: 427–38.

R. DRORY

### Ibn Nubātā al-Khaṭīb (d. 374/984–5)

Abū Yaḥyā 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Nubātā al-Khaṭīb, born in Mayyāfāriqīn in Syria, was the *khaṭīb* of Aleppo during the reign of the **Ḥamdānid** ruler Sayf al-Dawla, and earned the admiratory designation of 'preacher of preachers' (*khaṭīb al-khaṭīb*). (On the role of the *khaṭīb* see **oratory and sermons**.) He is said to have frequented the poet **al-Mutanabbī** and to have studied some of his poetry with him (see the bibliographical notice of **Ibn Khallikān**, in the Beirut edition of the sermons). He composed numerous sermons in rhyming prose (*saḥ*) which became models of style; their numerous commentators included 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-

**Baghdādī** and **al-Qalyūbī**. Many of these sermons, as might be expected, are exhortations to holy war (*jihād*) against the Byzantines, and contain references to current political and military events; others are admonitory warnings against the last judgement, or petitions for God's help (including a number of prayers for rain), or celebrate events in the Islamic calendar. Ibn Nubātā's son, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad, was also a notable preacher.

#### Text edition

Canard, M., *Sayf al-Dawla: recueil des textes*, Algiers (1934) (includes annotated extracts).  
*Dīwān khaṭab Ibn Nubāta* (including the sermons of his son Abū Ṭāhir), with commentary by al-Shaykh Ṭāhir al-Jazā'iri, Beirut (1311/1894) (other printings also).  
 Mez, Adam, *The Renaissance of Islam*, D.S. Margoliouth and S. Khuda Bakhsh (trans), Patna (1937), 307–13, 319–25 (translated extracts).

#### Further reading

Mubārak, Zaki, *La Prose arabe au IVe siècle de l'Hégire (Xe siècle)*, Paris (1931), 181–6.

J. S. MEISAMI

### Ibn Nubātā al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366)

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shams al-Dīn ibn Nubātā al-Miṣrī was a poet and prose writer. A descendant of the famous Aleppan *khaṭīb* (see **Ibn Nubātā al-Khaṭīb**) and the son of a famous *ḥadīth* scholar, Ibn Nubātā was born in **Cairo**; in his youth he addressed panegyrics to a number of that city's notables, but found little success in gaining patronage. In 716/1316 he went to Syria, where he settled in **Damascus**. He visited Aleppo and Ḥamāt, where he gained entry to the court of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad **Abū al-Fidā** (r. 710–32/1311–32) and became that ruler's favourite poet, writing for him his best panegyrics (known as *al-Mu'ayyadāt*) as well as prose works on *adab* and stylistics. During the reign of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad's son al-Malik al-Afḍal (r. 732–42/1332–41), Ibn Nubātā seems to have developed an interest in mysticism and commenced an itinerant life, at one time holding the post of superintendent of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. After al-Afḍal's fall and death (see **Ayyūbids**) he became secretary of the

chancery at Damascus in 743/1342; in 761/1360, now in his seventies, he returned to Cairo at the invitation of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, by whom he was employed until that ruler's assassination in the following year. Ibn Nubāta spent his last days in penury; on his death he was buried in the cemetery of the Ṣūfīs in Cairo. In addition to panegyrics his *dīwān* contains ascetic poems (*zuhdiyyāt*), poems in praise of the Prophet, and a wide variety of short occasional poems.

Text editions

*Dīwān*, Cairo (1333/1905).

*Sharḥ al-'uyūn fī Risālat Ibn Zaydūn*, M.A. Ibrāhīm (ed.), Cairo (1964) (the introduction includes a bibliography).

Further reading

Mūsā Pāshā, 'Umar, *Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī*, Cairo (1963).

J.S. MEISAMI

### Ibn al-Qāḍī, Aḥmad (960–1025/1553–1616)

Moroccan historian and man of letters. He was born in Fez into the family of a noted scholar who gave him a brilliant education. A versatile and erudite companion, Ibn al-Qāḍī cultivated the friendship of the powerful Moroccan sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr of the Sa'did dynasty (r. 986–1012/1578–1603). He was later ransomed by his royal friend from captivity in Christian Spain. Upon his deliverance, the grateful scholar composed a laudatory biography of his saviour, *al-Muntaqā al-maqṣūr*, which combined elements of such different genres as panegyric, literary anthology and annalistic history. Pompous and florid, it clearly demonstrated the literary propensities of its author. On the sultan's orders, Ibn al-Qāḍī was appointed *qāḍī* of Salé. He later returned to Fez, his native town, where he died.

Ibn al-Qāḍī's works follow the pattern of *al-Muntaqā* in fusing the historical genre with *belles-lettres* and biography. His most famous work, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās*, is devoted to the notables and eminent sojourners of Fez. After a brief outline of the topographical and political history of the city (based largely but not entirely on Ibn Abī Zar's *Rawḍ al-Qirtās*), the author enumerates its rulers and statesmen. Yet his primary focus is the city's scholars and

littérateurs, whose obituaries, sprinkled generously with samples from their work, help us to reconstruct the picture of literary movement in the Maghrib on the eve of modernity. Among Ibn al-Qāḍī's disciples was al-Maqqarī, the celebrated anthologist of the literature produced in the Muslim West.

Text edition

*Jadhwat al-iqtibās*, lithographic edn, Fez (1309).

Further reading

Lévi-Provençal, É., *Les Historiens des chorfa*, Paris (1922), 77, 90, 100–12, 247–50.

A. KNYSH

### Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160)

Abū Ya'ā Ḥamza ibn Asad ibn al-Qalānisī, a historian, was born into an important Damascus family, and exercised high office himself in the city as *ra'īs* or 'headman', the representative of local interests. He is known to have written poetry but his only surviving work is a history, which ranges wide but is centred on Syria, and Damascus in particular. The only surviving manuscript, which is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, lacks some folios at the beginning, and covers the years 363–555/973–1160, thus continuing to the year of the author's death, which took place on Friday, 7 Rabī I/18 March 1160, when he was in his nineties. The account of the last decade or so shows abundant evidence of his writing in immediate response to current events. Ibn al-Qalānisī's administrative activities and social position clearly gave him access to local archives and to informed sources, whom he unfortunately does not name. As a sometime chancery secretary, his style tends towards repetition and floridity. However, his set-piece narratives are vivid, full of telling detail. As a source, his work is of crucial importance for the history, up to the beginning of the second half of the twelfth century, of the Muslim response to the Crusades and the growth of the *jihād*, which we may call 'Counter-Crusade'.

Text editions

*History of Damascus*, H.F. Amedroz (ed.), Leiden (1908); Suhayl Zakkār (ed.), Damascus (1983).

*Damas de 1075 à 1154*, R. Le Tourneau (trans.), Damascus (1952) (partial French translation).

*The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, H.A.R. Gibb (trans.), London (1932) (introduction and translation of selected passages for years 490–555/1097–1160).

#### Further reading

Cahen, C., 'Note d'histiographie syrienne: la première partie de l'histoire d'Ibn al-Qālanisi', in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, G. Makdisi (ed.), Leiden (1965), 156–67.

D.S. RICHARDS

### Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (third/ninth century)

Poet, secretary and famous grammarian. His family was among the early immigrants from Santarem (Portugal), of the, same lineage of the Aghlabids, who ruled the island from the ninth to the tenth century. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' was a classical poet, who faithfully respected the rhetorical images of the Umayyad school. His work gives particular emphasis to didactic aims, to praise of the prince and of the exemplary behaviour of his court. This last theme was imitated by the Italian poets of the Norman court. In the famous anthology of the Sicilian poets compiled by his homonymous descendant a century later we find what is left of his works collected.

#### Text edition

Di Matteo, I., 'Antologia di poeti arabi siciliani', in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, Palermo (1935), 1–28.

F.M. CORRAO

### Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt, 'Ubayd Allāh (c.15–80/c.636–99)

Qurayshī poet of the early and middle Umayyad period. Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt ('who composed poems on the Ruqayyas') grew up in the Hijaz and later lived in Syria, in Iraq and in Egypt, where he finally died. His Zubayrid sympathies are attested to by poems on the anti-caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and the latter's brother Muṣ'ab. After Muṣ'ab's death in 72/691 he had to hide for a year, allegedly in the house of a woman at Kufa, until he was pardoned by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (65–86/685–705). Relations with him were strained later by the fact that Ibn Qays supported 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān,

Egyptian governor and brother of 'Abd al-Malik, as successor to the throne. The *dīwān* version that has survived contains 74 pieces with 890 verses. Apart from his love poems, which above all have made him famous, he also composed panegyrics and elegies. His language is unaffected, modern short metres predominate, and traditional elements such as long descriptions of animals are rare.

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*Dīwān*, M.Y. Najm (ed.), Beirut (1958).  
*Der Dīwān des 'Ubayd-Allāh Ibn Kais ar-Ruqajjāt*, N. Rhodokanakis (ed.), Vienna (1902) (with German translation).

#### Further reading

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### Ibn al-Qaysarānī (478–548/1085 or 6–1153)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī ibn al-Qaysarānī was an Arab poet. He was well versed in philology and astronomy and studied poetry with Ibn al-Khayyāt. His panegyrics are imbued with a heightened spirit of *jihād*, especially after Zengī's capture of Edessa, and he eulogized that ruler as the model *mujāhid*. His *dīwān* survives in one badly preserved copy, but extensive extracts from it are quoted by Abū Shāma, Yāqūt and others.

#### Further reading

Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, Cairo (1278–9/1871–2), vol. 1, 18, 39, 54, 56.  
*Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, M. de Slane (trans.), Paris (1842–71), vol. 3, 155–8.  
Yāqūt, *The Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb, or Dictionary of Learned Men*, D.S. Margoliouth (ed.), Leiden (1907–27), vol. 7, 112–21.

C. HILLENBRAND

### Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (691–751/1292–1350)

Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya was the Ḥanbalī theologian famous for his sundry writings on Koranic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence, rhetoric, politics, etc. Since his father was the custodian (*qayyim*) of the Jawziyya school in Damascus, where he was



born, he became known as Ibn al-Qayyim. Despite the survival of many of his books, next to nothing is known about his early life. His father, who had received a first-hand knowledge of the Ḥanbalī school of law, taught him, leaving an enduring influence on his future career. After absorbing an extensive education and developing a predilection for Sufism, at the age of 21 he joined the circle of the renowned Ḥanbalī teacher **Ibn Taymiyya** (d. 728/1328), and soon became his chief disciple and propagator of his ideas. Subsequently he trained a number of famous scholars such as the historian **Ibn Kathīr** (d. 774/1373) and the jurisconsult and traditionalist Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1397).

Among his literary works the following may be mentioned here: *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*, in which Ibn al-Qayyim gives the Ḥanbalī doctrine of sacred and profane love its most eloquent and definite presentation. It includes a list of good loves, especially that of God and His word and of the virtues (130, 180, 202). The *Akḥbār al-nisā'*, an anecdotic book in ten chapters on the description of women and their qualities, passionate love, jealousy and fidelity, is now held to have been wrongly attributed to him (Kilpatrick, 69–75). In his *Fawā'id*, which discusses the uniqueness and inimitable nature of the **Koran**, he analyses rhetoric (*'ilm al-bayān*) and related topics in great detail. His *Madārij al-sālikīn*, a commentary on 'Abd Allāh **al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's** *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, is the best representative of Ḥanbalī mystic literature. It seems that he also composed a large treatise on *samā'* in which he dealt with spiritual music, song and poetry (Bell, 98).

#### Text editions

*Akḥbār al-nisā'*, 'Abd Muhannā (ed.), Beirut (1410/1990); *Über die Frauen: Liebeshistorien und Liebeserfahrungen aus dem arabischen Mittelalter*, D. Bellmann (trans.), Munich (1986).

*al-Fawā'id al-mushawwiq fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān wa 'ilm al-bayān*, Cairo (n.d.).

*Madārij al-sālikīn*, 3 vols, Cairo (1325/1915).

*Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*, A. 'Ubayd (ed.), Cairo (1956).

#### Further reading

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Giffen, Lois Anita, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs*, New York (1971) (see index, s.v.).

Kilpatrick, H., 'Some late 'Abbāsīd and Mamlūk books about women: a literary historical approach', *Arabica* 42 (1995), 56–78.

M. ZAKERI

## Ibn al-Qifti (568–646/1172–1248)

'Alī ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Qiftī was a historian, born in Upper Egypt. He served the **Ayyūbid** dynasty, as financial official and then vizier, in Aleppo, where he died. He wrote many historical works, of which twenty-six are known by title. There survives his survey of scholars and physicians of both Islam and the ancient world (the *Kitāb Ikhbār al-'ulamā' bi-akḥbār al-ḥukamā'*), which is full of interesting anecdotes concerning medical practice. His other extant works are a sometimes sharp and critical, generally very brief, biographical compendium of littérateurs and grammarians, and an uninspired anthology (unfinished) of poets called Muḥammad.

#### Text editions

*Inbā' al-ruwāt 'alā anbā' al-nuḥāt*, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ed.), 4 vols, Cairo (1950–74).

*Kitāb Ikhbār al-'ulamā'* (or *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*), J. Lippert (ed.), Leipzig (1903); Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (ed.), Cairo (1326/1908).

*al-Muḥammadūn min al-shu'arā'*, in 3 edns, the latest Riyād 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Murād (ed.), Damascus (1975).

D.S. RICHARDS

## Ibn Qunfudh

(d. 809 or 810/1406 or 1407)

Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn Qunfudh was a prolific Maghribī polymath famous for his contributions to Koranic and *hadīth* studies, Sufism, *fiqh*, **biography**, mathematics, grammar, astronomy, logic and medicine. Born in Constantine (Algeria) of a family of local scholars with strong Ṣūfī connections, he travelled widely across the **Maghrib** in search of religious learning and spiritual guidance. He studied under the greatest scholars of the Muslim West, including the learned vizier of Granada Lisān al-dīn **Ibn al-Khaṭīb** (d. 776/1375), the celebrated mystic **Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī** (d. 792/1390), the cultured statesman **Ibn Marzūq** (d. 781/1379), and the foremost legist of the age Ibn 'Arafa (d. 803/1400). His contacts with these versatile scholars determined the broad scope of his own interests,

which combined traditional religious disciplines and mysticism with secular sciences.

Ibn Qunfudh wrote more than twenty works. Of these, the best known are *al-Fārisiyya*, a laudatory history of the Ḥafṣid dynasty of Tunisia, and *Uns al-faqīr*, a hagiography of the Ṣūfīs who belonged to the mystical school of the great Maghribī saint **Abū Madyan al-Tilimsānī** (d. 594/1197). In order to collect materials for the latter work, Ibn Qunfudh visited many Ṣūfī lodges throughout the Maghrib and interviewed dozens of holy men. He then carefully edited and presented their stories in what became a mine of precious first-hand information on Maghribī Sufism. *Uns al-faqīr*, together with Ibn Zayyāt's *al-Tashawwuf* and al-Bādīsī's *al-Maqṣad*, constitute the main source of our knowledge of the early stages of the Maghribī Ṣūfī movement; all were widely used by later Maghribī historians and biographers, e.g. **Ibn Maryam**, **Ibn al-Qāḍī**, Aḥmad Bābā, al-Nāṣirī, **al-Kattānī**, etc.

#### Text editions

*Uns al-faqīr wa-'izzat al-ḥaqīr*, A. Faure and M. al-Fāṣī (eds), Rabat (1965).  
*al-Wafayāt*, H. Pérès (ed.), Algiers (n.d.).

#### Further reading

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Ben Cheneb, M., 'Le Fārisiyya ou les débuts de la dynastie ḥafṣide par Ibn Qunfod de Constantine', *Hespéris* 8 (1928), 37–49.  
Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās*, Rabat (1973), vol. 1, 154–5.

A. KNYSH

## Ibn Qutayba (213–76/828–89)

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba al-Dīnawarī was one of the great prose writers on secular and religious subjects. He studied in his birthplace **Kufa** under various teachers. He served as a *qāḍī* in Dīnawar (Persia) for some twenty years. After 257/871 he wrote and taught in **Baghdad**, where he died. He is the author of a number of influential works in the history of Arabic literature and Islamic theology. *Adab al-kātib* is a compendium of philology for *secretaries*: *'Uyūn al-akhbār* is a thematically arranged anthology of prose and poetry, the prototype of

what is often called the '*adab* anthology', with its dual purpose of moral education and literary entertainment: it offers a synthesis of Arabic, Persian and Greek material. *Al-Ma'ārif* is a kind of handbook of history. *Al-Shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'* is devoted to early poets and *muhdathūn* and an important document of early literary criticism. *Kitāb al-ma'ānī al-kabīr* is a large, thematically arranged work on the motifs of early poetry, from a philological point of view. His work on the **Koran**, *Ta'wīl mushkil al-Qur'ān*, has a place in the history of Arabic works on stylistics, **rhetoric** and *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*. The importance of Ibn Qutayba lies not so much in his prose style, which is rather impersonal, as in the range of his subjects and the arrangement of his material.

#### Text editions

*Adab al-kātib*, M. Grünert (ed.), Leiden (1900).  
*al-Ashriba*, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (ed.), Damascus (1947).  
*Introduction au Livre de la poésie et des poètes*, Gaudefroy-Demombynes (ed. and trans.), Paris (1947).  
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*Kitāb al-ma'ānī al-kabīr*, 3 vols, Hyderabad (1949–50).  
*al-Ma'ārif*, Tharwat 'Ukāsha (ed.), Cairo (1960).  
*The Natural History Section from a 9th-Century 'Book of Useful Knowledge'*, the 'Uyūn al-akhbār of Ibn Qutayba, L. Kopf (trans.), Leiden (1949).  
*al-Shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'*, Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir (ed.), Cairo (1967).  
*Ta'wīl mushkil al-Qur'ān*, al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣāqir (ed.), rpt Beirut (1981).  
*'Uyūn al-akhbār*, 4 vols, Cairo (1925–30).

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

*See also:* *adab*; anthologies, medieval; encyclopaedias, medieval; exegesis, Koranic; *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*; literary criticism, medieval; *qaṣīda*; *Shu'ubiyya*

## Ibn al-Qūṭyīya (d. 367/977)

Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar ibn al-Qūṭyīya was a grammarian, historian and judge, descendant in the sixth generation of Sara, the grand-

daughter of one of the last Visigothic kings of Spain. Born in Seville, he died at an advanced age in Córdoba. Only two of his numerous works have survived, one on grammar and the other, far better known, on the Islamic conquest of Spain. The history of this work remains obscure: there are numerous variants and it seems to have been compiled by students in disjointed form from lecture notes. It is particularly valuable for the third/ninth century. It is quoted extensively by Ibn Hayyān.

#### Text editions

*Kitāb taṣārīf al-af'āl*, I. Guidi (ed.), Leiden (1894);  
*Kitāb al-af'āl*, 'A. Fawda (ed.), Cairo (1953).  
*Ta'rīkh iḥtātāh* (or *fath*) *al-Andalus, Historia de la conquista de España de Abenalcoṭía el cordobés*, Madrid (1926); 'A.A.A., al-Ṭabbā' (ed.), Beirut (n.d., ?1957).

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Ibn Quzmān (d. 555/1160)

Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Quzmān was an Andalusian poet famous for his popular poetry, especially his *zajals*. Relatively little is known of his life. He was born to a prominent Córdoba family which included several renowned poets. He was educated in philosophy and jurisprudence, and his work reveals an exquisite knowledge of the finest Arab poets. Certainly he lived in a difficult time for poets; after the fall of the Party Kingdoms (*Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*) the tradition of patron princes had all but disappeared, and he was forced to travel to Granada and Seville to supplement the patronage of the wealthy men of Córdoba. In his poems he portrays himself as a sensual *bon vivant*, a man about town who is always short of money, a bit of a scoundrel. Apparently his taste for wine, his irreverent attitude and other troubles with the Almoravid authorities led to his imprisonment and even a death sentence, which was spared upon the intervention of a noble supporter. There are some indications that towards the end of his life he may have repented from his dissolute lifestyle; by his own account he even held the office of *imām*. Yet, like the claims of repentance of the

*pícaro* that he so resembles, his statements are hard to evaluate in light of his earlier mockery and the fact that such conversions were a literary commonplace.

His *dīwān* is conserved in a unique manuscript, copied by a scribe who apparently often did not understand the text and garbled entire passages. A few of his poems were also collected in larger anthologies. The great bulk of his extant work is in the *zajal* form, although he is also known to have written classical poetry and prose. His *zajals* are written using the colloquial Arabic of Córdoba, a language studded with Romance and Berber words. His use of the vernacular has made his work of great interest to philologists and historical linguists, and the ongoing debate about the Eastern or Western provenance of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* have also served to focus attention on him. Ibn Quzmān's *zajals* undoubtedly represent the pinnacle of that form, in their iconoclastic quality of spontaneity and satire of established themes in Arabic poetry. His sense of humour was rare, especially in times marked by puritanical dogmatism, and his vivid descriptions of city life were strikingly original and realistic.

#### Text editions

*Dīwān*, F. Corriente (ed.), Madrid (1980).  
 Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 260–73.  
*Todo Ben Quzmān*, E. García Gómez (ed. and trans.), Madrid (1972) (the complete works in both transliterated Arabic and Spanish translation).

#### Further reading

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 Stern, S., 'Studies on Ibn Quzmān', *al-Andalus* 16 (1951), 379–425.

L. ALVAREZ

See also: *muwashshah*; *zajal*

**Ibn Rāfi' Ra'suhu see Ibn Arfa' Ra'suhu**

## Ibn al-Raḳīq al-Qayrawānī (d. after 418/1027–8)

A number of poems by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim, ibn al-Raḳīq (or al-Raḳīq) al-Qayrawānī, a servant of the North African Zirids and prolific author, are preserved, but his reputation rests on his multi-volume history of North Africa, especially Ifriqiyya (Tunisia). Although this, like his poetry, is much quoted by admiring later writers, it is not clear whether a fragmentary work covering the years 51–196/671–812 and attributed to him is in fact part of this otherwise lost work.

### Text edition

*Qiṭ'a min ta'rikh Ifriqiyya wa-al-Maghrib*, 'A. al-Zaydan and 'I. 'U. Mūsā (eds), Beirut (1990).

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (390–456 or 463/1000–63 or 1071)

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī was a poet and critic, author of a famous encyclopaedia of poetry and poetics. He was born in Ifriqiyya, near present-day Constantine, and made a career in Qayrawan as a poet, becoming court poet to the Zirid ruler al-Mu'izz. He was involved in quarrels with his main rival, **Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī**. Towards the end of his life he emigrated to Sicily, where he died. In his lifetime he owed his fame mainly to his poetry; but to posterity he is first of all the author of *al-'Umda* (*The Support*). **Ibn Khaldūn** praises it highly. It deals with poetry in all its aspects: its status, effect, function, essence, structure and forms, themes, diction, defects. It gives advice to the would-be poet, provides some indispensable background information (including some basic Arab genealogy and **Battle Days**) and discusses some important issues such as the *lafz* and *ma'nā* controversy or the *maṭbū'* and *maṣnū'* types of poetry. A large part of the book is devoted to various tropes and figures of speech. Ibn Rashīq quotes many sayings and anecdotes from earlier times, but he is not merely a compiler since he often gives his own opinion. More limited in scope is *Qurāḍat al-dhahab*, which deals with a number of figures of speech and forms of plagiarism and borrowing (see *sariqa*). Parts

of his *Unmūdhaj al-zamān*, on the poets of Qayrawan, are preserved as quotations in later works.

### Text editions

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*Qurāḍat al-dhahab fī naqd ash'ār al-'Arab*, al-Shādhilī Bū Yahyā (Chedly Bouyahia) (ed.), Tunis (1972).

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### Further reading

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

*See also:* literary criticism, medieval

## Ibn Riḍwān (d. 453/1061)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Riḍwān was an Egyptian physician and medical writer. Born into a poor family in Giza, he lacked the funds for formal study with a teacher and was primarily self-taught, earning his living through astrology for some years while pursuing his medical studies. An opportunity to substitute for a physician friend launched his career in his thirties, however, and he eventually rose to become the chief physician to the **Fāṭimid** caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 427–87/1036–94) and very wealthy. A vain and insecure man, he was intolerant of criticism or of others' success unless sponsored by himself. Professionally, he was an avid bibliophile, very well read, and a prolific writer on mainly medical topics. Of almost one hundred known books of his, about twenty survive today. These insist on strict adherence to the ancient Greek heritage of Hippocrates and Galen, and present aspects of this tradition in various forms for use by medical practitioners. Other works are polemics; the most famous of these comprised a series of diatribes against **Ibn Buṭlān**, whom he hounded out of Cairo in 444/1052. Though unoriginal, his works offer important data on earlier times and his own life and career, and vivid portraits on the social history of Egypt and the medical profession in his day.

## Text editions

- '*Alī Ibn Riḍwān and al-Mukhtār Ibn Buṭlān: Texts and Studies*, Fuād Sezgin (ed.), Frankfurt (1996).  
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*Über den Weg zur Glückseligkeit durch den ärztlichen Beruf*, Albert Dietrich (ed.), Göttingen (1982).

## Further reading

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L.I. CONRAD

## Ibn al-Rūmī (221–83/836–96)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās ibn Jurayj, known as Ibn al-Rūmī, was one of the great poets of the 'Abbāsid period. Of mixed Greek and Persian origin – his father was a Byzantine freedman, a convert to Islam – he was born and died in **Baghdad**, where he lived almost all his life, apart from a period in Samarra, the temporary caliphal residence. He was a man of many talents but chose the career of a poet, always in search of influential and wealthy patrons. Of these he had a great many in the course of his life; but, easily provoked into making biting invectives, he was never devoid of enemies. His strong **Shi'i** and **Mu'tazili** opinions made it impossible for him to be a court poet; the regent al-Muwaffaq (d. 278/891) was the only 'Abbāsid ruler favourably disposed towards him. He is said to have been poisoned at the instigation of al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, a member of the Banū Wahb family of high officials, on account of his invective; there are several conflicting versions of the story.

The biographers describe him as being of a difficult character, arrogant, irritable, hypochondriac, gluttonous, extravagant and

excessively superstitious. He is generally recognized as one of the greatest poets, who was equally skilled in long odes and short **epigrams**, in panegyric, invective and descriptive poetry. Many of his poems are very long, several hundred lines: much longer than those of the two other great ninth-century poets, **Abū Tammām** and **al-Buḥturī**. He is especially admired, already by the medieval critics, for his ability to 'generate strange motifs' (*tawliḍ al-gharīb*) and to make the most of a particular motif by exhaustively treating it from different aspects. This contributes to the length of poems as well as to their relative coherence, an aspect that has unconvincingly been traced to his partly Greek origin. He excels in many contrasting genres: lofty formal panegyric, elegant and witty description (nature, wine or female beauty), formal elegies (not only on individuals, see for example his well-known *mūmiyya* on the devastation of **Basra** by the Zanj in 257/871), touching personal poetry (including elegies on his relations), and extremely coarse and racy invective. Like **al-Mutanabbī**, whom he foreshadows to some extent, he inserts a strong personal element in some of his formal odes, as when he dwells at great length on his aversion to travelling (in a *bā'iyya* for Aḥmad ibn Thawāba, for instance). At its best, his poetry is a happy combination of the natural and the learned.

His voluminous *diwān* was collected after his death, among others by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī.

## Text editions

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22–36, together with articles on Ibn al-Rūmī by G.J. van Gelder and P. Smoor.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Ibn Rushd (520–95/1126–98)

Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushd was a thinker who had immense influence on the Jewish and Christian worlds of philosophy. His Latinized name, Averroes, appears very frequently in their works. He was born in Córdoba and died in Marrakesh, having played a large part in the legal and political life of the state as chief *qādī*, although his career was often interrupted by political difficulties. His work on philosophy is outstanding due to its scope and its character. He commented on most of Aristotle's works in the form of summaries, middle and long commentaries, he wrote on medicine, law and theology, and he composed polemical books which defended the study of philosophy and argued for its importance with regard to the understanding of religion. He lived at a time when the relative merits of religion and philosophy were much discussed, and he presented powerful arguments for the defence of philosophy which did not do much to change the direction of intellectual life in the west of the Islamic world, for after his death the sort of Peripatetic philosophy that he so vigorously supported went into something of a rapid decline in the Islamic community. He certainly influenced thinkers in the east of the Islamic world, and most of all came to dominate the philosophical curriculum of the Christian world, and in particular its interpretation of Aristotle. In his commentaries on Aristotle Ibn Rushd sought to cleanse the text of the Neoplatonic accretions of the past, and although he was not always successful, the attempt to get back to the original Aristotelian arguments is a very impressive one and held great sway for many centuries throughout the intellectual community of Jews and Christians who became fascinated by the thought of Aristotle. (See further **Platonism**.)

In his writings on philosophy and religion Ibn Rushd defends the notion of the compatibility of reason and Islam. The point of philosophy is to establish the real meaning of religious statements, which the theologians (*mutakallimūn*; see *kalām*) can only explain from the point of view of the religion itself. Religion uses a whole variety of literary techniques to move the community to action, and

some of these techniques involve quite loose forms of reasoning, for instance stories, myths and metaphors, which in themselves are logically of a low rank. There is nothing wrong with this provided that it is seen as the appropriate way to get the point over to the masses, for whom a philosophical explanation would be vacuous. They are not to be subjected to the philosophical meaning of the text, since this would endanger both their faith and the well-being of the philosopher who produced it. Both religion and philosophy are true, and represent different points of view of the same truth, but only philosophers can really understand why this is so. As one might imagine, these views did not endear Ibn Rushd to the theologians of his time.

In his spirited response to al-Ghazzālī, the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (*Refutation of the Refutation*), Ibn Rushd sought to argue against the attack that al-Ghazzālī had made against philosophy. One of the interesting features of his approach was to distinguish his own views from those of Ibn Sinā, who is the main object of al-Ghazzālī's assault. Ibn Sinā produced a highly Neoplatonic account of philosophy which Ibn Rushd wished to distinguish from what he regarded as genuine Aristotelianism, so he was obliged not to defend what Ibn Sinā actually wrote but what he should have written, had he been a more orthodox Aristotelian. His frequent defences of philosophy reveal how beleaguered philosophy was at the time, and Ibn Rushd produced a wide variety of potent and sophisticated arguments for the value of philosophy which did not in the end strike much of a chord in the Islamic community for which he was writing.

Since Aristotle's *Politics* was unavailable, Ibn Rushd used Plato's *Republic* as his main text in political philosophy, and he produced a very interesting account of the relationship between the *sharī'a* (Islamic law) and civil law in the Islamic state. The former is superior to the latter not only because it is divinely inspired, but also because it makes possible the happiness of all in the state. He relates the *Republic* to political events of his own time, and presents a fascinating analysis of the contemporary state in the language of Aristotle and Plato. Although there is no doubt that much of the work is dependent upon the writings of al-Fārābī, it is a major *tour de force* in political philosophy, and hangs together with his other works in holding that philosophical

and religious points of view are perspectives of the same truth.

Perhaps the most significant contribution that Ibn Rushd made was through his theory of meaning. He argued that it is possible to use our language to talk about God in so far as we appreciate that divine predicates display the paradigmatic use of concepts, which we can also apply to ourselves in a related but more restricted manner. For example, we can say that we can know things, but God knows things in a perfect manner, since He has created the object of His knowledge and cannot err with respect to it. Ibn Rushd used this theory, which he derives from Aristotle, to present a sophisticated account of language and to counter the objections of thinkers such as al-Ghazzālī who insisted that when we talk about God our language must be used in just the same way as we use it of ourselves. This theory, which insists upon literal meaning, makes it difficult to know how to move from this world to the divine world, and Ibn Rushd criticizes al-Ghazzālī frequently for representing God as a sort of superman, with human characteristics that are just more powerful than when possessed by human beings. Ibn Rushd's theory explains why divine language is similar to our language, but also why it is different, and it creates the possibility of discussing God's qualities in sophisticated ways which appear to accord with the demands of religion. This theory came to have great influence in future Western philosophy. Although Ibn Rushd did not have much influence on Arabic thought, he did represent much of what was so impressive about Islamic philosophy, and that went on to form an important part of the character of Western thought in the Middle Ages, and indeed up to today.

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- Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics*, C.E. Butterworth (trans.), Princeton (1986).
- Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy (=Faṣl al-maqāl)*, G.F. Hourani (trans.), London (1961).
- Averroes' Tahāfut al-tahāfut (The Incoherence of the Incoherence)*, S. van den Bergh (trans.), London (1954).
- Averroes' Three Short Commentaries on Aristotle's Topics, Rhetoric and Poetics*, C.E. Butterworth (ed. and trans.), Ithaca (1977).

*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, S. Dunyā (ed.), Cairo (1969).

*Talkhiṣ al-Khaṭāba*, 'A. Badawī (ed.), Cairo (1960).

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- Black, D., *Logic and Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetics in Medieval Arabic Philosophy*, Leiden (1990).
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- Cruz Hernández, M., *Muḥammad Abū-l-Walīd ibn Ruṣd (Averroes): Vida, obra, pensamiento, influencia*, Córdoba (1986).
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O. LEAMAN

## Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd was a scholar of *ḥadīth* and *sīra* who travelled widely during his studies and in **Baghdad** attached himself to **al-Wāqidī**, serving as his secretary and transmitting his works. Several minor (and now lost) books by Ibn Sa'd on tribal rivalries, law and *ḥadīth* are completely overshadowed by his great biographical dictionary, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr (Large Book of Classes)*. The text begins with the life of **Muḥammad**, and then gives accounts of other eminent personalities arranged into geographical sections, and within these, according to stages of remove from the time of the Prophet (*ṭabaqa*, hence the title) or by tribal affiliation. His entries on early figures are quite full; later ones steadily diminish in detail, but the author may have hoped to augment these later as material became available. The text is based primarily on the now lost *Ṭabaqāt* of al-Wāqidī, augmented with other sources and information, and Ibn Sa'd (or his students who transmitted his work) did not hesitate to revise as they saw fit.

The *Ṭabaqāt* was acknowledged as a scholarly masterpiece by later generations, and today it is a crucial source for the Prophet's biography and for early Islamic history. In

historiographical terms, the division of material according to *ṭabaqa* (certainly the contribution of al-Wāqidi) is important as one of the earliest criteria in the Arab-Islamic tradition for systematic chronological arrangement; it was subsequently adopted for biographically ordered compendia in numerous fields.

Several recensions of the *Ṭabaqāt* were transmitted by Ibn Sa'd's students and cited in later times. One of these was edited by Sachau; a missing section from vol. 4 has more recently been edited by Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr (see below). Many more manuscripts are now known, however, and a new edition merits consideration.

#### Text editions

- Ibn Sa'd's Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, S. Moinul Haq and H.K. Ghazanfar (trans), 2 vols, Karachi (1967–72) (mediocre English translation of the first volume, on Muḥammad).  
*Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, Eduard Sachau et al. (eds), 9 vols, Leiden (1904–40).  
*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr ...* (sections on Followers of Medina, etc., from vol. 4), Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr (ed.), Medina (1407/1987).

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- Duri, A.A., *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, L.I. Conrad (trans.), Princeton (1983), 39–40.  
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 Khalidi, Tarif, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge (1994), 44–8.

L.I. CONRAD

See also: biography, medieval; historical literature

### Ibn Sahl al-Ishbili (609–49/1212–51)

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī al-Ishbili was a poet in Seville and Ceuta. Born Jewish, Ibn Sahl was a close friend and fellow student of **Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi**. He studied medicine, philosophy and astronomy, but won fame as a poet. He converted to Islam, but the sincerity of his conversion was doubted by some. Emigrating to North Africa, apparently in 646/1248, he became *kātib* of Ibn Khalāṣ, the governor of Ceuta, who remarked, on

learning of Ibn Sahl's death by drowning, 'The pearl has returned to its source.'

Ibn Sahl wrote some panegyrics, but mostly love poetry; he is best known for his *muwashshahs*. His frequent use of Koranic quotations brought upon him charges of disrespect; but this habit may simply be an unconscious transferring to Arabic of the regular practice of Hebrew poets. Likewise the names of the addressees of his love poems, Mūsā and Muḥammad, have been interpreted by some as code words for Judaism and Islam; but both youths have been identified as historical individuals.

#### Text editions

- Ben Sahl de Sevilla: Poemas*, Teresa Garulo, Madrid (1983).  
*Dīwān, Iḥsān 'Abbās* (ed.), Beirut (1967).  
*Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, James T., Monroe, Berkeley (1974), 304–7.  
 Qūba'a, M., 'Ash'ar li-Ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī lam tunshar', *Ḥawliyyāt al-Jāmi'a al-Tūnisiyya* 19 (1980), 3–185.

#### Further reading

- Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 344–5.  
 Soualah, M., *Ibrahim b. Sahl: poète musulman d'Espagne*, Algiers (1914).  
 Stern, Samuel M., *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, Oxford (1974), index.

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

### Ibn al-Sā'ī (593–674/1197–1276)

'Alī ibn Anjab ibn al-Sā'ī was a historian and a **Ṣūfī**, born and educated in **Baghdad**. He was a librarian at the Nizāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya libraries. In addition to his many historical works, he wrote on *ḥadīth*, *adab*, monographs on the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, a continuation of **al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's** *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, and various biographical dictionaries. The body of his work exceeds one hundred titles, although a complete bibliography cannot be established as much of it was lost to the destruction of the Mongol invasions. Only one volume of his chronicle, *al-Jami' al-mukhtaṣar*, and a short treatise on some of the wives of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, *Nisā' al-khulafā'*, have survived.

#### Text editions

- al-Jami' al-mukhtaṣar fī 'unwān al-tawārikh wa 'uyūn al-siyār*, Baghdad (1934).



*Jihat al-ā'imma* (1959).

*Kitāb akhbār al-Hallāj*, Damascus (1996).

*Kitāb mukhtaṣar akhbār al-khulafā'*, Bulaq (1891).

*Nisā' al-khulafā'*, Cairo (1960, 1962, 1968, 1995).

*Ta'rikh al-khulafā' al-'Abbāsiyyin*, Cairo (1993).

J. E. LINDSAY

## Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (610–85/1213–86)

Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī was an Andalusian writer who died in Tunis. A member of a family descended from a Companion of the Prophet and rulers of a small principality in Spain during the Taifa period, 'Alī is best-known for his anthology *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, which is the culminating version of a work begun several generations earlier by al-Ḥijārī at the suggestion of one of 'Alī's ancestors. It is a huge biographical anthology of poets and their work, mainly Andalusian but also oriental. There exists no complete edition, but many parts of it have been edited. His numerous other works include an incomplete *al-Mushriq fī ḥulā al-Mashriq*, an oriental parallel to the *Mughrib*, as well as other anthologies and historical and geographical works, mostly now lost.

### Text editions

*al-Ghuṣūn al-yāni' a fī maḥāsin shu'arā' al-mi'a al-sābi'a*, I. al-Abyārī (ed.), Cairo (1955).

*Mukhtaṣar Jughrāfiyya*, J. Vernet (ed.), Tetuan (1958); (partial trans.) J. Vernet, *Tamuda* 1 (1953) and 6 (1958).

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*Moorish Poetry*, A.J. Arberry (trans.), Cambridge (1953).

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### Further reading

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—, 'Un Polygraphe andalou du XIIIe siècle', *Arabica* 13 (1966) 142–67.

D. J. WASSERSTEIN

## Ibn al-Sā'igh (645–c.722/1244–c.1322)

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-

Sā'igh was a poet, grammarian and lexicographer, born and educated in Damascus. He taught in a shop in the jewellers' quarter of the city. Ibn al-Sā'igh is best known as an author of glosses and abridgements of others' works. He also composed a *Maqāma shihābiyya* and a large *diwān*. Included in this *diwān* is a lengthy *qāfiyya* (poem rhyming in *qāf*) in which he pines for his native Damascus while in Egypt.

J. E. LINDSAY

## Ibn Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad al-Ḥādī (1945– )

Contemporary Tunisian novelist born in Nefta, an oasis in the south of the country. He has held a number of jobs, including those of teacher and cooperative store manager. To date he has written nine books, beginning with the short stories of *al-Ḥalaqāt al-mulawwana* (1975), where he shows a preference for unhappy characters. His novels are testimonies to social decay. As well as tackling the problems of the intellectual in *al-Ḥaraka wa-intikās al-shams* (1981) and *Min ḥaqqihi na yahlum* (1991), Ibn Ṣāliḥ has not shrunk from portraying the bloody events of 26 January 1978 in *Safar al-nuqla wa-al-taṣawwur* – a piece of fiction that also includes descriptions of the country's European inhabitants.

### Further reading

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al-Kilānī, M., *Ishkāliyyat al-riwāya*, Carthage (1990).

J. FONTAINE

## Ibn Sālim, 'Umar (1932– )

Contemporary Tunisian critic, playwright and novelist, born in Métouia in southern Tunisia. He received an Arabic degree in Beirut in 1960 and a doctorate in Paris in 1968. He is now a researcher at the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Economiques et Sociales in Tunis, where he directs the literature department. Ibn Sālim has edited collections of poems by Ibn Durayd, 'Alī al-Ghurāb and Qābādū; he has also published an anthology of Tunisian short stories (1990) and a dictionary of contemporary Tunisian writers (1989). His dramatic work typically uses the historic

heritage of Tunisia to consider the problem of power ('*Ashtārūt*, 1984). In his novels he demonstrates the use of realism, treating such subjects as collectivization (*Wāḥa bi-lā zill*, 1979), unionism (*Dā'irat al-ikhṭināq*, 1982), immigration (*Abū Jahhāl al-dahhās*, 1983) and personal power (*al-Asad wa-al-timthāl*, 1989).

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J. FONTAINE

### Ibn Sallām al-Jumāḥī (139–232/756–846 or 847)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumāḥī was a philologist and critic from Basra. He studied with his father and many famous scholars in his native town and Baghdad, where he died. His only surviving work is *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'* (*The Classes of the Master Poets*); it is an important early anthology and classification of pre- and early Islamic poets, preceded by an original introduction dealing with the criticism of poetry and the problem of the authenticity of early Arabic poetry. The poets are divided into 'classes' of four poets, on the basis of several heterogeneous criteria (time, place, tribal affiliation, merit, quantity of output, dominant genre). He is often quoted by later authors, who did not, however, adopt his method of classification.

#### Text editions

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Kilpatrick, Hilary, 'Criteria of classification in the *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'* of Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Jumāḥī (d. 232/846)', in *UEAI Proceedings, Ninth, Amsterdam 1978*, Leiden (1981), 141–52

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: literary criticism, medieval

### Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (550–608/1155–1211)

Abū al-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Abī al-Faḍl Ja'far ibn al-Mu'tamid ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, sometimes referred to as al-Qāḍī al-Sa'id, was an Arabic poet of the Ayyūbid period, known primarily for his poetics of the Andalusian *muwashshah* found in his treatise and anthology *Dār al-ṭirāz*. Born in Cairo, he followed his father in the profession of *qāḍī*; he later travelled to Damascus, working under al-Qāḍī al-Faḍīl.

Traditionally, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk has been seen as a prolific poet of little originality. He composed a substantial *diwān*, comprising mainly panegyric and elegiac *qaṣā'id* (see *qaṣīda*); he dedicated a number of poems to Saladin. He is also the author of *Fuṣūṣ al-fuṣūl wa-'uqūd al-'uqūl* (MS Paris 3333). Although he lived two centuries after the emergence of the *muwashshah* and never travelled to its birthplace in al-Andalus, his *Dār al-ṭirāz fī 'amal al-muwashshahāt* is a valuable testament about the form, containing a poetics, an anthology and a collection of *muwashshahāt* of his own creation. The recent notoriety that has attended *Dār al-ṭirāz* has brought about a reappraisal of his literary merit, a theme explored by both al-Ahwānī and Naṣr.

#### Text editions

*Dār al-ṭirāz*, J. Rikabi (ed.), 2nd edn, Damascus (1977).  
*Diwān*, M. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (ed.), 2nd edn, Damascus (1977).

#### Further reading

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Naṣr, M.I., *Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk*, Cairo (1971).  
Rikabi, J. *La Poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides et ses principaux représentants*, Paris (1949).

L. ALVAREZ

### Ibn al-Ṣayqal al-Jazarī see al-Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn

## Ibn al-Sayrafī (463–542/1071–1147)

'Alī ibn Munjib ibn al-Sayrafī was an Arab writer who served in the Fāṭimid chancery (*dīwān al-inshā'*) in Cairo for about fifty years. Some of his prolific literary output has survived: volumes of official letters, a guide to chancery practice, a collection of short *risālas* dedicated to the vizier al-Afḍal, a history of some Fāṭimid viziers and two anthologies which deal with the Arab poets of Spain and Sicily. Lost works of his are listed by Yāqūt.

### Text editions

*al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra*, A. Mukhlis (ed.), BIFAO 35 (1924), 49–112; 36 (1926), 49–76.  
*Qānūn dīwān al-rasā'il*, A. Bahjat (ed.), Cairo (1905).  
al-Shayyāl, Jamāl al-Dīn, *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo (1950) 181–260.

### Further reading

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C. HILLENBRAND

## Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (671–734/1273–1334)

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sayyid al-Nās was a Cairene scholar and poet, known for his biography of the Prophet. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās was born in Cairo after his family had fled Seville in the tumult preceding the Christian conquest of that city. He followed his father in pursuing a scholarly career, principally as a professor of *ḥadīth*. His biography of the Prophet, the *'Uyūn al-āthār*, enjoyed great success in its time. He also wrote *ḥadīth* commentary, including *al-Nafḥ al-shadhī* on al-Tirmidhī's collection, a work on Prophetic miracles (the *Maqāmāt al-'āliya*), and two works on the Companions of the Prophet, including *Minah al-madh* on poets who had praised or eulogized him. He also composed a great deal of poetry and was noted for his panegyrics in praise of Muḥammad.

### Text editions

*Dīwān*, G.M.A. Aḥmad (ed.), Cairo (1991).  
*Maqāmāt al-'āliya fī al-karamāt al-jāliya*, I.W. Ḥamza (ed.), Beirut (1986).  
*Minah al-madh aw Shu'arā' al-Ṣaḥāba*, I.W. Ḥamza (ed.), Damascus (1987).

*al-Nafḥ al-shadhī fī sharḥ Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*, A. 'Abd al-Karīm (ed.), Riyadh (1988 or 1989).  
*'Uyūn al-āthār fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-al-shamā'il wa-al-siyar*, Beirut (1977).

L. ALVAREZ

## Ibn Shaddād (539–632/1145–1234)

Bahā' al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Shaddād was a religious scholar and *qāḍī* who was born in Mosul and died in Aleppo. Fame followed his close association with Saladin (from 584/1188 till Saladin's death in 589/1193) and his writing of Saladin's *Life* (completed before 625/1228). Not strictly a biography, the work begins with a section on the 'virtues' (*manāqib*) of Saladin, the hagiographical character of which is emphasized by Koranic and *ḥadīth* quotations. A conventional narrative follows, substantially derived from his colleague, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. The account of the last few years is entirely original, and, written with few rhetorical devices, communicates the author's affection, admiration, and then regret, for Saladin.

### Text editions

*Dalā'il al-aḥkām min aḥādīth al-Rasūl*, Muḥammad Shaykhānī and Ziyād al-Dīn Ayyūbī (eds), Beirut and Damascus (1992–3).  
*al-Nawādir al-sulṭaniyya fī al-mahāsin al-Yūsufiyya or Sirat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Shayyāl (ed.), Cairo (1964).  
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D.S. RICHARDS

## Ibn Shahrāshūb (489–588/1096–1192)

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Shahrāshūb, 'Izz al-Dīn, was an Imāmī exegete, narrator of *ḥadīth*, *faqīh* and man of letters. Born into a family from Sārī in Māzandarān he began his studies early in life, and had apparently learnt the Koran by the age of 8. Difficulties with the rulers of Māzandarān forced him to leave, and he

moved to **Baghdad**, arriving there after 547/1152, during the reign of the caliph al-Muqtafī (530–55/1136–60). From the evidence of the list of his teachers, and from the fact that he directly received *al-Kashshāf* from **al-Zamakhsharī** and *Majma' al bayān* from al-Ṭabarsī, he must have visited Nishapur, Khwarazm, Sabzawār, Bayhaq (where he heard 'Alī ibn Zayd al-Bayhaqī), Mashhad, **Rayy**, Kashan, Isfahan and Hamadan before arriving in Baghdad. Some time early in the caliphate of al-Mustaḍī', as a result of the power of the Ḥanbalī 'ulamā', he was forced to leave Baghdad and went to al-Ḥilla, where he taught, among others, the *faqīh* Ibn Idrīs (d. 598/1202). In 571/1175 he moved to Mosul and two years later to Aleppo, which had been a refuge for **Shi'ī** scholars from the time of the **Hamdānids**, and where he died.

Besides being an exegete, a *faqīh*, and a scholar of *ḥadīth*, Ibn Shahrāshūb is also famous as a composer and collector of poetry, particularly on the virtues of the Shi'ī Imāms. He was not at first counted among the trustworthy narrators of *ḥadīth*, but Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1630) established his trustworthiness and his status was subsequently repeatedly confirmed. His *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* (many printings in Iran and Iraq), as it now exists, ends with the eleventh Imām al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, but there is evidence that it originally contained mention of the twelfth Imām as well as of the Companions of the Prophet and the Followers. Two more works of his have been printed: *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, a reworking of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Fihrist*, and an important Shi'ī *rijāl* book; and *Mutashābih al-Qur'ān wa-mukhtalifuh*, a work on the *mutashābih* verses combining dogmatics, law, exegesis and poetry. Most of his other works are now lost.

#### Text editions

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*Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, Najaf (1956).

*Mutashābih al-Qur'ān wa-mukhtalifuh*, 2 vols, Tehran (1369/1950).

J. COOPER

### Ibn al-Shajari (450–542/1058–1148)

Hibat Allāh ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Shajari was a **Baghdad** grammarian and poet. He was the

leading representative of the Alids in the suburb of Karkh. His best-known work is *The Dictations (al-Amāli)*, consisting of eighty-four sessions (*majālis*), mostly on points of **grammar**, although the last is dedicated to commentary on verses of **al-Mutanabbī**. He collected an anthology, called *al-Ḥamāsa*, in which, as he claimed, 'he rivalled **Abū Tam-mām**', and wrote a commentary on the grammarian **Ibn Jinni**. His conventional poetry included panegyric of such as the vizier Nizām al-Dīn Ibn Jahīr.

#### Text editions

*al-Amāli*, Hyderabad (1349/1930–1).

*al-Ḥamāsa*, F. Krenkow (ed.), Hyderabad (1345/1926–7).

*Mā itafaqa lafzuh wa-ikhtalafa ma 'nāhu*, 'Artīya Rizq (ed.), Beirut (1992).

#### Further reading

Krenkow, F., 'Ibn Ash-Shajari', *JRAS* (1929), 96–100.

D.S. RICHARDS

### Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī see al-Kutubī

### Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawāni (c.390–459/c.1000–67)

Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawāni was a poet and literary critic, born in Qayrawan and died in Spain. His poetry, much of which was written under the patronage of al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs, the ruler of Qayrawan, is now largely lost. He spent his later years in Sicily and in Spain. His rivalry at court with **Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawāni** led to the production of works of literary criticism whose remnants preserve for us valuable information about the taste and judgement of North African and Spanish Muslims of the period.

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Ibn Sharif al-Rundi (601–84/1204–85)

Next to nothing is known of Abū al-Baqā' ibn Sharif al-Rundi's life. He was a poet from Ronda, who probably lived in Granada and may have been a *qādī*. He is the author of a treatise on poetics entitled *al-Wāfī fī naẓm al-qawāfī*, a treatise on metrics, and an *urjūza* on the laws of succession in Islam. He is best known for his *nūniyya*, a lament on the fall of several places in the provinces of Murcia and Jerez to the Castilians in 664/1266; it may have been written in Marrakesh. Relying on the traditional *ubi sunt* motif, the poet lists the bygone emperors and kingdoms customarily mentioned in laments, but then goes on to add to the list such towns of al-Andalus as Valencia, Murcia, Játiva, Jáen, Córdoba and Seville. This poem became so famous that it attracted additions by later hands, obscuring the date of its composition and the century of its author.

### Text edition

*Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, J.T. Monroe (ed.), Berkeley (1974), 332–6.

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Ebied, R.Y. and Young, M.J.L., 'Abū 'l-Baqā' al-Rundi and his elegy on Muslim Spain', *MW* 66 (1976), 29–34.

See also: art. 'Marthiya', *EL*<sup>2</sup>, (C. Pellat).

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

## Ibn Shuhayd (382–426/992–1035)

Abū 'Āmir Aḥmad ibn Abī Marwān ibn Shuhayd was a Córdoba poet of noble origin, best known for his *Risālat at-Tawābī' wa-al-zawābī'*. The Banū Shuhayd, an aristocratic family of Syrian origin, had long held high offices in the Umayyad government in Spain. Abū 'Āmir was bound for a prestigious career as well; however, because of the *fitna*, or unrest, of his times, his access to power lasted only for short periods, until the final collapse of the Umayyad caliphate. Then, his political hopes dashed, he turned his full attention to literary pursuits. His contemporaries describe him as a man of complex character: libertine, idle, acid-tongued, irreligious, egotistical, hot-

tempered and yet, at the same time, generous to a fault.

Ibn Shuhayd's *Risāla* (415/1025–6) is extant only in an incomplete version in Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhira*. The *Risāla*'s interest lies mainly in its imaginative premise. Following the tradition of the *mi'rāj*, the poet travels with his inspiring genius to the netherworld to meet the *jinn* of poets living and deceased, engaging – and besting – them in poetic competition. The narration thus becomes a literary commentary on the Parnassus of Arabic poets and has been seen as part of an effort to buttress the importance of Andalusian letters *vis-à-vis* the Eastern poets. His later poetry displays a profound sense of ascetic resignation. Paralysed by a stroke, he dedicated one of his most notable poems to his lifelong friend, Ibn Ḥazm, shortly before his death at the age of 43. His *dīwān*, spread about in numerous sources, has now been collected and published by C. Pellat and later again by Y. Zakī (J. Dickie).

### Text editions

*Dīwān*, C. Pellat (ed.), Beirut (1963); Y. Zakī (J. Dickie) (ed. and trans.), Córdoba (1975).

*Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, J.T. Monroe (ed.), Berkeley (1974), 160–9.

*Risālat al-tawābī' wa-al-zawābī'*, B. Bustāni (ed.), Beirut (1967).

*Risālat al-tawābī' wa-al-zawābī': The Treatise of Familiar Spirits and Demons*, J. Monroe (trans.), Berkeley (1971).

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Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 103–5.

L. ALVAREZ

## Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsi (444–521/1052–1127)

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsi was an Andalusian writer on **grammar** and philosophy. He was born in Badajoz, and died in Valencia after serving the Banū Razin of Albarracín for a time. He wrote some twenty works, most of which have not survived, including the following: a commentary on the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Qutayba (*al-Iqtidāb fī sharḥ adab al-kuttāb*, ed. 'A.A. al-Bustāni, Beirut, 1901);

*Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq*, a philosophical work which was translated into Hebrew three times and was influential down to the seventeenth century (see L.V. Berman, in *EJ* 2, vol. 2, cols 526–7, with further references); *al-Inṣāf fī al-tanbīh 'alā al-asbāb allatī awjabat al-ikhṭilāf* (Cairo, 1319/1901).

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Ibn al-Sikkīt (186–c.243/802–c.867)

Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Iṣḥāq, known as Ibn al-Sikkīt, was born in **Baghdad** and executed (possibly for **Shi'i** tendencies) in about 243/867. He was an extremely important intermediary between the generation of his teachers, which included Qutrūb, **Ibn al-A'rābī**, **al-Aṣma'i**, **Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā** and **al-Farrā'**, and the later flowering of Arabic philology under his pupils **al-Dīnawarī**, **al-Sukkarī** and **al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama**. His influence on lexicography is attested by countless quotations, while his efforts in collecting poetry laid the foundations for subsequent preservation and editing of many *dīwāns*. Among his many works the *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* is still valuable as an anthology of morphological and lexical information.

### Text editions

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*Kitāb al-aḍḍād*, A. Haffner (ed.), *Drei arabische Quellenwerke über die Addād*, Beirut (1913).

*Kitāb al-qalb wa-al-ibdāl*, A. Haffner (ed.), *Texte zur arabischen Lexikographie*, Baghdad (1905). (For works involving poetry see *GAS* 2, index.)

M.G. CARTER

## Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037)

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā was the most renowned philosopher of medieval Islam, and was also famous as a physician; he was known in the Latin West as Avicenna. Ibn Sīnā was born probably a few years before 370/980 near Bukhārā, then the capital of the **Sāmānid** state, in which his father occupied a high-ranking position. Both his father and his brother being followers of the **Fāṭimid Ismā'ilis**, he was exposed as a youth to their (Neoplatonic) doctrine of 'the Soul and the Intellect', as he himself points out in his autobiography; however, he also makes it clear that

he preferred to follow his own philosophical intuition and acknowledges only Abū Naṣr **al-Fārābī** as a significant influence on his development. He received, in any case, an excellent education thanks to the availability of teachers and libraries in Bukhārā. At an early age, he was enrolled as a physician in the ruler, Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr (r. 365–87/976–97), and given an administrative post. From about 390/1000, in the wake of the disintegration of Sāmānid rule, Ibn Sīnā was compelled to emigrate from Bukhārā, first to Khwārazm, then to Jurjan, and finally, in 404/1014, to **Rayy**, where he joined **Būyid** service for the first time. The following year he moved via Qazwīn to Hamadan, where he served as physician and vizier of the Būyid Shams al-Dawla until the latter's death in 412/1021. Subsequently, Ibn Sīnā's position at the court in Hamadan appears to have suffered serious setbacks to the point that he was imprisoned for four months in 414/1023. Some time later, he was able to leave the city for Isfahan, dressed as a dervish, together with his brother, his faithful companion (and biographer) al-Jūzjānī, and two servants. He was received with great honours by the ruler of Isfahan, 'Alā' al-Dawla Abū Ja'far Muḥammad (d. 433/1041–2), a patron in whose service he remained for the rest of his life, and to whom he dedicated several works written in Persian. This period was disturbed in 421/1030 when the **Ghaznavid** army sacked Isfahan and some of the philosopher's works were pillaged and lost. Ibn Sīnā died of illness while on a campaign with his patron in Hamadan, and was buried there.

Some 130 works written by Ibn Sīnā (mostly in Arabic) over the roughly forty years of his active life have come down to us, ranging from encyclopaedic textbooks of philosophy and medicine to numerous short treatises on various specific questions as well as some symbolic narratives and poetic writings. A number of his works can be dated following al-Jūzjānī's indications and based on internal evidence, although a complete and precise chronology is far from being established and the date of some important writings (such as *al-Risāla al-aḥwāliyya fī al-ma'ād* and the *Risāla fī aḥwāl al-naḥs*) is in dispute (see Michot). Important works of the early period include the *Compendium on the Soul* (*Maqāla fī al-naḥs*, written in Bukhārā), the *Correspondence with al-Birūnī* (*al-As'ila wa-al-ajwiba*, eds S.H. Nasr and M. Mohaghegh,

Tehran, 1973) and the *Provenance and Destination* (*al-Mabda' wa-al-ma'ād*, ed. A. Nūrānī, Tehran, 1984), a concise treatise of peripatetic philosophy, written in Jurjan. The famous *Canon of Medicine* (*al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*) was also begun in Jurjan but completed in Ray and Hamadan.

It appears that the difficult final years in Hamadan were also those of an intense philosophical activity for Ibn Sīnā. It was then that he composed, among other works, substantial parts of the voluminous *Cure* (*al-Shifā'*, general ed. I. Madkūr, Cairo, 1952ff.), the authoritative systematic exposition of his philosophy consisting of four *summae* (*jumal*), viz. I. Logic, II. Physics (including *De Anima*, ed. F. Rahman, Oxford, 1959, and, with French translation, by J. Bakos, Prague, 1956; Latin in S. van Riet, ed., *Avicenna Latinus, Liber de Anima seu Sextus de Naturalibus*, Louvain and Leiden, 1968–72), III. Mathematics, and IV. Metaphysics (trans. M. Horten, *Die Metaphysik Avicennas: das Buch der Genesung der Seele*, Leipzig, 1907; trans. G.C. Anawati, *Avicenne, La métaphysique du Shifā'*, I–V, Paris, 1978; VI–X, Paris, 1985; extracts in English translation by M.E. Marmura in R. Lerner and M. Mahdi, eds, *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, Ithaca, NY, 1986, vol. 5, 98–111; Latin in S. van Riet, ed., *Avicenna Latinus, Liber de Philosophia Prima sive Scientia Divina*, Louvain and Leiden, 1977–83).

Equally comprehensive but more concise works, written in Isfahan, include the *Salvation* (*al-Najāt*; most recent edn by M.T. Dānishpazhūh, Tehran, 1364/1975; trans. of *De Anima* part in F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology*, Oxford, 1952) and the Persian *Book of Knowledge Dedicated to 'Alā' al-Dawla* (*Dānishnāma-yi 'Alā'ī*, S.M. Mishkāt and M. Mu'īn, eds, Tehran, 1331/1952; trans. M. Achena and H. Massé, *Le livre de science*, 2nd rev. edn, Paris, 1986; trans. of metaphysics part by P. Morewedge, *The Metaphysica of Avicenna (ibn Sīnā)*, London, 1973). Quite different in structure, and of a more allusive style, is the late *Hints and Annotations* (*al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbihāt*, with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's commentary, S. Dunyā, ed., Cairo 1960; trans. A. Goichon, *Le Livre des directives et remarques*, Paris, 1951; partial trans. S.C. Inati, *Remarks and Admonitions, Part One: Logic*, Toronto, 1984; idem, *Ibn Sīnā and Mysticism. Remarks and Admonitions:*

*Part Four*, London and New York, 1996). This book, often considered to be Ibn Sīnā's philosophical testament, concludes with sections on mysticism ('*irfān*, including an explicit reference to the symbolic narrative *Salāmān wa-Absāl*) and prophetic knowledge. Hence the debate in modern scholarship over Ibn Sīnā's 'mysticism' and the importance and interpretation that one should attach to his symbolic narratives such as *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* (critical edn, with Persian trans. and commentary attributed to al-Jūzjānī plus French trans. H. Corbin, *Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire* I, II, Tehran and Paris, 1954; see also bibliography: Corbin, Goichon, Gutas, Heath). While the traditional identification of Ibn Sīnā's (mostly lost) *Eastern Philosophy* with 'mysticism' seems questionable, it should be noted that he refers to his own philosophical achievements *qua* distinct from ordinary Aristotelianism as 'Eastern', and that the 'East' designates the spiritual domain in his *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*.

Unlike his predecessor al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā actively participated in specifically Islamic religious debates. Although his theology and his doctrine of the soul were strongly criticized by al-Ghazzālī and others, they exercised a profound influence on the later development of Muslim philosophy, theology and mysticism, particularly in Shi'i Iran.

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H. LANDOLT

## Ibn Sīnān al-Khafājī (422–66/1031–74)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn Sīnān al-Khafājī was a Syrian poet and critic. Unlike his revered teacher Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, he combined a literary with a political career. As envoy of Aleppo he went to Constantinople in 453/1061, one year before finishing his work on stylistics, *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*. He was poisoned at the instigation of the Mirdāsīd ruler Maḥmūd because he had made himself independent in Qal'at 'Azāz. His *dīwān* is preserved. In *Sirr al-faṣāḥa* he deals with literary style; his aim is to study the essence of 'eloquence', *faṣāḥa*, which he gives a broader meaning than is usual in Arabic literary criticism. He proceeds from basics: from sounds and articulation to words in isolation, then in combination; going on to 'meanings' (*ma'ānī*, sing, *ma'nā*) in isolation and in combination. The influence especially of Qudāma ibn Ja'far is noticeable; in its turn *Sirr al-faṣāḥa* was used by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr.

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- von Grunebaum, G.E., *El<sup>2</sup>*, art. 'Faṣāḥa'.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

See also rhetoric and poetics

## Ibn Sīrīn (34–110/654–728)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn was a traditionalist, jurist and 'the first renowned Muslim interpreter of dreams' (*El<sup>2</sup>*, vol. 3, 947 [T. Fahd]). The son of a freedman and a highly respected slave belonging to the caliph Abū Bakr, he earned a humble living as a cloth merchant. Known in his own lifetime as a pious traditionalist, who opposed the written transmission of *ḥadīth*, his reputation in this field was later eclipsed by his fame as an



interpreter of dreams (*mu'abbir*). Various works of *ta'bir* (oneiromancy) were attributed to him, most notably the early *Ta'bir al-ru'yā* and the ninth/fifteenth century compilation by Abū 'Alī al-Dārī, *Muntakhab al-kalām fī ta'bir al-aḥlām*.

## Text editions

*Muntakhab al-kalām fī ta'bir al-aḥlām*, printed on margins of 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Ta'tīr al-anām fī ta'bir al-aḥlām*, Cairo (1307/1890).  
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J.S. MEISAMI

## Ibn Sūdūn (c.810–68/c.1407–64)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Bashbughāwī ibn Sūdūn was an Egyptian poet and humorist, who was born in Cairo and died in Damascus. Failing to make his mark as a conventional poet, he turned to composing satiric and parodic pieces in prose and poetry, and achieved considerable fame for his wit. His collected work, which he published himself under the title *The Delight of the Eye and Garden of the Mind*, is divided into two parts, serious and frivolous, the latter containing colloquial poems, parodic sermons, funny stories and similar material. His humour – broad, silly and sometimes obscene – is reminiscent of that of al-Wahrānī and Ibn Dāniyāl, and later inspired al-Shirbīnī.

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E.K. ROWSON

## Ibn Sukkara al-Hāshimī (d. 385/995)

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sukkara al-Hāshimī was a Baghdadi poet of the Būyid period. A descendant of the 'Abbāsīd (Hāshimī) caliph al-Mahdī, he attacked the rival Ṭālibīs, descendants of the Prophet's cousin 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, in his poems, one of which prompted in response a poem in praise of them by Abū Fīrās al-Ḥamdānī. He was patronized by the vizier al-Muhallabī, and sent panegyrics to the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād. But he was most famed for his obscene and scatological poetry (see *mujūn* and *sukhf*), a specialty which he shared with his contemporary Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, with whom he exchanged scurrilous verses. His *diwān*, which is lost, is said to have contained 50,000 lines.

## Text editions

Selections in al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatimat al-dahr*, Cairo (1956), vol. 3, 3–30; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vol. 5, 465f.

E.K. ROWSON

## Ibn Surayj see singers and musicians

## Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934)

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-'Alawī was a poet and critic. A descendant of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, he was born and died in Isfahan. Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Ibn Ṭabāṭabā admired each other's poetry, although they never met. Fragments of his poetry, mostly short, are found in anthologies and biographical works. Of his several prose works mentioned by the biographers one survived: *'Iyār al-shi'r* (*The Standard, or Touchstone, of Poetry*). Unlike the systematic *Naqd al-shi'r* by his contemporary Qudāma ibn Ja'far, it consists of a rather loosely constructed series of perceptive essays on the essence of poetry, its production, the difference between good and bad verse, on comparisons, etc. He gives relatively much attention to the coherence of the poem. Al-Āmidī wrote a critique (*A Correction of the Mistakes in Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's Mi'yār* [sic] *al-shi'r*), which is lost. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's influence extended to Persian literary criti-

cism, as his *'Iyār al-shi'r* was partially paraphrased by Shams-i Qays Rāzī (thirteenth century) in his *al-Mu'jam fī ma'āyir ash'ār al-'Ajam*.

#### Text editions

*'Iyār al-shi'r*, Tāhā al-Ḥajiri and Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām (eds), Cairo (1956); 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Naṣir al-Mānī' (ed.), Ryadh (1985). *Shi'r*, Jābir al-Khāqānī (ed.), Baghdad (1976).

#### Further reading

van Gelder, G.J.H., *Beyond the Line: Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem*, Leiden (1982), 3–4, 54–68 and *passim*.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

See also: literary criticism, medieval

### Ibn Taghribirdī (c.812–74/c.1409 or 1410–70)

Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdī was an Egyptian historian. Born in Cairo, the son of a senior Mamlūk officer of Anatolian (*Rūmī*) origin who died in Ibn Taghribirdī's third year, he was raised by his sister, who was married to a prominent Ḥanafī jurist. Ibn Taghribirdī received a thorough grounding in the religious and literary disciplines. Because of his connections at the imperial court of the Mamlūk sultanate, he wrote with authority about the politics and ethos of the military élite in Egypt. His major works are: a biographical dictionary (*al-Manhal al-ṣāfi wa-al-mustawfi ba'd al-wāfi*) summarizing careers of sultans, *amīrs* and scholars to 855/1451; a general chronicle (*al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhira*) surveying the history of Egypt from the Arab conquest in 20/641 to 872/1467; and a detailed annalistic commentary addressing contemporary events (*Hawādith al-duhūr fī muḍiyy al-ayyām wa-al-shuhūr*) from 845/1441 to Muḥarram 874/July 1469.

#### Text editions

Popper, W., 'Abū 'l-Maḥāsin', *ET*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 1, 138 for editions.

#### Further reading

Humphreys, R.S., *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, rev. edn, Princeton (1991), 128–47.

C. PETRY

### Ibn al-Ṭathriyya, Yazid (d. 126/744)

Love poet of the late Umayyad period of bedouin background; he was killed as chief of his tribe in a battle between the Qushayr and the Banū Ḥanīfa in northern Syria. None of the ancient *diwāns* have been conserved; the collection of fragments of al-Dāmin contains 62 pieces with 240 verses to which another 28 poems of doubtful attribution are added. The most prominent topic of his poetry is his chaste love for several ladies; in the *akhbār*, we are told about a very intense relationship with a certain Waḥshiyya al-Jarmiyya. Yazid was himself lamented in a number of elegies.

#### Text edition

*Shi'r Yazid Ibn al-Ṭathriyya*, H.S. al-Dāmin (ed.), Baghdad (1973) (collection of fragments).

T. SEIDENSTICKER

### Ibn Taymiyya (661–728/1263–1328)

Ṭaqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥanbalī was a theologian and jurist of the conservative and literalist Ḥanbalī law school. His whole career in Damascus and Egypt was marked by intense controversy, including denunciations of what he conceived of as *bida'*, heretical innovations in the faith, not surprisingly arousing the opposition of a wide array of adversaries; he endured several spells of imprisonment, and died in the Damascus citadel.

A highly prolific and pugnacious writer, all his work was based on the Ḥanbalī ideal of conformity to the Koran and Sunna and a repudiation of all that he regarded as extraneous to the faith. His very numerous legal pronouncements or *fatwās* and his epistles have been collected. His *'Aqida Wasiṭiyya* or profession of faith written in response to a request for guidance from the Ḥanbalīs of Wasit in Iraq, was made into a *casus belli* by his enemies. His polemical works included a defence of the Prophet Muḥammad against the Christians, of Sunnism against the Shi'is, and attacks on Muslim groups of which he disapproved, such as the Ṣūfis and the philosophers. In Koranic studies, he wrote two commentaries, whilst a *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-shar'iyya* deals with questions of law and society. A legal treatise attacking

contemporary abuses in the law of divorce led to persecution of him by his opponents, as did his writings against the visiting of saints' tombs and against their intercession. The total number of his works is listed by Brockelmann as 153; most of these have been published, especially as Ibn Taymiyya is now cherished in contemporary Saudi Arabia as the precursor of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), on whose doctrines Saudi religious policy is based.

**Text editions**

- Die islamische Glaubenslehre ('aqīda) des Ibn Taymiyya (al-'Aqīda al-Wāsiṭiyya)*, C. Wein (trans.), Bonn (1973).
- Musique et danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: le livre du samā' et de la danse*, J.R. Michot (ed. and trans.), Paris (1991).
- A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taimiyya's Al-jawāb al-saḥīḥ*, T.F. Michel (ed. and trans.), Delmar, NJ (1984).
- La profession de foi d'Ibn Taymiyya*, H. Laoust (ed. and trans.), Paris (1986).
- Public Duties in Islam: the Institution of the Ḥisba (= Kitāb al-Ḥisba)*, M. Holland (trans.), Leicester (1982).
- al-Siyāsa al-shar'iyya*, M. 'Abd Allāh al-Sammān (ed.), Cairo (1961).
- Ibn Taimiyya on Public and Private Law in Islam, or Public Policy in Islamic Jurisprudence*, O.A. Farrukh (trans.) Beirut (1966).
- Le Traité de droit public d'Ibn Taimiyya*, H. Laoust (trans.), Beirut (1948).

**Further reading**

- Khan, Q., *The Political Thought of Ibn Taimiyah*, Islamabad (1973).
- Laoust, H., *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takī 'l-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo (1930).
- Makari, V.E., *Ibn Taymiyyah's Ethics: The Social Factor*, Chico, CA (1983).
- Makdisi, G., 'Hanbalite Islam', in *Studies on Islam*, M.L. Swartz (ed. and trans.) New York and Oxford (1981).
- Memon, M.U., *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle Against Popular Religion, with an Annotated Translation of His Kitāb Iqtidā' as-sirāt al-mustaqīm...*, The Hague (1976).

C.E. BOSWORTH

**Ibn al-Ṭiṭṭaqā (late seventh–early eighth century/late thirteenth–early fourteenth century)**

Little is known of Jalāl (or Ṣafī) al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ṭiṭṭaqā, a

minor official and author, who was born into a prominent 'Alid family about 660/1262, and himself held posts as regulator (*naqīb*) of the 'Alids. His death date is unknown. He is famous for one work, half *Fürstenspiegel*, half summary chronicle: the *Kitāb al-Fakhrī*, which he consciously wrote in an accessible manner, while delayed by bad winter weather in Mosul in 701/1302, and dedicated to Ghazān Khān's governor there, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Isā. His interesting viewpoint as an 'Alid writing after the fall of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate adds value to the artfully selected material.

**Text edition**

- Al-Fakhrī: histoire des dynasties musulmanes ...*, E. Amar (trans.), Paris (1910).
- Al-Fakhrī ... on the Systems of Government and the Moslem Dynasties*, C.E.J. Whitting (trans.), London (1947).
- Kitāb al-Fakhrī*, W. Ahlwardt (ed.), Gotha (1860); H. Derenbourg (ed.), Paris (1895); various Cairo editions.

D.S. RICHARDS

**Ibn Ṭufayl (c.504–81/1110–85)**

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṭufayl was born in Guadix, Spain, and died in Marrakesh, Morocco; his professional career spans the greatest intellectual period of the Almohad dynasty (524–667/1130–1269). Ibn Ṭufayl was chief physician and possibly prime minister in the Almohad court under Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (d. 1184), teacher of Abū Ishāq al-Bitrūjī, an astronomer of the thirteenth century, and patron of the young Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198).

Ibn Ṭufayl's fame rests primarily on a single work, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, exceptional in Arabic literature and philosophy as it takes the form of a narrative instead of being written as a treatise. It describes the intellectual growth of the individual, the teachings of philosophy and the questions surrounding its harmony with revealed religion as well as its interrelation with Sufism, through the life of its chief protagonist, Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān, 'Alive, son of Awake'. The narrative propounds a form of rational mysticism in a style that is exemplary of the clarity and beauty of Arabic prose.

Several other works have been attributed to Ibn Ṭufayl, including a book on the soul (*Kitāb al-nafs*), two volumes on medicine, possible works on astronomy whose theories are cited by al-Bitrūjī and Ibn Rushd, theories

on the zones of the earth, and a dialogue with Ibn Rushd on the *Kulliyāt*. Ibn Ṭufayl was known to his contemporaries as a great scientist and a *qāḍī* and attributed with several areas of expertise in philosophy and the sciences. What has actually survived of his works, beside the narrative of *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*, are three excerpts of mystical poetry (Fagnan, 1893) and a medical poem whose authorship is not self-evident (Sarnelli, 1964; Muḡammad, 1986).

The influence of this narrative has been widespread both in the early European and the modern Arab world. It was translated from the thirteenth century onward into a variety of languages and incorporated into the theologies and literature of the Christian and Judaic milieux (Hasanali, 1995). It has also been translated into most of the languages of the Muslim world. Some early translations include the fourteenth-century (anonymous) Hebrew translation and its commentary by Moses Narboni (1349), the Latin translation by Edward Poccoke Jr. (1671), English translations by George Keith (1674), George Ashwell (1686) and Simon Ockley (1708) and other early translations into German, Dutch and so forth (cf. Hasanali, 1987, 6–7, 180–2).

#### Text editions

- Ḥayy ben Yaḡdhān, roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofaīl*, Léon Gauthier (ed. and trans.), Beirut (1936), rpt Paris (1984).  
*Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*, Aḡmad Amīn (ed.), Cairo (1952); Farūq Sa'd (ed.), Beirut (1978).  
*Ibn Ṭufayl's 'Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān'*, Lenn E. Goodman (trans.), New York (1972), 2nd edn, Los Angeles (1983).

#### Further reading

- Arkoun, M., 'Ibn Ṭufayl ou le philosophe dans la cité almohade', *Les Africains* 6 (1977), 263–87.  
 Bürgel, J.-C., 'Ibn Ṭufayl and his *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*: a turning point in Arabic philosophical writing', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), Leiden (1992), 830–46.  
 García Gómez, E., 'Un cuento árabe, fuente común de Abentofaīl et de Gracián', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliothecas y Museos* 30 (1926), 1–66.  
 Gauthier, Léon, *Ibn Thofaīl, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris (1909).  
 Hasanali, P., *Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān: An Analytic Study* (thesis), McGill University (1987).  
 —, *Texts, Translators, Transmissions: 'Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān' and its Reception in Muslim, Judaic and*

*Christian Milieux* (PhD diss.), McGill University (1995).

- Hawi, Sami S., *Islamic Naturalism and Mysticism: A Philosophic Study of Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*, Leiden (1974).  
 al-Marrākushī, 'Abd al-Wahīd, *Histoire des Almohades*, E. Fagnan (trans.), Algiers (1893).  
 Muḡammad, M., 'Qirā'a fi urjūzat Ibn Ṭurayl fi al-ṭibb', *MMMA* 30 (1986), 48–61.  
 Sarnelli, T., 'Primauté de Cordoue dans la médecine arabe d'Occident', in *UEAI Proceedings*, First Madrid (1964), 441–51.

P. HASANALI

See also: *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡzān*

## Ibn Ṭūlūn (880–953/1473–1546)

Shams al-Dīn Muḡammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ṭūlūn was a religious and legal scholar and writer on many topics, who was born and died in **Damascus**. Immensely prolific (some 750 works are attributed to him, although far fewer survive), he wrote several books which are useful today principally as sources for the urban history of Damascus and its surroundings, but he also wrote various works (including an autobiography) that inform us about education in his time, as well as biographical dictionaries and minor works on a huge variety of subjects. He is said to have finished reading the **Koran** at the age of 7; and he held various minor posts in the administrative and educational hierarchy. Many of his works remain in manuscript.

#### Text editions

- al-A'imma al-iḡnā 'ashar*, Ṣ. al-Munajjid (ed.), Beirut (1958).  
 'Al-Fulk al-mashḡūn fī aḡwāl Ibn Ṭūlūn', in his *Rasā'il ta'rikhiyya*, Damascus (1929) (the autobiography).  
*I'lām al-warā bi-man waliya nā'iban min al-atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-kubrā*, M.A. Duhmān (ed.), Damascus (1964), (rpt (1984)), with a useful introduction (for a translation into French see H. Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus, 1952).

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130)

North African reformer and founder of the religious movement that gave rise to the Almohad empire. He was born in Morocco, during the reign of the Almoravid dynasty, of

a Berber clan belonging to the Mašmūda tribal group. As a young man he became interested in religious disciplines, and travelled widely in search of competent teachers. Having visited Islamic Spain, where he was exposed to the theories of the Zāhiri legal school, he later journeyed to Egypt, Arabia, Syria and even as far as Baghdad. In the course of his travels Ibn Tūmart acquired a strong predilection for the study of *ḥadīth* and the '(primary) sources of jurisprudence' (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). His preoccupation with these disciplines ran counter to the tendency to concentrate on the second-hand derivations (*furū'*) of legal theory, which, in his day, was a salient feature of Mālikī Islam in the Maghrib.

Crucial to Ibn Tūmart's theological formation were the works of al-Ghazzālī and Imām al-Haramayn al-Juwaynī, both of whom rejected the pettifogging casuistry of legal experts in favour of a more personal and rational view of the Muslim religion based on the intimate knowledge of the Koran and the Sunna. Through these and other Eastern thinkers Ibn Tūmart became acquainted with the ideas of the two principal schools of speculative theology, the Mu'tazilis and the Ash'aris, which he later incorporated into his reformist doctrine. He also emphasized the practical and ethical implications of his theological beliefs, especially the injunction to spread the true faith and suppress all deviating beliefs and practices.

Armed with this conviction, Ibn Tūmart embarked on a journey home. On his way, he repeatedly got into argument with the tradition-minded Maghribi scholars, whose legal theories he denounced as a dead letter that was not conducive to salvation. Simultaneously, he set out to redress the 'un-Islamic' customs of Maghribi Muslims and their Berber rulers, condemning their indulgence in wine drinking and gambling. His pious activities provoked continual riots and won him a number of faithful followers, including his most trustworthy lieutenant 'Abd al-Mu'min. They styled themselves 'adherents of God's unity' (*al-muwahhidūn*, or Almohads), the term that later applied to the theocratic state they founded. Ibn Tūmart's most zealous supporters and some Berbers of his native tribe eventually recognized him as the divinely guided leader (*al-mahdī*). Emboldened, Ibn Tūmart openly defied the decaying Almoravid empire, and started a holy war against its 'infidel' rulers. He died during

the conflict that ensued, and did not witness the triumph of his religious ideals in the great Maghribī and Spanish empire founded by his astute lieutenant 'Abd al-Mu'min.

Ibn Tūmart's written legacy includes short theological pieces, brief legal treatises, a profession of faith, collections of Mālikī *ḥadīth* and instructions to his followers which formed the official creed of the Almohad state. His doctrine is a peculiar mixture of messianic Shi'ism, Ash'ari dogmatics, Zāhiri legal theory, some Mu'tazilī ideas and Khārijism. At its centre lies the notion of *tawḥīd*, i.e. a belief in the absolute unity of God, who is the ultimate source of all things. It was embraced by his supporters and implemented in real life in the *muwahḥhid* (Almohad) state. *Tawḥīd*, in Ibn Tūmart's interpretation, denies any resemblance between God and His creatures and presents Him as an absolutely transcendent being, Whose nature cannot be penetrated by ordinary humans. The knowledge of the divine will, however, is bestowed on the 'infallible' leader whom God has entrusted with the revival of the true faith. Only those Muslims who will follow such a leader (i.e. Ibn Tūmart himself) will achieve salvation. The rest are unbelievers who have abandoned the true Islam and are, therefore, doomed to perdition.

In legal theory, Ibn Tūmart gave priority to the primary 'sources' (i.e. Koran, Sunna, and the consensus of the members of the early Muslim community) over secondary legal teachings and blind adherence to the opinions of authoritative scholars. Legal rulings must be based on the primary sources of faith and never on the 'arbitrary' judgement of an authoritative canon. Although the Mālikī '*ulamā'*' of the Maghrib and Spain eventually got the better of Ibn Tūmart's legacy, it was instrumental in redirecting their attention from a dispirited, fossilized scholasticism to a more creative study of the moral and theological implications of Islam's primary sources, Koran and Sunna.

#### Text editions

A'azz *mā yuṭlab*, 'Ammār Ṭālibī (ed.), Algiers (1985).

*Muwattā' al-Imām al-Mahdī*, Algiers (1905).

#### Further reading

Cornell, V., 'Understanding is the mother of ability [read: "submission"]': responsibility and action in the doctrine of Ibn Tūmart', *Studia Islamica* 66 (1987), 71–103.

- Fletcher, M., 'Al-Andalus and North Africa in the Almohad ideology', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), Leiden (1992), 235–57.
- Goldziher, I., *Mohammed Ibn Toumert et la théologie de l'Islam*, Algiers (1903).
- Le Tourneau, Roger, *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Princeton (1969).
- Massé, H., 'La profession de foi et les guides spirituels du Mahdi Ibn Toumart', in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, Paris (1928), vol. 2, 105–21.
- Urvoy, D., 'La Pensée d'Ibn Tūmart', *BEO* 27 (1974), 19–44.

A. KNYSH

See also: Maghrib; Spain

### Ibn 'Ubāda al-Qazzāz, Muḥammad (fifth/eleventh century)

Andalusian poet, active in the second half of the eleventh century in the service of al-Mu'taṣim of Almeria. He produced many *muwashshahāt* (some seventeen of his examples in this genre survive). The occurrence of the two names 'Ubāda and Muḥammad ibn 'Ubāda in the sources made it look as though these were two poets but Stern (1950) showed that they were a single person.

Text edition

- Ibn Bishrī, *The 'Uddat al-jalīs*, A. Jones (ed.), Cambridge (1992), nos 22–3, 158, 214–15, 275–6, 309, 325, 327, 340–1.

Further reading

- Jones, A., *Romance Kharjas in Andalusian Arabic Muwašṣaḥ Poetry*, Reading (1988), 25–34, 60–6, 143–9, 198–203.
- Stern, S.M., 'Muḥammad ibn 'Ubāda al-Qazzāz, un andaluz autor de "muwašṣaḥ"', *Al-Andalus* 15 (1950), 79–109.
- , *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry*, Oxford (1974), 96–8.

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

### Ibn 'Unayn (549–630/1154–1233)

Abū al-Maḥāsin Muḥammad ibn Naṣr (or Naṣr Allāh) ibn 'Unayn was a poet from Damascus, famous for his satire. He was banished by Saladin on account of his invective, such as a long poem, called *Miqrāḍ al-a'rāḍ* (*The Shears of Reputations*), on prominent people in Damascus. Having travelled widely, in Persia, India, Yemen, the Hijaz and Egypt,

he returned to Damascus after the death of Saladin, whose successor, al-Malik al-Afḍal, appointed him vizier. He left the imperfect-collection of his verse to posterity.

Text edition

- Dīwān*, Khalil Mardam (ed.) Damascus (1946).

Further reading

- Rikabi, Jawdat, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides et ses principaux représentants*, Paris (1949), 78–81.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Ibn Wabh (fl. mid-fourth/tenth century)

Abū al-Husayn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sulaymān ibn Wabh al-Kātib was the author of a work on rhetoric, who lived in Baghdad. He was a member of the famous Wabh family of secretaries, but of his life almost nothing is known. His *al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān* (*The Proof: on the Ways of Exposition*), written after 335/946, is intended primarily for the *kātib* or secretary (see secretaries), although it also touches on matters of poetry. It offers some interesting thoughts on genre classification, both in prose and in poetry. The book combines a theoretical approach of stylistics and rhetoric, in which some Aristotelian influence (see Aristotle) may be detected, with practical matters, such as a discussion of the various types of departmental secretaries. The first half of the book was wrongly attributed in a manuscript to Qudāma ibn Ja'far, and was published under his name as *Naqd al-nathr* (*The Critique of Prose*), before a more complete text was discovered.

Text editions

- al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān*, Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadija al-Ḥadīthi (eds), Baghdad (1967); Ḥifnī Muḥammad Sharaf (ed.), Cairo (1969).
- (pseudo-)Qudāma ibn Ja'far, *Naqd al-nathr*, Ṭāhā Husayn and 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-'Abbādī (eds), Cairo (1941).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: literary criticism, medieval

### Ibn Wabhūn (fifth/eleventh century)

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jalīl ibn Wabhūn

al-Mursī was an Andalusian poet, active mainly at the court of **al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād** of Seville. Judging from surviving fragments, his poetry was devoted mainly to praise of his patrons, but he is described also as excelling at descriptive poetry. His poems were collected by **Ibn Bassām**, a younger contemporary, but the collection is lost. He is said to have been killed by some Christian cavalry, probably in 483/1090.

Text edition

Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira*, Beirut (1979), vol. 2, 473–519 (with examples of his verse).

Further reading

Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 165–7.

Pères, H., *La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XIe siècle*, Paris (1953), index, and esp. 101–2.

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Ibn Waḥshiyya (fourth/tenth century)

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Waḥshiyya al-Kasdānī was a shadowy figure to whom are attributed a number of books regarded as translations of allegedly pre-Islamic works. The most important of these – in terms of modern controversy as well as actual content – is *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* (*Nabataean Agriculture*), an ambitious compendium on agriculture, cultivation, and water supplies. Also attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya are other extant works on such subjects as alchemy, poisons, astrology, divination, magic and cryptic alphabets.

The corpus as a whole displays a certain homogeneity. The style of most of the extant texts suggests translation by a non-native speaker. The introductions frequently state that they are translated from Syriac, and a certain Abū Ṭālib al-Zayyāt is often named as the person (a student or secretary?) to whom the Arabic version was eventually dictated or entrusted. In the case of the *Filāḥa*, dates are given and indicate a gap of more than twenty-five years between the translation and the transmission to al-Zayyāt, which would allow for considerable reworking and elaboration. Agnostic attitudes are evident, and there is a definite fascination with tales of the ancient glories of the Chaldaeans. There is also a pronounced tendency to see universal truths in

the esoteric or symbolic meaning of (often mundane) worldly phenomena, and there are numerous signs of influence from Hermetic writings and late antique Syrian Neoplatonism.

If it is doubtful that Ibn Waḥshiyya was the 'author' of these texts, it is also unlikely that, as was once thought, they are simply forgeries of the third/ninth century and later. They more likely represent the culmination of a process that saw the collection and reworking of late antique materials and their eventual passage into Arabic during the great 'Abbāsīd translation movement that saw Islamic culture and scholarship take up so much of the heritage of antiquity (see further **translation, medieval**). The *Filāḥa* in particular is now known to have been compiled at various stages in antiquity, and brought to its present form by a certain Qūthāmā.

Text edition

*al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*, Toufic Fahd (ed.), Damascus (1993–5).

Further reading

El Faiz, Mohammed, *L'Agronomie de la mésopotamie antique*, Leiden (1995) (with full bibliography).

L.I. CONRAD

## Ibn Wakī' al-Tinnisī (d. 393/1003)

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Ḍabbī, Ibn Wakī' al-Tinnisī was an Egyptian poet and critic, who was born and died in the Egyptian port city of Tinnis. A great-grandson of the famous Basran judge and historian Wakī' (d. 306/918), he is best known for his light-hearted verse celebrating the joys of wine and boys. Besides conventional *qarīd* poetry, he also composed numerous *muzdawij* verses, including a celebrated wine-poem on the four seasons, and a long *qaṣīda murabba'a* (in the form aaaa bbbb cccc) addressed to a Christian boy. His *diwān* is lost, but the extensive citations of his poetry in later works have been collected and published. He also wrote a work on the 'plagiarisms' (see *sariqa*) of **al-Mutanabbī**, of which the first half has survived, and which elicited a (lost) counter-attack from **Ibn Jinnī**.

Text editions

*Dīwān*, Hilāl Najī (ed.), Beirut (1991).

*al-Munṣif lil-sāriq wa-al-masrūq minhu fī izhār sariqāt Abī al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*, M.Y. Najm (ed.), Kuwait (1984); 2 vols., Beirut (1992) (complete).

#### Further reading

Abū Sutayt, S.M., *al-Ma'raka al-naqdiyya bayna Ibn Wakī' wa-al-Mutanabbī*, Cairo (1990).

E.K. ROWSON

## Ibn al-Wardī (691–749/1292–1349)

Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar ibn al-Muẓaffar, known as Ibn al-Wardī, was born at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (N. Syria). Apart from some service in the judiciary, he spent his life in literary and scholarly pursuits. He died in Aleppo. Ibn al-Wardī wrote verse and prose adaptations of various legal and grammatical works, an original poem on problems of inflection (*al-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya*), and a *dīwān*, including verse, *maqāmas* and other belletrist prose. He is chiefly known for an abridgement of **Abū al-Fidā's** history and its continuation from 710/1311, although **Abū al-Fidā's** work also goes beyond that date, until the year of his own death.

#### Text editions

*Dīwān*, Aḥmad Fawzī al-Hayb (ed.), Kuwait (1986).

*Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Cairo (1285/1868); Aḥmad Rifā'at al-Badrāwī (ed.), 2 vols, Beirut (1389/1970).

*al-Tuḥfa al-Wardiyya*, R. Abicht (ed.), Breslau (1891).

D.S. RICHARDS

## Ibn Wāsān see al-Wāsānī

## Ibn Wāṣil (604–97/1208–98)

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sālim ibn Wāṣil, born in Hama (Syria), served as *qāḍī* and diplomat for Ayyūbid rulers and the early Mamlūk sultans. Alongside a historical survey from the Prophet to 637/1240 (still in manuscript), his major historical work, the *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, covers Egypt and Syria for Zangid and Ayyūbid times to 661/1263, and was written in later life at Hama. This is initially a work of compilation, with acknowledged quotations from the preceding generation of historians (often via **Abū Shāma**). What he

writes from his own wide experience is direct and free of embellishment. He also compiled a selection from **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's** *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.

#### Text editions

*Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, vols 1–3, J. al-Shayyāl (ed.), vols 4–5, H. Rabī' (ed.), Cairo (1953–77).

*Tajrīd al-Aghānī*, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (eds), vols 1–2, Cairo (1955–7).

D.S. RICHARDS

## Ibn Ẓafar al-Siqillī (497–565 or 568/1104–70 or 1172–3)

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ẓafar al-Siqillī was an author who apparently wrote a large number of works, of which only a very few have survived. Of Sicilian origin, he lived in the Levant and North Africa and travelled extensively through them, dying at Hama in Ayyūbid Syria. We possess of his works a lengthy Koran commentary; a book of predictions of Muḥammad's greatness as a prophet; a biographical and *adab* work; and the best known of his compositions, a *Mirror for Princes*, the *Sulwān al-muṭā'*, which includes material from animal fables of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* type. The popularity of this work ensured its translation into Persian and Ottoman Turkish and into various Western languages.

#### Text edition

*Solwan; or, Waters of Comfort*, anon (trans.) London (1851).

#### Further reading

Chauvin, *Bibliographie* (1892–1909), vol. 2, 175–87.

*EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (U. Rizzitano).

C.E. BOSWORTH

## Ibn Zamrak (d. after 795/1393)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Zamrak (or Zumruk) was a poet and courtier in Granada. He was trained in both poetry and statecraft and introduced to the Naṣrid court by **Ibn al-Khaṭīb**. He followed Muḥammad V into exile in Fez, becoming his private secretary on his restoration. When Ibn al-Khaṭīb defected to Morocco, Ibn Zamrak succeeded him as chief minister and was



instrumental in his prosecution and execution. During the reigns of Yūsuf II and Muḥammad VII, he was alternately dismissed and restored until finally being assassinated by Muḥammad VII.

Most of his *qaṣīdas* are panegyrics to Muḥammad V; he also composed *muwashshahs* and other strophic poems. Many of his poems reflect the direct influence of specific poems by Ibn Khafāja. His distinctive theme is the description of Granada, especially of the Alhambra (which was completed during his career) and the Generalife; quotations from these poems are inscribed on the walls of the Alhambra and form an important part of its decoration.

#### Further reading

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 —, *Poemas Árabes en los muros y fuentes de la Alhambra*, Madrid (1985).  
 Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 346-65.

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

## Ibn al-Zaqqāq (d. 528 or 530/1133 or 1153)

Abū al-Hasan 'Alī ibn 'Atīyyat Allāh ibn al-Zaqqāq was an Andalusian poet. Many biographical details about him are sketchy; his birthplace was either Valencia or Murcia, his *nisba* al-Lakhmī or al-Bulughghinī, and even his name sometimes appears corrupted as Ibn al-Raqqāq or Ibn al-Daqqāq. It is known with certainty, however, that he was the nephew of the great poet Ibn Khafāja. Like his uncle, Ibn al-Zaqqāq is noted for his nature poetry (according to García Gómez his is more refined; the Spanish critic calls his style an 'intelligent and, at times, innovative baroque'). He is credited with enriching the imagery of Andalusian poetry, reworking tired metaphors in a way that made them new and sharp.

#### Text editions

- Dīwān*, A.M. Dīrānī, (ed.) Beirut (1964).  
*Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, J.T. Monroe, Berkeley (1974), 246-7.  
*Poesía*, E. García Gómez, (ed. and trans.) 2nd edn, Madrid (1978).

#### Further reading

- Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 231-3.

L. ALVAREZ

## Ibn Zaydūn (394-463/1003-70)

Abū al-Walīd Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Zaydūn al-Makhzūmī was one of the most renowned poets of Islamic Spain. Born to an illustrious family, his youth was marked by the political instability surrounding the end of the Umayyad caliphate. He joined the court of the Jahwarid Abū al-Ḥazm of Córdoba, attaining the rank of vizier. Then, accused of plotting against his patron, he was jailed and later escaped, fleeing the city, eventually returning to serve Ibn Jahwar's son, al-Walīd. After more intrigues he entered the service of al-Mu'taḍid of Seville and then that of his son al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād, himself a poet. He returned to Córdoba with his patron when the latter made it the 'Abbādid capital; he died while on a mission to Seville to help quell a civil disturbance.

Ibn Zaydūn's literary persona and reputation have been in large measure linked to his tempestuous love affair with the Umayyad princess Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī, herself a poet and well known in literary circles. Much of his poetry has been evaluated through the lens of the pathos surrounding his ill-fated love. More recently, scholars such as Jayyusi, while admitting that his 'best poetry may have been written on Wallāda' (351), stress the aesthetic and artistic conceits that mark his all-too-conventional posture of suffering. His best poems, such as his celebrated *nūniyya*, resonate with musicality and vivid imagery, and he has been called the purest neo-classical poet of al-Andalus. Among his other works are lengthy eulogies, presumably written to further his political ambitions, and the famous *mīmiyya*, written from prison to arouse the sympathies of his jailer, as well as numerous prose letters. His exploits have inspired literary works including 'A. al-Jārim's *Hātif min al-Andalus* (Cairo, 1973) and a play by F. Juwyada, *Wazīr al-'āshiq* (Cairo, 1981).

#### Text editions

- Dīwān* and *Rasā'il*, M.S. Kīlānī (ed.), Cairo (1966).  
*Dīwān* and *Rasā'il*, Y. Farhāt (ed.), Beirut (1991).

*Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, J.T. Monroe, Berkeley (1974), 178–87.  
*Poesías*, M. Sobh (trans.), Madrid (1979).

#### Further reading

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 Dayf, S., *Ibn Zaydūn*, Cairo (1967).  
 Farhūd, M., *Ibn Zaydūn wa-shi'ruh*, Cairo (1969).  
 Jayyusi, S.K., 'Andalusī poetry', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), Leiden (1992), 343–51.  
 Lug, S., *Poetic Techniques and Conceptual Elements in Ibn Zaydūn's Love Poetry*, Washington DC (1982).  
 Malti-Douglas, F., 'Ibn Zaydūn: Towards a Thematic Analysis', *Arabica* 23 (1976), 63–76.  
 Nykl, A.R., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, Baltimore (1946), 106–21.  
 Sharara, A., *Abū al-Walīd Ibn Zaydūn: dirāsa wa-mukhtārāt*, Beirut (1988).

L. ALVAREZ

### Ibn al-Zayyāt *see* Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Zayyāt

### Ibn al-Ziba'ra (d. between 13–23/634–44)

'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ziba'ra was one of the more important of the few poets that Quraysh produced in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times; he died presumably during the reign of the caliph 'Umar I. Ibn al-Ziba'ra is said to have fled when Mecca was taken by the Muslims in 8/630 because of his *satires* against the Muslims and their Prophet. After he was pardoned, he apologized to Muḥammad and praised him in several poems. An old *dīwān* has never existed; of his reputedly large production, only 27 poems with 160 verses have ever survived, and even among these there are some whose authenticity is questioned in the sources.

#### Text editions

Collection of fragments: P. Minganti, 'Il poeta meccano 'Abd Allāh Ibn az-Ziba'ra as-Sahmī' *RSO* 38 (1963), 323–59.; Y. al-Jubūrī, "'Abdallāh Ibn al-Ziba'ra. Ḥayāthuh wa-ši'ruh', *RIMA* 24 (1978), 43–98.

T. SEIDENSTICKER

### Ibn Zīrī (c.447–88/ c.1055 or 1056–95)

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Buluggīn ibn Bādīs, al-Muzaffar, known as Ibn Zīrī, was the last member of the Berber Zīrid dynasty which ruled Granada in the fifth/eleventh century. 'Abd Allāh was deposed by the Almoravids and spent his last years in exile in North Africa. There he wrote his memoirs, the bulk of which were discovered and published in the 1930s by Lévi-Provençal. They are of importance not just as an example of the autobiographical genre (see **autobiography, medieval**), relatively rare in classical Arabic, but also as a source for the internal workings of an important Taifa state of fifth/eleventh century al-Andalus. Written in good classical Arabic, they show how quickly the author's Berber family had been arabicized, and also show their author to have been a man of education and some taste, with interests ranging from poetry to astrology.

#### Text edition

*Mudhakkirāt al-Amīr 'Abd Allāh, al-musammāt bi-kitāb al-Tibyān*, É. Lévi-Provençal (ed.), Cairo (n.d.; 1955).  
*The Tibyān Memoirs of 'Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn, Last Zīrid Amīr of Granada*, Amin T. Tibi (trans.), Leiden (1986).

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

### Ibn Zūlāq (306–86 or 387/919–96 or 997)

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zūlāq was an Egyptian historian about whom little is known. His works are almost entirely lost, although they were used by many later authors, particularly the thirteenth-century Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribī. He wrote a continuation of Abū 'Umar al-Kindī's work on the governors and judges of Egypt, which he brought down to 386/996; also recorded are topographical works, an annalistically arranged history and biographies of several rulers and leading figures of the Ikshidid and **Fātimid** periods, such as Kāfūr, Jawhar and al-Mu'izz.

#### Text edition

*Kitāb Akhbār Sibawayh al-Miṣrī*, M.I. Sa'd and H. al-Dīb (eds), Cairo (1933).

Further reading

Gottheil, R., 'Al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zūlāk', *JAOS* 28 (1907), 254–70.

D.S. RICHARDS

**Ibrāhīm, (Muḥammad) Ḥāfiẓ  
(1872(?)–1932)**

Egyptian neo-classical poet. Born into a poor family in Dayrūt, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm attended schools in Cairo and Ṭanṭā. After a period apprenticed to a lawyer, he entered the Military Academy in Cairo and in 1896 was sent to the Sudan, where he was involved in an Egyptian mutiny against the British which ended his army career. For some time he was without a proper post, but in 1911 he succeeded in obtaining a position as director of the literary section of the Egyptian National Library (**Dār al-Kutub**), which he held until shortly before his death.

Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm's name is frequently linked with that of Aḥmad Shawqī, his contemporary and rival, and the careers of the two men provide a study in contrasts and similarities. Unlike the aristocratic Shawqī, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm was never at ease in court circles; unlike Shawqī also, he never studied abroad and never mastered any foreign languages—his translation of extracts from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* being presumably done with the aid of an assistant. Despite this, his poetry shares many characteristics with that of Shawqī: both were admirers of the neo-classical pioneer Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, whose work was a major formative influence and with whose general outlook they shared many characteristics. Both were traditionalists in both their personal and poetic preferences, producing finely-crafted verse which appears alarmingly old-fashioned by comparison with the innovations which followed it, but which has succeeded, at least in part, in retaining its appeal for many Egyptians.

Dubbed *Shā'ir al-Nil* early in his career, the bulk of Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm's output consists of public poetry written for social or political occasions, his elegies being particularly admired. His continuing fame rests mainly on a slightly shaky reputation as an Egyptian nationalist, for despite the obvious popular patriotism of poems such as that on the Dinshaway incident of 1906, he also composed poems in praise of the Ottoman Sultan. While understandable in the context of the intel-

lectual currents of the time, these drew criticism from later commentators. In addition to his poetry and translations, Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm also wrote a prose work, *Layālī Saṭīḥ*, in the *maqāma* form, somewhat in the style of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's *Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām*.

Further reading

Badawi, M.M., *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge (1975).

Brugman, J., *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt*, Leiden (1984).

Khourī, M.A., *Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Leiden (1971).

P. STARKEY

**Ibrāhīm, Ṣalah Aḥmad (1933– )**

Sudanese poet, literary critic and short-story writer. Born in Omdurman, Ibrāhīm was educated there and at the Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum, where he graduated in 1957. This period set the direction and tone of his poetry, for in addition to expanding his knowledge of Arabic and world literature generally, he was exposed to the social realism of poets such as Neruda and Nazim Hikmat, who had been popularized in the Sudan since the 1950s by radical writers who had studied in Egypt. In Ibrāhīm's poetry, however, the political message never takes precedence over poetic and artistic integrity. His political voice, though biting and sarcastic, is always serene; his love poems are characterized by emotional restraint, and his apt allusions to the **Koran**, Greek mythology and world literature point to his extensive knowledge and varied experience.

Ibrāhīm's published work includes two poetry anthologies, a long poem in Sudanese colloquial, a collection of short stories and translations from English.

Further reading

Shoush, M.I., *Background Notes on Modern Sudanese Poetry*, 2nd edn, Khartoum (1965).

M.I. SHOUSH

**Ibrāhīm, Ṣun' Allāh (1937– )**

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. Born in Cairo, Ibrāhīm studied law and journalism after completing his secondary education. He

became a member of the Communist Party, and was imprisoned from 1959 to 1964 for political reasons; he subsequently spent some years in East Germany and the USSR (where he studied cinematography), returning to Egypt in 1974. He married in 1975 and devoted himself to writing – his output includes novels, short stories, children's books and film scenarios.

Ibrāhīm began writing short stories in 1954. In 1966 he published his first short novel, *Tilka al-rā'iḥa* – an early example of the so-called *adab al-sujūn* (prison literature), with autobiographical elements. This was followed in 1974 by the novel *Najmat Aghustus*, which deals with the construction of the Aswan High Dam in a critical and ironic way. In 1981 he published his best novel, *al-Lajna*, in which the main character embarks on a search for the most eminent contemporary Arab personality but, discovering only corruption and failure, is condemned to terminate his life. The Lebanese civil war is the subject of the less successful *Bayrūt Bayrūt* (1984), while the long-awaited *Dhāt* (1992) treats the commercialized Egypt of the 1980s and 1990s in a satirical manner. In 1997 followed his longest novel so far: *Sharaf*. In this satirical novel prison life becomes a symbolic representation of Egyptian society. A neo-realist, Ibrāhīm is regarded as one of the foremost authors of the so-called 'generation of the sixties', and his works have been translated into several languages.

#### Further reading

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 Mehrez, S., *Egyptian Writers between History and Fiction: Essays on Naguib Mahfouz, Sonallah Ibrahim, and Gamal al-Ghitani*, Cairo (1994).  
 Tomiche, N., 'L'oeuvre de Sun' Allah Ibrahim', *AI* 18 (1982), 255–71.

E. C. M. DE MOOR

**Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī see al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās**

**Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (162–224/779–839)**

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was an

'Abbāsīd prince, singer, composer and poet. The son of the caliph al-Mahdī and a concubine, Ibrāhīm made a brief and unhappy incursion into politics when he set himself up against his nephew al-Ma'mūn as counter-caliph. He is remembered as one of the most gifted musicians of his day, with a phenomenal vocal range. He performed regularly at court and trained many younger singers. In the controversy that opposed him to Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, he advocated the large-scale introduction of musical ornaments, thus in effect altering the musical repertoire; he seems to have been guided here by a certain capriciousness.

#### Text editions

- Neubauer, Eckhard, *Musiker am Hof der frühen 'Abbāsiden*, Frankfurt am Main (1965), 67–70. (part of Ibrāhīm's correspondence with Ishāq al-Mawṣilī).  
 al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr, *Ash'ār awlād al-khulafā' wa-akhbāruhum*, J. Heyworth Dunne (ed.), London (1936); rpt Beirut (1982), 17–49.

#### Further reading

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 Leon, Harun Mustafa, 'The poet who became Khalifah', *IC* 3 (1929), 249–72.

H. KILPATRICK

See also: music and musicians

**Ibrāhīm ibn al-Sayyār al-Nazzām see al-Nazzām, Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār**

**Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī see al-Mawṣilī, Ibrāhīm**

#### al-Ibshihī

**(790–c.850/1388–c.1446)**

Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ibshihī was an Egyptian anthologist whose *Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf* (*What is Extreme in All the Branches of Elegance*) consists of religious material, short anecdotes and poems pillaged from earlier sources and arranged according to subject matter. Although some of the stories found in the *Mustaṭraf* are

also found in the *Alf layla wa-layla*, the overall flavour of al-Ibshihī's anthology is more naïve and pietistic. Al-Ibshihī made some use of *adab* works, but his book is more important as a source on folk culture (see *folklore*), the *proverbs* of medieval Egypt and colloquial forms of expression. He also produced two collections of poetry.

Text edition

*al-Mustaṭraf fī kull fann mustaṭraf*, G. Rat (trans.), 2 vols, Paris and Toulon (1899–1902).

Further reading

Paajanen, Timo, *Scribal Treatment of the Literary and Vernacular Proverbs of al-Mustaṭraf in 15th–17th Century Manuscripts*, Helsinki (1995).

R. IRWIN

### al-Idilbī, Ulfat 'Umar (1912– )

Syrian novelist and short-story writer. Born in **Damascus**, she read Arabic classics in her father's library as a child. Her maternal uncle, the sociologist Kāzīm al-Dāghistānī, introduced her to modern Arabic literature.

She married Dr Ḥamdī al-Idilbī when she was 17 and had three children. Her first stories were published in the journal of Jam'iyyat al-Nadwa al-Thaqāfiyya al-Nisā'iyya in Damascus. In 1948 the BBC Arabic service awarded her a prize in an Arabic short-story competition.

*Qīṣaṣ Shāmiyya*, her first book, was published in 1954, with an introduction by Maḥmūd Taymūr. This was followed by three more collections of short stories, two collections of lectures, a study of popular literature and two novels: *Dimashq Yā baṣmat al-ḥuzn* (1980) and *Ḥikāyat jaddī* (1990).

Ulfat al-Idilbī is Syria's leading woman writer. She writes chiefly of Damascus women – their ambitions and frustrations, and the pressure on them from family and society. Her stories and novels rely more for their momentum on narrative and description than on dialogue. Awakening women's consciousness is mingled with awakening national consciousness – primarily Syrian, but extending to Palestine and Algeria. Her women suffer, operate and manipulate within a limited private world.

Text edition

*Sabriya, Damascus Bitter Sweet*, Peter Clark (trans.), London (1995).

P. CLARK

### Idrīs, Suhayl (1923– )

Lebanese novelist, short-story writer, journalist and translator. Born in **Beirut**, Idrīs studied at the Islamic Maqāsid College, then at the Institute of Oriental Studies of St Joseph's University there. He then moved to the Sorbonne in Paris where he earned a doctorate. On his return to Beirut in 1952, he founded *al-Ādāb*, a monthly literary journal that became one of the leading periodicals of its kind, playing an important role in encouraging **commitment** in literature, in promoting the Arab Left and Arab nationalism, and in legitimizing the **free-verse** movement. Its publishing house, Dār al-Ādāb, published many young fiction writers, poets and literary critics from various parts of the Arab world, in addition to publishing translations from Western literatures, Idrīs himself translating most of Sartre's and Camus's works.

Idrīs's first collection of short stories, *Ashwāq*, appeared in 1947, since when he has published five other collections. His highly acclaimed novel *al-Ḥayy al-Lāṭinī* (1954) has autobiographical elements, portraying the emotional and cultural conflicts experienced by Arab male students in Paris before returning home. His other novels, *al-Khandaq al-ghamīq* (1958) and *Aṣābi'unā allatī tahtariq* (1962), also contain autobiographical elements, the former chronicling the revolt of a young Muslim seminarian against his religious training and background, the latter describing the struggles of a young literary journalist whose magazine espouses Arab nationalist causes and encourages 'commitment' in literature.

Further reading

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I.J. BOULLATA

### Idrīs, Yūsuf (1927–91)

Egyptian novelist, dramatist and short-story writer. Born in a village in the Nile Delta, Idrīs ascribed his sensitivity to the plight of his fellow human beings to a miserable childhood and to a training and early career in medicine. It was during his period as a medical student in

Cairo (during which he was also involved in political activities) that he began to write the short stories that earned him immediate acclaim when his first collection, *Arkhaṣ layālī*, was published in 1954. *Arkhaṣ layālī* was followed over the succeeding five years by three more collections of stories, a number of short plays and two novels, *Qiṣṣat ḥubb* (1956) and *al-Ḥaram* (1959). Critics were impressed by several facets of Idrīs's writing: the broad choice of themes and settings, particularly his obvious familiarity with life in the provinces; his instinctive eye for detail that allowed him to capture vignettes of Egyptian life in an authentic way; and the use of a fictional language that, in its spontaneity and blend of the colloquial and standard registers, proved an ideal vehicle for these evocations of Egyptian life and characters. Ṭāhā Husayn, a renowned defender of the standard literary language, upbraided Idrīs for his use of such an 'irregular' kind of discourse, but he was quick to acknowledge that, with Idrīs, modern Arabic literature had found a writer of short stories to match those of Western literary traditions.

In the 1960s Idrīs's stories became more symbolic and even surrealistic, as they sought to address some of the more pressing social and political issues of the time and, in more general terms, to reflect the alienation of modern humankind. The collections *Ākhir al-dunyā* (1961) and *Lughat al-āy-āy* (1965), for example, contain several examples of stories which may be considered as contemporary parables. To this same decade belongs Idrīs's most significant contribution to drama, *al-Farāfir* (1964). This play represents Idrīs's creative response to a series of articles that he had written in the monthly journal *al-Kātib*, in which he suggested that modern Arabic drama needed to look for roots in its own cultural tradition rather than relying on the Western tradition of drama alone. The play itself, combining a traditional evening entertainment (the *sāmīr*) with a generous dose of slapstick farce, is itself a somewhat nihilist parable on the subject of order, authority and freedom.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Idrīs wrote less, not only because his health was frequently poor but also because much of his time was taken up with writing articles for *al-Ahrām*, many of which were collected into volumes such as *Shāhid 'aṣrihi* (1982). The contributions to literature that he did publish during

this period were in short-story form; each one continues to show Idrīs's ability to craft miniature fictions of wide significance out of the mundane aspects of daily life. It is this almost instinctive ability that has already placed him in a select group of the most distinguished short-story writers in modern Arabic literature.

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R. ALLEN

## al-Idrīsī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (493– c.555/1100– c.1162)

Born in Ceuta, studied in Córdoba before settling in Palermo and working under the patronage of Sicily's Norman king, Roger II. His *Nuzhat al-mushṭāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*. (*The Pleasure of Him Who Longs to Cross the Horizons*) (548/1154) was written under Roger's patronage and therefore also known as *Kitāb Rujjār*. According to his preface, it took him fifteen years to write it. Although al-Idrīsī made use of Ptolemy, Abu 'Ubayd al-Bakri and other earlier authors, he was essentially a scientific geographer and not a literary compiler. Unusually, al-Idrīsī made use of specially commissioned Christian informants and adapted European maps. For his description of

the world al-Idrīsī divided it into seven climates and subdivided each climate into ten sections.

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R. IRWIN

See also: geographical literature

Ifriqiya see Maghrib

I'jāb see Ta'jīb

ijāz

*Ijāz* (brevity, conciseness) was highly esteemed as a stylistic virtue in traditional Arabic criticism, in prose as well as poetry, although it was recognized that some circumstances called rather for prolixity. Lip-service to the ideal is often paid in the prefaces of prose works. The term *ijāz* may be used in a loose sense for texts as a whole. When applied to the level of the sentence, a distinction is made between brevity as the result of elision, the standard example being the Koranic 'Ask the city' (xii, 82), i.e. 'Ask the people of the city', and brevity by means of pregnant expression, as in 'In retaliation there is life for you' (ii, 179). In scholastic rhetoric *ijāz* is regularly discussed in the section on *ma'ānī* (see *ma'nā*), together with its opposite, *itnāb* (appropriate prolixity, to be distinguished from diffuseness, *is'hāb* or *taṭwīl*), and the neutral, intermediate form called *musāwāt* ('equivalence [of content and expression]').

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: rhetoric and poetics

*I'jāz al-Qur'ān*

*I'jāz* is a term in Islamic exegetical literature which by the end of the third/ninth century had assumed its technical meaning of the 'miraculous inimitability' of the **Koran**. Its literal meaning of 'incapacitation' or 'rendering powerless' in relation to scripture had become current at the beginning of the century. The concept finds its origin in a number of verses in the Koran which contain a challenge (*taḥaddī*) to opponents of the Prophet **Muḥammad** to produce a discourse like it (52: 33–4), to produce ten *sūras* like it using the assistance of anyone but God (11: 13), or only one *sūra* (10: 38) (see also *inter alia* 2: 23–4, 17: 88). *I'jāz* is associated with the doctrine that the Koran is the confirmatory miracle (*mu'jiza*) of Muḥammad's prophetic mission, which is in turn given emphasis by the claim of his illiteracy. The allied doctrine of *ṣarfa*, introduced by the early **Mu'tazilī al-Nazzām** (d. 232/846), according to which God had 'turned away' people from imitation of the Koran by preventing them from exercising the relevant capacity, was soon rejected. In the Koran itself, the challenge is a response to accusations that the Prophet was a poet (*shā'ir*), magician, soothsayer (*kāhin*), or a madman (*majnūn*) possessed by *jinn*.

In the exegetical literature, the general trend is to concentrate on the inimitability of the Koran's rhetorical and stylistic aspects. Thus the usual approach is to argue for its being the most excellent example of: *balāgha*, 'conveying the best meaning in the best form' (e.g. **al-Jāhīz** [d. 255/869], **al-Rummānī** [d. 384/994], **al-Khattābī** [d. 388/998], **al-Bāqillānī** [d. 403/1013]); *faṣāḥa*, the choice of words in their syntactic context with a view to rhetorical effect (**al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār** [d. 415/1025]); *naẓm*, the arrangement of words to convey the required meaning ('**Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī** [d. 471/1078], **al-Zamakhsharī** [d. 538/1144]). There were apparently those who took up the challenge to produce a 'matching' text (*mu'ārāḍa*) – although they are naturally reported to have failed – among them **Ibn al-Muqaffa** (d. 140 or 142/757 or 759) and **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** (d. 449/1057). Very little original material was added to the *i'jāz* literature until the modern period, when figures like Sayyid **Quṭb** (d. 1966, imagery in the Koran), **Abd al-Karīm al-Khaṭīb** (its psychological and spiritual effectiveness) and

'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Bint al-Shāṭi'' (philological analysis) have developed new ideas. Western scholarship, with one or two notable exceptions (e.g. Arberry's *The Koran Interpreted*), has not paid a great deal of attention to the rhetorical and literary qualities of the Koran, except for critical-historical purposes, although, as interest in *tafsir* literature grows, more studies are being devoted to these aspects.

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For texts on *i'jāz al-Qur'ān* and studies on individual authors, see the entries for the authors mentioned.

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J. COOPER

See also: exegesis, Koranic

### al-Ījī (d. 756/1355)

'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ījī was a renowned jurist and theologian whose major work in theology, *Kitāb al-mawāqif fī 'ilm al-kalām*, constitutes a kind of Muslim *summa theologica*. Based mainly on the earlier theological writings of **Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī** and Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī, this work was to become the most widely used textbook for the study of *kalām*. Because of its popularity numerous commentaries were written on it. It represents mainline Sunnī *kalām* in its most developed form and displays the preoccupation of that *kalām* with epistemology, metaphysics and cosmology, which resulted from the considerable degree of influence exerted upon it by Muslim peripatetic philosophy, especially that of **Ibn Sīnā** (Avicenna).

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B. WEISS

### Ikhlaṣī, Walīd (1935– )

Syrian writer of short stories, novels and plays, born in Alexandretta (Iskenderun). By profession an agricultural engineer, he started writing in his spare time at an early age. He published his first collection of short stories in 1963 (*Qīṣaṣ*, Beirut). Ikhlaṣī is a modernist writer, much of whose work is characterized by a use of symbolism and surrealism to an extent that the reader is bewildered by its obscurity. His first novel, *Shitā' al-baḥr al-yābis*, mixes reality with dreams, and his third novel, *Aḥzān al-ramād*, again presents a work where surrealism and lack of logical connection produce obscurity and incomprehension. Many of his stories have an aura of menace and foreboding. His two novellas in *Mawt al-ḥalazūn* (Damascus, 1978) are permeated by frustration, coercion and repression. Nevertheless his short stories display great variety, from allegories and animal fables to purely surrealist pieces. Apart from *Qīṣaṣ*, his collections include *Dimā' fī ṣubḥ al-aghbar* (Aleppo, 1968), *al-Ṭīn* (Beirut, 1971) and *al-Taqrīr* (Damascus, 1974).

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M.J.L. YOUNG

### Ikhshīdids see Egypt

### Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'

A highly syncretic group of Arab philosophers, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa-Khullān al-Wafā' ('Sincere/Pure Brethren and Loyal Friends'); their appellation has been variously translated) flourished, most probably, in



Basra in the fourth/tenth or fifth/eleventh centuries. It is impossible to give precise dates for their lives and writings, as it is to identify with absolute precision the names of the Brethren, though many candidates have been put forward by scholars over the ages (the names of some are given by Abu Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [d. 411/1023] in his *Kitāb al-mu’ānasa*, Cairo, 1942, 4ff., 157ff.). A fundamental influence on the *Ismā‘īlīs*, their own adherence to *Ismā‘īlī* beliefs is still a matter of debate.

The ideas of the *Ikhwān* were collected into fifty-two *Rasā’il* (another, a summary of the whole and perhaps of later composition, is called *al-Risāla al-jāmi’a*, and was long falsely attributed to al-Majrīṭī), an encyclopaedic compendium of all of the sciences of their time which focuses on the ‘realities’ or ‘truths’ (*ḥaqā’iq*) of the universe as expressed by those sciences. Central to their thought is the concept of the universe as macrocosm and humankind as microcosm, and of the correspondences between the two, which was to influence much subsequent Islamic philosophical and ethical writing. Their sources are highly diverse, embracing in particular Aristotelian, Pythagorean and Neoplatonic elements, but not totally eschewing the Platonic. The epistles follow a progression from the concrete to the abstract, moving from mathematics (including music) to logic (including poetry) to physics to metaphysics and from the practical (*‘amalī*) to the theoretical (*nazarī*) aspect of each science, and encompassing subjects as diverse as geometry, embryology, botany, mineralogy and the occult sciences. The goal of the *Rasā’il* is to allow the student to progress from this world to the next through the perfection of both body and soul. The salvation of the latter is achievable via asceticism in the former.

Apart from their encyclopaedism and their philosophy (of particular interest to scholars of the intellectual development of Islam), the *Rasā’il* are of interest to the student of Arabic literature because of the diversity of literary influences upon them. These include the Gospels and Apocryphal Gospels, the *Katīla wa-Dimna* corpus and the legends of *Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* (known in medieval Europe as *Barlaam and Josaphat*), as well as Judaic and other sources. The Arabic prose of the *Ikhwān* is generally fairly simple and clear in style, as befits their didactic purpose, and

lacks the exuberance and ‘cleverness’ of, for example, al-Jāhīz; however, their frequent use of exempla and of allegory (as in the dispute of the animals versus humankind) often has an enlivening effect. Their philosophy, with its eclectic mixture of Aristotelianism and Neoplatonism embedded in the text, may sometimes make that text appear more complex than it really is.

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See also: Neoplatonism

***ilhām* see inspiration**

***iltifāt* see rhetorical figures**

***iltizām* see commitment; *Luzūm mā lā yalzam***

**‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (519–97/1125–1201)**

‘Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī was an Arab littérateur. He was born at Iṣfahān and studied in Baghdad. He enjoyed the patronage of the vizier Ibn Hubayra (d. 559/1164) and of the Zangid ruler Nūr al-Dīn. He later joined

Saladin's entourage, remaining his close adviser until Saladin's death in 589/1193.

Imād al-Dīn compiled a vast, annotated anthology of sixth/twelfth-century poets, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*. He also composed important historical works in high-flown prose style; a history of the Great Saljuqs, *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, based on the lost memoirs of the Saljuq vizier, Anūshīrwān ibn Khālid (d. 538/1137), now extant only in al-Bundārī's abridged version; an eye-witness account of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, *al-Faṭḥ al-qussī*, including some of his ornately phrased diplomatic correspondence; and a third work, *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, detailing Saladin's exploits, which survives in part only.

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imagination

In medieval faculty psychology, imagination (*al-quwwa al-mutakhayyila*; *imaginatio*) is the second of the five 'internal senses' which act upon the perceptions provided by the five external ones; imagination is the 'forming power' which stores sensory impressions. The Arabic word *takhyīl* (from *khayyala*, the transitive form of *khāla* 'to think, imagine') refers to the production of an 'act of imagination', i.e., the creation of a mental image in the mind of the listener, whose receipt of such images (*takhayyul*; *imaginativus*) elicits a response in the form of emotion or action. The philosophers (who used *takhyīl* to refer to the 'inward senses' generally) distinguished between statements designed to produce mental acts of *taṣawwur*, 'conception', *taṣdīq*, 'assent', and *takhyīl*, 'imagination'; applied to poetry, which was defined as 'imaginative discourse' (*aqāwīl mukhayyila/takhyīliyya*), 'imagination' produced (or substituted for) 'assent' through eliciting a subjective, emotional/aesthetic rather than a rational response, a response often linked with the delight or wonder in the eloquence of the poetic expression (see further *ta'jīb*). Ibn Sīnā viewed imagination as 'an acquiescence to the wonder and delight of the utterance itself, whereas assent is an acquiescence to accept that the thing is as it is said to be' (quoted in Black, 1990, 182); he developed systematically the concept of the 'poetic' or 'imaginative' syllogism which had been suggested earlier by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and which was further expanded by Ibn Rushd, who saw poetic *takhyīl* not merely as a substitute for assent but as a means of producing it. Among the critics, 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī in his *Asrār al-balāgha* elaborated the notion of *takhyīl* as one of the major features of the 'Modern' or *badī'* style of poetry, consisting of the reinterpretation of natural data by such means as phantastic etiology (*ḥusn al-ta'līl*; see **rhetoical figures**), 'imaginative analogy' (*qiyās takhyīlī*) and so on; for him the image is, as Abu Deeb has stated, 'a process rather than a static entity' (1976, 4). Much later, Ḥāzīm al-Qartājannī discussed *takhyīl* as the essential means of poetry, through which the poet transforms and enhances 'reality' through the use of imagery.

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J. S. MEISAMI

technique exists in Arabic literature it is to be found rather in the lengthy popular (sub-literary) **epic** (see also **popular literature**).

**Ibn Rashiq al-Qayrawānī** devotes a chapter to improvisation in his *'Umda*; he was followed by al-Tanāsī (d. 899/1494) in *Naẓm al-durr wa-al-'iqyān*. Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216) wrote *Badā'i' al-badā'ih*, an anthology of stories on all kinds of extemporizing, in prose and verse.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

See also: oral composition

**Imalayen, Fatima Zohra see Djebbar, Assia**

**Imāmiyya see Shi'is**

**imitation see mu'ārada**

**improvisation**

Improvisation (*irtijāl* or *badiha*, sometimes *iqūdāb*) in poetry was (and possibly still is) a common phenomenon in Arab tribal society, where short occasional poems, usually in the *rajaz* metre, were made in situations of heightened tension or emotion; it may take the form of a **poetic contest**. Many pre- and early Islamic examples have been preserved, if the transmission is to be relied upon. In urban society other metres too were employed for extemporized **epigrams**. The longer and more formal ode or *qaṣīda*, **bedouin** or urban, was not normally improvised but carefully prepared, either orally or in writing, although there are not a few stories of such *qaṣīdas* being composed on the spot; among them is one by **al-Hārith ibn Hilliza** which is one of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Some modern scholars who have applied the ideas of the 'Parry-Lord theory' on oral composition to the *qaṣīda* have argued that the poems were performed and 'composed' at the same time, by means of 'formulas' and some kind of 'free improvisation'. It is more likely, however, that if such a

**Imru' al-Qays (sixth century)**

Imru' al-Qays ibn Ḥujr was a pre-Islamic poet, author of one of the *Mu'allaqāt*. The story of his life is told with many variants and much legendary embellishment. In his youth he engaged in licentious pleasures, until his father, king of the Kinda (see **tribes**), was killed in an uprising of the Banū Asad. From then on Imru' al-Qays ('the slave of the God Qays') devoted his life to avenging his father and restoring the power of Kinda, which earned him the surname *al-Malik al-ḡillīl*, 'the wandering king'. He sought allies among the tribes, and later, when threatened by **Lakhmid** troops, found refuge with **al-Samaw'al** of Taymā' and with the **Ghassānids**. Finally he reached the court of Justinian, gaining his support, but on his way back he was presented with a 'shirt of Nessus' as punishment for seducing the emperor's daughter, and died of its poison near Ankara about 550. Hence his other surname *Dhū al-qurūh*, 'the man covered with ulcers'. He was the *rāwī* of **Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī**, and had relations with the poets 'Alqama ibn 'Abada, 'Abīd ibn al-Abras and 'Amr ibn Qamī'a.

The authenticity of his *dīwān*, transmitted by **Ḥammād al-Rāwīya**, is doubtful. The most reliable recension, that of **al-Sukkari**, forms the basis of Ahlwardt's edition (London, 1870). It contains sixty-eight texts in all, sixteen mere fragments, thirty-one monothematic poems (see *qif'a*), and twenty-one odes

(see *qasida*), some evidently incomplete. As a rule, the amatory prologue (*nasib*) is followed by self-praise (see *fakhr*) alluding to the pleasures and ventures of youth. The poet's fame justly rests on his *Mu'allaqa*. In the *nasib* he 'weeps at the deserted campsite'; in fact, he is often credited with the invention of the motif. He then remembers former love affairs and a sorrowful, sleepless night, describes his horse and a hunt for antelopes, followed by a banquet, and ends with a magnificent depiction of a thunderstorm. The sequence of themes is unusual and as yet unexplained, although the poem's deep structure has been analysed repeatedly. The *Mu'allaqa* was and still is much admired on account of its rich imagery and the individual character and eroticism of its love episodes, which are unparalleled in pre-Islamic poetry (see *Jāhiliyya*).

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R. JACOBI

See also: Mu'allaqāt

## India

Arabic literature did not develop in the Indian sub-continent to the same extent as did Persian, despite the long-standing contacts between Arabia and South Asia. Most of medieval India's Muslim rulers and intelligentsia, being of Turco-Persian origin, favoured Persian as the medium for official administration, historical chronicles, and *belles lettres*. Arabic served primarily as a medium for works on religious or theological subjects and Islamic jurisprudence. Frequently, it was also employed (and is still used today) for instruc-

tion in the *madrasas* and theological seminaries.

A significant portion of Arabic religious literature consisted of collections and commentaries on the *ḥadīth*, the most renowned being *Mashāriq al-anwār* by Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī (d. 1252) and *Kanz al-'ummāl* by 'Alī al-Muttaqī (d. 1568). The science of *ḥadīth*, like other religious sciences, was pursued with such zeal that it was common for Indian 'ulamā' and Ṣūfīs to travel to Arab lands for this purpose. As was to be expected, there were also many commentaries on the *Koran*, among which *Sawāṭī' al-ilhām* by the Mughal court poet Fayḍī (d. 1595) was certainly the most peculiar for it was written entirely in undotted Arabic letters! In the field of scholastic theology, the most influential work was the *Hujjat Allāh al-bāliḡha* by Shāh Waliullāh, the eighteenth-century theologian whose ideas have inspired Muslim reformers to our times. Shāh Waliullāh produced what has been considered to be one of the best translations of the *Koran* into Persian. Several Ṣūfīs, including the prominent Deccani mystic Gīsūdarāz (d. 1422), also wrote commentaries on the classical works of Sufism.

Rulers of the Islamic kingdoms of the Deccan (southern India) and Gujarat, perhaps to counter the Persian cultural ethos so dominant in the north, attracted prominent Arab scholars and poets to their courts, patronizing literary works beyond theology, philosophy and related fields. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, two important scholarly Arab families, the Ma'barīs and the 'Aidarus, settled in Bijapur promoting Arabic literature in the region. Similarly Golconda could boast the famous Meccan poet Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Ma'sūm (d. 1674) and his son Sayyid 'Alī (d. 1705).

It is hardly surprising that a southern city, Aurangabad, should be the home for the greatest Arabic poet of India, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād (d. 1785). Famed for his poems in praise of the Prophet **Muḥammad**, he was given the honorific title 'Ḥassān al-Hind', recalling the Prophet's panegyrist **Ḥassān ibn Thābit**. Among his many works, the most interesting is *Subḥat al-marjān* in which he praises the virtues of India, attempting to prove, by reference to *ḥadīth*, that it was the true homeland of prophecy.

The genre of *adab* literature was also cultivated in India to some extent: Abū Bakr ibn Muḥsin composed, in 1715, *al-Maqāmāt*

*al-Hindiyya* as an Indian reply to **al-Hariri's** ingenious masterpiece. In this regard, Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Shirwānī's entertaining work, *al-Manāqib al-Haydariyya*, dedicated to the King of Oudh, was also written in the style of the traditional Arabic *maqāma*.

Finally, we must note that Sayyid Murtaḍā **al-Zabīdī** (d. 1205/1791), the author of *Tāj al-'arūs*, the indispensable Arabic dictionary of the eighteenth century, was an Indian scholar from Bilgram who had migrated to **Yemen** due to unsettled conditions in his homeland.

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A. ASANI

***inshā'* see artistic prose; secretaries**

**inspiration**

Inspiration, according to traditional Muslim ideas, may derive from God or from demons. The former is called *wahy* when it denotes the revelation of a divine message; this is only granted to prophets. Other individuals too may be divinely inspired, by what is termed *ilhām*; the insinuations of the Devil are usually called *waswās*, 'whispering'. As for literary inspiration in particular, there are no muses in the Arabic tradition. In pre- and early Islamic times it was believed (or one pretended to believe) that each poet was inspired by a personal demon, variously called *shayṭān* (literally, 'Satan'), *jinnī* ('genie'), *hātif* ('caller'), *tābī* ('follower') or *qarīn* ('companion'). They were often known by their personal names. From the 'Abbāsīd period onward, this was not taken very seriously by the literary critics, who concentrated rather more on the abstract notions of 'craft' and 'talent' or 'naturalness' (see *matbū'* and *maṣnū'*) as the sources of literary creation. However, the theme of poetic demons was taken up by **Ibn Shuhayd** in his *Treatise of Familiar Spirits and Demons*, which is partly

ironical but develops at the same time a theory of literary inspiration.

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**intertextuality see allusion and intertextuality**

**invective see hijā'; satire**

***iqtibās***

*Iqtibās* (literally, 'taking a firebrand') as a technical term is defined as the unacknowledged borrowing, in poetry or prose, of phrases taken from the **Koran** or the *ḥadīth*. In poetry, therefore, it is a special case of *taḍmīn*, 'quotation'. Given the enormous impact of the Koran and the *ḥadīth* it is not surprising that many genres are affected. Quotations naturally abound in pious and homiletic discourse; they are frequent also in official correspondence and even poetry, where allusions are more numerous than straightforward quotation. This is due partly to the constraint of the metre, and partly to the fact that Arabic poetry is, on the whole, more secular in character than prose. Some objected to quoting Koranic phrases in poetry altogether, but most critics and theologians frowned upon *iqtibās* (the term appears rather late in Arabic criticism) only when it was used

frivolously, giving a new and often irreverent twist to the original meaning – as when a poet uses Koran 69: 11, *ḥammalnākum 'alā l-jāriya* ('We have carried you on the running [ship]') in an obscene sense – or when divine attributes were blasphemously applied to human beings, as may be found in panegyric poetry.

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See also: allusion and intertextuality; rhetorical figures

### *Irtijāl* see Improvisation

## al-'Īsā, 'Īsā (1878–1950)

Palestinian journalist and poet. Born in Jaffa, al-'Īsā studied there, at the Orthodox School in Kiftin, and at the American University of Beirut. With his cousin, the Freemason Yūsuf al-'Īsā (the owner of the *Alif Bā'* newspaper in **Damascus**), he established the national newspaper *Filasṭīn* in Jaffa in 1911, with the intention of influencing public opinion and spreading an awareness of new morals, manners and customs. With Yūsuf, he was exiled to Anatolia for his pro-Arab views from 1914 to 1918. On his return, he resumed publication of his newspaper, opposing British policy and the Zionist authorities in Palestine, and playing an active part in the national Palestinian movement. In 1938 he left Jaffa for Beirut. His poetry, which has not yet been collected into an anthology, deals with Palestine, Arab politics and romantic subjects.

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S. MOREH

## al-'Īsā, Sulaymān (1921– )

Syrian poet, dramatist and prose writer. Born in al-Nu'ayriyya (now in Turkey), al-'Īsā was taught by his father, Sheikh Aḥmad al-'Īsā, before moving with his family in 1937 to **Damascus**, where he participated with other students in establishing the Syrian Ba'th party in the early 1940s. After graduating in Arabic language and literature from Baghdad Teachers' College, he worked in Aleppo as a high-school teacher from 1947 to 1967. In 1967, he was appointed to the Syrian Ministry of Education, where he assumed the position of Director General of Arabic Language and Literature.

Al-'Īsā is a neo-classicist and committed poet. His dominant themes are Arab nationalism, Arab unity and the Arabs' bright future. Since 1967, he has devoted his talent to Arab children, writing verse drama and a series of poetic songs and tales of the glorious past. He has also established a theatre that strives to promote nationalism among Arab youth. A prolific writer, he has published more than twenty-five volumes of poetry, prose and verse drama, including *al-Nahr*, *Rimāl* and *Shā'ir bayna al-judrān*.

B. K. FRANGIEH

## Ishāq, Adīb (1856–84)

Armenian Catholic journalist, poet, translator and dramatist. Born in **Damascus**, he died in al-Ḥadath. With Salīm al-Naqqāsh, Adīb Ishāq put on plays with the first Lebanese theatrical troupe to perform in Egypt. Not meeting the anticipated success, he was prompted by the philosopher Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī to publish the weekly *Miṣr* newspaper (1877), and with al-Naqqāsh the daily *al-Tijāra* (1878). He also wrote for the newspaper of a secret society, Young Egypt. After the suspension of *al-Tijāra*, he engaged in journalistic activity in Paris, before poor health forced him to return to Beirut; he was later allowed to republish *Miṣr* in Cairo (1881). In his writings Ishāq campaigned for the cause of liberty, attacking despotic government. His exemplary prose follows the better classical models. He adapted two French novels and a

number of plays into Arabic, including Racine's *Andromaque*.

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**ishāra**

*Ishāra* has the meanings 'sign, gesture, allusion'. In the sense of 'gesture' it is listed by al-Jāhiz as one of the five modes of communication (with speech, writing, calculating with one's fingers, and posture). Ibn Ḥazm, in *Tawq al-ḥamāma*, discusses signs given with the eyes as a form of communication between lovers. This non-verbal sense of *ishāra* was not developed much further in Arabic rhetoric and stylistics where, since the work of Qudāma ibn Ja'far, *ishāra* was a technical term for 'allusion', or the expression of an idea not in a straightforward and explicit manner but obliquely and concisely. Being a rather vague concept, it is related, in none too clear a fashion, to a bewildering range of other concepts such as *kināya*, *talmīh*, *ta'riq*, *ramz*, etc. (see **rhetorical figures**). These and other figures and tropes are conveniently treated together in a chapter entitled *al-ishāra* in *al-'Umda* by Ibn Rashīq.

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**al-Iskāfī (d. 421/1030)**

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Iskāfī was a philologist and compiler of *Lutf al-tadbīr (fī siyāsāt al-mulūk)* (*The Delicateness of Management [in the Policies of Kings]*). The work is divided into thirty-three chapters and forms part of the **Mirrors for Princes** literature. In his edition of the text, A. 'Abd al-Bāqī classifies the anecdotes contained into six major categories: (1) knowledge necessary for the maintenance of authority; (2) stratagems useful in warfare; (3) dealing with adverse fortunes; (4) ruses and revenge; (5) keeping and revealing secrets; (6) others. Within this general framework, the author compiles mostly historical

anecdotes of Islamic or pre-Islamic times from a great number of previous works. About the later influence of al-Iskāfī's work little more is known than that it was extensively used by the (anonymous) author of *al-Asad wa-al-ghawwās* (see **Fables**), written in 530/1136, a **Mirror for Princes** constructed on an enlarged adaptation of a specific tale out of **Ibn al-Muqaffa's** *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

In his commentary on the **Koran**, *Durrat al-tanzīl wa-ghurraṭ al-ta'wīl*, al-Iskāfī 'sets himself the task of showing that in the Qurān no shade of expression is adventitious' (Hamori, 1984, 40). Though not completely consistent, the author in his **exegesis** convincingly practises a kind of literary criticism by relating rhetorical patterns to devices of meaning.

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See also: **Mirrors for Princes**

**Iskandarnāma see Alexander Romance**

**Ismā'il, Ismā'il Fahd (1940– )**

Kuwaiti novelist and short-story writer. After publishing a collection of short stories entitled *al-Buq'a al-dākina* (Beirut, 1969), he published a tetralogy comprising *Kānat al-samā' zarqā'* (n.d.), *al-Mustanqa'āt al-ḍaw'iyya* (1971), *al-Ḥabl* (n.d.) and *al-Difāf al-ukhrā* (1973). These works depict life in Iraq before the fall of 'Abd al-Karīm Qāsim in 1963, with its atmosphere of political repression and terror and its destructive effects on the psyche of the protagonists. His effect is achieved through a skilful interweaving of chronological

sequences, combining narrative, association, interior monologue and stream-of-consciousness techniques in a plain, poetic language. Among his later novels, the historical novel *al-Nīl yajrī shamālan* (1982) is particularly worthy of mention; taking as its basis **al-Jabarti's** chronicle of the occupation of **Egypt** by Napoleon, the novel depicts the conflict of the two cultures in Alexandria at that time.

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W. WALTHER

### Ismā'il, 'Izz al-Dīn (1932– )

Egyptian literary critic, scholar and university professor. He taught in the early 1950s in the Arabic Department at Ain Shams University and later assumed several positions in Egyptian and Arab universities such as Omdurman University. In the 1980s he was appointed head of the General Egyptian Book Organization and as editor of *Fuṣūl*, the Egyptian journal of literary criticism, from its inauguration in October 1980 until February 1992. He has written many books and essays on cultural and literary topics, including classical Arabic literature, modern theatre, literary criticism and Arab culture as well as the poetry of **Yemen** and Sudan and Sudanese folklore. Under the influence of Muḥammad Khalaf Allāh he also studied the connection between psychology and literature, for example in his book *al-Tafsīr al-nafsī li-l-adab* (Cairo, 1963). He is best known, however, for his influential study *al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-mu'āšir: qaḍāyāhu wa-zawāhiruhu al-famiyya wa-al-ma'nawiyya* (1967). As one of the main defenders of *shi'r ḥurr* (**free verse**), and the new poetry in general, he discusses various topics such as form, music, ambiguity, myth, dramatic elements and **commitment**. Ismā'il maintains that a distinction should be made between poetry that merely reflects the superficial side of modern life, and poetry that penetrates the spirit of the age. Summarizing the philosophy of the new poetry, he argues that its new aesthetic concept stems from the heart of the literary work itself: the new poetry attempts to understand and explore the essence of life; reflects the culture of the age on a universal basis; expresses a poetic experience which is not confined to personal emotions;

and employs new forms and techniques determined by the changing experience of the poet. Ismā'il has also written poetry himself and published it in Egyptian magazines, as well as participating in the International Poetry Festival held in August 1984 in Yugoslavia.

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R. SNIR

### Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād, al-Šāhib see al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād

### Ismā'ilis, Ismā'ili literature

The Ismā'ilis are one of the three major **Shi'i** sects in Islam, the other two being the 'Twelvers' (*Ithnā 'ashariyya*) and the **Zaydis**. They derive their name from Ismā'il, the eldest son (who died prematurely) of the sixth Shi'i Imām Ja'far al-Šādiq, after whose death in 148/765 the Shi'is became fragmented; one of the emergent groups recognized the claim of Ismā'il's son, Muḥammad al-Maktūm, to the right of succession of his branch of the family. In medieval times the Ismā'ilis were known variously as 'Seveners' (*Sab'iyya*), since their line of Imāms stops with the seventh; as *Bāṭiniyya* ('esoterists'), because of their esoteric interpretation of the **Koran**; as *Qarāmiṭa* (**Carmathians**); and by a variety of less flattering appellations. From the first centres in **Kufa** and **Rayy**, from the mid-third/ninth century onwards missionaries spread Ismā'ili teachings throughout the Islamic world. Often rigorously persecuted because of both their heterodox beliefs and their political activism, Ismā'ili thought nevertheless had a profound impact on Arabic intellectual life and on Arabic literature.

Ismā'ili theology, which underwent a lengthy period of development and exhibits a variety of strands of thought represented by various sub-groups (among them the Carmathians, the **Fāṭimids**, and the Nizārīs of Alamut), is heavily infused with **Neoplatonism**, and was greatly influenced in its early stages by the writings of the **Ikhwān al-Šafā'** (whose own adherence to Ismā'ilism is still a matter of debate). It embraces a cyclical theory



of history in which the number 7 assumes a primary significance; and it relies on an esoteric interpretation of the Koran (*ta'wīl*; see **exegesis, Koranic**) which adds to the exoteric dimension of scripture (the *zāhir*) an equally important esoteric one (the *bāṭin*) revealed through the teachings of the Imām. This interpretation often involves complex letter and number symbolologies (the latter reflecting Pythagorean influence on Ismā'īlī thought). The symbolic language deriving from this esotericism extended its influence to a variety of other types of non-religious writing, including poetry, as seen for example in the poems of **Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī** (d. c.362/973) and **al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shirāzī** (d. 470/1078), or the didactic poetry of the seventh/fourteenth-century Nizārī 'Āmir **ibn 'Āmir al-Baṣrī. Ibn al-Nadīm** (d. c.380/990) in his *Fihrist* considers the Sūfī **al-Hallāj** to have been among the early Ismā'īlīs (vol. 1, 474–9).

Four writers are of particular significance for the development of Ismā'īlī thought in particular, and of Arabic literature in general. **Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān** (d. 363 or 4/974), the great theorist of the **Fāṭimids** and their principal jurist, made a substantial contribution to the development of Shī'ī *fiqh*, as seen in his important *Da'ā'im al-Islām*. **Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijzi**, also called al-Sijistānī (d. after 360/971), was an important *dā'ī* (missionary) in Khurasan and Sistan and a major early Neoplatonist; his *Kitāb Ithbāt al-nubū'āt* expounds Ismā'īlī cyclical history, and his *Kitāb al-Yanābi'* represents Ismā'īlī Neoplatonism of the period. **Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī** (d. c.412/1021) was another Fāṭimid missionary whose Neoplatonic writings, such as the *Rāḥat al-'aql*, considerably increased the complexity of the Ismā'īlī theology of the time. **Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī** (d. 557/1162) was a notable Yemeni propagandist of Ismā'īlī thought whose writings, among them the important *Kitāb Kanz al-walad*, also have a considerable Neoplatonic content. Although in general Ismā'īlī literature tends to be theological or legal in content (and often of a high degree of complexity), its production in other genres (e.g. poetry, both esoteric and didactic, which awaits detailed study) should not be ignored.

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***Isrā'iliyyāt***

*Isrā'iliyyāt*, lit. 'Israelite (matters)', is a term used in both neutral and pejorative senses, generally referring to stories based on material of ancient Israelite (i.e. Biblical) origin. In the narrowest sense it may refer to historical information, often attributed to early converts to Islam, Jews and others, such as **Ka'b al-Aḥbār** and **Wahb ibn Munabbih**, used to complement the somewhat sketchy **Koranic** references to Biblical themes such as the Creation, and to the **Legends of the Prophets** mentioned in the scripture and *midrash* of Judaism and Christian scripture and tradition. Broadly taken, it may refer to any tale about ancient times and peoples, often based on general Near Eastern folklore and traditions. Moralistic, edifying and intended for the masses, they were used by the *quṣṣās*, or popular preachers (see **oratory and sermons; story-telling**), who attributed them to '*ahd Banī Isrā'īl*', 'the age of the (ancient) Israelites', hence giving them an aura of authenticity based on their presumably ancient origin.

Some '*ulamā'* approved the use of these tales to show Muslims that although the Children of Israel were the first to receive a heavenly book, divine approbation, further shown by a succession of prophets, pious kings and scholars, was followed by divine rejection and punishment, as mentioned in the Koran. These moralistic tales often interpreted Israelite history in the light of contemporary problems and controversies facing the Muslim community. The Israelites were punished, and their kingdom disappeared, because their scholars 'decided religious questions according

to logic and expediency rather than on the basis of their holy scriptures; because they were continually engaged in civil wars ...; because they used to pray at the tombs of their saints' (Goitein, 1974, 195).

Widespread popular eschatological, and messianic beliefs accompanied by expectation of cataclysmic warfare (*malāḥim*) preceding the End of Days were given both Koranic and extra-Koranic sanction. In some instances these ideas may be traced to Jewish sources, and are also identified by modern Muslim writers as '*Isrā'iliyyāt*'.

Popular interest in the more fanciful tales regarding the prophets, as well as eschatological flights of fancy, have led many Muslim scholars, past and present, to denounce their authenticity and condemn their use. **Ibn Qutayba**, **Ibn Kathir** and **al-Sakhāwī** are such scholarly examples, the last-named having written: 'Other aspects of history are classified as forbidden, (e.g.) the well-known material of many ignorant historians relying mainly on (authors) who quote from the (alleged) books of the ancients ... [also other] information which is not better than idle talk but which is presented with great assurance and without any reference to the fact that it is worthless .... This applies, especially, to stories told in connection with the biographies (*siyar*) of the prophets' (Rosenthal, 1968, 335).

The modern pejorative uses of the term *Isrā'iliyyāt* range from 'groundless tales' to charges (e.g. by Rashīd **Ridā**) that they represent sinister efforts by Jewish converts to subvert Islam through falsehoods and by depriving it of its originality. One modern defence of the genre by Muḥammad al-Samāhī states: 'When *isrā'iliyyāt* on the authority of Ka'b, Wahb or others agree with the Qur'an, they constitute a *hujja*. When they are at variance with the Qur'an, they should be considered spurious' (Juynboll, 1969, 137).

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W.M. BRINNER

## al-Iṣṭakhri

### (fl. mid-fourth/tenth century)

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhri was a well-known geographer. No detailed account of him survives today, but his name suggests that he was from Persia, and he seems to have lived for a time in Baghdad. His work indicates that he travelled widely, and **Ibn Ḥawqal** refers to meeting him. His *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik* (*Routes and Realms*) is a geography based on an earlier atlas by **Abū Zayd al-Balkhī** (322/934), and follows this scholar's example of organizing his text according to twenty geographical divisions prevailing in his own day rather than according to Ptolemaic climes. He begins with Arabia, because it contains the sacred cities of Islam, and then proceeds to the Persian Gulf, North Africa, **Spain**, and **Egypt**, Syria and the Mediterranean, the Jazīra and Iraq, and finally the eastern lands of Islam as far as **India**. The author's aim was in the first instance to provide extended commentaries to his maps, and to stress the importance of the East, which occupies almost 80 per cent of his text.

Al-Iṣṭakhri's work was criticized in varying degrees by later geographers, who nevertheless used and profited from his contribution to the genre. Ibn Ḥawqal consulted him personally and incorporated large parts of his work into his own book, and even **al-Muqaddasī**, harsh in his assessment of predecessors, produced a geography markedly influenced by al-Iṣṭakhri and the Persian tradition that he represented.

#### Text edition

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L.I. CONRAD

See also: geographical literature

## *Istl'āra* see metaphor

### 'Izz al-Dīn, Yūsuf (1922– )

Iraqi poet and scholar. 'Izz al-Dīn studied for an MA at Alexandria University and for a PhD in London, where he submitted a thesis on modern Iraqi poetry, subsequently published in Arabic as *al-Shi'r al-'Irāqī al-ḥadīth wa-Athar al-tayyārāt al-siyāsiyya wa-al-ijtimā'iyya fīhi* (Baghdad, 1960; Cairo, 1965). He has also published several studies of Iraqi poetry and society in English. 'Izz al-Dīn was appointed Secretary-General to the Iraqi Academy, and in 1969 was elected Chairman of the Iraqi Writers' Association, but after the rise of the Ba'th regime he left Iraq to lecture in Saudi Arabia.

In his poetry 'Izz al-Dīn was influenced by the lyrical diction of **al-Mutanabbī** and Ma'rūf 'Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd **al-Ruṣāfī**. His anthology *Fī ḍamīr al-zamān* (Cairo, 1950) contains erotic and melancholic poetry written in conventional mono-rhyme and mono-metre, with a few strophic verses;

*Alḥān* (Cairo, 1953), which contains romantic and political poetry, shows a development in form, using irregular numbers of feet and an irregular rhyme scheme. Like other romantic poets, however, he continued to depend upon lyrical expression and emotional tension, without the extensive use of enjambment or the effective use of poetic images to express his poetical experience. His third anthology is *Luhāth al-ḥayāh* (Beirut, 1960).

#### Text edition

*Min riḥlat al-ḥayāh*, Baghdad (1969) (autobiography with a list of publications and studies on the author's poetry).

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S. MOREH

'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr see Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn

## al-Jabartī, 'Abd al-Rahmān (1167–1241/1753–1825)

Egyptian historian, biographer and scholar. The son of the eminent scholar Ḥasan al-Jabartī, al-Jabartī's interests – like those of his father – extended to many branches of the sciences, including medicine and arithmetic. His chief interest, however, was the history of Egypt, on which he wrote three books. The first, *Tārīkh muddat al-Faransīs bi-Miṣr*, is an account of the first seven months of the French occupation, from June to December 1798, written under the strong impression of the events themselves. The second book, *Mazhar al-taqdīs bi-zawāl dawlat al-Faransīs*, deals with the French occupation between 15 June 1798 and December 1801. The third is his comprehensive history of Egypt, *'Ajā'ib al-āthār fī al-tarājim wa-al-akhbār*. This work was written in two versions. The first, in three volumes, covers the period 1688/9–1806; the second is identical to the first up to the second half of the third volume, which contains more details on the events after the French expulsion from Egypt, mainly from 1801 to 1806. To this version al-Jabartī added a fourth volume covering the period 1807–21, with the intention of adding a fifth volume; no autograph of this version has yet been discovered. As sources of information, al-Jabartī used information from old people, registers and tombstones as well as chronicles such as those by Aḥmad Shalabī ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī and al-Damurdāshī.

It may be presumed that the invitation of the Damascus historian al-Murādī to Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī and al-Jabartī to co-operate with him in collecting biographical data was the first factor prompting al-Jabartī to write his history of Egypt; the second was the unusual events of the French occupation of Egypt discussed in *Tārīkh muddat al-Faransīs*; while *Mazhar al-taqdīs* was written to clear himself of the accusation of co-operation with the

French. The success of *Mazhar* encouraged him to write *'Ajā'ib*, using the biographies that he had collected for al-Murādī's *Silk al-durar*.

Al-Jabartī, who may be regarded as the first herald of the Arab renaissance, opposed popular Sufism and superstition. He accused the French of being 'materialists who deny all God's attributes, the Hereafter and Resurrection, and who reject Prophethood' (Moreh, 1975, 47). He can thus be considered the first Arab thinker who was aware of the spirit of the French revolution and its slogan of 'liberté, égalité, fraternité', although he rejected it on the basis that it opposed Islam.

After the expulsion of the French from Egypt and the return of the Ottomans, he expressed in *'Ajā'ib* his appreciation of European scientific, moral and technological achievements. He confessed, after witnessing French chemical and physical experiments, that 'these are things our minds cannot grasp'. He criticized the Ottoman soldiers for having no respect for human life, contrasting them with the French who had given a fair trial to Sulaymān al-Ḥalabī (Kléber's killer), and commenting that 'all the transactions of the Muslims are fraud while all the transactions of the Europeans are honest'. This awareness of the shortcomings of Islam heralds the demands of the later generation of Muslim reformers for moral, social, religious and scientific revival in the Arab world. It confirms the French occupation of Egypt as the true starting-point of the *nahḍa*.

### Text edition

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S. MOREH

## Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (c.103–200?/c.721–815?)

Legendary alchemist, known in the medieval Latin West as Geber. His life, and the large corpus of writings attributed to him, have been so embroidered by legend as to make difficult any accurate assessment of his individual contribution; already in the fourth/tenth century Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* discusses (and refutes) claims that such a person ever existed.

Jābir was said to have been a pupil of the sixth Shi'i Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and to have worked at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd under the patronage of the Barmakids. While much of the corpus attributed to him is probably not the work of a single person and is undoubtedly of later composition, as it reflects the esoteric Shi'i gnosis of the late third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries, there is no doubt as to its influence on later Shi'i thought among both Twelvers (see Shi'is) and Ismā'ilis, particularly in its proclamation of the advent of a new Imām and its principle of the *mizān* (balance) which pertains to all aspects of creation. The religious terminology and symbolism of the Carmathians and other heterodox groups can be traced to origins in the Jābirean corpus, with its blend of Greek (neo-Pythagorean) and Shi'i elements. His importance for the history of Islamic science is also considerable.

### Text editions

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### Further reading

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I.R. NETTON/J.S. MEISAMI

## al-Jābirī, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (1940– )

Contemporary Tunisian novelist and critic, born in Tozeur in southern Tunisia. He received his primary education in Redeyef and his secondary education in the Zitouna, following which he became a teacher first in Bizerte, then in Tunis. He gained an Arabic degree in Baghdad in 1971, a diploma of higher research in Algiers in 1980, and a PhD on Maḥmūd Bayram al-Tūnisī in exile. Al-Jābirī, who has served as director of publishing at ALECSO (Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization), has published twelve works in various literary genres, including essays, short stories, novels, plays and criticism such as *al-Shi'r al-Tūnisī al-mu'āṣir* (1974). His novel *Laylat al-sanawāt al-'ashr* (1982) established his talent beyond doubt. The characters are based on stereotypes found in conventional classical works, and the events of the novel take us up to the dawn of the bloody events of 20 January 1978. The work explores the wiles of the bosses, the ambiguous nature of union action and the relationships between work and family life.

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J. FONTAINE

## al-Jābirī, Shakib (1912– )

Syrian novelist. Generally acknowledged as the pioneer in the development of a tradition of modern fiction in Syria, al-Jābirī published the novel *Naham* in 1937. Set in Germany and peopled largely by German characters, the novel was written immediately following the author's return to his homeland after a stay in

Europe. Like many other first novels by modern Arab authors, this work combines aspects of the author's own experiences abroad with romanticized sentiments about nationalism. Two further novels, *Qadar yalhū* (1939) and *Qaws quzah* (1946), are also concerned with the life of a Syrian living in Germany, as he tries to balance his affection for a German woman with feelings of nostalgia for his homeland and support for the cause of Arab nationalism. A later novel, *Wadā'an yā Afamiya* (1960), depicts the social tensions aroused by the arrival of a Belgian archaeological team in a Syrian rural community.

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R. ALLEN

### Jabrā, Jabrā Ibrāhīm (1920–94)

Palestinian novelist, short-story writer, poet and literary critic.

Born in Bethlehem, Jabrā grew up in Jerusalem and graduated from the Arab College there, before studying at Cambridge University in England and at Harvard University in the United States. He taught English literature in Jerusalem until 1948 and later at the College of Arts of the University of Baghdad. In 1954, he became head of publications at the Iraq Petroleum Company; in 1977, he was appointed cultural consultant at the Iraqi Ministry of Culture and Information, where he worked until his retirement in 1985.

Jabrā published three collections of prose poetry, in which new rhythms replace the traditional Arab metres and convey poems that create a modern vision of Arab life. He also published seven works of fiction, including a collection of short stories and a novel ('*Ālam bi-lā kharā'it*') jointly written with 'Abd al-Rahmān Munif. His characters are mostly drawn from the rising bourgeoisie, who search for love and identity in a society of changing values.

Jabrā wrote two volumes of autobiography and many essays in literary criticism, now collected in several books. He also wrote a number of works on art and art criticism, being himself a painter who participated in the modern Iraqi art movement from the late 1940s. He translated over thirty books from English,

including works by Shakespeare, William Faulkner, Samuel Beckett, Edmund Wilson, Jan Kott and James Frazer.

In all these literary and artistic activities, Jabrā was a strong modernizing influence, bringing to his Arab compatriots new cultural and social attitudes. The fact that he was a Palestinian living in exile was basic to the experience of life depicted in his writings; it also enhanced his understanding of modern humanity, living in constant threat of annihilation. The feeling of siege abounds in his verse and fiction, and the need to break out of it is a major trait of his writings.

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I.J. BOULLATA

### Jabri, Shafiq (1898–1968?)

Syrian neo-classical poet and prose writer. Born in **Damascus**, he started publishing articles in *al-Muhadhdhab* in 1914. In 1918 he was appointed director of the Education Ministry, and he subsequently held a number of academic and administrative posts, including that of rector of the Syrian University from 1948 until his retirement in 1958.

In his intellectual autobiographical lectures given in Cairo – *Anā wa-al-nathr* (Cairo, 1960) and *Anā wa-al-shi'r* (Cairo, 1959) – Jabrī admits the influence of classical Arabic and French literatures on his own writing, expressing admiration for **al-Mutanabbī**, **Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq** and Anatole France. He expresses his conviction that it is not merely the conventional metres and mono-rhyme that form the most important elements of Arabic poetry; he also attaches weight to the choice of poetic diction, pointing to his own habit of continuously revising his poems with the aid of classical dictionaries to search for suitable rhymes and vocabulary, while at the same time deriving new subject-matter and images from European literature.

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S. MOREH

## **Jāhiliyya**

*Jāhiliyya* ('time of ignorance'), is a designation for the pre-Islamic period. As a religious term occurring four times in the **Koran**, *jāhiliyya* denotes a timespan during which the belief in God has fallen into oblivion and which is ended by the rise of a new prophet. In particular, it is the common term for the period immediately preceding the mission of the Prophet **Muḥammad**. As a term relating to literary history, it was already used by **Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī**, who classified poets by *Jāhili* 'pre-Islamic' and *Islāmī* 'Islamic'. This scheme was later expanded by the term *mukhaḍram* for poets whose lives extended over both periods.

For later generations, *Jāhili* literature was almost synonymous with poetry. Nevertheless, the plots of many pre-Islamic prose stories have been preserved in the narrations of the **Battle Days** or in sagas that were later conceived as biographies of poets (cf., for example, the story of 'al-Mutalammis' letter'). Much more reliable was the transmission of poetry, and most scholars today assume that the former scepticism about the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry was exaggerated.

Pre-Islamic poetry is mainly **bedouin** in character, i.e. it glorifies the values of the freeborn, rich and martial bedouin hero and depicts the life of the desert. However, neither the poets nor their audience were ordinary bedouins, but rather members of an almost aristocratic group of tribal leaders mainly occupied with political affairs and warfare. Important centres of literary activity were the courts of the **Ghassānids** and especially the **Lakhmids**, vassal-kings to the Byzantine and Sassanian Empires respectively. Some major poets like **al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī** were court poets almost exclusively working in their service. Urban poets who did not imitate 'bedouin' models, like 'Adī **ibn Zayd** or **Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt**, were of minor importance. A small category of poets is formed by 'outlaws' rebelling against established tribal values (see *ṣa'ālīk*).

The earliest poems that have been preserved date from the beginning of the sixth century. At that time, poetry had reached its highest level among the clan Qays **ibn Tha'laba** (cf. **al-Muraqqish al-Akbar**; 'Amr **ibn Qamī'a**). **Imru' al-Qays** from Kinda, the most influential pre-Islamic poet, is a generation younger. Gradually, the art of poetry spread among the other tribes and regions of the Arabian peninsula.

The bulk of the poetry composed during the *Jāhiliyya* is made up of monothematic occasional poems (*qīṭa*, sg. *qīṭ'a*, lit. 'fragment') of minor literary importance. Most of the more ambitious poems are polythematic odes, to which the term *qaṣīda* (the term in Arabic literary theory for every long poem) is applied. Originally, the *qaṣīda* was a dipartite poem consisting of a *nasīb* followed by a second part, which might belong to a genre like *fakhr* (self-glorification or the glorification of the tribe), *hijā'* (lampoon) or *madīh* (eulogy), or consist of a message of any kind. In many dipartite odes, praise of the poet's camel immediately follows the *nasīb*. The camel description could thus be regarded as a separate section linking the *nasīb* to the final theme, sometimes in the form of a fictitious desert journey (*raḥīl*). Thus came about the tripartite *qaṣīda*, which, however, never entirely replaced the dipartite form. Camel descriptions are often expanded by animal episodes, a genre that came into being when the comparison of the camel with a swift wild animal was extended to a longer description of the life of this animal (oryx, onager or

ostrich). All topics of practical relevance, such as *fakhr* and *hijā'*, can occur either as the final part of a polythematic *qaṣīda* or as the topic of a monothematic occasional poem. Themes with a purely artistic purpose, such as the animal episodes, can never occur outside the frame of a *qaṣīda*. Remarkably, this is also true for love poetry, which is attested in pre-Islamic times exclusively in form of the *nasīb*. A further genre with its own characteristic structure is the lamentation (see *rithā'*), often composed by women.

The polythematic *qaṣīda* was the domain of a limited number of skilled poets who often played a leading role in their tribe. For them and their public, poetry did not only have a practical purpose such as transmitting a diplomatic message, but was also a means of expressing their values and ideals. Poetry served to reassure them of their own virtue (*muruwwa*), partly through the images they drew of themselves in their verse, partly through the mere fact that they were able to compose and understand highly sophisticated poetry. Consequently, many of their poems have no discernible practical purpose but are purely artistic creations. Since poets were constantly striving to surpass each other, their texts show an extremely high degree of intertextuality. Poems were expected to be original, but originality was achieved less through the invention of completely new motives than through subtle changes of formulas and traditional themes, as well as through the development of new or the variation of conventional metonymies and comparisons, the two most characteristic stylistic devices in *Jāhīlī* poetry.

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T. BAUER

**Jāhīn, Ṣalāh (1930–86)**

Egyptian colloquial poet. Together with Fu'ād Haddād, Ṣalāh Jāhīn was a signal figure in the emergence of the new colloquial poetry in Egypt, and was one of the first poets to break with the *zajal* tradition which had governed vernacular poetry for so long. He made his beginnings as a colloquial poet in 1950, when he started writing advertisements in sung *zajal*. As a cartoonist for the Cairo weekly *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, Jāhīn began in 1953 to publish colloquial poems in the space allotted for his cartoons; readers responded enthusiastically. He published his first *dīwān*, *Kilmit salām*, in 1955. Jāhīn's loyalty to Nasserism and his celebration of a collective Egyptian identity and ethos (as expressed, for instance, in *Mawwāl 'ashān al-qanāl*, 1956) did not blind him to Nasserism's limitations, and increasingly, his poems explored with a fine irony and a use of poetic image new to colloquial poetry the contradictions within and between ideology, official practice and the lived experience of Egyptians. Silent for a long period after the June 1967 War, in 1977 he published his collected poetry (comprising four previously published *dīwāns*, the last published in 1965, and the *Mawwāl*). A final *dīwān*, *Anghām Siptim-biriyya* (1984), may be regarded as a farewell to Nasser, a meditation on the impossible-to-realize longing for one's idealized past. His *al-Rubā'īyyāt* (1962), a series of short meditative poems on the human condition, have been translated into English. Jāhīn also wrote for radio and television, and composed many popular songs.

Text edition

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M. BOOTH

## al-Jāhiz

(c.160–255/c.776 or 7–868 or 9)

Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr, known by the nickname al-Jāhiz ('the goggle-eyed'), was a celebrated and extraordinarily diverse and productive prose writer of the early 'Abbāsīd period. He was born in **Basra**; his grandfather is said to have been a black cameleer, possibly a slave from East Africa, and a *mawlā* (freedman) of a member of the Kināna tribe. The family seems to have been a humble one, and his father may have died while al-Jāhiz was still young. He received his early education in Basra rather informally in the teaching 'circles' held in the mosques and in the casual interchanges of the *Mirbad*, the **bedouin** market, where one could still hope to learn from the genuine sources of Arabic language, poetry and tribal lore. In time he became a pupil of the younger **Mu'tazilī** scholar **al-Nazzām**. He also numbered the scholars **Abū 'Ubayda ibn Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā**, **al-Aṣma'ī** and **Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī** among his teachers.

Some time before 202/817 al-Jāhiz wrote a treatise on the imamate which gained the favour of the caliph al-Ma'mūn. He then moved to the 'Abbāsīd capital, **Baghdad**, where he took on the role of semi-official publicist for the religio-political views of the ruling dynasty and government circles. Three influential men were his patrons, to each of whom he dedicated major works. The first was the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt, who served al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq until his fall from favour in 233/847. The next was the chief *qādi* and powerful spokesman for the intellectual position of the Mu'tazilī school of thought, **Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād** (d. 240/854). He and his son, **Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad**, to whom al-Jāhiz also addressed works, both fell from favour in 237/851 as a result of the change of 'Abbāsīd religious policy during the reign of al-Mutawakkil. Al-Jāhiz was protected by the third of his patrons, the courtier and caliphal favourite **al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān**; however, he withdrew from a less congenial Baghdad and lived out the rest of his long life in **Basra**.

Al-Jāhiz's *oeuvre* is impressively large, even after the discounting of some falsely attributed works and the recognition that certain works appear under more than one title. A clearly authoritative listing of his writings, but one not necessarily meant to be exhaustive, is found in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (*The Book of Animals*), which was composed before 232/846–7. The list given by **Ibn al-Nadīm** in the *Fihrist* contains less than 140 items. Pellat's inventory has 245 numbered entries. When duplications, etc., are discounted, somewhat over 190 remain, of which 75 survive in whole or in part.

Al-Jāhiz wrote both large-scale works and many shorter treatises and epistles. The subject range of his writings is very wide. Theological issues are ubiquitous, and certain works take up the specifically religio-political controversies of early Islam, works on the nature of the imamate and the views of the 'Alids and the **Khārijīs**, examinations of critical historical issues such as the arbitration at *Ṣiffin* and the reign of **Mu'āwiya**. Some of these works are polemical in character, whereas others expound views more neutrally, in which he can be seen as one of the first heresiographers of Islam.

His varied and lively portrayals of society include the monograph on *The Virtues of the Turks*, to some extent a justification of the growth of the Turkish element under al-Mu'taṣim and his successors, his writings on the secretarial class (*al-kuttāb*) and on merchants (characteristically he wrote both in praise and in condemnation of these and other groups), on the professional singing-girls (*al-Qiyān*), and on misers and mendicants in his celebrated *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'*. There are also many shorter pieces, which are largely anthropological in character, on general *belles-lettres* themes, such as *On Nostalgia* (*al-Ḥanīn ilā al-waṭan*), *On Passion* (*Fī al-'ishq*), *On Keeping Secrets and Holding One's Tongue*, *On the Difference between Ennity and Envy*. Several early authors, among them Ibn al-Nadīm, criticize al-Jāhiz for the excessive amount of quotation in his writings.

One of his larger works is the *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn* (*The Book of Eloquence and Exposition*), a pioneering attempt to illustrate Arabic rhetoric. It lacks organization and fails to develop any theoretical framework, but its material is often fascinating, dealing as it does with human communication

in general and with Arabic as the language of a mixed Muslim society, and providing copious examples of Arab eloquence to rival the traditions of other cultures. His *magnum opus*, however, is *The Book of Animals*, which assembles all sorts of curious, instructive and entertaining information about the animal kingdom, but which, it has been argued, has the fundamental aim of demonstrating the uniqueness of man as a moral being endowed with free will.

His writings typify the 'Abbāsid concept of *adab*, literature designed to impart essential knowledge and manners, while at the same time offering amusement and entertainment. 'Lest I tire the reader' is a commonplace, and as al-Jāhiz once wrote: 'Patience has a limit and endurance is finite.' As a result of this, or perhaps as a reflection of his own mind, al-Jāhiz's writings are far from systematic. His argument proceeds more by association of ideas than by strict logic. He was certainly no systematic theologian, even though later heresiographers attribute a school of thought to him, called the Jāhiziyya, which probably never really existed. The progress of his line of thought is mirrored in his long rambling sentences, which have tempted modern editors into forming paragraph breaks where none exist. However, it is worth quoting al-Mas'ūdī's opinion of his writings: 'Their organisation is excellent and their descriptions very good . . . He clothed them in language of the most magnificent kind. Whenever he feared that the reader might be bored or the listener tire, he shifted from something serious to something light, from a penetrating insight to a choice witticism.'

His style is both free and dense. In general, al-Jāhiz is not easy for the modern reader, since his vocabulary is rich and not always recorded in the medieval Arabic lexicons, and he employs some constructions that appear to reflect popular linguistic developments. The caliph al-Ma'mūn is said to have categorized his prose style as 'plebeian yet royal, popular yet elitist'. One can find a balance of periods and a parallelism, although the tendency to pile phrase upon phrase tends to obscure those features. The characteristic rhyming (*saġ'*) of later Arabic prose is little in evidence, almost incidental, and **Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī** found fault with al-Jāhiz's relatively unadorned style. However, his writings sparkle with his ideas and intellectual

curiosity, to communicate and share which was his prime aim.

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*Rasā'il (Epistles)*, 'Abd al-Salām M. Hārūn (ed.), 4 vols, Cairo (1964–79).

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D.S. RICHARDS

### al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942–3)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī was an official of the 'Abbāsid court in the period of its decline, and the author of an important history of the early vizierate. During the interminable power struggles of al-Muqtadir's caliphate he was attached to two of the main contenders, the viziers 'Alī ibn 'Isā and Ibn Muqla. Although associated with the secretarial rather than the military faction in these struggles, it seems that he served in a quasi-military capacity in the personal armed retinues that the viziers maintained at this period. Under the caliph al-Rāḍī he suffered the common fate for secretaries of arrest and confiscation.

His *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb* (*Book of the Viziers and Secretaries*) covers the history of the vizierate in Islam from the time of the Prophet to the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, but is mainly devoted to the 'Abbāsid period and the **Barmakids**. Al-Jahshiyārī sees the 'Abbāsids, under their influence, adopting a model of the vizierate derived from the pre-Islamic Persian monarchy, and providing in the right hands a guarantee of good and stable government. He systematically exaggerates the political importance of the Barmakids, the

extent of their control of government, and the beneficent effects of their influence.

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*Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, H. von Mžik (ed.), Leipzig (1926–8); M. al-Saqqā *et al.* (eds), Cairo (1938).

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R. A. KIMBER

**Jahza (c.224–324/839–936)**

Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ja'far ibn Mūsā al-Barmakī, nicknamed Jahza, was a descendant of the **Barmakids** who earned his nickname because of his protruding eyes. An accomplished lute player, he transmitted philological traditions and was a witty raconteur, as can be inferred from his anecdotes preserved in the sources. Despite his uncleanness, he was appreciated in the highest circles as a companion. He left books on lute players, cookery, astrology and a collection of 'dictations' (*amālī*). His poetry, which has recently been collected, is simple in style, employs fresh images and frequently sounds a personal note.

Text edition

*Jahza al-Barmakī al-adīb al-shā'ir*, Muzhir al-Sūdānī (ed.), Baghdad (1977).

H. KILPATRICK

**Jakhjakh, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad (268–c.358/882–c.969)**

Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Jakhjakh (also found as Jukhjukh and Jahjah) was a pupil of Abū al-Qasim al-Baghawī and **Jahza** (of whom he wrote a biography), and one of the many students of **Ibn Durayd**. He seems to have left no grammatical works but is credited with being the last to have compiled a copy of the *Jamhara* of Ibn Durayd and collated it personally with the author. His name survives only as a source for later biographers such as **Ibn al-Nadīm**, drawing upon his lost collection of anecdotes

and debates under the title *Mujālasat al-'ulamā'* and a biography of poets, *Kitāb akhbār al-shu'arā'*.

M. G. CARTER

**Jālīnūs see Galen**

**jam' ma'a tafriq see rhetorical figures**

**Jamīl, Ḥāfiẓ (1907–84)**

Iraqi poet. Born in **Baghdad** into an educated, religious family of Syrian origin, Jamīl took his BA at the American University of Beirut in 1929, then held various minor administrative and teaching posts in Baghdad and **Basra**. He published several collections of poetry, including *al-Jamīliyyāt* (1924), *Nabaḍ wa-wijdān* (1957), *al-Lahab al-muqaffa* (1966) and *Aryāḥ al-khamā'il* (1977). In his works, written in a flowing, neo-classical style, Jamīl praises wine-drinking as an antidote to frustration; he sings of his (pure) love for different women, of his nationalist feelings, of his longing for the beauty of Lebanon, and complains (in his later poems) of his bygone youth. Arab critics regard him as influenced by classical poets such as **Abū Nuwās**, **Abū al-'Atāhiya** and **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri**.

W. WALTHER

**Jamīl Buthayna see Jamīl ibn Ma'mar**

**Jamīl ibn Ma'mar (d. 82/701)**

Renowned love-poet of the tribe 'Udhra (see '*Udhri* poetry'). He was born about 40/660 and spent most of his life in the Hijaz. His amatory verses addressed to Buthayna, a woman of a fellow tribe, gave rise to a romance circulating widely since the ninth century. According to it, Jamīl fell in love with Buthayna and asked for her hand in marriage, but was refused, because he had compromised her by his verses. Their mutual love continued after she was married to another man. Jamīl visited her and publicly avowed his despair, until he had to flee from the authorities, and took refuge in the **Yemen**. Later he stayed at the court of 'Abd al-'Azīz

ibn Marwān, governor of Egypt (65–84/685–703), whom he praised in several panegyrics. His death in Egypt is well attested.

Jamīl had the poet **Kuthayyir** for a *rāwī*. His poetry has been collected by F. Gabrieli and, with additional material (204 texts in all), by Ḥ. Naṣṣār. *Ghazal* is the prevailing genre, but his *dīwān* also contains *madiḥ*, *fakhr* and *hijā'*. Jamīl's *ghazal*, although still *bedouin* in style and thought, adds a new dimension to Arabic love poetry. His love is chaste, but not strictly platonic, since he seeks fulfilment in marriage, and such platonic elements as there are, e.g. the lovers' union before creation (Gabrieli No. 33,1/Naṣṣār p. 77,6), seem difficult to reconcile with the *bedouin* character of his *dīwān*. An unfulfilled passion for one woman, ultimately leading to death, appears to be the essential message of his verses.

#### Text edition

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R. JACOBI

### Jamīla see singers and musicians

### al-Jammāz (second–third/ eighth–ninth centuries)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Amr al-Jammāz was a satirical poet and humorist who lived in **Basra**. He was the nephew of **Salm al-Khāsir**, a pupil of Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā and a friend of Abū Nuwās, about whom he has left a detailed portrait which provided an important source for **Abū Hiffān al-Mihzami** and other

writers. He remained outside the caliphal court, poverty-stricken in his home town, but may have received some form of recognition by al-Mutawakkil (after which he is said to have died of shock). He was principally a satirical poet, whose poetry survives as 2–3 line fragments of scathing sentiments. Among his victims were **Abū al-'Atāhiya** and **al-Jāhiz**.

#### Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

### al-Jarīda (1907–15)

Daily newspaper, organ of the Umma Party, founded in Cairo by Aḥmad **Luṭfī al-Sayyid**. It published articles by both young and established writers, including **Ibrāhīm al-Māzīnī**, **'Abbās al-'Aqqād** and **Salāma Mūsā**, as well as women essayists such as **Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif**. It became an important literary forum, publishing criticism and novels in serial form; many contributions on literary subjects were provided by **Ṭāhā Husayn**. *Al-Jarīda* advocated a scientific approach to education and social reform, and promoted a measured form of Westernization.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Jārim, 'Alī (1881–1949)

Egyptian poet and novelist. Born in Rosetta, al-Jārim graduated from **Dār al-'Ulūm** in Cairo and spent the years 1909–12 in England, where he studied mainly education. He later held posts in the Egyptian Ministry of Education, and was a member of the Arabic

Language Academy from 1934. Al-Jarim is best known as a conservative poet of the neo-classical school; his language and metre are traditional, and much of his output consists of conventional eulogies, elegies and poems written to order for public occasions. He also edited classical texts, published a grammatical textbook (*al-Nahw al-wādiḥ*) in three volumes and translated some English texts. Towards the end of his life he produced a series of historical novels, most of which revolve around the life of a poet; among these are *al-Shā'ir al-ṭamūḥ* on the poet **al-Mutanabbī**.

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 P. STARKEY

**Jarir ibn 'Atiyya**  
**(c.33–111 / c.653–729)**

Jarir ibn 'Atiyya ibn al-Khaṭafā was one of the great poets of the **Umayyad** period. He grew up in the desert, among his tribe Tamim. Having won fame on account of his panegyric and invective verse, he attached himself to various leading personalities and became involved in the political and personal struggles of his time. This brought him to cities like **Basra** and **Damascus**. Among his patrons was the famous governor of Iraq, **al-Hajjaj ibn Yūsuf**. Even more famous than his panegyric poems, and more numerous, are his invective poems, particularly those against his rivals **al-Akḥṭal** and **al-Farazdaq**. With the latter (who belonged to a different clan of the same tribe, Tamim) he exchanged flytings or *naqā'id* during some forty years. Whether publicly declaimed at the **Mirbad** of Basra, or at court in the presence of caliphs, these flytings were esteemed as a form of amusement. They are full of the grossest obscenities and wild exaggerations, and are not rarely humorous. Many of his *qaṣidas* combine panegyric with invective and boasting. His amatory poetry (always in the form of *nasīb* and not as independent *ghazal*) is also praised; its tenderness contrasts strongly with the lampooning that may follow in the same *qaṣida*. Jarir was able to employ successfully, often in one and the same poem, two kinds of

style: the sonorous and difficult **bedouin** diction and a more accessible, popular style. Thus he won the admiration of high and low, of contemporaries and later critics and philologists, who rank him among the greatest poets. Jarir, it is said, grieved when he heard of the death of his old rival al-Farazdaq, and died the following year in his native al-Yamāma.

Text editions

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 G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Jarwal ibn Aws see al-Ḥuṭay'a**

**Jawād, Kāzim (1928– )**

Iraqi poet. Born in al-Nāṣiriyya, Jawād graduated from the Law College in **Baghdad** in 1952. One of Iraq's leading social-realist poets, he first followed the romantic trend of the Syrians 'Umar Abū Risha and **Badawī al-Jabal**, but later joined the *shi'r hurr* movement (free verse) in Iraq initiated by **al-Sayyāb** and **al-Malā'ika**. Jawād was influenced by the neo-realism of European socialist poets such as Lorca, Neruda and Mayakovsky, and the Turkish communist poet Nazim Hikmet; he translated some poems and a play by Lorca in *Lurka qithārat Gharnāṭa* (Baghdad, 1957). Like al-Sayyāb, his attention was attracted by T.S. Eliot's *Waste Land*, with its criticism of Western civilization; he himself concentrated his criticism on social and political life in Iraq and the government's persecution of communist and socialist intellectuals. His collection *Min aghānī al-ḥurriyya* (Beirut, 1960), however, was not

able to reach the heights of al-Sayyāb's or al-Bayātī's metaphysical poetry, and in general his poetry is overloaded with slogans and monologues, and over-dependent on narrative and emotion.

#### Further reading

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S. MOREH

### al-Jawāhirī, Muḥammad Mahdī (1900–97)

Neo-classical Iraqi poet. Born and educated in the traditional city of Najaf, al-Jawāhirī received a thorough education in language, literature and religion both at home and at school. In 1921 he became a schoolteacher in Baghdad. He later held many posts in journalism and education and was Iraqi ambassador in Prague in the early 1960s. Most of these appointments were short-lived, because of his outspoken poems and articles against the authorities – as a result of which he suffered harassment, jail and self-imposed exile in Syria and Prague, where he lived until his death.

Al-Jawāhirī is renowned for his forceful revolutionary and nationalistic poems, but his poetic fame was not achieved until after World War 2. The poems in his first collection, *Bayna al-shu'ūr wa-al-'āṭifa* (1928), were conventional eulogies and other poems of occasion. His second collection, *Dīwān al-Jawāhirī* (1935), contains poems belonging to an earlier period; this was followed by three further volumes of his *dīwān* and by a number of other collections including *Barīd al-ghurba* (1965), *Barīd al-'awda* (1969) and *Ayyuhā al-araq* (1971).

With his traditional background, al-Jawāhirī's language is at times very classical, and in form also he adhered to the classical two-hemistich line. Nevertheless, his technique is extremely individual. A master of occasional poetry, his poems evoke immediate and powerful responses and emotions in his audience, and his work is generally regarded

as the pinnacle of achievement of political poetry in modern Iraq.

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R. HUSNI

### al-Jawā'ib (1861–84)

Influential Istanbul political weekly, edited by the Lebanese Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, assisted by his son Salīm. In 1883 it moved to Cairo, losing its importance. It was popular in all Ottoman possessions, in the entire Arab East, North Africa, India and Zanzibar. The first newspaper of standing in the Arab world, it received subsidies from the Khedive Ismā'il, the *bey* of Tunis and from the sultan, whom it defended against mounting European encroachments. It published a number of debates on language, literature and linguistic matters, involving Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab, Yūsuf al-Asir and Mikhā'il 'Abd al-Sayyid. Here and elsewhere al-Shidyāq campaigned against traditionalism in both poetry and prose, preparing the way for innovation and literary revival. *Al-Jawā'ib* also published *feuilletons*, and poetry by Shidyāq and other leading Syrian, Egyptian and Iraqi writers, including Maḥmūd Ṣafwat al-Sa'āṭi, 'Alī al-Laythī and Fransīs Marrāsh.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Jawāliqī (466–539/1037–1144)

Abū Maṣ'nūr Mawhūb ibn Aḥmad al-Jawāliqī was born in Baghdad; he became a professor in the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in that city. Described by his pupil Ibn al-Anbārī as a better lexicographer than grammarian, al-Jawāliqī made his own personal copies of several lexical manuscripts (including the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Jawharī), and wrote a commentary on the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Qutayba. He is best known for his glossary of Arabicized

loan words *al-Mu'arrab*, which recognizes the antiquity of many borrowings and therefore finds no doctrinal difficulties in admitting pre-Islamic loan words into the vocabulary of the *Koran*. It also includes, without comment, the Persian origin of the name Jawālīqī, 'sack-maker', from *gowāleh*, 'sack'.

Text editions

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M.G. CARTER

**al-Jawdhari, Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr**  
**(d. c.360/1000)**

Secretary to Jawdhar al-Ṣiqillī, an important official of the early *Fāṭimid* caliphs from 350/961–2 until 362/972, the year that Jawdhar died. Al-Jawdhari succeeded him in the service of the caliphs al-Mu'izz, al-'Azīz and al-Ḥākim. His one known literary work is the *Sīrat al-Ustādh Jawdhar*, which contains biographical details and a historically interesting compilation of documents and letters relevant to Jawhar's official career.

Text editions

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*Vie de l'ustadh Jaudhar*, M. Canard (trans.), Algiers (1958) (French translation with introduction).

D.S. RICHARDS

**al-Jawhari, Abū Naṣr Ismā'il ibn Ḥammād (d. 393?/1003?)**

Abū Naṣr Ismā'il ibn Ḥammād al-Jawhari al-Faryābī, from Fārāb in Transoxania, as his name implies, was the nephew and pupil of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī, author of the dictionary *Dīwān al-adab*. Al-Jawhari studied in *Baghdad* under Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī and al-Sīrāfī, but returned to Persia, where he died. He

is known almost exclusively for his dictionary, *Tāj al-luḡha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-'Arabiyya*, although an elementary grammatical textbook by him is mentioned by the biographer *Yāqūt*.

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M.G. CARTER

See also: lexicography, medieval

**al-Jazari, Abū al-Nadā**  
**(d. 701/1301)**

Born in Jazīrat al-'Umar, al-Jazari is most noted as the author of *al-Maqāmāt al-Zayniyya*, a collection of fifty *maqāmāt* done in the style of al-Ḥarīrī. Al-Jazari composed his *al-Maqāmāt al-Zayniyya* for his son, Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh, in 672/1273. R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young have published several examples of al-Jazari's work along with corresponding English translations in their 'Shams al-Dīn al-Jazari and his *al-Maqāmāt al-Zayniyyah*', in *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, vol. 7 (1975), 54–60. In their article, Ebied and Young also provide a complete list of al-Jazari's fifty *maqāmāt*.

Text edition

*al-Maqāmāt al-Zayniyya*, al-Ṣāliḥī (ed.), Baghdad (1980).

J.E. LINDSAY

See also: *maqāmāt*

**al-Jazari, Shams al-Dīn**  
**(658–739/1260–1338)**

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazari, born and educated in *Damascus*, was noted for

being a pious, generous and sociable man. He is best known for his chronicle, *Ta'rikh al-Jazarī*, from which **al-Dhahabī** and al-Birzālī quote extensively. Only the last volume of this large work has survived. Copies are housed at the Köprülüzade in Istanbul, **Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya** in Cairo and several European libraries.

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J. E. LINDSAY

**Jibrān, Jibrān Khalīl** *see* **Jubrān, Jubrān Khalīl**

*al-Jidd wa-al-hazl*, *see* **adab; hazl**

**al-Jilānī, 'Abd al-Qādir** *see* **'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī**

**al-Jilī, 'Abd al-Karīm** *see* **'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī**

**al-Jinān (1870–86)**

Influential fortnightly magazine, founded in Beirut by Buṭrus **al-Bustānī**. His son Salīm **al-Bustānī** took over the concession in 1883. *Al-Jinān* published articles on science, medicine, history, politics and literature. Entertaining stories, with little pretence to literary value, were included, and it also published Salīm **al-Bustānī**'s novels. Among its other prominent contributors were Ibrāhīm **al-Yazījī**, Sulaymān **al-Bustānī** and Shiblī **Shumayyil**. On the political front *al-Jinān* promoted the idea of an Arab nation within the Ottoman Empire.

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P. C. SADGROVE

**Jirān al-'Awd al-Numayrī**  
**(first/seventh century)**

Jirān al-'Awd was the sobriquet of a certain 'Amīr ibn al-Ḥārith from the tribe Numayr, a

poet from early Islamic or **Umayyad** times about whose life nothing is known. His small *dīwān* (22 poems, 362 lines, including a poem by his friend al-Rahhāl) starts with a misogynistic poem in which he threatens his two wives with a whip made of leather from the neck of an old camel (*jirān al-'awd*), whence he got his nickname. The rest of his *dīwān* is made up mainly of love poetry in the style of the Ḥijāzī poets. His most often quoted poem (Cairo edn, 13–24) is a description of a rendezvous in the vein of 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a.

Text editions

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*Dīwān*, Cairo (1931); Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Qaysī (ed.), Baghdad (1982).

T. BAUER

**jokes/joking** *see* **hazl; humour**

**Jubrān, Jubrān Khalīl**  
**(1883–1931)**

**Mahjar** poet, prose writer and artist. Born in Bishrīrī (North Lebanon), Jubrān emigrated with his mother, his step-brother Buṭrus and his sisters Sulṭāna and Marianna to Boston, where they lived in poor conditions. Jubrān returned to Lebanon from 1897 to 1899 to improve his knowledge of Arabic, and returned again in 1902 as the guide of an English family. In 1902 and 1903 Sulṭāna, Buṭrus and Jubrān's mother died of tuberculosis; Jubrān then lived on what Marianna earned as a seamstress.

In 1907 Jubrān found a protectress in Mary Haskell, owner of a private school for girls, who admired Jubrān's paintings and enabled him to go to France to study art. Jubrān was unimpressed with the modern schools of painting, judging cubism as 'insanity'; while in Paris, however, he became acquainted with the works of Nietzsche, which left an imprint on his later literary works. He returned to Boston in 1910 and in 1912 went to New York, where he met Rashīd **Ayyub**, Nasīb **'Arīḍa** and 'Abd al-Masīh and Naḍra Ḥaddād.

Jubrān's prose poems, which he began to write in 1903, were subsequently collected in *Dam'a wa-ibtisāma* (1914); other works in Arabic include *al-Mūsīqā* (1905), *'Arā'is al-murūj* (1905), *al-Arwāḥ al-mutamarrida*



(1908), *al-Ajniha al-mutakassira* (1912), *al-Mawākib* (1918), *al-'Awāšif* (1920) and *al-Badā'i' wa-al-tarā'if* (1923). He also wrote a number of works in English, the first editions of which were published in New York, including (in order of appearance) *The Madman*; *The Forerunner*; *The Prophet*; *Sand and Foam*; *Jesus, Son of Man*; *The Earth Gods*; *The Wanderer*; and *The Garden of the Prophet*.

Jubrān's most famous work is *The Prophet* (originally published in English, New York, 1923), which has been translated into many languages and is still in print. One of the key notions, both of this book and of Jubrān's writing in general, is the idea of reincarnation and the migration of the human soul.

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*Kahlil Gibran: A Self Portrait*, A. Ferris (trans.), London (1960).  
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*Spiritual Sayings*, A. Ferris (trans.), New York (1970).  
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C. NIJLAND

## Judaeo-Arabic literature

Unlike the two best-known 'Jewish languages', Yiddish (developed from Judaeo-German) and Ladino (developed from Judaeo-Spanish), which are 'diaspora languages', i.e. spoken outside their linguistic homes, Judaeo-Arabic refers to the Arabic used by Jews living in the Arabic-speaking world. It is a form of Middle Arabic, adding some special features to its usual and typical morphological and syntactic deviations from classical literary Arabic. In addition, Hebrew and Aramaic vocabulary items, including some newly coined verbs from Hebrew roots, were used for Jewish ritual and other religious subjects.

Script is often used as a marker of religious identity. For example, virtually all 'Muslim languages' were written in the Arabic script, and all 'Jewish languages' in the Hebrew script. Thus, the writing of Judaeo-Arabic in the Hebrew script made its literature (though not its spoken form) a relatively closed system, generally unavailable to Christian and Muslim speakers of Arabic. Many Jewish intellectuals could read the Arabic script, and were thus acquainted with Muslim thought, but relatively few Muslim scholars referred to the writings of their Jewish counterparts, and when they did, they usually relied on Jewish informants.

Jews from Mesopotamia to Spain had adopted the Arabic language from the late seventh century onward, but little remains of the earliest writings in Judaeo-Arabic before the ninth century. From then until the thirteenth century there was a rapid efflorescence of literature in the language, centred especially in Spain and North Africa. This consisted mostly of prose, poetry almost always being written in Hebrew. Some works were belletristic, but a large portion were scientific texts, philosophical and theological writings, and grammatical studies of the Hebrew language, with comparisons drawn from Aramaic and Arabic which were recognized early on to be cognate languages. Many Jewish writers used both Hebrew and Arabic, while the translation of Judaeo-Arabic works into Hebrew

(especially for the use of European Jews) became a flourishing enterprise.

After the thirteenth century, Arabic was largely replaced by Romance languages among Iberian Jews, due to the spread of Christian power in Spain. At the same time, the ravages of the Almohads in North Africa caused the centre of Judaeo-Arabic culture to move eastward, to **Egypt** and the Levant as well as **Yemen**. Here, literary works in the language continued to be produced until the sixteenth century, and in Yemen until the mid-twentieth century. Ottoman domination over most of the area, and the dispersion of Iberian Jewry (non-Arabic speaking by that time) throughout the Mediterranean, were among the factors that led to the rapid disappearance of the Judaeo-Arabic standard literary language. This was replaced in many areas by a popular literature in local colloquial forms of Judaeo-Arabic, while Ladino and Hebrew were used for 'serious' literature.

An early, major literary figure, like many other Jewish intellectuals deeply influenced by **Mu'tazilism**, was Sa'adya ben Joseph al-Fayyūmī (269–331/882–942) (see **Sa'adiā Gaon**), who settled in Mesopotamia and became a leading religious authority. His major works were *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-al-i'tiqādāt* (*The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*) and the *Tafsīr*, his translation of the Hebrew Bible, still used by Arabic-speaking Jews. Somewhat later, in Kairouan in modern Tunisia, Nissim ben Jacob ibn Shāhīn (990–1060) wrote *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda wa-al-sā'a ba'd al-dīqa*, no doubt inspired by **al-Tanūkhī's** work, but using Jewish tales, many of Talmudic origin. Translated into Hebrew, it spread throughout the Jewish world, but its Judaeo-Arabic original was lost and rediscovered only in the nineteenth century. Since then, more finds in the Cairo *geniza* have enabled scholars to reconstruct the Judaeo-Arabic text.

Many of the great philosophers and theologians wrote both in Hebrew, for poetry and legal tracts, and in Judaeo-Arabic for other works. The great **Maimonides** (Moses ben Maimon of Córdoba, later Cairo, 1135–1204), wrote his *Dalālat al-hā'irīn* (*A Guide for the Perplexed*) in Judaeo-Arabic and his *Mishneh Torah*, a compendium of Jewish law, in Hebrew. Judah Halevi (1080–1141), best known for his Hebrew poetry, used Judaeo-Arabic to write his famous presentation of a debate before the

king of the Khazars on the merits of Judaism over philosophy, Christianity and Islam, *Kitāb al-ḥujja wa-al-dalīl fī naṣr al-dīn al-dhalīl*, better known today in its Hebrew translation, titled *Sefer ha-Kuzari*.

In the Hebrew popular literature of the Jews of Islam, one clearly sees the influence of Islamic Arabic culture – imitations of genres such as the *maqāma*, and translations or reworkings of stories, such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. But there were also influences in the other direction, as Victor Chauvin has pointed out in his study of *Alf layla wa-layla*, where he identified forty stories out of four hundred as being of Jewish origin. This may be an exaggeration, but it is most striking that some tales with Jewish heroes in *Alf layla* are clearly based on tales from the aforementioned *Faraj* work by Nissim ibn Shāhīn of Kairouan. Despite all the work done on Judaeo-Arabic literature since the middle of the nineteenth century, this field of scholarship is still in its relative infancy.

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W.M. BRINNER

See also: Hebrew literature, relations with Arabic; Spain

## Juhā

A pseudo-historical character of about the second/eighth century, Juhā is the most popular protagonist of humorous tales in the Arab world. Anecdotes told about him, first attested in the *Kitāb al-Bighāl* by **al-Jāhīz**, by the end

of the fourth/tenth century had accumulated to such an amount that **Ibn al-Nadīm** in his *Fihrist* could mention a *Kitāb Nawādir Juhā* which, however, does not survive. The increasing repertoire of tales on Juhā established him as the stereotype point of crystallization of humorous prose narratives. He is documented mainly in works of *adab* literature, from **al-Ābī**'s *Nathr al-durr* and **Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī**'s *al-Baṣā'ir wa-al-dhakhā'ir* to **Ibn al-Jawzī**'s *Akhbār al-ḥamqā* or the anonymous *Nuzhat al-udabā'*. The only surviving independent compilation is the *Irshād man nahā ilā nawādir Juhā* by **Yūsuf ibn al-Wakīl al-Milāwī** (eleventh/seventeenth century).

Although there might have been a certain degree of international exchange at all times, only in the late nineteenth century did anecdotes about Juhā start to merge with those about the Turkish jester **Nasreddin Hoca** to a larger extent. The Arabic translation (**Būlāq**, 1280/1864 or earlier) of the printed Turkish collection was considerably augmented by tales drawn from Arabic literature, thus beginning the identification of Juhā with his Turkish counterpart. The largest Arabic collection to date (almost 400 items), the *Nawādir Juhā al-kubrā* by **Hikmat Sharif al-Tarābulṣī** (Cairo, 1927), is reflected in numerous cheap prints up to the present, giving rise to various treatments in arts and literature besides a virulent popular oral tradition adapting Juhā to the requirements and surroundings of the modern world.

Juhā's popularity in Arabic resulted in spreading his fame to Persian literature, where he is known as **Jūhī** since the fifth/eleventh century, as well as to Sicily and mainland Italy (**Giufā**), to North-African Berber (**Si Djeh'a**) and, above all, to Sephardic (Morocco, Tunisia, Balkans) oral tradition (**Ch'ha**, **Dj'ha**, **Giochà**).

No serious attempt has yet been made to analyse the contents of anecdotes on Juhā, either in printed collections or in contemporary oral performance. In the early sources containing a considerable amount of scatological, sexual and otherwise 'obscene' materials, the printed anecdotes appear to be 'domesticated' in an attempt to reduce Juhā to a charming fool. Oral tradition, on the other hand, retains a somewhat loose and provocative moral nature including social and political criticism.

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U. MARZOLPH

See also: popular literature

**al-Jumaḥī, Muḥammad ibn Sallām**  
see **Ibn Sallām**

**al-Jumhūriyya (1953– )**

Daily newspaper published in Cairo. The licence was issued to **Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir** shortly after he came to power; it later became the official paper of his Arab Socialist Union, intended to disseminate and explain the policy of the revolution. **Anwar al-Sādāt** was for a time the editor-in-chief. Many leading Egyptian authors and journalists have contributed to it, including **Tāhā Husayn**, 'Abd al-Rahmān **al-Sharqāwī** and **Ṣabri Mūsā**. Until the 1970s it appealed to intellectuals, workers and others who liked the emphasis that it gave to leftist causes.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Junayd (d. 298/910)**

**Abū al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad al-Junayd** was the great **Ṣūfī** of **Baghdad** and pupil of **al-Muḥāsibī**. **Al-Junayd** was not a prolific writer, as he preferred to transmit his ideas orally through his teaching. His main extant written work is his *Rasā'il*; sayings and teachings attributed to him are found in many works of classical **Ṣūfism**. **Al-Junayd** became known as the most important representative of the **Ṣūfī**

'School of Baghdad', which was said to have been founded by his uncle, Sarī al-Saqāfi, and al-Muḥāsibī, probably the two most important influences on al-Junayd. His Sufism was based mainly on three central ideas: *tawḥīd* (declaration of the divine unity), *fanā'* ('passing away' in God), and *ṣaḥw* ('sobriety' in mysticism). His 'sobriety' contained and channelled *tawḥīd* and *fanā'*, so that his mysticism stopped short of the effacing of the boundary between the creator and His creation. The 'School of Baghdad' was consequently known for its moderation in mysticism. Al-Junayd felt compelled to disavow his disciple al-Hallāj for the latter's seemingly antinomian utterances (*shataḥāt*).

#### Text edition

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R.L. NETTLER

### al-Jundī, Amīn (1764–1840)

Syrian poet, born and died in Homs. Accused of satirizing the governor of Homs, he was imprisoned in 1830, but was saved by the rebel Salīm ibn Bākīr, who killed the governor. Al-Jundī was a translator and companion to Ibrāhīm Pasha during the Egyptian occupation of Syria and in 1840, on Ibrāhīm's withdrawal, helped to save Homs from looting. There are various editions of his *dīwān*; his famous *muwashshahāt* are still sung in Syria.

#### Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Jurjānī, 'Abd al-Qāhir see 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī

### al-Jurjānī, al-Qāḍī 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (392/1002)

Poet and critic. Born in Jurjān, he moved,

when still a child, to Nishapur in 337/948–9 with his brother. Eventually (probably in 385/995) he became chief *qāḍī* in Rayy, where he died. His body was interred in his native Jurjan. He was an esteemed poet and is extensively quoted in anthologies such as *Yatīmat al-dahr* by al-Tha'ālībī and biographical works like *Mu'jam al-udabā'* by Yāqūt. He is said to have written a commentary on the *Koran* and a compendium of history, both lost. He wrote an important and original monograph on the great but controversial poet al-Mutanabbī, *al-Wasāta bayna al-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih* (*The Mediation between al-Mutanabbī and his Opponents*). While marshalling the evidence for and against at great length, the book amounts to a defence of the poet against accusations of plagiarism or having sinned against literary taste, grammar and religious doctrine (he argues that 'religion is set apart from poetry'). A commentary on al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān* survives in manuscript.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: literary criticism, medieval

### al-Jurr, Shukr Allāh (1903 or 1905–75)

Mahjar poet, journalist and prose writer. Born in Yaḥshūsh, Shukr Allāh al-Jurr emigrated to Brazil in 1923, where he became a trader. He returned to Lebanon through Spain in 1927, but emigrated again in 1931. He was so impressed by the Arab cultural heritage in Spain that he named the monthly that he started in Rio de Janeiro in 1931 *al-Andalus al-jadida*. He also published a weekly, *al-Hurriyya*.

Worried by the growing rift between the Syrian and Lebanese communities in Brazil, al-Jurr took the initiative of forming a literary group, 'al-'Uṣba al-andalusiyya', in São Paulo

in 1933, to bring authors and poets from the two communities together. He himself did not become a member of the group, however, since journalists – whom he considered the chief instigators of the rift – were excluded from membership. His poetry and prose works were published in Rio de Janeiro and Beirut.

Shukr Allāh al-Jurr returned to Lebanon in 1963, where he died. His brother was the emigrant poet 'Aql al-Jurr (b. 1885, d. 1945 in São Paulo), whose *diwān* was published posthumously in Beirut in 1964.

C. NIJLAND

## Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. between 32–5/652–5)

Abū Ishāq ibn Māti' Ka'b al-Aḥbār was a Jew from Yemen. He accepted Islam in 17/638, and fanciful legends, both Christian and Muslim, about his conversion abound. Often confusing rabbis with monks, these legends were used to show deliberate tampering by Jews (or Christians) with the original Biblical texts supposedly predicting the coming of Muḥammad and Islam.

Little is known of Ka'b's life except for reports of his relations with the second and third caliphs, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. After coming to Medina, but before his conversion, he accompanied 'Umar to Jerusalem in 15/636, where he helped to identify the site of the ancient Jewish temple which the Christians were supposedly attempting to conceal. 'Umar, however, is said to have rebuked Ka'b for his veneration of that site. He later became a champion of 'Uthmān, leading to bitter conflicts with the latter's pietist opponents, especially Abū Dharr. After 'Uthmān's death Mu'āwiya tried to attract him to Damascus, but he seems to have withdrawn to Homs, where he died.

Considered the earliest authority on Jewish tradition in Islam, and often cited in *ḥadīth* on biblical lore and law, statements of the rabbis, and legendary tales of the *Haggadah*, Ka'b's reputation varies greatly, from the somewhat negative views of pietists as reported by early historians, to positive acceptance by collectors of the *Legends of the Prophets*, for whom he was an essential first-hand authority. Even among their accounts, and among some present-day Muslim scholars, however, one finds condemnation of some of his transmitted lore as un-Islamic.

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W.M. BRINNER

*See also:* *Isrā'iliyyāt*

## Ka'b ibn Zuhayr (first/seventh century)

Son of the poet Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā and himself a poet of repute in pre- and (mainly) early Islamic times. He owes his fame to a poem addressed to the Prophet Muḥammad in which he apologizes after having satirized Islam. Muḥammad accepted his excuse and allegedly rewarded him with a mantle (*burda*) which gave the poem its name. Ka'b's *Burda* (also called *Bānat Su'ād* after its opening words) is a carefully structured *qaṣīda* of fifty-eight lines. A *nasīb* describing a beloved's beauty and falseness is followed by a *raḥīl* (description of a desert journey) with the detailed portrait of a swift camel. The last part contains the poet's excuse and, connected through a lion episode, a very short eulogy of the Prophet and his tribe Quraysh. The *Burda* became one of the most famous Arabic poems and was the subject of numerous commentaries and imitations. Its attractiveness lies not only in its indisputable literary qualities, but also in the fact that it stands as a symbol for the reconciliation of Islam and pre-Islamic traditions. Ka'b's other poems, often melancholic in tone, display a lot of originality especially in their portrayal of desert journeys and animals, but are not devoid of some clumsy expressions.

Text editions

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T. BAUER

### al-Kāfiyāji (d. 879/1474)

Muhyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Kāfiyāji was a scholar whose interests and writings covered a broad spectrum but whose importance lies chiefly in his works on grammar and logic. His mastery of logic is reflected in his treatises on various subjects, which attempt to arrange the subject matter on the basis of principles of formal logic. In some cases, as in his treatises on mysticism and historiography, his writings give the impression of a conscious attempt to found new disciplines.

Further reading

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B. WEISS

### al-Kalābādhi, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq (d. c.385/995)

A prominent writer on early Sufism and a *ḥadīth* specialist. Few details of his life are known; his *nisba* refers to the Kalābādhi quarter of Bukhārā. Al-Kalābādhi's main work, *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-ṭaṣawwuf* (*The Doctrine of the Sūfis*), was an early Sūfī manual of 'self-explanation'. The book explained the doctrine, origins, concepts and practices of Sufism, imparting information while conveying its message of Sufism's roots in Islam and its essential theological 'orthodoxy'. To this end, al-Kalābādhi employed a new Sūfī literary style of open and sober explication of esoteric ideas and practices. His discussion of Sūfī technical terms is a model of this genre. The *Ta'arruf* was influential in

reducing the tension between Sufism and 'orthodoxy' after the al-Hallāj drama. Its place as a major source for the early history of Sufism is assured, as well as its standing as a great expositor of Sufism to non-Sūfī Islam.

Text editions

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R.L. NETTLER

### al-Kalā'ī (sixth/twelfth century)

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Kalā'ī was a literary critic. Although he belonged to a well-known Arab family of statesmen and writers in Seville, and he himself became a vizier, almost nothing is known of him. He was a friend of Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī, who died 542/1147. He is the author of *Iḥkām ṣan'at al-kalām* (*The Perfection of the Art of Speech*), which deals with prose style (e.g. the various forms of rhymed prose or *ṣaj'* and prose genres such as artistic prose, the sermon (*khuṭba*) and the *maqāma*). He is concerned more with stylistic embellishment (for which he employs an original terminology) than with matters of content.

Text edition

*Iḥkām ṣan'at al-kalām*, Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāya (ed.), Beirut (1966).

Further reading

al-Dāya, Muḥammad Riḍwān, *Ta'riḫ al-naqd al-adabī fi al-Andalus*, Beirut (1968), 401–31.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Kalām

*Kalām*, which literally means 'speech', or 'talk', is the common designation among Muslims historically for theological discourse. Generally, the term is combined with 'ilm to form the phrase 'ilm al-kalām, 'the science of theological discourse'. Arabic terms that more closely approximate 'theology' in their literal meaning, viz. *ilāhiyyāt* and *lāhūt* (often following 'ilm), are put to other uses. *Ilāhiyyāt* commonly refers to metaphysics as developed by the Muslim Peripatetic philosophers, and *lāhūt* is commonly used among Christians. The only real alternative to 'ilm al-kalām as a

designation for theology among Muslims is 'ilm uṣūl al-dīn, 'the science of the foundations of religion',

Although theological discussion in the first two centuries of Islam is marked by wide diversity and great fluidity, later theological thought crystallized into three major schools: Mu'tazilī, Ash'arī and Māturīdī. The Mu'tazilī was the earliest of the three to emerge, and though itself diverse in its earlier development it came to be associated with certain fundamental notions, the most prominent of which were the unity of God and justice. What was distinctive about the Mu'tazilī approach to these ideas was their particular brand of rationalism: the unity of God meant for them that the eternity of the Koran (an idea precious to many Muslims) had to be denied and that justice – right and wrong – had to be rooted in human rational intuition.

The Ash'arī school – named after the person claimed as its founder, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī – embraced the cause of rationalist inquiry but with different results: it claimed to be able to demonstrate the eternity of the divine speech and other divine attributes and to demolish the idea of a rationalist ethics with the very tools of discursive argumentation that had been used by the Mu'tazilīs. The Māturīdī school, which arose soon after the Ash'arī, leaned toward Ash'arī positions on major issues but took a middle-of-the-road stance on subordinate issues not dealt with here.

A great many religious scholars in medieval Islam considered argumentation over certain issues debated by these schools, such as the status of the divine attributes, to be forbidden and actively opposed *kalām*. This anti-*kalām* movement, which waxed and waned during successive centuries, was in many ways a school of thought in its own right.

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B. WEISS

**Kalb see tribes**

### **Kalila wa-Dimna**

A famous collection of didactic fables, mostly of Indian origin. The book, which takes its

name from those of the two jackals who figure in its first story (and which are corruptions of Sanskrit Karaṭaka and Damanaka respectively), was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' around the middle of the second/eighth century from an original in Middle Persian ('Pahlawi') which in turn had been compiled by the physician Burzōy (Arabicized: Barzūya) during the reign of the Sasanian emperor Khusrōy (Arabic: Kisrā) I Anūshīrwān (531–79). The Sasanian original is lost, but we do have a Syriac translation made directly from the Middle Persian, most probably in the sixth century, and by confronting it with the Arabic version we can form a fairly precise picture of the contents of their common source. This, like the Syriac translation, evidently contained ten frame-stories (each with a number of inserted sub-stories, and sometimes even sub-sub-stories). The first five ('The lion and the ox', 'The ring-dove and her companions', 'The owls and the crows', 'The ape and the tortoise', 'The ascetic and the weasel') are a translation of the five chapters of the *Pañcatantra*, the most celebrated story-book in Sanskrit. The next three ('The mouse and the cat', 'The king and the bird', 'The lion and the jackal') are taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*, the Indian national epic. One ('The king and his eight dreams') is derived from a lost Buddhist Sanskrit source (the story survives in Tibetan, Pali and Chinese Buddhist versions), while the last chapter ('The king of the mice and his ministers') was apparently written by Burzōy himself.

The Arabic version of Ibn al-Muqaffa' began (at least in its original form) with an introduction by the Arabic translator extolling the book of *Kalila wa-Dimna* as an indispensable store-house of political wisdom. Like all the other chapters it is interspersed with sub-stories, evidently the work of the translator himself. This was followed by a brief account of how Burzōy journeyed to India in search of medicinal herbs, but brought back books instead (published and translated in de Blois, 81–7; the story of Burzōy's journey as found in the printed editions is spurious). The third chapter was Burzōy's own autobiographical introduction, doubtless translated from the Middle Persian original (though lost in the Syriac version); this contains a very remarkable passage rejecting all established religions and preaching asceticism. These three introductory sections are followed by the



translation of the ten stories contained in the Sasanian original, but after 'The lion and the ox' someone (most probably Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself) inserted a sequel of his own composition describing the trial and punishment of the treacherous jackal, Dimna. At the end of the book there are four stories that were probably not part of Burzōy's compilation: two ('The traveller and the goldsmith' and 'The king's son and his companions') are of Indian origin, the other two ('The lioness and the horseman' and 'The ascetic and his guest') have not been traced to any earlier source.

*Kalila wa-Dimna* has always enjoyed great popularity in the Near East and has frequently been copied; unfortunately it has in the process undergone radical reworking. The existing manuscripts, the oldest of which are from the seventh/thirteenth century (500 years after the time of translation), differ radically from one another in virtually every sentence. Moreover, some of the genuine chapters listed above are missing from most of the manuscripts, while certain spurious chapters have been inserted at the beginning and end of the existing copies. The process of textual degradation has been continued by modern editors, who, in the mistaken belief that they were dealing with a children's book, have felt it necessary to alter some of the more ribald stories.

The Arabic work, like its principal source, the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, presents itself as a handbook for kings, a textbook of political science (see further *Mirrors for Princes*). The stories are embedded in a dialogue between an Indian king and the 'philosopher' B.y.d.n.' (later corrupted to Bidpāy, Pilpāy, etc.); each chapter begins by relating how the king asks the 'philosopher' to tell a story to illustrate a particular political lesson and how the latter proceeds to do so. Most of the stories have animals as their actors, although some deal with humans, but even in the animal stories the characters talk and behave like humans and not (as in the Aesopic fables) as stylized animals. The stories themselves are interrupted by a large number of wise maxims, corresponding, in the case of the stories taken ultimately from the *Pañcatantra*, mostly to the verses which are inserted at regular intervals into the Sanskrit prose text. The lesson conveyed at least by the ten 'original' stories is decidedly utilitarian and indeed Machiavellian – success in politics depends on being able to outwit one's enemies – but the amoral tenor of the book is mitigated to a considerable extent

by Burzōy's autobiography, as well as by the five additional stories added (apparently) by Ibn al-Muqaffa'. But in the end it is unlikely that anyone ever learnt either politics or morals from this book; the supposed pedagogical content is little more than an ostensible justification for what to a Muslim reader would otherwise have seemed a trivial work of entertainment.

The maxims in *Kalila wa-Dimna* were copiously anthologized in the classic Arabic *adab* collections and the whole book was several times recast in rhymed couplets. The earliest known versification was by **Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiqī** (d. c.200/815); some fragments of this version have been preserved by **Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī**. The sixth/twelfth century versification by **Ibn al-Habbāriyya** (who also wrote a versified imitation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* entitled *Kitāb al-ṣādigh wa-al-bā'im*) was lithographed in Bombay in 1887 while some later reworkings remain unpublished. *Kalila wa-Dimna* has often been imitated, giving rise to a whole genre of books about wise (and not so wise) animals; the most important of these is doubtless **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri's** *Risālat al-sāhil wa-al-shāhij*. In the Middle Ages the book was translated from Arabic into several other languages (Greek, a second time into Syriac, Old Spanish, twice into Hebrew and several times into Persian); the earliest of these translations are older than the oldest surviving Arabic manuscripts and are thus of great importance for textual criticism. The earlier of the Hebrew versions was translated into Latin in the seventh/thirteenth century and this Latin version was in turn rendered into most of the vernacular languages of Europe, where it exerted considerable influence.

Many of the Arabic (and Persian) manuscripts of *Kalila wa-Dimna* are beautifully illustrated; the book has thus an important place also in the history of Islamic art.

#### Text edition

The only published Arabic text that is based on sound editorial principles is the edition by L. Cheikho, Beirut (1905) (not to be confused with the same editor's bowdlerized 'school edition'!), which reflects a fairly decent manuscript dated 749/1339. All the other editions have been tampered with or 'corrected' by the editors.

There is no adequate English translation, but a good French version by A. Miquel is available (Paris, 1957).

For full discussion and further literature see F. de Blois, *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin*

of the *Book of Kalilah wa Dimnah*, London (1990).

F. DE BLOIS

See also: didactic literature; fables; translation, medieval

### Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm see Ibn al-'Adīm, Kamāl al-Dīn

### kāmīl see prosody

### Kāmīl, 'Ādil (1916– )

Egyptian novelist. Like Najīb Maḥfūz, a disciple of the Egyptian Fabian Salāma Mūsā, Kāmīl began his career as a novelist by writing a historical work, *Malik al-shu'ā'* (1945), based on the life and beliefs of the Pharaoh Akhenaten. This book won a prize for historical fiction in 1942. The novel that he submitted for a prize in 1944, *Millim al-akbar*, was entirely different, being a realistic work that explored the state of Egyptian society through the lives of two young Egyptians from different social backgrounds. This novel (which some critics believe to have inspired Maḥfūz to move in the same direction) was Kāmīl's final contribution to Egyptian fiction, after which he resumed his legal career.

#### Further reading

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R. ALLEN

### Kāmīl, Muṣṭafā (1874–1908)

Egyptian historian, nationalist and founder of the Egyptian National Party (al-Ḥizb al-Waṭānī). A law-school graduate of the University of Toulouse, Kāmīl began in the 1890s, with the khedive's secret encouragement, to agitate for the withdrawal of the British from Egypt. A strong believer in education, he originated the idea of establishing a Western-

style university in Egypt. This became the Egyptian University (al-Jāmi'a al-Miṣriyya), set up one year after Kāmīl's death and now the University of Cairo.

Kāmīl's works are too numerous to list, since he spent all his adult life writing and making speeches. (Most of these are contained in his party newspaper, *al-Liwā'*.) His most important historical work is the two-volume *al-Mas'ala al-sharqiyya* (1898) – the first distinctly modern, interpretative and analytical historical study to emerge from Egypt.

Kāmīl was also a trend-setter stylistically. He abandoned the *saḡ'* conventions of earlier times and pioneered, with Qāsim Amīn, the adoption of a new 'direct style'.

#### Further reading

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J. CRABBS

### kân wa-kân

A form of non-classical poetry which probably originated in Baghdad in the fifth/eleventh century and remained in vogue until the eighteenth century. Its name ('there was once', i.e. 'once upon a time') is explained as being a formula used in tales and fables, the alleged original subject of this kind of verse. Famous preachers such as Ibn al-Jawzī (511–97/1117–1201) and Shams al-Dīn al-Kūfī (623–75/1226–77) employed the *kân wa-kân* in their sermons. A *qaṣīda* in *kân wa-kân* consists of a number of stanzas (*bayt*) with four members ('*uḍw*) or hemistichs (*miṣrā'*) each, the last of which ends in a long vowel+consonant representing the rhyme (*bcda*, *efga*, etc.). Single stanzas occur and may indeed have been the original form, but *qaṣīdas* with up to forty stanzas are frequently found. Al-Shaybī's collection contains 173 pieces totalling 1,490 stanzas. According to Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286), its metrical pattern is a form of *mujtathth* (– – v – / v – –), but, on the basis of paradigms mentioned by al-Banawānī (d. c.860/1456) and further developed by Aḥmad al-Darwish (d. before 1801), al-Shaybī arguably concludes that the pattern is accentual.

#### Further reading

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W. STOETZER

## Kanafānī, Ghassān (1936–72)

Palestinian novelist, literary critic, political journalist and artist. The son of a lawyer in Acre, Kanafānī's early education was in French schools. In 1948 his family was uprooted and moved to Syria. Kanafānī trained as a teacher and studied Arabic literature at Damascus University. Having been expelled for political activity, he joined relatives in Kuwait, working as a journalist until invited to Beirut in 1960 by George Habash to contribute to Arab nationalist newspapers. In 1969 he became official spokesman of Habash's organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and editor of its journal *al-Hadaf*. He was killed by a car bomb planted by Israeli agents.

Kanafānī left seven novels (three of them unfinished), five collections of short stories, some plays, and studies of Palestinian resistance literature and Zionist literature. He was the first of a new generation of Palestinian writers who, not content with depicting the tragedy of the refugees, sought to foster national consciousness and explore paths of liberation for their people. Uniquely at the time, he ignored taboos to write of the Palestinians in Israel and of Israeli Jewish culture. His portrayal of an elderly Israeli couple, refugees from European anti-semitism, in the novel *'Ā'id ilā Ḥayfā*, was a pioneering attempt to go beyond the stereotyped representation of 'the enemy' common in Palestinian fiction of that period.

Kanafānī's main contribution to Arabic literature is in his fiction. His earliest stories established exploration of the Palestinian predicament and commitment to the struggle for a more dignified life for the refugees as a major theme of his work. As his talent matured, he employed, to increasing effect, powerful images and symbols and bitter irony to convey his perception of the betrayal that the Palestinians had suffered, their own weakness and their unwillingness to revolt against

injustice and take responsibility for their future. His two most successful novels, *Rijāl fī al-shams* (1963) and *Mā tabaqqā lakum* (1966) reveal a remarkable awareness of modern techniques of stream of consciousness, flashback and changes in narrative perspective. The later *'Ā'id ilā Ḥayfā* (1969) reflects Kanafānī's adoption of a Marxist ideology and, concomitantly, of socialist-realist techniques of writing. Even then, however, his capacity to convey the attitudes and behaviour of the Palestinian peasant turned refugee, represented by Umm Sa'd in the cycle of stories named after her (1969), springs from a mastery of dialogue and pace independent of any specific political commitment.

Both the Palestinian and the classical Arabic literary heritage influenced Kanafānī's writing. The latter inspired the setting and characters of the play *al-Bāb* (1964), while the importance that some of the novels and short stories accord the desert, even when reinterpreted in modern terms, recalls its place in pre- and early Islamic poetry. The unfinished *al-'Āshiq* bears traces of the 'magic realism' associated in Palestinian literature with Imil Ḥabībī. By contrast, some themes recurrent in Kanafānī's fiction, such as the interplay of coincidence and human weakness and gullibility, reflect a sense of the absurd. Kanafānī's constant drive to innovate, the quality of his writing, and his ability to convey the universal dimension of his people's tragedy and struggle explain the continuing popularity of his work in the Arab world and abroad.

### Text editions

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H. KILPATRICK

## **Karagöz see shadow play; theatre and drama**

### **Karāma, Buṭrus (1774–1851)**

Syrian Greek Catholic court poet and teacher. Born in Homs, he died in Istanbul. He was employed in the chancellery of 'Alī Pasha al-As'ad, governor of Acre, for five years, then went to Mount Lebanon, becoming in 1813 court poet and private secretary to Prince Bashīr al-Shihābī, and finally his deputy in charge of the Lebanon. He taught the prince's sons Turkish and Arabic. When the prince left for exile in Malta in 1840, he accompanied him, before going to Istanbul as court interpreter. His published works include a collection of Andalusian *Muwashshahāt* (1864) (including his own attempts at the genre), and his *dīwān, Saj' al-ḥamāma fī dīwān al-mu'allim Buṭrus Karāma* (1898). Although arguably the best poet of his age, he is criticized for his ornate phraseology and style.

#### Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

### **al-Kāshānī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān see 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāshānī**

### **Kateb, Yacine (1929–89)**

Algerian poet, novelist and playwright writing in French. Born in Constantine, Kateb studied first at Koran school, then at French school and at the grammar school in Sétif. On 8 May 1945 he took part in the nationalist demonstration that took place in that town. He was arrested several days later and put in prison, where he met many militant leaders of the national movement. This experience shocked him. He then went through a period of romantic agony over his cousin Nedjma, whom he loved but who was already married. Expelled from grammar school, he left for Bône, where he published *Soliloques* (1946) – poems on the revolution and on love. He became attached to the Algerian Communist Party, then left for France, where he held various jobs, and where he published *Nedjma* in 1956. He died in Grenoble.

In *Nedjma*, Kateb had wanted to write a novel showing the tough side of Algeria – quite the opposite of what the critics expected from him. Without any real idea of the technique that he ought to adopt, he was trying to blend prose, poetry and drama. He wrote an A–Z of ideas, went back over them and added to them, adopting a different point of view every time. Each time he moved house, he began the same stories again, in an almost circular fashion, scribbling some 400 pages, from which he extracted *Nedjma*, then published the rest in 1966 under the title *Le Polygone étoilé*. In a flourish of lyricism he plunged into the realm of myth, using fragments from ancient Algerian history and claiming that a large part of his work was 'subconscious'. His cousin Nedjma became, in a sense, the symbol of the homeland of Algeria taken over by others – a virgin suffering for centuries the violation of conquest. In the novel his cousin–sister is coveted by four cousins, all from the generation who sacrificed themselves on 8 May 1945, so that the work may be seen in a sense as an 'autobiography in the plural'.

The same sense of tragedy is expressed in the dramatic work *Le Cercle des représailles* (1959), which includes 'Le Cadavre encerclé', 'Les Ancêtres redoublent de férocité', and a farce, 'La Poudre d'intelligence'. *L'Oeuvre en fragments* (1986) is a collection of various, previously unpublished texts. From 1971, Kateb also put on unpublished plays in colloquial Algerian Arabic. He is widely regarded as one of the most important modern Maghribi writers, although he himself recognized that his reputation was built around one central work.

#### Text editions

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J. DÉJEUX

### **kātib see secretaries**

**Kātib, Yāsīn** *see* **Kateb, Yacine**

**Kātib Çelebi** *see* **Hājji Khalifa**

**al-Kātib al-Siqillī** *see* **at-Ballanūbī**

### **al-Kattāni (1858–1927)**

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kattāni was a Moroccan historian, biographer, Sūfi and jurist, who became known as an implacable critic of French colonialism and a spokesman for the pan-Islamic movement. Born in Fez into a celebrated family of scholars and notables of Sharifian background, al-Kattāni initially pursued a typical scholarly career. His early works deal with such traditional themes as his family's genealogy, *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*. His voluminous biographical collection *Salwat al-anfās* was dedicated to the saints, notables, rulers and 'ulamā' of his native city; it testifies to al-Kattāni's spectacular proficiency in Maghribī historiography and intimate knowledge of the local hagiographical tradition. In this work al-Kattāni took pains to provide a rationale for, and a guide to, the veneration of the saints' shrines. Based on a thorough study of earlier historical sources and meticulous 'field' observations, *Salwat al-anfās* is often regarded as a model work of its genre. It gave rise to a number of imitations devoted to the celebrities of other Maghribī cities.

A witness to the French occupation of Morocco, al-Kattāni was outraged by the compliance and docility of the Moroccan rulers, who did nothing to organize a resistance to it. He expressed his protest by emigrating to Medina (1328/1910). From his exile, he invited his compatriots to follow his example, claiming that a Muslim cannot stay in the land ruled by the 'infidels'. When he moved to **Damascus**, he became involved in the anti-French struggle waged by Syrian Muslims. Despite his unswerving loyalty to Sūfi piety, he concurred on many points with the pan-Islamic and nationalist programmes advanced by **Shakīb Arslān** and **Rashīd Riḍā**, both of whom were ardent opponents of mystical Islam. Like these leaders, in his later works, al-Kattāni advocated for the renewal and reform of Islam, which he viewed as the only force capable of stemming Christian encroachments on Muslim lands.

Text editions

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A. KNYSH

### **al-Kayyālī, Sāmī (1898–1972)**

Syrian literary scholar and historian, editor and translator. Al-Kayyālī was born and educated in Aleppo, where he held several administrative posts and edited his influential journal *al-Ḥadīth* (1927–60). He had close links with writers and institutions in Egypt and travelled widely in the Arab world, Europe and the United States, producing several books based on his journeys. He was a prolific writer, with some twenty books and dozens of articles to his credit. In addition to several collections of essays on Arabic literature, culture and history, he published works on **al-Jāhīz**, **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri**, **Tāhā Ḥusayn** and others. His widely used biographical and bibliographical survey of contemporary Syrian literature was published in Cairo in 1959, and in a revised, expanded edition in 1968.

Further reading

Ṣalībā, Jamīl, *Ittijāhāt al-naqd al-ḥadīth fī Sūriyya*, Cairo (1969).  
 Sulaymān, Nabil, *al-Naqd al-adabī fī Sūriyya*, Beirut (1980).

A.-N. STAIF

### **al-Khafājī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (c.979–1069/c.1571–1695)**

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khafājī was an Egyptian scholar who spent much of his career as a legal official in the Ottoman empire before settling down to a literary life in **Cairo**. His many works include a *diwān* of poetry, a supercommentary on **al-Bayḍawī's Koran** commentary; two works of literary biography, which are useful in that they give specimens of contemporary Arabic poetry and provide autobiographical details on the author; and, perhaps most valuable and original, his *Shifā' al-ghalīl* on foreign words borrowed into the Arabic language, comple-

menting the earlier *al-Mu'arrab* of al-Jawaliqī and also providing examples of common solecisms in Arabic speech.

Text editions

*Shifā' al-ghalīl*, Cairo (1371/1952).

*Tirāz al-majālis*, Cairo (1284/1868).

C.E. BOSWORTH

### al-Khafājī, Ibn Sīnān *see* Ibn Sīnān al-Khafājī

### *Khafif see prosody*

### Khāir-Eddīne, Mohammed (1941– )

Moroccan poet and novelist writing in French. Born in 1941 in Tafraout in the Anti-Atlas, Khāir-Eddīne's native language was Berber; he then learned Arabic and French, but chose to write in French. In 1964 he published his manifesto *Poésie toute*, then left for France where he spent ten years before returning to Morocco in 1979. He returned to France in 1990. He has written six novels, including *Agadir* (1967), *Corps négatif* (1968), *Moi, l'aigre* (1970) and *Le Déterreur* (1973), in which literary genres are mixed and the rebel poet-novelist pours out his wrath on all those who have attacked his work. Among his collections of poetry is *Soleil arachnide* (1969).

J. D'ÉJEUX

### al-Khāl, Yūsuf (1917–87)

Syrian, later Lebanese, poet, translator and literary critic. Born in 'Amar al-Ḥuṣn, al-Khāl moved with his family to Tripoli (Lebanon), where his father was in charge of the Evangelical churches. He was educated at the American School there, at the American College in Aleppo, and from 1940 at the American University of Beirut, where he studied philosophy and was influenced by the prominent Lebanese philosopher Charles Malik. He joined the Syrian National Socialist Party in his youth; the teachings of Anṭūn Sa'āda had a lasting effect on his poetry and writings, even after he ceased to be officially connected with the party.

Al-Khāl spent much of his life working in

journalism and publishing, with short spells teaching in secondary schools and at the American University of Beirut. He worked in New York in the UN's information department from 1948 to 1952 and was editor of the New York-based *al-Hudā* from 1952 to 1955. After returning to Lebanon, he launched the periodical *Shi'r* in 1957, one of the most influential publications in modern Arab cultural history, and began to distinguish himself both as a poet and literary agitator and as a father figure for a new generation of writers. His influence on the modernist movement in Arabic poetry may be compared with that of Ezra Pound on the imagist movement; significantly, al-Khāl's first volume of mature poetry (*al-Bi'r al-mahjūra*, 1958) opens with a poem, 'Ezra Pound', in which al-Khāl announces to Pound that he 'would be resurrected *here*, having been crucified by the Jews *out there*'.

Before embarking on the *Shi'r* project, al-Khāl had published a volume of poetry and a verse play heavily imbued with semi-romantic and symbolist imagery and a sense of belonging to a civilization whose glory had waned but which was now seeking rebirth. At this point, the West does not appear in his poetry as a problematic, but as a light interacting with the civilization from which it had derived its greatness. Already, myth and ritual permeated his poetry. From the mid-1950s, however, his poetry became freer and less concerned with immediate political and social issues, while remaining involved in the 'struggle of the modern' to create a new world: a new poetic language and a new social order. He developed a metaphysical tone, a spirit of search and yearning, and a Christian vision of man and society which continued the spirit of Jubrān Khalil Jubrān (whose work *The Prophet* he later retranslated into Arabic). A combination of biblical imagery, ancient Syrian myth, and a language rich in the vocabulary and atmosphere of prayer, gave his poetry its most intimate qualities and distinguished his work from the rest of the *Shi'r* group. Al-Khāl's contribution to the emergence of a mythical dimension in Arabic poetry was crucial, and the so-called 'Tammūzī' poets owe much to his pioneering spirit and to his translations from English and American poetry. His deep-rootedness in the Christian tradition expressed itself later when he undertook the translation of the Bible, of which the New Testament was published in

1979; he died before completing the project, which has since been assumed by his close friend, the poet Fu'ād Rifqa.

Al-Khāl's poetry is distinguished by its more contemplative tone and falling rhythms, in contrast with the ideologically motivated tones of the period. Some of his poems in *al-Bi'r al-mahjūra* (1958) and *Qaṣā'id fī al-arba'in* (1960) remain without parallel in their metaphysical depth. His greatest influence, however, came through his work, in collaboration with Adūnis and other younger poets, on *Shi'r*, which played a pivotal role in the development of modern Arabic writing. His prose produced during the last two decades of his life is among the finest of this period and his *Rasā'il ilā Don Kishūt* are imbued with a mystical tone which masks a passionate belief in the possibilities of rebirth at a time when civil war, loss of faith and even cynicism were the dominant impulses in life and writing. With the recent eclipse of the literature of ideologies, a reassessment of al-Khāl's work will almost certainly resituate him as one of the small number of truly major figures in modern Arabic literature.

Further reading

Khair Beik, Kamāl, *Harakat al-ḥadātha fī al-shi'r al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir*, Beirut (1982) (French original, Paris, 1978).

KAMAL ABU-DEEB

### Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. c.180/796)

Early 'Abbāsīd poet and famous *rāwī* of early poetry. Abū Muḥriz Khalaf Ibn Ḥayyān was a *mawlā* of Farghānian descent, born in Basra. Among his teachers was Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'. He is praised by the critics and anthologists for his poetry, particularly his *rajaz* verse on snakes. Abū Nuwās reputedly transmitted his poetry, but his *diwān* is not preserved, although a number of poems are found in various anthologies. Lost, too, is his work *Jibāl al-'Arab* ('*The Mountains of the Arabs*'). He was particularly famous as a great specialist in and transmitter of pre-Islamic poetry. Together with his older colleague and teacher Hammād al-Rāwīya he forms an important link between the pre-scholarly stage of transmitting early poetry and the following generation of scholarly philologists. As in the case of Hammād, there are some early reports that Khalaf was suspected of, or even confessed to, having made poetry in the ancient

style and attributing it to famous poets. The most famous example of this is the great elegiac *lāmiyya* by Ta'abbāṭa Sharran; sometimes he is also said to have authored the equally famous poem (the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*) by al-Shanfarā. Their authorship is still a matter of dispute, a majority of scholars now favouring the basic authenticity of the poems in question.

Text editions

Ahlwardt, W., *Chalef alahmar's Qasside*, Greifswaldi (1859).

See also studies on the authenticity of early Arabic verse, in particular the poems by Ta'abbāṭa Sharran and al-Shanfarā. A work on syntax attributed to Khalaf al-Aḥmar, *Muqaddima fī al-nahw*, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī (ed.), Damascus (1961), is unlikely to be by him.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### al-Khalī' see al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Daḥḥāk

### al-Khalī' al-Raqqī

Al-Khalī' al-Raqqī died, according to some, c.280/893 but said by others to have been still alive in the days of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (r. 333–56/945–67); a North Syrian poet stemming from Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt who can hardly be traced any more. His *diwān*, which was said to encompass 300 leaves at the end of the fourth/tenth century, is lost. Nothing more than half a dozen poems with a maximum length of four lines is transmitted in the sources.

T. SEIDENSTICKER

### Khālid ibn Yazīd al-Kātib (d. 262/876 or 269/883)

Poet mainly of *ghazal* from Baghdad. His family was of Khurāsāni origin. He worked as a *kātib* connected with the army in Baghdad and in the frontier area with Byzantium. He was known as a composer of love poems already, apparently in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Almost all his poems are very short; he greatly favoured a compass of four lines. In his poetry and in his life he is the typical love-stricken poet, pining for love first from youth, then from old age as well. He died at a very advanced age.

## Further reading

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Bencheikh, Jamel E., 'Les secrétaires poètes et animateurs de cénacles aux IIe et IIIe siècles de l'Hégire', 263 (1975), 265–315, esp. 310–12.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### al-Khālidī, Muḥammad Ibn Hishām see al-Khāldiyyān

### al-Khālidī, Rawḥī (1864–1913)

Literary critic. Born into a prominent Jerusalem family, al-Khālidī attended Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's circle in the Ottoman capital and later studied Arabic and European culture in Paris. He served as Ottoman consul in Bordeaux, and was elected for three consecutive terms as Jerusalem's Deputy in the Ottoman Parliament after the declaration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908.

Al-Khālidī wrote several books and many articles on subjects as varied as chemistry, the history of Zionism, linguistics and literature. He is best known, however, for his book *Tārīkh 'ilm al-adab 'ind al-Ifranj wa-al-'Arab wa-Victor Hugo*. Considered by many as the first successful attempt in Arabic at applied comparative literature, it was first published in 1902–3 as a series of articles in *al-Hilāl*, then as a book under a pseudonym for fear of Ottoman oppression, before a third edition appeared in 1912 under the author's real name.

## Further reading

al-Khaṭīb, H., *Rawḥī al-Khālidī rā'id al-adab al-'Arabī al-muqāran*, Amman (1985).

A.-N. STAIF

### al-Khālidī, Sa'id Ibn Hishām see al-Khāldiyyān

### al-Khāldiyyān

Abū Bakr Muḥammad (d. 380/990) and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id (or Sa'd, d. c.390/1000) ibnā Ḥāshim al-Khāldiyyān were two brothers,

both poets and anthologists. Born near al-Mawṣil, they lived in Basra and in Aleppo, as librarians at the court of the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla. Some of their poetry has been preserved in anthologies such as *Yatīmat al-dahr* by al-Tha'ālibī. Part of their verse was composed in collaboration, as were all of their prose works. They were accused (largely unjustly, it seems) of plagiarism by their rival, the poet al-Sari al-Raffa'. *Al-Ashbāh wa-al-naẓā'ir* (not identical, as is sometimes claimed, with their *Ḥamāsāt shi'r al-muḥdathīn*) is a loosely structured critical anthology of poems and fragments with identical motifs by pre- and early Islamic poets, at times compared with the same motifs as they occur in the poetry of the *muḥdathūn*; the general drift is to show the superiority of the older poets. They also compiled some monographs or anthologies devoted to 'modern' poets, such as *Bashshār ibn Burd*, *Muslim ibn al-Walid*, *Abū Tammām*, *al-Buḥturi* and *Ibn al-Rūmī*.

## Text editions

*al-Ashbāh wa-al-naẓā'ir min ash'ār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-al-Jāhiliyya wa-al-mukhaḍramīn*, al-Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf (ed.), 2 vols, Cairo (1958, 1965).

*Dīwān*, Sāmī al-Dahhān (ed.), Damascus (1969).

*al-Mukhtār min shi'r Bashshār*, selection by al-Khāldiyyān, commentary by Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad al-Tujībī, Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-'Alawī (ed.), Aligarh (1934).

*al-Tuḥaf wa-al-hadāyā*, Sāmī al-Dahhān (ed.), Cairo (1952).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Khalifa, Saḥar (1941– )

Palestinian novelist. Born in Nablus, Saḥar Khalifa's novels are dominated by her feminism and by her experience of life under Israeli occupation in the West Bank. In her first novel, *Lam na'ud jawārī lakum* (1974), she highlights the reality of the Palestinian female in her attempts to challenge the norms of her male-dominated society. More successfully artistically is *al-Ṣabbār* (1976), where she shows the tension between, on the one hand, the older generation of West Bank Palestinians who acquiesce in Israeli occupation and, on the other, the defiant younger generation eager to break out of the stifling paternalism of traditional society. The two themes of nationalist and feminist liberation are more fully integrated in *Abbād al-shams*



(1980), the protagonists of which are two women, Rafīf and Sa'diyya – a significant departure from *al-Ṣabbār*, whose main character is male. Her fourth novel, *Mudhakkirāt imra'a ghayr wāqi'iyya* (1986), returns to the theme of personal and social freedom for Palestinian women – suggesting, however, that women's liberation is a distant dream, mainly because of the unremitting indoctrination that women have passively endured.

In her 1990 novel, *Bāb al-sāḥa*, she deals with the position of Palestinian women in their own society. However, she significantly departs from previous practice by using colloquial Arabic in dialogue. Not unexpectedly this made her the object of strong criticism by the literary establishment.

Text edition

*Wild Thorns*, T. LeGassick and Elizabeth Fernea (trans), London (1985).

Y. SULEIMAN

**al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad  
(c.100-75/718–91)**

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhidī al-Azdi was a famous grammarian and lexicographer, the founder of Arabic phonetics and prosody; he grew up and died in Basra. Of the works attributed to him, the lexicon *Kitāb al-'ayn* has been preserved. His authorship of this work is not unchallenged in the Arabic tradition, but the plan of the dictionary is thought to be purely Khalilian. Words are placed under their roots, but the roots come in bundles in which all permutations are grouped together. These bundles themselves, as well as the roots within each bundle, are ordered according to the Khalilian row, a sequence of Arabic consonants devised by al-Khalīl according to their place of articulation, which runs as follows: 'h h kh gh q k j sh ḍ ṣ s z ṣ ḍ t z dh th r l n f b m w alif y'. This system provides for a network that comprises all existing (*musta'mal*) and theoretical (*muhmal*) root combinations. The arrangement implies that roots with the letter 'ayn are all together in the first chapter.

Hierarchical and permutational organization is also characteristic of al-Khalīl's prosodical system ('*arūḍ*'), where the circles are bundles of permutationally related metres (see prosody). As a grammarian al-Khalīl played a fundamental role through his pupil Sibawayhi.

Further reading

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W. STOETZER

See also: grammar and grammarians; lexicography, medieval

**Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī see  
al-Ṣafadī, Khalīl ibn Aybak**

**Khallāṣ, Jilālī (1952– )**

Algerian novelist and short-story writer, bilingual in French and Arabic. Born in Aïn Defla, Khallāṣ spent five years as a teacher before beginning work in publishing and at the Ministry of Culture in 1976. He has published four collections of short stories and two novels, in addition to stories for children and essays; he has also translated into Arabic works by Tahar Djaout (*Les Chercheurs d'os*) and Rachid Boujedra (*Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée*). In 1990 he founded the literary review *al-Riwāya*. Khallāṣ's essays have paved the way for modern literary criticism in Algeria; he is passionately interested in the millennial history of Algeria, and has sought in his writings to create a futuristic vision which draws both on myths and on real events.

M. BOIS

**al-Khamīsī, 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(1920– )**

Egyptian socialist poet and short-story writer. Born in Port Said, al-Khamīsī worked in professions as varied as grocer, bus conductor, song composer, actor, teacher, radio announcer, film producer and translator. He spent the years 1954–6 in prison.

Al-Khamīsī started his literary career as a romantic poet at an early age. In 1958 he published *Ashwāq insān*, a collection of romantic poetry composed between 1938 and 1958. He also published short stories in newspapers and translated European short stories into Arabic. Most of his own stories (which draw on his own experiences) deal with the misery of the poor urban classes, sex, brutality, madness and drugs. His style is simple, direct and journalistic, with colloquial dialogues. His collections include: *Alf layla*

*al-jadīda* (2 vols, n.d.), *al-A'māq* (1950), *Yawmiyyāt majnūn*, *al-Mukāfihūn*, *Ṣayhāt al-sha'b* (which contains stories about the national and popular struggle against the British in Egypt), and *Qumṣān al-dam* (1953). Some of his stories have been translated into Russian.

#### Further reading

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S. MOREH

### khamriyya

Wine poetry. Descriptions of wine and banquets are already found in pre-Islamic poetry. Characteristically, connections between the early *khamriyyāt* poets and the court and town of Ḥīra – an ancient centre for the wine trade – can often be established ('Adī ibn Zayd, Ṭarafa ibn al-'Abd, al-A'shā, al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur). However, these wine descriptions can as yet scarcely be found in independent poems where this happens to be the case, as in several pieces composed by 'Adī ibn Zayd from Ḥīra, it cannot be determined whether they were, indeed, originally independent poems or fragments of *qaṣīdas*. In the ancient Arabic *qaṣīda*, banquet scenes are mainly to be found in two places: in the self-praise (*fakhr*) part in which poets (e.g. 'Alqama ibn 'Abada, al-A'shā) boast about having taken part in banquets (which clearly points to their being an aristocratic amusement); and in the description of the beloved, where the 'independent' comparison of her saliva with wine often results in a detailed wine scene description (e.g. 'Adī ibn Zayd, al-Aswad ibn Ya'fur). The choice of motifs in the ancient Arabic descriptions of banquets may be exemplified by an analysis of two detailed wine scenes by 'Adī ibn Zayd (d. c.600) and al-A'shā (d. c.9/630).

('Adī): *nasīb* with a description of the beloved's saliva – metaphorization of the saliva by wine – comparison of its colour (red) with blood – characterization of the wine's transparency – mention of the Jewish merchant who aged it and then sold it in the market – description of the buyer (a generous young

man) – drinking scene (in the early morning) with mention of the female cup-bearer – comparison of the wine with a rooster's eye.

(Al-A'shā in the *fakhr* part of a *qaṣīda*): Boasting with frequent visits to the tavern – mention of the meat cook and the boon companions – mention of the drinkers lying propped up (on their sides) as well as the flowers that are being used as decoration for the banquet – description of the wine, its flavour, the intoxication of the drinkers, the banquet's musical framework and the songstress.

Most of these motifs can be found again in the fully developed wine poetry of the 'Abbāsīd period.

During the early Islamic period wine poetry at first receded somewhat, partly perhaps, because of the Islamic prohibition of wine, although the Prophet Muḥammad's court poet Ḥassān ibn Thābit (d. c.50/670?) composed verses on wine even after his conversion. Meanwhile, one poet comes to our attention who described his banquets while being fully conscious of his sinfulness: Abū Miḥjan al-Thaqafī (d. c.16/637). The tension between sinful actions and repentance later became a constant part of the reservoir of motifs in wine poetry and is particularly to be found in Abū Nuwās.

After having been founded in the immediate vicinity of al-Ḥīra, the town of Kufa seems to have taken over the role of al-Ḥīra as centre of the wine trade. It is noticeable that most of the poets of the Umayyad period who composed verses on wine either came from Kufa or had connections with it. The Christian poet al-Akḥṭal (d. c.92/710), one of the main representatives of Umayyad wine poetry, spent his youth in Kufa (probably having been born in Ḥīra). In his poetry wine descriptions are almost always found within the framework of *qaṣīdas*, as in the poetry of al-A'shā, to whom he is also closely connected in the choice of motifs for his banquet scenes. Independent wine poems on a larger scale can be found for the first time among a group of minor poets, almost all of whom are from Kufa (Abū Jilda al-Yashkurī, al-'Uqayshir al-Asadī, Mālik ibn Asmā' ibn Khārija, 'Ammār Dhū Kināz). Most of these poets also composed love poems and obscene poetry which often cannot be separated from the wine poetry. The Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (d. 126/744), who may have been the most prominent composer of independent wine

poems before Abū Nuwās, is said to have had a high regard for 'Ammār Dhū Kināz, and it seems that he himself has his place in the Hīra-Kufa tradition. On the other hand, al-Walīd's *khamriyyāt* are already so similar to those of Abū Nuwās that one of his poems ended up in the latter's *dīwān*. In the poetry of al-Walīd, a large amount of motifs typical of the wine poetry of Abū Nuwās are found in exactly the same form. The call to enjoy life, the comparison of the wine with precious metals and fire, and especially blasphemous thoughts and the simultaneous hope for forgiveness.

Among the wine poets active in the Umayyad period as well as in early 'Abbāsīd times should be mentioned **Abū al-Hindī** (d. c.133/750) and **Muṭī' ibn Iyās** (d. 169/785), both from Kufa. Abū al-Hindī, who later moved to **Khurasan**, in one case prepared the way for a type of wine-poem in which a **dialogue** between the drinkers and the vintner is the main characteristic and which later plays an important role in Abū Nuwās. Muṭī' is the first wine poet of the *muḥdath* school. It seems that he and **Muslim ibn al-Walīd** (d. 208/823), (again originating from Kufa), imported the genre to Baghdad and propagated it there.

The most important Arabic wine-poet of all times is Abū Nuwās (d. c.200/815). His poetry is closely connected to that of his predecessors, especially al-Walīd ibn Yazīd and Abū al-Hindī; therefore, Abū Nuwās is not strictly speaking an innovator. However, his *khamriyyāt* exceed all their predecessors by far in terms of quantity, versatility and quality. There is a very free choice of motifs for wine poems, and even later no rigid pattern developed (as it did in the case of the hunting-poems). The introductory part of many *khamriyyāt* consists of a rebuke of the fault-finders or the call for submitting to the pleasures of the wine instead of weeping over deserted camps (as was done so often by the old tribal poets in the beginnings of their *qaṣīdas*). Many poems have as their main theme the description of the wine, its appearance (comparisons with light, precious stones), its scent, its age and its effect on the drinkers. Much space is also taken by the description of the male or female cup-bearer who serves the wine, of the male or female singer who entertains the drinker, of the flowers with which the inn is decorated or the garden in which the banquet takes place. The description that has acquired much fame is

that of a golden drinking bowl of the Sasanian period that is decorated with figurative motifs. In some of his longer poems Abū Nuwās speaks in a quite realistic way about himself and his boon companions setting out in the dark night and rousing and persuading the (Christian, Zoroastrian or Jewish) vintner to sell wine to them. The dialogue with the vintner is then followed by a description of the wine and the nocturnal banquet which lasts until early morning. There are other poems that have a melancholic tone, because they contain the poet's memories of the pleasures of his youth long past. The religious dimension which appears time and again in the *khamriyyāt* (tension between being conscious of one's sins and hope for forgiveness) has already been mentioned. A large number of Abū Nuwās's poems end with a quotation from a song that usually is put into the mouth of a female singer. Once, a poem ends with a sentence in Persian. One may perhaps regard this convention as the model for the Andalusian *muwashshah* poets who, as a rule, ended their poems with a quotation (*kharja*), often from a song, in the Andalusian dialect, or in Romance.

All of the later wine poets are dependent on Abū Nuwās without adding many innovations. One of his most important imitators is **Ibn al-Mu'tazz** (d. 296/908), whose *dīwān* contains a chapter on *khamriyyāt*. Ibn al-Mu'tazz's most famous wine-poem is his *muzdawija* (a poem consisting of rhymed couplets) *Fī dhamm al-ṣabūh* (*On Blaming the Early Morning Drink*). In the *dīwāns* of many other poets (**al-Buḥturī**, **Ibn al-Rūmī**), wine poems or verses about wine in poems of other genres can be found sporadically. The *dīwān* of **Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hillī** (d. c.750/1350) still contains a special chapter on *khamriyyāt*.

Wine and carousals form the major theme in many Andalusian poems, particularly also in strophic poems (*muwashshahs*, **Ibn Quzmān's zajals**). Here again Abū Nuwās's gamut of motifs is omnipresent.

The motifs of wine poetry (like those of love poetry) undergo a new interpretation in the poetry of the mystics. With them, wine becomes a symbol of divine love and drunkenness becomes mystical ecstasy. There are mystical *khamriyyāt*, the most famous example of which is the poem by **Ibn al-Fāriḍ** (d. 632/1235) which is known by the name *khamriyya*. (See further **Ṣūfī literature: poetry**.)

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G. SCHOELER; trans. A. GIESE

al-Khansā' (d. after 644)

The greatest early Arabic elegiac poet. Tumādīr bint 'Amr, nicknamed al-Khansā' ('Snub-nose', epithet also of a gazelle), of the tribe Sulaym, was reportedly praised for her verse by her contemporary **al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī**; later poets such as **Jarir ibn 'Atīyya** and **Bashshār ibn Burd** also admired her. Her fame rests mainly on the extraordinary series of elegies made for her two brothers, Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya, who died before the coming of Islam. The former died after a lingering illness due to a wound received in a tribal skirmish, the latter was killed in another raid. Lamenting the dead (*niyāḥā*) was traditionally a female speciality; al-Khansā' was instrumental in raising it to the level of high-status poetry (*qarīd*) by using its metres and rhyme form instead of *saj'* or forms of *rajaz* (see *rithā'*). The poems, technically accomplished, are relatively accessible by their direct appeal to the emotions. Most poems include many themes, some relating to the poet herself (weeping, addressing the eyes), others to the lamented brother and his virtues, or to the tribe, who are urged to avenge the deceased.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

al-Khāqānī, 'Alī (1912–79)

Iraqi Shī'i literary historian. Al-Khāqānī was born and educated in al-Najaf, where he edited the journal *al-Bayān* from 1946 to 1950. In 1959 he founded the al-Bayān Publishing House in **Baghdad**. Al-Khāqānī collected the poetry and biographies of poets (particularly Shī'is) from a number of towns – among his publications being *Shu'arā' al-Ḥilla aw Bābilyyyāt* (5 vols, al-Najaf, 1951–2), *Shu'arā' al-Gharī aw al-Najafīyyāt* (12 vols, al-Najaf, 1954–6) and *Shu'arā' Baghdād min ta'sisihā ḥattā al-yawm* (2 vols., Baghdad, 1962). He also edited the *diwāns* of several Shī'i poets, including those of Ḥaydar al-Ḥillī and Muḥammad Riḍā al-Naḥwī, and collected dialect poetry in his *Funūn al-adab al-sha'bi* (5 vols, Baghdad, 1962–3).

W. WALTHER

al-Kharā'īṭi, Muḥammad ibn Ja'far (d. 327/938)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kharā'īṭi was a traditionist and compiler of books which may be described as a kind of pious *adab* literature. He is said to have been 'of the people of Surra Man Ra'a' (Samarra). He collected *ḥadīth* there and in **Baghdad** and was regarded by most experts as a reliable transmitter, especially valued for his longevity – linking him with the first half of the third century AH – as well as for his taste for subjects that attracted general interest. He died at Askalon, aged about 90. His compilation of *ḥadīth*, anecdotes and verses on love, *I'tilāl al-qulūb (The Malady of Hearts)*, seems to have played a key part as a source and inspiration for later Ḥanbalī theory of love (see *love theory*).

Text editions

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*I'tilāl al-qulūb, The Malady of Hearts*, Arabic edn. and English trans. with introduction and notes by L.A. Giffen (in process).

- Kitāb Faḍīlat al-shukr lillāh 'alā ni'matih*, M.M. Hāfiz (ed.), Damascus (1982).  
*Makārim al-akhlāq wa-ma'ālihā*, S.S.I Khānaqāwī et al. (eds), 2 vols, Cairo (1991).  
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L. A. GIFFEN

## Khārijīs, Khārijī literature

Khārijīs (ar. *al-khawārij*; sing. *al-khārijī*, 'dissenters', 'schismatics'), groups of Muslim warriors that seceded (*kharaja*) from the army of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib in 37–8/657–8, after he had agreed to compromise with Mu'āwiya, the Muslim ruler of Syria who contested 'Alī's claims to the caliphate. Defeated by 'Alī's troops at Nahrawān (Iraq) in 38/658, the Khārijīs, most of whom were Arabs of tribal background, became his implacable enemies. They declared war on 'Alī and his followers, and finally assassinated him in Kufa (60/661). From then on they fought against every Muslim government that appeared. Under Mu'āwiya's successors, the Khārijīs formed a piously-minded opposition to the increasingly secularized Umayyad state. They claimed that the caliphal incumbents had strayed from the right path, forfeited their allegiance to Islam and therefore must be treated as illegitimate usurpers of power. The Khārijīs sought to depose these unworthy and sinful rulers and replace them with the most pious and knowledgeable leader (Imām), regardless of his origin ('even if he were a black slave'). According to the Khārijīs, Muslims who co-operated with impious rulers had committed a grievous sin. The Khārijīs called upon Muslims to rally around a pious commander, who should be elected by a free vote, and to dissociate themselves from the deluded remainder of the Muslim community.

As time went on, leaders of the Khārijī

groupings based in Basra and Kūfa adopted different interpretations of these basic principles. The extreme version of Khārijism was represented by the Azraqīs (*al-azāriqa*). They regarded each Muslim who had committed a grave sin as an apostate and polytheist. In keeping with this view, they classified all those refusing to join their rebellion as enemies of Islam, who should be put to death together with their families. This ferocious principle did not fail to estrange the Khārijī extremists from the main body of Muslims. Most of them perished in battles against caliphal troops.

A more tolerant stance towards the non-Khārijī Muslims was taken by the 'quietists' (*al-qa'ada*), who constituted two major groups, *al-ibādīyya* and *al-sufriyya*. Their leaders rejected the excesses of the Azraqīs, and held that under unfavourable circumstances the Khārijī should refrain from rebellion, waiting for a more propitious moment to proclaim the imamate. The moderate wing of the Khārijī movement proved more viable. The communities of *al-ibādīyya* and *al-sufriyya* managed to survive the tumult of the Umayyad era and founded several Khārijī states throughout the Muslim world. They continued to exist throughout the 'Abbāsīd era and some have survived until our day.

The Khārijīs left a considerable literary corpus, preserved by Arab historians and later Khārijī writers. The early history of the movement found a vivid reflection in the poetry and orations of the leaders of the movement as well as its rank-and-file members, including women. The ascendancy of poetic word among the Khārijīs is not surprising, for the movement started among the warriors of Arab extraction who were well versed in the tradition of pre-Islamic poetry. Yet the contents of Khārijī verses indicate a decisive rupture with the pre-Islamic age. They did not accentuate tribal allegiances and the *bedouin* code of honour, preaching instead the overriding loyalty to Islamic values. Their poetry and orations were Islam-oriented and free from the themes of the tribal past. In contrast to the elaborate verses of the conventional court poets of the age, Khārijī poetry was characterized by greater directness and simplicity. It sprang from immediate experience and genuine religious sentiment. Khārijī poets provided vivid descriptions of the exceptional courage and piety displayed by their departed comrades; they reproach themselves for not having followed their fallen heroes through death by

martyrdom; they defy danger and exhibit intense loathing for earthly existence.

As other Arabic poetry of the time, that of the Khārijīs became conventionalized to a high degree and is, at times, repetitious. Yet some of its representatives stood out as real masters of the genre. Two of them, Abū Bilāl Mirdās (d. 61/680–1) and Qaṭarī ibn Fujā'a (d. 78–9/698–9), led the reckless uprisings against the Umayyads and fell in battle. Their verses 'breathe a stern religious enthusiasm' and 'a truly Arabian sentiment of valour' (R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1956, 212–13). The feats and heroic death of Abū Bilāl and Qaṭarī were eulogized by perhaps the greatest Khārijī poet, 'Imrān ibn Ḥittān (d. 84/703), who clung to a less militant version of Khārijism. Despite his ascetic renunciation of the unjust world around him, 'Imrān was still attached to the delights and beauty of earthly existence. His verses oscillate finely between his conflicting commitments, revealing a deep, and contradictory, world outlook. Spirited praises of the Khārijīs and their ideals were composed by the professional poet al-Ṭirimmāḥ (d. early second/eighth century). His attachment to Khārijism was, however, rather lukewarm. Instead of renouncing this world in search of the bliss of the hereafter, al-Ṭirimmāḥ readily plunges into life's intrigues and succumbs to its allures. He was also fond of praising himself and his tribe.

As the civil war in the caliphate began to subside, the puritanical and revolutionary message carried by Khārijī poetry gradually lost its appeal. It was replaced by the poetic works that resonated better with the buoyant, worldly mentality prevalent in the 'Abbāsīd period.

For centuries, men of letters in the small Khārijī states of South Arabia and North Africa wrote historical and biographical works glorifying the feats of the early Khārijīs and the exceptional merits of local community leaders. Generally, their literary output, including poetry, was confined to theology and jurisprudence (e.g. Ibn al-Naẓār, who lived in the sixth/twelfth century).

#### Text edition

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A. KNYSH

### **kharja see muwashshah**

### **al-Kharrāṭ, Idwār (1926– )**

Egyptian novelist, short-story writer and translator. Born in Alexandria into a Coptic Christian family, al-Kharrāṭ graduated in law from Alexandria University. Detained from 1948 to 1950 for political activities, he later worked for an insurance company. Although he apparently began writing in the 1940s, his first collection of short stories (*Ḥiṭān 'āliya*) was not published until 1958. He began to come to prominence in literary circles during the 1960s, and for a time edited the literary and cultural magazine *Gallirī 68*, which brought together a new generation of Egyptian writers united by a feeling of disillusion following the Arab defeat in the Six-Day War of 1967.

Al-Kharrāṭ's writing reflects his own experience as a Copt in a predominantly Muslim society, and many of his works contain autobiographical elements. His first novel, *Rāma wa-al-tinnīn* (1979), revolves around the relationship between the Copt Mikhā'il and the Muslim Rāma – a relationship that ranges between the overtly sexual and the mystical, and which constitutes a daring theme in view of the taboos on marriage between Muslim women and non-Muslim men. The theme is continued in *al-Zaman al-ākhar* (1985), in which Mikhā'il and Rāma resume their relationship after a chance meeting at a conference. More successful artistically is the semi-autobiographical *Turābuhā za'farān* (1985), which relives the memories of Mikhā'il as a boy in the Alexandria of the 1930s and 1940s – the city that also provides the setting for the slightly older Mikhā'il of *Yā banāt Iskandariyya* (1990).

Despite al-Kharrāṭ's associations with other members of the so-called Egyptian 'generation of the sixties', he remains a unique voice in modern Egyptian literature. His modernistic

works make considerable demands on the reader, exploiting the lexical possibilities of the Arabic language to the full in a meandering style which often relies on image and memory rather than logical connection to advance the narrative. Although in works such as *Rāma wa-al-tinnīn* this characteristic at times threatens to make the work unreadable, at its best his language combines qualities of richness, subtlety and precision.

In addition to his novels and several volumes of short stories, al-Kharrāt is also a distinguished literary translator, who has translated several major works from English and French into Arabic.

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P. STARKEY

**al-Khāshīn, Fu'ād (1925– )**

Lebanese Druze lyrical, romantic and erotic poet. Born in al-Shuwayfāt, al-Khāshīn graduated from the Lebanese Teachers' Seminary in 1946 and worked as a teacher from 1946 to 1952. He then emigrated to Venezuela (1953–60), where he joined the Lebanese literary society 'Usrat al-Jabal al-Mulham' ('The Group of the Inspired Mountain').

Al-Khāshīn's poetry tends to mystical love, using Druze religious symbols as well as Mediterranean mythology. He employs various strophic forms, with short metres and changing rhymes. Like Nizār Qabbānī, his poetry depicts the erotic whims of women. Khāshīn was among the pioneer poets who employed one metre in lines of irregular lengths and an irregular rhyme scheme, as in his poem *Anā lawlākī* (*al-Adīb*, October 1946, republished in his love anthology *Siwār al-yāsamin*, Beirut, 1961). In other respects, however, his poetry of this period appears conventional. His other works include *Ghābat al-zaytūn* (Beirut, 1963), in which he sings to the olive tree in al-Shuwayfāt and to nature; *Ma'bad al-shawq* (Beirut, 1966); and *Ṣalwāt al-shaykh al-azraq* (Beirut, n.d.). The last-mentioned includes al-

Khāshīn's epic on the Phoenician–Greek mythological love of *Adūnīs wa-'Ashīārūt* (Beirut, 1965), which was awarded a prize by the Lebanese Ministry of Education.

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S. MOREH

**al-Khashshāb, Ismā'il (d. 1814)**

Egyptian historian. A relatively insignificant historian of the early nineteenth century, al-Khashshāb was a close friend of al-Jabartī and a regular member of the governing councils (*dawāwīn*) set up by the French during the occupation of 1798–1801. He reputedly helped al-Jabartī obtain access to documents of the Superior Court (*Dār al-Mahkama al-Kabira*); and since it was his job to record the official minutes of council meetings, he must have had intimate knowledge of affairs of state. According to al-Jabartī, he tried on the basis of this knowledge to write a history of the French occupation. But if indeed he succeeded, the work has yet to be found.

**Further reading**

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J. CRABBS

***Khaṭāba* see oratory and sermons**

***Khaṭīb* see oratory and sermons**

**al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392–463/1002–71)**

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī was a famous *ḥadīth* scholar and historian of Baghdad. Born the son of a preacher in a village near Baghdad, he began his studies of the *Koran* and *ḥadīth* very early in Baghdad, and later travelled extensively in search of *ḥadīth*. In Baghdad, he began a career of teaching and preaching which earned him great fame. His conversion

from Ḥanbalism to Shāfi'ism and adherence to Ash'arism, however, earned him the hatred and opposition of the strong Ḥanbalīs in Baghdad. In 445/1053 he undertook a two-year journey to Syria and Mecca. Five years later, he fled to Damascus, where he spent eight years lecturing in its Umayyad Mosque and in other Syrian towns, particularly Tyre. A personal accident led to the rise of the Damascene Shī'īs against him, so he fled to Tyre, then returned to Baghdad, where he died.

Al-Khaṭīb wrote many influential books on *ḥadīth* scholarship which have survived, like *Taqyīd al-'ilm*, *al-Riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* and *al-Kifāya fī ma'rifaṭ uṣūl 'ilm al-riwāya*, and some literary works, such as his *al-Bukhalā'* (see Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *The Structures of Avarice*, Leiden, 1985). His reputation, however, rests largely on his monumental 14-volume biographical dictionary *Ta'rikk Baghdad*, which contains almost 8,000 biographies of men and women, particularly *ḥadīth* scholars, who were associated with Baghdad in any way until his time.

#### Text editions

*Ta'rikk Baghdad* (Cairo, 1931; offset edn, Beirut, 1968); there is a separate edition and French translation by G. Salomon of the introductory chapter on the topography of Baghdad (*L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad*, Paris, 1904).

*Ta'rikk madīnat Dimashq*, 'Umar ibn Gharāma al-'Amrawī (ed.), Beirut: (1995), vol. 5, 31–41.

#### Further reading

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W. AL-QĀDĪ

See also: biography, medieval

## Khaṭīb Dimashq see al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī

## al-Khaṭīb al-Iskāfī see al-Iskāfī

## al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī (666–739/1268–1338)

Abū 'Abd Allāh (and: Abū al-Ma'ālī) Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī, also known as Khaṭīb Dimashq (the Preacher of Damascus), was a legal scholar and rhetorician. In spite of his Persian place-of-origin name al-Qazwīnī, he was of pure Arab descent. He was trilingual in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but wrote only in Arabic. In his legal and religious career he was rather successful; in 706/1307 he was made preacher and *imām* at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus; in 724/1324 he attained a high judgeship in Syria; and three years later he was appointed Shāfi'ī chief judge in Cairo under the Mamlūk ruler al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn. He became an influential figure at the latter's court, and he saw to it that the poor and destitute under his jurisdiction were generously supported by the proceeds from pious foundations. In trouble because of a profligate son of his, he was transferred back to Damascus where he died soon afterwards. In spite of his literary interests, not a single line of poetry is credited to him.

His fame rests on two works on rhetoric, *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (*Summary of the 'Key'*) and *al-Īdāḥ* (*The Clarification*). The first is an epitome of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* (*Key of the Sciences*) by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), although not of the entire book – which deals with all aspects of language: morphology, syntax, rhetoric, argumentation and prosody – but only the third part, rhetoric. The *Īdāḥ* was written later as an expanded version of the *Talkhīṣ*. Al-Qazwīnī is not uncritical of al-Sakkākī; among the changes he introduces are the following: (a) the 'science of rhetorical figures' ('*ilm al-badī'*; see *badī'*) is added on an equal footing to the 'science of [syntactic] meanings' ('*ilm al-ma'ānī*, approx. 'stylistics'; see also *ma'nā*) and the 'science of illustration' ('*ilm al-bayān*, approx. 'theory of imagery') to constitute the 'science of eloquence' ('*ilm al-balāgha*'); (b) a section on the taxonomy of plagiarism (see *sariqa*) is added.

The *Talkhīṣ* became the basic textbook for rhetorical studies in the *madrasas* of the later Middle Ages up to modern times. Its popularity is shown by the plethora of commentaries, supercommentaries, glosses and versifications devoted to it. The most famous commentaries are the *Concise* and the *Expanded Commentary* (*al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar* and *al-Sharḥ*



*al-muṭawwal*) by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390).

Text editions

*al-Īdāh*, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājī (ed.), 3rd edn, Beirut (1391/1971).

*Talkhīṣ al-Miṣbāh*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Barqūqī (ed.), Cairo (1904) (and numerous reprints).

Further reading

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von Mehren, A.F.M., *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Vienna (1853), rpt Hildesheim and New York (1970), a well-known reference work mainly based on the *Talkhīṣ*.

W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: commentaries; rhetoric and poetics

**al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī  
(421–502/1030–1109)**

Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī was a philologist, a great authority on poetry; he was usually known as al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, although Yāqūt insists this ought to be Ibn al-Khaṭīb. He left his native Tabriz in order to study philology and *ḥadīth*; Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri was among his teachers. For a time he was a teacher in Egypt, then he moved to Baghdad where he taught at the Nizāmiyya Academy until his death. According to a report given by Yāqūt, he was addicted to wine and often drunk when teaching; apparently this did not impair his scholarly reputation. Al-Jawāliqī was his most famous pupil. He wrote several highly respected commentaries on ancient poetry, such as the *Mu'allaqāt*, the *Mufaddaliyyāt*, the *Lāmiyya* attributed to al-Shanfarā and three commentaries differing in length on the *Ḥamāsa* by Abū Tammām, as well as commentaries on 'Abbāsīd poets, e.g. Abū Tammām's *Dīwān*, Ibn Durayd's *Maqṣūra*, the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī and *Saqṭ al-zand* by Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri. Judging by his commentaries, his main interests were grammar and lexicography. He made some poetry himself, with little success. His *al-Kāfi* is a compendium on prosody and *badī'*. Other works, on grammar, lexicography and Koranic exegesis, are lost or preserved in manuscript.

Text editions

*al-Kāfi fī al-'arūd wa-al-qawāfi*, al-Hassānī Hasan 'Abd Allāh (ed.), *MMMA* 12 (1966), 1–250.

*al-Wāfi*, 'Umar Yaḥyā and Fakhr al-Dīn Qabāwa (eds), 3rd edn, Damascus (1979).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Khatibi, Abdelkebir (1938– )**

Moroccan novelist, poet, essayist and playwright writing in French. Born in 1938 in El Jadida on the Atlantic coast, Khatibi pursued his studies to university level and was assigned to the Centre for Scientific Research in Rabat. In his work he seeks to promote an alternative approach to one of his favourite themes: that of identity and difference. *La Mémoire tatouée* (1971) is the 'autobiography of a decolonised man'; *Le Livre du sang* (1979) deals with pagan mysticism and eroticism; while *Amour bilingue* (1983) plays on the idea of the stranger, woman and language. *Maghreb pluriel* (1983), *La Blessure du nom propre* (1974) and *Penser Maghreb* (1993) are a series of brilliant essays, in which Khatibi shows a great openness to the wider world.

Text edition

*Love in Two Languages*, R. Howard (trans.), London (1990).

J. DÉJEUX

**al-Khaṭṭābī, Ḥamd ibn Muḥammad  
(319–86 or 388/931–96 or 988)**

Abū Sulaymān Ḥamd ibn Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī al-Bustī was the author of a treatise on *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*. His *ism* is sometimes given as Aḥmad; as a result. Yāqūt devotes two different chapters to him. A religious scholar as well as a littérateur, he was known in his own days especially for his works on *ḥadīth*, some of which are preserved in manuscript. His *Bayān i'jāz al-Qur'ān* is an important treatise on the inimitability of the *Koran*. He died in his birthplace, Bust.

Text editions

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## khayāl

In classical Arabic literature and lexicography, the word *khayāl* (or *khiyāl*) originally means 'figure, phantom (of the lover seen at night or in a dream), disembodied spirit, ghost, spectre; imagination; reflection, illusion, phantom, apparition, fantasy, vision; shadow, human shape, statue, scarecrow'. In *Lisān al-'Arab*, *khayāl* is defined as *al-shakhṣ wa-al-ṭayf* ('figure and phantom'); in the *Naqā'id*, the word is used once as 'scarecrow to frighten wolves away from the sheep', and once as a 'hobby-horse figure' (*kurraj*) (*The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq*, A.A. Bevan (ed.), Leiden (1905–9), vol. 3, 362, 1, 246).

Sometimes *khayāl* is used as a synonym of *ḥikāya*, *tamthīl* and *la'ba*, revealing a meaning that passed unnoticed by many scholars of Arabic theatre, i.e. 'a live theatrical performance', 'acting' and 'miming', besides the usual meaning of 'figure of a hobby-horse', used to simulate duels and fights performed to the music of flute and tambourine. In this case *khayāl* is used with the verb *akhraja*, e.g. *akhraja fī al-khayāl* ('he performed a live play'). On one occasion, *khayāl* is used in the sense of 'exchanging sharp retorts'. When *khayāl* is used without the word *zill*, to denote a 'shadow play', some writers used to emphasize that they meant the latter sense so as not to confuse their readers.

During the third/ninth century *khayāl* was used as a synonym of *ḥikāya* (imitation, mime or live play) presented by the *ḥākiya* or *muhākī* (mime artist, imitator, live actor) and of the Umayyad term *lā'ib* and *la'āb*. By the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century it had completely replaced the term *ḥikāya*. When, at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, the **shadow play** arrived from the Far East by way of Muslim merchants and travellers to the Muslim world, the Arabs added the word *al-zill* ('the shadow') to the well-established term *khayāl* ('live play'), and used the new term (*khayāl al-zill*) to describe the shadow play, in which the shadows of puppets or leather figures, manipulated by a shadow presenter, were cast on a curtain by the light of a lamp or candle.

For this reason, from the fifth/eleventh century onwards it was difficult to distinguish between the presenter of a shadow play and a live actor. Both were called *khayālī* or *mukhāyil*. According to Pedro de Alcalá (*Vocaulista aravigo en lietra castellana*,

Granada, 1505), in Muslim Spain the term for live actor (*la'āb*) was *representador de momos*, and the head of a troupe of actors, the Eastern *rayyis al-muḥabbizīn* (maestro), was called *kabīr la'āb al-khiyāl*, and in Spanish *momo principal*.

According to our present knowledge, from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards the term *muḥabbiz* was used to denote a live actor, in order to distinguish him from the shadow-play presenter. In Egypt during the nineteenth century, a live actor was called Ibn Rābiya, and his troupe (probably his children) was called Awlād Rābiya. Later on, every live actor was called Ibn Rābiya and the troupe of actors was called Awlād Rābiya. The most famous actor of this type is Aḥmad al-Fār (see Landau, J.M., 'Popular Arabic Plays, 1909', *JAL* [1986] 120–5.) Not only did the term *muḥabbiz* distinguish between a live actor and a presenter of shadow plays, but also the verb *akhraja* and derivatives were used to denote a live play performance.

There are very few descriptions of *khayāl* plays. The earliest live plays are attributed to a Jewish actor near Kufa, named Baṭrūnī or Bustānī, during the second half of the second/seventh century, who might have been a continuator of the tradition of actors or mimes in Mesopotamia from the pre-Islamic period. Few names of *khayāl* plays are known in Arabic literature. The longest description of a play is from the time of al-Mahdī (775–85), on the *Trial of the Caliphs*; **Ibn Shuhayd** (d. 1034) mentions the *Play of the Jew*; **Ibn Quzmān** (d. 1160) the *Play of the Villager*; **Ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī** (thirteenth century) mentions the *Play of Umm Qāwishī*; **Ibn al-Ḥājī** (d. 1336) the *Play of the Judge*. Some of these plays were recorded and given by the author to actors for performance, e.g. the *Ḥikāyat al-Khalanji* by 'Alluwayh, the poet and singer. E.W. Lane gives a long description of a play about a Nāzīr (governor of a district) and the way in which the *fallāḥ's* wife bribes officials in **Egypt**. The only full text of a play known to us is *Miṣṭara Khayāl*, *Munādamat Umm Mujbir*, composed by 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Ishāqī (d. 1660), and al-Maqāma al-mukhtaṣara fī al-khamsin mar'a, by Muḥammad ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī (ed. S. Moreh and J. Sadan) (in preparation).

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S. MOREH

See also: acting and actors, medieval; theatre and drama, medieval

### **khayāl al-zill see shadow play**

### **Khayr al-Dīn see al-Tūnisī, Khayr al-Dīn**

### **al-Khayyāt, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad (fifth/eleventh century)**

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Rabā'ī al-Khayyāt was a famous panegyrist of the Kalbid court (947–1053); he was particularly known for his elegies to Yūsuf Thiqat al-Dawla (990–8) and his heir, the prince-poet Ja'far (998–1014/15). Al-Khayyāt was a 'modern' poet who preferred the description of reality to the imitation of classical models. He was a pupil of the famous Sicilian grammarian **al-Ballānūbī**, father of the homonymous poet. The lexicographer **Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'** compared his work to that of **Jarīr ibn 'Aṭīyya**, the famous poet of the Umayyad era. Iḥsān 'Abbās has affirmed that the descriptive technique of al-Khayyāt is second only to that of **Ibn Ḥamdis**.

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F.-M. CORRAO

### **al-Khayyāt, Yūsuf (?–1900)**

Syrian actor, famous for his portrayal of female parts. In 1876 he took over the remnants of the troupe of **Salīm al-Naqqāsh** and **Adīb Ishāq**, of which he had been a member, and performed for many seasons in Egypt in Alexandria and in Cairo. It is said that his first patron, Khedive Ismā'īl, saw his

performance of the play *al-Zalūm* in 1878 and, annoyed at its allusions to his oppressive rule, ordered his expulsion from Egypt. Al-Khayyāt was, however, soon performing again before the Khedive. In 1882 Sulaymān **al-Qardāhī** took over the troupe; al-Khayyāt formed new troupes, joined by the famous actor and singer **Salāma Ḥijāzī**, but unable to sustain the rivalry of **al-Qardāhī** and **al-Qabbānī** he stopped his theatrical activities and turned to commerce.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### **Khazraj see tribes**

### **al-Khirmīq (d. perhaps c.600)**

Early elegiac poet. **Khirmīq** (or **al-Khirmīq**) bint **Badr ibn Hiffān** (or **Haffān**) was a half-sister or an aunt of **Ṭarafa ibn al-'Abd**. A slim *dīwān* with a total of less than sixty lines is preserved in the redaction of **Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'**, with short poems or fragments of *rithā'* on her brother, her husband **Bishr ibn 'Amr** and other relatives. To these can be added a small number of lines from other sources.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### **khīṭaṭ see historical literature**

### **khīyāl see khayāl**

### **Khoury, Elias see Khūrī, Ilyās**

**al-Khubzaruzzī (d. c.327/938)**

Abū al-Qāsim Naṣr ibn Aḥmad al-Khubzaruzzī (Khubza'aruzzī, Khubzuruzzī, etc.), was an illiterate poet of Basra. He baked rice-bread (hence his name) in a shop in the Mirbad (camel market) of Basra, where Ibn Lankak and other élite poets of the city would visit him to hear his verse; for someone of such lowly social status to achieve such celebrity was clearly most unusual. He is said to have spent some time in Baghdad, and, according to a rather dubious rumour, was drowned by the military adventurer al-Barīdī after mocking him in a poem. He excelled primarily, however, in amorous verse (see *ghazal*), which was directed exclusively to males; the young men of Basra are said to have competed for his poetic attentions. His style is described as simple and unsophisticated, but delicate and effective. His *dīwān*, reportedly compiled by Ibn Lankak, survives in an unpublished Yemeni manuscript. His verses are also very widely quoted in later anthologies.

## Further reading

Fullest accounts, with selections, in al-Tha'ālībī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo (1956), vol. 2, 366–9, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, Cairo (1931), vol. 13, 296–9.

E.K. ROWSON

**Khuḍayyir, Muḥammad (1940– )**

Iraqi prose writer. Born in Basra, he worked there as a teacher. In his short stories, which were collected in the anthologies *al-Mamlaka al-sawdā'* (Baghdad, 1972) and *Fī Darajat khamsa wa-arba'in mi'awī* (Baghdad, 1978) he often mingles mythical or folk-tale motifs with realistic narrative to depict social reality in a symbolic way. His *Baṣriyyāt* (Nicosia, Damascus, 1996) consists of intellectual reflections and tales about Basra.

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W. WALTHER

**khulāṣa see abridgements****al-Khūlī, Amīn (1895–1966)**

Egyptian writer. After studying religious law, al-Khūlī taught *balāgha* and *tafsīr* (see *exegetis*) at Cairo University. The author of books such as *Fann al-qawl* and *Mushkilāt ḥayātīnā al-lughawīyya*, he is best known as an advocate of 'regionalism' (*al-naẓariyya al-iqlīmiyya*), as propounded in his *Fī al-adab al-Miṣrī* (1943). Laying emphasis on environment, he maintained that there is not one Arabic literature, but several regional literatures. This theory was rejected on ideological grounds by Sāṭī' al-Ḥuṣrī, the champion of Arab unity, and on literary grounds by al-Khūlī's student Shukrī Fayṣal in his MA thesis presented in 1948 under al-Khūlī's supervision.

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D. SEMAH

**khurāfa (pl. khurāfāt)**

In classical and medieval Arabic, a word designating stories and tales of a fantastic nature, often dealing with wonders and incredible events. In contrast to the canonized, official literature which claimed to be non-fictional, these stories were obviously regarded as overt fiction. All the same, they were tolerated by representatives of the official literary norms (who usually condemned fiction as a 'lie'), who considered *khurāfāt* to be entertainment consumed by women and youths, an audience of inferior social status.

In the 'Abbāsīd period, the *khurāfāt* were a recognized literary genre, based initially on translations from Persian (as also from Indian and Greek), and later on Arabic adaptations of Persian models, as well as original Arabic works. Collections of *khurāfāt* were popular in literary and royal circles, especially at the court of al-Muqtadir (908–32 AD). Contemporary sources mention the book *Hazār afsān* (*Thousand Fables*; in Arabic, *Alf khurāfa*) as a representative example of the genre; the work is apparently identified with the *Thousand and One Nights* (see *Alf layla wa-layla*).

In *ḥadīth*, and especially in *adab* compilations, one can find a tradition called *ḥadīth khurāfa*, which explains, on the authority of the Prophet, the origin of the word *khurāfa* as the name of a person who was stolen by demons (*jinn*) in the *Jāhiliyya*, and when returned to the human world, told of his adventures. His stories, the Prophet emphasizes, were true. *Ḥadīth* techniques are employed here in an attempt to legitimize the type of fiction represented in the *khurāfāt* genre.

In modern Arabic, *khurāfāt* usually means 'nonsense, non-serious talk'.

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R. DRORY

See also: fiction, medieval

## Khurasan

The most important province of the eastern Islamic world, comprising eastern Iran, western Afghanistan and parts of Central Asia. In a broad sense, particularly in the early Islamic period, Khurasan often referred to all territories under Muslim rule east of the deserts of central Iran; more narrowly defined, it was bordered on the north by the Oxus River, on the south by the oasis of Sijistān (Sistān) and its dependencies, and on the east by the Hindu Kush.

The Arab conquerors reached Marv, the Sasanian capital of the province, as early as 31/651, but full conquest and Islamicization proceeded only slowly. Very large numbers of Arab troops were transferred to Khurasan during the **Umayyad** period, and inter-tribal disputes, as well as conflicts between older and newer settlers, with increasing participation by local converts, dominate the local history and constitute the complex background for the emergence of the 'Abbāsīd revolution, won by Khurasanian troops who marched

westward and toppled the Umayyads in 132/750. A number of prominent poets were associated with the tribes and their commanders in Umayyad Khurasan, and some important religious scholars settled particularly in Marv and Balkh, but one cannot yet speak of a true regional Arabic literature.

The prominence of Khurasan in the 'Abbāsīd revolution was further enhanced when al-Ma'mūn, ruling the province from Marv, launched a successful rebellion against his brother, the caliph al-Amīn, in 198/813. Al-Ma'mūn subsequently appointed his general Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn governor of Khurasan, and the **Ṭāhirids** retained control of the province for most of the rest of the century, holding court first at Marv and then at Nishapur, and both patronizing and themselves contributing to the development of a local literary culture. After a rather disturbed period when Khurasan fell under the control of the **Ṣaffārīds** of Sijistan, a truly indigenous Arabic tradition came to full flower under the **Sāmānīds**, who ruled both Khurasan and Transoxania from their capital at Bukhara throughout the fourth/tenth century.

Although these regions remained overwhelmingly Persian-speaking, and both Ṣaffārīds and Sāmānīds to some extent encouraged the development of neo-Persian poetry and prose, Arabic remained the prestige language of poetry, literary and official prose, and scholarship. The Sāmānīds amassed a major library at Bukhara, their viziers sponsored scholarship and patronized poets, and their chancery officials encouraged developments in artistic prose. Similar developments can be seen at such secondary centres as Balkh, Jurjan and, above all, Nishapur, which was by the end of the century the most important city in the East. In his *Yatīmat al-dahr* the Nishapuri **al-Tha'ālībī** offers us a panorama of Arabic poets and prose writers of this period in his native city and throughout Khurasan, including such luminaries as **Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī**, **Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī**, **Abū al-Faḥ al-Bustī**, and **al-'Utībī**, and makes it clear that, aside from court patronage, it was the urban élite, solidly **Sunnī** (Ḥanafī and Shāfī'i) in religious orientation and trained in Arabic religious scholarship, that constituted the primary audience for, and supplied many important contributors to, Arabic letters. Both al-Tha'ālībī and his younger contemporary, the great scientist **al-Bīrūnī**, were aggressive partisans of Arabic against the growing rivalry

of literary Persian; and while another giant of this extraordinary generation of Easterners, the philosopher **Ibn Sinā**, did compose a few of his works in Persian, they are the exception to an enormous output in Arabic. Writers from further west remarked at this period on the purity of the Arabic of Khurasanis, which seems likely to be due at least in part to their isolation from any interference by a related vernacular; and surely the role played by a command of Arabic as a sharp demarcator of élite status contributed to the tenacity with which the urban notables pursued it.

At the imperial courts, however, Persian began to gain ground. When Sāmānid power disintegrated at the end of the fourth/tenth century, Khurasan fell to the Ghaznavid Maḥmūd (see **Ghaznavids**), and it was Maḥmūd's patronage of such Persian poets as Firdawsī, 'Unṣurī and Farrukhī that marked the true beginning of the Persian renaissance. Arabic panegyrics of Maḥmūd are relatively rare, and although the sources speak of an attempt to switch the language of his chancery from Arabic to Persian as abortive, there must in fact have been there too a gradual increase in the importance of Persian at the expense of Arabic. After forty years of Ghaznavid rule, most of Khurasan fell to the invading Saljūqs in 431/1040, and with their further conquests in the west and establishment of capitals at Rayy and Isfahan the region reverted for a time to provincial status. The continuing importance of Arabic poetry and prose in Khurasan in this period is attested by **al-Bākharzī**, a protégé of the Saljūq viziers al-Kundurī and Nizām al-Mulk, who compiled his *Dumyat al-qasr* as a sequel to al-Tha'ālībī's anthology. Al-Bākharzī gives selections from some sixty Khurasanian Arabic poets and prose writers; of these, however, very few achieved more than local fame, and, with the notable exception of the literary critic and theorist 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī from the neighbouring province of Jurjan, those who attained lasting renown owed it less to their literary talents than to their religious scholarship. In fact, it was the moderate Sufism and the Ash'arī theology cultivated in Nishapur, represented by such writers as the mystic theoretician **al-Qushayrī** and the theologian al-Juwaynī, and culminating in the towering figure of **al-Ghazzālī**, that was the basis for Khurasan's chief contributions to Arabic letters in the later fifth/eleventh century.

In the first half of the sixth/twelfth century Khurasan was ruled directly by the Saljūq sultan Sanjar; as Saljūq power waned in the second half of the century, it was contested between the forces of the Ghūrīds and the Khwārazmshāhs, the latter finally achieving full control for only a few years before the Mongol onslaught, beginning in 616/1219. During this period Arabic literature was completely overshadowed by Persian, especially in poetry, although Arabic poetry and fine prose continued to enjoy some patronage, and many writers were bilingual. Probably the most important writer of Arabic artistic prose in the East was Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ at the court of the Khwārazmshāh (see **Khwārazm**). Scholarship in all fields continued to be cultivated in Arabic, although Persian made inroads here as well; aside from the purely religious disciplines of Prophetic tradition and Islamic law, representative scholars include the heresiographer **al-Shahrastānī** (d. 548/1153), the traditionist and historian **al-Sam'ānī**, the bilingual philosopher, historian and littérateur 'Alī ibn Zayd **al-Bayhaqī**, and the philologist and theologian **al-Zamakhsharī** and his followers in Khwārazm. Post-Mongol Arabic writing in the East was overwhelmingly religious in nature, although the study of **rhetoric and poetics** codified by the Khwārazmian **al-Sakkākī** was also continued by such figures as **al-Taftazānī** at the court of Tamerlane.

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- See also the selections in Tha'ālībī, *Yatimat al-dahr*, Cairo (1956), vol. 4; idem, *Tatimmat al-yatima*, A. Iqbāl (ed.), Tehran (1946); Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-qasr*, S.M. al-'Anī (ed.), Baghdad (1971), vol. 2, 83–481; unfortunately, the Iranian section of the next in this series of anthologies, the *Kharīdat al-qasr* of 'Imād

al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, covering the sixth/twelfth century, remains unpublished.

E. K. ROWSON

**al-Khuraymī, Abū Ya'qūb see Abū Ya'qūb al-Khuraymī**

**Khurayyif, al-Bashīr (1917–83)**

Contemporary Tunisian novelist and short-story writer, born in Nefta in southern Tunisia. Khurayyif studied at the Dār al-Jild school in Tunis and at the Khaldouniya, gaining a diploma in 1946. He then became a primary school teacher, teaching in Sened, Ariana, Ain Draham and Tunis; he also worked as a shop-keeper in Souk al-Blat, and held various posts in the National Education Council, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and in radio. Khurayyif is generally considered the foremost writer of the Tunisian realist tradition. He published his first story, 'Laylat al-Waṭya' in *al-Dustūr* in September 1937. In this story, a young girl finds herself in conflict with the forces of tradition; the author wrote the dialogue of this work in Tunisian dialect, leading to a stream of opposition from the critics and total silence on his part for several years. In 1958–9 the review *al-Fikr* published his first novel *Iflās aw ḥubbuk darbānī* in serial form. In this work the author portrays the sentimental and sexual education of a young man from the *petite bourgeoisie* living in a world evolving rapidly under the forces of modernity. The historical novel *Barq al-layl* (1961), named after a black slave who lived in the sixteenth century, is a hymn to the old town and a plea on behalf of the victims of racism. His masterpiece, however, is *al-Dijla fī 'arājīnīhā* (1969), the events of which take place in the Nefta oasis between 1910 and 1930. The plot of the story revolves around the deaths of three people, all victims of an unscrupulous character's scheming and of the miserable conditions inherent in southern life. The woman in this story has the most attractive role, but the real hero is the palm tree.

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J. FONTAINE

**Khurayyif, Muḥyī al-Dīn (1932– )**

Contemporary Tunisian poet, nephew of al-Bashīr. He was born in Nefta, an oasis in the south of the country. After teaching for a time he became responsible for folk literature at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and while there, edited the work of poets making use of the oral tradition in the Tunisian Arabic dialect. In addition to numerous children's stories, he has published eight collections of poetry. His books mark successive stages in the development of his thought. In *Kalimāt lil-ghurabā'* (1970) he deals with the distressing plight of the destitute; he contemplates his own interior life in a quest for freedom in *Rubā'iyāt* (1985); finds an area where love takes pride of place; and discovers, amidst the wind and rain, the essence of his past life (*al-Bidāyāt wa-al-nihāyāt*, 1987).

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J. FONTAINE

**al-Khūrī, Bishāra 'Abd Allāh see al-Akḥṭal al-Ṣaghīr**

**Khūrī, Ḥunayn Ni'mat Allāh**

Lebanese historian and member of the Syrian Learned Society (al-Jam'iyya al-'Ilmiyya al-Sūriyya) in Beirut in the 1870s. He translated from French Eugène Sue's novel *Le Morne au diable* (1874), and from an English version E.-P. Guizot's *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* (1877), dedicating his translation to the Khedive Ismā'il; he wrote an article on this subject for the society, as well as various articles on history for *al-Muqataṭaf* magazine.

**Further reading**

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P. C. SADGROVE

## Khūrī, Ilyās [Elias Khoury] (1948– )

Lebanese novelist, essayist, literary critic and journalist. Born in Beirut into a Maronite family, Khūrī grew up in the Christian Ashrafieh area of Beirut, but quickly rebelled against his background. His militant engagement with the Left during the Lebanese Civil War of 1975–90 is reflected in his semi-autobiographical novel *al-Jabal al-ṣaghīr* (1977), as well as in his press editorials. *Zamān al-ihtilāl* (1985) brings together a collection of vehement editorials which he wrote for the leftist Beirut daily *al-Safīr* during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. According to Khūrī, the writer is an integral part of his epoch; his freedom is not a personal matter, but is the liberty of the whole community.

The most interesting aspect of Khūrī's fiction is its perfect embodiment of war-torn Lebanon. Khūrī's fragmented, bleeding city is reflected in dismembered bodies, decimated houses and destroyed streets. The city is populated with shadows of people, whitewashed as in *al-Wujūh al-bayḍā'* (1981) or filled with the black boots of the enemy as in *Rihlat Ghāndī al-ṣaghīr* (1989). His protagonist is often a stranger who has travelled a long time and has endlessly turned the gates of the city in an attempt to enter (*Abwāb al-madīna*, 1981). *Mamlakat al-ghurabā'* (1993) epitomizes alienation in the midst of an atavistic search for self and home.

Khūrī's writing is at the vanguard of the 'new novel' in Lebanon. His postmodernist style tears apart the normal conventions of prose, mixing anger and sarcasm with a desperate, lyrical nostalgia.

### Text editions

*Little Mountain*, M. Tabet (trans.), Minneapolis (1989).

*Gates of the City*, P. Haidar (trans.), Minneapolis (1993).

M. T. AMYUNI

## al-Khūrī, Iskandar al-Baytjālī (1890–1973)

Palestinian neo-classical poet, writer and jurist. Born into a Greek Orthodox family, al-Khūrī studied at the Russian boarding school in Nazareth and at the Roman Catholic Patriarchal College in Beirut. In 1908 with the

declaration of the Ottoman constitution he joined the Greek Orthodox delegation to Constantinople demanding rights for the Arab Christian Orthodox communities. He subsequently taught Arabic and French in Jerusalem.

During the British Mandate al-Khūrī studied law and was later appointed as a justice of the peace. After 1948 he worked for the Red Cross in Bethlehem and Hebron, at the same time editing a column for *al-Difā'* and *al-Jihād* in Jerusalem (1949–67).

Al-Khūrī's collections of poetry include *al-Zafarāt* (1916); *Daqqāt qalb* (Jerusalem, 1923); *Mashāhid al-hayāh* (Jerusalem, 1927); *al-'Unqūd* (Jerusalem, 1946); *al-Ḥarb al-'ālamīyya al-thāniya* (Cairo, 1946); and *Alam wa-amal* (Jerusalem, 1961). In these, he expresses his Arab nationalist feelings, lamenting the Arab defeat of 1948. He also composed poetry for children, wrote a romantic novel on World War I in Palestine – *al-Hayāh ba'd al-mawt ... 1913–1918* (Jerusalem, 1920) – and translated novels from French and Russian.

After the Six-Day War of 1967, al-Khūrī published a collection of classical Arab anecdotes, *Adab wa-tarab* (Tel Aviv, 1972), and a volume of memoirs, *Dhikrayātī* (Jerusalem, 1972), whose publication he said was possible only because of the freedom of expression in Israel. Critical of Arab leadership, he asserted that the Arabs had exaggerated the horrors of the battle of Dīr Yāsīn (1948), and called for the Palestinian problem to be solved peacefully according to UN resolutions.

### Further reading

Abū Ḥamad, A'lām min arḍ al-salām, Haifa (1979), no. 223.

al-Asad, Nāṣir al-Dīn, *al-Shi'r al-ḥadīth fī Filasṭīn wa-al-Urdunn*, Cairo (1961), 50–4.

Moreh, S. and Milson, M., *Modern Arabic Literature: A Research Bibliography 1800–1980*, Jerusalem (1993), 125.

Qabbish, A., *Tārīkh al-shi'r al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth*, n.p. (1971), 326–8.

al-Sawāfirī, K., *Al-Adab al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir fī Filasṭīn*, Cairo (1979), 92–6.

al-'Ūdāt, *Min a'lām al-fikr wa-al-adab fī Filasṭīn*, 90–4.

S. MOREH

## al-Khūrī, Khalil (1836–1907)

Lebanese journalist, official and poet. Born in al-Shuwayfāt, he died in Beirut. He started



Arabic journalism in Syria in 1858 with the newspaper *Ḥadiqat al-akhbār*, and later ran the official paper *Sūriyya*. After the 1860 civil war he was a secretary to Fu'ād Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs sent to Syria to re-establish peace, and he subsequently held several other official positions. He wrote six *diwāns*, a verse history of the Ottomans, and some historical works in prose. His occasional verses earned him the title of 'State Poet'. The first to attempt to free Syro-Lebanese poetry from the old outworn modes of expression, his influence on later writers seems none the less to have been small.

Further reading

Ayalon, A., *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, New York (1995), 23–4, 31–4.  
Dāghir, Yūsuf As'ad, *Maṣādir al-dirāsāt al-adabiyya*, Beirut (1956), vol. 2, 344–7.

P.C. SADGROVE

**Khūrī, Ra'if (1912–68)**

Lebanese literary critic and nationalist intellectual. After graduating from the American University of Beirut in 1932 Khūrī taught in Syria for two years then moved to Palestine where he participated in the popular uprising against the British and Zionists which preceded the so-called 'Big Strike'. He lost his job in Palestine as a result of his political activities and returned to Beirut where he joined the Ligue contre le Nazisme et le Fascisme headed by 'Umar Fākhūrī. In 1947 he visited the Soviet Union and wrote *al-Thawra al-Rūsiyya* (1984); but his relationship with the Soviet Union, and with Arab communists, was strained by their support for Palestinian partition, and his long-standing association with the leftist press, particularly *al-Ṭalī'a* and *al-Ṭariq*, came to an end. The launching of *al-Ādāb* in 1953, however, provided Khūrī with an Arab nationalist alternative and he remained a regular contributor to it until his death.

Khūrī has some twenty books and dozens of articles to his credit. In addition to a poetic drama entitled *Thawrat Baydabā* (1936), and a number of short stories (some not collected), he produced several textbooks connected with Arabic literature, and a treatise on modern Arab thought (*al-Fikr al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth wa-athar al-thawra al-Faransiyya fī tawjihih al-siyāsī wa-al-ijtimā'ī*) which stands as a classic of modern Arab intellectual history. He also

wrote on Palestine, human rights and national consciousness. As a literary critic, he called for **commitment** to society rather than to a particular ideology, and for literature that functions as a critic of the establishment, particularly the state. Distinguished by his independent stands, he never hesitated to oppose leading figures such as Quṣṭanṭīn Zurayq and Ṭahā Ḥusayn (with whom he conducted a famous debate over the function of literature) for the sake of his beliefs.

Further reading

Idris, S., *Ra'if Khūrī wa-turāth al-'Arab*, Beirut (1986).

A.-N. STAIF

**al-Khūrī, Rashīd Salīm (al-Qarawī) (1887–1984)**

**Mahjar** poet. Born in al-Barbāra (Lebanon), al-Khūrī received a good formal education, and taught in the American schools in Sidon and al-Mīna, and in al-Kulliyya al-Sharqiyya in Zahle. He emigrated to Brazil in 1913. In 1915 he was invited to São Paulo because the Arab community there was in need of a poet. He adopted the pen-name 'al-Shā'ir al-Qarawī' ('Qarawī' for short) after he had been disparagingly so named by a journalist.

Al-Khūrī's first volume of poetry, *al-Rashīdiyyāt*, was published in São Paulo in 1916. He became a member of al-'Uṣba al-andalusiyya and was its chairman from 1938 to 1942. His poetry is nationalistic, attacking the French mandate in Syria and Lebanon as well as Jewish colonization in Palestine. Al-Khūrī's *diwān* was first published in São Paulo in 1952, and has been several times reprinted. He returned to Lebanon in 1958. Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrī's brother was the emigrant poet Qayṣar Salīm al-Khūrī, who took the pen-name 'al-Shā'ir al-Madani' and whose *diwān* was published in Damascus in 1966.

Text edition

*Colo Materno*, São Paulo (1980).

Further reading

al-Ḥawī, Īliyyā, *al-Shā'ir al-qarawī*, 4 vols, Beirut (1978).  
*Al-Thaqāfa*: 'adad khāṣṣ 'an al-shā'ir al-Qarawī 1(6) (October 1958).

C. NIJLAND

## khuṭba

Literally 'speech, oration', *khuṭba* was in Arab society and, earliest Islam a tribal political or sectarian rallying cry; the texts of some of these have come down to us and are prized as fine examples of oratory. (Many are to be found in **al-Jāhīz's** *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*.) Subsequently, *khuṭba* came to designate the two sermons pronounced by the *khaṭīb* or preacher before the afternoon worship on Fridays and on certain other festivals in the religious calendar. Normally within the Islamic world, it should be pronounced in Arabic. In medieval Islamic times, collections of model sermons were composed for professional preachers, e.g. by **Ibn Nubāta al-Khaṭīb**. The term is sometimes used to mean 'exordium' (analogous to the *nasīb* of the *qaṣīda*) and should, according to 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, demonstrate the writer's eloquence and mastery of style (*Asrār al-balāgha*, Istanbul, 1954, 9–10).

### Text edition

al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, 3rd edn, Cairo (1968), vol. 1.

### Further reading

*Et*<sup>2</sup> art. s.v. (A.J. Wensinck).

C. E. BOSWORTH

*See also:* oratory and sermons

## Khuzā'a see tribes

## Khwārazm

The region of the lower Oxus River and its delta, later known as the Khanate of Khiva and now a part of Uzbekistan. Surrounded by desert and steppe, Khwārazm preserved a distinctive identity and culture, and its own Iranian language, through the early Islamic centuries. Conquered by the Arabs in 93/712, it was only gradually Islamicized, and continued to be ruled by the Afrīghid dynasty of Khwārazmshāhs from their capital at Kāth through the fourth/tenth century, latterly under the nominal suzerainty of the Sāmānids of Bukhara. In 385/995 the Afrīghids were replaced by the Ma'mūnids of Gurganj (al-Jurjāniyya in Arabic), who ruled as Khwārazmshāhs until the region was conquered by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 408/1017. Taken in

turn by the Oghuz Turks and then the Saljūqs, Khwārazm was again ruled by a hereditary dynasty of Khwārazmshāhs beginning with the Saljūq governor Anūshṭigin from about 470/1077. With the crumbling of Saljūq power, these Khwārazmshāhs built up an independent empire which by the early seventh/thirteenth century comprised most of Iran and Afghanistan as well as large parts of Central Asia. The Khwārazmian empire was the first Islamic state to endure the onslaught of the Mongols, who destroyed and devastated it in the years 617–28/1220–31.

In the early Islamic centuries a number of Khwārazmīs achieved fame outside their native land, notably the mathematician Muḥammad ibn Mūsā (*fl.* c.205/820), the Sāmānid official and author of the *Keys of the Sciences* Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī (*fl.* c.370/980), and the poet and prose stylist Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-Khwārazmī (d. 383/993). Under the Ma'mūnids, the court at al-Jurjāniyya became an important centre of patronage, supporting a group of poets, prose writers and scholars, including al-Tha'ālībī and Ibn Sīnā, as well as al-Bīrūnī, whose history of his native land is unfortunately lost. Despite the increasing importance of Persian prose and, especially, poetry in the fifth/eleventh century, Arabic literature continued to thrive in Khwārazm, and produced a series of major writers and scholars under the Khwārazmshāhs of the sixth/twelfth century. The most important of these is unquestionably the Mu'tazilī theologian, philologist, and stylist al-Zamakhsharī, who, like al-Tha'ālībī and al-Bīrūnī a century earlier, aggressively vaunted the superiority of Arabic to Persian. Both his Mu'tazilism and his attachment to Arabic were equally promoted by his second-generation pupil al-Muṭarrizī, best known for his Arabic grammatical works and his commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. Later representatives of Arabic philology include al-Muṭarrizī's pupil al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Ṣadr al-Afāḍil (d. 617/1220), who commented the *Maqāmāt*, the *Saqt al-zand* of Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, and the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* of al-'Utbi, and al-Qāsim's contemporary al-Sakkākī, author of the standard rhetorical handbook the *Key of the Sciences*.

Of more purely literary figures, the most significant is Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt (Waṭwāt) (d. 587/1191 at an advanced age), the court poet and secretary of the Khwārazmshāh Atsiz

(521–51/1127–56) and his two successors. Besides a large *diwān* of Persian poetry and a theoretical work on poetics, also in Persian, al-Waṭwāt left an important collection of Arabic epistles, both diplomatic and personal, celebrated for their elaborate style. A final representative of the secretarial style of Arabic prose cultivated in Khwārazm is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nasawī (d. 647/1249–50), secretary to the last Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn, who composed a well-known biography of his master.

Text editions

- Khwārazmian poets of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries are surveyed in al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatimat al-dahr*, Cairo (1956), vol. 4, 194–255, and al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr*, S.M. al-'Anī (ed.), Baghdad (1971), vol. 2, 61–7.
- El<sup>2</sup>, s.v.v. Khwārazm, Khwārazm-Shāhs.
- al-Nasawī, *Sirat al-sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn*, Khwārazm, O. Houdas (ed.), Paris (1891) (trans. 1895).
- Ṭāhā, H.H., *al-Adab al-'Arabi fi iqlim Khwarazm*, Baghdad (1976).
- al-Waṭwāt, *Majmū'at rasā'il Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt*, Cairo (1315/1897–8).

E. K. ROWSON

**al-Khwārazmī, Abū Bakr  
(323–83/934–93)**

Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-Khwārazmī was a celebrated author of epistles in artistic prose, as well as of poetry. Born in Khwārazm, he travelled extensively, visiting many courts, including those of Sayf al-Dawla (see *Hamdānids*) in Aleppo and, in particular, the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, in Isfahan, Rayy, and Jurjan. In his later years he settled in Nishapur. He was a militant Imāmī Shi'ī, and in one of his most famous letters consoles the Shi'ī community in Nishapur on their persecution under the Sunni Sāmānids. At the end of his life, he suffered a defeat in a literary contest with the upstart Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, and died soon after. Reports that he was the nephew of the historian al-Ṭabarī are based on a misunderstanding.

Text editions

- Ā'inahwand, Ṣ., *Sharḥ risālat Abī Bakr al-Khwārazmī ilā jamā'at al-Shi'a bi-Naysābūr*, Beirut (1985).
- Rasā'il Abī Bakr al-Khwārazmī*, Beirut (1970). (The poetic *Diwān* remains unpublished).

Further reading

- al-Dudd, S.I.M., *Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī*, Cairo (1985).

Muṣṭafā, A.A., *Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī*, Cairo (1985).

Rowson, E.K., 'Religion and politics in the career of Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī', *JAOS* 107 (1987), 658–70.

E. K. ROWSON

**al-Khwārazmī, Abū Ja'far  
Muḥammad ibn Mūsā  
(early third/ninth century)**

Abū Ja'far al-Khwārazmī was a scholar of the sciences. His name suggests that he came from the eastern province of Khwārazm, but apart from this all that is known of his life is that he enjoyed the patronage of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198–218/813–33) in Baghdad.

Al-Khwārazmī's work was important and innovative. He wrote the first Arabic treatise on arithmetic, in which he appears to have invented new terminology, and the first work on algebra and geometry, in which algebra was for the first time used to solve problems of geometry. He was also the author of the first Arabic books on the construction of sundials and the regulation of the time for prayers through mathematical tables; the *Zij al-Sindh* (*Indian Astronomical Table*), which now survives only in Latin translation, is the earliest work of Arabic astronomy to survive complete to modern times. He also wrote a geography that comprises a revision of Ptolemy.

His scholarship in the exact sciences illustrates the character of the translation movement associated with the name of al-Ma'mūn, which involved not only translation of ancient texts into Arabic, but also pursuit of the work of the ancients in new directions (see further **translation, medieval**). Of particular interest is the way in which he made use of Indian scholarship, translated from Sanskrit, and sought to harmonize it with the heritage of the Greeks; this suggests that while Greek works were always favoured for translation, in al-Khwārazmī's day they were not yet as overwhelmingly authoritative as they were to become later on.

Further reading

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*History of Arabic Science*, Roshdi Rashed (ed.), London (1996), vol. 2, 349–55.

Rosenfeld, B.A., *Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khorezmi*, Moscow (1983).

L.I. CONRAD

## al-Khwārazmī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf (d. 387/997)

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib al-Khwārazmī was an author at the Sāmānid court in Bukhara. He is well-known for his *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* (*Keys to the Sciences*), which takes a fairly traditional form in its encyclopaedic structure. It comprises Islamic law, theology, grammar, theory of writing, *ḥadīth*, and the secular sciences like logic, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, music and chemistry. The work, dedicated to the Sāmānid vizier Abū al-Ḥasan al-'Utībī and addressed to members of the secretarial class, provides interesting accounts of administrative procedure which may well furnish an accurate guide to the forms of organization that then prevailed in Persia. The importance of the book is that it shows what science was thought to comprise and gives an interesting picture of the richness of contemporary scientific thought, not only in its theoretical depth but also in its practical application.

### Text editions

*Liber mafātiḥ al-'olūm*, G. van Vloten (ed.), Leiden (1895), rpt (1968).

*Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, I. al-Ibyārī (ed.), Beirut (1984).

### Further reading

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O. LEAMAN

See also: encyclopaedias, medieval

## kināya see rhetorical figures

## Kinda see tribes

## al-Kindī, Abū 'Umar (283–350/897–961)

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Kindī was a historian of Egypt, who spent his whole life there and devoted his literary efforts to the Islamic history of that country. He was born

towards the end of the Ṭulūnid period and died, a few years before the Fāṭimid conquest. Much of his output has been lost and is known only by quotation or title. Later writers, especially the compilers of the Mamlūk period, made frequent use of these works. They include one on the notable Egyptian *mawālī* or converted non-Arabs, an influential topographical work (*Khiṭaṭ Miṣr*), and monographs dealing with particular individuals or subjects of the early history of Islamic Egypt.

His extant work, in fact two separate works, is known as *The Governors and Judges of Egypt* (*Wulāt Miṣr wa-quḍātuḥā*). This deals, individual by individual, with the representatives of the central caliphates and then the effectively independent dynasties, in the case of the 'governors' down to 334/946 and for the 'judges' down to 246/861. Leaving aside its historical and legal merit, the material, which is presented with full *isnāds* as in *ḥadīth* scholarship, produces a jejune and repetitive literary effect.

### Text edition

*The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Rhuvon Guest (ed.), Leiden (1912).

D.S. RICHARDS

## al-Kindī, Abū Yūsuf (d. after 252/865)

Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī was a scientist and philosopher. Coming from a distinguished family of the Kinda Arabs, he was connected with the caliphal court of Baghdad until the political changes of the mid-century; he was tutor of the 'Abbāsīd prince Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'taṣim, and both as a scientist and as a literary figure reflected the practical and intellectual interests of the autocratic aristocracy and its administrative élite. His enormous *oeuvre* encompasses the whole range of the Hellenistic sciences, made accessible during his lifetime through translations from Greek and Syriac, where al-Kindī appears to have been directing his own circle of translators. His activity marks the taking over, after the predominantly Iranian bias of the early 'Abbāsīd administration, of Hellenism – allied with Arabism in *adab* – in the formative period of classical Islamic culture, and earned him the *laqab* of *faylasūf al-'Arab*, the 'Philosopher of the Arabs'.

In astronomy, his writings attended the final success of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, e.g. in his *Kitāb*

*Fī al-ṣinā'a al-'uẓmā*, and his descriptions of observational instruments. In astrology, while applying the Iranian 'world year' model, he used it for predicting the continuance of the Arab caliphate (*Risāla fī mulk al-'Arab wa-kammīyyatih*). In optics, he contributed to the Euclidian geometry of vision and perspective in his *Iṣlāḥ al-manāẓir*. In musical theory, he presented the Greek doctrine of harmonic proportions (e.g., in his *Risāla fī khubr ta'līf al-alḥān*). In pharmacology, he applied Galen's doctrine of the 'forces' of the *simplicia* to develop a theory of the action of composite drugs and wrote various works on pharmacy, and on perfumes. In philosophy, he legitimized the rational sciences by demonstrating their consistency with the doctrine of God's unicity (*tawḥīd Allāh*) and, employing the creationist Neoplatonism of his sources, he built a philosophical ideology in harmony with Islam. His works on magic and the occult (e.g. *De radiis*, extant in a Latin version), as also his doctrine of the immortal soul and its return to the 'world of the intellect', are based on a system of cosmic sympathy in which the gnostic and hermetic tendencies of late Neoplatonism survive in a religion for intellectuals.

**Text editions**

For a complete listing of works by and about al-Kindī see N. Rescher, *Al-Kindī: An Annotated Bibliography*, Pittsburgh (1964), to which may be added the following:

- L'Intellect selon Kindī*, J. Jolivet, Leiden (1971).
- 'al-Kindī: *De radiis*', M.-T. d'Alverny and F. Hudry, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, ann. 49: 1974, t. 41 (1975), 139–267.
- Al-Kindī's Metaphysics*, A.L. Ivry (ed.), Albany (1974).

**Further reading**

- Endress, G. 'Al-Kindī über die Wiedererinnerung der Seele', *Oriens* 34 (1994), 174–221.
- , 'Die wissenschaftliche Literatur', *GAP*, vol. 3, 3–152.
- Lindberg, D.C., 'Alkindī's critique of Euclid's theory of vision', *Isis* 62 (1971), 469–89.
- Ullmann, M., *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden (1970), 123, 301f., 314.
- , *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften in Islam*, Leiden (1972), 313f.

G. ENDRESS

**al-Kirmānī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. c.411–12/1021)**

Ismā'īlī Fāṭimid *dā'ī* whose principal

missionary activity was undertaken in Iran and Iraq. Because of this he gained the honorific title *Ḥujjat al-'Irāqayn*. Al-Kirmānī has been much esteemed for his scholarship. His *magnum opus* was his *Rāḥat al-'aql*. As a true Neoplatonist (see **Neoplatonism**) he followed in the footsteps of Iamblichus before him, and made Ismā'īlī Arabic literature more complex by his multiplication of hypostases. Like al-Fārābī he held to an emanationist hierarchy of ten Intellects, and God is frequently characterized in a Neoplatonically negative way. From a literary and theological point of view, al-Kirmānī represents an Ismā'īlī trend away from simplicity of doctrine and expression.

**Text edition**

*Rāḥat al-'aql*, Muṣṭafā Ghālib (ed.) Beirut (1967).

**Further reading**

- De Smet, D., *La Quiétude de l'intellect. Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'œuvre de Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani*, Leuven (1995).
- Ivanow, W., *Isma'ili Literature*, 2nd edn, Tehran (1963) 40–5.
- Poonawala, I.K., *Biobibliography of Isma'ili Literature*, California (1977), 94–102.

I. R. NETTON

*See also:* Ismā'īlis

**al-Kisā'ī, Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān (seventh/thirteenth century)**

Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥumayd al-Kisā'ī al-Shāfi'ī is known as the author of a work on **love theory** (unedited) dedicated to the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Muzaffar Mūsā ibn Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr (d. 634 or 5/1237). Since this ruler controlled the territory around Ba'albak and **Damascus** beginning c.626 AH, al-Kisā'ī may have been a Damascene. Especially interesting is his forthright assertion that books on love should show a balance between attention devoted to love – the essence and meaning of love and its types and degrees – and accounts of the experiences of lovers.

**Further reading**

- Giffen, L.A., *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs*, New York (1971), 30–1, 67–9, Table 1, and index.

L.A. GIFFEN

## al-Kisā'ī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (fifth/twelfth century?)

No definite identification of this author of a classical collection of the *Legends of the Prophets* genre is as yet possible. The above personal name is the one usually found in the various manuscript versions of the work, but he is not mentioned in any medieval Muslim biographical works. The seventeenth-century Ottoman bibliographer, Ḥājjī Khalifa, is the only Muslim author to identify him explicitly as the grammarian and Koran scholar of the second/eighth century, 'Alī ibn Ḥamza al-Kisā'ī (*GAL* vol. 1, 115). In the latter's bibliography, however, one finds no mention of such a work.

In comparing al-Kisā'ī's *Kitāb bad'* (*khalq al-dunyā wa-qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) with the other great work by al-Tha'labī one finds such great differences of sources, treatment and language that modern scholars have concluded that al-Kisā'ī's text is a reflection of a folk-like, perhaps oral tradition of tales transmitted by the *quṣṣāṣ*, or popular preachers, who were opposed and condemned by the '*ulamā'*. A recent doctoral dissertation (in Hebrew) by A. Schussman finds interesting parallels to an eighth-century Jewish midrashic work and concludes that authorship by the aforementioned grammarian, 'Alī ibn Ḥamza, should not be ruled out. The identification of the author is, thus, still obscure and even controversial, but the work is valuable and interesting for the view it offers of popular Islam.

### Text editions

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*The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisā'i*, W. Thackston (trans), Boston (1978).

*Vita Prophetarum*, I. Eisenberg (ed.), Leiden (1923).

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W.M. BRINNER

## *kitāba* see artistic prose; secretaries

## Koran

The Arabic word *qur'ān*, applied to the Muslim scripture, is variously interpreted as (a scriptural) 'reading' or 'lesson', or as a verbal noun derived from *qara'a* 'he read', 'he recited'. A variety of other terms are used to refer to the Koran, e.g. *furqān*, from *faraqa* 'he divided', 'he distinguished (between)'. (see further *El<sup>2</sup>* arts. 'Qur'ān', 'Furqān').

The Koran is believed by Muslims to be the revealed word of God in Arabic, dictated in segments by the angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muḥammad between the years 610 and 632. The revelations were memorized and recorded word for word and are today found in the text of the Koran in precisely the manner that God intended.

Consisting of 114 chapters, called *sūras*, the Koran is arranged approximately in order of length from the longest chapter (some twenty-two pages of Arabic text for *Sūra* 2) through the shortest (only a single line for *Sūra* 108). Acting as an introduction to the text is the first chapter, called 'The Opening', *al-Fātiḥa*, which is a short segment used within the Muslim prayer ritual. Each chapter is divided into verses, *āyāt* (sg. *āya*), the total number being reckoned somewhere between 6,204 and 6,236, differing according to various schemes of counting. These verse divisions do not always correspond to the sense of the text but are generally related to the rhyme structure of the individual *sūras*. The rhyme is constructed by a vowel plus the following final consonant at the end of each verse, although few chapters have a consistent rhyme scheme throughout and, in the longer narrative chapters, the rhyme is created by the use of stock phrases such as 'God is all-knowing, all wise'.

Twenty-nine chapters are preceded by disconnected letters of the Arabic alphabet, some single letters (Q = *qāf*, *Sūra* 50; N = *nūn*, *Sūra* 68) or up to five letters together (in *Sūra* 42). The significance of these letters has eluded traditional Muslim and modern scholarship alike. Also prefacing each chapter, with the exception of *Sūra* 9, is the *basmala*, 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate'. This phrase acts as an opening to all Muslim religious statements and is found

## *kitāb* see books and book-making

within the Koran itself as the opening phrase of the letter written by Solomon to the Queen of Sheba (*Sūra* 27: 30).

The text as it is generally found today indicates both the Arabic consonants and the vowels according to a standard system of notation, along with a variety of other marks connected to recitation practices and verse divisions. Early manuscripts of the Koran dating from the eighth and ninth centuries provide only the consonantal form of the Arabic, however.

Apart from the mechanical arrangement of the Koran by length of chapter, the organisational principle behind the text is unclear. Despite the best efforts of many people from both within and outside the faith perspective, the sense of an apparent random character and seemingly arbitrary sense of organisation is hard to overcome. There seem to be no historical, biographical, thematic, aesthetic or poetic criteria by which one can understand the overall structure of the work. To the source critic, the work displays all the tendencies of rushed editing with only the most superficial concern for the content, the editors/compiler apparently engaged only in establishing a fixed text of scripture.

The Muslim tradition has provided an explanation for why the Koran looks the way it does, although the contradictions created by the multiplicity of versions of the story have raised grave doubts on the part of many scholars as to their plausibility and motivation. Generally, Muḥammad himself is excluded from any role in the collection of the text. Zayd ibn Thābit, a companion of Muḥammad, is generally credited with an early collection of the scripture. Later, under the instructions of 'Uthmān, the third caliph after the death of Muḥammad (see **Orthodox caliphate**), the major collection of the text took place. Gathering together the text as it was written 'on palm leaves or flat stones or in the hearts of men', the complete text (deemed to have survived in full) was compiled, copied and distributed to the major centres of the early empire. Thus, within thirty years of the death of Muḥammad in 632, it is understood that the Koran existed in its fixed form. For Muslims, the emergence of the written text is moot; it is held that an oral tradition preserved the full text from the time of its revelation, the written form serving only as a mnemonic device supporting the memorization of the text.

The difficulties in understanding the text are

by no means confined to matters related to its organization. Another issue that confronts most readers is the idea of the 'speaker' of the Koran. Muslim theology understands that God speaks throughout the Koran. Yet He refers to Himself in both the singular and plural first-person forms, as well as through a third-person omniscient narrator. Furthermore, statements that might be conceived to be those of Muḥammad are frequently preceded by the word 'Say', a stylistic device understood to be God giving the authorization for Muḥammad to speak through his own person while reciting the 'dictated words'. On occasion, the reader encounters passages where the voice of the text clearly cannot be God's, but the Muslim interpretative tradition has always been able to provide a corrective understanding to maintain a consistent presence of the divine voice throughout the text, even in a case such as *Sūra* 1.

A reading of the Koran shows that it has a thematic preoccupation with three major topics: law, the previous prophets and the final judgement. The three topics appear to presuppose on the part of their readers some Biblical knowledge along with a reference point within a native Arabian tradition.

Ruling over all of the Koran, and the reference point for all the developments of its major themes, is the figure of God, Allāh in Arabic. The all-mighty, all-powerful and all-merciful God created the world for the benefit of His creatures, has sent messages to them in the past to guide them in the way of living most befitting to them and to Him, has given them the law by which they should live and which has reached its perfection and completion in Islam, and will bring about the end of the world at a time known only to Him when all shall be judged strictly according to their deeds. The basic message is a familiar one from within the Judaeo-Christian tradition. This emphasis on the uniqueness of God, that He is the only god who exists, is presented both in opposition to the Jewish-Christian tradition and in opposition to the polytheist idolaters who worshipped spirits (*jinn*, 'genies'), offspring of God and various idols.

The God of the Koran is the God who communicated to the prophets of the past. Most of the stories of the past prophets as recounted in the Koran are familiar from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament but are presented shorn of the extensive narrative element. The Koran tends to present summaries of the stories in order to get directly to

the religio-moral points lying behind them. A number of prophets are named in the Koran as having been commissioned or selected by God to spread the message of the true way of obedience to Him. A limited number of these people were given scriptures to share with their communities: Abraham, Moses, David and Jesus are clearly cited in this regard. Not all of the named prophets are familiar from the Biblical tradition (or at least their identification with personages of the past is less than clear); for example, Hüd, Şālih, Shu'ayb and Luqmān are generally treated as prophets of the specifically Arabian context prior to Muḥammad.

The stories of these prophets are frequently recounted through a formulaic structure. The prophet is commissioned by God, and then confronts his people, only to be rejected by them. As a result, the people are destroyed and the prophet and any persons faithful to his message are saved by the mercy of God. The story of some of the prophets is told in more expansive form, for example in the case of Joseph which is recounted in *Sūra* 12 and is one of the most cohesive narratives found in the Koran. Elaborations within the story indicate that the Koran is not simply retelling biblical stories but is reflecting their popular form in the Near Eastern milieu of the seventh century. (See further *Legends of the Prophets*.)

All of the prophets brought the same message of the coming judgement for those who do not repent and follow the law of God. The message is a simple and familiar one. All people shall die at their appointed time and then, at a point known only to God, the resurrection shall take place at which each person shall be judged according to the deeds that they have performed on earth. The scene of the judgement day and the hereafter is painted in graphic style within the Koran (see, for example, *Sūra* 56).

To be granted eternal existence in heaven, one must believe in the truth and the contents of the scripture and put those contents into action in day-to-day life. It is on the basis of one's intentional adherence to the will of God as expressed through legal requirements detailed in the Koran that one's fate in the hereafter will be determined. The Koranic law contains elements familiar from Jewish law such as the prohibition of pork and the institution of ritual slaughter, some purity regulations (especially as regards women) and the emphasis on the regulation of marriage,

divorce and inheritance. As well, various emblems of Islam are mentioned in the Koran, but often only in an unelaborated form. The pilgrimage, the month of fasting, the institution of prayer and the idea of charity are all dealt with to varying degrees. Overall, the law is conceived as a gift given by God to humanity to provide guidance in living the proper, fully human life.

Conveying these Koranic themes are vast complexes of symbolic language, the ranges of which have not been catalogued through any contemporary literary perspective. The mix of Biblical and Arabian motifs render the task a difficult one. Some scholars have tended to interpret the text as reflecting the contemporary situation of Muḥammad, and thus pictured the symbolism in materialist terms; others have emphasized the Biblical (or general ancient Near Eastern) context and seen the language as reflecting the nature of monotheistic idiom in that milieu.

The Koran is, and has been from the beginning of the emergence of the religion, the primary source and reference point for Islam. Indeed, the Koran in its function as a source of authority is the defining element of Islamic identity. The emergence of the Muslim community is intimately connected with the emergence of the Koran as an authoritative text in making decisions on matters of law and theology.

Allusions and direct quotations to the Koran are pervasive in Muslim literature. While imitation of the Koran is considered both impossible and sinful (because it is God's word), the contents of the Koran and its particular form of classical Arabic create the substrata of literary production. The widespread knowledge of the Koran, traditionally instilled in most Muslim children through memorization, means that reverberations of the text are guaranteed to be felt by many readers. Direct quotations of the Koran and the use of some of the text's striking metaphors abound in literature from all ages.

#### Text edition

*The Koran Interpreted*, Arthur A. Arberry (trans.), London (1955), rpt Oxford (1964) (a scholarly translation, with the advantage of an excellent concordance, tied to the Arabic text: *A Concordance of the Qur'ān*, Hanna Kassis, Berkeley, 1983).

#### Further reading

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- (1995), 215–31 (Koranic motif and its influence on Muslim literature broadly conceived).
- Analyse conceptuelle du Coran sur cartes perforées*, Allard, Michel, Paris (1963) (while primitive by today's standards of computer technology, this is still valuable for its conceptual analyses).
- Rippin, A., 'The commerce of eschatology' in *The Qur'an as Text*, S. Wild (ed.), Leiden (1996), 125–35 (on the symbolism of the Koran).
- Le métaphor dans le Coran*, Sabbagh, I., Paris (1943) (catalogues the literary figures of the text, although the framework within which this is done is rather limited).
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- Stewart, D.J., 'Saj' in the Qur'an', *JAL* 21 (1990), 102–39 (on the rhyme of the Koran).
- Watt, W.M., *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an*, Edinburgh (1977) (provides a scholarly overview to the subject).

A. RIPPIN

See also: exegesis, Koranic; *i'jāz al-Qur'an*

## Kufa

After the conquest of Iraq, Kufa was founded in 17/638 as a permanent military establishment of the Arabs in Mesopotamia. Being, alongside **Basra**, one of the two early Arab city-encampments in Iraq, Kufa was a centre of conquering Islam. During the second half of the second/eighth century, it lost much of its importance, politically and culturally, to the new capital **Baghdad**. The settlement of Arab tribes in Kufa was of great multiplicity, and was further fractionated by the conflict between conquerors and newcomers. The presence, during four years, of the fourth caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib gave Kufa a lasting **Shī'ī** imprint. In consequence, the main political divisions of that time, i.e. the first/seventh century, concentrated here and found, as happened with specific local issues as well, eager and militant partisans. Kufa therefore won fame for being a hotbed of political unrest. The life and verses of Kufan poets, such as A'shā Ḥamdān (d. 83/702), al-Kumayt ibn Zayd al-Asadī (d. 126 or 127/174), and, 'Kufan' to a lesser degree, al-Ṭirimmāh bear witness to these circumstances.

The immediate neighbourhood to the city of **Hīra**, which had attracted Arab poets from the Peninsula in pre-Islamic time and continued to be frequented for the sake of its taverns, may have furthered the development

of a Kufan poetry in the early Islamic period that was urban, light-hearted, even frivolous in character. **Al-Uḡayshir al-Asadī** (d. after 80/699), known for wine poetry as well as for his licentious love poetry (*mujūn*), as well as 'Ammār Dhū Kināz, represent a libertine element in Kufan society. Love and wine poetry also flourished with Ayman ibn Khuraym (d. 86/705), and Muṭī' ibn Iyās (d. 169/785) conveyed this tradition to **Baghdad**.

Most important for Arabic literature was Kufa's function as a magnificent platform for the exchange and formation of Arab traditions on the pre-Islamic past and tribal genealogy, on the heroic period of the conquest and the dramatic events of the 'Alid schism. Private circles and, to a degree which is hard to ascertain, the *kunāsa*, the vast market place for arriving caravans, served the reception and transmission of these traditions. Thousands of accounts of this kind, as well as anecdotal narrations about men of fame, have found their way into our sources through Kufan collectors of *akhbār*, for example, by 'Awāna ibn al-Hakam (d. 147/764), Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774), Abū al-Jarrā ibn 'Ayyāsh (d. 158/775), Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 180/796), the Ibn al-Kalbīs, father Hishām (d. 146/763) and his son Muḥammad (d. 204/819; see **Ibn al-Kalbī**), and al-Haytham ibn 'Adī (d. 207/821), the latter spending most of his life in Baghdad. Notwithstanding the **Shī'ī** bias and the impact of tribal pride on some of these accounts, they represent, in general, a large variety of aspects. The materials handed down to us by these and other experts were, often in a very anecdotal manner, also concerned with poets and their poetry, a field in which **Ḥammād al-Rāwīya** (d. 155/772) won fame; philologically more solid were al-Sharqī al-Quṭāmī (d. c.150/767) and **al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī**. Apart from this, an old popular form of edifying story-telling is preserved by Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim (d. 221/827). Among the prominent authorities of the first/eighth-century figures the *qāḍī* al-Sha'bī (d. 103/721). He is also an exponent of the juridical tradition in Kufa, which bore, as did its reformer **Abū Ḥanifa** (d. 150/767), the eponym of the Ḥanafī law school, and his pupil Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798).

The 'School of Kufa' in Arabic **grammar**, characterized by its anomalistic orientation towards the reality of spoken language, and thus supposedly of a typically Kufan inspira-

tion, is however a fact of literary history. Its main advocates, **al-Farrā'** (d. 207/822), and, later, **Ibn al-'Arābī** and **Tha'lab**, did not live in Kufa.

#### Further reading

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S. LEDER

### Kulthūm ibn 'Amr al-'Attābī *see* al-'Attābī, Kulthūm ibn 'Amr

### al-Kumayt ibn Zayd al-Asadī (c.59–128/c.679–744)

The poet Abū al-Mustahill al-Kumayt ibn Zayd al-Asadī was born in **Kufa**, and died there from a lethal injury. After being trained he became a teacher at the local mosque. Inspired by his acquaintance with poets like **al-Farazdaq**, **Ru'ba ibn al-'Ajjāj** and **al-Tirimmāh**, and allegedly under pressure from his family, he started a career as a poet. After he joined the local **Zaydī** movement, a moderate branch of Shi'ism, he became an eloquent spokesman for this group. His poetry shows a strong tendency to be ideological and political, although it is very **bedouin**-like in diction and imagery, and is based on a thorough knowledge of ancient Arabic poetry.

Much of al-Kumayt's work aroused the anger of the politicians of his time, and con-

sequently he came into conflict with a local governor and with the **Umayyad** caliph Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who sentenced him to death, but the sentence was never carried out. One of his famous works is a cycle of poems called the *Hāshimīyyāt*, a set of eleven panegyrics of various length on the Prophet, 'Alī, **ibn Abī Ṭālib**, al-Husayn, and Zayd ibn 'Alī, in which he often quotes from *Jāhīlī* poetry and from the **Koran**, which caused some later critics to accuse him of plagiarism. Another work, which ultimately caused his death, was the *Mudhahhaba*, a satire on the Southern Arab tribes from **Yemen**, who opposed the Northern Arab tribe of Muḍar, one of the conflicts that ultimately led to the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty. A final work from the apparently extensive but largely lost *diwān* of this poet is the *Malḥama* in which he praises the tribe of Quraysh.

If his contradictory loyalties to the **Sunnī** Umayyads and the opposing Shi'is do not represent different stages in the development of his political ideas, al-Kumayt must be considered a hypocritical or at least enigmatic personality. His works, however, are greatly esteemed in Shi'ī circles, whose ideas they eloquently represent. He died from an injury inflicted by insurgent soldiers of Yemeni origin.

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G. BORG

### Kurd 'Alī, Muḥammad Farīd (1876–1953)

Syrian intellectual and journalist. Born in **Damascus** the son of a Kurdish father and a Circassian mother, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī found work as a young man on the staff of

the first Arabic newspaper in Damascus, *al-Shām*. He also contributed to the Cairo journal *al-Muqtataf*. In 1901 he moved to Cairo, and attended the lectures of Muḥammad 'Abduh at al-Azhar. He went back to Damascus, but soon returned to Cairo, where he collaborated in editing the journals *al-Zāhir*, *al-Musāmarāt* and *al-Mu'ayyad*, and in 1905 founded the review *al-Muqtabas*. In 1908 he transferred it to Damascus, but in 1914 it was closed down by the Ottoman authorities. He visited Europe in 1908, 1913 and 1921–2. During his stay in Italy in 1913 he collected much of the material for his principal work, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* (Damascus, 1925). He was largely responsible for the founding of the Arab Language Academy of Damascus in 1919, having been inspired by the example of the Académie Française.

#### Further reading

*GAL(S)*, vol. 3, 430–4.

Pellat, Ch., *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kurd 'Alī, and bibliography there cited.

M.J.L. YOUNG

## Kushājim (d. c.360/970–1)

Abū al-Faḥ Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Shāhak, known as Kushājim, was a poet, polymath and collator of literature. He was born in Ramla and lived in Mosul at the court of Abū al-Hayjā 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān, then in Aleppo at the court of Sayf al-Dawla (see *Ḥamdānids*). As a panegyricist he was generously rewarded at the Ḥamdānid court for a poem on Ja'far ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥamdān. His verse is described by Blachère (in *Histoire de la littérature arabe*) as 'excessively florid and enjoying a contemporary vogue'; he was closely associated with his son-in-law al-Ṣanawbarī and is one of the creators of nature poetry in Arabic, in which he evokes visual pleasure by his descriptions of gardens, flowers and trees. He also composed a number of prose works, including one on the etiquette of the *naḍim*.

#### Text editions

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*Kitāb adab al-naḍim*, Cairo (1920).

*al-Maṣāyid wa-al-maṭāriḍ*, Muḥammad As'ad Ṭalas (ed.), Baghdad (1954).

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*See also*: nature, in classical poetry; *wasf*

## Kuthayyir (c.40–105/660–723)

Kuthayyir ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mulaḥī was an 'Udhri poet of the middle Umayyad period, who resided mainly in the Hijaz. A malformed half-orphan, in his poems he was occupied with his unfulfilled love to a married woman named 'Azza whose name was in later times attached to his in the genitive case: 'Kuthayyir possessed by 'Azza'. During a sojourn in Egypt (to where 'Azza had moved with her husband) he made the acquaintance of the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, and this was the starting point of his relationships with the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik (d. 86/705), 'Umar II (d. 101/720) and Yazīd II (d. 105/724) attested by panegyrics. His allegedly ultra-Shi'i ('Kaysāni') inclinations seem to be a later re-interpretation of a more personal affection for Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. A *dīwān* has not been preserved; the collection of fragments by 'Abbās contains 172 poems with about 2,000 verses. Favourite topics in his poetry are love and panegyrics. Infatuated by the unattainable 'Azza, he carries on the tradition of the 'Udhri poets to whom he is also linked as *rāwī* (transmitter) of Jamil Buthayna. Unlike them, his attitude to the female sex is less adoring than defiant and demanding, and moreover he was not specialized in love poetry. In his panegyrics, the addressees are treated as friends equal in rank, not as patrons. His poetical diction has in modern times been called unaffected and easily understandable.

#### Text edition

Collections of fragments: *Sharḥ Dīwān Kuthayyir*, H. Pérès (ed.), 2 vols, Algiers and Paris (1928–30); *Dīwān*, I. 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1971).

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

**kuttāb** *see* **secretaries**

**al-Kutubī, Abū 'Abd Allāh  
Muḥammad Ibn Shākir  
(686?–764/1287?–1363)**

Syrian historian who was born in the village of Darayyā near **Damascus** and lived most of his life in that city. He held no official office, religious or civil, but earned his living from selling books; hence his soubriquet al-Kutubī, the 'book-man'. He is known for two works. 'Known' is perhaps not the word, because his large history, the '*Uyūn al-tawārikh* (*The Historical Springs*), has been little studied and is still in various scattered manuscripts. The

section that covers events that he himself lived through reaches the year 760/1359. His other work, which has been edited many times, is an alphabetically organized biographical dictionary. The author's expressed intention was to supplement the similar compilation of **Ibn Khallikān** – hence the title, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*. It contains 600 notices, for many of which al-Kutubī relied heavily on earlier compilations.

Text edition

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D.S RICHARDS

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## Laâbi, Abdellatif (1942– )

Moroccan novelist and dramatist writing in French. Born in Fez, Laâbi founded the review *Souffles* in 1966, which introduced new, experimental methods of writing into Morocco. Arrested in 1972, he was not freed until July 1980. He has lived in France since 1985. His first collections of poetry were *Race* (1967) and *L'Arbre de fer fleurit* (1974), the former characterized by a very abrupt style. Since then, his poetry has evolved into a more profound means of expression, as seen in the recent collections *Le Soleil se meurt* (1992) and *L'Etreinte du monde* (1993). His novel *Les Rides du lion* (1989) is a work of lucid self-criticism, representing a return to the expression of common human experience. *La Baptême chacaliste* (1987) and *Exercices de tolérance* (1993) represent a step into the world of militant theatre, in which the author speaks out against oppression. Laâbi's work is characterized by sincerity and an unusual awareness, which transcends chauvinistic and nationalistic issues.

J. DÉJEUX

## Labakī, Ṣalāḥ (1916–55)

Lebanese poet, lawyer, journalist and politician. Born in Brazil, Labakī was brought up in B'abdāt (Mount Lebanon). He served as president of the Ahl al-Qalam literary society, and was convener of the first pan-Arab conference of writers at Beyt Meri (1954). He published a number of *diwāns*, including *Urjūhat al-qamar* (1938), *Mawā'id* (1944), *Sa'm* (1949) and, posthumously, *Ghurabā'* (1956) and *Hanīn* (1961).

Labakī's poetry reflects romantic and symbolist influences current among his generation. It treats themes such as love, nature and death in a predictably Romantic fashion, while showing concern for *le mot juste*, organic

unity and technique, and employing some novel images and unusual syntheses. Although he uses classical and neo-classical metres, Labakī nevertheless experiments with the *muwashshah*, sonnet and other stanzaic forms. The result is a distinct lyrical voice which, though overshadowed by a sense of futility and impending doom (partly influenced by Adīb Maẓhar), often registers an insistence on hope and renewal. Portraits of women are 'ethereal' in the Romantic vein, but at times Promethean and iconoclastic. Labakī's *Lubnān al-shā'ir* (1954) remains a perceptive account of modern literary trends in Lebanon and the Maẓhar.

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M.R. NOURALLAH

## Labīd ibn Rabī'a al-'Āmirī (d. c.41/661)

One of the most important poets from the time of the Prophet. Born in pre-Islamic times as a member of one of the leading clans of the tribe 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'a, he was repeatedly engaged in diplomatic and political affairs. As his poetry displays a deep religious sensitivity, there is no reason to doubt reports according to which he became a pious Muslim. There are even some lines in praise of Muḥammad attributed to him. Less credible is the assertion that he stopped composing poetry after having embraced Islam, saying that the Koran would render poetry dispensable. He died in old age, a motive often treated in his poetry.

Labīd's fame rests on some of his *qaṣīdas*, the most famous being his *Mu'allaqa*, and on his laments on his brother Arbad. In his *qaṣīdas*, Labīd pays more attention to the unity of the poem than most of his contemporaries. His poems often display a reflective

mood and show his susceptibility to the tensions and changes of his time. In some of his poems, one finds ideas close to Koranic concepts, such as the praise of God and submission to God's will. Also worth mentioning are his descriptions of thunderstorms and his beautiful and comparatively numerous animal episodes, which inspired **al-Shammākh** and **Dhū al-Rumma**. Among his laments on his brother Arbad, who had been struck by lightning, is a poem of twenty lines (no. 24), in which the traditional praise of the deceased gives way to a more general expression of grief and reflection on the destiny of man. This lament for the transitoriness of man, the futility of human enterprise and the hardships of old age became one of the most famous elegies of pre- and early Islamic poetry.

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T. BAUER

See also: *Mu'allaqāt*

## Lacheraf, Mostefa (1917– )

Algerian poet, essayist, novelist and political figure, writing in French. Born in Sidi Aïssa in Central Algeria, Lacheraf was brought up in a bicultural environment. He taught at the grammar school in Mostaganem, then at Louis le Grand in Paris while involving himself in the struggles of the nationalist movement. A political figure, he was appointed ambassador to Argentina in 1962, and subsequently ambassador to Mexico. In 1977 he became Minister of Education in Algeria, resuming the role of ambassador to Mexico in 1979. He was Algerian delegate to UNESCO in 1982. He is now retired and living in Algeria. Although Lach-

eraf has written poetry for reviews, his main literary output consists of critical essays, including *L'Algérie, nation et société* (1965) and *La Culture algérienne contemporaine* (1986). A number of his works were brought together in the collection *Ecrits didactiques* (1988). Lacheraf's ideas are always precise and coherent, and he expresses himself with clarity and frankness on the major issues of the day.

J. DÉJEUX

## lafz and ma'nā

'Words' and 'meaning.' This is a basic dichotomy that is assumed by all disciplines dealing with language. In the controversy between (Aristotelian) logic and grammar which raged in the fourth/tenth century, the logicians claimed that they were dealing with the meanings common to all languages, while the grammarians dealt with the words of specific languages. This did not go down well with the grammarians, who rightly insisted that they were dealing with semantics as well, and who denied to logic all universality, claiming that it was nothing but Greek grammar. (See further **grammar and grammarians**.)

In literary criticism the meaning of *ma'nā* is usually narrowed down to 'poetic idea,' or 'motif,' in which case *lafz* is best rendered 'wording.' Since the number of motifs tended to be limited by convention, especially in the important 'ritual' genres such as praise, the idea soon arose that the 'same' idea could be expressed by various ways of wording it. This in turn led to the question: which was poetically more important, the meaning or the wording? The dominant opinion was that the wording should be given precedence, since this was the 'form' that the poet gave to his 'material', the motifs. Analogies from other crafts are commonly adduced here (e.g. goldsmith/poet fashions ring/wording from gold/meaning). (See further *ṣinā'a*.) This basic assumption also underlies enterprises like catalogues of motifs with their various treatments (**Ibn Qutayba** [d. 276/889], **Abū Hilāl al-'Askari** [d. 395/1005]) and the attitude toward plagiarism (see *sariqa*), where the typology to a large extent reflects the various changes in the wording; if the changes improve the rendition of the motif, the plagiarism is approved.

The poetic ideas were, of course, not unimportant, and early criticism takes both, *lafz*

and *ma'nā*, into account. Ibn Qutayba establishes four categories of quality: (1) both are good, (2) both are bad, (3) one is good and the other bad or (4) vice versa. Similarly, though richer in variants and less systematic, in *Ibn Ṭabātabā* (d. 322/934). Qudāma ibn Ja'far (d. 337/948), in accordance with the logical layout of his *Assaying of Poetry*, treats the virtues and defects of (a) the words, (b) the meaning, and (c) the combination of the two. The availability of this last category allows him to address, under the first rubric, the qualities of single words (phonetic smoothness, archaicism, and others) rather than the wording of the meaning of a whole verse. It seems that later authors were less circumspect; for we see 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078 or later) waging war against those who thought that *lafz* referred to the dimension of sound only, and proposing instead a *lafz*-*ma'nā* dichotomy within a larger dichotomy of 'sounds' (*ajrās al-hurūf*) and 'intention' (*gharaḍ*). Here *lafz* and *ma'nā* are completely congruent due to a 'form' (*ṣūra*) that shapes the semantic relations on the *ma'nā* side and the syntactic ones on the *lafz* side (slightly simplified). For him this is just an explication of the critical thought of the ancient authorities; *lafz* still takes precedence with him in the evaluation of poetry.

**Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī** (d. 456/1063 or later) asserts that there were partisans of *ma'nā* as there were partisans of *lafz*. Ibn Rashīq explains, however, that the *ma'nā* in this context is not simply the meaning and the content of the line, but rather the *ma'nā al-ṣan'a*, 'the specific meaning of a line achieved by the application of a figure of speech', thus – with a grain of salt – a 'conceit.' In the mask of *ma'nā*, the *lafz* is still triumphant.

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W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

## al-Lāhiqī, Abān see Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid al Lāhiqī

## al-Lāhiqī, Ḥamdān ibn Abān see Ḥamdān ibn Abān al-Lāhiqī

### Lakhmids

An Arab tribal dynasty allied with the Sasanians and based at the Iraqi town of Ḥīra from the fourth to sixth centuries. Under their rule the town became not only the main base for military activity in defence of the Iraqi desert frontier, but also a lively cultural centre.

The Lakhmids were a major stimulus to Arabic poetry, and indeed, one unparalleled anywhere else in Arabia. From throughout Arabia, such eminent poets as Imru' al-Qays, Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā, Tarafa ibn al-'Abd, Ḥatīm al-Tā'i, al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza and Labīd ibn Rabī'a came to recite verse in praise of Lakhmid princes or to lament their deaths, and on occasion would mock them in poems. No clash with their enemies was too minor for commemoration in verse, and the amenities of their base at Ḥīra were likewise celebrated. Some of this poetry may have been retrojected from Islamic times, but much of it is so detailed, or devoted to such minor events, that later forgery seems unlikely or pointless.

The Lakhmids were also the object of a number of proverbs, and they may have been responsible for some degree of historical consciousness. The churches and monasteries of Ḥīra are said to have possessed books recording genealogical and chronological information on the Lakhmids. These books must have been Nestorian works written in Syriac, but Ḥīra was a major centre for Arabic culture as well and translations could easily have been made later. The influence of such works is perhaps to be seen in the detailed knowledge of the Lakhmids that one finds in such authors as Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (wrote 350/961).

The Lakhmids were buffeted by several serious incursions by the Ghassānids in the sixth century, and in 602 their rule was brought to an end when their last and most renowned ruler, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir, was killed by the Sasanians. Ḥīra, on the other hand, retained at least some of its cultural significance for another three centuries after

its fall in the Arab conquest of Iraq in the 630s.

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L. I. CONRAD

### lampoon *see hijā'*

### Laroui, Abdallah *see* al-'Arawī, 'Abd Allāh

### Lāshīn, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir (1894–1954)

Egyptian prose writer. Born in Cairo into a Turko-Circassian family long settled in Egypt, Lāshīn was the brother of the dramatist Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Raḥīm. He studied engineering at the Muhandiskhāna in Cairo, and from 1918 to 1953 was an employee in the Department of Public Works. Inspired by French and Russian realistic literature and by the Egyptian national movement of 1919, Lāshīn shared the views of other writers of the 'Modern School' (al-Madrasa al-Ḥadītha), and together with Ḥusayn Fawzī and Aḥmad Khayrī Sa'īd founded the literary review *al-Fajr*, which appeared from 1925 to 1927. Together with Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī and Maḥmūd Taymūr, he is one of the most important representatives of the Modern School. Lāshīn published in *al-Fajr* a series of short stories marked by realism, modernism and local colour; these stories, together with some others, were republished in the collections *Sukhriyyat al-nāy* (1927) and *Yuhkā 'annā* (1930). His only novel, *Hawwā bilā Ādam*, appeared in 1934, and a final collection of short stories entitled *al-Niqāb al-ṭā'ir* in 1940. *Hawwā bilā Ādam* has been discussed by Kilpatrick as a fine psychological novel demonstrating the incompatibility of the traditional culture with the ideas of the *nahḍa* espoused by the writers of the Modern School. The main character, the well-educated middle-class Ḥawwā, falls in love with a younger man of an aristocratic family, then kills herself when she realizes that he will never be hers.

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E. C. M. DE MOOR

### Laylā al-Akhyaliyya (d. c.85/704)

Poetess of the early Umayyad period, famous mainly for her elegies. Laylā's poetical life was dominated by the fact that her family refused to accept the brigand-poet Tawba ibn al-Ḥumayyir as her husband and married her to another man. Ancient *dīwāns* are lost; the collection of fragments by al-'Aṭiyya contains 47 pieces with 300 verses. A quarter of these poems are elegies on Tawba; one poem laments the death of the caliph 'Uthmān (d. 35/656). She also quarrelled with the poet al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī in a series of poems, and composed panegyrics on the caliph Marwān I (d. 65/685) and the governor al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (d. 95/714), with both of whom she had personal contact. She composed two small poems in the *rajaz* metre containing satire and praise of her tribe.

#### Text edition

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### al-Laythī, 'Alī (c.1820–96)

Egyptian court poet. Born in Būlāq, he died in Cairo; his name was taken from that of al-Imām al-Layth, near whose tomb the family lived. After studying at al-Azhar, he went to Libya, where he became a Ṣūfī and disciple of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Sanūsī. Under Khedive Sa'īd, he was exiled to Aswan for teaching astrology and divination, but he later became a court poet and companion to the Khedives Ismā'il and Tawfiq. He was exiled to his estate for supporting the army in the 'Urābī revolt, and although he later returned to the court, he did not regain his former popularity there. A



leading poet of the old style, al-Laythī placed a curse on anyone publishing his *diwān*, thereby revealing his own reservations about his poetry.

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P. C. SADGROVE

## Lebanon, modern

Despite the pivotal position of Lebanon in the nineteenth-century Arabic *nahḍa*, the country's present literary pre-eminence derives largely from the period following World War 2, when **Beirut** became the cultural and intellectual capital of the Middle East, attracting creative artists from all over the world. Numerous publishing houses and journals emerged during this period, including Suhayl **Idris's** *al-Ādāb*, a magazine that called for **commitment** in artistic endeavour and which has been considered key in the subsequent development of Arabic literature.

Arabic and French have been equally important in the development of an authentic Lebanese literature during this period. Franco-phone writers include poets like Etel Adnan, Marouane Hoss, Claude Khal and Nadia Tueni, as well as novelists such as Andrée Chedid, André Bercoff and Evelyne Accad. Writers in Arabic include poets such as Yūsuf al-Khāl, Khalil Hāwī, May Rihānī and Henri Zghayb, as well as novelists such as Tawfīq 'Awwād, Laylā Ba'labakkī, Ḥalīm Barakāt, Imīlī Naṣr Allāh, Ilyās Khūrī and Ḥanān al-Shaykh.

Whereas men's writings of the 1950s and 1960s tend to revolve round political events connected with the Arab world, particularly Palestine, women's writings are more self-reflexive and concerned with the roles and status of women in modern society. The two best-known novels of this period are Ḥalīm Barakāt's *'Awdat al-tā'ir ilā al-bahr* (1969) and Laylā Ba'labakkī's *Anā ahyā* (1958).

The writings of the 1970s and 1980s have been dominated by the Lebanese Civil War which broke out in 1975. 'Awwād's *Ṭawāhīn Bayrūt* (1975) was a prognostication of the devastation to come. The war spawned enormous literary activity, especially on the part of

women. New writers were published and established writers found new ways to express their anger and grief. Among the novels that have attracted critical attention are Ilyās Khūrī's *al-Jabal al-ṣaghīr* (1978), Ḥanān al-Shaykh's *Hikāyat Zahra* (1980) and Etel Adnan's *Sitt Marie Rose* (1978). Novelists like Imīlī Naṣr Allāh found that they could express themselves more effectively through the short story, as in *'al-Mar'a fī 17 qiṣṣa'* (1983), while others turned to poetry as a medium that allowed them to express otherwise forbidden emotions and political positions.

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M. COOKE

## legends

Legends as narratives about persons regarded as saints, or who were at least venerated because of their socio-religious reputation, are found already in the **Koran**, e.g. in legends about the Koranic prophets from Ādam to Yūsuf (Joseph) and Zakariyā', developed later into the *Qisaṣ al-anbiyā'* (*Legends of the Prophets*). There are other legendary motifs in the Koran concerning **Muḥammad**, although he is said to have said about himself 'I am only a human being like you'; but a non-Muslim will regard the *Mi'rāj*, the Prophet's midnight journey from Mecca to Jerusalem or to the seven heavens on a beast named al-Burāq (see *Sūras* 17:1; in the early **ḥadīth**) – which inspired Persian literature more than Arabic and became the topic of masterpieces of Islamic miniature painting – as a legend. Other legends widespread throughout the Near East in the time of Muḥammad, such as that of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Bilqīs), found their way into the Koran and were reworked many times in the mouths of street storytellers (*quṣṣāy*) in **Umayyad** and early 'Abbāsīd times and were reshaped again when written down.

One of the most famous Near Eastern legends, that of **Alexander the Great**, preserved in the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, inspired the legend of al-Khiḍr (al-Khaḍīr) found in the Koran (18: 60ff., without being named) and later in **Ṣūfī literature**. Islamic eschatologia as

found in the Koran and/or *ḥadīth* include peoples like Gog and Magog (Yā'jūj and Mā'jūj), figures like al-Dajjāl 'the deceiver' (the Antichrist), who will come at the End of Days for forty days (or years) to spread tyranny and injustice, followed by a general conversion to Islam. Then the Mahdī ('the rightly guided' and guiding) will come to restore religion, peace and justice. These ideas have especially inspired Šūfī and Shi'ī literature.

There are legendary places mentioned in the Koran like Iram Dhāt al-'Imād, 'Iram the many-columned' (89: 7), connected with the tribe of 'Ād, already mentioned in old Arabic poetry and later found in folklore and *adab* literature. Several stories in the *sīra* about the Prophet and members of his family, especially 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb and his descendants, and about the Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn, the first four 'Rightly Guided Caliphs', can also be regarded as legends or at least as edifying religio-political stories.

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W. WALTHER

See also: *Legends of the Elders*; popular literature

**Legends of the Elders**

The Arabic *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* occurs in the Koran in the pejorative meaning 'untrue stories of the men of old', as a term with which the opponents of Muḥammad signified his words as lies (e.g. *Sūras* 6: 25; 8: 31; 16: 24; 23: 83; 25: 5; 27: 68; 46: 17; 83: 13). *Asāṭīr* probably derives from Latin *historia* or Greek ἱστορία. Arab philologists defined the singular form as *uṣṭūra*. *Uṣṭūra* means today 'myth, legend' without pejorative connotation, at least concerning literature, after the reevaluation of national traditions, including pre-Islamic ones, that has occurred since the confrontation with European cultural ideas and ideals. *Asāṭīr*/myths are analysed and explained under the influence of Freud, Lévy-

Strauss, C.G. Jung and others. Myths and legends of different origin, including ancient Near Eastern, Jewish and Christian ones, are widely used as allusions and allegories in modern Arabic poetry, prose and drama.

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W. WALTHER

See also: legends

**Legends of the Prophets  
(Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā')**

Tales about Biblical, early Arabian, or general Near Eastern figures, most of whom are mentioned in the Koran, which became the basis for a Muslim literary genre. These legends can be found in four main sources: the *ḥadīth*, or collection of the reports about the words and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad; *tafsīr*, or Koran commentary; *ta'rīkh*, works of history, especially the universal histories of writers such as al-Ṭabarī; and particularly in the two main collections of such material, the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* proper, by al-Kisā'i and al-Tha'labī. Most nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western scholars saw these legends as simple borrowings of Jewish or Christian tales reworked into an Islamic setting. More recently, however, using newer literary theoretical approaches, scholars see the evolution of these tales as reflections of much more complex phenomena and cultural interrelationships.

Islamic doctrine posits a belief in prophets (sg. *nabī*, pl. *nabiyyūn*, *anbiyā'*), each sent by God with a divine message to a people, especially *ahl al-kitāb*, 'people of the book'. The numbers of prophets sent vary greatly, but around eighteen are mentioned in various *sūras* of the Koran, most of whom reflect Biblical figures not necessarily known as prophets in either Judaism or Christianity. Among these are: Noah, Idris (Enoch), Abraham, Lot, Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Shu'ayb (Jethro), David, Solomon, Job, Jonah, Zachariah, John (the Baptist) and Jesus. In addition there are ancient Arabian figures such as Hūd, Šāliḥ and Dhū al-Kifl.

Many of these Koranic references are very

brief and elliptic, seemingly relying on previous knowledge by the hearer of the whole story to which brief reference is made. This probably indicates, incidentally, a widespread acquaintance in pre-Islamic Arabia with a large number of stories found in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the cultural world of the ancient Near East in general. Hence the scholarly effort to trace the 'sources' of the tales. The Muslim collectors of the stories often state the line of transmission of a given tale or version as going back to early Jewish converts to Islam. This gave rise to a labelling of such tales as *Isrā'īliyyāt*, a term that took on a rather negative aspect with the flourishing of a brilliant Islamic civilization connected with the vast, wealthy and powerful early 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Becoming culturally self-assured and independent, the 'ulamā' tended to discourage and even forbid recourse to non-Muslim sources. These legends became more and more an inspiration for poetry, especially of the Ṣūfīs, the realm of popular religion, and of the visual arts.

The Legends served several purposes: for Muḥammad and his early followers they foreshadowed or reflected the actual experiences of the Prophet and his community, with Sunnis and Shi'is making different use of the same tales. To the universal historians, when combined with pre-Islamic Iranian tradition and what was known of the Graeco-Roman world, they provided the historical background for the coming of Islam and its eventual victory. For the Koran commentators they supplied the necessary material to expand and interpret the brief, often enigmatic references in Koran and *ḥadīth*. It is in the work of the two collectors of these legends, al-Tha'labī and the still unidentified al-Kisā'ī, that we find the greatest disparity of approach: al-Tha'labī seeks to give as full and traditional an account as possible, enriched by reference to the material still available from the prevailing cultures of pre-Islamic Arabia and its Jewish and Christian inhabitants, primarily for religious edification; while al-Kisā'ī's accounts reflect a more imaginative, popular retelling of the tales aimed at attracting the attention of the listeners with the ultimate aim of instilling enthusiasm for Islam, its practices and its values. But even in al-Tha'labī we find large segments of the widespread legends of Alexander the Great and the tale of Buluqiyyā, both of which were more in the nature of popular entertainment than of

religious preaching. The legends can be found in translations and adaptations to most of the 'Islamic languages': Persian, Urdu, Turkic languages, Swahili, Malay, etc., and contemporary versions in Arabic are widely popular today.

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See also: popular literature

**Leo Africanus (b. between 894 and 901/1489 and 1495)**

Leo Africanus, or Giovanni Leone, formerly al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Wazzānī, was born in Granada, but his family subsequently moved to Fez. As a young man he worked in a mental hospital in Fez and travelled extensively throughout North Africa. In 1518 he was captured by Sicilian corsairs and taken to Rome, where under the patronage of Leo X he converted to Christianity and learnt Latin. In 1526 he completed *The History and Description of Africa and the Notable Things Therein Contained*, which he wrote in (poor) Italian on the basis of Arabic notes. It is an exceptionally

lively and vivid survey, especially for Morocco. He also wrote a biographical dictionary, *Libellus de viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes* (1527). At the end of his life he returned to Tunis and probably died there. His life and travels form the basis of Amin Maalouf's novel *Léon l'Africain* (*Leo the African*, P. Sluglett (trans.), London, 1988).

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## Leone, Giovanni *see* Leo Africanus

## letter-writing *see* artistic prose; secretaries

## lexicography, medieval

### Origins

Lexicography is a by-product of the realization that the intuitive knowledge of the meaning of words among the Arabs in the Prophet's lifetime was lost to the heterogeneous urban communities who formed the majority of the Islamic population. Pioneers such as **Abū 'Amr ibn al-'Alā'** (d. 144–7/771–4) began soliciting information from the **bedouin** on the assumption that they preserved the authentic Koranic and pre-Koranic usage. The results, however, forerunners of the great dictionaries, were entirely secular word-lists, names of animals, meteorological features, near-homonyms, difficult genders and morphologies, etc., more useful to the collector of poetry than the religious scholar, for which reason some philologists shunned the subject.

Vocabularies and other more elaborate lists continued to be produced well into the fourth/tenth century, but already in the late second/eighth century a full-scale dictionary is ascribed to **al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad** (d. 175/

791). Some medieval lexicographers evidently regard al-Khalīl's friend al-Layth ibn al-Muẓaffar (d. 190/805) as the author, but in any case the *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, named after the first letter in its alphabetical arrangement (see below), is the earliest dictionary.

### Arrangement of dictionaries

All medieval Arabic dictionaries (though not Persian, Turkish, etc.) etymologize words into their constituent radicals, hence *afṭahu* 'I open', *miṭāḥ* 'key', *iftataḥa* 'was opened', for example, are all located under the root *f-t-ḥ*, more precisely its citation form, the simple perfect verb *fataḥa* 'he opened'. Moreover four alphabetical systems exist, viz:

1. *Permutative/phonological*: The alphabetical order is that of al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, i.e. in ascending order of points of articulation (the conjectural Indian origins of this alphabet remain unproven), namely

'*ḥ,h,kh,gh,q,k,j,sh,d,ṣ,s,z,t,d,t,z,dh,th,r,l,n,f,b,m,w,ā,y,*'

and each entry comprises all the permutations, both used (*musta'mal*) and unused (*muhmal*), of the given radicals. *F-t-ḥ* is thus found under *ḥ* in the group *ḥ-t-f* and its permutations (of which *f-ḥ-t* does not occur). This arrangement is followed in the *Muḥīṭ* of **al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād** (d. 385/995), the *Bārī* of **al-Qālī** (d. 356/965), the *Tahdhīb* of al-Azhārī (d. 370/980) and the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066).

2. *Permutative/alphabetical*: The order is that of the standard Arabic alphabet, viz.

'*b,t,th,j,h,kh,d,dh,r,z,s,sh,ṣ,d,t,z,*' *gh,f,q,k,l,m,n,h,w,y,*

and the roots are grouped into permutations as before, so that *f-t-ḥ* is now found under *t-ḥ-f* and its combinations. Only one dictionary uses this arrangement, the *Jamhara* of **Ibn Durayd** (d. 321/933), an expansion of the *Kitāb al-'Ayn* supplemented by short monographs on such topics as foreign words, the theory of permutations (inspired directly by al-Khalīl's metrical circles; see **prosody**) and the relative frequency of the Arabic consonants.

3. *Alphabetical by first radical*: Each root is listed by its first radical in the standard alphabetical order, the internal sequence

being determined by the second and third radicals. Hence *f-t-h* occurs between *f-t-j* and *f-t-kh*. An early but enigmatic example is the *Kitāb al-Jīm* of al-Shaybānī (d. 213/828), named after the letter *j* for still unknown reasons. Many specialized dictionaries, particularly collections of technical terms, favour this order, among them al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *Asās al-balāgha*, noteworthy for its attention to metaphorical meanings.

Arabic dictionaries on the Western model from the nineteenth century onwards invariably follow this order, but two important medieval examples are the *Mu'jam maqāyīs al-lughā* and its abridgement *al-Mujmal*, both by Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1005). These are further complicated by being arranged cyclically, so that the first entry under *f* is *f-q-m* (the root whose second and third consonants occur after *f*), continuing until *f-y-n*, when the alphabet restarts and so eventually passes through *f-t-h*. The arrangement is undoubtedly original but was never imitated. Ibn Fāris also provides a general root meaning for each set of radicals, an extremely interesting semantic experiment which has been adopted by the dictionary of the Arab Academy in Cairo.

4. *Alphabetical by last radical*: Each root is listed by its *last* radical in the standard alphabetical order, hence *f-t-h* is found under *h*, the internal sequence being determined by the first and second radicals. The innovation is often attributed to al-Jawharī (d. 393/1003) and his dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāh*, but earlier rhyming lists are known, e.g. by al-Bandanījī (d. 284/897). It is this arrangement which was followed by all succeeding major works. That these are also rhyming dictionaries is probably a coincidence: poets do not seem to have used them as such. Perhaps the ordering reflects the greater semantic weight of final radicals, which can serve to differentiate near-synonymous roots, e.g. *n-b-t*, *n-b-*, *n-b-gh*; *q-t-*, *q-t-f*, *q-t-m*, etc.

### The classic dictionaries

The *Ṣiḥāh* of al-Jawharī may be regarded as the ancestor of the classic dictionaries both in its arrangement and scope and its importance for subsequent lexicography in East and West. The most notable productions after al-Jawharī

are the *Lisān al-'Arab* of Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), the *Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* of al-Firūzabādī (d. 817/1415) and the massive *Tāj al-'arūs* of al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), the last subsuming the contents of virtually every previous work. The *Qāmūs* in particular has become the most widely used of all the dictionaries and has exercised considerable influence in the West (see **lexicography, modern**).

### General characterization of Arabic lexicography

Modern scholarship has tended to be rather dismissive of Arabic lexicography, forgetting perhaps that European lexicography was just beginning when the *Tāj al-'arūs* had crowned a thousand-year tradition. Lexicography was a genuine science to the Arabs – '*ilm al-lughā*, 'science of vocabulary' might be an acceptable translation – but its goals were akin to those of *ḥadīth* scholarship, to *preserve* meanings rather than analyse them, even of words that may never have existed (although their authenticity did not always go unchallenged). It is true that Arabic lexicography does not pursue the history or origin of words in the Western manner, still less their changes in form or meaning. Etymological science ('*ilm al-ishtiḳāq*') certainly exists, but it denotes the re-attachment of a word to its radicals: the root, formally speaking, is already known and all that is required is to account for this particular instance of it, sometimes involving rather tortuous reasoning reminiscent of medieval European etymologies. A science of semantics, '*ilm al-waḍ'*', emerged in the later Middle Ages, and it is probably time for a re-examination of the language sciences in the light of recent progress in Western linguistics.

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## lexicography, modern

Modern Arabic lexicography and the European tradition are so closely intertwined that they are best treated together. Although the two earliest Western examples, the *Vocabolista arauigo en letra castellana* of Pedro de Alcalá (1505) and the *Lexicon Arabicum* of Raphelengius (1613, posthumously), owe nothing to the Arabic lexica, every succeeding dictionary until Dozy's *Supplément* of 1881 is substantially dependent on Arabic models: Giggeius' *Thesaurus linguae arabicae* relies on al-Firūzabādī's *Qāmūs*, the *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* of Golius and Freytag's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* are both based on al-Jawhārī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*, while the greatest individual accomplishment in Western lexicography, Lane's *Madd al-Qāmūs*, an *Arabic English Lexicon*, is essentially a consolidation of all the medieval Arabic dictionaries.

Ironically, it was probably Lane's work that stimulated not only the appearance of several European dictionaries (notably Biberstein-Kazimirski and the worthy Belot – the latter virtually a translation of the *Qāmūs*, soon rendered into English as the familiar and still indispensable Hava) but also the first dictionaries by modern Arab lexicographers, e.g. the *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, the *Bustān* of 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī and the *Mu'jam matn al-luḡa* of Aḥmad Riḍā (1872–1953). All these Arab works follow Western methods and principles of arrangement. The *Mu'jam al-kabīr* of the Arab Academy in Cairo is the most ambitious lexicographical undertaking of this kind so far,

and is remarkable for citing Ibn Fāris's general summaries of root meanings wherever possible. However, publication is proceeding rather slowly: only the third letter of the alphabet has been reached to date.

The *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache* is the first comprehensive dictionary to draw upon actual literary examples, but begins only where Lane left off (he died on the letter *qāf*). In this it differs from Blachère, Chouémi and Denizeau, *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais*, which ambitiously aims to cover both classical and modern Arabic. The greatest practical contribution to contemporary lexicography is Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, also compiled from original data rather than earlier dictionaries: the English translation, *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, has become the standard. There is no space here to discuss the many English–Arabic or colloquial dictionaries but mention must be made of Badawi/Hinds, *Dictionary of Colloquial Egyptian* for its brilliant presentation of the full range of Egyptian speech.

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## libraries, medieval

The transition from orality to scripturalness in Arabic letters, or, differently put, the rapid emergence of a written tradition in all fields since the middle of the second/eighth century, before long resulted in the establishment of libraries properly speaking as well. Remarkably enough, though, pre-modern Arabic does not have a specific single term for 'library' (cf. the modern *maktaba*), but uses the more generic *khizāna* ('storehouse'), either by itself or in compounds like *khizānat al-hikma* ('storehouse of wisdom'; see below) or, less emphatically, *khizānat al-kutub* ('storehouse of books').

The earliest reports about notable collections of books refer to the period of roughly the turn of the third/ninth century; this was a time of heady intellectual activity and experimentation, not the least aspect of which was the appropriation of 'foreign', i.e. Greek and, less massively, Hindu and Persian learning under the patronage of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs **Hārūn al-Rashīd** (170–95/786–809) and his son al-Ma'mūn (198–209/813–33). (See further **translation, medieval**.) Nor should a technological-material impulse for the dissemination of knowledge at about the same time go unmentioned; after the battle on the Ṭalās in 133/751, Chinese prisoners of war

were instrumental in introducing the craft of paper-making into the caliphate – Samarkand became the eponymous manufacturing centre – and reputedly within a scant fifty years, the **Barmakīd** Ja'far ibn Yahyā established the first paper-mill in **Baghdad**. In time, paper, very much cheaper than papyrus – not to mention vellum – made books significantly more affordable to wide strata of society.

The rate and scope of the translation activity that al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, their successors, and other high-placed and wealthy patrons supported could not have been sustained without ready access to a collection of sources. Thus, their library (*khizānat*, 'storehouse', or **Bayt al-Hikma**, 'house of wisdom') grew into a research centre for the translator-scholars in the fields concerned. However, it was not a 'public' library, neither by ownership nor by accessibility: the former was private, and the latter was restricted to a privileged group of scholars. Private ownership and restricted access were typical of Islamic libraries even after the turn of the fifth/eleventh century, when the institution of mortmain (*waqf*) brought about a proliferation of libraries and generally opened their resources up to a wider public; yet it was the donor's (*wāqif*) prerogative to stipulate limitations to access. Furthermore, such trust libraries were not set up as institutions of learning in their own right; they were adjuncts to institutions either wholly or partially devoted to instruction, such as mosques, 'colleges' (*madrāsas*) and hospitals. Their holdings, however, were not necessarily limited to the fields of specific concern to them, such as religious disciplines, jurisprudence (*fiqh*) or medicine.

From the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn onwards, biographers and chroniclers time and again mention extraordinarily large private holdings of books; the numbers are usually to be taken as symbolic (multiples of 'forty' or other traditional 'large figures') and in general the anecdotal nature of such reports hardly permits of an extraction of factual kernels from them. However, it is clear that literacy and, as a result, bibliophilia, touched ever wider segments of the population. It was the needs of scholars and littérateurs rather than the pastime of rich dilettanti that supported the flourishing book trade of Baghdad and other centres of intellectual life; less wealthy scholars frequently earned, or supplemented, their livelihood as copiers and book dealers. Con-

versely, numerous book dealers qualified as scholars themselves. Perhaps their most brilliant representative was Muḥammad Ibn al-Nadīm, the author of the biobibliographical 'catalogue' – actually an encyclopaedic conspectus of the arts and sciences of the period – *al-Fihrist*. Just as Ibn al-Nadīm offers a glimpse into the intellectual life of Būyid Baghdad, the extant description of the library of the Imāmī-Shī'ī scholar Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ṭāwūs (589–664/1193–1266) highlights the range of interests of an admittedly wealthy but by no means outstandingly brilliant scholar of the waning 'Abbāsīd period. Precisely for its individual, private profile the richness of his holdings – comprising more than 1,500 titles – lends credence to the numerous adulatory reports about scholars' libraries in the biobibliographical sources.

As is to be expected, the most famous libraries of medieval Islam were princely collections; no survey can ignore them although, sadly, they have all vanished without a trace. Al-Ma'mūn's and his successors' libraries fell victim to the dynasty's decline under the Būyids, but the pattern repeated itself with the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla's (r. 339–72/950–83) library in Shiraz as well as, for example, with the Sāmānids' in Bukhara, the Spanish Umayyad al-Hakam II's (r. 351–66/962–77) in Córdoba, and, best documented, with the Fāṭimid palace library in Cairo after their fall at the hands of Saladin in 567/1171 (Saladin, no uncultured boor himself, obviously could not be bothered with his 'heretic' Ismā'īlī adversaries' estate). What holds true for the property of *amīrs* also goes for that of viziers: Ibn al-'Amīd and al-Sāhib Ibn 'Abbād were famed bibliophiles and employed highly qualified librarians (Miskawayh and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī), but their libraries survived as little as did that of Saladin's quasi-vizier al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, who bequeathed his sumptuous library to the *madrassa* he founded; *waqf* law, while stipulating the perpetuity of the foundation, did not assure its proper maintenance. Libraries, especially but not exclusively those owned by prominent and, for one reason or another, hated individuals, fell victim to sheer vandalism, but also to vengefulness and religious bigotry; they were thrown into the fire or soaked in water in order to 'cleanse' them of reprehensible contents. Mosques and *madrassas*, on the other hand, did make for safer keeping of books than did private prop-

erty, and all in all, an astounding number of medieval manuscripts has been preserved, especially from the post-Mongol period. Although no pre-Ottoman, pre-Šafavid or pre-Mughal princely library has survived, manuscripts owing their existence to courtly patronage have; a pre-900/1500 history of the Islamic book on the basis of the provenance of extant manuscripts – yet to be written – would yield a mine of information on the libraries of that period as well.

Princely and other generously appointed libraries boasted a specialized staff including librarians, craftsmen charged with the maintenance and production of books, and administrators; funds were allocated for acquisitions. Books were shelved in cabinets, and catalogued by subject; they were stacked lying sideways and for easy identification carried an abridged title on the cut edge. Miniatures such as those illustrating al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* give an idea of the physical appearance of library rooms. Architecturally, however, it was the interior appointments that turned unspecific structures into libraries; not until the Ottoman period were buildings purposely raised as libraries.

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Libya see Maghrib



## literary criticism, medieval

While the term *al-naqd al-adabī* is used by modern scholars to designate 'literary criticism', there is no single corresponding medieval Arabic term, just as there is no specific, overall term for 'literature'. *Naqd* (from *naqada*, 'to weigh', 'to assay', e.g. coinage), used by some medieval critics, signifies a process of evaluation, of determining the soundness of a piece of writing in accordance with a certain standard or criterion (*mi'yār*, a term also applied to coinage); writers concerned with evaluating literary style are often termed *nuqqād*. *Naqd*, however, denotes less a specific discipline than an approach: the distinguishing of good poetry or prose from bad, often combining both descriptive and prescriptive methods. As most medieval critics were associated with formalized 'sciences' such as philology, grammar, exegesis or logic, each of which had, by the fourth/tenth century, established both its own set of 'questions' (*masā'il*) for examination and its own methodology, the critics' treatment of matters bearing on aesthetics and stylistics varies with respect to the disciplinary contexts in which they occur.

From the earliest times the Arabs had a consuming interest in poetry, and many accounts of spontaneous evaluations of poetry and poets have been preserved. The old practice of ranking poets in classes according to their eloquence (often based on fragmentary citations: who, for example, composed the best verse describing a horse?) found an extension in early critical works generated by the movement to compile and record the ancient pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry (chiefly from oral sources) in the third/ninth century, seen, for example, in **Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī's** (d. c.232/847) *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, with its somewhat idiosyncratic ranking of poets in groups. Such works, along with anthologies like the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, contributed to the formation of a canon of poetic excellence based on the ancient poetry.

That poetry also provided a corpus drawn on by such disciplines as grammar, lexicography and exegesis for *shawāhid* (evidentiary examples) used to clarify problems of language; in these contexts it formed a standard for correct usage, and much subsequent criticism relied heavily on the criteria established by the philologists. (See further the entries on **exegesis, grammar and grammarians, lexi-**

**cography**). Indeed, a primary focus of Arabic criticism was language, defined as a 'way' (*naḥw*) of behaviour and characterized by such 'speech acts' as statement, question, command and prohibition, semantic categories applied by **Tha'lab** (d. 291/904) in his four-fold classification of poetry in the *Qawā'id al-shi'r*.

Although some philologists showed a preference for the Ancients, other writers extended the poetic canon to include the 'modern' poets (*muhdathūn*), whose stylistic innovations became a subject of debate in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries (see further **ancients and moderns**). **Ibn Qutayba** (d. 276/889) in his *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'* urged that poetry be judged on its own merits, not by whether it was ancient or modern, and noted that what is now 'ancient' was once itself contemporary; his well-known description of the *qaṣīda*, though often viewed as conservative, is, as scholars have pointed out, based on its 'Abbāsīd rather than its pre-Islamic form, and demonstrates an awareness that the function of its constituent parts is best realized by observing certain tried and tested conventions. **Ibn al-Mu'tazz** (d. 296/908) devoted his *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'* [*al-muhdathūn*] to the moderns, and in his *Kitāb al-Badi'* set himself to analyse the chief features of their 'new style' (see further **badi'**). **Ibn Tabātabā** (d. 322/934), treating the 'craft' (*ṣinā'a*) of poetry in his *'Iyār al-shi'r*, related the conventions of ancient poetry to the circumstances of its production, and contrasted the innovations of the moderns with the traditionalism of the ancients; while **Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī** (d. c.335/946) in his *Akhbār Abī Tammām* stressed the continuity of Arabic poetry from pre-Islamic to modern times. The final stage of canon formation was perhaps **al-Marzūqī's** (d. 421/1030) introduction to his commentary on **Abū Tammām's** *Ḥanāsa*, in which, developing the ideas of earlier critics, he enunciated his formulation of the '*amūd al-shi'r*', the constituents of sound poetry. **Abū Tammām**, and later **al-Mutanabbī**, became the focus of critical discussions that centred around the 'excessive' use of figures of *badi'* and the comparative merits of the ancients and moderns, among them **al-Āmidī's** (d. 370/980) *al-Wasā'ita bayna Abī Tammām wa-al-Buḥturī*, in which the two poets are held up as representatives of the 'artificial' and 'natural' styles respectively, and **al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī's** (d. 392/1002) *al-Muwāzana bayna al-*

*Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih*, which amounts to a detailed defence of that poet against criticisms on a variety of grounds.

Exegesis, which first addressed itself to the explication of difficulties encountered in the *Koran*, also evinced a concern for the nature of eloquence (*balāgha*) itself; and discussions of the *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, the inimitability of Koranic language, produced a spate of works aimed at demonstrating this inimitability by comparing the style of the *Koran* to that of poetry – usually to demonstrate the inferiority of the latter, as in *al-Baḳillānī's* (d. 403/1013) *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*. From exegesis also stemmed the distinction between the figurative and literal uses of language, which was widely discussed by such writers as *Abū 'Ubayda*, *Ibn Qutayba* and *al-Khaṭṭābī* (d. 386 or 8/996 or 8). (See further *majāz*.) Exegesis produced much important theorizing, especially on the questions of imagery and metaphor, as seen especially in the works of *'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī* (d. 471/1078). (See further *metaphor*.)

The Arabic translations and discussions of *Aristotle* affected criticism in various ways. *Qudāma ibn Ja'far's* (d. 337/948) *Naqd al-shi'r*, which discusses the good and bad qualities of poetry according to a fourfold classification reminiscent of *Aristotle*, adapts Aristotelian moral categories as the proper topics for *madīh* (panegyric) and *hijā'* (invective); while *Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Wahb's* (tenth century) *Kitāb al-Burhān* (long wrongly attributed to *Qudāma*) discusses poetry and prose from the standpoint of logic. The philosophers, heirs to the Aristotelian *Organon* in which poetry (like rhetoric) was classed as a branch of logic, concerned themselves with such matters as the truth of poetic statements (see *truth and poetry*), the use of poetic syllogisms and enthymemes, and the psychological and moral effects of poetry, the latter in the context of the role of *imagination* (*takhyīl*) in a system of psychology derived from *Aristotle* but considerably expanded by *Ibn Sīnā* (d. 428/1037). *Al-Fārābī* (d. 339/950) in his *Qawānīn al-shi'r* defined poetic statements as neither true nor false, and introduced the concept of the poetic syllogism later to be expanded by *Ibn Sīnā*, who dealt with both poetry and rhetoric in his monumental *Kitāb al-shifā'*, a translation-cum-commentary of the *Organon*, as well as in other works on logic. The Andalusian *Ibn Rushd*, in his important 'Middle Commentary' on the

*Poetics* (*Talkhīṣ Fann al-shi'r*), defined poetic statements as imaginative (*aqāwīl mutakhayyila*), treated comparison as the chief means of conveying poetic meanings, and addressed himself to the moral effects of poetry. Although he had little influence on later Arab critics, *Ibn Rushd's* *Aristotle* was the basis for the Latin translation of the *Poetics* by *Hermann Alemanus* in 1256; his views thus passed to the medieval European Aristotelians (see *J.B. Allen*, 'Hermann the German's Averroistic Aristotle and medieval poetic theory', *Mosaic* 9(3) (1976), 67–81; *O.B. Hardison Jr*, 'The place of Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* in the history of medieval criticism', in *John L. Lievsay* (ed.), *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Durham (1970), 57–81).

Many critics made claims to a specialized knowledge of poetry or, more broadly, stylistics, among them *Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī* (d. 395/1004), who in his *Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn* attempted to establish criteria for excellence in poetry and prose, and *Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī* (d. 456 or 63/1063 or 71), who presented a wide variety of opinions on poetry, mediated by his own. Such writers brought criticism close to the status of a formalized discipline ('ilm) based on acquired knowledge, recognized principles (*uṣūl*) and a specific methodology. Later criticism became increasingly prescriptive and normative, often concentrating on grammar (as in *al-Sakkākī's* (d. 626/1229) *Miftāḥ al-ūlūm*, which became the basis for many later abridgements and commentaries) and on ornament (*badī'*), producing compendia of ever growing lists of figures. An exception is the Maghribi *Hāzīm al-Qarṭājannī* (d. 684/1285), whose *Minhāj al-bulaghā'* applies both a philosophical and a formal approach to the analysis of poetry.

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See also: rhetoric and poetics

## literary criticism, modern

Through most of the nineteenth century, even while creative prose writers were paving the way towards a functional, informative style, critics continued to champion the standards inherited from their immediate predecessors. These tolerated nothing less than the strictest fidelity to the classical language, favoured themes long held in honour by convention, and found their greatest delight in the expert handling of rhetorical 'schemes' developed by the masters of *badī'*.

A change of direction was adumbrated by a protégé of the religious reformer Muḥammad 'Abduh, Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī. The bulk of his *al-Wasīla al-adabiyya* (2 vols, 1872, 1875) was still concerned with grammar and rhetoric, but he also displayed a taste for poets of the more vigorous and less word-bound periods of the past, and he recognized the talent of a contemporary, Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, whose literary formation owed little to the scholastic tradition.

Substantive formulations of a new aesthetic were slow to come. Mostly, these took the form of free translations of contemporary European works, in which the theoretical elements were more or less faithfully transposed, but the illustrations were drawn from Arabic sources. Texts such as Herbert

Spencer's *Philosophy of Style*, Winchester's *Principles of Literary Criticism*, Abercrombie's work of the same title, and René Wellek's *Concepts of Criticism* were dealt with in this manner by Jabr Dūmīṭ in 1898, by Aḥmad al-Shāyib in 1940, by Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad in 1942 and by Muḥammad 'Aṣḥūr in 1987 respectively. The later Arab critics such as Luwīs 'Awaḍ or Kamāl Abū Dīb (b. 1942) have not been so dependent on single models, but have formed and expounded their own syntheses. All have remained convinced of the relevance of Western perceptions, however, so that all the 'isms' familiar to Western readers, including the language-based theories of mainly French origin, have their echoes in the Arab world. Out of the same impulse have grown some magisterial surveys (implying radical re-evaluation) of classical Arabic criticism, such as Muḥammad Mandūr's *al-Naqd al-manḥajī 'ind al-'Arab* (1948) and Iḥsān 'Abbās's *Tārīkh al-naqd al-adabī* (1971).

Even more influential than the theorists were those pioneering writers who shaped the taste of the reading public in a multitude of direct and indirect ways. The first half of the twentieth century in particular was dominated by a number of bold, energetic, self-assertive and prolific men of letters, such as Tāhā Husayn and 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād. Although these writers did not confine themselves to any one genre and never produced a fully worked-out exposition of their literary creeds, they were won over to Western culture – especially in its French, and to a lesser extent its British, manifestations – and gave free rein in their own output to the perceptions they thus acquired.

These writers were far from turning their back on their Arab heritage. Beginning with Jurjī Zaydān, they attempted vast histories and reappraisals of classical Arabic literature. Their generation did sterling service in editing ancient texts, the selection of which was no less significant than their content. In countless individual critiques, they judged the works of their forefathers and of their contemporaries alike by newly acquired criteria. No less formative were their own creations. There were differences between individuals and between rival schools, but because the sources from which they drank were comparatively limited, there was considerable cohesion in their approach: they were mostly Romantics.

Intellectuals of the next generation have

had the benefit not only of earlier pioneering work, but also of a wider choice of models and of greater maturity. Although their circumstances still do not favour narrow specialization, they do not scatter their energies on so wide a field. Creative writers like the poet **Adūnis** are explicit in expounding their understanding of literature, but among those noted mainly for the solidity of their criticism are men such as Ghālī Shukrī, Ḥusayn **Muruwwa** and Luwīs 'Awaḍ. They try to relate their concepts more intimately to the realities of their environment – the keywords being **commitment**, and a realism tinged in varying degrees with Marxism. The dominant sense is not one of regional distinctiveness, but of participation in a universal movement of ideas.

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## literature and the visual arts

Arabic secular literature plays only a minor role in Islamic art, although of course Koranic inscriptions in their thousands permeate all media – architecture, glassware, metalwork, ceramics and so on – and sanctify even the most mundane object. With the exception of book painting, which saw the principal expression of Arabic literature in visual terms because the pictures illustrate a specific text, the impact of Arabic literature on Islamic art was in general restricted to a few lines of poetry quoted on buildings, on metalware and on ivories, while **Mamlūk** textiles and **Sāmānid** ceramics also bear rhyming proverbs. Only rarely is this poetry of literary value, as in the case of the multiple quotations from the works of the Grenadine poet **Ibn Zamrak** (and possibly Ibn Jayyāb) at the Alhambra. In these inscriptions the building or the object often apostrophizes itself. A Córdoba ivory likens itself in *ramal* metre to a maiden's breast, while other Spanish ivories

bear love-poems or vaunt their value as safe deposits. The Marinid *madrasa* of Sale in Morocco bears verses praising its door; the niche for a Nasrid vase compliments itself (presumably the vase is intended) on its beauty and splendour; the dome of the Hall of the Two Sisters in the Alhambra describes itself in terms of the Pleiades and the constellation of Gemini; a Mamlūk brass bowl states, 'My colour and workmanship are beautiful and flattering', and extols the excellence of its construction; while the fountain in the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra bears a long poem replete with references to royal victory and to Solomon. In other contexts the verses are of Shi'i content or are benedictory, as in the case of a Mamlūk brass lunch box:

On the owner be happiness and peace,  
 And may his life last as long as the dove  
 coos;  
 May he receive of the outpouring of the  
 spiritual world;  
 The owner is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad  
 ibn Idrīs.

Several pieces of Mamlūk metalwork bear inscriptions with all or part of the following poetic text: 'You have reached the highest rank as regards greatness, and good fortune has associated with you on every side; may you not cease to be in demand and to stretch forth your right hand in the world by obtaining your wishes.' And a Zangid lid for a cylindrical box bears a corrupt text of two verses from the *dīwān* of the **Jāhiliyya** poet **al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī**, written for the king of Ḥira, al-Nu'mān ibn Mundhir:

Don't you see that God has granted you  
 a degree of power which makes all  
 the kings (grovel at your feet)?  
 For you are a sun; the kings, stars. When  
 the sun rises no star will be seen.

Arabic poetry also became a favoured type of decoration in the private houses of the wealthy in the Levant during the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, and is also found on later Islamic woodwork. Curiously enough, some of the most popular classics of medieval Arabic literature, such as the *Sirat 'Antar* and *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*), were never chosen by artists for book illustration, although some of the *Sirat 'Antar* images have found a ready market in modern folk art, for example in underglass paintings from Tunisia.

Arabic poetry, too, conspicuously unlike Persian poetry, did not develop a tradition of cycles of illustration. Nor, for that matter, did the vast majority of *adab* literature. One must conclude that there was no expectation on the part of writers of poetry or *belles-lettres* that their work would be illustrated. A rare exception is the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* of Rashīd al-Dīn, composed c.700/1300 and copied at the behest (and expense) of the author twice each year for transmission to the major cities of the Ilkhanid realm; contemporary fragments of this text survive in Edinburgh and London.

Texts of a scientific tenor, on the other hand, offered numerous popular subjects for painters of the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries, the period when most Arab book painting of quality was produced. Particularly favoured texts ranged over such topics as astronomy (al-Šūfī's *Kitāb šuwar al-kawākib al-thābita*), medicine and pharmacology (the Arabic translation of the *De Materia Medica* of Dioscorides), automata (works by al-Jazarī), bestiaries (by al-Jāhiz and Ibn al-Durayhim), the cosmology of Zakariyyā' al-Qazwīni (*Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*), handbooks of military exercises (al-Aqsarāyī's *Nihāyat al-su'l*) and farrīery (Ibn Akhī Khu-zām's *Kitāb al-Bayṭara* and a book of the same name by Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Aḥnaf). Numerous other works known in only one or occasionally two illustrated copies fall into this same 'scientific' category – treatises on snakebite, medicine, calendrical systems, zoology and cosmology. In such texts, whether they were popular with painters or not, the illustrations had a specific purpose, namely to explain or amplify what the text said. They were not intended to serve as decoration. In this respect the painters of these manuscripts, some of whom may have been Christians, followed Byzantine precedent, in which the illustrations of secular manuscripts were subordinate to the text, and were indeed often reduced to scrawled explanatory diagrams.

*Adab* literature offered far fewer texts that were deemed suitable for illustration, and it remains puzzling why some *adab* texts were illustrated and others not. Here, too, several *unica* are known. One is the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*, a romance of courtly love originating in the Muslim West, whose paintings evoke the Andalusian cultural milieu most vividly (possibly Mālikī influence may explain why the tally of medieval illustrated manuscripts from the **Maghrib** and Muslim

**Spain** is tiny in comparison with that from the central Islamic lands). Others are **al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's** *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, an anthology of wisdom literature with appropriate images depicting the sages of times past, and **Ibn Zafar's** *Šulwān al-mut'a*, a collection of animal fables.

But two texts in this category stand out for their popularity with illustrators, a factor that resulted in the evolution of sophisticated pictorial cycles. They are the animal fables known under the title *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and the Assemblies (itself a disputed translation) or *Maqāmāt* of **al-Ḥarīrī**. Over a score of illustrated manuscripts of these texts are known, and they take us to the heart of the painter's response to Arabic literature. That response, it has to be said, is not very profound; wherever possible, painters tend to seize on the obvious, and when the text is too complicated verbally they fix on peripheral details from it or draw directly on their own imaginations, sometimes to powerful effect. Thus the painting may be a commentary on the text rather than a direct illustration of it.

*Kalīla wa-Dimna* is in origin an Indian, not an Arabic, text whose great popularity ensured its translation into most of the major languages of the medieval world. The text is also noteworthy for its function as a **Mirror for Princes**, which gave it a political and moral function, despite its notional purpose of 'straight' entertainment. Nevertheless, the painters usually focused on animal rather than human subjects, even though the text offered ample scope for the latter. Presumably the lively, if not narrowly naturalistic, depiction of a wide variety of creatures constituted a major attraction of these manuscripts. Bold colours, lavish use of the silhouette mode and of the frontal plane only, and simplified conventional notations for landscape elements – all of them features that facilitated the legibility of the image – contribute to the ready appeal of these *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts, produced mostly in the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries in **Egypt**, **Syria** and **Iraq**. The simple narrative framework of the text, with its succession of brief independent tales, was ideally suited for illustration. The main protagonists are often identified by inscriptions, although it is not always clear whether these are contemporary. Once the iconography for a given scene had been established – a process that usually involved pruning the image of extraneous detail – it tended to

become fixed and was copied with minimal alteration by subsequent painters. Thus it seems that generations of painters were not each challenged afresh by the text to produce their own personal interpretation of a scene, and this strong undertow of conservatism also explains why the same scenes were copied from one century to the next, even though the text offered hundreds of opportunities for new images.

Happily, the most popular book for illustration in all of Arabic literature was itself quintessentially Arab. This was the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, which within a century of the author's death in 516/1122 was being transcribed in multiple illustrated copies, first in Syria and Iraq and then in Egypt. The plethora of illustrated versions should not, however, be attributed to the abilities of the painters, but to the runaway popularity of the text itself, a fashion that began in the lifetime of the author and lasted for centuries. Nevertheless, there is a major paradox here. The attraction of the text centred on its form rather than on its content, and specifically on its verbal pyrotechnics, for each tale or 'assembly' is the merest peg on which to hang grammatical disquisitions of stultifying length and complexity, puns, outlandish vocabulary and other features of narrowly linguistic and not generally literary interest. By and large, these are beyond the powers of the painters to illustrate. Accordingly, artists approached the text from another angle, and used its minimal references to a geographical location or a social milieu as a foundation for the close (and frequently satirical) observation of contemporary society. The fact that the *Maqāmāt* stories revolve around a confidence trickster, Abū Zayd, provides the necessary justification for this approach. As a result, the best of the illustrated *Maqāmāt* manuscripts, like those of Paris and St Petersburg, hold up a mirror to high and low life alike, to the world of the palace and the caravansarai, the judge's court and the tavern. These manuscripts are thus an unrivalled source for the minutiae of daily life in the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries, from the daily grind of village life to the great public processions and parades, with the fabled Eastern Isles adding a touch of exotic fantasy. Despite the survival of a dozen medieval illustrated versions, no standard iconography was ever evolved for this text, unlike the case of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; the reasons for this remain obscure, but these internal

differences point to the existence of numerous independent ateliers probably working for the market rather than for specific patrons. Possession of a copy of the *Maqāmāt* may well have been desirable as an indication of the owner's high level of education and culture – a matter of snob appeal – but in the case of illustrated copies one may further suggest that their main attraction was visual rather than intellectual. Their patrons may have been incapable of appreciating the finer points of the text; but when it came to pictures, they knew what they liked.

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## love poetry *see ghazal*

## love theory

Love theory or 'theory of love' (Arabic: *nazariyyat al-ḥubb*) is a modern term characterizing the content of a genre of Arabic essays and books devoted to profane (i.e. earthly) love and lovers written between the third/ninth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries. More than twenty works on love theory appeared, about one per generation, their authors emerging from both the Islamic East and the Islamic West. The most comprehensive deal with the nature of love, Arabic terms for love, its causes, its varieties, and the experiences that accompany it. Some significant contributors, however, focused on a particular

kind of love or phenomenon (e.g. **al-Jāhiz**, **al-Sarrāj**, **Mughultā'i**). Most were not specialists in literature, but had been trained in Arabic letters as the foundation of a good education, as essential to a career in the bureaucracy as to one in the religious sciences. After the maturing of the genre, and with trends that developed over much of the learned culture, writing on love and lovers from about the eighth/fourteenth century took the form of lengthy anthologies whose authors strove to outdo their predecessors in taste and completeness. This kind of literature, centred upon the emotional, spiritual, ethical, social, and psychological aspects of 'being in love', is not to be confused with manuals of advice on the conduct of sexual relations (*bāh*, *nikāh*), often written by physicians, and sometimes bearing titles referring to 'the beloved'.

As the genre evolved, there was a tendency toward greater comprehensiveness and a typical organization. Discussion and opinion on the nature and phenomena of love was amplified with quotes from Arab poets who had expressed eloquently a certain idea; then the author would move on to anecdotes and stories about lovers, 'case studies' as it were, drawn from the written and oral fund of such narratives in circulation and serving to illustrate the many vicissitudes (*aḥwāl*, circumstances) experienced by those in love. The *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* of **Ibn Ḥazm** of Córdoba (d. 456/1064) is unique in the history of love theory for its departures from the usual: the poetry he used to illustrate or reinforce his points was his own, and instead of the lore about famous lovers of the past he related anecdotes about love and lovers drawn largely from his own life and times or heard from acquaintances. These, together with a fresh personal style, symmetry of organization, a balance between the delightful and the earnestly moral, and the vivid glimpses offered into Andalusian society have made it a classic of world literature.

Lest anyone think love a subject too light and pleasurable for a serious scholar, one might make reference, as did Ibn Ḥazm, to the *ḥadīth* recommending a little recreation to prevent 'rusting' of the soul. Adding weight to the enterprise, authors related stories of love among revered members of the early Muslim community or other great figures of history, the theories of noted philosophers and physicians, and information from respected lexicographers, philologists, collectors of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār*, theologians and jurists. As

*adab* literature it must educate and edify as well as give enjoyment.

The approach of most writers in this field was literary and humanistic, in the spirit of the cherished Arab poetic tradition on love and the legendary loves of poets famed for their enduring and pure ('*udhri*') love of a woman with whom their name was forever linked. (See further '*Udhri poetry*.) In this context, *hawā* or '*ishq*' meant the passionate obsession with thoughts of the beloved, love-sickness, or a kind of madness that might end in death. A love-smitten poet might speak in playful hyperbole of 'worshipping' the beloved and of turning in the direction of the beloved for prayer instead of the Ka'ba.

At least four authors did not share this literary concept of love which accepted erotic passion as a thing of potential beauty and heroism and the inspiration of poets and storytellers. These authors composed books forming a subtype on love theory, known now as 'Ḥanbalī theory of love', since their thought was shaped by their adherence to the tenets of that school of Islamic law and its doctrines in moral theology. Ḥanbalī theory of love was most fully developed in the *Dhamm al-hawā* of **Ibn al-Jawzī** (d. 597/1200) and the *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn* of **Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya** (d. 751/1350), although the two differ in the details of their theory of love. While attracting readers with lore on love drawn from those popular sources and learned disciplines used by other writers, they emphasized the negative possibilities inherent in passion. One ought to avoid the snare of 'falling in love' by averting the eyes from 'strange' women and youths, citing sayings of the Prophet and Companions that enjoined this and similar precautions. They also saw worshipful adoration of one's beloved as too real in spiritual terms, depriving God of his rightful place. They found '*ishq*, or *hawā*, to present danger to both the body and soul, citing cases of lovers for whom tragic or unrequited love had been fatal or who been driven to commit fornication, adultery, apostasy, murder or suicide.

While in the literary and humanistic context '*ishq* and *hawā* both connoted the intense yearning of the lover for the beloved, each word carried negative associations in the moral theology of the Ḥanbalīs. **Mu'tazilīs** and mystics had used '*ishq* to describe the passionate yearning of the believer for God, and God's corresponding love for his creatures, a teaching abhorrent to Ibn al-Jawzī, who taught

that love for God must be expressed by obedience to His law. As for God's 'love' or 'yearning' for his creatures, he asserted rather that God wills the good of the believers. Their low opinion of *hawā* was due to the word's being used in the **Koran** and *ḥadīth* to mean 'lust' (for women, possessions, power or any earthly thing) or 'craving'. Thus Ibn al-Jawzī took this term from the vocabulary of the preacher, a profession in which he had earned wide fame, and applied it unhesitatingly to condemn even the chaste, unconsummated passion celebrated in poetic and narrative art and in a long tradition of discourse and debate.

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L.A. GIFFEN

See also: courtly love

## luḡhz

'Riddle'. An ancient genre, taking many forms both in prose and in verse. Instead of *luḡhz* (pl. *alḡhāz*) one also finds *uḥjiyya* (pl. *aḡḡji*), *ta'miya* and *mu'ammā*, terms that are not rarely used indiscriminately. The riddle may take the form of a question; in poetry, however, it often employs the old 'wāw *rubba* formula' (the particle *wa-* followed by a genitive) which in ordinary poetry is used to introduce a description. It may be noted that much traditional descriptive poetry resembles riddles in its employ of paraphrastic 'kennings' rather than straightforward naming. Many an 'ekphrastic epigram' in the style of **al-Ma'mūnī** may be read as a riddle (see further **epigram**). Riddles may be found scattered in old stories attributed to the pre-Islamic **bedouins**, in the *ḥadīth* and elsewhere; and collected in chapters such as in *al-Zahra* (ch. 89) by **Ibn Dā'ūd al-Iṣbahānī**, *al-'Iqd al-farīd* by **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih**, or *Hilyat al-muḥāḍara* by **al-Hātimī**. The works of **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** are riddled with

riddles. **Al-Ḥarīrī** built several of his *Maqāmat* on series of riddles; among his imitators in this respect was **Nāṣif al-Yāzījī** in his *Majma' al-baḥrayn* (see further *maqāma*). The various forms and terms are discussed by scholars of stylistics and *badī'*, among them **Ibn Rashīq**, **Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athir** and **Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī**. Folk riddles in dialect are found in every Arab country (see **folklore**).

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 G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: *mu'ammā*

## Luqmān

Legendary pre-Islamic sage, incorporating various traits in later tradition. Known in the *Jāhiliyya* as one of the 'long-lived' (*al-mu'ammārūn*), the **Koran** (*Sūra* 31: 12: 'Indeed, We gave Luqmān [the book of] maxims') established Luqmān as the utterer of admonitions, proverbs and wise maxims, laying the foundation for his later interpretation as the '*ḥakīm* par excellence'. Bearing close resemblance to the wise **Aḥiqar** (**Ḥaiqar**), he is profusely attested in a wide range of works in the fields of wisdom literature and proverbs. Only with the age of translation (probably not before the seventh/thirteenth century) did Luqmān also come to be regarded as the author of **ables**, apparently identifying him with the Greek **Aesop**. This is, however, no indigenous Muslim Arabic tradition, since the Paris manuscript published by J. Derenbourg appears to be an adaptation of the Syriac version of **Aesop** originating in Christian circles in Mamlūk Syria.



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U. MARZOLPH

*See also:* fables; proverbs

**Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Aḥmad  
(1872–1963)**

Egyptian intellectual, journalist, politician, editor and critic. Born in Daqḥaliyya province, Luṭfī al-Sayyid studied at Law School, then worked as a civil servant where he made the acquaintance of the Khedive 'Abbās II. After resigning from the civil service in 1905, he helped to establish the Umma party and became editor of its newspaper *al-Jarīda* in 1907. He played a part in establishing the Egyptian University in 1925 and held important posts there, in *Dār al-Kutub* and in other ministerial positions. Though not a leading author himself, he played an important part in the development of Egyptian literature through his encouragement and influence on a younger generation of writers and through his work in education.

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P. STARKEY

**luzūm mā lā yalzam**

*Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (synonyms: *i'nāt*, 'constraint' and *iltizām*, 'undertaking') arises when the poet follows non-obligatory (rhyme) precepts. Examples are found in the poetry of **Kuthayyir** (d. 105/723) and **Ibn al-Rūmī** (d. 283/896), but more particularly in the collection of philosophical poems *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* by **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** (363–449/973–1058), often referred to as the *Luzūmiyyāt*. In 113 sections (four for each rhyme consonant, plus the letter *alif*) all rhyme conditions are explored. Moreover, each poem has a non-obligatory rhyme feature, such as the rhyme consonant (*rawī*) being preceded by an identical consonant in all lines.

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W. STOETZER

*See also:* prosody

**lyric poetry** *see ghazal; qaṣīda*

**ma'āni see lafz and ma'nā;  
ma'nā; rhetoric and poetics**

**al-Ma'arri, Abū al-'Alā' see Abū  
al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri**

**Ma'bad ibn Wahb see singers and  
musicians**

**macaronic verse see mulamma'a**

**al-Madā'inī (d. 228/842–3)**

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'inī was an important early historian. He was born and grew up in **Basra** at the beginning of the 'Abbāsid period, lived for a time in al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon), and settled finally in **Baghdad**. There he enjoyed the patronage of the famous musician Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, in whose house he died, aged over 90. He is said to have written more than 200 books on mainly historical topics, but hardly any have been preserved as separate works. He is, however, quoted extensively by later historians, above all by **al-Balādhurī** and **al-Ṭabarī**. He was well regarded as a reliable transmitter of *ḥadīth*, and his work represents a significant advance in the systematic application of the methods and discipline of *ḥadīth* scholarship to the history of the period after the Prophet Muḥammad.

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R.A. KIMBER

*see also:* historical literature

**al-Madani, 'Izz al-Dīn (1938– )**

Contemporary Tunisian playwright, novelist and short-story writer, born in Tunis. After completing his secondary education at the French grammar school in the capital and a year at university in Tunis, he went to Paris where he became a journalist. On his return to Tunis he held various posts: he has been in charge of the arts supplement of the newspaper *al-'Amal* and the periodical *al-Ḥayāh al-thaqāfiyya*; he has also run the Ibn Rashīq House of Culture, cultural programmes in the Tunis municipality, the Hammamet International Cultural Centre, the Carthage Festival, and served as Director of Theatre at the Ministry of Culture. In 1988 he won the Prix National for Arts. Al-Madani's published literary output comprises a dozen volumes. He is generally considered to be the leading writer of Tunisian avant-garde literature in the 1960s, and is notorious for the few chapters of his unfinished novel *al-Insān al-ṣifr* (1968–71) which are characterized by an extreme iconoclasm. His most important work, however, is a tetralogy of plays (1970–7) in which he utilizes the Arab historical heritage to discuss themes of revolution and despotism.

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J. FONTAINE

**al-madḥhab al-kalāmī**

Lit. 'the theological approach', a term denoting a figure of speech which changes its meaning rather drastically during the history of rhetoric. It occurs first in **Ibn al-Mu'tazz** (d. 296/908) in his *Kitāb al-Badī* (1935; see 53–7) who attributes the term to **al-Jāhīz** (d. 255/868–9), in whose surviving works it has, however, not been found. The examples adduced by the author indicate that the term refers to the intricate argumentational style and jargon of the theologians as parodied in poetry. An example from his own poetry runs: 'I concealed [my] love for you to such an extent that I concealed my concealment; there was nothing I could do but mention it (i.e. my love) with my tongue.' The repetition and the slightly warped and surprising thinking are characteristic. It should be noted that the language of the theologians was one of the first technical jargons in Arabic, and was thus certain to attract the attention of language-conscious people. (See further *kalām*.)

In the scholastic 'science of rhetorical figures' the term has acquired a different meaning, namely 'theological, i.e. dialectical, argumentation', as opposed to 'philosophical, i.e. apodictic, argumentation'. An example is **Koran** 21: 22: 'If there were in them (i.e. heaven and earth) gods rather than [one] God, the two of them would perish.' The reason for the change of meaning is vagueness of the original notion and subsequent semantic 'refill' of the term when logical ideas and parlance had made its way into rhetoric.

*Al-madḥhab al-kalāmī* has also been interpreted as 'the conceptualizing mentality of the *mutakallimūn* and... the true source of all that we would call *badī*' (S.P. Stetkevych), but the textual basis for this would seem exiguous.

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W. P. HEINRICHS

See also: *badī*; rhetorical figures

**madīd see prosody**

**madīḥ, madḥ**

'Praise', 'eulogy': generic terms that refer to panegyric poetry and the panegyric section of the *qaṣīda*. Panegyric is one of the oldest types of poetry: praise of gods, rulers, priests, chieftains, heroes, athletes and other figures is widespread throughout the world's literatures, and panegyric occupies a central place in Arabic poetry.

In the *Jāhiliyya* praise was dedicated to a tribal leader or other notable (among the *bedouin* poets), or to a ruler by poets who frequented the **Lakhmid** and **Ghassānid** courts or others further afield. Praise of tribal leaders focused on the virtues esteemed by tribal society: courage, noble lineage, liberality, hospitality, patience in adversity, forbearance towards enemies. Many of these qualities were transferred to Islamic panegyric; to them were added such specifically Islamic virtues as piety, right guidance, purity and support of the faith. Panegyric enjoyed a complementary relationship with other genres such as boasting (*fakhr*), invective (*hijā'*), and elegy (*riṭhā*). The poet would boast of his own virtues and achievements in the same terms in which he praised others; he would satirize his opponents by stating that they possessed not those virtues but their opposite vices; and he would mourn a departed leader who exemplified those virtues.

Although the Prophet criticized false praise for deceiving people into thinking themselves better than they were, he encouraged panegyrists like **Hassān ibn Thābit**, who acted as propagandists in spreading the message of Islam, and rewarded the *Jāhili* poet **Ka'b ibn Zuhayr** with his own mantle for a *qaṣīda* in which that poet declared his new allegiance to Islam. The **Orthodox caliphs** are said to have disapproved of panegyric; but under the **Umayyads** panegyric regained its importance at the hands of poets like **Jarir** and **al-Farazdaq**. From then on it became the most prestigious form of Arabic poetry and the standard of poetic excellence, and was the primary focus of the *qaṣīda*.

The formal and thematic divisions of the panegyric *qaṣīda* are considered to be *nasīb* (exordium), *raḥīl* (the desert journey to the patron; often omitted by later urban poets), and *madīḥ* (encomium, to which might be

added a passage of boasting or of satire, or a petition); in royal panegyrics a *du'ā* or prayer for the ruler's well-being might be added. The *qaṣīda*'s divisions were described by **Ibn Qutayba**; but while he maintained that this model was derived from the poetry of 'the Arabs', it in fact represents the 'Abbāsīd form of the *qaṣīda*. Moreover, although Ibn Qutayba cautioned poets against 'abandoning the ways of the Arabs' (e.g. by substituting, in the *raḥīl*, descriptions of gardens and urban landscapes for those of the desert) many poets did so; **Bashshār ibn Burd**, for example, described his journey by boat up the Tigris to the caliphal court.

The *muḥdathūn* ('moderns') introduced topics that reflected both the sophisticated urban, Islamic milieu of the court and traditions adopted from cultures (notably Persian) that had come under Islamic rule. The ruler is depicted less in tribal terms, as first among equals, than as absolute monarch, the deputy of God and leader of the Islamic community. He is the Imām who supports the faith both at home and abroad, exemplifying piety and combating the infidel in holy war. Not only his bounty but his very existence confers prosperity on his people. His campaigns and victories are celebrated, as are his peaceful achievements, for example his building of palaces and gardens, whose beauty and elegance mirror both the prosperity of the state he rules and the divine order of the cosmos.

Poets also praised other patrons: military commanders, religious leaders, judges, viziers, secretaries and so on. Praise played an important role in political and sectarian conflicts. Many poets devoted poems of praise to the Prophet and his family, a celebrated example being **al-Buṣīrī**'s *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, modelled on Ka'b ibn Zuhayr's *qaṣīda* to the Prophet. Poets like **al-Ṣanawbarī** and the two **Sharīfs**, **al-Murtaḍā** and **al-Raḍī**, composed elegant poems in praise of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib and his descendants. Panegyrists of the **Fāṭimids** dwelt on their status as divinely inspired Imāms; those of the **Būyids** employed Persian terms such as *Shāhanshāh*, 'king of kings', to address their rulers. Nor were panegyrics always wholly serious: the Būyid poet **Ibn al-Hajjāj** composed light-hearted panegyrics in which the ruler is praised for his success with women and his qualities of bon-viveur. Other adaptations of panegyric took as their subjects cities or regions, or combined panegyric with *wasf* to praise, for example,

flowers. Humorous panegyrics (usually in the *qif'a* form) might praise the poet's cat, or his robe, or a particularly succulent dish.

As the most prestigious poetic genre, *madīh* was the focus of the literary critics' attention when discussing the poetic art in general; they also treated its specific principles, topics and decorum. Not all agreed as to the proper qualities to be praised: **Qudāma ibn Ja'far**, for example, asserted that only the (Aristotelian) virtues merited praise, and that such topics as lineage or appearance, being accidental attributes, did not. His was, however, an idiosyncratic position. Poets were warned against beginning their *qaṣīdas* with lines that the addressee might find offensive or inauspicious. The critics generally agreed that hyperbole was appropriate in panegyric as long as it remained within the realm of possibility (thus, to say a person was unequalled in strength was acceptable; to say that he could move mountains was not). Persons should be praised for qualities appropriate to their office or position (a ruler for justice, a secretary for eloquence, a *qāḍī* for piety); improprieties or controversions of fact were to be avoided (one does not praise a judge for feasting and conviviality, or someone who has never seen a battle for bravery). The philosophers (e.g. **al-Fārābī**, **Ibn Sinā**, **Ibn Rushd**) discussed praise in the context of the Aristotelian art of eulogy (i.e. tragedy, equated with *madīh*), and stressed its ethical function of inspiring the emulation of virtue and the performance of great deeds.

Western scholarship has often viewed panegyric as prince-pleasing flattery dedicated to unworthy patrons, composed in a bombastic style, and motivated by desire for personal gain. That there were poets whose motives were primarily material is undeniable (and was widely criticized). Yet taken as a whole, panegyric's reputation as the prestige genre of Arabic poetry is not undeserved. It presents less praise of an actual ruler than an ideal of kingship; moreover, because of its very conventionality, its potential for oblique criticism is unequalled, since the slightest departure from, or modification of, its conventions would be immediately perceived. Thus *madīh* should be recognized as a fascinating and highly flexible genre.

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J.S. MEISAMI

## al-Madīnī, Aḥmad (1948– )

Moroccan novelist, poet and short-story writer, writing in Arabic. Born in Casablanca, al-Madīnī graduated from the University of Fez. He worked for a time as a teacher in Casablanca before leaving for France, where he now lives. His first publication was a collection of short stories entitled *al-'Unf fī al-dimāgh* (1971). He has since produced several further collections of short stories, three novels (*Zaman bayn al wilāda wa-al-hulm*, 1976; *Warda lil-waqt al-Maghribī*, 1982; *al-Jināza*, 1987), and two volumes of poetry (*Bard al-masāfāt*, 1982; *Andalus al-raghba*, 1988).

H. HILMY

## madrasa see education

## Mafākhīr al-Barbar

An anonymous work produced in the thirteenth century glorifying the Berbers of Morocco and al-Andalus. It survives in a unique manuscript in Rabat. It is based very largely on quotation from earlier authors, and includes long sections describing Berber activities and involvement in the politics of al-Andalus, both as soldiers in the service of, or in opposition to, Andalusī rulers, and as North African invaders of the peninsula (Almoravids or Almohads). The name of the author is not given in the text in the manuscript, but it is possible that the work is to be attributed to **Abū Hayyān** of Granada (654–745/1256–1344), the well-known traveller and writer on language, who was himself an arabized Berber. Other texts connected with him are associated with this manuscript. **Ibn**

'**Idhārī** has also been suggested as the author. The question remains open.

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

## Maghrib

'[The land of] the sunset', a term applied to the Western part of the Muslim world, primarily North Africa. From ancient times, the Maghrib was divided into several homogenous geographical and political entities: Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (Libya), East Maghrib (Ifriqiya) and Far Maghrib (Morocco). Nowadays the Maghrib comprises four Arab countries: Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, although Mauritania and Western Sahara are sometimes also included in this notion.

After the Arab conquest the Maghrib became part of the Western Islamic civilization that consisted of North Africa and al-Andalus (see **Spain**). Both geographical areas formed a cohesive cultural and economic whole that only ceased to exist with the Christian conquest of Granada in 899/1492. Muslim men of letters continually travelled across the Strait of Gibraltar to the extent that, for the medieval period, it is difficult to attribute them accurately to either al-Andalus or the Maghrib.

The rise of the lettered tradition in the Arabic language in the Maghrib was closely associated with the spread of religious learning. From the third/ninth century onwards most North African scholars adhered to the Sunnism of the Mālikī school of law. Other religious convictions, e.g. **Khārijism** and **Ismā'ilism**, proved ephemeral. The first Maghribī writers were mostly Mālikī jurists. Among them we find Darrās ibn Ismā'il (d. 357/968) of Fez, who is credited with introducing into the Maghrib the *Mudawwana* by Saḥnūn (d. 240/854), the most widely read and commented textbook on Mālikī law. A rendition of this book by Ibn Abī Zayd al-

Qayrawānī of Ifrīqiya (d. 396/996) became a popular epitome of Mālikī *fiqh* studied throughout the Muslim West. Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī (d. 430/1039), a scholar from Far Maghrib, supplemented the juridical theory of Mālikism with a full-fledged theology, based on the study of the *Koran* and traditions. He spent his last years at Qayrawān, the capital of the Zirid rulers of Ifrīqiya which, together with Fez (and somewhat later also Marrakesh, Tlemcen and Bougie) were the chief centres of Islamic learning in the Maghrib. A Qayrawani scholar, Abū al-'Arab Muḥammad (d. 334/945), was the author of a biographical collection of the '*ulamā*' of east Maghrib, the first of its kind in Maghribī literature. In the later period Qayrawān produced many celebrated Mālikī theologians, e.g. Ibn 'Arafa (d. 803/1401), the author of a classical synopsis of the Mālikī canon.

Despite the predominance of Mālikism, the first great poet of the Muslim West, **Ibn Hānī** 'al-Andalusī (d. 362/973), was an adherent of Ismā'īlī teaching. He immortalized his name by the eloquent panegyrics to the glory of the **Fātimid** caliph al-Mu'izz, the conqueror of Ifrīqiya. Ibn Hānī's arcane imagery and symbolism, impenetrable to the outsider, were firmly grounded in Ismā'īlī esotericism.

Qayrawān was also famous for its more secular-minded scholars, including the Arab physician and philosopher **Ibn al-Jazzār** (d. 395/1004), whose *Viaticum* (*Zād al-musāfir*) was translated into Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Equally prominent was **Ibn Abī al-Rijāl** (d. 454/1062), astrologer at the Zirid court. His bulky astrological compendium, *al-Bārī*, was popular in medieval Europe.

Zirid patronage of arts gave rise to a literary school represented by **Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuṣrī** (d. 413/1022), **Ibn al-Rashīq** (d. 456/1063 or 463/1070) and **Ibn Sharaf** (d. 460/1067). Apart from being elegant poets, these men contributed in significant ways to nascent literary criticism. Ibn al-Rashīq's essay on Arabic poetics called *al-'Umda fī šinā'at al-šī'r* became a classic textbook still used by the students of Arabic poetry. Among other Maghribī poets who consciously used literary theory to improve their creative work, one may mention **Ibn Khamis** (d. 708/1308), whose love for rare words earned him the reputation of one of the 'stallions' (*fuhūl*) of Arabic poetry. As a rule, most of the Maghribī scholars mentioned in this article were also

poets and wrote extensively on *adab* and philology.

The genre of historical writing was developed by an outstanding Qayrawānī doctor **Ibn Raḳīq** (d. after 418/1027). His chronicle of the Maghrib (now lost) was used by later writers, namely **Ibn 'Idhārī** (d. after 712/1312) and **Ibn Khaldūn**. Another Tunisian historian, Ibn al-Ṣaghīr (d. in the early third/tenth century), wrote a chronicle of the sectarian state of the Ibādīs (see **Khārījīs**) based in Tahert. From then on, histories of local dynasties and cities became a salient feature of Maghribī literary life. A typical example is the *Rawḍ al-qirtās* by **Ibn Abī Zar'** (d. in the first quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century). It recounts the history of Fez in conjunction with political developments in the rest of the Maghrib. Annalistic history was often amalgamated with the biographical genre. A typical work of this kind was written by **Yahyā Ibn Khaldūn** (d. 780/1379), brother of the great Arab historian, who dedicated it to his native city of Tlemcen. Yahyā's history is more than a mere account of political events; it includes lengthy poetical fragments and passages in rhymed prose. **Al-Maqqarī** (d. 1041/1632), another native of Tlemcen, perpetuated this tendency. In his *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* he provided a detailed account of Andalusian literature intricately combining elements of history, biobibliography and poetic anthology. From Tlemcen came another outstanding Maghribī historian and littérateur, **Ibn Marzūq** (d. 781/1379), whose monograph treats the history of the ruling dynasty of his native city. Ibn Marzūq was a polymath typical of the Maghribī scholarly élite. He wrote with equal facility on history, apologetics, religious morals, and law. The same is true of many other Maghribī '*ulamā*' who were men of variegated interests and encyclopaedic knowledge. To one of them, **Ibn al-Qādī** (d. 1025/1616), we owe a work that presents us with the first general picture of the literary movement in medieval Morocco. The tenacity of this biography-cum-history with literary bent is evidenced by **al-Kattānī's** (d. 1355/1926) *Salwat al-anfās* – an excellent biographical dictionary of the celebrated authors of Fez.

By far the most impressive sample of the historical genre belongs to **Ibn Khaldūn**, whose *Prolegomena* presents us with a comprehensive picture of Maghribī history and culture.

Geographical literature found an ingenious

exponent in **al-Idrisī** (d. 459/1066), who left a remarkable summary of the Arab geography, illustrated with maps and tables. The greatest Arab traveller, **Ibn Baṭṭūṭa** (d. 770/1368 or 779/1377), was also a native of the Maghrib. His itineraries give illuminating descriptions of remote lands such as China, the Golden Horde, Sumatra, Bengal, Yemen and Africa. With the other Maghribī travellers, e.g. Ibn Rushayd (d. 721/1321), al-'Abdarī (seventh/thirteenth–eighth/fourteenth century), al-'Ayyāshī (d. 1090/1679), and Ibn Zākār (d. 1120/1708), the genre of travel books (*rihla*) was largely divested of its original meaning, becoming rather the pretext for displaying the author's literary and religious erudition. Nevertheless, *rihlas* give us an illuminating insight into intellectual life and literary tastes of the medieval Maghrib. (See further **geographical literature; travel literature.**)

In the Far Maghrib, throughout the medieval period religion was the main source of creative inspiration. It left a deep imprint on both poetry and prose. The body of purely lyrical poetry was insignificant compared to the bulk of didactic, mystical or panegyric verses. A rare example of religio-political poetry is provided by Ibn al-Murahḥal (d. 699/1300), who exhorted his co-religionists to fight the Christian *Reconquista*. Religious prose, originally focused on jurisprudence, underwent some changes due to the new theological trends which came on the heels of the religious reform initiated by **Ibn Tūmart** (d. 524/1130), the founder of the Almohad movement. His epistles elucidating the new creed, however, failed to impress the majority of the Maghribī scholars, who remained faithful to the Mālikī tradition. Yet even these conservative scholars eventually accepted elements of speculative theology and Sufism, both of which were discouraged under the Almoravid rule. Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149) of Ceuta stands out as the principal exponent of this reformed Mālikism. His works found an eager audience far beyond the limits of the Maghrib and became standard textbooks in the field. Later on, al-Wansharisī (d. 914/1508) composed a real *summa* of Maghribī juridical literature entitled *al-Mi'yār al-mughrib*.

**Sufism** was another hallmark of the Almohad epoch and later Maghribī history as a whole. Although the diffusion of the mystical outlook originally occurred through the works of an Eastern scholar, **al-Ghazzālī** (d. 505/1111), it soon found many enthusiastic propo-

nents among local scholars. Since most of the early Šūfī masters of the Maghrib were illiterate, their followers took pains to record their oral teachings.

From the late seventh/thirteenth century such followers began to compose voluminous hagiographies in which they described the exceptional piety, glorious deeds and miracles of the charismatic Šūfī leaders of the past. Most Šūfī writers adhered to the geographical principle: their books dealt with the Šūfī saints living in a particular region or city. Others gave biographical information on the holy families of noble descent (*shurfā*) or the followers of an eminent Šūfī teacher. The earliest works of this kind were *al-Tashawwuf ilā rijāl al-tašawwuf* by Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 628/1230 or 629/1231), dedicated to the saints of Marrakesh; *al-Maqṣad al-sharīf* by al-Bādīsī (still living in 722/1322), a collection of the lives of the saints of Rif; and *Uns al-faqīr* by **Ibn Qunfudh** (d. 809/1406 or 810/1407), which is devoted to the great mystic **Abū Madyan** and his numerous Maghribī followers. The hagiographical genre flourished, achieving maturity in the work of **Ibn Maryam** (d. 1014/1605) called *al-Bustān*, a sympathetic description of the deeds of the Šūfī saints of Tlemcen, both 'missionaries and visionaries, passing effortlessly from daily tasks to the most exalted piety'.

Šūfī philosophy, however, got only a lukewarm reception among Maghribī scholars. Although such giants of mystical thought as the Andalusians **Ibn al-'Arabī** (d. 638/1240) and Ibn Sab'in (d. 668/1269 or 669/1271) temporarily stayed in the Maghrib, they finally preferred to leave for the East, which was far more tolerant of high theosophical speculation. Yet the more conventional Šūfis of the Maghrib such as **Ibn 'Abbād** (d. 792/1390) and **Aḥmad Zarrūq** (d. 879/1493) were prolific writers, whose works circulated widely among Šūfis and scholars alike. The enormous Šūfī corpus produced in the Maghrib needs further study.

In the twelfth/eighteenth–thirteenth/nineteenth centuries the intense political contacts that developed between the Maghrib and Europe led to the re-emergence of *rihla* literature. Travelogues, composed by many Maghribī diplomats, presented descriptions (sometimes fulsomely florid) of their missions to Europe and other Muslim countries (e.g. Ibn 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī, d. 1214/1799, and Abū al-'Alā' ibn Idrīs, d. 1296/1879).

The genre of political prose was introduced

by the progressive Tunisian statesman Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī (d. 1307/1889), whose *Aqṣam al-masālik* presents a synthesis of Ibn Khaldūn's sociology and the legacy of the French Enlightenment.

Nationalist ideology led to an intensive study and propagation of the Maghribī cultural heritage. It was advanced by a group of talented educators and reformers of Algerian extraction such as Mohammed Ben Cheneb (d. 1347/1929) and Ibn Bādīs (d. 1359/1940).

The French rule over the Maghrib (with the exception of Libya) that lasted more than a century had a strong impact on its cultural and intellectual life. Modern literary genres in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco took shape under the commanding influence of French culture, a phenomenon that became known as 'acculturation'. In some cases it was limited to the appropriation by Arab authors of the general trends peculiar to the European literary tradition, e.g. romanticism, symbolism and, later on, existentialism and surrealism. Anxious to preserve their cultural identity such authors continued to write in Arabic, availing themselves of the traditional genres and forms (e.g. the poets Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī of Tunisia and Muḥammad al-'Īd of Algeria).

On the other hand, already in the first decades of this century many Maghribī littérateurs wrote in French. For some of them this was a matter of principle, as they considered Arabic an obsolete language of theology *par excellence*, incompatible with the realities of the twentieth century. This tendency (which varied from country to country, being at its strongest in Algeria) gained momentum in the 1950–60s. During this period the Maghrib experienced the emergence of a copious Francophone literature, represented by a pleiad of talented prose writers: Mohammed Dīb, Yacine Kateb, Mouloud Mammeri, Mouloud Feraoun in Algeria; Ahmed Sefrioui and Driss Chraïbi in Morocco; Albert Memmi in Tunisia. The same period produced a cohort of Francophone poets, including the Algerians Mourad Bourbounr, Rachid Boujedra, Nabile Farès and the bilingual poet Yousef Sebti; and the Moroccans Mohammed Khair-Eddine and Abdellatif Laâbi. Conversely, the development of modern Arabic poetry and prose was retarded by the lack of audience, for many educated Maghribis did not know literary Arabic.

In Algeria the first real novels in Arabic appeared only in the late 1960s to early 1970s

(e.g. 'Abd al-Ḥamid Benhedouga's *Riḥ al-janūb*, published in 1971). Although in Morocco and Tunis the Arabic novel had emerged earlier, it still counts only three or four decades. Furthermore, for obvious reasons, its quality has generally been inferior to that of its more sophisticated Francophone counterpart.

The struggle for independence and the subsequent controversy over the orientations to be taken by the new sovereign states resulted in tensions between Francophone and Arabophone intellectuals. Their heated debates reflected broader issues than simply personal predilection for a language of artistic expression. The choice between Arabic and French was tantamount to the adoption of a specific cultural perspective and a corresponding model for future development. In Algeria, whose Arabic-speaking intelligentsia was decimated by the long war for national liberation and whose educated class was mostly Francophone, the authorities endeavoured to promote the revival of Arabic culture through forceful Arabization. This policy yielded controversial results, but on the whole achieved its aims. In Tunisia and Morocco Arabization was carried out on a modest scale, since both countries were not as thoroughly Gallicized as Algeria and had managed to sustain a greater cultural independence from the metropolis. The revival of Arabic education resulted in a considerable body of Arabophone literature, especially in Morocco and Tunisia. Naturally enough, Arabophone writers resorted to borrowing from, and imitation of, the more developed literary traditions of the Arab East, especially that of Egypt. This primarily applies to Libya, which was not subject to European acculturation and retained closer ties with the Arab world. At the same time, owing to their command of French, the writers of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco are often better versed in the latest European literary fashions and intellectual fads than the Arab writers of the East. This accounts for intense experimentations with established literary forms and genres and the emergence in the Maghrib of a strong and influential literary avant-garde in both Arabic and French. Whereas in the previous decades Maghribī men of letters were largely preoccupied with realistic portrayal of the anti-colonial struggle and inculcating nationalist outlook, the more recent samples of Maghribī literature display the acute interest of the writers in the medieval



Islamic heritage and an attempt to put it to artistic use. This is especially true of the traditional Ṣūfī themes which readily yield themselves to a wide variety of creative interpretations in poetry and prose.

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- (For more information on the medieval Maghribī writers mentioned in this article see *El*<sup>2</sup> and the entries for individual authors. Also consult the following periodicals: *Journal of Maghrebi Studies* and *Research in African Literatures*.)

A. KNYSH

**al-Maghribī, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (370–418/981–1027)**

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Maghribī, usually known as al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, was a statesman, political intriguer and littérateur, the last member of a distinguished family of officials and secretaries in the service of the 'Abbāsids, Ḥamdānids and Fātimids. His stormy career in politics brought him successively to several of the Arab and Kurdish courts of the Near East, but he found time to compose a *dīwān* of poetry and various prose works, including a short **Mirror for Princes** or treatise on statecraft, the *Kitāb al-siyāsa*, probably intended for the Kurdish Marwānid local ruler of Diyārbakr, whose text has survived. He was also in contact with the famous blind Syrian poet Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, who refers to al-

Maghribi in his works and who composed an elegy on his death; and his precious library survived for at least two centuries at Mayyāfāriqin in Diyārbakr.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

**al-Māghūṭ, Muḥammad (1934– )**

Syrian poet. Born in Salamiyya, al-Māghūṭ received his primary and secondary education (in agriculture) locally before moving to **Damascus**. Early in his life he became involved with the Syrian National Socialist Party and was imprisoned for his political activities. In 1956 he fled to **Lebanon**, where he began to blossom as a poet and was again imprisoned; he returned to **Syria** in 1961, since when he has lived and written freely in **Damascus**.

With little formal education or knowledge of foreign languages, al-Māghūṭ invented his own poetic language, making the **prose poem** the hallmark of his art. The encouragement he received from the *Shi'r* group – especially from **Adūnis** – had a major impact on his career as a poet: his work is characterized by a wild imagination, coupled with an unusual degree of directness of emotion and expression and an overwhelming passion for life. His poetry (which includes three major collections: *Huzn fī Ḍaw' al-Qamar*, 1959; *Ghurfa bi-Malāyīn al-Judrān*, 1964; *al-Faraḥ Laysa Mihnatī*, 1970) is the poetry of the deprived who refuse to be crushed – the poetry of the personal and the intimate in their most direct and piercing manifestations. For this reason, although he was at the heart of the *ḥadātha* movement, al-Māghūṭ remained for a long time a lone voice with few apparent disciples; his influence only began to make itself felt when the 'ideological' phase of modern Arabic poetry had exhausted its energy.

In addition to his poetry, al-Māghūṭ has also published fiction, drama and essays, all possessed by the same spirit: a tireless search for freedom, a cutting wit, a sharp eye for detail and a dark – at times surrealist – yet humorous vision of reality. From the early

1970s he devoted much of his energy to writing TV and film scripts of political and social satire, achieving an unrivalled position as a social satirist and enhancing his reputation as one of the most original writers of his generation.

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KAMAL ABU-DEEB

### maḥāsīn wa-masāwī'

'Merits and faults', the name of a literary genre. From the very beginning of Arab culture there has been a fascination with linguistic antitheses, debates and poetical controversies (*mu'aradāt*). This inclination, reinforced by the art (inherited most probably from the Greeks) of manifesting contradictory sides of the same phenomenon, encouraged al-Jāhīz in the third/ninth century to record oral debates in which, for instance, one person praises dogs and blames roosters, while his interlocutor praises the roosters and blames the dogs (similar antithetical topics used: goats/sheep, young men/maidens, belly/back). In the same period, the work *al-Maḥāsīn wa-al-aḍḍād*, belonging to this theme and ascribed to al-Jāhīz, is not really his. In the fourth/tenth century, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī composed *al-Maḥāsīn wa-al-masāwī'*, in which he elaborates and amplifies this genre (merits and faults of almost every conceivable matter, except for purely religious and moral subjects, where the strategy does not consist of displaying merits and faults of the same trait, but of praising beliefs and morals, while blaming unbelief and immorality). Geries (1977) has successfully described the growth at this stage of sporadic attempts and the formation of a genuine literary genre. Al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038), in a series of works consecrated to this topic (the most elaborated of which is *al-Tahsīn wa-al-taqbīh*), pretends to having established this literary branch, but

when one examines his *al-Zarā'if* (MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub: Adab Sh.-64), one may readily conclude that this author has independently arrived at formulating his works belonging to this genre through collecting tropes and ornate sayings for his anthologies intended to embellish the epistolary style of contemporary *kuttāb* (secretaries). Building upon a few chapters employing 'merits and faults' as one of many other elements, he then began to devote entire compositions to this theme. In literary anthologies, the division of 'for' and 'against' (advantage and disadvantage) is sometimes used as a structural scheme which helps the compiler to render the text in a more attractive manner.

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J. SADAN

### Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭantīn see Agapius

### al-Mahdī see 'Abbāsids

### Maḥfūz, 'Iṣām (1930– )

Lebanese avant-garde, postmodern poet, playwright and critic. Like Adūnis, Maḥfūz was involved in attempting to establish a new poetic theory for the *Shi'r* magazine group in its efforts to liberate Arabic poetry from the shackles of classical Arabic poetic conventions. He defended the use of colloquial Arabic in poetry and drama to enable the creative writer to express himself spontaneously, subconsciously creating his own irrational images and visions which reveal the chaos of his inner universe and fantasies. His collections of free-verse poems include *Ashyā' Mayyīta* (1959), *A'shāb al-Ṣayf* (1961), *al-Ṣayf wa-Burj al-'Adhrā'* (1963) and *al-Mawt al-Awwal* (1973).

'Iṣām is also a talented playwright who has published several dramas on political problems in the Arab world, among them *al-Qatl* (1969), *Carte Blanche* (1971) and a play in colloquial Lebanese dialect *al-Zanzalakht*

(1969). *Al-Diktātūr* (1972) is a long dialogue between two characters denouncing military revolutions in the Arab world; while *Limādhā Rafāḍa Sarhān Sarhān mā Qālahu al-Za'im 'an Faraj Allāh al-Hulū fī Studio 71* (1972) deals with political assassination in the Arab world. He collected his critical articles in *Daftar al-Thaqāfa al-'Arabiyya al-Ḥaditha* (1973).

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S. MOREH

### Mahfuz, Najib (1911– )

The most illustrious writer of fiction in the Arab world today, Mahfuz was selected in 1988 to receive the world's most public literary accolade, the Nobel Prize for literature. This award provided the capstone for a writing career that has spanned over five decades, during which he has produced some thirty-five novels and fourteen collections of short stories. Born in one of the old quarters of Cairo, Mahfuz attended Cairo University and was embarking on a graduate programme in philosophy when, under the inspiration of writers including the prominent socialist Salāma Mūsā, he began to write short stories. Until his retirement in the early 1970s, Mahfuz's life was thereafter divided between, on the one hand, the routines of a civil servant working in the cultural sector (including the cinema) – a career that lends authenticity to his frequent excursions into this setting in his fictions – and, on the other, the process of writing that bears the hallmarks of a keen follower of worldwide intellectual and literary trends and of a thoroughly methodical planner.

It is possible to identify several turning points in Mahfuz's career. The first came in the early 1940s with his decision to abandon a planned project to write a number of historical novels set in Egypt (he had already written three) and instead to focus his attention on the conditions of his fellow Egyptians in the twentieth century. In their attention to authenticity of setting and character depiction, and in the way that they address the social and political issues confronting Egypt at the time, novels such as *al-Qāhira al-jadīda* (1946?)

and *Zuqāq al-Midaqq* (1947) established a new yardstick for social-realist fiction in Arabic. The crowning point of this series is the justly famous *Trilogy* (1956–7), a work finished immediately before the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. Here forty years of Egyptian social and political upheaval are reflected in a lovingly detailed portrait of three generations of a single Egyptian family, their loves and hatreds, their professions, their religious crises and their involvement in a variety of political movements. This monumental work, for which Mahfuz won the Egyptian State Prize in 1957, was published in a period that witnessed the Suez Crisis of 1956 and the increasing political prominence of Nasser and Egypt in the Arab world and beyond. It demonstrated in masterful fictional form the struggles that had led up to the Revolution; as such, literary work and period could not have been better matched, and this and other works by Mahfuz were the subject of critical acclaim throughout the Arab world.

1959 may be seen as another pivotal year in Mahfuz's career, in that it saw the publication, in the newspaper *al-Ahrām*, of Mahfuz's most controversial work, *Awlād Ḥāratinā*. To those readers who were anticipating a continuation of the tradition established by the *Trilogy* and its predecessors, this work clearly signalled a change in direction, although several critics have noted that its theme – the role of religion in a world dominated by science – and certain aspects of technique were already evident in earlier works. The furore aroused by this work was sufficient to have it banned in Egypt, although it was published in Lebanon in 1967; its status was also much discussed during the Nobel year of 1988 when Mahfuz's support of Salman Rushdie in the wake of the publication of *The Satanic Verses* caused popular Islamic preachers in Egypt to re-examine *Awlād Ḥāratinā*.

*Awlād Ḥāratinā* serves as a bridge to a new phase in Mahfuz's writing career, one marked by a greater concentration on the psychological make-up of the alienated individual within the newly emerging post-revolutionary society and a more terse and symbolic representation of the external realities within which such characters functioned. Beginning with *al-Liṣṣ wa-al-Kilāb* (1961) and culminating in *Mirāmār* (1967), these novels can be seen as a crescendo of criticism of the course that the revolution took in this troubled decade. That course was brought to a grinding halt in the June War of 1967.

Mahfuz's response to that devastating event was a series of highly cryptic and symbolic stories, many of them long, multi-sectioned and cyclical in structure. They portrayed a world full of self-doubt and recrimination, and, as often with Mahfuz's works, superbly captured the mood of the moment.

With the advent to power of Sadat in 1970, retrospection became a preoccupation for many intellectuals; Mahfuz's contribution in fictional form was *al-Maraya* (1972), a montage of vignettes about a series of Egyptian 'characters' arranged in alphabetical order.

Following his retirement from the civil service, Mahfuz accepted the invitation of *al-Ahrām* to write a weekly column, and this provided him with a forum for his ideas on both international and local issues. As Sadat's social and political agenda began to take Egypt in new directions, Mahfuz made use of his works of fiction to address problems that were of somewhat local and ephemeral interest: the shortage of housing; the pervasiveness of opportunism among the newly emerging entrepreneurial class; the role of popular religion in contemporary Egyptian society, and the unhealthy cynicism of many intellectuals. While there are a few pieces from his output since the early 1970s that have attracted broad critical attention, including *Malhamat al-Ḥarāfīsh* (1976) and *Rihlat Ibn Faṭīma* (1982), Mahfuz's work has been characterized by a tendency to repeat previous experiments rather than to branch out in new directions, and his pioneer status has been inherited by a younger generation of novelists.

From the outset Mahfuz has insisted on using the standard literary language in his fictional works, rejecting resort to the colloquial language as a means of expressing dialogue. This has not prevented him from developing a pliable language of dialogue that replicates many of the structures of colloquial Arabic and indeed occasionally includes a colloquial word. It is in the process of adapting style to narrative purpose that Mahfuz's craftsmanship as a writer may be most prominently seen.

With Mahfuz, the Arabic novel has achieved a genuine maturity. His contributions to the genre in the 1940s and early 1950s laid the groundwork, and since that time both he and a younger generation of writers throughout the Arab world have been able to utilize it to comment on the many social and political developments in the region. Mahfuz's status as a pioneer in this field is assured.

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R. ALLEN

## Mahjar literature

By 'Mahjar literature' is usually meant all writing in Arabic (with the exception of scientific writing) produced by Arab immigrants in North and South America, regardless of whether it is published in America itself or in the Arab East.

### North America

The first Arab immigrants to North America in recent history arrived about 1850. From an early stage, journalism played an important part in reinforcing the identity of the Arab communities. In his article 'Bāqāt min al-maṭbū'āt al-'arabiyya al-ṣādira fī al-Amṛikatayn' (1981) Fawzī 'Abd al-Razzāq lists some 135 newspapers and magazines published in Arabic in the United States and Canada before 1980. The first Arabic newspaper, *Kawkab Amīrkā*, was founded in 1892 in New York and continued until 1908; the newspaper *al-Hudā*, established by Na'ūm Mukarzil in New York, was published from 1902 to 1976, and *al-Sā'ih*, established by 'Abd al-Masīh Ḥaddād, from 1912 to 1957. Other notable newspapers include *al-Bayān* (1910–60), which incorporated *al-Sā'ih* in 1957, and *Mir'āt al-gharb* (1899), which also later merged with *al-Bayān*.

The first literary magazine was Nasīb 'Ariḍa's *al-Funūn*, which was published in New York from 1913 to 1918, with some interruptions. *Al-Funūn* served as a mouth-piece for young Arab authors such as Amin al-Rihānī, Khalīl Jubrān, Mikhā'il Nu'ayma, Īliyā Abū Mādī and others, who later formed *al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya* in 1920. More successful was *al-Samīr*, published by Abū Mādī from 1929 to 1936 as a fortnightly and then as a daily until 1957.

Arabic book production in North America was centred in New York. It began with the

volume of poetry *al-Gharīb fī al-gharb*, by Mikhā'il Rustum (New York, 1895). This was followed by Yūsuf Nu'mān al-Ma'lūf's *Khazā'in al-Ayyām* (1899), by his *Asrār Yildiz* (1900), and by the stories of Salīm Sarkīs (1901, 1904). Amin al-Rihānī and Khalīl Jubrān published their first works from 1902 onwards and 'Afifa Karam's *Badī'a wa-Fu'ād* appeared in 1906. Other notable works to be published in the Mahjar were the *dīwāns* of Asad Rustum (1905, 1919); Īliyā Abū Mādī (1919, 1925, 1940); Rashīd Ayyūb (1916, 1928, 1940); Ni'mat al-Ḥājjī (1921); Mas'ūd Samāha (1938); Nadra Ḥaddād (1941); and Nasīb 'Ariḍa (1946).

From 1910 onwards – beginning with the works of al-Rihānī – North American Mahjar literature was also published in the Arab East. Although the most important periods of literary activity were before World War 1 and during the inter-war years, mention must also be made of Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī, who came to New York in 1946, where he established the Rābiṭat Minerva.

### Latin America

Arab immigrants have also settled in Latin America, from Mexico to Argentina. The main centres of their literary activity have been São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, and Buenos Aires, Tucumán and Córdoba in Argentina. Fawzī 'Abd al-Razzāq (1984) lists 49 Arabic newspapers and 22 periodicals published at various times in São Paulo, and 35 newspapers and 21 periodicals in Buenos Aires; he also lists more than 200 book titles produced in São Paulo, some 70 titles in Buenos Aires and about 30 in Rio Janeiro.

The first Arabic newspaper to be published in Latin America was *al-Fayḥā* (São Paulo, 1895–); other important literary newspapers and periodicals include Shukrī al-Khūrī's *Abū al-Hawl* (1906–41), Mūsā Kurayyim's *al-Sharq* (1927–74) and Shukr Allāh al-Jurr's *al-Andalus al-jadīda* (Rio de Janeiro, 1931–). In Buenos Aires Khalīl Sa'āda, father of the Syrian politician Anṭūn Sa'āda, published his *Jarīdat al-Rābiṭa al-Waṭaniyya al-Sūriyya* (1929–34). Among the first Arabic books published in Latin America were Jamīl Ṣafadī's *Majmū'at Barāzīl* (São Paulo, 1900), Shukrī al-Khūrī's *Finyānūs* (São Paulo, 1902) and the *dīwān* of Qayṣar Ibrāhīm al-Ma'lūf, *Tadhkār al-Mahājir* (São Paulo, 1905).

The first literary circle in Latin America was the Riwaq al-Ma'arrī, founded in 1900 by

Na'um Labakī, which attracted many itinerant merchants and which concentrated on reading and discussing works by contemporary Arab poets. It is not known exactly why or when this circle came to an end. In 1922 alumni of the American University of Beirut formed a circle to educate Arab immigrants and to make Arabic literature known through translation; this circle also organized an annual poetry festival. In 1933 al-'Uṣba al-andalusīyya was founded, bringing together poets such as Shafīq al-Ma'lūf, al-Shā'ir al-Qarawī (see Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrī) and Ilyās Farḥāt (the last of whom later withdrew from it); the circle, which lasted until 1953, published a prestigious literary journal *al-'Uṣba*, edited by Ḥabīb Mas'ūd. The gap left by the demise of *al-'Uṣba* was filled by *al-Marāḥil* (1955), founded by Maryānā Di'bil Fākhūrī, who also established Jāmi'at al-qalam, with its club, the Nādī al-udabā', in 1964. The Ḥoms Club, founded in São Paulo in 1920, has an important library of Mahjar literature and the Syrian Cultural Centre in São Paulo also houses a library.

In Argentina the first meeting of al-Rābiṭa al-adabīyya, convened by Jūrj Saydah, took place on 25 July 1949. An important factor in the formation of this circle – which also included Ilyās Qunṣul, Zakī Qunṣul and Jūrj Ṣawāyā – was the need to organize receptions for Arab delegations visiting Buenos Aires. This circle was succeeded by the Nadwat al-adab al-'Arabī, among whose founders was Yūsuf al-'Īd.

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C. NIJLAND

**Mahjūb, [Muḥammad] Aḥmad (1910–76)**

Sudanese poet. Born in Omdurman, Mahjūb graduated from Gordon Memorial College as an engineer. He later studied law and worked as an engineer, judge and lawyer. He held several ministerial posts and became prime minister after Sudanese independence in 1956.

Mahjūb, who published several books of poetry and prose, was on the editorial board of *al-Fajr* for over ten years. His signed articles expressed his and the 'Fajr' group's conception of their hybrid cultural identity and its relationship to Sudanese literature and politics. He believed that cultural ideas could be utilized as the means of achieving ideal human relationships.

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C. BERKLEY

**Mahmūd, Zakī Najib (1905–93)**

Egyptian literary critic, translator and essayist. Born in Mīt al-Khūlī, a village in Lower Egypt, he studied at the Teacher Training College in Cairo, then at the University of London, where he received his PhD in philosophy in 1947. For most of the rest of his life he taught at the University of Cairo, receiving several honours and prizes for his contributions to literature, culture and philosophy. Mahmūd published forty-six books in Arabic, two books in English and over a thousand articles on Islamic and Western philosophy, literary criticism, arts and culture; in addition, he translated ten books from English, and published a two-volume autobiography, *Qiṣṣat Nafs* (1965) and *Qiṣṣat 'Aql* (1982). He founded and edited *al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir* and

from 1973 wrote weekly for *al-Ahrām*. Throughout his life he called for rationalism and scientific thinking. In 1956 he married the well-known psychologist Munira Hilmi.

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A.-N. STAIF

## **Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq** **see al-Warrāq, Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan**

## **Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon/Mūsā ibn Maymūn (529 or 32–601/1135 or 8–1204)**

Rabbi, philosopher, and physician in Cairo. Maimonides was the son of a rabbinic judge in Córdoba. When Judaism was outlawed by the Almohads, the family fled, eventually reaching Fez, where they may have converted ostensibly to Islam. About 560/1165 they fled again to Palestine, where the father died; in the same year, the family arrived in Alexandria; two years later they settled in Fuṣṭāṭ. Until 1169, when his brother, who handled the family's business affairs, was drowned, Maimonides devoted himself to rabbinic and scientific studies and to community affairs; thereafter he acted as a physician (he treated the poet **Ibn Sanā'** al-Mulk) and teacher of medicine, both to Jews and Muslims. In 1185 he entered the Ayyūbid court as physician to **al-Qādī al-Fādīl**, Saladin's chief minister; later he served as a physician to al-Malik al-Afdal and other high officials.

With the establishment of the Ayyūbid dynasty in 1171 Maimonides became the official head of the Jewish community (*ra'īs al-Yahūd*). After an interruption of eighteen years (1177–95) he regained the position, in which he was succeeded by his descendants until 1381. As head of the Jewish community he brought about the domination of the Rabbanites over the Karaites and introduced various changes in liturgical practices (some of them, apparently, under the influence of Islamic practices). He also responded to inquiries on Jewish law and philosophy

directed to him from all parts of the Islamic world, as well as from Provence.

Maimonides' *magnum opus* is his code of Jewish law, entitled *Mishne torah* (*The Repetition of the Law*). This work, in Hebrew, is the first comprehensive Jewish code organized by strict thematic criteria and incorporating the principles of theology as a full part of the legal system. It aroused severe criticism, partly because it does not cite authorities for its rulings. Yet thanks to its masterful and comprehensive approach it became – and remains – one of the most widely studied books of rabbinic scholarship. As a preamble Maimonides wrote the *Sefer hamišvot* (*Book of Commandments*; in Arabic, despite the Hebrew title), a carefully reasoned compilation of the 613 fundamental commandments traditionally believed to be contained in the Pentateuch.

His other major works are in Arabic. The most influential was the *Dalālat al-ḥā'irin* (*Guide of the Perplexed*), ostensibly a study of the figurative language in scripture but actually a complex exploration of the relationship between Jewish tradition and Aristotelian philosophy. Translated into Hebrew in his lifetime for the use of Jews outside the Arabic-speaking world, this work was influential in disseminating knowledge of Greek and Islamic philosophy among those communities, and it established Aristotelianism as the basis of medieval Jewish philosophy. Maimonides' synthesis of Greek and Jewish thought as expressed in the *Guide* and other works was the cause of bitter controversies within the Jewish communities. Later it was translated into Latin, thereby becoming accessible to the scholastics of the Church.

Earlier in his career Maimonides wrote an extensive commentary in Arabic on the Mishna with important excurses on the principles of Jewish law, eschatology and ethics. This work includes his creed, consisting of thirteen articles, which rapidly came to be authoritative throughout the Jewish world and was eventually incorporated into some versions of the liturgy in Hebrew translation, sometimes in verse. As the chief rabbinic authority of Fāṭimid Egypt, Maimonides wrote many responsa on rabbinic law (464 are extant; they are in both Hebrew and Arabic) and a number of pastoral letters including the *Risāla Yamaniyya* (*Epistle to Yemen*), dealing with the religious implications of the Jews' status as a subject people, messianism and false messiahs; and the *Maqāla fī t'ḥiyat*

*hametim* (*Epistle on Resurrection*), defending his opinions on eschatology, particularly the doctrine of resurrection, as expounded in his *Mishne torah*. In Hebrew he wrote the treatise *Igeret hash'mad* (*Epistle on Apostasy*) in defence of the Jews in the Almohad realms who had feigned conversion to Islam and who wished to return to Judaism.

Maimonides also wrote on topics not of specifically Jewish interest. His first book was an Arabic treatise on logic. Later he composed numerous works on medical topics, of which the most famous are *Fuṣūl Mūsā*, a collection of medical aphorisms; *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uqqār*, containing the description of about 350 drugs with their names in many languages; *Fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥa*, on hygiene; treatises on haemorrhoids, sexual intercourse, asthma and depression, most of them written for his patients among the members of the royal family.

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R.P. SCHEINDLIN

## majāz

Lit. 'transit', a technical term pertaining to the interpretation of texts, with two different meanings:

1. In the early linguistic (as opposed to traditionist) exegesis of the *Koran*, the term means 'explanatory re-writing' in 'natural' language, of idiomatic passages in the Scripture. The implicit justification of this approach to the Holy Book may be formulated thus: (a) the *Koran* was sent down in 'clear Arabic speech' (26: 195); (b) the language of the ancient Arabs was full of idioms; (c) it follows that the *Koran* is also full of the same idioms. The first major undertaking in this direction is the *Majāz al-Qur'an*, (*Explanatory Re-Writing in the Koran*) of the Basran philologist *Abū 'Ubayda* (d. 210/825). The author does not

define *majāz*, but at the beginning of his work he does give a list of thirty-nine cases of deviation from the 'natural' language that can be found in the *Koran*. For each case he combines an abstract description with a Koranic example. In the main text he mostly uses the formula '[Koranic idiom] – its *majāz* is ["natural" equivalent]'. This use of the term *majāz* lingers on for a while and overlaps in time with the second meaning, before falling into desuetude. (See further **exegesis, Koranic.**)

2. The other meaning of *majāz* originated in the theological discussions of the **Mu'tazili** movement and was used to eliminate the apparent anthropomorphisms contained in the *Koran*. It denoted something 'not truly real' (ontologically) or 'figurative' (semantically), and was soon coupled with *ḥaqīqa* as its counterpart meaning 'truly real' or 'proper', respectively. Thus, some said that attributes such as 'speech,' when applied to God, were *ḥaqīqa*, but *majāz* when applied to humans. Others maintained, on the contrary, that God's speech was not really speech as we know it and, therefore, was *majāz*, while only human speech was *ḥaqīqa*. Both approaches did the trick of separating the Divine from the human sphere. It is not, however, clear in the debates of the theologians whether this was considered to be happening on the level of being or that of language. Since for the later legal and literary theorists the *ḥaqīqa–majāz* dichotomy was the linguistic phenomenon of 'proper' vs. 'figurative' meaning, this may also be true of the theological discussions. On the other hand, the mystics considered *ḥaqīqa–majāz* to be ontological categories: to God belongs 'true reality' (*ḥaqīqa*) and to the world 'derivative reality' (*majāz*).

**Ibn Qutayba** (d. 276/889), philologist and anti-Mu'tazili theologian, amalgamates the theological approach with that of *Abū 'Ubayda*: *majāz* is a linguistic phenomenon, its centre is the figurative use of language, but many other idiomatic uses treated by *Abū 'Ubayda* are also included. The legal theorists build on this in their hermeneutics: although *majāz* is first and foremost figurative speech, other phenomena like ellipsis and pleonasm are still part and parcel of *majāz*. The first preserved full-fledged treatment of *ḥaqīqa–majāz* is by the Ḥanafī



jurist al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981), and it remains an integral part of all later comprehensive treatments of legal methodology.

The literary scholars were slow to take up what the legal scholars had developed, although it afforded them an opportunity for a systematic presentation of figurative speech and imagery. After some inconsequential beginnings, it was 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081) who offered several tightly reasoned statements on *majāz*, in his two major works. He rides the concept of its non-figurative components, ellipsis and pleonasm, and distinguishes two types of *majāz* (now: 'trope'), one based on similarity, i.e. the metaphor, the other on contiguity, i.e. the metonymy. In addition to these 'lexical tropes' (*majāz lughawī*) he recognizes for the first time a predication-based 'mental trope' (*majāz 'aqlī*), in which all words are literal and only the predication is tropical (e.g. 'The days of separation have made my hair white', where the days are not the real agent). One major difference between the legal and the literary approach to *majāz* is that for the legal scholars, intent on interpreting the Koran, *majāz* is an integral part of the Arabic language and not open to analogy, while for a scholar like al-Jurjānī *majāz* is governed by 'rational laws', which are applicable in all languages. This difference mirrors the Koranic—interpretive vs. the poetic—creative approach to the problem.

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W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: literary criticism, medieval; metaphor

**al-Majdhüb, [Muḥammad]  
al-Mahdī (1919–82)**

Sudanese poet. Born in al-Damer into a family famous for the teaching and spreading of Islam,

al-Majdhüb studied at Gordon Memorial College and worked as an accountant. The Sudanese 'Fajr' group's rediscovery of its communally rooted identity found its first real expression in his work. Uninfluenced by outside literary forces, he was the first Sudanese poet to express the cultural consciousness of belonging to both the 'Negro' and the Arab tradition. His long poem 'al-Sayra', published in *al-Sharāfa wa-al-hijra* (1973), treats the fusion of pagan and Islamic elements as though a cultural wedding were taking place.

Text edition

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Further reading

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**al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir  
(1037–1110/1627–99), known as  
'Allāma Majlisī**

An outstanding scholar and collector of *ḥadīth* of the late Ṣafavid period, intimately involved in politics, al-Majlisī was the defining figure in the Shi'ism of his time. He was born into a family of scholars in Isfahan, where he lived and died, and where his father, Muḥammad Taqī (1003–70/1594–1659, 'Majlisī the First', as opposed to 'Majlisī the Second', Muḥammad Bāqir) had been a prominent religious leader before him. Staunchly anti-Sunni and anti-Ṣūfī, Muḥammad Bāqir wrote several works in Persian on legal subjects as well as popular theology, but his enduring scholarly output was in Arabic. His *magnum opus*, the *Bihār al-anwār*, completed only four years before his death, is an encyclopaedic collection of Shi'ī *ḥadīth* material, unrivalled in its extent. He also wrote a much-used commentary on al-Kulaynī's *al-Kaḥfī*, the *Mir'āt al-'uqūl*. Like his father, he was on good terms with the Ṣafavid monarchy, and was made *shaykh al-Islām* in 1098/1686 by Shāh Sulaymān (d. 1106/1694) and later *Mullābāshī* under his successor Sulṭān Ḥusayn (d. 1125/1713), from which positions he was able to wield unprecedented power over

religious affairs. His opinion that Shī'ī 'ulamā' should always respect the ruler, even the tyrannical ruler, was influential up to the present century, when clerical involvement in opposition movements, culminating in the 1978–9 Islamic Revolution, made such views unpopular.

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J. COOPER

**Majnūn and Layla** *see* **Qays ibn al-Mulawwah, al-Majnūn; see also 'Udhri poetry**

**al-Majrīṭī, Maslama ibn Aḥmad (d. c.398/1008)**

Spanish philosopher, mathematician and astronomer who is of considerable interest in Arabic literature for the history of the *Rasā'il* of the **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'** (which, in one source, he claims to have authored himself!). However, he is generally considered to have been instrumental in introducing these epistles into Spain. It has also been claimed that he authored the summary of the *Rasā'il*, known as the *Risālat al-jāmi'a*, but this seems unlikely. A lengthy epistle dealing with magic, astrology and related matters, the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (translated into Latin under the title *Picatrix*) has also been attributed to him but, again, scholars now believe that this ascription is improbable. Whatever his mathematical and astronomical talents (he adapted the astronomical tables of **al-Khwārazmī** to the Córdoba meridian, and may have served as court astrologer to the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir), from the perspective of mainstream Arabic philosophical and theological literature al-Majrīṭī seems to be a source to whom much

has been ascribed but whose actual authorship cannot be definitively proven. Be that as it may, he had a considerable impact in Muslim Spain by virtue of those who followed in his footsteps (he was the teacher of Ḥamid al-Dīn **al-Kirmānī**, among others).

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I. R. NETTON/J. S. MEISAMI

**al-Majūsī (d. late fourth/tenth century)**

'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī was a medical writer on whom few personal details are available. He lived most of his life in southern Persia, studied medicine at Shīrāz, and dedicated his *magnum opus*, the *Kāmil al-ṣinā'a al-ṭibbiyya* (*The Complete Medical Art*) to the **Būyid** ruler 'Aḍud al-Dawla (r. 338–72/949–83). The *Kāmil* is a large medical compendium designed to provide an authoritative synthesis of the medical knowledge of the author's day. Beginning with a valuable introduction surveying past medical history, it divides medicine into theoretical and practical aspects, each covered by ten chapters on specialized topics. The book was specifically intended to supersede the works of **al-Rāzī**, and in this it was largely successful. Indeed, its organization and thoroughness were such that it immediately secured al-Majūsī's reputation; in the longer term, it ranked second only to the great *Qānūn* of **Ibn Sīnā**. It was translated into Latin by Constantine the African (d. before 1098) as *Liber pantegni*, and then again by Stephen of Antioch as *Liber regius* in 1127, and thus became very influential in Europe as well.

#### Text edition

*Kāmil al-ṣinā'a al-ṭibbiyya*, Cairo (1294/1877); repr. Frankfurt (1996).

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 Ullmann, Manfred, *Die Medizin in Islam*, Leiden (1970), 140–6 (with further bibliography; Ullmann offers a translation of the Introduction and a summary table of contents).

L. I. CONRAD

**al-Mak, 'Alī (1937–1992)**

Sudanese short-story writer, poet and translator. Born in Omdurman, al-Mak graduated with honours in Arabic language and literature from Khartoum University. At his death he was director of the Arabic Language Translation Unit. His work reflects a social-realist view. Al-Mak's first short story appeared in the Khartoum bi-weekly *al-Šarāḥa* when he was only 16. His major poetic work, *Madīna min Turāb* (Khartoum, 1974), is a long prose poem which structurally resembles the classical *qašīda*; the poem opens with the poet's description of the entryway to his 'beloved', the decaying Omdurman *sūq*.

Text edition

- A City of Dust*, al-Fatih Mahjub (trans.), C.E. Berkley (ed. and intro.), Washington DC (1982)

C. BERKLEY

**al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib (d. 386/996)**

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Makkī was a Šufī writer. Of Iranian origin, he grew up in Mecca, then lived in Basra and later in Baghdad, where he died. In Basra he attached himself to the Sālīmiyya, the mystic theological school of Aḥmad ibn Sālīm. Al-Makkī is the author of the *Qūt al-qulūb*, the most comprehensive handbook on classical Sufism. This work especially presents the traditions of Basran Sufism, i.e. those of the school of Sahl al-Tustarī, which were transmitted within the Sālīmiyya. The book is also of particular importance because it served as the model for al-Ghazzālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Indeed, one may go so far as to say that the *Ihyā'* is in fact nothing more than a reworking of the *Qūt al-qulūb*.

Text editions

- Die Nahrung der Herzen. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkīs Qūt al-qulūb*, Richard Gramlich (trans.) 4 vols, Stuttgart (1992–5).  
*Qūt al-qulūb*, Cairo: 1351/1932; 1381/1961.  
 (There are no critical editions of al-Makkī's work.)

B. RADTKE

**maktab see education**

**maktaba see libraries**

**malāḥim**

The ancient meaning of *malḥama*, pl. *malāḥim*, was 'bloody fight', 'battlefield'. Muḥammad himself was called *nabī al-malḥama*, an expression understood as meaning 'prophet of contention' (but also of reconciliation). The term acquired the further sense of prediction, eschatological prophecy, e.g. the *malḥamat Dāniyāl*. Al-Jāḥiẓ states that the first author of a *qašīdat al-malāḥim* was Ibn 'Aqb al-Laythī. Ibn Khaldūn notes that by *malāḥim* the Maghrib peoples meant prophecies concerning future wars and the duration of dynasties. Reverting to this concept, Sulaymān al-Bustānī has proposed the use of *malḥama* to signify *shī'r qašašī*, epic poetry, a term accepted among men of letters. The name *sīra sha'biyya* (see *sīra literature*) is, however, preferred for popular Arab epic cycles.

Further reading

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 Fodor, A., 'Malḥamat Dāniyāl', in *The Muslim East: Studies in Honour of J. Germanus*, Budapest (1974), 85–133.  
*Iliyādhat Hūmīrūs*, Sulaymān al-Bustānī (trans.), Cairo (1904), 162–75.  
 al-Jizāwī, Sa'd al-Dīn, *al-Malḥama fī al-shī'r al-'Arabī*, Cairo (1967).

G. CANOVA

**al-Malā'ika, Nāzik Šādiq (1923–)**

Iraqi poet and critic. Born into a wealthy literary family in Baghdad, al-Malā'ika

obtained a BA in Arabic language and literature from the Teachers' Training College there in 1944. In 1950 she received a year's scholarship to study literary criticism at the University of Princeton and in 1956 gained an MA in comparative literature from the University of Wisconsin. On her return to Baghdad she worked as a lecturer at the Teachers' Training College. In 1964 she moved with her husband 'Abd al-Hādī Maḥbūba to Basra, where they were instrumental in establishing the University of Basra. At the end of 1968 she returned to Baghdad. In 1970 she left Iraq and lectured at the University of Kuwait until her retirement in 1982. She is currently living in Iraq.

Like much of her early work, the poems in al-Malā'ika's first collection, *'Ashiqat al-Layl* (1947), are characterized by their sensitivity, idealism and glorification of emotion, and the attendant dangers of disillusion and disappointment to which her emotions often led her. Alienated from society and with an intense yearning for a non-existent utopia, al-Malā'ika developed a pessimistic outlook towards life and death. Nature and, in particular, 'night' occupy a prominent position in her poetry; she refers to the latter as a friend who has the power to ease her pain and sadness. Al-Malā'ika's pessimism at this stage sprang from personal tragedy, coupled with her concern about world events, the destructiveness of war and the position of women in Arab society; as a result of these images and others, she is usually categorized as a 'Romantic' poet in her early work.

Al-Malā'ika was greatly influenced by Western literature and thought, especially the English Romantic poets. Her poem 'Ilā al-Shā'ir Keats' vividly demonstrates her love of, and fascination with, Keats' sonnets, in particular 'Ode to a nightingale'. It was mainly due to the influence of English poetry that she wrote her revolutionary introduction to her second collection, *Shaḥāyā wa-Ramād* (1949), in which she expressed the view that rhyme is an obstacle blocking the flow of poetic expression and argued that the traditional monorhyme of Arabic poetry prevented it from reaching the poetic heights of other world literatures. The collection contains nine poems written in **free verse**, the remainder following the traditional form of verses in two hemistichs. In addition to romanticism, the collection also shows the influence of literary movements such as

realism and symbolism. Al-Malā'ika's third collection, *Qarārat al-Mawja* (1957), containing poems written between 1937 and 1953 in both free and traditional verse, heralds a shift from her intense romanticism. Her deep pessimism is here replaced by a more philosophical acceptance of the many sad aspects of life. The introduction contains a dialogue between the two opposing inner personalities of the old al-Malā'ika and the new.

In 1970 al-Malā'ika published for the first time her long poem *Ma'sāt al-Hayāh*, originally written in 1945 in 1,200 lines in rhyming couplets. It was accompanied by two revised editions of the poem written between 1950 and 1965 and entitled respectively *Ughniya lil-Insān 1* and *Ughniya lil-Insān 2*. The theme of the poem is the poet's search for happiness – in the palaces of the rich, in monasteries, among the country shepherds, among lovers and with criminals – followed by the realization that there is no happiness on earth. The first version vividly illustrates al-Malā'ika's early Romantic tendency and fear of death, and the three versions together chronicle the poet's personal and artistic development over some twenty years.

Al-Malā'ika's last two collections, *Yughayyiru Alwānahu al-Baḥr* (1977) and *Lil-Ṣalāh wa-al-Thawra* (1978), are – except for one poem – written entirely in free verse. In the final collection, she has freed herself from her Romanticism and has turned to religion and nationalism, which she sees as closely linked.

In addition to her collections of poetry, al-Malā'ika has published three books of criticism. The first, *Qaḍāyā al-Shi'r al-Mu'āṣir* (1962), deals with questions related to free verse. The second, *Muḥāḍarat fī Shi'r 'Alī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā* (1965), subsequently re-titled *al-Ṣawma'a wa-al-Shurfa al-Ḥamrā'*, illustrates her critical methodology which fuses a strong theoretical foundation with a holistic evaluation of the entire collection. The third, *al-Tajzi'iyya fī al-Mujtama' al-'Arabī* (1974), includes a discussion of issues related to nationalism and society, including authenticity, modernism and romanticism.

#### Further reading

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R. HUSNI

**malḥama** see epic poetry;  
**malāḥim**

### **Malḥas, Thurayyā (1925– )**

Lebanese poetess, literary critic and university professor. Born in Amman to a Palestinian father and Caucasian mother, Malḥas studied Arabic and western literature and taught Arabic literature in Kulliyyat Bayrūt lil-Banāt, where she was nominated in 1965 to be head of the Arabic section. She has published poetry, prose and various literary and cultural studies on modern and classical subjects. Best known for her two symbolic and surrealist mystical anthologies of *shi'r manthūr* (see prose poem), *al-Nashīd al-Tā'ih* (Beirut, 1949) and *Qurbān* (Beirut, 1952), she has also published a poetry collection in English entitled *Prisoners of Time* (Beirut, 1952) as well as a collection of short stories (Beirut, 1962). Her most prominent critical study is *Mikhā'il Nu'ayma al-Adīb al-Ṣūfī* (Beirut, 1964) in which she analyses the mystic elements in Nu'ayma's life and work. Her tendency to mysticism is also apparent in her book *al-Qiyam al-Rūḥiyya fī al-Islām* (Beirut, 1964).

Further reading

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- Moreh, S., *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800–1970*, Leiden (1976), 302–3.

R. SNIR

### **Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/796)**

Famous early jurist from whom one of the four major **Sunni** schools of law, the Mālikī, derives its name. Mālik lived and taught throughout his entire life in Medina, and the legal doctrine that he propounded represented

to a large extent the consensus of legists of that city. His major contribution to the literature of Islamic jurisprudence was the *Muwatta'*, which exists in numerous recensions. This work records the commonly held doctrine of Medina, frequently supporting it with sayings of the Prophet **Muḥammad** or his Companions. It represents an important stage in the systemization of Islamic law.

Text edition

*al-Muwatta'*, Cairo (1962).

Further reading

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- Schacht, J., *Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford (1964), 43–4.

B. WEISS

See also: *fiqh*

### **Mālik ibn Nuwayra (d. 11/632)**

Leading figure of the tribe Yarbū' (Tamīm). He was killed during the secession of **bedouin** tribes after the Prophet's death, apparently by order of the general Khālid ibn al-Walīd. Since Mālik professed himself a Muslim before his execution, Khālid's order gave rise to a political scandal. The few poems attributed to Mālik are of minor literary importance. Instead, he owes his fame to the elegies that his brother **Mutammim** composed upon his death.

For bibliography see **Mutammim ibn Nuwayra**.

T. BAUER

### **Malikshāh** see **Saljūqs**

### **al-Ma'lūf, Fawzī (1899–1930)**

**Mahjar** poet and dramatist, brother of Shafīq **al-Ma'lūf**. After attending the Kulliyya al-Sharqiyya in Zahle (his birthplace), and the École des Frères in Beirut, he went to São Paulo, Brazil, where he worked in industry and trade. In 1922 he founded the al-Muntadā al-Zahli (Zahle Club) as a meeting place for the members of the Syrian and Lebanese colonies and had his plays performed in this club. His first play, *Ibn Ḥamīd aw suqūṭ Ghurnāta*, was written in 1926 and published

in 1952 by al-'Uṣba al-Andalusiyya in São Paulo. Fawzī al-Ma'lūf earned his fame with his long poem *Shā'ir fī tayyāra*, originally published in the São Paulo magazine *al-Jāliya*, and republished in book form in 1929 with the title '*Alā bisāt al-rīḥ*', with colour plates by the Russian painter A. Ignatovitch. His four collections of poetry – *Min qalb al-samā'*, *Ta'awwuhāt al-rūḥ*, *Aghānī al-andalus* and *Shu'lat al-'adhāb* – were posthumously published as *Dīwān Fawzī al-Ma'lūf* in Beirut in 1957. A 500-page memorial volume, *Dhikrā Fawzī al-Ma'lūf*, was published in Zahle in 1931; he was further honoured with a bronze statue erected in Zahle in 1937, and by a rose planted for him in the Garden of the Poets in Alhambra, Granada.

#### Further reading

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 al-Ḥāwī, Ḥīyā, *Fawzī al-Ma'lūf*, Beirut (1973).

C. NIJLAND

### al-Ma'lūf, 'Īsā Iskandar (1869–1956)

Lebanese encyclopaedist, writer, poet, historian and journalist. Born in Kafr 'Uqāb, he was the father of the **Mahjar** poets Fawzī and Shafīq al-Ma'lūf.

After a year of studying in al-Shuwayr English Secondary School, al-Ma'lūf taught at the Jesuit School and elsewhere in Lebanon, and in **Damascus**. He helped to edit the newspaper *Lubnān* and in 1911 established *al-Athar* magazine. As well as articles in various Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian magazines, he published about ninety books, most printed in Lebanon or Syria. He also composed four plays, three of which were performed in 1893. He was a member of the Arabic Academy in Damascus (1919), and in 1928 was among the founders of the Lebanese Academy.

'Īsā published books on subjects as varied as the history of medicine among the Arabs (1921); the history of cities such as Zahle (1911) and Damascus (1924); the biographies of rulers such as al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn II (1927) and al-Amīr Bashīr (1914); and accounts of families such as the Ma'lūf family (1908), and the Yāzījī family (1944, 2

vols). After the death of his son Fawzī he collected his obituaries and elegies in *Dhikrā Fawzī al-Ma'lūf* (Zahle, 1931). He died in Zahle.

#### Further reading

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S. MOREH

### al-Ma'lūf, Shafīq (1905–76)

**Mahjar** poet and journalist, brother of Fawzī al-Ma'lūf. Born in Zahle, he worked for a time as a journalist in **Damascus**. His first volume of poetry, *al-Ahlām*, appeared in Beirut in 1926. In the same year he left for São Paulo, where he worked in the textile factory of his brothers Fawzī al-Ma'lūf and Iskandar. He took an active part in the foundation of the literary circle al-'Uṣba al-Andalusiyya in 1933 and its monthly *al-'Uṣba* in 1935, and was its chairman from 1942 to 1953.

In 1936 he published '*Abqar*, a long narrative poem in six cantos based on Arabian folklore. It describes the poet's visit to 'Abqar, the home of the *jinn*, which is neither on earth nor in heaven or hell. A second edition, with six new cantos, appeared in 1949. The poem has been translated into both Spanish and Portuguese. Five new *dīwāns* appeared from 1951 onwards, and he also published volumes of short stories and essays.

#### Further reading

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C. NIJLAND

### Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā, Abū 'Ubayda see Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā

### Mamlūks

A *mamlūk* is a military slave or freedman. Mamlūk sultans and *amīrs*, mostly of Kipchak Turkish and Circassian origin, governed **Egypt** and **Syria** from 648/1250 until 923/1517. Their military and servile background

notwithstanding, some of the sultans and many of the *amīrs* were writers. Young *mamlūks* in the Citadel were instructed not only in the arts of war, but also in Arabic and Turkish, and some made copies of books in the royal library. Thus the Mamlūk system produced an unusually literate ruling élite. Quite a few *mamlūks* were qualified to issue *fatwās* and transmit *ḥadīths*. Among the *amīrs*, Sanjar al-Dawādārī (d. 699/1299–1300) wrote poetry, Baybars al-Manṣūrī wrote history, Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī wrote a treatise on archery. The powerful *amīr* Yashbak ibn Mahdī wrote religious poetry in Arabic and so did his sultan, al-Ashraf Qaytbāy. The Sultan Qānsūh al-Ghawrī also wrote poetry in Arabic and Turkish and presided over regular literary soirées.

In the late seventh/thirteenth century the *amīr* Jamāl al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Yaghmur presided over a salon of poets, and Baysarī al-Shamsī built up a great library of Arabic books. In the ninth/fifteenth century the sultans al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and al-Zāhir Jaqmaq were noted book collectors, and Jaqmaq's son Prince Muḥammad was an expert on Arabic and Turkish poetry who turned the Cairo Citadel into a literary salon for a while. More generally, the sons of *mamlūks* (the *awlād al-nās*) served as cultural intermediaries between the ruling Turko-Circassian élite and the Arab civilians, and many of the former became writers, among them the historians Ibn al-Dawādārī and Ibn Taghribirdī and the biographer Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī. Ibn Manglī (fl. 770s/1370s) wrote on occultism, politics, warfare and hunting, and Khalīl al-Zāhirī (d. 872/1468) wrote on court ceremonies and on dream interpretation.

The Mamlūk chancery gave employment to many Arab writers, among them the historians Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, and the encyclopaedists al-Nuwayrī, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari and al-Qalqashandī, as well as the poet Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī. The chancery style developed by the Ayyūbid administrator al-Qādī al-Fāḍil had a post-humous influence on writers which extended beyond the chancery. The biographer Ibn Ṣuqā'ī worked for the Mamlūk administration in Syria, as did Ibn Durrayhim (712–62/1312–66), who wrote on animals and on cryptography. Today the authors of the Mamlūk age are chiefly famous for their compilations of unoriginal and bulky histories,

topographies and biographical dictionaries. Certainly it was an age of compendia, produced by such polygraphic compilers as al-Maqrīzī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. However, the view of authors of the period as merely industrious epigones is based on a very slight acquaintance with what was actually produced. The literature of entertainment, in particular, deserves more attention than it has hitherto received.

Typical of the period are such agreeable works of *belles-lettres* such as the *Maṭāli' al-budūr* by al-Ghuzūlī (d. 812/1415), an anthology of verse and prose, celebrating the joys of life (among them parties, gardens, chess, baths, songs and story-telling). The less reputable poet Taqī al-Dīn Abu Bakr al-Badrī (d. 1443) wrote books about beautiful boys, hashish and the beauty of eyes. The historians Ibn 'Arabshāh and Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī both produced anthologies of entertaining tales. Muḥammad al-Bilbaysī's eighth/fourteenth-century *al-Mulāḥ wa-al-ṭuraf* is a light-hearted kind of symposium in which members of various crafts sit around a table exchanging jokes. Prose erotica, making extensive use of *adab* materials, was produced by al-Tifāshī (d. 1253), 'Alī al-Baghdādī (early eighth/fourteenth century), and others. Muḥammad al-Nawāji (early ninth/fifteenth century) produced a collection of poetry devoted to beautiful boys.

Much of the poetry produced in this period had either a eulogistic or an instructional purpose. Thus Ibn Nubāta al-Miṣrī specialized in panegyrics to secular rulers, while al-Būṣirī, Ibn Abī Ḥajala and Ibn Ḥijja produced poems in praise of the Prophet. Numerous authors turned treatises on law, medicine, chess, etc., into verse for (presumably) mnemonic purposes. The moralizing *Lāmiyya* and the verse treatises on grammar, law and dream interpretation by Ibn al-Wardī are entirely typical of the period. Love and love sickness attracted the attention of many writers, among them Ibn Abī Ḥajala, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, al-Ṣafadī and Mughulṭa'ī.

Popular themes infiltrated 'mainstream' literature and even quite drab annals such as those of Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Faḍā'il and Ibn Iyās are peppered with *mirabilia*, folkloric elements and post-classical colloquialisms. This was a golden age for popular literature. Ibn Dāniyāl, although he was a sophisticated member of the élite, drew on popular material

and forms of expression for the scripts of his shadow plays. Although a version of *Alf layla wa-layla* was circulating in 'Abbāsīd times, the oldest manuscript of this story collection comes from the Mamlūk period and the bulk of the stories that swell out modern editions of this work seem to have been added in the same period. Similarly, although versions of such popular romances as those of *Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan*, 'Antar and Dhāt al-Himma were circulating earlier, they were expanded and reworked in the Mamlūk period (see further popular literature; *sīra literature*). Street-corner actors performed bawdy farces which mocked the manners of the ruling élite. In the anonymous story, *The Battle of King Mutton and King Honey*, the foodstuffs of the poor fight with those of the élite. The buffoon poet 'Ali Ibn Sūdūn al-Bashbughawī (d. 868/1464) used to give public performances of his satirical verses and his *al-Maqāmāt al-hab-baliyya* (*Foolish Assemblies*) in the streets of Damascus. (See further acting and actors, medieval.)

According to Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's pietistic guide to everyday living, the *Kitāb mu'id al-ni'am* (c.760/1360), scribes should refrain from copying works like the *Sīra* of 'Antar or works by licentious authors (*ahl al-mujūn*; see *mujūn*). Curiously, the Mamlūk age is as notable for its puritan literature as it is for its pornography. Hanbalī polemicists such as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya attracted much popular support, and their writings have had an enormous influence on later fundamentalist movements. The Malīkī Ibn al-Hajj al-'Abdarī's *Madkhal*, a treatise on *bida'* (heretical innovations), is a rich source on the sorts of things that pious Cairenes were not supposed to do, but which the less pious often got up to. Throughout the period fundamentalists clashed repeatedly with Šūfis over the merits or otherwise of the works of Ibn al-'Arabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Al-Yāfi'i (d. 768/1367) collected tales of Šūfī piety and miracles, but in general this was not a great age for Šūfī literature. Sufism and occultism overlapped in such works as revisions of al-Bunī's magical treatise the *Shams al-ma'ārif* and later pseudepigrapha attributed to him or to Ibn al-'Arabī. The age is notable for its occultist authors, among them the sorcerer Abū al-Qāsim al-'Irāqī (fl. 660s/1260s) and the alchemists al-Jildakī (fl. 760s/1360s) and al-Ghamrī (d. 808/1405).

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R. IRWIN

### Mammeri, Mouloud (1917–89)

Algerian novelist, playwright, anthropologist and linguist writing in French. Born in Taourirt-Mimoun (Greater Kabylia), Mammeri studied at the Gouraud grammar school in Rabat, then at the Eugend school in Algiers. After World War II he taught literature in Algeria, first at school level, then at the University of Algiers. Until 1980 he was also the director of the Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques. He wrote four novels: *La Colline oubliée* (1952); *Le Sommeil du juste* (1955); *L'Opium et la bâton* (1965), on the subject of war; and *La Traversée* (1982), on the theme of disenchantment. His plays are entitled *Le Banquet* (1973) and *Le Foehn* (1982). Mammeri also played a very active role in the revival of Berber culture, translating ancient Kabyle poetry and publishing a Berber grammar (1986). He died in an accident in Ain Debla.

#### Further reading

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J. DÉJEUX

## al-Ma'mūn see 'Abbāsids

### al-Ma'mūnī, Abū Ṭālib (fourth/tenth century)

Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Salām ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ma'mūnī was an Arabic poet. Born in **Baghdad** after 343/953, he moved to **Rayy** in his youth, where he attended the court of the **Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād**. He left due to intrigue and ended up, via Nishapur, at the **Sāmānid** court in Bukhara. **Al-Tha'ālībī** suggests that he had political ambitions, viz. to usurp the 'Abbāsīd caliphate; however, his poetry, which shows him to have been a pleasure-seeking man, does not chime with this. His poems constitute short specimens of *wasf*, and 'form an interesting document for the development of the sophisticated Persian style, showing it at an early stage and in Arabic guise' (Bürgel).

Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

### Ma'n ibn Aws (d. c.73/692)

A *mukhaḍram* poet of the Banū Muzayna. He spent his life near Medina but travelled to **Basra** where he met **al-Farazdaq**. His eulogies on a number of early luminaries (including 'Āšim ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ) are noted for their **bedouin** style. Though ignored by early critics, his verse was considered by Mu'āwiya to be on a par with that of his elder fellow tribesman, **Zuhayr ibn Abi Sulmā**. This may be due to the inclusion in his poetry of passages of a moralistic nature.

Text editions

*Gedichte des Ma'n b. Aus*, P. Schwartz (ed.), Leipzig (1903); R. Geyer (ed.), *WKZM* 17 (1903), 246–70, 18 (1904), 27–29.

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Further reading

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P.F. KENNEDY

### ma'nā

Throughout the literature of the Muslim religious sciences and the auxiliary linguistic sciences the term *ma'nā* refers to the meaning of a vocable (*lafẓ*). A vocable may consist of a word or component of a word (its form or radicals) or a formal structure such as a construct phrase, combination of word and definite article, or entire sentence (to name only a few examples). Language, in these sciences, is thus broken down into fundamental meaning-laden units. The relationship between *lafẓ and ma'nā* is considered to be fixed by convention or divine fiat, not by nature. Since some vocables have more than one meaning, communication through language occasions ambiguity, which must be resolved through contextual clues (*qarā'in*) so that a speaker's *intended* meaning (*murād*) may be grasped. Resolution of ambiguity is a chief concern of Muslim hermeneutics.

In rhetoric and literary criticism *ma'nā* refers variously to: the meaning of a word or statement in a specific verse, or of a trope; the particular form of a statement (i.e. a topos, as in collections of poetic *ma'ānī* such as those of **Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī** or **al-Sarī al-Raffā'**); the syntactic forms of statements (as in the 'science of *ma'ānī*' developed by **al-Sakkākī** and his followers); types of figurative expression, as in the theory of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī. In philosophy it means a concept or idea (often in the Platonic sense), the 'essence' of a thing.

Further reading

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*Et'*, art. 'Ma'nā'

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B. WEISS

### manāqib literature

A genre of biographical–hagiographical literature devoted to recounting and recording the *manāqib*, 'qualities and characteristics', *faḍā'il*, 'virtues', or *mafākhir*, *ma'āthir*,

'sources of pride' of notable individuals. The term *manāqib* could originally be employed in quite a neutral way, or even used to detail a person's bad characteristics, but very soon came to denote *par excellence* a laudatory biography, especially of a religious figure, detailing his charismatic attributes and, often, his miraculous powers of healing, etc. It thus comes to mean, in effect, 'hagiography'.

The biographies of the Prophet have some connection with the genre, and this term alternates with *manāqib/faqā'il* for works on other outstanding personages of early Islam, such as those on the early caliphs and on 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz by such authors as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Ibn al-Jawzī. The founders of the great law schools in Islam soon became the subjects of *manāqib* treatises, especially Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfi'ī, while biographical dictionaries were composed of their disciples, often arranged in generations (*ṭabaqāt*), such as those of the Shāfi'īs by al-Subkī and those of the Ḥanbalīs by Abū Ya'lā al-Farrā' (451–526/1059–1133).

Hagiolatry of individual holy men and mystics and, from the sixth/twelfth century onwards, the institutionalization of the Sūfi orders or *ṭuruq*, both provided powerful stimuli for the development of *manāqib* literature, so that almost every ascetic or Sūfi *shaykh* of any note became the subject of either a special work or at least of a section within a wider book. Many such works are listed by the bibliographer Ḥājji Khalifa, and the genre continued almost up to the fourteenth/twentieth century, especially in regions where traditionalist Islam and the veneration of local saints were particularly strong, such as Morocco and other lands of the Maghrib.

Further reading

*EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Manāqib' (C. Pellat).

C. E. BOSWORTH

See also: biography, medieval

## Mandūr, Muḥammad (1907–65)

Egyptian literary critic, translator, lawyer and politician. Born in Kafr Mandūr (Lower Egypt), Mandūr studied law and literature at the Egyptian University, graduating with two Licences in 1929 and 1930. He then studied for nine years in France, where he received

several graduate diplomas and a Licence in French and African literatures. He returned to Egypt in 1939 and taught at the University of Cairo before moving in 1942 to Alexandria, where he completed his doctorate (later published as *al-Naqd al-minhajī 'ind al-'Arab*) under the supervision of Aḥmad Amīn in 1943. In 1944 Mandūr resigned his post and worked as an editor on various newspapers. He became a member of the Egyptian Parliament and from 1949 taught at the Institute of Dramatic Arts. He visited Romania and the USSR in 1956 and was greatly impressed by the socialist experience of both. He was awarded the State Prize for Literature in 1962.

Mandūr produced more than twenty books and many articles. In addition to his translation of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and other works, he is best known for his call for *al-adab al-mahmūs* ('whispered literature'), which he defended in his first major book *Fī al-mizān al-jadīd* (1944), considered by many as a landmark in modern Arabic literary criticism. He is also noted for his textual analysis of modern Arabic literature, informed by the French critical tradition of *l'explication de textes*; for his later call – inspired by his visit to eastern Europe – for ideological criticism; for his influential work on classical Arabic literary theory, and for his widely read books on modern Arabic literature and criticism (especially Egyptian poetry and drama), including *Muḥādarāt 'an Khalīl Muṭrān* (1954), *Muḥādarāt fī al-shi'r al-Miṣrī ba'd Shawqī* (3 vols, 1955–8), *Masraḥiyyāt Shawqī* (1956), *Masraḥiyyāt 'Azīz Abāza* (1958), *al-Masraḥ al-nathrī* (1959), *Masraḥ Tawfiq al-Hakīm* (1971) and *Fī al-masraḥ al-Miṣrī al-mu'āsir* (1971). His books have for many years provided the most accessible résumés on Western literary genres and schools for Arab readers.

Throughout his career, Mandūr was motivated by a strong commitment to change in Arab society, strengthened by his political engagement before the 1952 revolution, and later by his visit to eastern Europe. He drew on a profound knowledge of Arabic culture and first-hand experience of its European counterpart, influencing several generations of Arab writers and critics, as well as students of Arabic literature (particularly drama) throughout the Arab world.

Further reading

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A.-N. STAIF

## al-Manfalūṭī see Abū al-Nasr al-Manfalūṭī

## al-Manfalūṭī, Muṣṭafā Luṭfi (1876–1924)

Egyptian writer and poet. Born in Manfalūṭ (southern Egypt), the son of an Islamic court judge, Manfalūṭī was sent at the age of 12 to al-Azhar, where he spent ten years. Like many Arab authors he started his career by writing poetry. In 1897 he was imprisoned for publishing a poem considered insulting to the Khedive 'Abbās II. Manfalūṭī admired the reformist ideas of Muḥammad 'Abduh and took his side in his dispute with the Egyptian government. In 1907 he started publishing a series of articles in the newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad* which were collected first under the title *al-Uṣbū'iyāt*, and later as *al-Nazarāt*. These articles were published in three parts in 1910, 1912 and 1920. In 1915 followed a collection of short stories, *al-'Abarāt*, in which he tried to adapt four French and even one American story for the Egyptian reading public. In addition to these collections (many times reprinted), Manfalūṭī also wrote three original stories called *al-Yatīm*, *al-Ḥijāb* and *al-Hāwiya*.

In 1909 Manfalūṭī became Arabic editor at the Ministry of Education. From then on, his career was spent in government service, at the Department of Justice and at the Royal Court.

Manfalūṭī is widely recognized as having modernized Arabic prose writing, while retaining contacts with traditional style and ideas. He did not know French or English well, but was fascinated by Western literature, despite knowing it only through translations and adaptations. Curiously, he was able to publish Arabic versions of at least four long French works: *Cyrano de Bergerac* by Edmond Rostand (1921); *Pour la Couronne* by François Coppée (1920); *Paul et Virginie* by Bernadin de Saint-Pierre (1923); and *Sous les Tilleuls* by Alphonse Karr (1917?).

The most striking feature both of Manfalūṭī's original works and of his translations is their

Romantic vein, which is dominated by melancholy and a mood of bewilderment, not to say sentimental pessimism. In this respect, as Jayyusi notes, he paved the way for the Romantic poetry of the 1920s and 1930s. His poems were published in 1912 as *Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūṭī*, and he also made contributions in the field of poetic and literary criticism.

### Further reading

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E.C.M. de MOOR

## Manṣūr, Anīs (1926?– )

Egyptian writer and journalist. Manṣūr graduated in 1947 from the philosophy department of Cairo University. His works include essays, short stories, travel literature, plays and translations, many of which have appeared in numerous editions. In 1963 he received the State Prize for his work *Ḥawla al-ālam fī mi'atay yawm*, which – according to UNESCO statistics – is one of the most widely read books in Arabic. Among his studies are *Waḥdī ma'a al-ākharīn*. Manṣūr's travel writings include *Aṭyab taḥiyyātī min Muskū*, *La'nat al-Farā'ina* and *A'jab al-rihlāt fī al-tārīkh*; among his plays are *al-Ahyā' al-mujāwira* and *Ḥilmak yā Shaykh A'lam*. Manṣūr, who has his own editorial column in *al-Ahrām*, is also the translator of Arthur Miller's *After the Fall*, four plays by Dürrenmatt and a play by Jean Giraudoux.

### Further reading

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M. MIKHAIL

## Manṣūr al-Namarī (d. 190/805)

Abū al-Faḍl (or Abū al-Qāsim) ibn Salam ibn al-Zibriqān al-Namarī, from the Banū Rabī'a ibn Nizār, was a court poet of **Hārūn al-Rashīd**. He was attached also to both al-Faḍl

ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī and Ja'far al-Barmakī (see **Barmakids**), as well as their nemesis al-Faḍl ibn Rabi'. Although **Ibn al-Nadīm** mentions a 100-leaf *dīwān* in the *Fihrist*, only 57 fragments (386 verses) survive in various sources. He composed, among other genres, a substantial amount of *ghazal*, which is hard to distinguish from the manner of the *nasīb*, but mostly *madīh*, for which he reworked the classical *qaṣīda* model. Though an 'Abbāsīd panegyricist, he was pro-'Alid – Shi'ī sources quote anti-'Abbāsīd material. He represents well the era in which he lived, although one must search for signs of dissimulation in his official eulogies.

Text edition

*Shi'r Manṣūr al-Namarī*, T. al-'Ashshāsh (ed.), Damascus (1981).

P.F. KENNEDY

### **maqāma (pl. maqāmāt)**

Classical Arabic literary genre, developed in the fourth/tenth century out of a cluster of *adab* prose genres which basically comprised all of the education and learning of court circles. The *maqāmāt* were usually composed in collections of short independent narrations written in ornamental rhymed prose (*saj'*) with verse insertions, which shared a common plot-scheme and two constant protagonists: the narrator and the hero. In each narration (*maqāma*) one familiar *adab* topos is usually chosen to be elaborated. The narration tells of an episode in which the hero, a vagrant and mendicant but also a man of letters and eloquence, appears in a certain public place (a market, a mosque, a cemetery, a public bath, a traveling caravan, etc.) in different guises, and tricks people into donating him money by manipulating their feelings and beliefs. As Beeston has put it:

Despite his gifts of wit and eloquence, he is a hypocritical rascal – albeit a rather engaging one – and an unrestrained drunkard who, after a serious and moving religious homily, for example, which gains him alms from his auditory, dissipates the cash in low society at a tavern drinking wine; he himself is elderly, but occasionally has with him a youthful accomplice, whom he uses in playing crafty tricks for extracting money (Beeston, 1990, 133).

Usually the narrator witnesses the hero's adventures; and each episode ends with the narrator exposing the hero's identity, the hero justifying his behaviour, and their friendly departure. This is the basic scheme of a typical *maqāma*; naturally there are many variations to this scheme, depending on author and period.

The fact that the *maqāma* genre emerged in the wake of a literary institution that was highly established at the time – that of *adab* – bears significant implications for the nature and structure of the *maqāmāt*. The immense body of *adab* literature served as a literary reservoir from which the *maqāma* drew practically everything, from entire literary models to particular themes, motifs, situations, verses of poetry, figures of speech, clichés, ready rhymed-prose collocations and so on. Allusions to specific, often well-known texts from *hadīth*, *adab* and poetry can also be found in the *maqāma*, sometimes functioning as a founding principle upon which an entire *maqāma* is structured (e.g. the *Maqāma of the Lion* by al-Hamadhānī). All these are processed in the *maqāma* and moulded into a new literary model, which is, however, essentially distinct from other traditional *adab* models in that it overtly proclaims itself to be fictional.

Fiction is on the whole rejected in official classical Arabic literature, which, governed by powerful religious-poetic norms, consistently claims the historicity of its texts (see **fiction, medieval**). When discussed, fiction would usually be condemned as a 'lie' that should not be accepted. Introducing, through the *maqāma*, a literary model that purports to be fictional was therefore quite an innovative act, albeit one announced in a highly cautious fashion – a fashion that tended towards obscuring the innovation rather than declaring it loudly. In the introductions to their works, authors of *maqāmāt* would often state that 'they themselves gave the names to the hero and the narrator, who otherwise never existed', meaning, in other words, that they employed invented, fictional rather than historical characters. But at the same time, they would be very careful to relate their works to well-accepted literary traditions like those of the fables of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* or of love poetry, in order to prove the legitimacy of their writings.

What, then, were the circumstances that turned such an unfavourable poetic idea of unabashed fiction into a possible literary

option? The answer seems to lie, again, in the relation of the *maqāma* to its parent genre, *adab*. The first pieces of what were later to be recognized as 'maqāma texts' were created with an obvious humorist intent. These were composed by **Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī** (d. 398/1008) as a sort of 'comic relief' at learned *adab* sessions in which serious *adab* materials were circulated and discussed. A tradition cited by al-Sharīshī, a famous comentator of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, states that at the end of such sessions al-Hamadhānī used to challenge his fellow companions by requesting them to suggest a theme or topos, on which he would improvise 'a *maqāma*'. His texts were thus created as parodic variations on familiar, often well-chewed pieces of *adab* knowledge. In order to mark the improvisations as merely 'fun' and distinguish them from the 'genuine' educational texts related by and about real historical figures, fictitious characters had to be introduced, and their fictionality be (to a certain degree) openly admitted.

The genre of *maqāmāt* emerged in **Khurasan**, where al-Hamadhānī first composed his *maqāmāt* in 387/997, in Nishapur. It hovered on the periphery of the canonized literature for about a hundred years, until the *maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) appeared on the scene and captured the literary taste of the period within a short time. The explicit praise of literary critics, the many commentaries written on his *maqāmāt* almost from the time that they were first published in **Baghdad**, and the testimonies of learned men who came from distant places, including **Spain**, to hear the authorized version of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* from his own mouth, all provide ample evidence of an almost immediate prestige and popularity. Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* became a symbol of Arabic eloquence and stylistic dexterity, and preserved their prominent status up until modern times.

The success of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* marked a change in the status of the *maqāma* and its establishment as a canonical literary genre. Al-Ḥarīrī's model overshadowed all previous models and was followed by later writers, who focused on language, style and edifying subject matter rather than on fiction, parody or satire. The successful acceptance of the *maqāma* into Arabic literature was thus accompanied by a process of extensive blurring of the genre's self-proclaimed fictionality. Its fictional world was gradually reduced

to a mere skeleton, with its plot serving to connect now larger and more important presentations of information on a wide range of subjects. Adjusting itself to the normative classical poetics, the *maqāma* seemed to have lost its potential ability to significantly impact the established literature with the introduction of fiction. Despite the considerable prestige that the *maqāma* had won for itself, its literary model ultimately failed to fulfil a creative role in the dynamics of Arabic literature.

The prestigious status enjoyed by the *maqāma* in Arabic culture brought other, non-Arabic, communities within that culture to produce *maqāmāt* in their own languages. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the appearance of *maqāmāt* in Persian, Hebrew (both in Spain and in the East) and Syriac. Although no evidence of *maqāmāt* translation into European languages such as Latin or Romance is extant, literary contacts between the *maqāma* and the adjacent Spanish picaresque literature have been conclusively established by modern research.

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R. DRORY

**al-Maqdisī** see **al-Muqaddasī**

**Ma'qil ibn Dhirār, al-Shammākh**  
see al-Shammākh

**al-Maqqarī, Shihāb al-Dīn**  
(c.986–1041/c.1577–1632)

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī was born into a scholarly family in Algeria; he lived in Morocco and died in Egypt. Of his numerous works (for lists see *GAL* and *EI*), three are particularly important: (a) *Rawḍat al-ās al-'atīrat al-anfās fī dhikr man laqītuḥu min a'lām al-ḥaḍratayn Marrākush wa-Fās*, containing biographies of many Moroccan scholars, and much on the education and life of the author; (b) *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, a biography of the qāḍī Iyād (476–544/1083–1149); and (c) *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb* (a partial translation was made by P. de Gayangos in the nineteenth century). This last is his most important work. It is in two parts: the first is a history of al-Andalus, valuable for its descriptions of the country and its scholars. The second is a biography of Lisān al-Dīn **Ibn al-Khaṭīb** (713–76/1313–75), the famous vizier of Nasrid Granada. Both the *Nafḥ* and the *Azhār* include many quotations from literary and historical works which are otherwise lost.

Text editions

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

**al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1441)**

Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī was one of the great polymaths of the Mamlūk period. In addition to his official career, mainly as *muḥtasib* (market inspector) in Cairo, he devoted his life to recording the history and topography of Egypt in a series of large-scale works and smaller monographs. Although he was no great stylist, his writings are always interesting because of his eye for arresting details and the odd touch of

melodrama in his historical writing, and because of his relatively greater attention to the economic and social background. His many works include: a history of the Fātimids (*Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*); a chronicle of the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks down to the end of his life (*Kitāb al-sulūk*); a large biographical dictionary, largely unpublished (*al-Muqaffā*), a monograph on the economy, finances and periodic famines of Egypt; and the indispensable topographical work generally known as *al-Khiṭaṭ*.

Text editions

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*Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (ed.), Cairo (1967–73).  
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D.S. RICHARDS

**maqṣūra (qaṣida) see qaṣida**

**Mardam Bek, Khalil (1895–1959)**

Syrian poet, journalist, prose writer and editor of classical Arabic texts. Among other official positions, he was president of al-Rābita al-Adabiyya (1921) and of al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabi (1953), and was minister of education in 1942, 1949 and 1952. In his life and writings, Mardam Bek reflects the advantages of the affluent class to which he belonged, as well as the influence of the Kurd 'Alī school with its scholarly and linguistic emphases. However, his involvement in the nationalist struggle against the French mandate and concern for pan-Arab unity, as well as his own restless personality and exposure to progressive Arab ideas and European literature, mark his otherwise traditional verse with a readiness to discuss contemporary issues. His better poems have, besides their neo-classical features, qualities of sensuousness and irony, and his influence extended even to poets as different in outlook as Nizār al-Qabbānī.

Mardam Bek's *Dīwān* was published posthumously in 1960. His son 'Adnān (1917–88) was a notable verse dramatist.

Further reading

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R. NOURALLAH

**Mardān, Husayn (1927–72)**

Iraqi journalist and erotic poet. Born in Ba'qūba, he worked in journalism after graduating from secondary school, and was tried and imprisoned for publishing poems that the government censor considered as pornographic.

Mardān's poetry is lyrical, simple and fluent, depending on sensual feeling and emotional tension. Sex and prostitutes form its main themes. His *Qaṣā'id 'āriya* (Baghdad, 1949) and *al-Laḥn al-aswad* (1950) (2nd edn of both anthologies, 1955) aroused the criticism and anger of conservative circles in Iraq. Other collections of his poetry include *Rajul al-ḍabāb* (1951), *Ṭirāz khāṣṣ* and *Halāhil nahwa al-shams* (1955), in which he dealt with political themes. He also published collections of short stories, including *Ṣuwar mur'iba* (1951), *'Azīzātī Fulāna* (1952) and *Hulm 'an al-ḥarb al-thālitha*, *'Ishrūn qasīdat nathr* (1993), as well as literary criticism such as *Maqālāt fī al-naqd al-adabī* (1955).

Further reading

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S. MOREH

**al-Marghinānī  
(fifth/eleventh century)**

Abū al-Ḥasan Naṣr ibn al-Ḥasan al-Marghinānī was a poet and critic. Very little is known of his life. He was born in Marghinān in Transoxania and settled in Zawzan. **Al-Bākharzī** quotes some of his prose and poetry in his *Dumyat al-qaṣr*. He wrote a short treatise called *al-Maḥāsīn fī al-naẓm wa-al-nathr* (*Beauties in Poetry and Prose*) which deals with tropes and figures of speech, and was used by Rādūyānī in his *Tarjumān al-balāgha*, the first work on the subject in Persian.

Another work on stylistics, in the only surviving manuscript entitled *al-Badī'* and ascribed to al-Marghinānī, is in fact by the sixth/twelfth century poet 'Alī ibn Aflāḥ.

Text edition

*Two Arabic Treatises on Stylistics: al-Marghinānī's al-Maḥāsīn fī 'l-naẓm wa-'l-nathr, and Ibn Aflāḥ's Muqaddima, formerly ascribed to al-Marghinānī*, G.J. van Gelder (ed.), Istanbul (1987).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Mar'ī ibn Yūsuf (d. 1033/1624)**

Mar'ī ibn Yūsuf ibn Abī Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-Karmī was a *mufti*, teacher, and author of works on Islamic law, biography, writing style, Koran commentary and theory of love (see **love theory**). Mar'ī was born in Tur Karm, now Tulkarm, near Nablus, and was educated in Jerusalem and Cairo. On love theory, his *Munyat al-muḥibbīn wa-bughyat al-'āshiqīn* sums up with a light touch some major issues that had emerged on this subject since the third/ninth centuries. Works of his on **Ibn Taymiyya** and on law have become classics.

Text editions

*Badī' al-inshā'āt wa-al-sīfat fī al-mukātabāt wa-al-murāsālāt*, Istanbul (1299/1882); Cairo (1319/1901) (many earlier editions); abridged version, Mosul (1866).

*Dalīl al-tālib li-nayl al-maṭālib* (a textbook on *fiqh*), in *Nayl al-ma'ārib fī Dalīl al-tālib* (a commentary on it by 'Abd al-Qādir 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar al-Dimashqī al-Shaybānī al-Taghlibī), Cairo (1324/1907); also in *Manār al-sabīl fī sharḥ al-Dalīl* (a commentary on it by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Dūyān [1858/9–1934/5]), 'Iṣām Qala'jī (ed.), 2 vols, Riyadh (1985).

*al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī manāqib al-mujtahid Ibn Taymiyya*, in *al-Majmū' al-mushtamil 'alā al-durar al-ātiya*, M.S. 'Abd Allāh Ashqar (ed.), 2 vols, Kuwait (1985).

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L.A. GIFFEN

**Marrāsh, Frānsīs (1836–73)**

Melchite writer and poet, born and died in Aleppo. He studied medicine under an English

physician, and furthered his studies in Paris (writing an account of his journey there); illness plagued him, however, and he returned home totally blind. His first published *dīwān*, *Mir'āt al-ḥasnā*, tried to introduce new themes into modern Arabic literature by describing modern mechanical innovations; *Mashhad al-aḥwāl* (1851) follows a philosophical path, dealing with the universe, nature and humankind. *Ghābat al-ḥaqq* (*The Forest of Truth*) (1865) is a vision of a dream world, describing an ideal state of spiritual freedom in constant war with a kingdom of bondage; the work is a fantastic blend of European ideas (the advantages of peace, the importance of liberty and equality) and a personal Christian belief in universal love. It was followed by the moralistic social romance *Durr al-ṣadaf fī gharā'ib al-ṣudaf* (1872). Marrāsh also wrote a treatise on medicine (1861), *Nature's Proof of the Existence of God and the Divine Law* (1892) and a history of extinct nations (1864). His original style is the first example of poetic prose in modern Arabic, and was later to influence *Jubrān*. Marrāsh has some claim to be regarded as the first truly universal Arab intellectual of modern times.

#### Further reading

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 Tomiche, N., 'Marrāsh, Fransīs...', *EI*<sup>2</sup> vol. 6, 598–9.  
 Wielandt, Rotraud, 'Fransīs Fathallāh Marrāshs Zugang zum Gedankengut der Aufklärung und der französischen Revolution' in *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges*, Amsterdam (1992), 116–46.

P.C. SADGROVE

#### *marthiya see rithā'*

### Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa (105–c.182/723–c.798)

Abū al-Simṭ Marwān ibn Sulaymān ibn Yahyā ibn Abī Ḥafṣa, of a non-Arab family with a certain tradition in poetry, was born in Yamama. His first established patron was Ma'n ibn Zā'ida, the governor of Yemen. The elegy Marwān composed when Ma'n died expressed his grief so effectively that he had some difficulty in finding a new patron, but eventually he gained the favour of the caliphs

al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd. He supported the 'Abbāsids' political claims unequivocally, and they rewarded him accordingly. An unattractive personality (his meanness was pathological), he was a master of the classical style associated with the great Umayyad panegyricists. His language avoids obscurity and his syntax is economical; he aims at striking formulae and well-turned phrases to convey his political message. His poems have the rhythm of oratorical periods, and he is known to have spent much care on their composition, consulting philologists about the correctness of his diction. Most of his poetry is panegyric or elegiac, but a few occasional pieces on private affairs have also been preserved. Even if it is apocryphal that he was killed by a supporter of the 'Alids in revenge for one line of his debunking their claims to the caliphate, the story suggests the impact that his poetry had.

#### Text editions

- Shi'r Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa*, Qaḥṭān Rashīd al-Tamīmī (ed.), Baghdad (1386/1966); Husayn 'Aṭwān (ed.), Cairo (1973).

#### Further reading

- EI*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Marwān' (J.-E. Bencheikh) gives both information and bibliography on Marwān and the family from which he came.

H. KILPATRICK

### Marwān ibn Abī al-Janūb (d. after 247/861)

Poet from Baghdad (also known as Marwān al-Aṣghar). He was born into a family of poets, the most famous one being his grandfather, Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa. He specialized in panegyric poetry, which he made for the caliphs al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil, currying the favour of the last-mentioned with his anti-Shi'i poems. Al-Mutawakkil made him governor of al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma, but on the accession of al-Muntaṣir he fell from grace. With several poets, including 'Alī ibn al-Jahm, he exchanged invective poems (*hijā'*). Most critics agree that his poetry was mediocre; little of it has been preserved.

#### Further reading

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des instances de légitimation socio-littéraires', *BEO* 29 (1977), 33–52, esp. 39–41. *El<sup>2</sup>*, art. 'Marwān'.

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## Marwānids see Umayyads

### al-Marzubānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān (c.297–384/910–94)

Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān al-Marzubānī was a literary scholar from Baghdad. He studied under famous philologists such as Ibn Durayd and Abū Bakr al-Anbārī. His literary gatherings were famous also as social events. His reputation as a scholar suffered somewhat from his predilection for wine. Only a small part of his vast biographical work on philologists, *al-Muqtabas*, has survived. Incompletely preserved also are his encyclopaedia of poets, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, and his work on women poets, *Ash'ār al-nisā'*. Interesting is *al-Muwashshah*, a collection and discussion of numerous points on which poets had been criticized. Of the many other works by him we only know the title and the size – often considerable – as given in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* or Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, such as *Ash'ār al-jinn* (*Poems of the Jinn*), *al-Riyād* (*The Gardens*, on those madly in love), *al-Mustaṭraf* (*The Peculiar*, anecdotes on stupid people), *al-Shi'r* (on poetics), *al-Mufaṣṣal* (on eloquence) and *al-Marāthī* (*Elegies*).

#### Text editions

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*Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj (ed.), Cairo (1960).

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### al-Marzūqī (d. 421/1030)

Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Marzūqī was a grammarian and literary scholar. Born in Isfahan, he is said to have earned his living as

a weaver, before his study of grammar and poetry turned him into a respected scholar who was employed by some of the Būyid princes as a tutor for their children. His most famous work is an extensive commentary on the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (*Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa, Commentary on the 'Bravery' Collection*). In the introduction he deals with a number of important issues in literary criticism, such as canons of choice for anthologies; the notion of 'amūd al-shi'r'; the question of truth, falsehood and the golden mean in poetry; and the 'natural-artificial' dichotomy. His interest in the poetry of Abū Tammām is clear from a commentary on the difficult verses in the latter's *dīwān*, *Sharḥ mushkil abyāt Abī Tammām al-mufrada* (*Commentary on the Difficult in Single Verses by Abū Tammām*), as well as a defence of the poet against his detractors, preserved only in fragments in later literature (*Kitāb al-Intiṣār min ḡalamat Abī Tammām, Getting Even with Those Who have Wronged Abū Tammām*). His extensive work on ancient Arab star lore, weather lore and time notions, *Kitāb al-Azmina wa-al-amkina* (*Times and Places*) deserves mention as well, since all these topics are intimately connected with the ancient literature.

#### Text editions

*Kitāb al-Azmina wa-al-amkina*, 2 vols, Hyderabad, Deccan (1332/1914) (a list of contents in *GAS*, vol. 7, 361–3).

*Sharḥ dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, Aḥmad Amin and 'Abd al-Sallām Ḥārūn (eds), 4 vols, 2nd edn, Cairo (1387/8–1967/8).

*Sharḥ mushkil abyāt Abī Tammām al-mufrada aw Tafsīr ma'ānī abyāt shi'r Abī Tammām*, Khalaf Rashīd Nu'mān (ed.), Beirut (1407/1987).

#### Further reading

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Stetkevych, S.P., *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the 'Abbāsīd Age*, Leiden (1991), 257ff.

W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: literary criticism, medieval; *maṭbū'* and *maṣnū'*; truth and poetry.

### al-Mas'adī, Maḥmūd (1911– )

Tunisian writer. Al-Mas'adī's creative writings date from the 1930s and 1940s but did not find their way into print until the appearance

of *al-Sudd* in 1955. *Al-Sudd*, his best-known work, is usually thought of as a play which revolves around the two main characters, Ghaylān and Maymūna. In fact, it does not correspond to any established literary form: within the outer framework of the drama it alternates between lengthy narrative passages and blank verse. The whole work is a subtle satire on the conflicts that exist between traditional Muslim societies and social reformers and modernizers, whose fits of enthusiasm are often idealistic and unrealistic at one and the same time. The author achieves much of his satire through linguistic parodies of different elements of the Arab-Islamic tradition and this is undoubtedly one of the most original features of his work.

Al-Mas'adī was ahead of his time in that he wrote during a period when much of Arabic literature was obsessed with issues of political commitment, and the themes and styles of Arabic literature were adapted accordingly. He is no less concerned by such matters, but he chooses to approach them by remoulding timeless motifs and styles of Arabic literature around the dilemmas of a twentieth-century mentality. His works such as *Sindbād wal-tahāra*, *al-Musāfir* and *Haddatha Abū Hurayra Qāl* (1973) represent some of the earliest exercises in reworking the classical heritage for modern literary purposes.

Together with Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī, al-Mas'adī is one of the two modern Tunisian writers with a widespread reputation in the Arab world. For many years before his retirement, he was minister of culture in Bourguiba's government.

#### Further reading

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Ostle, R.C., 'Maḥmūd al-Mas'adī and Tunisia's "lost generation"', *JAL* 8 (1977), 153–66.

R.C. OSTLE

### **al-Mashriq (1898– )**

Oriental, historical, literary and scientific review, published by the Catholic Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut to support the Christian religion, promote oriental disciplines and help the diffusion of sciences. Its early directors were Father Luwīs Shaykhū (Cheikho), Father Henri Lammens and Father Aghnātyūs Khalifa. It ceased publication briefly in World

War I and in 1970 for a twenty-year period. Until his death, the major contributor was Shaykhū himself, who wrote more than 7,000 pages for the review; many of his major works first appeared there.

#### Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

### **Maskin al-Dārimī see Miskin al-Dārimī**

### **masks and masquerades**

Smearing the face with soot or ashes, or whitening it with lime or flour, or wearing masks of animals or demonic features, was an integral part of dramatic rituals among many nations, including the Arabs. The use of masks in theatrical performances in Islam seems to be of both Byzantine and Persian origins and might be the origin of live theatre in Islam. In Arabic lexicography mask is called *samāja*, *wajh* and *qina*. *Samāja* is defined as 'foul, unseemly, or ugly', but in literary and historical works it has the meaning of 'mask and/or a man in masquerade'.

In the *naqā'id* there is one of the earliest indications that actors with hobby-horses wore masks. In poem no. 42, verse 9, **Jarir** (d. 114/733) mocks **al-Farazdaq** with his silk garment and bracelet, riding on his mule, indicating that he looks like a masquerading player or actor disguised with a mask of a monkey with moustaches, and imitating riding a horse with his hobby-horse. Such figures of actors disguised as monkeys and bears are preserved in a painting in the **Umayyad** palace of Quṣayr 'Amra (see Ettinghausen, 1965).

The use of the term *samāja* in the sense of comic masks and/or masked actors is attested in Iraq and Egypt from the third/ninth to the fifth/eleventh centuries in the context of *Nayrūz* celebrations by Muslims and Copts from the time of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'taṣim (218–28/833–42) to the Fātimid caliph al-Zāhir (411–27/1020–35). However, during the 'Abbāsid period in Baghdad, masked actors are mentioned as performing dances (*raqṣ* also means playing and acting)

in the caliphs' palaces together with unmasked actors called *ṣafā'ina* (slapstick actors). During al-Mutawakkil's reign (233–48/847–62), a gallery was built to separate him from the masked actors, for reasons of security. During the Fāṭimid period the *samāja* performed in market places.

From the second half of the eleventh century the term *samāja*, for no obvious reason, was no longer mentioned in Arabic historiography, but rather the term *muharrij* (pl. *muharrijūn*), was used. Both terms, *samāja* and *muharrij*, were used in Spain and later in Europe as *mascara* and *moharrache* in the sense of buffoon and masquerade (see R. Dozy and W.H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, 2nd edn, Amsterdam [1915] 509).

The *samāja* are said not only to perform dances but to imitate the behaviour of prostitutes. Actors with goats' masks performed *Kōsa nishin* (the ride of the thin-bearded man), a festival borrowed from Persia performing symbolic folk plays of 'temporary king' or 'false *amīr*', which illustrates the expulsion of winter or the driving out of the old year. Alternatively, the *muharrijūn* performed a *faṣl* (play) wearing animal masks or bearskins in cafés, market squares and palaces during celebrations of festivals and *mawliids* (the Prophet's or a Muslim saint's birthday) to the end of the nineteenth century.

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S. MOREH

See also: actors and acting, medieval; theatre and drama, medieval

**maṣnū'** (style, in poetry) see **maṭbū'** and **maṣnū'**

**masrah, masrahiyya** see **theatre and drama**

#### al-Mas'ūdī

(c.283–345/c.896–956)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī was born **Baghdad** and died in **Cairo**. Erudite polymath and *adīb*, he travelled extensively in **India** (and possibly beyond India to the East), **Persia**, **Armenia**, **Arabia**, **Syria** and **East Africa**, and sailed the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean and the Caspian. Apart from this information, gleaned from his own works, little is known of his life or of the sources of his livelihood, except for statements by various writers on his 'Alid sympathies.

Many works have been attributed to al-Mas'ūdī, and he speaks of a number of works he wrote which he expanded, epitomized and reworked at various times and in many versions. What is certain is that he was the author of *Murūj al-dhahab* and of *Akhbār al-zamān*. All these works contain various components of exotic knowledge which formed the more cultivated fringes of *adab*, courtly urbane secular culture: ethnography, ethnology, geography, natural science, antiquarianism, doxography, *mirabilia* and history proper. Overall, this material is classified in a very general way under headings that would today be called geographical and historical. The geographical material is divided according to the quaternary division of zones, of Persian provenance, which had little incidence in Arabic writing in which the Ptolemaic septenary division of *klimata* (*aqālīm*) was standard. In each quarter, climatic and ecological conditions, as well as astrological influences, produce people of particular temperaments and predispositions. Thus the geographical discussion is the occasion for ethnographical description and ethnological stereotyping, and for the description of various exotic aspects of nature and narratives of *mirabilia* (see '*ajā'ib literature*').

The historical narratives, also full of various digressions, take up the history of seven great nations – the Chaldeans, Indians, Chinese, Greeks, Persians and Egyptians, in addition to Arabian antiquities and the histories of lesser peoples narrated on the margins of these major histories. In all, the organization is regnal; with Islamic history, the organization is annalistic.

Both the geographical and historical sections betoken an extraordinary curiosity and massive erudition, sharpened and consolidated by acute personal witness. Al-Mas'ūdī's knowledge of western Europe and of Frankish history was extraordinary. In all, an elevated spirit of humanism pervades his works, which mark a high point of the *adab* spirit of urbanity and culture. Cognizant of the relativity of cultures, alive to mutability and diversity, al-Mas'ūdī's works provide a glimpse of the extraordinary breadth, diversity and catholicity of *dār al-Islam* in a manner that other works stunt.

#### Text editions

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*Meadows of Gold: The Abbasids*, E.P. Lunde and C. Stone (trans.), London (1989).

*Les prairies d'or (Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar)*, C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (eds and trans.), Paris (1861–77); edition revised and corrected by Ch. Pellat, (1966–79); translation revised by Ch. Pellat (1962–89); M.M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, (ed.), Cairo (1948), rpt Sidon (1987).

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Shboul, A., *Al-Mas'ūdī and his World: A Muslim Humanist and his Interest in Non-Muslims*, London (1979).

A. AL-AZMEH

See also: historical literature

## Maṭar, Muḥammad 'Afifi (1935– )

Egyptian poet. Born in Ramlat al-Anjab in the province of Manūfiyya, Maṭar studied philosophy at Ain Shams University and worked as a teacher as well as in literary journalism. In his early career he faced the hostility of the Egyptian literary establishment (the General Egyptian Book Organization refusing to publish his poetry collection in 1963, for example) and spent about ten years working as an editor for the literary review *al-*

*Aqlām* in Baghdad. Only recently, following recognition of his talent by the major Arab critics, has he also gained the recognition of the literary establishment in Egypt, where he received the State Prize for Literature in 1989. In 1991 he was arrested by the Egyptian authorities following his condemnation of the American intervention in Iraq, but was released after a protest by Arab intellectuals and writers. Maṭar published his first successful poems in the 1960s in Lebanese literary magazines, particularly *Shi'r*. At first extensively influenced by Adūnīs's poetic vision, his subsequent poetic development has been independent and original. His poetry is complex and hermetic, with many obscure allusions and images from the Arab and Egyptian heritage. Many realistic village anecdotes from his childhood are employed in his poems, as is evident in his collection *Wa-al-nahr Yalbasu al-aqni'a* (Baghdad, 1976). Among his other poetry collections are *Min daftar al-ṣamt* (Damascus, 1968), *Malāmiḥ min al-wajh al-Anbadūqilisī* (Beirut, 1969) and *Kitāb al-arḍ wa-al-dam* (Baghdad, 1972). Until the early 1990s only one collection of his poetry (*Yataḥaddathu al-ṭamyu*, Cairo, 1977) had been published in Egypt itself – the subtitle, *Qaṣā'id min al-khurāfa al-sha'biyya (Poems from Popular Folklore)*, showing the interests of the poet in the late 1970s and early 1980s – but more recently, Egyptian publishing houses have expressed readiness to publish his work. In one of his last collections, *Rubā'iyyat al-faraḥ* (London, 1990), his earlier poetic interests are interwoven with a heavy mystical tendency reminiscent of Adūnīs in his later poetic development. The same poetic vision is also expressed in his last collection *Fāṣilat iqā'āt al-naml* (Cairo, 1993). Maṭar, who is regarded as one of the outstanding innovative poets of contemporary Egypt, has recently also been involved in a project aimed at introducing modern Arabic poetry to Arab youth; the first book published in the project concentrated on Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, with an introduction by Maṭar (1993).

#### Text edition

*Modern Arabic Poetry: An Anthology*, S.K., Jayyusi (ed.), New York (1987), 349–52.

#### Further reading

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R. SNIR

## **maṭbū' and maṣnū'**

'Natural' and 'artificial/artful', an opposition used for a typology of poets and poetry at the time of the 'moderns' of the 'Abbāsīd era. The term *maṭbū'* first applied to the poets and described them as 'naturally talented for poetry' (*maṭbū' alā al-shi'r*); by extension it was used also to characterize the poetry. Originally (e.g. in **Ibn Qutayba**), the opposite of this term was *mutakallif*, 'proceeding with difficulty (in composing poetry)'. This referred to a poet who laboriously constructed his lines and smoothed out their rough edges over a long period of time; the result was not necessarily bad, but was thought to betray its slow genesis (among the ancient poets **Zuhayr** and **al-Ḥuṭay'a** are considered to be such slow workers, for which reason they were called 'the slaves of poetry' by the philologist **al-Aṣma'ī** [d. 213/828]).

With the rising tide of *badī'*, i.e. the application of rhetorical figures, in 'modern' poetry, a new aspect entered the debate: *ṣan'a* (see *ṣinā'a*). This term refers to the rhetorical or even concettistic 'crafting' of lines. The resulting line was called *maṣnū'*, rhetorically 'crafted', 'artful', or, for those who abhorred this development, 'artificial'. By extension the word was also applied to a poet who produced such lines, although in some early texts one also finds *ṣāhib ṣan'a*, 'a man of "crafting"'. The older term *mutakallif* came to be equated with the new term, especially by those who frowned on the new style.

*Maṣnū'* is the marked term of the opposition. This means that both types of poets are talented by nature; only the 'artful' poet is not content with the lines that come to his mind, but superimposes upon them one or the other rhetorical figure to make the content strange and novel. The *maṭbū'–maṣnū'* opposition became personified by **Abū Tammām** as the *maṣnū'* and his disciple **al-Buḥturi** as the *maṭbū'*. It should be noted, however, that there are no schools with these labels. The same

poet may write verses in both categories, even within the same poem. The most that can be said is that a given poet has a tendency one way or the other.

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W. P. HEINRICHS

*See also:* ancients and moderns; *badī'*; literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

## **mathal see metaphor; proverbs**

### **mathālib**

Plural of *mathlaba*, meaning 'vices, shortcomings, defects, faults, shameful actions, unpraiseworthy traits'; hence the opposite of *manāqib*, *ma'āthir*, *mafākhir*, *faḍā'il*, *maḥāsīn*. In classical Arabic literature, a satirical poem (*hiǰā'*) may be said to 'mention' the *mathālib* of someone. Technically, however, the *mathālib* genre is restricted to prose compilations, whose aim is to slander a group or an individual through describing their vices, and whose titles normally feature the term *mathālib* (rarely *akhlāq/akhbār*). The sources mention several such titles in the first four Hijrī centuries, all but one of which have not survived. These indicate that the genre addressed at the beginning mainly the vices of tribal Arab

groups (e.g. **Ibn al-Kalbī**'s *Mathālib al-ʿArab* and al-Haytham ibn ʿAdī's *Mathālib Rabīʿa*), and hence its connection with the *Shuʿūbiyya* movement (see **Ibn al-Nadīm**'s description of ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī's *al-Maydān fī al-mathālib*). Later, it addressed the vices of individuals, as in *Kitāb mathālib Abī Nuwās* by Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh al-Thaqafī, and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's preserved *Mathālib/Akhlāq al-wazīrayn*, which represents the culmination of the genre.

#### Further reading

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W. AL-QĀDĪ

See also: biography, medieval; *manāqib* literature

### Mattā ibn Yūnus (d. 328/940)

Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus was a translator and commentator of the works of **Aristotle**. A Nestorian Christian who studied and taught in Dayr Qunnā, he settled in **Baghdad** during the caliphate of al-Rādī (after 322/934), and through his Christian and Muslim disciples (**Yahyā ibn ʿAdī**, **al-Fārābī**) became one of the principle initiators of the reception of Peripatetic philosophy through Arabic translations from Syriac.

His translations of Aristotle represent a revival of Aristotelian studies, and recovered an Aristotle more complete and – as against the early predominance of pseudepigraphic Neoplatonica – more authentic than had been known heretofore to Arabic readers, comprising all of the *Organon* of logic and the essential works of natural philosophy and metaphysics, and accompanied by the commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius and Olympiodorus. The only surviving texts of Aristotle in his translation are: the *Posterior Analytics*, recognized as the high point and crown of logic; the *Metaphysics*, book xii, 1–7, containing the central chapters of Aristotle's theology; and the *Ars Poetica* – notorious for Mattā's ignorance of the Greek literary tradition, but transmitted

and read as part of the logic. The commentaries of Mattā were in the form of more or less extensive notes (*taʿāliq*, i.e. *hypomnēmata*), still extant in school notes on the *Organon* and comments on Aristotle's *Physics*.

While Mattā was recognized as the scholar of logic in his time, he had to confront a rising polemic against the claims of Greek logic and philosophy to universal truth, aggravated by the intrusion of 'logical' paradigms into the *uṣūl al-naḥw* of contemporary grammarians, and suffered defeat against the attack of the grammarian Abū Saʿīd al-Sirāfī in a famous debate in the year 326/937–8, reported by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī.

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G. ENDRESS

### al-Maṭwī, Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī (1920– )

Contemporary Tunisian novelist and short-story writer, born in Métouia in southern Tunisia. He has worked as a teacher in the Zitouna University, as a cultural adviser in Cairo, as chargé d'affaires in Baghdad and ambassador in Saudi Arabia; he has also been general secretary of the Faculty of Theology and a Member of Parliament. Al-Maṭwī established the Nādī al-Qiṣṣa (Short Story Club) in 1964, founded his

own review *Qiṣaṣ*, and acted as president of the Union des Écrivains Tunisiens from 1981 to 1991. He has edited a number of classical texts and written children's stories, a play and two collections of poetry. While his short stories exhibit many different styles, his three novels – *Wa-min al-ḡahāyā* (1956), *Ḥalīma* (1956) and *al-Tūt al-murr* (1967) – are the leading examples of Tunisian realism.

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J. FONTAINE

**mawālī (sing. mawlā)**

An Arabic word of many significations, some of a technical legal nature, but used in Arabic literary history to designate, in the early centuries of Islam, the non-Arabs – Persians, Aramaeans, Berbers, etc. – who converted to the new faith. They were assigned an inferior place in the political and social hierarchy of Islam as clients (*mawālī*) of the Arab tribesmen; but, in compensation, many of these *mawālī* exerted themselves to great effect in the fields of Arabic literary composition and scholarship, often acquiring a profound knowledge of Arabic and composing numerous works in such rarefied fields as Arabic grammar and lexicography, in addition to the more general aspects of *adab*. The process began early, as may be seen in the works of the Persian *mawlā* of the second/eighth century *Ibn al-Muqaffa*, and from then onwards, the works of genuine Arabs and non-Arabs are in most respects indistinguishable. Certain attitudes of the *mawālī* did, however, provoke a reaction from the Arabs and the defenders of the special role of the Arabs within Islam; for this, see *Shu'ūbiyya*.

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C. E. BOSWORTH

**mawāliyyā (also vocalized mawāliyyā and muwālayā)**

One of the 'Seven Arts' (*al-funūn al-sab'a*),

i.e. forms of verse composition which include the classical ode (*qaṣīda*) but also the later multi-rhyme inventions, consistently made to add up to seven in the different treatises, although the components are not always the same. In the written sources, the *mawāliyyā* is always ranked high on the ground that it lends itself to either the classical or the colloquial forms of the language although it is the uninflected compositions that are preferred.

The names of most of the non-classical 'arts' are of unknown origin, and are difficult to connect with Arabic roots. Probably for no other reason than a phonetic similarity with *mawālī*, the non-Arab Muslims whose status was a thorny question in late *Umayyad* and early *Abbāsid* times, late sources recount pretty anecdotes ascribing the invention of the *mawāliyyā* to Wasitis or Baghdadis of the second/eighth century. The first reliable examples, however, belong to the seventh/thirteenth century.

All the early instances on record consist of four lines in the *basīṭ* metre with a single rhyme, the line here being the equivalent of a hemistich in classical prosody. This form is now known as the *rubā'i* or *murabba'* 'quatrain'. Later developments are the result of additions between the third and last lines, producing fixed form poems rhyming *aaaxa* – the *a'raj*, 'lame' – or *aaabba* – the *Baghdādī*, *Nu'mānī*, *sab'ānī* or *musabba'*, 'seveners'. Yet, another elaboration apparently peculiar to *Egypt* and occurring not earlier than the nineteenth century was the insertion of a sestet of alternating rhymes, called *ridfa*, 'riding pillion', after the first three lines, the resulting pattern being *aaabcbcbcddda*, often with an internal 'd' rhyme in the last line. This variety is called *Ṣa'idī* (Upper Egyptian) or *marḏūf*.

In modern times, the *mawāliyyā* has passed almost exclusively to the hands of folk artists, and is more commonly called *mawwāl*, the term previously applied to the composer of *mawāliyyās*. Furthermore, a *mawwāl* that boasts mere rhymes is termed *abyaḍ*, 'white' or 'blank'. More highly esteemed is the inflation of every rhyme into an elaborate paronomasia, called *zahr*, 'flower', achieved by deliberate distortion of the normal pronunciation; the *mawwāl* is then called 'red' or 'green', the distinction often – but not consistently – made being that the red has a sad theme and the green a joyful one. On the other hand, the metre is often very cavalierly

treated, although when regular it is always recognizably *basīf*.

In Egypt at least, the folk artists can, by multiplying the sestets of the *mardūf* or by using any variety of the *mawwāl* as a stanza, extend the length of a composition indefinitely. This is particularly convenient for the composition of narrative ballads, which usually run to hundreds of lines. Folk terminology, however, is extremely loose, and the word *mawwāl* is sometimes, by extension, applied to any narrative song, or to interpretative freesongs, with no set tune and no regular metre or rhyme scheme.

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P. CACHIA

*See also:* popular literature; prosody

### al-Māwardī, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (364–450/974–1058)

A jurist of the Shāfi‘ī school, best known for his treatise on government entitled *Kitāb al-ahkām al-sulṭāniyya*. This work provides, among other things, a theory of the caliphate which deals with the basis of caliphal authority, the procedures whereby a caliph is appointed to office and the qualifications and duties of a caliph. Al-Māwardī’s methods of argument stand firmly within the tradition of Islamic jurisprudence, in contrast to the political writings of Muslim philosophers such as al-Fārābī.

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B. WEISS

### *maw‘īza* see oratory and sermons

### al-Mawṣili, Ibrāhīm (125–88/742–804)

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Maymūn (Māhān) al-Mawṣili was a musician, composer and courtier. Of noble Persian descent, Ibrāhīm was born in *Kufa*. He spent a turbulent youth, but early in life he developed an interest in singing. He visited Mosul (hence his *nisba* al-Mawṣili) and *Ray* in search of musical education, before going to *Basra*, where he attracted the notice of members of the ‘Abbāsīd family. So outstanding a musician was bound to pursue his career at court. Ibrāhīm not only established himself as one of the best singers in *Baghdad*, he also took care to fill in the lacunas in his education so as to be a worthy companion of royalty. Despite al-Mahdī’s determined opposition, he established a lasting friendship with the princes (later caliphs) al-Hādī and *Hārūn al-Rashīd*.

Ibrāhīm’s lavish life-style was financed by a monthly salary, rewards from admirers, fees from teaching and the income from selling the slave-girls he trained. He and two other musicians are said to have drawn up the list of songs on which *Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī’s Kitāb al-Aghānī* is based, although there is little to confirm this. Ibrāhīm was certainly one of the greatest musicians of the age, a performer and composer of genius with 900 songs to his credit, and an adherent of the ‘classical’ Hijazi school of singing. He seems always to have remained something of a non-conformist.

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H. KILPATRICK

*See also:* singers and musicians



**al-Mawṣilī, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm Abū Muḥammad (150/767–235/850)**

Musician, composer, musicologist, poet and courtier. The son of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Ishāq received an excellent education both in music and in the usual disciplines of Koran, *hadīth*, philology, poetry and history. He sang before the caliphs from Hārūn al-Rashīd to al-Mutawakkil, and after his father's death was the acknowledged leader among singers at court. He compensated for his comparatively poor voice by thorough musical knowledge and gracefulness; he was also a brilliant lutenist.

Ishāq followed his father in adhering to the Hijazi style of performance, and he systematized the Hijazi musical modes. He clashed with Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, who advocated an independent approach to the interpretation of the established repertoire and made much use of ornaments. Ishāq was the author of books on many earlier singers as well as on an authoritative system of musical theory; he also compiled a famous list of songs for al-Wāthiq. In poetry he preferred the more old-fashioned Umayyads, to whom he devoted several works; he himself was quite a talented poet. A complicated character, he chafed at the label 'singer', yet it is as a singer that he is remembered, even in the *Arabian Nights*.

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H. KILPATRICK

**mawsū'a see encyclopedias**

**mawwāl see mawāliya**

**al-Maydānī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 518/1124)**

Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Naysabūrī al-Maydānī was an Arab philol-

ogist, who was born, lived and studied in Nishapur, i.e. in a Persian-speaking environment. His teachers were philologists and specialists in the Koran, who had gained their knowledge during their travels. al-Maydānī has become famous through his *Majma' al-amthāl*, the most voluminous and popular collection of Arabic proverbs, based on fifty former collections, as he writes in his introduction. The proverbs are arranged alphabetically without strict consistency. Obsolete vocabulary is explained; the origin and the general meaning of the proverbs is frequently commented on by anecdotes. Thus the collection is also a socio-cultural source. Among his other works are the *Sharḥ al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, a commentary on that famous collection of poetry, and *al-Sāmi fī al-asāmī*, an Arabic–Persian dictionary, for which he himself wrote a commentary. The words are arranged in the categories *shar'iiyyāt* (legal terms), *ḥayawānāt* (animate), *'ulwiyyāt* (heavenly) and *suflīyyāt* (earthly things). *Qayd al-awābid min al-fawā'id* is a critique of al-Jawharī's dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*; *al-Hādī lil-shādī* is a syntax with Persian notes, divided into the parts nouns, verbs, particles. Al-Maydānī was a typical scholar of his time, compiling, arranging and commentating knowledge more than creating it.

**Text edition**

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*See also:* proverbs

**Maymūn ibn Qays see al-A'shā**

**Mazḥar, Adīb (1898–1928)**

Lebanese poet, born into the al-Ma'lūf family. His early poems were traditional, but after he had discovered the French symbolist poets, especially Baudelaire, he began composing symbolist poems previously unknown in Arabic literature in the 1920s. His poem *Nashīd al-sukūn*, written under the influence of Baudelaire's *Correspondance*, is considered to be the first Arabic symbolist poem, employing various typically symbolist elements, particularly synaesthesia (i.e. the description

of the perception of one sense modality in terms of another) and oxymoron. One of the central topics in his poetry is death, which he treated as a fascinating experience where the poet reveals a deep mystic desire for the 'soft, black claw of death'. Unlike other Arab symbolist poets, who concentrated on the element of music embodied in the single word, he was concerned less with polish and the choice of words than with conveying obliquely and symbolically a highly complex meaning, without losing the spontaneous nature of the experience and its relation to the depth of human anguish. Critics have argued that Mazhar's contribution to the development of modern Arabic poetry has been overlooked. His small output and his early death (as well as the rise of other major Lebanese poets in the 1930s immediately after his death) have contributed to this neglect, and his experiments are still little known even in literary circles in the Arab world, compared to those of Sa'īd 'Aql.

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R. SNIR

### al-Māzinī see grammar and grammarians

### al-Māzinī, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir (1890–1949)

Egyptian novelist, short-story writer, poet and critic. A significant figure in the development of modern Egyptian fiction, al-Māzinī was also, at different stages of his life, a teacher, journalist and translator.

Born into a relatively poor family, al-Māzinī attended teachers' college, where he met 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī who introduced him to a wide variety of Arabic and European literature. Al-Māzinī was much influenced, as was Shukrī, by the British Romantic poets and began to write and translate poems that reflected these readings. Throughout his career al-Māzinī was an inveterate borrower, both from his own works and those of others, and this led to charges of plagiarism.

During his early career as a teacher al-Māzinī and Shukrī joined 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād to share their interest in poetry and its criticism. Although the contacts between the poets were fruitful at first, Shukrī caused a split in the group by pointing out in print the nature of al-Māzinī's 'borrowings' in his poetry. In 1921 al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī published an important and iconoclastic work of criticism in two parts called *al-Diwan*. The naming of the three poets as the '*Dīwān Group*' is the result of this publication, but, since al-Māzinī's savage attack on Shukrī in this publication led to the disintegration of the group, the label seems hardly appropriate.

By this time al-Māzinī had abandoned a teaching career in favour of journalism and translation. He began also to write short articles, vignettes and stories, in which his genius for character depiction and humour were given free rein. These works were gathered into several collections, of which the most famous are *Ṣundūq al-dunyā* (1929) and *Khuyūt al-'ankabūt* (1935). Many of these tales show al-Māzinī's delight in absurd and farcical situations. In 'Hallāq al-qarya' a city-dweller holidaying in the countryside decides that he needs a shave; when the 'barber' arrives, it emerges that he is the local sheep-shearer. In 'al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya bi-lā mu'allim' the narrator, astonished by the claims of a language-teaching manual he has bought for fun, decides to pose as a Maltese visitor and to tour Cairo using only the resources of the book. In 'Kayf aṣbaḥtu 'ifrītan min al-jinn', al-Māzinī exploits the fact that his own home was close to a graveyard to recount a tale of scaring a tomb-visitor out of his wits.

This talent for creating scenarios and filling them with a mischievous humour is also a distinctive feature of al-Māzinī's longer works of fiction. Most famous among them is *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931), a novel that al-Māzinī began to serialize in 1925, then lost in part and reconstructed. This work, which won a prize for novel writing, was rightly regarded as a further major step in the development of the Arabic novel in Egypt after Haykal's *Zaynab* (1913). While it shares with the earlier work a strong element of the autobiographical – reflected, in spite of the author's protests to the contrary, in the title – it differs from it in many other ways. The Egyptian countryside is no longer a stimulus for

romantic reveries but now serves as the location for a rather supercilious picture of rustic values, where al-Māzini's gift for characterization and vignette is much in evidence. The story tells the course of the narrator's love affairs, with three women: Marie, who nurses him through an illness, Shūshū, his cousin; and Laylā, who, though carrying his child, refuses to marry him once she learns of his affection for Shūshū. The novel concentrates more on individual scenes and character situations than on the development of a continuing dramatic plot, but, by providing a less idealized picture of Egyptian life and customs within a portrait of the life and loves of an Egyptian narrator, al-Māzini clearly advanced the technique of the novel genre and set an example that was emulated by several other Egyptian writers during the 1930s.

Another novel, *Ibrāhīm al-thānī* (1943), returns to the same character, but this story of a married man and his infidelities lacks the interest and humour of the earlier work. More significant as contributions to the development of fictional genres are shorter works which show al-Māzini's humorous talents to the full: *Thalāthat rijāl wa-mra'a* (1943), *Mīdū wa-shurakā'uhu* (1943) and *'Awd 'alā bad'* (1943). The first is concerned with attempts to woo Maḥāsīn, the beautiful daughter of a tyrannical Circassian father. The second is a typically Māziniān family farce, in which the author experiments to interesting effect with irony and the role of an interfering narrator. In the third work the narrator finds himself in a dream placed into a childhood role while still preserving the mentality of an adult; the resulting disjunctures allow al-Māzini to use his penchant for humour to the fullest and to produce one of his most accomplished works of fiction.

Al-Māzini's fiction is notable for the clear and uncluttered prose style in which it is couched. In the debate over the use of colloquial Arabic in dialogue, he chose not to follow the lead of Haykal who, in the limited amount of dialogue in *Zaynab*, had used colloquial Arabic. Al-Māzini decided instead to adopt a form of the written language that managed to convey the spontaneity of speech while preserving the qualities of the written language. In this he was followed by one of his most noted admirers, Najīb Maḥfūz.

In the context of the development of Arabic fiction in Egypt, al-Māzini's name is one that has receded into the background. At a crucial

stage in that process, however, he made a major contribution to several aspects of fictional technique that provided a basis on which the next generation could build.

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R. ALLEN

**Mecca** see **Arabia; Hijaz**

**Medina** see **Arabia; Hijaz**

## metaphor

### In poetry

A history of metaphor and its function in Arabic poetry (or literature in general) has not yet been written, and studies of metaphor in circumscribed corpora of texts, such as the *œuvre* of a particular poet, are few and far between. They are complemented by medieval theoretical and critical statements on *isti'āra* (see below).

In the imagery of pre-Islamic poetry (see *Jāhiliyya*) there is a marked preponderance of similes, but metaphors do play an important role. Simple nominal substitution metaphors ('lion' for 'hero') are relatively rare, because ambiguity might arise; those that do exist are

mostly commonplace and form a kind of poetic jargon. They are either based on worn-out similes like 'gazelle' for 'beautiful woman' or they are remnants of a former genitive metaphor like 'rope' for 'bond (of love)' from an original construct like 'rope of love'. Among the many other syntactic types of metaphors that exist in ancient poetry the most original and effective is the genitive metaphor, whether it be identifying ('the abyss of death') or attributive ('the claws of death'). This latter type in particular, where the metaphorical word often has no real equivalent (there is no part of death which could be compared with claws), attracted the attention of poetry experts rather early, and it was this type for which the later Arabic term for 'metaphor', *isti'āra* (lit. 'borrowing'), was originally coined. The vast majority of these 'borrowings' combine a concrete 'borrowed thing' ('claws') with an abstract new 'owner' ('death'). Death and fate are often and almost routinely personified in this way; the small poetic subgenre 'reviling fate' (*shatm al-dahr*) is rich in metaphors of this kind.

Jumping ahead to the 'modern' poetry of 'Abbāsid times (see **ancients and moderns**), we find a considerable increase in the metaphorical 'jargon' especially in love poetry (see *ghazal*) ('rose' for 'cheek', 'moringa branch' for '(upper) body', 'sand dunes' for 'buttocks'); however, contextual elements usually ensure correct understanding. More importantly, the 'loan' metaphor is still central to the poets' imagery and some *recherche* varieties develop, causing a major literary debate. These new and daring types were brought about by a different generating approach: while the ancient 'loan' metaphors were the result of an abbreviated analogy ('death takes hold of man' = 'predator sinks claws into victim' > 'death sinks claws in' and syntactic variations like 'claws of death'), the 'modern' poet often constructs such a metaphor by taking an existing figurative expression and moving, on the level of the analogue, to an adjacent element to incorporate it into his image ('his beauties lead the pupils towards him'; 'lead' being a weak metaphor from the realm of equestrian, the poet moves to the adjacent element 'reins', which results in 'his beauties lead the reins of the pupils towards him' [Abū Nuwās]). The earliest interpretable occurrences of the term *badī'* (the 'novelty' of the 'modern' poets) refer to metaphors of this type; they may thus

be considered central to the literary debate surrounding *badī'*. Apart from this type which, because of the intrusiveness of the new element, met some resistance in critical circles (see below), the poets also developed a type in which the new element was connected to the topic by way of simile, such as: 'the hills look at you with the eyes of the flowers' (where 'eyes' = 'flowers').

### In theory

In early commentaries of ancient poetry, which normally deal with grammatical and lexical problems, one sometimes finds that non-literal usages such as metaphors are pointed out and labelled *mathal*, lit. 'likeness'. This very vague term (it also means, *inter alia*, 'proverb' and 'analogy') is soon replaced by several more precise terms. The one that comes closest to our notion of 'metaphor' is *isti'āra*, lit. 'borrowing'. It is, however, a specific type to which this name applies (see above). The poet **Labīd** wrote a famous line in which he said that the 'reins of the morning' were in the 'hand of the northwind' to indicate that the morning was cool and completely under the influence of the north wind. The early poetry experts considered that the poet had taken the 'hand' from a 'rider' and given it 'on loan' to the north wind (and similarly with the 'reins'). The borrowed element often has no equivalent in the topic (the 'hand' cannot really be compared to any part of the north wind) – the *isti'āra* is thus an imaginary ascription – but in other cases the borrowed element is metaphorically equated with an element of the topic. The transfer of the element into a new context is made possible by an underlying analogy between the old and the new context, but the early theorists show awareness of this fact only rarely.

Confronted with certain bolder varieties of 'loan' metaphors in 'Abbāsid 'modern' poetry, some critics became uneasy with the fact that the borrowed element was left dangling in the air, as it were, and they set up the requirement that it should be tied to the topic by an additional metaphorical equation based on a simile. Thus in the case of the 'eyes of the flowers with which the hills are looking' (see above) the 'eyes' are equated with the 'flowers' – an identifying genitive metaphor – while in the following, more dynamic example, 'the evening wind undoes the necklaces of the rainclouds', the 'necklaces' become metapho-

rically existent only when they become 'undone': the raindrops are being compared with pearls sliding from the string. This type in which the deep structure is a combination of an analogy (*tamthīl*) and a simile (*tashbīh*) is attested in a few examples already in ancient poetry, but becomes popular only in 'Abbāsīd times.

Metaphors that are derived from well-known simple similes (of the 'narcissus'-for-'eye' type) were for a long time not considered *isti'āra*, but *tashbīh*, 'simile', even though the subject of comparison was not mentioned; the historical memory was sufficient to keep them in that category. Their recognition as *isti'āra*, or the semantic extension of *isti'āra* to cover such cases, was brought about (a) by the *tashbīh-tamthīl* combination metaphors just discussed and (b) the fact that, in Koranic studies, the term *isti'āra* had a much wider field of application, namely any type of figurative usage (see **exegesis, Koranic**). Not surprisingly, 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī was instrumental in bringing about this change. He clearly distinguishes between metaphors based on simile and others based on analogy, but calls both of them *isti'āra*. (In the case of a full-fledged sentence metaphor he also uses the term for analogy, *tamthīl*, which thus becomes ambiguous; to remove the ambiguity he sometimes calls it 'analogy in the way of metaphor', *al-tamthīl 'alā ḥadd al-isti'āra*.) Authors for whom the *isti'āra* is first and foremost a one-word affair, mostly based on a simple simile (usually authors with a background of Koranic studies), tended to characterize the mechanism of the metaphor as 'the transference of a name/noun' (the name/noun 'lion' is transferred to a 'brave man'); others, more circumspect, considered that the entity to be transferred was the 'thing named' or the 'notion'. Al-Jurjānī after some wavering completely rejects the idea of 'transference' (*naql*) and replaces it by the notion that the metaphor is really a 'claim' (*da'wā*) that the 'brave man' is a 'lion'.

Al-Sakkākī quotes an anonymous earlier authority as saying that metaphor is 'either making s.th. become s.th. else or making a thing belong to s.th. else'; this clearly refers to the simile metaphor and the 'loan' metaphor, respectively. But it is patently not one, but two definitions for two different entities. He himself prefers a unifying definition and for this purpose he uses the one-word simile-based metaphor as his unit of analysis. Thus the case

of 'death sinking its claws in' consists of (a) a 'make-believe metaphor' (*isti'āra takhyīliyya*), namely 'claws', so called because it makes one believe that there is a part of death that could be likened to the 'claws'; (b) a 'metaphor by allusion' (*isti'āra bil-kināya*), i.e., 'death' which is actually no metaphor but alludes to the underlying 'predator' who is providing the 'claws'; and (c) a verb metaphor ('to sink in'). The unity of the image, which is safeguarded by the old idea of the 'loan' and likewise by the Jurjānī idea of the analogy-based metaphor, is now lost, but the analysis carries the day until modern times.

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W. P. HEINRICHS

See also: *badī*; *majāz*

### metonymy see *majāz*

### metres, poetic see prosody

## Miflāh, Muḥammad (1953– )

Algerian novelist and short-story writer, writing in Arabic. Miflāh studied law at the University of Oran and started publishing in national newspapers in 1973. To date, he has

published two collections of short stories (*al-Sā'iq*, 1983, and *Asrār al-Madīna*, 1983) and some eight novels, including the prize-winning *al-Infijār* (1984) and *Humūm al-zaman al-fallāqī* (1986).

H. HILMY

## Mihrajān

*Mihrajān* was the name of a festival celebrated among the pre-Islamic Zoroastrians of Persia, dedicated to the god Mir/Mithra and celebrated at the autumn equinox. In early Islam, and especially under the orientally influenced 'Abbāsid caliphs, *Mihrajān*, like the New Year festival *Nawrūz* (see *Nayrūz*), continued among the Muslims also as a festival, but shorn of its religious implications, substantially up to the Mongol invasions of the seventh/thirteenth century. Since its celebration was marked by present-giving, music and poetic declamation, there evolved a minor genre of poetry, the *Mihrajāniyyāt*, poems composed for and recited on these occasions; this was especially cultivated in Persian literature, but a number of examples in Arabic have also survived, including some attributed to the caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mutawakkil.

Further reading

*El<sup>2</sup>*, art. 'Mihragān' (J. Calmard).

C.E. BOSWORTH

## Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1036–7)

Mihyār ibn Marzuwayh (Marzūya) Abū al-Ḥusayn (or Ḥasan) al-Daylamī was a secretary and poet of the *Būyid* period. A Zoroastrian, in 394/1004 Mihyār was converted to Islam by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, who educated him in both Shi'ism and in secretarial and poetic skills. Except for the little that can be gleaned from his *dīwān*, information concerning his life and career is scant.

Mihyār wrote in all genres, including *ghazal*, verse epistles to friends (*ikhwāniyyāt*) and *rithā'*; his elegies on 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and al-Ḥusayn express his Shi'ī sentiments, while that on al-Sharīf al-Raḍī is considered his masterpiece. The bulk of his poems are panegyrics, often of extreme length; he also composed many brief *epigrams* and riddle-poems (see *lughz*). Mihyār's style has been criticized as being artificial and derivative, and

as marking the decline of Arabic poetry into imitative decadence. S. Sperl considers his poetry as representative of the 'mannerist' style; the length of his poems is attributed to his 'comprehensive style' which seeks 'to integrate all traditional topoi of court poetry into one poem' (1989, 48), his poems are dominated by metaphor, and he shows a predilection for the desert motifs of ancient poetry, reworked and defamiliarized in his own.

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J.S. MEISAMI

## al-Mikālī, Abū al-Faḍl see Abū al-Faḍl al-Mikālī

## Mimouni, Rachid (1945–95)

Algerian novelist and short-story writer, writing in French. Born in Boudouaou, Mimouni is one of the most widely read writers in the *Maghrib* today. His early novels published in Algeria, *Le Printemps n'en sera que plus beau* (1978), describing events during the war of independence, and *Une Paix à vivre* (1983), depicting life in Algeria after independence, have been overshadowed by his later masterpieces. In *Le Fleuve détourné* (1982), his first novel to be published in France, Mimouni's disenchantment with social and political conditions in Algeria can be detected, a disenchantment which becomes more intense in his next novel, *Tombéza* (1984). In *Une Peine à vivre* (1992), he probes into the mind of a despot, trying to understand the motivating force behind his ruthless actions. Mimouni frequently resorts to fables and legends in order to shed light on life in Algeria, as in his novel *L'Honneur de la tribu* (1989) and his collection of short stories

*La Ceinture de l'Ogresse* (1990), both translated into English.

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F. ABU-HAIDAR

**Mīna, Hannā (1924– )**

Syria's most prominent novelist, Mīna grew up in poor surroundings in the port city of Latakia. He has worked in a variety of occupations, as stevedore, barber and journalist; he has been imprisoned for his political activities, and has spent time in exile. His earlier novels are works of social realism: *Al-Maṣābiḥ al-zurq* (1954), for example, traces the struggle against French colonial rule during World War 2, while in *Al-Shirā' wa-al-'āṣifa* (1966) the struggle is the same, but the backdrop is that of class conflict. In later works Mīna turns to a more symbolic analysis of class differences, as in *Al-Shams fī yawm ghā'im* (1973), and later to the autobiographical novel, as in *Baqāyā ṣuwar* (1974). The change from an over-obvious realism to a more subtle and refined vision is also reflected in Mīna's language; in his later works the use of style and symbol reveals the mastery of a writer who has now found a fruitful union between theme and medium.

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R. ALLEN

**mirabilia see 'aja'ib literature**

**mi'rāj literature**

The literature concerning the story of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven. Connected with Koranic allusions to the Prophet's *isrā'*, night journey, from 'the sacred place of worship to the farthest place' (Koran 17: 1), the story of the *mi'rāj* in various rescensions is elaborated in *ḥadīth*, exegesis and other traditional literature. A common version tells that on the 27th of Rajab, in the tenth year of his prophecy, Muḥammad, sleeping in the mosque in Mecca, was suddenly taken by Gabriel to the farthest place of worship in Jerusalem. There Muḥammad conducted prayer in the presence of previous prophets. From the sacred rock in that mosque the ascent to heaven and closeness to God occurred on the prophet's noble steed, Burāq. Though popular in many circles and places, the *mi'rāj* story found particular favour with, and was most commented on by, the Ṣūfis. For them, the framework story of *mi'rāj* signified the freeing of Muḥammad's soul from the dross of phenomenal existence and his attainment of closeness to God (*qurb*). Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 234/848) introduced this conception of *mi'rāj* into Sufism, explicating *tawḥīd* through *mi'rāj*. Abū Yazīd's *mi'rāj* story appeared in several versions. Common to all of them was a stage-by-stage description of the *mi'rāj* as an expression of the stages of mystical experience. Because of his pivotal position in the history of Sufism, Abū Yazīd's mystical interpretation of the prophet's ascension was extremely influential on later Ṣūfī thought and literature. Al-Hallāj, al-Junayd, 'Aṭṭār, Shabistārī, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, and Rūmī were but a few among the many who took up Abū Yazīd's teachings on *mi'rāj*.

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R. L. NETTLER

## Mirbad

Al-Mirbad is the name of a famous site outside Basra, originally a camel market (the word *mirbad* has been explained as 'enclosure for camels'), which served as a meeting-place for poets and orators, both *bedouin* and urban, declaiming their poems and speeches; a favourite haunt of philologists and grammarians studying Arabic from the horse's (or camel's) mouth. When people (including philologists and scholars of *hadīth*) began to live at Mirbad itself, it developed into a suburb of Basra.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

## Mirrors for Princes

A genre of Arabic prose writing (equally represented in many other Islamic literatures deriving from the Arabic) which purports to give advice (Ar. *naṣiḥa*, Pers. *andarz*, *pand*) to rulers, statesmen, governors and other officials on how they should comport themselves, i.e. what religious and ethical qualities should underpin their conduct, and on how best they can achieve their political or military or administrative aims; it thus corresponds to the similar genre of medieval European literature often referred to by its German name, *Fürstenspiegel*. Such works thus have a twofold intention: a practical one, the exercise of *Realpolitik* in public life, the approach in Renaissance Italian times of Machiavelli in his famous treatise *The Prince*, what in Arabic was called *siyāsa* or *tadbīr al-mulk*; and an ethical one, the making of this practice as far as possible conformable to the justice and righteous-

ness that God requires of those of His creatures who happen to be entrusted with power over others. These two aspects appear in varying proportions in the Mirrors for Princes, while certain treatises are additionally of an Islamic homiletic nature, composed of popular religious tales (see *Legends of the Prophets*), hagiography, proverbial sayings and aphorisms (*ḥikam*). A very wide conspectus of Islamic culture and thought is thus displayed in the Mirrors, so that they are revelatory of both ideal and practice in much of medieval Islamic life. A certain amount of information can be gleaned from them about Islamic administration, while those Mirrors that illustrate their narrative by a sprinkling of historical anecdotes, such as the relevant sections in **Ibn Qutayba's** Arabic *'Uyūn al-akhbār* and **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's** *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, and the **Saljūq** vizier Nizām al-Mulk's Persian *Siyāsatnāma*, often supply direct historical information. Sometimes a counsel that seems theoretical or imprecise can be correlated with actual history; thus when the governor of **Khurasan** Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, in his letter of advice to his son (see below), warns him against letting a backlog of unfinished administrative chores pile up, we are reminded of a passage in **al-Ṭabari's** *History* in which the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Hādī (169–70/785–6) is criticized by his minister for not receiving petitions or hearing complaints of his subjects for three whole days.

The genre is also important in that it constitutes a meeting-place for several contributing streams in Islamic ethics and ideas of statecraft, some of these streams being non-Islamic; it has, indeed, been said that the Mirrors reflect the convergence of Persian and Arabic heritages and traditions. The purely Arab-Islamic concept of power was that the caliph-Imām's authority derived from a sacred charge and was only legitimate when exercised in full conformity with the Islamic religious law or *sharī'a*, whose custodians were the *'ulamā'* or religious scholars. In later **Umayyad** and early 'Abbāsīd times, however, Persian traditions of government, which hearkened back to the Sasanian emperors and beyond, were being incorporated into the purely Arabic fabric of the caliphate, the intermediaries here being largely the influential secretarial class [see **secretaries**]. These secretaries included many persons of Persian stock or cultural background whose educations had been moulded in the Persian imperial



tradition of government, in which the emperor had a God-given power, manifested in the 'divine effulgence' (*farr*) around him, whose power over his subjects was unfettered by any earthly constraints and whose practical policies tended to give a significant role to opportunism and expediency. In this process of knowledge of the ancient Persian emperors and their attitudes to power coming into the Arab world, a key figure was the Persian secretary of the caliphs **Ibn al-Muqaffa'** and his translations from Middle Persian or Pahlavi into Arabic. As a result of his work and of other strands of information, the subsequent Mirrors for Princes are replete with anecdotes on the justice and firm government of rulers like Bahrām Chūbīn, Khusraw Anūshirvān and Khusraw Aparvīz (Parvīz) and of the wise minister Buzurjmīhr, now held up as the ideal for Islamic viziers. Other influences on the Mirrors came from the Indian world in the shape of animal fables, those of Bidpay, appearing in Arabic as *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and from the ancient Greek and Hellenistic world, seen in the role ascribed to **Alexander the Great** as the exemplar, guided by his tutor **Aristotle**, of the wise ruler, and in the recommendation by Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, in his epistle to his son (see below), to practise the virtues of moderation and circumspection, the Aristotelian golden mean.

The earliest materials in Arabic classifiable as Mirrors are brief epistles (*rasā'il*), which feel their way towards the full development of the genre in complete treatises, or else they are component sections of larger *adab* collections. Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Risāla fī al-ṣaḥāba* (*Epistle Concerning Courtiers*), from the earliest years of 'Abbāsīd rule, is more a topical political tract, drawing the ruler's attention to measures necessary to assure the stability of the régime, but his *al-Adab al-kabīr* is certainly a proto-Mirror, offering strictly practical advice, in the Persian *andarz* tradition and with no obvious Islamic religious component, to the ruler and his courtiers. The genre proper is undoubtedly reached in Ṭāhir's epistle addressed in 206/821 to his son 'Abd Allāh when the latter was about to take up a provincial governorship. It is a sophisticated, theoretical exposition of the ethos of rulership and the qualities of the perfect ruler, tightly constructed and unadorned by historical examples or anecdotes, and emphasizes the ruler's dependence on God and on Islamic religion as the mainspring of all his doings. Preserved in a *History*

of Baghdad by **Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr**, its concision and terse style secured for it a contemporary fame, which lasted long enough for **Ibn Khaldūn** to include its text in his *Muqaddima* (*Prolegomena*) of five centuries later.

The *Kitāb al-tāj* (*Book of the Crown*), dedicated to a minister of the caliph al-Mutawakkil in the middle years of the third/ninth century and containing ethical and political counsels, is almost certainly wrongly attributed to **al-Jāhīz**, but is nevertheless a rich source of information on the etiquette and court procedures of the Sasanian emperors; its very title is reminiscent of one of the Pahlavi works translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (see above). Shortly after this, *Fürstenspiegel* material was incorporated in the lengthy *adab* works of Ibn Qutayba and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (see above), both of whom place an extended section on the *sultān* (meaning either the abstract idea of the government power or the person holding this) at the beginning of their books, dealing with the qualities and conduct of the ruler and how he should choose his courtiers and officials.

The genre was by now firmly established in Arabic literature and was treated by some of the major literary figures of the fifth/eleventh century (this century being also the one in which the two supreme Persian examples of the genre, Kay Kāvūs ibn Iskandar's *Qābūs-nāma* and Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, were written). The Shāfi'i jurist from Iraq 'Alī al-Māwardī wrote, as supplements to his classic work on public law the *Ahkām al-sultāniyya*, two treatises on the duties of the vizier and on government, plus a Mirror with the specific title of *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, extant but so far unpublished. The philologist and littérateur of Nishapur 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālībī wrote a *Kitāb ādab al-mulūk al-Khwārazmshāhī* for a petty prince of Central Asia. The Mirror from this period that is best known, however, because of the attention paid to it by Western scholars, is that of the great theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (450–505/1058–1111), originally composed in Persian and given the general title of *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*. It is divided into two parts. The first is strongly theologically oriented, giving an exposition of the Muslim creed and stressing the necessity of the ruler addressed (probably a Saljūq prince) being totally imbued with this faith; rulership is bestowed by God with no basis in human approbation, and the ruler will be fully accountable for his charge at the Last Judgement. All the

illustrative examples here are from the history of the Prophet's career or early Islam. The second part is very different, in that it deals with the qualities of character, above all a sense of justice, required by monarchs, and is very much within the Persian ethical and political mould; the supporting anecdotes and sayings are drawn equally from Islamic history and from the Persian national tradition. It has, in fact, been surmised that this second part is by some unknown Persian author rather than by al-Ghazzālī. The whole work merits consideration here in that it was translated, apparently in the seventh/thirteenth century, into Arabic as *al-Tibr al-masbūk*, and this circulated widely, almost driving the Persian original out of circulation and forming the basis for subsequent Ottoman Turkish translations.

Various other Arabic Mirrors are known from times after this, some from the Muslim West like the *Sirāj al-mulūk* of Ibn Abī Randaqa **al-Ṭurṭuṣhī** (d. 520/1126) or from the central Islamic lands like those of the **Ayyūbid** authors **Ibn Zafar** (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172–3) and **Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī** (d. 654/1257), all of a predominantly literary cast and well away from the Persian tradition.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

See also: Persia, culture and literature

## al-Misaddī, 'Abd al-Salām (19??– )

Tunisian linguist and critic. Born in Sfax, al-

Misaddī was educated at al-Zaytūna School, and graduated in language and literature from the Higher College of Education in Tunis. He taught in state schools before moving to teach at the Tunisian University, where he was the first holder of a state doctorate in Arabic language and literature. Combining a deep knowledge of the Arabic linguistic tradition with that of modern Western linguistics, he helped to generate an interest in linguistics and its application in the humanities (particularly literary criticism) not only in Tunisia but also in other parts of North Africa and the Arab world. Among his main works on linguistics and linguistic criticism are *al-Uslūbiyya wa-al-ustlūb* (1977), *al-Taḥkīr al-lisāni fī al-ḥadāra al-'Arabiyya* (1981), *Qirā'at ma' al-Shābbī wa-al-Mutanabbī wa-al-Jāhiz* (1984) and *al-Naqd wa-al-ḥadātha* (1983). His Arabic–French/French–Arabic dictionary, with its valuable introduction on terminology, was published in 1981.

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A.-N. STAIF

## Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil see Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil

## Miskawayh

(c.320–421/932–1030)

Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Miskawayh was a philosopher and historian. A native of Iran, Miskawayh spent his early and middle age at the courts of the **Būyid** rulers of Iran and Iraq, and in the circles of their viziers: with **al-Muḥallabī** (d. 352/963) at **Baghdad**, at **Rayy** as secretary and librarian of **Abū al-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd** (d. 360/970) and tutor of his son **Abū al-Faṭḥ** (d. 366/976–7) whom he served, in turn, after his succession to office until his inglorious end. Entering the attendance of the *amīr* and king 'Aḍud al-Dawla, he accompanied him to Baghdad, but after his death in 372/983, and a period of changing fortunes, he returned to his native Iran (after 375/986). His position brought him into contact with many of the leading scholars and litterateurs of his time; his relationship with the *faylasūf al-udabā'*, **Abū Ḥayyān**

al-Tawhīdī, whom he met in the *majlis* of the vizier Ibn Sa'dān (373–5/983–5), led to a remarkable exchange.

His literary activities as a critical historian and as a moral philosopher are closely connected. The very title of his historical work, the *Tajārib al-umam*, reflects a new paradigm: a lesson ('*ibra*') to be learnt from the 'Experiences of the Peoples'. While following the traditional chronicle of al-Ṭabarī in scope (starting with pre-Islamic Iran) and annalistic form, and drawing heavily on his predecessor's work for the earlier periods of Islam, he discarded the traditionist style, and for his own time recorded dynastic and local events as an acute observer and critic.

In his *œuvre* of philosophical ethics and of gnomic wisdom (*hikma*), Miskawayh sought to integrate the intellectual traditions united in classical Islamic civilization: Arabic 'logocentrism', Iranian wisdom and Greek rationalism. This integration is shown to be personified ideally in the universal learning of the vizier Ibn al-'Amīd (*Tajārib* ii.275–83) and the just rule of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, both of whom had made the fusion of Islamic and Iranian traditions their political programme, and it is further exemplified by Miskawayh in a gnology of Arabic, Persian and Greek sayings and spiritual testaments under the Persian title *Jāwīdān khiradh* (*Perennial Wisdom*).

Against the practical wisdom of the gnologia, the *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* (*The Refinement of Character*) is a systematic treatment of philosophic ethics: the autonomous ethics of the Platonic philosopher who finds in the encyclopaedia of the rational sciences the instruction for educating the parts of his soul toward purity and ultimate bliss, leading the sensual passions toward temperance, the emotions toward courage, and the faculty of reason toward wisdom. Though Aristotelian in many details of the moral categories (especially in the fourth part on '*adl*, 'justice', being the governing principle of the just mean), this philosophy is based on the Platonic view of the soul and its *a priori* knowledge. The immortality of the rational soul, along with the topics of divinity and prophecy, is also treated in a small monograph *al-Fawz al-aṣghar* (dedicated to 'Aḍud al-Dawla), using the traditional arguments of the Platonic and Neoplatonic tradition; the encyclopaedia of the sciences had been presented in an earlier piece going back to Alexandrian

Aristotelianism, the *Tartīb al-sa'ādāt wa-manāzil al-'ulūm*, being the ideal curriculum for the 'Grades of Happiness'. The *Kitāb al-hawāmil wa-al-shawāmil*, giving Miskawayh's replies to questions submitted by Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī (as also the *Maqāla fī māhiyyat al-'adl*, *On the Nature of Justice*), is an impressive example of the fertility of philosophic discourse in a time of change.

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G. ENDRESS

## Miskīn al-Dārīmī (14–89/635–708)

Poet of the early Umayyad period who resided mainly in Iraq. Rabī'a ibn 'Amir Miskīn ('the Poor'), a distinguished member of the Banū

Dārim, fought against the **Khārijīs** at Nahrawān in 43/663 and against the rebel al-Mukhtār in 66/685. He had personal relations with the caliph Mu'āwiya (41–60/661–80) whom he assisted by a poem in installing his son Yazīd as his successor (no. 17 edn Baghdad, 1970), and with Mu'āwiya's governor Ziyād ibn Abīhi. An ancient *dīwān* never seems to have existed; the collection of fragments edited in Baghdad in 1970 contains 55 pieces with 292 verses. The two satires included here are directed against 'Abd al-Rahmān, son of **Hassān ibn Thābit**, and as famous an adversary as the poet **al-Farazdaq**. In his poetry, Miskīn is notoriously inclined to coin maxims.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### *miṣrā'* see prosody

### al-Miṣrī, Ibrāhīm (1900–79)

Egyptian journalist, dramatist and prose writer. Al-Miṣrī's name is linked with the group of young Cairo writers and artists who in 1918 founded the 'New School of Arts and Literature' (*Madrasat al-funūn wa-al-ādāb al-jadīda*), the forerunner of the 'Modern School' (*al-Madrasa al-ḥadītha*). He published his first stories and articles in the reformist magazine *al-Sufūr* and the Modern School review *al-Fajr*. In the 1930s he wrote essays on contemporary subjects, and in the 1940s and 1950s published many short stories in magazines and weeklies. He also wrote two plays for the theatre. His narrative work is marked by a social-realist, psychological and humorous approach, with a particular interest in women's questions.

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E. C. M. DE MOOR

### Morocco, modern

Modern Moroccan literature is characterized by its variety and linguistic diversity. Written in Arabic and French, it has also come to include published collections of Berber oral verse and narratives. As a French protectorate (1912–56), Morocco continued to produce literature in Arabic. The first works of fiction appeared in the 1920s. It was in the 1940s, however, that the Arabic novel and short story developed, reaching peaks of excellence in the 1960s and 1970s in the works of 'Abd al-Karīm Ghallāb, Mubārak Rabī' and 'Abd Allāh al-'Irwi. There were few Francophone works before 1949, when Ahmed **Sefrioui**'s collection of short stories, *Le Chapelet d'ambre*, appeared. Francophone novels, though fewer in number than their Arabic counterparts, have reached a wider audience, winning international acclaim for the writers **Driss Chraïbi** and **Tahar Ben Jelloun**. Poetry in Arabic has passed through several phases of development, and has come to include the prose poem and the revived Andalusian *muwashshah* in its repertoire. The free verse movement, initiated in the late 1940s in the Arab East, was somewhat delayed in its appearance in Morocco by the *salafiyya* or traditionalist movement, one of whose champions was the political and literary figure 'Allāl al-Fāsī. In 1952 Mohammed-Aziz Lahbabi, a bilingual writer, published his first collection of Franco-phone poetry, *Chants d'espérance*. This paved the way for a galaxy of Moroccan Francophone poets, such as Abdellatif **Laābi**, founder of the periodical *Souffles* and its Arabic counterpart *Anfās* which, together with other literary periodicals, have given modern Moroccan literature an added impetus. Drama has been a popular art form in Morocco since the 1920s when the first theatre companies were formed. But it is thanks to the playwright al-Ṭayyib al-Ṣaddīqī, whose name has been synonymous with Moroccan theatre, that a theatrical tradition has been established. Al-Ṣaddīqī and Nabile Lahlou, some of whose plays have been written in French, have given Moroccan theatre both status and verve.

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F. ABU-HAIDAR

## Moses ben Maimon see Maimonides

## Moses ibn Ezra (c.1055–c.1135 CE)

Poet and critic in Granada and elsewhere. Born to a family of distinguished Jewish scholars and office-holders, Ibn Ezra studied Jewish religious law in Lucena; in Granada, he became the centre of a circle of Jewish intellectuals and poets and held public office with the title *sāhib al-shurṭa* until the fall of al-Andalus to the Almoravids in 1090. When his brothers fled to Christian territory, he was left destitute in Granada. Eventually, he found his way to the Christian north, where he wrote *qaṣīdas* to friends in al-Andalus complaining bitterly about his exile.

Ibn Ezra wrote several books in Arabic, two of which have been preserved: *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-al-mudhākara*, on the history and practice of the Hebrew poetry of al-Andalus; and *Maqālat al-ḥadiqa fī ma'nā al-majāz wa-al-ḥaḳīqa*, on the nature of figurative language and its use in the Bible. Both works reflect extensive knowledge of Arabic poetry and literary theory.

Ibn Ezra's secular Hebrew poetry, like that of his Andalusian Jewish contemporaries, derives its general principles and specific themes, images and techniques from Arabic. Ibn Ezra is the only one of the great Hebrew poets of al-Andalus to use the desert-camp motif in his *nasībs*. His *dīwān* also contains a group of *muwashshahāt* with *kharjas* in both Arabic and Romance; in several cases, the Arabic *muwashshahāt* that served as his models have been identified. He displayed his mastery of the *badi'* style in his *Sefer ha'anaq*, a collection of short poems with *tajnis* rhymes in ten chapters, covering ten common themes of Arabic poetry, such as love, wine-drinking, friendship and *zuhd*.

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R. P. SCHEINDLIN

See also: Hebrew literature, relations with Arabic

## al-Mu'allaqāt

Title of the most famous and celebrated anthology of pre-Islamic poetry. Among philologists, it was commonly known as 'the Seven Long Odes' (*al-Qaṣā'id al-sab' al-tiwāl*). The name *Mu'allaqāt*, only one of several ornamental names applied to this collection (others being *al-Sumūt*, 'the strings of a necklace', or *al-Mudhahhabāt* 'the gilded ones'), is first attested in the *Jamhara* of **Abū Zayd al-Qurashī** (probably fourth/tenth century). Its meaning is doubtful (perhaps 'esteemed precious'). The often-told story according to which the poems were 'suspended' (*mu'allaqa*) in the Ka'ba in Mecca in pre-Islamic times is most certainly a later invention.

Efforts to assemble a canon of what could be considered the best pre-Islamic poems go back to **Umayyad** times. **Hammād al-Rāwīya** (d. c.155/772), who is generally considered to be the compiler of the 'Seven Odes', already seems to have drawn upon older collections. The poems selected for the *Mu'allaqāt* show a remarkable variety in style, content and structure, and in their poet's character and background, a fact that certainly contributed to the lasting fame of this anthology. There are, however, different traditions about which poems belong to the *Mu'allaqāt*. The most widespread tradition is represented by **Ibn al-Anbārī**'s (d. 328/940) commentary and contains the following poems:

1. **Imru' al-Qays** (metre: *ṭawīl*; rhyme: *-lī*; 82 lines), the most famous Arabic poem. Its structure does not fit conventional

- categories; it starts with a *nasīb* (see *qaṣīda*) which develops into a vivid portrayal of a series of erotic adventures in *fakhr* rather than in *nasīb* style. The second half of the poem is made up of the description of a horse in a hunting episode, and a concluding storm scene.
2. **Tarafa** (*tawīl*; -*lī*; 103 lines), the longest poem in the collection, a tripartite *qaṣīda*. Its *nasīb* is followed by a camel section consisting of the most famous and most detailed camel description in Arabic poetry. The poem ends with a *fakhr* in which the poet expresses his hedonistic *Weltanschauung*, saying that one has to grasp life's pleasures, such as wine and women, before death puts an end to it.
  3. **Zuhayr** (*tawīl*; -*mī*; 59 lines), the shortest poem of the Seven, in principle a bipartite *qaṣīda* (*naṣīb* and *madih*), but expanded by an epilogue of gnomic verses. Its central section is a panegyric on two men who had ended the War of Dāhis (end of the sixth century) by making peace between the tribes 'Abs and Dhubyān. The poem's eirenic tone is in remarkable contrast to the prevailing martial character of ancient Arabic poetry.
  4. **'Antara** (*kāmil*; -*mī*; 79 lines), a tripartite *qaṣīda* composed during the War of Dāhis. It opens with a *nasīb* encompassing a variety of topics arranged in associative order. A camel description with a short ostrich episode links up to a *fakhr* in which 'Antara depicts himself in different combat scenes and treats several aspects of the ongoing war.
  5. **'Amr ibn Kulthūm** (*kāmil*; -*īnā*; 94 lines), a bipartite *qaṣīda* which is probably the most magnificent example of tribal *fakhr* in Arabic literature. Its *nasīb* proper is preceded by a short wine scene and immediately linked to the poem's main theme, the glorification of the tribe Taghlib. 'Amr boasts about his tribe's prowess, boldness and ruthlessness in battle, its noble ancestors and its never-ending glory, and threatens the hostile tribe Bakr and the Lakhmid king 'Amr ibn Hind (554–70), swearing never to subject to him.
  6. **al-Ḥārith ibn Hilliza** (*khafif*; -*ā'ū*; 84 lines), a tripartite *qaṣīda* with only a short *nasīb* and an even shorter camel section. Its main part contains a refutation of accusations brought by the Taghlib against

Bakr and praise of the latter tribe, recalling its glorious deeds of the past. The poem may owe its inclusion among the Seven Odes to the fact that the compiler felt the need for a counterbalance to the glorification of Taghlib in 'Amr's poem.

7. **Labīd** (*kāmil*; -*āmuḥā*; 88 lines), a *qaṣīda* of an extraordinarily balanced structure. Its three main sections, all linked by transitional lines, are: a *nasīb*; a camel section consisting of both an onager and an oryx episode; and a mainly peaceful *fakhr* in which the poet emphasizes his own value to society on the one hand and the reliability of his tribe on the other. The poem's main theme, the struggle to overcome the pessimism caused by the transience of the world through reassurance of one's individual and social value, is perceptible in all its different parts.

A second tradition, which is represented in one of the two versions of the *Jamhara* of al-Qurashī, omits poems no. 5 and 6, and includes instead a poem by al-A'shā Maymūn (*basīṭ*; -*lū*; 64 lines), a *qaṣīda* consisting of a long and often quoted *nasīb* and a personal and tribal *fakhr*; and a poem by al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (*basīṭ*; -*dī*, c.50 lines), a tripartite laudatory *qaṣīda* with a long oryx episode in its camel section and a praise of the Lakhmid king al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir (580–602). The grammarian al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950) integrated both traditions and commented on all nine poems. Finally, al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī (d. 502/1109) added the most famous poem by 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ (irregular form of *basīṭ*; -*ūlū*; 48 lines) in order to yield a collection of ten poems.

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T. BAUER

**mu'ammā**

(Lit. 'blinded, obscured'.) A form of riddle or puzzle. The term is often used indiscriminately as a synonym of *lughz*. When a distinction is made, it is that in the latter the riddle is solved by correctly combining concepts and in the *mu'ammā* by combining the constituent letters of the word or name to be found. **Abū Nuwās** seems to have been the first to practise this form of riddle in his poetry, either as independent riddle poems or incorporated in other genres. Many examples from later periods may be found, although **Tāshkubrīzāda** remarks in his *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* that this form of riddle is far more popular and more developed among the Persians. The term *mu'ammā* (or the verbal noun *ta'miya*) is also used for cryptography, secret writing or codes, on which the encyclopaedia by **al-Qalqashandī** has a chapter.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: *lughz*

**mu'āraḍa**

(Lit. 'opposition, confrontation'.) In literature, the technical term for the imitation or emulation of a literary text, often with the dual purpose of honouring the model and trying to surpass it. In the case of poetry, metre and rhyme of the model – usually a well-known and admired poem – were adopted, as well as the subject matter. Unlike the *naqā'id*, such poems were not intended, or not primarily, as an attack on the poet of the model, although an agonistic element is rarely absent (cf. **poetic contests**). Sometimes the term *mu'āraḍa* is employed in the sense of *naqīda* and vice

versa; the same technique and term may be found in the case of parodies of famous poems.

Occasionally found in pre- or early Islamic times, *mu'āraḍa* became increasingly common in 'Abbāsīd and later periods. An elaborate complex of *mu'āraḍa* poems is formed by the genre of *badī'iyyāt*, lengthy poems in *basīf* metre, rhyming in *-mī*; the model, by **Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī**, deriving its metre, rhyme, many rhyme-words and subject (praise of the Prophet **Muḥammad**) from the famous poem called *al-Burda* by **al-Būṣīrī**, which in turn shows the influence of a short poem by **Ibn al-Fārīd** and may perhaps be traced further back. In the early twentieth century, among neo-classical poets, it is still common; some fifty poems by **Aḥmad Shawqī** are modelled on poems from 'Abbāsīd times.

Several people have been accused of attempting a *mu'āraḍa* of the **Koran**, which, the **Koran** being inimitable and unsurpassable, was deemed both impossible and blasphemous. Among the accused are **Ibn al-Muqaffa'**; **al-Mutanabbī**, who is said to have acquired his nickname, 'the would-be Prophet', from an episode in his younger years; and **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri**, whose *al-Fuṣūl wa-al-ghāyāt* has been taken to be an emulation of the **Koran**.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**al-Mu'ayyad fi al-Dīn al-Shirāzī**  
**(c.390–470/c.1000–78)**

**Hibat Allāh ibn Mūsā al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shirāzī** was an important **Ismā'īlī** missionary, author, poet and politician. A native of Shiraz, he was born into a Daylami **Ismā'īlī** family (his father was himself a *dā'ī*), and around 429/1037–8 entered the service of the **Būyid** prince **Abū Kālījār al-Marzubān** (r. 415–40/1024–48), whom he converted to

**Fāṭimid Ismā'ilism.** His activities and influence made him unpopular in **Sunnī** quarters, as well as with the 'Abbāsids; obliged to leave Persia in 438/1046, he made his way by a circuitous route to Fāṭimid **Cairo** where he arrived in 439/1047. It was not long before he secured the favour of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanşir (r. 427–87/1036–94), for whom he served as intermediary between the Fāṭimids and the Turkish general al-Basāsiri in Iraq, who briefly occupied **Baghdad** in 450/1058 in the name of the Fāṭimids; his dealings with al-Basāsiri are recounted in his autobiography (*Sirat al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn*). In that same year al-Mu'ayyad became chief missionary (*dā'i al-du'āt*), a post that he held, except for a brief intermission, almost up to the time of his death. In 454/1062 he was also appointed to head the Fāṭimid Dār al-'Ilm, where he lectured to would-be missionaries. His thought and teachings are contained in his *Majālis*, each of whose eight volumes (still not fully published) contains one hundred lectures. Daftary describes these as 'the high watermark of Fāṭimid Ismā'ili thought' (1990, 214). They include al-Mu'ayyad's correspondence with the poet **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** on the subject of vegetarianism. R.A. Nicholson, who observed, 'Margoliouth [who published this correspondence] thinks that Ma'arri cuts a poor figure in this correspondence. No doubt [al-Mu'ayyad] found his letters unsatisfying' (1969, 136), believed that al-Mu'ayyad sought a theological exegesis of al-Ma'arri's vegetarianism. Al-Mu'ayyad also authored a number of treatises and a large poetic *diwān* which still awaits critical study. On his death, al-Mu'ayyad was buried in the Dār al-'Ilm, where he had taught for so many years; his funeral ceremonies were led by the caliph al-Mustanşir himself.

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I.R. NETTON/J.S. MEISAMI

### *mubālagha* see rhetorical figures

## Mubārak, 'Alī (1823–93)

Egyptian historian, prose writer, educator and official. Born into an obscure family in the Delta, 'Alī Mubārak rose to become Egypt's first native Minister of Education under 'Abbās I, reaching the peak of his influence during the reign of Ismā'il, when he simultaneously headed the Ministries of Public Works, Education and Awqāf (Charitable Foundations). He founded both the Egyptian National Library (**Dār al-Kutub**) and the Egyptian Teachers' College (**Dār al-'Ulūm**), now a branch of the University of Cairo.

Mubārak's most important literary effort was the encyclopaedic *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya* – a painstakingly catalogued description of all of Egypt's major cities, palaces, monuments, streets, mosques, canals, etc., that runs to twenty thick volumes. Although poorly organized, it is a factual goldmine for historians of nineteenth-century Egypt because of its comprehensiveness.

Mubārak also wrote a fascinating four-volume 'novel', *Alam al-Dīn*, in which he traced the adventures of an Azhari *shaykh* (**al-Taḥṭāwī?**), who goes abroad to learn of Europe's ways in the company of an English orientalist (Edward Lane?). *Alam al-Dīn* may be considered the first modern Egyptian example of the *Erziehungsroman*; it is also the first modern Arabic literary work in which the action is advanced largely through dialogue – a distinction often mistakenly attributed to **al-Muwayliḥi's** superior literary creation, *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām*.

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J. CRABBS

### al-Mubarrad (c.210–85 or 286/c.815–98 or 899)

Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad was a grammarian and philologist, and a leading authority of the 'school of Basra' in his time. Of Arab descent, he was born in Basra, where he was taught by al-Jarmī, al-Māzinī and Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistānī. According to Yāqūt, his nickname ought to be al-Mubarid, but he is commonly known as al-Mubarrad. He moved to Baghdad, where he was involved in many disputes. The numerous anecdotes (not all of them of dealing with matters of grammar and philology) in which he plays a part are witness to his reputation. His great rival Tha'lab, representative of the 'school of Kufa', is said to have feared discussions with him. Some fifty titles are ascribed to him by the biographers. His main work on grammar is *al-Muqtaḍab*. More influential was *al-Kāmil*, which consists of a rather unordered collection of studies on grammar, lexicography, poetry (mainly by pre- or early Islamic poets, but also by the *muhdathūn*) and history; Ibn Khaldūn calls it one of the four classic works of *adab*.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik (fifth/eleventh century)

Abū al-Wafā' Mubashshir ibn Fātik, originally from Damascus, moved to Egypt, where in 440/1048 or 9 he composed his *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, an anthology of sayings of the sages of antiquity which came to be highly influential as a source of both information and style. The biographies that accompany the sayings are almost entirely inaccurate, and the sayings themselves highly dubious, but the work represents an important aspect of Arabic literature, the recounting of 'words of wisdom'. It was frequently translated into European languages, and served as a source for Arabic writers ranging from al-Shahrestānī (d. 458/1153) right up to the circle of Mīr Dāmād.

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O. LEAMAN

### Muḍār see tribes

### muḍārī' see prosody

### al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī (d. after 163/780)

Philologist and anthologist. His exact date of birth (probably in the beginning of the second/eighth century in Khurasan) is unknown. He was an outstanding Arabic philologist who had a remarkable knowledge of ancient Arabic literature, so much so that he bore the honorary title of *rāwīya*. He was of Arab origin; his father was an authority on the events of the wars in Khurasan.

For most of his life al-Mufaḍḍal worked as a scholar, but around the year 145/762 he took part in a Zaydī uprising, led by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh, against the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr, during which he was captured by the caliph, pardoned through the intercession of

his fellow tribesman Musayyab ibn Zuhayr, and finally released to become a teacher of the caliph-to-be, al-Mahdī. Later he settled in **Kufa** and worked as a philologist and teacher.

Al-Mufaḍḍal's main fields of specialization were *gharīb* (rare words and expressions in Arabic), grammar, genealogy and pre-Islamic Arab history. He set down his profound knowledge in a number of books on subjects such as Arabic proverbs, Arabic metres, the meaning of poetry, and a dictionary. His most important book, however, is the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, one of the most significant collections of ancient Arabic poetry. His meticulous and precise method of transmitting Arabic poetry is illustrated in **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's** *Kitāb al-Aghānī* through stories in which al-Mufaḍḍal criticizes his colleague, the famous collector of ancient Arabic poetry **Ḥammād al-Rāwīya**, whom he accuses of faulty transmissions and even of forgery.

Some of his outstanding pupils were his stepson, the famous philologist **Muḥammad ibn Ziyād (Ibn) al-A'rābī** (d. 230/845) and **Khalaf al-Aḥmar** (d. 180/796). It is not clear when al-Mufaḍḍal himself died, but all information indicates a date some years after 163/780.

#### Further reading

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G. BORG

See also: *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*

### al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt

The title of an anthology of ancient Arabic poetry attributed to the philologist **al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī** (d. c.163/780 or a few years later). The original title of the work was *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt* or *Kitāb al-Mukhtārāt* ('anthology' or 'choice collection'), but at an early date it was already named after its (main) compiler.

Regarding al-Mufaḍḍal's motive for compiling this collection, two different stories circulate. The first has it that **Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh**, a Shī'ī revolutionary and a poet, selected some 70 poems from a number of books in al-Mufaḍḍal's possession while he was in hiding with the latter from the caliph. Al-Mufaḍḍal states that after **Ibrāhīm** was eventually captured and killed, he himself added some poems of his own choice, until

they numbered 128 in total, and edited them under his own name. In another story the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr heard his son al-Mahdī reciting a poem by the pre-Islamic poet al-Musayyab ibn 'Alas while he was being tutored by al-Mufaḍḍal. This aroused the caliph's enthusiasm, and he asked al-Mufaḍḍal to compile an anthology of *muqillūn* (poets who composed only a small number of poems). This holds true for this work, because it only includes such poets. The reason for this choice may have been that the *muqillūn* were felt to be underrepresented in the major collections of poetry of that time.

Which one of these stories is true is subject to discussion, but the possibility cannot be ruled out that one event superseded the other, in that al-Mufaḍḍal used the selection made by **Ibrāhīm** but completed and edited it in definitive form at the caliph's wish. On the other hand, the second story is only too welcome as it disconnects the compilation of this important anthology from the *Zaydī* milieu. Also open to debate is the question of who added the poems to the original 70, al-Mufaḍḍal himself or his famous colleague and connoisseur of ancient Arabic poetry **al-Aṣma'i**, the compiler of a similar – and probably related – anthology, the *Aṣma'iyyāt*.

Five recensions of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* seem to have circulated, of which three have survived. The most reliable of these recensions – that of **al-Anbarī** on the authority of **Abū 'Ikrima** and **Ibn al-A'rābī**, who probably knew it directly from al-Mufaḍḍal – has been edited, and contains a total of 126 poems, to which another four have been added from other available manuscripts.

Within its limiting scope of *muqillūn* poets, the anthology offers a fairly representative image of the first two centuries of Arabic poetry as we know it now, although pre-Islamic poetry is a bit over-represented: 48 poets as against 20 who witnessed early Islam (i.e. 94 poems as against 32). It contains 61 polythematic odes (*qaṣā'id*; see *qaṣīda*) seven elegies (*marāthī*; see *rithā'*) and 58 monothematic poems (*qīṭa'*; see *qīṭ'a*). As to the order of the poems, no specific criterion seems to have been used, but as a whole the anthology reflects the spirit of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times: poets who conceive of themselves as heroes and as being led by the concept of virtuous manhood (*muruwwa*), although the change in society that Islam brought about is already echoed in verses expressing the acceptance of

fate without submitting to it as the morale of pre-Islamic times would require.

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*Er<sup>2</sup>*, s.v., for an extensive discussion (R. Jacobi).

G. BORG

### **mufākharā see debate literature; poetic contests**

## **Mughulṭā'ī**

**(c.690–762/1291–1361)**

'Alā' al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Qilīj al-Bakjārī Mughulṭā'ī taught and wrote about *ḥadīth* and Ḥanafī law; although he was probably of Turkish descent, he wrote in Arabic. *Al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sirat Abī al-Qāsim* is a biography of the Prophet drafted in response to al-Suhaylī's *Rawḍ al-unuḥ* (a commentary on Ibn Hishām's life of the Prophet). Mughulṭā'ī is best known for his specialized biographical dictionary *al-Wāḍiḥ al-mubīn fī man ustushhida min al-muḥibbīn* (*The Clear and Eloquent in Speaking of Those Lovers Who Became Martyrs*), in which he argued for the soundness of certain *ḥadīths* which asserted that those who died of a chaste love died as martyrs. However, manuscripts of this work were withdrawn from market because of an allegedly unflattering anecdote about 'Ā'isha.

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R. IRWIN

### **muhājāt see hijā'**

## **al-Muhalhil ibn Rabī'a (fifth century)**

'Adī ibn Rabī'a, called al-Muhalhil, 'he who weaves finely (poetry)', is one of the oldest known Arab poets. He must have lived at the end of the fifth century, and is credited with many poetic innovations. So it is reported that he was the first to compose a *qaṣida* and to have told 'lies' in his poetry. He figures prominently in the saga about the war between the two sister-tribes Bakr and Taghlib, called the 'War of Basūs'. Kulayb, the tyrannical leader of the Taghlib, whose murder led to the war's outbreak, is said to have been al-Muhalhil's brother. After Kulayb was killed, al-Muhalhil composed elegies mourning his death and inciting his people to take revenge. These elegies constitute the main part of his remaining poems. Although the authenticity of many poems ascribed to him is more than doubtful, one can find some good examples of ancient Arabic heroic and elegiac style among them.

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T. BAUER

## **al-Muḥallabī, al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (291–352/903–63)**

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Muḥallabī a former vizier of the Būyids of Iraq, was a descendant of the aristocratic Arab Muḥallabid family of Basra and a leading literary figure of his age. He commanded armies and directed the *amīr* Mu'izz al-Dawla's *dīwān* in Baghdad, but also gathered round himself a brilliant literary circle which was frequented by such luminaries as the *qāḍī* Abū al-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī, father of the author al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, the poet Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, the anthologist Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī and the stylist and historian Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn

Hilāl al-Ṣābi' and by the later members of the poetic family of the Banū al-Munajjim. He himself was a fine literary stylist, as seen in his epistles and official decrees, and a poet, to whom a literary biographer like al-Tha'ālibī devoted a special section in his *Yatīmat al-dahr*.

Further reading

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C.E. BOSWORTH

## Muḥammad, the Prophet (d. 11/632)

As the Prophet of Islam, Muḥammad was a subject of intense interest in Arabic literature from early Islamic times, and is no less so today. The story of his life provided the background and context for much of what was said in the *Koran*, and described the triumph of the faith in its Arabian homeland. Records of his sayings, deeds, and reactions to various situations came to provide normative models for personal conduct, authoritative precedents in matters of law, and illustrative materials for interpretation of scripture.

Clearly, then, the literature that arose around the persona of Muḥammad was, from the beginning, inspired by the fervour and vitality of a world faith and culture in the making. Materials about the Prophet were subject to numerous and conflicting social, political, and religious influences, and the record produced by this dynamic must be seen not so much as documenting the history of Muḥammad's life as recording Islamic society's continuing effort to interpret his example in response to new developments and challenges. The literature on the Prophet thus represents an invaluable corpus attesting to Muslims' changing perceptions of the founder of their faith, as well as to the evolution of the literary and dialectical tools through which these views found expression.

Arabic literature is thoroughly permeated by the subject of Muḥammad, and it is only in the technical and scientific literature that he appears but rarely or not at all. Here only the specific topic of the development of his biography can be considered, but the materials and processes involved were also crucial to the

ways in which he was perceived in other genres.

Any but the most extreme critique of the sources will allow for the conclusion that the impact of Muḥammad's prophetic career was already considerable in his own lifetime. It is not clear that his followers focused their immediate attention on him personally, as opposed to his teachings, but certainly it was in Medina, the base for his religious and political success in the wake of the Hijra (his move from Mecca), that systematic interest was first and most vigorously expressed in early Umayyad times. While some modern scholarship sees the earliest materials as largely factual, only reshaped later as an idealized image of Muḥammad emerged, it is now becoming clear that right from the beginning there was considerable variety in the information becoming available. On the one hand, there was a certain degree of written documentation in circulation, most particularly the so-called 'Constitution of Medina' and numerous letters of the Prophet, for some of which convincing cases for authenticity have recently been advanced. Individuals and tribes who had participated in important events were anxious to preserve the memory of their roles, and one frequently encounters reports that relate perfectly mundane and inconsequential matters or portray Muḥammad and others as acting precisely as one, on the basis of other evidence, would expect to find in traditional tribal Arabia. On the other hand, however, events revolving around the Prophet also attracted the attention of fanciful storytellers (*quṣṣās*), poets interested in dramatic or didactic details, and propagandists seeking to defend him from critics or promote his religious credentials.

Accounts relating his life and teachings quickly became the venue for further tendentious arguments at a secondary level. Individuals and families vied to include the names of their ancestors in important events, as this would increase their own status as their descendants. Tribes were sensitive over their record of acceptance or hostility to Islam, and the descendants of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār used accounts to dispute the relative importance of themselves, Mecca, and Medina. Quite fantastic elements also came into circulation, such as miracle stories (some based on New Testament models) and poems attributed to unseen apparitions, to demons, or to Satan.

The impact of reshaping and invention was especially important in four areas. One was the reverberation of later political tensions in the materials on Muhammad, in the form of accounts altered or invented to argue positions for or against Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān (see **Orthodox Caliphs**), 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and his family, the **Umayyads**, and the **'Abbāsids**. A pro-'Alid tradition on the battle of Uḥud, for example, lists Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān among those who deserted at a decisive moment, but insists that 'Alī stood firm at the Prophet's side. In extreme cases not just details, but even an entire event, could be introduced: the tradition for the expedition to Turaba, for example, appears to be a complete fiction created in order to provide the caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb with the honour of having led at least one expedition on the Prophet's behalf, since several had been led by 'Alī. Another problematic area was that of arguments over matters of religious doctrine and practice. As new issues and problems arose in later times that could never have been of much concern to the early Muslim community in Medina, proponents of the various positions on such matters promoted their views by recasting or inventing accounts to show that Muhammad had also held their particular interpretation. As a result, one routinely finds contradictory accounts in which Muhammad upholds diametrically opposed positions on one and the same question or addresses different stages of a debate that in reality must have taken a very long time to develop.

Third, there was the problem of the relation of the *sīra* (biography of the Prophet) to the Koran. While it has traditionally been thought that much of the *sīra* represents efforts to provide *asbāb al-nuzūl* ('occasions of revelation') and other exegesis for obscure Koranic passages, recent research shows that in fact the *asbāb al-nuzūl* traditions only became such at a secondary stage, and that earlier they had no connection with the Koranic verses to which they were eventually linked. Efforts to bring *sīra* and Koran together in some systematic way thus involved the reshaping of much material in the former. Finally, there was the area of 'clarification of ambiguity' (*ta'yīn al-mubham*). With the increasing sophistication of Islamic society, audiences demanded ever clearer and more articulate responses to the questions they put to the literary tradition on the Prophet. Reports that provided such details thus appeared to be more informative than, and

superior to, others; the result was the arbitrary accretion of much new detail into the tradition, even on completely trivial matters such as the colour of an animal or the name of a weapon.

These trends were paralleled by, and closely related to, two other developments: the transmission and differentiation of materials into specific genres and the rise of tools for the critical assessment of accounts. There has been much discussion in modern scholarship about the terminology applied to differing kinds of material concerning the Prophet, based on the assumed centrality of such terminological considerations to assessment of the origins and development of the materials themselves. While this assumption is not entirely unfounded, it must be borne in mind that specialized terminology usually emerges in a situation in which previously undifferentiated materials are being regarded and used in new and more sophisticated ways and therefore need to be referred to more precisely. One finds this paradigm in every branch of medieval Islamic scholarship: it is therefore difficult to credit the notion that from the very beginning there were already meaningful categories (much less genres) of *sīra*, *ḥadīth*, and so forth.

The generality of materials on the Prophet seem at first to have been called *sīra*, in the sense of 'way of life'. This consisted of short narratives called *akhbār* ('items of information') or *ḥadīth* ('discussion') that dealt with specific topics, which were usually transmitted orally through family connections or from teacher to student. Reports on the same or on related subjects gradually came to be transmitted together; lists were compiled (e.g. of participants, casualties, or prisoners in various battles, expeditions, and other events); and by the late 1st/7th century a framework for the biography of the Prophet had been established. Though this may not have been the case from the beginning, the main benchmark was identified as the Hijra, and as in the study of the revelation of the Koran, which in many cases was being investigated by the same scholars, the Prophet's career was divided (perhaps arbitrarily) into Meccan and Medinan periods of identical or similar lengths. Events before and after the Hijra were then arranged according to a relative chronology, though demands for greater precision quickly resulted in exact dating, often to the day.

Materials organized within this framework were often profoundly kerygmatic; efforts

were made, for example, to show that Muhammad's mission had been predicted in the Bible and by various Arabian figures, and to demonstrate that God had specifically prepared him for prophethood and vouchsafed his mission from error. With the forthcoming conquests in mind, Arabia was presented retrospectively as a barren land from which the Arabs would be delivered as reward for their faith (see *futūḥ*). Accounts of the Prophet's campaigns stressed the element of divine guidance and support, e.g. by deploying the Old Testament motif of the few defeating a mighty host by the will and command of God.

The prominence of these and similar issues, as well as the other tendentious trends discussed above and the general proliferation of new material, made it important to know where reports came from and on what authority; hence the stress on oral transmission. But from early on there was also an element of written tradition, and this gradually assumed greater importance. Teachers and collectors often kept written records of their materials, and students likewise took notes, often in detail. But though references in the sources speak frequently of a 'sheet' (*ṣaḥīfa*) or 'book' (*kitāb*), it is difficult to determine exactly what is intended unless the work in question has survived; a *ṣaḥīfa* can amount to hundreds of pages in a modern printed edition, while a *kitāb* can prove to be a set of notes without a coherent beginning or end and clearly never intended for general circulation.

That critical considerations were not lost sight of in this process can be seen in the fact that the discrete reports from which such collections were constructed nevertheless retained their individual identity. In particular, this identity was specifically asserted by attaching to a report the *isnād*, or chain of authorities, through whom it had been transmitted. Much controversy surrounds the use of the *isnād*, which could of course be falsified or altered as easily as the subject matter of a report. It has long been argued that 'weak' *isnāds* (e.g. stopping short of the time of the Prophet, or betraying gaps or anomalies of various kinds) are in fact the earlier ones, and that these were perfected and extended back to the Prophet later; recent research has called this theory into question, however, and Jewish models for citation of authorities would in any case have suggested a rigorous *isnād* form fairly early on.

The second/eighth century witnessed two

developments that were decisive for the study of the life of Muhammad. First, this study gradually divided into two perspectives that assumed specific identities as separate genres: *sīra* and *ḥadīth*. The reasons for this division appear to have been based on critical methods and subject interests. Some compilers and collectors sought to assemble materials revolving around the persona of the Prophet himself; these collections came to be known as *sīra*, sharpening the old general sense of the word into the specific meaning of the 'life of the Prophet'. In such compilations the various reports were arranged according to the pre-Islamic, Meccan, and Medinan periods of Muhammad's life, or, where this was not feasible, into topical categories (e.g. his merits, wives, letters, delegations received, etc.). As attention focused more sharply on content and on the conclusions that might be reached by comparing one report with another, there emerged a trend towards the combination of reports into larger more comprehensive ones; their contents were thereby amalgamated and synthesized and their authorities were listed together in a collective *isnād*.

While this was clearly an important step toward continuous historical narrative, it was opposed by other scholars on critical grounds. These authorities attached greater importance to the specific contents of individual accounts, studied them for their relevance to matters of doctrine and religious law, and compiled them into collections that came to be known as *ḥadīth*. In these compilations, traditions were listed separately in chapters devoted to such topics as ritual purity, marriage, divorce, *jihād*, fasting, and prayer; these were often exactly the same rubrics used in compilations of law, and illustrate the close relation between the two fields. Other collections emerging at the same time or slightly later adopted an arrangement according to the name of the earliest transmitter. As this shows, *ḥadīth* placed greater stress on criticism of *isnāds* than *sīra* did; use of the collective *isnād* was especially deplored, as it obscured the attested transmission of the original accounts from which the collective report had been compiled. It must not be thought, however, that *sīra* and *ḥadīth* collections were essentially different in the materials they contained: the same reports often appeared in both genres, and the scholars named as transmitters in them were largely identical. To the extent that their contents did differ, this was because savants of *ḥadīth*

insisted on a more rigorous method of selection based on *isnād* criticism; weakly attested traditions that didactic considerations might allow into a *sīra* work would not appear in a *ḥadīth* collection, and such material as poetry and the fanciful lore of the storyteller, which often appeared in *sīra*, was almost completely expunged from *ḥadīth*. Miracle stories too were severely proscribed; though collected in abundance in various *sīra* works, they are rare in *ḥadīth*.

The second decisive trend, already implicit in the first, was the emergence in the second/eighth century of written compilations specifically intended for general circulation as the work of a specific collector or compiler. The first of these may have been the *sīra*, also known as *Mashāhid al-nabī* ('Events Witnessed by the Prophet'), by the famous Medinan scholar **al-Zuhri** (d. 124/742). To a large extent, these works consisted of detailed sets of teachers' or students' notes, revised and edited by the student. A good illustration of how this process worked is available in the example of **Ibn Ishāq** (d. 150/767). Of the many written versions of his materials transmitted by his students, one recension, that of the Kufan scholar **al-Bakkā'ī** (d. 183/799), was quoted by numerous later scholars; once it had been further edited by **Ibn Hishām** (d. 218/833), it became an authoritative interpretation of Muhammad's life.

Several aspects of this mode of publication and circulation bear special emphasis. First, it created a certain degree of ambiguity and confusion as to who did or did not write certain books on a given subject; it is both asserted and denied, for example, that 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 94/712) wrote a *Sīra* or *Maghāzī* book. This scholar is almost certainly too early to have done so; but it is perfectly feasible that lecture notes of his were handed down and edited in some form later on. Second, with this means of transmission it is difficult to identify an 'original' form of a book, since over a long career a teacher may have changed or augmented his materials significantly, leaving numerous students handing down different versions or parts of his work reflecting their own interests. One such version (as in the case of Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn Ishāq) could gain authoritative status in later times; but one cannot conclude from this that the text underlying it was what the original compiler wished to be regarded as his authoritative word on the subject. Third,

for some early compilations it is possible that the stage of lecture notes passed directly to that of incorporation into another authority's book, i.e. without achievement of independent status in the interim. Certainly a student's redaction often served to deny the teacher's work any further independent identity. The *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* by **al-Wāqidi** (d. 207/823), for example, began with an ambitious collection of traditions on the Prophet, but the whole work was quickly superseded by the redaction of his student and secretary **Ibn Sa'd** (d. 230/854). Finally, early *sīra* collections could also surface in the domain of *ḥadīth*. The materials of **al-Zuhri**, for example, were selectively collected and redacted by his student **Ma'mar ibn Rāshid** (d. 154/770), whose compilation was in turn incorporated into a *ḥadīth* compendium, the *Muṣannaf* of **al-San'ānī** (d. 211/827), in a chapter on the Prophet's military campaigns.

The third/ninth century marked the definitive emergence of the classical interpretations of the life of Muhammad and the appearance of definite sub-genres, which arose from the earlier trend for students to collect only those parts of a master's teaching that interested them. The range of special topics studied was very broad, and included such subjects as the Prophet's birth, maternal genealogy, call to be a prophet (*mab'ath*), wives, children, names, appearance, habits, the night journey (*isrā'*) and ascent to heaven (*mī'rāj*), and the events following his death.

Several of these sub-genres were particularly important. One was *maghāzī* ('military expeditions'), a term which had earlier been commonly used *pars pro toto* for several *sīra* collections but which eventually developed an identity of its own. The most important such collection was **al-Wāqidi's** *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* ('Book of Military Expeditions'); frequently pursued by others who followed him, the topic comprised a link to the study of the Arab conquests after Muhammad's death. Other important sub-genres were those of *shamā'il* ('merits'), *khaṣā'is* ('special characteristics'), and *dalā'il al-nubuwwa* ('proofs of prophecy'). Though traditions along these lines were in circulation in the Umayyad period, and at that time comprised part of the salvation history with which the biography of Muhammad was so intensely concerned, by the 'Abbāsīd period this material had developed into specific sub-genres, to a large extent aimed at addressing criticisms of Muhammad

and Islam by non-Muslims, especially Christians. A work entitled *A'lām al-nubuwwa* (*Signs of Prophecy*) is attributed to the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198–218/814–33); the first extant work, al-Jāhiz's (d. 255/868) *Ḥujaj al-nubuwwa* (*Proofs of Prophecy*), is an explicit response to Christian criticisms.

Many of these works, particularly those produced in later medieval times, were devotional texts for general use rather than works of formal scholarship. It was a matter of pious merit, for example, to be able to recite from memory a long poem on the names of those who fought at Badr. But the importance of the later *sīra* tradition, generally underappreciated in modern scholarship, bears special emphasis. *sīra* commentaries, though overall comprising a tradition far more limited than what one finds in law, Koranic exegesis, or *ḥadīth*, were individually often of astonishing magnitude and erudition. The commentary by al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185) on Ibn Hishām inspired two supercommentaries of particular importance. That of Mughultā'i (d. 762/1361) was a polemic against al-Suhaylī, but assembled a vast range of material, some very early, over which the author displays considerable talents as a textual and historical critic. The supercommentary of al-Bilbaysī (d. 937/1531) was more generous in outlook, but was even more ambitious than that of Mughultā'i. Again, a vast range of materials is adduced and critiqued, and to judge from the extant first volume the complete work (assuming it was finished) must have consumed nearly 2,000 folios. Much the same applies to some of the very specialized *sīra* works of later medieval Islam. The work of Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 742/1341) on the Prophet's birth and birthday festival (*mawlid*), for example, runs to hundreds of folios and again preserves a wealth of early material on a broad range of subjects.

*Sīra* scholarship manifested itself in many other fields. Comprehensive histories usually dealt with the subject in detail, and compendia in law, Koranic exegesis, and *ḥadīth*, as well as the later commentaries on them, collected large numbers of traditions. In inspiration and structure they basically adhered to forms that has already been established earlier, but as with the later works within the *sīra* tradition, they attest to the ongoing vitality of the field and the enduring interest of the educated public in whatever could be known about the founder of Islam.

As will be evident from the above, the study

of the Prophet's life is a complex undertaking fraught with difficulties of various kinds. But it is no less clear that much work remains to be done; new methodologies and an expanding corpus of source material and modern research ensure that much of value and significance will yet emerge in this, one of the most important fields of medieval Arabic literature.

#### Further reading

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*ographies on Islam, Muhammad, and the Koran*, Denver (1973).

(See also the individual entries on the authors discussed above.)

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### Muhammad, Nadim (1910–94)

Syrian poet. Born in 'Ayn Shqaq, he studied in Beirut and Montpellier, and briefly served as director of cultural centres in Hiffah and Latakia. He published a number of *Diwāns*, including *Ālām* (Part I: 1953, Parts II and III: 1985), *Farāshāt wa-'anākib* (1955), *Āfāq* (1958), *Fir'awn* (1963), *Alwān* (1965), *Rifāq yamḍūn* (1978), *Ṣurākh al-tha'r* (1979), *Furū' min uṣūl* (1993). Besides its obvious Romantic features, his verse reflects socialist and existentialist influences. Though written largely in two-hemistich lines it departs from neo-classical diction and imagery, demonstrating the author's interest in organic unity and varied rhymes. The expression of love occupies much of Nadim Muhammad's writing. Other favourite themes include the torments and joys of the poet's inner world; the suffering of the Syrian peasant under feudalism; the celebration of the pan-Arab struggle for independence and unity; and the quest for human dignity in a harsh world.

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**Muhammad Bāqir al-Majlisī see al-Majlisī, Muhammad Bāqir**

**Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kisā'i see al-Kisā'i, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh**

**Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī see al-Shahrastānī**

**Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik, known as Ibn al-Zayyāt (173–233/789–848)**

'Abbāsīd vizier and man of letters. As vizier to the caliphs al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, he was notorious for his severity, and invented a torture device for extracting confessions, to which he himself fell fatally victim soon after

the accession of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. He was considered the best of the 'secretarial' poets of his generation, and his *diwān* survives in an anonymous recension; a collection of his letters is lost. He was also an important patron, the subject of panegyrics by **Abū Tammām** (on whose death he wrote an elegy) and **al-Buḥturī**, and the dedicatee of several works by **al-Jāhīz**, including his *Animals* and *Jest and Earnest*.

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**Muhammad ibn 'A'isha see Ibn 'A'isha, Muhammad**

**Muhammad ibn Bashir al-Riyāshī see al-Riyāshī**

**Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥātimī see al-Ḥātimī, Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan**

**Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Kattanī see Ibn al-Kattani**

**Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shāfi'i see al-Shāfi'i**

**Muhammad ibn Kunāsa see Ibn Kunāsa**

**Muhammad ibn Muḥriz al-Wahrānī see al-Wahrānī, Muhammad ibn Muḥriz**

**Muhammad ibn Munādhir see Ibn Munādhir**

**Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī see al-Rāzī, Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā'**

## Muḥammad al-Salāmī (336–93/948–1003)

Abū al-Hasan Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (or 'Abd Allāh) al-Salāmī was a poet from **Baghdad**. His genealogy goes back to Makhzūm (Quraysh); his name al-Salāmī refers to his birthplace (Madīnat al-Salām, i.e. Baghdad). As a child he moved to Mosul, where he met other poets such as Abū 'Uthmān al-Khālīdī (see **al-Khālīdiyyān**) and **al-Babbaghā'**. Later he associated with, and was honoured by, **al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād** in Isfahan and 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Shiraz. **Al-Tha'ālibī** quotes extensively from his poetry in *Ya'īmat al-dahr*.

### Text edition

*Shi'r*, Ṣabīḥ Radīf (ed.), Baghdad (1971).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## al-Muḥāsibī (c.165–243/c.781–857)

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith ibn Asad al-'Anazī al-Muḥāsibī was born in **Basra** and died in **Baghdad**. An influential **Ṣūfī** writer, al-Muḥāsibī was learned in the religious sciences, particularly in **Mu'tazilī** theology. He sought, however, to transcend rationalized religion in an ascetic and moral quest for enlightenment. Through rigorous spiritual scrutiny of the self (*muḥāsaba*), this quest characterized al-Muḥāsibī's **Ṣūfī** methodology and informed his literary style. His spiritual psychology of the religious emotions remained his hallmark. This may be seen, for example, in his *Treatise on the Beginning of One Who Returns in Repentance to God, Most High*. Here al-Muḥāsibī describes the external and internal acts of the repentant in worshipful communion with God. The structure of the *ṣalāt* (prayer) is clearly the formal model, while the emotional description is al-Muḥāsibī's internal **Ṣūfī** topos of the *ṣalāt*. A few lines in translation will illustrate the style and mood: 'When he [the penitent] had been standing long before his Lord and yearning to humble himself by throwing dust on his face in obeisance to Him, you should have seen him dropping down from his upright position with burning heart, throbbing breast and bated breath. Then he fell in prostration on his face, thinking of his Lord looking at him, tears streaming down his cheeks and pooling on his face, contrite and

imploping his Lord, shouting, crying, moaning...' (*Kitāb Bad' man anāba ilā Allāh Ta'ālā*, 15–16).

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## muḥdathūn, 'the moderns'

Name for the poets of the 'Abbāsīd period, in opposition to the ancient Arabic poets, i.e. poets of the **Jāhiliyya**, **mukhaḍramūn** and **Umayyad** poets. **Bashshār ibn Burd** (d.167/783) is called 'father' of the moderns (Ibn Rashīq, *al-'Umda* I, 131). He was, however, already prominent during the late Umayyad period (*mukhaḍram al-dawlatayn*). Other prominent early *muḥdathūn* are **Muṭī' ibn Iyās** (d. 169/785), **Muslim ibn al-Walid** (d. 208/823) and, above all, **Abū Nuwās** (d. c. 200/815). As the most remarkable characteristic of *muḥdathūn* poetry, the indigenous critics mention the frequent and conscious application of **badī'**. Originally, this term was understood to be a certain kind of metaphor (example: 'hand of the Northwind'); later it came to mean a certain group of figures of speech (among others, paronomasia and antithesis) and finally the figures of speech in general.

The poetry of the *muḥdathūn* excels in a way of rhetoricizing that did not exist before. Remarkable is the often complicated technique of imagery (Abū Nuwās on the blossoms of the narcissus: 'as if, they were eyes, but different [from the human eye] in their colour; yellow instead of the black [of the pupil], and the lids are the white'). The image becomes more important than the object that it is meant to elucidate (Abū Nuwās: 'she

wept by pouring pearls [tears] from narcissi [eyes]). Frequently, similes and metaphors are further developed into 'phantastic interpretations' (*takhyīl*) (Abū Nuwās: 'The roses saw him picking roses, and so they imitated his blush', based on the comparison of cheeks with roses). Topoi of the ancient Arabs are still employed, but handled very consciously or transformed, and also often parodied (e.g. the weeping over the traces of the encampment in the *nasīb* at the beginning of the *qaṣīda* by Abū Nuwās). (See further *satire*.) Abū Tammām (d. 231/845) made excessive use of rhetoric and thereby evoked a discussion among the indigenous critics about his poetry.

Other innovations that have at times been attributed to the *muḥdathūn* and that were conditioned by societal changes (court and city instead of desert) had in fact often set in earlier, but were taken up, developed and cultivated by the *muḥdathūn* ('court *qaṣīda*' or 'secondary *qaṣīda*', instead of 'tribal *qaṣīda*', or 'primary, *qaṣīda*'); replacement of the *nasīb* of the *qaṣīda* by another topic, particularly a description of wine or spring; further development of the 'Udhri' love poetry into 'courtly' love poetry by Bashshār ibn Burd and al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf). (See further *qaṣīda*.) The expansion of the system of genres (love, wine, ascetic, and hunting poetry as independent forms) had also already taken place during the Umayyad period (or even earlier). New creations of the (later) *muḥdathūn* are, essentially, only the independent descriptive poem (*wasf*) and the nature poem (*rawḍiyya*, etc.). (See *nature, in classical poetry*.)

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See also: ancients and moderns; literary criticism, medieval; *maṭbū'* and *maṣnū'*; rhetoric and poetics

## al-Muḥibbī (1061–1111/1651–99)

Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Amin al-Muḥibbī was a member of a family of scholars and jurists in **Damascus**, who flourished in the tenth-eleventh/sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. He spent his career in Ottoman Anatolia and in his native Damascus, but was also the author of a (so far unpublished) *diwān* of poetry and, above all, of biographical works: a dictionary of the literary men and scholars of his age, the *Khulāṣat al-athar*, which contains nearly 1,300 entries and is a precious source on the literary life of a period which has not so far been thoroughly explored; *al-I'lām*, on notable figures from all ages, only partially extant; and a continuation of al-Khafājī's own literary–biographical dictionary.

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## Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī see Ibn al-'Arabī

### *mujtathth* see prosody

### *mujūn*

'Libertinage, licentiousness'; a term used to describe both a mode of behaviour and a genre of medieval Arabic poetry and prose. Closely related to *khalā'a*, the throwing off of societal restraints, *mujūn* refers behaviourally to open and unabashed indulgence in prohibited pleasures, particularly the drinking of wine and, above all, sexual profligacy. *Mujūn* literature describes and celebrates this hedonistic way of life, frequently employing explicit sexual vocabulary, and almost invariably with primarily humorous intent.

Despite certain antecedents, *mujūn* literature is essentially a product of the early 'Abbāsid period. Pre-Islamic poetry sometimes describes sexual adventures (most notably in the *Mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qays), but without the graphic and waggish qualities of true *mujūn*; and while pre-Islamic and Umayyad abuse poetry (*hijā'*) is often extremely coarse, and can also provoke laughter, its defamatory intent sets it off

clearly from *mujūn's* essential lightheartedness. The rise in Umayyad Arabia of the 'Udhri school of love poetry, chaste and emotionally overwrought, provided a perhaps essential foil for *mujūn's* anti-romantic and sometimes cynical stance, while the growing practice of *tashbib*, embarrassing respectable ladies by composing love lyrics about them, prefigures *mujūn's* delight in breaching the barriers of what can be said in polite company.

But it was in the very different social climate of early 'Abbāsid Basra and Baghdad that true *mujūn* first flourished, and above all in the person of Abū Nuwās. Unabashedly defying both *bedouin* poetic conventions and Islamic prohibitions, this poet celebrated in exquisite verses the joys of the tavern and of seducing boys (and occasionally girls), often in the most vivid terms, and, along with other poets of his time, definitively established this new genre. Its status as such is quite clear from the two extant recensions of Abū Nuwās's *diwān*, both of which are organized by genre and accord a separate section to his *mujūniyyāt*, distinguished not only from panegyric and the like, but also from wine poems (*khamriyyāt*), love poetry about women (*mu'annathāt*), and love poetry about boys (*mudhakkarāt*). While the latter might seem by definition to be *mujūn*, it is less the illicitness of the subject than the presence of explicit vocabulary and graphic description that sets off the latter, regardless of the sex of the beloved.

Abū Nuwās and other *mujūn* poets such as al-Husayn ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk received considerable encouragement at the court of the dissolute caliph al-Amīn (193–8/809–13), and the trend was equally popular in the following generation under al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61). The cultivation of *mujūn* was closely associated with the world of entertainers and musicians, and particularly the cultivated singing slave girls (*qiyān*) traded among the aristocracy (see *singers and musicians*); but its wider appeal as literature, despite opposition in certain quarters, is clear from a well-known passage in al-Jāḥiẓ's *Boasting-Match between Girls and Boys* in which he castigates prudes for their aversion to sexually explicit humour by documenting its appreciation among the pious ancestors.

The relationship between licentious behaviour and licentious literature was always an ambiguous one. Ibn al-Mu'tazz and others

pointed out that many *mujūn* poets led lives quite different from those they depicted in their verses; on the other hand, al-Tha'ālībī described the wild weekly drinking parties at which the Baghdad judge al-Tanūkhī and his grey-bearded colleagues would cast off their otherwise carefully maintained dignity. In the late fourth/tenth century aristocratic society seems to have undergone a wave of *nostalgie de la boue*, illustrated by the scabrous tastes of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād and above all by the extraordinary popularity of the Baghdad poet Ibn al-Hajjāj, whose poetry added to graphic sexual description a new element of scatological humour (see *sukhf*). The culmination of this trend was the *Tale of Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī* by the otherwise unknown Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdi, which manages to touch on every conceivable aspect of *mujūn* in its depiction of a rogue's disruption of a drinking party.

While such excesses became less common in later periods, that *mujūn* had by the fifth/eleventh century acquired a respectable niche in both poetry and prose literature is clear from its inclusion in literary encyclopaedias by such authors as al-Tawḥīdī, al-Ābī and al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī. Later writers noted for their cultivation of *mujūn* include the poet Ibn al-Habbāriyya in the Saljūq East and the prose humorist al-Wahrānī in Ayyūbid Egypt and Syria, both of whom exploited in particular the genre's potential for satire. The proportion of *mujūn* in the picaresque *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī is surprisingly low; but it did become a favoured theme of the colloquial, stanzaic *zajal* verse form developed in Andalusia, notably by Ibn Quzmān, and later popularized in the East as well by such poets as Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. Ibn al-Hajjāj found a worthy successor in Ibn Dāniyāl, whose *shadow plays* mark a new surge in popularity for both *mujūn* and *sukhf*. That *mujūn* literature continued to be both appreciated and composed by respectable scholars and religious figures is clear from the existence of several works in the genre from the pen of the ninth/fifteenth-century polymath al-Suyūṭī. Also to be noted as overlapping with *mujūn* literature, but remaining generically distinct, are works of erotica, of which the best known are those by al-Tifāshī and al-Nafzāwī.

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E.K. ROWSON

**mukhadram**

A term applied to persons living in the *Jāhiliyya* and in the time of Islam. It is derived from *khadrama*, 'to cut the ear of one's camel', and signifies, according to some lexicographers, 'cut off from disbelief'. In literary classification, *al-mukhadramūn* constitute the generation of poets between 'the pagans' (*al-Jāhiliyyūn*) and the 'Islamic poets' (*al-Islāmiyyūn*). In their verses the development of Umayyad poetry is anticipated in many respects (see also **Orthodox caliphate**). The designation was later extended to poets of the second/eighth century, *mukhadramūn al-dawlatayn*, 'poets of the two dynasties', i.e. the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids.

R. JACOBI

**mukhammas see strophic poetry**

**mukhannathūn**

A term given to all kinds of entertainers from the rise of Islam to the late medieval Arab world. Arabic lexicography defines the word *mukhannath* as 'effeminate person; homosexual; bisexual; male prostitute; powerless, impotent, weak [person]'. In literary works the term denotes persons often engaged in the entertainment professions, e.g. musicians (flautists, drummers, lutists, cymbal and tambourine players), dancers, hobby-horse players, etc.

In the time of **Muhammad** there were four *mukhannathūn*. They did not practise homosexuality, but they spoke in a soft voice, dyed their hands and feet, and toyed or danced like women. Al-Fākihī says that the *mukhannathūn* were active in Mecca from the pre-Islamic period up to 252/866; they played with hobby-horses (*kurraj*) at feasts in various

quarters (*Akhbār Makka*, Leipzig, 1858–61, vol. 2, 9–10). The association between *kurraj* and *mukhannathūn* was so strong that during later periods effeminate men came to be known as *kurrajīs*.

Later the term was also given to actors of live theatre. Some musicians, e.g. flautists, were called *Mukhannath*, such as al-Mukhannath al-Baghdādī al-Dallāl. From the third/ninth century onward actors were given the title of *Mukhannath*. The most important among them is 'Abbāda al-Mukhannath, the favourite actor of al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861). 'Abbāda's pantomimic play, imitating 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, was a favourite, frequently acted, accompanied by musicians and singers, for the delight of the caliph:

'Abbāda al-Mukhannath used to tie a pillow onto his stomach under his clothes, take off his headgear although he was bald, and dance before al-Mutawakkil while the singers would sing, 'The bald one with the paunch is coming, the caliph of the Muslims!' He would impersonate (*yahkī*) 'Alī, upon him be peace, to the roaring [laughter] of al-Mutawakkil while the latter was drinking [wine]. (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, Beirut, 1965, vol. 7, 55).

Other plays by *mukhannathūn* involved not only dancing with props, but also dialogue and acting.

In *Thesaurus Syriacus* the Greek term *mimos* is given in Syriac according to Ibn Bahlūl (c.963 CE) as *mīmas* and *mīmsā* with their Arabic meaning as *al-mukhannath al-muḥākī al-maskharī* (the imitating comedian mimic), as well as *mukhannath*, *muḥākī*, *al-mudḥik* (mime, imitator, comedian), a clear indication that the term *mukhannath* also became an established term for comic actors.

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S. MOREH

See also: actors and acting, medieval

## Mukhāriq ibn Shihāb see singers and musicians

### *mulamma'a*

(Lit. 'brightly variegated, piebald'). A *mulamma'a* is a poem in which more than one language is used: 'macaronic' verse, be it that the comical or burlesque aspect implied by this term is not always present. Early examples mixing Arabic and Persian are by **Abū Nuwās**, **Ibn Mufarrigh** and **Ibn Abī Karīma** (the last two quoted by **al-Jāhīz**); **Ibn Dā'ūd al-Iṣbahānī** gives some more examples (Arabic with Persian, with – allegedly – a negro language and with Greek) in his *Zahra*. **Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr** mentions a poem mixing Arabic, Persian, Turkish Greek and Armenian, twenty lines in each language. Arabic works of *badī'* ignore it, but it is incorporated by the less monoglot Persians from **Rādūyānī** (fifth/eleventh century) onward. **Al-Ḥarīzī**, the Hebrew emulator of **al-Ḥarīrī**, included in his *Tahkemoni* a poem in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. Classical and colloquial Arabic are sometimes mixed with burlesque results, as in the poems by the modern Egyptian poet **Ḥusayn Ṭantāwī** which he calls *shī'r ḥalamantishī* (etymology unknown).

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

### Mullā Ṣadrā (979 or 980–1050/1571 or 1572–1640)

Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadra), called Ṣadr al-Muta'allihīn, or simply Ākhund, has been perhaps the single most important and influential philosopher in the Muslim world in the last four hundred years, although philosophical activity has been more or less restricted during this period to Iran and the Indian subcontinent. Born in Shiraz, he studied in Isfahan with the leading scholars of his time before retiring for a number of years' spiritual solitude and discipline to the village of Kahak near Qum, where he completed the first part of his major work, the *Asfār*. He was invited by the governor of Fars to return to Shiraz, where he taught for the remainder of his life. He died in **Basra** while on his seventh *hajj* on foot to Mecca. The author of over forty works, he was the culminating figure of the major revival of philosophy in Ṣafavid Iran. Devoting himself almost exclusively to

metaphysics, he constructed a critical philosophy which brought together Peripatetic, Illuminationist and gnostic philosophy with **Shī'ī** theology within the compass of what he termed a 'metaphilosophy', whose source lay in the Islamic revelation and the mystical experience of reality as existence.

Mullā Ṣadrā's metaphilosophy was based on existence as the sole constituent of reality, and rejected any role for quiddities or essences in the external world. Existence was for him at once a single unity and an internally articulated dynamic process, the unique source of both unity and diversity. Proceeding from this single fundamental starting point, he was able to analyse, and to find original solutions to, many of the logical, metaphysical and theological difficulties which he had inherited from his predecessors. His major philosophical work is the *Asfār*, a complete presentation of his philosophical ideas which he began in Kahak and finished in Shiraz. In other areas of his scholarship mention should be made of a commentary on the *Uṣūl of al-Kāfī*, one of the most important collections of **Shī'ī hadīth**, and commentaries on various sections of the **Koran**.

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J. COOPER

## Munajjim family

A family of scholars and courtiers prominent in the flourishing literary and scientific life of

the 'Abbāsid court in the third/ninth century. The family was of Persian and Zoroastrian origin and is said to have had connections with the Sasanian court. Its first known member in Islamic times served the caliph al-Manṣūr as his *munajjim* (astronomer/astrologer), and the astronomical qualifications of his son Yaḥyā brought him a prominent position at the court of al-Ma'mūn, under whose auspices he converted to Islam. After Yaḥyā his sons and grandsons were commonly known as Ibn al-Munajjim. Of these the most prominent was his son 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā **Ibn al-Munajjim**, whose success at court and accumulation of wealth and property provided the family with a secure material foundation for its intellectual pursuits. These tended away from astronomy towards poetry, music, literary history and theology. All of these were among the interests of 'Alī's son Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā, who lived from 241/855–6 to 300/912 and, like his father, was a regular companion of the 'Abbāsid caliphs. He and his brother Hārūn compiled respectively a history and anthology of Arabic poetry, both of which were used by **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. Members of two more generations of the family are known to have frequented the declining 'Abbāsid court or that of the **Būyids**, and to have continued the family's literary and scientific interests.

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R. A. KIMBER

**al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkuri**  
(sixth century)

A semi-legendary figure from pre-Islamic times. Several anthologies contain a poem that belongs to the *fakhr* genre (self-glorification) and in which the poet dedicates some lines to a vivid portrayal of his seduction of a beautiful girl. Its author's name is given as al-Munakhkhal from the tribe Yashkur, and a story is told according to which he was tortured to death on orders from the **Lakhmid** king al-Nu'mān ibn

al-Mundhir (580–602) on the suspicion of having had an affair with his wife. Both the story, and the poem related to it, exist in a variety of different versions. The poem was set to music by **Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī** and others.

Text editions

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T. BAUER

**munāzara see debate literature**

**Munif, 'Abd al-Rahmān (1933– )**

Saudi novelist, economist and intellectual. Born in Jordan, Munif studied law in **Damascus** and **Cairo**, then gained a PhD in oil economics from Yugoslavia. He held Saudi citizenship until stripped of it for his political opposition to the Saudi regime. Munif worked in the Syrian and Iraqi oil industries and became editor of the Iraqi monthly *al-Nift wa-al-tanmiya*. While working in Syria, he published his first novel, *al-Ashjār wa-ightiyāl Marzūq*; this was followed by *Qiṣṣat ḥubb majūsiyya* and *Hīna taraknā al-jisr*. These three early novels, though giving evidence of talent, may be regarded as novels of apprenticeship.

It was with works such as *Sharq al-Mutawassiṭ* (1977), *al-Nihāyāt* (1978) and *Sibāq al-masāfāt al-ṭawīla: Riḥla ilā al-sharq* (1979) that Munif started to acquire his own independent and original voice. *Sharq al-Mutawassiṭ* is a prison novel in which stream-of-consciousness technique is used to show the physical and psychological horrors resulting from torture of political prisoners; *al-Nihāyāt* is structured in an analogous manner to the desert; *Sibāq* – set in Iran during the Moṣaddeq period – is narrated by a British agent who witnesses the decline of British and the rise of American imperialism. In 1982 he published *'Ālam bi-lā kharā'it*, which he co-authored with Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā.

In 1984 Munif published the first volume of a planned trilogy (which later became a quintet), *Mudun al-milh*. This huge novel of more than 2,500 pages – the story of a desert community changed by the discovery of oil – takes as its theme the destruction of traditional bonds

and social life through enforced 'modernization' and, as such, is arguably one of the most important recent novels in Arabic. His interest in history is also clear in works such as *Sīrat madīna: 'Ammān fī al-arba'ināt* (1994).

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W. HAMARNEH

### ***munsariḥ* see prosody**

### **al-Muqaddasī (fourth/tenth century)**

Shams al-Dīn (?) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Bannā' al-Shāmī al-Muqaddasī, also known as al-Bashshārī, was born in Jerusalem in the decade of 330/941, and died no earlier than 381/991. On both paternal and maternal sides he was descended from families of master builders. He was a travelling merchant, and possibly an *Ismā'īlī* missionary; he is renowned as a geographical author. Except for his own work, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm* (*The Best Disposal, on Knowledge of the Provinces*, completed around 380/990), no biographical source for him is extant.

Al-Muqaddasī's *Disposal* accomplishes and at the same time transcends the Balkhī tradition of geography in the fourth/tenth century. The text has become emancipated from the accompanying maps, and while al-Muqaddasī naturally peruses his predecessors when and wherever possible, he is far more assured than even Ibn Hawqal in giving precedence to autopsy as a means of acquiring geographical knowledge. He defines geography as a noble discipline, worthy of a cultivated style, and indispensable to princes and their ministers as well as to merchants and, generally, to the complete gentleman. His interest is not limited to physical features and economic conditions of a given region but includes the social and denominational make-up of its inhabitants, which he observes with insight; his family background also gives him an open eye for the aesthetic qualities of architecture.

#### Text editions

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L. RICHTER-BERNBURG

*See also:* geographical literature

### ***muqaddima***

A term generally meaning 'premise' in medieval Arabic. It was used most particularly in logic in a technical sense, but also in dialectical theology, and from the end of the sixth/eleventh century in legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*; see *fiqh*) to indicate the logical or quasi-logical character of legal deductions (*qiyās*) based on the 'roots' of jurisprudence (the *Koran*, *ḥadīth* and consensus). In modern Arabic, the term still preserves its technical sense, but is generally used in a wide literary sense to denote the 'preface' or 'introduction' to a book or other form of discourse. This genre-specific use of the term was rarely used for prefatory discourses that almost invariably preceded medieval Arabic texts on all subjects. In most cases, these prefatory discourses indicated the purpose – pious, controversial or otherwise – of composing the work, and an outline of its textual genealogy. Rare were the texts like the prefatory statement by *Miskawayh* to his *Tajārib al-unam*, where he discourses on the very nature of his subject, in this case, history.

*Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddima* joined together these two senses of the word. It was composed as a separate literary component of a work on universal history, to which it constituted at once a prefatory discourse and a logical propdeutic. The *Muqaddima* purported to set out the methodological rules which would allow the historian to ply his craft properly. Such rules were meant to allow the historian to arrive at a conclusion as to the plausibility or implausibility of received narratives, and such conclusions are dependent on knowledge of the nature of the state, of its emergence and of its decline, as well as a consequential awareness of mutability and of the reality of change. The rules constitute the premises from which deductions of plausibility are derived.



Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* itself is tightly structured along quasi-logical lines, and its text flows as would a deductive process from the basic to the derivative. This is a multi-layered process of considerable complexity and rigour, deploying metaphysical categories, and the metaphysical restatement of certain legal categories, for the study of material derived from the historical experience of the Arabs, the Berbers and other peoples, as well as observations on Ibn Khaldūn's own time. The *Muqaddima* contains a virtual register of the knowledge available to Ibn Khaldūn from his personal political experience and the books he read on history, politics, *fiqh*, eschatology, philosophy and the natural sciences, and offers extraordinary direct glimpses of his time. The result is a very richly textured work which has been read in different senses by different people, most of whom have tended to ignore its primary feature – complexity – for the sake of rather simplistic univocal interpretations.

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(For the linguistic aspects of the term, the standard Arabic dictionaries may be consulted.)

A. AL-AZMEH

See also: historical literature

**muqatta'a see qit'a**

**muqtaḍab see prosody**

**al-Muqataṭaf (1876–1952)**

One of the most distinguished monthly reviews; founded in Beirut, it moved to Cairo in 1885. Its first editors were Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf and Fāris Nimr. *Al-Muqataṭaf* was an encyclopaedic popularizing magazine largely filled with information on Western civilization taken from foreign newspapers and magazines and covering, *inter alia*, history, commerce, art, archaeology, science and biography. It also published novels and short stories, initially mainly translations, including Disraeli's *Tancred*, Scott's *Ivanhoe* and Ṣarrūf's own first novel, *A Girl in Egypt*. Many leading Egyptian and other writers were among its contributors.

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P. C. SADGROVE

**al-Muraqqish al-Akbar (sixth century CE)**

Al-Muraqqish ('the embellisher') the Elder was the sobriquet of a poet from the Qays ibn Tha'laba clan (cf. al-A'shā Maẓmūn) who lived in the first half of the sixth century. His real name is not known for certain. He is more famous as hero of a love romance, according to which he died of unrequited love for his cousin Asmā', than for his poetry. However, since he is one of the oldest Arab poets known to us, his importance to literary history can hardly be overestimated. His poetry, which was collected by al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, shows the rather advanced stage that Arabic poetry had already reached in the beginning of the sixth century, but still is not devoid of archaic traits (e.g. metrical irregularities). The tripartite form of the *qaṣīda* was not yet known at his time, but he often uses the form of a *qaṣīda* in two sections, namely a *nasīb* followed by a message, mostly *fakhr* (self-glorification).

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T. BAUER

### al-Muraqqish al-Aṣghar (sixth century CE)

Muraqqish the Younger, nephew of **al-Muraqqish al-Akbar** and uncle of **Ṭarafa**, lived around the middle of the sixth century in the region of **Hira**. Like his uncle, he is the hero of a love romance, his beloved being the princess **Fāṭima**, daughter of the **Lakhmid** king **al-Mundhir**. The few remnants of his poetry are preserved in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (nos 55–9) and in other anthologies.

For bibliography see **al-Muraqqish al-Akbar**.

T. BAUER

### al-Murr, Muḥammad Aḥmad (1955– )

Dubai-born short-story writer, whose family is connected by marriage to the **Maktūms**, the ruling family of Dubai. He was educated in Dubai and at Syracuse University, New York State, where he studied political science. He has read voraciously the literature of the world in English, but is also familiar with classical Arabic literature.

After returning to Dubai **al-Murr** worked in journalism. He has been editor of the English-medium daily newspaper, *Khaleej Times*, and is a regular writer for *al-Bayān*. A collection of broadcast talks on the Arabic of the Gulf was published in 1991.

During the 1980s **Muḥammad al-Murr** was a prolific writer of short stories. His first collection, *Ḥubb min naw' ākhar*, was published in Beirut in 1982. Ten other collections followed. His stories vividly portray the lives and values of the people of contemporary Dubai, their expectations and their adjustment to oil wealth. They are written with economy, occasionally nostalgic, sometimes funny, but are always perceptive and humane.

## Text editions

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*The Wink of the Mona Lisa*, Jack Briggs (trans.), Dubai and London (1995).

P. CLARK

### al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī see al-Zabīdī, al-Murtaḍā

### Muruwwa, Husayn (1909–87)

Lebanese literary critic, political activist and writer on Arab–Islamic philosophy. Born in a small village in south Lebanon, **Muruwwa** studied Islamic law, theology and Arabic literature for ten years at the religious university of **al-Najaf** (Iraq). He worked in Iraq for almost ten more years as a teacher of Arabic, while writing for the political and literary press in Iraq, **Syria**, **Lebanon** and **Egypt**. He was deported in 1949 by **Nuri al-Sa'id's** government for having taken part in the popular uprising against the 1948 Portsmouth Agreement with Britain, and from then lived in Lebanon until his assassination by a rival militia group in Beirut.

**Muruwwa** was closely associated with the leftist press, particularly *al-Ṭarīq* and *al-Thaqāfa al-waṭaniyya* (both published in Beirut), and served as editor and later managing editor of *al-Ṭarīq*. He earned a doctorate from the University of Moscow for his thesis *al-Naz'āt al-māddiyya fī al-falsafa al-'Arabiyya al-Islāmiyya*, which was published in two massive volumes in 1978 and 1979. He joined the Lebanese Communist Party in the 1940s and was a member of its central committee when he died; he was also a founder member of the Arab Writers' Association established in **Damascus** in September 1954.

Most of **Muruwwa's** books are collections of essays and articles originally published over more than half a century. They include *Ma'a al-qāfila* (1953), *Qadāyā adabiyya* (1956), *Thawrat al-'Irāq* (1958) and *Turāthunā kayfa naqra'uh* (1985). These remain the most comprehensive reading of Arabic literature and culture from a Marxist perspective. Although **Muruwwa's** work underwent various changes of emphasis during the course of his career, his basic premises remained those of an orthodox Marxist, who viewed both his cultural heritage and contemporary literature from the perspective of historical materialism.

## Further reading

al-'Alīm, **Mahmūd et al.**, *Husayn Muruwwa: shahādāt fī fikrih wa-niḍāliḥ*, Beirut (1981).

*Al-Ṭarīq* (Beirut), 47 (2–3) (June 1980), special issue on **Muruwwa**.

A.-N. STAIF

## Mūsā, Nabawiyya (1886–1951)

Egyptian educator, writer and feminist. Born into a family of modest means, Mūsā exemplified the new visibility of middle-class Egyptian females in the educational system in the first half of the twentieth century. After completing her teacher training, she fought to be allowed to sit for the state baccalaureate examination in 1907, the first Egyptian female to do so. A teacher and then headmistress in state schools, she was appointed as the Ministry of Education's chief inspector of girls' education in 1924. Dismissed two years later for criticizing the government curriculum for girls, she ran two private schools that she had founded. An early member of the Egyptian Feminist Union, she wrote on women's rights to education and work, in her *al-Mar'a wa-al-'amal* (1920) and *al-Āyāt al-bayyināt fī tarbiyat al-banāt* (n.d.), and later in the magazine she founded, *al-Fatāt* (1937–43). In that forum she published *Dhikrayātī*, a bold essay into autobiographical writing. Her poetry was published as *Dīwān al-fatāt* (1938) and she published one novel (*Riwayāt Nabhūtūb*). Imprisoned for her criticism of the Egyptian government in the political crisis of 1942, she retired thereafter from public life.

### Further reading

- Badran, Margot, 'Expressing feminism and nationalism in autobiography: the memoirs of an Egyptian educator', in Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (eds), *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*, Minneapolis (1992), 270–93.
- , *Feminists, Islam and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Princeton (1994).
- Kahhāla, 'Umar Riḍā, *A'lām al-nisā' fī 'ālamay al-'Arab wa-al-Islām*, Cairo (1984), vol. 5, 163.

M. B. BOOTH

## Mūsā, Šabrī (1932– )

Egyptian novelist, journalist and short-story writer. Šabrī Mūsā's first collection of short stories, *al-Qamīš*, was published in 1958. It was followed by *Lā aḥad ya'lam* (1962), *Ḥikāyāt Šabrī Mūsā* (1963) and *Wajhan li-zahr* (1966). In these short stories Mūsā developed a style that was seemingly straightforward but at the same time cunning and inimitable; there is a clear influence from journalese and Egyptian colloquial, functional-

ized to achieve an ironic stance and a paradoxical ending that challenges the expectations of the reader. Mūsā has also written three novels which break new ground in the Arabic tradition. *Hādith al-nisf miṭr* (1972) uses similar structural strategies as his short stories, but with a more meticulous structuring of novelistic time and the foregrounding of mimetic dialogue. *Fasād al-amkina* (1973) is an investigation of the relationship between man and place – an infatuation also seen in his travel books to parts of Egypt and to Paris and Greece. *Sayyid min ḥaql al-sabānikh* (1987) represents one of the few science fiction novels in Arabic. Mūsā also wrote the script for the film *al-Būstagī*, an important contribution to the development of the Egyptian cinema.

### Text editions

- The Incident*, Hoda Ayyad (trans.), Cairo (1987).
- Seeds of Corruption*, Mona Mikhail (trans.), Boston (1980).

W. HAMARNEH

## Mūsā, Salāma (1887–1958)

Egyptian Coptic prose writer and intellectual. Known primarily for his early studies on socialism and Fabianism, Salāma Mūsā supported the liberal movement in Arabic literature. After studying in England, he published a concise study of socialism (1912), in which he reflected on his experiences with the Fabian Society, whose philosophy he had adopted. In 1920, with Ḥusnī al-'Arabī and others, he founded the first socialist party in the Arab world, but joined the Wafd party after Sa'd Zaghlūl became leader, believing 'al-Wafdiyya', as he termed it, to be essentially a call to independence. His intellectual development during this period was recorded in his autobiographical work *Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā* (1947). From 1930 he published the weekly magazine *Majallat al-Miṣrī*, and from 1934 to 1942 edited the monthly *al-Majalla al-Jadida*.

Salāma Mūsā was a staunch modernizer and a popularizer of Western culture and science among the Arabs, expressing his views in numerous articles and books. Outspoken in his political stances, he believed that literature should create an environment in which freedom could grow, prosper and prevail; he characterized past writing in Arabic as 'regal'. His outspokenness on women's issues was

shown in many of his works, including *al-Mar'a laysat lu'bat al-rajul* (1955). His continuing influence and ability to provoke controversy among Arab readers are evidenced by the many reprints of his books throughout the Arab world after his death.

#### Text edition

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M. MIKHAIL

### Mūsā ibn Maymūn *see* Maimonides

### *musammaʿ* *see* strophic poetry

## music and poetry, medieval

Despite the gradual emergence of important instrumental forms, music in the Islamic world has been (and still is) predominantly vocal, and vocal compositions have usually included, or consisted entirely of, settings of verse. The question thus arises of the nature of the relationship between the two with respect on the one hand to the social function of song and the possible interaction between singer and poet and, on the other, to the more technical issue of styles of text setting and aesthetics.

On occasion poet and composer/singer are one and the same: although Ishāq al-Mawṣili (235/850) is best known as the foremost 'Abbāsīd court musician of his age, he was also a more than competent poet. But his songs served to disseminate the works of many others too, and certain poets are known to have associated with famous singers who might help their verse gain popularity. It has, in consequence, been suggested that singers' practices and preferences may have encouraged some of the changes in theme, diction and technique that radically affected the development of poetry during the preceding Umayyad period and, in particular, may have contributed to the development and popularization of some of the shorter metres that were then coming to the fore. Given that singing a line normally takes longer than reciting it, the

metrical hypothesis is initially attractive. But singers remained equally content to set verse in the longer metres, and there is insufficient evidence to substantiate the claim that musical rhythms could have had a significant impact on metrical developments. Despite the intriguing presence of a degree of terminological overlap there are functional differences between the two systems: certainly settings of poems in metre *x* are not restricted to or predominantly in cycle *y*, and while it would be possible to map metrical feet onto rhythmic cycles, for one musical authority at least this was a recipe for poor quality best avoided in practice.

Similarly, it is difficult to demonstrate any decisive influence on theme and diction. The most that can be said is that a poet composing verse to be sung would naturally concentrate on those themes most appropriate to the context of performance: the amatory, bacchic and panegyric thus take precedence over the martial, descriptive and satiric. Changes in diction may be seen partly as a function of such thematic specialization, partly as a reflection of wider social (and aesthetic) transformations to which musicians both contributed and reacted, but which they can hardly have instigated.

Given the nature of the historical record, our knowledge of how words were set to music is scanty. The earliest example of a notated song dates from the seventh/thirteenth century; there are too few later ones to trace subsequent developments with any confidence; and antecedent stages can only be guessed at on the basis of secondary sources, whether literary or theoretical. If text setting may be variously placed on a continuum running from subservience (the melody is conceived of as a means to enhance the meaning and emotional impact of the verse) to independence (the melody is an autonomous art form using the words as incidental phonetic material), what information we have points, not surprisingly, to an intermediate position, but with at the same time the suggestion of a tendency, during periods of increasing musical sophistication, to approach the latter extreme.

Of the styles of performing Arabic poetry before the second/eighth century we know very little. Even the distinction between such basic terms as *inshād*, 'recitation' and *taran-num*, 'cantillation' cannot be drawn with any precision. The existence of professional (if slave) singers, together with the gradual

development of a complex indigenous terminology independent of that adopted from Greek theory, certainly points to song (*ghinā'*) having its own formal determinants and aesthetic criteria, yet the definition of the expert musician offered by the Umayyad singer Ibn Surayj gives prominence to fidelity to the structure (and hence, we may assume, respect for the sense) of the verse. One could well imagine a subtle theoretical literature emerging out of the concerns expressed through his pithy formulations, but in the event mathematics and cosmology were to predominate, and styles of verse setting are only fitfully illustrated. There are persistent references to a 'heavy' and melodically florid and difficult style associated with the Arab tradition (which contrasts with a 'light' and simple Persian one), and by the seventh/thirteenth century we even have a reference to a singer who is claimed to have spent some two hours over a single line of verse.

The development of a markedly melismatic style, together with the attention to the minutiae of vocal timbre and technique revealed by the vocabulary paraded in specialist works, clearly points to the composer/performer becoming increasingly independent. Indeed, beginning in the ninth/fifteenth century and increasingly in the tenth/sixteenth, the Middle Eastern court repertoire as preserved in contemporary song-text collections (in which Arabic yields pride of place to Persian) is predominantly made up of pieces in which much of the composition consists of formulaic expressions extraneous to the verse and long strings of nonsense syllables in which the semantic content is zero and the artistic content, consequently, wholly musical. Moreover, the distribution of material demonstrates that, for the composer, the verse is subordinate to purely musical structural concerns. The setting may still respect, if not prosodic units, then at least the fundamental distinction between long and short syllables, and the words still need to be articulated with sufficient clarity to ensure comprehension, but they are increasingly pegs on which purely musical effects can be hung. Indeed, it appears that the dominant aesthetic preferred semantically important words to be left unadorned, while the more melismatic passages were associated with emotionally neutral grammatical elements. The eleventh/seventeenth-century Ottoman tradition shows, however, a reaction, moving to simpler syllabic settings, and it is possible that there may have been, through

time, a number of stylistic swings back and forth between the two poles.

#### Further reading

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O. WRIGHT

*See also:* Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, singers and musicians

### Muslim Ibn al-Hajjāj (202 [or 206?]-261/817 [or 821?]-875)

Collector of *ḥadīth*. Born in Nishapur, Muslim travelled widely throughout the Islamic world in search of traditions related from **Muḥammad**. It is said that he heard a total of 300,000 of these, of which he selected some 3,000 and compiled them into a book known as *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Reliable Collection* [of *ḥadīth*]) or simply *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (*The Reliable* [*ḥadīth*]). This work, along with that of **al-Bukhārī** by the same name, became accepted by the **Sunnī** community as the most authentic collection of prophetic traditions, second only in authority to the **Koran**. Organized by legal topic, Muslim's work contains 52 'books' covering all the major aspects of Islamic law, the life of Muḥammad, theology, eschatology and **exegesis**. Numerous commentaries on the work exist. Muslim is also credited with a number of other works, none of which achieved any substantial significance.

#### Text editions

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*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, being Traditions of the Sayings and Doings of the Prophet Muḥammad*, A.H. Siddiqui (trans.), 4 vols, Lahore, (1976).

## Further reading

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A. RIPPIN

See also: *ḥadīth*

## Muslim ibn al-Walid (c.130–207/c.748–823)

Abū al-Walid Muslim ibn al-Walid al-Anṣārī was a poet and *mawlā* of the Anṣār; he was born and brought up in Kufa. He moved to Baghdad in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashid before the Barmakid débâcle of 187/794. It was al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī who introduced the poet to al-Rashid. He subsequently became close to Yazid ibn Mazyad al-Shaybānī during Hārūn's reign and later to al-Faḍl ibn Sahl who appointed him, during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, to be postmaster in Jurjān.

Muslim was among the finest poets of the early 'Abbāsīd period and, as one of the first masters of *badī'*, he is held to have had a profound influence on Abū Tammām. Although his reputation is built on the use of *badī'* it was also the source of some criticism, i.e. where *jinās* (paronomasia) is overworked such as to produce six words from the same root in one verse. He composed in most of the major genres and his poetry is an admixture of *bedouin*/conservative and urban styles; he used the traditional progression of themes in *madīḥ* with some striking innovation, i.e. a boat trip on the Tigris replaces a *raḥīl* on camel-back. He disliked *hijā'* though he had some poetic adversaries, including al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf and al-Ḥakam ibn Qanbar; he composed elegies on Yazid ibn Mazyad, his wife and Ḥammād ibn Sayyār (a line of which echoes the style of al-Khansā'). But the best of his descriptive talent probably lies in depictions of wine drinking and debauchery. Here one must be careful to draw a distinction between him and Abū Nuwās, to whom he has been likened; unlike the latter, Muslim was inclined to treat wine within the framework of poetry offered by other dominant themes, i.e. *madīḥ* or *ghazal*. A comparison between poem 3 of his *dīwān* and any composite seduction *khamriyya* of Abū Nuwās illustrates the essential difference between the two poets. Muslim's poem of 35 lines is replete with metaphors that suggest the link between the

bacchic and erotic registers of this kind of poetry; but the absence of a specific role for wine in a seduction narrative, so common a trait in Abū Nuwās, holds the two styles of bacchism apart.

His *ghazal* is strikingly similar in places to 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a, although he did not nurture the seeds of debauchery to be found in 'Umar in the same way as Abū Nuwās and others of his contemporaries.

## Text editions

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*Dīwān*, Sāmi al-Dahhān (ed.), Cairo (1957).

## Further reading

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P. F. KENNEDY

See also: *khamriyya*

***muṭābaqa* see rhetorical figures**

***mutadārik* see prosody**

## al-Mutalammis (sixth century CE)

Pre-Islamic poet and protagonist of an ancient Arab saga according to which he and his nephew Ṭarafa were attending the court of the Lakhmid king of Ḥira, 'Amr ibn Hind (554–69 AD). At the end of their stay, the king gives each of them a letter which they should hand over to the king's governor in Western Arabia. On the way, al-Mutalammis is seized by suspicions, opens his letter and finds out that it contains his own death-warrant. Thereupon he throws it away and flees. Ṭarafa, however, who delivers his letter faithfully to the governor, does not escape execution. Nearly all of the poetry ascribed to al-Mutalammis is related to episodes from his legendary life, so that it seems rather to be the

illustration of a saga than the work of a single historical figure.

Text editions

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*Die Gedichte des Mutalammis*, K. Vollers (ed. and trans.), Leipzig (1903).

T. BAUER

**al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād  
(431–88/1039–95)**

Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Mu'tamid ('alā Allāh) ibn 'Abbād was the ruler of Seville, and a poet. Al-Mu'tamid succeeded his father as king of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdom of Seville in 461/1069, but paid tribute to García of Galicia and later to Alfonso VI of Castile. In 1086 he invited the Almoravid leader Yūsuf ibn Tashufin to help defend the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms against Alfonso, resulting in the Muslim victory in the battle of Zallaqa. The second invitation to the Almoravids in 1090 led to their occupation of al-Andalus and the end of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms. Al-Mu'tamid was exiled to Aghmāt, where he died in prison.

Devotee of poetry and patron of distinguished poets like Ibn 'Ammār, Ibn al-Labbāna, Ibn Wahbūn, Ibn Hamdis, and Ibn Sirāj, al-Mu'tamid was himself the author of at least 188 monorhymed poems and one *muwashshah*. His extant poems, though mostly short, were highly regarded. His early verse is mostly on love and wine, but he has an important *rā'iyya* apologizing to his father for the loss of Malaga, and another addressed to Ibn al-'Ammār, recalling their friendship in Silves. His best verse was written in exile about his imprisonment and humiliation; it reflects the stages by which he grappled emotionally with imprisonment.

Text editions

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R.P. SCHEINDLIN

See also: Spain

**Mutammim ibn Nuwayra  
(first/seventh century)**

Poet of early Islamic times who owes his fame to the elegies (*rithā'*) in which he lamented the death of his brother Mālik ibn Nuwayra and which rendered him a model of brotherly affection. Among his laments is one of the most celebrated elegies of ancient Arabic literature (cf. *Mufaddaliyyāt*, no. 67), in which he deals, in a balanced manner, both with the loss that Mālik's death means for society, as well as with the expression of his own personal feelings. It consists of six sections: praise for the virtues of the deceased (generosity, restraint, bravery); a call to weep for Mālik in remembrance of his deeds; an expression of the poet's own grief; a benediction over the deceased's grave; the poet's justification of his grief; and an attack on a person who had abandoned Mālik's corpse.

Text editions

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T. BAUER

**al-Mutanabbī  
(c.303–54/c.915–65)**

Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī was a renowned panegyrist, associated chiefly with the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla (r. 336–56/947–67). Al-Mutanabbī, whose father claimed south Yemenite origins, was born in Kufa; his

family may have had Shi'i (perhaps Zaydi) leanings. Brought up by his maternal grandmother, the poet was educated at a school with Shi'i tendencies, and showed his poetic abilities at an early age. In 312/924 his family left Kufa, which had been sacked by the Carmathians, for an extended sojourn among the Banū Kalb in the oasis of Samawa. Returning in 315/927, al-Mutanabbī came under the protection of a Kufan notable, one Abū al-Faḍl al-Kūfī (described by Blachère as a 'hellenised bourgeois'; 1935, 30), who exerted considerable influence over the young poet.

In the same year the Carmathians again seized Kufa; and in 316/928 al-Mutanabbī and his family migrated to Baghdad, where he continued his activities as a would-be panegyrist. Around 318/950 he left Baghdad for Syria, where he spent the next three years as an itinerant panegyrist; he seems also to have preached some sort of revolutionary propaganda, and became involved with the bedouin clan of the Banū 'Adī, engaging in acts of brigandage which led to his arrest and imprisonment in Homs (Syria) in 322/933. He was, apparently, credited with claiming miracles, which earned him his sobriquet (al-Mutanabbī – 'one who claims to be a prophet').

Around 325/937 al-Mutanabbī was released from prison through the auspices of the Ikshīdīd governor Iṣḥāq ibn Kayghalagh, and resumed his wanderings in search of patronage. (Syria was then under the rather precarious control of the Ikshīdīs, rivals to the Ḥamdānīds.) He spent some time at the court of Badr ibn 'Ammār al-Kharshānī, the governor of Tiberias, before being forced by his rivals to flee to the Syrian desert. Around 330/941 he attached himself to the Ikshīdīd general al-Musāwir, praising him and other Ikshīdīd notables. When the Ḥamdānīd Sayf al-Dawla entered Aleppo in 333/944 al-Mutanabbī, after a brief stay in Tripoli, fled to Damascus.

When Sayf al-Dawla took Antioch in 337/948 al-Mutanabbī composed a panegyric celebrating his entry. He soon became established at Sayf al-Dawla's court, which under that ruler's patronage had become a flourishing cultural and literary centre, and remained there some nine years as his panegyrist. The *qaṣīdas* addressed to that ruler, known as the *Sayfiyyāt*, are remarkable for many innovative features commented on by anthologists and critics, among them his addressing his prince

as one would a beloved, and his vivid narratives of battle. The poet acquired a circle of ardent admirers (including the young Ibn Jinnī, who was to rejoin him later in Baghdad), as well as many rivals and detractors, headed by Sayf al-Dawla's cousin Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, who spared no effort to defame and discredit the poet, and who combed his poems for evidence of plagiarism, linguistic error and heretical beliefs.

Al-Mutanabbī's stay at Sayf al-Dawla's court – during which he (like other poets) often accompanied the ruler on his campaigns, described in detail in his *qaṣīdas* – marked the high point of his career; but it was not without its negative aspects. Sayf al-Dawla expected a constant stream of production from his poets, which must have exacerbated the increasing friction between poet and patron which was fuelled by the poet's detractors. After several reconciliations, early in 346/957 there was a total rupture. Al-Mutanabbī, realizing that he could no longer rely on Sayf al-Dawla's support, determined to flee to Egypt, ruled by the Ikshīdīd regent Kāfūr, and in the summer of that year arrived in the Egyptian capital of Fustāṭ.

Fustāṭ too boasted its intellectual circles, which al-Mutanabbī seems to have had difficulty in penetrating. Many critics make much of his supposed repugnance for Kāfūr – a former black slave – but this may represent pro-Arab propaganda. Whatever the case, the poet composed a number of panegyrics to Kāfūr, who had apparently promised him a governorship in Syria, but who kept him dangling. Tensions between the two increased; a possible alternative presented itself in the general Abū Shujā' Fātik, whose untimely death in late 350/961 dashed the poet's hopes. (He later composed a lengthy and bitter elegy in which he lauded Fātik and lampooned Kāfūr.) In 350/early 962, al-Mutanabbī fled once more, this time from Fustāṭ to Iraq.

After spending a year in his native Kufa the poet set out for Baghdad, perhaps intending to proceed to Syria in the hope of reconciliation with Sayf al-Dawla. Baghdad, at that time ruled by Sayf al-Dawla's enemy the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla (d. 356/967), was the home of many brilliant intellectual circles, among them that of the vizier al-Muḥallabī, to which al-Mutanabbī failed to gain entry due both to his refusal to compose the obligatory panegyric for the vizier and to the enmity of some of its members, including the poets Ibn



al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Lankak and the philologist-critic al-Ḥatīmī. The latter, in an attempt to demonstrate the poet's plagiarisms and heretical beliefs, engaged al-Mutanabbī in a poetic debate in which he seems to have come off decidedly second best.

On the move again, al-Mutanabbī returned briefly to Kufa, where he assisted in repelling another Carmathian attack (in 353/954) and composed some satirical verses against the Carmathian leader Ḍabba. Then, on the invitation of Ibn al-'Amīd (vizier of al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād), in 354/965 he went to that notable's court in Arrajan, where he composed several panegyrics for the vizier, and thence to the court of 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Shiraz, addressing a number of poems to him as well. Then, longing to return to Iraq (and perhaps from there to Syria), he set out on his final journey, in the course of which he was set upon by bedouin brigands led by the uncle of Ḍabba the Carmathian, whom he had satirized in Kufa. The poet, his son and his travelling companions were killed, the caravan sacked, and the autograph manuscript of his poems, which he carried with him, dispersed by the desert winds.

Al-Mutanabbī's poetry inspired many commentaries and works of criticism. Many writers took it upon themselves to point out his plagiarisms and his heretical beliefs, among them al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, whose *Kashf 'an masāwī shi'r al-Mutanabbī* (c.364/974) was perhaps motivated by the poet's refusal to come to his court at Rayy; as al-Tha'ālībī notes in his *Yatīmat al-dahr*, the Ṣāhib himself plagiarized al-Mutanabbī by 'prosifying' the poet's verses in his own epistles. Al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī's *al-Wasāta*, composed in response to such criticisms, stressed the difference between commonplaces and plagiarisms and pointed out that even the Ancients 'borrowed' from one another. Al-Mutanabbī was often compared (usually to his detriment) to Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī; al-Sharīf al-Raḍī in his commentary on the *Dīwān* maintained his superiority and praised the heroic quality of his poetry. Other major commentaries include those of his pupil and admirer Ibn Jinnī, Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, al-'Ukbarī and al-Wāḥidī (462/1060), the basis for published editions of the *Dīwān*. (For a complete list of works on al-Mutanabbī's 'plagiary' and of commentaries on the *Dīwān* see GAS, vol. 2, 487–96).

Al-Mutanabbī's fame rapidly spread to other parts of the Islamic world, in particular

al-Andalus (see Spain) and Iran, where he was an important influence on the development of New Persian poetry. His supposed 'pro-Arab' bias has made him a favourite with modern critics of a nationalist or pan-Arab bent.

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J.S. MEISAMI

### *mutaqārib* see prosody

## al-Muṭarrizī (538–610/1144–1213)

Abū al-Faḥ Nāṣir ibn 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizī was a grammarian, jurist and man of letters from Khwārazm. He wrote a few works on grammar, the most popular one being *al-Miṣbāh*, and a lexicon of technical terms used in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* (called *al-Mughrib fī tartīb al-mu'rib*). His most famous work is his commentary entitled *al-Īdāh* on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī; it was extensively used by De Sacy in his edition of al-Ḥarīrī. The commentary has a preface dealing with *balāgha* (see rhetoric and poetics). Al-Muṭarrizī was called 'khalīfat

(the successor of) **al-Zamakhshari**', because he covered a similar range of interests and was born, moreover, on the day that al-Zamakhshari died.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### al-Mutawakkil al-Laythī (d. after 72/691)

Poet from the Umayyad period. He lived in Kufa, a member of the tribe Layth ibn Bakr (a subdivision of Kināna). He made panegyric poems for Mu'āwiya and his son Yazīd, as well as love poetry on his ex-wife Ruhayma, divorced at her request because of an illness, but cured afterwards. Some poems of *hijā'* and *fakhr* are also preserved. **Al-Akhtal** met him when he visited Kufa and was impressed by his poetry.

Text edition

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Mu'tazilis

The Mu'tazilis were a theological school that flourished in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries and lingered within certain circles for at least two hundred years thereafter. Some ideas espoused by the Mu'tazilis may be found among the **Shi'is**. The heyday of the school occurred under the sponsorship of the 'Abbasid state, which was initiated by the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–33) and maintained until the reactionary measures of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61) brought it to an end. Thereafter, as Islamic orthodoxy came to be more fully defined and institutionalized, the Mu'tazili school was relegated to the periphery of Islamic religious thought and accorded the status of a heterodox movement.

Members of the Mu'tazili school preferred to be known as the 'Champions of Monotheism

and Justice' (*ahl al-tawhīd wa-al-'adl*). They were advocates of a rationalist approach to theological discourse that saw these two concepts as poorly served by what they perceived to be the obscurantism of most of their fellow Muslims. Anxious to make Islam rationally defensible against the intellectual challenges of Christianity, crypto-Manichaeism and other religious traditions, the Mu'tazilis insisted upon placing the tools of discursive reasoning as known from Greek and Hellenistic sources in the service of Islam.

Their insistence that the **Koran** not be accorded the status of an eternal, uncreated Word of God is the most well-known aspect of their rationalist monotheism. It was tied to a more general conviction that the attributes of God (of which the Word or Speech of God was one) should not be regarded as realities in their own right to be predicated of the God-head, since such predication is contrary to the perfect, simple unity of God. As for the Mu'tazili rationalist ethics (subsumed under the heading of justice), this entailed the conviction that good and evil are known by the intellect apart from divine revelation and that the human conception of justice belongs within the realm of the good thus known such that God's acts will necessarily conform to it.

Although an orthodox theology formulated principally by the Ash'ari school would challenge these Mu'tazili positions on equally rationalist grounds, the Mu'tazili school proved to be a major stimulus to theological thought and continues to represent a heritage valued and to some extent utilized by Muslim thinkers.

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B. WEISS

See also: *kalām*

### Muṭī' ibn Iyās (d. 169/785)

Abū Salmā Muṭī' ibn Iyās al-Kinānī of the Banū Du'il of Kināna was one of the libertines of Kufa known to the Umayyad caliph al-Walid ibn Yazīd; he was the latter's *nadīm*

and was probably influenced by his wine poetry. He subsequently had relations with the 'Abbasid princes until his death. He was accused of *zandaqa*, along with other Kufan poets, but, except for possible Shi'i leanings, no theological opinions can be safely ascribed to him. In his poetry he could show a delicate sensitivity but also extreme vulgarity. His most famous poem, alluded to by Abū Nuwās, is an apostrophe on 'The Two Palms of Ḥulwān'. Other surviving poems (including a panegyric on Ghamr ibn Yazid and an elegy on youth) are also echoed in Abū Nuwās and suggest his role in influencing the development of the *khamriyya*.

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P.F. KENNEDY

## Muṭrān, Khalīl (1872–1949)

Lebanese poet and journalist. Born in Ba'albek, Muṭrān was a typical member of the Syro-Lebanese intelligentsia of the nineteenth century, deeply involved in literature, politics, business affairs and the polymathic journalism which was a feature of the age. Pressure from the Ottoman authorities forced him to leave Beirut in 1890 and he then spent two years in Paris, the cultural capital of Europe at the time and a hotbed of political activity among its immigrant communities. Following one of the common migration paths from Greater Syria, he arrived in Alexandria in 1892 and spent the remainder of his life in Egypt. In common with other prominent fellow immigrants, he became well known as a journalist and worked for *al-Ahrām* before starting his own twice-monthly periodical *al-Majalla al-Miṣriyya* in 1900 and a daily paper *al-Jawā'ib al-Miṣriyya* in 1902.

Muṭrān's outstanding achievements lay in poetry, where his work was seminal for the development of the genre until the 1940s. His first volume of verse appeared in 1908. In the preface, Muṭrān reveals his commitment to innovative ideas such as the structural unity of the poem, the necessity of not allowing the old

rules of rhyme and metre to dominate the poet's emotions, and the primacy of the creative imagination. In many ways Muṭrān never surpassed the achievements of his first *dīwān* in his subsequent writing. Although most of his work appears at first glance to be in the neo-classical mode, careful analysis reveals that a number of these pieces contain passages of profound personal introspection and empathic identification with natural surroundings in a manner typical of the European Romantics. Poems from the first *dīwān* such as 'Death of Two Loved Ones', 'Evening', 'The Weeping Lion' and 'Solitude in the Desert' are clear illustrations of this important development.

One of the most striking signs of Muṭrān's taste for innovation was his use of dramatic narrative verse in a way that was quite new in Arabic poetry. His poem about the two Napoleons, '1806–1870', was written when he was only 16 years old. Most of his compositions of this type demonstrate his passionate dislike of political despotism and his consciousness of social injustice in whatever form. 'Nero', 'The Great Wall of China' and 'The Death of Buzurjumuhr' are all allegorical protests against political tyranny, while 'The Martyred Child' is a description of the degradation to which urban corruption reduces a simple country girl. In addition to his own original compositions Muṭrān was a gifted translator, rendering into Arabic *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *Le Cid*.

The great enigma of Muṭrān's career is that he did not build on the achievements of his first *dīwān*, for much of his subsequent poetry reverted to competent but genteel neo-classicism. It is possible that the business misfortunes that almost ruined him in 1912 led him to devote most of his energies to non-literary matters: he became secretary to the Khedivial Agricultural Society, was involved with the planning of the Miṣr Bank, and was also an effective director of the National Theatre Company. As well as the official recognition that he received for his poetry – earning him the title of *shā'ir al-quṭrayn* ('Poet of Two Countries', i.e. Lebanon and Egypt) – he was also much revered by later poets such as Abū Shādī and the Apollo Group who developed to the full the Romantic tendencies that he had begun to introduce. His complete *dīwān* was published in Cairo in 1948–9.

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R.C. OSTLE

**muwalladūn**

The term *muwallad* (pl. *muwalladūn*) is originally taken from the language of husbandry, where it means ‘crossbreed’, ‘bastard’. Applied to human beings, it referred to persons of mixed, Arab and non-Arab, blood. Since the important poets of early ‘Abbāsīd times were mainly of mixed origin, Iranian and Greek ancestry being not uncommon, they were called *muwalladūn*; by semantic extension, the term *muwallad* is also applied to their poetry. Outside poetry, with the direction of semantic development unclear, the term is used to denote as ‘post-classical’ certain linguistic items, such as words, derivations and even proverbs. ‘Post-classical’ means: not belonging to the classical language of pre- and early Islamic texts.

The *muwalladūn* poets are also called *muḥdathūn*, this from the point of view of being the ‘Moderns’ *vis-à-vis* the ‘Ancients’. There is, however, a tendency somewhat later to use *muḥdathūn* for the early ‘Abbāsīd poets, while *muwalladūn* is applied to the later poets, the sequence of eras in indigenous Arabic literary history thus being: *Jāhiliyyūn* ‘pre-Islamic’; *mukhaḍramūn*, ‘straddling’; *Islāmiyyūn*, ‘[early] Islamic’; *muḥdathūn*, ‘[early] Moderns’; and *muwalladūn* ‘[later] Moderns’.

W.P. HEINRICHS

**muwashshah (pl. muwashshahāt)**

A strophic poetic form, usually performed with musical accompaniment, which originated in Islamic Spain in the third/late ninth century. The *muwashshah* became popular throughout the Islamic world and was adopted

by poets in other languages, notably Hebrew. The question of the Andalusian *muwashshah*’s relation to European poetry, in particular the Provençal troubadour lyric, has fuelled several centuries of animated debate. In the latter half of this century, the discovery of a corpus of bilingual poems (mainly Arabic–Romance, Hebrew–Arabic and Hebrew–Romance) has excited scholars in a wide range of fields, and spawned a new generation of controversies.

Tradition has it that this verse form was invented by Muqaddam ibn Mu‘afa al-Qabrī late in the third/ninth century, but none of his works are extant. Although ‘Ubāda Ibn Mā’ al-Samā’ (d. 419/1028 or 421/1030) was long held to be the author of the oldest attributable *muwashshah*, we now have a poem by Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-‘Aṭṭār (d. 387/997) which is likely earlier. However, our knowledge of the early period of *muwashshah* composition is limited, and many questions remain unanswered or the object of intense speculation. To what degree was the metre of the poems determined by pre-existing Romance verse? Can their appearance be explained as an outgrowth of earlier, purely Arabic forms such as the *musamma‘*? In the context of a polyglot, multicultural al-Andalus, to which many people now look as a kind of mirror of our own times, the questions of the metre of the *muwashshah*, of defining the role and even the language of the *kharjas*, go far beyond the realm of literary–critical esoterica. The interpretation of the poems, and uncertainties about their origins, have been burdened by the weight of their symbolism as a point of contact between European and Arabic culture and sensibility, as a place to explore notions of cultural influence and borrowing, hybridity, tradition and innovation.

Although we know that many celebrated Andalusian poets composed *muwashshahāt*, these are generally not included in their *diwāns*. It seems clear that as a non-classical form, these compositions – songs, we must not forget – were deemed unworthy of inclusion in tomes of lofty verse. Instead, the vast majority of these poems that have come down to us were collected in books solely devoted to *muwashshahāt*. The two most important known sources of Andalusian Arabic *muwashshahāt*, the ‘*Uddat al-jalis*’ of Ibn Bishrī and the *Jaysh al-tawshīh* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, date to the eighth/fourteenth century,

four centuries after these poems presumably were first composed. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, exiled in North Africa after falling out of favour at the court of Muḥammad V of Granada, includes in his anthology a lament for al-Andalus, *Jādaka al-ghaythu*, and the very project of collecting these songs, many of which are anonymous, seems to be motivated by the nostalgia of exile and a desire to preserve the popular culture of Islamic Spain, endangered by the growing power of the Christian 'reconquista'.

Our most substantive sources on the origin and development of the *muwashshah* are Ibn Bassām's (d. 542/1147) *Dhakhīra*, Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's (d. 608/1211) *Dār al-ṭirāz* and Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808/1406) *Muqaddima*. Yet these accounts are several centuries removed from the beginnings of the form, which had already undergone substantial elaboration and refinement. Of these explanations, that of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, an Egyptian poet and anthologist, is most cited and could rightly be called a poetics of the genre. Yet Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk's authority is also often questioned by the same scholars who quote him, not only because of his lateness but because he never travelled to al-Andalus and did not know the colloquials spoken there (whether Andalusian Arabic or Romance).

By convention the *muwashshah* usually consisted of five stanzas, with a complex rhyme scheme. Each stanza was divided into two parts: the *ghuṣn*, whose rhyme was distinctive to that strophe; and the *simṭ* or *qufl* – the terminology for the parts of the poem varies – which repeated a rhyme common to the whole poem. The poems often opened with a segment called the *maṭla'*, a kind of prelude which anticipated the rhyme of the *simṭ*. Those poems with this introductory *maṭla'* are *ṭamm* ('complete') and those without are called *aqra'* (lit. 'bald'). As time went on, the poems were further complicated by the addition of internal rhyme. Typically, the initial part (*ghuṣn*) of the last stanza introduced some form of poetic quotation in the last *simṭ*, which often took the form of an interjection by another character in the poem ('then she sang: ...', or 'my heart cried out like the girl who sang: ...'). This parting segment, called the *kharja* (pl. *kharajāt*, 'exit') or *markaz*, uses a popular vernacular, usually either colloquial Arabic or Romance or some mixture of these, rather than the classical Arabic (or Hebrew) of the rest of the poem. Thus a sample rhyme

scheme:

*muwashshah tamm* (with *maṭla'*)

.....a .....b ]*maṭla'*  
 .....c ]*ghuṣn*  
 .....c ]*ghuṣn*  
 .....c ]*ghuṣn*  
 .....a .....b ]*simṭ/qufl*

.....d  
 .....d  
 .....d

.....a .....b  
 pattern repeats ...

.....g  
 .....g  
 .....g

.....a .....b ]*kharja* (typically in colloquial Arabic or Romance)

The *maṭla'*/*simṭ*/*kharja* lines were often divided into two, three or four internally rhyming segments, not necessarily of the same length; the *ghuṣn* was also sometimes divided into two segments.

The typical subject matter of the *muwashshahāt* is not new to Arabic poetry: hopeless love, separation, love lost, the cruelty of the beloved. Panegyric poems and poems celebrating wine drinking are also common. Šūfī poets such as Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Shuštari composed *muwashshahāt* with mystical themes. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk stressed the importance of the *kharja* to the success of the composition as a whole: 'the *kharja* is the seasoning of the *muwashshah*, its salt and its sugar', and it plays a variety of rhetorical functions in these poems. At times the beloved expresses in the *kharja* his or her own feelings of longing, resulting in a kind of duet of separation. Or the *kharja* functions as a sort of refrain that catches the spirit of the poem as a whole. In other cases it introduces an interruption by the coquettish or mocking voice of the beloved, which shatters the image of the idealized creature projected in the rest of the poem. The effect is intensified by the linguistic contrast between the 'high' Arabic of the poet and the 'low' or vulgar colloquial, which also serves to thematize differences of power and social class.

The *kharja* has been the nucleus of critical debate and interest in the *muwashshah* in our era. These poems had figured in debates, dating back to the eighteenth century, about the part that Arabic poetry may have played in the development of the vernacular lyric in

Europe and the rise of **courtly love**. But it was not until 1948 that the poems became the object of intense critical scrutiny both in Europe and the Americas, as well as in the Arab world. In a seminal article, 'Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššahs hispano-hébraïques' (*Al-Andalus* 13 [1948], 299–349), Samuel Stern suggested Romance readings of previously undeciphered *kharajāt* in several Hebrew *muwashshahāt*.

Stern quickly followed his initial article with the announcement that he had found the first Arabic *muwassshah* with a Romance *kharja* (*Al-Andalus* 14 [1949], 214–18). In 1952 García Gómez published an article on twenty-four Romance *kharjas* in Arabic *muwashshahāt*. The reading of the Arabic transliteration of Romance words and phrases – largely unvowelled, and in some cases written in a very poor hand – has proven a seductively difficult paleographical puzzle. Although the vast majority of extant *muwashshahāt* have colloquial Arabic *kharjas*, the poems with partial or wholly Romance *kharjas* have been the focus of intense speculation. Jones (1988), which serves to temper some of the exaggerated claims made for the Romance *kharjas*, is a meticulous paleographical examination of each of them, reviewing previous readings and suggesting new ones.

The metre of the poems, which does not conform to the standard Khalilian system (see **prosody**) has been the subject of great debate. Some critics, notably García Gómez and Armistead, have argued that the poems actually conform to a syllabic-stress system – that is, the Romance metrical system – rather than the quantitative classical Arabic scansion. The Romance elements in the *kharja* and thematic parallels with some early Galician verses have led to the idea that the *kharjas* are taken from pre-existing, independent poems in Romance. Thus, embedded in the *muwashshahāt*, those couplets would then become the oldest recorded 'European' lyric (supplanting the Provençal lyric which had previously held that honour). Given that both Ibn Bassām and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk assert that the *kharja* formed the base around which the rest of the *muwashshah* was composed, their conclusion is that the *washshāhs* simply adopted the metre of the pre-existing Romance poem. Other scholars (Jones, S. Ghāzi, *et al.*), pointing to uncertainties in the vocalization of the texts, have argued that an extended Khalilian system can account for the scansion

with few difficulties. Corriente has tried to bridge the distance between these two theories, positing a kind of hybridized Andalusī scansion in which the long quantity in the Arabic metrical system is replaced with stress.

The dissemination of the *muwashshah* is widely attested: aside from being adopted by Hebrew poets in al-Andalus, it also spread to North Africa and to the Eastern capitals of Islamic culture. The parallels in structure and rhyme scheme between the *muwashshah* and the early poems of the first Provençal troubadour, Guilhelm IX of Aquitaine (d. 1127), as well as thematic coincidences between Arabic love poetry and the traditions of courtly love as practised by the troubadours, have been taken as evidence of the 'Arabic theory', the idea that Arabic poetry played an important role in the development of vernacular poetry in Europe. Many traditional *muwashshahāt* survived in the repertoire of North African singers to this century, and the conservative performance tradition may provide some clues about the past. A number of factors have led to a resurgence of interest in the *muwashshah*, both popular and scholarly, in the Arab world. Whereas previously there was a significant bias towards studying only 'high' culture, in recent decades especially the academic study of oral tradition and all forms of popular expression has gained legitimacy. Recordings of traditional *muwashshahāt* by well-known singers have increased public awareness of the form far beyond North Africa. The scholarly debates about the origins and metrics of the *muwashshah* have coincided with and participated in a larger polemic about the nature of the coexistence of the diverse ethnic and religious groups in Islamic Spain and relations between Europe and medieval Islamic civilization. The loss of al-Andalus – which has always played a large role in the Arab imagination, as an oasis of harmony and splendour, as symbol of a time when Europe looked to Islamic civilization for technology, philosophy and culture – seemed to resonate with the loss of Palestine. Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Jādaka al-ghaythu*, playing on radios from Morocco to Saudi Arabia, was as much a modern-day lament as it was for the al-Andalus of long ago.

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L. ALVAREZ

See also: Hebrew literature, relations with Arabic; Spain; strophic poetry

## al-Muwayliḥī, Ibrāhīm (1844–1906)

Egyptian political journalist. Closely associated with the Egyptian Khedive Ismā'īl, Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī, like his more famous son Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī, followed the Egyptian ruler into exile. After a period spent at the court of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid in Istanbul (1885–95), Ibrāhīm returned to Cairo where he published his most famous work, *Mā hunālik*, first in the newspaper *al-Muqaṭṭam*, then as a book (1896). A tissue of fact, rumour and innuendo, the work is a savage indictment of Abdülhamid and the entire Ottoman court; it was immediately banned on orders from Istanbul. In 1898, he founded his own newspaper, *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq*, which soon established a high reputation for itself, but it closed in 1903. Regarded by many

as an inveterate political schemer, al-Muwayliḥī was also praised for the brilliance of his style.

#### Further reading

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Widmer, Gottfried, 'Der Spiegel der Welt', *Die Welt des Islams* N.S. 3 (1954), 57ff.

R. ALLEN

## al-Muwayliḥī, Muḥammad (1858?–1930)

Egyptian journalist and prose fiction writer. Son of Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī, Muḥammad is remembered as the author of one of the pioneering works in the development of a fictional tradition in modern Arabic, *Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām*, originally published in article form under the title 'Fatra min al-Zamān' between 1898 and 1902 and in book form in 1907. Privately educated in Cairo, Muḥammad was banished from Egypt for distributing political pamphlets in 1882 and joined his father in Italy, later travelling with him to France and England. After spending several years in Istanbul, Muḥammad returned to Cairo in 1887 and continued his career as a journalist. When the episodes of 'Fatra min al-zamān' began to appear on the front page of the al-Muwayliḥī family newspaper, *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq*, they were an immediate success. This may be attributed both to their astute criticism of the absurdities of daily life in Egyptian society under British occupation and to their evocation of one of the most famous works of classical prose literature, the *maqāmāt* of **Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī**, through the name of the narrator, 'Isā ibn Hishām, and the use of a highly ornate prose style. The initial set of episodes was published over a two-year period and was followed by a further set describing Paris. Since its initial publication in book form, *Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām* has appeared in at least nine editions – the Paris episodes being added as 'al-Riḥla al-thāniya' to the 1927 edition. While neo-classical in form and style, the pungent criticism of society to be found in al-Muwayliḥī's work makes it an obvious bridge between the narrative genres of the classical period and the emergence of a fictional tradition in modern Arabic literature.

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 fī al-adab al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth*, Cairo (1980).

R. ALLEN

## Muzāḥim ibn 'Amr al-'Uqayli (second/eighth century)

Bedouin poet of the later Umayyad period. Muzāḥim can be dated only approximately as being a younger contemporary of Jarīr, al-Farazdaq and Dhū al-Rumma, all said to have called him a 'gifted boy'. Only a small fragment of an ancient *dīwān* is preserved; the collection of fragments by al-Qaysī and al-Dāmin contains 43 pieces with 480 verses. An affinity with 'Udhri poetry is established by the fact that in several poems Muzāḥim describes his unfulfilled love to a married woman. Remarkable are some descriptions of the sand grouse (*qaṭā*) of unusual length (in one case more than 35 lines).

## Text editions

- The Poetical Remains of Muzāḥim al-'Uqayli*, F. Krenkow (ed. and trans.), Leiden (1920).  
 'Shi'r Muzāḥim al-'Uqayli', N.H. al-Qaysī and H.S. al-Dāmin (eds), *RIMA* 22 (1976), 85–146.

T. SEIDENSTICKER

## Muzarrid ibn Dirār al-Dhubyāni (first/seventh century)

Yazīd ibn Dirār of the Dhubyān, a member of the Ghaṭafān confederacy, was styled Muzarrid for his alleged use of the verb *zarrada*, 'to look sternly upon'. He had two younger brothers who were also *mukhaḍram* poets; al-Shammākh, the most famous of the three, and Juz' ibn Dirār, who composed a threnody for the caliph 'Umar and who is included in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām. Muzarrid's *dīwān*, which exists in a singleton manuscript, is fragmentary and his fame rests on his reputed prowess as a lampoonist who vituperated both his own people and his guests (cf. nos 3, 4 and 5). Two poems were featured in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* as nos 15 and 17; the former is *hijā'* of the Banū Thawb and is connected in the sources with the caliph 'Uthmān; the latter, more generally attributed to Juz' ibn Dirār, is a

*tour de force* in the pre-Islamic manner, in which the resplendent knight, Muzarrid, is contrasted with a wretchedly indigent hunter.

## Text editions

- Dīwān al-Muzarrid al-Ghaṭafāni*, K.I. 'Atiyya (ed.), Baghdad (1962).  
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J.E. MONTGOMERY

## muzdawija

A poem written in rhyming couplets with different rhymes in each couplet (*aa bb cc ...*), chiefly in the *rajaz* metre, although other metres (e.g. *ramal*) sometimes occur. It contrasts with the majority of Arabic verse which has a single rhyme throughout. In the *rajaz* type of *muzdawij* both twelve-syllable lines and lines with eleven syllables occur.

The *muzdawija* was practised from early 'Abbāsīd times and, on account of its easy rhyming scheme, it proved particularly suitable for long narrative and didactic poems. Important for the development of the genre was the versification of the fables of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* by Abān al-Lāḥiqī (d. c.200/815). Abū al-'Atāhiya (d. 211 or 13/826 or 8) is reported to have written a *muzdawija* called *Dhāt al-anthāl* containing 4,000 proverbs and sayings. Historical subjects are found in *muzdawijas* by 'Alī ibn al-Jahm (d. 249/863) (world history in 660 lines), Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908) (biography of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid in 838 lines) and by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 328/940) on the exploits of the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. This last *muzdawija* is found in the author's *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, which also contains a long treatise on metre and rhyme in *muzdawij* form. Abū Firās al-Ḥamdāni (d. 357/968) wrote a *muzdawija* on the pleasures of hunting. Famous works on grammar that use this form are *Mulḥat al-i'rāb* by al-Ḥarīri (446–516/1054–1122) and Ibn Mālik's (d. 672/1274) versified grammar *al-Alfiyya*. In all other branches of learning as well, *muzdawijas* are used as teaching texts. Several authors have made versifications of the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad.

In modern times *muzdawij* poems are



found in translations, such as a version of La Fontaine's *Fables* by Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (1829–98), and in original works by Shawqī (1868–1932) (e.g. his *Duwal al-'Arab wa-'uḏamā' al-Islām* of more than 100 pages long) and al-'Aqqād (1889–1964). The relationship of this form with the Persian *mathnawī* and its origin are discussed by von Grunebaum (1944, 22–14), Manfred Ullmann (1966, 46 ff.) and J.T.P. de Bruijn (*ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Mathnawī').

Further reading

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W. STOETZER

**mystical literature see Ṣūfi literature**

## Nabarāwī, Sayzā (1897–1985)

Egyptian feminist and journalist. An activist associated with the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) founded in 1923, Sayzā Nabarāwī was first editor-in-chief of its French-language organ, *L'Egyptienne* (founded 1925). Born Zaynab Murād, she was taken to Paris as a child by a relative. Sayzā moved back to Egypt after this adoptive mother's suicide, continued her French-language education, and became a protégée of the EFU's founder, Hudā Sha'rāwī. Returning to Cairo from the 1923 International Women Suffrage Alliance conference in Rome, she followed fellow delegate Sha'rāwī's lead in publicly removing her face-veil, often considered a landmark symbolic act in Egyptian feminism. She edited and wrote for *L'Egyptienne* from 1925 until 1940, and also published in the EFU's Arabic-language organ, *al-Miṣriyya* (founded 1937). After Sha'rāwī's death (1947), Nabarāwī served as EFU president, but as the Free Officers' regime clamped down on independent political expression – including feminist activism – in the late 1950s, she was purged as an alleged communist. A decade later, she was active in the progressive international Democratic Federation of Women. She remained a feminist spokesperson into the 1980s.

### Text edition

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M. BOOTH

## nabaṭī poetry

*Nabaṭī* is the term applied to the vernacular (basically oral) poetry of the **bedouin** in different parts of the Arab world. As the name implies, this variety differs from *fuṣḥā* ('literary') Arabic in terms of linguistic structure, although in function and thematic development it represents a continuation of the 'heroic' age of classical poetry in Arabia. For Sowayan (1985) Najd is the homeland of *Nabaṭī* poetry and its preservation of many of the features of *Jāhiliyya* literature was largely due to the unchanged socioeconomic conditions of tribal life which persisted in central Arabia until the early years of the twentieth century (see **tribes**).

Sa'id (1981) bases his claim that the *Nabaṭī* poetic tradition was spread through the Arab world by the migrations of the Banū Hilāl (in the fifth/eleventh century) on the linguistic, lexical and thematic uniformity of the poetry as well as the fact that the principal mode of recitation, from which the others derive, is termed *hilālī*. With the decline of the traditional bedouin way of life in Arabia and the consequent weakening of much-prized values such as valour in battle and tribal honour, *Nabaṭī* poetry and its exponents (the *gaṣṣāds*) were becoming increasingly neglected until they began to feature on radio and TV programmes in Arab Gulf states in the 1950s and 1960s. Today, the genre is well supported and patronized (notably by ruling families in the Arabian Gulf states) but it has yet to become an approved subject for academic research.

In spite of its apparently self-contained nature, *Nabaṭī* poetry has always intersected with the settled world, reflecting the symbiotic

relationship between 'the desert and the town'. In the summer months when tribes were camped near wells, bedouin and townspeople frequently came together for poetic recitals. Famous *Nabaṭī* poets such as Muḥammad ibn Li'būn (d. 1247/1831) and Muḥammad al-'Awnī (d. 1342/1923) were essentially townspeople imbued with the spirit of the desert. Neither were *Nabaṭī* poets necessarily illiterate; many were well-versed in classical Arabic literature and employed literary devices such as *jinās* and *ṭibāq* in their compositions. The functions of *Nabaṭī* poetry parallel those of its classical precursor, the most popular being *ghazal* and *ḥamāsa*. The *gisīda* (*qaṣīda*), of variable length, is typically arranged in the form of two metrically identical hemistiches, each with a different rhyming letter. Metres, which regularly correspond to particular modes of recitation (e.g. *Hilālī* has *ṭawīl* metre), are generally classical ones adapted to the prosody of vernacular speech. The most popular metre is *al-maṣḥūb*, perhaps so termed because it is slow and long-drawn out (see further *prosody*). Performance may be individual (accompanied or not by the *rabāb*), communal (e.g. *sāmri*) or mixed (e.g. *arḍah*, war dance, and *mrādd*, poetic duelling).

Two aspects that merit further research concern (a) mode of composition and (b) lexis. Sa'īd (1981) describes *Nabaṭī* poetry as spontaneous and free from artifice while Sawayan stresses the degree to which poems are polished (*mḥakkak*). Sa'īd also asserts that the vocabulary of *Nabaṭī* poetry is the everyday language of the bedouin; but there is evidence that poets deliberately reject everyday words in their compositions. If Sawayan is correct, classical (i.e. pre-Islamic) and *Nabaṭī* poetry are located at opposite ends of a continuum of elevated poetic diction, understood by all but perceived as distinct from day-to-day speech.

#### Further reading

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P. G. EMERY

See also: Arabia; bedouin

## al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (sixth century)

Ziyād ibn Mu'āwiya al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī was a pre-Islamic poet, famous for his panegyrics upon Lakhmid and Ghassānid kings. He must have been adult at the time of the battle of Ḥalīma (554), where he intervened on behalf of the prisoners from his tribe. He was associated with several Lakhmids, especially with al-Nu'mān III Abū Qābūs (580–602), the last king of Ḥīra. After losing al-Nu'mān's favour, allegedly on account of a poem in praise of the queen, he fled to the Ghassānid court. From there he sent poetic apologies to Ḥīra and eventually became reconciled to al-Nu'mān, whose illness is alluded to in a short poem (Ahlwardt No. 28). The date of al-Nābigha's death is unknown.

Al-Nābigha's *dīwān* is preserved in several recensions and appears authentic on the whole. It consists of twenty monothematic poems (see *qit'a*) and eleven panegyric odes (see *qaṣīda*), and contains references to Christian rites and two fables, which suggests the influence of Ḥīra. His panegyrics are composed in a highly developed style and reveal a fine sense of climax, e.g. his famous comparison of Nu'mān with the Euphrates (Ahlwardt No. 5, 44–7). The ode is included in some recensions of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Although al-Nābigha never lost interest in affairs of his tribe, as evidenced by several poems offering political advice, he can hardly be called a *bedouin* poet in the true sense, but should be regarded as the first great court poet in Arabic literature.

#### Text editions

- Dīwān*, in *The Diwans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets*, W. Ahlwardt (ed.), London (1970 [1878]); H. Derenbourg (ed. and trans.) Paris (1868); K. al-Bustānī (ed.), Beirut (1963); Shukrī Fayṣal (ed.), Beirut (1968); 'Abbās 'Abd al-Sātir (ed.), Beirut (1964); Lyall, C., *Translations of Ancient Arabic Poetry*, London (1885), 95–102.

#### Further reading

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R. JACOBI

### al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī (d. c.63/683)

Hibbān ibn Qays ibn 'Abd Allāh, known as al-Nābigha ('the Copious Genius') of the tribe of Ja'da (of the 'Amir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a), was a *mukhaḍram* poet actively involved in the political and military incidents of the Orthodox caliphate and possibly of the early Umayyad period. He is reckoned a 'Methuselah': his fragments display a fondness for the topic of senescent infirmity together with sporadic reference to his old age. He participated in his tribe's delegation to the Prophet in 9/630, whereupon he recited poem 3, of which three versions survive, the longest numbering 120 verses. Nos 2, 5, 6, 11 and 12 are examples of politically motivated tribal *fakhr*. His pro-'Alid sympathies led to his presence at the battle of Šiffin, the confiscation of his property and seizure of his family by Mu'āwiya, to whom he addressed an aggressive *i'tidhār* (apology; poem 1), and his subsequent exile to Isfahan where he died. He was renowned for his horse descriptions, of which poem 2, 11–33, is a fine example, and for his tendency to be bested in flytings (*naqā'id*): nos 7a and 7b are lampoons composed on such occasions. Poem 8 is a hymn to Allāh, the authorship of which is disputed. A complete manuscript of his *diwān* has not yet surfaced.

#### Further reading

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 —, *Le Poesie di an-Nābigha al-Ġa'dī*, Rome (1953).

J.E. MONTGOMERY

### al-Nābigha al-Shaybānī (d. c.126/744)

'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mukhāriq al-Nābigha al-Shaybānī was a poet of the middle and late Umayyad period who resided mainly in Iraq. Surnamed 'the Nābigha (genius) of the Banū Shaybān', he had a Christian mother and is himself said to have been a Christian by an ancient Arabic scholar while modern research tends to consider him a Muslim. He had relations with several Umayyad caliphs from 'Abd al-Malik (65–86/685–715) to al-Walīd II (125–6/743–4), as his poems show. In anthologies and biographical works he is rarely

quoted or mentioned. The edition of Ya'qūb, based on an ancient *diwān*, contains twenty poems with 1,164 lines; four of these poems are longer than eighty lines.

#### Text edition

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#### Further reading

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### al-Nābulusī, 'Abd al-Ghanī see 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Ismā'il al-Nābulusī

### nadīm

An Arabic term meaning 'boon companion'. The office of *nadīm* (whose origins can be traced back to Sasanian Iran) was an important one in medieval Arab court society, and became institutionalized under the 'Abbāsids, especially under the caliphs al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd. The *nadīms* constituted a special class; familiars of the ruler who accompanied and entertained him in his solitary moments, at his private literary and musical gatherings and drinking parties, in gaming (principally chess), hunting, on his travels and so on, they enjoyed great prestige and influence at court. The office was not restricted to the nobility, but open to anyone of talent, and was often held by poets (e.g. al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, Abū Nuwās), littérateurs (Abū Bakr al-Šulī), singers (Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili), as well as princes (Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī); it sometimes became hereditary, as in the cases of the Banū Munajjim and the Banū Ḥamdūn.

The *nadīm* was expected to have many and varied talents, and a large literature grew up expounding the *adab al-nadīm* (see *adab*), the requirements and etiquette of the *nadīm* (for a partial listing see Chejne, 1965, 328–9). He must be physically fit, of good appearance, and well dressed; well acquainted with the Koran, *ḥadīth*, grammar, poetry, music and history, as well as the military arts, cookery and horse breeding, and games such as

backgammon and chess. He must be able to entertain the ruler in whatever way the moment calls for, be a good talker and storyteller, able to improvise poetry and perhaps to play a musical instrument; above all, he must be worthy of trust, and be relied upon not to reveal his ruler's secrets, and must be sufficiently manly and skilled at arms to be able to defend him.

Among the authors who wrote on the subject were the singer Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (credited with three works) and his son Ḥammād; Ibn Kurradādhbih, the geographer and author on music; Jahḥa, who served as *nadīm* (and something of a court jester) to the caliph al-Mu'tamid; and the poet Kushājīm, who was also secretary, astrologer and master chef to the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla. Except for two works by Kushājīm, and Ibn Bābā al-Qāshī's (d. after 500/1106–7) *Kitāb ra's māl al-nadīm*, which exists in manuscript, few works on the subject have survived.

Text edition

pseudo-al-Jāhīz, *Le Livre de la couronne*, C. Pellat (trans.), Paris (1954), 99–178 (contains a lengthy chapter on the *nadīm*).

Kushājīm, *Adab al-nadīm*, Bulaq (1298/1881); published as *Adab al-nudamā' wa-laṭā'if al-ḥurafā'*, Alexandria (1329/1911).

Further reading

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J.S. MEISAMI

**al-Nadīm see ibn al-Nadīm**

**al-Nadīm, 'Abd Allāh (1843/4–96)**

Radical Egyptian poet, *zajjāl* and propagandist. Born in Alexandria, he died in Istanbul. He worked as a telegraph officer and spent some years in the Delta as an itinerant versifier (*udabātī*), earning the epithet of *nadīm* (boon companion). He later participated in the secret Union de la Jeunesse Egyptienne, challenging Riyāḍ Pasha's authoritarian government. Al-Nadīm was headmaster of the school of an Islamic charitable society that he founded in 1879, for which he wrote two plays in colloquial: *al-'Arab*, and *al-Waṭan wa-tāli' al-tawfiq*. He contributed to several newspapers, founding his own satirical *al-Tankūt wa-al-Tabkūt* (June–October 1881) and *al-Tā'if*,

organ of the 'Urābists (November 1881–September 1882). Accused of participating in the 'Urābī rebellion, he spent nine years in hiding. In 1891 he was arrested and exiled but was pardoned by the new Khedive, and returned to Cairo and founded the satirical magazine *al-Ustādh* (1892–3), opposed to the British occupation. These activities led to a second period of exile, during which Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid thought to silence him, appointing him to the Education Ministry, then Inspector of Publications; he ended his life in Istanbul. Al-Nadīm is an important figure, not only in the history of Egyptian nationalism, but also in the development of modern Arabic prose, for he pioneered the use of a less ornamental, more direct prose style, venturing so far as to write entire articles in the colloquial. Selections from his works have been published.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Nafzāwī**  
(fl. ninth/fifteenth century)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Nafzāwī was the author of *The Perfumed Garden*, the best-known work of Arabic erotica in the West. Of his life virtually nothing is known. His book, an expansion of an earlier, briefer work that he had composed on the same subject, was commissioned by the Ḥafṣid vizier in Tunis, Muḥammad ibn 'Awāna al-Zawāwī, some time after 813/1410. It is a fairly typical representative of Arabic sex manuals, treating such topics as desirable and undesirable qualities in men and women, Arabic sexual vocabulary, positions of sexual intercourse, ways to enhance sexual pleasure, and medical questions regarding impotence, pregnancy and abortion, all these points being illustrated by traditional anecdotes, some quite salacious, drawn from a large variety of earlier sources. Its particular fame in the West is largely a matter of chance. A French translation appeared in Algiers in 1876, and was in turn translated into English by Sir Richard Burton in 1886.

## Text editions

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- The Perfumed Garden*, Sir Richard Burton (trans.), London (1886) and frequently reprinted (notably, London, 1963, with introduction by A.H. Walton).
- al-Rawḍ al-'āṭir fī nuzhat al-khāṭir*, J. Jum'a (ed.), London (1990) (first critical edition of the text).

## Further reading

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E. K. ROWSON

**Nāḡī, Ibrāhīm see Nāḡī, Ibrāhīm****al-nahḍa**

*Nahḍa*, usually translated in English as 'renaissance' or 'revival', is a term first used by Jurjī Zaydān and others to describe the process of Arabic literary and cultural renewal which occurred during the second half of the nineteenth, and early years of the twentieth, centuries. The 'revival' was associated with a number of interrelated factors, both political and intellectual: on a political level, they included the progressive enfeeblement of the Ottoman Empire and the growth of European influence in the Middle East, and, on an intellectual level, the consequent attempts by Muslim and other Arab intellectuals to reassess the relationship between Europe and the Arab Muslim world and to redefine the place of Islam within a modern society. In political terms, these various currents had an important outcome in the growth of Arab nationalism in its various forms; in literary terms, their main outcome was the substitution of Western *genres* – novel, short story, drama etc. – for traditional Arab forms as the main (though not the sole) vehicles for literary expression in prose, with a corresponding shift away from traditional themes and formal conventions in poetry.

Geographically, the countries mainly associated with the *nahḍa*, at least in its early phases, are Egypt and Greater Syria (including Lebanon). The cultural background and consequent contribution of these two areas to

the movement differed considerably, however. For Egypt, Napoleon's invasion of 1798 has traditionally been held to mark the beginning of modern cultural development, and although the significance of this date for the socio-economic development of the country has become the focal point for some of the liveliest debates in Middle Eastern history, its status as a cultural turning-point remains difficult to ignore. From then until the British occupation beginning in 1881–2, Egypt was effectively an autonomous country, and the reigns of Muḥammad 'Alī (1805–48) and Ismā'il (1863–79) in particular saw important developments which, while often not involving cultural objectives as such, had important cultural and literary side-effects: these included the dispatch of Egyptians to the West to study, a more widespread European presence in Egypt itself, the spread of Western-style education, the growth in the number of translations and adaptations from Western languages, and the progressive substitution of Arabic for Turkish as the language of administration. In Syria and Lebanon, the presence of indigenous Christian communities with long-standing links to the West implied a different starting-point, and their relationship with the Ottoman Empire remained a more complex one for most of the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, the civil disturbances arising from the periodic inter-communal strife in Lebanon themselves made a positive contribution to the movement, as émigrés sought sanctuary not only in the Mahjar but also in Egypt, where they helped to stimulate the search for new forms of literary expression; their contribution was particularly important in the fields of the theatre and the press.

The development of new literary forms and sensibilities implied by the *nahḍa* in the second half of the nineteenth century coincided with the growth of a wider reading public, itself the product of changes in educational patterns. In this context, the Arabic press was playing an increasingly important role, both politically and culturally, not only helping to forge a new sense of national consciousness, but also providing a training ground for young writers – a role it has continued to play to the present day. Associated with these developments were changes in the Arabic language itself, involving the evolution of a modern, less involved, prose style and a vocabulary capable of dealing with modern concepts in a manner accessible to a wide reading public.

Largely for economic reasons, the essay and article remained the dominant prose form of this period; but for longer narrative, Jurjī Zaydān and other writers were increasingly beginning to turn to Western forms. In this respect, Muḥammad **al-Muwayliḥī's** *Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām* (serialized between 1898 and 1902) occupies a pivotal position, as perhaps the last great Arabic masterpiece in *maqāma* form. A decade or so later, Muḥammad Ḥusayn **Haykal's** *Zaynab* (1913) holds the distinction of being the first Western-style Egyptian novel with a contemporary Egyptian setting; by the time of **Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm's** *'Awdat al-rūh* (1933) the adaptation of Western fictional techniques to an Arab environment was effectively complete. A similar timescale holds roughly good for the theatre, where the early efforts of **Mārūn al-Naqqāsh** and others in Syria and Lebanon, and of **Ya'qūb Ṣanū'** in Egypt in the 1870s, failed to bear fruit in the establishment of an Arabic dramatic tradition of literary value; most troupes continued to rely heavily on musical and melodramatic productions, and on adaptations of Western plays in which faithfulness to the original counted for little, if anything. Only with the plays of **Ibrāhīm Ramzī**, **Aṅṭūn Yazbak** and **Muḥammad Taymūr** around the time of World War 1 do we see significant steps being taken to create a genuinely Arab, or Egyptian, theatre. In poetry, traditionally regarded by the Arabs as the most highly-prized literary form, the same factors led initially not to any radical change in poetic structure but rather to a more gradual development in sensibility, accompanied by a conscious attempt to revitalize contemporary poetry by reaching back to the great models of the classical Arabic heritage. The resulting neo-classical movement found its first great poetic exponent in **Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī** and was subsequently developed most notably in Egypt and Iraq. It was not until the rise of the Romantic movement, however, foreshadowed in the work of the Syro-Egyptian **Khalīl Muṭṭarān**, that Arabic poetry began in earnest to free itself from its traditionally rigid metrical and rhyme structure.

Although no rigid 'end-date' can be given for the *nahḍa*, by the 1920s at latest most of the initial problems involved in adapting Western literary forms for use in an Arab context had been tackled, and the groundwork laid for the future development of modern Arabic literature in the remainder of the twent-

eth century. At the same time, on the political level, many Arab countries found themselves under Western occupation, with their hopes of liberty dashed. The subsequent development of Arabic literature has continued to witness a close relationship between political and intellectual currents, but in a different overall context.

Further reading

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CHALMAL, especially chapter 1.

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Stetkevych, J., *Modern Arabic Literary Language: Lexical and Stylistic Development*, Chicago (1970).

P. STARKEY

### ***Nahj al-Balāgha (The Way of Eloquence)***

An anthology of orations, sermons, epistles, apothegms, maxims, etc., traditionally attributed to the fourth Rightly-Guided caliph **'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib** (r. 35–40/656–61). The work is written in an eloquent and polished style, and has been regarded by Muslims as one of the outstanding works of Arabic prose literature. There have, however, been lively controversies from medieval Islamic times onwards regarding its authorship, given that the style of much of the *Nahj* shows a maturity of expression and a confidence in the handling of words truly remarkable for its allegedly early date, virtually contemporary with or stemming from not much after the definitive compilation of the **Koran** itself.

For the **Shi'is**, partisans of the claims of 'Alī and his house to the caliphate and imamate, the authenticity of the *Nahj* is an article of faith; but a **Sunnī** writer like **Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd** (see below) was equally convinced of its essential genuineness as being written by 'Alī and compiled from his writings over three centuries later by **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī**. Other medieval scholars, such as **Ibn Khallikān**, thought that it had been compiled in **Baghdad** by one of the two brothers, **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī** or **al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā**, and then possibly attributed to 'Alī. All this leaves unresolved

the question of how much, if any, of the *Nahj* was genuinely written by 'Alī. Undoubtedly, considerable parts of it, and especially the historical sections and the orations and sermons, could have been written by the caliph himself, and there are passages whose supporting *isnāds* or chains of guarantors are complete and go back to 'Alī's time. A judicious view would be that the *Nahj* might well contain material traceable back to 'Alī, but that it was put together in its present form at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century, most likely by al-Sharīf al-Rāḍī.

The *Nahj* early attracted a host of commentaries, abridgements and selections, the outstanding commentary being the monumental *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha* of the Iraqi author Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd which he wrote 644–9/1246–51; this author seems to have been basically a Sunnī but with Mu'tazilī sympathies which might have inclined him to look favourably on the Shī'īs. There have also been numerous translations, especially into Persian.

#### Text edition

*Nahj al-balāgha* (many printings, commentaries, translations, etc.).

#### Further reading

*EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Nahdj al-balāgha' (M. Djebli).  
 Vecchia Vaglieri, L., 'Sul "Nahǧ al-balāghah" e sul suo compilatore aš-Šarīf ar-Rāḍī', *AUON*, n.s. 8 (1958), 1–46.

C. E. BOSWORTH

See also: Shī'ī literature

## ***nahw* see grammar and grammarians**

## **Naimy, Mikhail see Nu'ayma, Mikhā'il**

## **al-Najafī, Aḥmad al-Šāfi (1897–1977)**

Iraqi poet. Born in al-Najaf to an Iraqi father and a Lebanese mother, al-Najafī left for Tehran in 1920 because of the British occupation of Iraq and remained there until 1927 working as a journalist, teacher and translator of 'Umar Khayyām's *Rubā'iyyāt*. After three years in Baghdad he went to Lebanon for health reasons and was briefly imprisoned in

1941 in Beirut by the allies for his poetic support for Rashīd al-Kilānī. Only in 1976 did he return to Baghdad, having been wounded in the Lebanese Civil War. Al-Najafī published twenty collections of poetry during his lifetime, a more complete *dīwān* being published in Baghdad after his death. His neo-classical poems comprise praises of the beauty of towns and landscapes in Syria and Lebanon; ironical, humorous or critical descriptions, e.g. of the refreshing effects of tea, or the tortures caused by a mosquito at night; satires against those who mocked his ascetic and chaotic lifestyle; and praises of his poetical skill in the face of the literary critics.

#### Further reading

Barhūmī, Khalīl, *Aḥmad al-Šāfi al-Najafī: shā'ir al-ghurba wa-al-alam*, Beirut (1993).  
 Sharāra, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *al-Šāfi: dirāsa taḥlīliyya*, Beirut (1981).

W. WALTHER

## **al-Najāshī (d. shortly after 49/669)**

*Mukhadram* poet. Qays (or Sim'ān) ibn 'Amr, of the Bal-Ḥārith, called 'the Negus' on account of his dark appearance or his Ethiopian mother, was known especially for his invective verse, directed against clans or tribes (Banū 'Ajlān, Quraysh) and individuals (Ibn Muqbil, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān). The *naqā'id* exchanged between him and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of Ḥassān ibn Thābit, were collected by al-Madā'inī.

#### Text edition

*Shi'r*, S. al-Na'imī (ed.), *MMII* 13 (1966), 95–127.

#### Further reading

'Askar, Quşayy al-Shaykh, *al-Najāshī, shā'ir Šifftin*, Beirut (1988).  
 al-Bakkār, Šālih and al-Ghurāb, Sa'd, 'Al-Najāshī al-Ḥārithī: akhbāruhu wa-ash'āruhu', *Hawliyyāt al-Jāmi'a al-Tūnisīyya* 21 (1982), 105–201.  
 Schulthess, F., 'Über den Dichter al-Nagāšī und einige Zeitgenossen', *ZDMG* 54 (1900), 421–74.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

## **Nāji, Hilāl (1929– )**

Iraqi poet, critic, editor and scholar. Born in al-Qarna, Nāji studied at the faculty of law, graduating in 1951. He left Iraq in 1959 after



being accused of involvement in a plot to assassinate 'Abd al-Karīm Qāsim. After the coup of 1963 he returned to Iraq where he joined the diplomatic service and was nominated for the Iraqi embassies in Spain and later in Iran and Tunis. Nāji ended his career at the Foreign Ministry in Baghdad as the head of the section responsible for Arab countries and the Gulf. He was recently elected as the President of the Iraqi Association of Writers. His poetry, written both in conventional form and in *shi'r hurr* (free verse), deals with universal humanistic topics as well as national themes. Among his poetry collections is *al-Fajr ātin yā 'Irāq* (1962). As a scholar Nāji rescued from oblivion al-Zahāwī's *al-Nazaghāt aw al-shakk wa-al-yaqīn*, publishing it in his book *al-Zahāwī wa-dīwānuhu al-mafqūd* (Cairo, 1963). He has also produced a book on contemporary Yemeni poets (1966), and edited several texts from the classical Arabic and Islamic heritage.

Further reading

'Izz al-Dīn, Yūsuf, *Shu'arā' al-'Irāq fī al-Qarn al-Ishrin*, Baghdad (1969), 359–76.

R. SNIR

## Nāji, Ibrāhīm (1898–1953)

Egyptian Romantic poet. Born in Cairo in relatively comfortable circumstances, Nāji graduated in 1923 from the School of Medicine. He worked as a doctor until his death, but at the same time managed to sustain his consuming interest in literature. To this extent his career bears similarities to that of his contemporary and mentor Abū Shādī.

Nāji gained recognition for his poetry through the Apollo Group of which he became vice-president, and through the pages of *Apollo* itself. Although acquainted with English, French and German literature, the major foreign influence on his work was that of nineteenth-century French Romantic poetry. He produced three collections of verse: *Warā' al-ghamām* (1934), *Layālī al-Qāhira* (1944) and a posthumous volume, *al-Ṭā'ir al-jariḥ*, which appeared in 1957. The second of these, *Layālī al-Qāhira*, shows clear signs of being derived from *Les Nuits* by Alfred de Musset. His complete *Dīwān* was published in Cairo in 1961.

The particular contribution for which Nāji is remembered is his amatory poetry, which

had not been a particularly successful part of the work of either Muṭrān or the *Dīwān Group* poets. He created an intriguing and successful fusion between the age-old tradition of highly sensual Arabic love poetry, and something that is closer to the spiritual, more ethereal love poetry of the European Romantic style. His work alternates between short love lyrics not unlike the classical *qit'a*, which usually reproduce a specific moment or experience of amorous pleasure, and longer, more complex poems of pessimistic endurance in an overall context of previous loves or unrequited passion. One of the most attractive features of Nāji's work is the extent to which he adapts old motifs to contemporary situations. His best-known poems, such as 'al-'Awdā', 'al-Firāq', 'Waqfa 'alā dār' and 'al-Aḥlāl', are nothing less than the infusing of classical themes with the spirit of Western Romanticism, usually with a fine sense of creative irony and self-deprecating humour. This ability to play creatively with the tradition was enjoyed by very few Arab poets between the neo-classical period and the 'new poetry' of the 1950s.

Further reading

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CHALMAL, 115–18.

R.C. OSTLE

## Najm, Aḥmad Fu'ād see Nigm, Aḥmad Fu'ād

## Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (540–618/1145 or 6–1220 or 1)

Najm al-dīn al-Kubrā Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Khīwaqī al-Khwārazmī, Šūfī writer who was born in Khiva and died there during the Mongol invasion. Originally a scholar of *ḥadīth*, he travelled in the western Islamic lands and underwent a conversion to Sufism. His most important teacher was 'Ammār al-Bidlīsī. After returning to his homeland, he pursued a very active teaching career as a Šūfī *shaykh*. He is taken to be the founder of the Kubrawiyya Šūfī order. Kubrā (the title reflects his argumentative skill) has left us works on Sufism in both Arabic and Persian. His most important works in Arabic are: his Koranic commentary, the '*Ayn al-ḥayāt*,

which he never completed; *al-Uṣūl al-'ashara*, which deals with the mystic path; *Fawā'ih al-ġamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-jalāl*, which chiefly discusses visions.

Kubrā belongs to the post-classical phase of Sufism. He drew on the whole of earlier Ṣūfī tradition and combined it with Neoplatonic, Gnostic and Hermetic elements. The most distinctive features of his teachings, however, was his preoccupation with visions, which also remained characteristic of the school he left behind.

#### Text edition

'Traitsés mineures', M. Molé (ed.), *Al* 4 (1963), 1–78.

#### Further reading

Meier, Fritz, *Die Fawā'ih al-ġamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-ġalāl des Naġm ad-dīn al-Kubrā*, Wiesbaden (1957) (a fundamental exhaustive treatment of the subject).

B. RADTKE

### Nakhla, Rashīd (1873–1939)

Lebanese poet, writer and journalist. Nakhla, who held several administrative posts in Jīzīn and the province of Ṣūr, wrote both literary and folk poetry. In 1933 he was elected the 'prince of *zajal* poetry' in Lebanon. His popular songs in colloquial Lebanese influenced the lyrical Romantic and symbolist poets in Lebanon. Nakhla founded *al-Sha'b* newspaper in 1912, edited *al-Arza* newspaper and helped to edit *Jarīdat Lubnān*. Among his works are his long story *Muḥsin al-Hazzān* (Beirut, 1936) and his popular poetry collected by his son Amin Nakhla as *Mu'annā Rashīd Nakhla* (Beirut, 1947).

#### Further reading

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al-Kayyālī, Sāmī, *al-Rāhilūn*, Cairo (1937?), 147–52.

S. MOREH

### Nakhla, Rufā'il (18??–19??)

Lebanese Jesuit theologian, philologist, scientist, historian and poet. Nakhla was the director of *Risālat Qalb Yasū'*, in which he published several articles on prose, poetry, theology, history and society. He also published scientific articles in *al-Mashriq*. Nakhla

started publishing poetry in 1904. His anthology, *Aġhānī al-manfā* (2nd edn, Beirut, 1965) contains many strophic Catholic hymns in Arabic; to this anthology he added articles in praise of his poetic talents by Khalīl Muṭrān, Mikhā'il Nu'ayma and others. He also published a dictionary of Arabic synonyms entitled *Qāmūs al-mutarādifat wa-al-mutajānisāt* (Beirut, 1957).

#### Further reading

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Shaykhū, L., *Tārīkh al-ādāb al-'Arabiyya fī al-rub' al-awwal min al-qarn al-'ishrīn*, Beirut (1926), 159.

S. MOREH

### al-Nāmī, Abū al-'Abbās (c.309–99/c.921–1008)

Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Nāmī was a poet from al-Maṣṣīṣa (Cilicia). He became a famous poet in Aleppo in the time of Sayf al-Dawla, especially after the departure of al-Mutanabbī, with whom he had some altercations. Although al-Tha'ālībī counts him among the 'master poets' (*fuḥūla*) of his time, poetry came to him with difficulty and very slowly; some amusing anecdotes are given in *al-Wāfi* by al-Ṣafādī. Little of his poetry has survived. He also produced *Amālī* on philological subjects.

#### Text edition

*Shi'r*, Ṣabīḥ Radīf (ed.), Baghdad (1970).

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

### al-Namir ibn Tawlab (d. before 23/644)

A *mukhaḍram* poet and a distinguished aristocrat of the tribe of 'Ukl, a member of the Ribāb alliance (Tamīm); he was a 'Methuselah' who grew senile in his dotage. He is famed for his visit to the Prophet Muḥammad, and subsequent receipt of a letter from him. His poetry is the epitome of *Jāhili* aristocratic verse (see *jāhiliyya*), eschewing *madīḥ* and shunning *hijā'*, eloquent of diction, audacious of thematic development, aphoristic in its acceptance of the inevitable, didactic in its presentation of al-Namir's code of conduct. Indeed, it is often compared with

the poetry of **Hātim al-Ṭā'i**, the pre-Islamic paradigm of altruism and munificence. As such, it proved to be popular with the philologists and anthologists. Especially interesting are nos 19, 25, 31, 42 and 44, reflections on personal worth and mortality, and no. 38, an incomplete threnody in the style of the poets of **Hudhayl**, in which the death of the ibex symbolizes the inevitability of fate. The dedicatee may be identical with that of no. 8, viz. the poet's brother al-Ḥārith ibn Tawlab.

Text editions

Krenkow, F., 'Three poems by an-Namir b. Tawlab al-'Uklī', *RO* 17 (1951–2), 122–37.

*Shi'r al-Namir ibn Tawlab*, N.H. al Qaysī (ed.), Baghdad (1969).

J.E. MONTGOMERY

**naqā' id**

'Contradicting poems, flytings' (sing. *naqīda*), poems in which tribal or personal insults are exchanged. This form of poetic duelling is therefore part of *hijā'* (see also *mathālib*). The poems usually come in pairs, employing the same metre and rhyme. The genre has its origin in pre-Islamic times, in the slanging matches between members of opposing clans or tribes. It culminated in the **Umayyad** period, when **al-Akhṭal**, **al-Farazdaq** and **Jarir** exchanged their famous series of *naqā'id* in the course of several decades. The poems may be short and monothematic; but many are relatively long and in *qaṣīda* form, with a remarkable combination of themes: amatory, vaunting and invective verse. The 'rebutting' or 'undoing' (which may have been the original meaning of the verb *naqaḍa*) does not imply a point-by-point refutation of the poem of one's opponent. Instead of defending himself against abuse and slander the poet usually prefers a counter-attack. Rich in historical and political allusions, their political significance is second to their function as entertainment, which is provided by means of humorous descriptions, grotesque exaggerations and gross obscenities. They were often recited to great effect, either publicly, for instance at the **Mirbad of Basra**, or smaller gatherings, as at the Umayyad court. Their style and diction may range from the lofty to the near-colloquial. They were admired by philologists, critics and the general public alike. Several collections of *naqā'id* (also called *munaqaḍāt*) were made from the eighth century onwards, some of them with philo-

logical commentaries; the most important one being the commentary by **al-Sukkari** of *Naqā'id Jarir wa-al-Farazdaq* in the recension of **Abū 'Ubayda**.

In later times the *naqā'id* are personal or sectarian rather than tribal. On the whole poets preferred, in their invective exchanges, independent **epigrams** that do not answer to the formal strictures (identical rhyme and metre) of the true *naqā'id*. Sometimes the term *naqīda* is employed for what is more properly called a *mu'araḍa* or emulation; see, for example, the first volume of the *Dīwān of Abū Nuwās* (ed. Wagner, 24–105) where the invective element is often absent. The old tribal form of poetic duelling survived, with little change, into modern times; witness the Arabian *riddiyyih* described by Sowayan – two poets alternately improvising a few lines with the same metre and rhyme.

Further reading

Abbott, Nabia, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, vol. 3, *Language and Literature*, Chicago (1972) (see index s.v. 'Naqā'id' and 'Satire').

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Sowayan, Saad Abdullah, *Nabaṭi Poetry: The Oral Poetry of Arabia*, Berkeley (1985), 142–4.

(For a list of ancient compilations and commentaries of *naqā'id*, see *GAS*, vol. 2, 62–3; for editions see under the individual poets.)

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**al-naqd al-adabī see literary criticism**

**naqīda see naqā' id**

**al-Naqqāsh, Mārūn (1817–55)**

Maronite dramatist, usually considered the first modern Arab playwright. Born in Sidon, he died in Tarsus. He was chief clerk in the Customs in Beirut. He went on business in 1846 to **Egypt**, and then Italy, where he discovered the world of theatre and opera, and wrote three high-quality plays, mainly in literary Arabic. The first Arabic play in the Levant was his *al-Bakhīl*, set in Beirut but inspired by Molière's *L'Avare*. It was performed at the end of 1847 on a stage in his home. Men and boys played the female parts. His second play *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mughaffal*, from the *Alf layla wa-layla* story

of a caliph 'for-a-day', was performed in 1850 before the Ottoman Governor, and is generally considered the first original play in Arabic. He performed his last play *al-Ḥasūd al-salīṭ* in 1853 in his own theatre beside his house. With a Syrian setting, this too was inspired by Molière, describing the actions of a jealous suitor, whose beloved is promised to another by her father. His plays were published in a post-humous collection, *Arzat Lubnān* (1869), by his brother Niqūlā al-Naqqāsh. Mārūn al-Naqqāsh inclined to musical theatre, as this was more appreciated by his fellow citizens and established a framework for the Arab theatre, coining the stage terminology that was to remain in vogue throughout most of the nineteenth century.

#### Further reading

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 al-Khozai, M.A., *The Development of Early Arabic Drama 1847–1900*, London (1984), 31–78.  
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 —, 'al-Naqqāsh, Mārūn...', *EP*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 7, 930.

P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Naqqāsh, Niqūlā (1825–94)

Maronite lawyer, translator, teacher, dramatist, poet and journalist, born and died in Beirut. He worked in the Customs; was involved in banking and commerce, and was appointed secretary to the Governor of Beirut; he was also a member of the Beirut Commercial Court. In 1877 he was elected a member of the Ottoman Parliament. He was editor of *al-Najāh* magazine (1872), and founded *al-Miṣbāḥ* (1880), mouthpiece of the Maronite Bishop Yūsuf al-Dibs. He also translated many Ottoman legal works. The only person to follow in the footsteps of his brother Mārūn al-Naqqāsh, he presented his plays after his death, publishing them in *Arzat Lubnān* with a study on the theatre. His own plays include *al-Shaykh al-jāhil*, a play on the pre-Islamic knight Rabī'a ibn Zayd al-Muqaddam, *al-Muwaṣṣi*, and *al-Majnūn bi al-ghaṣb*.

#### Further reading

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 Khouéiri, J., *Théâtre arabe: Liban, 1847–1860*, Louvain (1984), 82–4.

P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Naqqāsh, Salīm Khalīl (1850–84)

Maronite writer, dramatist and journalist. Born in Beirut, he died in Alexandria. He was director of the Customs in Beirut (1876). Khedive Ismā'il invited him to form a troupe to perform plays in Egypt, the first Lebanese troupe to go there. In Beirut he put actresses on the stage for the first time, despite strong criticism. He performed the plays of his uncle Mārūn al-Naqqāsh; his own adaptation of plays by Corneille and Racine; Verdi's *Aida* (to which he added popular Arab airs); *al-Zalūm*, an intrigue set in an oriental court; Adīb Ishāq's *Gharā'ib al-ittifāq* (set in India) and his *Charlemagne*; and *Zénobie* by l'abbé d'Aubignac. When the troupe failed, al-Afghānī persuaded him to become a journalist. Salīm helped to edit the weekly *Miṣr* founded by Ishāq, and founded the daily *al-Tijāra* (1878) with him. Both papers were strongly nationalist, and were suspended for their criticism of the government and of foreign interference. Salīm secured concessions for the daily *al-Mahrūsa* and the weekly *al-'Aṣr al-jadīd* (1880). For opposing 'Urābī, *al-Mahrūsa* was suspended in June 1882 and Salīm forced to flee. He returned to Egypt in 1884 and *al-Mahrūsa* reappeared. His history of these troubled times, *Miṣr lil-Miṣriyyīn* was published after his death.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Nāshī' al-Akbar (d. 293/893)

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Shirshīr al-Nāshī' al-Akbar was a Mu'tazilī theologian, grammarian, poet and critic. He was born in al-Anbār and was active in Baghdad and Egypt, where he died. A versatile scholar and poet, he was at home in both the 'Arabic' and the 'non-Arabic' sciences. He wrote works of a theological nature and on grammar. He was famous for hunting poetry

(see *ṭardiyya*). A didactic poem on various subjects is said to have consisted of 4,000 lines in monorhyme. A book on poetry (*Naqd al-shi'r*) is known only from quotations. Also lost is his *Debate between Gold and Glass*.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**al-Nāshi' al-Aṣghar  
(271–365 or 366/884–976)**

'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Waṣīf al-Nāshi' al-Aṣghar was a poet from **Baghdad**. The son of a perfume seller, he worked as a maker of copper ornaments, and became a **Shī'i** theologian, although he was noted for his *mujūn*. Most of his poetry ('innumerable poems', it is said) was devoted to the Shī'i genre of panegyrics on the 'Alids; other poems were made for contemporary rulers, among them the caliph al-Rāḍī, Sayf al-Dawla, Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī, **Ibn al-'Amīd** and 'Aḍud al-Dawla. Tall, robust, loud-voiced and fond of argumentation and jesting, he is reported to have lived into his nineties while still in possession of a strong set of teeth. Of his poetry only fragments survive.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**Nashwān ibn Sa'id al-Ḥimyarī  
(d. 573/1178)**

Abū Sa'id Nashwān ibn Sa'id ibn Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī was a theologian, philologist, poet and historian. A member of a noble Yemeni family from Ḥawt near Sanaa, Nashwān was for years a *qāḍī* before engaging in an attempt to establish himself as ruler of an area between Sanaa and Saada. He adhered to **Zaydī** and **Mu'tazilī** views. He wrote a **Koran** commentary and compiled several works on theological, historical, philological and other topics.

Best known are his 'Himyarite Poem' (*al-Qaṣīda al-Ḥimyarīyya*) and his dictionary *Shams al-'ulūm wa-dawā' kalām al-'Arab min al-kulūm* (*The sun of Wisdom and Remedy for the Arabic Language's Lesions*). The former, an *ubi sunt* poem, enumerates historical and

mythical Yemeni rulers in a series of episodes; it totals 135 lines. Nashwān, or perhaps his son, compiled a commentary on it. The *Shams al-'ulūm* goes far beyond a usual dictionary in the amount of explanatory information that it includes about individual words; much of this has a marked Yemeni bias.

Nashwān is interesting both as a promoter of a specifically Yemeni cultural consciousness and as a writer who made an unexpected use of existing literary forms to convey a very wide range of information.

Text editions

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H. KILPATRICK

***nasīb see qaṣīda***

**Nāṣif, (Muhammad) Ḥifnī  
(1855–1919)**

Writer, poet and judge. Born in the outskirts of **Cairo**, he died in that city. He studied at **al-Azhar** and the *École Khédiviale de Droit*, where he later taught. He was imprisoned for his speeches during the 'Urābī revolt. Nāṣif played a part in the foundation of the Egyptian University (1908) and the Arab Academy in **Damascus** (1919), his lectures at the University on the history of the Arabic script being subsequently published. He lectured on the dialects of Egyptian tribes to the Orientalists Congress in Vienna (1886), and from c.1909–1912 was Inspector General of Arabic teaching at the Ministry of Education. His published works include his *dīwān* (1937); prose writings (1960); a work on women's emancipation in Islam (1924); and a commentary on **al-Suyūṭī's** *al-Faḥḥ al-qarīb*, on the *shawāhid* of **Ibn Hishām's** great treatise on syntax (1902). He also edited the *dīwān* of the Egyptian poetess 'Ā'isha **al-Taymūriyya** (1840–1902). His daughter was the poet Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (*Bāḥithat al-Bādiya*).

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P. C. SADGROVE

**Nasīm, Aḥmad (1878–1938)**

Egyptian poet. Educated in a Turkish primary school and Egyptian Arabic secondary school, Nasīm studied at **al-Azhar** and subsequently worked in **Dār al-Kutub** where he was involved in the publication of classical poetry collections. Although his poetry belongs to the neo-classical trend, some of his poems reveal a Romantic influence (especially those poems published in 1933 in the magazine *Apollo*). Nasīm was intensely involved in political life, writing national and patriotic poems as a contribution to the struggle for independence. His *dīwān* was published in two parts: the first (1908) consists of poetry of occasions, and the second (1910) of nationalist poems previously published in the National Party's newspaper *al-Liwā'*. In the dedication of the second part he styles himself *shā'ir al-Hizb al-Waṭanī* (the poet of the National Party). He is also known as *shā'ir al-waṭaniyyāt* (the poet of nationalism).

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R. SNIR

**Nāṣir, Kamāl (1925–73)**

Palestinian poet, journalist, playwright and political activist. Born in Bir Zeit into a devout but artistically inclined Christian family, he studied at the American University of Beirut and joined the Ba'th Party, becoming briefly a member of the Jordanian Parliament. Forced to flee Jordan in 1957, he lived in various Arab countries until he joined the PLO's Executive Committee in 1969. He was assassinated by Israeli agents. Nāṣir's poetry has not achieved the popularity of some other Palestinian 'resistance poets'. His sonorous and patriotic verse, which blends neo-classical, Romantic and socialist influences, often reflects some impatience with technique coupled with a temperamental preference for action. The use of symbol, fashionable among his contemporaries, is only sketchy in his verse. In some of his more subdued, 'confessional' poems, however, alienation and defiance, despair and hope, battle for mastery of the poet's psyche. Intimations of further poetic maturity in his later poems remained unfulfilled owing to his untimely death.

M.R. NOURALLAH

**Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (597–672/1201–74)**

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was a Shi'ī scholar and political dabbler. Born into a Twelver Shi'ī family in Ṭūs (in **Khurasan**), al-Ṭūsī rose to prominence in the service of the **Ismā'īlī** governor of Quhistan, Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahīm ibn Abī Manṣūr, whose court astrologer he was, and for whom he wrote a number of works (most of them in Persian), including one of the major works of Islamic ethical writing, the *Akhḫāq-i Nāṣirī* (*Nasirean Ethics*), which has been described as 'the best known ethical digest to be composed in mediaeval Persia, if not in all mediaeval Islam' (Wickens, 1964, 10), and which, while heavily indebted to the *Tahdhīb al-akhḫāq* of **Miskawayh** (d. 421/1029), greatly expands and deepens the scope of that work. He continued in Ismā'īlī employment in Quhistan and at their headquarters at Alamut until the second wave of Mongol incursions under Hūlāgū (Hūlegū), when he defected to the Mongol leader (and was instrumental in his destruction of Alamut), whom he accompanied in the capacity of adviser to the conquest of **Baghdad**. He served as vizier and supervisor of *waqfs* under Hūlāgū and his successor Abāqā until his death, and founded the important observatory at Maragha (in Azarbaijan). His writings include works on astronomy, ethics and philosophy, including a commentary on *al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt* of **Ibn Sinā** (d. 428/1037), whom he defended against the criticisms of **Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī** (d. 606/1209). The precise nature of al-Ṭūsī's beliefs has been a matter of dispute; his autobiography (in Persian) suggests that at one period in his life he embraced Ismā'īlī beliefs, but may later have reverted to Twelver Shi'ism.

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I.R. NETTON/J.S. MEISAMI

## Naṣr Allāh, Imilī (Emily) (1938– )

Lebanese novelist and short-story writer. Born in Kfeir in South Lebanon, Naṣr Allāh's overriding concern is the question of emigration. She was among the first of her generation of women to leave the village for her education. In the 1950s, she worked her way through the American University of Beirut by publishing newspaper articles. In 1962, she published her first novel, *Ṭuyūr aylūl*, a fictionalized autobiography laced with legends. The novel explores the fate of women who defy convention by leaving home to gain education and a career. It quickly became popular and part of the Lebanese secondary school curriculum. Now in its ninth printing, it has been translated into German. Her next writings were implicitly and explicitly directed at children to whom she felt a strong sense of responsibility. Soon after the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War, she wrote *Tilka al-dhikrayāt* (1980). This novel marks a change in Naṣr Allāh's thinking: emigration when its destination is outside Lebanon is to be proscribed. *Al-Iqlā' 'aks al-zaman* (1981), a novel she claimed to have been writing for almost twenty years as a sequel to *Ṭuyūr aylūl*, is even more unequivocal: the Lebanese must earn the right to retain their citizenship by staying on the war-torn land. Between 1982 and 1990, her entire literary output was in the form of short stories, all of which use the Lebanese Civil War as pretext or context. All focus on the impact of the war on the lives of women.

### Text editions

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M. COOKE

## nathr see prose

## al-nathr al-fannī see artistic prose

## nature, in classical poetry

Descriptions of nature (in the wider sense) can already be found in the oldest Arabic poetry. Among other things, the poets describe the desert, at first mostly within *fakhr* (self-praise), later on in the *rahīl* part of the *qaṣīda* ('How many a desert in which the mirage is glittering'; 'Amr ibn Qamī'a), the long night, the early morning, a thunderstorm (Imru' al-Qays in the *Mu'allaqa*), hunting animals and hunting scenes, and particularly, of course, the camel (the most famous description being in Ṭarafa's *Mu'allaqa*). Most of these topics are also treated in the later Arabic poetry; in addition, there are descriptions of atmospheric phenomena (clouds, snow), mountains, trees, fruit, etc. In al-Mutanabbi's (d. 354/965) *Dīwān* there are to be found two unusual nature descriptions: a description of the valley of Bawwān through which the poet rode on his way to the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Shiraz, and a description of Lake Tiberias.

However, the description of flowers, gardens and spring was to become Arabic nature poetry *par excellence*. The topic develops into its own genre in the 'Abbāsīd period (*zahriyyāt* or *nawriyyāt*, *rawdīyyāt*, and *rabī'iyyāt*). Descriptions of flowers and meadows are already sporadically found in *Jāhīlī* poetry. Thus, it was possible for the comparison of the beloved's scent with a flowering meadow in the *nasīb* of the *qaṣīda* to be developed into a detailed description of the meadow itself and its flowers (e.g. in 'Antara's *Mu'allaqa*). Furthermore, in the description of the deserted campsites (*aṭlāl*), one might describe the vegetation sprouting after the rain (e.g. in Labid's *Mu'allaqa*). Those poets, finally, who were connected with the court of Hīra (particularly al-A'shā) describe, in the wine scenes of their *qaṣīdas*, the flowers that were used as decoration for the inn (roses, narcissi). It is mainly here that one has to look for the origins of the later *zahriyyāt*. Hereafter, the development of the

flower and garden description takes place, above all, within the framework of wine poetry (see *khamriyya*). Abū Nuwās (d. c.200/815) inserted a frequently quoted description of narcissi into a wine poem ('[a wine] next to freshly picked narcissi, as if they were eyes, when we turn our eyes to them ...'). Some of Abū Nuwās's wine poems already contain more verses with a description of flowers than of wine.

Abū Tammām (d. 231/845) takes up the tradition of nature description in the prologue of the *qaṣīda* and leads it to its first climax. In a famous poem of praise, a *rā'iyya*, he completely replaces the *nasīb* with a long and rich description of spring. This method of Abū Tammām's formed a precedent in a unique way; he was followed in this by later Arabic poets (Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Buḥturī, al-Ṣanawbarī), as well as by Hebrew, Persian and Ottoman poets. In the Persian *qaṣīda*, a description of spring is the most frequently used topic for the prologue.

Al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897) repeatedly describes within the framework of the *madīḥ* part of his *qaṣīdas* the garden (and the palace) of the one praised. In a famous *qaṣīda* he develops out of the praise one of the most beautiful descriptions of spring in Arabic poetry (connecting thought: 'Unto you came the merry spring').

Al-Buḥturī's contemporary Ibn al-Rūmī (d. c.283/896) is even more famous as a nature poet. He was the first to compose (in addition to *qaṣīda* prologues containing descriptions of flowers and spring) longer independent poems on flowers. A dispute (*munāzara*) between rose and narcissus in which the narcissus is granted superiority deserves special attention (see *debate literature*). Ibn al-Rūmī's *munāzara* was often imitated or 'refuted' respectively. There are, however, a number of garden poems by Ibn al-Rūmī that are as remarkable as this flower poem and that, due to the feeling of nature displayed in them, go completely beyond the usual scope (see below).

Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908) draws, above all, 'epigrammatic sketches' and 'poetic snapshots' (von Grunebaum) of flowers (the poems are to be found in the chapter *awṣāf*, 'descriptions', of his *dīwān*), but also takes up the tradition of garden descriptions within wine poetry (compare his well-known *muzdawija fī dhamm al-ṣabūh*, which begins with a long description of flowers and a

garden which later forms the background for the banquet).

In the poetry of al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945–6) the poems on nature form a genre of their own. In addition to short nature poems like Ibn al-Mu'tazz's, he also composed numerous long *qaṣīdas* with spring, a garden, a landscape, a dispute or a war among flowers being the main, if not the only topic. Furthermore, the description of nature is integrated into almost all the other genres used by him.

The description of nature is one of the preferred topics of the Andalusian Arabs. One of the oldest Spanish–Arabic anthologies (by Abū al-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī; d. c.440/1048) is named *al-Badī' fī waṣf al-rabī'*. It contains exclusively poems on flowers, gardens and spring. The most important nature poet is Ibn Khafāja (see below) who therefore was given the epithet 'Ṣanawbarī of the West'.

The feeling for nature in later Arabic poetry is for the most part purely optic, directed toward the decorative. Acoustic perceptions and those pertaining to the sense of smell are found much more seldom than visual perceptions. The most important devices for description are simile and metaphor, through which chiefly the colour or the form of the flower are illustrated. Donors of the image are most often precious stones and metals ('roses like rubies'), but also parts of the human body ('roses like cheeks'). Occasionally, the objects of nature are personified (Ibn al-Rūmī: 'The rose blushed out of shame ...'). Completely outside the usual scope are some of Ibn al-Rūmī's garden poems in which the poet describes nature living its own life; moving man by its splendour and forcing him to praise God; reviving man by the fragrance of its flowers and diverting him by the singing of its birds; averting sorrow from the sorrowful by a cool breeze, etc.

Arabic nature poetry reaches another climax with the Andalusians Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1071) and Ibn Khafāja (d. 533/1138). In one of Ibn Zaydūn's poems on his beloved Wallāda, nature participates in the poet's longing ('as if it [the breeze] was moved by compassion for me, and therefore became gentle out of pity'). The poetry of Ibn Khafāja, in which the description of nature makes up a large, if not the largest part, has in addition to the usual topics (flowers, gardens), more frequently than in the poetry of earlier poets, other objects of nature (i.e. trees, rivers, clouds, hills, fire). His nature scenes, which are frequently connected with love scenes, are



often richly developed (in one case: description of the night and the early morning, of the flowers on a hill and at a watercourse; all of this within the frame of a love scene). Ibn Khafāja's feeling for nature is characterized by nature's almost always being personified and/or brought into rapport with human beings ('[A cloud], that minted white dirhams of flowers which the fingertips of the twigs have handed to you'). Frequently, he projects human feelings and acts onto a natural object. His most famous poem is devoted to a mountain which he lets recite a moving monologue about transitoriness. Another of Ibn Khafāja's artistic devices is the projection of macrocosmic phenomena into the garden context ('An *arāk* tree that has pitched over us a dewy sky, while the celestial bodies of the goblets have been brought into circulation'). Next to the epics of the Persian poet Nizāmī (d. 605/1209), Ibn Khafāja's nature poems belong to those poetical works within Islamic literature that have a special appeal to European taste.

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G. SCHOELER; trans. A. GIESE

See also: *wasf*

### al-Nawāji (788–859/1386–1455)

Egyptian poet and man of letters. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān al-Nawāji, who taught *ḥadīth* at two *madrāsas* in Cairo, was a respected poet in his day. Besides poetry he wrote several anthologies, chiefly about poetry and stylistics. His most famous work, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, a literary celebration of wine and connected themes, remained popular in spite of pious attacks.

#### Text editions

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

### al-Nawawī (631–76/1233–77)

Muhyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī was a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar and jurist of the Shāfi'ī school. He spent his entire life in or near Damascus, and is noted for having stood up against the sultan Baybars by refusing to issue a legal opinion (*fatwā*) supporting certain of his acts. His pious and ascetic lifestyle become proverbial. In *ḥadīth* studies he is famed for his commentaries on the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and for popular selection of *ḥadīths* entitled *Kitāb al-arba'īn*. His commentary on Muslim's collection contains as an introduction a useful overview of *ḥadīth* studies as cultivated down to his time. His reputation in jurisprudence is based largely on his compendium of law entitled *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* which, together with commentaries written later upon it, have become pre-eminent among the law books of the Shāfi'ī school.

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B. WEISS

## al-Nawbakhtī

*Nisba* of a family of scientists and Shi'i religious scholars of Iranian origin (second–fourth/eighth–tenth centuries). Nawbakht al-Fārisī (d. c.160/777) was one of the Persian astrologers appointed by the caliph al-Manšūr to determine the auspices for the foundation of the 'Abbāsīd capital, Baghdad, in 145/762. His son Abū Sahl al-Faḍl (d. 170/786?) was astrologer to the caliphs al-Manšūr and al-Rashīd and wrote several treatise on the art.

From the time of the lesser *Ghayba* (occultation) of the Shi'i Imām members of the Nawbakhtī family played an important role as intellectual and political leaders of the Imāmiyya at Baghdad during the caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32): Ibn Rūḥ (d. 326/938), a Nawbakhtī on his mother's side, was the third *wakil* of the Hidden Imām; Abū Sahl Ismā'il ibn 'Alī (d. 311/924) and his nephew, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā (d. between 300 and 310/912 and 923), were the founders of Imāmi *kalām*. The latter is best known for his book on the Shi'i sects, *Firaq al-Shi'a*, and a general heresiography of Islam (known from citations only), *Kitāb al-Ārā' wa-al-diyānāt*, but he was also a student of Hellenistic philosophy and sciences, and a defender of astrology; his son, Abū al-Ḥasan Mūsā ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Kibriyā', wrote two astrological monographs (324–5/936–7).

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G. ENDRESS

## Nawrūz see Nayrūz

## Nayrūz

The Arabized form of Persian *Nawrūz*, 'New Year', originally a festival of the Zoroastrians of Persia, traditionally celebrated at the spring equinox. The popular celebrations, marked by

the exchange of presents, sprinkling of water, the wearing of new clothes and something like a saturnalia or carnival in the streets, continued in Islamic Persia but also in such Arab lands as Iraq, Syria and Egypt until late medieval times. They included the declaiming and singing of poetry, hence there exists in both Persian and Arabic poetry a class of verse, *nayrūziyyāt*, composed on the occasion of these festivities, often specifically at the courts of the rulers. Also, the grammarian Ibn Fāris wrote a treatise, the *Kitāb al-Nayrūz*, so far unpublished.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

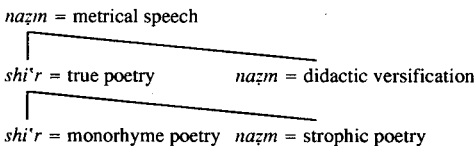
## nazm

(Lit. 'the ordering of pearls on a string to form a necklace'.) Used metaphorically to describe textual ordering of two different kinds. The first is 'ordering of words-cum-meanings' or, more freely, 'style'. In this sense it seems to have grown out of the discussions of the dogma of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*. Al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998), in his treatise *Explanation of the Inimitability of the Koran*, postulates a triad of elements that make up 'speech' (*kalām*), namely 'words (*lafz*) as carriers, meaning (*ma'nā*) subsisting in them, and a connection (*ribāṭ*) that orders (*nāzim*) both of them'. The third element is usually called *nazm*. In all three elements the *Koran* is the superior text. The relationship between the three is metaphorically described (the various 'types of ordering' are a 'bridle on the words and a rein on the meanings'), but there is little explicit discussion of the workings of *nazm*.

Al-Baqillānī (d. 403/1013), in his *Inimitability of the Koran*, enumerates ten aspects of its *nazm*, but these are very general considerations (such as 'the *Koran* is *sui generis* as a literary genre', 'the Arabs had not produced any eloquent text of such enormous length', 'the *Koran* is homogeneously eloquent', and 'the transition from one topic to the next in the *Koran* is unrivalled'), and the strict correlation between *nazm* and the two other elements of speech, 'words' and 'meaning', is absent. 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081), in his *Proofs for the Inimitability*, is closer to al-Khaṭṭābī, but goes beyond him by

filling the notion of *naẓm* with real content. He defines it as 'minding the meanings of syntactic relations', and in several tightly reasoned chapters he exemplifies its workings by drawing attention to the role of word order or the functional meaning of certain particles. The 'ordering' creates a shape/form (*ṣūra*) in the mind and, parallel to it, in the language; through it the semantic (*ma'nā*) and the syntactic-stylistic (*lafẓ*) side of a proposition (*kalām*) become mirror images. The old and, according to al-Jurjānī, misunderstood dichotomy of *lafẓ* and *ma'nā* is thus reinterpreted: *lafẓ* is split up into the 'word and sound material', on the one hand, and the syntactically formed 'wording', on the other; likewise, *ma'nā* is divided into a vague 'intention' and a strictly formed 'meaning', mirrored by the 'wording'.

The other meaning of *naẓm* is 'metrical speech' or, as a process, 'versification'. If used as the opposite of *nathr*, 'prose' (lit. 'scattering of pearls'), it refers to any metrical text, whether real poetry or didactic versification. But not seldom it forms an opposition with *shi'r*, 'poetry', thus referring specifically to didactic versification. As such, it can also be used as an adverse criticism of what claims to be poetry. With the ascendancy of **strophic poetry** in the fourth/tenth century and after, the term *shi'r* is sometimes restricted to monorhyme poetry, the most traditional and most prestigious kind, with the result that *naẓm* is applied to strophic poetry. The various meanings can be seen in the following diagram:



The line between poetry and didactic versification is sometimes not easy to draw. Mystical poetry may belong on both sides. Even highly educated authors tend to blur the distinction: al-Ṣafādī (d. 764/1363), wanting to refute the idea that there are, in Arabic literature, no really long poems like the *Shāhnāma* of the Persians, points among other things to the *Shāṭibiyya*, a long didactic poem on the Seven Readings of the Koran; and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. probably 749/1348) includes a selection of mnemonic verse in his *dīwān*.

**Text editions**

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al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb I'jāz al-Qur'an*, al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr (ed.), Cairo (1963), 35–48.  
 al-Khaṭṭābī, *Bayān i'jāz al-Qur'an*, in *Thalāth rasā'il fī i'jāz al-Qur'an*, Muḥammad Khalaf Allāh and Muḥammad Zaghlūl Salām, (eds) Cairo (n.d), 19–65, here 24, 33.  
 al-Khaṭṭābī *et I'inimitabilit  du Coran*, C.F. Audebert (trans.), Damascus (1982).

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Abu Deeb, Kamal, *Al-Jurjānī's Theory of Poetic Imagery*, Warminster (1979), 24–64.  
 von Grunebaum, G.E., *Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden (1955), see index s.v.

W.P. HEINRICHS

*See also:* poetry, classical

**al-Nazzām, Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār (d. 836 or 845)**

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sayyār al-Nazzam was a theologian of the Mu'tazilī school with strong leanings toward the natural sciences inherited from the Greeks. He was vigorously opposed by many of his fellow Mu'tazilis for holding the view that God initially created the world with hidden potentialities that would subsequently become manifest. This way of thinking was in conflict with the predominant tendency among Mu'tazilis and Muslim theologians in general to view God's creation as continuous, and it soon acquired the character of a heresy.

**Text edition**

*Das Kitāb an-Naḩ des Nazzām und seine Rezeption im Kitāb al-Futūyā des Ġāhīz*, J. van Ess (ed. and trans.), Göttingen (1972).

**Further reading**

Eberhardt, D., *Der sensualistische Ansatz und das Problem der Veränderung in der Philosophie Mu'ammar's und an-Nazzams*, Tübingen (1979).  
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 —, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jh. Hidschra*, Berlin and York (1991–2), vol. 3, 296–419.

B. WEISS

**neo-Platonism see Platonism**

**neo-classicism**

A school of poetry which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, and

which sought to revive the style and spirit of classical Arabic poetry. Closely connected with the ideals of the *nahḍa*, the new poetry served to emphasize national and Islamic ideals by recalling the glories of the classical Arabic literary heritage; as such, it represented an act of literary self-assertion in the face of the Western influences which had begun to encroach on the Middle East since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

On a literary level, the neo-classical trend marked a reaction against the diction, style and poetic forms which had prevailed during the so-called 'transitional period' from the destruction of Baghdad in 1258 to the French occupation of Egypt in 1798, when word-play had been considered by many poets the best way to display their skill and talent. Believing that the classical poets had exhausted every possible theme and idea, they transformed poetry into an intellectual game – an intelligent, but essentially frivolous, form of entertainment. In contrast, the new poetics aimed to emulate the conventions and basic canons of classical Arabic poetry, including the use of *mu'āraḍa* (the imitation of a classical poem using the same metre, rhyme and theme with the intention of surpassing it).

The credit for initiating the new movement is usually accorded to Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, who, in his best poems, succeeds in articulating an individual experience within the constraints of traditional Arabic poetic forms. Al-Bārūdī's lead was followed in Egypt by Ismā'il Ṣabṛī, Aḥmad Shawqī, Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm and Walī al-Dīn Yakan and in Iraq by Jamāl Sīdqī al-Zahāwī, Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfi, Aḥmad al-Ṣāfi al-Najāfi and Muḥammad Maḥdī al-Jawāhiri.

Much of the output of the neo-classicists was 'public' poetry of one sort or another, written for particular social or political occasions and often composed to emphasize national ideals; at its most effective, this style of poetry attained a power and forcefulness uniquely suited to the purpose of the composition. At the other end of the spectrum, attempts by some neo-classicists to use the specific themes and imagery of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīda* in a contemporary context (e.g. by weeping over the deserted encampment of the poet's beloved) occasionally produce a ludicrous effect. Although individual poets continued to write in the neo-classical style for some time, by the 1930s the

influence of modernist critics and poets seeking to combine conventional Arabic poetics with modern European theories had begun to gain ground, and neo-classicism yielded to **romanticism** as the dominant trend in Arabic poetry.

#### Further reading

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S. MOREH/P. STARKEY

See also: poetry, modern

### al-Niffari (fourth/tenth century)

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Niffarī was a Ṣūfī author, not usually mentioned in the Ṣūfī biographical dictionaries. His *nisba* indicates that his family origin was in Mesopotamia. He has left to posterity two larger works which were only put together in their final form after his death: the *Kitāb al-mawāqif* and the *Kitāb al-mukhātabāt*. In addition, some fragments of his other writings survive. **Ibn al-'Arabī** refers to him by varying names, and 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291) has written a commentary on him. Al-Niffarī's style is obscure and difficult, reminding one of **al-Ḥallāj**.

#### Text editions

- The Mawāqif and Mukhātabāt of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdī 'l-Jabbār al-Niffarī with other fragments*, Arthur J. Arberry (ed. and trans.), London (1935).  
 Nwyia, Paul (ed.), *Trois œuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans*, Beirut (1972), 183–324.

#### Further reading

- Nwyia, Paul, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut (1971), 348–407.

B. RADTKE

**Nigm [Najm], Aḥmad Fu'ād  
(1929– )**

Egyptian colloquial poet. Because of his uncompromising advocacy of the rights of the poor and underprivileged in his country, Nigm has often found himself at odds with the governmental apparatus, to the extent of being arrested and imprisoned on several occasions. Following the 1967 June War, Nigm (along with his companion, the famous blind singer, Shaykh Imām) abandoned his more covert modes of distributing his resistance poetry (such as by cassette or publication outside Egypt) and took his message directly to the public. Since that time he has spent further intervals in prison and others in hiding, but his poems continue to capture in memorable verse the political pulse of the Egyptian people. Among his more famous collections are: *Balādī wa-ḥabībātī* (1973), *Ughniyat al-ḥubb wa-al-ḥayāh* (1978), *Anā fayn* (1979), *'Ishī yā Maṣr* (1979), *al-'Anbara* (1982) and *Ṣundūq al-dunyā* (1985).

Further reading

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R. ALLEN

**al-Nisābūrī, al-Ḥasan ibn  
Muḥammad (d. 406/1015)**

Scholar and compiler of a famous work on 'wise fools' of the later Sāmānid period, who lived in **Khurasan**. Besides a book on Koranic philology, only al-Nisābūrī's well-known *Kitāb 'Uqalā' al-majānīn* has been preserved. Within the branch of monographs on certain types of human characters, he was not the first to compile such a work, but the books of his forerunners and followers seem to be lost. In numerous anecdotes, the 'wise fools' appear primarily as ascetic or witty; excused by their 'madness', they can utter things that normal people would not dare to say.

Text editions

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Further reading

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*Kindlers Neues Literatur Lexikon*, Walter Jens (ed.), Munich (1991), vol. 12, 473–4 (S. Grotzfeld).

T. SEIDENSTICKER

**North Africa see Maghrib**

**Nu'ayma, Mikhā'il (1889–1989)**

**Mahjar** poet, prose writer, essayist and literary critic. Born in Biskinta (Lebanon), Nu'ayma attended the Russian school there, continuing his studies at the Russian training college in Nazareth, where he became a schoolmate of Nasīb 'Ariḍa. In 1906 he was elected to attend the Diocesan Seminary in Poltava, Ukraine, where his involvement in a students' strike was punished by his removal from the Seminary and the postponement of his final examination for a year until 1911. In Poltava he studied the great works of modern Russian literature, became an admirer of the social ideas of Tolstoy and began to write poetry in Russian.

In autumn 1911 Nu'ayma joined his elder brothers living in the United States. He enrolled as a student of law and English literature in the University of Washington, Seattle, taking two bachelor's degrees in 1916. During this period he became acquainted with theosophy, which left a deep imprint on him and his work. He also contributed his first critical essays to 'Ariḍa's *al-Funūn* in New York, explaining what he considered the hallmarks of good poetry. 'Ariḍa invited him to come to New York to edit the journal with him. However, the financial basis of this enterprise was fragile, and Nu'ayma was forced to find employment with the Russian mission purchasing arms at the Bethlehem steel factory, until the Russian revolution intervened. He was then drafted into the US Army and sent to France, reaching the front line a few days before the Armistice of 11 November 1918. On returning to the United States, Nu'ayma wrote the charter for **al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya**, founded on 28 April 1920 with Nu'ayma as its secretary. He worked as a travelling salesman until 1932, when he returned to Lebanon and devoted himself to writing.

Nu'ayma produced more than thirty

volumes of poetry, narrative prose, drama, biography, autobiography, literary criticism and essays. His first book, *al-Ābā' wa-al-banūn*, was published in New York in 1917; it was followed by a volume of literary criticism, *al-Ghirbāl* (Cairo, 1923), in which he attacked Khalilian prosody as creating insurmountable obstacles for the free expression of emotion. For his biography of **Jubrān** (Arabic version, Beirut, 1934; English version, New York, 1950) he followed the style of the *biographie romancée* developed by Maurois, Strachey and others; the book, which spoke freely about Jubrān's weaknesses, was interpreted by some as an attack on him.

Among Nu'ayma's narrative works *The Book of Mirdad* (English version, Beirut, 1948; Arabic, *Kitāb Mirdād*, Beirut, 1952) deserves special mention. Nu'ayma considered this book the summit of his thought, explaining the human path to eternity. Impressive is his three-volume autobiography *Sab'ūn* (Beirut, 1959–60), the first volume of which is devoted to his years in Biskinta, Nazareth and Poltava, the second to his stay in the United States and the third to his years in Lebanon. Nu'ayma's collected works were published in eight volumes (Beirut, 1970–4).

#### Text editions

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*A New Year*, J.T. Perry (trans.), Leiden (1974).

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C. NIJLAND

## Nūr, Mu'āwiya Muḥammad (1909–41)

Sudanese essayist, short-story writer and literary critic. Born into a well-known family, Nūr was educated in Khartoum, Cairo and Beirut, then worked as a journalist in Cairo, where he rose to be literary editor of *Miṣr* newspaper and formed important contacts, particularly with 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād. In his criticism, he applied Western standards to Arabic literature and called for Arabic literature to explore new fields such as comedy and literary correspondence. Nūr maintained

throughout his life a great interest in other cultural pursuits, including music, painting and Islamic and Western philosophy. His short stories belong to the school of social realism; he was one of the first Sudanese authors to use the technique of psychological analysis in his works of fiction.

In 1935, as a result of depression and overwork, Nūr fell victim to mental illness from which he continued to suffer until his death. His collected works were published in Khartoum in 1970.

M.I. SHOUSH

## Nūrī, 'Abd al-Malik (1921– )

Iraqi short-story writer. After studying at the American University of Beirut, he graduated in the Faculty of Law of Baghdad University and became a journalist on the progressive newspaper *al-Aḥālī*. He later served as an official in the Ministry of Justice and in the Iraqi diplomatic service in Japan, Indonesia and Czechoslovakia. His collections of short stories *Rusul al-insāniyya* (1946) and *Nashīd al-ard* (1954) are characterized by a profound psychological insight. They employ a poetical, sometimes ironical, language to cast light on problems of Arab/Iraqi society such as the role of women as victims of patriarchal repression (as in *Faṭṭūma*) or the tragic consequences of superstition and the veneration of saints (as in *Rīḥ al-janūb*), or corruption in the bourgeois classes.

#### Text edition

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W. WALTHER

## al-Nūrī, Abū al-Ḥaṣan (or Abū al-Ḥusayn) (d. 295/907–8)

A well-known member of the Baghdad school of Sufism and a friend of al-Ḥallāj and al-Junayd. In the dictionaries and handbooks on Sufism he is frequently mentioned in anecdotes and numerous dicta are attributed to him. His commentary on the **Koran** was incorporated into al-Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*. Also

preserved is his small treatise *Risālat maqāmāt al-qulūb*.

Text edition

Nwyaia, Paul, 'Textes mystiques inédits d'Abū-l-Hasan al-Nūrī (m. 295/907)', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 44 (1968), 115–54.

Further reading

Nwyaia, Paul, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut (1970) 316–48.

B. RADTKE

## Nuṣayb ibn Rabāh (d. c.108/726)

Abū al-Hajnā' (or Abū Miḥjan) Nuṣayb ibn Rabāh was an Umayyad poet. He praised a number of Umayyad caliphs and officials (including 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz) in relatively short and direct poems which reduce the role of the *nasīb* to a minimum. His imagery, however, is complex and given to expanded conceits. In love poetry he is the first to treat the grieving dove motif. The nature of this love poetry is that of *nasīb* disengaged from the *qaṣīda*; it is 'Udhri' in tone but given to descriptions that echo the manner of descriptive interludes in pre-Islamic poetry.

Text editions

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Verses collected and published by U. Rizzitano, *RSO* 20 (1943), 421–72; 22 (1945) 23–35.

P.F. KENNEDY

## al-Nuwayhī, Muḥammad (1917–80)

Egyptian literary critic and university professor. Born in Mīt Hibaysh, a village near Tanta, al-Nuwayhī spent four years in the Department of Arabic Literature at the Egyptian University, attaching himself to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn who became his mentor. He earned his doctorate in 1942 from the University of London, securing a temporary senior lectureship there in 1943, and in 1947 moved to the Sudan, where the Gordon Memorial College was being transformed into the University of Khartoum. Al-

Nuwayhī was associated with this university until 1956, publishing three books during that period including *Thaqāfat al-nāqid al-adabī* (1949), in which he argued that the successful critic of modern Arabic literature must be well grounded in all the modern sciences, including psychology. He subsequently studied the connection between psychology and literature in *Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās* (1953), in which he employed psychoanalysis to clarify Abū Nuwās' personality. Al-Nuwayhī soon became an influential literary critic whose ideas and methods were pioneering, though not always warmly received. One of his critics was his mentor Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, who argued that it was absurd to apply psychoanalysis to the study of ancient poets of whom we have little evidence. In 1956 al-Nuwayhī returned to Egypt, where he was given an appointment at the American University in Cairo. He was one of the most important defenders of *shi'r ḥurr* (free verse), arguing that the new form was the only way to revive Arabic poetry. In his book *Qaḍīyyat al-shi'r al-jadīd* (Cairo, 1964) he advocated a type of poetry that reflected daily life and speech; he considered that the new poetic form would prepare the way for a new type of rhythm and metre based on stress, arguing that the use of the new prosody – which he termed *al-niẓām al-nabrī* – would inject new blood into the Arabic language and preserve it from domination by the colloquial.

Further reading

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Moreh, S., *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800–1970*, Leiden (1976), 263–6.  
Semah, D., *Four Egyptian Literary Critics*, Leiden (1974), 148, 195–201.

R. SNIR

## al-Nuwayrī, (667–732/1279–1332)

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī was an encyclopaedist. The son of a civil servant, al-Nuwayrī was born in Upper Egypt but studied in Cairo, where he distinguished himself in jurisprudence and calligraphy. He followed in his father's footsteps, serving as a financial administrator in Syria and Egypt, where he ended by having responsibility for two provinces. A change of

heart led him to abandon the secretary's profession for study of the humanities, which he had earlier scorned, and he composed his great encyclopaedia, the *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (*The Heart's Desire in the Arts of Culture*), partly for his own use as an *aide-mémoire* of what he had read.

The *Nihāyat al-arab* consists of five Books, each one of which is divided into five sections which themselves contain several sub-sections: (1) the Heavens and the Earth, including a description of the world; (2) Man, his nature and especially his self-expression through poetry, and his institutions of government; (3) the Animal World; (4) the Vegetable World; (5) History. This last Book is by far the longest, occupying twenty-one of the work's thirty-one volumes. The whole reflects a carefully thought-out view of man and his place in the world and history. Unlike his sources, which include the major works of Arabic literature then extant, al-Nuwayrī avoids digressions, abbreviating his material where necessary and never losing sight of the plan of his book. Rather than writing to conserve the memory of a threatened civilization, he was probably trying to encourage the formation of a class of humanist secretaries at the height of **Mamlūk** power.

#### Text edition

*Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vols 1–27, Cairo (1923–85).

#### Further reading

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H. KILPATRICK

See also: encyclopedias, medieval

### **Nuzhat al-udabā' (Entertainment of the Educated)**

Collection of anecdotes, probably compiled by one Muhammad ibn Aḥmad Iyās al-Ḥanafī in the middle of the eleventh/seventeenth century. The work is divided into 28 chapters containing about 540 anecdotes. They treat subjects such as teachers, grammarians, alleged prophets, **bedouins**, stingy persons, homosexuals and prostitutes as well as the most famed popular heroes of Arabic jokelore, **Juḥā**, **Abū al-'Aynā'**, Muzabbid and **Ash'ab** (and notably **al-Jāhīz**); the book ends with chapters on fables and popular sayings. In arrangement and content, the book shows a close similarity to **al-Ābī's** *Nathr al-durr*. Contrary to G. Flügel's verdict (*ZDMG* 14 [1860], 534–8), who regarded *Nuzhat al-udabā'* as a revolting accumulation of obscenities, the book does deserve attention as an exemplary compilation of the Ottoman period. It was extensively used for European translations of jocular prose by J. von Hammer-Purgstall and R. Basset, thus decisively contributing to the European conception of Arabic humour in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

#### Further reading

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U. MARZOLPH





ode see *qaṣīda*

### oral composition

Originally, Arabic poetry was oral poetry, meaning that it was composed by the tribe's poet without the help of writing. In the same manner, it was recited and passed on by the poet himself or his *rāwī* (transmitter). The fact that poets made use of writing utensils while composing a poem has been securely attested for the first time in the case of the Umayyad poets *Jarīr* and *al-Farazdaq*, or rather their *rāwīs*, but even earlier transmitters and poets may occasionally have made notes to assist their memory. On the other hand, until the early 'Abbāsīd period and even thereafter one has still to reckon with the fact that poets often composed their poetry without the help of writing. This is especially true for impromptu poetry (*badīhan*, *irtijālan*). (See **improvisation in poetry**.) Throughout the Middle Ages the recitation of poetry was done from memory, as is sometimes still done today.

The early 'Abbāsīd poet *Abū Nuwās* (d. c.200/815) seems to have written down at least part of his poems in an unsystematic way. It is said that in his estate there were copy-books and papers which had among them copies of some of his poems. However, none of the early 'Abbasid poets yet prepared an edition of their *diwāns*. It was not until the fifth/eleventh century that the poets got into the habit of composing their works for future publication as a book.

The older ancient Arabic poetry shares many characteristics with the oral poetry of other peoples, such as infrequent enjambement, stereotyped topics and motifs (typical scenes from *bedouin* life, recurrence of animal descriptions, etc.), and formulaic phrases, mainly at the beginning of a *qaṣīda* and in the transition from one topic to another. The (real or apparent) similarity of these characteristics

with those of the improvised epic poetry of illiterate folk-singers among the southern Slavs and of the Homeric poems, which have been investigated by M. Parry and A. Lord, has among American Arabists (J.T. Monroe, M. Zwettler) resulted in the attempt to understand ancient Arabic poetry in the light of the so-called oral poetry theory of Parry and Lord. This theory states that in the presence of the above-mentioned characteristics – especially strong formulaicness – one may conclude that the poetry in question has been produced by oral improvisation because the impromptu poet, who is pressed for time while composing his poem, has to refer to prefabricated formulas, stereotyped topics, etc. This means that in this form of poetry composition and recitation are one and the same.

If the oral poetry theory were applicable to ancient Arabic poetry, then even the most complicated polythematic *qaṣīdas* would be improvised poems, presented in a different version with every recitation. However, some proponents of this theory concede that a *qaṣīda* consisted of a more or less solid core memorized by the poet or the transmitter and on which he is said to have improvised at each recitation.

At first glance the applicability of the oral poetry theory to ancient Arabic poetry seems to be confirmed by the fact that many *qaṣīdas* exist in different versions (recensions) with numerous variants. However, serious doubts have been raised against it. These are directed against the premature and grossly overstated identification of the anonymous, disinterested, popular epic poetry with the *qaṣīda* poetry which is always tied to the name of an author, usually has a specific goal and often shows individual styles. (See further *qaṣīda*.) Above all, however, the *qaṣīda* cannot in general be considered improvised poetry because of inherent characteristics such as complicated metres that are subject to strict rules, the same rhyme throughout the entire poem, and conscious

## oratory and sermons

application of figures of speech in prominent places. Moreover, reports have come down to us that speak against it, according to which the poets would work on a *qaṣīda* for a long period of time, in individual cases up to a year. The poems that are improvised are in most cases not *qaṣīdas*, but short pieces (*qit'as*), and they are often composed in *rajaz*, the most simple metre. Besides, the frequency of formulas is not nearly as extensive as has been claimed. What has been identified as a formula very often turns out to be a conscious resumption, a quotation, a recurring stereotypical phraseology, etc., and often occurs in different metres; it therefore cannot have been employed by the poet as a stopgap under the pressure of time.

In the case of the ancient Arabic *qaṣīda* we are dealing thus with a special kind of oral poetry for which a carefully planning poet is characteristic, and if one looks for a comparison this poetry could most easily be put on the same level with the old Icelandic poetry of the scalds or the lyrics of the troubadours. The different versions of specific poems and the richness in variants can be partly explained by the long oral, or at any rate philologically uncontrolled, transmission. Additionally, the poets may occasionally have revised their *qaṣīdas* and successively 'published' different versions of them. Finally, it is known that some *rāwīs* thought it to be their right to treat the transmitted poetry rather liberally. Sometimes they were even invited by their masters to improve the poems in certain places. However, the various versions of a *qaṣīda* arising from revision and correction by poets and *rāwīs* cannot at all be compared with the improvisations of the singers of the tales that are newly created in each new performance.

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G. SCHOELER; trans. A. GIESE

Oratory (*khaṭāba*) was an important feature of tribal life in early Arabia, where eloquence was highly valued. The tribal spokesman (*khaṭīb*) would rally the tribe to battle, revile its opponents, recall ancestral feats and virtues, and (like the tribal poet) often served as messenger between parties. Samples of such early orations, which often contained moralizing passages, exhortations to valour, and the like, and were prized as models of eloquence, are preserved, for example, in the *Kitāb al-bayān wa-al-tabyīn* of al-Jāhīz. In Islamic times, oratory continued to play an important role in political and sectarian conflicts; the **Khārijīs**, for example, produced a number of impressive orators (as they did poets), and the **Umayyad** governor and general **al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf** was famed for his eloquence.

Oratory and the preaching of sermons (*wa'z*) became closely allied in the Islamic period. The term *khaṭīb* came to designate an Islamic preacher, specifically one charged with delivering the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*). The Prophet in his lifetime had delivered this sermon, and the question of his succession revolved in part around who was best qualified to take over this function. The official *khaṭīb* directed himself to the congregation, as the spokesman for the ruler, whose name was pronounced in the Friday *khuṭba* in confirmation of his rule (the 'Abbasid revolution was openly proclaimed when Abū Muslim preached the *khuṭba* in their name in **Khurasan**); it was also customary for the ruling caliph to deliver the *khuṭba* and lead the public prayer which followed. With the growth of urban centres the *khaṭīb* often became the chief spokesman for his town.

Another type of preacher might also address the congregation: the *wā'iẓ*, whose task it was to instil pious teachings, to exhort and admonish, in his sermon (*wa'z*, *maw'iza*; the two terms are attested in the **Koran**, which itself is referred to as *wa'z* or *maw'iza*, and in pre-Islamic poetry). As in earlier times (for example, in the case of the Hīran poet 'Adī **ibn Zayd**), another function of the *wā'iẓ* was to address himself to sovereigns, reminding them of the transience of this world and the necessity for piety and just rule. Other terms designating preachers were *qāṣṣ* (pl. *quṣṣāṣ*; literally, 'story-teller'), whose preaching was based on Koranic stories and **Legends of the Prophets**) and *mudhakkir* ('one who calls to

recollection', i.e. admonishes) (for a discussion of terminology see Pedersen, 1948). Such preachers might accompany warriors into the field to rouse them to battle, and they played an important role in sectarian disputes. Or they might be attached to the mosque, where they would hold regular sessions on certain days. Their preaching did not, however, constitute part of the Friday sermon. There were also popular, itinerant preachers who addressed public gatherings in the streets, and who often came in for criticism for their ignorance and charlatanry from more respectable preachers such as the famous Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Jawzī, who left a valuable work on the subject (perhaps intended as a work of instruction; cf. 1971, 68).

Many preachers were major religious scholars, and some held official positions such as that of *qāḍī*. Popular preachers were often associated with pietistic, ascetic and, later, mystical tendencies. The style of sermons gradually developed from the simple and direct admonitions of, for example, the ascetic al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who addressed his sermons to kings and commoners alike (and from whose style the poetry of Abū al-'Atāhiya takes much of its inspiration) to the more rhetorical and ornamental style characteristic of Ibn Nubāta al-Khaṭīb or Ibn al-Jawzī, in which rhymed prose (*saj'*) became an increasingly important element. Sermons of all sorts were collected and anthologized as models of style; they were often heavily ornamented with quotations from Koran and *hadīth*, proverbs and poetry, the latter drawn from a wide variety of sources: the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Jawzī, for example, often quotes the Shī'ī poet Mih-yār al-Daylamī, while Sūfī preachers might use verses by such 'libertines' as Abū Nuwās to convey topics related to, for example, the intoxication of mystical love. Many writers also composed works on the principles of preaching and the qualities, both professional and moral, required of preachers.

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See also: *khuṭba*; story-telling

## Orthodox caliphate

The period of the first four caliphs, *al-Rāshidūn*, 'those who walk in the right way': Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (reigned 11–13/632–4), 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (reigned 13–23/634–44), 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (reigned 23–35/644–56), 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (reigned 35–40/656–60). All of them were companions of the Prophet and related to him by marriage. It was a time of internal strife and civil war, resulting in the first schisms of Islam, and also of great military expansion, i.e. the foundation of an Islamic empire extending over Sasanian Iran, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Islamic tradition regards the Orthodox caliphate as the golden age of Islam, when the *sunna* (see *Sunnīs*) of the Prophet was fully observed.

Abū Bakr, during his short caliphate, was mainly engaged in suppressing the 'apostasy' (*riḍḍa*) of Arab tribes whose allegiance to Islam had ended with Muḥammad's death. His successor 'Umar, one of the most gifted administrators in early Islam, laid the basis of the fiscal system and instituted the *dīwān*, a register listing members of Arab tribes who were entitled to endowments. The financial organization of Medina was later introduced in all principle cities of the Muslim empire. 'Umar also directed the conquests of Iran and the Byzantine territories of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt, which were completed under 'Uthmān. He was assassinated in 34/644 out of private revenge. The caliphate of 'Uthmān was a matter of dispute from the beginning, since a strong 'party' (*shī'a*, see *Shī'īs*) had supported 'Alī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, father of his only male descendants, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, by his daughter Fāṭima. 'Uthmān sought to strengthen his position by favouring members of his clan, the Banū Umayya (see *Umayyads*), thereby paving the way for their rise to power. His nepotism resulted in growing discontent, in an alliance of conflicting forces against him, and eventually in 'Uthmān's murder while he was praying in his house. His lasting achievement is the final redaction of the *Koran*.

The events leading to 'Uthmān's death mark the beginning of civil war, the first 'trial' (*fitna*) of the Islamic community. 'Alī was proclaimed caliph, but was soon opposed by his former allies, among them 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr, Muḥammad's young and active widow. The opponents were defeated in the 'Battle of the Camel' (36/656), named after the camel on which 'Ā'isha was riding, when she incited her party during the fight. A more serious opponent proved to be Mu'āwiya, governor of Syria and spokesman of the Umayyad clan, who demanded revenge for 'Uthmān's murder. He refused to pay homage to 'Alī, who was not involved in the murder himself, but protected the culprits. Their armies met at Şiffin (37/657), a battle famous in history, because the Syrians, when luck turned against them, hoisted copies of the Koran on their lances, thereby inviting the combatants to resolve the conflict by arbitration. When 'Alī agreed to this, a considerable part of his adherents 'dissented' (*kharaja*, see *Khārījīs*), thus weakening his forces. They were defeated by him at Nahrawān (38/658), but remained an important political faction, especially in the Umayyad period. The arbitration took place at 'Adhruḥ (38/659), the legal point being the justification of 'Uthmān's murder, which implied the legitimacy of 'Alī's caliphate. Before any further military encounters, 'Alī was murdered (40/660) by a Khārījī taking revenge for Nahrawān, and Mu'āwiya was proclaimed caliph without serious opposition, choosing **Damascus** as his residence. Thus with the end of the Orthodox caliphate the Hijaz ceased to be the political centre of Islam. (See further **Hijaz**.)

Poetic traditions of the *jāhiliyya* continued during the time of the Prophet and the Orthodox caliphs on the whole, the influence of Islam being limited to occasional allusions and the introduction of Koranic formulas (cf. Farrukh, 1937). But there are also significant changes on the formal and on the conceptual level. Poets of the period, the *mukhaḍramūn*, were apt to introduce their individual experience and to transform conventional genres accordingly. (See further **genres**.) The *qaṣida* in praise of **Muḥammad** and his successors is still **bedouin** in character, excepting some religious eulogies. There is an important struc-

tural change, however, motivated by its panegyric function (see *madiḥ*), the gradual development of the *raḥīl*, the poet's 'desert journey' to his patron, alongside the former description of his camel (cf. Jacobi, 1982). Political events are predominantly reflected in the *qiṭ'a*. Invectives against Muḥammad are answered by poets in his employment, e.g. **Ḥassān ibn Thābit**, and during the *ridda* and the first civil war, tribal *hijā'* is used by the opponents in its traditional function. The Arab conquests, on the other hand, gave rise to a new development of *fakhr*, i.e. Muslim warriors describe their hardships and celebrate their victories (cf. Nallino, 1950, 811–82). At the same time, poets deplore the 'emigration' of their tribesmen from the Arabian Peninsula (see **Hudhayl**). In addition to *fakhr* and *hijā'*, new monothematic genres emerged, e.g. the wine poem (see *khamriyya*), if the verses of **Abū Mihjan** are authentic, and the love poem (see *ghazal*). It first appears in the *dīwān* of Abū Dhū'ayb (see Hudhayl), one of the most innovative poets of the time. As evidenced in his verses, the pre-Islamic concept of love, mainly a retrospect of former pleasures and a love affair in the past, is now sometimes replaced by a more emotional attitude, implying perseverance in love and faithfulness after separation. Viewed in its entirety, the poetry of the *mukhaḍramūn* constitutes the first stage of a process involving the gradual dissolution of the pre-Islamic oral tradition (see **oral composition**).

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**Ouettar, Tahar see Waṭṭar, al-Ṭahir**

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## pageantry

The custom of celebrating festive occasions by wearing decorated clothes was practised in the pre-Islamic period in Mecca. **Ibn Hishām** and **al-Wāqidi** say that the people of Mecca used to borrow their jewellery from the Jewish family of merchants al-Ḥuqayq in order to decorate themselves at weddings and other festive occasions.

With the rise of 'realism' in 'Abbāsīd art and literature, authors and artists showed interest in daily life, peculiar persons, stock types, professionals, officials and artisans, rather than in pre-Islamic heroes and subjects. This interest began with **al-Jāhīz** and reached its peak around the end of the fourth/tenth century and later, especially during 'Abbāsīd and **Būyid** rule in **Baghdad** and the **Fātimid** and **Mamlūk** periods in **Cairo** and **Damascus**.

The practice of representing everyday life in a quasi-theatrical form was also reflected in pageantry. Pageants took place on occasions such as feasts, *mawliids*, the sending of the *mahmal* to Mecca, the accession of a new ruler, and weddings and circumcisions of sons of caliphs, sultans and other grandees. The city was decorated with silk and colourful fabrics, flags and lamps. Salvos of firearms (*shunnuk*) were fired and fireworks (*ḥarrāqāt*) were displayed.

These pageants were composed of diverse presentations by artisans and trade guilds, demonstrating their trades on coaches driven by men and animals. Scenes depicting daily life were displayed, such as sailors with a ship on wheels, millers working with stone hand-mills, weavers with looms, blacksmiths, sweet-makers, bakers, etc., with fortress-shaped constructions. The pageants were accompanied by processions of fully armed men, magnificently attired, with harnessed horses, and musicians (including flautists and drummers), singers, dancers (*mukhan-*

*nathūn*) and itinerant actors (*mukhāyila* or *mukhāyilūn*; see *khayāl*), acrobats, clowns, hobby-horse (*kurraj*) actors (whose plays were termed *khayāl* or *ḥikāya*), monkey-keepers, animal trainers, magicians, jugglers, and dolls and figures made of wood, clay and camphor.

During the Ottoman period, some sultans ordered albums of miniature paintings of pageantry, such as *The Album of Ahmed I* (1603–17), representing such pageants, marching in the streets of Istanbul.

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## Pahlavī see Persia

## Palestinian poetry

Like its counterparts elsewhere in the Arab world, modern Palestinian poetry has its roots in the nineteenth-century *nahḍa*. During the nineteenth century and for the first half of the twentieth century, the traditional forms and themes of the classical Arabic *qaṣīda* continued to characterize most Palestinian poetry – albeit at an ever-decreasing rate – and with a few exceptions such as **Ibrāhīm Tuqān**, most poetry of this period is derivative in tone, sentiment and imagery.

The nationalist identity of Palestinian poetry began to develop at the beginning of the twentieth century, as an expression of the aspirations of the Palestinians for freedom and the realization that their country was targeted

for the establishment of the Jewish 'national home'. Palestinian poetry sought to articulate the fears of the Palestinians in the face of this onslaught as well as their diminishing hopes for national salvation within an independent Palestine. Palestinian poets provided perceptive analyses of their society and the dangers it faced, whether externally induced by the colonial powers or internally generated by forces of decay and corruption, and the lack of commitment of the traditional Palestinian leadership. Counterbalancing this overwhelming sense of frustration are numerous calls to thwart the enemy's attempts to establish the Jewish 'national home' in Palestine. In this poetry – most effectively, in that of Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān and 'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Umar – love of the homeland (*waṭan*) and the duty to fight for national freedom find their ultimate expression in the character of the martyr (*shahid*) who sacrifices himself for his own country. Also prominent is the vigorous expression, in the face of 'divide-and-rule' attempts by the enemy, of the indissoluble unity of all Palestinians regardless of their religious affiliations. Thus Wadi' al-Bustāni, while proudly proclaiming his adherence to Christianity, expresses his true love for the Prophet **Muḥammad** as a fellow Arab.

The traumatic events that led to the fragmentation of Palestine and Palestinian society and the establishment of Israel in 1948 did not initially lead to any radical change in the character of Palestinian poetry. The older generation of poets – among them Muḥammad al-'Adnāni and Burhān al-Dīn al-'Abbūshī – continued to dominate the scene. However, the reality of the Palestinians as refugees (*lāji'ūn*) in neighbouring countries provided an expanded thematic horizon in which the Palestinian as a hapless but defiant character occupies the scene. Cast in the form of the traditional Arabic poem, this poetry was mostly couched in old and tired imagery; at times, it reads like a 'party political broadcast' whose twin themes are inevitably the need to pursue the objectives of liberation (*taḥrīr*) and return ('*awda*).

All this changed at the hands of a group of young Palestinian poets who came to prominence first within Israel, where they used to live, and later in the Arab world at large in the aftermath of the 1967 defeat. The leading poets in this group – Maḥmūd Darwish, Samīḥ al-Qāsim and Ḥannā Abū Ḥannā (b. 1928) – came to be known as the 'resistance

poets' and their poetry as 'resistance poetry' (*shi'r al-muqāwama*). Military rule, confiscation of land, arrest, imprisonment and other harsh measures made up the lives of these poets and fellow Palestinians who continued to live in that part of Palestine on which Israel was established. Initially, these poets expressed themselves through the traditional Arabic *qaṣīda*, but, unlike Palestinian poets outside Palestine, they did so through a new mode of poetic delivery in which concern for 'man's inhumanity to man' is articulated through the use of fresh imagery, lyricism and an endearing sense of dignity and self-confidence. At this stage, Palestinian poetry in Israel was characterized by immediacy and thematic accessibility which may be seen as a natural outcome of the poet's image of himself as an integral part of a beleaguered community.

A major change in Palestinian poetry within Israel came about as a result of the switch from the traditional *qaṣīda* to **free verse** at the end of the 1950s. This new-found freedom was, both symbolically and materially, an important factor in the development of a new direction in Palestinian poetry, characterized by the use of a powerful symbolism whose motifs are drawn from sources including local folklore, Arab history and literature, Greek, Babylonian and ancient Egyptian mythologies, the **Koran** and the Bible. By drawing on all these sources for symbolic enrichment, Palestinian poets seemed to wish to proclaim the intertwined localism and universalism of their poetry in an effort to galvanize the widest possible support for their cause. To enhance its immediate appeal, the 'resistance poets' have also employed everyday speech and experimented with the idea of incorporating prose in poetry, but never at the expense of causing the fine line between poetry and prose to be blurred.

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Y. SULEIMAN

**panegyric** *see* **madīḥ**

**parody** *see* **satire**

**paronomasia** *see* rhetorical figures: *tajnis*

**patronage**

Taken broadly to mean support, encouragement and championship, patronage of the poets of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia was mainly provided by the tribe. Prestige and renown were conferred upon the poet in exchange for praise of the tribe's accomplishments and scathing satires of its enemies (See further *jāhiliyya*). It was, however, the few who composed under different circumstances – the unaffiliated wandering *ṣu'lūk* (see *ṣa'ālik*) poets, and those littérateurs attached to royal courts, al-Nu'mān III's (d. 20/602), for instance (see *Lakhmids*) – that presaged the system that would supplant the tribal one. In an empire that consisted of an increasing number of centres of cultural patronage, because of the fragmentation of the caliph state into successor and vassal courts, the littérateurs were transformed into itinerants who composed for the highest bidders, often in response to and conformity with the egotist and conservative needs of these patrons.

In the courts and homes of these patrons men of letters gathered. For the latter, support meant livelihood and sometimes fortune. The poet al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897), for instance, amassed great wealth and much property. (On the other hand, Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Hāshimī of Aleppo was so generous in his patronage that he one day found himself penniless.) For the patron, largesse was a way of conferring prestige on oneself, of demonstrating one's discernment and of appearing devoted to Arabic literature and Islamic culture. For those who were unlearned, such as the Turkish prince Bajkam (d. 329/941), patronage was a way of offsetting that deficiency. It was to his court that the literary biographer Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. c.335/945) turned after the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Muttaqī (d. 333/944) abruptly declared that for companionship he needed only the *Koran*.

The courts of al-Nu'mān and of even the most generous *Umayyads* were eclipsed by that of *Hārūn al-Rashīd* (d. 193/809), the 'Abbāsīd caliph who for centuries was to epitomize the noble patron. His court boasted not only poets, such as *Abū Nuwās* (d. 199/814) and *Muslim ibn al-Walīd* (d. 208/823), but also the musicians *Ibrāhīm* (d. 188/804)

and *Ishāq* (d. 235/850) *al-Mawṣilī*, the philologists *al-Aṣma'ī* (d. 213/828) and *al-Kisā'ī* (d. 189/805), and the historian *al-Wāqīdī* (d. 207/823).

Another legendary patron is *Sayf al-Dawla* (d. 356/967), the *Hamdānīd* prince of Aleppo. His entourage included the philosopher *al-Fārābī* (d. 339/950), the great literary biographer and anthologist *Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī* (d. 356/967), the orator *Ibn Nubāta* (d. 374/984–5) and the distinguished panegyrist *al-Mutanabbī* (d. 354/965). So integral to the composition of the poet was the consideration of *Sayf al-Dawla* that one of *al-Mutanabbī*'s lines consists entirely of a crescendo of imperatives culminating in the near-command 'Give!'

Among other patrons may be mentioned *al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād* (d. 385/995), chief minister to the *Būyīd Mu'ayyid al-Dawla* and an outstanding belletrist in his own right. His liberality and accomplishments were so significant that the literary historian *al-Tha'alībī* (d. 429/1038) devotes an entire chapter of the *Yatīmat al-dahr* to recording praises of him. Although the *Saljūq* sultan *Malik Shāh's* (d. 485/1092) patronage was wide-ranging – he supported astronomers and observatories, mystics and *ribāṭs*, juriconsults and *madrasas* – it is his minister, *Nizām al-Mulk* (d. 485/1092), who is better remembered as a lavish patron. Ministers, secretaries, governors and military leaders were, in fact, well placed politically and financially to rival caliphs and princes in their patronage.

Occasionally patronage came from other quarters. The *bon vivants* 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far and Ibn Abī 'Atīq, for example, are cited as a source of support for musicians in second/eighth-century Medina (E. Rowson 'Effeminates of early Medina', *JAOS* 111 (1991), 679). Nor was patronage confined to individuals. The vizier *Ibn Hubayra* (d. after 560/1165) showed support for the entire *Ḥanbalī* guild of law. *Al-Ma'mūn* (d. 218/833) and his immediate successors actively prosecuted the *Mu'tazilī* cause and patronized prominent *Mu'tazilīs*. Several generations of *Munajjims* served consecutive 'Abbāsīd caliphs as companions, tutors and poets. This practice of retaining members of a particular family was duplicated by *Khēdive Ismā'il* when he went into exile in 1879 and had *Ismā'il al-Muwayliḥī* join him as tutor to his sons (R. Allen, 'Muwayliḥī', *ET*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 7, 814).

In the case of religious scholars ('*ulamā'*), jurists (*fuqahā'*), mystics (Šūfīs), heretics and others, influence derived from the personal ties cultivated by these individuals, or by the institutions to which they were affiliated, with ordinary people. As this kind of patronage often depended on means, it might involve merchants, landowners and other wealthy patrons. In the realm of 'religious' patronage, however, patronage included the small gifts and stipends offered by the lay person to the prayer leader, or the charitable donation by a number of such persons to a charismatic or popular preacher. Needless to say, with time, patronage of almost every group or personage perceived as exercising authority fell under the control of the state, as with the benevolent patronage of Muslim legal scholarship and Šūfī orders by the Saljūqs and Zangids (notably Nūr al-Dīn, d. 570/1174), for instance.

On occasion, patron and patronized were divided ideologically. 'Umāra al-Yamānī (d. 569/1174), who was befriended and supported by the Fāṭimids in spite of his Sunnī proclivities, composed a poem for Saladin describing his reversal of fortune after the fall from power of his deposed patrons. The celebrated ode apparently never reached Saladin: perhaps it would have saved the historian from crucifixion by his unrealized patron for allegedly plotting his overthrow (*Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, M. de Slane [trans.], Paris [1842–71], vol. 2, 367–72).

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S.M. TOORAWA

## Persia, culture and literature

The momentum of conquest after the Prophet's death in 10/632 carried the Arabs within a generation into the former Sasanian lands of Iraq and Persia and within a century into the lands of 'Iran extérieure', Transoxania and Khwarazm. Hence in Iraq and Persia, the Arabs became immediately the heirs of the Sasanians, at first in a military and political sense but later as cultural heirs also. The process of acculturation was easier here than in the lands conquered from the Byzantines, in the eastern Mediterranean region or from the Visigoths in Spain, since the former state church of Zoroastrianism was toppled and the overwhelming majority of Persians freely adopted the new faith of Islam. Arabs and Persians thus became co-religionists, and this facilitated for the Arabs acceptance of much of the older Persian secular culture. It was, of course, precisely in such fields as artistic expression and material culture (food habits, clothing, housing) that the Persians were patently superior to the Arabs, with their desert or small-town backgrounds.

As a countering force, however, there was a suspicion of things Persian among the ranks of the rigorist and pietistic Arab religious institution, the traditionists and *fuqahā'*, who held that everything necessary for salvation had come out of Arabia and was enshrined in the *Koran* and in the *sunna* of the Prophet and the early Muslims. Apart from the religious argument, literary expression was the only aspect of culture in which the Arabs could claim equality with, if not superiority over, the Persians: in the miracle of the *Koran*, naturally, but also in the glories of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. Hence religious disapproval was reinforced by a vaunting of the Arab literary heritage when there arose in the third/ninth century a struggle over acceptance of the ancient Persian heritage within an Islam hitherto largely dominated by Arab ways of life and thought; this was the *Shu'ūbiyya* controversy, essentially a battle of books which ended in the tacit acceptance of the Persian strand within the fabric of Islamic civilization.

Yet despite what purist Arab scholars liked to think, Islam had never been a totally Arab creation; even the *Koran* contained several words of Persian origin, attesting a cultural symbiosis in pre-Islamic times in such regions as Iraq and eastern Arabia. The attractiveness



to the Islamic state of the more advanced Persian governmental and administrative techniques was already visible in the last years of the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus. Once the 'Abbāsids were installed in Baghdad, the acceptance of Persian practices and traditions proceeded apace under the leadership of the secretarial profession, which was dominated by non-Arab clients or *mawālī* (see **secretaries**). **Ibn al-Muqaffa'** was a key figure here, with his translations from Middle Persian or Pahlavi (known rather from later citations than as surviving independent works): of the collection of animal fables *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, ultimately of Indian origin but mediated through late Sasanian Persia; of the *Khudāy-nāmak* (*Book of Kings*), the national history of Persia from legendary times to the virtual end of the Sasanian empire; of the *Book of the Crown*, mainly on the life of the great sixth-century CE emperor Khusraw Anūshir-vān; and of the *Āyinnāmak* (*Book of Customs and Usages*), on the etiquette (*āyīn*, here equivalent to the Arabic term *adab*) of life at the royal court, with the monarch and his boon companions (see *nadīm*). Other figures were also engaged in interpreting Persian literature and culture to an Arab-Islamic audience; the fourth/tenth century book list, the *Fihrist* of **Ibn al-Nadīm** mentions the names of many other translators, and we know that the Persian client **Abān al-Lāhīqī** (d. 200/815–16), a protégé of the **Barmakids**, produced, among other things, a versified *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and an Arabic translation of the romance of *Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf*, ultimately of Buddhist origin. Although the greater part of the classical Greek scientific and medical heritage came into Arabic through Christian and Sabian translators of Syria and Mesopotamia, a role played here by certain Persians, such as 'Umar ibn Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī (d. 199/815) and his son Abū Bakr Muḥammad, is recorded in the *Fihrist*. (See further **translation, medieval**.)

It is possible to discern from the works of **al-Jāhīz** and **Ibn Qutayba**, both ardent defenders of the Arab cause in the *Shu'ūbiyya* debates, how Persian ways and objects of material culture (the latter often denoted by the actual Persian names) were becoming familiar in third/ninth-century Iraq, the heartland of the caliphate. In his *Kitāb al-bukhalā'* (*Book of Misers*), al-Jāhīz often mentions Persian foodstuffs and dishes, and one of the tales within the book, that of a certain al-Ḥārithī, deals with the etiquette of

meals, in which the *dihqāns*, the class of Persian landowners, are praised for their delicate table manners; and Ibn Qutayba thought it necessary to include in his *Adab al-kātib* a chapter on 'foreign words (*a'jamī*, i.e. Persian; see '*ajam*') used by the common people'.

By the fourth/tenth century, the assimilation of Persian culture into the mainstream of Islamic life was largely complete. What now emerged was a composite society in which the original Arab-Islamic component continued to be dominant in the religious and legal spheres, but in which Persian models had permeated much of the material culture of Muslims in the central and eastern Islamic lands, just as Greek ideas had been brought into the scientific and philosophical domains. In the political field, Persian concepts of kingship and statecraft, with a particular emphasis on *Realpolitik* as the moving spirit in the practical businesses of ruling, warfare and diplomacy, were adopted into the purely Islamic religious tradition of rulership being only legitimate when it was exercised in complete conformity with the religious law or *sharī'a* for the literary expositions of such ideas, see **Mirrors for Princes**.

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See also: Persian literature, relations with Arabic.

## Persian literature, relations with Arabic

New Persian literature as we know it emerges tentatively in the third/ninth century and is clearly flourishing by the next; hence from this time onwards, it was at least theoretically possible for the two literatures, Arabic and New Persian, to interact. New Persian speech had, of course, never disappeared from Persia in the period after the Arab conquest and remained fairly current in Iraq after that province had been taken over from the Sasanians. **Umayyad** and early '**Abbāsīd** authors used a certain number of Persian words in their compositions, while **Abū Nuwās** wrote

several *Fārisiyyāt*, poems basically in Arabic but with an admixture of unassimilated Persian words. By the fourth/tenth century, as such literary anthologies as those of **al-Tha'ālībī** and **al-Bākhārī** show, there were a considerable number of poets and writers in the Persian lands and in Transoxania who wrote equally fluently in both Arabic and Persian, i.e. they were, in the expression of the time, *dhawū al-lisānayn*, 'possessors of the two languages'. Notable figures here were the secretary **Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Bustī**, and the Ziyārid prince Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs ibn Vushmgīr (d. 403/1012–13). Characteristic of the mingling of the two languages and cultures at this time are macaronic verses called *mulamma'āt*, 'patchwork poems', either Arabic poetry with Persian words copiously inserted into it or with alternate verses in the two languages. We often find in the Arabic literature of 'Abbāsīd times amusing word-plays between the two languages, especially where an Arabic and a Persian word were homologous in Arabic script, e.g. *mard* (Pers. 'man') and *murd* (Ar. 'downy-cheeked [pl.]'), i.e. of youths.

Arabic long retained its primacy in the Persian lands as the language *par excellence* for scholarship, in particular, for theology, law and philosophy, and was still used for these types of writing up to Šafavid times (tenth–eleventh/sixteenth–seventeenth centuries). Gradually, a technical vocabulary for scholarship developed also in Persian, but the needs of a wider, non-Arabophone readership early led to translations from such landmarks as **al-Ṭabarī**'s *History* and his Koran commentary (both abridged and/or adapted in the Sāmānid period). Certain works seem to have been produced in more or less simultaneous Arabic and Persian versions, such as **al-Bīrūnī**'s *Kitāb al-Taḥfīm*, a treatise on astrology; which came first is uncertain. These were all made within the Persian-speaking lands themselves; but from Saljūq times onwards, Persian literature acquired a wider cultural prestige so that we find the Persian national epic, Firdawsī's poem the *Shāhnāma*, in 620–1/1223–4 translated into Arabic prose for an Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus (see **al-Bundārī**). Finally, one should note that Arabic literary expression almost certainly had an effect on New Persian literary form and content. The question of the origins of New Persian prosody is a vexed one, but it seems that New Persian poetry evolved from a Mid-

dle Persian metrical system that was basically syllabic and accentual, whereas by the third/ninth century New Persian poetry had fully developed quantitative metres and an end-rhymed verse scheme. This replacement of the old minstrel-type poetry by one with a more structured metrical framework must have developed under the influence of Arabic prosody, even though the Persians, in order to express the particular genius of their language, developed metres different from the Arabic ones and original verse forms like the rhymed couplet or *mathnawī* (cf. *muzdawija*). Also, the style and content of the New Persian lyric and romantic poetry clearly depend on the 'new wave' in Arabic poetry of the early 'Abbāsīd period, that of the *muḥdathūn* poets, so that the early Ghaznavīd poets follow Arabic models in poetic structure and use the stylistic devices of Arabic rhetoric or *badi'*.

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See also: Persia, culture and literature

### philology see grammar and grammarians

### philosophical literature

There are many kinds of literature in Arabic which may be called philosophical. Some are obviously so and deal openly with either philosophers or philosophical topics. Others are so in the more subtle sense that they embody philosophical principles and arguments while not explicitly discussing philosophy. Once Greek texts came to be translated into Arabic (see **Greek literature; translation**), there arose the need to understand those texts and also to reconcile them with Islam, since, they had been written in a very different cultural environment from that of the Arabic-speaking world and required explication and religious justification. Many commentaries were written on the leading works of Greek philosophy,

some very detailed and long, others brief and freer in scope.

As well as this sort of derivative exercise, it was also felt to be necessary to show how worthwhile the study of philosophy could be. Many works also came to be written defending philosophy from the charge of *kufr* or *bid'a* (unbelief or innovation), a charge made explicitly by **al-Ghazzālī** in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Refutation of the Philosophers*). Since Greek philosophy seemed to be based upon principles which were thoroughly un-Islamic, it was not easy to show how philosophy and religion could be reconciled, and a good deal of effort went into this project.

Of great importance here was the way in which the different forms of reasoning were explicated. The sort of reasoning involved in philosophy was taken to be demonstrative, working from certain premisses via valid decision procedures to establish certain conclusions, and contrasting with the dialectical, rhetorical, poetical and other lesser forms of reasoning present in legal, theological, political and imaginative literature. A hierarchy of different forms of reasoning was established, with philosophy at the summit and the rest somewhere lower down, but in such a way that this did not imply that there was anything wrong with the lower forms. These simply represent to the widest possible audience where the truth lies, so that ordinary people (i.e. non-philosophers) are able to appreciate the truth because they can represent it to themselves in language that makes sense to them. The philosophers also seek the truth, but in more perfect and perspicuous ways than can the other segments of Islamic society.

Alongside these major theoretical works there were also many intellectually slighter but none the less important texts which discussed the lives of the philosophers or produced aphorisms and advice based loosely on philosophical argument (see *hikma*). The purpose of these texts was to give advice on practical action and to relate that advice to earlier traditions and to the lives of great men of antiquity. These works are highly eclectic, and use Indian, Persian, Stoic, Cynic, Neoplatonic and other source material. One assumes that these were relatively popular texts, since to understand them one did not require any great philosophical ability, merely the capacity to relate the pithy comments of the past to one's own life and community. The accounts

of the lives of the philosophers are similarly non-exacting, and the reader can readily link such descriptions to contemporary ethical and political problems concerning how one ought to live and how one should relate to one's community.

A crucial distinction between two types of Arabic philosophical literature should be made between *falsafa* and *hikma*. The former is the Arabic equivalent of the Greek *philosophia*, and represents the Peripatetic tradition in Islamic philosophy. The *falāsifa* were those who followed the methods of Plato, Aristotle and their followers in seeking to analyse theoretical problems. *Hikma*, 'wisdom', can also be translated as 'philosophy', and often was, yet there is a broader notion of philosophy being used here. *Hikma* can include the tradition of Arabic thought that is concerned with mystical thought and its various intellectual explanations. Although it is popularly argued that philosophical literature in the Islamic world came to an end with **Ibn Rushd** in 595/1198, this is only true of a particular kind of *falsafa*, since there was no cessation of the efforts of those thinkers interested in exploring religious, mystical and subjective concepts from a philosophical perspective. Although much of this work was carried out in Iran, it was often in Arabic and was part of a long and distinguished tradition of philosophical writings which exists to this day.

It would be a mistake to restrict philosophical literature in Arabic to only those works that are entirely philosophical. Philosophy became an important part of how a whole variety of the Islamic sciences were pursued, especially jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*). These disciplines are based upon argument, upon the drawing of conclusions from premisses, and it is clear that the participants in the major legal and theological controversies of the time employed, albeit often tacitly, a good deal of philosophical methodology. Even thinkers like **Ibn Taymiyya** and al-Ghazzālī who set out to challenge philosophy did so from a philosophical perspective. One might wonder why it was necessary to use philosophy in trying to establish positions in the Islamic sciences, especially when the thinkers were so concerned to argue from as strict an Islamic position as possible.

The answer surely is that the information that one gets by looking at religious sources and texts is in itself insufficient to solve a

whole range of problems of interpretation which inevitably arise whenever one has to reconcile a text with the changing and indeterminate features of the world, and some decision procedure has to be established to carry this out. Clearly this involves philosophy, and in the early centuries of Islam philosophical method was employed very much with the view of successfully persuading other communities of the validity of Islam and the disadvantages of their own faiths. Here was a universal method of argument capable of discerning the true from the false, the valid from the invalid and so also able to persuade those with a very different view from one's own. Not only was philosophy used in arguments with those from other religions, but also across the Sunnī–Shi'ī divide, between different types of Sunnis and Shi'is, between the Mu'tazilis and the Ash'aris, and within theological and legal schools themselves.

In Western interpretations of philosophical literature a particular agenda has tended to be set that suggests that the conflict between faith and reason is a predominant concern of such literature. Even where it is not obvious that the text is about such a conflict, it can be perceived to exist under the surface of the text, and unravelling it is vital to understanding the text. It is certainly true that that conflict is often important, but it is mistaken to think of it as dominating the nature of philosophical literature in Arabic. Like philosophers in general, the Islamic philosophers were interested in exploring in their works a whole range of issues, some of which have little or no bearing on religion at all. Theological and legal questions are often imported to help initiate a range of questions which are not themselves primarily theological or legal, but which raise issues capable of analysis and clarification. It is tempting to try to bring philosophical literature in Arabic under some very general rubric such as that of the philosophy vs. religion debate, but the very variety of the topics considered makes this vacuous. The impact of this form of writing on the development of philosophy and science in the Christian and Jewish communities was significant, and much of the basis of the Renaissance may be traced to it. What characterizes philosophical literature in Arabic is a passionate concern for argument, and the belief that it is through argument that one will approach more closely to the truth.

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**plagiarism** *see sariqa*

**Plato** *see Platonism*

## Platonism

Platonism in a very broad sense has had a major influence upon much Arabic literature, but it is important to note that this tradition has often had little to do with Plato himself. Plato (Aflātūn) is often confused with Galen (Jālinūs) and seen through the eyes of Plotinus, Proclus and Porphyry. Some philosophers, such as Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, (d. 587/1191), regarded him as a mystic, while Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyyā' al-Rāzī and Miskawayh saw him as an expert on magic, alchemy and astrology. The best-known Platonic texts were the *Republic*, *Laws*, *Phaedo*, *Crito* and *Timaeus*. The *Republic* was often used instead of the unavailable *Politics* of Aristotle. There were also available in Arabic a very extensive list of commentaries by a whole mixture of Neoplatonists. Plato and Aristotle were often taken to have presented the same sorts of doctrines, in the sense that it is possible, some argued, to detect basic common strands in their thought. Many Islamic philosophers did appreciate the differences in their views, however, and came to see that they represented very different philosophical perspectives.

Both al-Fārābī and Ibn Rushd use Plato's *Republic* to argue for the necessity of the ruler,

the caliph, being a philosopher-king. They also seem to have no difficulty with the idea that the perfect state is in principle attainable, provided that the appropriate conditions are met by the ruler. He must be divinely inspired and a philosopher, but also an excellent politician, and able to address the community in language which it will understand. Thus he could move people to act in ways that he wishes, and since he is a perfect ruler he would know how people ought to act. It seems clear that **Muhammad** is the paradigm of the perfect ruler, with the *sharī'a* (Islamic law) playing the part of Plato's *Laws* and establishing the best possible organization of life in the state. Since the Prophet is no longer available, the next best alternative is a ruler who is inspired by him, capable of understanding how the state should be run and with the requisite physical and intellectual virtues.

The fact that it is so easy to combine Plato with a religious tradition such as Islam reveals something very important about Plato's thought: that it is predominantly religious. The confusion of Plato with Socrates (Sūqrāt) in Arabic literature emphasizes the religious side of the philosopher. Socrates is represented as an ascetic with a rather contemptuous attitude to this world (clearly modelled on Diogenes the Cynic). If one is unmoved at the prospect of one's own death then one can have an appropriately calm attitude to the death of the body, confident that one's real life in the intelligible world is unaffected.

The writer who comes closest to being an orthodox Platonist is undoubtedly al-Rāzī (d. 313 or 20/925 or 32), whose *al-Ṭibb al-ruḥānī* (*Spiritual Regimen*) presents a view of our relationship with the passions which Plato would more or less recognize as his own. Al-Rāzī presents a strong attack on hedonism and argues that over-stimulation of the physical senses can diminish spiritual capacities, in particular our capacity to relate to whom we really are, the intellectual part of us. Too powerful an attachment to this world damages our chances to improve and develop our immortal side, the only really important part of the human self. Al-Rāzī suggests that we think clearly about the causes of our passions, for then we shall be in a position to control them, which will in turn enable us to concentrate upon those aspects of our lives which are worth thinking about, and which certainly do not include anything to do with the world of generation and corruption. Most other writers

on Plato tend to water down this position by the addition of Aristotelian qualifications with respect to the divide between the theoretical and the practical. Thus thinkers such as Ibn Rushd are prepared to use Plato, especially his *Republic*, but with caution because of the other-worldly nature of Plato's views. Even the fourth/tenth-century thinker Miskawayh, who uses so much Platonic language in his ethics, is obliged to combine it with Aristotelian overtones, so that the spiritual harmony that arises in the state of justice is not an entirely internal process but necessitates, as with Aristotle, a form of relationship with others. Although Plato is accorded great respect in Islamic philosophy, he is rarely allowed to stand by himself. In general he is supplemented with Aristotle, or with some individual or school of Neoplatonists.

Platonism contributed to two important trends in Islamic philosophy. The first is to the development of Neoplatonism. It is actually highly inaccurate to refer to Neoplatonism as just one school of philosophy; rather, it is a combination of a whole range of philosophical positions, but inevitably has a Platonic aspect to it. There will exist some theory of emanation according to which there is a hierarchy of reality, with some scope for ascending and descending. Although Neoplatonism does create some problems for the sort of account of creation that one finds in the **Koran**, these are not irresolvable and the model itself can easily be co-opted for religious purposes. The notion of a scale of being, of a link between the different ranks of being and of communication along the hierarchy fits nicely within an Islamic framework. The details of such a model were not established by Plato, but rather by Plotinus and his followers, and yet it is not called Neoplatonic for no reason. The idea of different levels of reality is recognizable in Plato, and the Neoplatonists might be seen to be filling in the details.

As for Peripatetic philosophy in the Islamic world, it is very difficult to distinguish between that philosophy and Neoplatonism. Even though many philosophers (like Ibn Rushd) suspected that they were not dealing with purely Platonic or Aristotelian views, they found it difficult to abandon Neoplatonism. It very much set the philosophical curriculum of the Arabic world and even counter-arguments had to be presented in terms acceptable by the theory itself. The Islamic philosophers were

highly creative in their use of the Neoplatonic methodology and a dazzling variety of different systems and models was produced.

The other significant school of philosophy in Islam is the Ishrāqī or Illuminationist school. This is heavily dependent upon the emphasis that Plato lays on knowledge by acquaintance. To know something it is necessary to come into contact with its paradigm, a perfect example of it, which involves sharing in the characteristics of the known object. These characteristics consist of perfection and invariability, and the knowing subject cannot really remain a distinct thing apart from the known object. Such separation interferes with the possibility of knowledge, since to know the object the knower has to become like the object, or come into contact with the object. There is an important group of thinkers like **Ibn al-'Arabī**, **al-Suhrawardī**, **Mullā Ṣadrā** and many **Ṣūfī** writers whose approach to the relationship between the knower and the known adopts the sort of Platonic form that we have observed here. The language of mysticism is largely based upon Platonic language, and this has also been a major trend in Islamic philosophy. The idea that to know something is possible only if one can actually be acquainted with the object of knowledge, and that that object of knowledge must be an eternally existing object or idea, makes possible the development of a variety of theories describing the possibility of such knowledge and the paths to it. One is reminded yet again of the religious nature of Plato's thought, and the ease with which it can be employed by a particular religious tradition to make sense of the route to knowledge of reality and its associated metaphysics.

Much Arabic philosophical literature is affected by Platonism, either directly through the influence of Plato himself or indirectly through what was thought to be his thought, and the creative development of his premisses and principles. This influence can be seen to be powerful in a wide range of different types of literature, not all philosophical, and its assessment is crucial for any understanding of that literature.

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## poetic contests

Poetic contests were held in **bedouin** tribal society as well as urban literary circles, in order to settle disputes over precedence: either to determine who is the better poet, or, as often among tribal groups, which one is morally and physically superior; a poet may act as a spokesman of his tribe or clan. Among the commonly used terms are *mufākhara* (cf. *fakhr*), *musājala* and *munāfara* (see also **debate literature**). In pre-Islamic times such contests took place publicly, at fairs such as that of 'Ukāz, before a judge. Prose might also serve as a medium, as in the famous contest between 'Amir ibn al-Ṭufayl — himself a poet — and his cousin 'Alqama ibn 'Ulātha, but there, too, poetry and poets played important roles during the contest and its aftermath. A poetic contest was often fought by means of *naqā'id*; or it might take the form of poets alternately improvising verses or hemistichs on a given subject (the terms used include *ijāza* and *tamlīṭ*); some examples, of dubious authenticity, are ascribed to early poets like **Imru' al-Qays**. The same poet is also said to have fought a contest with 'Alqama ibn 'Abada as to which was the better poet; the former's wife, serving as a referee, preferred 'Alqama on the basis of his horse description (and was subsequently divorced by her husband). Many early philologists, among them **Abū 'Ubayda**, **al-Mada'imi** and **Hishām al-Kalbī**, collected the *mufākharāt* and *munāfarāt* of the early Arabs. Bedouin poetic duels are still to be found in the twentieth century.

Public poetic contests in urban society might take place in the presence of caliphs or kings; often they are a purely literary affair. Famous is the lengthy literary contest, in poetry and prose, in 383/993–4 between **Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhāni** and **Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī**, won (and recorded) by the former. Ideological and political issues were at stake in contests on, for instance, the superiority of Arabs or Persians (see *Shu'ūbiyya*), but although poets might play a part, one cannot properly speak of a poetic contest in such cases.

Further reading

Relevant titles may be found in the bibliographies to the entries **debate literature**, **fakhr** and **naqā'id**.

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**poetics see rhetoric and poetics**

**poetry, medieval**

Poetry (*shi'r*; see also *naẓm*, 'verse') occupies a central place in Arabic literature. In the minimalist definition of Arabic literary criticism, poetry is 'rhymed, metrical speech indicating a meaning'; other definitions, however, testify to a broader conception of poetry.

Poetry is called the '*dīwān* [register] of the Arabs', the record of their genealogies, battles, and great deeds, the repository of their values and of their traditional wisdom. **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī** (d. 322/934) combines this conception of poetry with formal criteria when he states in his *Kitāb al-zīna* that the Persians, like other non-Arab peoples, have no poetry: their 'songs' are neither 'metrical and regular', nor do they contain 'panegyric, satire or boasting; they do not describe wars and battles, do not fix genealogies, are not concerned with glorifying noble deeds and memorable actions, enumerating titles for glory or shame, describing horses, camels, wild animals, deserts, wind, rain, wanderings to find pasture', and other subjects too numerous to mention.

For the critics poetry is a branch of *balāgha*, eloquence, the divine gift to humankind and especially to the Arabs, the highest example of which is the **Koran**; for this reason the study of poetry figures importantly in studies of Koranic style (see *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*). Poetry is perfect speech, the most eloquent and effective form of communication; it is both the register and the standard for correct usage. Poetry is a craft (*ṣinā'a*), an art whose rules, principles and conventions must be learned and mastered, and a profession practised by those who have acquired such skills – a craft (*ṣan'a*), states 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, 'in which one makes use of thought'. Poetry is a form of knowledge: **Ibn Rashīq** states that the poet (*shā'ir*) is so called because he 'perceives [*yash'uru*] what others do not'.

For the philosophers, poetry, defined as 'imaginative statements' (*aqāwīl mukhayyila* or *takhyīliyya*; see **imagination**), differs from other types of statements (e.g. demonstrative,

*burhāniyya*; sophistic, *saḥṣaṭiyya*) in that it operates affectively, working on the imagination, to produce 'poetic assent' (*taṣḍīq shi'rī*, in **Ibn Sinā's** term), and thus to motivate the performance of good actions and avoidance of bad. It thus occupies a neutral ground between truth and falsehood (see **truth in poetry**), being neither; although **al-Fārābī** defined poetic statements as being categorically false, this position was not maintained. Poetry's affective function is enhanced by its ability to create a sense of wonder in the hearer (see *ta'jīb*), which strengthens its effect on the imagination.

Although some conservatives expressed disapprobation of poetry, it never lost its prestigious status. The celebrated Koranic condemnation of poets (26:224–7) was specifically directed at those pagan poets who opposed Muḥammad's mission and satirized him. Throughout the centuries poetry – courtly and non-courtly, secular and religious, ritualistic and occasional – remained the dominant form of Arabic literary expression, its status declining only in modern times with the appearance of new prose genres.

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See also: literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

**poetry, modern**

It is convenient to think of the history of modern Arabic poetry as consisting of three principal divisions: neo-classical poetry, which enjoyed its heyday from 1870 until 1930 (see **neo-classicism**); Romantic poetry, which flourished between 1910 and 1950 (see **romanticism**); and the different types of modernist poetry that have been written since 1950. These dates should, however, be considered as general chronological indicators rather

than precise points of change, as these various models of modern Arabic poetry have overlapped and co-existed.

Neo-classical poetry is so-called because it represents to a considerable extent the rediscovery of the classical heritage of Arabic poetry, in particular that of the high 'Abbāsīd period, through the work of such poets as **al-Mutanabbī**, **al-Buḥturī**, **Abū Tammām**, **Abū al-'Alā'** **al-Ma'arri** and **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī**. Throughout the **Mamlūk** and Ottoman periods in the Arab world, traditional Arabic poetry had never ceased to be written in and around the urban centres where local rulers held court and where sources of patronage existed: thus it was that the court of the *amīr* **Bashīr al-Shihābī** at **Bayt al-Dīn** in the Lebanon employed poets such as **Niqūlā al-Turk** (1763–1828) and **Buḥrus Karāma** (1774–1851) who produced eulogies for the *amīr* and wrote verse about the significant events of their age. **Nāṣif al-Yāzījī** (1800–77) was also employed there and was one of the first whose work suggested that the Arabic poetry of the late nineteenth century might be able to rediscover the power and vitality that it had exhibited in 'Abbāsīd times. Similar figures existed in **Damascus** and **Aleppo in Syria**, and in **Baghdad**, **Mosul** and **Najaf in Iraq**, but in the nineteenth century none was able to stake a claim to any special pre-eminence.

**Egypt** became the centre of neo-classical poetry largely because of the work of **Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī** (1839–1904), **Aḥmad Shawqī** (1868–1932) and **Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm** (1872–1932). **Al-Bārūdī** was an extraordinary example of a figure of political eminence as well as literary talent; **Shawqī** can justly be described as the last great court poet in the history of Arabic literature; while **Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm** richly deserved the title of 'the people's poet' for the manner in which he used his art against some of the worst atrocities of the British in Egypt. The influential scholar and critic **Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī** did much to make the reputation of **al-Bārūdī** through the praise that he lavished on his work and the comparisons that he made between **al-Bārūdī's** poetry and some of the best authors of the 'Abbāsīd period. **Al-Bārūdī** compiled a huge anthology of 'Abbāsīd poetry which was published posthumously in 1909, a valuable service at a time when printed editions of the *diwāns* of the major classical poets were not yet widely available.

Neo-classical poetry was at the height of its

creativity at a time when Arabic prose was beginning to develop the new genres of the novel, the short story and the drama. Yet such was the power of the classical tradition that formal transformation was to come to poetry at a much later stage. In terms of the politics of culture, poetry was also an area in which it was easy for Arabs to feel pride in their past achievements, especially at a time when the West seemed so dominant in virtually every other sphere. Thus it is that neo-classical poetry is composed in the traditional metres of classical Arabic poetry and uses monorhyme, while its language and themes (*aghrāḍ*) are recognizably derived from 'Abbāsīd models. A high degree of intertextuality often exists between neo-classical poems and their 'Abbāsīd sources of inspiration. This style remained particularly successful in Iraq during the inter-war period at the hands of **Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfi** (1875–1945), **Jamīl Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī** (1863–1936), and **Muḥammad Mahdī al-Jawāhirī** (1903–97). At its most successful, this verse adapts the old themes to telling effect, particularly in satire (*hijā'*) on social and political issues. At its worst, it is an anachronistic style which struggles, often in vain, to maintain a respectable position in rapidly changing social and political circumstances.

The Romantic poetry that dominated the Arab world during the period between the two world wars emerged somewhat undramatically from the neo-classical poetry which both preceded and co-existed with it. Indeed, in formal terms there is often little to distinguish between the two styles, for most romantic poetry continued to use regular schemes of traditional metre and rhyme. In spite of the fact that poets such as **'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī** (1886–1958) and **Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī** (1892–1955) introduced experiments to try to modify the traditional rules of prosody, these did not generally have any great impact on the form within which poets continued to write. The real distinction between the two styles lies much more in the realms of the themes and the language of poetry: while the neo-classical poets wrote within the recognizable tradition of classical Arabic poetry, their successors are much closer to the Romantic poetry of England and France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

A vital contribution to the development of Romantic poetry in the Arab world was made by the **Mahjar** group of Syro-Lebanese writers who had emigrated to North and South



America in the early years of the twentieth century and who developed a flourishing school of literature in Arabic, particularly in New York. The 'Pen Association' (**al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya**) was founded in 1920, bringing together a number of the poets and writers who had been writing in the Arabic journals and newspapers published in New York: the first president was Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān (1883–1931) and the secretary was Mikhā'il Nu'ayma (1889–1988). A number of themes developed initially in the Mahjar were to become features of Arab Romantic poetry generally: (a) the desire not to conform to traditional social norms and institutions; (b) the celebration of scenes of natural beauty and intense emotional identification with such scenes, along with a tendency to regard towns and cities as centres of evil and corruption; (c) deep emotional introspection and a tendency to glory in the isolated state of the poet who, like the prophet without honour, is shunned by his contemporaries; (d) a strong sense of the neo-platonic duality of body and soul; (e) a tendency to write amatory poetry which is ethereal and spiritual rather than strongly physical. The Mahjar poets, being far removed from the traditional centres of scholasticism in the Arab world, wrote verse in language that was simple and readily accessible to the reader, and radically different from the lexicon of neo-classical poetry. In their hands, strophic forms became much more frequent, and simple rather than compound metres were usually preferred. Through the works of critics such as the Egyptian, Muḥammad Mandūr, Mahjar poetry became much admired in the Arab world and Nu'ayma's poem *Akhī*, written in 1917, was hailed as an example of what could be achieved with the new, less loudly rhetorical style of Arabic poetry.

A further dramatic break with the neo-classical tradition was effected in Egypt by the vitriolic attack unleashed on Aḥmad Shawqī by 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād (1889–1964) and Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzini (1890–1949) in *al-Diwan: Kitāb fī al-naqd wa-al-adab* (1921), but the high point for Romantic poetry came with the foundation of the **Apollo Group** in 1932 under the leadership of Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī. Around the periodical *Apollo* which was published and edited by Abū Shādī from 1932 to 1934, there grouped the poets who formed the core of the romantic movement: 'Alī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā (1902–49) much of whose enchanting verse

was set to music and gained enormous popularity in the 1930s and 1940s; Ibrāhīm Nāji (1898–1953) who produced intriguing fusions of the classical and Romantic traditions in his love poetry; the Tunisian Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī (1909–34), who was a corresponding member of Apollo and whose brief and tragic creative life has Keatsian qualities.

Although Egypt was very much the centre of the Romantic movement, the style was widespread elsewhere also. In Syria and Lebanon, 'Umar Abū Riṣṣa (b. 1910) and Bishāra al-Khūrī (1884–1968) both enjoyed high reputations, while Ilyās Abū Shabaka (1903–47) goes well beyond the normal range of the Romantic experience in his tortured obsessions with sin and physical lust. The Sudanese al-Tijānī Yūsuf Bashīr (1910–37) and the Egyptian Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī al-Hamshārī (1908–38) also had careers which, although brief, demonstrated remarkable creative talents.

If the transition from the neo-classical to the Romantic mode was relatively undramatic, the same cannot be said of the rise of the new poetry which became widespread in the Arab world throughout the 1950s. It is as though the dramas that changed the political map of the Arab world had an organic relationship with the revolutions that changed the form and diction of modern Arabic poetry: the loss of Palestine in 1948, the Free Officers' Revolution in 1952 and the eventual disappearance of the colonial systems across North Africa are accompanied by the destruction of the prosodic system which had controlled Arabic poetry since pre-Islamic times. At the hands of the Iraqi poets Nāzīk al-Malā'ika (b. 1923) and Badr Shākīr al-Sayyāb (1926–64), the whole edifice of the regular monorhymed hemistich was deconstructed and replaced by a system of free repetition of a single foot in lines of irregular length, with or without rhyme. In the cases of less than gifted poets, this new freedom could and did lead to undisciplined vapid compositions where vogue was more important than talent and inspiration, but with al-Sayyāb and 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayātī (b. 1926) in Iraq, Adūnis (b. 1930) of Syria, Yūsuf al-Khāl (1917–87) and Khalīl Hāwī (1922–82) of Lebanon, and Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr (1931–81) of Egypt, this freedom made possible new worlds of language, imagery and theme. Just as *Apollo* had been a rallying point for the romantic poets in the 1930s, so the *Shi'r* review founded in Beirut in

1957 by Yūsuf al-Khāl became the outlet in which most of the new poets published their work and developed their theories in the crucial years from 1957 to 1964. Although *al-Ādāb*, the review founded in 1953 by the Lebanese Suhayl Idris, well deserves its honourable place in the continuing quest for modernity and change in literature, unlike *Shi'r* it was not devoted exclusively to poetry, nor was it so single-mindedly avant-garde in all that it promoted.

The major formal division in the Arabic poetry produced since 1950 is that between **free verse** which still relies on a basic poetic foot, and **prose poems** in which there is no discernible metrical scheme. Both Amin al-Rihānī (1876–1940) and Khalīl Jubrān (1883–1931) had experimented with prose poetry early in the twentieth century, but until the 1950s their experiments had not led to any significant further developments. Then the Palestinian Tawfiq Ṣāyigh (1924–71) and the Lebanese Unsi al-Hājī began to explore the possibilities of the even greater freedoms provided by the prose poem, and this interest spread to other major poets: Adūnis in particular took to this form with enthusiasm, and by the end of the 1950s prose poetry was accepted as a legitimate form of poetic expression, although it has yet to displace the dominant presence of the single metrical foot.

These formal transformations of poetry were accompanied by greatly extended thematic ranges: old Semitic fertility myths were mingled with the crucifixion symbol, while the dichotomy of city and country was explored with new depth and insight. These poems also introduced historical characters who were in fact symbolic archetypes taken from a range of religions and civilizations. However, after the catastrophic military defeat of 1967, much of the excitement that had characterized the daring avant-garde endeavours since 1950 was replaced by crises of doubt and questionings about the nature of modernity (*ḥadātha*). Hāwī, al-Sayyāb, al-Bayātī and Adūnis had provided visionary concepts of a world that might be saved by transcendental agents, or the people, or the visions of the poets themselves, or by a combination of all three; by the 1980s, poets could no longer allow themselves such visionary optimism. This realization has at least freed them from direct political preoccupations in their work. This is a liberation that may be just as significant for the future of modern Arabic

poetry as were the formal prosodic liberations of the 1950s.

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## poetry vs. prose

Traditionally, there is a rigid distinction between Arabic prose (*nathr*) and poetry (*shi'r*, or, with a true antonym, *naẓm*). The two differ in form (poetry being metrical) and subject matter (poetry being the medium *par excellence* e.g. for praise, self-praise, blame, and amorous declarations). The language, too, differs, as in the treatment of pausal forms, diptotes or word order. Texts that, by modern standards, are clearly 'poetic', such as the rhymed and rhythmical (but unmetrical) utterances of the soothsayers (see *saj'*), or parts of the **Koran**, were not considered as poetry. Poetry and prose often went together in various genres, such as the **Battle Days** of the Arabs, the *sira*, anthologies of *adab*, the *maqāmāt*, and *Alf layla wa-layla*; in all these, poetry is used in a prose context, to point a moral or adorn a tale. With the development of literary prose, especially among the chancery officials (see **secretaries**), prose took on some of the characteristics of poetry, stylistically and even in subject matter. The science of stylistics (see **rhetoric and poetics**) usually deals with poetry and prose alike. The versification of prose ('*aqd*) and the reverse (*ḥall*) became art forms in themselves.

Although many poets were able prosaists and vice versa, the comparison between poetry and prose was eagerly taken up in the form of debates and essays, each having its advocates. Superiority might be pronounced on the basis of inherent characteristics or external qualities. Thus poetry might be preferred because of its metre and rhyme, or because it is a repository of wisdom, history and eloquence; or it might be deemed inferior because prose gives more freedom, because the Koran employs prose and Muḥammad was no poet, or because there

are fewer good prose writers than poets, or because the poet, from 'Abbāsid times onward, was said to be a kind of beggar with a lower status than the civil servant, writer of epistles.

In modern times, under Western influence, the boundaries between poetry and prose have changed, for instance with the rise of 'prose poetry', and the different status of fictional prose.

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See also: poetry, medieval

## popular literature (*al-adab al-sha'bi*)

From the point of view of comparative folk narrative research, popular literature in the narrow sense denotes the literary part of 'folklore', a term which – although its creator W.J. Thoms (1846) introduced it into scientific discussion to abolish such antiquated and complicated terms as 'popular literature' – has gained too broad a meaning to be used as synonymous. Popular literature in its traditional understanding designates a relatively fixed canon of literary products, such as fables, historical, demonological and religious legends, romantic and heroic epics, fairy tales, jokes and anecdotes as well as popular sayings and idioms, folk songs and ballads, children's rhymes and riddles. Contemporary research regards this restriction to specific genres as reducing the creative as well as the receptive factors of popular imagination beyond permissible borders. Towards the end of the twentieth century, popular literature might tentatively be conceived as the sum of all creative verbal activities, whether oral ('verbal

art') or written, which are passed on by ways of unofficial channels and are initiated or appreciated by any considerable amount of people. The term 'popular literature' now encompasses not only the traditional stock of narrative and non-narrative genres, but also the huge bulk of literary production aimed at popular reception, such as devotional and trivial literature, chapbooks and penny-magazines, tracts on the interpretation of dreams or leaflets containing preprinted charms, as well as more recently widespread urban legends or even the so-called office-lore (xerox-lore). This way of apprehending popular literature is not so much linked to any literary genres, but is rather defined by the means of production and distribution on the one side, and by the sociological and psychological implications of the recipients on the other side.

As for Arabic literature, K. Petráček (1987) in a recent detailed sketch of popular literature distinguishes between the three literary levels of (1) classical literature (written in classical Arabic, aiming at the educated), (2) popular literature (originally oral, fixed in classical and middle Arabic, aiming primarily at uneducated members of the urban and rural middle classes), and (3) folklore (oral literature in the dialect, mainly aiming at uneducated rural and nomad population). Popular literature in this sense means a transitory state being defined among others by social condition (middle classes of urban and rural population), relation between producer and consumer (not identical: partly educated, sometimes collective producer), language (mixture of written and oral standards), and literary fixing (different stages of fixing, redactional changes in tradition).

As for the form of literary expression, popular literature might be formulated in prose (*nathr*), poetry (*shi'r*) or *saj'* (rhymed prose); its genres might be classified as epic, lyric or dramatic. Petráček goes on to list the combinations in which different forms of content (history, religion, heroic tales, erotica, etc.) and function (informative, propagandistic, devotional, entertaining, etc.) would have shaped specific concretized forms of popular literature: religious content together with heroic function would form *maghāzī* and *futūh* literature; heroic content together with social and political propaganda would result in *sīra literature* of the type of *Dhāt al-Himma*; geographical content together with informative and entertaining function would produce

'*ajā'ib* literature or such collections as the voyages of *Sindbād*. This attempt at categorizing Arabic popular literature is valuable in its sociological and functional approach. On the other hand, it does have a number of drawbacks: no clear lines of distinction can be drawn between either contents or functions, and also smaller, but nevertheless important, categories of prose literature (fables, sayings, anecdotes, etc.) as well as forms of popular literature exclusively developed in the oral (modern prose) are admittedly left aside, let alone the more recent categories of popular literature listed in the general definition above.

Any future definition of popular literature in the Arabic world would first have to provide clear definitions of the compound's two constituents, namely 'popular' and 'literature'. 'Literature' clearly cannot simply be translated by '*adab*', which in Arabic culture, contrary to Western European notions, means a whole set of behavioural standards, but might rather be understood in a very broad sense as any form of standardized or standardizable verbal expression, preferably – but not necessarily – fixed in any of a number of 'literary' categories, often in writing. 'Popular', on the other hand, is obviously connected with some conception of 'people', who might be termed as any significant number of population, whether educated or not (but preferably not) in a classical sense. While it is dangerous to restrict the former term to any previously perceived set of literary genres, for the latter it must be kept in mind that 'popular' can potentially refer to producers as well as to recipients, while on the other hand either one might belong to a societal élite group likely to be excluded from the term 'people' by definition. Most important is the realization of the fact that collective production of popular literature, as viewed by Romantic interpretation in the nineteenth century, exists only in a very limited sense: every piece of popular literature is in the first place brought forth by an individual author, and only in the process of reception and tradition incorporates elements produced by or adapted to collective consciousness. These elements originate from a specific historical, social or educational background and are subject to various influences from different cultures or levels of society. Even though they can only be grasped by minute scrutiny of a number of different aspects, they constitute the decisive criteria for distinguishing 'popular' from any other kind of literature.

Most previous research in any field of Arabic popular literature, whether classical, transitional or modern, has so far concentrated on a comparatively small number of monumental products, the most prominent of them treated here in separate articles: the *Arabian Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*), epic and romantic *sira* literature ('*Alī al-Zībaq*, '*Antara ibn Shaddād*, *Bahrām*, *Banū Hilāl*, *Dhāt al-Himma*, *Hamza al-bahlawān*, *al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars*, *Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan*, *Zir Sālim*), epic poetry, historical (*ayyām al-'arab*; [see *Battle Days*]) *mathālīb*, religious (*maghāzī*, *futūḥ*, *mawālīd*, *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* [see *Legends of the Prophets*]) and humorous literature (*hazl*, *humour*; *Buhlūl*, *Juḥā*), fables (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *Luqmān*) and the like.

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See also: folklore; proverbs; *sira* literature

## preaching, preachers see oratory and sermons

## the press

The first Arabic newspaper seems to have appeared in Muḥammad 'Alī's Egypt, an ephemeral weekly in Arabic and Italian published c.1822 at the École Polytechnique in Būlāq; it was followed by the still extant official gazette of the Egyptian government, *Vakā'i-i-Miṣriye (al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya)*, published in Turkish and Arabic in Cairo in

1828. In Egypt, Syria, Morocco and Algeria the earliest journals had primarily served the foreign communities. The French expeditionary force had published in Cairo in 1798 the *Courier de l'Égypte* and *La Décade égyptienne*, journal of the Institut d'Égypte. In 1832 the French occupation forces published in Algiers an official journal in Arabic and French, the *Moniteur algérien*. In the Lebanon the first Arabic journal was an annual review, *Majmū' fawā'id li-nukhbat afāḍil* (1851), published by the American Protestant missionaries in Beirut, covering *inter alia* religious, scientific, historical and geographical subjects.

The late 1850s and early 1860s saw a sudden spate of non-governmental newspapers, beginning with *Mir'āt al-ahwāl* (c.1854), *al-Saltāna* (1857) and the Lebanese Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq's highly successful *al-Jawā'ib* (1860) all in Istanbul, *Ḥadiqat al-akhbār* (1858) in Beirut, *Birjis Bāris* (c.1858) in Paris, and *'Uṭarid* (1858) in Marseilles. Independent journalism flourished in Egypt from the reign of Khedive Ismā'il; the first such paper was the *Wādī al-Nīl* (1867) in Cairo. From then on newspapers and periodicals began to appear at an accelerating rate in Beirut, Cairo and Alexandria, the main centres of journalistic activity. A stream of Syro-Lebanese writers moved to Egypt; the famous *al-Ahrām* (1876) was founded by the Lebanese Taqlā brothers in Alexandria. However, the first newspapers in most Arab countries were the official gazettes: in Tunis *al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī* (1860), in Damascus *Sūriyya* (1865), in Aleppo *Ghadir al-Furāt* (1867), in western Tripoli *Tarābulus al-Gharb* (1866), in Iraq *al-Zawra'* (1869), and in the peninsula *Yaman* (c.1872). Newspapers by the 1870s and 1880s were carrying polemical writing by political activists, religious and social reformers, written in less affected, functional prose style. Many of these writers, such as Adīb Ishāq, Salīm al-Naqqāsh, 'Abd Allāh Nadīm and Muḥammad 'Abduh, had been followers of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. Language experiments went as far as using the vernacular, as in Yaq'ūb Ṣanūa's satirical paper, *Abū Naẓzāra Zarqā'* (1878), published in Cairo.

The first important commercial presses were founded in the 1860s and 1870s in Lebanon and Egypt, allowing these countries to attain the pre-eminence that they still enjoy as publishing centres. These presses made available editions of Arab classics, popular

folk tales and a few contemporary *diwāns* to an increasingly receptive audience. At the same time, the press was encouraging a move away from traditional styles, both by publishing the first experiments in new genres (short story, novel and drama) and by publishing translations and imitations of French romances, thrillers, spy and, later, detective stories. This process gathered momentum, so that some two decades later there were about fifteen periodicals in Egypt and Lebanon specializing in publishing translations and original works of fiction.

The first of the great reviews, *al-Muqatafa'* (1876–1952), was founded in Beirut. It was followed by many others of note, including Jurjī Zaydān's *al-Hilāl* (1892) and Ibrāhīm al-Yāziji's *al-Diyā'* (1898), both in Cairo, the Jesuit *al-Mashriq* (1898) in Beirut, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī's *al-Muqtabas* (1908) in Damascus, and Anastase Marie al-Karmilī's *Lughat al-'Arab* (1911) in Baghdad. These reviews spread much sought-after knowledge on the whole range of human endeavour. With the new century there was soon a plethora of literary journals, both in the Middle East itself and in the *Mahjar*. In New York *al-Sā'ih* (1912), later organ of the important literary society *al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya*, included works by avant-garde poets such as Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān, Mikhā'il Nu'ayma and Īyā Abū Māḍī; it was followed by *al-Funūn* magazine in 1913 and Abū Māḍī's *al-Samir* (1929–56). In São Paulo *al-'Uṣba al-Andalusiyya* (1928) magazine was the organ of another literary circle. In Egypt the ideas of the *Diwān Group*, voicing radical views on modern poetic theory, appeared in Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid's newspaper *al-Jarīda* (1907) and in the magazine *al-Bayān* (1911). *Al-Sufūr* (1915), published by a group of young authors including Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Aḥmad Amīn, Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Rāziq, 'Isā 'Ubayd and Muḥammad Taymūr, was a precursor of the 'new school' (*al-madrasa al-ḥadītha*) of 'national literature' (*adab qawmī*).

Egyptian periodicals, such as Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's weekly *al-Siyāsa al-usbū'iyya* (1926), played an important part in the literary life of the 1920s and early 1930s. Salāma Mūsā's *al-Majalla al-jadīda* (1929–42) led the call for literature to address the problems of the masses. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn helped to establish the prestigious literary review *al-Risāla* (1933), at the centre of the Egyptian and Arab literary

movements in the 1930s and 1940s. *Apollo/Abūllū* (1932–34), established by Ahmad Zaki Abū Shādī, was the first periodical devoted entirely to poetry, poetic theory and poetry criticism; the **Apollo Group** embraced most of the younger generation of poets and critics in Egypt. With the help of the periodical press, the Egyptian novel slowly came of age. Novels were and are still being published through serialization; in 1959, one of Najīb Mahfūz's major works, *Awlād Ḥāratinā*, was first published on the pages of *al-Ahrām*.

The golden age of the Lebanese press in a climate of unparalleled freedom was the 1950s and 1960s. The monthly *al-Ādāb* (1953), edited by Suhayl Idris, was in the vanguard of those championing the cause of committed literature. The centre for poetic activity had also moved to the Lebanon, where the poet Yūsuf al-Khāl founded *Shi'r* (1957–69), and *Mawāqif* (1968), founded by the Syrian poet Adūnīs, tested the suitability of French innovations to Arabic literary production. Egypt was by no means eclipsed; there the poet Ṣalāh 'Abd al-Ṣabūr edited the influential monthly *al-Kātib* (1961), and the monthly *al-Masrah* (1964) led serious debates on the theatre. These publications were paralleled elsewhere, in the Tunisian *al-Hayāh al-thaqāfiyya* (1975); in the quarterly *al-Aqlām* (1964) and the monthly *Āfāq 'Arabiyya* (1975), both in Baghdad; in the review of the Palestinian Union of Writers, *al-Karmil* (1978), and in the Moroccan avant-garde magazine *al-Thaqāfa al-jadīda* (1974), among others.

The movement of sections of the Arab media to London, Paris and Cyprus in the 1970s and 1980s has opened a vibrant new chapter, leading to the emergence of some of the most successful pan-Arab newspapers and magazines. Arab newspapers and reviews at home and abroad continue to provide a powerful medium for the development of modern Arab thought, and to act as a platform for the best talents in modern Arabic literature.

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P. C. SADGROVE

printing and publishing

Printing was practised in the Arab world probably as early as the fourth/tenth century. Block-prints on paper, papyrus and parchment, found in Egypt, survive in several collections, and further pieces have emerged from excavations. However, no literary or historical testimony to the craft seems to exist, except for two obscure references in Arabic poems of the fourth/tenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries to the use of *ṭarsh* to produce copies of amulets. According to Bulliet (1987), this non-classical Arabic term may have signified tin plates with engraved or repoussé lettering, used to produce multiple copies of Koranic and incantatory texts for sale to the illiterate poor. Their crude style, and errors in the Koranic texts, indicate that they were not produced by writers or scholars, and there is no evidence that the technique was ever used to produce Arabic books or substantial literary texts in any form. These remained the monopoly of scribes in the Arab world until the eighteenth century, and the origins of Arabic typography and printed book production are to be found not there but in Europe.

The first Arabic printed book, a Melkite prayer-book, was printed at Fano in Italy in 1514. European Arabic printing over the next three or more centuries was developed partly to serve the needs of Orientalists but also to produce books for export to the Arab and Muslim world. The **Koran** was printed at Venice in the 1530s (see Nuovo, 1990), probably as a commercial export venture, but there is no evidence that the edition ever achieved any circulation, and later 'secular' printed Arabic texts also met with resistance or

indifference. Only among Christian communities did European Arabic editions, mostly of biblical or liturgical texts, gain some acceptance.

It was among these communities, too, that Arabic typography was eventually introduced into the Arab world – the first Arabic book printed there was a Melkite Psalter at Aleppo in 1706 – and it remained in Christian hands for over 100 years. Although Muslim Turkish book printing had started in Istanbul in 1728, the first Muslim Arab press was the Egyptian state press of Muḥammad ‘Alī at Būlāq, which did not start publishing until 1822. The reasons for this lateness must be sought both in the nature of Islamic societies and in the supreme religious and aesthetic role accorded to the written word within them. The segmentation and mechanization of the Arabic script by typesetting seemed tantamount to sacrilege; at the same time mass production of books challenged the entrenched monopolies of intellectual authority enjoyed by the learned class (*‘ulamā’*), and threatened to upset the balance between that authority and the power of the state. This was one important reason that printing was eventually sponsored by modernizing rulers in the nineteenth century.

Much of the early output of the Būlāq Press in Arabic (see Riḍwān, 1953, 446–79) consisted of military and technical books, official decrees, grammars, manuals of epistolography and translations of European works. But in 1836 editions of *Alf layla wa-layla* and *Kalīla wa-Dimna* were published, and these were followed by a series of classical texts which served to revive interest in the Arabic literary heritage. Rifā‘a Rāfi‘ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was active in promoting the use of the press for this purpose, as well as himself translating and writing new works for publication.

Meanwhile, many Christian missionary publications in Arabic, including secular didactic works, were imported into the Arab world in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, mostly from the British-run press in Malta (1825–42). These went mainly, but not exclusively, to the Christian communities, and helped to create a new readership for literary texts. One of the editors, translators and type-designers in Malta was the Lebanese writer Fāris al-Shidyāq who became an enthusiastic protagonist of the print revolution and later founded the Jawā‘ib Press in Istanbul (1870–84). This specialized in well-produced editions of the Arabic classics, as well as

publishing new works by himself and others. The missionary contribution was continued by the American and Jesuit presses in Beirut (started in 1836 and 1848 respectively), which also published new and old literature as well as religious and didactic works.

Printing and publishing burgeoned in the Arab world from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, with Arabic presses starting in Jerusalem (1847), Damascus (1855), Mosul (1856), Tunis (1860), Baghdad (1863), Sana’a (1877), Khartoum (1881), Mecca (1883) and Medina (1885), among others. Many of these presses, like that of *al-Jawā‘ib* already mentioned, produced newspapers as well as books.

Since the late 1820s, some books had been printed not from type but by lithography. This was favoured especially in Morocco and among smaller private publishers in Egypt. Its perceived advantages were that scribal calligraphy could be directly reproduced, and that it enabled many small publishers to avoid expensive investments in type-founds.

The rapid transition in the nineteenth century from manuscripts to printed books and periodicals as the normal means of transmitting Arabic texts had profound effects on the development of Arab literary culture. Insufficient research has been done to enable us either to measure or to trace accurately these effects; but it seems likely that the much greater dissemination of texts, both new and old, together with the standardization and systematization of their presentation, and their permanent preservation, played a major role in promoting that cultural and national self-awareness that led to the *nahḍa* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The subsequent development of Arabic printing and publishing has been less significant than its beginnings. The early twentieth century saw a revival in Arabic typography, which was subsequently reinforced by the adoption by the major presses of ‘linotype’ methods, as well as by the greater mechanization of the presses themselves. These developments permitted considerable increases in output of books, magazines and newspapers. Cairo and Beirut remained the principal publishing centres throughout the transition from Ottoman and European rule to full independence and beyond. Both lost ground, however, in the 1970s and 1980s, because of declining quality, lack of investment and rising prices in Egypt (see Rizk and Rodenbeck, 1985, 102–8), and

the ruinous strife in Lebanon. Other Arab countries have therefore become relatively more important, notably those of the **Maghrib** (with an important output in French as well as Arabic), Iraq until 1991 and most recently Saudi Arabia. The lack of a well-developed book trade in these countries has, however, hampered development, as have political and religious  **censorship** and restrictions in some cases. As elsewhere, the spread of broadcast and electronic media, especially television and video, has had some adverse impact on the market for printed literature, but this has been largely offset by the rise in rates of literacy.

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prose, non-fiction, medieval

The heyday of pre-modern, 'classical' Arabic prose was from the third/ninth to fifth/eleventh centuries. The emergence of major works as well as the elaboration of a highly sophisticated prose style, in which acoustic elements came to play an increasing part, fall in this period. It is a characteristic feature of prose literature that it consists to a large extent of collections, which contain speeches, utterances of widely varying kinds, narratives about people and events, and sometimes letters. Many of the texts are quoted from narrators or orators of the second/eighth century and earlier. From a historian's point of view, however, one has to be aware that they have undergone a process of transmission which may have affected their wording and composition. In any case, as examples of good style these texts represent a literary tradition that is shown to go back to early Islamic and pre-Islamic times.

Prose literature cannot be separated from the literary concept of *adab*, since many of its works are permeated by the didactic intention of guidance to learning and refinement. The works of, for example, **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** (d. 328/940), **Ibn Ḥamdūn** (d. 562/1167) or **Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd** (d. 655/1257) are important compilations of prose texts (as well as poetry) mainly from the classical period. A more philological outlook prevailed in works such as *al-Kāmil* of **al-Mubarrad** (d. 285/898) or the *Amālī* of Abū 'Alī **al-Qālī** (d. 356/967), whose intention was the collection and explanation of rare expressions (*nawādir*). Numerous prose texts of exemplary character are also inserted into historiographical works such as the chronicle of **al-Ṭabarī** (d. 310/923), and in collections of anecdotal material, among which the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of **Abū al-Faraj al-Isbahānī** is of primary importance.

In order to facilitate orientation, two main lines of prose style may be distinguished: the short and concise style characterized by omissions and extremely brief allusions, and the ornate prose which indulges in stylistic devices. Whereas both types of style cannot be separated in terms of literary genres, and even have some traits in common, their chronological development suggests a line of demarcation. From the fourth/tenth century onwards, ornate prose increasingly dominated all types of literary expression except those confined to simple prose for daily or purely scientific use.



Speeches (*khutba*) figure in many sources as specimens of refined prose. In his *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn al-Jāhiz* (d. 255/869) has collected much information on the significance and the art of orators of earlier times. Many of the leaders of Arab tribal society figure in the collections of *adab* literature as masters of rhetorical expression. In the light both of al-Jāhiz's evaluation of oratory, and of later collections, this art was not confined to the speech or official address, but was also observed in short sayings. Particular themes related to special occasions, such as condolence (*ta'ziya*), exhortation (*waṣiyya*) or admonition (*maw'iza*), were treated with great care by orators and by the authors of *adab* collections as well. Brief and exceptional descriptions, such as those collected by al-Washshā' (d. 325/936) in his *al-Fādil*, were also constituent parts of eloquence. Moreover, witty sayings or more solemn aphorisms, sometimes juxtaposed with sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), are omnipresent in *adab* literature (e.g. in al-Zamakhshari's *Rabī' al-abrār*), and were held in high esteem. Aphorisms are often presented as having been generated from controversy, and found expression in collections of 'dumbfounding retorts' (*al-ajwiba al-muskita*) like those of Ibn Abī 'Awn (d. 322/934) and al-Ābī (d. 421/1030). Sententious formulations of general meaning represent an authentic tradition of Arabic oratory, and were often intended to become proverbial sayings. Proverbs (*mathal*) themselves form a very well-documented branch of Arabic prose literature. Here, as in fictional anecdotes, the migration of motifs from different cultural backgrounds is evident. In contrast to this, gnomological literature (*ḥikam*; see *ḥikma*) does more to reveal its origin by the quotation of the philosophers of antiquity.

Monorhyme at the end of short clauses (*saj'*) is a striking characteristic of brief forms of old Arabic tradition, such as priestly verdicts and arbiters' decisions. Probably they reflect the practice of the pre-Islamic soothsayer (*kāhin*). Rhyme is also used as a means of emphasis in speeches, but here the achievement of rhythm through the division of the text into short phrases and the use of all kinds of parallelism is more important. Like speeches, letters (*rasā'il*) of the pre-'Abbāsīd period, preserved in *adab* collections in considerable quantity, show a predilection for brevity (*ījāz*) and frequent use of allusion and imagery. In general, the elevated style (*jazāla*), based on

the application of clear, dignified and pithy expression, was held to be a distinction that any manifestation of literary pretensions ought to have. The preference for the extremely concise formulation, which may sometimes appear to come close to abbreviation – and was in fact carried to extremes in the short form of the answer (*tawqī'*) to supplications, questions, etc. – is a characteristic feature of early Arabic prose. It was gradually superseded by new elements of ornate prose style. Furthered by the institution of the state secretary (*kātib*; see *secretaries*), which demanded mastery of style as part of craftsmanship, style began to be perceived in terms of literary embellishment which was pursued through the expansion of parallelism into long phrases and the use of synonyms and assonances. This implied, in contrast to the brevity of the earlier prose style, the repetition of the same ideas in different forms.

'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Yahyā (d. 132/750) and Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. c.139/757) generally represent the beginning of this development. They were also authors of memoranda in the form of epistles (*rasā'il*), which mark the foundation of a distinct branch of prose literature. Epistles that were dedicated to a (possibly fictitious) addressee became the medium of argument and presupposed or prepared discussion. This feature was developed, mainly by al-Jāhiz, into essays on various topics of social and cultural life, and also shaped the form of philosophical and scientific treatises. These writings reflected the development of dialectics, which occurred particularly in connection with theological issues and was generally applied as a technique of discussion through the reversal of terms and concepts (see *kalām*). The style of the *risāla* was later applied to an expanded form of the essay as it was mastered by the philosophical writer Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023). Similar to the discursive style of the epistle is the collection of *questiones* (*masā'il*) which appeared in the field of science and philosophy, as well as in Islamic *fiqh*. Both of these genres seem united in the correspondence between al-Tawḥīdī and Mis-kawayh (*al-Hawāmil wa-al-shawāmil*).

The translation of works of the Greek, and also of the Persian, heritage, and the exploration into the fields of medicine, exact sciences and philosophy, achieved great intensity and variety in the third/ninth century, when these activities enjoyed the patronage of

'Abbāsīd caliphs and private sponsors. The work of such translators and authors as Iṣḥāq ibn Hunayn (d. 298/910) or the members of the **Bukhtishū'** family contributed to the development of appropriate terminology and to the formation of highly differentiated techniques of expression. It is this linguistic faculty of Arabic that stands at the basis of its triumph and which made the Arabization of the Hellenistic and Sasanian cultures possible. Arabic thus became the natural medium of expression even for such authors as the philosopher and Christian theologian **Yahyā ibn 'Adī** (d. 363/967), who also disposed of other languages.

Arabic literature is, in the light of this development, defined in terms of language, not as 'literature of the Arabs'. Its success was, of course, also due to the genuine inspiration offered by the linguistic treasure-house of old Arabic poetry. As well as the persuasive force of Islam itself, it was strengthened by the Koran as an example, even the ultimate example, of rhetorical perfection. For grammar and for the art of rhetoric (*balāgha*), the text of revelation served as orientation, and both disciplines developed in interaction with linguistic explications of the holy text. (See **grammar and grammarians: i'jāz al-Qur'ān.**)

As literature expanded into all branches of human knowledge, the concern with the communication of information was combined, for some of its domains, with the endeavour for artistic expression. The conscious exploration of the formal resources of language which characterizes *badi'* poetry also took place in various types of correspondence. Their authors, being secretaries who often mastered poetry as well, increasingly employed, in addition to different forms of parallelism, the art of subtle and complex metaphorical expression (*isti'āra*; see **metaphor**). Extended similes became a common feature of prose. These elements, the effect of assonance, and the use of rhyme (*saġ'*) were the main constituents of the ornate prose style (*inshā'*), as it was elaborated in the fourth/tenth century by the political and cultural élite, ministers and men of letters, such as **Abū Iṣḥāq al-Ṣābi'** (d. 384/984), **Ibn al-'Amīd** (d. 360/970) and **al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād** (d. 385/995). Official as well as informal correspondence was composed according to these standards, showing an admirable sense of rhythm and rhetorical intensity. Letters of famous authors as well as short passages

(*fuṣūl*) of refined composition on various subjects (e.g. *Ghurar al-balāgha* by al-Ṣābi') were collected and became firmly established as models of prose literature. Besides the correspondence of the literati (see, for example, **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī**, d. 449/1058), the literary production of the chancery is to be considered as an important part of literature and did not cease to preoccupy men of letters in both practice and theory, as **Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr** (d. 637/1239) demonstrated with his *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*. After the fourth/eleventh century, treatises on all kinds of topics were adorned with rhetorical embellishment, and the excessive use of *inshā'* style apparently became conventional in prefaces (*muqaddimāt*) even of works of otherwise quite sober character. More or less moderate forms of *inshā'* are to be observed in many works in the field of humanities, i.e. geography, history and *adab*, including ethical writings and **Mirrors for Princes** (*naṣīhat al-mulūk*). It comes as no surprise that works of courtly character, such as **'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib's** (d. 597/1201) biography of Saladin, indulged in stylistic refinement, whereas authors of religious writings modelled their prose after the tradition of *hadīth* which adhered, apart from the particularities of vocabulary, to a much plainer style.

A rather plain prose style is also predominant in the countless short narrative texts found in compilations of the most varying nature. As a rule, the narrations that are commonly referred to as *khābar*, or *qiṣṣa*, are usually concise, straightforwardly constructed and realistic. Since their focus is quite narrow, they do not relate more than one or two events at the same time. In contrast to tales that contain legendary and fabulous elements, they appear to reproduce the words and deeds of actual people. The distinctive neutral mode of narration, which allots much space to the characters' direct speech, gives the impression of factuality and mimetic or 'dramatic' representation. This aspect is strengthened by the fact that the narratives are normally ascribed to eye-witnesses or reporters close to the events in question. Apart from the simple report of events, the commonest type of *khābar* narration is the anecdote that illustrates the traits and abilities of individuals. Such narrations are sometimes collected in works concerned with certain types of characters and their doings, such as stories about poets (*akhbār al-shu'arā'*) or lovers, and are omnipresent in general collections of *adab* literature. However, anecdotes that cannot but

be fictitious share the same narrative traits with seemingly reliable and realistic narratives. The distinction of 'real' from 'invented' is, therefore, not always clear. It has to be sorted out carefully even in historiographical collections, such as the works of **al-Balādhuri** and **al-Mas'ūdī**. Short humorous tales (*nukta*), which are widespread, adhere to the same narrative form, with the exception that the characters are often anonymous. Stylistically different from this type of narration is the larger form of narratives of epic character. They may portray the deeds of a central character in successive episodes and may even contain several plots. Lengthy and hyperbolic descriptions, and the appearance of folkloric motifs, as they are employed here, are characteristic of a popular style of narrating. A precursor of narrative literature is the sermon and edifying tale of the preacher (*qāṣṣ*) of the early Islamic period. His stories contributed to the development of narrative material and reappear under different forms in Arabic literature. (See **oratory and sermons; story-telling**)

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S. LEDER

See also: artistic prose

**prose poem (*qaṣīdat al-nathr*)**

Out of respect for the distinction between Koranic verses (*āyāt muḥaṣṣalāt*) and poetry (*shi'r*), Muslim scholars have traditionally drawn a sharp distinction between prose and poetry, even though writers of artistic prose (*adab*, *nathr fannī*) have frequently used rhyme (*saj'*), rhythm and other poetic techniques.

The main protagonists of modern efforts to

bridge the gap between prose and poetry were Arab Christians, inspired by Arabic translations of the Bible, Christian liturgical literature and Romantic European poetry. In 1903, both **Jubrān**, who was influenced by the Christian Maronite style and French Romantic poetry, and **Amīn al-Rihānī**, who had read Walt Whitman, began to use prose as a medium for poetry. They argued that by discarding metre and rhyme, and by stressing emotional tension and the spontaneous expression of the poetic experience, writers could achieve a new medium to express their ideas. In place of rhythm and rhyme, such writers used a rhythm of thought, employing various types of parallelism and reiteration of words and ideas. The success of this technique (termed *shi'r manthūr*) led to its rapid spread: other terms used were *shi'r hurr*, *muṭlaq*, *ṭalq* and *ṭaliq*.

Writers of *shi'r manthūr* before c.1950 stressed imagination, sentiment and escape to nature. The new generation of poets known as the *Shi'r* group, led by **Yūsuf al-Khāl** and **Adūnīs**, rejected their idealistic, humanistic vision of the world in favour of a revolutionary poetry, in which the irrational and subconscious played a leading part. This new concept of poetry demanded new techniques. According to **Adūnīs**, the first advocate of *qaṣīdat al-nathr* (*poème en prose*), he discovered the prose poem in 1958 when translating a poem by Saint-John Perse. The new genre exposed a creative poetic experience with a universal vision, roving over the past and its buried civilizations: its images and vocabulary were precise and simple, though at the same time sometimes exotic, personal, irrational and obscure. Other members of the group such as **Unsī al-Hājj** – influenced by Suzanne Bernard's *La Poème en prose* (Paris, 1959) – argued that the prose poem was the best medium to express rejection (*rafḍ*), i.e. to revolt against the cultural heritage of the Arabic language and to challenge the stagnation in contemporary Arab life. Their efforts met with a mixed response, being received with enthusiasm by many modern poets but attacked by conservative critics on the grounds (*inter alia*) that they corrupted the Arabic language.

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S. MOREH

prose, rhymed *see saǰʿ*

## prosody ('arūd)

Classical Arabic verse, and most modern verse, is quantitative, i.e. based on the distinction between short syllables (consonant + short vowel) and long syllables (consonant + long vowel, or: consonant + short vowel + consonant). Over-long syllables occur in certain types of verse at the end of the line. Vowels at the end of the line are always scanned long irrespective of their quantity in prose. The third person singular pronoun *-hū/-hī* can be either long or short, the first person singular pronoun *anā* can be scanned short + long or double short.

### Metre

Compositions are normally in one metre, but metrical variation is produced by the presence of several variable positions within each metre. These are of two kinds: double short syllables in one line alternating with one long syllable in another line (typical of *wāfir*, *kāmil* and *mutadārik*), and a long syllable in one line alternating with a short syllable in another (typical of the other metres). The usual metre names are those given in the metrical theory of **al-Khalil ibn Ahmad**, who distinguished fifteen metres. (A sixteenth, *al-mutadārik*, was added by his successor **al-Akhfash**.) Most of the fifteen metre names represent two or more distinct types that cannot be used together in one poem and therefore count as separate metres. **Al-Khalil** distinguished sixty-three such types. Those in common use are shown, with their current variations, in the table.

### Form

Most compositions of classical poetry (*shī'r* or *qarīd*) are *qaṣīdas* with a variable number of lines (rarely over a hundred) or *qīf'as* (smaller pieces up to about ten lines). Lines (*bayt*, pl. *abyāt*) can have up to thirty syllables divided over two more or less symmetrical hemistichs (*miṣrā'* or *shaṭr*) separated by a caesura. A foot is called *juz'* (pl. *ajzā'*). The last foot of the first hemistich is called 'arūd, the last foot of the second hemistich is called *qarb*. The number of syllables per line is variable in *wāfir*, *kāmil* and *mutadārik* metre types but fixed in the other metres. A single rhyme occurs at the end of every line. First lines

(*maṭla'*, pl. *maṭāli'*) often have rhyming hemistichs (*aa, ba, ca ...*), particularly in the *qaṣīda*; this is termed *taṣrī'*, and may occasionally be repeated elsewhere in the poem.

Another type of composition, called *rajaz*, has no caesura and a maximum of twelve syllables to the line. It can have three short syllables in succession (*shī'r* admits of only two). It uses the *rajaz-4* or *sarī'-7* metre (twelve or eleven syllables) and is then called *mashṭūr* (reduced by a *shaṭr* 'hemistich') or the *rajaz-5*, *munsariḥ-3* or *munsariḥ-4* metre (eight or seven syllables), and is then called *manhūk*, 'emaciated'.

*Rajaz* also occurs as *muzdawija* with a rhyming pattern *aa bb cc* etc., in which *rajaz-4* and *sarī'-7* metres can be mixed together. Strophic forms, which arrived comparatively late in Arabic versification, include *muwashshah* and *zajal* (see **strophic poetry**).

After 1948 the free verse movement in modern Arabic poetry tried to liberate itself from the fixed patterns of the single rhyme and the symmetry of classical poetry. The basic unit of verse is now the single foot (*tafīla*). Basically, the feet employed by the modern poets are either those used in older poetry or close derivatives. (See **free verse**.)

### Rhyme

Arab theorists distinguish five types of rhyme on a metrical basis. The rhyme is called *mutarādīf* if the verse ends in an overlong syllable (as happens in the *ramal-2*, *sarī'-1* and *mutaqārib-2* metres). It is called *mutawātir* if the verse ends in two long syllables (in *ṭawīl-1*, *ṭawīl-3*, *madīd-1*, *madīd-6*, *baṣīṭ-2*, *baṣīṭ-6*, *wāfir-1*, *wāfir-3*, *kāmil-2*, *kāmil-3*, *kāmil-5*, *kāmil-6*, *hazaj-1*, *rajaz-2*, *ramal-1*, *ramal-5*, *sarī'-3*, *sarī'-7*, *khafīf-1*, *mujtathth*, *mutaqārib-1* and one type of the *mutadārik* metre). It is called *mutadārik* if the verse ends in the sequence long-short-long (in *ṭawīl-2*, *madīd-3*, *kāmil-1*, *kāmil-8*, *sarī'-2*; *khafīf-4* and *mutaqārib-3*). It is called *mutarākib* if the verse ends in the sequence long-short-short-long (in *madīd-5*, *baṣīṭ-1*, *wāfir-2*, *kāmil-4*, *munsariḥ-1*, *muqtaḍab* and one *mutadārik* type). Finally, the rhyme is called *mutakāwis* if the verse ends in the sequence long-short-short-short-long, which happens only occasionally in *rajaz* verse. A combination of *mutarākib* and *mutadārik* rhymes can occur in *rajaz* and *ramal-3*.

Most other rhyme concepts revolve around the *rawī*, the rhyming consonant, which represents the common element of any *qaṣīda*, after which it is called *kāfiyya* (if the *rawī* is a *kāf*), *bā'iyya* (if the *rawī* is a *bā'*) etc. (The *alif* can also act as *rawī*; in that case the poem is called a *maqṣūra*.) When the rhyme ends with the *rawī* (without any vowel following) the rhyme is called *muqayyada* ('fettered'). When the *rawī* is followed by other elements it is called *muṭlaqa* ('loose'). These elements may be: a long vowel; a short vowel + the letter *hā'*; or a short vowel + the letter *hā'* + a long vowel. The long vowel and the letter *hā'* after the *rawī* are called *waṣl* or *ṣila*; the long vowel after the *hā'* *al-waṣl* is called *khurūj*. Under certain conditions also *tā'* and *kāf* can be used as *waṣl*.

With respect to elements preceding the *rawī*, the rhyme may be *murdafa* (the *rawī* is preceded by *alif*, *wāw* or *yā'*, called *ridf*), *mu'assasa* (the *rawī* is preceded by the *ta'sīs*, i.e. an *alif* separated from the *rawī* by another consonant, called *dakhīl*, and its vowel) or *mujarrada* (when there is neither *ridf* nor *ta'sīs*).

The rhyming consonant, like any other rhyme element of the poem (*waṣl*, *khurūj*, *ridf* and *ta'sīs*), is identical in all lines. However, both *wāw* and *yā'* may be used indiscriminately as *ridf* in one and the same poem (e.g. both *-ūbū* and *-ībū* may occur in one poem).

In philological commentaries the rhyme is often described by a combination of several of the above-mentioned technical terms, e.g. the rhyme of a line ending in *khutūb* is called *mutarādif muqayyad murdaf* (because it ends in an over-long syllable, a consonant and has a long vowel before the *rawī*); that of a line ending in *'alā ḥazanī* is called *mutarākib muṭlaq bi-waṣl mujarrad* (sequence long-short-short-long; ending in a long vowel; no *ridf* nor *ta'sīs*).

Violations of rhyming rules mentioned in Arabic works on rhyme include *sinād* (irregular vowel preceding the *rawī*), *iqwā'* (irregular vowel following the *rawī*), *ikfā'* (irregular *rawī*), *īṭā'* (repetition of the same rhyming word in the course of the *qaṣīda*) and *tadmīn* (running on of a syntactical construction beyond one line into the next).

## Licences

The language of poetry is characterized by the

use of forms and syntactic structures that do not normally occur in prose. They are dealt with in the works on *ḍarūra* (pl. *ḍarā'ir* or *ḍarūrāt*), 'poetic licence', such as *Ḍarūrat al-shi'r* by Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfi (d. 368/979), *Mā yajūzu lil-shā'ir isti'māluhū fī ḍarūrat al-shi'r* by Muḥammad al-Qazzāz (d. 412/1021), *Ḍarā'ir al-shi'r* by Ibn 'Uṣfūr al-Ishbīlī (d. 663/1263) and *al-Ḍarā'ir wa-mā yaṣūghu lil-shā'ir dūna al-nāthir* by Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī (1857–1923). Examples of frequently occurring poetic licences are the use of a long *-ū* after the pronouns *-hum*, *-him*, *kum*, *-tum*, *antum*; the shortening of the ending *-ī* of the first person singular (*yā 'ayni*, *yā rabbi*); the use of *hamzat al-waṣl* instead of *hamzat al-qaṭ'* (*law abṣarta* instead of *law 'abṣarta*); the use of *hamzat al-qaṭ'* instead of *hamzat al-waṣl* (*qultu 'idhhab*); diptotes receiving triptote declension (*maḥāsīnan*); shortening of interrogative *-ma* after a preposition (*lim*, 'why?'); *-uwa* (in the subjunctive mood and the pronoun *huwa*) is often read as *-ū*; *-iya* (in the subjunctive mood) is often read as *-ī*; *-ī* (pronoun ending of the first person singular) is often read as *-iya*; words ending in *-ā'* are often read with *-ā* (*bahā* instead of *bahā'*).

Special conditions obtain in rhyme. In the *qāfiya muṭlaqa* any short vowel is lengthened and the endings *-in*, *-un* and *-an* are read as *-ī*, *-ū* and *-ā* respectively. In this case long *-ā* is written with *alif* or undotted *yā'*, but long *-ī* and long *-ū* are only written with *yā'* and *wāw* if these letters belong to the prose form of the word. Words ending in a consonant sometimes are pronounced with a long *-ī* (*zallat-ī*, 'she slipped'; *lam 'anam-ī*, 'I did not sleep').

## Indigenous theory

The development of the Arabic science of versification ('*arūd*) and rhyme (*qāfiya*) can be traced back to al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad. The plethora of Arabic metrical data has been elegantly reduced in al-Khalīl's theory to just five metrical circles. Each circle has inscribed on its circumference a leading metre in an ideal form (*baḥr*) divided up into relevant elements of scanning (e.g. *watid majmū'* [U —] and *sabab khafīf* [—]). Starting at a particular point of the circle either the leading metre or one of its permutations will emerge. Some of these permutations are posited as the ideal form of actual metres, others are considered *muhmal* (not in use). The first circle has

## Current classical Arabic metres and their most common variations

tawil-1:	u — u / u — — — / u — u / u — u — // u — u / u — — — / u — u / u — — —
tawil-2:	u — u / u — — — / u — u / u — u — // u — u / u — — — / u — u / u — u —
tawil-3:	u — u / u — — — / u — u / u — u — // u — u / u — — — / u — u / u — — —
madīd-1:	u u — / — u u — // u u — // u u — / — u u — / — u — —
madīd-3:	u u — / — u u — // u u — // u u — / — u — / — u —
madīd-5:	u u — / u — u — // u u — // u u — / u — u — // u u —
madīd-6:	u u — / u — u — // u u — // u u — / u — u — / — u —
basīṭ-1:	u — u — / u u — / — u — // u u — // u u — u — // u u — / — — u — / u u —
basīṭ-2:	u — u — / u u — / — u — // u u — // u u — / u — u — // — — u — / — —
basīṭ-6:	u — u — / u u — / u — — // u — u — // u u — / u — —
wāfir-1:	u — uu — / u — uu — / u — — // u — uu — / u — uu — / u — —
wāfir-2:	u — uu — / u — uu — // u — uu — // u — uu — / u — uu —
wāfir-3:	u — uu — / u — uu — // u — uu — // u — uu — / u — —
kāmil-1:	uu — u — / uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u —
kāmil-2:	uu — u — / uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u —
kāmil-3:	uu — u — / uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u —
kāmil-4:	uu — u — / uu — u — // uu — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu —
kāmil-5:	uu — u — / uu — u — // uu — // uu — u — // uu — u — / — —
kāmil-6:	uu — u — / uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — / —
kāmil-8:	uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u — // uu — u —
hazaj-1:	u — — u / u — — u // u — — u // u — — u
rajaz-1:	u u u — / u u u — // u u u — // u u u — // u u u —
rajaz-2:	u u u — / u u u — // u u u — // u u u — // — — —
rajaz-3:	u u u — // u u u — // u u u — // u u u —
rajaz-4:	u u u — // u u u — // u u u —
rajaz-5:	u u u — // u u u —
ramal-2:	u u — — / u u — — // u u — // u u — — // u u — — // u u — —
ramal-3:	u u — — // u u — — // u u — // u u — — // u u — — // u u — —
ramal-5:	u u — — // u u — — // u u — — // u u — —
sarī'-1:	u u u — / — u u — / — u — // u u u — / — u u — / — u —
sarī'-2:	u u u — / — u u — / — u — // u u u — / — u u — / — u —
sarī'-3:	u u u — / — u u — / — u — // u u u — / — u u — / — u —
sarī'-7:	u u u — // u u u — // u — —
munsariḥ:	u u u — / — u — / u — u u — // u u u — / — u — / u — u u —
khafīf-1:	u u — — // u — u — // u u — — // u — u — // u — u — // — — — ]
khafīf-4:	u u — — // u — u — // u u — — // u — u —
muqtaḍab:	— u — / u — u u — // — u — / u — u u —
mujtathth:	u — u — // u u — — // u — u — // u u — —
	[sometimes in either or in both hemistichs: u — u — / — — — ]
mutaqārib-1:	u — u / u — u / u — — / u — (u) // u — u / u — u / u — — / u — —
mutaqārib-2:	u — u / u — u / u — — / u — (u) // u — u / u — u / u — — / u — —
mutaqārib-3:	u — u / u — u / u — — / u — (u) // u — u / u — u / u — — / u — —
mutadārik:	uu — / uu — // uu — // uu — // uu — // uu — // uu — // uu —

## Key:

u	short syllable	uu	either one long or two short syllables
—	long syllable	(u)	either one syllable or no syllable at all
u	either long or short syllable	/	foot division
==	overlong syllable	//	hemistich division.

## Notes:

1. Traditionally the division between the first and second feet in *madīd* comes after the fourth syllable instead of after the third syllable as given above; in *munsariḥ* and *muqtaḍab* all feet have four syllables in traditional scansion.
2. Sequences of three short syllables do not normally occur in *shī'r*, but may occur in *rajaz* (*rajaz-4*, *rajaz-5* and *sarī'-7* metres). The short syllables of the variations of a foot such as u u u — in other metre types than these (e.g. *munsariḥ*, *sarī'-2*, *sarī'-3*) do therefore normally not apply simultaneously.
3. Both *rajaz-4* and *sarī'-7* are sometimes referred to as *manḥūk al-rajaz*.
4. *Rajaz-5* is sometimes referred to as *manḥūk al-rajaz*.
5. *Basīṭ-6* is also called *al-mukhallā'* or *-mukhallā' al-basīṭ*.
6. *Mutadārik* (also called *mutadārak*) has several other names. The variant given above is especially known as *khābab*.

the ideal form of the *ṭawīl*-metre:

[U —] — / [U —] — — / [U —] — / [U —] — —  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

The permutation that emerges as one starts from element no. 4 is the theoretical formula of the *basīṭ* metre:

— — [U —] / — [U —] / — — [U —] / — [U —]  
 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 1 2 3

It is theoretical because the end of the first hemistich (elements 2 and 3) is always U U — in practice, never — U —. Arabic theory copes with this by introducing the concepts of *zihāf* and 'illa, which, like transformational rules in generative grammar, recast the ideal metre into all practical surface structure variants. 'Illa ('illness') is introduced for dealing with the shorter metre types (e.g. those of sixteen syllables per line) considered as pruned forms of the 'healthy' ideal metre. *Zihāf* ('dragging gait?') is used for explaining variation within any one of the sixty-three types.

Departures from the strict Khalilian system are found in 'Arūḍ *al-waraqa* by al-Jawhari (d. c.393/1003) and in *Minhāj al-bulaghā* by Ḥāzīm al-Qartājānī (d. 684/1285).

### Role of stress

Paradoxically, within what appears to be a quantitative system, the total quantity per line in most metres is not constant. A solution for this paradox has been advanced by Gotthold Weil. He postulated that metrical stress (ictus) neutralizes any quantitative variation wherever it occurs. In his theory the line is divided up into quantity-sensitive elements marked by stress contrasting with unstressed elements where quantity does not matter.

By contrast, W. Stoetzer has argued that a purely quantitative analysis without Weil's stress postulate is possible on the basis of the quantitative equivalence of *sabab* (one long syllable) and *watid* (short + long syllable). Such a way of calculating (in which the single short syllable has zero quantity) is in line with al-Khalīl's premises in which the independent short syllable is no scansion element. The role of stress in Andalusian *muwashshaḥs* and *zajals* is in debate. Authors such as Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147) and Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608/1211) explicitly tell us that the Andalusians used two different systems in their strophic poetry, one the traditional prosody, the other

one a system outside this tradition, not made for ordinary recitation but for singing. This second system could well be stress-based.

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W. STOETZER

### proverbs

The meaning of the Arabic *mathal* (pl. *amthāl*), usually translated 'proverb', includes much more than the English term. Derived from a common Semitic root implying 'to compare, resemble, represent', it signifies, besides proverbs, similes, metaphors and parables. Collections of *mathals*, beginning with the *Kitāb al-Amthāl* of Abū 'Ubayd (d. 224/838), contain all these genres. Many *mathals* are commented by etiologic anecdotes; obsolete words and the general meaning are explicated when the editor considers it necessary.

As in ancient Near Eastern literatures and the Torah, *mathals* were widely used in ancient and classical Arabic poetry and in *adab* works, beginning with those of al-Jāhīz (d. 255/868–9), and folk literature (see *folklore*) throughout the centuries, as in everyday life until today. The *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) abound with proverbs, used here in word-, rhyme- and meaning-plays. *Adab* encyclopedias like the *ab 'Iqd al-farīd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh (d. 328/940) contain a proverb chapter, because to know and use a certain amount of proverbs was part of the ideal of the civilized and educated *adīb*. That short *mathals* were applied as inscriptions on the signet-rings widespread in court circles in Baghdad in the third/ninth century, and understood probably either apotropaically or as maxims by those who wore them or received them as a gift, is testified to in the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* of al-Washshā'.

The popularity of *mathals* is explained by **al-Maydānī** (d. 518/1124), the collector of the most voluminous compilation of *mathals*, by their concise formulation, their apt expression, their beautiful comparisons and their excellent allusions. He characterizes them as the summit of rhetoric; their meaning is regarded as common sense/wisdom (*ḥikma*). Generally they provide an indirect way of communication by allusion to historically or socio-culturally well-known facts or persons, to social experiences and moral or cultural standards. They do this sometimes in a humorous way, e.g. *al-dīk al-faṣīḥ min al-bayḍa yaṣīḥ*, 'The eloquent cock yells through the egg-shell'. The widespread use of *mathals* was and is a kind of inner cultural agreement revealing socio-religious, anthropological and cultural conceptions, some conditioned by special social and historical circumstances, which – like the application of the proverb – had to be explained later, sometimes differently by different compilers. Others are of a more general human validity.

There are different social and historical layers of Arabic proverbs. The oldest, are of **bedouin** origin, revealing tribal ethics preserved in the early and even later patriarchic court or urban society, e.g. *Man ashbaha abāhu fa-mā ḡalama*, 'Who resembles his father cannot do wrong', or *unṣur akhāka ḡālīman aw maḡlūman*, 'Help your brother, whether he is right or wrong'. The *Ayyām al-'Arab* (**Battle Days**), the **Koran** and *ḥadīth* are also sources of proverbs inspired by ancient bedouin or Arab wisdom and adapted to new social circumstances. So the tribal 'brother' becomes the brother in belief: *al-Muslim mir'ātu akhūhi*, 'The Muslim is the mirror of his brother', i.e. must be sincere and frank towards his fellow in belief. A proverb like *man ṡaddaḡa 'llāha naḡā*, 'Who believes in God, will be saved', attributed to **Muḡammad** as transmitted by Abū Hurayra, gives expression of the new faith.

There are *amthāl*, probably deriving from different socio-cultural layers, that contradict each other, thus revealing mental ambivalences, for example the Koranic *ṡabrun jamūlun*, 'Comely patience/forbearance (is my way)', or *al-ṡabru miḡtāḡ al-faraj*, 'Patience is the key to joy', and *idhā kunta sindānan fa-ṡbir wa-idhā kunta miṡraḡatan fa-awḡi*, 'If you are an anvil, wait; if you are a hammer, hurt!' Well-known oriental wisdom, also found in the Old Testament, is ascribed to

famous Muslim personalities: *man ḡaffara maḡhawwātan waḡa'a fiḡā*, 'Hoist with one's own petard' (literally, 'he who digs a pit will fall into it') is ascribed to the caliph 'Umar with an etiologic anecdote. Many *amthāl* are attributed to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṣālib, the cousin and son-in-law of Muḡammad and 'father' of the Shi'is. There are *amthāl* defining historical or intercultural topics connected with certain historical or legendary personalities, e.g. *ṡaḡīfat al-Mutalammis*. 'Letter of Uriah', or *mawā'idu 'Urḡūbin*, 'Empty promises' (a certain 'Urḡūb in the *ḡāhiliyya* is known as charlatan), or *jazā' Sinimmār*, 'bad reward for a good act' (a Byzantine architect named Sinimmār is said to have built the castle of al-Khawarnaḡ near **Kufa** for a **Lakhmid** king, who killed him afterwards to prevent him from building a similar castle for another person). A large number of *amthāl* are comparisons built with an elative such as *arwā min ḡabbin/ḡayyatin*, 'thirstier than the lizard/serpent' (which in fact are seldom thirsty), *a'dal min al-mīzān*, 'More just than the scale'.

Already Abū 'Ubayd gives as the source of many *mathals* *al-'amma* or *al-nās*, 'the common people', i.e. he collected *amthāl* from people's conversation during his lifetime. While his collection contains about 1,200 *mathals* arranged topically, al-Maydānī collected about 7,000, one-fifth of the kind *af'alu min*, elative comparisons, and about 1,500 characterized as *amthāl muwallada*, 'new/post-classical proverbs'. He arranged them alphabetically but without strict consistency, the *af'alu min* proverbs at the end of each chapter. Many proverbs are characterized by their terseness, e.g. *al-mar' bi-aṡḡharayhi*, 'Man exists by his two smallest things' (i.e. his heart and his tongue), *al-ḡarbu may'amatun*, 'War makes widows', *ummu l-kādhibi bikrun*, 'The mother of the liar is a virgin' (when somebody utters something impossible). Word games with verbal and nominal sentences built on a certain number of syllables and characterized by a certain kind of stress and rhymed patterns are frequent, e.g. *man ḡāla nāla*, 'Who roams, achieves', *al-tajallud lā al-taballud*, 'Show patience, not stupidity'. So, if Arabic *mathals* belong to the 'simple forms' (as, according to A. Jolles, proverbs do), most of them are at least highly refined and sophisticated in their combination of structure and meaning.

Since the seventh/thirteenth century we find *mathal* collections in Arabic dialects, e.g. the



Tunisian Abū Yahyā al-Zajjālī's (d. 694/1294) *Amthāl al-'awwām fī al-Andalus*. European interest in Arabic proverbs began in the tenth/sixteenth century. They are found in readers, grammars and exercise-books for European students of Arabic. The German Arabist G.W. Freytag edited the collection of al-Maydānī with a Latin translation between 1838 and 1843. Since the early nineteenth century travelling Arabists collected proverbs of different regions in different dialects and published them in the original and in translation. Arab intellectuals and researchers, although usually preferring the literary language, became interested in collecting, publishing and analysing dialect proverbs, perhaps because as gnomic/wisdom literature they are more respected as part of the autochthonous socio-cultural heritage than popular narratives intended for people's entertainment.

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W. WALTHER

**puns see rhetorical figures:  
tajnis, tawriya**

**puzzle see mu'ammā**

### al-Qabbānī, Aḥmad Abū Khalīl (1841–1902)

Syrian playwright and actor. Born and died in **Damascus**. Either the Governor Ṣubḥī Pasha (1872–3) or Midḥat Pasha (1878–9), having seen one of his plays, is said to have encouraged him to perform in public; the latter asked Iskandar Farāḥ, a Customs clerk, to form a troupe with him. Religious *shaykhs* complained that his plays were heretical, prompting Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd to close his theatre in 1884. He went to **Egypt**, at the invitation of the Khedive and performed regularly in Alexandria and **Cairo**. He was the creator of Arab operetta and the father of melodrama. He wrote or adapted about a hundred pieces, including musicals, comedies and one-act farces. Many of the plays he performed were written by other Arab writers, or adapted from European classics, including works by Corneille, Racine, Voltaire and Victor Hugo. He helped to create the tradition of using the Arab folk and historical heritage as a source of dramatical inspiration, making use of the stories of **Hārūn al-Rashīd** in the *Alf layla wa-layla* and other such tales. He himself designed the costumes, sang, danced, and set the words of the plays to verse and music for his troupe. He returned with his troupe to Damascus, and also toured the Egyptian provinces; in 1892 they played at the Chicago Fair. It was rumoured that his rivals incited the mob to set fire to his new theatre in Cairo in 1900, and thus his troupe was forced to disperse.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### Qabbānī, Nizār (1923– )

Syrian poet born in **Damascus** to a rich family, Nizār Qabbānī graduated from university with a law degree in 1945 and joined the Syrian foreign service as a diplomat, stationed first in **Egypt**, then successively in Turkey, the United Kingdom, Lebanon, **Spain** and China. In 1966 he resigned his post and took up residence in Beirut, where he was active in literary journalism and later established his own publishing house. The Lebanese civil war forced him to leave the country and live in Switzerland, but he continued to be active in Arab literary journalism and to publish his poetry.

Since his earliest poems, Qabbānī has written on love and women, and his powerfully imaginative language and elegant style established an early reputation in the 1940s and 1950s. His poems in *Qālat li al-samrā’* (1944) and *Anti li* (1950) are exquisite expressions of sensual desire, describing the beauty of the female with youthful vigour full of astonishing verbal imagery. His later poems, as in the collections *Qasā’id* (1956), *Ḥabībātī* (1961), *al-Rasm bi-l-kalimāt* (1966) and *Kitāb al-ḥubb* (1970), are more refined and more aware of the complex love relations between men and women, sometimes expressing in the woman’s voice her revolt against man’s insensitivity. The later love-poems of Qabbānī’s mature years present love as an intimate relationship of equals, as in his *Ash’ār khārija ‘alā al-qānūn* (1972), *al-Ḥubb lā yufīq ‘alā al-ḍaw’ al-aḥmar* (1983) and *Hākadhā aktub tārikh al-nisā’* (1986) – these poems never losing their emotional intensity and fervour or their richly evocative images.

Some of Qabbānī’s early poems dealt with social and political issues, but it was the 1967 Arab defeat by Israel that launched him on a series of poems in **free verse**, severely satirizing Arab regimes and their submissive

peoples. The best-known of these poems is his 'Hawāmish 'alā daftar al-naksa'. The destruction and death occasioned by the Lebanese civil war brought further angry poems, as in his *Ilā Bayrūt al-unthā ma'a hubbī* (1976) and *Jumhūriyyat Junūnistān: Lubnān sābiqan* (1987). The *intifāda* (uprising) of the Palestinians against Israeli occupation inspired him to write several more political poems, including his *Thulāthiyyat atfāl al-ḥijāra* (1988). His latest poetry openly castigates the repression of Arab regimes and criticizes their breach of the human and civil rights of their people, as in his *Qaṣā'id maghḍūb 'alayhā* (1986) and *al-Sira al-dhātiyya li-sayyāf 'Arabī* (1987). Qabbānī is arguably the most popular modern Arabic poet today.

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I.J. BOULLATA

**al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār  
(d. 415/1025)**

al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad al-Asadābādī was a prominent later representative of the Mu'tazilī school of theological thought who served as judge (*qāḍī*) in Rayy during the period of Būyid rule. The discovery in Yemen and subsequent publication of his multi-volume theological work, *Kitāb al-mughnī*, has brought him into special prominence among scholars of recent decades, since so much has been gleaned from this work concerning the Mu'tazilī movement. Not extant is his major work on jurisprudence, *Kitāb al-'umad*, which was an important

foundation for subsequent jurisprudential writing both among Mu'tazilīs and among orthodox Sunnis.

Text editions

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B. WEISS

See also: Mu'tazilīs

**al-Qāḍī 'Alī ibn al-'Aziz al-Jurjānī  
see al-Jurjānī**

**al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil  
(529–96/1135–1200)**

'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil was a celebrated statesman, epistolographer and poet. The son of a judge in Ascalon, he apprenticed in the chanceries of Fāṭimid Alexandria and Cairo, becoming head of chancery to Saladin in 566/1171. Although never officially named vizier, he remained Saladin's most important adviser for the rest of his career; after the latter's death in Damascus, he retired to Cairo, where he died. Although he wrote much poetry, and kept an official diary (preserved only in extracts), his literary fame rests on his vast correspondence, both official and private, which became the standard for stylistic elegance in prose for generations to come.

Text editions

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*Rasā'il 'an al-harb wa-al-salām, min tarassul al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*, M. Naghash (ed.), 2nd edn, Cairo (1984).

Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Durr al-naẓīm min tarassul 'Abd al-Raḥīm*, A. Badawī (ed.), Cairo (1959).

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E.K. ROWSON

**al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974)**

Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad al-Maghribī was a famed *Ismā'īlī* judge, theologian and apologist. His early life is largely unknown, but he was early an adherent of Shi'ism, entering the service of the **Fāṭimid** caliphs of North Africa and becoming the confidant and adviser of al-Manṣūr and al-Mu'izz at the new Fāṭimid capital in **Tunisia** of al-Manṣūriyya. His theologico-legal works, such as the *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, are powerfully argued attempts to systematize *Ismā'īlī* law, and to make this law and faith into an instrument of politics for the vigorous and expanding Fāṭimid state. He also engaged in public lecture sessions, *majālis*, and courses of instruction, *durūs*, endeavouring to make *Ismā'īlism* and its institutions known to wider audiences in the **Maghrib**.

Text editions

*Da'ā'im al-Islām*, Cairo (1951) (several rpts).  
*Kitāb Iftitāh al-da'wā*, Farhat Dachraoui (ed.), Tunis (1975) (rpt 1986); W. al-Qāḍī (ed.), Beirut (1975).  
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C.E. BOSWORTH

See also: *Ismā'īlis*

**al-Qādirī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib (1124–87/1712–73)**

Noted Moroccan biographer and historian of the

'Alawī dynasty. He was born into a noble family of Fez, claiming descent from the Prophet through the legendary Muslim saint 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (hence his *nisba*). The family had produced a number of historians, including al-Qādirī's grandfather 'Abd al-Salām, the famous genealogist of the Sharifian families of Morocco. Not only did al-Qādirī inherit his grandfather's concern for the Maghribi Sharifian ancestry (he wrote a few works on this subject), he also completed a dictionary of the Moroccan celebrities of the eleventh/seventeenth century which was only contemplated by his grandfather. It is to this dictionary, *Nashr al-mathānī*, that al-Qādirī largely owes his fame.

The *Nashr*, and its earlier version entitled *Iltiqāt al-durar*, can be viewed as continuations of the earlier works of this kind, e.g. that of **Ibn al-Qāḍī**. Both *Nashr* and *Iltiqāt* are hybrids, consisting of biographical notices arranged by year of death and of the accounts of the most notable events of the same year. While the former part comprises biographies of the famous Moroccans of the eleventh/seventeenth and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, the chronicle portion combines dynastic and political history with the information on natural phenomena, epidemics and social life in 'Alawī Morocco. Each part is equally valuable for the study of the first century of 'Alawī rule in Morocco which, unlike subsequent centuries, produced only a handful of chroniclers. Both of al-Qādirī's works were extensively used by the Maghribi historians who lived in thirteenth / nineteenth–fourteenth / twentieth centuries, especially al-Zayyānī, al-Ḥawwāt, Akansūs, Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥājj, al-Nāṣirī, Ibn Zaydān, and **al-Kattānī**.

Text editions

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A. KNYSH

**qāfiya see prosody**

**al-Qāhira see Cairo**

**Qaḥṭān see tribes****al-Qa'id, [Muhammad] Yūsuf  
(1944– )**

Contemporary Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. Born in the Delta region of a peasant background, al-Qa'id received his education entirely in Egypt, and worked as a teacher before moving into journalism; he also served in the Egyptian armed forces during the wars of 1967 and 1973.

His first novel, *al-Ḥidād* (1969), took as its main theme the conflict between the requirements of official justice and traditional patterns of family retribution. The novel was marked by a lively use of Egyptian colloquial, and by the author's technique of portraying events through the eyes of the participants themselves. The theme of family honour was continued in *Akhbār 'izbat al-Manīsi* (1971), in which al-Qa'id also began to experiment more radically with the novelistic technique, employing 'flashback' techniques and using a 'supernarrator' to introduce and conclude the action – an experiment continued in *al-Bayāt al-shatawī* (1974), which tells of the events following the visit to an Egyptian village by a group of oil engineers.

Al-Qa'id's heightened social consciousness is still more evident in *Yaḥduth fī Miṣr al-āna* (1977), a novel set against the background of President Nixon's visit to Egypt in 1974, which was published at the author's own expense after being rejected by a number of Egyptian publishing houses. Similar difficulties attended the publication of *al-Ḥarb fī barr Miṣr*, written in 1975 but not published until 1978 in Beirut. The plot of this novel, which is set at the time of the 1973 War, revolves around an impersonation devised by a village headman to avoid his son's being drafted into the army; the young man is killed in action and the deception discovered, but the ensuing inquiry is stopped on orders from a Cairo official.

Al-Qa'id's most ambitious work is his trilogy *Shakāwā al-Miṣrī al-faṣīḥ* (1981–5), which revolves around a journey by an impoverished Cairene family from their home in the City of the Dead to the centre of Cairo, where they attempt to put themselves up for sale; there is a disturbance, arrests are made and an investigation follows; the novel describes the background to these events and their aftermath, ending with President Sadat's

return to Egypt a year later from his visit to Jerusalem. These events provide a peg on which to hang a scathing critique of contemporary Egyptian society, and of Sadat's policies in both the domestic and the foreign spheres; while, on another level, the novel is an exploration of the creative process, which builds on al-Qa'id's earlier experiments with the novelistic technique. As such, it represents the culmination of a combination of social criticism and literary experimentation which al-Qa'id has made distinctively his own.

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P. STARKEY

**al-Qalamāwī, Suhayr (1911– )**

Egyptian scholar, critic and short-story writer. Al-Qalamāwī was among the first female university graduates and Master's Degree holders in Egypt. She completed her studies in Arabic Literature at the Sorbonne. Joining the Department of Arabic in Cairo University's Faculty of Arts, she later served as its chairperson. In 1935, al-Qalamāwī had published the first volume of short stories by a woman to appear in Egypt, *Aḥādīth jaddatī*. It is structured as a series of conversations between the narrator and her grandmother, reminiscences of the past drawn forcefully into the present by the narrator's own concerns. Al-Qalamāwī went on to publish another collection, *al-Shayāṭīn talhū* (1964); more than eighty of her short stories have appeared in the periodical press, regularly in the journal *al-Hilāl* for a while. She has also published many studies on literary topics, including the landmark *Alf layla wa-layla* (1943). An early member of the Egyptian Feminist Union youth group al-Shaḥīqāt, she later wrote on gender issues and was at one point president of the Pan-Arab Women's League. Active in support of literary endeavour in Egypt, she has served on high-level government committees on the arts and as director of the Egyptian General Organisation for Information, Publication, Distribution and

Printing. She is now Emeritus Professor of Arabic Literature at Cairo University.

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M. BOOTH

### al-Qālī, Abū 'Alī Ismā'il ibn al-Qāsim (288–356/901–67)

Philologist active in Baghdad and Córdoba. He was born in Malazgird (Manzikert). In the company of people from Erzurum/Qāliqalā (hence his name al-Qālī) he moved to Baghdad in 303/915–16, where he studied with Ibn Durayd, Abū Bakr al-Anbārī and others. In 328/939 he left for Spain on the invitation of the Umayyad prince (later caliph) al-Ḥakam, a great patron of the arts and scholarship. Al-Qālī was a key figure in the transmission of the eastern grammatical tradition to the west. He wrote several books on lexicography, grammar and poetry, most of which are lost. Only a small part is preserved of his large dictionary entitled *al-Bārī*, which shows a strong influence of *al-'Ayn* by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad. Extremely popular were his *Dictations (al-Amālī)* which he wrote down in Córdoba; Ibn Khaldūn mentions this work as one of the four 'pillars' of the science of literature. It deals with numerous questions of lexicography, grammar and pre- and early Islamic poetry, for which it is an important source.

#### Text edition

- al-Amālī*, 4 vols, Cairo (1926) (vol. 3 contains *Dhayl al-Amālī wa-al-Nawādir* by al-Qālī; vol. 4 is *al-Tanbīh 'alā awḥām Abī 'Alī fī Amālīh* by Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī). A commentary on *al-Amālī* by the same al-Bakrī is called *Simt al-la'ālī*, 4 vols, Cairo (1936).

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

### al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418)

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī

was an Egyptian scholar, jurist and chancery official in the Mamlūk administration in Cairo, serving under a chief secretary to the sultan from the famous Faḍl Allāh family (see Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari), whom he praised in a *maqāma* on secretaryship. He wrote commentaries on Shāfi'i law and *adab* works, but his greatest literary achievements were in the fields of the secretarial art (*kitāba*) and its ancillaries. His monumental (fourteen volumes in the printed edition) *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* follows on from Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *Masālik al-abṣār* and is an encyclopaedic and exhaustive compendium of both the theoretical knowledge (history, geography, *adab*, grammar) vital for the compleat secretary and also the practical skills of calligraphy, preparation of official correspondence, etc.; not least of the book's values is al-Qalqashandī's inclusion of the texts of diplomatic documents, addressed to Muslim and non-Muslim potentates alike, which have been extensively utilized by modern historians. Two other works of his had a similar practical aim, one dealing with early Arab genealogy and history and another with the constitutional theory of the caliphate and its history.

#### Text editions

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C. E. BOSWORTH

See also: encyclopedias, medieval; secretaries

### al-Qalyūbī, Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad (d. 1069/1659)

A luminary of the scholarly world of his day on account of the wide breadth of his knowledge.

He well exemplifies a later Islamic type, the polyhistor conversant with diverse facets of the Islamic high cultural tradition in its most developed form, such as jurisprudence, *belles-lettres*, geography and medicine. Among his best-known works is an encyclopaedic collection of information about unusual events and phenomena commonly entitled *Nawādir al-Qalyūbī*.

Text editions

*The Book of Anecdotes, Marvels, Pleasantries, Rarities, and Useful and Precious Extracts*, W.N. Lees and Mawlawī Kabir al-Din (eds), Calcutta (1856).

*Le Fantastique et le quotidien*, R.R. Khawam (trans.), Paris (1981).

*Nawādir al-Qalyūbī*, Cairo (1923).

B. WEISS

**Qarāmīṭa see Carmathians**

**al-Qarawī see al-Khūrī, Rashīd Salīm**

**al-Qardāhī, Sulaymān (?–1909)**

Maronite actor and producer. Early in 1882 his company, including the famous singers the Egyptian Salāma Ḥijāzī and the Syrian Murād Rūmānū, was founded in Alexandria from the remnants of the earlier troupes of Salīm al-Naqqāsh and Yūsuf al-Khayyāt, in which he had been an actor. During the 'Urābī revolt he left Egypt and did not return until 1883, when his troupe began to perform regularly (in Alexandria, Cairo and the Egyptian provinces) the plays of Mārūn al-Naqqāsh and Salīm al-Naqqāsh, Adīb Ishāq, Salīm al-Bustānī and other Arab playwrights, as well as adaptations from Western authors such as Shakespeare, Corneille and Molière. He also formed one of the first troupes to tour abroad, going to Syria and to the International Exhibition in Paris. His popularity declined with the increasing success of Iskandar Farah's troupe, which had been joined by Hijāzī, but his performances were a great success in Tunis, where he arrived in 1908. Uncontestably the father of Arab theatre in Tunisia, after his death the members of his troupe stayed to form a new troupe, allowing Tunisians for the first time to appear on the stage.

Further reading

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P. C. SADGROVE

**al-Qarṭājannī, Ḥāzīm see Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī**

**qaṣīda (pl. qaṣā'id)**

Generic term denoting a polythematic poem with identical metre and rhyme (see *prosody*), usually beginning with amatory verses, the *nasīb*, and ending with the poet's praise of himself or his tribe (see *fakhr*), sometimes in combination with satire (see *hijā'*), or with a panegyric (see *madih*). It was the principal genre of pre-Islamic bedouin poetry, the main expression of tribal norms and values. (See *bedouin*; *jāhiliyya*).

The *qaṣīda* was cultivated by Islamic poets throughout the Middle Ages, although with major changes in structure and function, and has been assimilated by other Islamic literatures as well. The term is derived from *qaṣada*, 'to aim at, to intend', but the original meaning of the designation is unknown. A plausible explanation would be that *qaṣīda* denotes a poem composed in 'qaṣīd', i.e. in one of the long metres with two complete hemistichs, the employment of which demanded professional skill, in contrast to mere improvisation. In medieval Arabic sources the term is applied to any poem of a certain length; according to Ibn Rashīq a *qaṣīda* must exceed seven (or ten) verses (*al-'Umda*, Cairo, 1963, vol. 1, 188). In the Western tradition, which will be followed here, the application of the term has been limited to the polythematic form, as opposed to the *qit'a*, the monothematic poem.

**Pre-Islamic period**

The earliest specimens of the genre probably date back to the end of the fifth century CE and give the impression of a well-established tradition. They were composed and transmitted orally and present several characteristics of

oral poetry (see **oral composition**), e.g. a high percentage of formulaic expressions, semantic repetition, additive style and independence of detail, which means that each section of the ode retains a certain degree of autonomy (cf. Zwettler, 1978). A *qaṣīda* varies in length from about 30 to 100 verses. It consists of short narrative and descriptive units, sometimes introduced as comparisons, depicting typical situations of tribal life, the bedouin's most precious possessions, camel and horse, and the landscape and animal world of the desert. Although the poet always speaks in the first person, he does not refer to his individual experience, except in the concluding section, where he may treat issues of personal concern. In the preceding parts of the ode he recreates the collective experience of tribal society, thus offering a model for identification; he is the 'bedouin hero' who encounters problems and provides solutions in accordance with the accepted values of the tribe (cf. Hamori, 1974, 3–30).

The *nasīb*, the only kind of love poetry preserved from the *jāhiliyya*, always refers to a relationship of the past. In spring, the season of abundant pasture, neighbouring tribes camp together and affairs are conducted between their members. This was evidently approved of by bedouin society, since poets boast of it in their self-praise. However, when the tribes separate lovers must part, for individual relations are subordinated to the interest of the group. The poet conforms to tribal demands, but his emotions are still involved. This is the situation treated in the *nasīb* by several conventional motifs. The most favourite motif is the poet's stopping at the 'traces' (*aṭlāl*) of a deserted campsite (*dār*, *manzil*), which he recognizes as the place where he once spent happy days with his beloved. He remembers her beauty, weeps and complains, but finally regains his equanimity and resolves to forget his futile sorrow. Other motifs fulfil the same function. The poet, while resting by night, is haunted by the 'vision' (*khayāl*, *ṭayf*) of his beloved, whom he knows to dwell in a distant place (cf. Jacobi, 1990). Or he observes the preparations of his beloved's tribe for departure, and watches her litter disappear in the distance (cf. Jacobi, 1971, 10–49).

After deciding to forget love and the beloved, the poet usually turns towards his camel for consolation. He elaborately describes its excellence and emphasizes its strength and endurance by comparing it to an

animal of the desert, e.g. an antelope, a wild ass, an ostrich or, very rarely, an eagle. These comparisons often develop into lively narratives which represent the animals in their typical behaviour and surroundings. The sequence of *nasīb* and camel theme seems to have constituted an early convention in the history of the ode. The concluding sections reveal a higher degree of variation. The following patterns are most frequent: (a) the poet compensates the melancholy mood of the *nasīb*, enhanced by allusions to his old age and failing success with women, by memories of youthful pleasures and pursuits; (b) he treats a political issue of tribal life, often in connection with satirical verses and threats against his adversaries; (c) he ends with a panegyric upon a tribal chief or a Lakhmid or Ghassānid king. The last pattern is most important for the history of the *qaṣīda*, since it survives in Islamic court poetry (cf. Jacobi, 1971, 65–105).

The origin of the *qaṣīda* remains obscure, in spite of various theories attempting to explain its sequence of themes. At our present stage of knowledge it seems safe to assume that independent genres were first united by metre and rhyme. Subsequently the need was felt to motivate the transition from one theme to the other, until by degrees several patterns emerged, which were accepted and regarded as meaningful by poets of different tribes and thus formed a common tradition. A careful assessment of pre-Islamic texts further points to the fact that the combination of *nasīb* and camel theme existed as a convention before other sections were added to it, for the concluding passages of the ode seem to allow of greater variation than the first two sections. An exceptional case is the *qaṣīda* ending with a *madīh*. Some odes seem to be conceived as a narrative sequence from beginning to end. The poet, on his desert journey, stops at a deserted campsite. He indulges in memories and renews his sorrow, but then he continues his journey and finally reaches the *mamdūh*, the patron to whom he addresses his *madīh*. This pattern serves as a starting point for the later development of the ode.

### Early Islamic period

In the first half of the first/seventh century, the time of the *mukhaḍramūn*, the pre-Islamic oral tradition was still followed by professional poets, e.g. Ḥassān ibn Thābit and Ka'b ibn



**Zuhayr**, who composed panegyrics upon the Prophet in the bedouin manner. But there are also significant changes on the formal and conceptual level indicating that the system of tribal values was beginning to disappear. In the *nasīb* poets occasionally introduce individual elements and refer to a present love affair they want to continue after separation. The beloved is now sometimes represented as an individual person, who takes part in the relationship, instead of the stylized heroine of the *Jāhiliyya*. These changes are particularly apparent in the *dīwān* of Abū Dhu'ayb (see **Hudhayl**), one of the most innovative poets of the period. Another important change regards the structure of the ode. As evidenced in the poetry of **al-A'shā** and **al-Huṭay'a**, the description of the poet's excellent camel begins to be replaced by his desert journey (*raḥīl*) to the *mamdūh*, whom he tries to impress by emphasizing the dangers of the ways and the hardship he undertook, in order to reach him. This development is continued and completed in the *Umayyad qaṣida* (Jacobi, 1982, cf. 8–13).

### Umayyad period

With the gradual dissolution of tribal society in the course of the first Islamic century, the *qaṣida* lost its former significance as the expression of tribal ideals and values, but it remained the principal form cultivated by professional poets in the employment of the caliphs and their governors. The *nasīb* develops in contact with *Umayyad ghazal* poetry and presents a marked contrast to the pre-Islamic form. Poets continue to allude to conventional motifs, e.g. the 'deserted campsite' or the 'night vision', but the narrative structure of the *nasīb* is mostly dissolved, and the amatory theme, the poet's longing and sorrow, is more elaborately treated than before. The 'heroic' resolution to forget love and the beloved is abandoned. Lovers promise faithfulness after separation, and memories are evoked so as to motivate their present concern in the relationship. The *nasīb* is sometimes followed, without transition, by a satirical section, a new pattern which seems to have been appreciated by the *Umayyad* audience (cf. van Gelder, 1990).

As regards the structure of the ode, the most important development is the elaboration of the *raḥīl*. *Umayyad* poets, instead of describing their excellent camel, refer to a perilous desert journey and usually mention a

group of travellers and their mounts, emphasizing the traces of hardship and weariness visible on men and animals. The destination, the patron, is always named, often repeatedly, so as to leave no doubt to whom the poet looks for an adequate reward. It seems further significant that elements of the *raḥīl* may be inserted into the *nasīb*. There are also panegyric odes beginning with a *raḥīl*, which is sometimes ingeniously blended with the *madiḥ*. This is a favourite technique of **al-Farzaq**, who composed half of his panegyrics without a *nasīb* (cf. Jacobi, 1982, 14–19). The *Umayyad madiḥ* is more elaborate, on the whole, than the pre-Islamic, and has been adapted to its new purpose, i.e. celebrating the religions and political significance of the caliphate. In contrast to the pre-Islamic *qaṣida*, the *Umayyad* ode appears to be determined in all its sections by the panegyric function, thus corresponding with remarkable precision to **Ibn Qutayba's** famous description of the *qaṣida* (*Kitāb al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'arā'*, de Goeje, 1902, 14f.).

### 'Abbāsīd period

The 'Abbāsīd *qaṣida* constitutes a highlight in the history of the ode, for it reflects the rhetorical brilliance of the 'new style' (see *badi'*), as well as the intellectual sophistication of the age. Court poets like **Abū Tammām** and **al-Buḥturi** composed their odes with great care and a view to the coherence of the entire text on different linguistic levels (cf. Stetkevych, 1991, 113–231; cf. also Sperl, 1989, 28–47). There is further a growing tendency towards a bipartite form consisting of *nasīb* and *madiḥ*, the *raḥīl* being omitted altogether or reduced to a mere introduction to the *madiḥ* (cf. Jacobi, 1982, 19–21). The *nasīb* assimilates elements from courtly *ghazal* poetry, but whereas the 'Abbāsīd *ghazal* is provided with an urban background, as a rule, love affairs in the *nasīb* are conducted in the romantic world of a bedouin environment, evoked by place names and allusions to the landscape of the **Hijaz**. Early *muhdathūn*, e.g. **Abū Nuwās** and **Muslim ibn al-Walid**, sometimes introduce their odes with a bacchic scene or a description of flowers and gardens. There is also a short-lived fashion for an 'anti-*nasīb*', i.e. the ironic rejection of bedouin conventions and attitudes.

The *madiḥ*, especially if addressed to a caliph, is usually of considerable length and

closely structured from beginning to end. According to Sperl's theory of the bipartite form (1989), *nasīb* and *madīḥ* constitute an antithesis (strophe and anti-strophe), whereby each element of the *nasīb* finds its opposition in the *madīḥ*. The poet's relation to his cruel capricious beloved is compensated by the caliph's grace and generosity, who turns his frustration and grief into happiness and bliss. But the analogy is not limited to the personal aspect. The transitoriness of human affairs, symbolized in the *nasīb* by the deserted 'traces' (*aqlāl*), is counterbalanced by the cosmic power of the caliph to rejuvenate the earth. The technique of establishing an opposition or analogy between *nasīb* and *madīḥ* seems to be developed already by **Bashshār ibn Burd**, who uses it ingeniously for his own purpose (cf. Meisami, 1985). The same technique has been demonstrated for odes of the **Būyid** period (cf. Sperl, 1989, 48–70), but the later history of the *qaṣīda* remains to be investigated. The form has been used by poets up to the nineteenth century, and even after it has become obsolete, topoi from the *qaṣīda* are used by poets and understood by their readers until today.

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R. JACOBI

### *qaṣīdat al-nathr* see prose poem

### Qāsim, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm (1935–90)

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. Born into a peasant family in al-Bandara, Gharbiyya province, Qāsim attended a Coptic school for part of his education. He studied law at Alexandria University. Imprisoned as a communist by the Nasser regime, he was later employed in the civil service. In 1974 he was awarded a scholarship to study in West Berlin and spent several years there. After his return to Egypt in the early 1980s he worked as a journalist until his death from a stroke.

Qāsim was one of the experimentalists who started writing around 1960 and gained recognition after 1967, when defeat in the Six-Day War had shattered the prevailing political and cultural assumptions. He was not a prolific writer; he left three novels and four collections of novellas and short stories. Almost all his work is linked in some way to his personal experience as an intellectual of peasant origin struggling against the economic, cultural and emotional privations of life in the Egyptian city and village, and to his hatred of the misuse of power. He took themes and situations already treated in Egyptian literature and developed them by changing them significantly or applying new techniques to them. His style, with its considerable recourse to the colloquial, its poetic rhythms of repeated words and phrases, and its sparing use of connectives, is well suited to convey the emotional significance of the outside world to the main characters, a consistent concern of his.

His first novel to be published, *Ayyām al-insān al-sab'a* (1969) traces a boy's progressive alienation from the traditional world of his family, steeped in religion and Islamic

folklore; it is a remarkably profound treatment of a familiar theme. The earlier *Muḥāwala lil-khurūj* (1980) describes a love affair between an Egyptian and a European girl – the Cairo setting at the same time affording an opportunity for a critical examination of Egyptian society. A courageous attack on the forced conversion of Copts by Islamic fundamentalists is the subject of the novella *al-Mahdī* (1978). In *Qadar al-ghuraf al-muqbiḍa* (1982) the hero's itinerary from Egyptian village to German metropolis is established by means of minute descriptions of the rooms in which he lodges. Some of the later stories show a renewed interest in the possibilities of the classical Arabic literary heritage.

Text editions

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H. KILPATRICK

**al-Qāsim, Samih (1939– )**

Palestinian poet and dramatist. Born into a Druze family in Zarqa (Jordan), al-Qāsim was educated in Rama and Nazareth. He worked for a time as a teacher in Israel and subsequently as a journalist in Haifa. One of the most prolific of the Palestinian 'resistance' poets, he has several times been imprisoned for his views. Like his lifelong friend Maḥmūd Darwish, his life and literary output are rooted in the events that led to the creation of Israel in 1948 and the fragmentation of Palestinian society.

A highly accomplished poet, al-Qāsim employed the traditional *qaṣida* form in his early poetry of the late 1950s and early 1960s, but with a refreshingly new and crisp sense of purpose. This poetry is also characterized by an overwhelming desire to achieve thematic immediacy through, *inter alia*, the use of a defiant but well-measured lyricism. This lyricism is also present in his later poetry, for the most part composed in free verse.

Al-Qāsim regarded form and content as organically related elements in the poetic

creation. His poetry is characterized by a rich array of symbolic motifs whose choice depends on a vision of the Palestinian situation in terms that, while firmly rooted in the local culture, expand to encompass other cultures in a universalizing mode of poetic expression. This explains his use of local and Greek mythologies, in addition to the Koran and the Bible, as sources from which to draw his motifs. In his use of the Koran, al-Qāsim often reinterprets traditional meanings, as for example with the characters of Iram and Ayyūb.

No less significant is al-Qāsim's creative use of ordinary language, including dialectal expressions, imitations of the language of the Koran and the Arabic version of the Bible, the insertion of expressions from other languages (mainly Hebrew), the use of dialogue, and the insertion of ordinary prose as a mode of expression for well-defined purposes. The cumulative effect is to promote immediacy in the appreciation of his poetry by its Palestinian audience and to enhance its wider appeal; in particular, the insertion of borrowed expressions represents an attempt to convey a sense in which Palestinian life has been punctured by an intruding reality. Another special feature of his poetry is the use of 'signature' poems – short and sometimes cryptic poems characterized by dense emotional content and allusive imagery.

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*Victims of a Map*, Abdullah al-Udhari (trans.), London (1984), 50–85.

Y. SULEIMAN

**al-Qāsim Ibn 'Isā, Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī (d. c.227/842)**

Arab general, poet and musician. Abū Dulaf came from a wealthy family of the Banū 'Ijl, settled near Hamadan. Of Shi'i sympathies, he had an uneasy relationship with al-Ma'mūn but was a companion of al-Mu'taṣim, who admired his singing. He led his own contingent in the war against Bābak and had a reputation for bravery that reached almost mythical dimensions. He was an extravagantly generous patron, and many poets and musicians made the journey to his town of Karaj; they were attracted not only by hope of gain but by the

knowledgeable and sympathetic welcome that their work received. Abū Dulaf was the author of books on falconry, weapons, the policy of the ruler and other subjects connected with court life which have not survived. Fragments of his poetry have been preserved, simple but effective love lyrics and some *fakhr*, which strikes a heroic note. He may be considered as both a representative of 'Abbāsīd court culture and an embodiment of the old Arab virtues.

Further reading

*Aghānī* [3]8: 248–257.

*EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'al-Ḳāsim b. 'Īsā' (J. Bencheikh).

H. KILPATRICK

**qāṣṣ see oratory and sermons;  
story telling**

**Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā'a see Khārījīs**

**qawādīsī or qādūsī**

From Arabic *qādūs* (pl. *qawādīs*) 'water-wheel bucket', a verse form not mentioned by al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad, with alternating ū- and ī-sounds after the rhyming consonant. In classical poetry such an alternation represents a case of *iqwā'*, one of the defects of rhyme. The etymology of the term is explained by comparing the movement of the water-wheel buckets which are constantly going up and down with the alternation of -ū and -ī (*raf'* meaning either raising or ū-sound and *khafḍ* either lowering or ī-sound). An example taken from a longer poem by Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Awnī are the following verses:

*kam li-dumā 'l-abkāri bi-'l-khbayni  
min manāzili  
bi-muhjatī li-'l-wajdi min tadhkārihā  
manāzilu  
ma'āhidun ghayyarahā sawākibu 'l-  
hawāṭili  
lammā na'ā sākinuhā fa-'admu'ī  
hawāṭilu*

(How many abodes there are of the beautiful virgins in Khabtayn / In my heart there are abodes of ardour when I remember them / Places transformed by pouring rain / Since their resident left my tears are heavy rain).

Against official theory the poet twice uses the

same word twice (*manāzil/hawāṭil*), two cases of *itā'* (see *prosody*).

W. STOETZER

**qayna, qiyān see singers and  
musicians**

**Qayrawan see Maghrib**

**Qays 'Aylān see tribes**

**Qays ibn 'Amr al-Najāshī see  
al-Najāshī**

**Qays ibn Dhariḥ  
(c.4–70/c.626–89)**

Love poet of the 'Udhri type (see 'Udhri poetry), early Islamic and early Umayyad period. Qays, stemming from the Kināna tribe, resided mainly near Medina. He is said to have been a foster-brother of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī (c.4–61/c.626–80), son of the fourth Orthodox caliph. According to the *akhbār*, his marriage with his much-beloved wife Lubnā remained childless. Qays was therefore pressed by his parents to divorce her and finally yielded to their demands. Although both he and Lubnā married again, Qays for the rest of his life remained faithful to his former love. Some traditions have Qays and Lubnā reunite while others pretend to know that they died separated from each other. As a proverbial mistress Lubnā is already mentioned in a verse of al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf (d. 188/803 or after 193/808; cf. Kračkovskij, 1955, 35). No copy of his *diwān* has survived. The collection of fragments compiled by Naṣṣār contains 76 pieces with 449 verses. The fact that Qays ibn Dhariḥ carries the same name as Qays ibn al-Mulawwah (al-Majnūn) al-'Āmirī seems to have caused confusion about authorship even beyond what is usual in the circle of 'Udhri poets.

Text edition

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

## Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm (d. before 1/622)

Pre-Islamic poet from the clan Zafar of the tribe of Aws, which together with Jewish tribes and the Banū Khazraj inhabited the oasis Yathrib (later Medina). Qays was murdered by a Khazrajī shortly before the Hijra (622 AD). His *dīwān* (23 poems, together nearly 300 lines) contains occasional pieces and dipartite *qaṣīdas*. The latter comprise *nasīb* and a message in which the poet glorifies his prowess and that of his tribe and deals with the feuds in Yathrib, especially the *yawm Bu'āth*, a battle in which the hostilities between Aws and Khazraj culminated in about 617 CE. Qays also exchanged polemics with the Khazrajī poets **Hassān ibn Thābit** and **'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa**. Although some of his *nasīb* lines were admired by later critics, his main importance lies less in his literary achievements than in his shedding light on the circumstances in Yathrib on the eve of Islam.

Text edition

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T. BAUER

## Qays ibn al-Mulawwah, al-Majnūn (first/seventh century)

The poet Qays ibn al-Mulawwah al-'Amirī, widely known under the epithet al-Majnūn or Majnūn Laylā, is said to have lived around the middle of the first/seventh century, and to have died, according to various statements, between 65/685 and 80/699. His love for Laylā is the main theme of his poetry, and is dealt with in numerous short narrations, which themselves contain and preserve a good part of the verses known to us. As the most common version of the story runs, Majnūn's love had developed since his childhood years, but Laylā's parents, resentful of his behaviour, married her elsewhere. This only intensified

Majnūn's passion, which caused him to roam about in search of relief and led him into madness. Tolerating only wild beasts as company, he lived and died in the wilderness, far from human habitation. During his agony, poetic inspiration would never fail to meet him whenever he remembered Laylā.

Majnūn shares the general features of his unfortunate but faithful love with other poets of the 'Udhri *ghazal* (e.g. **Jamil Buthayna**, **Qays ibn Dhariḥ**; see 'Udhri poetry), but stands out from them through the exaltation of his attitude and through his madness, which may be seen as coming close to mystical experience. At the same time his mental affliction appears as a consequence of his rejection of social conventions. The story of Majnūn and Laylā therefore gained precedence over others of the same genre. It became most prominent in several oriental literatures and was depicted, quite independently from the Arabic poetry, by Persian romances in the most accomplished way. According to the rich poetic imagery already present in the classical Arabic model, the story of Majnūn and Laylā and of his poetry can be interpreted from various aspects and has thus inspired modern versions, e.g. by **Aḥmad Shawqī** and the *Riwāyat Majnūn Laylā* by M. Munjī Khayr Allāh.

The person of the poet and the origin of the stories about his love, and of his poetry, give rise to some questions. Doubts concerning the poet's name and even the existence of a historical Majnūn are recorded in the earliest sources for his poetry and life-story, **Ibn Qutayba's** (d. 276/890) *al-Shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'*, and **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's** (d. 356/967) *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. In consequence it seems to have become accepted among Orientalists that Majnūn is a legendary figure. As to its origin, our oldest extant source (Ibn Qutayba's *Shi'r*) does not say much, but a kernel of the accounts given here may be traced back to the second half of the second/eighth century, when older popular stories were shaped into a literary version. Already at that stage, the essential characteristics of Majnūn are present, whereas the establishment of the historicity of the figure was avoided.

Apart from the sources mentioned, an important collection of accounts is reproduced by Ja'far ibn Aḥmad **al-Sarrāj** (d. 500/1106) in his *Maṣāri'* *al-'ushshāq*. He persistently quotes Ibn al-Marzubān (d. 302/921) who is known as the author of *Akhbār al-Majnūn* (Yūsuf al-'Ushsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*,

*mu'arrikh Baghdād wa-muḥaddīthuh*, Damascus, 1364/1945, 106). A recension of his *dīwān*, which was spread throughout many manuscripts, is attributed to the fairly unknown Abū Bakr al-Wālibī. In fact, a person of this name belonging to the second half of the second/eighth century is occasionally mentioned (al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, vol. 2, 126; *Maṣāri'*, vol. 2, 78). The collection of Majnūn's verses, however, many of which are also attributed to other poets, must have been put together later, as was suggested by Kratchkowsky, whose arguments have not been challenged. This does not exclude, contrary to this author's excessive scepticism, that some poetry of the first/seventh century has been preserved. In any case, a comprehensive critical evaluation of the material attributed to Majnūn has not yet been undertaken.

Many of the verses of Majnūn's *dīwān* are fine poetry and quite interesting. Due to Majnūn's particular intimacy with nature his verses contain descriptions of a *bedouin* environment. Moreover, his passion for Laylā often mingles with the longing for his homeland (*al-ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān*), since Najd shelters the souvenirs of his beloved. His verses witness, besides the effects of passion and the states of a love that cannot hope for earthly fulfilment, an absolute devotion to his experience which cannot be counterbalanced even by religion and which has become the characteristic of Majnūn Laylā.

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*El<sup>2</sup>*, art. 'Madjnūn Laylā' (Ch. Pellat).  
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 al-Sarrāj, *Maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, Beirut (1378/1958), *passim*.

S. LEDER

### al-Qazwīnī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān see al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī, Muḥammad

### al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyyā' ibn Muḥammad (c.600–82/c.1203–83)

Born in Qazwīn, he served as judge (*qāḍī*) of Wāsiṭ and al-Hilla and is famous as an author on cosmography and geography. Al-Qazwīnī's career as official in the judiciary and his works attest to the careful, well-rounded education he enjoyed. His travels to Mesopotamia and Syria and through Iran may have been motivated by search of employment at least as much as of learning; in Iraq he did enter 'Abbāsīd service and subsequently gravitated into the orbit of the Ilkhanid governor of Baghdad, 'Aṭā-Malik Juvaynī (d. 682/1283), to whom he dedicated his cosmography.

Al-Qazwīnī's two works, the cosmography '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* (*Marvellous Things of Creation and Wondrous Things of Existence*) and the geographical dictionary *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-'ibād* (*Monuments of Places and History of God's Bondsmen*) are not so much the fruit of autopsy, but of extensive reading in the whole range of pertinent disciplines, such as (Aristotelian) physics, astronomy, mineralogy, botany, zoology, psychology, history, geography, etc. However, the impressive number of authors quoted in either book decreases dramatically once the author's primary proximate source – or sources – is identified; in the cosmography, provided no hitherto concealed text is yet to be uncovered,

the most frequently quoted authors are **Abū Ḥamid al-Gharnāṭī** and the anonymous author of the Persian *Tuhfat al-gharā'ib* (*Gift of Wonders*); in the geography, the unacknowledged main authority is **Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān** (*Dictionary of Countries*). Obviously, neither al-Qazwīnī's sometimes cavalier handling of his sources nor his basically compilatory method – to the neglect of empirical investigation and learning – are unique to him; on the contrary, they represent the then current standard of scholarship. The tremendous popularity of his cosmography is documented by the rich manuscript tradition, including a fair number of lavishly illustrated copies, by repeated revisions and adaptations, and by translations into Persian and Turkish.

By naming 'mirabilia' in the very title, al-Qazwīnī may have uncannily captured the mood of his age; he justifies them in 'rational' terms as signs of God's creative power and of the cunning of the created being so that only the stupid would reject them. The inhabitants of the supralunar and the sublunar, terrestrial worlds include, other than the multifarious earthly life, angels and demons – *jinn*. Using the time-honoured device of analogical reasoning, al-Qazwīnī claims that everything in this world causes wonderment to the uninitiated, as it does to children, except that in growing up, man becomes familiar with most phenomena and their causes so that he no longer perceives them as wonders. He will equally learn to accept the as yet hidden causes of what appears inexplicable and miraculous to him. However, al-Qazwīnī declines responsibility in case a reader persists in his doubt: he cannot vouchsafe for the correctness of testimony that he himself did no more than transmit faithfully.

Al-Qazwīnī arranges his material alphabetically wherever possible; thus in the cosmography, mountains, rivers, minerals, gemstones and medicinal plants are listed in alphabetical order. In the geography, he follows the same pattern, except within the constraints of the seven latitudinal climes.

#### Text editions

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L. RICHTER-BERNBURG

See also: '*ajā'ib* literature; geographical literature

**al-Qazzāz, Ibn 'Ubāda** see **Ibn 'Ubāda al-Qazzāz**

**al-Qiftī** see **Ibn al-Qiftī**

**Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'** see **Legends of the Prophets**

**Qiṣṣat al-amīr Ḥamza al-bahlawān** see **Ḥamza al-bahlawān**

#### qit'a

(Also *maqṭū'a*, *muqatta'a*). A term used to designate brief, usually monothematic poems, as opposed to the longer, often polythematic *qaṣida*. Generally translated as 'fragment' (the term is used in anthologies both for short poems and for excerpts from longer poems), this rendering is somewhat misleading, suggesting (as has often been proposed) that the *qit'a* was derived by the 'splitting off' of one or another of the *qaṣida*'s constituent elements (this was, perhaps, a fiction developed by the poets). It has also been suggested that the polythematic *qaṣida* evolved from the accumulation of such 'fragments' into long poems. Neither theory provides a satisfactory explanation of the relationship between the two.

Pre-Islamic poets evidently composed both long and short poems; but it was in the early 'Abbāsīd period that the *qit'a* underwent a conscious and deliberate development (see below), as *qit'as* were composed both by professional poets and by the cultured élite at large (in particular, court secretaries) for a wide variety of occasions and on a wide range of topics. As well as being employed for the 'major' genres of praise (*madīḥ*) and elegy (*riṭhā*), the *qit'a* became a popular vehicle for boasting (*fakhr*) and invective (*hijā'*), and was widely used for the newly developed wine poem (*khamriyya*), love poem (*ghazal*)

and ascetic poem (*zuhdiyya*), as well as for erotic and obscene poetry (*mujūn, sukhf*) and descriptive poetry (*wasf*), often in the form of highly elaborate riddles (see *lughz*). It was also used for brief epigrammatic poems, as well as for a variety of mundane purposes – invitations, thank-you notes, requests for gifts, apologies and so on. Mystical poets adapted the genres of the love and wine poems to express mystical themes.

The *qit'a* is distinguished formally from the *qaṣīda* not only by its brevity but by the frequent absence of *taṣrī'* (introductory rhymed hemistich; see *prosody*) in its opening line. Although both *qit'a* and *qaṣīda* treat common thematic topics, each exhibits distinct structural features which reflect different, and complementary, functions. The *qaṣīda* was composed for public recitation on formal, ceremonial occasions, the *qit'a* for more informal gatherings (often to be sung), and was often improvised. Ibn Rashiq observed that the short poem is more appropriate for such occasions, as it 'rests easier on the ear', while the *qaṣīda* is better suited to more formal purposes (in particular, panegyric), and is moreover intended to be memorized. Thus while the *qaṣīda* features an elevated diction and a complexity of style often marked by the extensive use of rhetorical devices, the *qit'a* tends towards simpler diction, less elaborate rhetoric, and greater lyricism.

#### Further reading

Badawi, M.M., 'From primary to secondary *qaṣīdas*: thoughts on the development of classical Arabic poetry', *JAL* 11 (1980), 1–31.  
*El'*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Mukhtārāt' (A. Hamori).

J.S. MEISAMI

### al-Qu'ayyid, [Muḥammad] Yūsuf see al-Qa'id, [Muḥammad] Yūsuf

### Qudāma ibn Ja'far (d. 337/948; other dates are also given)

Abū al-Faraj Qudāma ibn Ja'far al-Kātib al-Baghdādī was a scribe with philosophical interests, a philologist and a literary theorist. Originally a Christian, he became a Muslim under al-Muktafī, 'Abbāsīd caliph from 289/902 to 295/908. He held various medium-level administrative positions in the caliphal chanceries. In 320/932, he attended the

famous debate, before the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, between the grammarian al-Sirāfi and the logician Mattā ibn Yūnus; otherwise nothing much is known of his life.

Three of his fifteen works have survived. *Jawāhir al-alfāz* (*Word Jewels*), is a topically arranged dictionary of synonyms and near-synonyms to help the state scribe achieve *variatio* and choose the appropriate word. The introduction contains a list of fifteen figures of style with explanations and examples, said to be the 'best part of eloquence' for both poet and orator. Of *Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba* (*The Book of Land Tax and the Scribe's Art*), only the last four parts have been preserved, dealing with administration, geography, taxation and government, the last part belonging partly to the *Mirrors for Princes* genre. The lost third part of the book dealt with *balāgha* 'eloquence'. In *Naqd al-shi'r*, (*The Assaying of Poetry*), the author sees himself as a pioneer, writing, as he does, the first book on the 'science of the good and the bad in poetry'. The structure of the book betrays his philosophical interests. He starts with a definition ('Poetry is metred and rhymed utterance pointing to a meaning'), which becomes standard in the later literature. This yields the four elements that make up poetry: metre, rhyme, wording and meaning. He then proceeds to describe the good qualities of these elements and of their various combinations, to be followed by a similar chapter dealing with the bad qualities. In his treatment of 'meaning' he restricts himself to the major 'aims', i.e. genres, of poetry (panegyric, invective, elegies, simile, description and love poetry). The 'modern' genres (such as bacchic poetry; see *khamriyya*) are glaringly absent, which tallies well with the astonishing fact that the vast majority of his examples are taken from ancient poetry. Since he does not use the term *badī'*, lit. 'something novel', to refer to some or all rhetorical figures, he may have wanted to stay clear of the controversy associated with this notion, although he is certainly not unaware of the differences between 'ancient' and 'modern' poetizing. One such issue is the debate about the licitness of hyperbole which, according to Qudāma, was raging at his time. Belonging to the larger genus of the 'poetic lie', hyperbole was rejected by some and enthusiastically defended by others, while Qudāma takes a moderate stand in favour of the hyperbole, provided that it survives the insertion of



'almost.' (See further ancients and moderns; truth and poetry.)

Qudāma is frequently quoted in the later literature on rhetorical figures, but his method of presentation is abandoned.

Text editions

*Jawāhir al-alfāz*, Muḥammad Muḥyī āl-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (ed.), Cairo (1350/1932), rpt. Beirut (1399/1979).

*Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba*, Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī (ed.), Baghdad (1981); facs. edn Fuat Sezgin, Frankfurt (1986).

*Naqd al-shi'r*, Seeger A. Bonebakker (ed.), Leiden (1956); partial trans. in Vicente Cantarino, *Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age*, Leiden (1975), 118–24.

Further reading

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W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: literary criticism, medieval

**qufl see muwashshah**

**Qunṣul, Ilyās [Elias Konsol] (1914–81)**

**Mahjar** poet and prose writer. Born in Yabrud (Syria), he went with his father to Brazil in 1924, and with his father and younger brother Zakī Qunṣul to Argentina in 1929. They began as peddlers, but Ilyās then found employment as editor-in-chief of *al-Jarīda al-Sūriyya al-Lubnāniyya* in Buenos Aires. His first volume of poetry, *al-Aslāk al-shā'ika*, was published in 1931 in Buenos Aires, followed by *al-'Abarāt al-multahiba* (Buenos Aires, 1931) and *'Alā madhbaḥ al-waṭaniyya* (Beirut, 1931). In 1937 he started the monthly *al-Manāhil*, which continued until 1940. He returned to Syria in 1954, publishing a number of prose works including *Dawlat al-majānīn* and *Ghālib Afandī* (both Damascus, 1955) and beginning a journal *al-Funūn* which folded in its first year. He returned to Argentina in 1957, where he engaged in trade and journalism.

Further reading

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C. NIJLAND

**Qunṣul, Zakī [Zaki Konsol] (1916–1994)**

**Mahjar** poet and journalist. Zakī Qunṣul attended school in Yabrud until 1925, when he left to help ease his family's financial difficulties. In 1929 he emigrated with his father to Brazil and from there to Argentina, where they became peddlers. In 1935 he was employed on *al-Jarīda al-Sūriyya al-Lubnāniyya*, where his brother Ilyas Qunṣul worked as editor-in-chief. He left the paper in 1939 after a dispute with the owner and again became a trader. His first volume of poetry, *Shazāyā*, was published in the same year. Zakī Qunṣul's second volume of poetry, *Su'ād*, was devoted to his first-born child, Su'ād, who died in 1952 at the age of eight months; in addition to several more volumes of poetry, he also wrote a play, *Taḥt samā' al-Andalus*.

Further reading

al-Yūnus, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Zakī Qunṣul, shā'ir al-hubb wa-al-ḥanīn*, Buenos Aires (1967).

C. NIJLAND

**Qur'ān see Koran**

**Quraysh see tribes**

**al-Qurdāhī, Sulaymān see al-Qardāhī, Sulaymān**

**al-Qushayrī (376–465/986–1072)**

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin al-Qushayrī was a well-known theologian and mystic. Born in Ustuwā in **Khurasan**, in Nishapur al-Qushayrī fell under the tutelage of the prominent Ṣūfī figure Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq, from whom he received the bulk of his mystical learning (and whose daughter he married). He also studied *kalām*, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* there. Al-Qushayrī was also involved in the political-theological disputes of his time, as in 446/1054 when he was imprisoned during the violent Ḥanafī-Shāfi'i conflict. In 448/1058 he was summoned to **Baghdad** to teach *hadīth* in the palace of the caliph al-Qā'im. Returning to Khurasan, he settled in Ṭūs until the accession of the Saljūq sultan Alp Arslān in 455/1063, then returned to Nishapur where he died.

Of al-Qushayri's numerous works the two most important are his exegetical work the *Latā'if al-ishārāt*, and his general treatise on Sufism *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*. Al-Qushayri's *tafsīr* was based on a method of revealing the esoteric side of Koranic words and expressions, seeing the exoteric linguistic forms as pointers towards their own hidden meanings; hence the *ishārāt* of the title. The *Risāla* was al-Qushayri's most influential work and the one through which he gained his fame. Like other general Ṣūfī treatises, it gives much information about Sufism and its doctrine while portraying it as a true orthodox trend. Thus the main doctrinal lines in the *Risāla* are: presenting the Ṣūfī idea of *tawhīd* (divine unity) as being consonant with the orthodox notion; relating esoteric knowledge to the *sharī'a*; denying there are any objectionable features in the basic Ṣūfī esoteric concepts and methods.

#### Text editions

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'Qushayri's *Tarīb al-Sulūk*', F. Meier (ed.), *Oriens* 16 (1963), 1–39.

*al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya*, with selections from Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary *Iḥkām al-dalāla* ..., Cairo (1940); Pīr Muḥammad Ḥasan (ed.), Karachi (1964) (with several other treatises and Urdu translation).

*Das Sendschreiben al-Quṣayrī's über das Sufitum*, R. Gramlich (trans.), Wiesbaden (1989).

R.L. NETTLER

See also: Ṣūfī literature: prose

### **quṣṣāṣ see oratory and sermons; story telling**

### **Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'albakī (d. c.300/912–13)**

A prolific Syrian Christian translator and scholar of medicine and the exact sciences. His skills in these fields resulted in an invitation to Baghdad, where he served the caliph al-Musta'in (r. 248–52/862–6) and joined the company of such colleagues as Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī, Hunayn ibn Ishāq and Thābit ibn Qurra. Later he moved to Armenia at the behest of the prince Sanḥarīb (Sennacherib), and remained active there to the end of his life. Fluent in Arabic, Greek and Syriac, he produced numerous Arabic translations of Greek

texts in various fields, and also wrote original works on topics in medicine, mathematics, philosophy, logic, music, astronomy, and weights and measures. These works, some of considerable importance, are for the most part short essays and make Quṣṭā a typical figure of the more mature translation period, when translators were also writing brief works of their own on specific topics, more so than ambitious compendia and monographs.

#### Text editions

*Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca: The Risāla fī taḍbīr safar al-ḥajj*, Gerrit Bos (ed. and trans.), Leiden (1992) (with commentary and further bibliography).

#### Further reading

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Ullmann, Manfred, *Die Medizin in Islam*, Leiden (1970), 126–8.

L.I. CONRAD

See also: translation, medieval

### **al-Quṭāmī, (d. c.101/719)**

Abū Sa'īd 'Umair ibn Shiyaym (or Shuyaym) al-Taghlibī al-Quṭāmī was an Umayyad poet who, like Muslim ibn al-Walīd, was known as *Ṣarī' al-Ghawānī*. Little is known about his life. According to 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, he was a Christian who converted to Islam, although Taghlib remained Christian until the 'Abbāsīd period. His poetry consists of *wasf*, *madiḥ* and *ghazal*; Ibn Sallām placed him in the second *ṭabaqa* alongside poets such as Dhū al-Rumma, though he was in fact closer in inspiration to Jarīr and similar to al-Akḥṭal in his *ghazal* and *nasīb*. He drew inspiration from the desert roots of Arab culture to the exclusion of its new urban context. Notably there are a number of aphorisms in his poetry.

#### Text edition

*Dīwān des 'Umair ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī*, J. Barth (ed.), Leiden (1902); *Dīwān*, I. Sāmarrā'ī and A. Maṭlūb (eds), Beirut (1960).

Further reading

Ibn Sallām al-Jumahī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, Cairo (1974), 452–7.

P.F. KENNEDY

**Quṭb, Sayyid (1906–66)**

Islamic writer and activist. After a traditional religious education, Quṭb studied literature at **Dār al-'Ulūm in Cairo** where he was exposed to the ideas of Egyptian liberal intellectuals and published several literary works which he later renounced. A scholarship trip to America (1949–50), where he apparently witnessed anti-Arab prejudice and signs of moral decay, left him disillusioned with Western civilization. Returning to **Egypt** he joined the Muslim Brotherhood and was rapidly promoted. Although imprisoned by Nasser's regime from 1954 to 1964, his Islamic writings were prolific (including a thirty-volume Koranic commentary), and he became the foremost Brotherhood thinker. With his growing disenchantment with the government, his later works became increasingly radical, dogmatic and exclusivist. His last work, *Ma'ālim fī al-ṭariq*, asserts that the majority of Muslims are living in *jāhiliyya* (ignorance). Influenced by Mawdudi, he posited Islam as a comprehensive ideology and system, and his combination of rational dialectic and powerful rhetoric have ensured a continuing popularity for his works. After his execution in 1966, his thought inspired certain militant Islamic movements, including al-Takfir wa-al-Hijra.

Text editions

*In the Shade of the Qur'ān*, Vol. 30, M. Salahi and A. Shamis (trans.), London (1979).

*Milestones*, Lahore (n.d.).

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Haddad, Y., 'Sayyid Quṭb: ideologue of Islamic revival', in J. Esposito (ed.), *Voices of a Resurgent Islam*, New York (1983).

K. ZEBIRI

**Quwaydir, Shaykh Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī (1789–1845/6)**

Egyptian writer, poet, philologist and grammarian. Born in **Cairo**, he studied under Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār and Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī at **al-Azhar**, writing a commentary on a metrical composition (*manzūma*) on **grammar** by al-'Aṭṭār. Among his pupils was the poet Maḥmūd Ṣafwat al-Sā'āti. He wrote treatises on plagiarism, and the art of letter writing. His *muzdawija* (strophic verse) on language was translated to Italian as *Dizionario dei triplici* (1899) by Errico Vitto, the Italian consul in Beirut.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**Rabī', Mubārak (1935– )**

Moroccan novelist and short-story writer, writing in Arabic. Born in Benma'ashu, Rabī' currently teaches psychology at the University of Rabat. He first published in national newspapers in 1961. Since then, he has published several collections of short stories, including *Sīdnā Qder* (1969) and *Dam wa-dukhān* (1975), and a number of novels including *al-Ṭayyibūn* (1972), *Rifqat al-silāh wa-al-qamar* (1976), *al-Rih al-shatawiyya* (1980) and *Badr zamānihi* (1983). *Rifqat al-silāh wa-al-qamar*, set on the Golan Heights during the 1973 Arab–Israeli war, won the Arab Language Academy's first prize in 1975.

H. HILMY

**Rabī'a see tribes****Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 183/801)**

A mystic from Basra. Her persona has been so transfigured by legendary and hagiographical elements that it is scarcely possible to recover any genuine historical information about her life. No prose works have been attributed to her, but some verses on worldly and divine love have come down to us under her name. These are considered to be the earliest of their kind to emerge in mystic circles. That they are actually of her authorship, however, remains highly improbable.

**Further reading**

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B. RADTKE

**Rabī'a ibn Maqrūm (d. shortly after 16/672 in advanced age)**

One of the few major poets from the tribe Dabba in pre- and early Islamic times. Only few of his poems have been preserved (altogether about 200 lines), but these are of remarkable quality. The aged poet's melancholic reminiscences of the heroic deeds of his youth and two onager episodes which influenced later poets deserve special attention.

**Text edition**

*The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, C.J. Lyall (ed.), Oxford (1918–21), poem nos 38, 39, 43, 113.  
*Shi'r*, Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Qaysī (ed.) Baghdad (1968).

**Further reading**

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T. BAUER

**al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya [Arrabitah]**

**Mahjar** literary circle founded in New York in 1920. Its name dates back to 11 May 1916, when the New York newspaper *al-Sā'ih* published a contribution by William Katsiflis with his name and the words 'member of al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya'. A contribution by Amīn al-Rihānī on 22 May was signed in the same way. Issues of Nasib 'Ariḍa's *al-Funūn* for July, August and September 1916 contained contributions by Jubrān and others using the same line, but 'al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya' was not referred to again until January 1919, when *al-Sā'ih* in its special issue for that year mentioned the existence of a group by that name.

The official founding session of the group took place on 28 April 1920. The members of the circle were divided into three categories:

- 1 Workers, that is the authors and poets. Their number was limited to twenty-four. They were required to have published

works of literary value, to be of irreproachable conduct, and to live in New York.

- 2 Sponsors, who supported the circle.
- 3 Correspondents, who were to possess the same qualities as the workers, but did not have to live in New York.

The motto of the circle was 'God has treasures beneath his throne, the keys to which are the tongues of the poets'.

The circle saw it as its task to publish literary works by the 'workers' and others, and to translate important literary works into Arabic. It decided to give prizes to encourage poets, authors and translators, and to publish an annual to which all the 'workers' would contribute. The first and only annual was published in 1921, but special issues of *al-Sā'ih* served as an effective replacement. The group ended after the death of Jubrān and the return to Lebanon of Nu'ayma.

C. NIJLAND

## Raḍwān, Faṭḥī (1911– )

Egyptian playwright, prose writer and politician. After attending the Faculty of Law at Cairo University, Faṭḥī Raḍwān embarked on a political career as a member of Miṣr al-Fatāt, the nationalist group founded by Aḥmad Ḥusayn in 1933. In the early days of the 1952 revolution he was nominated minister of national guidance and in 1954 became minister of communications.

Raḍwān's output comprises more than forty volumes, including short stories, collections of essays, history, politics, and biographies of Mahatma Gandhi, Mussolini and Muṣṭafā Kāmil. His works, like the writings of Aḥmad Ḥusayn himself, were strongly influenced by national socialism. He began writing for the theatre in 1955. His plays deal with social, philosophical and political issues (somewhat in the manner of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm), with some use of colloquial Arabic in the dialogue; among the most important are *Akhlāq lil-bay'* (1957), *Dumū' Iblīs* (1958) and *Shuqqa lil-ijār* (1959).

Text edition

'A god in spite of himself', P. Cachia (trans.), *JAL* 5 (1974), 108–26.

Further reading

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M. MIKHAIL

## al-Rāfi'ī, Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq (18??–1937)

Egyptian poet. Between 1902 and 1908 al-Rāfi'ī published several volumes of poetry in the classical tradition. In his prose writings he defended traditional Arabic philology and culture against the innovations of Ṭahā Ḥusayn, al-'Aqqād, Salāma Mūsā and others, and argued for the revival of traditional Islamic values in the social and political domains. In his 'poetic prose' (which at times rises to the level of 'poetry in prose') he used the convention of putting into a chain all similes known to him to describe an object, juxtaposing personification and the description of nature to reflect his emotions and psychological moods. Among his works in this vein are *Hadīth al-qamar* (2nd edn, Cairo, 1922), *Rasā'il al-aḥzān* (Cairo, 1924) and *al-Saḥāb al-aḥmar* (Cairo, 1924). Al-Rāfi'ī was an opponent of *shī'r manthūr*, which he defined as being no more than *nathr fannī* ('artistic prose').

Further reading

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M. MIKHAIL

See also: prose poem

## al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (fifth/eleventh century)

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī was a man of letters, theologian, philosopher and philologist. Exceptionally for a writer of considerable importance, al-Rāghib is ignored by biographical dictionaries. Internal evidence points to him having lived in Isfahan in the first half of the fifth/eleventh century. His works fall into four categories: theology and the study of sects; ethics and moral education; *tafsīr* (Koranic exegesis), with a linguistic orientation; philology and *adab*. This last group contains the *Majma' al-balāgha*, (*Assembly of Eloquence*), akin to a handbook of synonyms with illustrative phrases, and especially the *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā' wa-muḥāwarāt al-shu'arā' wa-al-bulaghā'* (*The Ready Replies of Cultured Men, and Poets' and Orators' Conversation*), a collection of sayings,

anecdotes and poetry arranged according to subject and drawing widely on religious, philosophical and literary material. One of the main *adab* anthologies, it challenges the reader intellectually by its stress on antithesis, while avoiding the stylistic excesses of the then fashionable rhymed prose (*saj'*).

Text edition

*Muhāḍarāt al-udabā' wa-muhāwarāt al-shu'arā' wa-al-bulaghā'*, 4 vols, Beirut (1961).

Further reading

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'Umar 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sarīsī, *Al-Rāḡhib al-Iṣfahānī wa-juhūduh fī al-lughā wa-al-adab*, Amman (1987).

H. KILPATRICK

See also: anthologies, medieval

## al-Rāhib, Hānī (1939– )

Syrian novelist and short-story writer. Hānī al-Rāhib studied English literature in Syria and England, where he gained a PhD. He has taught at the universities of Damascus, Sana'a and Kuwait. His first two novels, *al-Mahzūmūn* (written while a student at the University of Damascus) and *Sharkh fī tārikh ṭawīl* (1970), are marked by an obsession with the estrangement of the middle-class, educated individual, and by great sensitivity and care with regard to language. Later works such as *Alf layla wa-laylatān* (1977), *al-Wabā'* (1981), *al-Tilāl* (1988) and *Khaḍrā' ka-al-mustanqa'āt* (1992) treat similar issues with greater emphasis on social constraints and determinants, placing individuals and themes within their social and political contexts. The historical destinies of the *petite bourgeoisie* in Syria and its rise and fall politically and morally is the theme that permeates most of his work since the late 1970s. He has also written short stories and journalistic pieces and translated works from English into Arabic, including works by Arnold Kettle, African-American writers and the Israeli novelist Yael Dayan.

W. HAMARNEH

## Rāhib, Rufā'il Zakhūr see Zakhūr, Père Rufā'il

*raḥīl* see *qaṣīda*

## Rā'ī al-Ibl see al-Rā'ī al-Numayrī

### al-Rā'ī al-Numayrī (d.c.96/714)

Abū Jandal 'Ubayd ibn Ḥusayn from the tribe Numayr, called al-Rā'ī or Rā'ī al-ibil 'the camel-herd', was a poet in the Umayyad period who composed poems in a traditional vein. He spent much effort on the description of camels and desert animals and even introduced new motives taken from a *bedouin* milieu such as the activities of a camel-herd, whence he got his nickname. This literary tendency culminated in the work of **Dhū al-Rumma**, al-Rā'ī's pupil and the transmitter of his poetry.

Text edition

*Diwān*, Reinhard Weipert (ed.), Beirut (1980).

Further reading

Weipert, R., *Studien zum Diwan des Rā'ī*, Freiburg (1977).

T. BAUER

## rajaz

An Arabic metre based on the foot *mustaf'ilun* (⏟ ⏟ ⏟ —), or a poem employing this metre. It has been in use since the earliest times of Arabic literature and is thought to have its origin in ancient rhymed prose (*saj'*). Simple songs, such as those of the camel driver, the boatman, the weaver, the water-carrier and the housewife, are alleged to have often been in *rajaz*. Some scholars hold the view that *rajaz* is the metrical pattern out of which all other metres have evolved.

From a literary point of view, a distinction can be made between *rajaz* verse and *qarīḍ* poetry (in any of the other metres). The distinction is based on the fact that *rajaz* has (under normal circumstances) only one member without caesura, whereas the other metres have two, more or less symmetrical, hemistichs separated by a caesura. *Rajaz* lines are therefore generally only half the length of lines in other metres. (They are, however, frequently printed in

pairs.) The recurring rhyme at the short interval of only three (sometimes only two) feet, as compared with six or eight feet in the other metres, imposes a severe strain on the *rajaz* poet, who will often be tempted to use unusual words and bizarre forms, which adds to giving *rajaz* poetry its own distinctive literary character. Thematically, *rajaz* verse was often considered to be inferior and therefore outside *qarīd*. From a metrical point of view, it shows a greater looseness: as against the prestigious classical metres, where metrical variation is restricted to a limited number of positions, a *rajaz* trimeter has as many as six syllables that can be either long or short.

The founder of Arabic metrical theory, al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, does not attribute any special status to *rajaz*. For him, the metre is regarded as belonging to *shī'r* as do all other metres, and a composition in this metre can be called a *qaṣīda*. This has led to a problem of nomenclature. The *rajaz* trimeter occurs in two forms with either twelve or eleven syllables. The dimeter occurs in a form of either eight or seven syllables. According to al-Khalīl, only the acatalectic (i.e. complete) forms are *rajaz*, whereas the catalectic or truncated forms belong to other metres: the eleven-syllable *rajaz* is called *sarī'* and the seven-syllable form *munsariḥ*. One therefore sometimes finds a line in the Khalilian *sarī'* metre introduced with the words: 'the *rajaz* poet says ...'. (See prosody for scansion data of Khalilian metre types.)

The *urjūza* or *rajaz* poem comes in two types: monorhyme (*a a a ...*) and rhyming couplets (*a a b b c c ...*). This last type is called *muzdawija* and an *urjūza* of this structure is a *muzdawija*. For the versifier it has the advantage that the severe rhyme restrictions of the monorhyme *urjūza* do not apply.

As an easy metre of low prestige, considered good for improvisation in connection with everyday subjects, *rajaz* was looked down upon by professional pre-Islamic and early Umayyad poets. It gained in literary importance with the emergence of prestigious *rajaz* poets such as al-'Ajjāj (d. c.91/710), his son Ru'ba (d. 145/762) and Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī (d. before 125/743), who composed long poems with traditional *qaṣīda* themes. (Al-'Ijlī wrote a famous *urjūza* with a description of a camel which came to be known as *umm al-rajaz*, 'the *rajaz* poem par excellence'.) Other Umayyad poets such as Jarīr (d. c.112/730) and Dhū al-Rumma (d. 117/735) composed *urjūzas* alongside their *qaṣīdas*.

Towards the end of the Umayyad period, the hunting scenes of the polythematic *qaṣīda* evolved into the well-defined genre of the *ṭardiyyāt* (hunting poems) with its fixed form, contents and lexicon and, almost exclusively, *rajaz* metre. Some thirty-eight hunting poems in *rajaz* (among them long pieces of over fifty lines) are in the *diwān* of Abū Nuwās (d. 199 or 200/814 or 15), the most important representative of this genre. Other examples are Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908), Kushājim, (d. 360/971?), and Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (d. 357/968).

Thereafter the importance of the monorhyme *rajaz* declined, but the *rajaz* metre was still extensively used in the *urjūza muzdawija* which had become a popular form with Abān al-Lāḥiqī's versification of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

Since the late 1950s the *rajaz* foot has been the basis of many modern poems in *shī'r ḥurr* (free verse) with lines of varying length and various endings.

#### Text editions

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—, 3: *Minor Rağaz Collections, J. Hameen Antilla (ed.), Helsinki (1996).*

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W. STOETZER

See also: *muzdawija*; prosody

**rajjāz al-'arab see Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī**

**ramal see prosody**

**al-Rammāḥ ibn Abrad see Ibn Mayyāda**

**Ramzī, Muḥammad Munīr (1925–45)**

Egyptian poet. A graduate of English literature at Alexandria University, he died by com-

mitting suicide. As one of the contributors to *Apollo* (see **Apollo Group**), he was influenced by **Abū Shādī's** poetic experiments and other members of the society as well as by English poetry. He composed poems combining different metres. In his poem *Naḥwa al-ghurūb* rhyme is absent and the different combinations of feet employed sometimes slip into conventional Arabic metres – a method which is very like that of English–American free verse. He also wrote poems of a Romantic nature without metre altogether.

#### Further reading

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 —, *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge (1975), 227.  
 Moreh, S., *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800–1970*, Leiden (1976), 185–6.

R. SNIR

### al-Raqāshī (d. c.200/815)

Abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn 'Abd al-Šamad al-Raqāshī, a *mawlā* (see *mawālī*) of the Banū Raqāsh of Bakr ibn Wā'il, was born in Basra and moved to Baghdad where he had contact with **Hārūn al-Rashīd**; he devoted himself especially to the **Barmakids** and composed a moving elegy on al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā. Upon the death of **Hārūn al-Rashīd** he moved to **Khurasan**, attaching himself to Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, (see **Ṭahirids**) and remained there until his own death. He was a 'natural' poet (*shā'ir maṭbū'*) of the quality of **Abū Nuwās**, with whom he exchanged *naqā'id* and like whom he was given to reprobate verse. His cynical temperament can be seen in a mock-heroic lampoon of **Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī** contained in **Ibn al-Mu'tazz's** *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*.

#### Text editions

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P. F. KENNEDY

### al-Raqīq al-Nadīm (also known as Ibn al-Raqīq) (fifth/tenth century)

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim al-Kātib al-Qayrawānī al-Raqīq al-Nadīm was a historian and philologist from Qayrawan; he was also a

poet of some ability. His most notable work is *Quṭb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-khumūr*, an anthology of anecdotes and poetry about wine poets and their poetry, from the *Jāhiliyya* to the eleventh century. As a source it is the finest medieval work of its kind, although it lacks the literary sensitivity of **Ibn al-Mu'tazz's** earlier and far shorter *Fuṣūl al-tabāshīr fī tamāthīl al-surūr*.

#### Text edition

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P. F. KENNEDY

### al-Raqīq al-Qayrawānī see Ibn al-Raqīq al-Qayrawānī

### al-Rashīd see Hārūn al-Rashīd

### rāwī (pl. ruwāh)

Reciter and transmitter of poetry. In the *jāhiliyya* famous poets usually had one or more *rāwīs*, who preserved and recited their verses. Since many *rāwīs* became well-known poets themselves, they presumably also served as an apprentice to their master. Lineages of poets and *rāwīs*, often in the same family, are known over several generations. In Islamic times oral transmission was gradually replaced by writing. There is evidence that **Umayyad** poets dictated to their *rāwīs*, who were also expected to touch up and correct their lines. A derivation of the term is *rāwiya*, 'grand transmitter', applied, as a rule, to collectors of early **bedouin** poetry in the second/eighth century e.g. **Hammād al-Rāwiya**.

#### Further reading

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R. JACOBI

### Rayy

Major city in northern Iran in the medieval period, near modern Tehran, capital of the province of al-Jibāl or al-Jabal. The home throughout its history of numerous important writers and thinkers, including the philosopher **Abū Bakr al-Rāzī** (d. 313/925) and the theologian **Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī** (d. 606/



1209), Rayy was a particularly important centre for Arabic literature, rivalling **Baghdad**, in the late fourth/tenth century, when it became one of the three capitals of the **Būyids**. The viziers **Ibn al-ʿAmīd** and **al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād**, in addition to their own literary accomplishments, attracted an impressive group of poets and scholars to Rayy, and the Ṣāḥib's protégé **al-Ābī**, later himself vizier, composed an important anthology of Arabic prose, as well as a lost history of the city. Although the Būyid viziers' magnificent library was pillaged and partly destroyed when the **Ghaznavids** took the town in 420/1029, the tradition of Arabic *belles-lettres* was maintained by the secretarial class who served first the Ghaznavid governors and then the **Saljūq** sultans, after the city fell to **Ṭuḡhril Beg** in 434/1042 and became temporarily his capital; a noteworthy example is **Ibn Ḥassūl** (d. 450/1058), who served as a secretary to all three dynasties, and composed his *Superiority of the Turks to Other Troops* for the Saljūqs as an attack on the Būyids. The city declined under the later Saljūqs, and Arabic literature was overshadowed, as throughout Iran, by Persian letters. Rayy barely survived the Mongol onslaught in 617/1220 and was abandoned soon thereafter.

Further reading

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 Ibn Ḥassūl, *Tafḍīl al-Atrak ʿalā sāʾir al-ajnād*, ʿA. al-ʿAzzāwī (ed.), 'Ibni Hassulün Türkler hakkında bir eseri', *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 4 (1940), 235–66 (Turkish), 1–51 (Arabic).  
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 al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo (1956), vol. 3, 157–418.  
 —, *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, A. Eghbal (ed.), Tehran (1934), vol. 1, 92–144.

E.K. ROWSON

**al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā**  
**(c.251–313/c.865–925)**

Physician, alchemist and philosopher, known in the West as **Rhazes**. Born in **Rayy**, he taught and practised medicine at the hospitals of his native town and of **Baghdad**. In his medical work he was the first to undertake a complete stocktaking of the sources of Greek medicine transmitted in late Hellenism and

translated into Arabic by the end of the third/ninth century. In handbooks on the lines of the *Corpus Galenicum*, he presented a systematic treatment of pathology and therapy enlarged by his own clinical records. Among his numerous manuals, introductory textbooks and small monographs, the following stand out. *Al-Hāwī fī al-tibb* (the *Liber Continens* of the Latin tradition) is a vast collection of excerpts from **Galen** and all the other medical authorities available to him, united in book form posthumously at the instance of the vizier **Ibn al-ʿAmīd** (d. 360/970). *Al-Ṭibb* (also *al-Kunnāsh*) *al-Manṣūrī* (dedicated to the **Sāmānid** **al-Manṣūr ibn Iṣḥāq** between 290/903 and 296/908) is a systematic treatment of medicine in ten books, and through the much-studied *Liber Nonus*, a pathology of the parts of the body *a capite ad calcem*, was most influential in early European medicine. *Al-Murshid*, one of his late works, is modelled on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms*, but is a much more clearly arranged introduction to the elements of the medical art.

His main works on alchemy, presented systematically and as a strictly rational science, are the *Kitāb al-Asrār* and the *Sirr al-asrār* (*Book of Secrets* and *Secret of Secrets*). As a philosopher, al-Rāzī defended the pursuit of wisdom through the rational sciences, being, as medicine is to the body, the 'Spiritual Physick' to the mind, in his *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* (also written for **al-Manṣūr**); here, as in his treatise *al-Sīra al-falsafiyya*, he propagated the philosophers' way of life: relieved from sensual affections and seeking, through the quest of knowledge, the highest good attainable to humankind. The heritage of Platonism, pervading the philosophic tradition in the Arabic medical schools, produced a peculiar offshoot in his metaphysics, *al-ʿIlm al-ilāhī*: a unique system of hypostatized 'eternals', God, soul, matter – consisting of atoms – time and (void) space. His rejection of revealed religion precluded any further influence of his ideas in later Islamic thought.

Text editions

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*Guide du médecin nomade*, El-Arbi Moubachir (trans.), Paris (1980).  
*al-Hāwī fī al-tibb*, 23 vols, Hyderabad (1955–70).  
*al-Razī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, J. Ruska (trans.), Berlin (1937); *Sirr al-asrār*:

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G. ENDRESS

**al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥātim** *see* **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī**

**al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn** *see* **Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī**

### religious poetry

Religious poetry does not constitute one of the major genres of classical Arabic poetry. Yet traces of religious expression exist in the earliest extant material; this crystallized eventually into the *zuhdiyya* (the ascetic poem) of the early 'Abbāsīd period. Mystical (or Ṣūfī) poetry, which had its roots in the Umayyad period, flourished later; it is in Sufism that an Islamic religious poetry acquired its most profound and sensitive voice.

Poetry was accorded small significance as a form of expression by the nascent Islamic community during the life-time of the Prophet Muḥammad, as Islam sought initially to disassociate the Koranic revelation from this medium. Since, however, *shi'r* (specifically *qaṣīd*) remained unassailable as the register of a tribalism that was not dismantled by the new religion, Islam came slowly to impinge upon an otherwise essentially 'secular' domain.

Although religious poetry (notwithstanding the *zuhdiyya* of the early 'Abbāsīd period) was never acknowledged to constitute a major

genre in later medieval works on poetics (these simply described the salient features of the earlier canon), religious elements did exist both in the *qaṣīda* and as an independent theme among certain poets, notably the Christian of Ḥīra, 'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī (d. c.600), and the Ḥanīf (monotheist) Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt (d. 8/630). Both produced compositions of monotheistic sentiment and are precursors of the later *zuhdiyya*. On the whole, however, where *Jāhīlī* poetry is contemplative, it gives voice to an anxiety about *al-dahr*/fate – the prime mover that commanded the mutability of life.

Collectively the early corpus provides a glimpse – not much more – of the composite system of belief (both pagan and monotheistic) among those who populated the Arabian peninsula in the sixth century. Pagan elements in poetry, i.e. celebration of the various idols of pre-Islamic Arabia, survive as scattered verses, a significant number of which are cited in Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*. With those purely monotheistic sentiments that survive (especially in the case of Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt) authenticity is an issue, since a standard reflex among later Muslim and Orientalist commentators (both medieval and modern) has been to suggest that they are interpolations dating from a later period. The criteria for making such judgements in individual cases have not been properly established; a way forward is to look at religious elements in the context of other quasi-religious and more conspicuously *Jāhīlī* sentiments, i.e. one must gauge to what extent religious elements that smack of Islamic belief were compatible with, and even suggested by, the panoply of ethics and virtues contained in *muruwwa*. This may, for example, help us to understand the eschatological references that have been received in the *Mu'allaqa* of Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā, a poem that constitutes a celebration of *muruwwa* in its broadest sense.

In the Islamic period what might be broadly termed a religious poetry must be divided into two categories: poetry that expressed a quasi-orthodox piety, on the one hand, and poetry that can be termed political insofar as it gave voice to the views of a heterodox minority, on the other.

A mainstream of religious poetry can be seen in ascetic poetry which preached a renunciation of worldly pleasures. The roots of asceticism, and thus the ascetic poem (*zuhdiyya*), are commonly discerned in al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.

110/728). From the same period al-Sābiq al-Barbarī has left to posterity a number of ascetic poems whose tenor is consonant with the attitudes of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; the asceticism of these poems is supported, as in the case of **Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs** (d. 167/783–4) and **Abū al-'Atāhiya** (d. 211/826), by pious maxims and general wisdom, based on the mutability of life and, to this extent, akin to the contemplative maxims of pre-Islamic poetry.

**Khārijī** and **Shi'ī** poetry form a separate category of religious poetry in the early Islamic period. The *diwān* of the Khārijīs is a poetry of propaganda which articulated the ideals of martyrdom; it borrowed in large measure the imagery of the ancient **bedouin** and heroic canon. As Gabrieli (1973) has observed: 'on the religious battlefield, poetry became the weapon of the opposition. Before ascetic and mystical poetry the Umayyad age knew religious poetry chiefly as the vehicle of dissidence, essentially of Kharijites and Shi'ites.' Khārijī poetry is coloured to a large extent by mourning over slain comrades and *fakhr*; it is centred on the praise and the joyful contemplation of martyrdom, on cursing a wicked world, and on scorning death; it is seldom descriptive or given to narrative. This poetry is not arcane (in the manner of some Shi'ī poetry) but the clear expression of an ideology that rejects all artifice: 'Ṭirimmah is a good case in point: in the few verses of a Kharijite *Stimmung* he abandons all his *gharīb* and speaks out frankly and simply like his comrades in faith' (Gabrieli, 1973).

In the 'Alid or Shi'ī milieu the *Hāshimiyyāt* of **al-Kumayt** must be mentioned. Religiosity here is of political import; his poems follow the *qaṣīda* framework but with short and conventional *nasīb*s and *raḥīl*s followed by lavish eulogies of the 'Alids similar to those that were addressed to the bedouin Sayyids. Other significant Shi'ī poets are **Kuthayyir** (d. 105/723) and **al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī** (d. 173/789). Kuthayyir's poetry, mainly erotic, provides valuable early documentation of some Shi'ī *arcana*. Of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, Gabrieli (1973) writes: 'what we notice in most of his collection is the combination of archaic language and *tashayyū*'; the impact and the genuine character of socio-religious feeling are nullified by an artificial vocabulary bristling with *gharīb*, by the laborious imagery, and by the irritatingly involved style ... [This poetry] had an emasculated weakness when contrasted with the savage violence of the Kharijites.'

Above are traced briefly the lines of development of the most conspicuous categories of religious poetry in the early Islamic period. To some extent the above constitutes a standard view. However, a detailed survey of early Arabic poetry (pre-Islamic to 'Abbāsīd) offers a variety of religious material which, collectively, must needs have had an influence on the crystallization of a mainstream religious voice in poetry. Consideration must be given to: the religiosity of *rithā'*, which borrowed the elegiac mode of pre-Islamic poetry (i.e. in the *diwān* of **Labīd ibn Rabi'a**); other Ḥanīf material; the poetry of some of the Companions (**Hassān ibn Thābit**, **Ka'b ibn Malik al-Anṣārī**, **'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥa**); other sundry early Islamic material, ranging from the pronounced religiosity in the *nasīb*s of **al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī** (d. c.63/683) to the expression of a social etiquette (influenced significantly by Islam) in such as the poetry of **Abū al-Aswad al-Du'ālī** (d. c.69/688). Some consideration as a separate category of religious poetry must also be given to the extended rhyming couplets of **Abān al-Lāḥiqī** (d. 187/803) and **'Alī ibn al-Jahm** (d. 249/863); this material sought principally to praise the 'Abbāsīds as the inheritors of the Biblical prophets of whom a schematic history is traced.

From the **Mamlūk** and early Ottoman periods attention must be drawn to a large body of religious poetry that revolved around the veneration and praise of the Prophet **Muḥammad**: *al-Madā'ih al-nabawiyya*. Two poems, separated from each other by six centuries, are the finest and most celebrated examples of this tradition (which acquired a particularly strong vitality in **Ṣūfī** circles): the so-called 'Burda' of **Ka'b ibn Zuhayr** (d. after 10/632) and the similarly labelled 'Burda' of **Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣirī** (d. c.694/1294). The former poem, which was recited before the Prophet himself, is cast – as we would expect from its early date of composition – in the mould of the classical *qaṣīda*; it thus sowed the seeds for subsequent evocations of this archetypal model, and especially for the manipulation of the imagery of nostalgia (contained in the *nasīb*) to articulate the affective signature of this quasi-liturgical genre. To distinguish it briefly from the 'Burda' of Ka'b we should note that al-Būṣirī's poem was 'a true compendium of medieval prophetology' (Schimmel, 1985). Material extant in some of the larger Islamic

manuscript collections reflects the importance of prophetic veneration right up to the modern period. Further, the relevant manuscript catalogues illustrate well the extent to which favourite poems (especially the 'Burda' of al-Būṣīrī) were themselves celebrated by means of pentastich amplifications (*takhmīs*, sing. *takhmīs*) – and other such reworkings – which rarely departed from the sentiments of the original composition. The most notable examples of these stanzaic effusions date from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries.

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See also: Sūfī literature: poetry

## rhetoric and poetics

The terms 'rhetoric' and 'poetics' clearly refer to disciplines in the Classical and Western tradition; as such, they may be applied to the Arab situation only with a grain of salt. Closest to 'rhetoric' is the 'science of eloquence' (*'ilm al-balāgha*) which comprises the three fields of syntactical stylistics, theory of imagery and rhetorical figures. It achieved its definitive formulation in the later Middle Ages (seventh/thirteenth century and onwards). 'Poetics' would have its closest counterpart in the 'critique [lit. assaying] of poetry' (*naqd al-shi'r*); poetics is thus to be understood as a theory of criticism rather than a normative guideline as to how to compose good poetry. This branch of literature flourished in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries and was later, at least in part, absorbed into the 'science of eloquence'. In this sense, poetics and rhetoric form one large field of intellectual pursuit, as one meta-discourse dealing with literature. One might thus replace the two terms by speaking of 'literary theory'. It should be noted, however, that 'theory' here mostly means 'taxonomy', i.e. the enumeration, definition, exemplification and hierarchical classification of various cases.

### The pre-systematic phase

Given the decidedly unprimitive character of the Arabic verbal arts before Islam, we can assume that a rather developed vocabulary to talk about these arts already existed early on. This would include terms denoting the 'professionals' of the various arts, such as the poet (*shā'ir*), the *rajaz* poet (*rājiz*), the declaimer of poetry (*rāwī*), the soothsayer (*kāhin*) who enunciates his trance sayings in rhymed prose (*saḥf*), the composer of rhymed prose (*sāji*) who is not a soothsayer, and the orator (*khaṭīb*). Another group of terms are the poetic genres: praise (*madīḥ*), self-praise (*fakhr*), invective (*hijā*) and dirge (*rithā*).

For the technical side of poetry it is safe to assume that some terms were general knowledge, such as 'line' (*bayt*, lit. 'tent') and 'hemistich' (*mišrā'*, lit. 'tent-flap') and possibly *rawī* for the 'central rhyme consonant' (the case of *qāfiya* for 'rhyme' is unclear, because in the beginning the word seems to mean complete poems [cf. the English 'rhyme'] and still occasionally does so in later times). In addition, it is likely that the experts, i.e. the poets and the declaimers of poetry (the latter were often apprentices to the poets), had their own technical jargon. One set of terms that, in view of the strange vagueness of their definitions, seems to be rather archaic is the fivesome of 'rhyme mistakes', often simply called 'mistakes of poetry' (*'uyūb al-shi'r*; the vagueness of this name is another sign for the antiquity of these terms). While most of the terms mentioned so far remain in use throughout the centuries, albeit with certain semantic developments, there is one set of terms, transmitted in early sources, that is explicitly attributed to the **bedouins** ('*arab*, not necessarily, but most likely pre-Islamic) and which is clearly already obsolescent at the time of the sources: this set defines four terms denoting certain categories of poetry (*qašid*, *ramal*, *rajaz*, *khafīf*) by correlating them with (a) the length of the line and (b) real-life situations in which they are used. Since these correlations no longer exist in the later poetry, our view of pre-Islamic poetry may be somewhat distorted in this respect.

As far as literary criticism is concerned there is little hard evidence to go on. There are legendary reports and there is the poetry itself. The reports inform us about poetic contests that were regularly held at the annual market of 'Ukāz near Mecca with the famous poet **al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī** as the umpire, and also about individual jousts, such as the one between the two very early poets '**Alqama** and **Imru' al-Qays**. We hear that the famous Seven Odes were written on cloth with golden ink and hung on the Ka'ba – this legend resulting from a misinterpretation of their name *al-Mu'allaqāt* as 'the suspended ones' rather than 'the ones considered precious'. In all of this, certain implicit criteria for the evaluation of the poetry must have been used. Similarly, the poetry itself shows (disregarding for a moment the problem of authenticity) that certain motifs, similes, descriptive techniques, etc., were used by one poet and then imitated by others, thus proving the success

and popularity of the feature in question. Again, explicit criteria are not offered. The conscious artistry of the poets is especially obvious in the work of those whom the later philologist al-Ašma'i called the 'slaves of poetry' and whose long poems are known as the 'one-year-olds' (*hawliyyāt*) and the 'scraped ones' (*muḥakkakāt*) because of the constant attention to their refinement over a long period of time.

The situation does not change much in early Islamic poetry. Two types of anecdotal evaluations of poetry are not uncommon. One is individual and consists of A asking B 'who is the best poet?' (or, more specifically, 'best panegyrist, satirist, etc.')

and B answering 'so-and-so, where s/he says: [followed, usually, by one line of poetry]'. This one-line approach to aesthetic judgement remained popular for a long time. The other type is exemplified by generally valid propositions in which the production of poetry is correlated with certain states of mind. This 'psycho-literary' approach remains rudimentary. Finally, at this stage there are various attempts to define basic, but rather vague terms, such as *balāgha*, 'eloquence', *fašāḥa*, 'purity of speech', and *bayān*, 'lucidity'; this is usually done in pithy sayings of a quasi-definitory character.

### The beginnings of a technical literature

The first group of people to deal in a scholarly way with poetry and, to a lesser extent, also with other genres of literature was the philologists, especially in the two centres of language studies, **Basra** and **Kufa**. Their main objective was to safeguard the integrity of the corpus of ancient poetry by collecting the old poems and trying to eliminate spurious materials. This latter activity is called 'assaying' (*naqd*) – a term taken from the vocabulary of the money-changer and later used not only to distinguish the genuine from the spurious, but also the good from the bad, thus 'literary criticism'. The few reports we have about people performing this activity show it to be an intuitive knowledge, comparable to physiognomy (*firāsa*) and unteachable. Apart from creating vulgate editions (often a Kufan, a Basran, and – later – a mixed one) of tribal and individual *diwāns*, from producing commentaries explaining lexical and grammatical difficulties, and from compiling biographical notes on the poets, the philologists, from handling so many texts, gradually also assembled some critical and

aesthetic notions and terms. After some beginnings in books on poets (**Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī** and **Ibn Qutayba**), they were presented in a short treatise by the Kufan grammarian **Tha'lab** (d. 291/904), called *Qawā'id al-shi'r* (*The Foundations of Poetry*). Although having the appearance of lecture notes with examples, the treatise is logically structured, leading from basic sentence types to content-defined genres, then on to certain rhetorical beauties of the line and finally to a typology of lines based on the interdependence, or lack of such, of the hemistichs. The most successful line is one in which the hemistichs can be understood completely independently of each other.

Historically much more important was another group of poetry experts, the 'modern' poets and literati of the 'Abbāsīd era (see *muhdathūn*). The rise of the new style in poetry which gradually developed into a typically mannerist type of poetic endeavour (poetic motifs engendering more sophisticated and complex motifs) was not greeted with equal enthusiasm in all quarters; conservatives spoke of the corruption of poetry and supporters felt impelled to write apologetic, or simply descriptive, accounts. In any case, the contrast between 'ancient' and 'modern' poetry was a strong stimulus to reflect on the essence of poetry in general and 'modern' poetics in particular. **Ibn al-Mu'tazz** (d. 296/908), himself one of the most important poets of the middle 'Abbāsīd period, wrote his book about the 'new' (*badī'*) component(s) of 'modern' poetry for the express purpose of legitimizing them by proving that they were anything but new and thus protected by the model character of ancient poetry. In another work, an un preserved but quoted book on plagiarisms (see *sariqa*), he alleges that one specific misconstrued metaphor in a poem by the 'ancient' poet **Dhū al-Rumma** deceived the 'modern' poet **Abū Tammām**, who was at the centre of the 'new style' controversy, into adopting his particular way of writing poetry; in general terms, he falsely extended the model character of 'ancient' poetry to the few bad lines that occur in it. On a larger scale, the contrast between 'ancient' and 'modern' is seen by the poet **Ibn Tabātabā** (d. 322/934) in his *Iyār al-shi'r* (*The Criterion of Poetry*) as one between truth and wit: the 'ancients' present the true nature of things, while the 'moderns' must offer subtlety, elegance and other such textual qualities without any regard for the

realities – an altogether very apt, though exaggerated characterization of the literary mannerism that began to hold sway at his time. Similar ideas can be found in the introductory epistle that the littérateur and courtier **Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī** (d. 335/946) prefixed to his biographical work on the *bête noire* **Abū Tammām**.

The influx of Greek science and philosophy in translation had an additional impact on nascent poetics, in two ways. One is the heightened insight into the desirability of a logical, systematic presentation of arguments, including certain methods to be used for the achievement of this goal (definition of terms, taxonomies on the basis of complete disjunctions, deductive and inductive reasoning). The prime example is the *Naqd al-shi'r* (*Assaying of Poetry*) by the logician and administrator **Qudāma ibn Ja'far** (d. 337/948; other dates are also given). He became proverbial for his knowledge of 'eloquence' (in **al-Ḥariri's** *Maqāmāt*) and many of his terms and ideas were taken up again by later authors; but his systematic presentation of the 'good and bad in poetry' (definition of poetry that yields its four basic elements, description of the good qualities of these elements and their combinations, followed by the bad qualities) was hardly ever emulated. The same tendency of systematizing is noticeable on a larger scale in the 'divisions of the sciences' that began to proliferate in the fourth/tenth century, and in which literary theory is often briefly mentioned in one way or another. Although the model for the divisions of sciences was taken from philosophical literature, it was predominantly the state secretaries who produced them, as they were interested in philosophy as well as in questions of eloquence. In the same tradition we find the unique *The Demonstration Concerning the Various Levels of Unhiddenness* (*al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān*) by **Ibn Wahb**, an – otherwise unknown – member of the Banū Wahb family of scribes. Here various literary theoretical topics are embedded in a general theory of 'unhiddenness' on the four consecutive levels of being, thinking, speaking and writing.

The other influence of the Greek tradition did not make itself felt immediately: it is the translations of **Aristotle's** *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* together with the discussions of their position within the *Organon*. Already the late Alexandrian Greek commentators of Aristotle's writings considered these two works to be in essence logical books and thus part of the

Organon. This tradition was continued by the philosophers writing in Arabic who, after some initial hesitation due to their having inherited conflicting justifications for the inclusion of rhetoric and poetics in the Organon, agreed on the notion that the purpose of rhetoric was persuasion (*iqnā'*) and that of poetry the evocation of mental images (*takhyīl*); furthermore, that it is persuasive and evocative propositions and syllogisms that characterize these two arts. However, both books remained in the domain of the philosophers for a long time, while the literary theorists did not pay any attention, except for *Diya'* al-Dīn **Ibn al-Athīr** (d. 638/1239) who criticizes **Ibn Sīnā** for the strange Grecoid theory he proposes with its uncalled-for logical tinge. It is only later and only in the Islamic West that the rhetorical and poetical writings of the philosophers are made use of for the formulation of literary theory, namely in the works of **Hāzīm al-Qartājannī** (d. 684/1285), al-Sijilmāsī (wrote c.704/1304) and **Ibn al-Bannā'** (d. 721/1321). In spite of their shared sources, their several efforts differ greatly from each other.

Lastly, literary theory was influenced and partly shaped by the Koranic disciplines. Two issues were at the forefront here; the dogma of the inimitability of the **Koran** and the problem of correct interpretation of non-straightforward (i.e. figurative, elliptical, or any other obliquely referential) language in the scripture. The emphasis in the discussion of the inimitability lay on style (although this was not the only consideration): word order, word use, use of metaphors and figures of speech – all these were unsurpassed and unsurpassable in their degree of *balāgha*, 'eloquence'. Theologically, the unattainable degree of eloquence that the **Koran** was believed to embody constituted the miracle that proved the prophethood of **Muḥammad**. Every prophet is thought to be divinely authenticated by a miracle, but it is only in the case of **Muḥammad** that divine message and divine miracle are inextricably intertwined; the miracles of, say, Moses and Jesus were completely outside their message. Moreover, the miracle was considered to happen in that field in which the human mind had at that time reached its highest perfection: magic (*sihr*) in the case of Moses, medicine (*ṭibb*) with Jesus, and eloquence (*balāgha*) in the Arabic ambience of the Prophet. The term for a prophetic miracle is *mu'jiza*, and from the same root derives the verbal noun *i'jāz*

used to denote the **Koran's** inimitability. The two terms mean 'incapacitator' and 'incapacitation', respectively. In the case of the **Koran**, this idea means that those who disbelieved in the mission of the Prophet were challenged to produce something like the **Koran** and, in spite of their great need to do so, were 'incapacitated', i.e. found incapable of imitating it.

It is not surprising that a literature developed somewhere between grammar, stylistics and the theory of figurative speech, which tried to prove this important dogma. The outstanding names to be mentioned here are **al-Rummānī** (d. 386/997), **al-Khattābī** (d. 388/998) and **'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī** (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081). The first in particular became very influential with his rather short treatise *al-Nukat fī i'jāz al-Qur'ān* (*Subtle Points about the Inimitability of the Koran*). This was amply used by later literary theorists, sometimes without acknowledgement, and certainly at their own peril. This is where the second of the above-mentioned Koranic influences has to be considered. Koranic studies, within the framework of theological as well as legal thought, had developed a hermeneutics in order to deal with figurative and other non-direct utterances. The terminology used in this field partially overlapped with that in literary studies, but the meanings attached to a number of identical terms differed. Indiscriminate quoting, side by side, of these Koranic materials on the one hand and poetic materials on the other in comprehensive and compilatory works like those of **Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī** (d. after 395/1005) and **Ibn Rāshiq** (d. 456/1063 or later) created contradictions and confusion. The cleaning up has to be credited to the efforts of **'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī**.

### Poetry and prose

There are some indications that the state secretaries developed an independent terminology, different from that of the poetry experts, to deal with the technicalities of their ornate epistolography. In the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* (*Keys of the Sciences*), which is a topically arranged dictionary of technical terms, **Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī** (wrote between 366/976 and 372/982) has a section on 'on the conventional terms of the epistolographers' and another on 'on the critique of poetry'. Both are lists of rhetorical figures; a few have the same name but denote slightly different

phenomena, while in other cases there are different names for the same phenomenon. There are a few more lists dealing specifically with epistolography; however, they remain the exception in a discipline that increasingly considered the differences between poetry and prose just one of the presence or absence of metre and rhyme. Apart from this, both poetry and **artistic prose** partake in the same quality of *balāgha*, 'eloquence'. The poet and epistolographer **al-'Attābī** (d. c.208/823) coined a short formula expressing this view: *al-shi'ru rasā'ilu ma'qūdatun wa-al-rasā'ilu shi'run maḥlūl*, 'poetry is congealed epistles and epistles are dissolved poetry'. As a matter of fact, poets and secretaries often dealt with the same topics (such as praise, blame, elegy, congratulation); there was a fair amount of give and take, as far as motifs and conceits were concerned; and the transposition of poetic lines into prose and vice versa became a favourite exercise. While, as **al-Jāḥiẓ** had observed, in earlier times an eloquent person rarely had the gift for both poetry and ornate prose, the secretaries now tried their hands also at poetry, mostly in the less ritual genres, and it became ever more frequent that they left two *dīwāns*, one of poems and one of epistles. The outcome of all this is that prose and poetry were mostly served by the same theory. The formal aspects of poetry, metre and rhyme, were treated in separate disciplines, prosody and rhyme theory, and were rarely dealt with in works of literary theory

There have, however, been some attempts to define poetic speech beyond the purely formal definition. These are based either on the way in which things are expressed (**al-Zanjānī**; **Hāzim al-Qarṭājannī**), or on the idea of poetic untruth (**Ibn Fāris**, **Ibn Ḥazm**), or, finally, on the idea of poetic obscurity (**Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī**). None of these attempts were historically successful.

### Major themes in literary theory

These have already been treated in separate entries; see especially: **ancients and moderns**, *badī'*, *lafẓ* and *ma'nā*, *maḥbū'* and *maṣnū'*, and *sariqa*.

### 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī and the formation of scholastic rhetoric ('*ilm al-balāgha*)

Literary theory reached its pinnacle in the two works of al-Jurjānī, the *Mysteries of Eloquence*

(*Asrār al-balāgha*) and the *Proofs for the [Koran's] Inimitability (Dalā'il al-isāz)*. The first is more poetically oriented and deals first and foremost with questions of imagery and tropes. Due to the confluence of poetic and Koranic notions of the properties of texts, the definition and terminology of even as central a term as metaphor had become rather confused and contradictory. Al-Jurjānī now clarifies the mutual relationships of the terms 'simile' (*tashbīh*, comparison of things), 'analogy' (*tamthīl*, comparison of facts), and simile-based as well as analogy-based 'metaphor' (*isti'āra*). (For details see **metaphor**.) In addition, he refashions the term *majāz* in such a way that it no longer covers non-tropical idioms like ellipsis and pleonasm but is strictly applied to 'figurative usages'. As such it becomes the genus for both 'metaphor' as a trope based on a similarity and 'metonymy', (*majāz mursal*) as a trope based on contiguity. In fact, al-Jurjānī decries the use of the term *isti'āra* to include 'metonymy', which was common in the Koranic disciplines. Finally, in the *Dalā'il* he proposes the semantic distinction between 'meaning' (*ma'nā*) and 'meaning of the meaning' (*ma'nā al-ma'nā*); in the latter case the surface meaning is not intended, but points to another, intended, meaning. All figurative usages can be subsumed under this heading, but it also includes 'periphrasis' (*kināya*) which is non-figurative, despite the fact that the surface meaning is not intended ('rich in ashes of the cooking-pot' = 'hospitable'; the 'ashes' are real, but not the point of the phrase). The net result of all this is a neat semantic system of indirect expressions. It should be noted that the overall system is partly due to poetic interests and partly to concerns of Koranic interpretation. The lion's share of the *Dalā'il* is, of course, devoted to the problem of the 'structuring' (*naẓm*) of the Koranic text, in which lies its inimitability. It thus deals with questions of word order, use of particles, and the like.

Al-Jurjānī's books were the result of sustained efforts of reflection and analysis; the author tackles many issues that had been clouded by popular misconceptions and misused terms. He often returned to the same topic and looked at it from another angle. As a result his books are rather unsystematically presented and not readily to be used as textbooks. This deficiency was removed first by the theologian **Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī** and then by **al-Sakkākī**, both of whom brought some order



and system to al-Jurjānī's luxuriant thinking. Historically more influential was al-Sakkākī. His *Key of the Sciences* (*Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*) is a grandiose panorama of all the linguistic sciences, except lexicography. Its third chapter deals with 'stylistics' (*ma'ānī*, lit. '[syntactic] meanings') and with 'imagery' (*bayān*, lit. 'clarity'), the two parts being based on al-Jurjānī's *Dal' al-i'jāz* and *Asrār al-balāgha*, respectively. Most popular in the medieval instruction in this field became al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī's summary of this chapter in his *Epitome of the Key* (*Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*). He added the 'rhetorical figures' (*badī'*) as a third discipline on an equal footing with *ma'ānī* and *bayān* and called the overarching discipline 'the science of eloquence' (*'ilm al-balāgha*). This 'science' is then studied and presented in a never-ending series of commentaries, super-commentaries, glosses, versifications, etc., up to modern times.

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See also: literary criticism, medieval

rhetoical figures

The Arabic term for rhetorical figures is the collective noun *badī'*, and the discipline dealing with them is thus called '*ilm al-badī'*'. In al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī's (d. 739/1338) influential epitomes on rhetoric (*'ilm al-balāgha*) it forms the third part of this 'science'. The following list of rhetorical figures is selected from al-Qazwīnī's larger work, *al-Īqāḥ* (*The Clarification*). Some additional material is taken from other sources, mostly from the *Pillar* (*al-'Umda*) of Ibn Rashīq (d. 456/1063 or later). All examples in the list are poetic; al-Qazwīnī, of course, like most other rhetoricians, adduces numerous examples also from the *Koran* and *hadīth*. The sigla A and M after the names of poets mean 'ancient' and 'modern' (i.e. '*Abbāsīd*').

The rhetorical figures come from various backgrounds: the poets and critics had one set

of terms, the scribes (epistolographers) another, and the Koranic scholars a third. The confluence of these traditions started with compilations like the *Kitāb al-ṣinā'atayn* (*Book of the Two Arts*) of **Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī** (d. after 395/1005). As a result many terms have two or more meanings, or the same rhetorical figure has two or more names. This has been pointed out below only in a few cases.

In the Qazwīnian tradition the figures are divided into two kinds, as they are anchored either in the meaning (*ma'nawī*) or in the wording (*lafzī*).

### Figures of the meaning

- 'aks, 'reversing', also called *tabdīl*, 'exchanging', i.e. mentioning an idea involving two terms and then switching the two terms in a quasi-paradox. Examples: 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zabayr (A): 'And [fate] turned their [i.e. the women's] black hair white and their white faces black.' **Al-Mutanabbī** (M): 'There is no glory in this world for him whose wealth is little, and there is no wealth in this world for him whose glory is little.'
- Antithesis, see *muṭābaqa*.
- Apostrophe, see *iltifāt*.
- Correspondence, see *muqābala* under *muṭābaqa*.
- Digression, see *istiṭrād*.
- Double entendre, see *tawriya*.
- *Ghuluww*, see *mubālagha*.
- *Hazl yurād bihi jidd*, 'jest through which seriousness is intended'. **Abū Nuwās** (M): 'When a Tamīmī comes to you boasting, then say: Stop that! How is it with your lizard meals?' The Tamīm – and most other **bedouins** – were rumoured to be lizard eaters and were teased for it.
- *Ḥusn al-ta'līl*, 'phantastic etiology', finding an interesting fictitious cause for a fact in reality. This is a popular device in 'modern' poetry, with a number of variants. A few examples: **al-Mutanabbī** (M): 'The clouds do not imitate his gift [i.e. by raining profusely]; rather they have been fever-struck by it [i.e. for having been shamed by his large gifts], and so their downpour is but fever-sweat.' **Abū Ṭālib al-Ma'mūnī** (M): 'He does not cherish a nap except out of hope that he might see the apparition of a nightly petitioner.' **Muslim ibn al-Walid** (M): 'O you calumniator, whose evil deed has turned out well for us: fear of you has saved my eye's pupil from drowning [because he did not dare cry].'
- *Ighrāq*, see *mubālagha*.
- *Ṭhām*, see *tawriya*.
- *Ṭhām al-taḍādd*, see *muṭābaqa*.
- *Ittifāt*, 'turning aside', used in two meanings: (1) Abrupt change of grammatical person, especially from second to third and from third to second (the classical apostrophe). **Jarīr** (A): 'When were the tents at Dhū Ṭulūḥ? O tents, may you be watered by ample rain!' (2) An aside in the form of a parenthesis. **Kuthayyir** (A): 'If those who behave stingily – and you (fem.) are one of them! – could see you, they would learn from you how to procrastinate.'
- *Iqtibās*, lit. 'taking live embers (to start a new fire)', refers to a phrase borrowed from the Koran or *ḥadīth*. **Ibn al-Rūmī** (M): 'If I have erred in praising you as you have erred in denying me [my reward], then I have made my hopes dwell in a valley where is no sown land.' The last phrase is taken from *Sūra* 14:40: 'Our Lord [says Abraham], I have made some of my seed to dwell in a valley where is no sown land' (Arberry's translation).
- *Istikhdām*, 'employing (both meanings of a homonym)', either by using the word in one meaning and referring back to the other meaning with a pronoun, or by using the word with both meanings, so that for the purpose of translation it has to be repeated (this second sense is not in al-Qazwīnī). Example of the first kind: **al-Buḥturi** (M): 'May [the rain] drench the euphorbia grove and its inhabitants, even though they kindle it [i.e. the hot-burning fire of euphorbia wood] between my front and rear ribs.' The word *ghaḍā* means the euphorbia trees as well as the proverbially hot fire of euphorbia wood; in the present line the second meaning is, of course, used metaphorically for the pain of separation and yearning. Example of the second kind: **Abū Tam-mām** (M): 'When she walks, she leaves in your bosom twice the amount of *waswās* that is in her jewels.' With regard to the poet's bosom, *waswās* means 'temptation', whereas with regard to her jewels it is their 'jingling'.
- *Istībā'*, lit. 'producing a consequence', i.e. one praise leads, or is made to lead, to another. **Al-Mutanabbī** (M): 'You have taken away so many lives that, were you to

- combine them [in yourself], the world would be congratulated on your being eternal.'
- *Istithnā'*, see *ta'kid al-madh*.
  - *Istiṣrād*, 'digression', a brief aside often containing an ironic stab at someone. **Al-Samaw'al** (A): 'We are indeed a people who do not consider being killed a shame, when [the tribes of] 'Āmir and Salūl do consider it [thus].'
  - *I'tilāf*, see *murā'āt al-naẓīr*.
  - *Jam'*, 'combination' of several subjects for one predication. **Abū al-'Atāhiya** (M): 'Youth and leisure and wealth are a place of ruin for man, oh what ruin!'
  - *Jam' ma'a tafriq*, 'combination-cum-separation', subsumption of several subjects under one predicate with subsequent differentiation of an aspect. **Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt** (M): 'Your face is like fire in its light and my heart is like fire in its heat.'
  - *Jam' ma'a taqsim*, 'combination-cum-division', a general statement about various cases followed by a detailing of these cases, or vice versa. **Al-Mutanabbī** (M): '[Sayf al-Dawla led the armies] until he had control of the suburbs of Kharshana, the Byzantines and [their] crosses and churches made utterly miserable through him: [destined] for captivity was what they had married, for massacring what they had given birth to, for plundering what they had gathered, for the fire what they had sown.'
  - *Jam' ma'a taqsim wa-tafriq*, 'combination-cum-division plus separation'. **Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī** (M): 'Of those who come for [their] needs there is a throng at his door [general statement about needy people]; this one has a situation and that one has another [separation, though vague]: for the obscure there will be a lofty position, for the destitute riches, for the guilty benevolence, and for the fearful a safe haven [division of needs and their fulfilment].'
  - *Laff wa-nashr*, lit. 'rolling up and unrolling', an enumeration of terms followed by an enumeration of predicates or comments, the exact correlation between the two sets being left to the audience. The two sets are either parallel or chiasmic. Example of parallelism: **Ibn Ḥayyūs** (M): 'The effect and the colour and the taste of the wine are in his eyes and his cheeks and his saliva'. Example of chiasm: **Ibn Ḥayyūs** (M): 'How can I retrieve my composure, since you are dune and branch and gazelle as to glance and body and buttocks.'
  - *al-Madhhab al-kalāmī*, 'dialectical argumentation'. See separate entry.
  - *Mubālagha maqbūla*, 'acceptable hyperbole', with three sub-categories depending on whether the exaggerated fact is customarily possible (*tabliḡh*), only hypothetically possible (*ighrāq*) or impossible (*ghuluww*). First case: **al-Mutanabbī** (M): 'I bring down any quarry that I chase with it [i.e. his horse], and I dismount from it, it being just like it is when I mount [i.e. no perspiration and exhaustion is discernible].' Second case: **Amr ibn al-Ayham al-Taghlibī** (A): 'We honour our guest, as long as he stays among us, and we let honour follow him, wherever he turns.' (The second behaviour is unusual and not required by the bedouin code of honour.) Third case: **Abū Nuwās** (M): 'You have frightened the infidels to such an extent that even [their] sperm drops that have not yet been created fear you.' This last sub-category is acceptable only under certain conditions: (1) If a word meaning 'almost' is added which brings it back into the realm of the possible: **Ibn Ḥamdīs** (M): 'For sheer speed it almost (*yakādu*) broke away from its shadow – if it had wished to leave a companion.' (2) If the line contains a beautiful phantastic reinterpretation of reality (*takhyīl*). **Al-Arrajānī** (M) on an endless night: 'It seems to me that the fiery stars have been nailed to the darkness and that my eyelids have been tied to them with my eyelashes.' (3) If the line is a joke. Anonymous (probably M): 'I become drunk yesterday when I decide to drink tomorrow! That is certainly strange!'
- Some older rhetoricians understand *mubālagha* more broadly as 'emphasis', of which 'hyperbole' would be one sub-category. One specific type of 'emphasis' is called *ighāl*, lit. 'penetrating deeply'; it consists in making the rhyme word give an additional push to the idea of the line. **Marwān ibn Abi Ḥafṣa** (M): 'They are the real people: when they speak, they hit the mark, when they are called for help, they answer, and when they give, they do it well and they do it copiously!'
- *Muqābala*, see *muṭābaqa*.
  - *Murā'āt al-naẓīr*, lit. 'observance of the equivalent', i.e. harmonious choice of ideas or images, also called *tanāsub*, *i'tilāf* or *tawfiq*. **Al-Buḥturī** (M): '[emaciated camels] like curved bows, nay, like the

arrows, when whittled sharp, nay, like the bowstrings'. A series of similes with increasing hyperbole, all taken from the same semantic area, that of archery.

- *Muzāwaja*, 'pairing' of the contents of the protasis and apodosis of a conditional sentence by making two similar consequences dependent on them. Al-Buḥturī (M): 'When they fight each other at times and their blood flows abundantly, they remember they are relatives and their tears flow abundantly.'
- *Muṭābaqa*, antithesis, also called *ṭibāq* and *taḍādd*, inclusion of two contraries in one line or sentence. Examples: 'saved up' vs. 'spent' in *Tufayl ibn 'Awf al-Ghanawī* (A): 'with [a horse] of a scowling face and uncut thigh veins [i.e. sound, not needing this treatment], which is being saved up to be spent for the day of battle'; and 'extinguished' vs. 'lit' in Ibn Rashiq (M): 'They extinguished the sun of the day, and they lit the stars of the tall lances in a sky of dust.' Note that in the second example the antithesis is part of a metaphorical structure which, however, is based on a real-world contrast of 'blotting out the sun' and 'making the lances flash'. If the antithesis is based entirely on metaphorical contrast, al-Qazwīnī classifies it as 'simulated antithesis' (*iḥām al-taḍādd*), e.g. 'laughing' vs. 'weeping' in *Di'bil* (M): 'Don't be surprised, O Salmā, at a man on whose head hoariness is laughing, but he is weeping.' If there is more than one term on each side of the antithesis, the resulting figure is called 'correspondence' or 'opposition' (*muqābala*), e.g. al-Mutanabbī (M): 'Generosity does not deplete wealth, when luck is approaching, nor does stinginess preserve wealth, when luck is receding.'
- Opposition, see *muqābala* under *muṭābaqa*.
- Phantastic etiology, see *ḥusn al-ta'līl*.
- Pun, see *tawriya*.
- Retraction, see *rujū'*.
- *Rujū'*, lit. 'going back', retraction of what has been said. Yazid Ibn al-Ṭathriyya (A): 'Isn't one glance paltry, when I cast it at you (fem.). Far from it! From you it is not a paltry thing.'
- *Tabdīl*, see 'aks.
- *Tabligh*, see *mubālagha*.
- *Taḍādd*, see *muṭābaqa*.
- *Taḍmīn*, 'incorporation' of an existing line of poetry, or part thereof, into one's own poetry. To avoid an accusation of plagiarism, it is often an outright quotation with

citation of the original author; or else it is a famous line, in which case it is often used in such a way that its meaning is changed in the new context. The *taḍmīn* may also be put into the mouth of the songstress who is one of the personae of the wine poem; in this case the line is not used as a kind of proof-text, but is part of the description of the party.

- *Tafriq*, 'separation', pointing out a distinction within the same activity when performed by different agents. Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt (M): 'The gift of the clouds at some time in the rainy season is not like the gift of the prince on a day of generosity; for the gift of the prince is a camel-load of dinars and the gift of the clouds a drop of water.' The separation of the gifts, of course, presupposes the frequent comparison of the generous prince with the raincloud.
- *Tafwīf*, lit. 'application of stripes (cloth)', dividing a line into several related ideas expressed in phrases of more or less equal length. Ibn Zaydūn (M): 'Be arrogant and I will bear it, be arbitrary and I will endure it, lord it and I will be lowly, tease and I will submit, speak and I will listen, command and I will obey.'
- *Tajrīd*, 'abstracting a general attribute from an individual' according to the pattern of 'in him (individual) I have a true friend (general attribute)'. Qatāda ibn Maslama al-Ḥanafī (A): 'Should I stay alive, I will embark on a raid which will bring together much booty, unless [in me] a noble man should die.'
- *Tajāhul al-'arif*, 'feigned ignorance', also called *tashakkuk*, 'doubtfulness'. It is often based on metaphors taken literally. Al-'Arjī (A): 'By God, O antelopes of the plain, tell me: is my Laylā one of you or is Laylā one of humankind?' This is based on the ubiquitous comparison of a beautiful woman with an antelope.
- *Ta'kid al-madhḥ bi-mā yushbih al-dhamm*, 'strengthening praise with what looks like blame', and vice versa. Al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī (A): 'There is no fault in them, except that there are notches in their swords from fighting [enemy] squadrons.' Their swords being notched is, of course, no fault, because it proves their courage and fighting spirit. Since 'except that' is a typical phrase with this figure, it is also called *istithnā'*, 'exception.'

- *Tanāsūb*, see *murā'āt al-naẓīr*.
- *Taqṣīm*, 'division,' enumeration of cases followed by an explicit mutual characterization of each. Abū Tammām (M): 'It is either the Revelation [which restores order] or the edge of a thin sword, whose cutting edges sway the jugular veins [i.e. neck] of each swaying person. One [i.e. the Revelation] is the remedy of any illness on the part of reasonable people, and the other is the remedy of any illness on the part of ignorant persons.' As al-Qazwīnī remarks later on, *taqṣīm* is used also in two other senses: (1) An enumeration of (often contrary) attributes together with the different situations to which they apply. Al-Mutanabbī (M): '[warriors] heavy, when they encounter [the enemy]; light, when they are called [for help]; [seemingly] numerous, when they attack; few, when they are counted'. (2) An enumeration of all possible cases, in logical terms a complete disjunction. Zuhayr (A): 'I know today's knowledge and yesterday's before it, but I am blind as to the knowledge of what will be tomorrow.'
- *Tardīd*, lit. 'letting ring' by repeating a word, but in a different context and creating a contrast. Not mentioned in al-Qazwīnī. Zuhayr (A): 'Whoever meets Harim – though he be impoverished – on any given day, he will meet magnanimity and generosity in him as [dominant] character traits.' Al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk (M): 'She has filled my eye with resplendent beauties, which have filled my heart with torment and sorrows.'
- *Tashakkuk*, see *tajāhul al-'arīf*.
- *Tawfiq*, see *murā'āt al-naẓīr*.
- *Tawriya*, lit. 'concealment', a *double entendre* or pun in which the obvious meaning of a homonym is not the intended one, also called *ihām*, 'delusion'. There are various sub-types depending on whether or not the line contains contextual elements pointing to the obvious, unintended meaning or to the less common, intended one. The most frequent type in poetry is the *tawriya* with contextual elements, which are often themselves *tawriyas*, referring to the obvious meaning. Al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (M): '[It's a cool summer, as if] the gazelle/sun, because of its long duration, had become senile and thus could no longer distinguish between the kid/Capricorn and the lamb/Aries.' The obvious meaning of the word

*ghazāla* is 'gazelle', whereas the intended meaning 'sun' is rare. The 'gazelle' lets the reader think that the words *jady* and *ḥamal* also have their animal meanings, and only after the context has forced him to understand *ghazāla* as 'sun' does he make an adjustment and recognize the astronomical meanings of the terms. With a series of *tawriyas* the poet can construct a second layer of meaning, which need not be as absurd as it is in the present case.

- *Ṭibāq*, see *muṭābaqa*.

### Figures of the wording

- *Ishṭiqāq*, see *jinās*.
- *Jinās*, also called *tajnīs*, 'paronomasia', with many sub-categories depending on the extent of the identity between the two terms that form the paronomasia. They may be two identical words with different meanings, one of which may be a combination of two words; they may be identical words in writing, but different in vocalization and diacritics; they may be only partially identical verging on alliteration; and the two words may be identical except for a reversed sequence of their letters. One special type is called *tajnīs ishṭiqāq*, or simply *ishṭiqāq*; here the two terms are two different derivatives of the same root (not necessarily linguistically correct), which makes the figure correspond to the classical *figura etymologica*. The paronomasia is possibly the most popular rhetorical figure. It is often used to extract 'meaning' from names by playing on their root.
- *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, see separate entry.
- *Mumāthala*, see *muwāzana*.
- *Muwāzana*, 'equilibrium', i.e. the words and phrases of the two hemistichs are of the same length and general syllabic structure, but do not rhyme. If, in addition, they are all of the same word form, the figure is called *mumāthala*, 'congruence.'
- Paronomasia, see *jinās*.
- *Qalb*, 'palindrome'.
- *Radd al-'ajuz 'alā al-ṣadr*, 'having the end echo the beginning', i.e. repeating the rhyme word in the first hemistich, often at the beginning of the line, or sometimes at the start of the second hemistich. It is also called *taṣḍīr*. Al-Uqayshir (A): '[He is] coming quickly to his cousin to slap his face, but to one who applies to [his] gener-

osity not coming quickly.’ This may be combined with paronomasia.

- *Saj*’, normally ‘rhymed prose’, but it occurs also in poetry as internal rhyme in a line, otherwise called (but not by al-Qazwīnī) *tarṣī*’, lit. ‘studding with jewels’. See separate entry.
- *Tajnīs*, see *jinās*.
- *Tarṣī*’, see *saj*’.
- *Taṣḍīr*, see *radd al-‘ajuz ‘alā al-ṣadr*.
- *Taṣrī*’, ‘giving the poem’s rhyme also to the first hemistich of a line’. This is commonly done with the first line of the poem, but may recur at irregular intervals. The term is derived from *miṣrā’*, ‘(rhymed) hemistich’.

### Figures in the theory of imagery

In al-Qazwīnī this is not part of ‘*ilm al-badī*’ (see above), but forms the second part of rhetoric, called ‘*ilm al-bayān*, ‘the science of clarity, or clarification’. The name has to do with the original function of similes and other figurative usages in the Koran. In the older works on poetics and rhetorical figures no similar distinction is made, and the various tropes and similes are included among the rhetorical figures.

- *Isti‘āra*, see **metaphor** (separate entry).
- *Kināya*, ‘periphrastic expression’, an expression that is not figurative, but not intended on the surface level either, such as: ‘he is rich in ashes of the cooking-pot’ as a proposition about a hospitable man.
- *Majāz*, ‘figurative language’, see separate entry.
- **Metaphor**, see separate entry.
- Metonymy, see *majāz mursal* under *majāz* (separate entry).
- Simile, see *tashbīh*.
- *Tamthīl*, ‘analogy,’ a comparison of two sets of terms, grammatically speaking two sentences, though mostly only implicitly. Al-Mutanabbī (M) addressing his prince: ‘If you are above all men, though one of them – well, musk is part of the blood of the gazelle.’ The relationship of the terms is as follows: You: men = musk: gazelle’s blood, the rather complicated aspect of comparison being ‘transformation of something common and copious into something valuable and unique so that the result is, and at the same time is not, of the same genus as the source material’. The analogue is often such that the resulting argument

can only be called a mock analogy, because the insinuated aspect of comparison is not valid. Al-Buḥturī (M) taking up the topos of black and white hair: ‘And the white colour of the falcon is of a more genuine beauty, if you consider it, than the raven’s blackness.’ Obviously, it is not just the whiteness of the hair that makes old age loathsome. Mock analogies belong to the category of *takhyīl*, ‘phantastic reinterpretation of reality,’ a phenomenon identified by ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī. If the subject of comparison in a *tamthīl* is suppressed, the result will be a sentence metaphor. This is likewise called *tamthīl*; the term is actually more often used in this sense than in the previous one. **Ibn Mayyāda** (A): ‘Had you not placed me into your right hand? So do not place me after that into your left!’

- *Tashbīh*, ‘simile’, i.e. the comparison of two single terms, as opposed to *tamthīl*, ‘analogy’, the comparison of two sets of terms or, grammatically speaking, two sentences. A simile consists of four basic elements: the subject of comparison, its object, its particle and its aspect. Any one of these elements – except, of course, the object of comparison – can be suppressed. The aspect is mostly not mentioned, unless the poet wants to make some unusual point. Ibn al-Rūmī (M): ‘O moonlike one in beauty [the usual] and in unattainability [unusual], be generous, for sometimes even a rock bursts forth with fresh water.’ Suppression of the particle (‘like’, etc.) does not yield a metaphor, as it would in the Western tradition; the resulting equation (of the type ‘Zayd is a lion’) is still considered a simile, since both the subject and the object are mentioned. However, critics like ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī were conscious of the fact that the alleged identity in cases like ‘Zayd is a lion’ was often used as a basis for elaborations in such a way that the particle of comparison could no longer be restored. Abū Ṭālib al-Ma’mūnī (M): ‘I am a fire in the entrails of the night, [the night] is my smoke and the stars are sparks.’ Even when the object of comparison was mentioned alone and thus became a metaphor, the historical consciousness of its being rooted in an original simile was such that it continued to be considered a simile for some time; correct comprehension was usually ensured by contextual elements, often additional similes

of the same type. Abū Nuwās (M): 'She is weeping, throwing pearls [tears] from narcissi [eyes] and beating roses [cheeks] with jujubes [henna-dyed fingertips].' The critics were also keen on discussing the ontological status of the object of comparison, whether it was perceived by the senses or by the mind or whether it was just a figment of the imagination. This last type was of some poetic importance, because it yielded fantastic images. Al-Ṣanawbarī (M): 'The red anemones, when they swayed downwards and righted themselves again, were like banners [made] of ruby unfurled on lances [made] of emerald.' There was, finally, a great interest in the cumulation of similes in one line. Here is one with four similes to the line: al-Mutanabbī (M): 'She appeared – a full moon; she swayed – a morninga branch; she exuded fragrance – ambergris; she gazed – a gazelle.'

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W.P. HEINRICHS

See also: *badī'*

**rhyme see prosody**

## Riḏā, (Muḥammad) Rashīd (1865–1935)

Islamic modernist. Born in Qalamun (Syria), Riḏā went to Cairo to study with Muḥammad 'Abduh, who greatly influenced him and whose biography he wrote in 1931. He was founder and editor of the journal *al-Manār*, published between 1898 and 1935, the main mouthpiece of the Islamic regeneration movement known as the Salafiyya, which held that the revival of Islam required recourse to the first or pious generation (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) of Islam, the period of the rightly guided caliphs. Riḏā was also president of the Syrian National Congress which proclaimed Fayṣal ibn Ḥusayn king of Syria in March 1920.

Riḏā was profoundly influenced by 'Abduh's notions of natural law, and in his earlier writings contended that there was no necessary contradiction between reason and revelation. In *al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-'Uẓmā* (1923) he stressed the necessity for the continuity of the caliphate, both in order to uphold and enforce 'Islamic government' and to rejuvenate Islamic society. In later life he espoused a more dogmatic and less rational interpretation of Islam, becoming a strong supporter of the Wahhabi movement and of the Sa'udi monarchy.

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P. SLUGLETT

**riddles see mu'ammā; lughz**

**Riḏwān, Faṭhī see Raḏwān, Faṭhī**

**al-Riḥānī, Amin (1876–1940)**

**Mahjar** poet, prose writer and journalist. Born in Frayka (Lebanon), al-Riḥānī accompanied his uncle to New York in 1888, his father and the rest of his family arriving in 1889. For reasons of health he returned to Lebanon in 1898, and was there from 1905 to 1910. After meeting **Jubrān** in Paris, he again returned to New York to work as a journalist, and in that capacity he crossed the Atlantic some twenty times to visit Europe and the Arab countries. He published some fifty works in Arabic and English.

Amin al-Rihānī opened his literary career with a booklet entitled *al-Tasāhul al-dīnī* (Philadelphia, 1901), followed by *Nubdha fī al-thawra al-faransiyya* (New York, 1902) and *al-Muḥālafa al-thulāthiyya fī al-mamlaka al-ḥayawāniyya* (New York, 1902). The last of these – a fable based on the ideas of Darwin, Rousseau, Voltaire and the French Revolution – is an attack on the feudal system and on the clergy who supported it. *Al-Mukārī wa-al-kāhin* (New York, 1904) shows the donkeyman as the true believer, and the priest in need of contrition and conversion. His first book in English was a translation of selected quatrains of **Abū al-'Alā al-Ma'arri** (*The Quatrains of Abu 'l'Ala*, London, 1904).

Al-Rihānī collected his prose poems and shorter pieces in his *Rihāniyyāt* (4 vols, Beirut, 1910–23), subsequently re-edited and republished as the *Rihāniyyāt* (1956), *Qawmiyyāt* (1956), comprising the political pieces, and *Hutāf al-awdiya* (1955), in which most of his prose poems were brought together. In *Antum al-shu'arā'* (Beirut, 1923) he censured the Arab poets for weeping too much instead of raising their voices against the French mandate. Al-Rihānī also differed with **Jubrān** and **Nu'ayma** on a number of important issues, including the belief in the spirituality of the East versus the materialism of the West.

From 1920 onward, al-Rihānī began to visit the Arab countries – these travels resulting in a number of books, including *Ta'rikh Najd al-ḥadīth* (1928), *Mulūk al-'Arab* (1929) and others. An English series also appeared from 1928 onwards, including *Ibn Saud of Arabia* (London, 1928), *Around the Coasts of Arabia* (London, 1930) and *Arabian Peak and Desert* (London, 1931).

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C. NIJLAND

**rithā** see travel literature

**risāla** see artistic prose; prose, non-fiction, medieval

## **al-Risāla al-jāmi'a**

At the end of the collection of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (*The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*) there is a *risāla* which has the appearance of a conclusion or summary, and which is known as the *Risāla al-jāmi'a*. Some have ascribed its authorship to Maslama ibn Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī, but there seems little doubt from its style that it is by the same author(s) as the rest of the *Rasā'il*. Its name appears in the list of contents, and one might think that it had the role of explaining the meaning of the *Rasā'il* as a whole, yet it certainly does not do this. When one considers the style of the *Rasā'il*, this is hardly surprising, given the anecdotal and very varied nature of that text. On the other hand, the *Risāla* does make an attempt at summing up the general message of the larger work in so far as this is possible, and like the larger work it hints at the necessity for the correct esoteric key to be applied before the genuine meaning can be extracted. There are some intriguing differences between the *Risāla* and the main text, and the precise nature of the relationship between them is still very much open to conjecture.

#### Text edition

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O. LEAMAN

See also: Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'

## **rithā'**

The Arabic poetry of lamentation. In Arabic literary theory the term *rithā'* appeared relatively late (with **Ibn Rashīq**, d. between 456/1064 and 463/1070); the more common name was *marāthī* (sing. *marthiya*), dirge, lament, elegy.

The origin of this genre lay in pre-Islamic Arabia. As part of funerary rites women used to bewail their male next of kin in compositions in rhymed prose called *niyāḥas*, often in unison with other women of the tribe, but already among the oldest known pieces of



Arabic poetry we find examples of women using *qarīd* poetry (i.e. poetry in standard metres) for the same purpose (so: **al-Khīrniq**, d. c.600 CE). The reason for this shift in ambition, expressed in the choice of a high level means of communication, may have been that women wanted publicly and vehemently to urge their tribe to take blood revenge.

Although *marāthī* are not composed following the more or less strict set of themes and motives as in the case of the *qaṣīda*, a kind of favourite structure can be observed: a poetess likes to begin her *marthiya* inducing her eyes to cry abundantly. This can be understood as a way of breaking the social constraint of *ṣabr* (equanimity). This opening theme is often followed by pieces of real or pseudo-dialogue leading to the main part: praise of the deceased and his personal and social virtues, thereby reiterating the desirable norms of behaviour. In the closing sections the poetess often makes general observations on fate, generalizing her deprivation as a possible destiny for others. Both praise and generalizing destiny can be understood as the poetess's legitimizing of her own sorrow and loss of self-control.

The most important poetess of this genre, **al-Khansā'** (d. c.665 CE), developed this genre from an expression, private in origin, to a panegyric of the pre-Islamic heroic type of man as an example for society in her laments on her two brothers, Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya, which she recited for an audience at 'Ukāz.

Shortly after the beginning of Islam the tradition of women bewailing their next of kin in poetical works came to a halt, but professional male poets followed the trend set by al-Khansā' and began composing *marāthī* on heroes who were not necessarily next of kin, thus developing the genre to a prestigious work of art. From the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd eras famous *marāthī* on distinguished public personalities have survived and the genre became very popular as a kind of poetical obituary. In this sense it even became a tool of political or religious rhetoric.

In later periods in both the east and in al-Andalus (see **Spain**), the genre developed into the lament as such, expressing sorrow over the destruction of cities or the loss of civilizations. Famous early examples include al-Khuraymī's lengthy lament over **Baghdad** following the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn (see 'Abbāsīds) and **Ibn al-Rūmī**'s poem on the sack of **Basra** by the Zanj. In **Shī'ī** tradition

*marāthī* referring to the death of al-Ḥusayn became extremely popular.

Medieval Arab literary theorists have always closely associated the *marthiya* with the genre of *madīh* (panegyric), for which there are probably two reasons: they tended to overrate the panegyric element in the older *marthiya*, neglecting the original motives for this kind of poetry, and the genre itself developed in this direction in course of time.

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G. BORG

### al-Riyāshī, Muḥammad ibn Bashīr (180–257/796–871)

Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās ibn al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Bashīr al-Riyāshī was born in **Basra**; he studied under al-Aṣma'ī and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, and read **Sibawayhi's** *Kitāb* with al-Māzinī, who conceded al-Riyāshī's superiority in the lexical and literary aspects of this work. In 230/845 he moved to **Baghdad**, preferring to teach rather than accept a judgeship in Samarra from the caliph al-Mutawakkil. His pupils include **al-Mubarrad**, **Ibn Durustawayhi**, **Ibn Qutayba**, **Ibn Durayd**, **Ibn Abī al-Dunyā** and his own patron the vizier **al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān**. He was killed by insurgents on his return to Basra. Although none of his works survive, he is praised by **al-Jāhiz** as one of the three greatest Basran grammarians alive at the time.

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M.G. CARTER

See also: grammar and grammarians

*riwāya see rāwī; fiction*

romances *see sira literature*

## romanticism

Romanticism in the context of Arabic literature is as elusive a term as it is in Western literatures. Arab literary critics and historians of Arabic literature have none the less employed the term, arabicized as *al-rūmanīqiyya* or *al-rūmansiyya*, and have used the concept very much as it has been used in Western literatures.

Some critics have argued that Romantic traits may be seen in the Arabic love poetry of the **Umayyad** period, where the poet pines chastely after an ever-inaccessible sweetheart, and in the urban poetry of the period with its nostalgic yearning for vanished desert life. It is not, however, until the twentieth century that we find a fully developed Romantic movement in Arabic literature, which reached its peak between the two world wars. Cultural influences from the West and indigenous socio-political conditions in the Arab world co-operated to create the atmosphere for the rise of Arabic Romantic poetry during this period.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, pre-Romantic voices were heard in Egypt in some of the poems of Khalīl **Muṭrān**, 'Abd al-Rahmān **Shukrī**, 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'**Aqqād** and Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzīnī. Masters of the classical form, they rebelled against the constraints of its traditional thematic concerns and wanted their poetry to express their individual feelings. Thus, Muṭrān's poem 'al-Masā' is not only a poem beautifully describing the sunset, but also a portrayal of his own despondent feelings at this moment of the day, painted in fresh colours and images on the changing canvas of nature which the poet perceives to be sad. To the individual vision of their poems, al-'Aqqād and al-Māzīnī added essays of literary criticism collected in their book *al-Diḥwān* (1921), in which they castigated the traditional style and poetic values of established neo-classical poets such as Aḥmad **Shawqī**, and called for a break with hackneyed images and diction.

Meanwhile, Jubrān Khalīl **Jubrān** was leading a Romantic movement in the North American **Mahjar** that had deep effects on Arabic literature generally. He and other members of **al-Rābiṭa al-qalamiyya**, established in New York in 1920, were evolving a new style

in which they experimented with rhyme, rhythm and language to express their own vision and individual feelings. This new movement influenced many in the Arab world, including the Syrian poet 'Umar **Abū Risha** and the Tunisian **Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī**. Mikhā'il Nu'ayma's *al-Ghirbāl* (1923) brings together his literary-critical essays denouncing traditional poetry and advocating the spirit of wonder, sincerity, adventure and innovation in poetic form and content which is typical of this group.

In Egypt, the **Apollo Group** established by Aḥmad Zakī **Abū Shādī** in 1932 attracted Egyptian Romantic poets such as 'Ali Maḥmūd **Tāhā** and Ibrāhīm **Nāji** as well as poets from other parts of the Arab world. It popularized Romantic writing through its short-lived monthly, *Apollo*, influencing such poets as al-Shābbī, the Sudanese **al-Tijānī Yūsuf Bashir** and others.

'Ali Maḥmūd **Tāhā**, the Lebanese Ilyās **Abū Shabaka** and a few others brought the Romantic movement to its highest expression beyond the end of World War 2, and streaks of it marked the early voices of younger poets like the Iraqi **Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb**, 'Abd al-Wahhāb **al-Bayātī**, **Nāzik al-Malā'ika** and the Palestinian **Fadwā Tuḡān**. But the Arab world was now ready for less ethereal sensibility and more earthy poetry; as the Middle East gradually achieved independence from colonial rule, romanticism gave way to poetry of social realism and to experimentation with **free verse** and prose poetry (see **prose poem**), expressing in a rebellious fashion the need for new structures in Arabic society and culture.

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I.J. BOULLATA

## Ru'ba ibn al-'Ajjāj (d. 145/762)

One of the great poets of *rajaz*. He specialized, like his equally famous father al-'Ajjāj, in lengthy poems in *rajaz* metre. Coming from a **bedouin** background, he lived in various places and countries, settling in **Basra** towards the end of his life. He dedicated his odes to the **Umayyad** caliphs and other prominent people; a few poems were made for al-Saffāh and al-Mansūr, the two first 'Abbāsīd caliphs. In other poems he celebrates his tribe or himself. His poetry was very popular with the philologists, both during his lifetime and afterwards, witness the many quotations in dictionaries and works on **grammar**. His poetry, however, is more than merely a treasure-trove for linguists. Stubbornly clinging to a metre generally despised as suitable only for second-rate poets, he describes his own art and himself with a mixture of humour and pride. His desert scenes are powerful in language and evocative in their imagery.

### Text edition

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

See also: *rajaz*

## rubā'īyya see dūbayt

## Rūmān, Mikhā'il (1927–73)

Egyptian dramatist. Born in Upper Egypt, Rūmān studied science at the University of Cairo. Beginning in the early 1960s, he

produced a series of radical plays on social and political themes, which depict the struggle of the individual against oppression, be it political, social or psychological. In all of these works the leading character is given the same name, Ḥamdī. The first of these plays, *al-Dukhān* (1962), presents him as a member of a lower middle-class family struggling to escape from drug addiction; in the one-act play *al-Wāfīd* (1965), the author uses a hotel as a symbol of a totalitarian system, skilfully maintaining a Kafkaesque atmosphere until the hero's final desperate plea that he does not want to die. Controversial and hard-hitting, Rūmān's plays frequently encountered difficulties from the Egyptian censor.

### Text edition

'The new arrival', in F. Abdel Wahab (ed.), *Modern Egyptian Drama*, Minneapolis (1976), 154–205.

### Further reading

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P. STARKEY

## al-Rummānī, 'Alī ibn 'Īsā (276–384/889–994)

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā was a **Mu'tazilī** grammarian, rhetorician and theologian from **Baghdad**. (Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* gives 296/909 as his year of birth.) **Ibn Durayd** was among his teachers. According to some of his contemporaries, he incorporated too much logic in his grammatical speculations. Twenty-one titles are ascribed to him in **Yāqūt's** *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, most of them dealing with **grammar**. Part of his commentary on **Sibawayh** has been edited. His commentary on the **Koran** is lost. The impact of his short but influential treatise on the inimitability of Koranic style (*i'jāz al-Qur'an*) is noticeable in the works of **al-Baḡillānī**, **Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī** and many others.

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*al-Ḥudūd fī al-naḥw*, in *Rasā'il fī al-naḥw wa-al-luġha*, Muḥammad Jawād and Y.Y. Maskūnī (eds), Baghdad (1969), 37–50.

*al-Nukat fī i'jāz al-Qur'an*, in *Thalāth rasā'il fī i'jāz al-Qur'an lil-Rummānī wa-al-Khaṭṭābī wa-'Abd al-Qāhīr al-Jurjānī*, Muḥammad Khalaf Allāh and Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām (eds), 2nd edn, Cairo (1968), 73–113.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

*See also*: exegesis, Koranic; literary criticism, medieval

### al-Ruṣāfī, Ma'rūf 'Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmūd (1875–1945)

Iraqi neo-classical poet. Born in the al-Ruṣāfa district of Baghdad, al-Ruṣāfī's early education was confined to the traditional *kuttāb* (Koranic school). He later joined al-Rushdiyya military school in Baghdad but left after three years, having failed the course. He then studied religion and linguistics under the scholar Shukrī al-Ālūsī for twelve years.

Al-Ruṣāfī began his career as a school-teacher of Arabic. Following the declaration of the Ottoman Constitution of 1908 he went to Istanbul, where he lectured in Arabic and edited the newspaper *Sabīl al-Rashād*. In 1912 he represented the al-Muthanna district of Iraq in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies. He left Turkey for Damascus in 1919, but after a brief and unhappy period there went to Jerusalem, where he taught Arabic literature and enjoyed attention and respect. In 1921 he returned to Iraq, where he unwillingly accepted the post of vice-chairman of a committee on translation and arabization and edited the short-lived daily newspaper *al-Amal*.

Al-Ruṣāfī later held several posts as a teacher and inspector of Arabic. He became a member of Parliament in 1930. After 1937 he lived in self-imposed isolation, abandoning poetry, and was later forced to sell tobacco in a small shop in Baghdad. Although he died a poor man, his fame never diminished and he is now honoured by a bronze statue in al-Amin Square in Baghdad.

Like al-Zahāwī, al-Ruṣāfī had no direct knowledge of European languages or literature, but his fluency in Turkish enabled him to read widely on Western literature and civilization. He began his literary career by publishing

articles on social and political issues in Syrian and Egyptian journals such as *al-Muqataṭaf* and *al-Mu'ayyad*. His first collection of poetry was published in 1910 and a second, larger collection in 1932; the best edition appeared in Cairo in 1958.

Al-Ruṣāfī's reputation in the Arab world is linked with the historical, political and social development of Iraq from the late nineteenth to the early decades of the twentieth century. His poetry aimed to educate, reform and awaken Iraq – and indeed, the whole Arab nation – by acting as its spokesman. At times he showed anger and frustration, as he reminded his people of their past glory, and he often clashed with the authorities, criticizing and rebuking them for their injustice and tyranny. At times, however, his poetry shows undercurrents of appeasement.

As a progressive poet, al-Ruṣāfī paved the way for the development of modern Iraqi poetry by introducing new values and ideas in his writing. He wrote much on Arabic prosody and criticized the chronological classification of poets, suggesting an alternative classification scheme based on innovation and excellence. The themes of his poetry cover a broad spectrum: political, philosophical and social issues, including the emancipation of women, and descriptions of various innovative ideas of the time. He showed a special interest in education, believing that a good poet should comprehend scientific thought and incorporate this in his poetry.

Although influenced by Turkish literature, al-Ruṣāfī generally adhered to the conventional forms of Arabic poetry, rejecting innovations such as blank verse. He tried to keep his poetry free from stylistic devices, attaching great importance to the unity of the poem. The nationalist sentiments of his poetry are couched in a language characterized by a simplicity that is readily comprehensible by the ordinary Iraqi.

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R. HUSNI

### al-Ruṣāfī, Muḥammad ibn Ghālib, al-Raffā' (d. 572/1177)

Andalusi poet, from the neighbourhood of Valencia, active during the middle of the

sixth/twelfth century; he died in Málaga. He worked in Granada and elsewhere, writing in praise of the first Almohad ruler, 'Abd al-Mu'min, among others, but is said to have preferred to do without the support of patrons. His name al-Raffā' may indicate that he was a weaver, and he is said to have made a living from this, but it may be no more than a topos. He is said never to have married.

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al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, Beirut, 1981–8, vol. 21, 74 (where there are further references).

D.J. WASSERSTEIN

### Rushdī, Rashād (1912–82)

Egyptian critic, college professor and dramatist. Rushdī obtained his doctorate in English literature from Leeds University in 1950 and chaired the Department of English Literature at Cairo University from 1952 to 1979. Among his publications is a critical work entitled *Readings and Studies in English Literature*. He wrote his first play, *al-Farāsha*, which was presented by al-Masraḥ al-Ḥurr, in 1959; this was followed by *Lu'bat al-ḥubb* (1961), *Riḥla khārij al-sūr* (1963) and *Khayāl al-ḏill* (1964). His later plays include *Itfarrag yā salām* (1965), *Halāwit zamān* (1966), *Baladī yā baladī* (1968), *Nūr al-ḏalām* (1971), *Muḥākamat 'Amm Ahmad al-fallāḥ* (1974), *Shahrazād* (1975) and *'Uyūn bahiyya* (1976). Rushdī, who headed the Masraḥ al-Ḥakīm from its inception in 1963, also served as editor-in-chief of *Majallat al-Masraḥ*, as well

as of *Majallat al-Jadīd*. From 1969 to 1975 he presided over the Institute of Dramatic Arts and in 1981 became president of the Academy of Arts. Rushdī is credited with having introduced the New Criticism, as well as the study of T.S. Eliot and his pivotal influence on Arabic poetry, to the Arab reader and to the curriculum of the Cairo University English Department. A generation of writers, dramatists and literary critics graduated under his guidance.

Text edition

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M. MIKHAIL

### Rūz al-Yūsuf (1925– )

Egyptian illustrated literary weekly, named after its founder, the actress Fāṭima al-Yūsuf. Early issues contained news on the theatre and translations of short stories and poetry and included a section on women's affairs; it later also embraced the cinema, pictures, art books and fashion. Its contributors have included the writers Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī, Maḥmūd Taymūr and 'Abbās al-'Aqqād, as well as Fāṭima's son, Iḥsān 'Abd al-Quddūs. Nationalized in 1960, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* has served as an outlet for the Egyptian government's anti-imperialist and other policies, and was popular with left-of-centre intellectuals during the Sadat period (1970–81).

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

### Sa'āda, Anṭun (1904–49)

Syrian nationalist writer. The leading advocate of the unity of geographical Syria and thus of Syrian as opposed to Arab nationalism, Sa'āda returned to the Middle East in 1929 from emigration in Brazil. He worked as a German teacher at the American University of Beirut, and in 1932 founded al-Ḥizb al-Sūrī al-Qawmī, the Syrian National Party. By 1935 the party had several thousand members in Syria and Lebanon.

In *Nushū' al-umam* (1938) Sa'āda expounded the view that the 'Syrians' constituted a distinct nation which included the population of the Fertile Crescent, together, in a subsequent formulation in 1947, with that of Iraq and Cyprus. Sa'āda was evidently influenced by some of the national and ethnic theories of Nazi Germany, but he explicitly rejected the notion that the Arabic language could serve as the basis for nationalism. His political activities and polemical writings resulted in his arrest and imprisonment for two years in 1936.

He left Lebanon in 1938, returning in 1947 to campaign once more for a unified Syrian nation. After a quixotic attempt to seize power in Lebanon from a base in Syria, he was tried and summarily executed by the Lebanese authorities in July 1949. His ideas and the movement that he founded remained influential at least until the 1960s, and still have currency in some quarters in Lebanon and Syria.

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P.J. SLUGLETT

### Sa'adiā Gaon (269–331/882–942)

Sa'adiā ben Yōsēf (Arabic: Sa'īd ibn Yūsuf)

al-Fayyūmī was a Jewish scholar, thinker, writer and leader, who wrote both in Arabic and in Hebrew. Born in Egypt, he began his literary career there by composing a dictionary for Hebrew poetry (*Egrōn*). After a stay in Palestine, where he studied in Tiberias, he left for Mesopotamia, the Jewish political and intellectual centre of the time. Upon his own initiative he became involved in several theological and Halakhic controversies, thereby gaining political power which eventually led him to the position of head of the academy at Sūrā, which he held, with a six-year intermission, until his death.

In his own perception, Sa'adiā Gaon was the spiritual leader of the Jewish community in his generation. Displaying the acumen of a cultural planner and using political strategies, he managed to establish for himself a recognized cultural authority with which he was able to set up a new agenda for canonized Jewish literature (that is, its Rabbinic section), and restructure it in a way that was to change its face completely for generations to come. By introducing models of literary activity and writing that were innovative for Rabbinic culture but were staples of contemporary Arabic culture, and by acting to bring about their assimilation, his career radically altered the canonical Rabbinic literature.

Sa'adiā Gaon introduced a restructured Rabbinic literary system, in which the Bible (rather than the corpus of Oral Law) becomes both the focus of literary attention, with a new repertoire being created around it, and a literary and linguistic exemplar, whose status is inspired by the Arabic concept of *faṣāḥa*; a revitalized Hebrew liturgical poetry on which the status and functions of Arabic poetry have been imposed; a liturgical canon (*Siddūr*) based on norms appropriated from classicist Arabic literary criticism; a new, official, status for the written text, along with its basic writing models; and last, new Arabic (using Hebrew script) and Hebrew prose-writing models.

Sa'adiā Gaon's attempt to create a model for eloquent Hebrew prose based on the Bible is especially interesting, even though it was unsuccessful.

While the imprint of contemporary Arabic culture is discernible in all of them (either overtly or, in some cases, covertly), both the Hebrew and the Arabic models addressed Jewish problematics and were intended for the Jewish community. Being well versed in contemporary Arab learning, its contents and its modes of expression, Sa'adiā Gaon borrowed models of writing from the Arabic in order to express himself on Jewish matters, and insofar as he invoked aspects of Muslim learning, he did so by naturalizing them as part of the Jewish discourse.

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R. DRORY

ša'ālik

Brigand poets in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic era. The word has often been translated as 'outlaws', but, strictly speaking, this is not correct because pre-Islamic Arabia, unlike medieval Europe, knew neither a written law nor a body to enforce it, a 'police force' that a *šu'lūk* could get into conflict with.

The *ša'ālik* (or *lušūš*, 'thieves') were outcasts in the sense that having been born into a tribe, they ceased to be tribe members, either by their own choice or by expulsion. So to understand the position of the *ša'ālik*, one has to understand the status of a tribal member, the position that *ša'ālik* gave up or were forced to give up.

A *bedouin* belonged to a family, but much more importantly to a tribe. The individual and the tribe were complementary entities in that the tribe demanded from the individual the best of his/her abilities but at the same time provided for all individual needs. The individual was also in a position to demand from the tribe the best it could offer, but he/she had a never-ending obligation to give away to the tribe all he/she could afford.

The morale *par excellence* of pre-Islamic Arabia was *muruwwa* (manliness), compar-

able to the Latin *virtus* and the Greek ἀνδρεία, a complex of virtues that reflected the close relationship between individual and tribal collective; some of these *muruwwa* virtues were tribe-oriented, such as *wafā'*, loyalty to the family and the tribe, and *karam*, extreme generosity, especially towards the poor and needy – mostly orphans and widows – or even self-denial. The individual had to practise virtues like *ṣabr*, endurance in hardship and in battle; *ṣidq*, loyalty towards oneself or trustworthiness; *'ird*, honour or the enforcement of what was good (*ma'rūf*) and the struggle against or rejection of evil; and *ibā'*, rejection of all forms of dependence on authorities other than one's own tribe (see Müller, G., 1981, 82). These interdependent *muruwwa* virtues formed a closely knit structure, aimed at survival of the individual and of the tribe, a kind of social contract in which survival was understood as a mutual pact.

If, however, something between the individual and the tribal community went wrong, then the break-up would be just as complete and irreversible. This happened to a number of men: history has not always recorded on what grounds it happened, and the transmitted stories may be sketchy or even invented, but it seems that in most cases these men violated the strict code of behaviour that *muruwwa* involved, by, for instance, using forms of force or violence that exceeded the boundaries of *Jāhili* values. When a man's fate was to become a *šu'lūk*, the only way he could provide for his living was theft, either from individuals, from tribes or caravans, or from someone else's crops in areas where agriculture was possible. The isolation of these *ša'ālik*, who called themselves the wolves of the Arabs (*dhu'bān al-'Arab*), cannot have been complete, if only for the fact that the poetry they composed was recorded and subsequently transmitted, which could only have happened if they were in contact with other individuals.

There would be no reason to regard the poetry of the *ša'ālik* as a special kind of poetry if it did not have common features as compared to the work of poets who stayed within their tribes. These typical features are both thematic and formal. A common formal feature is that practically none of the *qaṣidas* composed by *ša'ālik* starts with the amatory introduction, the *nasib*, the usual first part of a traditional *qaṣida*. In the *qaṣida* the first verse is usually a *maṭla'*, that is, a verse in which both hemi-

stichs rhyme. As if to underline the absence of a *nasīb*, a *ṣu'lūk qaṣida* never has a *maṭla'* verse. In other respects also the poetic forms of the *ṣa'ālik qaṣidas* tend to be less traditional.

More important are the thematic features that *ṣa'ālik* poems have in common. Instead of boasting over the excellence of his tribe, the *ṣu'lūk* would obviously only express pride in himself, in his own endurance in poverty and hunger, his (self)-ordained independence and – remarkable enough in pre-Islamic poetry, because a pre-Islamic hero would never run away from danger – his swift foot when circumstances forced him to flee. Often the poet's loneliness is accentuated by creating fictitious dialogues with other animals of the desert, especially in the form of dialogues with a lone wolf (*dhi'b*) or with ghosts (*jinn*).

Most of the *ṣa'ālik* lived in pre-Islamic Arabia, but this way of life is also attested in early Islam. Among the pre-Islamic *ṣa'ālik* the poets **al-Shanfarā** (d. c.540 CE?), who composed one of the most renowned poems of Arabic literary history, the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, and **Ta'abbata Sharran** (d. c.550 CE?) are the most famous. They even seem to have been friends, because the latter composed a *marthiya* on al-Shanfarā. In the history of Arabic literature the *ṣu'lūk* **'Urwa ibn al-Ward** (d. c.615 CE) was portrayed as a Robin Hood *avant la lettre*, stealing from the rich in order to feed the poor.

With the rise of Islam the *ṣu'lūk* way of life came to an end, because – unlike in pre-Islamic times, when theft, especially between tribes, was more or less accepted – the new religion advocated law and order, imposing sanctions on stealing and robbery. Some of the last *ṣa'ālik* poets were al-Qattāl al-Kilābī (d. shortly after 65/685) and Ṣakhr al-Ghayy (d. end of the first/seventh century).

The tradition of brigand poets reappears in the sect of the Assassins in seventh/twelfth and eighth/thirteenth century **Persia**, **Iraq** and **Syria**. Among these legendary thugs were some poets as well, although they were never called *ṣa'ālik*. In a less violent form we can recognize the type of the sympathetic brigand poet in stories about thieves in the medieval cities of the Arab world, who were able to compose improvised poetry at the proper occasion.

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G. BORG

See also: Arabia; bedouin; jāhiliyya; qaṣida

**al-Sā'ātī, Maḥmūd Ṣafwat (1825–81)**

Egyptian court poet and judge, born in **Cairo**. He acquired his nickname from his skill at repairing watches. After going on the pilgrimage in 1845, he became a companion to the Sharif of Mecca, Prince Muḥammad ibn 'Awn, whom he accompanied to Cairo and Istanbul after his deposition in 1850. He subsequently held various government and court positions in Egypt. There are various editions of his *dīwān* (1859), in which he eulogized the Khedives Sa'id, Ismā'il and Tawfiq, and the family of 'Awn and the notables of Mecca. His poetry, modelled on classical poets, is far superior to that of his contemporaries and he is considered the leading Egyptian poet before **al-Bārūdī**.

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P. C. SADGROVE

**al-Ṣābi', Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl (313–84/925–94)**

Master stylist of epistolary prose. The scion of two notable families of physicians from the **Sabian** religious community of **Ḥarrān** (his maternal grandfather was **Thābit ibn Qurra**), throughout his life he resisted pressure from his patrons to convert to Islam. Initially employed by the **Būyid** vizier **al-Muḥallabī** in **Baghdad**, he then served as head of chancery for the amīrs Mu'izz al-Dawla and 'Izz al-Dawla. In this position he incurred the wrath of the latter's cousin 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who imprisoned him for some years; it was at the latter's command that he composed his eulogistic history of the Būyid family, the



*Kitāb al-Taḡī*, of which only a fragment has survived. His later years were apparently uneventful. His fame rests on his letters, both official and private, of which about one thousand are preserved in manuscript, although only a small number have been published. Composed in an elaborate rhymed prose (see *saḡ'*), they served as a model for prose stylists of the next generation, who attempted to outdo them.

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E. K. ROWSON

**al-Ṣābi', Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin  
(359–448/969–1056)**

Historian and secretary. In his writing he followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, the famous chancery official Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābi', under whom he apprenticed, and the latter's uncle, the historian Thābit ibn Sinān. Born and raised in Baghdad, he was the first of this famous Sabian family, originally from Ḥarrān, to convert to Islam, which he did in about 403/1013, while in the employ of the Būyid vizier Fakhr al-Mulk; when the latter fell from power, he settled on Hilāl a sum that allowed him to live in comfort for the rest of his life. Of Hilāl's *History*, which continued that of Thābit from 363/973 to 447/1055, only the section covering the years 389–93/999–1003 survives; of his book of *Wazirs*, we have only the section dealing with three of the viziers of al-Muqtadir (296–320/908–32). The most

valuable of his extant works is an exposition on the protocol of the 'Abbāsīd court. His collection of model chancery letters has also been published; whether his own official correspondence survives in manuscript is as yet unclear. A number of other works are entirely lost.

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**Sablans (Arabic Ṣābi'ūn)**

A pagan sect, which flourished in Ḥarran in northern Syria from early times until approximately the mid-fifth/eleventh century. There were also Sabians in Baghdad and elsewhere. They espoused a Neoplatonic form of theology, and our Arabic sources tell us that some worshipped stars while others worshipped idols. Some scholars believe that they deliberately identified themselves with the *Ṣābi'ūn* mentioned in the Koran (see *Sūras* 2:62, 5:72, 22:17); in this way they are supposed to have escaped persecution and become eligible for treatment as *Ahl al-Kitāb*. Their primary interest for the development of Arabic literature lies in the renowned scholars with whom they filled the Islamic world. Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 288/901) was responsible for translating some of Archimedes' works into Arabic as well as the famous *Introduction to Arithmetic* by Nicomachus. His son, Sinān ibn Thābit (d. 331–32/943) flourished both as a doctor to the 'Abbāsīd court as well as a minor historian. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābi' and his grandson Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi' were famous as court officials and historians. It is clear that the thought of the Sabians also had a considerable impact on some of the teachings of the *Ikhwān al-Safā'*; and they are mentioned

with interest by many notable Arab writers including Ibn Ḥazm, al-Shahraṣṭānī and al-Mas'ūdī. From a literary point of view, the Sabians acted both as textual translators and as channels into the cultural milieu of Islam of a major alien culture and body of learning. It is for this reason, among others, that the heresiographers mention them with such interest; another must clearly be the appearance in the Koran of the word 'Sabians'.

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I.R. NETTON

### Sa'd ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī see Hayṣa Bayṣa

### Ṣabrī Pasha, Ismā'il (1854–1923)

Egyptian neo-classical poet and official, born and died in Cairo. After obtaining a degree in law from Aix-en-Provence University, he pursued a career in the Egyptian courts; he was Governor of Alexandria (1896–9), and was then appointed under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Justice. The first modern poet to achieve a metaphysical quality, his remarkable personal poems represent the beginnings of modern lyricism. His most important poetry, *Dīwān Ismā'il Ṣabrī Bāshā* (1938), was written in the twentieth century, but was eclipsed by the towering figure of Shawqī. Some of his short poems in colloquial have been set to music, and sung by 'Abduh al-Ḥamūlī. He also translated poems by Alfred de Musset, Lamartine and Verlaine.

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P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Sa'dāwī, Nawāl (1931– )

Egyptian psychiatrist, novelist and political activist. From a village in Lower Egypt, al-Sa'dāwī graduated from Cairo University Faculty of Medicine in 1955. She sparked controversy in 1972 with her study of sexual socialization and its effects on women, *al-Mar'a wa-al-jins*, and was dismissed from her senior Ministry of Health post. She had been publishing fiction since the late 1950s: by 1960, two short-story collections, *Ta'allamtu al-ḥubb* and *Laḥḥat ṣidq*, and her first novel, *Mudhakkirāt ṭābība*, had appeared. Since then, she has been a prolific novelist and short-story writer, exploring in realist and allegorical works of fiction the modes and effects of gender-based oppression in her society (e.g. in *Mawt al-rajul al-waḥīd 'alā al-arḍ*, 1976, trans. S. Hetata as *God Dies by the Nile*, 1985; and *Imra'a 'ind nuḡtat al-ṣifr*, 1975, trans. S. Hetata as *Woman at Point Zero*, 1983), and questioning Islamist programmes for women (*Suqūt al-Imām*, 1987, trans. S. Eber as *The Fall of the Imam*, 1988) and the social control that religious ideologies construct and perpetuate (*Jannāt wa-Iblīs*, 1992, translated as *The Innocence of the Devil*, 1994). More recently, *al-Ḥubb fī zaman al-naft* (n.d.) probes the relationship between global economic imperatives and gender. She has published a volume of prison memoirs, *Mudhakkirātī fī sijn al-nisā'* (1983, trans. M. Booth as *Memoirs from the Women's Prison*, 1986), as well as two other memoirs, and her fiction manifests her interest in 'autobiographical' modes of writing. She has also published two plays. Al-Sa'dāwī's corpus has been widely translated and she has become a celebrated feminist spokesperson internationally. She has written several socio-medical studies in the vein of *al-Mar'a wa-al-jins*, informed by her medical practice as family doctor and psychiatrist, and other non-fiction works on aspects of gender in society (e.g. *An al-mar'a*, 1988). In 1982 she founded the Arab Women Solidarity Association (AWSA), which has fought in court for the right to exist since it was ordered to be dissolved by a governmental administrative order in June 1991 (see her *Ma'raka jadīda fī qaḍīyyat al-mar'a*, 1992).

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M. BOOTH

## al-Şafadī, Khalīl ibn Aybak (d. 764/1363)

The son of a Turkish *mamlūk*, born in Safad in the last decade of the thirteenth century. After a life as a government clerk in various Syrian towns and in Cairo, and as a prodigiously productive author, he died in Damascus. Apart from a vast amount of poetry, his many prose works are, in the typical fashion of the time, little more than enormously industrious compilations or more narrowly focused anthologies. Among his compositions one finds something in the nature of a huge commonplace book, which later authors quarried, works on lexicography and rhetorical devices, a *maqāma* on wine, a collection of literary epistles (including some of those received by him), and anthologies on erotic and pederastic themes.

The work for which he is most famous is entitled *al-Wāfi bil-Wafayāt*. This is a biographical dictionary of gigantic proportions, said to contain over 140,000 entries, which in principle are arranged alphabetically, except for the precedence given to the name Muḥammad. The modern edition of this, having reached many volumes, is still not completed. Two other smaller biographical works are excerpts from the main work. One, *A'yān al-'aṣr*, is devoted to contemporaries and the other, *Nakt al-himyān*, to noted blind persons. The work has an introduction, which discusses different dating systems, the conventions of personal naming, the general method followed by the author and an exhaustive list of his predecessors, historians and biographers.

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D.S. RICHARDS

## Şaffārids

A Persian dynasty which reigned in Sijistān or Sistan (the region on the frontiers of modern Iran and southern Afghanistan) 253–393/862–1003. It was founded by Ya'qūb ibn al-Layth, a coppersmith (*şaffār*), who by his death in 265/879 had assembled a mighty empire in the eastern Islamic lands, from the frontiers of India to Khuzistan, challenging the 'Abbāsīd caliphs in Samarra for control of southwestern Persia and lower Iraq. His brother and successor 'Amr expanded these conquests into Khurasan, before meeting a decisive check in 282/900 from the Sāmānīds of Transoxania, after which the succeeding Şaffārid amirs were largely reduced to their native province of Sistan for the remainder of their existence.

The early Şaffārid amirs were preoccupied with warfare, but the reigns of Ya'qūb and 'Amr are significant in that poetry in literary New Persian was cultivated at their court, and a few specimens survive of this; also, we know of at least one poet who praised them in Arabic and expressed in his verse their challenge to the 'Abbāsīds as representatives of what might be called a 'proto-Iranian' nationalism. Moreover, the amirs of the fourth/tenth century were enthusiastic patrons of Arabic learning; the philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī worked at their court; the globe-trotter Abū Dulaf apparently visited this last and wrote about it; they were praised by some of the leading writers of the age, such as Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī; and the last amir, Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, achieved fame as patron of a hundred-volume Koran commentary which has not, however, survived.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

### Şafī al-Dīn al-Ĥillī (667–c.750/1278–c.1349)

Abū al-Maḥāsīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sarāyā Şafī al-Dīn al-Ĥillī was a poet and stylist from the ancient *Shī'i* centre of Ḥilla in central Iraq. Though himself apparently a moderate *Shī'i*, he was quite happy to spend the greater part of his career as eulogist at the courts of strongly *Sunnī* rulers like the Turkish Artuqids of Diyārbakr, the last *Ayyūbids* and the *Mamlūks of Egypt*. In the field of classical Arabic literature, he was famed as a writer of *qaṣidas* and *muwashshahs*, and these form the extensive poetic *dīwān* as we know it today. Among his poems there is a *Qaṣida Sāsāniyya* on the devices of beggars, fraudulent *Şūfīs* and other tricksters, in which he employs a very recondite and difficult vocabulary in part deriving from various tongues of the Iraqi–Syrian–eastern Anatolian milieu where he worked (for another poem of this type, see *Abū Dulaf*). He further wrote a work in verse on rhetoric. Of particular interest as one of the few works of its type deemed worthy of a modern critical edition and of being made widely known is Şafī al-Dīn's treatise on the popular Arabic poetry of his time, illustrated with compositions of his own and of other writers in such genres as the *zajal*, *mawāliyyā*, *kān wa-kān* and *qūmā*, the *Kitāb al-'Āṭil al-ḥālī*.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

### al-Şāhib Ibn 'Abbād (326–85/938–95)

Abū al-Qāsim Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād al-Şāhib was a *Būyid* vizier, prose stylist and poet, and the most important literary patron of his era. A protégé of Rukn al-Dawla's vizier *Ibn al-*

*'Amīd*, he served as vizier to Rukn's son *Mu'ayyid al-Dawla* in Isfahan and *Rayy* and then to the latter's brother *Fakhr al-Dawla* in *Jurjan* and *Rayy*. A highly effective administrator, he also succeeded in attracting to his court a stunning array of poets, litterateurs and philologists, including *Abū al-Faraj al-Işbahānī*, *Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī* and *Ibn Fāris*, although he failed to snare *al-Mutanabbī*. The library he assembled in *Rayy* was probably unequalled in its day, and he himself authored a large number of works, of which some fifteen survive and have been published. A staunch *Mu'tazilī* (he appointed *al-Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār*, the chief *Mu'tazilī* thinker of his day, chief judge in *Rayy*) and a *Zaydī Shī'i*, he wrote several theological treatises; unlike his predecessor *Ibn al-'Amīd*, however, he was opposed to philosophy and the secular sciences. His philological writings include a dictionary (partially preserved) and a number of specialized monographs, including a detailed exposé of all the faults in *al-Mutanabbī's* verse. His own poetry, of which much survives, is generally unremarkable, and his real literary achievements were in prose. He was an influential proponent of the trend towards increasing elaborateness in *artistic prose*, and his own famed correspondence, both official and private, displays a persistent reliance on parallelism and rhyme (see *şaj'*), combined with complex word play, which contrasts with the more chaste style of his predecessor *Ibn al-'Amīd* and his contemporary the *Baghdad* secretary *Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Şābī*, whom he saw as his chief rival. He is in fact held responsible for the corruption of Arabic prose by the more conservative *al-Tawḥīdī*, whose notorious *Faults of the Two Viziers* furthermore depicts him as vainglorious, hypocritical, lecherous and irredeemably corrupt. That he had a pronounced taste for low life and the prurient is clear from numerous anecdotes, as well as his patronage of such dubious figures as *Abū Dulaf*, who composed his poem on the beggars and tricksters and their argot at his request.

Text editions

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*al-Kaṣḥf 'an masāwī' shī'r al-Mutanabbī*, M.Ĥ. Āl Yāsīn (ed.), Baghdad (1965).  
*al-Muḥīṭ bil-lughā*, I ('*ayn*), M.Ĥ. Āl Yāsīn (ed.), Baghdad (1965).

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*EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn 'Abbād.

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al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo (1956), vol. 3, 192–290.

E. K. ROWSON

### Sahl al-Tustarī (203–83/818–96)

Sahl ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī, one of the greatest Ṣūfī masters of the third/ninth century, born in Tustar and died in Basra. **Al-Hallāj** was numbered among his students. His teachings were perpetuated especially in the school of the Sālimiyya which was founded by his student Muḥammad ibn Sālim and the latter's son Aḥmad. One of Aḥmad's students was Abū Ṭālib **al-Makkī** who composed the *Qūt al-qulūb*, the chief source for **al-Ghazzālī's Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn**. Sahl himself has left us no writings. His dicta were collected and published by his students. Most important is his **Koran** commentary which **al-Sulamī** incorporated into his own *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*. Besides what al-Sulamī preserved, a collection of dicta attributed to Sahl has come down to us which bears the title *Kalām Sahl*.

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B. RADTKE

### Sahl ibn Hārūn (d. 215/830)

Abū 'Amr Sahl ibn Hārūn was an author of Persian descent who stemmed from Dastmay-sān in lower Iraq. He was a protégé of the **Barmakids** and served the caliphs **Hārūn al-Rashid** and al-Ma'mūn, becoming director of the latter's **Bayt al-Hikma** or 'House of Wisdom' and receiving the sobriquet of 'the Buzurjmīhr of Islam' for his wisdom and learning. He was a strong partisan of the

*Shu'ūbiyya*, and continued the tradition of **Ibn al-Muqaffa'** in bringing the Persian heritage into Arabic literature and culture. His *adab* compositions ranged from poetry and animal fables of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* type to politics and statecraft, according to the titles of all these works preserved in later authors. **Al-Jāhīz** admired him, and quotes from an epistle written by Sahl in praise of economy and circumspection in his own *Book of Misers*, such advocacy being regarded as a *Shu'ūbī* reply to the Arabs' famed virtues of liberality and hospitality.

Further reading

*EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (Mohsen Zakeri).

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C. E. BOSWORTH

### Sa'id, 'Alī Aḥmad see Adūnīs

### al-Sa'id, Amīna (1914– )

Egyptian journalist, short-story writer, feminist and translator. Born in Asyut, Amīna al-Sa'id was among the first group of women to enter the English literature department of Cairo University. She started her press career in 1932 before graduating from college and in 1952 was chosen to be editor-in-chief of *Majallat Ḥawwā'* (the most widely distributed women's magazine in the Middle East), published by the al-Hilāl publishing house. In 1959 she became chairperson of the press syndicate board. She headed the executive board of *al-Hilāl* from 1975 to 1981, and since her retirement has served as consultant to the al-Hilāl publishing house. Amīna al-Sa'id's writings are characterized by a direct and clear style which speaks to large audiences about the complex emotions and psychological make-up of women. Her works include *al-Jāmiḥa*, *Ākhir al-ṭariq* (a collection of short stories) and *Wujūh fī al-zalām*, a collection of articles from *Ḥawwā'* dealing with the psychology and alienation of the Egyptian woman, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. The main thrust of her writings addresses women's dilemmas within the struggle to change from a traditional to a more liberal role. From 1980 to 1986, as a member of the Consultative Assembly (Shūrā) she courageously demanded reforms to family law. Amīna al-Sa'id has also written a book on Byron, and translated Rudyard Kipling's

*Jungle Book* and Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*.

Further reading

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Fawzi, M., *Adab al-aẓfir al-tawila*, Cairo (1987).

M. MIKHAIL

### Sa'īd, Khālidā (1932– )

Syrian literary critic. Born in Latakia, Sa'īd was educated in Banyas, **Damascus** and at the Lebanese University in Beirut, where she graduated in Arabic literature in 1965. In 1974 she gained a doctorate from the Sorbonne for a thesis on innovation in Arabic literature. An active member of the Syrian National Socialist Party, she was imprisoned in 1955 and 1956. In 1956 she moved to Lebanon with her husband **Adūnis**, where she soon distinguished herself as one of the most perceptive critics within the *ḥadātha* movement which centred around the journal *Shi'r* founded in 1957 by Yūsuf al-Khāl. Sa'īd's *al-Baḥth 'an al-judhūr* (1960) was the first work of genuinely modernist criticism in the Arab world; few critics had a finer ability to discern the subtle patterns within a poetic text, or a sharper sense of contrast between new and conventional modes of expression. In the mid-1970s, with the emergence of a more sophisticated, anti-ideological criticism, Sa'īd was again a leading figure; her *Ḥarakiyyat al-ibdā'* (1979) helped to set the tone for a new critical movement in the Arab world.

A main concern in Sa'īd's work has been the need to transcend ideologically based criticism and to explore virgin territories of textual study, while participating in the radical search for modernity. She has also stood for a new role for women, rejecting the exclusivist categorization of their works as 'feminist'; at the same time, she has devoted much energy to women's issues, producing in 1991 a fine volume of studies entitled *al-Mar'a, al-Taḥarrur, al-Ibdā'*.

In addition to her writing, Sa'īd's career has been characterized by continuing political and social involvement. In 1959 she founded a centre for the abolition of illiteracy and she has worked as a teacher at levels from primary school to the academy. Since 1975 she has been professor of modern Arabic literature at the Lebanese University.

KAMAL ABU-DEEB

### Saj'

'Rhymed prose', a term used generally to distinguish artistic prose, subject to certain constraints of rhythm and rhyme, from unadorned or 'free' (*mursal*) prose. Etymologically, the word referred to the cooing of pigeons, and was first applied linguistically to the oracular statements of pre-Islamic soothsayers (*kāhins*), which consisted of series of short phrases exhibiting mono-rhyme but not regular metre. Whether the style of the **Koran**, whose periods are throughout characterized by similar stretches of mono-rhyme, could be labelled *saj'* was later controversial, but mainly for theological reasons involving the doctrine of its stylistic inimitability (see *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*).

Although *saj'* in a narrow sense refers specifically to this phenomenon of recurrent rhyme, complications have arisen from its association with another form of prose organization, that of parallelism, whether semantic, syntactic, rhythmic (i.e. with parallel vowel sequences), or some combination of these. Such parallelism (usually termed *izdiwāj* when phrases are grouped in pairs, or *muwāzana* when rhythmically based) was characteristic of early Arabic oratory (*khutab*), which on occasion combined it with the rhyming phenomenon of *saj'*, as the *kāhins* also sometimes used their *saj'* to mark parallel phrases.

In early artistic written prose, such as that of **al-Jāhiz**, both phenomena play only a limited role, parallelism being exploited rather more than rhyme. The distinctive genre of **artistic prose** developed in the chanceries and generally held to have been initiated by the **Umayyad** secretary 'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Yahyā al-Kātib displays a growing reliance on both through the third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries, together with an increasing use of rhetorical tropes borrowed from poetry. During the same period *saj'* appears more and more frequently in titles of belletristic works (becoming virtually *de rigueur* by the end of the fourth/tenth century) and in their introductory sections. A recognized turning point was reached about 350/960 with the celebrated epistles of the **Būyid** vizier **Ibn al-'Amid**, encapsulated in the *saj'* formula that 'chancery prose [*kitāba*] began with 'Abd al-Ḥamid and was sealed by Ibn al-'Amid'. There followed a generation of virtuosi of prose stylistics, affected to a greater or

lesser degree by the 'mania for *saj'*' with which the relatively conservative al-Tawhīdī charged Ibn al-'Amīd's successor as vizier, al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād. The consistent use of *saj'* and parallelism throughout a composition became characteristic not only of chancery prose, but also of private epistles and, not surprisingly, oratory, reaching its high point in the latter art in the sermons of Ibn Nubāta al-Khaṭīb (d. 374/984). Other authors found new venues for this sort of rhetorical prose, notably al-'Utbi in history and biography and, crucially, Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (in the *maqāma*), destined to become the premier showcase for *saj'* for centuries to come.

This rhetorical prose was now a serious rival to poetry, from which it had borrowed not only an entire panoply of rhetorical devices, but also to a large extent generic themes and occasions, military successes being celebrated with both odes and victory letters (*kutub futūh*), letters of condolence paralleling elegies, and the like. This convergence is marked by the popularity of debates over the relative merits of prose and poetry, the development of the genre of *nathr al-naẓm* in which existing verses were recast in elaborate prose (as well as the reverse), and the proliferation of handbooks cataloguing themes and phrases of potential use to the budding prose stylist as well as poet. Critical analysis of *saj'*, though never as highly developed as that of poetry, first appears in the introduction to one of these handbooks, Qudāma ibn Ja'far's *Gems of Locution*, and was further refined in later centuries by such critics as Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, and al-Qalqashandī. A single example of the sort of complexity dealt with would be Qudāma's definition of *tarṣī'*, in which multiple *saj'* rhyme is combined with full morphological parallelism, as in the phrase *hattā 'āda ta'riḍuka taṣriḥā wa-šāra tamriḍuka taṣḥiḥā* ('until your obscurity reverted to plain statement and your deficient rendering became sound').

By the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, when al-Ḥarīrī composed his *Maqāmāt*, the most celebrated *saj'* work of all, the necessity of casting any prose with stylistic pretensions into *saj'* was thoroughly established for centuries to come. Later authors famed for their *saj'* style include al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, and Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir. The use of *saj'* also became common in popular prose literature such as *Alf*

*layla wa-layla*. The extent of its continuing grip on Arabic prose can be measured by its use in Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī's *Ḥadīth 'Īsā ibn Hishām* in the early twentieth century, by which time, however, the modern revolt which has now largely swept away this sort of artifice was already growing strong.

#### Text edition

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E.K. ROWSON

See also: artistic prose; oratory and sermons

## Sakākīnī, Widād (1913–86)

Short-story writer. Born in Sidon, Lebanon, Widād Sakākīnī lived most of her life in Syria. She came from an upper-class background, and by profession was a teacher.

She is best known for her short stories, but also published novels and literary criticism. Her collection of stories entitled *Marāyā al-nās* (Cairo, 1945) is reckoned as the earliest Syrian collection after Fu'ād al-Shāyib's *Ta'riḥ jurḥ*. In it she deals with aspects of social life in Syria, and particularly in Damascus. Her work is of the realist school, and her literary method is much like that of 'Abd al-Salām al-'Ujaylī. Her later works include *al-Sitār al-marfū'* (Cairo, 1955) and *Aqwā min al-sinīn* (Damascus, 1978).

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M.J.L. YOUNG

## al-Sakhāwī (830–902/1427–97)

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-

Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī was an Egyptian Shāfi'ī author of the later Mamlūk period. He was the pupil of **Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī** and spent most of his career as a *mudarris* or professor at various of the Cairo colleges. He wrote some 200 works, a fair number of which are extant, in the fields of history, Koranic studies, tradition and *adab*. Especially valuable for cultural history is his collection of biographies, essentially of scholars of his own century (namely the ninth/fifteenth), *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-qarn al-tāsi'*, despite attacks on it by his contemporaries and rivals for its uncritical, compilatory character – a characteristic, however, of the age. More incisive and original is his historiographical work, *al-I'lān bil-tawbīkh li-man dhamma ahl al-ta'rīkh*, in which he defends the study of history as a valuable ancillary to the religious sciences; its value for Mamlūk history is enhanced by his concentration on near-contemporary and contemporary authors for his examples.

#### Text editions

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C.E. BOSWORTH

### al-Sakkākī (555–626/1160–1229)

Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī was a grammarian and rhetorician from Khwarazm, and author of the influential compendium *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*. Not much is known of his life, the last three years of which he is said to have spent in prison on the order of Jaghatay, son of Chinghiz Khan. His *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* (*The Key to the Sciences*) is divided into three parts: morphology, syntax and rhetoric; with appendixes on argumentation (*istidlāl*) and prosody. The third part, on *ma'ānī* (see *ma'nā*) and *bayān*, which summarizes and systematizes the insights of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, became extremely popular and many commentaries were made on it.

Al-Sakkākī's presentation and many of his definitions and formulations became standard in the science of Arabic rhetoric, as it was studied especially in the eastern parts of the Arab world and among Persians and Turks. The popularity of the *Miftāḥ*, due to its systematic and scholastic character, was exceeded only by that of a much shorter and simpler compendium which was itself based on the third part of the *Miftāḥ*: *Talkhiṣ al-Miftāḥ* by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī.

#### Text edition

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#### Further reading

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

*See also*: commentaries; literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

### Salāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) see Ayyūbids

### Salāma ibn Jandal (seventh century CE)

A celebrated pre-Islamic warrior poet of the Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt (Tamīm), famed for its poets, such as al-Mukhabbal and 'Abda ibn al-Ṭabīb. His brother Aḥmar was also a warrior poet. Salāma took part in his tribe's victory over Bakr in the battle of Jadūd but is not mentioned as having fought on the second day of Kulāb (c.612 CE). His *qaṣā'id* are largely chronicles of the *Ayyām* of his tribe (see *Battle Days*). They reveal a fondness for a binary structure, with a marked avoidance of *tashbīh*



(simile), focusing instead on an aspect of the *nasīb*, such as senectitude (Qabāwa 1 = *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 22) – a structural technique later adopted by 'Abbāsīd poets – or departing howdahs (Qabāwa 4). In Qabāwa 2 the desert voyage is portrayed, explicitly, as a heroic journey, as much a feature of the pre-Islamic poet's noble character as addiction to *maysir*, largesse and martial prowess. He was noted for his horse descriptions: Qabāwa 1, 5–15, is a splendid and much admired example. The manuscript tradition of Salāma's *dīwān* is amply discussed by Qabāwa in his edition (p. 13–85).

Text editions

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

Šālih, Ilyās (1836–86)

Syrian Melchite poet and historian, born and died in Latakia. He worked for a number of years as translator in the American consulate, was involved in business, and served as a judge in Latakia. He translated the Turkish imperial constitution and state laws into Arabic. His poetry, *Dīwān al-marḥūm Ilyās Šālih al-Lādhiqī* (1910), consists mainly of conventional eulogy and elegy. He also published some translations of psalms used in Presbyterian churches (1875), and a *Khuṭba fī ḥaqīqat al-tadḥhib* (1886), and wrote a short manuscript on the history of Latakia. With As'ad Dāghir he translated a historical novel by George Ebers, *Eine ägyptische Königstochter* (1899).

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

Šālih ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs (d. c.167/783)

Preacher and poet of *zuhd* (see *zuhdiyya*) from Basra. He was suspected of being a Manichaean heretic, *zindīq*, for which he was executed in Baghdad on the order – some say by the hands – of the caliph al-Mahdī, or Hārūn al-Rashīd, according to others. He is a

key figure in the early development of ascetic and gnomic poetry. His preserved verse testifies to his piety rather than his heresy.

Text edition

al-Khaṭīb, 'Abd Allāh, *Šālih ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs*, Baghdad (1967), 116–52.

Further reading

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

Šālih, al-Ṭayyib (1929– )

Sudanese novelist, short-story writer and essayist. Born in the Northern Sudan, Šālih pursued his higher education in Khartoum and London, where he is still based. For many years he travelled widely as a UNESCO cultural delegate in the Arab world. He is not a prolific writer; his works, however, reflect a profound assimilation of Arab and Western cultures, and a technical mastery unique in contemporary Arabic literature. Šālih started publishing short pieces as Sudan awoke to its independence in 1956. *Ḥafnat tamr* (1957) set his particular tone and created his central *persona*, who speaks intimately to the reader in the first person singular, recounting his story from childhood to old age throughout Šālih's work. His departures to the North and returns to the South shape the pattern and rhythm of Šālih's writings, and embody the Arab artist's contemporary predicament. In *Risāla ilā Aylīn* (1960) he wonders how his British wife could love a black Muslim Arab who bears in his heart the anxieties of a whole generation; and in *Dūmat Wad Ḥāmid* (1960) he creates the mythical village of Wad Ḥāmid which he carries in his imagination wherever he goes.

In 1966, Šālih published *Mawsim al-hijra ilā al-shimāl*, a novel that made him famous overnight. This was followed shortly afterwards by 'Urs al-Zayn (1967), a long short story which presents a microcosm of Sudanese life, where all contradictions are resolved through the creative spirituality of Zayn, the village buffoon. By contrast, Muṣṭafā Sa'id,

the colonizer’s buffoon of *Mawsim* ... , sows seeds of destruction in both South and North. A novel of violent confrontation, *Mawsim* ... breaks away from the previous Romantic literature on the subject, redefining the South–North encounter as one of conflict and distortion. It thus stands both as a landmark in post-colonial literature, and as a turning point in the history of the Arabic novel. Dense and highly charged with violence, anger and passion, it is propelled forward by imagery, parallels, contrasts and syncopated rhythms, closer to a symphonic poem than to narrative prose.

Šāliḥ’s last novel to date, *Bandarshāh* (2 vols, 1971), brings together the threads of his previous works. The narrator–artist is charged by his people to preserve their memory – a task that he performs with piety, compassion and nostalgia. The lively dialogue is rendered in colloquial Arabic, while a sensuous use of the literary language gives richness to the texture of the novel. At times Šāliḥ’s prose reaches poetic heights, as migration becomes a metaphor for life itself, and human dramas are played out in an atmosphere of love, piety, simplicity and tolerance, in the rich Šūfi tradition of Sudan.

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M.T. AMYUNI

**Sālim, ‘Alī (1936– )**

Egyptian dramatist. One of the most prominent satirists of his generation, ‘Alī Sālim worked as an actor before turning to dramatic composition. Many of his plays take as their targets bureaucracy and corruption in contemporary Egypt, while at the same time depicting the plight of modern man. Among his best works are three one-act plays written between 1967 and 1968: *Bīr al-qamḥ*, *il-Bufayh*, and *Ughniya ‘alā al-mamarr*. Of these, the Kafkaesque *il-Bufayh* shows a playwright pressurized by the authorities to change his work; while *Ughniya ‘alā al-mamarr* revolves around the

fate of five Egyptian soldiers facing death in Sinai after being cut off from their colleagues during the 1967 war. Among the most successful of his full-length plays is *Kūmidiyā Ūdīb* (1970), in which the author uses a loose version of the Oedipus story to launch a barbed attack on the tyranny of Nasser’s regime.

Text editions

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Further reading

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P. STARKEY

**Sālim Abū al-‘Ālā’**

Sālim ibn ‘Abd Allāh (or ‘Abd Al-Rahmān) Abū al-‘Ālā’ was a well-known secretary in Umayyad times. A non-Arab client of one Umayyad or another, he began his training in the chancery in Damascus during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (65–85/684–704), where he became the mentor of ‘Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Yahyā al-Kātib, to whom he gave his sister (or daughter) in marriage. By the time Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik became caliph in 105/723, he had become the head of the chancery. He was a confidant of Hishām and hence an influential figure during his reign. He witnessed the caliph’s death in 125/742 and was the messenger who informed the then crown prince, al-Walid ibn Yazid, of his successorship to the caliphate. Al-Walid retained him as his chief secretary, but that may not have lasted long, for his own son, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sālim, became a secretary to al-Walid also during the latter’s short reign. After that, nothing is known about him, nor do the sources mention the date of his death. Only few of his letters have survived, but he is credited, according to some sources, by having translated (or checked the translation of) the letters of Aristotle to Alexander the Great from the Greek (see *Sirr al-asrār*).

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- W. AL-QĀDĪ

## Saljūqs

A Turkic Muslim dynasty of nomadic origin who ruled a vast empire embracing lands already long Islamicized – parts of Central Asia, Iran and Iraq (1038–1194), Syria (1078–1117) – as well as new territory in Anatolia (1077–1307). Unity held until 511/1118; thereafter, centrifugal forces inherent in the Saljūqs' nomadic heritage fragmented the Great Saljuq empire.

The Saljūqs and their successor states, such as the Būrids of **Damascus** and the Zangids of Mosul, presented themselves as strict **Sunni** rulers, governing on the Perso-Islamic model. The Saljūq sultans acquired the reputation of keen patrons of the arts. By the sixth/twelfth century the 'uncouth' image presented by the first sultan Ṭughril (d. 455/1063) had been superseded, for example, by that of the cultivated Maḥmūd (d. 525/1131), who was allegedly well versed in Arabic *belles-lettres*. The great vizier Nizām al-Mulk, and other prominent Saljūq notables, extended the *madrasa* (educational) system. These institutions possessed fine libraries – the Arabic poet **al-Abiwardī** was librarian of the Nizāmiyya in **Baghdad** – and provided an important forum for writers.

The Saljūq period witnessed significant and long-lasting developments in the sphere of Arabic *belles-lettres*. Political fragmentation after 511/1118 generated provincial courts, presided over by princes and amirs, vying with each other in artistic patronage. But to a large extent New Persian became the preferred medium of expression for both poetry and prose in Saljūq territories. The impact of this trend on Arabic *adab* is still difficult to assess.

The traditional view, propounded by the few who have ventured to look at Saljūq literature, holds that this diverting of the literary talents of ethnically Persian writers who had previously written with consummate skill in Arabic irrevocably damaged Arabic literature. This theory is, however, based on patchy survivals of both Arabic and Persian literary pieces, inadequate publication of those works that *are* extant, and the pro-Persian bias of scholars such as E.G. Browne. It may still prove to be well founded but much more research and proper evaluation of Saljūq literature are needed first. What is undoubtedly true is that Saljūq Iran saw the virtual demise of Arabic as the medium for *belles-lettres*, although Arabic remained supreme, even there, as the language of religion, natural science and philosophy. Arabic continued to be used for *belles-lettres* in Saljūq Arabophone areas, such as Iraq and Syria, but the rise of New Persian in the sphere of *adab* caused the formation of linguistic barriers between the world of Iran, northern **India** and Central Asia, and the territories further to the west where Arabic held sway; indeed, while writers who opted generally for Persian continued to show considerable proficiency in Arabic – Tirmidhī, Sanjar's court poet, knew Arabic extremely well – and would occasionally demonstrate these skills, Arabic-speaking areas were unable to keep abreast of developments in Persian poetry and prose and became cut off from that inspirational source.

The court poet was still a significant figure, although he was often obliged to travel widely in search of patronage and fame: this process is epitomized in the career of the Arabic poet al-Ghazzī, who worked in **Damascus**, **Baghdad**, **Khurasan** and **Kirman** and died in distant Central Asia. Arab littérateurs of the Saljūq period held important administrative posts and were subject to the vicissitudes of political fortune. Ṭughril's vizier, al-Kundurī, wrote Arabic poetry. The most famous work of the Arabic poet **al-Bākhari** is a letter to al-Kundurī commiserating with him over his castration. The illustrious poet **al-Ṭughrā'i** was vizier to the Saljūq prince Mas'ūd, but in spite of his advanced years was executed on charges trumped up by his enemies. Beneath its glittering virtuosity, his *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* attacks the inferior breed of political figures who have superseded him in the corridors of power. Poets also monitored political events: landmarks in the Crusader/Muslim confronta-

tion inspired emotionally charged verses by Syrian poets such as **Ibn al-Qaysarānī** and **Ibn Munīr**.

The Saljūq period produced many commentators, compilers, grammarians and philologists – **al-Zawzanī** and **al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī** commented on classical Arabic poetry, **al-Maydānī** prepared his well-known collection of proverbs and **Ibn al-Anbārī** compiled well-respected philological and grammatical works. The *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* of **‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī** is an impressive anthology of sixth/twelfth-century Arab poets. **Al-Jawālīqī** wrote works aimed at the preservation of *fushā*; the high standards of grammatical and lexicographical knowledge required for impeccable Arabic poetry and prose, though still achievable at this time, became increasingly the preserve of a small scholarly élite.

Important Saljūq works of historiography and in the **Mirrors for Princes** genre were produced. These aimed at both entertainment and moral edification. The histories of ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī are especially noteworthy for their rhymed prose (*saq’*); his epitomizer, **al-Bundārī**, aiming at greater comprehensibility, nevertheless still produced a work in which style prevails over content. Other Saljūq historiographical works, which survive only in quotations in later authors, reveal a simpler narrative style. The Syrian *adīb* **‘Usāma ibn Munqidh**, though skilled in high-flown literary Arabic, opted for a language closer to the Syrian colloquial in his famous memoirs.

The few existing Orientalist judgements on Saljūq Arabic literature have generally been negative: its poetry and rhymed prose are dismissed as pedantic, affected and lifeless. Yet scholarly work on Saljūq literature consists almost exclusively of biographical data on individual writers, the titles of their works and sweeping condemnatory comments. Saljūq literature still produced two works generally recognized as masterpieces of *belles-lettres* by subsequent generations of Arab audiences: the *Maqāmāt* of **al-Ḥarīrī** and the *Lāmiyyat al-‘Arab* of al-Ṭughrā’ī. The lasting popularity of the *Maqāmāt* is demonstrated by its being illustrated by Arab painters more often than any other work. The Saljūq period produced definitive works in the religious sciences, especially those of **al-Zamakhsārī** and **al-Ghazzālī**. Literary skills were not the exclusive preserve of *adab* writers. Indeed, the undoubted literary prowess of the ‘*ulamā*’ class, and notably al-

Ghazzālī, enhanced the didactic aspects of their works.

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C. HILLENBRAND

### Salm ibn ‘Amr al-Khāsir (d. 186/802)

Poet from **Basra**. He was a pupil and *rāwī* of **Bashshār**. He acquired his nickname (‘the Loser’), it is said, when he sold a copy of the **Koran** in exchange for a book of verse; other explanations are also given. Accused of dissoluteness and even heresy, he was considered a poet with a natural talent (*maṭbū’*). He made panegyric poems, elegies and poems on his poverty (he left a fortune when he died).

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### samā’

Literally ‘listening’, *samā’* is used more specifically to denote listening to music, sometimes in general, sometimes with particular reference to the function of music in a Šūfī

context. There is a considerable literature on the legal question of whether the production and consumption of (secular) music is permissible. Although music is nowhere mentioned in the *Koran*, there emerged, possibly from a complex of social reasons resulting in entertainment music being intimately associated with eroticism and wine-drinking, a hostile attitude on the part of a number of legists, apparent already in the earliest extant text on this topic, the *Dhamm al-malāhī* by **Ibn Abī al-Dunyā** (d. 281/894), in which music, branded as *ruqyat al-zinā*, 'fornication's charm', is lumped together with other reprehensible activities such as games of chance and sexual perversions. But the more negative authorities rarely proscribe music entirely: although entertainment music and its related instruments are to be shunned, the music and instruments used in life-cycle rituals and celebrations are normally deemed permissible. Works that marshal arguments for the defence draw essentially upon the same contradictory stock of *hadīth* material, offering different interpretations and sometimes concluding, rather more subtly, that music is itself neutral, approval or disapproval depending upon the ends to which it is put. For *Ṣūfī* authorities these can be positive: just as the imagery of love poetry is to be interpreted symbolically, so the music to which it is sung is to be considered a means towards achieving not physical ecstasy but heightened states of spiritual awareness.

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O. WRIGHT

*See also:* music and poetry; *Ṣūfī* literature, poetry

### al-Sam'ānī (506–62/1113–66)

'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī was a biographer of the later 'Abbāsīd period stemming from Marw in **Khurasan**. Al-Sam'ānī was instructed by his father and later by two uncles and supplemented his knowledge by extensive travel; he died in his home

town. The most famous of his extant works is his monumental dictionary of the traditionists *al-Ansāb*, arranged alphabetically according to the *nishbas*. It gives ample information on pronunciation and derivation of names, biographical data and the names of teachers and pupils of the scholars discussed. Important for the history of medieval Islamic instruction is his *Adab al-implā' wa-al-istimplā'*, a handbook on dictation as a means of transmission of knowledge.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### Sāmānids

An Iranian dynasty which ruled over the eastern provinces of the Islamic world throughout the fourth/tenth century. Descended from the early convert Sāmān, members of the family governed various cities in Transoxania under the third/ninth-century 'Abbāsīd caliphs, eventually adopting Bukhara as their capital. In 287/900 Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad was appointed by the caliph governor of **Khurasan** as well as Transoxania, and he and his descendants ruled these lands until 389/999, when their northern provinces fell to the Qarakhānids and their southern ones to the **Ghaznavid** Maḥmūd.

Despite their effective independence, the Sāmānids always stressed their loyalty to the 'Abbāsīd caliph in **Baghdad**, including his name on their coins and in the Friday sermons in their mosques. Correspondingly, they were emphatically **Sunnī** in their religious orientation, except for a brief period when Naṣr ibn Aḥmad (r. 301–31/914–43) favoured **Ismā'īlī** Shi'ism, a policy that led to his abdication. Politically, Sāmānīd Sunnism stood in marked (and undoubtedly deliberate) contrast to the Shi'ism of their principal rivals, the **Būyid** rulers of western Iran and Iraq, who from 334/945 had the caliph in their tutelage, and with whom the Sāmānids were in more or less constant conflict.

Linguistically, the Sāmānids' realm was predominantly Persian speaking, and it was they who provided the initial encouragement

for the Persian literary renaissance that was to come to full flower in the following century. Naṣr ibn Aḥmad patronized the first great Persian poet, Rūdakī, and his successors continued to support the development of Persian verse, not only in panegyric but in epic and other genres as well. They also promoted Persian prose, mainly in the form of translations from Arabic and largely for pious motives. These include al-Tabarī's *History* and his magisterial work of Koranic exegesis, both translated at the behest of Maṣṣūr ibn Nūḥ (r. 350–66/961–76), the former by his vizier al-Bal'amī, and a Sunnī creed from the Ḥanafī school (predominant in Transoxania), composed in Arabic under Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad (r. 279–95/892–907) and translated under Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr (r. 365–87/976–97).

But this activity in Persian does not represent a cultural offensive, like the *Shu'ūbiyya* movement further west, against the predominance of Arabic in literary culture. While Persian translations made important religious works more accessible to the masses, and Persian panegyrics may have spoken more directly to the rulers themselves, Arabic retained its religious cachet and its full prestige, even in secular writing. The court bureaucracy remained officially Arabic, and the chancery was an important locus for Arabic eloquence in both prose and poetry. Probably because of later Persianization, much of Sāmānid Arabic literature is lost to us, but we can gain some idea of its richness from al-Tha'ālibī's anthology the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, which devotes three sections to the Sāmānid poets of Bukhara. There we learn that serious court patronage of Arabic poetry began under Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, and was at first heavily imitative of Iraqi styles. Several heads of the chancery were noted for both poetry and prose, including the father of the celebrated Būyid vizier Ibn al-'Amīd and his successor Abū al-Qāsim al-Iskāfī. Many court poets were supported by being given appointments in the intelligence service (*barīd*) in various provincial centres. A great many were drawn to Bukhara from other cities, including al-Mutayyam al-Ifriqī from Tunis and Abū Ṭālib al-Ma'mūnī from Baghdad. Some poets composed verses in both Arabic and Persian; others translated Persian aphorisms into Arabic rhymed couplets (*muzdawija*). Particularly regrettable is the loss of the works of al-Sallāmī, which included a history of the governors of Khurasan as well as several literary anthologies.

Besides important prose works in the various religious genres, the Sāmānid court also encouraged scientific writing in Arabic. One of the several Sāmānid viziers of the Jayhānī family composed a geographical work much quoted by later authors (but unfortunately lost). Abū al-Ḥusayn al-'Utībī, vizier to Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr, was the dedicatee of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī's *Keys of the Sciences*, a valuable glossary of technical terms, as well as of a work by the philosopher al-'Āmirī. The extraordinary richness of the Sāmānid library in Bukhara (later destroyed by fire) is described in a well-known passage from the autobiography of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), who was granted access to it after curing Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr of an illness.

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E.K. ROWSON

### al-Samaw'al (sixth century CE)

Al-Samaw'al ('Samuel') ibn 'Ādiyā' was a pre-Islamic Jewish poet, proverbial for his loyalty. A story already known in pre-Islamic times (cf. poem no. 25 in the *dīwān* of al-A'shā) relates that al-Samaw'al refused to deliver weapons that had been entrusted to him by one of the enemies of the Ghassānid king even when the king threatened to kill al-Samaw'al's son. The author of the poems attributed to al-Samaw'al (nine poems, eighty-eight lines) is most certainly not identical with the proverbial figure. Some of the poems, esp. ode no. 23 of the *Aṣma'iyyāt* which refers to the Jewish religion, may nevertheless be of genuine Jewish pre- or early Islamic origin.

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T. BAUER

### Sāmī, Amin (late nineteenth/early twentieth century)

Egyptian historian. Little is known of Sāmī's life apart from his public service. He was most active during the reigns of Tawfīq (1879-92) and 'Abbās II (1892-1914), when he became director of both the khedival school at al-Nāširiyya and of *Dār al-'Ulūm*. He was a member of the Egyptian senate until 1928.

Sāmī's most important literary effort was the *Nile Almanac (Taqwīm al-Nīl)*, a hefty six-volume history of Egypt which appeared in instalments between 1919 and 1936. The most valuable sections of the *Taqwīm* are the final three volumes, which contain a wealth of detail on the history of Egypt from 1848 to 1879.

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J. CRABBS

### al-Sammān, Ghāda (1942- )

Syrian novelist and short-story writer. Born in Damascus, Ghāda al-Sammān was raised after her mother's death by her father, Dr Aḥmad al-Sammān (d. 1966), professor and dean of the faculty of law at the University of Damascus, later rector of the university, then minister of education of Syria. After her secondary education, she obtained a BA in English literature at the University of Damascus and in 1964 moved to Beirut, where she completed her MA studies at the American University of Beirut. She carried out postgraduate research in London and toured several Western countries between 1967 and 1969. She then settled in Beirut, where she lectured before becoming a journalist. In 1977 she founded her own publishing house to publish and republish her works. The Lebanese civil war forced her to leave Lebanon in 1984 with her husband and son and to go to Paris, where she continues to write and run her busy Beirut publishing house.

Having been writing since 1961, she has produced some thirty books, most reprinted

several times and some translated into European languages. Her six short-story collections include 'Aynāk qadarī (1962), *Lā baḥr fī Bayrūt* (1963), *Layl al-ghurabā'* (1966) and *Raḥīl al-marāfi' al-qadīma* (1973); a number of her short stories have appeared in an Italian collection (1992), and some have appeared in Spanish, Romanian, German, Persian, Russian and English translations. Her books of essays, culled from her prolific writings in periodicals, include *al-Sibāḥa fī Buhayrat al-Shaytān* (1979) and 'Ayn ghayn tatafarras (1980). She has also written free-verse poems, collected in *I'tiqāl lahza hāriba* (1979) and others, and a number of these poems have appeared in Persian in an Iranian collection (1990). Her novels include *Bayrūt 75* (1975), *Kawābīs Bayrūt* (1976) and *Laylat al-milyār* (1986). Some of her insightful and often provocative interviews with the mass media have been published in her *al-Qabīla tastajwīb al-qatīla* (1981).

Ghāda al-Sammān's writings express an unmitigated rebellion against all constraints of tradition. A strong feminist, she has emphasized the portrayal of the prevailing oppression of Arab women in her earlier fiction; her later works, however, show the problems of Arab women as part of the larger socio-political ills of Arab society, of which Arab men are also victims. Her great love for freedom, justice and human values has impelled her to support oppressed peoples, such as the Palestinians and others; to defend freedom of expression everywhere; and to declare her abhorrence of tyranny wherever it occurs - not least in the home and in government. Her command of the Arabic language makes her plea even more powerful. Ghāda al-Sammān is perhaps the most popular female Arab author today, and one of the few Arab novelists who (in works such as *Kawābīs Bayrūt*) have gone beyond the classical form of the novel. Her latest collection of short stories, *al-Qamar al-murabba'* (1994), explores the fantastic in ten supernatural tales and her latest novel, *al-Riwāya al-mustahīla* (1997), chronicles Damascene life and society at mid-century as an indomitable girl becomes an ebullient teenager.

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I.J. BOULLATA

**şan'a see şin'a****al-Şan'ānī (d. 211/827)**

Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Şan'ānī was an early Yemeni scholar of *ḥadīth* and Koranic exegesis. Born in Sanaa, he travelled extensively and studied with some of the greatest authorities of his day. Later he had many students of his own; his traditions frequently appear in the great canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, and one commentator opined that only the Prophet himself was more popular as a teacher. It was often said that he harboured Shi'i sympathies. His most important work was his *al-Muṣannaf*, a lengthy compendium of *ḥadīth* based mostly on books written by (or materials transmitted by) his three main teachers, with additions of his own from other sources. As each tradition is supported by an *isnād* (chain of transmitters), it is possible to distinguish and identify these sources thus to gain important insights into even earlier stages in the development of the materials he used. He also compiled a *Koran* commentary by making additions to a commentary by his teacher Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 154/770) in Sanaa. Apart from an unpublished

work on traditions transmitted by the Prophet's Companions, other works attributed to him probably refer to chapters of his *Muṣannaf* transmitted separately by his students. 'Abd al-Razzāq's works are important not only for their early date and the old traditions that they contain, but also for the way in which they place their older strata within the grasp of modern research.

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L.I. CONRAD

**al-Şanawbari****(b. before 275/888, d. 334/945–6)**

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (less likely: Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad) al-Ḍabbī al-Anṭākī al-Şanawbarī was an 'Abbāsīd poet, probably born in Antioch and died in Aleppo; he belonged to the entourage of Sayf al-Dawla (d.356/967; see *Hamdānids*). He spent most of his life in Aleppo and its surroundings, but also visited **Damascus**.

Of his *dīwān*, which is said to have been compiled in alphabetical order by Abū Bakr al-Şūlī (d. 335/946), about a third has been preserved and published. It contains poems in all genres cultivated in the Arabic poetry of his time. His dirges on the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn deserve special mention as they lead to the conclusion that al-Şanawbarī had Shi'i tendencies. Above all, however, his poems on flowers, gardens and spring (*zahriyyāt*, *rawdīyyāt*, *rabi'iyyāt*) should be mentioned. Through these poems al-Şanawbarī's fame was established and his name was most closely connected with the concept of the *rawdīyyāt*. Al-Şanawbarī describes single flowers (i.e. rose, narcissus, water lily, red anemone) as well as gardens with a variety of flowers, and



spring with its scents and the singing of the birds, as well as complete landscapes. He also composed a dispute (*munāzara*) between flowers and a poem describing a war among flowers. (See **debate literature**.) In addition, there are snow poems (*thaljiyyāt*) and poems containing descriptions of cities (Aleppo, Damascus). The descriptions of nature appear in independent forms, in short pieces ('epigrammatic sketches') as well as in long poems ('garden *qaşidas*'). Often, however, they have been integrated into poems of other genres (e.g. they may form the prologue of panegyrics). Alongside the descriptive parts the longer poems sometimes also contain parts of a lyric-hymnic character in which the poet enthusiastically praises the beauty of the landscape that is being described. (See further **nature, in classical poetry**.)

Al-Şanawbarī's style is a model of late 'Abbāsīd mannerism. His descriptions present an accumulation of contrived images and figures of speech. The most frequent objects of comparison for his similes and metaphors are precious stones and metals (see below), also parts of the human body ('roses are like cheeks, narcissi are like eyes'). For real characteristics the poet often invents phantastic etologies (the stylistic device of *ḥusn al-ta'līl*) ('the rose was ashamed [therefore it is red]'), and in his objects of comparison he uses combinations of images that do not have an equivalent in reality (red anemones are like 'banners of ruby unfurled on lances of chrysolith'). In his art of poetic description dependent on **Ibn al-Rūmī** and **Ibn al-Mu'tazz**, al-Şanawbarī strongly influenced later Arabic nature poetry.

Text edition

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 G. SCHOELER; trans. A. GIESE

**Şanū', Ya'qūb (James Sanua)  
 (1839–1912)**

Egyptian Jewish journalist, dramatist and

orator who wrote under the nom de plume Abū Naḍḍāra (The Man with Glasses). Born in **Cairo**, he died in Paris. After studying in Italy, Şanū' taught at the École des Arts et Métiers and at the École Polytechnique in Cairo. He successfully created a national theatre in **Egypt** in 1870, winning the sobriquet of 'le Molière Egyptien'. He is said to have written plays from farce to a tragedy in the vernacular, referring to the condition of the poor and attacking the government and the activities of the Khedive; his extant comedies, however, depict the middle and upper classes, dealing with the non-political subjects of love and marriage, quacks, the imitation of European customs, and the young defying their parents. His plays, which were written in colloquial Egyptian, were regarded as subversive and the authorities closed his theatre in 1872. Şanū' then decided to publish his own papers, starting with the humorous *La Moustique*, then *L'occhialino*, *Le Bavard égyptien*, and *Abū Naḍḍāra Zarqā'* (1877–78), a satirical paper in the vernacular, enlivened by cartoons, ridiculing the viceroy. Exiled to Paris, he continued publishing his paper in Arabic and French intermittently under various titles from 1878 to 1910. His paper, copies of which were smuggled into Egypt, attacked Khedive Ismā'il for his corruption and ruthlessness, and his successor Tawfiq for his incompetence and greed. He consistently condemned the abuses of the British occupation, calling on France and Turkey to oust the British; Khedive 'Abbās II granted him an amnesty, but he refused to accept it until his whole country was freed. Şanū' is best remembered as the founder of politico-satirical theatre in Egypt; but he also published poetry, a few stories, pamphlets on his journeys, speeches, and poetry and prose extracts from his journals.

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P. SADGROVE

**Sanua, James see Şanū',  
 Ya'qūb**

**al-Saraqustī (d. 538/1143)**

Abū al-Tāhir Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Tamīmī al-Saraqustī, known as Ibn al-Ishtarkūnī, was an Arabic philologist, *adab* connoisseur, poet and writer. Born in Saragossa, he studied in Seville and in Córdoba, where he lived until his death. He wrote poetry, a dictionary arranged in a chain order (*al-Musalsal fī al-lughā*) and a collection of fifty *maqāmas* (*al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyya*, or *al-Saraqustīyya*), by which he is primarily known.

According to the short introduction to this collection, al-Saraqustī modelled his *Maqāmāt* on those of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122). Though composed in Basra not long before (c.495/1101), al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* were introduced in Spain already in 502/1108 and rapidly gained a reputation there, to the extent that they became part of the contemporary Andalusian literary curriculum. In accordance with this model, the collection comprises fifty narrations (*maqāmāt*) in rhymed prose (*saj'*), sharing the same two protagonists: a narrator (al-Sā'ib ibn Tammām; occasionally the name of a second narrator, al-Mundhir ibn Ḥummām, is added to create the rhyme) and a hero, a witty but eloquent rogue (Abū Ḥabīb al-Sadūsī) who gains his alms by tricking his audience; both names obviously are modelled on those of al-Ḥarīrī's protagonists, al-Ḥārith ibn Hammām and Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī. Al-Saraqustī's intention to imitate, but at the same time to excel, al-Ḥarīrī is manifested in his choice of a particularly difficult pattern for his rhymed prose, which requires a two-consonant rhymeme where the norm is only one. Though a known rhyming ornament (*luzūm mā lā yalzam*, 'self-obligation where one is not obliged'), it is nevertheless rarely used because of the limitation imposed on the selection of rhyming words (but cf. the poems of Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri). The collection is called, after this pattern, *al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiyya*, but other complicated rhyming patterns are also to be found in it.

Despite their reputation as Andalusian, al-Saraqustī's *Maqāmāt* are actually very Eastern in nature, and rarely touch upon Andalusian subjects. They draw so heavily on the Eastern repertoire of literary themes to elaborate on fantastic themes of the *Arabian Nights* kind (*maqāma* no. 41), which are not to be found in al-Ḥarīrī's or other Eastern *Maqāmāt*. Thus in

a *maqāma* on the merits of poets (no. 30) only Eastern poets are discussed, with no mention of local ones.

**Text edition**

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R. DRORY

**Sarhank Pāshā, Ismā'īl  
(c.1854–1924)**

Egyptian historian. Frequently overlooked but nevertheless important, Sarhank (like his father) pursued a career in the Egyptian navy, eventually reaching the rank of admiral. His three-volume *Ḥaqā'iq al-akḥbār 'an duwal al-bihār* appeared in 1895, 1898 and 1923. Volume 1 covered Arab (except for Egypt), Ottoman and European sea-power; volume 2 dealt with Egypt to the turn of the twentieth century; volume 3, improperly planned and executed, appeared in truncated form only one year before the author's own death. *Ḥaqā'iq al-akḥbār* is nevertheless a highly useful and detailed work. It is also fascinating as a transitional piece – in form a 'medieval' chronicle, but with such a wealth of interpretative features as to make it seem 'modern'.

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J. CRABBS

**Sarī see prosody****Ṣarī al-Ghawānī see Muslim ibn al-Walid**

**al-Sari al-Raffā' (d. c.362/972)**

Poet of the middle 'Abbāsīd period. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sarī ibn Aḥmad earned a living in Mosul as a darning (*raffā'*), and later as a fisherman. His poetical gifts gave him access to the Ḥamdānīd court in Mosul, then to Sayf al-Dawla's court in Aleppo and finally to some important personalities in Baghdad, such as the vizier al-Muḥallabī, but somehow, all these relationships cooled sooner or later, perhaps in part due to his character, perhaps also to the influence of the Khālīdī brothers. He died impoverished in Baghdad. His poetry, nearly a thousand lines, covers the usual range of genres; most important in number is laudatory poetry (*madiḥ*), satire (*hijā'*) and descriptive poetry (*wasf*). In this latter genre, his contributions seem to be quite original. Important is a group of poems in which he describes fishermen and their nets; some of these pieces, as is the case with hunting poems (*tardiyyāt*), are composed in the *rajaz* metre and even show the typical introductory formulae known from *tardiyyāt*. Al-Sarī also compiled an anthology of poetry, the *Kitāb al-Muḥibb wa-al-maḥbūb wa-al-mashmūm wa-al-mashrūb*.

## Text editions

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

**sariqa (pl. sariqāt)**

Lit. 'theft', in literary criticism 'plagiarism'. The term *sariqa* does cover 'plagiarism' in the strict sense of the word, but often goes far beyond this narrow application to indicate any kind of 'borrowing' and 'developing' of an existing motif. As such it should be seen in the larger context of intertextuality, alongside other phenomena such as quotation (*taḍmīn*) and allusion (*talmīḥ*). (See further **allusion and intertextuality**.) Due to the fact that the term came to cover both licit and illicit borrowings, the slightly paradoxical qualifications *sariqa ḥasana*, 'good theft', and *sariqa*

*maḥmūda*, 'laudable theft', were introduced to mark cases considered successful by the critics. Or else they dispensed with the inappropriate term altogether and chose a neutral one, *akhdh*, 'taking'.

**Plagiarism**

Awareness of this phenomenon is attested early on. Since pre-Islamic poems are, as a rule, attributable to individual poets who take pride in their craft, literary theft is mentioned by them as something to which they do not have to resort. Alongside the general notion of 'theft', the term *intihāl*, 'ascribing (verses) to oneself', is specifically used here. Examples given in later handbooks show that this means claiming other poets' verses as one's own without further ado. A fair number of the cases adduced by the later critics look suspicious and need further study to ascertain whether (a) they may not constitute quotations, or whether (b) the victim of the plagiarism might not be an invention produced by intertribal hostilities. While the notions of 'theft' and 'appropriation' show that the idea of intellectual property was well developed, there is one strange phenomenon that, in a way, runs counter to this notion, and that is the behaviour of some famous poets called *ighāra*, lit. 'raiding'. This occurs only between contemporaries and entails that a minor poet (though possibly minor only in a certain genre) composes an outstanding line and is then forced by a major poet to relinquish it to him, on the pretext that he, the major poet, should have composed it. The victim, under threat of a stinging satire, would more often than not comply, although some are reported to have refused, with the end result that the line in question would be included in both *dīwāns*. The most notorious poet in this respect was the Umayyad poet al-Farazdaq.

In the literate society of 'Abbāsīd times, outright plagiarism took the form of inserting extraneous material, often whole poems, into one's own *dīwān*. The term often used for this is *muṣālata*, a post-classical word possibly derived from *ṣilt*, a variant – by metathesis – of *liṣṭ*, 'robber'. Several poets were accused of this, but today it is very difficult to prove that theft took place and that it went from A to B, rather than from B to A. That a poem occurs in two or more different *dīwāns* can just as well be due to uncertain attribution on the part of the redactors.

It should be mentioned that, although the word *sariqa* is used for 'plagiarism', no *sariqa*, 'theft', in the legal sense of the word occurs, as the notion of intellectual ownership is unknown in Islamic law.

### Borrowing

While outright plagiarism may have had some sensationalistic entertainment value for the literary critic and his public, it is only with the introduction of changes into the borrowed verse that discussions of truly literary interest arise. Two genres of critical literature were developed: one devoted to the classification and taxonomy of *sariqa*, the other concerned with the identification, collection, and – to a lesser extent – discussion of the *sariqāt* of individual poets.

The *sariqa* classifications form part of the books on poetics, although not all such books can boast of a relevant chapter. The classifications themselves are highly unhomogeneous in the early literature, before the classification becomes solidified in the scholastic 'science of eloquence' starting with **al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī**, and many terms are used with diffuse meanings or – even more confusingly – with different meanings altogether. Some common notions, however, emerge. (a) The focus of the discussion is overwhelmingly the single line, which is, of course, the most common approach in literary criticism and theory. (b) There is discussion about what is plagiarizable and what is not. Universally known or well-worn motifs are in the public domain. The other extreme is individually attributable inventions of new motifs. These are rare and, as **Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī** says, 'infertile', because later poets would hardly dare to take them up again. Of greatest interest is the group of motifs between the two extremes, those that have been treated, developed and improved upon (or, possibly, ruined) by a series of poets. Here a charge of plagiarism can only be avoided if the later poet introduces changes that confer a certain novelty on the borrowed motif. This he could do by changing the context (different genre; combination of the borrowed motif with another) or by changing the wording. If, by doing the latter, he improves on the rendition of the motifs, he can lay greater claim to it than the original poet. According to **Ḥāzīm**, these are four relationships between a poet and his motif: 'invention' (*ikhtirā'*), 'greater

claim' (*istiḥqāq*), 'partnership' (*sharika*, which is either 'equal participation' [*iṣhtirāk*], when there is no quality difference between earlier and later poet, or 'falling short' [*inhīṭāt*], if the later poet is not up to par), and finally 'plagiarism' (*sariqa*). (c) Part of the taxonomy of plagiarism is based on the *lafz* and *ma'nā* dichotomy: does the alleged plagiarizer take only the motif or also its wording? Taking both with only minimal changes of the wording is the worst kind of *sariqa*. (d) Plagiarism can only take place if the later poet consciously borrows from the earlier. Otherwise, identical or similar lines of poetry are due to a 'confluence of two minds' (*tawārud al-khāṭirayn*): two poets found the line independently of each other. In a poetic tradition that favours the mannerist treatment of a rather circumscribed number of motifs (especially in the prestigious official genres), this is not as far-fetched as it may sound. (e) An identical line could also be explained as a quotation (*taḍmīn*, lit. 'incorporation'). If it is not a very well-known line, the poet has to mark it as a quotation in order that it not be taken as a plagiarism.

The other branch of literature devoted to this topic is represented by the collection of plagiarisms of individual poets, either as separate books or as part of critical books dealing with one or more poets. Several controversial 'modern' poets have been made the target of such attacks: thus **Abū Nuwās**, **Abū Tammām** and especially **al-Mutanabbī** (at least six separate books have come down to us). The authors of these works are mostly rather reticent in naming and discussing their cases, confining themselves instead to adducing the original (mostly 'modern') and the plagiarism. However, they usually cast a very wide net including many 'laudable plagiarisms' and they often manage to find several 'originals', either because the 'plagiarizer' has effected a combination of two 'stolen' motifs or because they could not be sure of the correct pedigree. As a result, one is presented at times with veritable family trees of a motif. This, of course, makes these works rather valuable for historical and critical research into the development of certain motifs and, more importantly, into the general tendencies governing such development within a mannerist tradition of poetry.

From a literary-historical vantage point, one should perhaps distinguish three *sariqa* situations: (1) Plagiarizer and victim are

'ancient' poets. Here we have to reckon with a certain amount of false accusation, because the cases adduced are in reality quotations or formulae, or else the victim is the invention of a tribe that wants to diminish the stature of a famous poet from a hostile tribe. Some cases of 'raiding' (see above) may be historical. Other plagiarisms will probably not have survived the selection and transmission process. (2) The plagiarizer is 'modern', the victim 'ancient'. Due to the fact that 'ancient' poetry became a classical model and on the whole very well known to all poets and philologists, clear cases of theft should be exceedingly rare. (3) Both are 'modern' poets. Here *sariqa*, in the broadest sense of the term, became a way of life. In a mannerist tradition of poetry, it is precisely the conceit, based on the tradition of the motif, yet innovative, that has the poet walk a fine line between originality and plagiarism. 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī states that a plain rational motif (*ma'nā 'aqlī*) cannot be plagiarized, as it is everybody's property; only the unreal, imaginary, phantasmagorical motif (*ma'nā takhyīlī*), i.e. the conceit, can be.

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W. P. HEINRICHS

## Sarkīs family

Maronite Lebanese family from 'Abayh. The following members are worthy of mention for their literary activities. **Ibrāhīm ibn Khaṭṭār** (1834–85), historian and poet. He compiled an anthology of poetry, a collection of proverbs, and composed more than seventy Protestant hymns. **Khalīl ibn Khaṭṭār** (1842–1915), journalist, poet and historian. He published in Beirut the *Lisān al-hāl* newspaper (1877), the monthly magazine *al-Mishkāh* (1878) and *al-Salwa* magazine (1914). He also wrote a description of a trip to America, Europe and Istanbul, and produced an anthology of poetry and a novel. **Salīm ibn Shāhīn** (1867–1926), nephew of Khalīl, journalist, novelist, poet and historian. Constrained by censorship, he accompanied Prince Amīn Arslān to Paris in 1892, helping to set up the Young Turk Society. He published various newspapers and magazines in Egypt and London, before fleeing to America, where he edited Arabic papers in Saint Lawrence, New York and Boston. After returning to Egypt he published his popular literary monthly *Majallat Sarkīs* (1905–24). He also wrote novels, and translated Mühlbeck's work on Marie-Antoinette from French.

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P. C. SADGROVE

## al-Sarrāj, Abū Naṣr (d. 378/988)

Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī was born and died in Ṭūs; very little else is known about his life. What is certain is that he travelled extensively. He is the author of the *Kitāb al-luma' fī al-taṣawwuf*, the best-known handbook on Sufism of the classical period. No other writings of his have survived or are known to have existed. The *Kitāb al-luma'* presents in sixteen books an image of Sufism that is orthodox and in line with the **Koran** and the *sunna*. In book 16, which concludes the work, extremist teachings and practices are

singled out and eliminated from Sufism as al-Sarrāj wished to conceive of it.

#### Text editions

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B. RADTKE

### al-Sarrāj, Ja'far ibn Aḥmad (c.417–500/1026–1106)

Abū Muḥammad Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-Sarrāj was a scholar from Baghdad in the later 'Abbasid period, famous for his anthology of poems and prose texts about love and lovers. In his *Maṣāri' al-'ushshāq* (*The Battlegrounds of the Lovers*), al-Sarrāj presents his material (each text preceded by the chain of transmitters, *isnād*) without any recognizable organization. The book is important because of the ample use that later authors made of the material contained in it: al-Biqā'i (ninth/fifteenth century) in his *Kitāb Aswāq al-ashwāq min Maṣāri' al-'ushshāq* expanded it, while his book was reworked and abridged in the carefully arranged *Tazyīn al-aswāq bi-tafṣīl tartīb Ashwāq al-'ushshāq* by Dā'ūd al-Antākī (tenth/sixteenth century). Many traditions were taken over by Ibn al-Jawzī in *Dhamm al-hawā* and from him by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya in *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*. The fact that the material of the Ḥanbalī al-Sarrāj is quoted in these famous Ḥanbalī works on the moral aspects of love and on love theory, however, should not be over-estimated: 'The relatively small proportion of moralizing traditions suggests that al-Sarrāj's concerns were significantly different from those of his followers in the Ḥanbalite school' (Bell, 1979, 235).

#### Text editions

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#### Further reading

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

*See also:* love theory

### Sasanians see Persia

### Ṣarrūf, Ya'qūb (1852–1927)

Lebanese journalist, novelist and translator. Born in al-Ḥadath, Ṣarrūf was educated at the Syrian Protestant College and taught in Lebanon before emigrating to Egypt in 1885. A Maronite who subsequently converted to Protestantism, he is best known as co-founder in 1876, with Fāris Nimr, of the journal *al-Muqataṭaf*, which played an important part in disseminating scientific ideas in the Arab Middle East. In addition to numerous articles and translations, Ṣarrūf also published three novels, *Fatāt Miṣr*, *Fatāt al-Fayyūm* and *Amīr Lubnān* (1907); the last of these deals with the religious conflicts in Lebanon during the 1850s and 1860s.

#### Further reading

Fontaine, J., *El<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Ṣarrūf, Ya'qūb.

P. STARKEY

### satire, medieval

There is no exact equivalent in Arabic for 'satire'. To some extent, therefore, speaking of satire in Arabic literature is to impose a Western concept on a tradition that had its own system of modes and genres. *Hijā'* or *hajw* is often translated as 'satire', it is true. Although this is not rarely appropriate, *hijā'* is, strictly speaking, better rendered as 'invective'; moreover, it is normally restricted to poetry. Much invective poetry aims at ridicule, contempt and scorn, yet lacks a moral dimension which is the hallmark of true satire; conversely, there is a moralistic type of poetry that is called *hijā'* or *dhamm* ('blame') because it condemns or polemicizes, but which lacks the wit or sparkle usually associated with satire. However, even within the limits of the more restricted definition implied here, there is a considerable body of classical Arabic texts that may be called satirical. It is a mode that takes many forms, whether in poetry, prose, or mixed. As for poetry, see the entries on *hijā'*, **epigram** and *naqā'id*. Here it may only be added that in

Arabic there is no tradition of formal satire in the style of Horace and Juvenal. As a general rule, the great poets of *hijā* such as **Jarīr** and **Ibn al-Rūmī** are also among the major satirists.

The most characteristic form of Arabic verse satire is the short epigram. Similarly, the brief anecdote (*nādīra*, pl. *nawādir*; other terms are also found) is perhaps the most typical form of satire in prose. Throughout the history of classical Arabic literature there is an abundance of *nawādir* that make fun of misers, spongers, schoolteachers, *hadīth* scholars, *qādīs*, physicians, **bedouins**, non-Arabs, poets, philologists, women, singing girls, simpletons, homosexuals, effeminate men and many other categories: anecdotes that pretend to be based on actual fact but are often obviously fictional and, like most jokes, anonymous. They are often collected in anthologies or monographs such as *al-Bukhalā'* (*The Misers*) by **al-Jāhīz**, *al-Taṭfīl* (*Sponging*) by **al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḏādī**, or *al-Hanqā wa-al-mughaffalīn* (*Fools and Simpletons*) by **Ibn al-Jawzī**. Several of al-Jāhīz's works have satirical elements, and none more so than his unique *al-Tarbī' wa-al-tadwīr* (*Squaring and Circling*), on pseudo-science. As behoves a good satirist, he attacks not merely the addressee, but through him an attitude prevalent in his time. Other works by him satirize schoolteachers, snobs or civil servants. When he praises, his faint praise may be read, at least partly, as satire: see his *Manāqib al-Turk* (*The Good Qualities of the Turks*).

Among the more famous satirical monographs are **Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's** *Mathālib al-wazīrayn* (*The Vices of the Two Viziers*), a medley of straightforward invective polemic and satirical sketches and anecdotes, and *al-Ghufrān* (*Forgiveness*) by **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī**, a peculiar mixture of satire and philology. Among its merits is the fact that jest and earnest are not always easily distinguished, and that different categories of readers will discern different objects of the satire in it. The same applies to some of the *maqāmas* of **Baḏī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī**, where parody and irony bring about a most attractive kind of satire. Since al-Hamadhānī's time the *maqāma* has often served as a vehicle of satire. Worthy of mention are those by **Ibn Nāqiyā** and **al-Wahrānī**. Longer than the normal *maqāma* are, for instance, *Hikāyat Abi al-Qāsim al-Baghḏādī* by **Abū al-Muṭahhar**

**al-Azdī**, which contains much satire, and **Ibn Buṭlān's** *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'*, on quacks. The literary debate, which often employs the *maqāma* format, may serve as a vehicle for satire. A peculiar form, occasionally found, is the 'catalogue': a list of terms, often newly coined and provided with explanations, for particular foibles, such as the different kinds of bad table manners, or for the various categories of beggars and tricksters. Sub-literary satire could take the form of mime and theatre; interesting evidence has been collected by Shmuel Moreh (see also *khayāl*). As for the shadow play or *khayāl al-zill*, we have some satirical texts by **Ibn Dāniyāl**. Many stories and sketches in *The Thousand and One Nights* (see *Alf layla wa-layla*) satirize various types of people or circumstances.

Irony and parody are among the more common techniques employed in satire. Again, there are no exact equivalents in Arabic literary terminology. *Tahakkum* or *sukhriyya* ('mockery, derision') may be found as the nearest terms for 'irony'; in modern critical discourse the word *mufāraqa* is sometimes used. Arab literary critics and theorists discussed irony, parody and related concepts in various contexts; a key term in this respect is *hazl*. Among the specialists in parody (in prose and poetry) is **Ibn Sūdūn**. It is in the nature of satire and irony that it may be missed or misunderstood and the object of a satirical work may be ambiguous. Thus *Hazz al-quḥūf* by **al-Shirbīnī** is, on the face of it, a satire on the peasants and peasant life in Egypt; but at the same time it seems to parody contemporary pedantic scholarship, and it has also been read as a satirical attack on contemporary social conditions in general. A much older example may perhaps be found in the preserved fragments attributed to the 'false prophet' **Musaylima**, contemporary with **Muḥammad**: they are usually quoted in order to ridicule **Musaylima**, but they could also be read as a parody of Koranic style.

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

## Saudi Arabia *see* Arabia

## Şaydah, Jūrj (1893–1978)

Mahjar poet and literary critic. Born in Damascus, Şaydah was educated at Ayn Tūra. He emigrated to Egypt in 1925, and from there moved to Venezuela in 1927. In 1948 he moved to Argentina, where he organized Arab literary life and founded the circle known as al-Rābiṭa al-adabiyya. He published his first volume of poetry, *Nawāfil*, in Buenos Aires in 1948. His most important contribution to Arabic literature is his *Adabunā wa-udabā'unā fī al-mahājir al-amūrkiyya* (Cairo, 1956; 3rd edn, Beirut, 1965), in which he presents a detailed survey of Mahjar literature. He returned to Lebanon in 1952, and in 1959 went to live in Paris, where he died.

C. NIJLAND

## Sayf al-Dawla *see* Ḥamdānids

## Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī *see* al-Āmidī, Sayf al-Dīn

## Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan, romance of

Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan is the Ḥimyarī noble who, in the sixth century CE, freed the Yemen from its Abyssinian invaders, with Persian help. The ancient core of the saga includes Arab and Iranian traditions. It acquires an Islamic coating with the inclusion of Sayf's prophecy about the imminent coming of the Arab Prophet, announced to the Meccan delegation led by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The folk romance of Sayf bears a very distant relationship to these events. Its composition is reckoned to date from the end of the sixth/fourteenth or fifteenth century; the *rāwī* gives his name as Abū al-Ma'ālī. The setting described is Egyptian, with magic playing a predominant role.

A powerful talisman, the 'Book of the Nile', had blocked the flow of the waters of the Nile. After the foundation of Yathrib, Sayf moves to Africa and completes a threefold mission: he gains possession of the talisman and deviates the course of the Nile from Abyssinia to Egypt; he subjugates the idolatrous sons of Hām; he procures the triumph of Abraham's monotheism.

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G. CANOVA

*See also:* *sīra* literature

## Şayigh, Tawfiq (1924–71)

Palestinian poet. Born in Khirba (southern Syria), Şayigh was educated in Jerusalem and Beirut, and later studied English at Harvard University; he subsequently taught Arabic in London, Cambridge and California. Between 1962 and 1967, he edited the Beirut cultural review *al-Ḥiwār*. His own output, influenced by English and American rather than French poetry, is all in the form of prose poetry; it includes *Thalāthūn qaṣīda* (1954), *al-Qaṣīda K* (1960) and *Mu'allaqāt Tawfiq Şayigh* (1963). In addition, Şayigh published translations of American poetry, including a version of Eliot's *Four Quartets*.



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P. STARKEY

**al-Şayrafî, Ḥasan Kâmil  
(1908–84)**

Egyptian poet. Born in Damietta, al-Şayrafî joined the Ministry of Agriculture, and worked as an editor of the Egyptian journal *al-Majalla*. A member of the committee of the **Apollo Group** and a prolific contributor to its journal, he was known for his melancholic poetry as well as his Romantic view of the role of the poet. Since his first collection *al-Alḥân al-ḡā'i'a* (Cairo, 1934), al-Şayrafî expressed in his poetry a gloomy tendency and feeling of frustration following the failure of love, mixed with symbolism. Egyptian critics even stated that his poetic vision considered tears as essential to the genuine poet. As a result of political and social developments in **Egypt** in the 1950s, however, his poetry became more down-to-earth and connected to reality. He also practised poetry in prose and was involved in the publication of classical poetry collections such as those of **al-Buḥturî** (1963) and **al-Mutallamîs** (1970). In the early 1980s a new interest in the poetry of al-Şayrafî was aroused in Egyptian literary circles, prompting studies of his poetry as well as publication of several of his collections by Dâr al-Ma'ârif. Among these collections are *Zâd al-musâfir* (1980), *Sharazâd* (1980) and *'Awdat al-waḥy* (1980), in which the poems are written in the traditional *qaşida* form as well as astrophic forms.

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R. SNIR

**al-Sayyâb, Badr Şakîr (1926–64)**

Iraqi poet. One of the leaders of the **free verse** movement in the Arab world, al-Sayyâb left works of lasting importance despite his early death. Born in Jaykûr and educated in **Basra**,

he graduated from the Higher Teachers' Training College in Baghdad in 1948. He became a teacher of English for a short period, then worked as a civil servant and a journalist. A communist until 1954 and later an Arab nationalist, he was arrested and dismissed from jobs several times during the monarchy and the republican regime in Iraq. In addition to political harassment and periods of self-exile in Iran and Kuwait, he suffered towards the end of his life from a degenerative disease of the nervous system, for which he received treatment in Baghdad, Beirut, London, Paris and Basra to no avail. He finally died in a Kuwait hospital and was buried in Zubayr (Iraq). In 1971 the Ba'thist government of Iraq erected a statue of him in Basra in his honour.

Al-Sayyâb was influenced early in his life by Baudelaire and the English Romantic poets – particularly Wordsworth, to whom he dedicated many of his first poems – as well as by the Arab Romantic poets of the 1940s, especially 'Alî Maḥmûd Ṭāḥâ and Ilyâs **Abû Şhabaka**. His early collections *Azhâr dhâbila* (1947) and *Asâṭîr* (1950) are full of love themes and sensuous poems on women and nature. His political poems of this early period were delivered orally at anti-government and anti-British rallies in Baghdad and sometimes published in local newspapers; they were collected posthumously in volumes such as *Qithârat al-riḥ* (1971) and *A'âşîr* (1972).

In one poem in *Azhâr Dhâbila* and several poems in *Asâṭîr* al-Sayyâb experimented with new rhythms based on the single foot (*tafîla*) as the metrical unit, using as many feet per line as the thought required instead of the fixed six or eight feet per line of traditional verse. Rhyme in these poems was optional and often irregular. This poetic form, later called 'free verse' (*shî'r ḥurr*), was adopted by many young poets in Iraq and the rest of the Arab world. Al-Sayyâb himself wrote most of his later poetry in this form.

Al-Sayyâb's best poetry was produced in the 1950s and collected in his major opus, *Unshûdat al-maṭâr* (1960). Still politically committed, he made more effective use of symbols and literary allusions, creating images of unusual beauty and power to express the Arab hope for a new life, free from exploitation and repression. He achieved his greatest success when, following T.S. Eliot and Edith Sitwell, he used myths of death and resurrection to embody his vision for the renewal

of Arab society and culture, in poems that ingeniously fused personal and collective experiences.

Physically and psychologically crushed by disease in the 1960s, al-Sayyāb still wrote abundantly, but his poems now dwelt mostly on his personal predicament. Occasionally, however, they portrayed the human condition, existentially wavering between heroic hope in the face of death and resigned acceptance of destiny, and sometimes celebrated reminiscences of innocent childhood and past moments of love and happiness with rare insight, as in the collections *Manzil al-aqnān* (1963) and especially *Shanāshil ibnat al-Jalabī* (1964). Al-Sayyāb's complete *Dīwān* was published in two volumes in Beirut, 1971–4.

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I.J. BOULLATA

## al-Sayyid, Aḥmad Luṭfi see Luṭfi al-Sayyid, Aḥmad

## al-Sayyid, Maḥmūd Aḥmad (1901–37)

Iraqi novelist and short-story writer. Son of a teacher in a Baghdad mosque, al-Sayyid translated literature from Turkish (and from Russian via Turkish), publishing his first, rather amateurish, longer story *Fī sabīl al-zawāj* in 1921. Like others of his earlier longer stories (e.g. *al-Sihām al-mutaqābila*, 1922), this mingles social criticism with declamations of socialist and even Marxian ideas, for example on the role of women in Arab or human society; the plots are full of action, but the characters lack development. *Jalāl Khālīd* (1928) may be described as an *Entwicklungsroman* with autobiographical features. Several of his later stories such as *Hādīthātān* or *Baddāi al-Fā'iz* from the collections *al-Ṭalā'i* (1929) and *Fī sā'an min al-zamān* (1936) represent the first real masterpieces of the realistic Iraqi short story, depicting, for example, the social causes and consequences of blood revenge.

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W. WALTHER

## al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (105–73/723/89)

Abū Hāshim Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī **SHI'**i poet, was born in **Basra** to Ibādī **Khārījī** parents. In his youth he became a Kaysānī (i.e. he believed in the return of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya) and attacked Murjī'is for suspending judgement in the case of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib – 'Imām of the true path' – and 'Uthmān. Some verses attributed to **Kuthayyir** (also a Kaysānī) about the hidden Imām (Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya) are probably by him. After the 'Abbāsīd revolution he praised the new caliphs (al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī). For forty years as a

Kaysānī he zealously celebrated the house of 'Alī until, in 150/767–8, he recognized the fifth Imām (Ja'far al-Šādiq). As a *muḥdath* poet (see *muḥdathūn*) he was considered to be on a par with **Bashshār ibn Burd** (and some say **Abū al-'Atāhiya**) in the simple elegance of his language. However, the political nature of his poetry (praise of Āl Hāshim, 'Alī and al-Ḥusayn and occasional lampoons of some of the *Ṣaḥāba* and even 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's wife) limited the circulation of his verse of which there is no extant *dīwān*, although individual poems survive in various sources.

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P. F. KENNEDY

**Scheherazade see *Alf layla wa-layla***

**Sebbar, Leila**

Franco-Algerian writer, broadcaster and teacher living in France. Born in Aflou, Algeria, Sebbar wrote about the portrayal of 'the good African' (*le bon nègre*) in eighteenth-century French colonial literature before turning to fiction. This, together with the themes of exile, alienation and East–West relationships, characterizes her fictional output. She is the first novelist to draw attention to the lonely existence of first-generation Algerian immigrant women in France (*Fatima ou les Algériennes au square*, 1981), and the tormented world of their daughters (*Shérazade, 17 ans, brune, frisée, les yeux verts*, 1982). Her latest novel, *Le Silence des rives* (1993), is a further study of exile, as experienced by a man.

Text edition

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F. ABU-HAIDAR

**secretaries**

In the early Islamic centuries, the secretary (Ar. *kātib*, Pers. *dabir*) was a vital figure in the administration of the caliphate and in those of its provincial successor states. The Prophet Muḥammad had used secretaries, including the future caliphs 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, to write down the divine revelation, but after his death, the profession of secretary was intimately linked with the institution of the *dīwān* or register, thence government office or department, which required an expert staff to indite correspondence, prepare administrative instruments and to receive and record incoming taxation; there thus developed the specializations of chancery and treasury secretaries. The staffs of these *dīwāns*, taken over when the Arabs overran the former Byzantine and Persian lands, remained essentially non-Arab for one or two centuries, so that the ethos and culture of the secretarial class continued to be Greek or Coptic or Persian, even though many of these personnel became converts to Islam, as *mawālī* or clients.

Hence the *adab*, the polite learning, of the secretaries became an amalgam of traditional Arab learning – the theological, legal and philological sciences – with that of the so-called 'Ajāmī or non-Arab sciences (see '*Ajam*'). Especially strong was the contribution of the Persians, whose governmental tradition went back far beyond that of the Arabs, backed by the translation activities of secretaries like **Ibn al-Muqaffa'**, who mediated Persian theories on statecraft and administrative procedures to the Arabs. Soon after the advent of the 'Abbāsids in 132/750, the secretaries began to acquire an *esprit de corps* of their own, including even distinctive dress and hairstyle, and the Persian origin of so many of their ideas and practices at times made them an object of suspicion to the rigorist and pietistic class of Arab traditionalists and religious lawyers; in one of his epistles, **al-Jāhiz** denounces them for their arrogance, their reliance on Persian lore and precedent and their contempt for the

**Koran.** It was true that many of the secretaries, with their cosmopolitan background, tended to favour the *Shu'ūbiyya* movement, but the majority of them – outside the not inconsiderable minority of Christian and Jewish secretaries – remained faithful Muslims, loyal to the ideal of the Islamic caliphate.

Because the secretary had to have an encyclopaedic knowledge, both practical and theoretical, a rich literature of manuals and guides for them soon emerged. Already in the mid-second/eighth century the famous secretary of the last Umayyads 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Kātib wrote an epistle addressed to secretaries. Ibn Qutayba's *Adab al-kātib*, written in the mid-third/ninth century, was the first of several similar treatises on correct linguistic usage, whilst Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī composed works on penmanship and correct forms of address. Treatises on the *kharāj* or land tax, such as that of Qudāma ibn Ja'far, were primarily intended for financial secretaries. The genre eventually resulted in the vast encyclopaedias of secretarial practice compiled in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods by authors like al-Nuwayri, Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umari and al-Qalqashandī, which often provide the administrative and diplomatic historian of Islam with valuable material, since the chancery secretaries (*kuttāb al-inshā'*) were responsible for sending out documents from Cairo and Damascus, whose chanceries had, in Mamlūk times, international spheres of operation. Such works often include specimens of the letters and epistles of noted viziers and secretaries, and these had in many cases already been collected into special collections of correspondence (*munsha'āt*, *mukātabāt*) for use as models by future generations.

There was a feeling in medieval Islam that skill in a profession was often transmitted hereditarily and that the relevant arcana could be handed down within families, whence arose several noted families of secretaries and viziers (since this last office was most often filled by those with secretarial training), like the Barmakīds, the Banū Wahb, the Banū Furāt, the Nawbakhtīs and the progeny of Nizām al-Mulk. Such families might have special monographs devoted to them, as was the case with the Barmakīds, but more often they were included in that sub-genre of biographical writing that dealt with the 'classes' or generations of secretaries and officials, starting with the *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-*

*kuttāb* (*Book of Viziers and Secretaries*) of the early fourth/tenth-century author al-Jahshiyārī; such works are valuable not only for information on administrative procedures but also for general cultural history.

#### Text edition

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C. E. BOSWORTH

### Sefrioui, Ahmed (1915– )

Moroccan novelist writing in French. Born in Fez to an arabicized family of Berber descent, Sefrioui held several important positions in the Moroccan historical monuments service. He began to publish in the 1940s. *Le Chapelet d'ambre* (1949), a collection of fairy tales, is full of mystical echoes, while the novel *La Boîte à merveilles* (1954) shows the inner aspects of social and family life based on strong Islamic values in Fez. *La Maison de servitude* (1973) describes a young man coming into conflict with modernity. Sefrioui's works tend to overlook issues of colonial politics, concentrating instead on the traditional Moroccan way of life in the 1950s. He sought to show the hidden 'wonders' that a foreigner would be unable to understand from the outside.

J. DÉJEUX

### Serhane, Abdel (1950– )

Moroccan novelist and poet writing in French. Born in Azrou, Serhane first worked as a teacher in Kénitra before studying at the University of Rabat. From there he went to France, where he presented a doctoral thesis on the sexuality of Moroccan youth in traditional Moroccan culture. His three novels show an obsession with problems of sexuality and the complexes produced by them. *Messaouda* (1983) describes the havoc of a childhood dominated by an authoritarian father

and the fear of incest. *Les Enfants des rues étroites* (1986) dwells on the downfall of adolescents at the hands of adults, while *Le Soleil des obscurs* (1992) marks a return to the theme of sexual deviance in his own country – the ‘dehumanization of the masses led by the State’, and ‘hope turned into decay’. Serhane’s outlook in his work is consistently bleak and his denunciations violent.

J. DÉJEUX

**sermons see oratory and sermons**

**Seven Viziers see Sindbad, Book of**

**al-Shābbī, Abū al-Qāsim (1909–34)**

Tunisian Romantic poet. Al-Shābbī received a traditional education in the Zaytouna Mosque in Tunis and, unusually among the Arab Romantics, knew no foreign language. He gleaned his knowledge of other literatures from translations and from reading articles and literary studies in Arabic. The *Apollo* review and its society (see **Apollo Group**) provided him with an important opening to the world beyond the borders of a Tunisia that was firmly controlled by the French Protectorate, and his work demonstrates that he was well acquainted with the latest developments in Egyptian literature and among the Syro-Lebanese writers of the **Mahjar**.

The fact that he received such a conservative cultural formation in the Zaytouna seems almost to have added to the strength of his reaction against it: in 1929 he delivered a lecture at the Khaldūniyya Institute in which he called into question the value of the whole literary heritage of classical Arabic. This was subsequently published as a pamphlet *al-Khayāl al-shiʿrī ʿinda al-ʿArab*, which was reviewed in the March 1933 issue of *Apollo*.

On one level, al-Shābbī’s verse seems typical of the Romantic movement as a whole: it revolves around the agonies and ecstasies of existence and of love, and the painful mystery of death. Images of light and darkness connected with the dawn and the night reappear throughout his work, while his language has powerful, liturgical effects with repetitive

patterns which reinforce the succession of these images. The themes of rebirth and redemption are often expressed through the symbol of the new dawn, and he became increasingly obsessed with his own mortality as he struggled against the heart disease which ended his life prematurely in 1934. What is special about his work is that he was able to transpose his own suffering on to a level that embraces the problems of his people and society as a whole. The most complete expression of this is his poem ‘Irādat al-ḥayāh’, which gained popularity in many countries of the Arab world. In 1934 he began to prepare for publication his only collection *Aghānī al-ḥayāh*, but death intervened and the book did not appear until 1955.

Further reading

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R.C. OSTLE

**al-Shābushtī (d. 399/1008 or somewhat earlier)**

ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad (or Muḥammad ibn Ishāq) al-Shābushtī was an Egyptian littérateur and poet. Virtually nothing is known of his life except that he served as librarian to the **Fātimid** caliph al-ʿAzīz. His poetic *dīwān*, and all but one of his *adab* works, are lost, and his fame rests solely on his *Book of Monasteries*, itself incompletely preserved in a single manuscript. The surviving text of this work gives accounts of fifty-three monasteries, in Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The author includes basic geographical and historical information about each of these, but his primary interest is literary, and his regular procedure is to cite a poem describing each monastery and then add other verses by the same poet. Because Muslim poets were accustomed to visiting monasteries for pleasure outings, the cited verses are mostly in the genres of *wasf*, *ghazal*, *khamriyya* and *mujūn*. Presumably similar *Books of Monasteries* were also composed by **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī**, **al-Khālidiyyān** and others, but they are all lost.

Text edition

*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*, G. ʿAwwād (ed.), 3rd edn, Beirut (1986); full references in the editor’s introduction.

E.K. ROWSON

## shadow-play

There are several terms in Arabic denoting shadow-play. The most frequently used is *khayāl al-ẓill*, while the terms *khayāl al-iẓār* and *khayāl al-sitāra* are less in use.

The earliest description of the shadow-play in the medieval Arab world is given by Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430/1039) in his book *Kitāb al-manāẓir*, but, without referring to its Arabic term *khayāl al-ẓill*: 'the sight perceives the [translucent] figures [of characters and animals] behind the screen, these figures being images which the presenter moves so that their shadows appear on the wall behind the screen and on the screen itself' (*Kitāb al-manāẓir*, Kuwait, 1983, 408). On the other hand, his Andalusian contemporary Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) described another type of shadow-play (*khayāl al-ẓill*) in which images are mounted on a rapidly revolving wooden wheel, so that one group of images (*tamāthīl*) disappears as another appears: 'thus, in this world too, one generation follows another' (*al-Akhḫāq wa-al-siyar*, Beirut, 1961, 28). These two versions indicate that there were at least two types of shadow-plays: one in which the actor performs his plays with translucent figures behind the screen, with the light of lamps or candles behind them casting shadows on the white linen screen, the other (according to Ibn Ḥazm's description) a kind of a Chinese magic lantern, hence the term *ombres chinoises* or shadow-theatre. The third type is supplied by al-Khafājī in *Shifā' al-ghalīl* (Cairo, 1952, 73), who terms it *khayāl Ja'far al-Rāqīṣ*, 'the shadow-play of Ja'far the Dancer', who might be a live actor dancing or performing behind a screen with the light of a lamp casting the actors' shadows on the curtain.

The fact that the term *khayāl* was used as early as the end of the second/eighth century in the sense of 'play' or 'live performance', and was also given to the figure of a hobby-horse (*kurraj*; see **acting and actors, medieval**), while the shadow-play entered the Arab world some time in the late fourth/tenth century, using the term *khayāl al-ẓill*, proves that the latter arrived some time after the development of the profane live theatre (*khayāl*). Presumably when the shadow-play became established in the Arab world, the word *al-ẓill* (shadow) was added to *khayāl* (play, theatre) to describe the new art.

It seems that the shadow-play travelled from the Far East, mainly China and India, westward

via Muslim merchants to the Muslim world, and spread to Egypt and Andalusia. According to Ibn Iyās, the shadow-play was well established in Egypt and from there was transported to Turkey. Ibn Iyās describes in his *Badā'i' al-zuhūr* (Wiesbaden, 1960–84, vol. 5, 192) a play performed in 1517 before the Ottoman Sultan Selim I by an Egyptian presenter of shadow-plays, depicting the hanging of the last Mamlūk sultan, Tūmān Bay. The sultan was so pleased with this shadow-play that he asked the player to accompany him to Istanbul to perform before his son. It is supposed that in this way the shadow-play was transplanted to Turkey. While in Egypt the shadow-play was prohibited several times by the Mamlūk sultans for reasons of piety, moral and political censorship, it flourished in Turkey and gained the popular name of *Karagöz*. From Turkey it spread once more to the Arab world, especially Syria, Egypt and North Africa, retaining the characters of the Turkish shadow-plays.

Modern scholars regarded the term *khayāl* as a shortened form of *khayāl al-ẓill* (shadow-play). Failing to understand the difference between the two terms and their significance, they could find no evidence of live theatre in the medieval Arab world, and in consequence unconsciously ignored the fact that the Arabs had developed their own live theatre which was an oral art. This misunderstanding can be explained by the fact that Ṣūfī scholars and poets were able to see in the shadow-play a parable propounded by God, the *muḥarrrik* (eternal [prime] mover) of his creatures: the *khayālī* or *mukḥayīl* (the presenter) symbolizes God; the screen or curtain symbolizes the veil screening the hidden, pre-ordained future or the divine secret, the first character who summarizes the plot to the audience symbolizes Adam, the first human being; other characters symbolize the successive generations; while of the two boxes of the presenter, that on his right, from which he takes the figures to perform on the screen, symbolizes the womb, that on his left, in which he leaves his figures after their roles are ended, the tomb.

On the other hand, Muslim scholars did not see such a parable in live theatre. They considered the theatre as vulgar and the popular arts unworthy of scholarly attention, and denied it the status of literature. Medieval theatrical performances were mainly oral, given in colloquial or semi-colloquial Arabic and providing frivolous, impudent and debauched

(*sukhf wa-mujūn*) entertainment. This is the main reason that Arab scholars excluded theatre (*khayāl*) from the realm of literature and ignored it in their discussions on religious problems. They discussed the importance of the shadow-play and only rarely mentioned live theatre, thus giving the impression that Arabs were not acquainted with it.

#### Further reading

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 —, *Karagöz, théâtre d'ombres Turc*, Ankara (1977).  
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 —, *Shadow-plays in the Near East*, Jerusalem (1948).  
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S. MOREH

See also: theatre and drama, medieval

### al-Shāfi'ī (150–204/767–820)

Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī was a major jurist of his time, out of whose circle of followers emerged the school of law that bears his name. He composed the first treatise on the principles of Muslim jurisprudence, entitled simply *al-Risāla*, and is often regarded as having laid the foundations of the classical theory of law and its sources (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). More specifically, he developed a system of jurisprudence that secured a prominent place for *ḥadīth* material as the second major source of law after the **Koran**. His larger work, *Kitāb al-Umm*, is a detailed record of the jurisprudential dialectic which took place in his time and has become an important source for the early history of Islamic jurisprudence. Al-Shāfi'ī also composed poetry, chiefly short poems (*muqaṭṭa'ār*; see *qū'a*) and **epigrams**, chiefly, but not exclusively, of a moralizing or homiletic nature; the collection edited by M.M. Bahjat includes a useful study of his style.

#### Text editions

- Dīwān*, ed. N. Zarzūr, Beirut (1984); ed. M.M. Khafājī, Cairo (n.d.).  
*al-Risāla*, ed. M.M. Shākir, Cairo (1940).  
*Islamic Jurisprudence: Shāfi'ī's Risāla*, Majid Khadduri (trans.), Baltimore (1961).  
*Shi'r al-Shāfi'ī*, M.M. Bahjat (ed.), Baghdad (1986).  
*al-Umm*, Cairo (1961).

#### Further reading

- Schacht, J., *Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford (1964), 45–8.

B. WEISS

### al-Shā'ir al-Qarawī see al-Khūrī, Rashīd Salīm

### al-Shahrastānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm (479–548/1086–1153)

Ash'arī theologian and, with **Ibn Ḥazm**, one of Islam's most famous heresiographers. Little is known about his life but he was born in **Khurasan**, in a town called Shahrastān, where he lived, taught and wrote for most of his life, apart from periods of study in cities like Nishapur and **Baghdad**. The work for which he is best known is the famous *Kitāb al-Milal wa-al-Nihāl*, which ranks in Arabic literature as a major medieval source book for the comparative study of religions. It attempts to treat as fairly as possible the various religions with which it deals. As Lawrence notes, 'what is singular about Shahrastānī is not his reportorial scope as an historian but his analytic skill as a theologian' (p. 7.).

#### Text editions

- Kitāb muṣāra' at al-falāsifa*, S.M. Mukhtār (ed.), Cairo (1976).  
*Madkhal ilā 'ilm al-fiqh*, Beirut (1996).  
*al-Milal wa-al-Nihāl*, M.S. Kilānī (ed.), Cairo (1977) (numerous other editions).  
*Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, W. Cureton, (ed.), London (1846).  
*Kitāb al-Milal, Les dissidences de l'Islam*, J.-C. Vadet (ed. and trans.), Paris (1984).  
*Livre des religions et des sectes*, D. Gimaret and G. Monnot (trans.), 2 vols., Leuven (1986).  
*Muslim Sects and Divisions* (The section on Muslim sects) in *Kitāb al-Milal wa l-Nihāl*, A.K. Kazi and J.G. Flynn (trans.), London (1984).  
*Shahrastānī on the Indian Religions*, Bruce B. Lawrence (trans.), The Hague (1976).

*The Summa Philosophiae of al-Shahrastānī Kitāb Nihāyat al-iqdām fī 'ilm al-kalām*, A. Guillaume (ed.), London (1934).

I. R. NETTON

## Shā'ib, Fu'ād *see* al-Shāyib, Fu'ād

### al-Sham'a, Khaldūn (1941– )

Syrian short-story writer, translator and literary critic. Born in **Damascus**, he started his literary career as a short-story writer, translator and book reviewer before emerging as an avant-garde literary theorist in the early 1970s. Taking an active part in the affairs of the Arab Writers' Union, he wrote regularly for *al-Ma'rifa*, *al-Mawqif al-adabī* and other periodicals in **Syria** and the Arab world. His criticism, mostly inspired by the Anglo-American 'New Criticism', has been collected in three volumes: *al-Shams wa-al-'anqā'* (1974), *al-Naqd wa-al-hurriyya* (1977) and *al-Manhaj wa-al-muṣṭalah* (1979). In the late 1970s he moved to London, where he worked as literary editor, and later editor-in-chief, of *al-Dustūr*; he is currently preparing a PhD thesis on **Adūnis** at the University of London.

#### Further reading

Sulaymān, N., *al-Naqd al-adabī fī Sūriyya*, Part 1, Beirut (1980).  
—, *Musāhama fī naqd al-naqd al-adabī*, Beirut (1983).

A.-N. STAIF

### al-Shamardal (fl. c.101/720)

Al-Shamardal ibn Sharīk (or Shurayk) al-Yarbū'i was a poet in the **Umayyad** age. His most frequently quoted poem is a lament upon his brother Wā'il (no. 12) who is portrayed as a **bedouin** hero very much in the pre-Islamic mould. Equally traditional in style are al-Shamardal's other elegies and *qaṣīdas*; he played a more important role in the development of hunting poetry (*tardīyyāt*) in the *rajaz* metre. Among his poems is one of the earliest examples of a fully developed hunting *urjūza* (no. 20).

#### Text edition

*Die Gedichte des Šamardal ibn Šarik*, T. Seidensticker (ed.), Wiesbaden (1983).

T. BAUER

### al-Shammākh (first/seventh century)

Ma'qil ibn Dīrār al-Shammākh was an innovative poet in early Islamic times. Remarkable is his skill in composing long poems using rare and difficult rhymes. His favourite subject was the onager episode, in which poets would describe a stallion onager chasing his mates to a drinking place where a hunter might be lurking. Al-Shammākh's episodes are among the most brilliant and original examples of this genre. In his most famous poem (no. 8), he includes a description of manufacturing a bow in the hunting scene of an onager episode. In addition, he was one of the first poets who composed *qaṣīdas* in the *rajaz* metre. He also influenced **Dhū al-Rumma**.

#### Text edition

*Divān*, Šalāh al-Dīn al-Hādī (ed.), Cairo (1968).

#### Further reading

Bauer, Thomas, *Altarabische Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden (1992).

T. BAUER

### Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dimashqī *see* al-Dimashqī, Shams al-Dīn

### al-Shanfarā (d. c.550)

Pre-Islamic poet. His life, about which very little is known with certainty, was dominated, as the story goes, by his quest for revenge on the tribe of Salāmān. He is counted among the 'outlaws' (*ṣa'ālik*), said to have been a friend of **Ta'abbata Sharran**, and particularly famous for the great poem called *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, which has been widely admired. Among the many commentaries on it are those by **Tha'lab** and **al-Zamakhsari**. According to **Ibn Durayd**, the poem is a pastiche made by **Khalaf al-Aḥmar**; the matter is still unresolved, most modern critics taking it to be a genuine **bedouin** product. It forcefully describes the poet as roaming alone and camelless in the desert, his weapons his only friends, and feeling akin to the animals rather than his tribe. It celebrates many aspects of the **bedouin** ethos, even though its rejection of tribal values makes it not as representative of the 'Arabs' as its title suggests. Apart from



some fragments, only one other poem by him is known (see *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 20).

Text editions

The *Lāmiyya* is included in many anthologies.

Among other editions, see:

*Bulūgh al-arab fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, Cairo (1989) (with commentaries by al-Zamakhsharī *et al.*)

Among the many translations (some of them in the titles below) see also:

Sells, Michael A., *Desert Tracings*, Middletown, Conn. (1989), 21–31.

Treadgold, Warren J., in *JAL* 6 (1975), 30–4.

Further reading

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Stetkevych, Suzanne P., 'Archetype and attribution: al-Shanfarā and the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*,' *The Mute Immortals Speak*, Ithaca (1993), 119–57; cf. also *IJMES* 18 (1986), 361–90.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**al-Shantamarī (410–76/1019–83)**

Yūsuf ibn Sulaymān al-A'lam al-Shantamarī, Andalusian philologist. He was born in Santa Maria de Algarve, lived in Córdoba from 433/1041, and died in Seville. He is often known as al-A'lam ('Harelip'). He is famous in particular for his commentaries – some of them published, others preserved in manuscript – on important collections of poetry, among them the *diwāns* of the 'six poets' (al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī, 'Antara, Ṭarafa, Zuhayr, 'Alqama and Imru' al-Qays) and the *Ḥamāsa* by Abū Tammām. He also wrote commentaries on Abū Tammām's *diwān*, on *al-Jumal* by al-Zajjājī, and on the lines of poetry in the *Kitāb* by Sibawayh; this work, written in 456/1064 and entitled *Taḥṣīl 'ayn al-dhahab*, was published in the Būlāq edition of *Kitāb Sibawayh*. He compiled his own *Ḥamāsa*, which is lost.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565)**

'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad al-Sha'rānī was a

leading Egyptian Ṣūfī writer, whose *Laṭā'if al-minan* (*Subtleties of Blessings*) presents a powerful defence of Ṣūfī ideas. His version of Sufism is marked by a lack of sympathy with Shī'ism, and with a view of the *mahdī* as the son of Imām al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (255/869) who is supposed to remain alive until he comes to meet Jesus in the future. Al-Sha'rānī's thought is not, on the whole, very original, but he is an effective summarizer of other Ṣūfī positions, and his writings give a good idea of the sorts of debate that took place in his community in Egypt at that time.

Text editions

*Asrār arkān al-Islām* [etc.], 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā (ed.), Cairo (1980).

*Laṭā'if al-minan*, Cairo (1321/1903).

*Il libro dei doni*, V. Vacca (trans.), Naples (1972).

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O. LEAMAN

**Sha'rāwī, Hudā (born Nūr al-Hudā Sulṭān) (1879–1947)**

Egyptian feminist. The daughter of a wealthy landowner–politician and a Circassian woman, Sha'rāwī grew up in the *ḥarīm* still typical of a rich nineteenth-century Cairo household, an experience she describes in *Mudhakkirāt rā'idat al-mar'a al-'Arabiyya al-ḥadītha* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamid Fahmī Mursī, Cairo, 1981). She was educated by tutors in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and French. At the age of 13 she was married to her much older cousin and guardian, 'Alī Sha'rāwī, but a year later instigated a separation. Gradually she became active in the cause of women through charity work, and she took the lead in founding the Intellectual Association of Egyptian Women (1914). As leader of the first nationalist demonstration by women in March 1919 and head of the Wafdist Women's Central Committee, she was at the centre of Egypt's political life. Sensing the need for a feminist organization, she founded the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923, and was its president until her death. As part of her EFU mission, she founded two journals, *L'Egyptienne* (1925)

and *al-Miṣriyya* (1937), in which she published essays and editorials. From Sha'rāwī's attendance at the 1923 International Women Suffrage Alliance conference in Rome (on returning from which she publicly removed her veil at Cairo railway station) to her becoming vice-president (1935) of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, she sought international visibility for Egyptian feminists. Her memoirs, written in the 1940s but not published until long after her death, constitute an early example of Arab women's autobiographical writing.

#### Text edition

*Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist*, Margot Badran (ed. and trans.), London (1986) and New York (1987).

#### Further reading

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al-Subki, Āmāl Kāmil Bayyūmī, *al-Ḥaraka al-nisā'iyya fī Miṣr mā bayna al-thawratayni 1919 wa-1952*, Cairo (1986).

M. BOOTH

### **sharḥ, shurūḥ see commentaries**

### **al-Sharif al-'Aqilī (c.350–450/960–1060)**

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn Ḥaydara al-Sharif al-'Aqilī was an Egyptian poet of the Fātimid period. By birth of 'Alawī descent and of independent means, he was not obliged to compose poetry of praise for his living. Only once did he compose a panegyric, dedicated to a certain Abū al-Yumn 'Alī ibn Bashīr, a chancellor during the reign of the Fātimid Imām al-Ḥākim billāh. His wine poems describe aspects which accompany the drinking of good wine, such as inebriety and the expedition in search of a tavern or monastery where not only wine is offered, but also the enjoyment of women and young boys. In this genre the poet was influenced by Abū Nuwās. Other poems describe subjects like the Nile, a fresh garden (the genre of the *rawdīyya*), a pond, and flowers which are compared to many-coloured jewels. His descriptions of drinking bouts gave offence to pious circles; and perhaps the poet himself was aware of this, as we find him expressing

feelings of remorse in the brief ascetic poems used to close each section of an identical rhyme letter within his *dīwān*. Other poems, however, exhort to a mentality of *carpe diem*. His comparisons and metaphors were often construed around quotations from, and allusions to, well-known historical events, but they remain somewhat superficial.

#### Text edition

*Dīwān*, Zakī al-Mahāsini (ed.), Cairo, (n.d.; but not before 1953).

#### Further reading

Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (eds), Cairo (1953), 205–49.  
Smoor, P., 'The poet's house: fiction and reality in the works of the "Fātimid" poets', *QSA* (Venice/Rome) 10 (1992), 45–62.

P. SMOOR

### **al-Sharif al-Murtaḍā (355–436/967–1044)**

'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā, 'Alam al-Hudā, al-Sharif al-Murtaḍā was born in Baghdad to a family descended on both sides from Shi'ī Imāms, in his father's case from the eighth Imām, Mūsā al-Kāzim. He was the elder brother of the Sharif al-Raḍī, from whom he took over the appointments of *naqīb* (syndic) of the Ṭalibids, head of the *mazālim* courts, and leader of the *ḥajj* caravan. Al-Murtaḍā was one of the great scholars of his time, having among his teachers the Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022) and among his students Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). He is counted among the most important contributors to Imāmī *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, as well as being a noted scholar in *fiqh*. He was also a renowned *adīb*, whose literary gatherings (*majālis*) were attended by the great literary figures of the day such as Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri and Ibn Jinnī. His *Ghurur al-fawā'id wa-durar al-qalā'id bil-muḥādarāt*, an *adab* work commonly known as *al-Amālī*, contains a literary and theological treatment of passages from the Koran and *ḥadīth* together with philological analyses and copious poetic illustration. He was an accomplished poet who left a *dīwān*.

#### Text editions

*Dīwān*, Muṣṭafā Jawād and Rashīd al-Ṣaffār (eds), Cairo (1958).

*Kitāb al-Amālī*, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ed.), Cairo (1373/1954).

*Sharḥ al-qaṣīda al-mudhahhaba fi madḥ Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib lil-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī*, Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb (ed.), Beirut (1970).

Further reading

Muḥyi al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Adab al-Murtaḍā min sīratihi wa-āthārih*, Baghdād (1957).

J. COOPER

**al-Sharīf al-Raḍī  
(359–406/970–1015)**

Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī was born in **Baghdad** to a family descended on both sides from **Shi'i** Imāms, in his father's case from the eighth Imām, Mūsā al-Kāzim. He was the younger brother of the **Sharīf al-Murtaḍā**. His father held the offices of *naqīb* (syndic) of the Ṭālibids, head of the *maẓālim* courts, and leader of the *ḥajj* caravan. Al-Raḍī was appointed to all of these posts by the **Būyid** amīr Bahā' al-Dawla (r. 388–403/998–1012) when his father relinquished them, although the dates are disputed. Al-Raḍī was by all accounts a man of great moral probity and generosity, and more socially and politically committed than his brother, a fact that forced him to hand over his appointment as syndic to al-Murtaḍā in 394/1003–4 on account of the caliph's displeasure at his criticism of 'Abbāsīd rule in a poem. During the tenure by al-Raḍī and his brother, the post of syndic of the Ṭālibids was associated with considerable power and prestige. Unlike his brother, al-Raḍī became more renowned for his literary achievements than for his contributions to the Islamic sciences. Among his teachers in **grammar** and literature were Abū Sa'īd **al-Sirāfi** (d. 368/979) and **Ibn Jinnī** (d. 392/1002). He is perhaps best known as the compiler of the celebrated *Nahj al-balāgha*, a collection of sermons, epistles, exhortations and briefer utterances by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the first Shi'i Imām, selected for their literary and rhetorical excellence. Although various **Sunni** authors and orientalists have questioned the genuineness of this work, there is now no good reason either to doubt that he was the compiler, or to impute any kind of forgery on his part. The work has been the subject of numerous commentaries. Apart

from works in *kalām* and *fiqh*, al-Raḍī wrote several works on Koranic **exegesis**, among which is the *Talkhīṣ al-bayān 'an majāzāt al-Qur'ān*, one of the first works to give a literary exposition of the figurative aspects of scripture. He wrote a similar work on figures of speech in Prophetic *ḥadīth*, the *Majāzāt al-āthār al-nabawiyya*. The high quality of his poetry, which was collected together in his *dīwān*, moved **al-Tha'ālibī** to regard him as the greatest poet of the Family of the Prophet, possibly of the entire Quraysh.

Text editions

*Dīwān*, Beirut, (1961).

*Majāzāt al-nabawiyya*, Ṭāhā Muḥammad al-Zaynī (ed.), Cairo (1967).

*Nahj al-balāgha*, Muḥammad 'Abdūh (ed.), Cairo (1933); Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (ed.), (1387/1967); English trans. by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Askarī Ja'fari, Karachi, etc., numerous printings, and by Sayyid 'Alī Riḍā (rev. edn), Tehran (1979) (the more useful of the two, with indices).

*Talkhīṣ al-bayān*, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī Ḥasan (ed.), Cairo (1955).

J. COOPER

**al-Sharīf al-Rundī see Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī**

**al-Sharīf al-Ṭāliq  
(c.347–95/958 or 9–1004 or 5)**

Marwān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sharīf al-Ṭāliq was a poet in Córdoba. A great-grandson of the caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, he was imprisoned in Madīnat al-Zahrā' at age 16 for killing his father over a girl. Among his fellow prisoners was the poet Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd al-Bajjānī, who wrote love poetry to him and, later, *hijā'*. Most of al-Ṭāliq's poetry was written in prison. Al-Manṣūr ordered his release around 379/989–90, because of a dream vision of Prophet or, in another account, thanks to the intervention of al-Manṣūr's pet ostrich, who repeatedly picked out al-Sharīf's petition from among many others and deposited it in the *ḥājib's* lap until he was forced to read it.

Although al-Sharīf al-Ṭāliq is reported to have written much poetry, little is extant, and that only in fragmentary quotations. His friend, **Ibn Ḥazm**, called him the greatest Andalusian poet of his time, comparing his rank in al-Andalus with that of **Ibn al-**

**Mu'tazz** in Iraq. The extant fragments deal mostly with wine and flowers.

Text editions

Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira fī maḥasin ahl al-jazīra*, Iḥsān 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1399/1979), vol. 1, 563.

Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawq al-ḥamāma*, L. Bercher (ed.), Algiers (1949), 72–3.

al-Maqqarī, *Nafh al-ṭib*, Iḥsān 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut (1988), vol. 3, 586–8.

Monroe, James T., *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology*, Berkeley (1974), 11–12, 154–9.

Further reading

'Abbās, Iḥsān, *Ta'rikh al-adab al-Andalusī: 'aṣr siyādat Qurtuba*, 2nd edn, Beirut (1981), 223–5.

García Gómez, Emilio, *Cinco poetas musulmanes: biografías y estudios*, 2nd edn, Madrid (1959), 67–93.

R. P. SCHEINDLIN

### al-Sharqāwī, 'Abd Allāh (d. 1812)

Egyptian historian. A renowned *shaykh* of al-Azhar but a relatively minor historian, al-Sharqāwī was president of the first governing council (*dīwān*) set up by Napoleon during the French occupation of 1798–1801. His two historical works are a 56-page history of Egypt (*Tuḥfat al-nāzīrīn fī-man waliya Miṣr min al-wulāh wa-al-salāṭīn*) and a collection of biographies of Shāfi'ī religious leaders (*imāms*) from the fifteenth century AD to his own time (*al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*). Both works are deeply flawed, the former being too brief and too annalistic to be of any value, and the latter being mostly cribbed from earlier authors.

Further reading

Crabbs, J.A., *The Writing of History in Nineteenth-century Egypt*, Detroit (1984), 57–8.

J. CRABBS

### al-Sharqāwī, 'Abd al-Rahmān (1920–87)

Egyptian novelist, poet and dramatist. Born in the province of Munūfiyya, al-Sharqāwī studied law at Cairo University. He first became known in literary circles for his poetry, written in **free verse**, but subsequently turned to fiction and drama. His first novel,

*al-Ard* (1953), epitomized the new mood of **commitment** following the Egyptian Free Officers' Revolt of 1952 and represents a landmark in the development of the Arabic novel; recently described as 'arguably the most widely known work of modern Arabic fiction both inside and beyond the Near and Middle East', the work was filmed by Yūsuf Shāhīn and has been translated into several languages. Two main struggles are acted out in the course of the novel, which is set in the early 1930s during the dictatorship of Ismā'il Ṣidqī: in the first, an attempt is made to deprive the villagers of the water needed for irrigation; the second revolves around a local landowner's scheme to build a new road across the peasants' land. In the course of the narrative al-Sharqāwī gives us a vivid picture of a number of village 'types' – the realism of the description being considerably enhanced by the use of vigorous dialogue in Egyptian colloquial. The novel is also of interest from a formal point of view, for while the first and third sections are narrated by a schoolboy returning from Cairo for his summer holidays, the central section reverts to a more conventional third-person narrative.

Though writing of the 1930s, al-Sharqāwī was almost certainly expressing in *al-Ard* an unspoken fear about the future course of developments under the new regime. His three subsequent novels (*Qulūb khāliya*, 1957; *al-Shawāri' al-khalfiyya*, 1958; *al-Fallāh*, 1967) continue the theme of commitment of *al-Ard*, but lack its artistic sophistication, degenerating at times into mere propaganda.

In addition to his poetry and fiction, al-Sharqāwī also wrote a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (*Muḥammad, rasūl al-ḥurriyya*, 1962), in which he attempted to present his life from a Marxist viewpoint, and produced a number of verse dramas, including *Ma'sāt Jamīla* (1962) (on the life of the Algerian resistance fighter Jamīla Buhrid), *al-Ḥusayn thā'iran* and *al-Ḥusayn shahīdan* (1969).

Text edition

*Egyptian Earth*, Desmond Stewart (trans.), London (1962).

Further reading

Badawi, M.M., 'Islam in modern Egyptian literature', *JAL* 2 (1971), 172–4.

Kilpatrick, Hilary, *The Modern Egyptian Novel*, London (1974), 126–40.

P. STARKEY

**al-Sharqī, 'Alī (1892–1964)**

Iraqī poet and prose writer. Born in al-Najaf, al-Sharqī studied Arabic philology and Islamic law there. In 1909 he began to publish neo-classical, patriotic poems on political events in Iraq and other Arab countries in newspapers and journals. In his works, he criticized the cultural and social backwardness of Iraq, urging his fellow countrymen to rise from their sleep of ignorance, to learn from European technical and cultural superiority, and to respect and educate women as future mothers. Al-Sharqī also wrote strophic poetry from the 1920s on, in which he called for the abolition of antiquated social and religious customs and ideas, and for more political freedom. His *diwān 'Awāṭif wa-'awāṣif*, originally published in Baghdad in 1953, was republished in 1979 with the addition of newly discovered poetry.

Further reading

'Awwād, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Mahdī, *al-Shaykh 'Alī al-Sharqī: ḥayātuhu wa-adabuhu*, Baghdad (1981).

W. WALTHER

**al-Sharqī al-Quṭāmī see al-Quṭāmī**

**Shārūbīm, Mikhā'il (1861–1920)**

Egyptian historian. Largely overlooked but nevertheless important, Shārūbīm was a Copt, fluent in Arabic, English and French. He worked for a time in the Ministry of Finance but retired in 1903 to devote the rest of his life to writing.

Shārūbīm's most important work is *al-Kāfi fī tārikh Miṣr al-qadīm wa-al-ḥadīth*, four thick volumes covering the history of Egypt from the time of Noah to the end of the reign of Tawfīq (1892). The sections on the nineteenth century are the most interesting and original; Shārūbīm's style is also fascinating as a transition between medieval and modern forms of historical writing.

Further reading

Crabbs, J.A., *The Writing of History in Nineteenth-century Egypt*, Detroit (1984), 133–6.

J. CRABBS

**al-Shārūnī, Yūsuf (1924– )**

Egyptian literary critic and short-story writer.

Born in the delta governorate of Munūfiyya, al-Shārūnī studied philosophy in Cairo and worked as a teacher in the Sudan, before moving to the Supreme Council for the Arts, Literature and Science in Cairo. He has written numerous critical essays and several volumes of short stories, combining the assurance of the established generation with the experimentation of younger writers. His stories chronicle change and transformation in Egyptian society. His critical works include the seminal volume *Dirāsāt fī al-qīṣṣa al-qaṣīra* (1967), which contains studies on Najīb Maḥfūz, Yahyā Ḥaqqī, al-Kharrāṭ and others, in addition to al-Shārūnī's own fiction. Among his recent collections are *al-Umm wa-al-waḥsh* (1982) and *al-Karāsī al-mūsiqiyya* (1990).

Further reading

Shalabī, M., *Ma'a ruwwād al-fikr wa-al-fann*, Cairo (1982).

M. MIKHAIL

**Sha'shū', Salīm (1926– )**

Iraqī Jewish poet, journalist and jurist. Born in Baghdad, Sha'shū' graduated from the Alliance school and the Law College in Baghdad, where he worked as a lawyer while publishing his poetry in the Iraqī newspapers. In 1951 he emigrated to Israel. He published poems and articles in *al-Yawm* and the Israel Broadcasting Service, and edited various periodicals. In 1955 he was elected chairman of the Arabic Language Association of Poets, and later chairman of the Arab Writers' Association. After his studies in the United States, he returned to Israel to work as a lawyer.

Sha'shū''s love poetry, patriotic school songs and verses in praise of Israel's achievements and leaders were published in his collections *Fī 'ālam al-nūr* (Nazareth, 1960), *al-Anāshīd wa-al-maḥfūzāt al-madrasiyya* (Nazareth, 1962) and *Ughniyāt li-bilādī* (Jerusalem, 1976). He also published a book on the co-operation between Jews and Arabs in Andalusia entitled *al-'Aṣr al-dhahabī* (Shfaram, 1979), and a book in Hebrew on Islamic religious courts in Israel, which he subsequently translated into Arabic.

Further reading

*Dictionary of International Biography*, Cambridge (1976), vol. 2, 806.

Moreh, S. and Abbasi, M., *Biographies and Bibliographies in Arabic Literature in Israel 1948–86*, Jerusalem (1987), 117–19.

Snir, R., “‘We were like those who dream’: Iraqi–Jewish writers in Israel in the 1950s”, *Prooftexts* 11 (1991), 153–73.

S. MOREH

## Shawqī, Aḥmad (1868–1932)

Egyptian neo-classical poet. Probably the last of the great court poets who have graced the history of Arabic literature, Shawqī – like al-Bārūdī – was educated in the modern secular system, studying law and translation at the Cairo Law School. In 1887, he went to Europe to complete his higher education in law at the University of Montpellier. His remarkable poetic talent was soon recognized after he entered the Egyptian court in 1891, and he became effectively the poet laureate of the Khedive ‘Abbās. From then on Shawqī came to dominate neo-classical poetry in Egypt and beyond, until his death in 1932. He more than deserved the title ‘Prince of Poets’, and his enormous talent has ultimately always been the most effective answer to his detractors who sought to dismiss him as the ‘Poet of Princes’.

The first volume of his *dīwān* (*al-Shawqiyyāt*) was first published in 1898, but it was only much later that his collected works appeared: volumes 1 and 2 came out in 1926 and 1930, while volumes 3 and 4 were published posthumously in 1936 and 1943. Shawqī was at the height of his powers between 1890 and 1920, and is undoubtedly the neo-classical poet of the greatest range and talent. While he was the author of many panegyric poems as was demanded by his official position, he is not always at his most comfortable when praising the often inconsistent policies of the Khedive ‘Abbās towards the Ottoman Caliphate or the British powers in Egypt. However, he is seen at his best when he directs all the traditional power of the satire (*hiǰāʿ*) against the autocratic Lord Cromer, or when he evokes the glories of Egypt’s Pharaonic past in poems such as ‘The Sphinx’, or ‘Tutankhamon’. Equally impressive are the passages of *wasf* in which he recreates the brilliant and colourful scenes of social life in and around the court circles of Egyptian high society. During World War 1, Shawqī was exiled to Spain because of his known attachment to the Ottoman cause, and because of his

eloquent antipathy to the British. He was unable to return to Egypt until the end of 1919.

Shawqī is typical of the neo-classical school in that he imitates in a highly creative manner many of the major figures of classical Arabic poetry, not least Ibn Zaydūn, the great poet from Muslim Spain. Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī and Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arri were other important sources of inspiration to him from the classical tradition. His time spent in France brought him into contact with French literature: he is said to have translated Lamartine’s *Le Lac* into Arabic, and he produced his own Arabic versions of La Fontaine’s *Fables*, but this acquaintance with European literature never displaced classical Arabic poetry as the dominant formative influence on his work. After World War 1, Shawqī enthusiastically embraced in his verse themes celebrating the rise of Egypt as a new and independent nation-state, but he and his work were attacked by the new generations of Egyptian nationalists such as al-‘Aqqād, Shukrī and al-Māzinī, who saw in him a symbol of the old order which they wished to replace. However, their criticisms were motivated more by personal and political motives than by genuine literary criteria.

In addition to his poetry, Shawqī published a number of short prose romances of unimpressive quality. Much more interesting are the poetic dramas that he wrote as a result of his contact with the French theatre. The original version of ‘*Alī Bayk al-Kabīr*’ appeared in 1893 (revised and republished in 1932), while the period 1929–32 saw the publication of *Maṣra’ Kīlūbātrā* (1929), *Qambiz* (1931), *Majnūn Laylā* (1931), ‘*Antar*’ (1931), and a prose play *Amīrat al-Andalūs* (1932). A sign of the great esteem in which he was held even by those who did not share his aesthetic priorities was illustrated by the fact that he became the first president of the Apollo Group in 1932. Still today Shawqī’s reputation remains undimmed as the greatest neo-classical poet in modern Arabic.

### Further reading

Badawi, M.M., *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Literature*, Cambridge (1975), 29–42.

CHALMAL, 38ff.

Khouri, M., *Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Leiden (1971), 55–77.

R.C. OSTLE

## Shaybūb, Khalīl (1891–1951)

Syrian Christian Romantic poet. Born in Latakia, Shaybūb graduated from the Frère High School in commerce, then emigrated to Alexandria, where he graduated in law (1926) and in 1934 published *al-Mu'jam al-qadā'i* (2nd edn, 1949). He published his revolutionary poetry in literary magazines, influenced by Muṭrān and the French romantic poets. He enjoyed close relations with his Egyptian contemporaries; he was elected president of the literary association Jamā'at Nashr al-Thaqāfa in 1931, and was an active member of the Apollo Group headed by Abū Shādī. His Romantic poems composed between 1912 and 1920 were published in *al-Fajr al-awwal* (Alexandria, 1921), with an introduction by Muṭrān.

Encouraged by the Apollo Group's experiments, Shaybūb tried his hand at *shī'r ḥurr* (see free verse) (using the French technique of *vers libre*), terming it *shī'r muṭlaq*. In his two symbolic poems 'al-Shirā' (1932) and 'al-Ḥadiqa al-mayyita wa-al-qaṣr al-bālī' (1934), he used various Arabic metres with an irregular rhyme scheme and enjambment, avoiding the use of the caesura in most of his verses. Although his examples were not successful, they encouraged other talented poets to follow suit and provided a model for the second, successful stage of Arabic free verse.

His book *'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī* (Iqra' series, 70: Cairo, 1948) is based on his imagination rather than on historical facts. Shaybūb also translated two books, one on the Bourse, the other (with 'Uthmān Ḥilmī) a collection of oriental poems (1936).

### Further reading

- Brugman, J., *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt*, Leiden (1984), 193–5.  
 Dāghir, Yūsuf As'ad, *Maṣādir al-dirāsāt al-adabiyya*, Beirut (1956), III/1, 668–70.  
 Jayyusi, S.K., *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, Leiden (1977), vol. 2, 543–5.  
 Qabbish, A., *Tārīkh al-shī'r al-'Arabi al-ḥadīth*, n.p. (1971), 264–5.

S. MOREH

## al-Shāyib, Fu'ād (1910–70)

Syrian writer born in the village of Ma'lūlā. He studied law in Damascus and Paris, and first worked as a journalist. Later he became a

director of broadcasting in Damascus, and then an official in the Palace of the Republic.

He produced one book of short stories, *Ta'rikh jurḥ* (Beirut, 1944), which is the earliest such collection from Syria, and he also published one play. His pioneering collection contains ten stories, which are not connected by any common theme; his style is straightforward, avoiding lengthy digressions and descriptions. He may be described as a representative of social realism.

### Text edition

Azrak, M.G. and Young, M.J.L. (trans.), *Modern Syrian Short Stories*, Washington, DC (1988).

### Further reading

al-Atrash, M.I., *Ittijāhāt al-qiṣṣa fī Sūriyya*, Damascus (1982).

M.J.L. YOUNG

## al-Shaykh, Ḥanān (1945– )

Lebanese novelist and short-story writer, whose writings focus on questions of sexuality and women's autonomy. Born in Beirut, she went to Cairo to study and to work with the Egyptian writer Iḥsān 'Abd al-Quddūs while still a teenager. During her four years in Egypt she wrote and published her first novel, *Intihār rajul mayyit* (1967). Subsequently she has lived in Beirut, the Arabian Peninsula and London. Her first novel to attract critical attention was *Hikāyat Zahra* (1980), which tells of a young woman's struggle to come to terms with the label of madness that others have attached to her. Zahra's erotic encounters with a sniper at the height of the Lebanese Civil War earned the novel a notoriety that time and translation into English and French seem to have mitigated. In 1988, she published *Misk al-ghazāl*, a novel set in a westernized desert environment. The novel, which was almost simultaneously translated into English as *Women of Sand and Myrrh*, betrays the author's awareness of her new market. Her latest novel is *Barid Bayrūt*. That evokes the emotions of an emigrant returning to post-bellum Lebanon.

### Text editions

- Beirut Blues*, Catherine Cobham (trans.), London (1995).  
*The Story of Zahra*, Peter Ford (trans.), London (1986).

*Women of Sand and Myrrh*, Catherine Cobham (trans.), London (1989).

#### Further reading

Accad, E., *Sexuality and War. Literary Masks of the Middle East*, New York (1990).

M. COOKE

### Shaykhū, Le Père Luwis (Louis Cheikho) (1859–1927)

Jesuit priest, theologian, linguist, historian and scholar. Born in Mardin (in present-day Turkey) he died in Beirut. After studying in Damascus and Lebanon, Shaykhū was sent to join the Jesuits in France, where he studied Greek, Latin and French. He travelled to England and Austria and to the East, visiting Mosul, Baghdad and Aleppo. In 1878 he taught Arabic language and literature at the secondary college of the University of Saint-Joseph in Beirut, where he became a professor of Arab philology. He collected many manuscripts and books for the Jesuit Bibliothèque orientale in Beirut, which he created. In 1898 he founded *al-Mashriq* magazine in Beirut, for twenty-five years writing most of its articles; the magazine became an encyclopaedia of Islamic and Arab Christian history and culture. Using scientific methods of criticism and analysis, he also edited books by Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhāni, the *diwāns* of Abū al-'Atāhiya, al-Khansā', al-Samaw'al, al-Tha'ālībī, al-Buhturī's anthology, the *Hamāsa*, and the animal fables of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Shaykhū made an outstanding contribution to the history of Islam and the Middle East, and to the history of classical and modern Arabic literature, publishing (in addition to his editing work) on theology, philosophy, history, language, literature and bibliography.

#### Further reading

Dāghir, Yūsuf As'ad, *Maṣādir al-dirāsāt al-adabiyya*, Beirut (1956), ii, 515–24.

Hechāimé, C., *Bibliographie analytique du Père Louis Cheikho*, Beirut (1986).

P.C. SADGROVE

### al-Shayzarī (fl. fourth quarter of the sixth/twelfth century)

Little is known of Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Naṣr (Allāh) al-Shayzarī's personal life. He has been called 'al-Shīrāzī' rather than 'al-

Shayzarī' by some copyists and biographers, but the latter name seems more likely. There is evidence in two treatises attributed to him, *Kitāb Manhaj al-sulūk fī siyāsāt al-mulūk* and *Rawḍat al-qulūb*, linked by internal evidence to each other, that he was a judge in Syria. The latter book deals with some topics of love theory and offers personal anecdotes but is not long nor coherently organized. Regarding *al-Īdāh fī asrār al-nikāh*, a work on sexual intercourse attributed to him, the Ottoman biobibliographer Hājji Khalifa, calling the author 'al-Shīrāzī', says that he was a physician of Aleppo who died 774/1372–3, raising questions about its attribution to this al-Shayzarī.

#### Text editions

*Kitāb Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-hisba*, al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-'Arīnī and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda (eds), Cairo (1946); *Islam devletinde hisbe teşkilati* (Turkish trans. of *Nihāyat al-rutba*), Istanbul (1993).

*al-Manhaj al-maslūk fī siyāsāt al-mulūk*, 'Alī 'Abd Allāh Mūsā (ed.), al-Zarqa, Jordan (1987); the same, under the variant title *al-Nahj al-maslūk fī siyāsāt al-mulūk*, M.A. Damāj (ed.), Beirut (1994).

*L'oneïrocrate musulmane ou Doctrine de l'interprétation des songes par Gabdorrahman fils de Nasar*, P. Vattier (trans.), Paris (1664).

*Der muslimannische Traumdeuter*, Bey Benjamin Schillern (pub. and trans.?), Hamburg (1702) (trans. of al-Shayzarī's *Khulāṣat al-kalām fī ta'wil al-aḥlām*).

#### Further reading

Giffen, L.A., *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs*, New York (1971) (on the genre to which *Rawḍat al-qulūb* belongs, although it was missed in that study).

Semah, D., 'Rawḍat al-Qulūb by al-Šayzarī, a twelfth-century book on love', *Arabica* 24 (1977), 187–206 (inc. intro. and ch. 1 of Arabic text of *Rawḍat al-qulūb wa-nuzhat al-muḥibb wa-al-mahbūb*, ed. from Oxford and Tehran MSS).

L.A. GIFFEN

### al-Shibli (247–334/861–945)

Abū Bakr ibn Jaḥdar al-Shibli was a Šūfī master. After serving as governor of Nahāvand, he came under the influence of al-Khayr Najjāj and joined the Šūfī circle of al-Junayd in Baghdad. Given to extreme emotions and bizarre behaviour, he engaged in painful mortifications and experienced states of



ecstasy. His teachings are often expressed in paradoxical maxims and short verses or in mystical comments on verses of love poetry, especially those of Majnūn Laylā (see **Qays ibn al-Mulawwah**). Though closely associated with **al-Hallāj**, he proved disloyal when interrogated during the latter's trial for heresy. Al-Shibli's erratic behaviour led to his being committed to an asylum, where he continued to discourse on mysticism until his death.

Text edition

*Diwan*, Kāmil al-Shaybī (ed.), Baghdad (1967).

Further reading

Dermenghem, Emile, 'Abou Bakr Chibli, poète mystique bagdadien', *AIEO* 8 (1949–50), 235–64.

R.P. SCHEINDLIN

**al-Shidyāq, (Aḥmad) Fāris  
(1804–87)**

Lebanese linguist, lexicographer, critic, poet and journalist. Born in 'Ashqūt (Lebanon), he died in Istanbul. A Maronite convert to Protestantism, al-Shidyāq worked as a translator, editor and supervisor of the Arabic press for the British Church Missionary Society in Malta. Circa 1828/9 he went to **Cairo**, and worked on the official *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya* newspaper, returning to Malta in 1834, where he wrote *al-Rihla al-mawsūma bi al-wāsiṭa fī ma'rifat aḥwāl Mālta*. In Britain he completed a translation of The Book of Common Prayer (1848), The New Testament, the first significant modern translation of the Old Testament, and *A Practical Grammar of the Arabic Language*. In Paris, he co-operated with Gustave Dugat on a French grammar for Arabs (1854). His most famous work, part autobiography, part criticism of the Maronite hierarchy, *al-Sāq 'alā al-sāq fī mā huwa al-Fāryāq* (Paris, 1855), has been compared to the masterpieces of Rabelais, displaying the infinite capacities of the Arabic language. In Tunis, at the invitation of the Bey, he embraced Islam, and published *Kashf al-mukhabbā 'an funūn Ūrubbā* on his travels in Europe. He was then invited by Sultan 'Abd al-Majīd to Istanbul, where he published the first great Arab newspaper *al-Jawā'ib* (1861–84). One of the creators of modern newspaper language, his writing demonstrated a surprising freedom from the artifices of nineteenth-

century prose. He also published a thesaurus of Arabic etymology (1867), and critiques of the lexicons entitled *al-Muḥīṭ* by both **al-Firūzābādī** and **al-Bustānī**, and of Nāṣif al-Yāziji's *Majma' al-Baḥrayn* (1871–2).

Text edition

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P.C. SADGROVE

**Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn  
Sulaymān see Ibn Fahd**

**Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā  
al-Suhrawardī see al-Suhrawardī,  
Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā**

**Shī'is, Shī'ī literature**

As a whole, the Shī'a are distinguished among the major Muslim divisions by their adherence to the doctrine that the Imāmate, or leadership, of the Islamic community resides in the *Ahl al-Bayt*, this being (with various doctrinal qualifications) the family of the Prophet through his daughter Fātima and her husband 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, the Prophet's cousin, the first Imām, and the fourth Caliph. Of the three major groupings within the Shī'a, the **Zaydīs**, the **Ismā'īlis** and the **Ithnā 'Asharīs** (the Twelvers, or Imāmīs), it is the latter that has been the most numerous and which has consequently produced the largest body of literature.

As their name implies, the **Ithnā 'Asharīs** believe in a hereditary line of twelve Imāms beginning with 'Alī and ending with Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who began a continuing period of major occultation in 329/940, and who, it is believed, will return before the end of time to restore justice to the world. Meanwhile, he remains the guarantor of the *Sharī'a*, God's Proof (*ḥujja*) to humankind, among whom he lives, albeit hidden from all. The Twelver theory of the Imāmate also holds the Imām to be immune (*ma'sūm*) from sin and error, and divinely appointed (through *naṣṣ*).

The main doctrines of the Twelvers as well as their law (*fiqh*) were initially elaborated and systematized in the period following the Occultation, first in Rayy and Qum, and then in **Büyid Baghdad**. The shrine cities of Najaf and Karbalā' in Iraq subsequently became the main centres of Twelver learning, although they have sometimes been eclipsed, as at present, by the *madrasa* cities of Iran such as Qum. Iran, where all but a small minority of the population is Twelver, is the only present-day state in which Twelver Shi'ism is the constitutional religion (it was declared a Shi'i state by the Şafavids at the beginning of the sixteenth century (tenth AH)), but important numbers of Ithnā 'Asharis are also to be found in the Lebanon, Iraq and Bahrain (in each of which they are possibly the largest Muslim group), as well as in **India**, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Twelvers also form a significant proportion of emigré Muslim populations in the West, particularly among those with sub-continent origins.

Twelver law demonstrates no greater divergence from the major **Sunnī madhhabs** than do these latter among themselves. In ritual practice, the *ziyāra* (visitation) of the shrines of the Imāms and their descendants (Persian: *imāmzāda*) is emphatically recommended (*mustahabb*) and an integral part of every Shi'i Muslim's life. A considerable body of recitational literature (also called *ziyāra*) has accumulated to accompany these devotions.

As sources of knowledge, the Imāms are considered to be equal to the Prophet, the only real difference being that, unlike the Prophet, they have not been given any revelation (*risāla*). *Hadīth* (traditions) narrated from them are therefore on a par with Prophetic *hadīth*, and Shi'i *hadīth* literature is consequently extensive. Among the Imāms, the fifth and sixth, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/732 or 117/735) and Ja'far al-Şādiq (d. 148/765), stand out as major sources both in doctrine and in law. The primary collections date from the fifth/eleventh centuries, in particular the 'Four Books' in law: the *Furū'* of *al-Kāfī* by al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941) (the *Uşūl* of *al-Kāfī* contains non-legal traditions); *Man lā yahḍurūhu al-faqīh* by **Ibn Bābawayh** (d. 381/991); and *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and *al-Istibşār* by the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). Mention should also be made of the voluminous twelfth/seventeenth-century *hadīth* encyclopedia of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*. Two extremely

popular works attributed to the Imāms are *Nahj al-balāgha* (the first Imām, 'Alī; see also **al-Sharīf al-Raḍī**), and the collection of devotional literature *al-Şahīfa al-Sajjadiyya* or *al-Şahīfa al-kāmila* (the fourth Imām, Zayn al-'Abidīn), both of which are considered exemplary specimens of early literary Arabic.

Early Imāmī commentaries on the **Koran** also provide a rich source for *hadīth* material, notably in the *Tafsīrs* of al-Qummī (d. 307/919) and al-'Ayyāshī (d. 320/932). Later *tafsīrs*, in which *hadīth* are still a major component, such as the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tibyān* and al-Ṭabarsī's (d. 548/1153) *Majma' al-bayān*, are similar in form to other *tafsīrs* of their time (see **exegesis, Koranic medieval**). A major modern Imāmī *tafsīr* is the 'Allāma al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī's (d. 1982) *al-Mizān*.

Twelver law has typically stressed the necessity for the layperson to follow a living *mujtahid* (legal authority). In consequence, and also as a result of the rationalist approach of Imāmī *kalām* theology, the contribution of Twelver scholars to the literature in *uşūl al-fiqh* (jurisprudence) has been particularly significant, continuing down to the present day. Notable scholars in this field have been the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, the 'Allāma **Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī** (648–726/1250–1325), the Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Anşārī (d. 1281/1864) and the Ākhūnd Muḥammad Kāzīm al-Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911). The *fiqh* (derived law) literature is similarly extensive and has been added to in all periods.

Shi'i *kalām* theology traces its origins back to the times of the fifth and sixth Imāms, but it witnessed its most notable flowering in the fifth/eleventh century with the writings of the Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), and his pupils the **Sharīf al-Murtadā** (d. 436/1044) and the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. Modern Shi'i theology, with its markedly philosophical vocabulary and style, took shape with the writings of **Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī** (d. 672/1274), a major Shi'i philosopher and scientist as well as a theologian, and his pupil Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī.

Many of the early *falāsifa* (philosophers) either had Shi'i leanings or Shi'i backgrounds, but since their interests were universal rather than sectarian such attributions can be problematic. What is uncontroversial, however, is that, beginning with Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, logic, metaphysics and theology together with speculative mysticism and ethics became fused together in Shi'i learning in what came to be

known as the science of *ḥikma* (wisdom, theosophy). Mullā Ṣadrā, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640) was the outstanding philosopher in this tradition, which continues down to the present day. Indeed, the noticeable interest in philosophy, which is such a marked characteristic of writing among many contemporary Shi'i scholars such as Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr (exec. 1980), can be largely understood as a result of the continuation of this tradition.

In the field of *adab* literature, the question of the attribution of Imāmi, or even Shi'i, beliefs to an author becomes even more problematic, for while it is virtually necessary that a scholar in the religious sciences should declare his sectarian allegiance (many religious scholars, such as the Sharīf al-Raḍī, have also been distinguished poets), such is not the case with writers in other, more popular areas of literature. Second, as adherents of a minority and frequently persecuted sect, many Shi'is have been, to say the least, discreet about their affiliations, supported in this by the Imāmi legal doctrine of *taqiyya* (dissimulation for the protection of the faith). Moreover, many non-Shi'i authors have written eloquently on Shi'i themes. It is therefore perhaps more fruitful to examine Shi'ism within *adab* and popular literature from the point of view of the development of genres. Eulogy of the *Ahl al-Bayt* has been a constant feature of Islamic religious poetry, and need not be taken as an indication of sectarian affiliation; for instance, al-Farazdaq (d. c.110/728 or 112/730) wrote panegyrics for Umayyads as well as 'Alids such as Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the fourth Imām, and the Sunnī Imām al-Shāfi'i's poetry is often cited for its demonstration of strong love of the Prophet's family. The *manāqib* literature extolling the virtues of the *Ahl al-Bayt* comprises *ḥadīth* works as well as ones of a more hagiographical nature, again by both Shi'is (see, for example, under Ibn Shahrāshūb) and non-Shi'is (e.g. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's *Manāqib* of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib). Another genre particularly developed in Shi'i literature has been the *marthiya*, the elegy (see *rithā'*), in this case, for a member of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (all the Imāms except the Twelfth are generally believed by the Imāmis to have been murdered), and in particular al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, who was martyred at the hands of the troops of the Umayyad caliph al-Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya at the massacre of Karbalā' in 61/680. An early example of this kind of *mar-*

*thiya* is provided by al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789), and the literary merits of the *rithā'* of al-Sharīf al-Raḍī have been much praised. The *marthiya* genre was successfully taken over into Persian and Urdu. Also inspired by the Karbalā' tragedy are the *ta'ziyas* ('passion plays'), the *rawḍas* (ritual commemorative recitations) and the *nawḥa* dirges, all of which are associated with the mourning ceremonies of Muḥarram, especially the tenth day, 'Āshūrā', the anniversary of al-Ḥusayn's death, one of the most significant days in the Shi'i calendar. Although these forms are more often thought of in connection with Persian and Urdu, they are also developed in Arabic, particularly among the Shi'a of southern Iraq.

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J. COOPER

**shi'r see poetry**

**al-shi'r al-ḥurr see free verse**

**al-shi'r al-mursal** see blank verse

### al-Shirbīnī (late eleventh/ seventeenth century)

Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī was a comic writer of late eleventh/seventeenth century Egypt, famed for his satirical treatise entitled *The Shaking of Peasant Caps in Explanation of the Ode of Abū Shādūf*. Cast in the form of an elaborate parody of pedantic philological commentary, this work gives a detailed line-by-line explanation of a colloquial poem ostensibly composed by a crude peasant ('Abū Shādūf') who laments his sorry state, the whole being prefaced by a general discussion of the Egyptian peasantry. Its broad, often obscene, humour stands in the tradition of Ibn Sūdūn, whom the author cites a number of times, but is unique in its concentration on rural life.

Text edition

*Hazz al-quhūf fī sharḥ qaṣīd Abī Shādūf*, Būlāq (1274/1857), and later editions.

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E.K. ROWSON

### Shukrī, 'Abd al-Rahmān (1886–1958)

Egyptian poet. Like al-Māzīnī, Shukrī was a graduate of the Teachers' Training College in Cairo, a product of the secular school system which had been established in Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century. He published his first *dīwān* in 1909 before spending three years in England at Sheffield University College. After his return to Egypt in 1912, five further volumes of poetry were published in rapid succession between 1913 and 1918; both in the poetry itself and particularly in the prefaces that he wrote to these

collections, he reveals a deep and wide-ranging knowledge of poetry and criticism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England.

Shukrī is the member of the *Dīwān Group* who is remembered primarily for his poetry rather than for the novels, literary criticism or polymathic writing on cultural topics that were characteristic of the work of al-Māzīnī or al-'Aqqād. With Abū Shādī, he ranks as one of the most important enthusiasts for English romanticism in modern Arabic literature and was able to adapt many of its principles to the new poetry which was beginning to supersede the neo-classical school.

Shukrī's first two collections of poetry (1909 and 1913) are the most traditional in style and theme and contain a number of elegies in honour of famous personalities and poems written for social and political occasions. Between 1915 and 1918 the full extent of his romanticism begins to emerge as he pleads for the overriding importance of the imagination and the passions, the need for simple, everyday language in poetry, and the insistence on the primacy of beauty in all things. He also claims that the poet is marked out by special gifts of vision not shared by the rest of humankind. Many of these ideas are traceable directly to Hazlitt, Keats, Coleridge or Wordsworth. Much of his amatory poetry is obsessed with the ambiguity of the spiritual and the physical nature of love, and it becomes increasingly obvious that he was unable to resolve this tension with any degree of fulfilment. This, combined with his intense concentration on the emotional ebbs and flows of his own psyche, lends his poetry a manic-depressive quality.

Although originally a close colleague of al-Māzīnī and al-'Aqqād, by the time that *al-Dīwān* was published in 1921, a bitter quarrel had broken out between Shukrī and the other two, illustrated by the vitriolic attack by al-Māzīnī on Shukrī in the pages of *al-Dīwān* itself. Later al-Māzīnī was to express regret for this and acknowledge the debt that he owed to him.

Unlike his two erstwhile colleagues, Shukrī shunned the rough and tumble of politics, journalism and public life. He became a teacher in Alexandria in 1912, and remained in education until retirement in 1944. Much of his later life was spent in alienated seclusion. His collected works, *Dīwān 'Abd al-Rahmān Shukrī*, were published in Alexandria in 1960.

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R.C. OSTLE

**Shukrī, Muḥammad (1935– )**

Moroccan novelist and short-story writer. Illiterate until the age of 19, and largely self-taught, Shukrī is one of the most interesting and outspoken new voices in Arabic fiction today. His initial attempts at short-story writing attracted immediate attention through their vivid depictions of the seamier side of life in which the author seems to have spent much of his youth. It is this quality that has also made it difficult for him to find publishers, at least until recently when his work has come to be more widely recognized for its originality. Besides a collection of short stories, *Majnūn al-ward* (1979), he has also published autobiographical novels, one called *al-Khubz al-hāfi* (published originally in an English adaptation in 1973), and a second, known under two titles *Zaman al-akhṭā'* (*Time of Errors*) for the Moroccan edition and *al-Shuttar* (*Streetwise*) for the British one (1994).

Text editions

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R. ALLEN

**Shumayyil, Shiblī (1853–1917)**

Controversial Greek Catholic doctor, scientist, journalist, philosopher, poet and social reformer, born in Kafr Shīmā (Syria). Shumayyil studied and taught medicine at the Syrian Protestant College, then travelled to Paris and Istanbul to complete his studies. He practised medicine in Egypt for ten years, and in 1886 founded *al-Shifā'* magazine in Cairo to publicize medical advances. He also wrote the programme of the Socialist Party in Egypt. Despite fierce opposition from Muslim conservatives, from the 1880s he was the foremost popularizer of Darwinism in the Arab world, considering science the key to the secrets of the universe. Apart from his works on Darwin's theory of evolution, he published articles on science, history, literature, criticism and politics; a work of

Hippocrates; a treatise on the plague; a book on the urgent need for science, justice and liberty in the Ottoman Empire (1895); and a novel *al-Ḥubb 'alā al-fatra*. He also translated Racine's *Iphigénie*, and wrote a play on World War 1.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**Shuqayr, Shākīr (1850–96)**

Lebanese Melchite journalist, teacher, story writer and poet, born and died in al-Shuwayfāt. He wrote for the first magazine specializing in fictional writing in Beirut *Dīwān al-fukāha* (1891–3), and in Egypt founded *al-Kināna* (1895) magazine. Shuqayr wrote and translated about thirty stories; published a work on the Arab art of composition; and wrote several plays, including *al-'Ayla al-Muhtadiya*, promoting the education of girls. He also published an edition of Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri's *Dīwān Saqṭ al-Zand*.

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Shushtari**

**(600 or 610–68/1203 or 1212–69)**

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shushtari was a Šūfī leader and poet. Born in Shushtar (near Guadix), al-Shushtari was turned to Sufism by disciples of Abū Madyan al-Tilimsāni in Bougie; he became an adherent of Ibn Sab'in, following him to Egypt and meeting him in Mecca. On Ibn Sab'in's death, al-Shushtari became head of the Mutajarridin in Syria and Egypt. He is buried in his *ribāṭ* in Damietta.

As a religious poet, al-Shushtari imitated Ibn al-'Arabī. He composed pieces in classical metres and *muwashshahāt*; he was the

first to compose *zajals* on religious themes. Five prose works are ascribed to him. Al-Shushtarī is venerated by the Shādhilīs and is one of the principal figures of Ṣūfism.

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R.P. SCHEINDLIN

## Shu'ūbiyya

The name of a cultural and literary trend discernible in the early 'Abbāsīd period, especially in the third/ninth century. The term derives from Koranic usage, in which the divine creation of *shu'ūb* ('peoples') and *qabā'il* ('tribes') is mentioned, all being equal in the sight of God. The original partisans of the *shu'ūb* seem to have been the **Khārijīs**, with their emphasis on piety, rather than race or membership of a particular family, as the test of true belief. But by 'Abbāsīd times, certain non-Arab elements, and especially *mawālī* or clients of Persian and 'Nabataean' (i.e. Iraqi Aramaic) origin, began to protest against the social and cultural discrimination against them by the Arabs. They demanded, first of all, equal treatment, but many passed on to claim superiority, because of the past glories of ancient Persian or Babylonian civilization, over the Arabs, with their miserable **bedouin** background in pre-Islamic times.

The movement was not really anti-Islamic, but it did encourage a certain scepticism towards Arab culture and to the religion of Islam which was inextricably bound up with it. Hence a fierce anti-*Shu'ūbī* reaction was engendered among the defenders of the Arab tradition, not all of whom were necessarily of unalloyed Arab blood; **al-Jāhīz** had Negro blood in his veins, and **Ibn Qutayba** was of arabized Persian stock. Leading *Shu'ūbīs* included **Sahl ibn Hārūn**, the director of the caliph al-Ma'mūn's **Bayt al-Ḥikma** ('House of Wisdom'), although the great philologist and historian **Abū 'Ubayda**, who did so

much to recover the literary heritage of the ancient Arabs and to record their religious traditions under Islam, often considered a *Shu'ūbī*, was probably one in the earlier Khārijī sense, concerned to ridicule Arab social pretensions but with no particular concern to vaunt the Persians. By the fourth/tenth century the controversy had died down, when the mainstream of Islamic culture and literature had absorbed enough of the Persian tradition in ethics and statecraft to disarm the partisans of the *Shu'ūbiyya* but not to damage the essentially Arab-Islamic basis of the faith.

A certain so-called *Shu'ūbī* literature appeared in Muslim Spain at a later date, when al-Andalus had dissolved into petty principalities or *tā'ifas* representing to some extent ethnic groupings like the Berbers and Ṣaqālība or 'Slavs'; a notable example of it is the epistle of the fifth/eleventh-century poet and secretary **Ibn Gharsiya** (García). But this was of minor importance, and its few exponents tended to repeat clichés adopted from the earlier Islamic East.

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C.E. BOSWORTH

## al-Sibā'ī, Yūsuf (1917–78)

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. Born in **Cairo**, al-Sibā'ī was educated at the Egyptian Military Academy and at first pursued a military career. Following the 1952 overthrow of the monarchy, he held a number of prestigious cultural positions, including those of general secretary of the Higher Council for Literature and Fine Arts, minister of culture (1973–5), minister of culture and information (1975–6) and chairman of the board of *al-Ahrām* (1976–8). Closely identified with the policies of President Nasser and his successor, he was assassinated by a gunman at a conference in Nicosia in protest against President Sadat's Middle East policies.

Al-Sibā'ī's first published collection of short stories, *Atyāf*, appeared in 1947. His novel *Arḍ al-nifāq* (1949), in which he criticized the corruption of contemporary society, met with considerable success, and he consolidated his reputation as a leading Romantic novelist with *Innī rāḥila* (1950). He subsequently went on to produce a further twenty collections of short stories and some sixteen novels, as well as essays and several plays. Many of his works were adapted for the cinema. A frequent theme in al-Sibā'ī's work is the struggle of women to break free from traditional constraints on their freedom. Despite their popularity with the ordinary reader, al-Sibā'ī's works have tended to be despised by the literary establishment and have seldom received much serious critical attention.

## Text edition

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P. STARKEY

## Sibawayhi (second/eighth century)

Abū Bishr 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qanbar Sibawayhi, of Persian origin, was born in the mid-second/eighth century; he came to Basra to study religion and law, but is said to have turned to grammar after committing a solecism himself. He died in 177/793 or perhaps later, aged about 40.

Sibawayhi is the creator of systematic Arabic grammar. Although there is no doubt that his ideas evolved from a background of vigorous and informed discussion of the Arabic language there is no clear antecedent, either within the Muslim tradition or without it (e.g. Greek or Syriac), for the exhaustive and coherent description of classical Arabic set out in his one work known simply as *Sibawayhi's Book*, (*Kitāb Sibawayhi*). However, the *Kitāb* is considerably easier to read and understand when viewed as Sibawayhi's application of legal theory to the linguistic data provided by his great teachers and informants al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, Yūnus ibn

Ḥabīb and others. Thus although most of the lexical, phonological and morphological information can safely be attributed to his masters (especially al-Khalīl, who also probably supplied him with certain basic syntactical notions, for example that compound elements can have the status of single words, and that the listener plays a role in determining the form of speech), there can be little doubt that Sibawayhi fully deserves his reputation as the author of what has been called 'the Koran of grammar'.

It is noteworthy that Sibawayhi founded no school, perhaps for reasons of personality or because he did not live long enough, and indeed the *Kitāb* was somewhat eclipsed in the decades following his death. By the fourth/tenth century, however, Sibawayhi was firmly established as the acknowledged founder of a grammatical system that has remained essentially unchanged until today.

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See also: grammar and grammarians

## Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī (581 or 582–654/ 1185 or 1186–1256)

Shams al-Din Abū al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Qizoghlū Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī was a historian of the Ayyūbid period, known as 'the grandson' (*sibt*) of the famous Ḥanbalī scholar **Ibn al-Jawzī**. Much of his contemporary fame stemmed from his eloquence, perhaps inherited from his grandfather, as a popular preacher, but his lasting fame comes from his great universal history, the *Mir'āt al-zamān*, in which he followed the system of Ibn al-Jawzī in his *Muntaẓam* of an annalistic listing of historical information plus obituaries of prominent people who had died during that year. For the first three Islamic centuries (based on **al-Ṭabari**) and for the sixth/twelfth century (using **Ibn al-Qalānisī**, Ibn al-Jawzī and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī), he appears to bring little new, but is valuable for the fourth–fifth/tenth–eleventh centuries (where he utilizes the largely lost histories of Hilāl al-Ṣābi' and his son Ghars al-Ni'ma) and for the history of **Syria** and **Damascus** in his own time (being much used by Abū Shāma and subsequent historians).

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C.E. BOSWORTH

## Sicily, Siculo-Arabic poets

Among the Arabs who led the conquest of Sicily (211/827) were famous men of culture, like Asad ibn al-Furāt, a judge from Qayrawan, and Mujbār ibn Sufyān, the conqueror of Messina (228/843), who left the oldest Arabic verses of Sicily. The spread of Islamic culture and faith in Sicily did not meet with strong opposition, due to the weakness of local resistance and to the economic benefits introduced, such as a new irrigation system and new cultivation which brought a great development of commerce. Both the patronage of the Aghlabid rulers, who supported the arts, and the immigration of many Mālikīs fleeing from the spread of Shī'ism in North Africa, helped the introduction of Islamic culture. Among the immigrants were famous jurists, poets, lexicographers, grammarians and men of religion, who soon created schools of thought known all over the Mediterranean. Sicily became a halting-place for the pilgrims to Mecca and a meeting-place for men of letters.

From the tenth century Sicily was ruled by the Kalbite *amīrs* (336–445/947–1053), the Shī'ī emissaries of the Egyptian Fāṭimids, who were virtually autonomous in their rule and therefore able to support the arts and tolerate religious controversies with the Sicilian Mālikīs. The patronage of these princes aided the development of an autonomous cultural production that produced Sicilian representatives in every field of science. Poetry, earlier strictly linked to traditional models, developed innovative modes; much of this poetry has been preserved in anthologies, like those of **Ibn al-Qaṭṭā'** and al-Ṣayrafī. We know of the existence of more than 170 poets, but little is known about more than a dozen of them and a few thousand verses (a part from several complete *dīwāns*) that represent their production.

Along with the great poets we find the names of **secretaries**, judges, princes, grammarians and viziers. Among the panegyrists of the Aghlabids we find Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', one of the earliest Siculo-Arabic poets, an exponent of the classical tradition. 'Alī ibn Muhammad al-Khayyāt, the official panegyrist of the Kalbid court, wrote encomia to Yūsuf Thiqat al-Dawla (381–8/990–8) and to his heir, the prince-poet Ja'far (388–405/998–1014/15); al-Khayyāt was a modern poet who excelled in describing reality. 'Abū 'Abd Allāh



Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Zayd al-Kātib was the panegyrist of Ibn Ḥawwās, lord of Agrigento and enemy of the Kalbids. While most poets were panegyrists, there were also spiritual poets, like al-Ṭūbī, who lived in the first half of the eleventh century and was a grammarian, an author of *maqāmāt*, and a poet of mystical love. **Al-Tamīmī** was the bard of the fratricidal wars that paved the way for the Norman conquest of the island; in his poems the traditional theme of parting became the bitter account of Muslim emigration to foreign lands and of torment for a beloved place ravaged by enemies.

The fame of the Sicilian poets endured after their emigration, as in the case of **al-Ballanūbī**, who was born in Villanova and travelled to **Egypt**, where he wrote poems for the viziers 'Abū al-Ḥasan al-Anbarī (d. 438/1046) and al-Mudhabbir (453/1061). Praised both as poet and grammarian, he belongs to the modern school, but has an original skill in describing reality.

The greatest Arab poet of Sicily, **Ibn Ḥamdīs**, took part in the first attacks against the Normans and then emigrated to Seville, to the court of the prince-poet **al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād** (1048–95), whose friendship inspired sincere panegyric which won the poet the title of the best heir of **al-Mutanabbī**. Once the prince was exiled (484/1091), Ibn Ḥamdīs emigrated to the courts of Algeria and Tunisia. Later in his life he became nostalgic for Sicily, and recalled the happy banquets of his youth, reviving the conventional motifs of bacchic poetry.

In Christian Sicily there still remained an important Arab community, as was witnessed by the traveller **Ibn Jubayr**, and in **Ibn Zafar al-Ṣiqillī's** *Sulwān al-mutā*. The Norman kings adopted the Arab chancery, created a school of translation and opened their court to poets like 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Itrabanīshī, and to geographers like **al-Idrisī**, the author of *The Book of Roger*. This tradition was kept up by Frederick II, who gathered in his court the first poets of the Italian language, Ciullo d'Alcamo and Giacomo da Lentini, as well as the Alexandrian poet Ibn al-Qalāqīs and the Provençal poets. Frederick also promoted the translation of Arabic masterpieces, and the Arab philosopher Ibn Sab'in (d. 670/1271) wrote for him a work on the immortality of the soul. The very fact that Arab, Sicilian and Provençal poets were attending the same assemblies makes us consider the possibility

of Arab influence on early Italian poetry, even if there is no written evidence except for Petrarch's negative comment on Arabic poetry. The two share many common motifs, e.g. lovers' separation and reconciliation, the sickness of love that only the beloved can cure, the comparison of beloved and moon, the lover's obedience to both earthly and divine authority, and this contact has produced tangible results in, for example, the Arabic alliterations of Giacomo da Lentini 'Lo viso, e son diviso dallo viso,/ e per avviso credo ben visare,/ però diviso viso dallo viso/ ch'altr'è lo viso che lo divisare'.

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**Sidī ben Ammār** see **Ibn 'Ammār**

## al-Sijistānī, Abū Ḥatīm (d. 255/869)

Abū Ḥatīm Sahl ibn Muḥammad al-Jushamī al-Sijistānī was the pupil of Abū 'Ubayda, al-Aṣma'ī and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī. A Baṣran philologist best known for his expertise in lexicography, prosody and the elucidation of obscure words, he was not regarded as a particularly outstanding grammarian even though he himself claimed to have read the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi twice with no less an authority than al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ. His students include al-Mubarrad, Ibn Durayd and Ibn Qutayba. He is credited with a large number of works, on vocabulary and morphology, Koran recitation, Koranic philology, popular solecisms, gender, long-lived people, etc., although only a handful survive. His contribution probably lay more in his personal influence rather than his compositions: al-Riyāshī's tribute at his burial was that the knowledge lost to the world was not so much in Abū Ḥatīm's books but in his heart.

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## al-Sijistānī, Abū Sulaymān *see* Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī

## al-Sijistānī, Abū Ya'qūb *see* Abū Ya'qūb al-Sizjī

### ṣinā'a

(Also *ṣan'a*), 'craft' or 'art'. Applied by literary critics to both poetry and prose, it designates writing as a type of knowledge, a craft whose rules and principles must be mastered, and a profession practised by those who have acquired the necessary skills. The concept of poetry (or writing in general) as *ṣinā'a* generated a host of 'metaphors of craft' in which poetry, in particular, is compared to building, weaving, goldsmithing and other skilled crafts (see, for example, Ibn Tabātabā, 'Iyār al-shi'r'; 'Abd al-Qāhir al-

Jurjānī, *Dalā'il al-i-jāz*). A detailed treatment of writing as *ṣinā'a* is found in Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī's *Kitāb al-ṣinā'atayn al-kitāba wa-al-shi'r* (*The Book of the Two Arts, Prose and Poetry*) – by *kitāba*, 'prose', Abū Hilāl means the chancery or secretarial style; see **artistic prose; secretaries**). The term *ṣan'a* is occasionally used in the sense of '(excessive) artifice, laboured art'; hence *maṣnū'* poetry takes on the meaning of 'artificial' or 'mannered' poetry, in opposition to *maṭbū'*, 'natural' or 'classical' poetry (see **maṭbū'** and **maṣnū'**).

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*See also:* literary criticism, medieval; poetry, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

## Sindbād

The tale of *Sindbād the Sailor* is a relatively late addition to the *Alf layla wa-layla* (*The Thousand and One or Arabian Nights*). It is absent from the earliest extant *Alf layla* text, Paris 3609–3611 (Bibliothèque Nationale), a fourteenth-century Syrian recension. Versions of *Sindbād* dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are recorded in Arabic story-collections independent of the *Alf layla*; some of these manuscripts also contain narratives such as *The Ebony Horse*, which, like *Sindbād*, was absorbed into the *Alf layla* at a relatively late date in the history of the *Nights*. It is difficult to determine the precise point in time at which *Sindbād* entered the *Alf layla*: the tale appears in both an early eighteenth-century Egyptian text of the *Nights*, Paris 3615, and in an even earlier Turkish version of the collection, Paris 356, dated 1046/1637.

Earlier scholarship sought to retrace *Sindbād's* voyages by matching the islands cited in the tale with known geographic sites in the East; researchers likewise conjectured the possible literary sources that might have influenced the narrative. As early as 1797, in lectures delivered to 'a literary society in Exeter', Richard Hole termed *Sindbād's*

voyages 'the Arabian Odyssey,' citing the Cyclops and Lotus-Eaters of Homer's epic as sources for the Arabic narrative. To support such claims of Greek influence, Gustave von Grunebaum has noted that the Homeric epics were translated into Syriac by a Christian Arab astrologer at the caliphal court of al-Mahdī in the eighth century CE. Von Grunebaum also traces Sindbād's adventures to Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Life of Alexander the Great* (late third-early fourth century CE) and cites the ninth-century *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (*Book of Animals*) of al-Jāhiz as a possible intermediate source. But analogues to Sindbād's adventures can be found in even earlier texts, as in the ancient Egyptian *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, with its account of a solitary mariner washed up on an island who encounters a bearded serpent of lapis lazuli and gold.

In seeking more nearly proximate sources for the *Alf layla*'s Sindbād, Edward William Lane cited the thirteenth-century 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt (*Wonders of the Created World*) of al-Qazwīnī, with its descriptions of elephant-hunting *rukhs* and sea-creatures so huge as to be mistaken by mariners for islands. As Mia Gerhardt points out, works such as al-Qazwīnī's cosmography reflect the travellers' tales circulated by merchants who braved the Indian Ocean in the 'Abbāsīd age.

Recently scholars such as Gerhardt and Ferial Ghazoul have looked for some thematic unity underlying the disparate incidents of the seven Voyages. Peter Molan relates *Sindbād* to the frame-tale of Scheherazade and King Shahrayār. There is an ethical discrepancy, Molan argues, between Sindbād's professed piety and the ruthless violence he inflicts on fellow prisoners in the fourth Voyage; the fact that he conceals his actions once rescued demonstrates the hero's repressed sense of guilt. In Molan's view these tales 'become a parable for the instruction of King Shahrayār in self-deception and injustice', admonishing the monarch for his own unwarranted violence towards the young women he marries and kills.

Such a theme, if intended by the redactor, is implicit rather than overt: nowhere in the text is a comparison openly made between Sindbād and Shahrayār. Yet it is more typical of the *Alf layla* in general that moralizing themes when they occur (and they do so frequently) are asserted explicitly and repeated so as to draw the audience's attention. In *The City of Brass* and *The Fisherman and the Genie* (to

take two examples), the moral is summarized in a single sentence ('This is a warning for whoever would be warned'; 'Spare me and God will spare you') which ties together each story's sub-plots by recurring in various frames of the narrative. And in the fourteenth-century Syrian version of *The Enchanted Prince* the listening Shahrayār is shown brooding over the hero's sufferings and comparing his own state with that of the prince. Unifying thematic devices such as the above seem absent from *Sindbād*.

But what the Voyages lack in sustained moral argument they make up in terms of structure. Each journey follows a cyclical pattern: **Baghdad** (prosperity) – voyage – storm – loss/isolation – perilous adventures – wealth regained – description of wonders and natural curiosities (a kind of narrative decrescendo on the voyage home) – return to the safety of Baghdad, where the hero forgets the hardships he endured. Structurally *Sindbād* calls to mind other lengthy *Alf layla* story ensembles such as *The Hunchback* and *The Barber's Six Brothers*: the tales contained in each collection constitute an example of a narrative cycle where the unity lacking at the thematic level is compensated for by a consistent formal patterning. Listeners thus know what sort of narrative entertainment to expect from each collection.

'Wondrous is this', exclaim the stranded survivors after Sindbād's men are attacked by yet another monster, 'each death is more horrible than the one before!' In the Voyages' parade of cannibals, ogres and snakes, the audience's chief pleasure is the frisson of hair-raising adventure.

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D. PINAULT

### **Sindbād, Book of**

The *Book of Sindbād*, or *Story of the Seven Viziers*, is an early and influential work of Arabic narrative prose (nothing to do with 'Sindbād, the sailor'). The gist of the story is as follows: A king entrusts the education of his son to the sage Sindbād, who, in order to avert a catastrophe presaged by the prince's horoscope, orders his pupil not to speak for seven days. But no sooner has the prince begun his period of silence than one of his father's wives attempts to seduce him and, failing in this, accuses him of dishonouring her. The silent prince is unable to defend himself, and his father sentences him to death. The king's seven ministers then try to delay the execution; each day a different minister appears before the king and tells him two stories, one illustrating the dangers of precipitous action, and another warning of the wiles of women. The queen, for her part, also tries to influence the king by means of stories. At the end of the seven days the prince speaks again and reveals the truth; the treacherous queen is banished (or in some versions killed).

The *Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm* (see *Fihrist* (Dodge), vol. 2, 716–17), in its list of 'Indian books' known to Muslims, mentions a 'great' and a 'small' *Book of Sindbād*, and elsewhere in the *Fihrist* the author includes the '*Book of Sindbād*' among the titles that **Abān al-Lāḥiqī** (d. c.200/815) 'transmitted' (*naqala*, here evidently meaning 'translated in verse') 'from the books of the Persians and others'. However, the oldest surviving versions of the story are the Syriac, preserved in a single incomplete manuscript published, together with a German rendering, by F. Baethgen (Leipzig, 1879), and the Greek translation of the aforementioned Syriac version, made towards the

end of the eleventh century by Michael Andreopoulos (critical edition by V. Jernstedt, Sankt-Peterburg, 1912). Some linguistic features of the Syriac text indicate that it is based on an Arabic original. The Greek, for its part, has an introduction mentioning 'Mousos the Persian' as the 'author' of the book, apparently meaning that a certain Mūsā was responsible for the Arabic translation (presumably from the Middle Persian) on which the extant Syriac version is based. These are followed by the neo-Persian *Sindbādh-nāma* of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Zahīrī al-Samarqandī from around the year 556/1161 (ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1948). This has a rather puzzling passage in its introduction which speaks of an earlier Persian translation made in 339/950–1 and says that before that time the book had existed 'in Pahlawī' (i.e. Middle Persian) and that 'no-one had translated it' (i.e. into neo-Persian). But does this really mean that Zahīrī's version derives from the Middle Persian without an Arabic intermediary? There is also a fairly close translation from Arabic into Old Spanish from the mid-thirteenth century (ed. J.E. Keller, Chapel Hill, 1953) and a much freer Hebrew version from about the same time (ed. M. Epstein, Philadelphia, 1967). There are numerous medieval and Renaissance retellings of the *Book of the Seven Sages* in European languages, but their precise relationship with the Oriental versions has not been established satisfactorily. The extant Arabic manuscripts are all late and much altered; the best hitherto available text in that language is the version in non-literary Arabic published by Ateş (as part of his mentioned edition of the Persian *Sindbādh-nāma*) from an Istanbul manuscript dated 940/1533–4. A corrupt version of the story of the seven viziers is included in the older printed editions of the *Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*).

The question of whether or not the *Book of Sindbād* is really of Indian origin has been hotly debated (notably, but much too narrowly, by the classicist Perry, who denies such an origin). There is no clear Indian parallel for the frame-story although this does have some striking similarities with the frame-story of the *Pañcatantra* (in a version not retained by the Near Eastern book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*). As for the sub-stories, some of these do occur in Indian collections (two are clearly taken from *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and thus probably do not come *directly* from an Indian source), but most have not been traced to

demonstrably early Indian books. The work also contains at least one quotation from an Indian book on state-craft, the *Cāṅkya-nīti-śāstra*. It would seem on the whole most likely that the *Book of Sindbād*, as such, was originally compiled in Sasanian Persia, in the Middle Persian language, and is not a translation of a pre-existing Sanskrit work, but that its author was familiar with Indian narrative and gnomic works, presumably in Middle Persian translations. Moreover, the strongly misogynist character of the book suggests that it originated in a Christian (rather than a Zoroastrian) environment.

Further reading

There is no up-to-date study of the interrelationship of the various versions by a competent orientalist; the best of the older studies is:

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See also:

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F. DE BLOIS

singers and musicians

As far as can be determined, there has always been a close connection between singing and poetry in Arabic culture. In the **Umayyad** and **'Abbāsid** periods, the best-documented before modern times, composers of songs for entertainment habitually set to music lines by recognized poets, not necessarily their contemporaries. Songs seldom had more than four lines of text, which might not be consecutive in the original poem; indeed on rare occasions composers combined lines from poems, sometimes even by different authors, modifying the rhyme-word and text where necessary.

All that can be reliably concluded from the sources for the pre-Islamic period is that entertainment music, performed by singing girls (*qayna*, pl. *qiyān*) often in taverns, existed alongside work songs and ceremonial music in Arabia. With the early Islamic conquests, which brought great wealth to the **Hijaz**, a leisure culture developed among members of the Arab aristocracy. Musicians came into contact with the Byzantine and Persian traditions, the latter in particular already highly evolved.

In the Umayyad period a Hijazi school of singing emerged and male performers are mentioned for the first time. Some of them had an ambiguous sexual status and almost all were freedmen (*mawālī*). The famous musicians of the period include Ibn Surayj, Ma'bad, Mālik, al-Gharīḍ, the *diva* Jamila and Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik's favourites Sallāma and Ḥabāba. Advances in technical proficiency and vocal artistry occurred, with songs often being accompanied either on the lute or the tambourine. Towards the end of the period the first attempt to collect and codify them was made.

It has been suggested that the Umayyad *ghazal* emerged as a product of this flourishing musical culture. But although poets and musicians appreciated each other's work, the arguments for singers having influenced the form, diction or choice of metre in the new poetry are not convincing. Composers reformed poems to suit the music (see above). No correlation can be established between musical rhythms and metres (see **prosody**) and the *ghazal*'s style is dictated in the first place by the subject matter. Poets and singers certainly co-operated, but without the one necessarily influencing the other.

The 'Abbāsid era saw the centre of musical life transferred from the Hijaz to Iraq; al-Mahdī was the first caliph to issue a general invitation to singers to attend the court. Persian influence, and perhaps also that of an indigenous Iraqi tradition of **Hīra** and **Kufa**, became stronger. The status of the musician improved somewhat, as court singers were expected to possess a level of culture enabling them to take part in salon conversation. The *qayna*, still very often a slave, had to be witty and well educated as well as beautiful and a good singer. A luxury object, she was a symbol of sophisticated, *zarīf* society (see *zarf*) and, if mercenary, could cause ravages among her admirers, as **al-Jāhīz** has recorded. Besides professional musicians amateurs appeared; the most socially eminent were the caliph al-Wāthiq and the prince **Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī**, but very many statesmen and administrators had a good knowledge of music.

Musical performance attained a high degree of professionalism, with the two schools of **Ishāq al-Mawṣilī** and **Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī** advocating a more conservative and technically demanding, and a more innovative and indulgent approach to the repertoire respect-

ively. Certain changes in fashion are documented, such as the popularity of the fast *mākhūri* rhythmic mode and the vogue for the *tunbūr* (long-necked lute). Instrumental music was limited to preludes and accompanying the singer, but the best instrumentalists, such as Maṣṣūr Zalzal, the lutenist, and Barṣawmā, the flautist, were much respected. Among the great singers of the period were Ibn Jāmi', Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, Mukhāriq, 'Amr ibn Bāna (who was the son of a *kātib*), 'Alluwayh and the prima donnas 'Arīb and Shāriya.

As in the Umayyad period, there is little evidence to support theories of musical fashion having influenced the development of poetry, and for the same reasons. The rare instances of a mediocre poet owing his standing to his regular co-operation with a famous singer-composer, like Ibrāhīm ibn Sayāba with Ibrāhīm and Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, are the exception, not the rule. If musicians turned to contemporary poetry for their songs – and some composers, such as Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, had a preference for older verse – this must be ascribed to a preference for texts produced in the same milieu in which they themselves were working, a milieu in which wine and love were perennial occasions for artistic inspiration.

As well as the collections of songs made by Ishāq al-Mawṣilī and others, the third/ninth century saw the appearance of the first theoretical work on music by the philosopher al-Kindī; he and later writers, of whom the most important is Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), treated tonality and the rhythmic cycles fundamental in Arabic music, incorporating aspects of Greek theory as well as indigenous Arabic concepts. An important book on the art of singing, by al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Kātib (?fourth/tenth century), has survived.

Another genre of writings on music which appears in the third/ninth century is that of the tracts condemning it on religious grounds; the first to do so was Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894). He and his successors regarded entertainment music, associated with wine-drinking, *qiyān*, homosexuals and love poetry, as reprehensible, although the orthodox Muslim attitude to other forms of music, for instance connected with ceremonies, was more permissive.

That condemnation of music does not seem to have been very effective can be gathered from references to musicians and singers in

later sources. Although there is nothing in the period after the fourth/tenth century to rival Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* for coverage of the world of song, entertainment music continued to be part of court life, as is shown, for instance, by the fact that a major theorist of the ninth/fifteenth century, 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaybī, was a singer at court in Baghdad and Samarkand. Nor is there any reason to believe that musical life declined after the fourth/tenth century, though hardly anything is known about the relationship between music and poetry. Even today famous singers in the Arab world sometimes turn to famous poets for their texts; the Egyptian Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb's performances of Aḥmad Shawqī's poems, and the Lebanese Fayrūz's of Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān's are only the most obvious examples.

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See also: music and poetry

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## sira literature

*Sira* (pl. *siyar*) means 'biography'. *Sirat al-awwalin* (see *Legends of the Elders*) were the histories of the ancients. The lives of the Persian kings were known to the Arabs as the *siyar al-mulūk*, and they probably influenced the Arab *sira* genre. Al-Naḍr ibn al-Hārith, who had lived for a long time at Hira, recounted the deeds of Rustam and Isfandyār to the Meccans of the Prophet's time. **Ibn al-Nadīm** listed in his *Fihrist* about thirty Arabic *siyar* known at his time (fourth/tenth century). *Al-sira* became the biography *par excellence* of the Prophet **Muḥammad** with *Kitāb al-sira wa-al-mubtada' wa-al-maghāzī* (*The Book of the Biography and the Beginning of the Campaigns*, one of the titles by which the work is known), by Muḥammad **Ibn Ishāq**, which has come down to us in the version (*riwāya*) of 'Abd al-Malik **Ibn Hishām**. The term does not appear with this meaning in the **Koran**, while in *ḥadīth* literature its plural form means 'military campaigns'. *Sira*, according to Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, is 'the written version (*tadwīn*) of the Prophet's vicissitudes in his *ghazawāt* and the recording in historical texts of Islamic *jihād's* early struggles'. In his intervention on the *Sirat Rasūl Allāh* Ibn Hishām selects passages and annotates the text. In a literary perspective the work represents a noteworthy example of Arabic historical prose; its prestige, however, is determined by the content. It incorporates many poems; much of the verse was composed by the Prophet's panegyrist, **Hassān ibn Thābit**, and the *Sira* ends with a long poem of lament by him. It is this poetical component, with its interpolations and errors of metre and **grammar**, that has been a cause of puzzlement from early times; recent studies suggest evaluating these poems in the perspective of oral poetry and its formulaic character. The *Sira's* content has been adopted in the works of historians and biographers like **al-Ṭabarī** and **Ibn Sa'd**, who also drew on other versions. There have been important commentaries on the work, e.g. *al-Rawḍ al-unuf* by al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185). Conspicuous among later compilations is the biography of the Prophet known as *al-Sira al-Shāmiyya* by Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 942/1535). A ramification of the *sira* genre is constituted by biographies of the Prophet's Companions, transmitters of traditions, scholars and Imāms, ending up in the *ṭabaqāt* ('classes') genre. There have also been bio-

ographies of single sultans, for example *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir* by **Ibn Shaddād** (d. 684/1285), a life of the Mamlūk Baybars.

*Siyar sha'biyya* is the definition of Arab folk romances, which were very popular in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods (see also **epic poetry**, *malāhim*). The first *siyar* were formed round an early nucleus of poems, around the eighth or ninth century. They are part of a narrative tradition comprising *ayyām al-'Arab* (**Battle Days**) *maghāzī* and *futūḥ*. The most important epic cycles recount the deeds of 'Antar, **Banū Hilāl**, **Zir Sālim**, **Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan**, **Dhāt al-Himma**, **al-Zāhir Baybars**, **Firūzshāh**, **Ḥamza al-Bahlawān**. *Qissa* is sometimes used as a synonym of *sira* but, like *dīwān*, it more usually refers to an episode or single story within the cycle. These *siyar* have assimilated local legends and motifs typical of fairy-tales. Their setting is that of the *samar*, or narration by poets and story-tellers during the evening vigil. The dialogues between characters are in verse, while the descriptions and the narrator's comments are generally in prose, prefaced by *qāla al-rāwī* ('the narrator said'). Contributions to this literature have come from anonymous poets, professional story-tellers, collectors (and inventors) of legends and heroic deeds. The different *siyar* have characteristics of their own. In some, e.g. the *Sirat Banī Hilāl*, the dynamic character of the narrative tradition is more marked; some, like the *Sirat al-Zir Sālim*, preserve more archaic connotations; in some the figure of an 'author' and a period may be glimpsed, as in the *Sirat al-Malik al-Zāhir* or the *Sirat Sayf*; the *Sirat 'Antar* shows more signs of intervention by obscure compilers with some claims to literary merit (the work is attributed to **al-Aṣma'ī**). The story-tellers active in coffeehouses, sometimes supported by a written text, and the *shu'arā'* ('poets' specializing in the Hilali deeds) are almost always professionals. This literature has been condemned by jurists, who discouraged scribes from copying it, and snubbed by men of letters because of the vernacular language that characterizes it.

The *siyar sha'biyya* are sited in a 'critical netherland of Middle Arabic and dialect non-literature' (B. Connelly). They are currently the object of new interest on the part of some Arab scholars, and also of reappraisal – coloured by a tinge of nationalism – in the perspectives of literature and folklore. It is **Fārūq Khūrshīd's** view that the *sira* represents

the *riwāya umm* (literally, 'the mother romance'), so constituting one of the original sources of Arab contemporary romances.

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See also: biography, medieval; epic poetry; *futūh*; Muḥammad the Prophet

### al-Sirāfī (c.290–368/ c.903–79)

Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Sirāfī was a jurist and grammarian. After studies of philology and all the religious disciplines (including the legal applications of mathematics and astronomy), he settled in Baghdad, where he was appointed *qāḍī* and taught Ḥanafī law and grammar. All of his works are on grammar, following the 'Basrian' school of *Sibawayhi*; he also wrote a history of the teaching tradition of the school. An extensive commentary (*sharḥ*) of the *Kitāb Sibawayh* is his main work, and the most prestigious commentary of the *Kitāb* ever written. Although

well versed in some of the mathematical sciences, he resented the intrusion of Aristotelian hermeneutic and methodology into contemporary grammar, and in a debate in the year 326/937–8, recounted by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, he refuted the claims of the Christian translator and commentator of Aristotelian logic, Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus: there is no universal logic (*manṭiq*) revealing absolute truth, but the only way to 'logical speech' (*nuṭq*) is through the grammar of a particular language.

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### *Sirat Abī Zayd* see Banū Hilal, romance of

### *Sirat 'Antar* see 'Antar, romance of

### *Sirat Banī Hllāl* see Banū Hilāl, romance of

### *Sirat Dhāt al-Himma* see Dhāt al-Himma, romance of

### *Sirat al-Zāhir Baybars* see Baybars, Romance of

### Sirr al-asrār

Many works falsely ascribed to Aristotle were translated into Arabic, but none enjoyed the popularity of the *Sirr al-asrār* (*Secret of Secrets*). This was supposedly translated by Yaḥyā ibn al-Bīṭriq (Eutychius) into Syriac and thence into Arabic in the tenth century CE. The work consists of a letter from Aristotle to



**Alexander the Great**, giving the latter advice on the principles of kingship and in that respect it falls into the pattern of the **Mirror for Princes** literary form so popular in both the Islamic and Christian medieval period. The reported correspondence deals with advice as to how the king should select his advisers, what he should eat, how he should comport himself, and so on, and this probably reflects the original Greek text. It seems that much additional material was added later, within the context of Islamic culture, since the full text resembles an encyclopaedia rather than an exchange of letters. In addition to moral and political advice there is a compilation of diverse ideas and speculations concerning astrology, physiognomy, alchemy, magic and medicine. This proved to be a potent mixture, and the work had an extensive reception not only in the Islamic world but in Europe as well: there are more than five hundred copies of Latin manuscripts of the text, as well as many translations into more than thirteen different languages. The work even had a significant influence upon Russian culture.

The work's varied content meant that it proved useful to readers with very diverse interests. So, for example, **Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī** could study with interest the medical parts, while Roger Bacon could reflect upon the Hermetic content. The provenance of the work is as mysterious as its name, and the story has it that it was only discovered by Eutychius by chance while searching for the *Politics* of Aristotle. Its popularity only went into decline with the general abeyance of medieval Aristotelianism in the early sixteenth century CE. In the Islamic world it was very widely studied, and many of the attributions to Greek thinkers come from this source. There is no doubt that much of the writing in Arabic on the wide range of subjects covered by the *Sirr al-asrār* was informed by that text. It served less as a source of definite doctrines that were to be accepted uncritically than of ideas with an eminent provenance which could be taken up, discussed, elaborated and developed. As such, it proved to be a useful aid to creative thought, as one might expect of a combination of the occult, political and natural sciences. It illustrates how, during the medieval period, the distinction between magic and science was far less rigid than later came to be the case. Although the *Sirr al-asrār* incorporates familiar literary forms, its status as a compilation of quite disparate elements made it a rather

unique document, whatever version one looks at, and it was treated with great respect for a long period of Islamic and European cultural history.

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*See also:* Alexander the Great; Aristotle

## al-Sizjī, Abū Ya'qūb *see* Abū Ya'qūb al-Sizjī

## Spain

Much like Christopher Columbus's accounts of the marvels and riches he encountered in the New World, the early Arab accounts of the Iberian Peninsula speak of a green and fertile land and of jewels and treasures dating back to the time of Solomon. The almost eight centuries of Arab-Islamic civilization in that land, called *Spania* or *Hispania* by the Romans, named al-Andalus by the Arabs, are still marked by the breathtaking Great Mosque of Córdoba, the Giralda in Seville, and the Alhambra in Granada, as well as countless other buildings. Al-Andalus is remembered for its great philosophers, such as **Ibn Rushd** (Averroës) and **Maimonides**, its mystics, its poets. If for many centuries al-Andalus was mainly the province of study for a handful of specialists, a curiosity for tourists to southern Spain, a figure of loss in the Arab world, in the past fifty years it has excited ever-increasing attention. In an idealization not unworthy of those early Arab geographers, al-Andalus has become – at least in the popular imagination represented by historical novels and coffee-table books – a symbol of multicultural harmony, an oasis of culture and refinement in

a medieval Europe still mired in superstition and ignorance.

Yet the question of cross-fertilization of cultures, of a *convivencia* of Muslims, Christians and Jews, is not merely a modern-day fashion. It is indeed the central issue in the history of al-Andalus, for its political fortunes rose and fell in relationship to its ability to minimize ethnic factionalism and forge a spirit of common enterprise. Even so, modern scholarship all too often projects current national and linguistic boundaries into the past, separating cultures and literatures that were deeply interwoven. Still, as in so many other times and places, the link between political stability and artistic creation is ambiguous and often paradoxical and, as we shall see, literary production in al-Andalus seems to flourish precisely at the moments of greatest chaos.

### Historical overview

In the late seventh and early eighth centuries CE the Visigothic rulers of the Iberian Peninsula were consumed with problems of succession, the tax burden on the population was high, and civil unrest and revolts were commonplace. Thus in 92/711, when the governor of North Africa, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, sent his lieutenant Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and a modest number of troops to the Peninsula, the Muslim forces encountered little resistance. In some places they were received as liberators and there was a good deal of popular collaboration in the overthrow of the Visigoths. Many Arabic historical accounts tell how Jewish communities – which had chafed under oppressive legal measures under the Visigoths, including a decree of forced conversion and severe restrictions on their economic activities – were especially helpful to the new rulers. By 97/716 Mūsā's forces had occupied most of the Peninsula, with the notable exception of the northwest. The period of expansion and consolidation finally came to a close in 114/732 when Charles Martel defeated the Arab forces in the Battle of Poitiers.

For the first few decades of Islamic rule, the government was under the control of the caliph in **Damascus**. The conflicts that attended the 'Abbāsīd overthrow of the Umayyad regime led to a decentralization of power, with the curious result that in 139/756, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Mu'āwiya, a young Umayyad prince who had fled the newly installed 'Abbāsīds, gathered enough local

support to declare himself amīr of al-Andalus. The Umayyad emirate, roughly one and a half centuries long, was marked by the growing Arabization and Islamization of the indigenous population as well as by outbreaks of ethnic conflict.

During his long reign (912–61), 'Abd al-Rahmān III quelled dissent and unified al-Andalus under his control, and won several decisive victories over the Christian kingdoms of León and Navarra. In 929, in a largely symbolic challenge to his rivals in **Baghdad** and Qayrawan, he declared himself caliph and Commander of the Faithful. The new caliph and his successor, al-Ḥakam II, were especially masterful in balancing power among the different ethnic and religious groups and fostered a period of unity and economic prosperity which came to an end less than a century later with the death of 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar in 1008. The caliphate crumbled in the quarter-century of chaos and civil war that followed. In 1031 it was abolished and al-Andalus fragmented into the Taifa (Ar. *ṭā'ifa*) kingdoms. These tiny states were in constant flux, boundaries shifting, principalities merging and breaking apart. Their rivalries allowed the Christian forces to the North to make military advances; the fall of Toledo in 1085 was an especially significant and symbolic loss. The weak and mortally threatened Taifa kings were forced to appeal several times to the Almoravids of North Africa for military support. Finally, their leader, Yūsuf ibn Tāshfin, enraged at the antagonism between the Andalusian leaders and at evidence that they were co-operating with the Christians, deposed them one by one and took control of al-Andalus in 1091.

Although there were several decades of prosperity under the Almoravids, the military pressure exerted by the Christian kingdoms continued to grow, and increasing numbers of *mozárabes* – Christians living under Islamic rule – moved to the North. The Almoravids faced increasing attack in North Africa as well, and their persecution of Šūfī leaders heightened dissatisfaction among the populace. The Almoravid regime finally fell to the Almohads in 1145, although it was not until 1173 that they established near-complete control over what remained of al-Andalus. Discord among the Christian kingdoms of Castile, León, Navarra and Portugal in the second half of the twelfth century stalled the advances of the first half and reached the point

that on occasion the Christian kingdoms would ally themselves with the Almohads against their rivals. Under Papal pressure Christian unity was established early in the thirteenth century and in 1212 the Almohads were dealt a decisive defeat by Alfonso VIII of Castile in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. The Christian surge continued. Córdoba fell in 1236; after a two-year siege, Seville fell in 1248.

Only the tiny principality of Granada was left. The weakness of the Almohads had allowed Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr to establish the independent kingdom centred around Granada. The Naṣrid state slowly diminished, surviving mainly through strategic alliances and with costly tribute paid alternately to its North African neighbours and the Christian kingdoms to the North. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel in 1479 brought about the union of Castile and Aragon that fuelled the final drive against the isolated Granadan kingdom. The capitulations signed by Muḥammad XII (Boabdil) in 1492 marked the end of al-Andalus.

### Literature

Literary historians struggle to provide a clear narrative of the establishment of a peculiarly Andalusian literary sensibility and identity. There can be little doubt that literary values in the early period of Muslim rule, lasting until the early tenth century, came from the East. During the emirate and well into the caliphate, almost all of the eminent jurists travelled to the East to complete their education. The arrival at court in Córdoba in 822 of the musician **Ziryāb** (d. 857) – whose innovations included adding a fifth string to the lute, and who was considered the arbiter of style in matters ranging from clothing to cuisine – is alternately interpreted as a sign of al-Andalus's continuing dependence on the East or as symbolic of a westward shift in trend-setting.

Some of the reluctance to break with eastern models is clearly related to the problem of regional identity in a culture of 'Arabiyya, that is to say, a culture that places a high value on the proper use of Arabic and the models of Arabic usage: the *Koran* and the pre-Islamic poets. Both Arabs and new converts (*muwalladūn*) shared what might be called an 'anxiety of influence' living in a place far west of the defining cultural centre. The Arabs were actually a small minority of the population –

most of the Berber soldiers who settled in al-Andalus were themselves recently, and imperfectly, Arabized – and the prevalence of intermarriage made it all the more important to be vigilant against corruption of the language. The new converts – many of whom faked an Arabic lineage – also sought to master a 'pure' Arabic. Jews and even Christians vied in their mastery of the language, as Alvarus, the ninth-century bishop of Córdoba, complains in his oft-quoted lament that the Christian youth were 'intoxicated with Arab elegance' (Watt and Cachia, 56). The Iraqi philologist **al-Qālī**, who arrived at court in Córdoba in 941, firmly established the study of **grammar** and lexicography there and presumably endeavoured to stamp out some of the Andalusian ill usage of the language. In the same century, the philologist al-Zubaydī al-Ishbīlī wrote a treatise on the grammatical errors and mispronunciation of Andalusian Arabic.

Perhaps tellingly, the works that most clearly celebrate Andalusian writers begin to appear as al-Andalus is receding as a military and political power, and are marked by the nostalgia of men who have personally borne some of that loss. **Ibn Bassām** (d. 542/1147) composed his *al-Dhakhira* (*The Treasury*), now an indispensable source of Hispano-Arabic writings, after fleeing his hometown of Santarem when it fell to Alfonso V. So too, **Ibn al-Khatīb's** (d. 776/1374) important collection of *muwashshahāt*, *Jaysh al-tawshih*, appeared after he was exiled to North Africa.

Although Arabic poetry had occupied a place of great importance since pre-Islamic times, literary prose was much slower to develop. It sprang from oratory and from the letters and documents written at court, and became more ornate and more concerned with stylistics. Writers competed in elegance of expression, often employing rhymed prose (*saj'*) and recondite vocabulary. **Artistic prose** eventually was cultivated for its own sake and writings were collected in books of *adab*, an equivocal term generally defined as spanning the breadth of knowledge of a cultured person, including religion, poetry, grammar, history, philosophy and the natural sciences.

As would be the case in the development of the Romance vernaculars, one of the crucial steps in the development of Arabic prose came in the form of a translation. 'Abd Allāh **Ibn al-Muqaffa's** (d. 139/756) *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, translated into Arabic from the Persian, was a

*Mirror for Princes* expressed through animal tales. Considered a model of elegance and widely circulated, it was translated into a number of languages in thirteenth-century al-Andalus: into Hebrew several times, into Castilian by King Alfonso *el sabio* and into Latin by John of Capua as the *Directorium Vitae Humanae*.

Another important development in Arabic prose composition was the establishment of the *maqāma* genre. **Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī** (d. 398/1007) and **al-Ḥarīrī** (d. 516/1122) both drew upon popular tales of tricksters and swindlers and fashioned them into a series of brief scenes linked by the same quick-witted rogue and gullible narrator.

Al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* were much admired and imitated in al-Andalus and attracted the attention of critics and scholars, including **Aḥmad al-Sharīshī** (d. 619/1222), whose *Sharḥ al-Maqāmāt* is still considered the most important of the commentaries. The *maqāma* form was also adopted by Jewish writers in Spain, most notably Judah ben Solomon al-Ḥarīzī (d. 622/1225) who translated al-Ḥarīrī's work into Hebrew. He later expressed regret that in having done so he had served to exalt the Arabic language, and then proceeded to compose his own Hebrew *maqāmāt*, which he called the *Tahkemoni*. By translating and imitating al-Ḥarīrī's model, al-Ḥarīzī circumvented the Andalusian Arabic *maqāma* tradition which had focused on the idea of elegant expression and largely abandoned the trickster motif. Several critics have suggested that the Hebrew *maqāma* may have played an important role in the emergence of the Spanish picaresque novel in the sixteenth-century.

The little Andalusī poetry that has survived from the eighth and ninth centuries is conventional in themes, images and verse patterns. While in the East great poets such as **Abū Nuwās**, **Abū Tammām**, **al-Buḥturī** and **al-Mutanabbī** had already been canonized, poetry in al-Andalus had yet to enter its golden age. Among the early notables were **Yayḥā al-Ghazāl** (d. 251/865), a dashing figure who served as 'Abd al-Raḥmān II's ambassador to Constantinople. His verse displays an unlaboured diction and a direct and intimate mode of address that seems to typify much Andalusian verse. **Ibn 'Abd Rabbih** (d. 328/940) is remembered for his *al-'Iqd al-farīd* (*The Unique Necklace*), a book of *adab* basically drawn from eastern sources. He wrote on diverse subjects, including many poems of

*mu'ārada* on eastern models; his lengthy historical *urjūza* which relates the caliph's military exploits is noteworthy due to the rarity of narrative poetry in Arabic. **Yusūf ibn Hārūn al-Ramādī** (d. 403/1013) also exhibits an almost conversational style, although at times he writes with grandiose phraseology. In an unsuccessful attempt to secure his release from prison, he wrote a book of poems describing every type of bird known to him. Unfortunately the work is now lost, so scholars can only speculate as to whether it is an early expression of the type of descriptive nature poetry that would become so important in al-Andalus, or simply an invocation of the well-established trope of bird as a symbol of freedom or perhaps both of these things. (See further *nature, in classical poetry*.)

One of the most celebrated Arabic poets of this time was **Ibn Hānī'** (d. 362/973), who was known as the *Mutanabbī* of the West. Primarily a panegyrist, his baroque and grandiloquent style was in keeping with the literary fashion of the East. He cultivated a reputation as a libertine and was forced to flee al-Andalus after being accused of heresy. **Ibn Darrāj al-Qaṣṭallī** (d. 421/1030) also employed a high rhetoric and difficult style, and it might be said that these two poets represent a counter to the current of direct and unlaboured expression seen among other Andalusian writers.

It was during the caliphal period that Jews began to occupy high posts in the government and play an active role in cultural life. In the preceding centuries Jews had undergone a sociolinguistic transformation, becoming urbanized and Arabized. **Ḥasday ben Shaprut** (c.915–970), a doctor and diplomat in the court of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, is not only testament to the growing influence of the Jewish community but was also instrumental in promoting a secular Hebrew literary culture modelled on that of the Arabs. He was patron to several poets, including **Dunash ben Labraṭ**, who began to experiment with writing poetry in Hebrew according to the Arabic system of quantitative metre. Although this innovation was initially quite controversial – critics claimed it distorted Hebrew syntax – it was quickly accepted and was ultimately adopted not only for secular poetry but for religious verse as well. **Dunash** is also said to be the first Hebrew poet to adopt both the structure and themes of the Arabic *qaṣīda*. He was followed by countless other poets who

joined Arabic poetic norms with Biblical Hebrew diction and imagery. It was precisely that fusion that fuelled what is known as the 'golden age' of Hebrew letters (950–1150) illuminated by figures such as Ibn Daud, Judah Halevi and **Moses Ibn Ezra**.

The political instability and constant intrigue during the *fitna* and the Taifa kingdoms often led to drastic changes of fortune for poets and scholars. However, the different courts competed with each other in attracting the finest poets and scholars in a manner not unlike that of the city-states of Renaissance Italy, the end result being a period of enormous literary quality and productivity.

As Seville grew more powerful, incorporating some of the neighbouring states, it became a scholarly and literary centre. The generosity of the 'Abbādī court attracted philosophers, astrologers, poets and other intellectuals. **Ibn 'Ammār** (d. 479/1086) rose from humble origins and by virtue of his charm and eloquence won the patronage and friendship of **al-Mu'tamid ibn 'Abbād** (1040–91), the poet-king of Seville. Yet he ultimately conspired against his benefactor, and was killed violently by the king's own hand. He writes mainly of his own experience, eschewing elaborate description and aestheticism. For his part **al-Mu'tamid** is cast as one of the great tragic figures of al-Andalus. Raised in an atmosphere of wealth, splendour and literary refinement, it was his lot to be deposed and banished to North Africa by Yūsuf ibn Tāshfīn, the Berber leader of the Almoravids in North Africa. Another element of romance in his life is the story of his love for I'timād, a humble girl who captured his attention by finishing a verse with which he had challenged his friend Ibn 'Ammār. His early poems celebrating a life of comfort, love and the pleasures of wine stand in opposition to the many later expressions of exile and bitter lament.

In addition to numerous writings on the Islamic sciences, **Ibn Ḥazm** (d. 456/1064) is remembered for his *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (*The Neck-ring of the Dove*), a systematic examination of love relationships, drawing on his own life experiences and those of his friends. Starting from the Neoplatonic idea that love is the union of souls divided by their corporality, he goes on to integrate the medical tradition of melancholia with certain Sūfī ideas. Ibn Ḥazm's book – written in prose punctuated by many poems – covers topics such as love at

first sight, the vicissitudes of love, proscribed practices and the benefits of sexual abstinence.

The verse of Ibn Ḥazm's close friend and fellow poet **Ibn Shuhayd** (d. 426/1035) reflects the political turbulence that swirled around him. It was probably during a period of exile in Málaga that he wrote his famous *Risālat al-tawābī' wa-al-zawābī'* (*The Treatise of Familiar Spirits and Demons*), in which the poet is visited by his inspiring *jinn* who takes him on a journey to meet the *jinn* of poets past and present. Ibn Shuhayd thus engages in a sort of poetic competition with many of them, and records his ideas on poetry, comments on great poets of the past, and snipes at many of his contemporaries. Many of his most moving poems were written as he reconsidered love and death, paralysed by a stroke and slowly dying at the age of 43.

The most famous of the Andalusī poets is the Córdoba **Ibn Zaydūn** (d. 463/1090) who, like Ibn Shuhayd, was born to a prominent family and suffered the upheavals of his times. The verses that he wrote about his brief and tragic affair with the princess **Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī** (d. 484/1091?) define his literary persona. Of these, the most acclaimed is his *nūniyya*, in which he retraces their story, merging many archetypes of Arabic poetry – the tenderness of their love now vanished, the rival, the poet's constancy in the face of the beloved's betrayal – with an almost fairy-tale fascination with the trappings of royalty. Ibn Zaydūn was called 'the Buḥturī of the West' and his poetry is marked by its musicality and craftsmanship. Wallāda was a poet in her own right who entertained poets and intellectuals and paid no heed to those who criticized her lack of modesty. Although few of her poems are extant, we have several poems of sharp-tongued satire directed at Ibn Zaydūn (which, needless to say, only adds to the pathos surrounding the spurned lover).

The caliphal and Taifa periods also witnessed important developments in popular poetry. Al-Andalus was the birthplace of the *muwashshah*, a strophic poetic form which achieved great popularity and went on to be embraced by Hebrew poets in al-Andalus, and Arab poets throughout the Islamic world. The *muwashshah* is characterized by its strophic form, which stands in contrast to the traditional monorhyme of the *qaṣīda*, and by its final strophe, the *kharja*, which employs non-classical Arabic diction, usually Andalusī colloquial. The discovery of some Hebrew and

Arabic *muwashshahāt* with varying amounts of Romance elements in their *kharjas* has excited a great deal of speculation about the origins of this form. The metre of these poems has also been the subject of much debate, with some critics arguing that it constitutes an extension of traditional Arabic prosody, while others promote the theory that it conforms to a Romance metrical system.

The Almoravids (1091–1145) introduced a fundamentalist regime that suppressed the secular arts. A few poets flourished, notably the great nature poet **Ibn Khafāja** (d. 533/1138). Turning away from the poems of love and pleasure of his youth, as he matured he sang of flowers, gardens, rivers and mountains. He is known for his linguistic dexterity and Jayyusi cites his originality of phraseology and syntax, his ability to transfer words from different semantic areas, and his use of verbal paradox among his many poetic gifts (see Jayyusi 1992, 367 ff.). His nephew, **Ibn al-Zaqqāq** (d. 529/1135), is also known as a nature poet. **Ibn 'Abdūn** (late fifth–sixth/eleventh–twelfth century) wrote a useful account of life in Seville. Several of the great writers of *muwashshahāt* and *zajals* flourished during this time, including the master *washshāh* **al-A'mā** of Tudela (d. 520/1126), **Ibn Baqī** (d. 545/1150–1), and the pre-eminent *zajalist* **Ibn Quzmān** (d. 555/1160). (See further *zajal*.)

Under the Almohads (1145–1223) there was a great revival of poetry. Notable figures include **al-Ruṣāfi** (Muḥammad ibn Ghālib), the converted Jew **Ibn Sahl** (d. 649/1251), who memorialized his conversion, first writing love-poems to an epebe named Moses and later to another called Muḥammad, and **Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭājannī** (d. 684/1285), whose work on the theory of poetry was also influential. A number of women poets arise at this time, most notably **Hafsa bint al-Ḥājj al-Rukūniyya** (d. 586/1191) of Granada. Most of her poems are dedicated to her lover, the poet Abū Ja'far ibn Sa'id, who was executed for his opposition to the Almohad regime. Rubiera Mata (1992, 110) has noted that in describing herself, using stock tropes of female beauty commonly used by male poets, she creates a startling effect. **Ibn Ṭufayl** (d. 581/1185) earned great fame with his **Hayy ibn Yaqzān** (*Alive, Son of Awake*), a philosophical allegory about the search for truth and knowledge. Through careful observation and logic, the hero, who grows up on

an uninhabited island, discovers the existence of God and his need for union with Him. In the second part of the book, Hayy is confronted with Asal, who teaches him human speech, then tells him of his religion, and they discover that they have reached the same conclusions through different paths. An important element in Ibn Ṭufayl's thought is the linking of philosophy with a mystical approach.

In a similar vein, the two Córdoba philosophers **Ibn Rushd** (Averroës) (d. 595/1198) and **Mūsā ibn Maymūn** (**Maimonides**) (d. 601/1204) endeavour to prove the compatibility between philosophy and revealed religion. Ibn Rushd, a student of Ibn Ṭufayl, fought to restore pure Aristotelianism in the face of earlier thinkers who had blended it with Neoplatonism, and he ardently defended speculative thought against its attackers. In his refutation of **al-Ghazzālī's** *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*), the *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (*The Incoherence of 'The Incoherence'*), he argued that both faith and reason are valid paths to truth. Although Averroës did not gain many followers among Muslims, and his work marks the end of Arabic Aristotelianism, his writings were influential among the Christian scholastics and Jewish thinkers.

In his famous *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn* (*Guide of the Perplexed*), Maimonides, the great Jewish doctor and theologian, attempts to point Jewish speculative thought more firmly towards Aristotelianism. Writing in **Judaeo-Arabic** (Arabic using Hebrew characters), and thoroughly influenced by **al-Fārābī** and other Islamic philosophers, he elaborates a system of elucidation to deal with the apparent anthropomorphism of the Hebrew Bible. The interpretation of the *Guide* is complicated by the author's declaration that he has designed his book to hide its true meaning from all but those who possess the wisdom not to be harmed by it.

Another towering figure of this era is the Sūfī mystic **Ibn al-'Arabī** (d. 638/1240) of Murcia, who not only composed an abundance of lengthy and difficult religious treatises – at least 400 can be attributed with certainty – but also both classical and popular poetry. Among his major works are *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (*Illuminations of Mecca*), an exhaustive exposition of Sūfī doctrine, and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (*Bezels of Wisdom*), a treatise on the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad. His book of poems

celebrating the love of Niẓām bint Makīn al-Dīn, the *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, aroused a furor and he was forced to write a commentary on it explicating its religious meaning. He is also known as the first mystical poet to write *muwashshahāt*, and was followed in the religious use of popular poetic forms by another Andalusian, 'Abd al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, whose *zajals* and *muwashshahāt* are still sung by Šūfis throughout the Arab world.

The polymath Lisān al-Dīn **Ibn al-Khaṭīb** (d. 776/1374) not only held high government posts but distinguished himself as a historian, philosopher, writer and poet. Although many of these texts have disappeared, we have titles for over sixty works including writings on medicine, Sufism and politics, as well as a history of the kingdom of Granada, an anthology of *muwashshahāt* including some of his own composition, a biographical dictionary of the literati of his time and his autobiography. The victim of political intrigues, accused of heresy by his former protégé turned rival, the poet **Ibn Zamrak** (d. 796/1393), he died strangled in prison. Although Ibn Zamrak's *dīwān* is lost, some of his poems have been preserved, and a number of them adorn the walls of the Alhambra. As court poet, most of his compositions were elegies, panegyrics and occasional poems.

As the Christian *Reconquista* continued its advances, culminating in the capitulation of the kingdom of Granada in 1492, many prominent and educated Muslims left the Peninsula. Even though the agreement signed between the Catholic Monarchs and Muḥammad XII (Boabdil) guaranteed Muslims the freedom to practise their religion and speak their language, the arrival in Granada of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros in 1499 marked the beginning of the end of those rights. The Inquisition burned Islamic books; insurrections followed. The punishment for the revolt was a 1503 decree ordering the Muslims of Granada to choose between conversion to Christianity or exile. With mosques and other centres of Arabic learning closed, the percentage of these *nuevos convertidos*, later known as Moriscos, literate in Arabic dwindled rapidly. The Moriscos attempted to preserve and pass on religious practice and doctrine, *hadīth*, Morisco legends and folklore, writing them in *aljāmīa* or *aljamiado* – that is, in Castilian or other Romance vernaculars using Arabic characters. Words, phrases and passages in Arabic are often intercalated, and at times the

*aljamiado* glosses the Arabic.

Most of the *aljamiado* texts that have survived are anonymous, and although the bulk of them deal with religious and legal matters, they also include prophecies (often of calamities to befall the Christians), poems, stories and short novels. Upon their expulsion from Spain in 1609, many Moriscos settled in North Africa. Yet, if they were rejected as not Spanish in Spain, they did not find ready acceptance among their fellow Muslims either. Perhaps once again as symbol of their separate Andalusī identity, the expelled Moriscos continued to write in Romance for a time, but using the Latin alphabet.

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L. ALVAREZ

**story-telling**

The antiquity of Arab story-telling is attested by the *Koran*, both in its condemnation of pagan entertainers and in its own reworking of *Jāhiliyya* legends and Biblical tales to construct moralizing narratives. The numerous genres of story-telling in the medieval era are catalogued in *Ibn al-Nadīm's* tenth-century *Fihrist*, which also notes the ways in which tales from Babylonian, Persian and Indian sources were absorbed by Arabic narrative collections. A glimpse is offered us in the

*Fihrist* of how one such collection was compiled: according to *Ibn al-Nadīm*, the 'Abbāsīd minister *Muḥammad al-Jahshiyārī* not only culled tales from manuscripts but also 'summoned to his presence the storytellers, from whom he obtained the best things about which they knew and which they did well'.

Throughout the medieval era the 'ulamā' viewed with suspicion the *quṣṣās* or professional story-tellers who performed before large audiences especially in urban mosques. The subject matter of the reciters' speeches was unobjectionable: Koranic verses – often those concerning final judgement, hellfire, and the need to prepare for the afterlife – would be quoted and then illustrated with vivid anecdotes about well-known figures from scripture. Religious authorities acknowledged the popularity of these performances but warned against their doctrinal weakness: many *quṣṣās* fabricated *ḥadīth*, falsely ascribing utterances to the Prophet; others, influenced by *Ṣūfī* mysticism, mingled wine poetry and love stories with their sermons on the quest for divine union. The educated feared the sway over mosque crowds held by the *quṣṣās*. To take one comic example: the thirteenth-century author *Ibn al-Jawzī* in his *Kitāb al-quṣṣās* tells what happened to the celebrated Koran scholar 'Amir al-Sha'bī when he interrupted a *qāṣṣ* during a Friday sermon to correct the speaker's faulty *ḥadīth* citation concerning the trumpet of Judgement Day. Encouraged by the reciter, the angry crowd pelted al-Sha'bī with shoes and slippers till he acknowledged the *qāṣṣ* as correct. *Ibn al-Jawzī* understood the political implications of such power over the masses. Himself a scholar and preacher in the employ of the 'Abbāsīd government in **Baghdad**, he refrained from condemning the *quṣṣās* as a class, drawing attention rather to the reciters' potential for educating the common people in their faith. But he insisted that each *qāṣṣ* meet certain standards of behaviour and education: sufficient training in orthodox Islamic law and scripture; moral integrity and the ability to resist the temptation to extract money from the audience; and the willingness to hold gatherings and preach only after being given permission by the government.

The public utterances recorded by *Ibn al-Jawzī* show the transition from *wa'z* (religious exhortation) to *qaṣaṣ* (narrative recitation/tale-telling) at the hands of popular reciters. His text illuminates the role played by the sermon genre in the history of Arab story-



telling. This transition can be further illustrated by al-Tha'labī's eleventh-century collection *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (*Tales of the Prophets*). Drawing on the oral legendary traditions surrounding Koranic figures, the author quotes actual verses from the Koran but then weaves around each an entire vividly executed narrative. Note for instance Koran 37:100–107, comprising the very terse scriptural reference to Abraham's near-sacrifice of his son. Al-Tha'labī cites these verses but also dramatizes the scene with a wealth of visual detail missing from the Koran: we are treated to a description of the boy weeping, 'tears flowing down his cheeks', yet bravely urging his father to strike and obey Allah's command; Abraham approaches, binds his son, and presses the knife against his neck, only to have the weapon struck from his hand by divine agency at the last possible moment. In this redaction al-Tha'labī has retained the Koranic theme of *islām* (faithful obedience) enunciated in the Abraham tale but has elaborated it in such a way as to construct a narrative that maximizes the audience's experience of pleasurable suspense.

The *qāṣṣ*'s technique – quoting Koranic verses and then building a prose narrative around these sentences, while dramatizing the narrative with as much visual detail as possible so as to hold the audience's attention – can be discerned in a number of pietistic tales that comprise part of the *Alf layla wa-layla*, the *Thousand and One* or *Arabian Nights*. One example is *The City of Brass*. The *Alf layla* redactor articulates his theme – God's deathless majesty contrasted with human evanescence, and our consequent need to prepare for the afterlife – through a series of exhortations (heavily influenced by Koranic phrasing) that proclaim the vanity of our attempts at constructing works of earthly splendour. The redactor merges these homilies with the story by presenting them as inscriptions carved on the walls of deserted palaces and encountered by the tale's protagonist, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr. Mūsā leads a party of treasure-hunters who cross the Sahara, encounter demons and magical statues, and face various trials that determine whether the travellers have taken to heart the admonitory inscriptions found in the lost cities. In such stories the sermon has been made an integral part of the tale of wonder. Thus works such as *The City of Brass* can be considered the descendant of the narrative sermons preached by the early mosque story-tellers.

Story-telling as an oral performance medium has survived in the Arab Near East from the medieval era on into the late twentieth century, notwithstanding competition from the widespread publication of novels and increased literacy, as well as the advent of radio and television (recall Najīb Mahfūz's *Midaq Alley*, set in Cairo during World War 2, where the cafe-owner Kirsha installs a radio and dismisses the aged story-teller who once entertained patrons with narrative recitations). In the period 1978–80 Ibrahim Muḥawi and Sharif Kanaana collected some two hundred tales from Palestinian story-tellers currently active in the Galilee, Gaza and the West Bank. Bridget Connelly has shown that adventures from the *sīra* of the *Banī Hilāl* are still recited today in Upper Egypt by wandering poets who travel from village to village, performing at *mūlids* (Muslim saints' festivals), weddings and circumcisions.

The importance of formulaic phrasing as an aid in public performance, attested by Parry and Lord with regard to Yugoslav folk singers, has also been demonstrated in Arab oral recitation. *Bedouin* poets of the Sinai and Negev recorded by Clinton Bailey employ verbal formulae and recurrent imagery in composing verses; and Muḥawi and Kanaana argue that reciters of Palestinian folktales rely on 'verbal mannerisms and language flourishes not used in ordinary conversation', as well as introductory prose formulae which alert the audience that it is entering an imaginative realm distinct from that of the everyday. According to Connelly, Egyptian listeners are keenly sensitive to the proper use of conventional phrasing in recitals of *Sirat Banī Hilāl*; any performer careless enough to hobble the story through the unfocused repetition of formulae which do not advance the narrative soon finds he has lost his audience.

Orality has left its mark on written forms of Arabic narrative literature, as can be seen in some *Alf layla* manuscripts, with their accumulation of repeated incidents, formulaic language phrased in *saḡf* (rhymed prose), and colloquial spelling and diction. But as Ruth Finnegan has demonstrated, written literature in turn has often influenced modes of oral performance. Edward Lane described the 'Anātireh' of nineteenth-century Cairo, coffeehouse reciters who read aloud the 'romance of *'Antar*' from texts of the epic on the evenings of religious festivals. Muḥawi and Kanaana tell of a contemporary Palestinian story-teller among the

reciters they interviewed who has read various printed editions of oral narrative collections such as the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* and the *Arabian Nights*, with the result that these texts 'have left an indelible mark on his work'. The boundary between oral and written literature is permeable; influence is mutual.

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D. PINAULT

*See also:* folklore; legends; oratory and sermons; popular literature

## strophic poetry

Most classical Arabic poems have a single rhyme throughout, whereas the number of lines varies from one poem to another. Besides this monorhyme poetry, strophic forms such as *muzdawij* (see *muzdawija*), *musammaṭ*, *muwashshah* and *zajal* are also found.

The *musammaṭ*, with a common rhyme in the last line (*simṭ*) of each stanza (e.g. *aaaa bbba ccca* or *aaaaa bbbba cccca*), dates from the end of the second/eighth century and is considered to be the precursor of the *muwashshah*. The latter form, which probably originated in Spain by the end of the third/ninth century, shows more intricate patterns, often with internal rhymes (rhyming schemes, e.g. *bbbaa cccaa dddaa* etc.; *cccab dddab eeeab*; *aa bbbaa cccaa dddaa*; or *abc dddabc*

*eeeabc fffabc*). Over 90 per cent of *muwashshahs* have five stanzas. The stanza, called *dawr* or *bayt*, consists of three or four *aghṣān* (sg. *ghuṣn*) and one line or more with common rhyme (*simṭ*, pl. *asmāṭ*; also *qufl*, pl. *aqfāl*). A *simṭ* line preceding the first stanza is called *maṭla'*. If such an opening line fails, the *muwashshah* is called *aqra'* ('bald'); otherwise it is *tāmm* ('complete'). The poem is in classical Arabic, but ends with a *kharja* (or *markaz*) which may contain non-classical material, or in some cases be in Romance. The metre of the *muwashshahāt* is probably based on an extended 'arūd system (see *prosody*), although other theories on its nature (stress-based, Romance scansion) have been advanced. The relationship between the *muwashshah* and Romance poetry is in debate. The *muwashshah* is used especially in singing. Among its subjects, comparable to those of classical poetry, the more lighter themes are especially favoured. *Zajal* also originated in Spain – probably by the end of the fifth/eleventh century – and employs non-classical Arabic. There are two types: (1) identical in everything with the *muwashshah* except for its vernacular language; (2) the *zajal* proper, which has as its basic form *aa bbba ccca ddda*, etc., that is to say, the *asmāṭ* do not reproduce the scheme of the whole *maṭla'*, but half of it only, and it has no *kharja*. The number of stanzas can be much higher than in the *muwashshah*. It has a greater variety of subjects including bohemian scenes in bawdy language. Its chief representative is **Ibn Quzmān** (d. 555/1160).

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W. STOETZER

*See also:* *muwashshah*; *zajal*

## al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn (728–71/1327–69–70)

Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī came from one of the great scholarly clans of the **Mamlūk** period and was the son of a well-known father, Tāqī al-Dīn

al-Subkī, noted for his expertise in *hadīth* and in the religious sciences generally. Tāj al-Dīn held various teaching posts and was for a while the chief *qāḍī* in **Damascus**. He was a keen Shāfi'i and among his thirty or more books is the *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, a collection of biographies of Shāfi'i jurists. He was an eyewitness of the Black Death and his *Risāla fī al-tā'ūn* places the epidemic in a religio-legal context and considers whether it is legitimate to flee a pestilence which God has ordained. Al-Subkī's treatise *Kitāb Mu'id al-ni'am* (*Book of the Restorer of Favours*) is a work on the necessity for good intentions and good working practices on the part of all ranks of society, from caliphs and sultans down to house painters, dressers and washers of the dead. In this treatise, among other things he warns manuscript copyists against reproducing works of entertainment. (No one would ever accuse al-Subkī of being entertaining.) Al-Subkī was a much-quoted defender of Šūfi in a period when their doctrines and practices were opposed by many. Like **Ibn Taymiyya** before him and **al-Suyūṭī** after him, al-Subkī had many clashes with the Mamlūk military authorities.

Text editions

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R. IRWIN

## Šūfi literature, poetry

Islamic mysticism in the sense of an endeavour to establish an intimate, emotional rapport with God, indeed a rapport predicated on love, is characterized quite naturally by a tendency to poetry. Already in the second/eighth century, during Šūfi gatherings devoted to the enjoyment of music and dance (*samā'*), conventional love poetry was recited by way of expressing the lover–mystic's relationship to the divine Beloved. But to begin with, such poetry was taken from the work of 'wordly' poets, e.g. **Abū Nuwās**. Actual mystical–ascetic poetry was composed during this period by **Abū al-'Atāhiya** (d. 748/825). Verses on mystical passionate love have been transmitted as the work of the female mystic **Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya** (d. 183/801), although the authenticity of their attribution is doubtful.

Alongside love poetry of a mystical dimension, there also appear the genres of didactic

mystical verse, as well as poetry of mystical meditation. However, the genre of mystical epic poetry as attested in Persian literature does not exist in Arabic.

Several famous personalities of the period of classical Sufism (third to fifth/ninth to eleventh centuries) were also poets. Examples that may be mentioned are Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860), the celebrated al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr **al-Hallāj** (d. 910/922) and **Abū Bakr al-Shibli** (d. 334/946). Their poetry is quoted in such Šūfi handbooks and biographical dictionaries as the *Ṭabaqāt al-šūfiyya* by **Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī** (d. 412/1021) and the *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* by **Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī** (d. 430/1038). Handbooks of this kind which especially cite poetry are the *Kitāb al-ta'arruf* by **Abū Bakr al-Kalabādhī** (probably d. 380/990), the *Kitāb al-luma'* by **Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj**, chapter 92 of which treats exclusively of poetry, and the *Risāla* by **al-Qushayrī**.

The most important mystical poets of the post-classical period of Sufism are **Ibn al-Fārid** (d. 632/1235) and **Ibn al-'Arabī** (d. 638/1240). The former ranks as the greatest mystical poet in the Arabic language. As well as a *dīwān*, Ibn al-'Arabī has left a collection of mystical love poems, the *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*.

In the later period of Sufism as in other fields of learning – e.g. medicine, philosophy and **grammar** – there arose a range of didactic poetry which presented the contents of Šūfi handbooks and the rule of Šūfi brotherhoods in versified form. An early example of this development is the *Rā'iyya* of **Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharīshī** (581–641/1185–1243), a didactic poem in the *ṭawīl* metre that presents in versified form the section of 'Umar **al-Suhrawardī's** *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* dealing with the relationship between the shaykh and the novice. As a representative of more recent Sufism, the *Alfiyyat al-taṣawwuf* by **Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī** (1099–1162/1688–1749) may be mentioned, a poem in the *rajaz* metre dealing with the whole of Sufism in 1,200 verses.

The poetry in later Sufism that glorifies the life and the cosmic role of the Prophet **Muḥammad** constitutes a special genre. The best-known example of the genre is the *Burda* of **al-Būṣiri** (608–94/1213–96). Similarly, in the later centuries, along with versified eulogies of the Prophet, there has been an increase in verse praising the saints, Šūfi shaykhs and founders of Šūfi brotherhoods.

Text edition

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B. RADTKE

## Šūfī literature, prose

Like mystics everywhere, the Šūfīs produced an extensive literature, of poetry and prose. Although in some instances the very categories 'poetry' and 'prose' prove to be ideal types, as the literature itself is so mixed, there is a basis for the distinction in the writings.

Šūfī prose literature in Arabic and other Islamic languages took many forms and may be classified and viewed in various ways. A useful classificatory scheme distinguishes between the following.

1. Šūfī literature that is formally parallel to standard genres of Islamic religious literatures, but which has a specifically Šūfī content and point of view. Some main literary types here are *tafsīr* (see **exegesis**, **Koranic**), collections of *ḥadīth*, theological treatises and *ṭabaqāt*-type literature (see **biography**, **medieval**). In each case, the literature more or less takes the form of its counterpart in the 'mainstream canon', while its contents and orientation in various ways represent Sufism. This does not mean that the entire contents of the work were necessarily Šūfī, for some overlap with the contents of the mainstream canon is clearly evident in many of these works. Such overlap was an indication of (a) the genuine, generally

deep integration of Sufism into the broader Islamic tradition; and (b) the conscious attempt by Šūfī writers to base their works not only on Šūfī sources but on general Islamic sources as well. This was in order to show specifically that the Šūfī enterprise was indeed rooted in Islam and, like the other Islamic spiritual and intellectual disciplines, was derived from the **Koran** and comprised many other mainstream literatures as well. Prominent examples of this genre are the Šūfī *tafsīr* *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* by Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and the well-known *Ṭabaqāt al-Šūfīyya* by al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021).

2. Šūfī literature that has a specific Šūfī form, content and style. The range of prose works here is wide. However, two types would seem to subsume much of the field: general treatises about Sufism for both Šūfīs and a wider audience; specialized treatises expressing the particular orientation, ideas or sectarian purpose of an individual Šūfī figure or a group. Works such as Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and *al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyya* would be examples of the specialized treatise. Less numerous and having more of a Šūfī 'consensual focus' in certain highly regarded books are the general treatises on Sufism. Five of these in particular attained canonical status within most Šūfī circles and in the general community: the *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-madhāhib ahl al-taṣawwuf* of al-Kalabādhī (d. 385/995); the *Kitāb al-Luma'* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), the oldest Šūfī compendium; *Qūt al-qulūb* of Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī (d. 386/996), the second oldest; *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya* of al-Qushayrī; *Kashf al-mahjūb* of al-Hujwīrī (d. 469/1076). These treatises served to educate and inform both the Šūfīs themselves and the larger community and its scholars about Sufism. The most important of them, the *Ta'arruf*, was highly influential and instrumental in achieving an accommodation between Sufism and orthodox Islam. Al-Kalabādhī's time was one of great tension between the two parties, and this great achievement was never subsequently to be broken. The *Ta'arruf* has five parts whose contents are typical of the general Šūfī treatise: discussion and description of Sufism, its name and provenance, and the great Muslims who were Šūfīs; the Šūfī

understanding of basic orthodox doctrines; a description of the Sūfī 'spiritual stations' (*maqāmāt*); an explanation of the standard Sūfī technical terms; miscellaneous aspects of Sufism, e.g. miracles.

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R.L. NETTLER

## Sufism

The etymology of the Arabic word *taṣawwuf* has been extensively debated; it is most likely that it originally referred to the ascetic practice of wearing garments of wool (*sūf*; hence Sūfī). Many early 'wearers of wool' were not mystics; and Sufism was only one of many manifestations of Islamic mysticism over the centuries. Its use to designate 'official' or 'mainstream' Sunnī mysticism seems to date from the late fifth/eleventh century, when the Sunnī Saljūqs, in particular, protected and encouraged this particular tendency.

The pre-history of Islamic mysticism is shrouded in obscurity. It is more than likely that, as Massignon suggested, it incorporated local non-Islamic (Gnostic, Manichaean, shamanistic) as well as Shī'ī elements in the course of its development (cf. Chabbi, 1977, 22). Later accounts both of the history of Sufism and of its doctrines – often uncritically accepted by scholars – represent a retrospective reconstruction of its development as continuous, linear and systematic, and trace its antecedents to the teachings and example of early ascetics like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and of semi-legendary figures like Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861). The reality is far more complex. The teachings of the Iraqi schools of Sufism, which developed in the late third/ninth century in the circles of al-Junayd (d. 298/910) in Baghdad and Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) in Basra, were exported to Khurasan in the fourth/tenth century by emigrants from Iraq and by such eastern writers as al-Kalabādhī (d. 381/990) and Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988). Sufism (like other Sunnī groups) was bitterly hostile to the local pietistic movement of the Karrāmiyya, founded by Ibn Karrām (d. 255/859), who propagated an activist and ostentatious asceticism and whose travelling preachers attracted many converts. In the rewriting of Sūfī history, such local traditions and figures as could not be recuper-

ated were expunged from the historical record. From the late fifth/eleventh century onwards, especially under Saljūq patronage but also under the later Ghaznavids, Sufism spread both westwards, to Egypt and, eventually, to North Africa and Spain, and eastwards to the Indian sub-continent.

It would be erroneous, even given the triumph of mainstream Sūfism, to speak of a unified body of Sūfī doctrine; the Sūfis themselves, maintaining that there are many roads to the one single Truth (*ḥaqīqa*), did not hesitate to travel down a multiplicity of such roads. For the Sūfī, the relationship – the ancient covenant – between God and man is based not merely on obedience but also on friendship: if obedience means following God's law (*shar'īa*), the follower of the Sūfī path (*ṭarīqa*) seeks to fill his heart with God through perpetual remembrance (*dhikr*) of His name, and to raise himself spiritually to a state of closeness to the Divine. The Sūfī is the 'Friend of God'.

Some scholars have distinguished between two main 'schools' or tendencies, those of 'sober' and of 'ecstatic' mysticism – reflected, for example, in the conflict between the 'sober' school of al-Junayd and the 'ecstatic' al-Hallāj, which led to the latter's execution in 309/922 – but this too is an oversimplification. At the heart of mainstream Sufism is an emphasis on individual piety and on upward spiritual progress, from repentance through self-purification to perfection and closeness to God; but these common features have been interpreted variously. Many Sūfī teachers exhort abandoning the material pleasures of this world in favor of pious poverty; others find no inherent conflict between an exalted spiritual state and the possession of material wealth. While chastity may be recommended, unlike Christian piety Sufism does not value celibacy. To follow the Sūfī *ṭarīqa* meant, usually, to choose a recognized teacher (though even this was not always a condition) and to follow his guidance. Endless tomes have been written on the 'stations' (*maqāmāt*) and 'states' (*aḥwāl*) of the path, and on Sūfī terminology in general, in an attempt to codify Sūfī doctrine; but Sūfī writings on such matters appear to be part of a didactic project aimed at the cultivation of an élite, to whom their circulation was largely confined. More public sessions of teaching, preaching, and *dhikr* (not always looked on with approval by the mainstream) attracted a

broader social spectrum, particularly urban merchants and artisans and rural peasantry. Neither élite nor popular Sufism should however be seen as an other-worldly movement focused on individual piety alone; Sufism was always closely linked to its particular political, religious and social milieu. Moreover, it was never a universalist spiritualizing movement, as is assumed by some modern scholars.

With the passage of time the relatively informal structures of Šūfī teaching and preaching were centred in more formal institutions. Most important of these was the Šūfī lodge, the *khānaqāh* or *ribāṭ*. Originally instituted by the Karrāmiyya as a meeting place and a hostel for travelling preachers, the first Šūfī programme for the building of a large number of such lodges was initiated by Abū Ishāq al-Kāzarūnī (d. 426/1035), who built 65 lodges in the villages of southern Iran. Such lodges spread under the Saljūqs as part of their programme of pious building activities. The second important institution was the formalizing of Šūfī 'brotherhoods', with specific programmes of instruction and rules of conduct, linked to specific (though often only putative) founders. The first such international brotherhood was established by the Šūfī *shaykh* and adviser to the caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 575–622/1180–1225) 'Umar al-Suhrawardī, from whom the Suhrawardiyya brotherhood takes its name. To such brotherhoods – organized along lines similar to those of the closely related *futuwwa* groups – the term *ṭarīqa* (formerly used only in the sense of 'path', or more generally of 'Šūfī way of life') came to be applied. Increasingly, Šūfis were grouped into brotherhoods whose masters traced their pedigree through a chain of masters or teachers (*silsila*) back to the Prophet. Membership in such groups did not imply exclusivity, as individuals might belong to more than one; and sub-brotherhoods constantly appeared as splits between the membership of a larger group occurred.

Some Šūfī groups – like that headed by Ibn Qasī, who established a small kingdom in southern Portugal which he ruled until assassinated in 525/1151 – were militant; others were pietistic and quietist. The involvement of Šūfis at court, where they acquired increasing influence, became marked following the Mongol invasions of the seventh/thirteenth century; 'Umar al-Suhrawardī is said to have advised the Šūfī Najm al-Dīn Dāya (d. 654/1256) to dedicate a book on Sufism to a ruler,

an unusual action necessitated by the present danger to Islam. Involvement with temporal rulers increased in subsequent centuries, under the Timūrīds, the Ottomans and the Mughal rulers of India.

The literary legacy of Sufism is both vast and varied, as Šūfī thought found expression not only in Arabic but in the vernaculars – especially Persian, Turkish, and the languages of South Asia – and in a wide variety of genres. Particularly noteworthy is the mystical poetry of such poets as **Ibn al-Fāriḍ** (d. 632/1235) and **Ibn al-'Arabi** (d. 638/1240), whose vibrant lyricism has been obscured by the heavy-handed approach of later commentators, who sought to reduce their use of a vocabulary rich in allegory and symbol to the level of a 'lexical code' expressive of points of Šūfī doctrine (a procedure followed by many more recent scholars).

Sufism is often described as a 'humanist' movement defending the value of the individual against non- (or even anti-) humanist 'orthodox' Islam. But while both specific individuals and specific movements often incurred criticism – or worse – from conservative religious scholars or from the governing powers, this was because their sometimes radical doctrines, or those of their practices which were suspected of being morally dubious (the Šūfī *samā'* or musical gathering; the practice of gazing on beautiful beardless youths (*al-naẓar bil-murd*); or some of the wilder rites of specific brotherhoods) were seen – especially in times of crisis – as threats to the stability of Islam or to that of the state as conducting to immoral conduct. Sufism, by and large, co-existed with external orthopraxy based on the *shar'īa*, as the inward-turning search for greater consciousness of God.

#### Further reading

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J.S. MEISAMI

### ***al-Sufūr* (1915–24)**

Egyptian literary weekly, founded by a group of young writers from the school of Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid and *al-Jarīda*, mouthpiece of the Umma Party. Among the leading editors were Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥaykal, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and the brothers Muṣṭafā and 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq – all figures with a European (mostly French) education, including a university degree. *Al-Sufūr* advocated complete unveiling (*sufūr shāmil*), the emancipation of women, and social and cultural reforms in the spirit of Qāsim Amīn; although lacking a clear-cut programme, it also played an important role in the field of literature, providing a forum for a great number of Egyptian writers, including Muḥammad and Maḥmūd Taymūr, Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī and others. In the 1920s the magazine began to lose influence and its role was assumed by *al-Fajr*, the mouthpiece of the so-called 'Modern School', with its more outspoken attack on traditional literary values.

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E.C.M. DE MOOR

### **al-Suhrawardī, 'Umar (539–632/1145–1234)**

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī was the nephew of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168) and the real founder of the Suhrawardiyya order (*ṭarīqa*). In the Baghdad of his time he was considered to be the Sūfī *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh*; as adviser to the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (r. 575–622/1180–1225), he conceived a policy for unifying the caliphate, the *futuwwa*, and Sufism under the aegis of the caliph. His primary importance for Arabic mystical literature lies in his authorship of the '*Awārif al-ma'ārif*', which Trimmingham characterizes as 'the medieval vade-mecum for spiritual direction',

asserting that this 'deservedly has been the most popular [Sūfī] guide' (1971, 29). This book increased the prestige and authority of the Suhrawardiyya *ṭarīqa*, and may well have been instrumental in encouraging the spread of the order. Baldick stresses that 'one difference between [this] manual and earlier ones is that it is not just a collection of different people's opinions, but an integrated programme orientated towards real practice' (1989, 75).

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I.R. NETTON

### **al-Suhrawardī, Yahyā ibn Ḥabash (549–87/1153–91)**

Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī was a mystical philosopher and proponent of the 'Illuminationist' (*ishrāqī*) school of thought, and thus often characterized by the epithet *Shaykh al-Ishrāq*; also called *al-Maqtūl*, 'the Murdered', and *al-Shahīd*, 'the Martyr'. A native of Suhraward (northern Iran), he travelled west to study religious law and philosophy at Marāgha (northern Azarbaijan) and Isfahan. Following his studies he spent some time travelling around Iran, visiting Sūfis and devoting himself to meditation and prayer; finally, after travelling through Anatolia and Syria, he settled at the court of al-Malik al-Zāhir, son of the Ayyūbid ruler Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) in Aleppo. Here he met with criticism and hostility on the part of more conservative religious scholars, and on the order of Saladin was arrested on charges of heresy; he died in prison, either murdered or deliberately starved to death.

In his writings al-Suhrawardī develops a motif already apparent in Ibn Sinā's later works: that of God as light. He viewed God as *Nūr al-Anwār*, 'Light of Lights', and developed an extremely complex hierarchy of lights, with the *Nūr al-Anwār* at its peak, which owed as much to the angelology of

Zoroastrianism as to Neoplatonic emanation theory (see **Platonism**). This doctrine was expounded in what is probably his most famous work, the *Hikmat al-Ishrāq* (*Wisdom of Illumination*). His philosophy has had a lasting influence on Islamic mysticism, especially in Iran (where it was built upon and systematized by the great **Shi'i** philosopher **Mullā Šadrā** of Shiraz, d. 1640), and his *Hikmat al-Ishrāq* was the subject of many commentaries.

As far as the general development of Arabic literature is concerned, al-Suhrawardī, together with **Ibn al-'Arabī**, represents a trend in Arabic mystical writing towards greater complexity. The *Hikmat al-Ishrāq* manifests an élitist style of writing which found admirers particularly among later Šūfīs and philosophers, but which, with its involved imagery of light and complex emanationist structure, can have appealed to few others. There is, however, another style of writing in the Suhrawardian corpus which is best exhibited in some of his short treatises, written both in Arabic and in Persian, which are more anecdotal in nature and allegorical in style (he is said to have been the first to introduce the allegorical tale into Persian).

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I. NETTON/J.S. MEISAMI

## sukhf

Obscenity and scatology, particularly as used in poetry for its shock value and humorous effect. As defined by the lexicographers, the term literally means 'light-mindedness, foolishness', but gradually developed in the direction of 'insensitivity, crudeness', and finally 'foul language'. As a literary term, it is particularly associated with the fourth/tenth-century Baghdadī poet **Ibn al-Hajjāj**, who went beyond the established conventions of licentious poetry (see *mujūn*) in his day to compose verses filled with explicit sexual and excremental references. Although often paired with *mujūn* in later literature, *sukhf* is distinguished from it in referring less to hedonistic behaviour offensive to the prudish than to gross language and comportment upsetting to the squeamish. In its aggressive scurrility, it has clear links back to the traditional use of obscenity in abuse poetry (see *hijā'*). Although never a major genre, *sukhf* does figure prominently in such works as **Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdi's Tale of Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghādādi**, the poetry of **Ibn al-Habbāriyya**, and the shadow plays of **Ibn Dāniyāl**.

#### Further reading

See *mujūn*.

E.K. ROWSON

## al-Sukkari

(212–75 or 290/827–88 or 903)

Abu Sa'īd al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkari was a philologist from Basra; Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī was one of his teachers. He is responsible for the redaction of an extraordinarily large quantity of Arabic poetry; lists of his works are given in **Ibn al-Nadīm's Fihrist** (ed. Flügel, 78, 157–9). He edited the *dīwāns* of numerous tribes, the most important to us (because the only one that is preserved and published) being that of the tribe of **Hudhayl**, as well as the *dīwāns* of more than fifty individual poets. They include many famous ones,



such as Imru' al-Qays, Zuhayr, al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī, al-A'shā, Labīd, Dhū al-Rumma, al-Farazdaq and Jarīr, and even some *muhdathūn* like Abū Nuwās and Abū Tammām. Other works and compilations by him include works on *luṣūs* ('robber-poets'), poetry by Jews, on wild animals (*al-Wuḥūsh*) and plants (*al-Nabāt*).

Further reading

*Fihrist* (Dodge), vol. 1, 345–50, and see index.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**al-Sulamī, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(325 or 333–412/937 or  
942–1021)**

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad ibn al-Husayn al-Sulamī was a Ṣūfī writer. Born in Nishapur, he received an education in *ḥadīth* studies, Shāfi'i jurisprudence and Sufism. After years of extensive travel, he settled in Nishapur in 368/977–8 and died there. He is the most important compiler and collector of information pertinent to classical Sufism. Of his more than 100 works, 30 or so have come down to us. His chief work on the history of Sufism is the *Ta'rikh al-ṣūfiyya*, which has only survived in the form of quotations in other authors. The extant *Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* is an extract from this work. Al-Sulamī's most important work is his **Koran** commentary, the *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr*, which attempts to gather together the whole of the earlier Ṣūfī tradition of commenting on the Koran. His numerous other smaller writings deal with individual aspects of Sufism, such as customs and practices.

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B. RADTKE

**al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn  
Yahyā (d. c.335/946)**

Courtier and man of letters from Baghdad. The poet Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī was his great-uncle. He was the *nadīm* of the caliphs al-Muktafī, al-Muqtadir and al-Rāḍī, having also been the tutor of the last-mentioned. He wrote many works on poetry and poets, among them a commentary (lost) on Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa*. He was chiefly interested, however, in 'modern' (*muhdath*) poets, producing several monographs on them (on Abū Tammām and others) as well as recensions of the poems of Abū Nuwās, Muslim ibn al-Walīd, al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Ṣanawbarī and others; sometimes with a commentary, as for the poetry of Abū Tammām. His *al-Awrāq* is basically an anthology of 'Abbāsīd poets (including members of the ruling dynasty). A book on viziers, *al-Wuzarā'*, is known only from quotations. Informative is his *Adab al-kuttāb*, on the art of writing (on its material aspects as well as the form and content of letters). He was one of the great chess masters of all time; a book on chess written by him has been preserved. He died in Basra.

Text editions

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G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**al-Ṣūlī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn  
al-'Abbās (c.176–243/c.792–857)**

Secretary and poet of the early 'Abbāsīd period, who lived primarily in Mesopotamia. Al-Ṣūlī, stemming from a family of Turkish origin, held different administrative posts under the caliphs between al-Ma'mūn (198–218/813–33) and al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61). He was a friend of several prominent persons, among them the **Mu'tazili** *qādī* Ibn Abī Du'ād (d. 240/854), the poet

Di'bil (d. c.244/859) and at some time also the secretary-poet Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 233/847), with whom his relationship however severely worsened (documented in several lampoons). As a *muḥdath* poet, he was held in high esteem. A *dīwān* of his poetry as it was worked out by his famous grand-nephew Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) was edited; it contains (without the appendix) 182 poems of an average length of only three lines. Major genres are encomia (on several caliphs and the vizier al-Faḍl ibn Sahl), love and wine poetry and blame poems (*mu'atabāt*).

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

**Sulṭān, Nūr al-Hudā** see **Shā'rāwī, Hudā**

**ṣu'lūk** see **ṣa'ālik**

## Sunnīs

Sunnīs are Muslims who hold that infallible guidance of the community ended with the death of the Prophet and that rulership over the community was rightfully exercised by those whom the community, represented by its most eminent leaders, elected. Sunnīs thus reject the Shi'ī belief that the Prophet had appointed his son-in-law and cousin, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, to be ruler after him and that infallible guidance continued to be available through 'Alī and his descendants, the rightful heads of the community. Unlike Shi'īs, Sunnīs permit a diversity of schools of law (four of which – the Mālikī, Ḥanafī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī – have become predominant) and give greater importance to fallible human opinion in the shaping of the law. Their *ḥadīth* collections preserve only sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad, whereas those of the Shi'īs include also sayings of the 'Alid Imāms. The Sunnīs are the more widespread geographically of the two sectarian communities.

B. WEISS

## Surūr, Najīb Muḥammad (1932–78)

Experimental Egyptian dramatist, director, actor and poet. He studied law at the College of Law and drama in Cairo and Moscow, working for several years in the Arabic section of Radio Moscow. Back in Cairo from 1964 onwards, he adopted Brechtian techniques, drawing on the Egyptian folk heritage and music, and using classical and modern poetry as source material for his colloquial plays, which describe the struggle of the ordinary Egyptian people for social justice against foreign and local forces of oppression. Four *dīwāns* of his poetry have also been published, and his short caustic articles about cultural life in Egypt have appeared as *Hākadhā qāl Juḥā*.

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P. C. SADGROVE

## Suwayd ibn Abī Kāhil (first/seventh century)

A *mukhaḍram* poet who traced his ancestry to the Yashkur and also, on occasion, to the Dhubyān. The tradition of his mother's marriages, first to a tribesman of the Dhubyān, who sired Suwayd, and then to Abū Kāhil of the Yashkur who acknowledged him as his son, is probably fictitious, being produced to account for conflicting ancestries within the poet's verse. He was imprisoned, possibly twice, by 'Amir ibn Mas'ūd al-Jumahī, during his governorship of Kufa (64–5/683–5), for his attacks on the Banū Shaybān. Little of his *dīwān* has survived save a few scattered fragments. His long *qaṣida* in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (no. 40) is composite, being two distinct odes joined together (40b begins with verse 45), although the medieval critics do not consider it as such. According to al-Aṣma'i, it was known in the *jāhiliyya* as *al-Yatīma*, the unique pearl. The two poems are distinctly *mukhaḍram* in style: 40a is a tribal vaunt cast in the structural mode of the traditional, pre-Islamic tripartite panegyric; 40b, a celebration of the poet's vituperative skills, is noteworthy for its literary borrowings from earlier poets.

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

### al-Suyūṭī (849–911/1445–1505)

Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī was born in Cairo and spent most of his life there. He was a Shāfi'i and taught the religious sciences. For a while he was *shaykh* of the Ṣūfī Baybarsiyya *Khānqāh* in Cairo and, despite quarrels with the Ṣūfīs there, he remained throughout his life an enthusiast for Sufism. He wrote copiously on an enormous number of subjects. He was the author of several history books (the *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, the *Tā'rikh al-khulafā'* and the *Husn al-muḥāḍara*), but as a historian he is of little interest save for the occasional expressions of personal prejudice. Al-Suyūṭī was a champion of the prerogatives of the caliph and of the '*ulamā'*', and (despite his Circassian mother) suspicious of irreligious innovations and encroachments of the Circassian Mamlūk regime.

More generally, al-Suyūṭī was the author of unoriginal works of vulgarization. He appears to have written over 500 works, although some of these were no more than pamphlets. He wrote on pyramids, women's fate in the after-life, congregations at the Friday prayers, the status of the Ethiopians, Koranic exegesis, the Temple of Jerusalem, philology, the reign of Qaytbay, *kunyas* (surnames), the mystical poetry of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, plagues, the legality of wearing garments trimmed with the fur of strangled squirrels, magical medicine, saints' birthday festivals, anatomy, his own quarrels with the Ṣūfīs of the Baybarsiyya, with other scholars, with the *mamlūks* and much, much more. His most solid work was probably in the field of *ḥadīth* studies. Al-Suyūṭī was not so much an original author as a compiler. At times this sort of activity verged on outright plagiarism and this was indeed what his contemporary al-Sakhāwī accused him of. Predictably, a *maqāma* on the difference between authorship and plagiarism features in the plenum of al-Suyūṭī's writings.

This vain and opinionated scholar was convinced that he was the man of his age, a *mujtahid*, one capable of delivering legal opinions based on his individual interpretation of the *Koran* and the sayings of the Prophet.

He also had ambitions to purify and revive Islam. His autobiography should be seen in this context. This book, *al-Taḥadduth bi-ni'mat Allāh*, lacks the charm of some other early Muslim autobiographies and mostly consists of a list of the teachers he had studied under as well as of the books he had published and *fatwās* (legal opinions) he had issued. Al-Suyūṭī, who was good at making enemies, spent part of his life in hiding and part of it in seclusion.

Quite a number of works of erotica have been ascribed to him but the attributions seem doubtful and none of the pornographic books are listed in his autobiography. Similarly, because of his prestige, al-Suyūṭī had various prophecies foisted on him concerning the downfall of the Mamlūk sultanate and the rise of the Ottomans. He may or may not also have compiled an anthology of comic stories about the sixth/twelfth-century soldier Qarāqush.

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R. IRWIN

### Syria, medieval

Syria included, within the confines of medieval *Bilād al-Shām*, Palestine, East Jordan, Lebanon and the northwestern parts of the Fertile Crescent. Its main towns, however,

were situated along a north-south axis: Aleppo, Ma'arra, Hama, Hims, **Damascus**. In addition, Ḥarrān (situated south of Urfa, Turkey) may be mentioned as the home of **Thābit ibn Qurra** and his school of translators. Qinnasrīn was the early Arab garrison (*miṣr*) and centre of North Syria, and the newly founded Ramla became capital of Palestine under the caliph Sulaymān. The relatively scanty Arab settlement in urban environments and the rule of the **Umayyads** (661–750) who held many residences all over Syria, were unfavourable to the emergence of a predominant cultural capital. Thus for example the poet laureate 'Adī ibn al-Riqā' and the state secretary and prose author 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Katīb followed their masters to various different places. Even more so, the **bedouin** poet 'Umayr al-Qutāmī (d. c.101/719–20) was engaged in tribal strife and kept aloof from residential life. After the heartland of Islam had moved east with the establishment of the 'Abbāsids, the poets **Abū Tammām** (d. 231/846) and **al-Buḥturī** (d. 289/897), both of Syrian origin, spent only the beginning of their careers with local patrons. The situation changed with the splendid court of Sayf al-Dawla (d. 356/966–7; see **Hamdānids**) at Aleppo, who patronized characters as different as the poet **al-Mutanabbī**, the philosopher **al-Farābī** and the preacher **Ibn Nubāta al-Khaṭīb**. **Al-Tha'ālībī** opens the chapter on Syrian poets of his geographically arranged collection with the circle of this patron (*Yatīmat al-Dahr*, vol. 1); his work was continued by 'Imād al-Dīn's *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr* which contains many data on Syrian poets and their verses.

Fragmentation and the conflicts between North Syria, dominated by Aleppo, and South Syria, which was mostly subject to the authority of **Cairo**, continued to mark Syrian history from the fourth/tenth century, and during the Crusades, until the seventh/thirteenth-century. Even after formal unification, the **Ayyūbid** al-Malik al-Zāhir (d. 613/1216) governed Aleppo independently, giving this city its medieval apogee. **Ibn al-Qiftī**, **Ibn Shaddād** and **Ibn al-'Adīm** flourished here at that time. At Hama (Ḥamāt) the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Muzaḥḥar (d. 587/1191; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, 7: 816–18) succeeded in establishing his lineage; **Abū al-Fidā'** was a descendant of his. Hama thus became a place of patronage to which al-Malik al-Manṣūr (d. 617/1221; *GAL* 1: 396), **Ibn Abī al-Dam** and the historian **Ibn Wāṣil** bear

witness. Besides these cities and that of **Damascus**, the federal system of Ayyūbid rule generated a number of small centres. The physician **Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a**, for example, served at Ṣarkhad, south of Damascus in the Ḥawrān.

Among medieval scholars and men of letters, travelling was quite usual, but the period of the **Crusades** was particularly unquiet, as may be exemplified by **Usāma ibn Munqidh**. Poets often had to lead an itinerant life, and **Ibn al-Qaysarānī** (d. 548/1154), as well as his rival **Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarābulusī** (d. 548/1153) and, later, **Shihāb al-Dīn al-Talla'farī** (d. 675/1277) spent their lives at different courts and cities of Syria. In contrast, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān owes its fame to **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** (d. 449/1053), the immortal poet and most famous member of a family of *littérateurs*. In the same town **Ibn Abī Ḥaṣīna** (d. 457/1065; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, 3: 686), the poet of the **Mirdāsids**, won his skills.

Like **Damascus**, Aleppo during the fourteenth century remained a fertile ground for scholarship and literature, as testified by **Ibn al-Wardī** (749/1349). Contributions to the encyclopaedic spirit of the time were also produced later by Aleppans like **Ibn al-Shihna** (d. 890/1485; *GAL* 2: 483). At this time, however, the most flourishing period of Arabic literature in Syria had already passed.

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S. LEDER

## Syria, modern

Syria's contribution to the *nahḍa* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was hindered by the oppressive conditions prevailing in the Ottoman Empire, of which Syria was then a part. This led to the emigration of many Syrian writers to **Egypt**, America and elsewhere. The French occupation of Syria between the two world wars was in its turn not conducive to the encouragement of Arabic literature. Nevertheless, considering the small size of its population (15 million in 1996), Syria has made a notable contribution to modern Arabic letters – a contribution that has increased significantly since World War 2.

Syrian poets are represented among Arabic writers of the neo-classical and Romantic tendencies, while the modernist school has been dominated by 'Alī Aḥmad Sa'īd (**Adūnīs**), whose work led to a revolution in the language of modern poetry, giving free play to an obscurity of expression and a sense of anguish and disorientation. Other prominent examples of modernism in poetry are the works of Salim Barakāt and Muḥammad al-Māghūt.

The pioneer of Syrian drama was Aḥmad Abū Khalil al-Qabbānī, who began to produce plays of his own in **Damascus** in the late 1870s. Among Syrian contributors to the genre of poetic drama was the poet 'Umar **Abū Risha** (with his *Rāyāt Dhī Qār*, 1936). It was not until 1959, however, when the government set up the National Theatre Company, that serious drama began to flourish in Syria, the outstanding contemporary Syrian dramatist being Sa'd Allāh **Wannūs**.

The beginnings of modern Syrian prose fiction can be traced to the pioneering works of Fransīs al-Marrāsh. In the period between the first and second world wars, names that stand out are those of Ma'rūf Aḥmad al-**Arna'ūt**, who was the first Syrian writer of historical novels, and Shakīb al-**Jābirī**, whose *Naham* (1937) is one of the landmarks in the development of modern fiction. Among prominent themes treated in the Syrian novel have been political reform (e.g. Ṣidqī Ismā'il, *al-'Uṣāh*, 1964), the clash of generations (e.g. Hānī al-**Rāhib**, *Sharkh fī ta'rīkh ṭawīl*, 1969)

the status of women (e.g. Kūlit Khūrī, *Ayyām ma'ah*, 1959), the suppression of dissent (e.g. Nabil Sulaymān, *al-Sijn*, n.d.) and present-day alienation from society (e.g. Jūrj Sālim, *Fī al-Manfā*, 1962) Walid **Ikhlašī**, *Aḥzān al-ramād*, 1975).

In the last forty years the short story has been the most significant genre in the literature of Syria – as 'Abd al-Salām al-'**Ujaylī** has put it, the short story has replaced the *qaṣīda*. The early stages of its maturity are represented by the Romantic tendency of such writers as Ulfat 'Umar al-**Idībī** and Muẓaffar Sulṭān (b. 1913), and above all by 'Abd al-Salām al-'**Ujaylī**, who, apart from his short stories, has written novels, essays, travel books and even *maqāmāt*.

In the 1950s and 1960s the movement of socialist realism was at its height, and in Syria was prominently represented by the members of the Rābiḥat al-Kuttāb al-Sūriyyīn. The secretary of this association was Sa'īd al-Ḥurāniyya (b. 1929), one of the leading Syrian short-story writers of the realistic school.

The 1960s and 1970s saw a flowering of creativity in the short story, with writers such as the surrealist Zakariyyā **Tāmir**, whose poetic imagination appears in his flights of fancy and excursions into the absurd, Kūlit Khūrī, a surrealist feminist writer, and Walid **Ikhlašī**, whose stories extend from animal fables to works of a modernist type which start from a basic refusal to accept existing values. Among the outstanding names is that of Jūrj Sālim, who uses fantasy and the bizarre to probe the basic questions of existence, and the best of whose stories rise above a Syrian or Arab horizon, and have a universal appeal.

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M. J. L. YOUNG

## Syriac literature

The literary tradition expressed in Syriac, a

dialect of Aramaic which emerged as a distinct language during the third century CE and became the liturgical tongue of the Jacobite and Nestorian churches. By the sixth century CE, Syriac literature, heavily influenced by Greek models and vocabulary, was fully developed in many genres, including not only such specifically religious fields as Biblical exegesis and homiletics, but also poetry, **grammar**, history, philosophy, medicine and the sciences. The great literary centres were the patriarchal libraries, and also those of leading monasteries throughout Syria, Iraq, southern Asia Minor and Persia. Books were readily available for visiting monks to study, and were often loaned to other monasteries for recopying.

There is some evidence of a direct Syriac influence on Arabic literature. Muslim authors occasionally refer to use of a Syriac book, but always via translation. Syriac-speaking Christian scholars, however, needed to know Arabic in order to deal with the new imperial order, and by the ninth century CE the general spread of Arabic was encouraging the growth of a Christian Arabic literature – based in part on Syriac foundations – which revealed to Muslims the extent and breadth of Syriac learning. The works of such historians as **Agapius** (fl. mid-fourth/tenth century) and **Eutychius** (d. 328/940), for example, were appreciated and used by Muslim historians who thereby gained access to Syriac sources underlying these works.

Far more important, however, was the role of Syriac literature as an intermediary between other literary traditions and that of Islam. Christian missions (especially Nestorian) were well established in the Far East, and a broad

range of Indian and Persian texts were available in early Islamic Iraq in Syriac translation; numerous Indian literary and medical works that were to be influential on their later Arabic counterparts, for example, came from Sanskrit and Pahlavi to Arabic via Syriac.

Even greater was the impact of Syriac as a mediator of the Greek heritage to Islamic culture. During the translation movement of the third/ninth century, associated with the name of **Hunayn ibn Ishāq** (d. 260/873), almost all of what had survived of Greek medical and philosophical literature was translated into Arabic either through Syriac, or by eastern Christian translators, or using codices from the network of Christian monasteries. Similar influences can also be traced in grammar, and in such literary types as the dispute essay or poem (often encountered in *adab*) and the question-and-answer essay (frequently deployed in early Islamic theology).

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L. I. CONRAD

*See also:* Christian Arabic literature; Greek literature; translation, medieval

# T

## Ta'abbata Šarran (first half of sixth century?)

Pre-Islamic poet. Thābit ibn Jābir, whose nickname ('He took evil under his arm') is explained in several anecdotes, is one of the 'outcast poets' (*ṣa'ālik*). The stories or legends about him may be found in **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's** *al-Aghānī*. Like his friend **al-Shanfarā**, on whom he wrote an elegy, he is particularly famous for one poem that is sometimes said to be a later forgery by **Khalaf al-Aḥmar**. This poem, a short *lāmiyya* (twenty-six lines) in the rare *madīd* metre, sometimes called his 'Song of Revenge', is found in **Abū Tammām's** *Ḥamāsa*. In Europe its fame was secured by renderings by Goethe and Rückert.

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**ṭabaqāt** see **biography, medieval**

## al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (c.224–314/839–923)

Al-Ṭabarī was a pre-eminent historian, jurist and commentator on the **Koran** during the early 'Abbāsīd period. Al-Ṭabarī was born in Āmul, a major city of the Caspian province of Ṭabaristān, to an affluent landowning family of uncertain ethnic origin. After completing his primary education, he travelled for further studies to **Rayy** and other cities in **Iraq**, **Syria**, **Palestine** and **Egypt** before finally settling in Baghdad where he remained until his death.

In the words of al-Nahrawānī as related by **Ibn al-Nadīm**, al-Ṭabarī became 'the sage of his time, the leader of his period, and the jurist of his age'. Among the many scholarly books on which this reputation was built, one of the most important was certainly the *Jāmi' al-bayān*, more commonly known simply as the *Tafsīr*, a voluminous commentary on the Koran. Utilizing a methodology perfected by al-Ṭabarī, it analyses the Koran phrase by phrase, generally beginning with a philological explanation of the verse followed by a seriatim listing of all the traditions by various authorities commenting on the text which al-Ṭabarī had been able to collect and compile. The traditions are often contradictory, but al-Ṭabarī typically refrains from discriminating among them; insofar as he injects his own view, it is usually to suggest ways to reconcile the differences. Although somewhat uncritical, the inclusion of such a variety of material helped to establish the opinion of al-Ṭabarī as one of the most judicious and reliable transmitters of religious traditions.

Al-Ṭabarī's fame as a historian derived from his *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* (*The History of the Prophets and Kings*), a voluminous chronicle of history from creation to 302/915. Approximately a third of the text, arranged topically, deals with the pre-Islamic history of the Middle East, focusing on Judaeo-Christian figures, the historical and

legendary rulers of Iran, and the life of **Muḥammad**. The remainder is a strictly annalistic account of the history of the Islamic world. The entries for each Hijrī year typically include descriptions of significant political events, appointments to government offices, obituary notices and various miscellanea such as reports of natural disasters, etc. Each discrete narrative is usually prefaced by a list of the authorities on whose report it is based. The text often seems disjointed and difficult to follow because of Ṭabari's preference for giving multiple reports about the same event and, in some cases, dividing the narrative into sections for events that spanned more than one year. Nonetheless, al-Ṭabari's prestige as a jurist and religious scholar, his meticulousness in naming his sources, his lack of any obvious biases in the treatment of sensitive issues and the massive comprehensiveness of his work helped to establish the *History* as the most important and the most trustworthy product of early Muslim historiography.

The very fact that al-Ṭabari's *History* bears such a stamp of orthodoxy and authority requires that it be evaluated with the degree of scepticism normally reserved for such works. Certainly, the extent to which it was a product of its times, reflecting al-Ṭabari's own social background and political affinities, is a subject that needs investigation. Al-Ṭabari's reliability in the use of his sources and the accuracy of extant versions of the text are also open questions. There are, for example, indications that the text of the *History* itself has been abridged or modified, as noted by Ibn al-Nadīm and evidenced by allusions to events as if they should be familiar when they are not found described elsewhere in the *History*. Many of the authorities that al-Ṭabari names cannot be identified; some passages really seem to be taken from unnamed intermediary sources rather than the original cited by al-Ṭabari. Not infrequently, as H. Keller first pointed out (in his edition of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr; Leipzig, 1908), there are significant differences between passages that al-Ṭabari ascribes to a particular source and the parallel versions found in other works. These difficulties notwithstanding, Ṭabari's *History* remains the single most important source of information about the classical Islamic world.

#### Text editions

Al-Ṭabari's *Jāmi' al-bayān* is most readily available

in the frequently reprinted Bulaq edition of 1903 and a still incomplete scholarly edition by Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Shākir (Cairo, 1955–69).

An abridged English translation of the work is under way with the appearance of J. Cooper, *The Commentary on the Qur'ān by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabari*, vol. 1, Oxford (1987), which also provides a useful introduction to the text.

The *Ta'rikh* is available in two published versions, one prepared by a committee of Orientalists under the direction of M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879–1901) and a slightly revised edition by Muḥammad Abu al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1960–9). Neither should be regarded as definitive, and a re-edition is much to be desired.

The whole of the text is now appearing in an English translation of thirty-eight volumes under the general editorship of Ehsan Yar-Shater.

Virtually everything to be known about al-Ṭabari's life and work may be found summarized in the introduction to the English translation by Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabari*, vol. 1: *General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood*, Albany (1989).

E.L. DANIEL

*See also:* exegesis, Koranic; historical literature

***taḍmīn* see prosody; rhetorical figures**

***taf'īla* see free verse; prosody.**

***tafsīr* see exegesis, Koranic**

**al-Taftazānī (d. between 791/1389 and 797/1395)**

Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn 'Umar al-Taftazānī was an eminent scholar who flourished in Samarkand during the reign of Tīmūr and is especially noted for his **commentaries** on earlier works in the fields of logic, **rhetoric**, theology and jurisprudence. Al-Taftazānī lived at a time when scholarly writing largely took the form of such commentaries, and his commentaries in particular were to be studied in subsequent centuries in *madrasas* throughout the Islamic world. Special mention should be made of his two commentaries on **al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī's** *Talkhiṣ al-Miftāh*, a work on rhetoric, a longer commentary entitled *al-Muṭawwal* and a shorter commentary on the same work, *al-Mukhtaṣar*. These were widely



accepted as the primary authoritative texts for the advanced study of rhetoric.

**Text editions**

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B. WEISS

**Taghlib see tribes**

**Ṭāhā, 'Alī Maḥmūd (1902–49)**

Egyptian Romantic poet. Born in Mansura, Ṭāhā's professional formation (like that of **Abū Shādī** and **Ibrāhīm Nājī**) was non-literary, graduating as he did as an engineer in 1924. A member of the **Apollo Group**, his reputation was probably more widespread than any other in the inter-war period. He provided the most complete model of the bohemian avant-garde Romantic poet of the 1930s and 1940s, and it was this image that contributed to his great reputation. He had a lively enthusiasm for European culture and society, and his travels to Venice, Lake Como, Zurich and the Rhine are evoked fully both in his poems and prose accounts. He was attracted to innovation and experimentation: *Arwāḥ wa-ashbāḥ* (1942) is a poetic drama based on episodes from Greek legend and the Old Testament, while *Ughniyat al-riyāḥ al-arba'* (1943) is a similar work, sections of which are designed to be sung, rather like the librettos written by **Abū Shādī**.

Ṭāhā's best-known collection of verse, *al-Mallāḥ al-tā'ih* (1934), contains some of the finest examples of his work. His hallmarks are introspective, Romantic malaise, atmospheres of pained bewilderment and perplexity and a strong sense of alienation from the majority of society. These qualities alone could well have been an unappealing combination, but Ṭāhā adds to them constant undertones of rebellion against prevailing norms and a vibrant sensuality. His language, although it cultivates the vague and the evocative rather than the concrete and the explicit, has remarkable musical qualities. Taken all together, these features of his work along with his personal example gained him a cult status. His popularity was enhanced by the fact that a number of his poems were set to music and reached audi-

ences well beyond Egypt. His first collection was followed by *Layālī al-mallāḥ al-tā'ih* (1940), *Zahr wa-khamr* (1943) and *al-Shawq al-'ā'id* (1945). His death at the relatively early age of 47 helped to underline his image as the most rebellious of the Egyptian Romantics.

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R.C. OSTLE

**al-Tahānawī (d. after 1158/1745)**

Muḥammad A'lā ibn 'Alī al-Tahānawī was an Indo-Muslim Ḥanafī scholar of whose life little is known except that he composed in **India** in 1158/1745 a useful dictionary of technical terms of all the branches of the Arabic religious and literary sciences, the *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*. It has been frequently quoted in Western Orientalist scholarship on the basis of the 1854–62 Bibliotheca Indica edition, *A Dictionary of the Technical Terms Used in the Sciences of the Musalmans*.

C.E. BOSWORTH

**Ṭāhir, Bahā' (1935– )**

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer, also known for his work as a drama and television producer and critic. His first collection of short stories, *al-Khuṭūba*, appeared in 1972. Many of the stories are placed in realistic settings and depict the state or development of human relationships in careful but terse detail; events occur, conversations are recorded, yet there is little concern with explorations of causality. During the 1980s his output increased considerably, including two novels, *Sharq al-nakhl* (1985) and *Qālat ḍuḥan* (1986), and two short-story collections, *Bi-al-amsī ḥalāmtu bik* (1980) and *Anā al-malik ji'tu* (1987). Since 1981 Ṭāhir has resided in Geneva where he works for the United Nations.

**Further reading**

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R. ALLEN

## Tāhirids

A powerful family of provincial governors and other office holders, prominent in both political and cultural life in Iraq and Iran throughout the third/ninth century. They were of Iranian stock, but became early clients of the Arab tribe of Khuzā'a. Their rise to power began with Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, a general of the caliph al-Ma'mūn, who directed the latter's successful rebellion against his brother al-Amin, taking Baghdad in 198/813. Rewarded first with the governorship of Syria and the upper Tigris–Euphrates region of al-Jazīra, he was subsequently made head of the police in Baghdad and given control of the rich revenues of southern Iraq, and then in 205/821 was appointed governor of all the eastern provinces of the empire. He died a year later, but his descendants continued to hold both the governorship of Khurasan and that of Baghdad virtually uninterruptedly for a century. The most prominent members of the family after Tāhir were his son 'Abd Allāh (d. 230/844), governor of al-Jazīra, of Egypt, and then of Khurasan for fifteen years, and 'Abd Allāh's son 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 300/913), who pursued his career entirely in Iraq, serving as governor there several times.

Despite their Iranian origins, and a putative genealogy linking them to the hero Rustam, the Tāhirids exhibited little sympathy for the *Shu'ūbiyya* movement, and were major proponents of Arabic letters. Both Tāhir and 'Abd Allāh's epistles were collected as exemplars of fine style. Particularly celebrated were Tāhir's letter to al-Ma'mūn after his conquest of Baghdad and the murder of al-Amin, and his letter of advice to his son 'Abd Allāh upon the latter's appointment to the governorship of al-Jazīra, an early example of the genre of *Mirrors for Princes*; both are extant in later sources. *Ibn 'Abd Rabbih* also preserves samples of both men's oratory. 'Abd Allāh was, moreover, an accomplished poet and musician, as was his son 'Ubayd Allāh; the latter's lost works include not only a poetic *diwān* and works on prose style and on music, but also his correspondence with his good friend *Ibn al-Mu'tazz*. Another member of the family, Maṣū' ibn Ṭalḥa ibn Tāhir, who served as governor of Marw and Khwārazm, wrote on philosophy and music and was known as 'the Sage of the Tāhirids'.

The Tāhirids were also important as patrons of other writers and poets. Tāhir appointed the

grammarian *al-Farrā'* as tutor to his sons, and the scholar *Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī* was patronized in Nishapur by 'Abd Allāh, to whom he dedicated two of his works. 'Abd Allāh also encouraged *al-Farrā'*'s pupil *Tha'lab*, and 'Ubayd Allāh organized debates between *Tha'lab* and his rival *al-Mubarrad* in Baghdad. Some famous poets had more complex relations with the Tāhirids. *Di'bil* was notorious for his hostility to the family; *Abū Tammām*, after enjoying support in Baghdad from Tāhir's nephew *Ishāq al-Muṣ'abī*, accepted an invitation to Nishapur from 'Abd Allāh, but was unhappy and did not linger there; *Ibn al-Rūmī* enjoyed on the whole better relations with 'Ubayd Allāh, for whom he composed numerous panegyrics.

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E.K. ROWSON

## al-Taḥṭāwī, Rifā'a Rafī' (1801–71)

Egyptian educator, official, journalist, translator and prose writer. Together with Muḥammad 'Abduh, al-Taḥṭāwī was one of Egypt's two most prominent nineteenth-century '*ulamā'*'. Sent by Muḥammad 'Alī to Paris in 1826 as leader of Egypt's first educational mission to France, he drank deeply and appreciatively of French and European culture, returning to Egypt in 1831 to begin a distinguished career in public service. Under Muḥammad 'Alī he headed the School of Languages and the Translation Department, whose functions were both to teach European languages to successive cadres of Egyptian students, and to help translate major European literary works into Arabic. He was also for a time editor of Egypt's first Arabic-language newspaper, *al-Waḳā'i' al-Miṣriyya*. Al-Taḥṭāwī's career suffered some setbacks during the reigns of 'Abbās I and Sa'īd, but the more Europe-oriented Ismā'il made him director of no less than five major government agencies: the War School, the Translation

Department, the School of Accounting, the School of Civil Engineering, and the Buildings Department.

Historians of Egypt are generally agreed that al-Taḥṭāwī's main service to his country was as an educator. He shaped the ideas of several generations of Egyptian students, and he and his student disciples spent most of their lives editing and translating into Arabic European classics of history, biography, geography, science and engineering. In addition, al-Taḥṭāwī himself produced four major literary works: *Anwār Tawfīq al-jalīl fī akhbār Miṣr wa-tawthīq Banī Ismā'īl* (1868–9), on Pharaonic Egypt; *Nihāyat al-ijāz fī sirat sākin al-Ḥijāz* (published posthumously in 1874), on the Prophet Muḥammad and early Islam; *Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz fī talkhīṣ Bārīz* (first edition, 1869), on his trip to France; and *Kitāb manāhij al-albāb al-Miṣriyya fī mabāhij al-ādāb al-'aṣriyya* (first edition, 1869), on nineteenth-century Egypt and especially the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī. The most sophisticated and fascinating of the four works, in both substance and style, is probably *Takhlīṣ al-ibrīz*, in which al-Taḥṭāwī offers a penetrating, perceptive, and often surprisingly sympathetic account of his encounter with Western (mainly French) culture. The other three works (especially *Manāhij al-albāb*, on events in which the author had himself participated) provide an insight into how nineteenth-century Egyptian culture was becoming a blend of traditional (Egyptian) and modern (Western) elements.

Text edition

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J. CRABBS

## Taj al-Dīn al-Subkī see al-Subkī, Taj al-Dīn

### ta'jib

'Amazement' (transitive: 'amazing s.o.'): a technical term in philosophical poetics, i.e., in

the works devoted to the *Poetics* of Aristotle. It plays a major role in Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna; d. 428/1037) and in authors dependent on him. 'Amazement' is one of the two goals of poetry, the other being 'public interests'. Both go together in Greek poetry, says Ibn Sīnā, but in Arabic poetry one finds poems exclusively geared to 'amazement'. The poetic elements that create 'wonder' (*ta'ajjub*) in the listener are twofold. First, 'amazement' is a concomitant of 'image-making' (*muḥākāt*, lit. 'imitation', a descendent of the Aristotelian μίμησις, but with a different interpretation), the latter being the most important constituent of the 'creation of mental images in the mind of the listener' (*takhyīl*, which in turn is the essential constituent of poetry. (See **imagination**.) The result of this *takhyīl*, on the part of the listener, is *takhayyul*, 'having, or receiving, mental images' and acting upon them immediately and unthinkingly; this is opposed to rational 'assent' (*taṣdīq*) to the truth of a statement and acting in accordance with it. Ibn Sīnā says that both are a submissiveness of the soul, the first to the wonder and pleasure aroused by the poetic text itself, the second to the recognition of the truth of what is being said. The other way in which 'amazement' is achieved is by the use of a rhetorical 'artifice' (*ḥīla*), either of the wording or of the meaning; this meaning is, however, only subsidiary to the first.

The theory of amazement can be traced back to certain passages in the *Poetics*, but in its generality it is Ibn Sīnā's creation. Although amazement seems to be equated with aesthetic pleasure in the passage alluded to above, in other places he keeps them apart.

In non-philosophic literature, especially of an anecdotal nature, the reaction of the listener to a poem is often described with 'wonder' ('*ajab*), 'amazement' (*ta'ajjub*), 'pleasure' (*ladhdha*, *iltidhād*), 'being moved/rocked' (*hazza*, *ihtizāz*), and other words of similar meaning. However, a strict theory of aesthetic pleasure has not been developed from them.

Text editions

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*Avicenna's Commentary on the Poetics of Aristotle*, Ismail M. Dahiyat (trans.), Leiden (1974).

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W.P. HEINRICH

**tajnis** see rhetorical figures

**al-Takarlı, Fu'ād (1927– )**

Iraqi author of short stories and novels. Born in Baghdad, al-Takarlı studied law in Baghdad, and served as a judge in Ba'qūba and Baghdad until his emigration to Paris in 1979. In his first short story *al-'Uyūn al-khuḍr* (1952) he handled a topic that attracted a number of Iraqi writers (e.g. the poet al-Sayyāb), as it had some French and Russian authors: the theme of the virtuous prostitute. Al-Takarlı's short stories published in the collection *al-Wajh al-ākhar* (1960, enlarged 2nd edn, 1982) deal with the psycho-social problems of male/female relations in a society dominated by crude patriarchal traditions. *Al-Raj' al-ba'id* (Beirut, 1980–1993), the result of eleven years of literary work, is one of the best of all Iraqi novels; it provides a panorama of Baghdadi bourgeois society in the last months of 'Abd al-Karīm Qāsim's regime in 1962–3, as shown through three generations of a family living together in a house in the old quarter of Bāb al-Sharqī. The book relates, from a number of different viewpoints, the events and emotions of the protagonists; the love of three men for their cousin Munīra; and the fate of the men and Munīra in an atmosphere of political pressure combined with outdated traditions. His last novel *Khatam ar-Raml* (Beirut, 1996) depicts the problems of a mother-bound young egotist in the Baghdad of the 1970s.

Text edition

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W. WALTHER

**takhalluṣ** see *qaṣīda*

**takhyil** see imagination;  
metaphor

**Takieddine, Khalil** see **Taqī al-Dīn, Khalil**

**Takieddine, Said** see **Taqī al-Dīn, Sa'id**

**talkhīṣ** see abridgements

**al-Tall, Muṣṭafā Wahbī (1899–1949)**

Jordanian poet. Born in Irbid, al-Tall was educated in Jordan and Syria. His career as teacher, lawyer and official was marked not only by exile, dismissal, resignations and imprisonment, but also by fearless outspokenness and a relentless pursuit of freedom from social restrictions.

Al-Tall's *Dīwān*, published posthumously in 1982, is an unabashed record of his tumultuous life and temperament. Flying in the face of social taboos, al-Tall sang of wine, excess and freedom, which he sought among the gypsies of Transjordan, whom he eulogized as a foil to the dominant religious and political authority whose hypocrisy he ridiculed. The verse sparkles with wit, and is enriched by apt colloquialisms and a strong local flavour.

Al-Tall is considered Jordan's foremost poet. Though a champion of the oppressed and outcast, he was personally close to King 'Abdallah. Despite the vibrancy and reach of his work (reminiscent of the *ṣu'lūk* poets, Burns and Lorca – see *ṣa'ālik*), it failed to

make any significant impact on the contemporary literary scene.

M.R. NOURALLAH

### Tambal, Hamza al-Malik (1898–1960)

Sudanese poet and literary critic. Tambal first appeared on the Sudanese literary scene in 1927, with the publication in *Ḥaḍārat al-Sūdān* (the country's sole newspaper) of a stinging attack on traditional poetry. His aim was to point out the need for a poetry of true personal feelings and originality born in moments of spiritual inspiration. The style of his criticism, however, which echoed the irreverent tone of the *Dīwān Group*, was alien to Sudanese society, and *Ḥaḍārat al-Sūdān* soon ceased publication of his articles. Tambal's anthology *Dīwān al-ṭabī'a* (1931) represents a complete departure from traditional poetry, both in form and style; its language is conversational and interwoven with Sudanese local expressions, the imagery is drawn from the local environment, and topics and feelings are drawn from personal experience of everyday life. Despite this, Tambal played no part in the Sudanese literary movement of the 1930s, and his contribution to Sudanese literature was not recognized until after his death.

#### Further reading

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M.I. SHOUSH

### Tamīm see tribes

### Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh al-Fāṭimī (337–74/948–84)

Fāṭimid poet and *amīr*. Born in al-Mahdiyya (in present Tunisia), he arrived as a member of his father al-Mu'izz's family in Cairo in 362/973, when Egypt had already been conquered and occupied by the Fāṭimid army under general Jawhar al-Ṣāqlabī.

Tamīm's poems belong to many different genres. In his wine poems, Abū Nuwās's influence may be observed. Although Tamīm was passed over in the succession to the Imāmate, he dedicated his poems of praise

exclusively to the two Imāms of his time, his father and his own brother Nizār al-'Aziz billāh. Next to his boasting (*fakhr*) on account of his Fāṭimid descent, his poetry contains many descriptions of gardens and palaces where he enjoyed staying. Characteristic of some is the transition (*takhalluṣ*) from a rather profane, introductory section on wine to the next more serious one dealing with praise (*madīḥ*) for the Enlightened Imām. Acquainted with many expressions of the Fāṭimid creed, he was able to convey these in elegant poems. In his special poems of lament (*marāthī*; see *rithā'*), he is seen shedding profuse tears when commemorating the untimely deaths of his hallowed Shi'i forefathers.

#### Text edition

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—, 'Wine, love and praise for the Fāṭimid Imāms, the Enlightened of God', *ZDMG* 142/1 (1992), 90–104.

P. SMOOR

### Tamīm ibn 'Ubayy see Ibn Muqbil

### al-Tamimi (third/ninth century)

Abū Muḥammad Qāsim al-Tamīmī was an apologist of the fratricidal war (*fitra*) that paved the way for the Norman conquest of Sicily. Soon after, he became witness to the Muslim wars against the Christian occupation of the island. In al-Tamīmī's work the traditional theme of separation and regret for those departed becomes a bitter description of the tragic events of his days: the emigration of friends towards the distant Islamic lands, and distress for the beloved place that has now become the land of the unbelievers. His elegies are considered to be the best of the Sicilian school.

## Text edition

Di Matteo, I., 'Antologia di poeti arabi siciliani', in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, Palermo (1935), 1–28.

F. M. CORRAO

**Tāmīr, Zakariyyā (1931– )**

Syrian short-story writer. Born in **Damascus**, Tāmīr is regarded as one of the most accomplished writers of short stories in the Arab world in recent decades. Beginning in the late 1960s, he has produced a number of collections of stories that use a terse yet clear style to create nightmarish visions of a society characterized by personal alienation, sexual frustration and political oppression. His works introduce the reader to worlds in which the normal logic of life and reality is not to be found. He has also written a number of stories for children. Currently resident in Oxford, he has also served as editor of the prominent Syrian literary journal, *al-Ma'rifa*. His collections include: *Ṣahīl al-Jawād al-Abyad* (1960), *Rabī' fī al-ramād* (1963), *al-Ra'd* (1970), *Li-mādhā saqaṭ al-nahr* (1973) and *Dimashq al-ḥarā'iq* (1973).

## Text edition

*Tigers on the Tenth Day & Other Stories*, D. Johnson-Davies (trans.), London (1985).

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R. ALLEN

**tamthīl see rhetorical figures****al-Tankīt wa-al-Tabkīt  
(June to October 1881)**

Influential nationalist literary, educational and satirical weekly founded in Alexandria by 'Abd Allāh **Nadīm**. Nadīm wrote in a style as close to the vernacular as classical syntax would permit, creating a new press language accessible to a broader readership; his sketches arguably represent the beginnings of the modern Egyptian short story. In *al-Tankīt wa-al-Tabkīt* Nadīm exposed Khedive Ismā'il's

injustice and his debt problems, attacking foreign interference in Egypt, the moral decline of the young and the threats posed by modernization, and supporting the 'Urābist army officers in their call for liberty.

## Further reading

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P. C. SADGROVE

**al-Tanūkhī (329–84/940–994)**

Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin ibn 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, compiler of three anthologies, middle 'Abbāsīd period. Al-Tanūkhī was born in **Basra** as the son of a judge, held the office of *qādī* from 349/960 onwards in Mesopotamian and western Iranian towns. In the realms of *adab*, he received instruction by such famous men as **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** (d. 356/967) and **Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī** (d. 335/946). A *dīwān* of his poetry is now lost. His *'Unwān al-ḥikma* is a collection of gnomic wisdom, arranged according to classes or social groups of persons uttering them; in the first two-thirds of the book, the names of the persons uttering the maxims are given, whereas in the rest anonymously quoted sayings prevail. *Al-Mustajād min fa'alāt al-ajwād* mainly contains texts about generous people; it is often ascribed to al-Tanūkhī, but rather seems to be written by an anonymous author of the fifth/eleventh or sixth/twelfth century (Sellheim 1976, 348–53). *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* is a collection of anecdotes mainly on upper-class officials, their intrigues and struggle for influence. These anecdotes were, as the author states in his introduction, put down in writing for the first time; from the original eleven sections, only four are preserved. The most famous of his books is *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*, which contains anecdotes on the topic 'joy follows sorrow'. Al-Tanūkhī used earlier works in this genre (namely, the books devoted to this topic by **al-Madā'inī**, **Ibn Abī al-Dunyā** and **Abū al-Ḥusayn Ibn Yūsuf** [d. 328/939]), but added a considerable amount of new material collected by himself from literary and oral sources. The design of the book is to convey faith in God even in hopeless circumstances. The texts are grouped in fourteen thematically arranged chapters, e.g. according to the sorts of distress or to the

ways that rescue is achieved. The manuscript tradition shows substantial divergences, and until now al-Tanūkhī's role in the composition of the work is far from being clarified (Ashtiany, 115). *Al-Faraj* was translated into Persian (seventh/thirteenth century) and Turkish.

**Text editions**

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*Ende gut, alles gut. Das Buch der Erleichterung nach der Bedrängnis*, (partial) A. Hottinger (trans.), Zürich (1979).  
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*The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, D.S. Margoliouth (trans.), London (1922) and in *IC* 3 (1929) to 6 (1932), rpt Hyderabad (n.d.).  
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T. SEIDENSTICKER

**Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī see al-Fāsī, Taqī al Dīn**

**Taqī al-Dīn, Khalīl (1906–87)**

Lebanese novelist, short-story writer and essayist. Born in the Shouf area of Lebanon, Khalīl Taqī al-Dīn studied law in Beirut, before embarking on a long career as a civil servant and diplomat. He began his career as a writer by publishing essays in the leading literary journals of the day under the nicknames Bashshār and al-Sādhij, and was one of the founders of al-'Uṣba al-'ashara ('The

Group of Ten'), who revolutionized the Beirut literary scene in the 1930s under the influence of the **Mahjar** poets and the French naturalist school. He later published two collections of short stories, '*Ashar qiṣaṣ*' (1940) and *al-l'dām* (1941), and a collection of essays, *Khawāṭir sādhij*, in which he brought to life the traditions of his native Shouf as well as tackling topical world issues. A short political, romantic story *Tamāra* (1955) dramatized his experience in Stalin's Russia. Khalīl Taqī al-Dīn's short novel *al-'Ā'id* (1968) vividly involves the reader in the Druze belief in reincarnation; his major work, however, is *Karen wa-Ḥasan* (1971), a socio-political novel set in World War 2 which brings together East and West through the love story of the two heroes. Khalīl Taqī al-Dīn is noted for his simple yet sensuous style, his unique gift for conveying local colour, and his deep love for his country and fellow human beings.

M.T. AMYUNI

**Taqī al-Dīn, Sa'īd (1904–60)**

Lebanese dramatist, short-story writer and essayist. Born in Baakline, in the Shouf area of Lebanon, Sa'īd Taqī al-Dīn lived half his life in the Philippines. A rebel and adventurer at heart, his writing defies categorization; his dominant mode is satirical in style, blending humour, irony, caricature and self-mockery in a manner reminiscent of Swift but rarely found in Arabic literature. Living abroad, Sa'īd took to heart the socio-political problems of Lebanon, and his native village assumed mythical status in his imagination. He broke new ground in the Lebanese theatre through his use of an everyday form of Arabic easily understood by his large audiences, well before this style was adopted by contemporary journalists and playwrights. His best-known play is *Lawlā al-muḥāmī* (1924). Sa'īd also broke new ground in his essays and aphorisms, which captured economically and incisively the deterioration in the character and lifestyle of his epoch. His complete works were published in Beirut in 1969.

**Further reading**

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 Shaybūb, E., *Sa'īd Taqī al-Dīn: siratuhu wa-intājuhu*, Beirut (1980).

M.T. AMYUNI

## Ṭarafa Ibn al-'Abd (middle of the sixth century)

Important early pre-Islamic poet from the clan Qays ibn Tha'laba (cf. al-A'shā Maymūn), who was probably in contact with the Lakhmids of Ḥīra. Further reports about his life can hardly claim reliability. This also holds true for the famous story of 'al-Mutalammis' letter', in which he figures as the companion of his maternal uncle al-Mutalammis. The story tells how Ṭarafa met a premature death when he unwittingly delivered a letter containing his own death-warrant from the king of Ḥīra to the governor of the province al-Bahrayn. But unlike al-Mutalammis, who is rather the hero of a saga interspersed with poetry ascribed to its protagonist, Ṭarafa was a skilled poet who composed long polythematic *qaṣīdas* on a high artistic level. This is especially conspicuous in the descriptive passages in his poems which burst forth with original comparisons. The finest example of this kind is a long and famous section of 28 lines in Ṭarafa's *Mu'allaqa* in which he describes a riding camel using 24 comparisons and metaphors. Ṭarafa's fame rests nearly exclusively on this poem. Since he was one of the *muqillūn*, i.e. those who had composed only few poems; his *dīwān* contains less than a dozen other longer poems which can claim authenticity.

### Text editions

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T. BAUER

See also: *Mu'allaqāt*

## ṭardiyya (hunting poem)

A monothematic piece (*qit'a*) usually composed in *rajaz* and dealing with some aspect of the hunt as practised by the Arabs. The earliest examples date from the middle Umayyad

period; the efflorescence of the genre occurred in the 'Abbāsīd era. In the pre-Islamic era, extant treatments of the practice, common in many hunting societies, of bewitching the game by capturing its essence in verse) are included within the polythematic *qaṣīda* and are of two types; the professional, or 'primitive' hunt, and the aristocratic, or royal, hunt (Bāshā's *ṣayd* and *ṭarad* respectively). The professional hunt occurs as part of the camel description (*wasf al-nāqa*), the prey being the oryx and the wild ass (an exception is Muzarrīd, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* 17, where the depiction [vv. 63–74], intended as a virtuoso display of poetic genius, concludes the ode). The aristocratic hunt is linked with the personal vaunt (*fakhr*) and often concludes the ode: it is sometimes linked with an equine description. Both types are attested in the poetic remains of the Umayyad Abū al-Najm al-'Ijlī, where the *qaṣīda* format persists but wedded to the *rajaz*, which metre was to dominate the genre. To Abū al-Najm is also attributed the first extant monothematic *ṭardiyya*, a description of coursing with cheetahs, extemporized at the request of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Bishr. It is unlikely that this is the first instance of the practice of composing such pieces at the conclusion of a hunt.

The influence of the *qaṣīda* format is discernible in the saker falcon description composed by Humayd al-Arqaṭ (*Hamāsāt Abī Tammām* [ed. Freytag, 1848, rpt 1969], 393) – the saker is a simile for the poet's horse – but is dispensed with in a piece composed by al-Shamardal ibn Sharīk (ed. Seidensticker, Wiesbaden, 1983, 20), also a saker description, which displays the characteristics of the genre as it was to be developed by Abū Nuwās, the supreme cynegetic poet. His *ṭardiyyāt*, composed in both *rajaz* and other metres (commonly *mutaqārib*, *ṭawīl* and *sarī'*), are crisp and vivid metonymical descriptions of the chase and can be categorized as (a) the early morning expedition (the prototype of which is Imru' al-Qays, Ahlwardt 40.17–37, and which employs a variant of the formula *wa-qad aghṭadī*, present in the poems of Abū al-Najm, al-Shamardal and Humayd); and (b) the purely descriptive, introduced by the verb *an'atu*, (cf. Smith, 172), and related to the *rajaz* imprecations of snakes and rats which al-Jāhīz quotes in the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1938–45, vol. 4, 285, vol. 5, 258–9; cf.



Wagner, *Grundzüge*, vol. 2, 56). The milieu is aristocratic and the full panoply of hunting animals and techniques is celebrated. **Ibn al-Mu'tazz** shows himself to be an adherent of Abū Nuwās in his hunting poems. Other poets of the genre include **Ibn al-Mu'adhhal** (d. 240/854), **al-Nāshī' al-Akbar** (d. 293/906), **al-Šanawbarī** (d. 334/944) and **Kushājīm** (d. 360/971). The most prolonged and exhaustive treatment of the chase is that composed by **Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī**, an *urjūza* of 137 lines in which various animals are featured in different narrative styles.

A *ṭardiyya* composed by **al-Mutanabbī**, description, rhyming in *lām*, of a saluki, is interesting as much for the circumstances attendant upon its composition as for its poetic merit. The poet is approached by the *kātib* Abū 'Alī Ḥārūn al-Awrāji, a patron of his, who has come back from the hunt full of admiration for a saluki which, unaided by a saker, has run down a gazelle. He wishes that al-Mutanabbī could have been present to capture the occasion in verse, but the great panegyrist is reluctant: he has no truck with such things. At the insistence of Abū 'Alī, the poet dictates an improvised *urjūza* to the secretary. The *ṭardiyya* poets will have been commissioned by enthusiastic nobles to produce descriptions of their favourites (in many instances these would have been improvised; hence the fondness for the *rajaz* metre), just as George Stubbs produced equine portraits for his eighteenth-century patrons. The *ṭardiyya* was a poetic vogue which subsequently fell into neglect.

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

**ta'rikh** see chronogram; historical literature

**tarjama** see biography; translation

**tašrī'** see prosody

### al-Tawhīdī, Abū Hayyān (c.315–411/c.927–1023)

Abū Hayyān 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Tawhīdī was a prose essayist and one of the greatest masters of Arabic style. He grew up in **Baghdad**, where he received an excellent religious and literary education and initially worked as a copyist. His first major work, *Insight and Treasures*, was a relatively conventional anthology of anecdotes and philological lore which, nonetheless, already displayed some of the wit and stylistic brilliance for which he was to become famous. A prickly and cantankerous person, he found it difficult throughout his life to establish good relations with patrons in positions of power; an overture to the **Būyid** vizier in **Rayy**, **Ibn al-'Amid**, and a later stay at the court of the latter's successor, **al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād**, both ended in failure and acrimony, but provided material for his masterpiece of venomous gossip, *The Faults of the Two Viziers*. Back in Baghdad, al-Tawhīdī somewhat more successfully served for a time as copyist and then boon companion to the vizier Ibn Sa'dān; his somewhat reworked account of evenings spent in conversation with the latter, *Delight and Entertainment*, offers a rich picture of Baghdadi intellectual life at the time, and particularly of the philosophical circles that he was beginning to frequent. He became a devoted follower of the philosopher **Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī**, whose views dominate his *Conversations*, which treat a variety of philosophical topics. Philosophy also has its place among the very wide-ranging series of 180 questions he addressed to his friend **Miskawayh** which, together with the latter's replies, form their joint work *The Scattered and the Gathered*. Some time around 375/985 al-Tawhīdī left Baghdad for Shiraz, where he published a number of other works, including a *Treatise on Friendship*, originally drafted in Baghdad, and a mystical treatise, *Divine Intimations*. In 400/1010 he burnt his books, as we know from a rather bitter letter

he composed to justify his act. He died at an advanced age in Shiraz. A campaign by later religious scholars accusing him of heresy and irreligion cast a shadow over his reputation, but his unique style, modelled on that of **al-Jāhiz** (of whom he wrote a lost encomium) and somewhat conservative in his own day in its relative lack of artifice, has kept his memory alive.

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E.K. ROWSON

**ta'wil** see **exegesis, Koranic**

**tawīl** see **prosody**

**tawriya** see **rhetorical figures**

**Ṭayfūr, Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhīr** see **ibn Abī Ṭāhīr Ṭayfūr**

**Taymūr, Aḥmad (1871–1930)**

Egyptian man of letters. Born in Cairo into a Turco-Circassian family which emigrated to

**Egypt** at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Aḥmad Taymūr was educated by his elder sister, the poetess 'Ā'isha 'Iṣmat al-Taymūriyya. Widowed at an early age, he occupied himself with the education of his sons Muḥammad and Maḥmūd Taymūr, influencing their literary career through his profound knowledge of Arabic language and literature.

Aḥmad Taymūr spent his large inheritance on books and manuscripts which were consulted by scholars from the Arab world and Europe. His collection of about 20,000 volumes was donated after his death to the Egyptian **Dār al-Kutub**. His lexicographical studies of **Ibn Manẓūr's** *Lisān al-'Arab* and Cairene proverbs still provide interesting material; and his folkloric studies on **shadow-plays**, painting, music and games in the Arab world demonstrate an intense interest in Arab life and culture.

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E.C. DE MOOR

**Taymūr, Maḥmūd (1894–1973)**

Egyptian novelist, short-story writer, playwright and essayist. Born in Cairo, Maḥmūd Taymūr was the third son of Aḥmad Taymūr and the youngest brother of Muḥammad Taymūr. After secondary school he entered the Agricultural College, but had to abandon his higher studies after contracting typhoid. Choosing to follow the example of his brother Muḥammad, whom he greatly admired and who inspired him to read and imitate the works of De Maupassant, he published his first writings – partly in prose poetry – in the reformist review *al-Sufūr*. After Muḥammad's death in 1921 he collected and edited his works, then started to write his own short stories in the realistic style of the 'Modern School', founded by his brother and some other friends. In 1925 he published his first collections of short stories, *al-Shaykh Jun'a wa-qīṣaṣ ukhrā* and *'Amm Mitwalli wa-qīṣaṣ ukhrā*. Twenty-four other volumes of short stories, seven novels, eighteen plays and sixteen volumes of essays followed, making

Maḥmūd Taymūr one of the most prolific writers in modern Arabic literature.

As he himself stressed, Maḥmūd Taymūr's work was deeply influenced by the ideas of his brother Muḥammad, by the Romantic writer **al-Manfalūṭī**, by the symbolism of **Jubrān** and the **Mahjar** school, by Russian novelists such as Chekhov and Turgenev and by the French realists. His stay in Europe between 1925 and 1927 also greatly influenced his sense of literature.

In 1939 Maḥmūd published his first novel, *Nidā' al-majhūl*, a fantastic adventure set in the Lebanese mountains and characterized as both a 'Gothic romance' and a 'novel of spiritual quest'; his best-known novel, *Salmā fī mahabb al-rīh*, the love story of a 'modern' Egyptian woman living in difficult social circumstances, was published in 1947.

Maḥmūd's first plays, one-acters written in 1941 in the Egyptian colloquial, deal with contemporary life in Egypt. This is also the case with some longer plays such as *Makhba' raqm 13* (1941), *Haflat shāy* (1943) and *Qanābil* (1943). In other plays Taymūr uses a historical setting, Arab or pharaonic, to create his characters: examples are *Suhād* (1942), *Hawwā al-khālida* (1945) and *al-Yawm Khamr* (1945).

Maḥmūd Taymūr's fictional work shows a development from naturalistic description to psychological analysis, from local colour to human nature in general. As in other writers of the period, one notices a shift to socially committed literature after 1945. At first, he used colloquial Arabic in the dialogue of his short stories as an expression of his intention to create an *adab qawmī* 'national literature', but after his stay in Europe he developed into a purist who even tried to replace European loan-words by equivalents in standard Arabic. Maḥmūd Taymūr, who is sometimes known as the 'Egyptian Maupassant', was awarded the State Prize for Literature several times, and was a member of the Egyptian Arabic Language Academy.

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E.C.M. DE MOOR

## Taymūr, Muḥammad (1892–1921)

Egyptian dramatist and prose writer. Born in Cairo, the second son of Aḥmad Taymūr and elder brother of Maḥmūd Taymūr, Muḥammad Taymūr studied at the 'Abbās Khedivial School before travelling to Europe in the summer of 1911. Until the summer of 1914 he studied law in Paris and Lyon, devoting most of his time to drama and French literature. His reading of realistic writers like De Maupassant and Zola prepared him to become a pioneer of the modern Arabic short story, while his visits to the Odéon Theatre prompted the idea of becoming an actor and playwright.

After returning to Egypt, Muḥammad Taymūr performed in the clubs of Gezira, an activity frowned on both by his family and by the palace. From 1916 he began to publish poems in the reformist review *al-Sufūr*, and theatre criticism in *al-Minbar*. He also wrote short stories in the style of De Maupassant under the name *Mā tarāhu al-'uyūn* (1917). In 1918 he married his cousin Rashīda Rashīd. In the same year he published his first play, *al-'Uṣfūr fī al-qaṣaṣ*, in which he avenged himself on the restrictions of his education by introducing a young hero, son of a well-to-do family, who marries his nurse, preferring freedom and poverty to family control and wealth. His second play, also performed in 1918, was a comedy based around a middle-class employee, *'Abd al-Sattār Effendi*, who is dominated by his loud-voiced wife and their spoiled son. Muḥammad Taymūr's intention was to prove that it was possible to write a comedy in Egyptian dialect without the shameless devices employed in the boulevard comedies of Najīb al-Riḥānī and 'Alī al-Kassār.

At about the same time, Muḥammad – together with Aḥmad Khayrī al-Sa'īd – founded the literary circle *Madrasat al-ādāb al-jadīda*, later known as *al-Madrasa al-ḥadītha* (the 'Modern School'), to which belonged also Maḥmūd Tāhir Lāshīn, Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī and Ḥusayn Fawzi.

In 1920 Muḥammad offended the Turkish establishment with his comedy *al-'Ashara al-ṭayyiba*, an adaptation of the French comedy *Barbe-Bleu*, with music by Sayyid Darwīsh. The manuscript of his most important play,

*al-Hāwiya* – in which a young aristocrat loses his fortune, his wife and his life as the inevitable consequence of drug addiction – was finished just before his death. With this play Taymūr proved that serious problems could be treated in the vernacular, which until then had been reserved for lighthearted comedies. His complete works were published after his death in three volumes by his brother Maḥmūd (Cairo, 1922, rpt 1990).

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E.C.M. DE MOOR

**al-Taymūriyya, 'Ā'isha 'Iṣmat  
(1840–1902)**

Turco-Egyptian poet and prose writer. A member of the Taymūr family of scholars and writers, 'Ā'isha al-Taymūriyya was the daughter of Ismā'il Pasha Taymūr, a learned high government official, and a Circassian concubine. An autobiographical preface to her allegorical tale *Natā'ij al-aḥwāl fī al-aqwāl wa-al-af'āl* (1305/1887–8) recalls her anger as a child at being barred from 'unfeminine' intellectual pursuits and forced into embroidery by her mother, whereupon her father took her education in hand, engaging tutors in Arabic and Persian and hearing her lessons himself. Her marriage to Maḥmūd Bey al-Islāmbulī in 1854 interrupted her studies and writing, which she resumed after his death in 1875, engaging the services of two women tutors. She composed poetry in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and apparently planned to publish *dīwāns* in all three languages, but the death of her daughter and eye disease deterred her. Her Arabic *dīwān Ḥilyat al-ṭirāz* was first published in Cairo in 1884; her Turkish *dīwān Shākūfa* was being published as Zaynab Fawwāz wrote her biographical dictionary in the early 1890s. Al-Taymūriyya also published a prose treatise on gender relations, *Mir'āt al-ta'ammul fī al-umūr* (1892), and articles on girls' education and literary subjects.

Text editions

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M. BOOTH

**Al-Tayyib Bā (Abū) Makhrama  
(d. 947/1540)**

Famous Yemeni jurist and historian of South Arabia and Aden. Born into a renowned clan of scholars and Shāfi'i jurists who had come to Aden from Ḥaḍramawt, he studied under the best 'ulamā' of his time and soon acquired a reputation as the most knowledgeable expert on legal affairs. He also excelled in *ḥadīth* studies, Koranic commentary and Arabic grammar, and was a popular teacher whose lectures attracted numerous students. Towards the end of his life the Ṭāhirid sultan of Aden appointed him chief *qāḍī* of this city. He held this post for a short time, then was afflicted by a fatal illness.

Al-Ṭayyib Bā Makhrama owes his fame to his two historical works, one of which, *Ta'riḫ thaghr 'Adan*, deals with Aden and its inhabitants, historical sites and monuments; the other, *Qilādat al-naḥr*, is a collection of the biographies of South Arabian rulers, notables, scholars and mystics who lived between the sixth/twelfth and tenth/sixteenth centuries. *Qilādat al-naḥr* also includes sections that describe political developments in Arabia during this period. The former work is available to specialists in a splendid edition by O. Löfgren; of the latter only the historical section has been edited. Although both works are compilations based on the chronicles of earlier Arabian historians (e.g. Ibn Samura, al-Yāfi'i, al-Janādī, al-Khazrajī, Ibn al-Dayba' and some less well-known authors from Ḥaḍramawt),

they provide valuable – and sometimes unique – information on medieval Yemen and South Arabia.

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A. KNYSH

## Tengour, Habib (1947– )

Algerian poet and novelist writing in French. Born in Mostaganem in western Algeria, Tengour studied the Muslim religious brotherhoods of his own region at university. As a poet, he is attracted by political and satirical fable, embellishing various types of epic poem with tinges of corrosive humour. *Tapapakitaques* (1977) ('The island of poetry') – a story-poem in which poets are seen to bow to the needs of artistic production – is a clear criticism of poetry written on demand for the Party. *Sultan Galiev* (1985), *Le Vieux de la montagne* (1983) and *L'Épreuve de l'arc* (1990) are works that mix literary genres. In these works, Algeria is put to the test: what is the point of passing the test if one then 'hides in the shadows'? The narrator draws inspiration from the fragmented style of Yacine Kateb, built on juxtapositions and relying on memory.

J. DÉJEUX

## al-Tha'ālībī (350–429/961–1038)

Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Tha'ālībī was a prolific anthologist and literary critic. He spent his entire life in the Eastern Islamic lands, mostly at his native Nishapur, where he was patronized by the local notables and, later, the Ghaznavid governor, but he also stayed for some time with a family of scholars in Jurjān and at the court of the

Khwārazmshāh in al-Jurjāniyya. Living at a time when the New Persian renaissance was in full bloom (he was an exact contemporary of the Persian epic poet Firdawsī), he dedicated his life to the promotion and promulgation of Arabic literature and the Arabic language, on which he composed a number of eloquent paeans. A steady stream of anthologies, critical studies and philological works flowed from his pen; close to a hundred titles by him are known, of which at least half are extant and at least a quarter published. Of all of these, the most important is unquestionably the *Yatīmat al-dahr* (*Unique Pearl of the Age*), a large-scale anthology of poetry (and some prose) from the second half of the fourth/tenth century, arranged geographically and ranging from Andalusia (scantily covered) to eastern Iran and Transoxania (extremely rich); amidst a total of 470 poets included, such major figures as al-Mutanabbī and Badi' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī are given extensive coverage. Late in his life he updated this work with a much shorter sequel, the *Tatīmmat al-Yatīma*, which inspired numerous later anthologists, notably al-Bākhārī and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, to continue the series through later centuries. Typical of al-Tha'ālībī's broader *adab* works is his *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārīf* (*Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*), a grab-bag of historical and geographical lore. Among his philological works, perhaps the most significant are the *Fiqh al-luḡha* (*Principles of Language*), a thematically arranged analytical lexicon, and the *Thimār al-qulūb* (*Fruit of Hearts*), a dictionary of common two-word expressions which is full of fascinating information. Somewhat exceptional within his *oeuvre* is the *Ghurar al-siyar* (*Illustrious Biographies*), a universal history with a particular accent on the pre-Islamic Persian kings (of which only the first half is extant), dedicated to the Ghaznavid governor of Nishapur.

#### Text editions

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E.K. ROWSON

See also: *adab*; anthologies

### Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 288/901)

Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurra al-Ṣābī was a renowned scientist of the early Islamic period. A native of Ḥarrān in northern Syria, he belonged to an expanding group of Syriac-speaking Christian scholars who, well versed in both Greek and Arabic, gravitated to Baghdad in quest of the support and patronage available to scientists and translators who could make the ancient sciences available for study in Arabic and pursue this work in new directions. Thābit joined the Banū Mūsā in the 'Abbāsīd capital, and both prepared new translations and revised those of others.

The era of Thābit was a stage in the history of Arabic science when scholars were engaging not only in translation, but also, and increasingly, in original work of their own. Thābit produced such treatises in Arabic and Syriac in most of the classical sciences. He developed the thinking of Archimedes and Euclid in the area of number theory, statics, geometry and trigonometry, and produced a unique work on sun-dial theory, although this last work seems to have escaped the notice of later writers. In medicine he wrote the earliest extant treatise on smallpox, a perennial scourge in his day.

His most important and influential work was in the application of mathematics to astronomy. His eight surviving essays in this field clearly set astronomy on new solid foundations by subjecting Ptolemaic models to rigorous mathematical proof. This set a standard followed in subsequent research, and increasingly made astronomy a scientific discipline in which empirical data, while

still crucial, were judged against strict mathematical criteria. In Latin translation some of his work was also influential in medieval Europe.

#### Text editions

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L.I. CONRAD

See also: translation, medieval

### Tha'lab (200–91/815–904)

Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, called Tha'lab (born in Baghdad, and died accidentally in 291/904), was the leading representative of the 'Kūfan' school of grammar and an aggressive antagonist for his 'Baṣran' counterpart al-Mubarrad. Clearly a commanding personality rather than a systematic scholar, he was noted for his uprightness of character, his debating skills, his powerful memory and purity of accent. From early youth he showed an unusual eagerness for learning and soon acquired a mastery of ancient poetry and its obscure vocabulary. He prided himself on his grounding in the works of al-Farrā' and evidently saw himself as having inherited the role of champion of the 'Kūfan' position.

His listed works give the impression of a scholar more interested in the meanings of words than in the grammatical system of the language, and this is confirmed by those that survive, notably his popular and influential *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ*, an anthology of words grouped semantically, and the *Majālis* or reports of his teaching sessions, where grammatical ideas are informally present in what are primarily discussions of meaning and usage. He is also the author of a commentary on the poems of Zuhayr. It would be interesting to examine the contents of such works as the *Hadd al-naḥw*, *al-Maṣūn fī al-naḥw* and *al-Muwaffaqī*, all presumably grammatical works ascribed to him but no longer extant. A collection of grammatical disputes, also vanished, is attributed to him, as is a work on poetical 'rules', *Qawā'id al-shi'r*, which has been published.

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M.G. CARTER

al-Tha'labī (d. 427/1035)

Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Nīsabūrī al-Shāfi'ī 'al-Tha'labī is best known for his collection of *Legends of the Prophets*, *Kitāb 'Arā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. In medieval Muslim biographical works he is called 'commentator and historian', the former for his Koran commentary *Kashf al-bayān*, and his *Qatīlā al-Qur'ān* (*Those Killed by the Koran*), while the title 'historian' refers to his collection of prophetic legends, which form an important pre-Islamic section of universal histories.

Unlike al-Kisā'ī, whose work in the same genre has been seen as belonging to 'the popular narrative tradition of medieval Islam' (T. Nagel, *El<sup>2</sup>* vol. 5, 176), al-Tha'labī utilizes the techniques of traditional Muslim scholarship, citing Koran and *ḥadīth* in most, though not all, of his tales. These are, therefore, usually not only fuller in detail, drawing on many sources, but also somewhat less fanciful than those of al-Kisā'ī.

After a lengthy opening section on the Creation, the prophets treated most fully are Adam, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon and Jesus, with shorter sections devoted to many other figures mentioned in the Koran, such as Job, Hūd and Sāliḥ. Among

these, too, are the stories surrounding the strange figure of al-Khiḍr, the **Alexander** cycle, and the lengthy story of Buluqiyyā (possibly of Jewish origin) which also occurs in the conversion legends about **Ka'b al-Aḥbār** and in *Alf layla wa-layla*. There is as yet no scholarly edition of the text or a full translation of this important work (although a translation by the author of this entry is in progress – Ed.).

Text edition

- '*Arā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo (1347/1928).

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W. BRINNER

See also *Legends of the Prophets*

Thaqīf see tribes

theatre and drama, medieval

In Arabic literature, and in Greek and Syriac works translated into Arabic, theatre is rendered as *mal'ab* (pl. *malā'ib*) or *dār mal'ab*, and rarely transcribed as *ṭayāṭir*. In R. Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford, 1897–1901, vol. 2, col. 4370) the Greek *theatron* is given in Syriac as *ṭe'aṭron* and in Arabic as *shuhra* (lit. notoriety), *manẓar* (spectacle) and *mal'ab*. On the other hand, in both Hebrew and Syriac the Greek term was adopted as the sole term: in Hebrew the term is *te'aṭron* up to the present time, while in Syriac it is *te'aṭron*. In Muslim Spain the term *mal'ab*, together with its synonym *masrah*, continued to be used in the sense of 'theatre' until the fall of Muslim Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. In the Muslim East, only the term *mal'ab* was current until the mid-nineteenth century, when it was replaced by *masrah*.

The ruins of Hellenistic and Roman theatres in Turkey, Mesopotamia, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Egypt and North Africa are concrete evidence of the important role that theatre played in the religious, political and cultural life of Hellenistic culture in these areas. Although Judaism, Christianity and

Islam rejected the theatrical traditions of the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines and Persians, nevertheless it is possible to observe evidence of the survival of ancient seasonal fertility rites and myths. In their dramatic performances, long after the rise of Islam, these nations portrayed death and resurrection in the rituals of agricultural festivals pertaining to the seasonal cycle of life.

A century before the rise of Islam, live theatre in the Middle East and North Africa ceased to be a high religious artistic cult. Only games, buffoonery, mimes, farces and other low-brow performances existed. Arab historians give scanty evidence of Arab awareness of theatrical performances in the Byzantine empire on the eve of Islam. The most important evidence is given by the Prophet **Muḥammad's** poet, **Ḥassan ibn Thābit** (d. 54/674?), who mentions in one of his poems the *mayāmisu Ghazzatin* (the mimes of Gaza) as an example of something feeble. The second evidence is provided by an episode of 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (d. 42/663); it is said that, during one of his visits to Egypt as a merchant in the *jāhiliyya*, he attended a celebration in Alexandria where various plays were performed in a *mal'ab* (theatre or amphitheatre). The third evidence lies in references to the live performances of the Jewish conjurer and actor **Bustānī** (or **Baṭrūnī**), from a village near **Kufa**, who performed 'various kinds of magic, illusion tricks and acts of buffoonery' before al-Walīd ibn 'Uqba, the governor of Iraq in 35/655. These evidences reveal that, on the eve of Islam, impersonators, clowns and buffoons had replaced the classical theatre in the Near Eastern provinces of the Roman empire. Indeed, Islam was no less hostile to theatre and drama than Judaism and Christianity. However, the original meanings of the pagan religious dramas among the Greeks, Romans and Persians had long been forgotten. Instead, these dramatic ceremonies came to be understood as commemorating some legendary or historical event and became seasonal folk theatre.

These dramas, which became secular entertainment, tended towards parody and mockery of earlier customs and rituals. This change is obvious in the Persian and Central Asian dramatic elements which entered the Muslim world, mainly the play with the hobby-horse (*kurraj* or *karj*), the *samāja* (see **masks and masquerades**) performances during the *Nayrūz* festivals with fire, splashing water and

knocking on doors, and the performance of *Amīr al-Nayrūz* (Prince of Nayrūz). In ancient Persia and Central Asia, the hobby-horse was used in various dramatic rituals, in Shamanic rites as well as in seasonal fertility rites, to help establish contact with spirits. In Islam, hobby-horse performances, accompanied by music and dancing, were either for the sake of inducing a delirious and ecstatic state, or for celebrating feasts, combats and military exercise.

In ancient times, masks and fire were used to keep evil spirits away, because evil spirits are not attracted to ugly things and are afraid of fire, while water is a symbol of purity and prosperity. The performance of *Amīr al-Nayrūz* in carnival processions of the 'Feast of Fools' in medieval Islam resembles what Arab historians called *rukūb al-kawsaj* (the procession of the thin-bearded), which in ancient Persia was a festival called *Kōsa nishin* which celebrated the New Year. In this festival a play of 'temporary king' or 'false amīr', which symbolizes the expulsion of winter or the driving out of the old year, was acted in market-places in Persia, Iraq and Egypt. In Egypt, it became a festival celebrated by both Copts and Muslims and was condemned by many Muslim scholars and rulers.

In medieval Islam, unlike in ancient Greece and in the Roman Empire, dramas were not acted in theatres, but in market-places, in squares near the citadels, or in the courtyards of grandees and palaces of rulers. The troupes would play their drums and music to attract the attention of the audience, who would form a circle around them to attend their plays and exchange with them sharp retorts and jokes. The North African scholar **Ibn al-Ḥajj al-'Abdarī** (d. 737/1336) described this dramatic play, claiming that it was performed yearly since Pharaonic Egypt up to his days. The performer would paint his face with lime or flour and stick on a beard of fur, dress himself in a red or yellow dress (*thawb shuhra*), put on his head a long conical cap (*turtūr*), and ride on an ugly donkey. Surrounded by green palm branches and bunches of dates, he sets out with his procession with a ledger in his hand, as if he is a ruler accounting with his people for the payment of taxes. The clamouring celebrators rove with him through the alleys and streets of the city, and past most of the shops and houses in the markets, knocking on doors to collect money to spend on their New Year festival.



Live theatrical performance (*khayāl*) can be a short scene (*faṣl* or *bāba*) of pantomime or a dramatic play performed by one or more actors, with dialogue and props. The shadow-play is performed by one actor hidden behind the screen, performing his repertoire with songs and changing his voice according to the different characters appearing on the screen. These dramas, sometimes performed according to written texts, were more often improvised, resembling the *Commedia dell'Arte*.

Very few summaries of dramas are given in Arabic literary works. The oldest describes what can be called a 'morality play', an imaginary trial of the Muslim caliphs. The actor is a 'Šūfī' (ascetic) whose intention is to fulfil a religious duty, 'to enjoy what is right and prohibit what is disapproved'. The trial seems to have been enacted almost entirely through monologue. This Šūfī actor would twice a week climb a hill with a reed staff (*qaṣaba*), followed by men, women and boys, and call for one caliph after another, enumerating their good or bad deeds and sending them to Paradise or to Hell. Apart from the Šūfī who acts the role of the judge the actors were young boys who portrayed caliphs from Abū Bakr to the 'Abbāsīd al-Mahdī (158–69/775–85). According to other summaries, the favourite subjects were farces ridiculing Muslim judges or depicting everyday quarrels such as arguments between two wives, or improvisations ridiculing the actors' opponents or their masters' enemies in indecent colloquial or semi-colloquial verse or prose.

The text of some dramas may comprise poetry, artistic prose and *maqāmāt* written by famous poets and writers. The best examples are Abū al-Muṭahhar al-Azdī's *Ḥikāyat Abī al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī* (c.400/1009–10) and the three shadow plays composed by Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310–11). The only drama described as *khayāl* extant in colloquial poetry and extant in full is *Miṣṭarat khayāl*, *Munādamat Umm Mujbir*, preserved by 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Ishāqī (d. 1660) in his anthology *Dīwān sulāf al-anshā' fī al-shi'r wa-al-inshā'* (*The Anthology of those Intoxicated by the Choicest Wine in Poetry and Compositions*). The play, defined by the author as comedy (*hazl*) and scurrilous mockery (*huz' sakhīf*), has four characters: al-Rayyis (Captain), al-Qilā'ī (Sailing Master), al-Maliḥa (the Beautiful Girl) and Umm Mujbir (the Old Wife) (see Moreh, 1992, 170–8).

The Captain is informed by the Sailing Master, who has married a beautiful girl, that his old, sick and lusty wife has returned from the dead. The Captain cannot believe what he hears, as he had buried her long ago. The old woman scolds him for his new marriage and claims that she is more beautiful and sexy than his young wife. The Captain calls his frightened young wife to expose her beauty to the old wife; the latter invites her husband to make love with her, claiming that she can make him forget his young wife. The play presents the eternal struggle between beauty and ugliness, new and old, present and past. The new has its own freshness and appeal, while the old becomes obsolete and loses its role in life; yet old people cling to the present and try to prove they are more experienced and useful than the young.

The latest Arabic drama written in this conventional mode is *Nazāhat al-muṣhtāq wa-ghuṣṣat al-'ushshāq fī madīnat tiryāq fī al-'Irāq* (lithograph, Algeria, 1847; ed. by S. Moreh and P.C. Sadgrove, Oxford (1996)). Most of the verses and some prose sections of this drama are taken from the Arabian Nights (*Alf layla wa-layla*) and from Ibn Ghānim al-Muqaddisī's *Kitāb Kashf al-asrār 'an ḥikam al-tuyūr wa-al-azhār* (Paris, 1820) ed. and trans. M Carcin de Tassy, *Les oiseaux et les fleurs, allégories morales d'Azz-Eddin Elmo-caddessi*, Paris (1821). Ya'qūb Sanua (1839–1912) was accused by 'Alī Mubārak of being an actor and playwright of the popular types called *Awlād Rābiya*.

There are no summaries in classical Arabic literature of shadow-play dramas, but fortunately some shadow-plays from the nineteenth century onwards have been recorded and published. Beside Ibn Dāniyāl's medieval plays (published by Ibrāhīm Ḥamāda, 1963), Paul Kahle edited *Das Krokodilspiel (Li'b et-Timsah), ein egyptisches Schattenspiel* (Göttingen, 1915); J.G. Wetzstein edited a shadow-play which he attended in 1857 in Damascus entitled *al-'Ashiq wa-al-ma'shūq (Die Liebenden von Amasia, ein damascener Schattenspiel* (Leipzig, 1906); the Syrian scholar Salmān Qaṭāya published twelve shadow-plays (*Nuṣūṣ min khayāl al-zill fī Ḥalab*). Fortunately, these colloquial Syrian plays, concerning adventures which befell 'Iwāz and Qaraqūz, were recorded by Muḥammad al-Shaykh in Aleppo between 1935 and 1937 on discophile, were found and collected by Dr Salmān Qaṭāya and published

in Damascus in 1977. Prof. J.M. Landau has discovered five plays written by Ḥamad Farīm al-Fār in a collection entitled *Kashf al-Astār 'an Baladīyyāt Ahmad al-Fār al-Ma'rūf bi-'bn Rābiya* (see JAL 7, 1986, 120–5).

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See also: actors and acting, medieval; shadow-play

**Thousand and One Nights see *Alf layla wa-layla***

**theatre and drama, modern**

The extent of the existence of an indigenous dramatic tradition in the Arab world, and the implications that this may have for an account of the development of Arabic drama during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has been the subject of considerable controversy in recent years. Although proponents of various viewpoints have been vociferous in proclaiming their own interpretations, however, the essential facts are hardly in doubt: for while, on the one hand, it would be ridiculous to deny

the existence of dramatic elements in Arab culture, and indeed, in popular Arabic literature, it is equally clear that until the mid-nineteenth century the Arab world had not been home to a theatrical tradition of the sort found, for example, in the classical civilizations of Greece or Rome, or in Elizabethan England.

The origins of the modern Arabic theatre are to be found, like many other literary innovations of the *nahḍa*, in a subtle interplay of indigenous traditions and European inspiration; its coming to maturity may be ascribed to a combination of Levantine initiative and Egyptian resources. Although recent research has unearthed an Arabic play apparently published in Algiers in 1847, the first significant step towards the establishment of a modern Arabic drama was probably taken by the Lebanese Mārūn al-Naqqāsh, who staged an adaptation of Molière's *L'Avare* in his Beirut home in 1847; this was followed in 1849 by an original Arabic play, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-mughaffal aw Hārūn al-Rashīd*, based on a story in the *Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf layla wa-layla*). Mārūn's early death was a blow to the early Syrian theatre, but his enthusiasm (originally acquired on business trips to Europe) was passed on to other members of his family: his plays were published by his brother Niqūlā al-Naqqāsh, and his nephew Salīm Khalīl al-Naqqāsh later formed his own troupe. In Damascus, Ḥamad al-Qabbānī staged a number of similar productions, some of which again derived their plots from the *Thousand and One Nights*.

The next significant steps in the development of the modern theatre were taken not in the Levant but in Egypt. Although the Egyptians had been briefly introduced to the idea of a European theatre during the French occupation of 1798–1801, the first-known Arabic productions in Egypt were undertaken by an Egyptian Jew Ya'qūb Ṣanū', who staged a number of plays in Egyptian colloquial between 1870 and 1872, when his theatre was closed by order of the Khedive. The next theatrical performances in Egypt were staged by Syrian émigrés. In 1876 Salīm Khalīl al-Naqqāsh established himself in Alexandria, and the exodus of Syrian theatrical talent continued during the 1880s and 1890s with the arrival in Egypt of al-Qabbānī, Iskandar Farāḥ, Jūrj Abyaḍ and others.

Although use was also made of the Arab heritage, many playwrights of this period

relied heavily on the technique of adapting Western drama in devising plots for their productions in Arabic. Moreover, despite some attempts by Aḅyāḅ and others to establish an Egyptian 'classical' theatre, most productions relied heavily on music and elements of melodrama for their popular appeal. The financial basis for serious theatrical productions remained extremely fragile and troupes had to make concessions to popular taste in order to survive; with few exceptions, the theatre was not regarded as worthy of serious literary attention. Various types of popular theatre, however, began to emerge, combining elements from the indigenous popular farce with Western comic techniques: among these were the so-called 'Franco-Arab revue' created by the Syrian 'Aziz 'Id, and Najīb al-Riḅānī's Kish-Kish Bey, a distinctively Egyptian character reacting slightly naïvely, but with fundamental good sense, to world affairs and social developments. Indirect descendants of this branch of theatrical activity may be found today among the Egyptian cinema and television productions which continue to dominate the Arab world.

The process of 'coming of age' of the modern Arabic theatre may be dated to the period of World War 1, when a number of Egyptian playwrights began to produce works of a new level of dramatic maturity, many of them directly related to the problems of contemporary Egypt. Among this generation, the names of Ibrāhīm Ramzi, Anṭūn Yazbak and Muḅammad Taymūr are of most significance. Unashamedly using Egyptian colloquial in much of their work, they brought to fruition the concept of an 'Egyptian theatre', the groundwork for which had been laid by 'Uthmān Jalāl and subsequently developed by Faraḅ Anṭūn. At the same time, the theatre was slowly beginning to acquire a new status as a respectable branch of literary activity – a process aided by the interest in it shown by Tāhā Ḥusayn, and by the neo-classical poet Aḅmad Shawqī, who composed six historical dramas and a comedy in verse towards the end of his career.

Arabic theatre between 1933 and about 1956 was dominated by the towering figure of Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, whose dramatic career had begun with the writing of some half-dozen colloquial plays for the popular theatre of the 'Ukāsha brothers in Cairo in the early 1920s. These early efforts were continued and developed in works (some in classical, some in

colloquial Arabic) produced in the early 1930s. His most distinctive contribution to the Egyptian theatre, however – the establishment of an Arabic 'theatre of ideas' – received its main impetus from the period that he spent as a student in Paris during 1925–8, when he spent much time frequenting performances of works by avant-garde writers such as Shaw and Pirandello. The resultant series of 'intellectual' plays in classical Arabic began with *Ahl al-Kahf* (published in 1933, but written during al-Ḥakīm's stay in Paris), which broke new ground by using a Koranic story as the basis for a drama; it was followed by *Shahrazād* (1934), *Pygmalion* (1942), *Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm* (1943), *al-Malik 'Uḅayyir* (1949) and other plays in which the author utilizes a variety of sources from both Western and Eastern traditions as a basis for a variety of intellectual debates in dramatic form; despite their eclectic nature, a number of common themes are discernible in these works, including the oppositions between fantasy and reality, art and life, and heart and mind.

Not all of al-Ḥakīm's drama falls into the category of intellectual drama, however. In 1950 he published a collection of plays on social themes in which he attacked contemporary Egyptian politicians of all persuasions for their corruption and inefficiency. His later plays, from 1954 on, also show a renewed enthusiasm for technical experimentation, with a view both to bridging the gap between theatre and public, and enriching the Egyptian stage by the importation of new ideas and techniques from contemporary Western theatre. These plays present us with a bewildering variety both of theme and of technique: whereas *Yā ṭāli' al-Shajara*, for example – perhaps the most successful – shows obvious influence of the Theatre of the Absurd, *Majlis al-'adl* is a thinly veiled Brechtian allegory on the Palestine problem. In two plays, *al-Ṣafqa* (1956) and *al-Warṭa* (1966), he attempted to resolve the old dilemma of 'classical or colloquial Arabic?' by using what he termed a 'third language' combining elements of both, but the experiment failed to find much favour.

By this stage in his career, al-Ḥakīm had been joined by a group of younger playwrights who continued to uphold Egypt's leading position in the field of drama but whose outlook reflected that of an angrier, more outspoken generation. At the same time, a number of other Arab countries were begin-

ning to witness an increase in serious dramatic production – sometimes actively aided, as in Egypt, by new regimes who were quick to appreciate the propaganda potential of theatrical activity. In Egypt itself, the new mood was heralded by Nu'mān 'Āshūr's *al-Nās illi taht* (1956), which combined social criticism with a strong element of popular comedy: this was followed by *al-Nās illi fōq* (1957), representing a wholesale condemnation of the Egyptian aristocracy, and by 'Ā'ilat *al-Dughrī* (1962), in which the author uses the break-up of a middle-class Egyptian family to symbolize the disintegration of contemporary society. This group of dramatists, sometimes referred to as the 'new wave', also includes Luṭfī *al-Khūlī*, Sa'd al-Dīn *Wahba* and Yūsuf *Idrīs* among others: almost all politically 'committed' (often to the extent of having been imprisoned for their views), they almost all used colloquial Arabic for their plays in the interests of authenticity; at the same time, their works show an acute awareness of contemporary theatrical developments in the West, including not only the 'committed' theatre of Sartre, Brecht and others, but also the dramatists of the 'Theatre of the Absurd'. Outstanding among the productions of the 1960s was Yūsuf *Idrīs's al-Farāfir* (1964), which the author claimed represented an example of a truly Egyptian drama and which raises fundamental questions about the nature of power and the structure of society; despite the author's theorizing, however, the play itself almost certainly owes more to contemporary Western dramatic techniques than to traditional Arab forms of entertainment. Other dramatists who made a significant contribution to Egyptian drama during the 1960s and later include Mikhā'il *Rūmān*, Alfrīd *Faraj*, Maḥmūd *Diyāb*, 'Alī *Sālim* and Shawqī 'Abd *al-Hakīm*. A significant feature of the drama of this generation has been the creative use of folklore and other aspects of the indigenous tradition in order to try to bring the theatre 'closer to the people'.

The new blossoming of drama in Egypt following the 1952 revolution had a powerful impact elsewhere in the Middle East, and the 1950s and 1960s saw most major Arab states establishing those institutions required to underpin theatrical activity in the modern world – government troupes, drama schools and the like. Although interesting drama has been produced in countries from Iraq to Morocco, it is perhaps Syria that, after Egypt,

has seen the boldest and most innovative theatrical productions in recent years – paradoxically perhaps, since the authoritarian nature of the Syrian regime has tended to stifle creativity in many other fields. The plays of Sa'd Allāh *Wannūs* in particular enjoy a wide reputation throughout the Arab world: in *Haflat samar min ajli 5 Huzayrān* (1968) he launched a blistering attack on the official policies and propaganda that accompanied the 1967 Arab–Israeli war; and his outspokenness has been continued in a series of daring productions, the latest of which – *Yawm min zamāninā* (produced in Damascus in 1996) – includes attacks on both religious and secular authorities. Other Syrian playwrights of note include Mamdūh 'Udwān, Walīd *Ikhlēšī* and Muḥammad *Māghūt*, most of whose plays, in varying degrees, are 'political' in character; among their counterparts in other Arab countries may be mentioned Yūsuf *al-'Ānī* (Iraq), 'Izz al-Dīn *al-Madani* (Tunisia), 'Iṣām *Maḥfūz* (Lebanon) and al-Ṭayyib *al-Šiddīqī* (Morocco). A small number of writers, among them Ṣalāh 'Abd *al-Šabūr* (Egypt) and Samīḥ *al-Qāšim* (Palestine) have continued the tradition of writing verse drama in the period following World War 2. Among other notable developments has been the rise of Palestinian theatre groups, including the Balalin Company of Jerusalem and the Hakawati Group, founded in 1977.

There is a marked contrast between the work of most of the dramatists mentioned above and the 'intellectual' drama of Tawfiq *al-Ḥakīm* – often designed to be read rather than acted and in many cases unwieldy when transferred to the stage. Indeed, this contrast provides a useful indicator of the main trends in the development of Arabic drama since World War 2. Although *al-Ḥakīm's* importation of contemporary techniques from Western theatre has been continued by succeeding generations, it has been accompanied by a new emphasis on the potential of 'theatre as theatre' rather than 'theatre as literature' – an emphasis that has often implied the use of colloquial, rather than classical, Arabic and which has involved a renewed search for specifically Arab dramatic forms, sometimes based on traditional popular modes of entertainment such as the *ḥakawātī*. At the same time (particularly following the 1967 Arab–Israeli War), Arabic theatre has become progressively more politicized – a trend that

has involved considerable risks, in view of the constraints of **censorship** in most Arab states; in this connection, the use of episodes from Arab or Islamic history as a metaphor for contemporary developments may be observed in the work of several playwrights. Increasing links with television production are also a feature of contemporary drama in many Arab countries.

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**al-Tifāshī (580–651/1184–1253)**

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Tifāshī was a writer on scientific and literary topics. Born in Qafṣa, in Tunisia, he studied in Tunis and then Cairo, where he became a student of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī. After some time in Damascus, and back in Tunis, he made his home permanently in Cairo, where he befriended Ibn Sa'īd al-Maḡhribī, but also travelled extensively in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. The best known of his seven surviving works is his study of precious stones, which evinces both great erudition and an empirical spirit. Of his *Eloquent Disquisition on the Perception of the Five Senses*, a vast literary encyclopaedia, only two sections of a later abridgement by Ibn Manzūr survive, treating astronomical and meteorological phenomena and mixing extensive poetic citations with quotations from earlier philosophical and astrological works. Possibly also originally part of this encyclopaedia is an important treatise on

music and dance (only partially published) containing much comparative material which illustrates the contrasts between the musical styles of the Middle East and of North Africa. Other extant works are an abridgement of a *ḥadīth* collection by Abū Nu'aym on prophetic medicine, and a series of treatises on erotic topics, which enjoyed considerable popularity.

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**al-Tihāmī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 416/1025)**

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Tihāmī was a poet of mostly panegyric poetry. Of low birth, coming from the Tihāma (Red Sea coast of the Arabian Peninsula), he was active in various places in Syria and Iraq; he was a preacher in al-Ramla in Palestine. He made a career in Egypt but ended his life in prison in Cairo, having been apprehended by the Fāṭimid authorities while in the possession of

secret, anti-Fāṭimid letters from the head of the tribe Ṭayyi', Ḥassān ibn Mufarrij, addressed to another tribe. Apart from panegyric poetry he made elegiac poems, among which a poem of eighty-six lines on his own son was especially admired.

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### al-Tijānī Yūsuf Bashīr (1912–37)

Sudanese poet. Al-Tijānī, who came from a religious family with intimate Ṣūfī affiliations, was named by his father after the leader of the Tijāniyya Ṣūfis. He studied at a *khalwa* and at the al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī in Omdurman. One of the few Sudanese poets whose name was known in the wider Arab world before the 1950s (and often compared with the Tunisian al-Shābbī), al-Tijānī belonged to the Romantic school which dominated the Sudanese literary scene during the 1930s and 1940s, and which was commonly known as the 'Fajr School' after the name of its magazine first published in 1934. Al-Tijānī – whose poetry fluctuates between religious doubt, a believing heart and Sudanese mystical traditions – was also a prolific writer of love poetry extolling the goddess of beauty. He had a basic love of life and an unending wonder about it. He died of consumption at the age of 25.

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### al-Tikrīlī, Fu'ād see al-Takarlī, Fu'ād

### al-Tilimsānī, Abū Madyan see Abū Madyan al-Tilimsānī

### al-Ṭirimmāḥ (c.50–110/c.670–728)

Al-Ḥakam ibn Ḥakīm al-Ṭirimmāḥ was a poet of the middle Umayyad period, who resided mainly in Kufa. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ ('the Elevated'), stemming from the distinguished Thu'al clan of Ṭayyi', came to Kufa as a soldier. After a longer sojourn in Iran where he seems to have earned his living as a teacher, he returned to Kufa and died there. He composed panegyrics on the Umayyad governors Yazīd ibn al-Muḥallab (d. 102/720) and Khālid al-Qasrī (d. 126/743–4). In only three of his poems, traces of his alleged Khārījī inclinations can be found, and they have been contested altogether by al-Ṣāliḥī (1971, 121–52) and other scholars. He is said to have been an intimate friend of the poet al-Kumayt ibn Zayd who had strong Zaydī convictions. In a series of poems he quarrelled with the Tamīmī poet al-Farazdaq, he on his part being a glowing advocate of the Yemenī tribes. Ḥasan's edition of his *dīwān* includes 37 poems with 1,450 verses containing numerous descriptions of desert travels and animals. In these descriptive parts of his poetry especially, he tends to use rare words. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ favoured short metres.

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### al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā (d. between 270/883 and 279/893)

A renowned *ḥadīth* specialist who authored one of the collections of *ḥadīths* in use among Sunnī Muslims. In contrast to the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, which bear the title *al-Sahīḥ*, the collections of al-Tirmidhī and others are generally known under the title *al-Sunan* and occupy a somewhat lower rank. Al-Tirmidhī's collection is

shorter than those of al-Bukhārī and Muslim but includes the same *ḥadīth* in two or more chapters less frequently. It furthermore is distinguished by its critical notes on the chains of transmitters and by its references, in connection with particular *ḥadīths*, to differences between the schools of law.

Text edition

*Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, Medina (1965–6).

B. WEISS

## Toledo see Spain

## Trād, Michel (1912– )

Lebanese colloquial poet. Born in Zahleh into a poor family, Trād's childhood and adolescence were spent in village schools, where he learned French and studied Arabic language and literature, ultimately graduating from the 'school of life' as he put it. The mountain setting of his early years was essential to his poetic development. His first poems immediately attracted the attention of Mārūn 'Abbūd, his former teacher, who hailed him as the most genuine poet in the Lebanese dialect and credited him with transforming *zajal* from a poetry of occasion and verbal virtuosity to one of high literary value.

Trād's poetry is a poetry of gesture apprehended by intuition, in which objects elicit moods peculiar to village life. The publication of *Jilnār* (1951) and *Dūlāb* (1957) established his reputation as a Romantic-symbolist poet of great originality, and in 1957 one of his poems appeared in *Shi'r*, alongside those of some of the pioneers of modern Arabic *fushā* poetry. With the publication of *Laysh* (1964) Lebanese colloquial poetry took a further step towards becoming a legitimate poetic idiom, and critics who had shunned it in the 1950s and 1960s welcomed it as a source of inspiration.

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## translation, medieval

Between the eighth and tenth centuries, Muslim and Christian scholars rendered into Arabic what they and their patrons deemed most valuable in the Persian, Greek and other traditions. This new knowledge, particularly Greek philosophy, became an integral part of Islamic intellectual life. 'Indian books have been transmitted, Greek wisdom translated, Persian literature passed on; some have grown in splendor, and the rest have lost nothing ... These books have been transmitted from nation to nation, from generation to generation, and from language to language, finally reaching us; we are the last to inherit them and to study them' (al-Jāhiz, 1938, 2, 75). The translated texts, as well as the Arabic responses to them, aroused in turn the interest of European Christians who from the eleventh to the thirteenth century rendered into Latin numerous Arabic works both translated and original.

## Chronological outline

The pre-Islamic Arab kingdom of Lakhm (see **Lakhmids**) provided bilingual **secretaries** such as 'Adi ibn Zayd to the Persian court. After the Islamic conquests, however, it was the non-Arabs who had to learn Arabic. Šālih ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, a Persian convert, is credited with translating the Sasanian tax records for the new rulers. Persian secretaries, particularly **Ibn al-Muqaffa'** (d. 759/142), brought into Arabic from Pahlavi (Middle Persian) works on kingship, statecraft and history, as well as texts originally translated from the Sanskrit, including the fable collection *Kalila wa-Dimna*. Since the original Pahlavi texts are lost, it is difficult to determine what Ibn al-Muqaffa's ideas of transmission and translation may have been, but his style decisively influenced the development of prose composition in Arabic, and the translations that he and his colleagues produced are among the few extant literary sources for Sasanian history.

Also present in the conquered lands were Christian and pagan communities who were bearers of a tradition of Greek scholarship and, in the case of the Nestorians, of translation into Syriac. The Nestorians had renewed their contact with Greek learning when the Byzantine emperor Justinian closed the pagan academies in 529 and teachers of the Alexandrian curriculum took refuge in Persia.

Muslim interest in Greek science is said to have begun with the **Umayyad** prince Khālid ibn Yazid (d. 704/84), who had scholars brought from Alexandria to translate Greek and Coptic alchemical books for him. Nevertheless, systematic translation from Greek began with the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn (d. 833/218) who, inspired according to legend by a dream vision of **Aristotle**, established a library and translation centre in **Baghdad** under the direction of the celebrated Nestorian **Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq al-'Ibādī** (d. 873/260). Ḥunayn and his disciples rendered into Syriac or Arabic practically the entire available canon of Greek and Hellenistic philosophy and science, developing in the process the terminology needed to express complex new ideas in Arabic. (See further **Bayt al-Hikma**.)

Although the Iraqi translation movement appears to have ended by the mid-tenth century, the texts it made available were studied wherever Arabic was known. This made possible the next broad phase of translation activity, namely the transfer from Arabic to other languages, particularly Hebrew and Latin. Jewish scholars such as **Maimonides** shared with their Muslim counterparts an interest in Greek philosophy and medicine, and Hebrew translations of Arabic works played a role both in medieval Jewish intellectual life and in the transmission of learning to the West. The large-scale translations from Arabic which were to have such an influence on Christian European thought took place in **Spain** and **Sicily**, where from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries Arabic translations and original works on philosophy, medicine, astronomy and mathematics were rendered into Latin. Less easily documentable is the diffusion of fabulous and quasi-historical narratives, such as *Kalila wa-Dimna*, *Tales of Sindbād*, and the **Alexander** romance, in a profusion of versions and languages from the Middle East to Spain and Europe. Spain itself provided northern Europe not only with Arabic manuscripts and with native bilinguals who assisted in translation work, but with a variety of poetic, musical and narrative forms and elements. An Arabic account of **Muhammad's** journey to the other world (*Mi'rāj*), translated into Castilian at the behest of Alfonso X (d. 1284) and then into Latin, French and Italian, was known in fourteenth-century Italy, and has been credited with influence upon Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

## General issues

Accounts scattered throughout the Arabic sources give a sense of the uses and occasionally the precise circumstances of medieval translation. The tenth-century chronicler **Hamza al-Iṣfahānī** cites as his source for Byzantine history a book read aloud for him by a Greek captive of war and translated orally into Arabic by the captive's son (*Sinī mulūk al-arḍ*, Beirut, 1961, 63). Discussing the Roman emperors, the historian **al-Mas'ūdī** (d. 956/345) mentions Greek or Latin sources belonging to the Melkite Christians, but he does not describe if or how he was able to use them (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murāj*, vol. 1, 310). Similarly, **Ibn Qutayba** (d. 889/276) quotes an elegant and accurate Arabic rendering of the first chapters of Genesis without naming a translator (*Ma'ārif*, Cairo, 1960, 9–14). The translator Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq, on the other hand, is more forthcoming, as attested by his list of the available works of **Galen** with an account of previous translations (ed, and trans. G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzung*). A fourteenth-century author states that Ḥunayn's method of translation is superior because 'he considers a whole sentence, ascertains its full meaning and then expresses it in Arabic with a sentence identical in meaning, without concern for the correspondence of individual words' (al-Ṣafadī, trans. Rosenthal, 1975, 21).

Some medieval Muslim scholars were critical of the idea of translation, or of the content of the works being translated, but such scholars protest too much. The littérateur **al-Jāhīz** comments that no one person can command two languages as well as a difficult subject matter; therefore, all translations are necessarily defective (1938, vol 1, 75–9). But al-Jāhīz's own work bespeaks a familiarity with Greek thought, available to the author only through the translators whose labour he belittles. He cites Aristotle on such matters as the cross-breeding of dogs and wolves (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 183–4), and in another work puts a new twist on the old Arab practice of ridiculing misers, describing them in Galenic terms of 'contrary compositions' and 'conflicting humours' (*Bukhalā'*, ed, al-Ḥājirī, Cairo, 1990, 2). Similarly, in a debate in c.938/326 with the logician **Mattā ibn Yūnus**, the grammarian **al-Sirāfi** argues that the distance between peoples, ages and



languages makes translation impossible, and dismisses Mattā's logic as Greek grammar misapplied to Arabic sentences (al-Tawhīdī, *Imtā'*, vol. 1, 104–28; Mahdi in von Grunebaum, 1970). However, al-Sīrāfī's knowledge of the expressions used by the philosophers suggests that he was at least acquainted with the tradition that he is criticizing. Al-Sīrāfī's position becomes even more ironic if the codification of Arabic grammar had indeed taken place in the eighth century along lines suggested by contact with the Greek school tradition (as proposed by C. Versteegh, 1977). Finally, an example from the beginning of the modern period illustrates how much at home the classical traditions were in Arabic literature long after the end of the translation movement. In an episode from *Hadith 'Isā ibn Hishām* of Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (d. 1906), the protagonist imagines what various historical figures would think of contemporary Paris, citing among others Chosroes, Julius Caesar and Plato (Cairo, 1964, 291–2).

Some misconceptions arising from tendentious views of the translation movements may be briefly discussed. First, Arabic scholarship was by no means solely responsible for Western awareness of the classical heritage. Those Greek works that have had the greatest hold on the Western imagination – the epics and tragedies – reached Europe through a later and separate process of transmission. Second, the point of translation into Arabic – in the minds of its patrons and practitioners, at any rate – was not to preserve the Greek heritage. From an Arabocentric view, the Persian element was arguably as important as the Greek, albeit in different ways; and the latter tradition was, furthermore, the object of commentaries, responses and refutations – the object not simply of preservation but of 'appropriation and naturalization' (A.I. Sabra). Finally, the re-transmission of classical scholarship to Europe should not be viewed as rendering unto the West what was the West's to begin with. Greek scholarship had been a Mediterranean phenomenon; and from the sixth to the eleventh centuries, Hellenism – as a body of texts and an intellectual style – was a rather a distinctive feature of Eastern Christian and later Islamic thought than of Western Christian. Only a tendentious mythification could maintain that Hellenism is more 'natural' to northern Europeans than to the medieval Middle Easterners who saw themselves as

heirs to all the best that had been thought and said in the world.

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## translation, modern

Translation from European languages into Arabic has played a major role in the shaping of modern Arabic writing since the mid-nineteenth century. During the early stages of the *nahḍa*, translation activities were most in evidence in its two centres, **Cairo** and **Beirut**. Muḥammad 'Alī, the ruler of **Egypt**, sent several groups of young officers to Europe – mainly to France – to be trained in modern science and technology. Some of the earliest translators of European texts were members of these missions. Rifā'a Rāfi' **al-Taḥṭāwī**, a member of one of the first delegations, established in Cairo a department of translation in the service of the government as well as a school for translators. Rifā'a also translated several French books, including Fénelon's didactic novel, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1696); the Arabic translation of this work was published in Beirut in 1867. In the other centre of translation activity, Beirut, European missionaries were active in producing literary and religious works for the Arabic reader. The most important product of their activity in the nineteenth century was, without doubt, the Protestant and Catholic translations of the entire Bible into Arabic from the original languages. The former was completed in 1865 by two American missionaries, Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck and their Lebanese assistants, Buṭrus **al-Bustānī**, Nāṣif **al-Yāzījī** and Yūsuf **al-Asir**. The latter, prepared by Augustin Rodet and Ibrāhīm **al-Yāzījī**, appeared in 1886.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, when scores of young Lebanese graduates of

the missionary schools settled in Egypt, a new stage in the history of translation was inaugurated. The Lebanese emigrants launched a variety of newspapers, journals and other publications in which translations of European thought and literature occupied substantial space. In the course of the twentieth century, translation became widespread in several Arab literary centres.

The main languages from which literature has been translated into Arabic are French and English. The former was predominant until the early decades of the twentieth century, but in the inter-war period French was gradually overtaken by English as the main source language, and in recent decades English has been the central foreign language in the entire Mashriq. A 1985 survey of books translated into Arabic in Egypt indicated that 75 per cent of translated books came from English, while 10 per cent were from French (*Ālam al-Kutub*, April–June 1985, 3). In the **Maghrib**, however, French has been the main European language, although there was also some use of Italian sources in Libya and Spanish sources in Morocco. Recently, English has been making inroads into North Africa, mainly through the influx of American culture. Other European languages, such as German and Russian, only rarely serve as source languages, although works in these and other languages are often translated through an intermediary language. Until the 1920s, Turkish and Persian sometimes served as source languages and intermediary languages through which some European literature reached Arab readers.

The literary genre in which translation is most conspicuous is the novel. Many novels were at first serialized in journals and newspapers to attract readers. The novels selected for translation were accordingly often trivial, and only rarely were the great masters of European fiction presented to Arab readers. Most of the early translators felt free to tamper with the text or at least to delete 'boring' or 'daring' episodes and descriptions. In the inter-war period, a noteworthy improvement occurred in the quality and selection of European works. It was not until the 1940s, however, that translation of the classics of European fiction was seen as a serious literary undertaking. In Egypt, Ṭāhā **Ḥusayn** initiated a series of translations when he edited the literary journal *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* (1945–8). In the 1950s and 1960s, a similar activity was undertaken by Lebanese publishers, who translated several modernist

novelists (e.g. Camus and Sartre). These works encouraged younger Arab writers to pursue modern styles of writing. Translations of such authors as Virginia Woolf and James Joyce were instrumental in promoting an Arabic equivalent to the stream-of-consciousness technique. Joyce's *Ulysses*, for example, was translated in full and published in Cairo in 1982.

European poetry has also been translated since the beginning of the twentieth century. Prominent among European poets whose works have often been translated into Arabic are Victor Hugo and Shelley. Palgrave's anthology of English poetry, *The Golden Treasury*, served in the inter-war period as a source for many translations of English lyrical poetry in Egypt. The main poetic works that interested Arab translators were, however, Shakespeare's plays (e.g. *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*) as well as plays by French classical dramatists. In the post-World War 2 period, several other European poets were translated, including Baudelaire, T.S. Eliot and St John Perse.

Translators of European poetry into Arabic were faced with difficulties exceeding those of translators of prose, mainly because of the special structure of classical Arabic prosody and its rhyming system. Several poets tried to produce translations in the classical Arab form (e.g. the Egyptian poet 'Alī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā in his 1934 translation of Shelley's 'To a Skylark'). Most of these attempts, however, turned out to be paraphrases rather than an accurate rendering of the original. In view of these difficulties, most translators of poetry resorted to prose or to free verse. As of the 1950s, some translators were able to make use of the newly developed poetic style entitled *al-shi'r al-hurr* ('free verse') to reflect the original form of European poetry. However, prose is still the main vehicle for translating foreign poetry.

The earliest dramatic texts to be translated into Arabic were the comedies of Molière and the tragedies of Corneille and Racine. Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl, a disciple of al-Taḥṭāwī, translated plays by Molière and Corneille in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. His versified translations were written in colloquial Egyptian Arabic rather than in the formal literary language (*fushḥā*). At times he Egyptianized the characters and situation, although the translation of the text itself remained fairly loyal to the original.

Shakespeare was also, as indicated above, a dramatist much sought after by translators. The early Arabic versions of his plays were often adaptations rather than faithful translations of the original text, e.g. Najīb al-Haddād's verse translation of *Romeo and Juliet*, entitled *Shuhadā' al-gharām* (i.e. *Martyrs of Love*). Of special note is a translation of this play produced by 'Alī Aḥmad Bakathīr in Cairo in 1947 in which he used a kind of classical Arab prosody but in a fashion reminiscent of the later *al-shi'r al-hurr* style. Jalāl's example in translating European plays into the vernacular, however, was not followed by later translators. With very few exceptions, European drama is translated and staged in *fushḥā*, whereas original drama is increasingly being written and staged in the vernacular.

Translation of non-fictional texts also abounds. These translations have given Arabic prose a measure of flexibility and acted as a vehicle of transmission for a variety of modern modes of discourse.

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See also: *al-nahḍa*

## transmission see poetry, classical

## travel literature

A tradition of the Prophet enjoined his followers to seek knowledge even as far as China; but Arabic travel literature as it has come down to us is concerned, at least in the pre-modern period, primarily with travelling inside the religious and cultural unity of the land mass and the Mediterranean basin of the *Dār al-Islām* or Abode of Islam, plus a limited number of accounts of voyages along the Indian Ocean fringes of East Africa and of

peninsular India to south-east Asia and the coast of China. Until the expansion of activities by the Barbary Corsairs in the sixteenth century CE, no Muslim ships seem to have braved the Atlantic Ocean waters.

Thus we have the paradox of considerable traffic within the Arab lands combined with an almost total lack of interest in, for example, the lands of northern Europe and northern Asia and of sub-Saharan Africa, regarded as *Dār al-Ḥarb* or *Dār al-Kufr*, the Abodes of War and Unbelief; since the medieval Muslim had everything necessary for salvation within his own closed world, curiosity about the outside lands was superfluous, if not indeed dangerous. Hence what the Arabs knew of such lands tended to come at second hand through trade contacts, as was brought by the Scandinavian-Slav Rūs who sailed down the river systems of Russia from Scandinavia to Byzantium and the Islamic lands, bringing some vague knowledge to the latter of the intervening peoples and lands; or else through the travels of persons marginal to the Muslim community, such as those of the Spanish Jew Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb al-Ṭurṭūshī across the Frankish empire and the Slav lands of eastern Europe in the mid-fourth/tenth century, whose account is unfortunately lost but is quoted by later writers. It is a regrettable fact that the accounts of many medieval travellers both within and outside the Islamic lands are known only from citations in historical and geographical works. Of the very few early accounts of travels by Muslim Arabs into the *terrae incognitae* of northern Eurasia which have survived, we possess that of the diplomatic envoy from the caliph to the king of the Bulgars on the middle Volga, **Ibn Fadlān** (309–10/921–2) extremely valuable for its ethnographical information, and that of the globe-trotter and poet **Abū Dulaf** who accompanied an embassy from Bukhara across Central Asia to the Emperor of China's court (c.328/940), useful but confused in its arrangement.

Within the Islamic world, however, there was much travel by pilgrims heading for Mecca and Medina or the **Shī'i** shrines; by scholars seeking out famous teachers or institutions of learning; by **Šūfī** mystics attracted by a charismatic *shaykh*; by religious propagandists, such as the **Ismā'īli** ones; by officials and diplomatic envoys; but above all, by traders. The earliest form of travel literature known to us is that of the practical manuals,

the road books, from the third/ninth century onwards, developing into the classic Arabic works on geography (see **geographical literature**); most of these were based on actual travels (e.g. those of **Ibn Ḥawqal** and **al-Muqaddasi**), and might combine sober information with a more credulous interest in local marvels and other phenomena. Full-length, independent travel books (Arabic *riḥla*, 'journey') appear slightly later. That of the sixth/twelfth-century Spanish Muslim voyager **Ibn Jubayr** enshrines the experiences of a pilgrim to the Holy Places who sailed through the Mediterranean to Egypt and who was an acute observer of local conditions. Also from the far Muslim West, the lengthy *riḥla* of the Moroccan **Ibn Baṭṭūta** covers the experiences of thirty years of his life, spent in journeys across the whole expanse of the eighth/fourteenth-century Islamic world, from Ghana to South Russia, India, the Maldiv Islands and China, at a time when the Turco-Mongol conquests had facilitated movement across the Euro-Asiatic land mass; as well as revealing the author's personal beliefs and ways of thought, insights only rarely vouchsafed from medieval Muslims, the *riḥla* contains much important historical and social information on fringe regions of the Islamic world otherwise poorly documented.

Much of Ibn Baṭṭūta's travelling was done by sea along the Indian Ocean and China Sea shores, while the importance of commercial voyages through the Mediterranean and Red Seas is revealed to us by the extensive **Judaeo-Arabic literature** from the Cairo **Geniza**. Certain of the Perso-Arab sea captains who operated in the eastern waters have left us accounts of their voyages which form the earliest texts for Arab maritime history, such as the *Akhbār al-Šīn wa-a'l-Hind* (*Information on China and India*) put together in 237/851 and dubiously attributed to a certain Sulaymān the Merchant, and the *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Hind* (*Book of the Wonders of India*) (c.342/953), a collection of sailors' tales by the captain **Buzurg ibn Shahriyār**, who probably came from Sirāf in the Persian Gulf. There must have been a long tradition of seafaring and travel lore in these waters, as in the Mediterranean likewise; the Indian Ocean one certainly continued up to the time of the great navigator **Aḥmad ibn Mājid** c.1500 CE.

It was only in the nineteenth century, when the Arab and Turkish worlds were drawn willy-nilly into the international states-system

and became parts of a worldwide economy, that Arabs began to travel in significant numbers to Europe and to write accounts of their journeys, what they saw on arrival and how they reacted to an alien culture and way of life. Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī wrote in 1834 his *Takhlīṣ al-ibriz fī talkhiṣ Bāriz* on his experiences in France; and the several works of Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq of a generation or so later contain much acute if deprecatory comment on his stays in London and Paris.

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See also: geographical literature

## tribes

The importance of genealogy for the Arabs was both retrospective and prospective. To know one's ancestors and to recall their glorious deeds in verse was a source of tribal cohesion, but equally there was a solemn duty to hand on by meritorious conduct the tribe's good name to future generations. As a Prophetic *ḥadīth* puts it, *al-nās ma'mūnūn 'alā ansābihim* ('People are the guardians of their lineage'). The purity of the blood-line (*aṣāla*) was nowhere more highly esteemed than in pre-modern Arabia, where pre-eminent **bedouin** tribes were termed *sharīf* and claimed descent from one of the two original ancestors of the Arabs. Among the best known of these tribes are 'Anaza, Shammar, Ḥarb, Muṭayr, 'Ajmān, Ḥafir, al-Murra, Qaḥṭān, 'Uṭayba, Dawāsir, Sba'i, Qawāsīm, Ḥuwayṭāt and Banū Tamīm. The ruling families of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain are descended from 'Anaza who are considered the aristocrats of the desert (Dickson, 1983).

Arab genealogists view the origin of the Arabs as descendants of Shem son of Noah in tripartite fashion: (i) *al-'Arab al-bā'ida* (the lost Arabs), the original inhabitants of Arabia such as the tribes of 'Ād and Thamūd, most of whom had vanished before the advent of Islam; (ii) *al-'Arab al-ārība* (the true Arabs) who descend from Qaḥṭān and occupied the southwestern corner of Arabia (southern

Arabs); (iii) *al-'Arab al-musta'riba* (the Arabized Arabs) whose patriarchal ancestor was 'Adnān and who occupied the central and northern areas of the peninsula (northern Arabs). The picture is complicated by the drift northwards in the centuries before Islam of the Qaḥṭān tribes, the two main branches of which were Ḥimyar and Kahlān. It was the descendants of the latter especially who migrated from southern Arabia: Lakhm and Ghassān established important states in the north of Arabia, bordering on the Persian and Byzantine empires in the pre-Islamic era (see **Ghassānids**; **Lakhmids**), while Kinda held sway for a time in central Arabia. Other descendants of Kahlān, through Azd, were the tribes of Aws and Khazraj who were settled in Medina at the time of the Hijra. Another Qaḥṭānī tribe well represented in the Syrian desert to this day is that of Kalb. Although the southern Arabs were traditionally afforded historical precedence, after the advent of Islam the northern tribes more than redressed the balance, since they counted among their number the all-important tribe of Quraysh, whose ancestor Qusayy took possession of the Ka'ba by defeating the Khuzā'a, its previous (southern) owners. The two main branches of the northern Arabs descend through Muḍar and Rabī'a. From the former, through Qays 'Aylān, spring Bāhila, Ḥawāzin and Ghaṭafān. Thaḳīf are descended from Ḥawāzin, and 'Abs and Dhubyān from Ghaṭafān. Also from Muḍar through Khindif spring Hudhayl, Tamīm, Ḥarb and Kināna, the ancestors of Quraysh. From Rabī'a through Asad are descended 'Anaza, 'Abd al-Qays, Taghlib and Bakr ibn Wā'il.

The tribal wars in pre-Islamic Arabia provided ample scope for poets to eulogize the virtues of their tribes, and it seems that the renowned literary fair held at 'Ukāz, during which all hostilities ceased, was above all an occasion for boasting and panegyric (al-Quṭb, 1968). The first *qaṣīda* is said to have been an elegy composed by **al-Muhalhil ibn Rabī'a** of Taghlib on the death of his brother Kulayb in the war of Basūs between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. Another celebrated war of the period, between two tribes with a common ancestry, was that between 'Abs and Dhubyān which lasted for forty years and occasioned the fine *ḥamāsa* poetry of 'Antara ibn Shaddād, who fought valiantly on the side of 'Abs. **Imru' al-Qays's** *qaṣīda* bears witness to the hatred that existed between Kinda and Lakhm,

both tribes of Qaḥṭānī origin. The bitter rivals of Aws and Khazraj also shared a common forebear (Azd) and the great satirists al-Farazdaq and Jarīr both belonged to branches of Tamīm.

One writer has posited a basic duality in bedouin society which throughout history has set tribes against each other at all levels of social structure (*EI*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 4, 334–5). Operating outside the confines of the tribe provided an equally strong motivation for celebration by the *ṣaʿālik* poets al-Shanfarā and Taʿabbaḡa Sharran of bedouin ideals – ‘bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in revenge, protection of the weak, and defiance of the strong’ (Nicholson, 1988, 79). Rivalry between northern and southern tribes has also been an abiding phenomenon in Arab history, contributing to the flow of *fakhr* and *hijāʿ* verse. The tribes of Kalb and Qays supported rival claimants to the caliphate after the death of Yazīd in 64/683, satire being the principal weapon used on both sides. These feuds were later transported to Spain where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān enlisted the support of Kalb tribesmen, anxious for revenge on their northern kinsmen, to found an Umayyad dynasty in 139/756. The long-running rivalry between Shammar and ʿAniza, which was not resolved until early in the twentieth century, was a modern manifestation of a tribe of southern descent pitted against one of northern ancestry with poets performing their time-honoured roles (see Sowayan, 1985).

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P.G. EMERY

See also: Arabia; bedouin

## truth and poetry

The issue of poetic truth was widely discussed by medieval Arab critics. The saying *Aḥsan al-shiʿr akdhabuhu* (‘The best poetry is the

most false’); attributed to Aristotle, was often invoked to prove both poetry’s excellence and its falsehood, which was taken as a given: only the Koran, the divine revelation, was absolutely true. Although the Prophet employed poets as his spokesmen, the Koran condemned (pagan) poets who ‘say what they do not do’ (26:25–7); the inimitability of Koranic style (see *iʿjāz al-Qurʿān*) was opposed to that of poetry on both religious and aesthetic grounds by Koran scholars and men of letters alike. Thus the debate on poetic truth turned upon moral, linguistic or aesthetic issues; and ‘truth’ was designated by terms whose sense varied from one discipline to another, and shifted in the course of time.

In debates on the comparative virtues of ancient versus modern poets, the poetry of the former was often praised for its ‘truth’ (*ṣidq*), while that of the latter, characterized by exaggeration and by the use of figurative language, was accused of being ‘false’ (*kādhīb*). (See further **ancients and moderns**.) *Ṣidq* connotes objectivity, sincerity and accuracy of description, qualities for which Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934) praised the ancients. By contrast, Qudāma ibn Jaʿfar (d. 337/948) declared that the poet need not be ‘sincere’ (*ṣādiq*), but must say what the topic (*maʿnā*) requires; if he contradicts himself on different occasions this does not matter so long as his treatment is skilful. Qudāma also approved the use of hyperbole (*ghuluww*) for purposes of emphasis (*mubālagha*), but warned that the poet should avoid impossibility (*istihāla*), shifting the ground of the discussion from moral to aesthetic–linguistic considerations.

The issue of poetic truth is clearly related to the principle of decorum: it was improper, for example, to praise someone for qualities that he clearly lacked (e.g. to praise someone who had never ridden a horse for his horsemanship) or in terms inappropriate to his position (praise of a religious figure should not include references to wine). On the other hand, panegyric poetry (see *madiḥ*) was expected to present its subject in ideal, rather than veridical, terms, enhanced by hyperbole; while in invective and in the ‘lighter’ genres (e.g. *mujūn*) the poet was allowed almost unlimited licence to exaggerate.

Another term that figured in the debate on poetic truth was *ḥaqīqa*, which for philologist–critics meant the ‘literal’ or ‘proper’ use of language, as opposed to *majāz*, ‘improper’, idiomatic, or figurative usage. In

this context an 'untrue' statement was an instance of 'anomalous signification' attributable to rhetorical excess (as in the many criticisms of **Abū Tammām's** poetry), deliberate contravention of established usage, or linguistic incompetence (cf. Al-Azmeh, 1986, 109–10.) 'False' statements, in this sense, lead to impossibility or absurdity; but in some contexts (e.g. invective) a 'false' (that is, inaccurate or even patently untrue) statement might be perfectly acceptable.

The recognition that figurative language was the standard form of linguistic usage, and especially of poetic diction, meant, however, that the poet had no obligation to be 'truthful', but might employ his creativity freely. This notion was developed extensively by '**Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī** (d. 471/1078), whose discussion of the poetic imagination elevated the mendacious poet to the level of consummate artist.

For the philosophers 'truth', in the context of discourse, had primarily a logical–semantic sense. Statements were classified on a scale ranging from demonstrative (*burhāniyya*), which were absolutely true (*ṣādiqa*), to poetic, which were both imaginative (*mukhayyila*, *takhyiliyya*; see **imagination**) and false (*kādhība*). **Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī** (d. 339/950) defined poetic discourse as that which is 'neither demonstrative nor argumentative nor rhetorical nor sophistic' (Cantarino, 1975, 93), but maintained that while poetic statements were false they were also analogical, and differed from sophistic statements, which were deliberately misleading. **Ibn Sinā** (d. 428/1037) emphasized the imaginative nature of poetic statements, asserting that they were more effective than rational statements, and capable of inducing 'poetic assent' (*taṣdiq shi'rī*). **Ibn Rushd** (d. 595/1198) also stressed the relation between poetry and the imagination as well as poetry's ethical role: it was the purpose of poetry to move the hearer towards the good by its imaginative presentation of good and bad qualities. The views of **Ibn Sinā** in particular were to influence later critics such as **Hāzīm al-Qarṭājannī**, who developed the notion that poetry is characterized neither by truth not by falsehood, but by its status as imaginative and creative discourse.

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J.S. MEISAMI

See also: literary criticism, medieval

## al-Ṭūbī (fourth/tenth century)

**Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kātib al-Ṭūbī** was a Siculo-Arabic writer. His father was the chief chancellor of the emiral court and a famous grammarian, and his brother 'Alī was also a well-known poet. **Al-Ṭūbī** was an excellent poet, a writer, a grammarian and also a physician. According to his critics he composed better *maqāmāt* than those of **al-Ḥarīrī**. **Al-Ṭūbī** is also a poet of spiritual love; in his poems the bacchic and erotic themes veil the classical topics of mystical love. He often uses the motif of love-sickness, a recurrent theme also of the newly born Italian poetry of the thirteenth century.

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F.M. CORRAO

## Ṭūbiyā, Majīd (1938– )

Egyptian novelist and short-story writer. Born in Upper Egypt, **Ṭūbiyā** worked initially as a schoolteacher before studying at the Film Institute in Cairo. Most recently he has held a position at the Ministry of Culture. He is one of the more prolific of contemporary Egyptian writers of fiction. His first collection, *Vostok yaşil ilā al-qamar* (1967), was a great critical success, particularly for its ability to portray

different levels of consciousness; it was soon followed by *Khams jarā'id lam tuqra'* (1970) and *al-Ayyām al-Tāliya* (1972). Since then he has produced a number of novels, including *Abnā' al-ṣamt* (1974), *Ḥanān* (1981) and *Taghribat Banī Hathut* (1988), along with further short-story collections. Ṭūbiyā has also written works for children and scenarios for films.

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R. ALLEN

### Ṭufayl ibn 'Awf al-Ghanawī (sixth century CE)

Ṭufayl ibn 'Awf (or ibn Ka'b) of the Ghani (Qays 'Aylān) was a pre-Islamic poet-warrior also known as Ṭufayl al-Khayl (Ṭufayl of the Horses) and al-Muḥabbir (the Embellisher) on account of his superlative equine descriptions. He is referred to by some authorities as the 'master' of the inter-tribal chain of poet-transmitters which included Aws ibn Ḥajar and Zuhayr, although, given his hostile dealings with Zayd al-Khayl of the tribe of Ṭayyi', he was probably a contemporary of Aws ibn Ḥajar: Zuhayr would then have served an apprenticeship to both poets; poem 8 in Krenkow's edition of the *dīwān* of Ṭufayl is, despite its fragmentariness, stylistically similar to several of Zuhayr's works. Ṭufayl's *qaṣīdas* are predominantly tribal vaunts (*fakhr*) of either a political or an annalistic nature. Poem 2 is a political, exhortative threnody, in which the poet laments the murder of Huraym ibn Sinān, and urges his fellow tribesmen to a punitive raid to avenge his death. His verse is measured and traditional; the equine pieces, which occur within depictions of his tribe on a raid, were much valued in Arab antiquity by critics and aficionados alike. Krenkow has established that there is a connection between poem 1 and a piece by Zayd al-Khayl, and they may belong to a flying.

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

### al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī (453–514/1061–1120 or 21)

Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū Ismā'il al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī was an Arab poet. He held important administrative posts (among them that of court astrologer) under the Saljūq sultans Malikshāh and Muḥammad – he acquired his nickname, al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī, from his association with the *dīwān al-ṭuḡhrā'* (the royal signature) – but first achieved political prominence at Mosul as vizier to the Saljūq prince Mas'ūd. He was executed on allegedly trumped-up charges of 'corrupt religious belief'.

Al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī's masterpiece, his *qaṣīda* entitled the *Lāmiyyat al-'ajam* (*The Verses Rhyming in lām of the Non-Arabs*), written in Baghdad in 505/1111–12 and bemoaning the corrupt times in which he lived, has excited admiration for its recherché vocabulary (*gharā'ib*); al-Ṣafadī's commentary on it explains every word and rhetorical device. Translations of it have existed in Europe since the seventeenth century. Its name is a conscious echo of the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* of al-Shanfarā; both works rhyme in *lām*. Al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī also composed panegyrics on Saljūq notables. He was a master of prose style too – Ibn al-Qalānīsī quotes in full a diploma drafted by al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī for Sultan Muḥammad. He wrote at least six works on alchemy.

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C. HILLENBRAND



**Tūlūnids** *see* **Egypt; Maghrib****al-Tūnisī, Khayr al-Dīn**  
**(1822/3?–89)**

Tunisian statesman and reformer, born in the Caucasus and brought up in Istanbul. Khayr al-Dīn came to Tunisia in 1830, entered the service of the Bey and began a military career. He lived in Paris from 1853 to 1856. In 1857, he was appointed Minister of the Navy. Between 1862 and 1869 he lived in various foreign capitals. He was prime minister from 1873 to 1877, when he was forced into exile and went to Istanbul, where he was grand vizier from 1878 to 1879. In his various capacities, Khayr al-Dīn showed himself to be a daring supporter of reform and of efficient administration, and a defender of Tunisian independence. In 1868 he wrote *Aqwam al-masālik fī ma'rīfat aḥwāl al-mamālik* (ed. al-Munṣif al-Shannūfī, Carthage, 2 vols, 1990–1), the greater part of which comprises a discussion of the political and economic situation of Europe; and in a long introduction he puts forward his own ideas, in the style of **Ibn Khaldūn**. Khayr al-Dīn was a modernist who believed that it was necessary to emulate the successful system of government and technical progress of the West, which could be justified with reference to Islam, and that by doing this Muslim countries would be able to overcome their backwardness. His theories in this area influenced the Egyptian **al-Taḥṭāwī**.

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J. FONTAINE

**al-Tūnisī, Maḥmūd Bayram**  
**(1893–1961)**

Best known for his poetry composed in Egyptian and Tunisian vernacular modes, which is fondly recited across the Arab world, 'Bayram' is also remembered as a writer of

satiric and parodic prose. Born in Alexandria into a family of *petit-bourgeois* merchants of Tunisian background and 'French protected' status, he began in 1916 to publish *fuṣḥā* poems of social–political criticism in the Alexandria newspapers *al-Najāh* and *al-Aḥālī*. It was in the latter that his famous poem 'al-Majlis al-baladī' appeared (25 March 1917). In the tumultuous political circumstances of 1919, Bayram founded two satirical newspapers, *al-Misalla* and *al-Khāzūq*, in which he began to publish colloquial poems, but apparently his attacks on the royal family hit home, for the newspapers were closed and Bayram was deported as a troublesome French protégé on 21 October 1919. He spent the next nineteen years in Tunisia (1919–20; 1933–7), France (1920–33, with a brief clandestine return to Egypt in 1922), and Syria (1937–8). The vulnerability of immigrant day-labourer life in France that Bayram experienced in the 1920s is described in short stories and essays from this period; his colloquial narrative poems of the same era, published in the Cairo newspaper *al-Shabāb* and then the magazine *al-Funūn*, etch the miseries of poverty sympathetically while sketching merciless and hilarious caricatured portraits of social types in **Egypt**. Other poems form a running commentary on Egyptian and Arab politics of the period, while his satiric *maqāmāt* explore the roles of Muslim clerics in everyday dramas of Egyptian life. Bayram's breadth of knowledge and his skill at exploiting both the folk and classical expressive traditions is evident in all of these compositions. In Tunis in the 1930s, Bayram collaborated in a series of periodicals and founded his own, *al-Shabāb*, turning his pen to dissecting the local scene until he was banished, once again a troublemaker, to **Syria**. Managing to slip into Alexandria, he lived clandestinely while seeking a royal pardon. Finally an order that the police should overlook his presence was achieved; it was not until after the Free Officers' revolution, however, that Bayram received Egyptian citizenship (1954) and then, a few months before his death, a State Prize. During these last two decades of his life he regularly contributed fine short poems of social criticism to major Egyptian newspapers; wrote songs for **Umm Kalthūm** and others; composed lyrics for comic operettas and films, and wrote radio serials. In 1975 the General Egyptian Book Organization began to issue his complete works, edited by Rushdī Ṣāliḥ. Bayram

brought Egyptian *zajal* to a new level of artistry, influencing the next, revolutionary, generation of colloquial poets, notably Ṣalāḥ Jāhin and Fu'ād Ḥaddād.

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M. BOOTH

## Tunisia, modern

Modern Tunisian literature is a product of the *nahḍa*. In its prose form, this literature is, generally speaking, journalistic – the direct link with traditional culture being provided by poetry. In about 1860, the date of the First Constitution and the founding of the Official Press, reformist chroniclers began to take up the cause of modernity. During the French occupation (1881–1956) a quest for identity developed alongside the struggle against colonialism. Thus, the beginning of the twentieth century saw both the appearance of new literary genres (the short story, novel and play) and the affirmation of a specifically Tunisian literature, within the wider context of Arabic literature in general. Names such as Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī and al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād became bywords for innovation. In the 1930s, a rich period of literature was ushered in by the periodical *al-'Ālam al-adabī*, edited by Zin al-'Ābidīn al-Sanūsī, and later Muḥammad al-Bashrūsh's *al-Mabāḥith*, in which Maḥmūd al-Mas'ādī and 'Alī al-Du'ājī distinguished themselves. Having recovered their independence, Tunisian writers began to organize themselves, and the 1960s were characterized by attempts at collectivization. The realist novel developed under the influence of al-Bashīr Khurayyif, and neo-realist poetry came into vogue under Ja'far Mājid. However, this was above all the decade of avant-garde literature, first attempted by Ṣāliḥ al-Garmādī. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Madānī began writing historical theatre and

al-Ṭāhir al-Hammāmī produced poetry '*ghayr al-'amūdī wa-al-ḥurr*'. The 1970s saw the return of economic liberalization. The 'novel of conscience' emerged with Muṣṭafā al-Fārisī, who challenged the idea of individual power. Ṣāliḥ al-Jābirī tackled the issue of the rising middle class through a use of realism very similar to the poetic realism of al-Midānī ibn Ṣāliḥ, while Muḥyī al-Dīn Khurayyif expressed his ideas through contemplative poetry. However, this was above all the decade of *nouveau théâtre*, introduced by Faḍīl al-Ja'ibī and Faḍīl al-Jazirī, who broke the traditional rules of the drama by expressing their ideas solely in dialectal Arabic. The start of the 1980s was rather bloody. Social inequality gave rise to Islamic fundamentalism. The realist novel continued to develop under M. al-Hādī ibn Ṣāliḥ, while in her poetry Faḍīla al-Shābbī put forward an original cosmogony. Riḍā al-Kāfī wrote on the horror of death. This decade also saw the rise of the Kairouan school, which began to develop literature on the theme of expatriation, following the defeats and suffering of the people; hence the tendency to take refuge in history or mysticism (Muḥammad al-Ghuzzī) or the simplicity of the natural world (Munṣif al-Wahāybī).

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J. FONTAINE

## Ṭūqān, Fadwā (1917– )

Palestinian poet. Born into a wealthy and conservative family in Nablus, Fadwā Ṭūqān was prevented at the age of 13 from continuing her education when her elder brother learnt that a boy was following her daily to and from school and had dared to give her a jasmine flower. Confined to the traditional extended-family house, she found more kindly treatment at the hands of another elder brother, Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān (1905–41), a well-known nationalist poet, who undertook to

teach her at home and acquaint her with the art of writing verse.

She began to publish her own poetry under the pseudonym of Danānīr a few years later. Then, under her real name, she published her first collection of poetry, *Wahdī ma' al-ayyām* (1955), expressing her deep feelings of loneliness and of yearning for a fuller life free from social repression. Mostly in traditional verse, the collection showed some influences of the innovative Arab–American **Mahjar** poets. She wrote a few poems in **free verse** in the 1950s and others in traditional metrical verse with some variations and departures, and collected them in *Wajadtuhā* (1957) and *A'tinā Ḥubban* (1960). These collections established her reputation as one of the leading women poets in the Arab world, coyly expressing her tender emotions of Romantic love for an unnamed man and her pent-up feelings of social protest.

In 1963 she travelled abroad alone for the first time and spent some time in Oxford studying English literature. Her later collections written in free verse show her widening horizons but remain highly personal and confessional. In *Amām al-bāb al-mughlaq* (1967) she mourns the death of her younger brother Nimr, but in her later collections written under Israeli occupation she finally emerges to celebrate the struggle of her nation for dignity and freedom (*al-Layl wa-al-fursān*, 1969; 'Alā qimmat al-dunyā waḥīdan, 1973; *Kābūs al-layl wa-al-nahār*, 1974; and *Tammūz wa-al-shay' al-ākhar*, 1987). Today she lives in Nablus and continues to sing the heroes of the Palestinian *intifāda*, putting her poetry at the service of the Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation of her homeland.

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I.J. BOULLATA

**Tūqān, Ibrāhīm (1905–41)**

Palestinian poet. Born in Nablus, Ibrāhīm Tūqān studied there and at the American University of Beirut. The brother of Fadwā Tūqān, he is known as the foremost spokesman for the Palestinian cause in the 1920s and 1930s. Much of his poetry, which ranges between the personal and the national, was published originally in Arabic newspapers; it was collected after his death in a single-volume *Dīwān* (1988). He died prematurely from a recurrent stomach illness.

**Further reading**

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P. STARKEY

**al-Turk, Niqūlā (1763–1828)**

Lebanese Melchite historian and poet, born and died in Dayr al-Qamar. Al-Turk was in **Egypt** from 1798 to 1804 to report to the Druze Prince Bashīr of the Lebanon on the French occupation and various editions of his history of this period, *Histoire de l'expédition des Français en Égypte* (1839), have appeared. Several anonymous manuscripts on the history of the Shihābis, on the battles between the French and the Austrians in 1805, and a history of the notorious Governor of Acre, Aḥmad Bāshā al-Jazzār, are also ascribed to him. His *dīwān* (1949), which includes some *maqāmāt*, shows that while not a master of the poetic language, he was sometimes capable of spontaneity.

**Text edition**

- Turc, Nicolas, *Chronique d'Égypte, 1798–1804*, G. Wiet (ed.), Cairo (1950).

P.C. SADGROVE

**Turkish literature, relations with Arabic**

The relationship between Turkish literature and Arabic is a rather complex one. First of all, there is not one Turkish literature but several, including literatures in Eastern (e.g.

Karakhanidic and Chaghatay) as well as Western Turkish (e.g. Azeri, Ottoman and Modern Turkish of Turkey). The earliest stage in the development of a relationship between the Turkish languages and Arabic began with the Islamization of Turkish peoples of Central Asia from the eighth century (western data) onwards. With the rise of New Persian language and literature, the Turkish languages and literatures came under the influence of Persian and their relations with Arabic were mediated by Persian. Through Persian, Arabic words, Arabo-Islamic concepts and the metrical system of 'arūd (see *prosody*) were transferred to Turkish.

In the fifth/eleventh century, Maḥmūd of Kashgar compiled the first Turkish–Arabic dictionary, the *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk*, and Yūsuf Ulugh (Khāṣṣ) Ḥājib composed the *Kutadgu Bilig* (*Auspicious Wisdom*) in the metre *mutaqārib*. Although the metre of this poem is Arabic, its form, the *mathnawī* (poem with rhyming couplets), is Persian. Later Turkish literatures, especially Kipchaq (**Mamlūk**), Ottoman and Chaghatay literatures, make use of all existing Arabic metres but they show the same preferences as classical Persian literature, i.e. the metres most commonly used are *ramal*, *hazaj*, *mutaqārib*, *muḍāri* and *mujtathth* while the metres *ṭawīl*, *kāmīl*, *wāfir*, etc., are only rarely used.

During the ninth/fifteenth century, a new phase in the relationship between Turkish literatures and Arabic set in: in the east, under Tīmūrid rule, Chaghatay emerged as a major literary language, and in the west, Ottoman literature rivalled Persian. The rise of the new literary languages was accompanied by the **translation** of numerous Arabic and Persian works (including the **Koran**, *Qābūs-nāma* and Sa'dī's *Gulistān*) into Turkish languages as well as the composition of parallel poems (called *naẓīre*) to existing ones. About one century later, important philological commentaries were written in Ottoman Turkish. In the field of religious poetry, the genre of eulogy on the Prophet (*na't ar-rasūl*) evolved partly under the influence of Arab authors such as **al-Buṣīrī**, whose famous *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* was used as a model for *naẓīres* and *takhmīses* (poems in which every hemistich of an original is followed by four hemistichs of a new poem).

Ottoman intellectuals of the tenth/sixteenth and subsequent centuries most often were proficient in the 'Three Languages' (*üç lisan*), namely Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and in

some cases they also spoke Albanian, Greek, Hungarian or one of the Slavonic languages. Their style of Ottoman prose-writing closely followed that of classical Persian prose with its extremely complicated syntax and heavy emphasis on **rhetoric**; in many respects it differed markedly from the style of Arabic *adab* prose but it did use internal rhymes (*saj'*).

Ottoman literature, which outranks all other pre-modern Turkish literatures in volume and intellectual weight, makes free use of Arabic words, phrases, proverbs, poetic forms and genres, and follows the aesthetic guidelines laid down by poets like 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, the most important textbook used by Ottoman writers being, however, the *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* of al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), an epitome of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* by al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229); an Ottoman commentary on the Arabic lines of the *Talkhīṣ* was published as late as 1887.

In the nineteenth century, Ottoman writers and intellectuals sought to adapt their styles of writing to European (predominantly French) standards and tastes. In 1881–2, Raja'izade Mahmud Akram (Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem) published his *Ta'līm-i edebiyāt* which is at least partly based on the French tradition of literary theory, while in the same year Ahmad Jawdat Pasha (Ahmed Cevdet) published his *Belāghat-i 'othmāniyye*, a work solidly grounded in the medieval tradition of Persian and Arabic poetics.

The language reform of Atatürk, with its abolition of the Arabic script and secularist bias lent force to a movement that reduced the number of Arabic and Persian words in the Turkish language and replaced them with older Turkish ones or neologisms. Cut off from large parts of their literary heritage, modern Turkish writers, especially secularist and Marxist writers, developed a new literary language and emulated the styles of Western or socialist literatures. Only recently a trend back to forms, topics and styles of pre-modern Turkish literature has been felt; it is, however, unclear whether this movement will lead to a renewal of the ancient ties between Turkish literature and Arabic.

M. GL ÜNZ

## al-Turṭūshī (451–520/1059 or 60–1126)

Abū Bakr al-Turṭūshī, often known as Ibn Abī Randaqa, was an Arab scholar. After studying

Mālikī *fiqh*, as well as *hadīth*, mathematics and *adab* (which he learned from **Ibn Ḥazm**) in his youth, he went east to complete his education in Iraq and Syria. He eventually settled in Alexandria, where he taught the religious sciences – **Ibn Tūmart** was his pupil. Several of his treatises on *fiqh* are extant. His most famous book, the *Sirāj al-mulūk*, modelled on similar works of his great rival **al-Ghazzālī**, is a long *Fürstenspiegel*, a treatise on the ruler's spiritual perfection, with edifying anecdotes from Islamic and non-Islamic sources.

Text editions

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C. HILLENBRAND

**al-Tustarī, Sahl Ibn 'Abd Allāh see  
Sahl al-Tustarī**

### 'Ubayd, 'Īsā (18??–1922)

Syrian short-story writer living in Egypt. Brother of Shihāta 'Ubayd, he was associated with the literary movement known as the 'Modern School', and with the Sufūr group. Influenced by French literature, he published two collections of short stories in a psychological and realistic vein. In the introduction to the first collection, *Iḥsān Hānim* (1921), he advocated an Egyptian literature that would depict the social, psychological and national life of the Egyptians in a realistic manner, in contrast with the idealistic and Romantic style of **al-Manfalūṭi**. He also advocated the use of a so-called 'middle language', subsequently adopted by realist writers such as **Mahfūz** for dialogue. The title story of his second collection *Thurayyā* (1922) is a novella. The work of 'Ubayd, with its special attention to feminist questions, deserves more scholarly analysis.

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E.C.M. DE MOOR

### 'Ubayd, Shihāta (18??–1961)

Short-story writer of Syro-Lebanese origin living in Egypt. Like his brother 'Īsā 'Ubayd, Shihāta advocated a new realistic prose literature, and attacked the Romantic style. His stories, which have a Syro-Lebanese emigrant background, are novel-like in structure. His first collection, *Dars mu'lim*, was published in 1922, but he stopped writing after the death of 'Īsā in 1923. Shihāta 'Ubayd is regarded as one of the pioneers of the so-called *adab qawmī* ('national literature').

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Brugman, J., *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt*, Leiden (1984), 246–7.  
Khidr, A., *al-Qiṣṣa al-qaṣīra fī Miṣr*, Cairo (1966), 129–39, 152–69.

E.C.M. DE MOOR

### 'Ubayd ibn Ayyūb (probably first half of the second/eighth century)

Outlaw poet. A *dīwān* of 'Ubayd is not known; the collection of fragments by N.H. al-Qaysī contains 29 pieces with 160 verses. 'Ubayd describes himself as a man persecuted by the authorities because of a crime (which is not specified) and therefore forced to lead the life of an outcast. Isolated from human company, he tries to find a surrogate in relationships with wild animals and desert demons and asks pardon from God. One of his poems (no. 18, ed. al-Qaysī) is the longest outlaw poem known so far except for **al-Shanfarā's** *Lāmiyya*.

#### Text editions

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Fragments in al-Qaysī, N.H., *al-Mawrid* 3 (1974), vol. 2, 121–36; *idem*, *Shu'arā' Umawīyyūn*, Baghdad and Beirut (1976–85), vol. 1, 193–238.

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### 'Udhri poetry

Love poetry of an elegiac kind, flourishing during the **Umayyad** period among **bedouins** in the Hijaz. The term is coined after two poets of the Banū 'Udhra, a tribe of Yemeni

origin (see tribes), 'Urwa ibn Hīzām and Jamil ibn Ma'mar, who expressed a faithful devotion to their beloved, and allegedly died of love. Several poets of other tribes are reckoned among the 'Udhris, e.g. Qays ibn Dharih, Qays Ibn al-Mulawwah, called Majnūn, and Kuthayyir, Jamil's *rāwī*. In the course of the second/eighth century, 'Udhri poets and their beloveds – 'Urwa and 'Afrā', Jamil and Buthayna, Qays and Lubnā, Majnūn and Laylā, Kuthayyir and 'Azza – were transformed into heroes of romantic stories about chaste lovers, who were separated, but remained faithful and died of sorrow (cf. Blachère, *Histoire*, 760–3). About the same time, the concept of courtly love developed in the intellectual climate of 'Abbāsid urban society was labelled *al-hubb al-'udhrī* and projected back into an idealized bedouin environment. 'Udhri verses, sometimes of dubious authenticity, were quoted in treatises on love theory, and influenced the vocabulary of Šūfī poetry. The legend of the 'Benou-Azra', who 'when loving, die', has been introduced into European literature by Stendhal's treatise *De l'amour* (1822), and inspired Heine's poem 'Der Asra'.

'Udhri love poetry, viewed from a diachronic aspect, constitutes an intermediate stage between the pre-Islamic *nasīb* (see *qaṣīda*) and the 'Abbāsid *ghazal*, where 'Udhri attitudes are blended with courtly elements, i.e. the beloved's despotism and superiority, and the ethical value of love. On the synchronistic level, it forms the elegiac counterpart to the frivolous eroticism of the Hījāzī *ghazal*, represented by 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a. Although both variants of Umayyad love poetry reveal certain similarities and must have developed in contact with each other, the bedouin origin of 'Udhri verses is evidenced by conventional techniques of composition and style, and by a preference for traditional metres. The elegiac and emotional appeal of the *nasīb* are enhanced, for whereas pre-Islamic poets refer to a former love-affair they wish to forget, 'Udhri poets speak of a present love and project their hopes and wishes into the future. They are introspective, absorbed by their longing and desire, imbuing the world and its phenomena with their melancholy feelings. The beloved's beauty is praised, but not described in detail, as in the *nasīb*. The main elements of 'Udhri love are passionate devotion to one woman, chastity and faithfulness until death. Reflections

upon death and the possibility of meeting beyond the grave are leitmotifs of 'Udhri poetry.

There have been several attempts to analyse and explain 'Udhri love within the context of early Islamic society, both from a religious and from a socio-economic aspect, beginning with Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *Ḥadīth al-arbi'ā*. A.K. Kinany brings it into relation with Islamic monotheism, eschatology and ethics (1951, 251–86), whereas T.L. Djedidi, who also proposes a 'homologie' between monotheism and 'dame unique', thoroughly investigates its social and economic basis. He maintains that the Banū 'Udhra are a marginal group of impoverished semi-nomads, deprived of access to the wealth pouring into the Hijaz, and that economic privation is symbolically correlated with loss of the beloved and sexual renunciation (1974, 132). There are doubtless several factors to be considered when interpreting the predominantly masochistic, anti-social attitude of the 'Udhris. From medieval sources, e.g. the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, it appears that 'Udhri poets enjoyed high esteem already in the first/seventh century, and replaced the 'bedouin hero', the paragon of tribal values, as a model for identification (cf. *GAP*, vol. 2, 36–8). Their perseverance in an individual relationship, frustrated by demands of the group, and their ensuing death, were approved of by society, for according to an apocryphal *ḥadīth*, lovers who remain chaste and die of sorrow, die as a 'martyr' (*shahīd*). The ambivalence inherent in the 'Udhri phenomenon is evident and seems to be related to social tensions in the Umayyad period. While advocating a new system of values in agreement with Islam, 'Udhri poets turn against society in renouncing life, thereby protesting, albeit in a passive way, against the loss of stability in a rapidly changing world.

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R. JACOBI

### al-'Ujaylī, 'Abd al-Salām (1918– )

Syrian short-story writer. One of Syria's best-known writers of short stories since the 1950s, al-'Ujaylī was born in al-Raḡqa on the Euphrates in eastern Syria into a family that was still semi-nomadic. Throughout his life he has extended the range of his travels but retained a strong attachment to al-Raḡqa where he lives most of the time. Illness interrupted his school studies but provided the opportunity to read extensively in religion, history and modern and classical literature. He attended secondary school in Aleppo and studied medicine at the University of Damascus, qualifying in 1945. For most of his professional life he practised medicine in al-Raḡqa but he was also a member of the People's Assembly in the late 1940s. In 1947 he volunteered and fought in the Syrian army in Palestine. In 1962 he was briefly Minister of Culture.

Al-'Ujaylī's first short story was published in 1936 but his first book was a collection of Romantic poetry, *al-Layālī wa-al-nujūm* (1951). He has been a prolific writer of short stories that have been collected into nearly twenty volumes. He has also published two novels, *Bāsima bayn al-dumū'* (1959) and *al-Maghmūrūn* (1979), and nine volumes of essays, lectures, travels and accounts of rural life and desert life in the Euphrates valley. In his late seventies, he is still active as a writer of fiction and a critic of ancient and modern literature.

Al-'Ujaylī's realistic tales usually illustrate psychological dilemmas of modern life. Many are derived from his clinical experiences and are located among the people of eastern Syria. His earlier stories often read as if they were intended to be read aloud. Later stories have touched on how modern bureaucracy and the police state have affected the lives of ordinary people. All have a profound humanism and are written in simple, crafted Arabic.

Collections of his stories have been published in French and Spanish.

P. CLARK

### 'Ukāz

One of the 'markets of the Arabs' (*aswāq al-'Arab*) that were held periodically in pre-Islamic times on various sites on the Peninsula. These markets were associated with fairs and cultic centres. 'Ukāz, the market of the tribes of Qays 'Aylān and Thaḡif, was situated not far southeast from Mecca; it was held for two or three weeks in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da. It is the scene of many stories of the early poets, including poetic contests.

Further reading

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### 'Ulayya bint al-Mahdī (160–210/777–825)

'Abbāsīd princess, musician and poet, half-sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. A cultivated, elegant and pious woman, she was married to an 'Abbāsīd prince, but love-poems of hers addressed to two slaves have been preserved. Much of her poetry consists of short pieces designed to be sung; in the *muḥdath* style, it treats of love, friendship and longing for home, but also includes praise of Hārūn, the caliph, celebration of wine and sharp attacks on enemies. 'Ulayya is not the only princess known to have composed poetry and songs, but she was the most gifted, surpassing her brother Ibrāhīm in musicianship.

Text edition

al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr, *Ash'ār awlād al-khulafā' wa-akhbārūhum*, J. Heyworth Dunne (ed.), London (1936), Beirut (1982), 55–83 (many samples of poetry).

H. KILPATRICK

### 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a (23–93/644–712 or 103/721)

Famous love poet, foremost representative of the Hījāzī school. He belonged to a rich Meccan family of the clan Makhzūm. Later he settled in Medina, but often returned to Mecca, especially during the pilgrimage, in



pursuit of amorous adventures. 'Umar played a leading part in the pleasure-oriented urban society of the Hijaz. He associated with singers and musicians, enjoyed the conversation of women and wrote verses to numerous ladies of the Qurayshī nobility, including the caliphal family. Charm, gaiety and a considerable vanity were his personal attributes. His poetry was highly esteemed already in his lifetime. His contemporary Jarīr calls him 'the best poet of love'.

'Umar's *dīwān* (ed. P. Schwarz) consists of 440 poems and fragments, exclusively devoted to the erotic genre. Two variants of his *ghazal* can be distinguished:

- 1 A lengthy form (50–70 vv.) in the manner of the *qaṣīda*, i.e. a sequence of thematic units, beginning with a conventional motif of the *nasīb*, followed, as a rule, by a praise of the beloved. The *ghazal* ends with one or more individual episodes, referring to amorous conflicts or adventures and their happy end (cf. Audebert, 1975, 1977).
- 2 A short, monothematic *ghazal* (4–20 vv.), which was probably destined to be sung. It is closely structured by stylistic means and usually contains a lively narrative, e.g. a lovers' quarrel and reconciliation.

Excepting a few texts of doubtful authenticity, displaying a courtly attitude (cf. Blachère, 1952–66, 638), 'Umar's *ghazal* is light-hearted, even frivolous, but never obscene, and reveals a remarkable psychological insight. He tends to elaborate the human aspect of conventional motifs, assigning to the lover's friends and the beloved's maids an active part in the relationship. Urban traits, an extensive use of dialogue, and the introduction of individual elements are his main contributions to the development of *ghazal* poetry.

Text edition

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R. JACOBI

'Umar ibn Laja' (late first or early second/eighth century)

'Umar (or 'Amr) ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Laja' of Taym, *rajaz* and *qaṣīd* poet, was a friend of al-Farazdaq and was involved in a series of *naqā'id* with Jarīr. He appears to have died in Ahwaz. The *naqā'id* of 'Umar ibn Laja' and Jarīr were collated by al-Aṣma'i, Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī and Ibn Ḥabīb; the ten poems preserved in Muḥammad ibn al-Mubārak ibn Maymūn's *Muntahā al-ṭalab min ash'ār al-'Arab*, totalling 730 verses, form the basis of the Kuwait edition of his poetry.

Text edition

*Shi'r*, Y. al-Jubūrī, (ed.), Kuwait (1981).

P. F. KENNEDY

'Umar al-Nu'mān see *Alf layla wa-layla*

'Umāra al-Yamanī (515–69/1121–74)

Yemenī author of prose and poetry, born in Maṣṭān in al-Zarā'ib in the coastlands of Yemen, who studied Shāf'i *fiqh* in Zabīd. As a trader he visited Aden in south Yemen, where he met *dā'īs* (propagandists) of the Fātimids in Egypt. In 550/1155 he was commissioned by the Sharīf of Mecca, Qāsim ibn Hāshim ibn Fulayta, to participate in an embassy to the Fātimid Imām al-Fā'iz in Cairo, just after the vizier Ṭalā'i' ibn Ruzzīk, who also had literary pretensions, had seized power and had been granted the honorific title 'al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ'. In his poems 'Umāra praised not only the Imāms al-Fā'iz and al-'Āḍid, but this vizier and his successors. But

when the poet gave evidence of his sympathy with and regret for the fall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, the Sunnī Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) had him executed in Cairo.

'Umāra's *Tārikh al-Yaman* is an important source for Yemenī tribal history. His autobiographical *al-Nukat al-aṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarā' al-Miṣriyya* deals with his youth in Yemen, but, more importantly, also describes the lives and intrigues of many Egyptian viziers and notables whom he met in Cairo. As a poet 'Umāra not only composed a lament on the downfall and the empty palaces of the Fāṭimids, but also a complaint addressed to Saladin, as well as many laudatory poems dedicated to his erstwhile Fāṭimid benefactors.

#### Text editions

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P. SMOOR

### al-'Umarī, 'Abd al-Bāqī *see* al-Fārūqī

### 'Umayr ibn Ṣhuyaym al-Quṭāmī *see* al-Quṭāmī

### Umayya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt (d. c. 9/631)

Poet from the town al-Ṭā'if. In his poems, he gives accounts of Biblical legends, the Creation, the Flood, the Day of Judgment, etc. These and other religious topics, which often

display striking similarities to Koranic passages, shed light on monotheistic belief in ancient Arabia. Many of the poems, however, are of questionable authenticity.

#### Text editions

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T. BAUER

## Umayyads

(Banū Umayya), Meccan clan of Quraysh, first dynasty of caliphs (40–132/661–750). Their rise to power was the immediate result of the first civil war (see **Orthodox caliphate**), but the foundation was laid under the third caliph 'Uthmān (23–35/644–56), who had appointed members of his clan to key positions in the Islamic state. After the murder of the fourth caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, governor of Syria since 18/639, seized the caliphate without serious opposition. Damascus became his residence, political power shifting from the Arabian Peninsula to Syria.

Since J. Wellhausen's classic *Das arabisches Reich und sein Sturz* (*The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, 1927), Umayyad rule has been viewed as an attempt to found an Arab empire with its centre in Syria (cf. also Hawting, 1986). In 'Abbāsīd sources, mainly hostile, the Umayyads are accused, moreover, of having changed the caliphate into kingship (*mulk*). In fact, Mu'āwiya (40–60/661–80), by securing the office for his son Yazīd (60–4/680–3), introduced hereditary succession, which was to be threatened continuously, in particular by the two factions emerging from the first civil war, Shi'īs and Khārijīs, both operating in Iraq. A first Shi'ī rising was easily suppressed, but it resulted in the death of Muḥammad's grandson al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā' (61/680), thus providing the Shi'ī cause with a martyr. A more serious challenge

proved the anti-caliphate of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr at Mecca (64–73/683–92), which started the second civil war. It was widely recognized for a time, but eventually defeated under the caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Mawān (65–86/685–705).

The reign of 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid (86–96/705–15) was a period of internal stability and military expansion, both largely due to al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, governor of Iraq (75–95/694–714), who mercilessly enforced Umayyad authority. 'Abd al-Malik is credited with several reforms tending to further centralized government, e.g. the change to Arabic as official language in administration, and the introduction of a Muslim coinage, which soon superseded the former Byzantine and Sasanian currencies. During al-Walid's caliphate Muslim troops entered Spain (92/711), while in the east campaigns directed by al-Hajjāj resulted in the conquest of Transoxania and Sind. A new Islamic and imperial consciousness is apparent in the architecture of the time, e.g. the Dome of the Rock, the Great Mosque at Damascus, and the Umayyad palaces in the Syrian desert.

The last period of comparative stability was the caliphate of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (105–25/724–43), but the forces destined to overthrow the dynasty had begun to operate before his reign. Besides Shi'i and Khārijī opposition, only temporarily checked by al-Hajjāj, tribal factionalism and the discontent of the 'clients' (see *mawālī*), the underprivileged non-Arab Muslims demanding equality, had continuously threatened internal peace. The enmity between the northern (Qays) and southern (Kalb) tribal confederations (see *tribes*), politically exploited by the caliphs, proved fatal in the end, for tribal conflicts within the army contributed to the downfall of the dynasty. The problem of the *mawālī* remained unsolved. An attempt was made by 'Umar II ibn 'Abd al-Azīz (99–101/717–20), but his fiscal reform was not continued, and when a revolt broke out in *Khurasan* (129/747), carefully prepared by secret propaganda in the name of 'Muhammad's family' (*āl Muḥammad*), all discontented groups united. Success was imminent; after three years of combat, the third civil war, the caliphate was seized by the 'Abbāsids, their lineage going back to the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās (cf. Shaban, 1970).

The internal conflicts outlined above, the uprooting of tribes dissatisfied with life in

military camps, gradual urbanization and contact with non-Arab civilization, all had their impact on Arabic literature, which during the first/seventh century passed from an oral to a literate stage. Poets were forced to experiment. They adapted conventional genres and motifs to their own requirements and developed new concepts and techniques (cf. *CHALUP*, 387–432), thereby creating the basis on which 'Abbāsīd *muḥdathūn* were to build their brilliant edifice of the 'new style' (see *badi'*). Poetry flourished in different local centres and consequently lost its former homogeneity, in spite of contact and fluctuation. In Damascus tribal poets, engaged in caliphal politics, continued to use the *qaṣīda*, changing its structure, however, in accordance with their panegyric purposes. Their invectives (see *hijā'*; *naqā'id*) against political or personal enemies achieved a degree of scathing and poignancy unknown before. In the *Hijaz*, cut off from the mainstream of politics, love poetry was the favourite genre. There is a gay, frivolous *ghazal*, cultivated in the rich society of the pilgrim towns (see 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'a), whereas *bedouin* poets composed *ghazal* verses of an elegiac kind, expressing a chaste, unfulfilled love and faithfulness until death (see 'Udhri poetry). Both variants are later assimilated, with added sophistication, in Syria and in Iraq.

In *Kufa* and *Basra*, the newly founded garrison towns, Shi'i and Khārijī poets resumed the conventional genres of *fakhr*, *hijā'* and *madih*, imbuing their verses with a distinctive Islamic flavour and a heightened emotional appeal (cf. *CHALABL*, 185–201). *Al-Kumayt's* *Hāshimiyāt*, his verses in praise of the Banū Hāshim, Muḥammad's clan, are the first important testimony of Shi'i poetry. The passionate hatred and fanaticism of Khārijī poets, who expressed their desire to fight and die as a 'martyr' (*shahīd*), constitute an active counterpart to 'Udhri resignation, a violent reaction to the changes of *bedouin* life and the dissolution of tribal society.

Poetry remains the principal genre of Umayyad *belles-lettres*, but there is evidence of a gradual formation of literary prose, greatly furthered by the art of *oratory* in its religious and political function (cf. Blachère, 1952–66, 732–6). The beginning of narrative prose dates back to the late Umayyad period, e.g. romances about famous lovers and miraculous stories, as also the origin of Islamic historiography, first concerned with the Pro-

phet's biography (see *sīra*; Muḥammad) and with early Muslim campaigns. The first brilliant specimens of **artistic prose** were written in Umayyad chanceries. There is general consent that its founder was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā, **secretary** (*kātib*) to the caliph Hishām, who also served the last Umayyad, Marwān II. ibn Muḥammad (127–32/744–9/50), and perished with the dynasty (cf. *CHALUP*, 154–79).

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R. JACOBI

## Umayyads of Spain *see* Spain

### Umm Kalthūm (1904?–75)

Egyptian singer. Accompanied by the *takht* (oriental orchestra), Umm Kalthūm followed the style of the traditional Arab musical performance in which music is used to express the meaning of the words and to highlight the various meanings of the text. The poet Aḥmad Rāmī introduced her to the best Arabic poetry and she in turn persuaded him to write songs in colloquial Egyptian Arabic. Her voice spanned two octaves. Probably the greatest Arab singer of this century, her ability to perform difficult music lasted until an advanced age.

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A. UBAYDLI

## underworld *see* Banū Sāsān

### al-Uqayshir al-Asadī (first/seventh century)

Al-Mughīra ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Uqayshir al-Asadī was born in the *jāhiliyya* and died in the reign of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, and was one of the first bacchic personalities of the first century. He was, in Bencheikh's well-judged résumé, a 'picturesque bohemian' who frequented the taverns and monasteries of **Hīra**, and formed with several companions a group called the Mujjān al-Kūfa. Judging by the small amount of his poetry that survives, he was an excellent poet, somewhat mercurial in his moods, who describes wine in a fine language, still strongly marked by the **bedouin** lexical tradition. His awareness of the traditional canon is exemplified in a poem which, in the manner of the later poet **Abū Dulāma**, parodies martial sentiments: the poet rides to battle on a donkey; but he is sidetracked, sells his mount and spends his gains in a tavern.

P.F. KENNEDY

#### Further reading

*EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Khamriyya' (J.E. Bencheikh).

### al-'Urayyid, Ibrāhīm (1908– )

Bahraini poet and literary critic. Born in **India** as the son of a Bahraini father and Iraqi mother al-'Urayyid grew up in an environment hardly exposed to Arabic language and culture. After returning to Bahrain at the age of 20 he studied classical and modern Arabic literature, distinguishing himself by his writing on both. His first poetic attempts were in Urdu and English, in which he published poems under the title *Sonnets* (1932). His first Arabic collection was *al-Dhikrā* (1931) but his poetry drew the attention of Arab critics only after the collection *al-'Arā'is* (1946) was published. Al-'Urayyid also wrote an epic about Palestine entitled *Arḍ al-shuhadā'* (Beirut, 1951). As a literary critic he attempted in *al-Asālib al-shi'riyya* (Beirut, 1950) to study the role of tone in Arabic poetry, following an earlier attempt by Muḥammad **Mandūr**.

#### Text edition

Jayyusi, Salma Khadra (ed.), *The Literature of Modern Arabia*, London (1988), 233–5, 549.

R. SNIR

urjūza see rajaz

### al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā

*Al-'Urwa al-Wuthqā* ('the firm bond' – *Koran* 2:256) was a weekly periodical published by al-Afghānī and 'Abduh in Paris between March and October 1884. Reportedly the ideas were al-Afghānī's and the words 'Abduh's. Although only eighteen numbers were issued, it was extremely influential and was circulated widely in the Muslim world despite being banned by the British in Egypt and India. Its early lapse was probably due to financial problems. Its main themes were pan-Islamism, the necessity for *jihād* against colonialist powers (particularly the British), and the restoration of true Islamic belief and practice. It was one of the earliest publications systematically to apply Koranic verses and *hadīths* to contemporary problems.

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K. ZEBIRI

### 'Urwa ibn Hizām (d. 30/650 or later)

One of the poets of the Banū 'Udhra who is said to have died for the love of one woman, his cousin 'Afrā'. His life, which has probably been embellished into legend in the manner of much of the 'Udhri romances, has been received in two principal versions: one from Ibn Qutayba, the other from Abū Faraj al-Iṣbahānī. His extant poetry consists of one long *nūniyya* and a *bā'iyya*. The *nūniyya*'s exceptional length (238 verses) and the repetition of imagery within it suggests strongly that it is an amalgam of separate compositions.

#### Text edition

*Shi'r*, I. al-Sāmarrā'i and A. Maṭlūb (eds), Baghdad (1961).

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der Erzählung von Macnūn and Lailā in der arabischen Literatur', *Oriens* 8 (1955), 33–9.

P.F. KENNEDY

See also: 'Udhri poetry

### 'Urwa ibn al-Ward (second half of sixth century)

Pre-Islamic poet. He is sometimes called 'the 'Urwa of the vagabonds/outlaws (*'Urwat al-ṣa'ālīk*)', although unlike other *ṣa'ālīk* he did not sever the bonds with his tribe, 'Abs. The nickname may therefore reflect merely his affinity to and sympathy with the true outcasts, visible in the stories about him and in some of his poems. In his most famous poem (27 lines) he contrasts, after a *nasīb*, the 'good' and the 'bad' *ṣu'lūk*.

#### Text editions

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*Die Gedichte des 'Urwa ibn Alward*, T. Nöldeke (ed. and trans.), Göttingen (1863).

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al-Khawāja, Ibrāhīm, *'Urwa Ibn al-Ward: ḥayātuḥu wa-shi'rūh*, Tripoli (1981).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Usāma ibn Munqidh (488–584/1095–1188)

Amīr of Shayzar. Usāma was fond of hunting, fighting and politics; he was also a prolific and sophisticated author. In 552/1157 an earthquake levelled the north Syrian castle of Shayzar and many of the surrounding villages; almost all his family were killed in the disaster. As he puts it in his anthology of poetry *al-Manāzil wa-al-diyār* (*Camps and Dwellings*), 'I was moved to compose this volume by the destruction which has overcome my country and my birthplace. For time has spread the hem of its robe over it'. A similar desire on the part of this long-lived survivor to make a record of a world that was in the process of vanishing may be behind his autobiographical *Kitāb al-I'tibār* (*Book of Instruction*), whose anecdotes, many of which are intended to give a moral message, are not in any chronological order. The work can also be seen as belonging

to the genre of *fakhr*, for it celebrates Usāma's courage and martial skill and many of the stories deal with hunting and warfare. The book is particularly valuable for its accounts of Usāma's (occasionally friendly) encounters with the Franks of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Usāma's *Kitāb al-'Aṣā* (*Book of the Stick*), written at an age when he himself must have been using a walking-stick, is a rhabdophilist's anthology, dealing with the role of the stick in religion, history, folklore and poetry. Again, snippets of autobiography are embedded in this compilation. His *Kitāb al-Badī'*, a treatise on the poetic art, is one of about a dozen of his works which have survived. Usāma, who was steeped in *Jāhili* poetry, wrote poetry himself, and his *dīwān* was much admired by contemporaries. Nostalgia, the problems of old age and the inscrutable nature of destiny are recurrent preoccupations in Usāma's writings. Some of his works, such as his oneirocritical treatise, the *Kitāb al-Nawm wa-al-aḥlām*, and his book about women, the *Akhbār al-nisā'*, do not seem to have survived.

#### Text editions

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*Kitāb al-Badī'*, A.A. Badawī and H. 'Abd al-Majīd (eds), Cairo (1960).  
*Kitāb al-'Iṭibār*, ed. Ḥasan Zayd, Beirut (1988).  
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R. IRWIN

## 'Usayrān, Laylā (1936– )

Lebanese journalist and novelist. Born in Beirut, 'Usayrān was active with the Palestinians in the south of Lebanon in the late 1960s and early 1970s. She wrote for the Palestinian newspaper *Fath* and – during the Lebanese civil war – for *Filastīn al-Muḥtalla*; all of her writings are engaged in the Palestinian cause. She has published four novels: *'Aṣāfir al-fajr* (1968) and *Khaff al-af'a* (1970) pre-date the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war; her two war novels are *Qal'at al-ustā* (1979) and *Jisr al-ḥajar* (1982). *Qal'at al-ustā* tells the story of a strong woman who learns from the war that she must first take care of herself if she is to be of any use to those many who need her. 'Usayrān has refused to collect her journalistic writings into a book, insisting that a book must be written as a book.

M. COOKE

## al-Ushnāndānī (d. 288/900–1)

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id ibn Hārūn al-Ushnāndānī was a Basran philologist and the teacher of the philologist and lexicographer Ibn Durayd, who quotes him frequently in his great dictionary *al-Jamhara*. His work *Kitāb ma'ānī al-shi'r* (*The Meanings of Poetry*) consists of difficult and mostly anonymous poetical examples with their explanations, which he used as teaching materials. It was transmitted by his pupil Ibn Durayd, who is sometimes regarded as the author of the work.

#### Text edition

*Kitāb ma'ānī al-shi'r*, Damascus (1922).

#### Further reading

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R.A. KIMBER

## uslūb (pl. asālib)

Lit. 'way, behaviour'. Occurs in classical texts on poetics; it is rarely used as a technical term in the strict sense, but mostly in a vague manner to denote something like 'a mould for the treatment of a theme'. Ibn Qutayba uses it in his famous description of the structure of the *qaṣīda* to refer to the various thematic parts of the ode. 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī defines it *en*

*passant* as 'a certain kind of, and method in, word composition'; the examples show that it is a characteristic syntactic mould created by one poet and imitated by others. Much later, **Ibn Khaldūn** incorporates it in his definition of (Arabic) poetry: 'Poetry is eloquent speech built upon metaphor and descriptions, segmented into parts that agree in metre and rhyme-consonant, each part being independent in its purport and aim from what precedes and follows, and following the methods (*asālīb*) of the Arabs peculiar to it' (G.J.H. van Gelder, 1982). He explains the meaning of *uslūb* as 'a mental form for metrical word combinations which is universal in the sense of conforming with any particular word combination. This form is abstracted by the mind from the most prominent individual word combinations and given a place in the imagination comparable to a mold or loom' (F. Rosenthal, 1967). This seems to be similar to al-Jurjānī's understanding of the term. The process by which these moulds are acquired is probably the one that **Abū Nuwās** was advised to follow by his teacher **Wālība ibn Ḥubāb**, to wit, that to become a poet he should learn 10,000 lines of poetry and then unlearn them. Ibn Khaldūn reports from his teachers that they did not consider the poetry of **al-Mutanabbī** and **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri** to be true poetry, as they did not follow the *asālīb* of the (ancient) Arabs.

**Hāzīm al-Qartājannī** uses the term technically. The fourth part of his *Minhāj* is devoted to it. He establishes a neat proportion between 'words' (*alfāz*) and 'combination of words' (*naẓm*), on the one hand, and 'meanings, themes' (*ma'ānī*) and 'combination of themes' (*uslūb*), on the other. However, the larger context of the chapter requires that the term be understood in a slightly more general way, since various attitudes of discourse are subsumed under this heading: seriousness vs. jest, coarseness vs. delicacy, and others.

In modern Arabic the term has become the equivalent of 'style'.

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Bencheikh, Jamel Eddine, *Poétique arabe: Essai sur les voies d'une création*, Paris (1989), 56–8 (on Ibn Khaldūn's *uslūb*).

Hāzīm al-Qartājannī, *Minhāj al-bulaghā' wa-sirāj al-udabā'*, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb Ibn al-Khūja (ed.), Tunis (1966), 327–80, in particular 363–4.

Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, Beirut (n.d.), 569–73; Franz Rosenthal (trans.), 2nd edn, London (1967), vol. 3, 373–82.

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van Gelder, G.J.H., *Beyond the Line*, Leiden (1982), index, sub radice *slb*.

W.P. HEINRICHS

## al-'Utbi (d. 413/1022)

Abū al-Naṣr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbi was a prose stylist, historian and poet. Born in **Rayy**, he spent his life as a chancery official in the **Ghaznavid** and other courts in the East. His fame rests on his *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, a laudatory biography of the Ghaznavid Amīr Maḥmūd (Yamīn al-Dawla), written in an ornate rhymed prose that was intended to outdo the *Kitāb al-Tājī* in praise of the rival **Būyid** dynasty by Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣabī'. Celebrated for its style, the *Yamīnī* (which ends in 409/1018, twelve years before Maḥmūd's death) was the object of numerous philological commentaries, as well as a paraphrastic Persian translation by Jarbādhqānī (early seventh/thirteenth century).

#### Text edition

The most accessible text of the *Yamīnī* (not yet critically edited) is that printed with the twelfth/seventeenth-century commentary by al-Manīnī, *al-Faṭḥ al-wahbī*, Cairo (1286/1869); passages relevant to India are translated in Sir H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, London (1869), rpt New York (1966), vol. 2, 14–52. Jarbādhqānī's *Tarjama-yi tārikh-i Yamīnī* was critically edited by J. Shi'ār, Tehran (1966); the translation by J. Reynolds, London (1858), rpt Lahore (1975) is unsatisfactory.

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E.K. ROWSON

## al-'Uthmān, Laylā (19??– )

Kuwaiti novelist and short-story writer. A

promising writer who joins the growing list of Arab women novelists including Collette Khūrī, Ghāda al-Sammān and many others, Laylā 'Uthmān has also written poetry in prose, a field usually reserved for men. Her collection *Imra'a fī inā'*, which appeared in 1976, includes a preface by the Iraqi novelist and critic 'Abd al-Rahmān Majīd al-Rubay'ī, in which he praised her work for its sincerity and poignancy. Her other works include the

collections of short stories *al-Raḥīl, Fī al-layl ta'tī al-'uyūn, al-Ḥubb lahu ṣuwar* and *Lā yaṣluḥ lil-ḥubb* (1987); and the novels *al-Mar'a wa-al-qitta* and *Wasmiyya takhruj min al-baḥr*.

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M. MIKHAIL



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# V

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**vices and virtues** *see* **manāqib**  
**literature**

### Waḍḍāh al-Yaman (d. c.93/712)

Love poet of the middle Umayyad period. 'Abd al-Rahmān (or 'Abd Allāh) ibn Ismā'il, 'the Bright from the Yemen', is said to have been of Southern Arabian origin or, according to others, to be descended from the Persians who had invaded South Arabia towards the end of the sixth century CE. The *akhbār* tell us about his love for a certain Rawḍa whose family did not consent to a marriage, and about an encounter with and love poem on Umm al-Banīn, wife of the caliph al-Walīd I (86–96/705–15), who is reported to have killed him because of this. The question raised in the 1920s by Ṭahā Ḥusayn of whether Waḍḍāh existed at all is still discussed. In recent scholarship there is a certain agreement that behind all legendary adornment a historical personage can be discerned. An ancient *dīwān* has not survived; the collections of fragments compiled by al-Suwayṣī and by Haddād contain 27/34 pieces with 237/267 lines respectively (partly of doubtful attribution). A dialogue poem of ten lines with seven sequences of speech and reply (no. 4, ed. al-Suwayṣī/no. 7, ed. Haddād) is of some importance for literary history.

#### Text editions

'Waḍḍāh al-Yaman, ḥayātuhū wa-mā tabaqqā min shi'rih', Ḥ.J. Haddād (ed.), *al-Mawrid*, 13 (1984) vol. 2, 103–36.

*Waḍḍāh al-Yaman, al-shā'ir wa-qīṣṣatuhū*, R. al-Ḥ. al-Suwayṣī (ed.), Beirut (1974) (cf. the review by al-Ṭ. al-'Ashshāsh, *Hawliyyāt al-Jāmi'a al-Tūnisīyya* 15 (1977), 199–206).

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

### Wādī al-Nīl (1867–78)

The first independent newspaper in Cairo, founded by 'Abd Allāh Abū al-Su'ūd. It disappeared on his death. *Wādī al-Nīl* contained political, scientific, commercial and literary material, including feuilletons on history, the voyages of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, etc., and occasional poetry by 'Alī al-Laythī, Muḥammad Ṣafwat al-Sā'ātī and others. Its patron was the Khedive Ismā'il, whom it defended in his diplomatic struggle against the Porte for greater independence for Egypt. Although *Wādī al-Nīl* made some contribution to the development of journalistic style, its language remained strongly influenced by *saj'* (rhymed prose).

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P.C. SADGROVE

### wāfir see prosody

### Wahb ibn Munabbih (34–110? or 114?/654–728? or 732?)

Along with two early Jewish converts to Islam, 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām and Ka'b al-Aḥḥbār, Abū 'Alī Waht ibn Munabbih al-Yamānī al-Ṣan'ānī is considered a most important source for the pre-Islamic history of Arabia and for Jewish and Christian tradition. Although we have somewhat more information about him than the others mentioned above, some questions about his background and biography still remain.

Probably born a Muslim in Yemen, there is considerable debate about the background of Wahb's family. While some sources (e.g.

al-Dhahabī, Ibn Hajar) speak of his family's Persian origin in Herat and of his father's conversion to Islam in Yemen during the time of the Prophet, others (e.g. **Ibn al-Nadīm**, **al-Ghazzālī**, **Ibn Khaldūn**) assume his Jewish origin, from *ahl al-kitāb* in Persia. He became a judge in Ṣan'ā', and there are enigmatic references to his having been beaten and imprisoned. This may be connected to other references to his having held Qadari views and having written about them, an act he is said to have regretted.

Several works are attributed to him, only fragments of which are extant. Among those listed by R.G. Khoury are *Kitāb al-Isrā'iliyyāt*, *Kitāb al-mubtada' wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, *Zabūr* or *Mazāmīr Dāwūd*, *Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh*, *Kitāb al-qadar*, *Tafsīr Wahb*. Most are mentioned by **Hājji Khalīfa** and are often cited by **Ibn Hishām**, **al-Ṭabarī**, **al-Mas'ūdī** and **al-Kisā'ī**, among others, in dealing with early Yemenite and Arabian history and with Jewish and Christian tradition. His misquotation of Biblical verses and misreading of inscriptions are quite evident, but among Muslim scholars he was considered a trustworthy transmitter of traditional lore. Some contemporary Muslim critics of the *Legends of the Prophets* genre, however, include Wahb among the sources considered unreliable.

Further reading

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W. BRINNER

See also: *Isrā'iliyyāt*; *Legends of the Prophets*

**al-Wahrānī (d. 565/1179)**

Muḥammad ibn Muḥriz al-Wahrānī was a humorous writer. Trained in the composition of elaborate prose (*inshā'*), he arrived in Egypt from his native Wahrān (Oran) early in the reign of Saladin, but quickly despaired of competing with such luminaries as **al-Qāḍī**

**al-Fāḍil** and turned instead to the satiric and parodic pieces that became his forte. Some eighteen of these have been collected from various manuscripts and published. Written in a fairly elaborate Arabic with a significant admixture of vernacular vocabulary, they are mostly highly topical, mocking al-Wahrānī's contemporaries and commenting on local events. The best known of them is the 'Grand Dream', a fantasy visit to the Afterlife clearly modelled on the *Epistle of Forgiveness* of **Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī**. Others include a formal complaint of neglect by the assembled mosques of **Damascus** and a letter of appointment for the 'judge of the dissolute' in Alexandria. Al-Wahrānī spent his later years in Damascus, winning an appointment as preacher in the mosque of the suburb of Dārayyā, where he died.

Text edition

*Manāmāt al-Wahrānī wa-maqāmātuḥu wa-rasā'iluh*, I. Sha'lān and M. Naghash (eds), Cairo (1968),

Further reading

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E.K. ROWSON

**wahy see inspiration**

**Wāliba Ibn Hubāb (d. c.170/786)**

Abū Usāma Wāliba ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Asadī poet of Damascene origin, born and brought up in **Kufa**. Only fragments of his poetry survive, although **Ibn al-Nadīm** mentions a *dīwān* of 100 'leaves'. It was in wine poetry and *mujūn* (two themes that overlap) that he influenced **Abū Nuwās** (among other Kufan reprobates, such as **Muṭī' ibn Iyās**). This influence can be detected in the momentum of debauchery which culminates in the final line of a poem and in imagery that alludes to both Arab and Persian culture (giving his poetry an intertextual dimension within the canon of Arabic literature); he is anti-Arab and includes elements of *badi'*

which is played out in the antithesis between a happy spirit and an oppressed state; he also treated the Satanic pact to be found later in Abū Nuwās.

Further reading

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P. F. KENNEDY

**al-Walīd ibn 'Ubayd Allāh,  
 al-Buḥturī see al-Buḥturī**

**al-Walīd ibn Yazīd  
 (second/eighth century)**

Umayyad caliph and poet, assassinated after a short reign (125–6/743–4), aged about 36. He was designated to succeed his uncle Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik (105–25/724–44), but had to wait twenty years for the caliphate. The enmity between him and Hishām is amply documented in the sources and in his *diwān*. Al-Walīd spent a life of dissipation in the Syrian desert, where he built several palaces, e.g. Khirbat Mafjar and Mshattā, and assembled poets and musicians at his court (cf. Hamilton, 1988). He used to shock his contemporaries by scandalous behaviour, excessive drinking and blasphemous verses, but he was also a sensitive poet and an accomplished musician and composer, who set his own poems to music. His thwarted passion for Salmā, his wife's sister, inspired him to some of the most original *ghazal* verses in Arabic literature.

Al-Walīd's *diwān*, 102 poems and fragments, has been collected from various sources and edited by F. Gabrieli. Love (43 texts) and wine (14 texts) are his favourite themes, apart from exaggerated boasting (see *fakhr*) and invectives (see *hijā'*). His poems are usually short (4–8 v.v.) and carefully structured, especially on the phonological and morphological level. By his technique of repetition, which suggests the art of the composer, his verses achieve a musical quality unknown in Arabic poetry before. A distinctive feature of his *diwān* is the predominance

of rare metres, such as *wāfir*, *ramal majdhū'* and *khafīf* (see *prosody*). Al-Walīd's *ghazal* is of the elegiac kind in the 'Udhri mode (see '*Udhri poetry*'), but there is a charming playfulness about it all his own, e.g. a lover's dialogue with a bird (no. 64). His bacchic poems, by their simple language and by various motifs and images, paved the way for the '*Abbāsīd khamriyya* and influenced, above all, **Abū Nuwās**.

Text edition

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R. JACOBI

See also: *khamriyya*; Umayyads

**Wallāda bint al-Mustakfi  
 (d. 484/1091?)**

Andalusian princess and poet; best known as **Ibn Zaydūn's** lover. Her father, Muḥammad III al-Mustakfī, briefly held the caliphate (1024–5), ultimately fleeing the capital in disguise, only to be poisoned shortly thereafter. Little is known of Wallāda's life, save for her exploits among the literati of Córdoba, who flocked to her house. She was renowned for her beauty, charm and nobility, yet her disdain for convention, including her refusal to wear the veil or marry, and rumours of lesbianism led to accusations of immorality. Few of her poems are extant. The poems collected by her biographers include two amorous pieces directed towards Ibn Zaydūn and several satirical poems against him, apparently written after their relationship had taken a turn for the worse.

Text edition

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L. ALVAREZ

Wannūs, Sa'd Allāh (1941–1997)

Syrian dramatist. Trained in Syria, Egypt and France, Wannūs was regarded as the most significant figure in recent Syrian drama, as playwright, producer and drama critic. His best-known play is *Ḥaflat samar min ajl al-khāmis min Huzayrān* (1968), a work that became an event in its own right in that it forced its audiences to confront the issues surrounding the June defeat of 1967 through a wholesale condemnation of societal values. In later plays (and also in a series of articles on dramatic theory) Wannūs made further valuable contributions to modern Arabic drama, albeit to mixed critical reviews. Among his most notable plays are: *Mughāmarat ra's al-mamlūk Jābir* (1972), *Sahra ma'a Abī Khalīl al-Qabbānī* (1972) and *al-Malik huwa al-malik* (1977). Although these plays revolve around themes culled from narratives from the past, they are characterized by an experimental approach to the language of dialogue and audience reception, and represent a vigorous attempt to create an innovative Arabic drama.

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R. ALLEN

al-Waqā'ī' al-Miṣriyya (1828– )

Official gazette of the Egyptian government,

founded by Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha in Cairo. It appeared in Turkish and Arabic until c.1847. It became a daily in the 1880s. When Muḥammad 'Abduh was chief editor (1880–2), it became a paper of opinion, playing a reformist and educational role, but was reduced again to a government gazette under the British occupation. From the 1860s it increasingly published occasional poetry by leading poets, including Aḥmad Shawqī, Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī and others.

Further reading

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P. C. SADGROVE

al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī was a renowned Medinan historical compiler of materials on many subjects. Though an enthusiastic and gifted student, he seems not to have attracted much notice until 170/786, when he had an opportunity to guide the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd around the pilgrimage sites of Medina. After this he enjoyed lavish patronage and support until his death.

Al-Wāqidī was a prolific writer and compiled numerous monographs. Although some of his works were devoted to the Koran, ḥadīth and jurisprudence (see *fiqh*), most covered historical subjects: pre-Islamic history, Muḥammad, the caliphate of Abū Bakr, the conquests of Syria and Iraq, the battles of al-Jamal and Ṣiffīn, the assassination of 'Uthmān and the minting of Islamic coinage. Some of these texts were undoubtedly short essays incorporated into his larger works. These latter included an annalistic history of Islam to 179/796 entitled *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr (The Large History)*, and a biographical dictionary called *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt (Book of Classes)*, extending to about 186/802. Both of these works are lost, but the latter formed the core for a work of the same title by his secretary Ibn Sa'd. Of all his books, the only one surviving today is his *Kitāb al-Maghāzī (Book of Campaigns)*, a compilation on the military expeditions led or sent from Medina by the Prophet Muḥammad.

A well-organized and critical writer and an avid bibliophile (his library was enormous for

his time), al-Wāqidi used the rich resources available in Medina to present a work noteworthy for its historiographical sophistication (see the entry for **Muḥammad**) and wealth of detail. But much of this material seems to have been unknown to his predecessors, and in many cases the details and chronology are undoubtedly based on arbitrary speculation; the sorting of the genuine survivals of old material from more recent accretions has thus been an important subject in a scholarly discussion with implications for the understanding of other early historical texts.

#### Text edition

Numerous *futūḥ* texts have been published under al-Wāqidi's name, but all such attributions are false.

*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Marsden Jones (ed.), Oxford (1966).

*Muḥammed in Medina. Das ist Wakidi's Kitāb alMaghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, Julius Wellhausen (trans.), Berlin (1882) (the best translation, though outdated).

#### Further reading

More traditional approaches to al-Wāqidi are J.

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L.I. CONRAD

See also: *futūḥ*; historical literature

## Waraqā ibn Nawfal (late sixth–early seventh century CE?)

A pre-Islamic ascetic and sage, member of the Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā (Quraysh), and a paternal cousin of Khadija, Muḥammad's

first wife. He is said to have converted to Christianity, to have been a *ḥanīf*, and to have been able to read and write Hebrew. In the sources he is wrapped in the cloth of legend. He did not convert to Islam or transmit any traditions. He seems to have composed poetry, although little of his work is extant and has not been collected. His verses, generally of a monotheistic, 'religious' stamp, are often attributed to Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl, with whom he is closely associated, and to **Umayya ibn Abi al-Salt**, a 'religious' poet from al-Tā'if. His two 'religious' poems are suspiciously Koranic, and there is one pleasant, unexciting piece of *ghazal*, very much in the manner of 'Umar ibn Abi Rabī'a's less inspired productions.

#### Further reading

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J.E. MONTGOMERY

## al-Warrāq (d. c.230/845)

Maḥmūd ibn (al-) Hasan al-Warrāq was a poet of the middle 'Abbāsid period, who lived in **Baghdad**. Al-Warrāq (trader in papers/books, copyist of books), who is said to have earned a living as a slave trader at times, mainly composed ascetic and gnomic poetry. The collection by al-'Ubaydī, which could be enlarged from sources published since 1969, contains 215 pieces the length of which varies from single lines up to 14 lines. Topics of his ascetic poems (*zuhdiyyāt*) include obedience to God, renunciation of the worldly life and of worldly possessions, praise of generosity, modesty, truthfulness and forgiveness and blame of hypocrisy, calumny and envy. As many of the gnomic poems bear on moral topics as well, they are closely related to the *zuhdiyyāt*.

#### Text edition

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#### Further reading

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T. SEIDENSTICKER

## al-Wasānī (d. 394/1004)

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) al-Wasānī was a poet from Damascus. Almost nothing is known of his life. He had some kind of official position, from which he was removed after a scurrilous attack in verse. Al-Tha'ālibī calls him 'the Ibn al-Rūmī of his time', on account of his *hijā'*. Most of the poems that have been preserved (c.450 lines in al-Tha'ālibī's *Yatīma* and Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-udabā'*) are invective of the obscene kind. In one poem, a humoristic masterpiece of nearly two hundred lines, he gives a lively description of disastrous banquet given by him in Khamrāyā, a village near Damascus.

## Further reading

*Walimat Ibn Wāsān*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī (ed. and annot.), *RAAD* 10 (1930), 641–51, 705–19.

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**waṣf**

Description, descriptive poetry. In pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, particular parts of the traditionally built ode (*qaṣīda*) might contain various descriptions. The poet, upon visiting the places where he used to see or meet his beloved before she travelled away with her own clan, describes the deserted camp including the remains of narrow ditches which once encircled tents, soot-covered stones used by the nomads as a fireplace, and tufts of wool still blowing about, at least for a short while after the camp had been abandoned. Descriptions of the poet's camel are also very common, whereas rain is seldom illustrated. The scenery did not vary profoundly in the first Islamic generations, although one may notice, albeit rarely, throughout Umayyad poetry landscapes typical of Damascus or other Arab sedentary places. Nevertheless, somewhat later in 'Abbāsīd poetry we find fresh descriptive themes included in the new models of poetry (especially those initiated by Abū Nuwās, d. c.197/813): *khamriyyāt* (wine poems) and *ṭardiyyāt* (hunting poems). The hunted animals, the hunting dogs and falcons which assist the hunter, are all attentively described.

If one imagines the birth of all new poetical models dedicated to specific themes as if emancipated from the traditional framework

of the multi-theme *qaṣīda*, the complete freeing of *waṣf* should be ascribed apparently to the fourth/tenth century, when certain poets begin to specialize in descriptive poems. However, what seems to constitute a new offspring of well-worn elements in old poetry, which occasionally contains faunal elements and depictions of drinking parties, is sometimes misleading. The emergence of such new themes as independent poems is due to the needs of the consumers of 'Abbāsīd culture and their lifestyle (hunting and wine parties were a characteristic activity of the higher class); the further development of descriptive poetical themes is one of the requirements of this society's taste. Accordingly, it is no wonder that in the third/ninth century an important phase of evolution in descriptive poetry takes place. Poets such as Abū Tamīm (d. 228–3/842–51) and al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897) describe a palace, a landscape, even a snowy scene. Descriptive poetry is one of the prominent features of Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896). In the fourth/tenth century, some poets acquire a reputation for being almost exclusively devoted to *waṣf*. Al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945) specializes in *rawḍiyyāt*, poems describing flora-filled prairies (he is particularly fond of pine trees), whereas Kushājīm (d. 350–60/961–71) and al-Sarī al-Raffā' (d. 360–2/970–3) devote short descriptive poems to a rich variety of objects: stove, wax candle, horse-drawn wagon, clouds, jug full of ale, bird trap, compass, garden flowers, etc. *Waṣf* poetry becomes progressively more elaborate (similes and metaphors), complicated and somewhat enigmatic. How can one discern what symbolizes the dancing maiden who twirls on one leg? Actually her description portrays a compass; that is what the title says: 'And he [i.e. the poet] said while describing a compass'. But if one covers up the title, the poem becomes a riddle. This is how one can explain the transition phase from descriptive poetry to genuine riddles, built upon rhyme and rhythm. For instance, the riddle poet al-Ḥazīrī al-Warrāq (d. 568/1172), whose collection of descriptive riddles is unpublished (a good MS is to be found in Istanbul), describes a huge animal which swallows people alive without the latter even uttering a complaint; at the end of the poem, it becomes evident that the poet has just described a tent. Other examples are to be found in a chapter containing descriptive riddles, in al-Abshīhī's (sometimes spelled

al-Ibshīhi) literary anthology of the ninth/fifteenth century. (See further *lughz*.)

All this proves that *wasf* becomes a climax of artfulness and that the readers or listeners do not appreciate, in it, the realistic aspect, i.e. whether the descriptive verses conform to the material side, but are more concerned with the stylistic and artificial features, i.e. how the poet has developed the metaphorical side. This artfulness even engenders indirect and overt competitions in describing objects, plants, etc., by various poets. One of the themes that can be encountered within the descriptive category is represented in long groupings of poems depicting pretty maidens and handsome lads (or slave girls and male servants, as it can be understood) in a variety of situations and professions. If one is interested in examining an illustration of relatively late descriptive poetry, Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) provides some typical examples. Al-Suyūfī (d. 911/1505) has conserved an entire series of poems describing oriental sweets (MSS are to be found in Princeton and Dublin; published recently by Dār al-Faḍīla, Cairo). During this particular time, an endless repertoire of such topics was devised, since this rather later, over-developed, descriptive poetry fit the taste of the upper social order.

In prose literature, *wasf* is not defined as an independent genre. However, exemplary elements of ornate writing, collected for the use of any *kātib* (secretary, letter writer) who needs to improve his epistolary style can be found in many of al-Tha'ālībī's (d. 429/1038) compositions, such as *al-Tamhīl wa-al-muḥāḍara*, *Lubāb al-ādāb* and *Sīhr al-balāgha*. Al-Ḥuṣrī (Abū Ishāq; d. 413/1022, or 453/1061, according to the monograph by al-Shuway'ir), in his *Zahr al-ādāb*, copies from the latter source, entire chapters containing descriptions of food dishes, drinks, flowers and the like, calling them: 'Descriptions [*awṣāf*], by Contemporary Writers, Concerning ...'. (See further *artistic prose*.) Such prose *awṣāf* are often quoted by compilers in various *adab* anthologies and are skillfully elaborated in *maqāmāt*.

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J. SADEN

See also: nature, in classical poetry

## al-Washshā' (d. 325/937)

Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Washshā' was a grammarian and lexicographer from Baghdad, best known as a compiler of books on 'good manners'. Al-Washshā', who at times earned a living as a teacher, wrote about thirty books, of which only four seem to have been preserved. Among these, only one is concerned with philology; the remaining three deal with elegance of behaviour and expression, often with a certain bias towards formalism. The *Kitāb al-Faḍīl fī ṣifāt al-adab al-kāmil* presents well-turned linguistic utterances (*balāghāt*), arranged in forty-five chapters according to situations or social groups. In his *Tafriḥ al-muhaj wa-sabab al-wuṣūl ilā al-faraj*, not yet edited, al-Washshā' presents in a sort of pattern-book texts suited for quotation in love-letters. The best known among his books is the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, which in fifty-six chapters treats morality, decent behaviour and elegant manners (*ẓarf*): 'a large collection of short verses, which were inscribed on books, portions of the dress, and on various other articles concludes the work (ch. 37–56). The passages in which the author himself speaks are written in rhymed prose; but by far the greater portion of the book consists of anecdotes, sayings, and verses, taken from other writers. It is unnecessary to point out the value of the work as showing the sentiments and manners of the educated Arabs during the most brilliant period of the Caliphate' (Brünnow, preface to his edn of *al-Muwashshā*, p. v). Within the field of Arabic love literature, chapters 15–22 are of importance; within these, chapter 20 on the phenomenon of singer-slaves deserves special mention.

#### Text editions

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*Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, R.E. Brünnow (ed.), Leiden (1886); Fahmī Sa'd (ed.), Beirut (1985).



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T. SEIDENSTICKER

See also: love theory; *ẓarf*

**Wāsīnī, al-A'raj (1954– )**

Algerian novelist writing in Arabic. Born in Achach (Tlemcen), Wāsīnī received his higher education in **Damascus** from 1977 to 1985. After writing a thesis on the Arabic novel in **Algeria**, he taught at the Institut des Lettres Arabes at the University of Algiers. He published seven novels between 1981 and 1993, as well as two essays on the novel, and has also edited the journal *al-Musā'ala* for the Union of Algerian Writers. Wāsīnī believes literature to be the artistic expression of a dimension of life. He has tried to render Arabic more 'human' and less restricted to the religious sphere, making it a vivid means of expression in the modern world as it had been at the time of the *Alf layla wa-layla*. The main characteristic of his work is tenderness. Wāsīnī's background and the posts that he has held have placed him in an ideal position to encourage young talented writers.

M. BOIS

**Waṭṭār, al-Ṭahir (1936– )**

Algerian novelist, short-story writer and journalist, writing in Arabic. Born in Sedrata, Waṭṭār studied at the Ben Badis Institute (Constantine), then at the Zitouna in Tunis. He began publishing short stories in Tunis in 1955. To date, he has published four collections of short stories and six novels. His first novel, *al-Lāz* (1974), owes its success to the human dimension that the author gives to the war of liberation, avoiding clichés used by other writers dealing with this theme: the story is disconcerting and brutally realistic, but also has lyrical interludes. *Al-Zilzāl* (1974) portrays a society that is both in the process of collapsing and of being reborn. *'Urs al-baghl* (1978) has been rightly called both a 'roman épique et symbolique à la fois' and a 'roman

cathartique et prométhéen'. Waṭṭār's later novels – *al-Hawwāt wa-al-qaṣr* (1980) and *Tajriba fī al-'ishq* (1989) – show a greater use of symbolism, which at times become disconcerting. *Al-Hawwāt wa-al-qaṣr* portrays a quest for solidarity and a protest against tyranny. In the preface to his final novel he notes that 'novelty ... is that which springs from myself ... as an Arab writer living in Africa on the shores of the Mediterranean, somehow bonded with the people living in Hyderabad or Alma-Ata'.

Waṭṭār tells of how, in his youth, he learned by heart the works of Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān, Mikhā'il Nu'ayma and Īliyā Abū Mādī, vowing then not to become tied to any particular school. As a journalist, he started two periodicals in 1962–3, founded the Al-Gahizia association (named after al-Jāhiz) in 1989, and began a literary review, *al-Tabyīn*, in 1990.

M. BOIS

**al-Wa'wā' al-Dimashqī (d. between 370/980 and 390/1000)**

Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (or Muḥammad) al-Wa'wā' was a poet from **Damascus**. Originally a fruit-seller in the market-place, he acquired a certain fame as a poet. He made panegyrics for Sayf al-Dawla, al-Sharīf al-'Aqīqī and others, but his strength lay rather in descriptive poems on lyrical subjects: nature, wine and love.

Text edition

*Dīwān*, I. Kratschkowsky, I. (ed.), Leiden and Petrograd (1913–14) (with a Russian translation and study; for a summary, by W. Ebermann, see *Islamica* 3 (1927), 238–41); Sāmī al-Dahhān (ed.), **Damascus** (1950).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**wa'z see oratory and sermons**

**al-Wazīr al-Maghribī see al-Maghribī, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī**

**wine poetry see khamriyya**

**wisdom literature see hikma**

**wonder** *see ta'jīb*

**wonders of the world** *see 'ajā'ib*  
**literature**

# Y

**Yacine, Kateb** *see* **Kateb, Yacine**

**Yahyā ibn 'Adī (280 or 281–363 or 364/893 or 894–974)**

Monophysite Christian philosopher and theologian born in Tikrit who spent most of his life in Baghdad where he studied with **Mattā ibn Yūnus**, and achieved considerable eminence as the philosopher of his age. His most important works were his *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* (*Refinement of Virtues*), *Maqāla fī al-tawhīd* (*Discourse on Unity*), and *Tabyīn ghalaṭ Abī Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī* (*Explication of the Error of ... al-Kindī*). Yahyā was an intellectual disciple of the great **al-Fārābī** and his writings exhibit several of the concerns of his master, especially in their veneration for logic. But it is perhaps in the field of ethics that Yahyā made his most striking contribution to Arabic literature. In what is historically a very early Arabic treatise on ethics, Yahyā in his *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* drew on Plato and Aristotle to produce one of the seminal works on ethics in Arabic. His *Maqāla fī al-Tawhīd* is also of interest because of the unexpected influence of Procline theology. A copyist by profession and a bibliophile by inclination, Yahyā collected many manuscripts, and continued the tradition of editing, translating and commenting on Greek texts begun by **Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq**.

**Text editions**

*Maqāla fī al-tawhīd*, Khalīl Samīr (ed.), Jounieh and Rome (1980).

*Petūs traités apologetiques de Yahyā ben 'Adī*, A. Perier (ed.), Paris (1920).

Takriti, N., *Yahya Ibn 'Adi: A Critical Edition and Study of his Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, Beirut and Paris (1978).

**Further reading**

Endress, Gerhard, *The Works of Yahyā ibn 'Adī: An Analytical Inventory*, Wiesbaden (1977).

Kraemer, Joel, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age*, Leiden (1986), 6–7, 104–16 and *passim*.

Netton, I.R., *Al-Fārābī and His School*, London (1992).

Perier, A., *Yahya ben 'Adī: un philosophe arabe chrétien du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris (1920).

I. NETTON

**Yahyā ibn 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī**  
*see* **al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī**

**Yakan, Walī al-Dīn (1873–1921)**

Turco-Egyptian poet and prose writer. Born in Istanbul, he was educated in Cairo, and worked for most of his life in government service there. In 1897 he founded the periodical *al-'itimād*, in which he criticized the Turkish sultan. He spent the years 1902–8 in exile in Anatolia for his liberal views. As a poet, Yakan belongs to the neo-classical school: he regularly produced poems for official occasions, although his poetry also contains works that show strong personal feeling.

**Further reading**

Brugman, J., *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt*, Leiden (1984), 53–5.

P. STARKEY

**Ya'qūb ibn Killīs** *see* **Fāṭimids**

**al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897)**

Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far al-Ya'qūbī is one of the early historians of Islam whose writings survive. He was the descendant of a

freedman of the 'Abbāsid family and thus sometimes al-'Abbāsi was added to his name. His family, and he too, were moderate Shi'is. After the fall of the Tāhirid dynasty in the eastern Islamic world, he moved to Egypt, where he died.

Al-Ya'qūbī's world history, known simply as *al-Ta'rikh* (*The History*), continues its coverage until the year 259/872. It deals with the empires and rulers of world history before Islam, and its treatment of Islamic history, which is organized by caliphal reign and also gives prominence to the Shi'i Imāms, betrays its author's Shi'i sympathies and in that sense is a valuable corrective to the extant, predominantly Sunnī, historiography. Certain items of information are regularly given for each reign, such as a brief character sketch of the ruler, and lists of his campaigns and his officials. Towards the end of his life in Egypt al-Ya'qūbī also composed a geographical work, the *Kitāb al-buldān*, which claims to be based on wide travels in the author's youth and first-hand questioning of informants. Baghdad and Samarra are given quite detailed treatment as the centres of the Islamic world.

#### Text editions

*Kitāb al-Buldān*, M.J. de Goeje (ed.), Leiden (1892) (BGA vol. 7).

*Ta'rikh al-Ya'qūbī* or *Ibn Wādhih qui dicitur al-Ja'qūbī Historiae*, M.T. Houtsma (ed.), 2 vols, Leiden (1883).

#### Further reading

Millward, W.G., 'Al-Ya'qūbī's sources and the question of Shi'a partiality', *Abr-Nahrain* 12 (1971-2), 47-74.

D.S. RICHARDS

*See also:* geographical literature; historical literature

## Yāqūt (575-626/1179-1229)

The renowned author Shibāb al-Dīn Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī had an unusual background. When young and living, presumably as a Christian, in part of Anatolia held by the Byzantines (hence his by-name al-Rūmī, 'the Greek'), he was taken captive and sold as a slave at Baghdad (hence the conventional patronymic 'Ibn 'Abd Allāh'). His merchant master educated him and employed him on trading visits to the Gulf,

Oman and Syria. Manumitted in 596/1199, he became a professional copyist and then a book-seller in Baghdad, continuing to travel widely. At the first Mongol incursions in 616/1219 he fled the Islamic east to Mosul and Aleppo, where he was to die in Ramaḍān 626/August 1229.

Among his surviving writings there is an unpublished work on genealogies, but his fame rests on two large-scale compilations, both arranged alphabetically. One, the *Kitāb al-Irshād*, is a biographical dictionary of literary figures, past and present. This is a painstaking and scholarly work of synthesis, which carefully identifies its sources and argues points of detail, and is eminently useful. Of comparable utility is the other work, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, a compilation of toponyms. Apart from the basic identifying and locating of each item, the author expands into the literary and historical associations of each place, listing appropriate notable individuals and quoting apposite verses. The net result is a work that is redolent of the scholar's lamp and literary leanings more than the author's own wide travels and experience. He also wrote a monograph on duplicate place-names (*al-Mushtarik*).

#### Text editions

*Irshād al-Arib ilā Ma'rifat al-Adib* or *Dictionary of Learned men*, D.S. Margoloth (ed.), 6 vols, Leiden (1907-31).

*Kitāb al-Mushtarik*, F. Wüstenfeld, (ed.), Göttingen (1846).

*Mu'jam al-buldān*, *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*, F. Wüstenfeld (ed.), 6 vols, Leipzig (1866-73); later Cairo editions.

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#### Further reading

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—, 'The Arab geographer Yāqūt al-Rūmī', *JAS Pakistan* 3 (1958), 23-8.

D.S. RICHARDS

*See also:* biography, medieval; geographical literature

## Yāsīn, Kātib see Kateb, Yacine

## Yazbak, Anṭūn (late 19th – early 20th century)

Syro-Egyptian dramatist. A lawyer by profession, Yazbak was one of the pioneers of the Egyptian melodrama. He worked for a time with Jūrj **Abyaḍ**, with whom he had studied in Beirut and whose troupe performed his *ʿĀṣifa fī bayt* at the Cairo Opera House in 1924. His best-known work is *al-Dhabāʾiḥ* (1925), which revolves around a retired general's relationship with Amīna and a European woman, Noreska, whom he marries after divorcing his first wife. Written in colloquial Arabic, the play represented a significant advance in the depiction of human relationships on the Egyptian stage of the time. Despite the play's popularity, however, the author quickly fell into obscurity and his work has seldom been accorded the recognition that it deserves.

### Further reading

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P. STARKEY

## al-Yazīdī, Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā ibn al-Mubārak (d. 202/817 or 818)

Grammarians and man of letters. He was a *mawlā* (see *mawālī*) from Basra, called al-Yazīdī because he was the tutor of the children of Yazīd, son of the caliph al-Manṣūr. He moved from Basra to Baghdad and was for a while the tutor of al-Maʾmūn. He was considered an expert in the reading of the Koran, grammar and lexicography. His several grammatical and lexicographical works, among them *al-Nawādir*, composed for the Barmakid vizier Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā, are not preserved. He appears in many anecdotes in anthologies such as Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's *al-Aghānī*. He died at an advanced age, leaving five sons who were scholars and poets like their father.

### Text edition

*Shiʿr al-Yazīdiyyīn*, Muḥsin Ghayyāḍ (ed.), Najaf (1973).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

## al-Yāzījī family

Lebanese Maronite family from Kafr Shimā. In addition to Ibrāhīm, Khalīl, Nāṣif and Warda (see separate entries), the family also included: Rājī (1803–57), younger brother of Nāṣif, a poet with a *dīwān* in ms; and Ḥabīb (1833–70), businessman, poet and prose writer, the oldest child of Nāṣif. Ḥabīb translated a novel from French and wrote a commentary on his father's *urjūza* on poetics (1869).

### Further reading

Kratschkowsky, I., 'Yāzīdjī', *ET*<sup>1</sup>, viii, 1171–2.

P.C. SADGROVE

## al-Yāzījī, Ibrāhīm (1847–1906)

Lebanese scholar, philologist, critic, poet and journalist, son of Nāṣif al-Yāzījī. Born in Beirut, he died in Cairo. He taught at the Greek Catholic Patriarchal School and made a much-admired revision of the translation of the Bible for the Jesuits. In Beirut, he edited the scientific magazine *al-Ṭabīb* (1884–8), then emigrated to Egypt, where he published the literary magazine *al-Bayān* (1897–8), and one of the most important literary periodicals *al-Diyāʾ* (1898–1906). He also published his *dīwān*, *al-ʿIqd*; a translation of *L'imitation de Jésus-Christ*; a critique of the language of the press (1901); an Arabic dictionary; 'The Arabs and Turks' (1910); an immensely successful dictionary of synonyms; and a criticism of the faults in Buṭrus al-Bustānī's dictionary. Among his verse, he wrote a famous poem ('Awaken, O ye Arabs!') hostile to the Turkish oppressors, and glorifying the Arabs. He also edited many of his father Nāṣif's works on grammar and morphology, and completed his commentary on al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān*. He is renowned for his endeavours to purify and modernize Arabic.

### Further reading

Kratschkowsky, I., 'Yāzīdjī', *ET*<sup>1</sup>, viii, 1171.

Soueid, P., *Ibrahim al-Yaziji: L'homme et son oeuvre*, Beirut (1969).

P.C. SADGROVE

## al-Yāzījī, Khalīl (1856–89)

Lebanese teacher, writer and poet, the youngest son of Nāṣif al-Yāzījī. Born in Beirut, he

died in al-Ḥadath of tuberculosis. In 1882 he published a few issues of the magazine *Mir'āt al-Sharq* in Cairo and on his return to Beirut, taught Arabic literature at the American College and the Catholic Patriarchal College. An excellent poet, he wrote a *dīwān*, *Nasamāt al-awraq* (1882), and several dramas in verse, as well as a highly praised tragedy *al-Murū'a wa-al-wafā' aw al-faraj ba'd al-dīq* (*Chivalry and Loyalty*) (1884) on the pre-Islamic story of Hanzala and al-Nu'mān, an opera on the pre-Islamic poetess, **al-Khansā'**; and other works. He published a school edition of ibn al-Muqaffa's animal fables, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, but left in manuscript a work on natural philosophy and a unique dictionary on the synonyms of the vernacular, intended to encourage the colloquial to develop in the direction of the classical.

#### Further reading

Kratschkowsky, I., 'Yāzidjī', *EI*<sup>1</sup>, viii, 1171.

P. C. SADGROVE

### al-Yāziji, Nāṣif (1800–71)

Lebanese Maronite teacher, philologist and poet. Born in Kafr Shīmā, he died in **Beirut**. He was secretary to the Greek Catholic Patriarch, and to Prince Bashīr al-Shihābī until the latter's abdication. In 1849 he, Butrus al-Bustānī and Yūsuf al-Asir helped the American missionaries in a new translation of the Bible; he also versified the translations of several hymns. He taught at the National School of al-Bustānī, at the Greek Catholic Patriarchal School, and at the Syrian Protestant College, writing some fifteen school textbooks on various aspects of language, logic and medicine. Among his published works is a letter to Baron Silvestre de Sacy correcting his edition of *al-Maqāma al-Ḥaririyya*. His three poetic *dīwāns* remained wedded to the fashions of the day, but his most important work, *Majma' al-bahrayn* (1856), a collection of sixty *maqāmāt*, was a pioneering work, important for its attempt to link the traditional style of **al-Ḥariri** with contemporary concerns. Considered the greatest Arabic scholar of his age, Nāṣif al-Yāziji helped to re-establish Arabic in Lebanon as an effective medium of self-expression, and is a key figure in the nineteenth-century Arabic literary revival.

#### Further reading

Jayyusi, S.K., *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, 2 vols, Leiden (1977), 18–20.

Kratschkowsky, I., 'Yāzidjī', *EI*<sup>1</sup>, viii, 1170.

P. C. SADGROVE

### al-Yāziji, Warda (1838–1924)

Lebanese poet, daughter of Nāṣif al-Yāziji and sister of Ibrāhīm al-Yāziji and Khalīl al-Yāziji. Warda al-Yāziji received an early education at home in Arabic **grammar** and **prosody** and attended a French school in **Beirut**, where her family had moved in 1840 from Kafr Shīmā. Upon graduation, she taught in a school, and is thought to have started writing poetry at the age of 13. After her marriage in 1866 to Francis Sham'un she continued writing poetry and teaching, in addition to raising five children. She moved to Alexandria after her husband's death in 1899 and lived there until her death. Her collected poetry was published in Beirut as *Ḥadiqat al-ward: nazm Warda bint al-shaykh Nāṣif al-Yāziji* (1867). Expanded editions were published in 1886/7 (Beirut) and 1914 (Cairo). Much of al-Yāziji's poetry was *rithā'*, in the classical tradition of poetry by women. She also wrote poems addressed to other women poets, notably Warda al-Turk and 'Ā'isha al-Taym-ūriyya. Al-Yāziji also wrote prose essays for publication in periodicals; in particular, her brother Ibrāhīm's periodical *al-Diyā'* published her four-part article 'al-Mar'a al-sharqiyya' in 1906.

#### Text edition

'Epistolary poem to Warda al-Turk', M. Booth (trans.), in Margot Badran and Miriam Cooke, *Opening the Gates: A Century of Arab Feminist Writing*, Bloomington and Indianapolis (1990), 21–2.

#### Further reading

Booth, Marilyn, 'Biography and feminist rhetoric in early twentieth-century Egypt: Mayy Ziyada's studies of three women's lives', *Journal of Women's History* 3 (1) (Spring 1991).

Ma'lūf, 'Īsā Iskandar, 'Mashāhīr al-Yāzijiyyīn al-Lubnāniyyīn', *al-Āthār* 2 (6) (December 1912).

Ziyāda, Mayy, *Warda al-Yaziji*, Cairo (n.d.) [1924].

M. BOOTH

## Yemen

Arab country occupying the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Long before the rise of Islam Yemen possessed a developed civilization, a fact in which present-day Yemenis still take pride.

When Muḥammad preached Islam in Mecca, this civilization had long lain in ruins, devastated by wars and intrusions of militant Arabian tribes. Throughout the Middle Ages and until recently, Yemeni society was decentralized and dominated by tribal ideology. This factor strongly coloured its literary output, which includes an enormous body of tribal poetry, extolling the merits of one tribe and demeaning its rivals. Already in pre-Islamic times Yemen boasted a number of great tribal poets, including **Imru' al-Qays**, 'the king of Arab poets', and **'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib**. Under Islam, tribal partisanship persisted. It found an expression in the keen rivalry between the Yemeni tribes (Qaḥṭān) and those of North Arabia ('Adnān). Among those who took an active part in this rivalry was **al-Hamdānī** (d. 334/945), undoubtedly the greatest Yemeni scholar, whose encyclopaedic works scrupulously record genealogies of South Arabian tribes (in order to prove their antiquity) and contain lengthy samples of old Yemeni poetry. Later on, Yemen's glorious past was praised in the patriotic poems of **Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī** (d. 573/1178). Since throughout the medieval period Yemeni society was highly stratified and the status of its members depended on their lineage, genealogical works and praises of one's family became part and parcel of Yemeni literature.

Yemen's stormy political history during the first centuries of Islam hindered the development of non-poetic genres. When Yemen became home to several heterodox religious communities, these started to propagate their sectarian positions among Yemeni Muslims via theological writings (see **Zaydis**). Under the dynasties of **Sunni** rulers (the **Ayyūbids**, **Rasūlids** and **Tāhirids**), Yemen witnessed a cultural florescence. The four centuries of their rule (sixth/twelfth–tenth/sixteenth) produced a galaxy of eminent historians and biographers (Ibn Ḥātim, al-Janādī, al-Khazrajī, Ibn al-Ahdal, Ibn al-Dayba', etc.) They established a solid tradition of annalistic historiography that was perpetuated by later authors, most notably **al-Tayyib Bā Makhrama** (d. 974/1540). Apart from theological and legalistic liter-

ature, Yemenis produced a voluminous corpus of **Ṣūfī** works which included biographies of **Ṣūfī** saints, moralistic admonitions, mystical poetry, apologies for mysticism, essays on occult sciences, etc. The wide spread of the cult of the **Ṣūfī** saints created a demand for hagiographies. It was met by 'Abd Allāh al-Yāfi'i, al-Sharjī and al-Shillī, whose works abound in accounts of the exemplary piety of holy personages and spectacular miracles ascribed to them.

Poetry continued to occupy a place of prominence. Its most eloquent representative at that time was **Ibn al-Muqri** (d. 837/1433), a scholar of encyclopaedic interests and knowledge. Ibn al-Muqri's elaborate poetry as well as that of court poets were largely directed at the educated élite. Parallel to the classical poetry, some lettered Yemenis took to composing verses in colloquial Arabic that drew on the metrical and lexical riches of local folklore. This substantially increased their appeal with less sophisticated audiences.

The eleventh/seventeenth–thirteenth/nineteenth centuries did not bring about any substantial changes in the trends and genres of Yemeni literature. Innovations introduced by the later **Zaydī** authors were mostly theological in nature. In the **Sunni** parts of the country, the character of literary output remained essentially the same as in the previous centuries.

Poetry in Yemen has always fulfilled an important social function, since poets were often viewed as mouthpieces of popular sentiment. Some of them defended tribal honour, others severely criticized oppressive rulers and called for social justice. This tradition has continued until our day. In the 1940s–early 1960s, a number of popular Yemeni poets (al-Mawshikī, al-Zubayrī, al-Baradūnī, etc.) were among the principal instigators of armed struggle against the regime of the **Zaydī Imām** which perpetuated the outdated social structure and isolationism. When the Imām was overthrown in 1962, poets served as educators of the masses, instilling in them new societal values and nationalist ideology. Yemeni poets of the post-revolutionary period have combined imagery and metre borrowed from the classical poetry with modern literary trends, e.g. romanticism, symbolism, and realism. Younger poets tended to depart from the established poetical dogma and metrics, looking for new forms of self-expression.

Yemeni prose is still beginning to take shape. It models itself chiefly on the more

sophisticated Arabic literatures of **Egypt, Iraq and Syria**. Therefore, in Yemen poetry remains the major form of artistic expression.

#### Further reading

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 —, *Maṣādir al-fikr al-Islāmī fī al-Yaman, Ṣana'a'* (1976).  
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 Serjeant, R.B., 'Materials for South Arabian history', *BSOAS* 13 (1950), 281–307, 581–601.  
 Sharaf al-Dīn, Aḥmad, *Ta'rikh al-fikr al-Islāmī fī al-Yaman*, Cairo (1968).  
 Smith, G.R., *The Ayyūbids and Early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London (1974 and 1978).  
 Wüstenfeld, F., *Die Çufiten in Süd-Arabien*, Göttingen (1883).  
 See also relevant articles in *Yemen: 3000 Years of Art and Civilisation in Arabia Felix*, W. Daum (ed.), Innsbruck and Frankfurt am Main (1988).  
 For contemporary literary life in Yemen one may also consult the Yemeni literary journals *al-Yaman al-jadīd*, *al-Afāq*, *Dirāsāt Yamaniyya*, etc.; for a fine study of tribal poetry see S. Caton, *Peaks of Yemen I Summon*, Berkeley (1990).

A. KNYSH

### Yūsuf III Ibn al-Aḥmar (d. 819/1417)

Ruler of Granada from 810/1408 to 819/1417, and poet. Yūsuf spent many years, during the reign of his brother, as a prisoner in the castle of Salobreña; it is related that as his brother was dying he ordered that Yūsuf be put to death, but he asked to finish a chess game he was playing with the governor of the gaol, and thus gained time during which his partisans released him. He pursued an active, though unsuccessful, defence of Granadan interests in the face of Christian reconquest. His poetry is marked by its adherence to a classicizing style, but he is also known as the author of *muwashshahāt*. Despite the traditional **Sunnī** and **Mālikī** orthodoxy of Naṣrid Granada, this prince's verse contains traces of **Shi'i** influence.

#### Text editions

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D.J. WASSERSTEIN

See also: Spain

### al-Yūsuf, Fāṭima (189?–19??)

Egyptian actress and journalist. Born Rūz al-Yūsuf, she adopted the name Fāṭima after marrying Muḥammad 'Abd al-Quddūs. She worked first as an actress under the director 'Azīz al-'Īd, then acted with Jūrj Abyaḍ and Najīb al-Riḥānī. Her best roles were played with the Ramses troupe in the early 1920s. In 1925 she gave up acting and founded *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, one of the most respected weekly political magazines in the Arab world. As a staunch supporter of Sa'd Zagh'lūl and the Wafd Party, she gradually became more involved in politics and later published a daily newspaper bearing the same name. Her satirical caricatures angered many politicians, however, and she herself faced bankruptcy and imprisonment. She remained head of her publishing business until it was handed over to her son Iḥsān 'Abd al-Quddūs in 1945.

M. MIKHAIL

### Yūsuf, Sa'dī (1934– )

Iraqi poet. Born in **Basra**, Yūsuf started his poetic career as a poet practising **free verse**, under the influence of **al-Sayyāb**. In his free verse and poetry in prose, Yūsuf reflects the spiritual, intellectual and political situation of Iraqi intellectuals, workers and communists, persecuted by their governments. His poetry, which uses colloquial dialogue, is loaded with images derived from prisons: bars, barbed wire, police enquiries, dark nights, fugitives, murders, tombs, etc.

Yūsuf has published several anthologies, including *51 Qaṣīda* (Baghdad, 1959), *Ughniyāt laysat lil-ākharīn* (1954), *al-Najm wa-al-ramād* (1961), *Qaṣā'id mar'iyya* (Beirut, 1965) and *Taḥta jidāriyyat Fā'iḳ Ḥasan* (Beirut, 1974). He has also written a narrative, *al-Qurṣān* (Baghdad, 1952), and collected an anthology of writers from Basra, *Mukhtārāt min al-adab al-Baṣrī al-ḥadīth* (Basra, 1961).



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S. MOREH

### al-Zabīdī, al-Murtaḍā (1145–1205/1732–91)

al-Sayyid Abū al-Fayḍ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Arabic lexicographer. Born in the Northwest Province of India, al-Zabīdī was the author of the largest surviving Arabic dictionary, the *Tāj al-'arūs min jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, which he began in 1174/1760 and finished in 1188/1774 (published editions, Cairo, 1889–90, reprinted several times; Kuwait, 1965– ). He died in Cairo. The author names 113 sources consulted in the compilation of his dictionary and estimates it to contain about 120,000 words. One of his sources was the equally famous *Lisān al-'Arab* of Ibn Manẓūr, whose entire contents were subsumed into the *Tāj*. The *Tāj* was used by E.W. Lane as the basis of his Arabic–English lexicon *Madd al-Qāmūs*.

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M.G. CARTER

See also: lexicography, medieval; lexicography, modern

### al-Zafayān (fl. 75/695)

'Aṭā' ibn Usayd (or Asīd) al-Zafayān al-Sa'dī was a *rajaz* poet. Very little is known of his life; he belonged to the tribe Tamīm, was a contemporary of al-'Ajjāj and seems to have died at an advanced age. He is hardly ever mentioned by critics or anthologists. A small *diwān* is preserved, with ten poems (265 lines) in the style of al-'Ajjāj.

#### Text edition

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G.J.H. VAN GELDER

### Zāfir al-Ḥaddād (d. 529/1135)

A blacksmith who made his career as a poet of some talent, first in Alexandria and later in Cairo. He composed poems in praise of the Fātimids, in particular the Imāms al-ʿAmir and al-Ḥāfiz, and their respective viziers, especially the all-powerful al-Afḍal ibn Badr al-Jamālī. The travelling Andalusian poet and prose author Abū al-Ṣalt Umayya ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who visited him in Egypt and later on sailed to al-Mahdiyya (present-day Tunisia), remained in correspondence with Zāfir in his *Risāla Miṣriyya*. Characteristic of Zāfir's religious attitude is the nearly total lack of wine poetry in his *diwān*. His laudatory poems dedicated to the Imāms not only glorify their Godly Light, but also describe their victorious war effort against the Crusaders (see **Crusades**) and Byzantines. Remarkable are his satirical poems (*hiġā'*) describing the forgetfulness of a certain Abū 'Āmir and his poems of complaint (*shakwā*) which describe his real or fictitious claustrophobic fear induced by housing accommodation that was much too small.

#### Text edition

*Diwān*, Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (ed.), Cairo (1969).

#### Further reading

Smoor, P., 'The poet's house: fiction and reality in

the works of the "Fāṭimid" poets', *QSA* (Venice/Rome) 10 (1992), 45–62.

—, 'Wine, love and praise for the Fāṭimid imāms, the Enlightened of God', *ZDMG* 142/1 (1992) 90–104.

Umayya ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Abū al-Salt, 'Risāla Miṣriyya', in *Nawādir al-makḥūṭāt*, 'A.S.M. Hārūn (ed.), 2nd printing, Cairo (1972) vol. 1, 11–56..

P. SMOOR

## Zafzāf, Muḥammad (1945– )

Moroccan novelist, short-story writer and journalist. Born in Kenitra, Zafzāf first wrote short stories which were published in periodicals in various Arab countries. A number of his stories paint evocative pictures of Moroccan rural life. Well known outside Morocco, Zafzāf has been instrumental in forging links between Maghribi and Middle Eastern intellectuals. He introduced Western readers to modern Arabic poetry in Morocco by co-translating into French works by thirteen Moroccan poets (*Treize poètes marocains*, 1977). The author of a number of novels, including *Arṣifa wa-judrān* (1974), *al-Shajara al-muqaddasa* (1980) and *al-Tha'lab alladhī yaẓhar wa-yakhtaḥī* (1989), Zafzāf's central character is frequently portrayed as a passionate individual, desperate to express himself freely in a taboo-laden society.

Further reading

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F. ABU-HAIDAR

## al-Zahāwī, Jamīl Ṣidqī (1863–1936)

Neo-classical Iraqi poet. Al-Zahāwī was born in Baghdad to Kurdish parents descended from the Baban royal family of Sulaymāniyya. After completing his traditional Koranic school education, he was given a foundation in Arabic and the classical poets by his father, a scholar and *muftī* of Baghdad. He later developed an interest in Western literature, science and thought through Turkish and Persian translations.

Al-Zahāwī occupied posts in education, publishing, journalism and law. In 1890 he became Arabic editor for the official newspaper *al-Zawra'*. Following the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution of 1908, he went

to Istanbul as a lecturer in Islamic philosophy and teacher of Arabic literature. On his return to Baghdad he was appointed lecturer in the Law School. In 1917, during the British occupation, he convened a committee to translate the Ottoman Laws, and after Iraq gained independence in 1920 he was appointed as a member of the Senate for four years.

Al-Zahāwī first became known to the Arab literary world through his daring and stormy articles on social and scientific theories published in Syro-Egyptian journals and newspapers such as *al-Muqataḥ* and *al-Mu'ayyad*. His name has often been linked with that of Ma'ruf 'Abd al-Ghanī Maḥmud al-Ruṣāfī, as both represented the social and political aspirations of the Iraqi people during the turbulent first three decades of the twentieth century.

Al-Zahāwī was a prolific poet and writer. In addition to a translation of Omar Khayyām's *Quatrains* into Arabic, he produced several volumes of poetry, the main themes of which are concerned with politics, philosophy, scientific theory, nationalism, and social and moral issues including religion and the emancipation of women. His *Dīwān* was published in 1924.

Al-Zahāwī also wrote about the role and aims of poetry. He criticized many aspects of the classical tradition, calling for new metres and a content that more accurately reflected the realities of everyday life. But although he experimented with **blank verse** and was regarded as a pioneer in this form, much of his poetry remained close to the classical style and technique.

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R. HUSNI

## zajal, medieval

A strophic poetic form which originated in Islamic Spain. Often compared with the *muwashshah*, it differs in being written entirely in the local vernacular Arabic dialect and punctuated with non-Arabic words or phrases, and in having a slightly different rhyme scheme and running longer – often much longer – than the typical five-strophe length of the *muwashshah*.

There is little evidence concerning the origins of the *zajal*. The earliest known *zajal* poets are **Ibn Quzmān** (d. 555/1160) and Ibn Rāshid, yet many sources indicate that the form had existed for some time before the sixth/twelfth century, passed on orally but unrecorded by critics and anthologists because of its vernacular diction. The characteristic organization of the *zajal* is: AA bbbA cccA etc.; a more involved variant is ABAB cccAB dddAB. The rhyme of the initial refrain, the *maṭla'* (which is sometimes missing in the *muwashshah*) is reproduced at the end of each of the following strophes (*ghuṣns*), but there are half as many lines as in the *maṭla'* (the *muwashshah* reproduces it in full).

The distinctions between the two so-called 'sister genres', the *zajal* and the *muwashshah*, are blurred by the existence of poems that are structured as *muwashshah*, yet are written entirely in the vernacular. While the themes of *muwashshahāt* tend to be those of classical poetry, the *zajals* take on a wider variety of topics. The structural similarities between the two forms have spawned a lively debate about which preceded the other, whether the *zajal* had its origin in some now-lost oral Romance tradition or whether it was a popularization of the *muwashshah*. Another theory is that the *muwashshah* is a cultured version of the popular *zajal*. These controversies are but a part of the larger debate about cultural borrowing or transmission between Islamic Spain and Christian Spain and the rest of Europe. Nykl has argued that Ibn Quzmān's *zajals* provide clear evidence for Arabic influence in the form and content of Provençal poets such as William of Aquitaine and Marcabru. In Spain, *zajal*-esque forms are widespread in thirteenth-century Galician-Portuguese poetry, including the *Cantigas* of Alphonse the Wise. By the latter half of the seventh/thirteenth century the *zajal* form is echoed in the Provençal *dansa*, the Italian *ballata* and the Old French *virelai*. Still, the question remains whether the *zajal* really moved from Arabic to Romance, as the dates of the manuscripts imply, or whether the colloquial Arabic *zajal* was based on a pre-existing unwritten Romance form (as Monroe argues), in which case the *zajal* becomes the record of a Romance influence on an Arabic poetic form rather than the opposite.

The most celebrated composer of *zajals* was Ibn Quzmān, whose poems spanned from panegyrics to the wealthy to bawdy and obscene ditties. Another noted *zajalist* was the

seventh/thirteenth-century Ṣūfī poet Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shushtarī, whose poems, judging from the number of extant manuscripts, circulated widely in mystic circles.

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L. ALVAREZ

See also: prosody, medieval; strophic poetry

## zajal, modern

As used in modern Arabic, *zajal* denotes various types of poems composed in colloquial idioms. Dialectal poetry made its first appearance in medieval Spain and is nowadays widespread all over the Arab world. In addition to traditional kinds commonly sung or recited in public gatherings, such as *mawāliya*, 'atāba, mējanā, m'annā, shrūqī, qarrādi, etc., it also includes more 'elevated' types published in magazines and individual collections. Whereas in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, however, *zajal* signifies all kinds of colloquial poetry, oral or written, this term is seldom used in Arabia and Iraq, where *nabaḥī* and *shi'r 'ammī* respectively are preferred.

Modern *zajal* is as diverse in form and structure as in subject-matter. Scholars are not unanimous as to the nature of its prosody. Some argue in favour of syllabic metrics; others demonstrate that, with known adjustments (final C $\bar{V}$ >CV; C $\bar{V}$ C>CVC or C $\bar{V}$ -CV; CVCC>CVC-CV or CV-CVC; initial CC $\bar{V}$  and CCVC>C $\bar{V}$  and CVC), the quantitative patterns of classical Arabic metrics are at work. While monorhymed *zajal* is not rare, strophic forms with varieties of rhyme schemes are more common. In recent decades, 'free' colloquial poems, with lines of

unequal length in which rhymes are only occasionally found, have gained prominence and acquired literary status. *Zajal* handles all subjects treated also in poetry using classical Arabic. It is often put in service of politics and ideologies. Among its representatives in Egypt are Maḥmūd Bayram al-Tūnīsī, Aḥmad Rāmi, Ṣalāḥ Jāhīn and Aḥmad Fu'ād Nigm; in Lebanon, Rashīd Nakhlā, Sa'īd 'Aql, Michel Trād and the brothers Raḥbānī.

Further reading

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 Cachia, P., 'The Egyptian *Mawwāl*', *JAL* 8 (1977), 77–103.  
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D. SEMAH

**al-Zajjāj see grammar and grammarians**

**al-Zajjāji (d. 337/949 or later)**

Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq al-Zajjāji was a native of Nihavand but mainly active in **Baghdad**, then for a while in **Damascus** and Aleppo, dying in Tiberias. His name derives from his being a student of al-Zajjāj, and he also studied under Ibn Kaysān, Ibn al-Sarrāj and al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar. He is credited with several works of lexicography and morphology, a treatise on the etymology of the names of God, a possible supplement to **Ibn al-Sikkīt's** *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* and a number of short grammatical treatises including a commentary on the opening sections of **Sibawayhi's** *Kitāb*. But he is best known for two texts, an extremely popular grammar *al-Jumal*, said to have inspired 120 commentaries, and the *Īdāḥ*, a penetrating analysis of the theoretical presuppositions of **grammar** which reveals the lively intellectual environment in which the work was conceived.

Text editions

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*Hurūf al-ma'ānī wa-al-ṣifāt*, H.S. Faḥūd (ed.), Riyādh (1982).  
*Īdāḥ 'ilal al-naḥw* M. al-Mubārak (ed.), Cairo (1959), rpt Beirut (1979), trans. Kees (C.H.M.)

- Versteegh, *The Explanation of Linguistic Causes, Az-Zaḡḡāḡi's Theory of Grammar*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia (1995).  
*al-Jumal fī al-naḥw*, M. ben Cheneb (ed.), Paris (1957): A.T. al-Ḥamad (ed.), Beirut and Irbid (1984).  
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*Kitāb al-lamāt*, M. al-Mubārak (ed.), Damascus (1985).  
*Majālis al-'ulamā'*, A.S.M. Hārūn (ed.), Kuwait (1962).

M.G. CARTER

See also: grammar and grammarians

**Zakariyyā' Ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī see al-Qazwīnī, Zakariyya' Ibn Muḥammad**

**Zakhūr, Père Rufā'il (Don Raphaël de Monachis) (1759–1831)**

Poet and translator. Born in Cairo, he joined the order of the Basiliens and attended the Greek Seminary in Rome. In 1781 he entered the Monastery of the Saviour near Sidon. He returned to Egypt in 1794, later becoming the only Arab member of the French Institut d'Égypte. In 1803 he was appointed teacher of Arabic at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris; among his students was Champollion. He returned to Egypt again in 1816, working for the rest of his life as a teacher and translator in the service of Muḥammad 'Alī. He translated a number of works from Italian and French, including the fables of La Fontaine and Machiavelli's *Il Principe*, and compiled a *Dizionario italiano e arabo* (1822), the first book from the Būlāq press.

Further reading

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P.C. SADGROVE

**al-Zamakhshari (467–538/1075–1144)**

Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī was a philologist, theologian and **Koran** commentator. For most of his life al-

Zamakhsharī lived in the region of his birth, **Khwarazm** in Central Asia, although he did spend some time studying in Bukhara and **Baghdad**, and twice he visited Mecca. Motivated by a great appreciation of Arabic (although his native language was Persian), and influenced by rationalist **Mu'tazilī** theology, al-Zamakhsharī wrote one of the most widely appreciated commentaries on the Koran, *al-Kashshāf 'an haqā'iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl* (*The Unveiler of the Realities of the Sciences of the Revelation*). Despite what came to be regarded as a heretical theological slant, the work has been an essential part of the curriculum of religious education throughout the Muslim world for centuries. It attracted many super-commentaries which attempted to explain its terse style and intricacies, as well as refutations (e.g. by **Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī**) and bowdlerized versions (e.g. by **al-Bayḍāwī**). Al-Zamakhsharī commented on each phrase of the Koran in sequence, providing philosophical, lexicographical and philological glosses while displaying a concern for the rhetorical qualities of the text (see *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*). His text is also imbued with his theological vision which is characterized by a thorough-going de-anthropomorphization and support for the doctrines of human free will and the 'created Koran'. Al-Zamakhsharī also wrote a number of other works, including works on Arabic grammar, rhetoric and lexicography, and a collection of proverbs.

#### Text editions

- al-Kashshāf 'an haqā'iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl*, W. Nassau Lees, Khadīm Husayn and 'Abd al-Hayy (eds), 2 vols, Calcutta (1856); Beirut (1947), rpt (1966) (many other editions).  
*Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal* (extracts), H. Perès, H. (trans.), Algiers (1947).  
*Maqāmāt*, Y. Biqā'ī (ed.), Beirut (1981); O. Rescher (trans.), *Maqāmen-Literatur*, pt 6.  
*al-Mustaṣṣā fī amthāl al-'Arab*, 2nd edn, Beirut (1977).

#### Further reading

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 Ibrahim, Lutpi, 'Al-Zamakhshari: his life and works', *IS* 19 (1980) 95–110 (L. Ibrahim has written an extensive series of articles on al-Zamakhshari and his theological position – one useful example is 'The relation of reason and revelation in the theology of al-Zamakhshari and al-Bayḍāwī', *IC* 54 (1980), 63–74).

A. RIPPIN

## Zand ibn al-Jawn, Abū Dulāma see Abū Dulāma

### zarf

Zarf, in its currently used, general meaning translates as 'elegance, charm, gracefulness, wittiness, resourcefulness, or esprit'. In 'Abbāsīd times it came to denote a comprehensive ideal of personal elegance and refinement, and implied such qualities as culture, urbanity, ethics, aesthetic sensibility, courtesy and amiability. Modern scholars have sometimes referred to the 'zarf/adab ideal', for the semantic fields of the two words overlap in some contexts (cf. Bonebakker, below). Zarf was described (and prescribed, one might say) in specific terms by Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Washshā' (d. 325/936 or 7) in his *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, also entitled *al-Zarf wa-al-zurafā'* (*Elegance and Elegant People*). Al-Washshā' and those whom he quotes express the intimate interdependence of *adab*, *muruwwa*, *futuwwa* and *zarf* – 'culture, manly virtue, chivalry and refinement'. For the *zarif* (m. pl. *zurafā'*, noun or adjective), a person pursuing this courtly ideal, an understanding of how one should conduct oneself in love and friendship was fundamental. Thus *al-Zarf wa-al-zurafā'* becomes a unique treatise on love theory (especially chs 15–22). In love and affection one should not transgress the bounds of the Holy Law nor be indiscreet or unfaithful. Chaste behaviour ('*iffa*') is essential, as well as avoidance of extremes of passion.

Similarly, al-Washshā's contemporary **Ibn Dā'ūd** (d. 297/910), head of the Zāhiri school of law, entitled a chapter in his *Kitāb al-Zahra* (*The Book of the Flower*) 'One Who is Refined [*zarif*] Will Be Chaste'. He also insisted on the necessity of keeping one's love a secret. However, Ibn Dā'ūd's concept of the *zarf* ideal differed in an important respect from that of al-Washshā', who found Ibn Dā'ūd guilty of excess in love, for the latter reportedly suffered a fatal illness caused by spurned love and devotion for another young man.

In these pages, the conventions of idealized love colour the most mundane relationships and social formalities. Without a hint of incongruity, al-Washshā' also includes in his catalogue of inscriptions on the theme of love a chapter on phrases of mystical longing for Allāh. Fraternal love between Muslims 'in

Allāh', love for beautiful slave girls, the burning Ṣūfī love for God – all are expressed in notes written to a beloved, engraved on jewellery, or painted on dishes, inscribed on trays, embroidered on drapery, garments, caps, shoes, or even painted in gold upon an apple or a serving maid's forehead. Other aspects of fashion also figured in this picture: taking care, for example, to offer guests only those foods listed as suitable for the refined, and to avoid serving certain others.

In the words of J.-C. Vadet, the shared *zarf* ideal seems to have functioned as a 'unifying social principle' in urban circles of the cultured and lettered. Its conventions helped to bind together individuals of many ethnic, tribal and geographic origins. It seems to have been allied to a developing 'Islamic humanism' (J.L. Kraemer's phrase) that soon flourished among these élites.

Text edition

al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (or *al-Zarf wa-al-ḡurafā'*), Beirut (1965) (with explanatory notes and partly vocalized; based on R.E. Brünnow's Leiden 1886 edition).

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L. A. GIFFEN

See also: *adab*; courtly love; *ghazal*; love theory

**zarīf see zarf**

**al-Zarīfī, Ḥusayn (1909– )**

Iraqi poet, dramatist and literary critic. Born in Baghdad, al-Zarīfī graduated in law in 1933,

and in 1935 was appointed as a judge. At the same time he was embarking on his intensive literary activities; he was close to the Iraqi poet Jamīl Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī whom he regarded as the first to write *shī'r mursal* (blank verse) in modern Arabic literature, and as one of the contributors to *Apollo* himself experimented with Arabic metre. In his drama *Rasūl al-salām* he adopted, under the influence of Aḥmad Shawqī, the technique of using varied metres and rhymes based upon thoughts, emotions, situation and character. Defending this method, al-Zarīfī argued that a drama was performed by several actors speaking in different tones and that the monotonous use of metre and rhyme would distract attention from the characters and plot.

Further reading

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R. SNIR

**al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093)**

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Zawzanī was a philologist. He came from Zawzan (between Herat and Nishapur), wrote some works on Arabic–Persian lexicography (*al-Maṣādir*, *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*) and is known especially for his commentary on the *Mu'allaqāt*, which has often been printed both in the East and in (nineteenth-century) Europe. Its popularity is due to its relatively compact size, free from long digressions, and its clear presentation: after the explanation of the difficult words of each line, a simple prose paraphrase of the line is offered, with some attention for different interpretations, and often explicitly connecting the line with the preceding one.

Text edition

*Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt al-sab'*, Cairo (1352/1953).

G. J. H. VAN GELDER

**Zayd al-Khayl**

(fl. early first/seventh century)

Zayd ibn Muḥalhil Abū Muknif, chief of the Nabḥān, a branch of the Ṭayyī', was a *mukhadram* warrior-poet, generally known as Zayd al-Khayl (Zayd of the Horses) because he owned an unusually large number of

thoroughbreds, mention of which he makes in his poems. **Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī** labels him a 'sparse' poet. He was involved in many conflicts and raids inflicted on neighbouring tribes and these, together with celebrations of benefactions and hospitality, the standard concerns of early Arabic aristocratic poetry, constitute the body of verse. There is also evidence of several flytings (see *hija'*) with **Tufayl al-Ghanawī**, 'Amir ibn Tufayl of the 'Amir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a and **Ka'b ibn Zuhayr**; he also took **al-Ḥuṭay'a** captive on a raid. In the year 9/630, he was a part of his tribe's delegation to the Prophet who changed his name to Zayd al-Khayr (Zayd the Good). He may have died during or after his return from Medina or he may have survived until the caliphate of 'Umar I (13–23/634–44).

#### Text edition

*Dīwān*, Najaf (1968).

#### Further reading

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J. E. MONTGOMERY

## Zaydān, Jurjī (Jirji) (1861–1914)

Syrian-Egyptian novelist, journalist and historian. A leading Syrian contributor to the Egyptian *nahḍa* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Zaydān was born in **Beirut**. At least initially, he intended to go into the field of medicine, but he did not complete his studies. Like many other educated Syrian Christians, he emigrated from Ottoman Syria to the intellectually freer atmosphere of British-run **Egypt**, where he began a long and distinguished career as one of Egypt's most prolific authors. The journal *al-Hilāl*, which he founded in 1892, went on to become one of Egypt's longest-lived and most successful publications.

Zaydān was fluent in several European languages and had at one point studied both Hebrew and Syriac. By 1897 his fame had extended beyond Egypt proper, and he was made a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He has been called by some scholars 'Dean of the Syrian Egyptian historians'.

As Christians, Zaydān and most of his fellow 'Syrian Egyptians' were more committed to the Westernization process than their Muslim Egyptian counterparts. In their various journals they trumpeted the virtues of rational-

ism, secularism, Darwinism, socialism and even communism – ideas that made them as a group seem suspect and even dangerous to more devout Muslims and even to Egyptian nationalists like Muṣṭafā **Kāmil** and **Muḥammad Farid**.

Zaydān's literary output was astonishing. He remained as editor of *al-Hilāl* until his death in 1914 and contributed countless articles to it and other journals. He also wrote nine major historical studies, including works on the pre-Islamic Arabs, freemasonry, the history of England and nineteenth-century biography, and major compilations on the history of Islamic civilization (*Tārīkh al-tamaddun al-Islāmī*, 5 vols, Cairo, 1902–6), the history of Arabic literature (*Tārīkh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, 4 vols, Cairo, 1911) and Egyptian history (*Tārīkh Miṣr al-ḥadīth min al-fatḥ al-Islāmī ilā al-ān*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1911). He may also have written a history of the Arabic language (*Tārīkh al-lughā al-'Arabiyya*) and a book about national groups (*Ṭabaqāt al-umam*), but publication information on these two works is incomplete.

In addition to all this, Zaydān also wrote an astonishing total of twenty-two historical novels and romances, seeking in this way to popularize the study of history. In all his works he was a stylistic innovator, abandoning florid and stilted medieval forms for the more recently developed 'direct' (i.e. semi-journalistic) style of writing. His great service was to open up new literary and historical vistas to the Arab reader. Despite this, many scholars now feel that the originality of some of his work is suspect, and that he in fact 'borrowed' much of his material from contemporary European authors.

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J. CRABBS

## Zaydis

A moderate wing of the **Shi'**is that recognizes the imamate of Zayd ibn 'Alī, younger brother of the fifth Shi'i Imām, **Muḥammad al-Bāqir** (d. 115/733). After the death of his brother, Zayd revolted against the **Umayyads** in **Kufa** and proclaimed himself leader of the Islamic community. He was supported by those Shi'is



who opposed the quietist policy of al-Bāqir and his successor, the sixth Imām Ja'far al-Šādiq. The revolt was suppressed, and Zayd perished in battle (122/740). Five decades later his followers founded a Zaydī state in northeast Iran. It lasted until 316/928, although some Zaydī pockets survived until the advent of the **Šafavids** (the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century). In the late third/ninth century Zaydism spread among the tribal populations of north **Yemen**. From then on and until 1382/1962, the Northern Highlands, and occasionally the **Sunnī** parts of Yemen also, were ruled by the Zaydī Imāms, residing in Šana'a'.

Zaydī doctrine combines the features of Sunnism and Shi'ism. Like Sunnīs, the majority of Zaydīs hold the caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar to have been legitimate rulers and reject the notion of the hidden Imām as well as that of the Imām's infallibility. Like the **Khārijīs**, they advocate armed uprising against the impious (i.e. Sunnī) rulers with the aim of replacing them with one of their own. This should be elected from among the pious descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima and must assert his right to the imamate on the battlefield. Theologically, the Zaydīs adhere to the **Mu'tazilī** doctrine, while their legal theory is patterned on that of the **Sunnī** schools of law.

The Zaydī communities of Iran and Yemen produced many distinguished religious scholars, who left many works on theology, history and biography. Among the most prolific writers were Zaydī rulers, for in the view of the Zaydīs, being the Imām presupposed an extensive knowledge of the religious sciences as well military prowess. Owing to Zaydism's eclecticism, later Zaydī scholars such as Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436), Šāliḥ al-Maqbālī (d. 1108/1696) and al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1832) espoused a remarkably broad-minded approach to Islamic theology, abandoning the narrow factionalism and blind adherence to the tradition prevalent among mainstream Muslim doctors. The features of Zaydī learning are vividly reflected in the work of the refined courtier Aḥmad ibn Abī Rijāl (d. 1092/1618) of Šana'a', which includes collections of Zaydī biographies, religious and secular poetry, juridical and theological tracts. Contemporary Yemeni intellectuals try to revive the progressive aspects of the Zaydī legacy with the view to reforming the traditional society of Yemen.

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A. KNYSH

See also: Yemen

## Zayyād, Tawfiq (1932–1994)

Palestinian poet. Born in Nazareth, he was educated there and in Moscow, where he studied Russian literature. Like Maḥmūd **Darwish** and Samiḥ al-Qāsim, Zayyād – who also served as mayor of Nazareth – came to the attention of Arab literary circles in the wake of the 1967 war. A proponent of Marxism in both his political convictions and literary outlook, he was a committed poet (see **commitment**) who believed in social realism as a supreme literary principle. His attitude to poetry placed emphasis on its role as a force for change in society through the accessibility of its content and the humanism of its universal message. Although some of his poetry is in **free verse**, it is reminiscent of pre-1948 Palestinian poetry in its upbeat, oratorical style of delivery, as well as in its being largely '*munāsabār*' poetry ('poetry of occasions').

Zayyād's poetry is characterized by its direct imagery, immediate symbolism, strident message, explosive discharge of raw emotions and unshakeable belief in the right of the Palestinian people to assert their identity and reclaim their land. He often used elements of Palestinian culture – including proverbs, traditional songs, folk beliefs, popular games and traditional practices – to enhance the immediacy of the thematic content of his poetry and increase its appeal to the masses. In addition to his poetry, he has translated works from Russian and published a translation of the works of Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet.

#### Text edition

- Jayyusi, S.K. (ed.), *Anthology of Palestinian Literature*, New York (1992).

Y. SULEIMAN

**al-Zayyât, Laṭîfa (1925– )**

Egyptian novelist, critic and short-story writer. From the Delta town of Damietta, al-Zayyât earned her BA and MA degrees in English from Cairo University and her PhD from 'Ayn Shams University, then joined the English department of 'Ayn Shams. She drew on her experiences as a student activist in the oppositional politics of Cairo in the 1940s in her novel *al-Bâb al-maftûh* (1960), which tellingly interweaves the story of a middle-class girl's coming to political and sexual consciousness with that of the struggle for national identity and independence, with an intricate emphasis on the 'dailiness' that shapes the women characters' lives. Her short-story collection *al-Shaykhûkha wa-qîṣaṣ ukhrâ* (1986) meditates on the identities of women growing older and incorporates formal experimentation with, for example, the diary form. Her novella *al-Rajul alladhi 'arafa tuhmatahu* appeared in the critical journal *Adab wa-naqd* in 1991. In 1992 she published *Hamlat taftîsh: Awrâq shakhsîyya*, an innovative and courageous self-examination which draws on the process and material of autobiographical writing. She ventured into playwriting with *Bay' wa-shirâ'* (1994) and continued her career as a novelist with *Şâhib al-bayt* (1994). Al-Zayyât has published many literary studies in English and Arabic, including her *Min şuwâr al-mar'a fî al-qîṣaṣ wa-al-riwâyat al-'Arabiyya* (1989) and *Najîb Maḥfûz: al-şura wa-al-mithâl* (1989).

## Text edition

*The Search*, S. Bennett (trans.), London (1996).

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M. BOOTH

**al-Zibriqân (d. second half of first/seventh century)**

Pre- and early Islamic poet. Al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Badr, nicknamed al-Zibriqân, of the tribe Tamîm, was among the deputation of his tribe to the Prophet in 630. Having converted to

Islam, he was appointed collector of taxes (*şadaqât*) of his tribe. When al-Ḥuṭay'a made some forceful *hijâ'* on al-Zibriqân, he complained to the caliph 'Umar, who imprisoned al-Ḥuṭay'a. Only fragments of his poetry have been preserved. Rabî'a ibn Ḥudhâr, a contemporary of his, called his verse 'like warmed-up meat, neither well done so that it may be eaten, nor left raw so that it may still be useful'.

## Text edition

*Shi'r al-Zibriqân Ibn Badr wa-'Amr Ibn al-Ahtam*, Su'ûd Maḥmûd 'Abd al-Jâbir (ed.), Beirut (1984).

G.J.H. VAN GELDER

**Zifzâf, Muḥammad see Zafzâf, Muḥammad****Zîrids see Spain****Zîr Sâlim, romance of**

The *Qîṣat al-Zîr Sâlim* is a folk elaboration of the episode of the *ayyâm al-'Arab* (**Battle Days**) known as the war of Basûs. Traditions going back to Abû 'Ubayda and Ibn al-Kalbî, among others, tell of the long war between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, started by the tyrant Kulayb's killing of Basûs's camel. Kulayb is portrayed in the romance as a noble knight whose victory over the Yemeni *Tubba'* (king) freed the Taghlib from paying tribute. His brother Zîr Sâlim undertakes a terrible struggle against his murderer, Jassâs, and the Banû Murra. Predominant in the *Qîṣa* are the theme of intertribal strife and a fierce **bedouin** character, expressed by an irrepressible desire for vengeance. The romance of Zîr is considered by storytellers the introduction to the epic cycle of the **Banû Hilâl**. Arab gypsies have seen the origin of their wanderings in Zîr's orders to Jassâs's defeated people to scatter with no fixed abode.

## Text edition

*Qîṣat al-Zîr Sâlim Abû Layla al-Muhalhil*, Cairo (1278/1861–2), and Beirut (1866) (first edns).

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G. CANOVA

See also: *sīra* literature

### Ziryāb (c.160–230/c.789–845)

Nickname of 'Alī ibn Nāfi' Abū al-Ḥasan, musician and courtier. The nickname refers probably to his 'golden' voice. A freedman of the caliph al-Mahdī, Ziryāb early displayed musical gifts. He studied with Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, but the story that Ishāq's jealousy of his success and popularity with the caliph drove him from Baghdad, is a later invention. After spending some time in North Africa he was invited to Córdoba, where the amīr 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam welcomed him. He established the very important Andalusian school of music, laying down certain rules of performance; he also added a fifth string to the lute. A man of wide culture, he was a respected companion of the ruler and an arbiter on matters of taste; in the realm of cookery he introduced the refined, cosmopolitan traditions of Baghdad. Ziryāb's central role in the development of Andalusian civilization is partly due to the fact that his arrival coincided with a change in the self-image of the emirate, which was seeking a new sophistication.

Further reading

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H. KILPATRICK

See also: singers and musicians; Spain

### Ziyād al-A'jam (d. 100/718?)

Abū Umāma Ziyād ibn Sulmā (or Jābir or Sulaymān or Sulaym) was one of the *fuḥūl* of **Khurasan** who lived through most of the first century of the Hijra. He belonged to 'Abd Qays or was a *mawlā* of that tribe; while his nickname (al-A'jam) indicates he was Persian, it may be that the sobriquet simply refers to a foreign accent, for which he was mocked by al-Mughīra ibn Ḥabnā'. He was an adaptable opportunist in character who drank wine and may have been a transmitter of *ḥadīth*. Most of his poetry survives in fragments (except an elegy rhyming in *ḥā'*); he composed *hijā'*, *madīḥ* and *rithā'* and was known as the **Ḥuṭay'a** of the **Umayyad** age – even **al-Farazdaq** was too cautious to satirize him. His *madīḥ* was traditional and there are echoes of pre-Islamic poetry in his verse.

Text edition

*Shi'r Ziyād al-A'jam*, Y.H. Bakkār (ed.), Beirut (1983).

P.F. KENNEDY

### Ziyāda, Mayy (born Māri Ilyās Ziyāda) (1886–1941)

Syro-Lebanese poet, prose writer, translator and intellectual. One of many Syro-Lebanese intellectuals to emigrate to **Egypt** early this century, 'Mayy' (as she signed her essays) received her early education in Nazareth, 'Ayn Tūra and **Beirut** before moving to **Cairo** with her parents in 1908. Her earliest publications were essays and fiction translations in the journal that her father edited, *al-Mahrūsa*, and a volume of French-language poems published pseudonymously (*Fleurs de rêve*, 1911, by 'Isis Copia'). New friends, notably Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid and Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf, encouraged her to supplement her French- and English-language education with an immersion in the Arabic heritage, while acquaintance with the feminist leader Hudā Sha'rāwī and the writer Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif ('Bāḥithat al-Bādiya') deepened her concern with women's status and roles, a commitment that she

explored in many speeches and essays (some collected in *Sawāniḥ fatāḥ* and *Kalimāt wa-ishārāt*, both 1922) and in her biographical-literary studies of women writers (*Bāḥithat al-Bādiya: baḥth intiqādī*, 1920; *Warda al-Yāziji*, 1924; *'Ā'isha Taymūr: shā'irat al-ṭalī'a*, 1926). She also wrote on Arabic literature and on social thought and organization (*al-Musāwāh*, 1922), and composed prose poems (*Zulumāt wa-ashī'a*, 1923). In 1913 or 1914 Ziyāda had begun hosting weekly salons; continuing until the late 1920s, these drew eminent figures from the Cairo literati and beyond. The successive deaths of friends and loved ones at the end of the decade impelled a deep melancholy, however, and in 1936 relatives in Beirut placed her in an asylum against her will. Released more than a year later with the help of friends, Ziyāda lived quietly in Beirut and then Egypt until her death.

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M. BOOTH

## Zoroaster, Zoroastrians *see* Persia

## Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā (d. 609 CE)

A most celebrated pre-Islamic poet and the *rāwī* of Aws ibn Ḥajar and Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī. Zuhayr, whose father was an estranged member of the Muzayna and who was born into the 'Abd al-'Uzza ibn Dhubyān (of the Ghatafān confederacy), is renowned for the meticulous care he lavished upon his poetry, particularly his seven *Hawliyyāt* (*Annual Odes*), whence he was designated a 'slave of poetry' (*'abd al-shi'r*). His *Mu'allaqa* celebrates the peaceful conclusion of the internecine war of Dāḥis, waged between the 'Abs and Dhubyān, by two chieftains of the clan of Murra, Harim ibn Sinān and al-Ḥārith ibn 'Awf. It is an original and

dramatic panegyric, combining a measured structure with gnomic sententiousness, a prominent feature which, among the medieval critics, came to epitomize the poetry of Zuhayr. Numerous other panegyrics (Ahlwardt 3, 4, 9, 14 and 18) are devoted to these chieftains and there is a threnody (Ahlwardt 2) bemoaning the death of Harim's father, Sinān ibn Abī Ḥāritha. The style and content of his panegyrics are largely *bedouin*, being adaptations of the *qaṣīda* of tribal *fakhr*: there is a marked absence of the camel description, although reference should be made to Ahlwardt 15, in which a hunting scene replaces the *wasf*, and Qabāwa 32. A number of his poems are variations upon a theme concerning the theft of a slave and some camels (Ahlwardt 7, 8, 10, 13 and Qabāwa 23). There are political comminations addressed to other tribes contemplating an attack upon the Ghatafān (Ahlwardt 6 and 19), an ode in the style of his master Aws (Qabāwa 24) and an address to the Lakhmid king, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir (Ahlwardt 20), ascribed by al-Aṣma'i, on stylistic grounds, to the obscure Ṣirma al-Anṣārī.

Zuhayr's *dīwān* has been preserved in two recensions; by the Andalusian al-A'lam al-Shantamarī, an edition purporting to reflect that of al-Aṣma'i, and a more comprehensive collection by Tha'lab. The recension of al-Shantamarī/al-Aṣma'i is exclusive and its concentration upon the poems dedicated to the affairs of the Ghatafān may suggest its provenance from a tribal collection: the native critics mention the lack of poems in praise of Zuhayr's natural tribe, the Muzayna. A comparison between the two recensions serves to emphasize the exclusive and unrepresentative nature of al-Shantamarī's collection *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī dawāwīn al-shu'arā' al-sitta al-Jāhiliyyīn*.

#### Text editions

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J. E. MONTGOMERY

## zuhdiyya

The term *zuhdiyya* (ascetic poem) is formed from the verb *zahada*, 'to renounce'/'to turn away from'/'to abstain from gratification'. The *zuhdiyya* developed as a genre in the early Islamic period and, in its maturity, is associated principally with the 'Abbāsid poet Abū al-'Atāhiya (d. 211/826).

The earliest poetry to which the *zuhdiyya* owes a debt is that of the Christian 'Adī ibn Zayd of Hira (d. c.600), whose *dīwān* stands apart from the dominant strain of pre-Islamic poetry by virtue of its consistently pious, monotheistic sentiment. He preached the impotence of man in his world and reminded him, prince or pauper, of his inexorable demise. It was the pious dimension in his cognizance of death that set 'Adī apart from the most representative of the pre-Islamic poets, who were also, to some extent, precursors of Abū al-'Atāhiya in their consistently voiced awareness of fleeting time; the *zuhdiyya*, in some measure, is a development of the *ḥikma* ('wisdom') and *naṣā'ih* ('didactic poetry') to be found in some pre-Islamic and *mukhaḍram* poetry.

Islam, more specifically the language and tenets of the *Koran*, is an important source for the *zuhdiyya*, which took a monochrome view of the revelation's relatively more nuanced view on life: the *Koran* repeatedly warns against absorption in the pleasures of this life to the exclusion of the Hereafter, but nevertheless consistently celebrates the gifts of God's Creation. The *zuhdiyya*, however, adopts an almost exclusively negative view of the pleasures of this world. This asceticism is first associated with al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728). In the same period, a figure of lesser stature in Islamic literary history, Sābiq ibn 'Abd Allah al-Barbarī (late first/early eighth century), composed what constitutes the earliest substantive collection of *zuhdiyyāt*. Much in this collection, with respect to both form and content, is entirely consonant with the later poetry of Abū al-'Atāhiya.

Also associated with the genre is Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs (d. 167/783-40), a poet who was accused of *zandaqa* (heresy). The nature of his religiosity, departing from the mainstream orthodoxy, may be responsible for this accusation yet nothing in his poetry clarifies the issue. What survives is akin to the expression of Abū al-'Atāhiya, against whom the same accusation was levelled (similarly,

his poetry too offers no clarification of the charge, although the source of pique for the political and religious powers of the period is not hard to discern in the constant, if sometimes only implicit, reminder of their inevitable demise). The influence on the *zuhdiyya* which may have stemmed from *Khārijī* poetry is negligible.

Ranging from poems of less than ten lines to poems of over forty verses, the *zuhdiyyāt* are an admixture of general piety, practical wisdom, social etiquette (in small measure) and the *naṣiḥa* of earlier poetry. The most striking formal feature that these poems display is the use of anaphora and parallel phrases; this probably constitutes a borrowing from religious sermon material. Their language is in the main simple and accessible, hence the popularity Abū al-'Atāhiya is said to have enjoyed among the people of the market-place.

Although the *zuhdiyyāt* of Abū al-'Atāhiya may stem from a genuine piety, they exhibit a significant dimension of literary posturing: the poet manipulated some features and motifs of the classical Arabic tradition of poetry; commonly he transmuted the significance of *dār* (pl. *dīyār*) from its conventional meaning, 'abode' (i.e. 'erstwhile campsite of the beloved'), to that of '(this) life (as distinct from the Hereafter)'. His use of *dār* essentially carries the same significance as *dunyā* (world); the manipulation of a number of the essential lexical items of earlier poetry is, in a few striking poems, coupled with a borrowing of the conventional *qaṣīda* structure, *nasīb* to *madiḥ* (although *raḥīl* is missing from this schema, the model is nevertheless manifestly clear; furthermore, the meaning of *raḥīl* is transformed elsewhere by the poet to signify 'passing away'). Further, the *zuhdiyya*'s dominant message of an eschewal of pleasures effectively formed a line of counterpoint against the libertine poetry of this period (the *khamriyya* and *mujūn* poetry); Abū al-'Atāhiya effectively set up his domain of pious poetry as a counter-genre of the wine poem. To this extent the audience of the *zuhdiyya* was a literary one, and not only the *hoi polloi* of the *sūq*. One clue to this feature is the treatment of fate (*al-dahr*) which commonly, within individual poems, constitutes a stepping stone to what emerges as a straightforwardly pious message; in this way the *zuhdiyya* is in contraflow with the poetry of *mujūn*, where an irreligious attitude may be buttressed by treatment of *al-dahr*. In some *zuhdiyyāt* the

transition from the treatment of *al-dahr* to the treatment of Islam effectively provides a structure. A significant number of *zuhdiyyāt* are addressed to an anonymous, reprobate interlocutor who is urged, with echoes of a bacchic lexicon, to abandon his guileless view of fate and, in some cases, to repent.

After the latter half of the third/ninth century the *zuhdiyya* as a genre was in decline; this may be due to developments in mystical poetry and the growing popularity the latter enjoyed. (See *Šūfī literature, poetry*.) With mystical poetry the *zuhdiyya* shared some important themes, notably the treatment of *tawakkul* ('trust in God').

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P. F. KENNEDY

See also: religious poetry

### al-Zuhri, Muḥammad ibn Muslim (d. 124/742)

A celebrated *ḥadīth* scholar of the Umayyad period. He flourished in the pre-literary phase

in the development of *ḥadīth* literature, and his fame thus rests upon his command of orally transmitted material rather than upon written works. His involvements in Umayyad court life – for example, he was tutor to the sons of the caliph Hishām – have earned him a unique place in Muslim historical works. He transmitted not only material relating to the prophet Muḥammad, but also material relating to the Companions of the Prophet. His name accordingly appears frequently in the chains of transmitters of material used by Muslim historians and biographers, not to mention authors of later *ḥadīth* collections. The great extent to which his contemporaries consulted him in regard to prophetic precedent bears witness to the importance of *ḥadīth* material in the religious life of Muslims of his time.

#### Text edition

*al-Maghāzī al-nabawīyya*, S. Dahhan (ed.), Damascus (1981).

B. WEISS

### Zurayq, Quṣṭanṭīn (1909– )

University teacher and Arab nationalist writer. Zurayq was born in Damascus and educated at the American University of Beirut and at the Universities of Princeton and Chicago, from which he received a doctorate in history in 1930. He spent most of his professional life as a university teacher and administrator, mostly at the American University of Beirut, where he was vice-president (1947–9, 1952–4), acting president (1954–7) and distinguished professor of history until his retirement in 1977. He also served as chairman of the Institute of Palestine Studies between 1963 and 1984. Zurayq is probably best known for three works: *al-Wa'y al-qawmī* (1940); *Ma'nā al-nakba* (1949); and *Naḥnu wa-al-mustaqbal* (1977). Zurayq was always a robust spokesman for the Palestinian cause, but also stressed the direct responsibility of the individual Arab states and of Arab society in general for many of the ills afflicting the region.

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P. SLUGLETT

# Glossary

Items in bold denote that a main entry can be found under that heading.

## *Ahl al-Kitāb*

'People of the Book', i.e., non-Muslim confessions (Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity) possessing a written scripture, who enjoy a special status under Islamic rule.

## *akhbār*

See *khābar*.

## 'Alids

Descendants of 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib.

## 'ālim

See 'ulamā'.

## *Amālī*

Literally, 'dictations'; specifically, a book dictated from memory and copied down by a scribe; usually consisting of philological observations (cf. the *Amālī* of al-Qālī).

## amīr

Commander, governor, prince.

## amīr al-umarā'

Commander-in-chief (of, e.g., the caliphal army or guard).

## Anṣār

Literally, 'helpers'; specifically, the supporters of the Prophet **Muḥammad** in Medina, especially after his migration there in 622. An individual is termed an Anṣārī.

## Atabeg (*Atābak*)

A Turkish title dating from the time of the **Saljūqs**. Originally it was bestowed on notables (usually military chiefs) placed in

charge of the tutelage and protection of young princes. As such officials gained increasing power (often by marriage to the mother of their charge), they became virtually independent territorial rulers and established hereditary dynasties. The title was also used by the **Saljūqs** of Anatolia, by the rulers of **Khwārazm**, the **Ayyūbids** and the **Mamlūks**.

## Dahrī; Dahriyya

The term **Dahriyya** (sg. **Dahrī**) was applied to the holders of various materialistic beliefs, especially in the eternity of the world (thus denying Resurrection and the Afterlife); it is sometimes used generally for 'heretic'.

## *dā'i*

Literally, 'he who summons', that is, who invites people to believe in the true religion; used more specifically to refer to propagandists of dissenting groups claiming leadership of the Muslim community (e.g., the 'Abbāsids; various **Shi'i** groups). Under the **Fātimids** the *dā'i al-du'āt* ('chief summoner') was head of religious matters and of the teaching and propagation of the *da'wa* (see below).

## *da'wa*

Call, summons, invitation, e.g., to the true religion; to support the cause of dissenting groups claiming the right to the Imāmate (see below, 'Imām', such as the 'Abbāsīd *da'wa*, the **Ismā'īlī** *da'wa*; also, the content and teachings of this summons, e.g., religious law (*fiqh*).

## *dhikr*

Literally, 'reminding', and the oral mention of this memory. In **Sufism** it refers to the repetition of an ejaculatory litany (*ḥizb*, *wird*), composed by the founder of a **Šūfī** brotherhood (*ṭarīqa*), and often containing the name of God or some other formula, as well as to the

technique of performing this litany (aloud or softly; with accompanying gestures, etc.), to the context (collectively or privately), and to the gathering in which this litany is performed. *Dhikr* is the most common form of prayer in Sūfism.

### faqīh

A specialist in Islamic religious law; see *fiqh*.

### fatwā

A legal opinion issued by a jurist (*muftī*) authorized to deliver such opinions on the basis of Islamic law (see *fiqh*).

### gharaḍ

Literally, 'purpose'; see **genres**, **poetic**; *qaṣīda*.

### ghayba

Absence; in **Shi'ism**, it refers to the absence or occultation of the last in the relevant line of imāms (see below), who has no successor and will remain hidden until his return at a pre-ordained time as the Mahdī ('rightly-guided'), the eschatological saviour whose appearance will precede the End of Days.

### ghazw

Raid, expedition. In pre-Islamic Arabia it referred to inter-tribal raids; in Islamic times, to expeditions in the course of *jihād* (see below). A holy warrior is termed a *ghāzī*.

### hadātha

Modernity, modernism; a term associated with **Adūnis** and other members of the so-called *Shi'r* group of poets.

### hajj

The annual pilgrimage to Mecca, incumbent upon every Muslim who is able (physically and financially) to perform it at least once in his/her lifetime.

### Ḥanafī

Follower of the legal school of **Abū Ḥanīfa**.

### Ḥanbalī

Follower of the legal school of **Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal**.

### Hijra (Hegira)

The emigration of the Prophet **Muḥammad** from Mecca to Medina in September 622. Subsequently (perhaps under 'Umar I; see

**Orthodox caliphate**) the beginning of the Islamic era was fixed as 16 July 622 (1 Muḥarram 1), the beginning of the lunar year.

### Imām

Generally, the individual who leads the prayer and behind whom other Muslims pray. Specifically, one who claims leadership of the Islamic community (Imāmate, *imāma*), in both **Sunni** but more especially **Shi'i** contexts.

### Imāmī, Imāmiyya

Twelver Shi'is (*Ithnā' ashariyya*); see **Shi'is**.

### ism

Name; specifically, that part of the name which is 'given' or 'personal' (also called [*ism*] 'alam), consisting of an adjective (Aḥmad, 'most praised'), a noun (Asad, 'lion'), or a verb (Yazīd, 'he increases'). The use of 'civil' surnames in the Islamic world dates only from recent times. The traditional Arabic name typically consists of the following elements: (1) the *kunya* or agnomen (Abū, 'father of'; Umm, 'mother of'), the second part of which may be refer to an actual offspring of the person in question (Abū Muḥammad, 'father of Muḥammad') or may be a form of honorific (Abū al-Barakāt, 'father of blessings'), etc. Sometimes *kunyas* are associated with certain *isms* (Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar; 'Umar I's daughter Ḥafṣa was married to the Prophet). An individual may have more than one *kunya*; (2) The *ism*; (3) The *nasab*, 'patronymic', expressing the relation of a son (ibn) or daughter (bint) to his/her father (or sometimes mother) and forefathers. The name of a particularly distinguished ancestor at the end of the chain may serve as a surname by which subsequent family members are known (**Ibn Rushd**, after the philosopher's paternal grandfather). The *nasab* may express tribal or ethnic origin (**Ibn Khaldūn**, a descendant of the Spanish Arab tribe of the Banū Khaldūn; **Ibn al-Rūmī**, 'son of the Greek'), or (ancestral) occupation or profession (**Ibn al-Munajjim**, 'son/descendant of the astrologer'; **Ibn al-Nadīm**, 'son/descendant of the boon-companion'; **Ibn al-Qalānisi**, 'son/descendant of the hat-maker'). (4) The *nisba*, 'relation', which indicates place of origin (tribal or geographical: al-Qurashī, 'of Quraysh'; al-Iṣbahānī, 'from Isfahan'), birth or residence (al-Khwārazmī, 'born in Khwārazm'; al-Baghdādī, 'residing in Baghdad'), etc. *Nisbas* may also denote affiliation with a religious



school (al-Ḥanbalī, a follower of **Ibn Ḥanbal**) or a Ṣūfī brotherhood (al-Qādirī, a member of the Qādirīyya *ṭarīqa*), or be derived from one's own or an ancestor's profession (**al-Zajjājī**, 'the glass-maker'). An individual may have several different *nisbas*. (5) The *laqab*, 'honorific' or 'nickname, sobriquet'. This can be of many types: descriptive of a physical characteristic (**al-Jāhīz**, 'the goggle-eyed') or a profession (**al-Sarrāj**, 'the saddle-maker'); honorifics including regnal titles (al-Hādī, 'the rightly-guided'), official titles of honour (Nāṣir al-Dawla, 'Supporter of the Realm'), or prominence in religious learning (Shams al-Dīn, 'sun of the faith'); compounds formed with Dhū/Dhāt ('possessor': Dhū al-Wizāratayn, 'holder of both vizierates', i.e. head of the administration and the military); and many more. The *laqab* often precedes other parts of the name; and an individual may have a number of such titles. Historical personages were generally known by one (or more) of these elements, called the *shuhra* ('repute': e.g. **Abū Nuwās** al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī' al-Ḥakamī).

*isnād*

Chain of authorities, i.e., of those who transmit a historical account (see below, *khabar*), a *ḥadīth*, an anecdote, etc.

*jihād*

Literally, 'struggle, effort'; in legal terminology, military action for the expansion and defence of Islam, holy war against infidels, unbelievers, pagans.

*kātib* (pl. *kuttāb*)

Copyist, scribe, secretary; see **books and book-making**; **secretaries**.

*khabar* (pl. *akhbār*)

Piece of information, account, whether historical, biographical, or a Prophetic tradition; see *ḥadīth*; **historical literature**.

*khānaqāh* (also *khānqāh*)

Ṣūfī lodge, meeting place and home of specific brotherhoods (*ṭarīqa*; see **Sufism**). Other terms for the Ṣūfī lodge include *ribāṭ*; *zāwiya*; Turkish *tekke*.

*laqab*

See *ism*.

*madrasa*

In medieval times, a college for the study of law

and other (ancillary) religious sciences, often attached to a mosque; in modern times, a college for higher religious studies; see **education**.

*maghāzī*

Raids, expeditions; in Islamic times, the term refers specifically to the Prophet's military expeditions during the Medinan period, and to the literary genre devoted to accounts of them; see *futūh*; **Muḥammad**.

*maḥmal* (also *maḥmil*)

The ceremonial litter sent by Islamic rulers to Mecca at the time of the Pilgrimage; its wooden frame was richly decorated with silks, brocades and embroidery (often of gold), and it was carried by a camel. It was in later medieval times a sign of the independence of the rulers who sent it, and was considered a source of blessing (*baraka*).

*majlis* (pl. *majālis*)

Literally, a seat, a seated gathering; a meeting, assembly; also the hall in which such gatherings were held. The term is applied to royal ceremonial audiences; to the 'salons' of rulers and notables in which a variety of philosophical, religious, grammatical and literary topics might be discussed; to musical and drinking gatherings, tribunals, teaching sessions etc. The **Ismā'īlīs** in particular were noted for their 'sessions of wisdom', *majālis al-ḥikma* (see **Fāṭimids**).

*Mālikī*

Follower of the legal school of **Mālik ibn Anas**.

*mamlūk* (pl. *mamālīk*)

Slave; in particular, a military slave; see **Mamlūks**.

*masā'il* (sg. *mas'ala*)

'Questions' – religious, philosophical, grammatical, etc. – on which two scholars dispute, often by correspondence. Such discussions were often collected in works titled *Masā'il* (or *As'ila*) *wa-ajwiba*, 'Questions and Answers'.

*marthiya* (pl. *marāthī*)

Elegy, threnody; see *rithā'*.

*Mashriq*

'East, Orient' (literally, the direction from which the sun rises); used to refer to the

eastern part of the Islamic world, as opposed to the **Maghrib**, the western part (where the sun sets).

*mawlā*

Non-Arab client of an Arab tribe; see *Mawālī*.

*mawlid* (pl. *mawālīd*)

Birthday; in particular, the birthday of the Prophet **Muhammad**, and the festival which celebrates it (*mawlid al-nabī*). This festival was established as a royal ceremonial by the **Fātimids**, who also celebrated the anniversaries of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, of his wife the Prophet's daughter Fātima, of the reigning imām, and several others. **Sunnī mawlid**s are attested from the early seventh/thirteenth century. With the growth of importance of **Sufism** in Egypt the *mawlid* became a popular festival, and from there spread through the Islamic world. The panegyrics in praise of the Prophet performed at these festivals, composed in verse or mixed verse and prose, are also called *mawlid*.

*muftī*

See *fatwā*.

*Muhājir* (pl. *Muhājirūn*)

Emigrant; applied specifically to those Meccans who accompanied **Muhammad** to Medina (see *Hijra*).

*muhtasib*

An official charged with the office of *ḥisba*, whose duties are to 'command good and prohibit evil'. His specific tasks are the inspection of markets, weights and measures, and the maintenance of public morality.

*muruwwa*

Literally, manliness; the sum of a man's physical and related moral qualities. In pre-Islamic times *muruwwa* comprised both material and moral qualities (e.g., the possession of wealth and the related virtues of liberality, hospitality, etc.); in Islamic times the focus shifted more to abstract moral virtues (piety, abstemiousness, etc.).

*nasīb*

See *qaṣīda*.

*nisba*

See *ism*.

*qāḍī* (pl. *quḍāt*)

A judge who administers Islamic law (*sharī'a*; see below), appointed by the caliph or a provincial governor (see above, *amīr*) and representing his authority. Each capital or major town has its *qāḍī*; the chief judge of a city or a region is called *Qāḍī al-quḍāt*.

*qaṣīd*

See *qaṣīda*.

*qutb*

In **Sufism**, the most perfect human being, or one so spiritually perfect as to be a manifestation of the 'Muḥammadan Truth' (*ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya*). Mediating between the Divine and the human, his presence is deemed necessary to the maintenance and survival of the universe.

*ribāt*

A fortified military-religious edifice. In early Islamic times, it denoted forts built for defence as the Muslim conquests advance, later, border forts on the edge of non-Muslim territories; it also came to mean, in the Western Islamic lands in particular, a Ṣūfī lodge (see *kḥānaqāh*).

*risāla* (pl. *rasā'il*)

Treatise, letter, epistle; a written message (sometimes in the form of a poem), as opposed to an oral one. The term later came to mean either official or private correspondence; a brief prose work in the form of a letter or a short treatise; a monograph or essay on a particular topic. See **artistic prose**; **prose**, **non-fiction**, **medieval**.

Sayyid

Literally, 'chief', 'leader'; specifically, a descendant of the Prophet or, for 'Alids (see above), of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib through his son al-Ḥusayn.

Shāfi'ī

Follower of the legal school of **al-Shāfi'ī**.

*sharī'a* (also *shar'*)

Religious law; see *fiqh*.

Sharīf

Literally, 'noble'; specifically, a descendant of the Prophet's clan of the Banū Hāshim (from his great-grandfather Hāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf). For 'Alids (see above), a descendent

of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib through his sons al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn or other of his offspring.

*shuhra*

See *ism*.

*sunna*

Customary procedure, traditional usage; specifically, the *sunna* of the Prophet **Muḥammad**, his sayings and doings and the usages sanctioned by him, considered the guide for the individual Muslim's daily life, and later established as legally binding precedents and as a source of law. See *fiqh*; **Sunnīs**.

*Sūra*

Koranic verse; see **Koran**.

*ṭabaqa* (pl. *ṭabaqāt*)

Class, grouping; see **biography**, **medieval**.

Ṭā'ifa

Refers to the 'party' kings of Spain (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*); see **Spain**.

Ṭālibids

Descendants of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib.

*ṭarīqa*

The Ṣūfī 'path' or way of life (see **Sufism**); more specifically, a Ṣūfī brotherhood. See also above, *khānaqāh*.

'*ulamā'* (sg. 'ālim)

Scholars, learned men; specialists in the religious sciences.

*washshāh*

A composer of *muwashshahāt*; see *muwashshah*.

*wird*

See *dhikr*.

Zāhirī

Member of the legal school of **Ibn Dā'ūd al-Iṣbahānī**.

*zandaqa*

Specifically, Manichean Dualism; also used more generally for 'heresy'.

*zāwiya*

See *khānaqāh*.

*zindīq* (pl. *Zanādiqa*)

One who holds Dualist or heretical beliefs.

*zuhd*

Asceticism; see *zuhdiyya*.

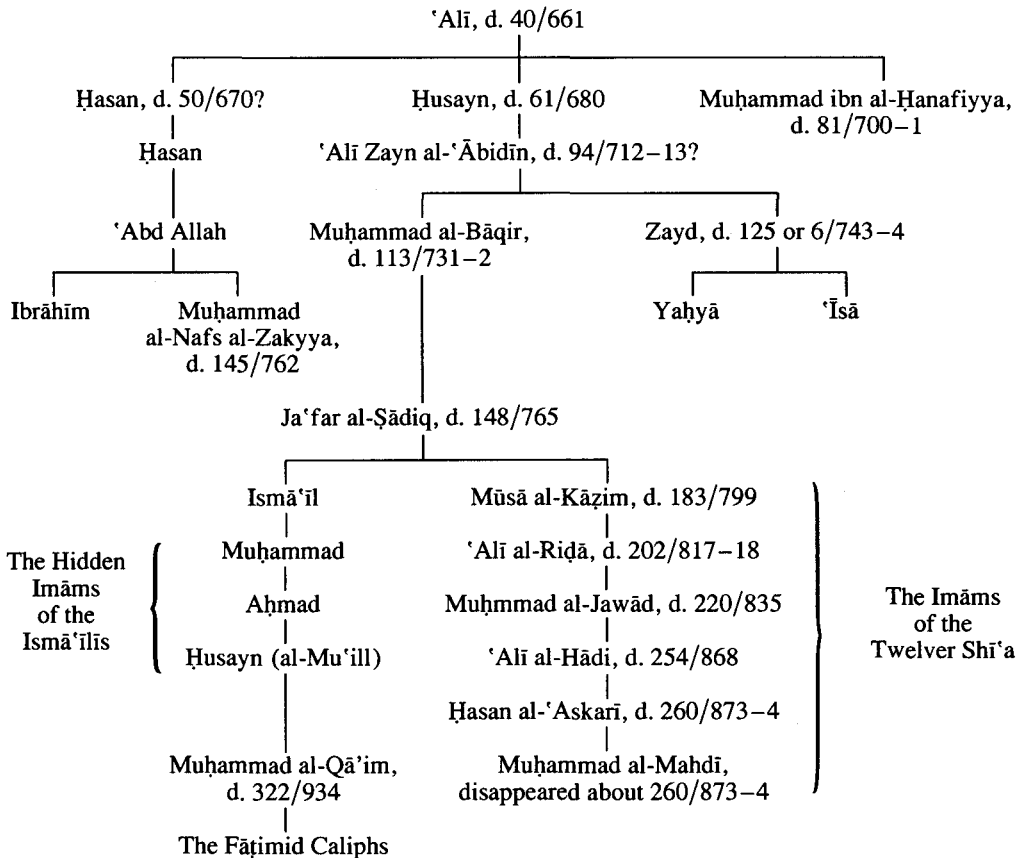
# Chronological tables

## The Orthodox or Rightly Guided Caliphs (al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidān), 11–40/632–61

35–40/656–61 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib  
*Umayyad caliphs*

- 11/632 Abū Bakr
- 13/634 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb
- 23/644 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān

## The House of 'Alī, 40–322/661–934



**The Umayyad Caliphs, 41–132/661–750**

41/661	Mu'āwiyā I ibn Abī Sufyān
60/680	Yazīd I
64/683	Mu'āwiyā II
64/684	Marwān I ibn al-Ḥakam
65/685	'Abd-al-Malik
86/705	al-Walīd I
96/715	Sulaymān
99/717	'Umar ibn 'Abd-al-'Azīz
101/720	Yazīd II
105/724	Hishām
125/743	al-Walīd II
126/744	Yazīd III
126/744	Ibrāhīm
127–32/744–50	Marwān II al-Himār 'Abbāsīd caliphs

**The Spanish Umayyads,  
138–422/756–1031**

138/756	'Abd al-Raḥmān I al-Dākhil
172/788	Hishām I
180/796	al-Ḥakam I
206/822	'Abd al-Raḥmān II al-Mutawassit
238/852	Muḥammad I
273/886	al-Mundhir
275/888	'Abd Allāh
300/912	'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir
350/961	al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir
366/976	Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad, <i>first reign</i>
399/1009	Muḥammad II al-Mahdī, <i>first reign</i>
400/1009	Sulaymān al-Musta'in, <i>first reign</i>
400/1010	Muḥammad II, <i>second reign</i>
400/1010	Hishām II, <i>second reign</i>
403/1013	Sulaymān, <i>second reign</i>
407/1016	Ḥammūdid 'Alī al-Nāṣir
408/1018	'Abd al-Raḥmān IV al-Murtaḍā
408/1018	Ḥammūdid al-Qāsim al-Ma'mūn, <i>first time</i>
412/1021	Ḥammūdid Yahyā al-Mu'talī, <i>first time</i>
413/1022	Ḥammūdid al-Qāsim, <i>second time</i>
414/1023	'Abd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustazhir
414/1024	Muḥammad III al-Mustakfī

416/1025	Ḥammūdid Yahyā, <i>second time</i>
418–22/1027–31	Hishām III al-Mu'tadd <i>Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if</i>

**The 'Abbāsīd Caliphs,  
132–656/749–1258**

132/749	al-Saffāh
136/754	al-Manṣūr
158/775	al-Mahdī
169/785	al-Hādī
170/786	Hārūn al-Rashīd
193/809	al-Amīn
198/813	al-Ma'mūn
201–3/817–19	Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, <i>in Baghdad</i>
218/833	al-Mu'taṣim
227/842	al-Wāthiq
232/847	al-Mutawakkil
247/861	al-Muntaṣir
248/862	al-Musta'in
252/866	al-Mu'tazz
255/869	al-Muhtadī
256/870	al-Mu'tamid
279/892	al-Mu'taḍid
289/902	al-Muktafī
295/908	al-Muqtadir
320/932	al-Qāhir
322/934	al-Rāḍī
329/940	al-Muttaqī
333/944	al-Mustakfī
334/946	al-Muṭi'
363/974	al-Ṭā'i'
381/991	al-Qādir
422/1031	al-Qā'im
467/1075	al-Muqtadī
487/1094	al-Mustazhir
512/1118	al-Mustarshid
529/1135	al-Rāshid
530/1136	al-Muqtafī
555/1160	al-Mustanjid
566/1170	al-Mustaḍī'
575/1180	al-Nāṣir
622/1225	al-Zāhir
623/1226	al-Mustanṣir
640–56/1242–58	al-Musta'ṣim <i>Mongol sack of Baghdad</i>

**The Ḥamdānids, 293–394/905–1004**

*al-Jazīra and Syria*

1. Mosul branch

293/905	Abū al-Hayjā' 'Abd Allāh (governor of Mosul for the Caliph)
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- 317/929 Nāṣir al-Dawla al-Ḥasan  
 358/969 'Uddat al-Dawla Abū  
 Taghlib  
 369/979 *Būyid conquest*  
 379–89/981–91 Ibrāhīm } restored by  
 al-Ḥusayn } the Būyids as  
 joint rulers  
*Conquest of Mosul by the*  
*'Uqaylids, and of*  
*Diyārbakr by the*  
*Marwānids*

2. Aleppo branch

- 333/945 Sayf al-Dawla 'Alī I  
 356/967 Sa'd al-Dawla Sharīf I  
 381/991 Sa'id al-Dawla Sa'id  
 392/1002 'Alī II  
 394/1004 Sharīf II  
*Power seized by the slave*  
*general Lu'lu', and then*  
*conquest by the Fāṭimids*

The Fāṭimids, 297–567/909–1171

North Africa, and then Egypt and Syria

*The Dā'i Abū 'Abd Allāh all-Shī'i, completed*  
*his preparatory work in*  
*298/910*

- 297/909 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī  
 322/934 al-Qā'im  
 334/946 al-Manṣūr  
 341/953 al-Mu'izz  
 365/975 al-'Azīz  
 386/996 al-Ḥākīm  
 411/1021 al-Zāhir  
 427/1036 al-Mustanṣir  
 487/1094 al-Musta'lī  
 495/1101 al-Āmir  
 524/1130 *interregnum; rule by*  
*al-Ḥāfiẓ as regent but not*  
*yet as Caliph*  
 525/1131 al-Ḥāfiẓ  
 544/1149 al-Zāfir  
 549/1154 al-Fā'iz  
 555–67/1160–71 al-'Ādid  
*Ayyūbid conquest*

The Ṭāhirids, 205–59/821–73

Khurasan

- 205/821 Ṭāhir I ibn al-Ḥusayn,  
 called Dhū al-Yaminayn  
 207/822 Ṭalḥa  
 213/828 'Abd Allāh  
 230/845 Ṭāhir II

- 248–59/862–73 Muḥammad  
*Ṣaffārids and Sāmānids*

The Ṣaffārids, 253–c.900/867–c.1495

Sistān

- 253/867 Ya'qūb ibn Layth  
 al-Ṣaffār  
 265/879 'Amr ibn Layth  
 288/901 Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn  
 'Amr  
 296/908 Layth ibn 'Alī  
 298/910 Muḥammad ibn 'Alī  
 298/911 *first Sāmānid occupation,*  
*and usurpations of*  
*Kuthayyir ibn Aḥmad and*  
*Aḥmad ibn Qudām*  
 299/912 'Amr ibn Ya'qūb ibn  
 Muḥammad ibn 'Amr  
 300/913 *second Sāmānid*  
*occupation*  
 310/922 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad  
 ibn Khalaf ibn Layth ibn  
 'Alī (originally appointed  
 governor for the  
 Sāmānids)  
 352/963 Walī al-Dawla Khalaf ibn  
 Aḥmad  
 393/1003 *Ghaznavid occupation*  
 Ṭāhir ibn Khalaf,  
 governor under Ghaznavid  
 suzerainty in the early part  
 of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's  
 reign  
 420/1029 Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, under  
 Ghaznavid suzerainty in  
 the reigns of Mas'ūd and  
 Mawdūd, then after  
 440/1048 under Saljūq  
 suzerainty

The Sāmānids, 204–395/819–1005

Khurasan and Transoxania

- 204/819 Aḥmad I ibn Asad ibn  
 Sāmān, governor of  
 Farghāna  
 250/864 Naṣr I ibn Aḥmad,  
 originally governor of  
 Samarqand  
 279/892 Ismā'il I ibn Aḥmad  
 295/907 Aḥmad II ibn Ismā'il  
 301/914 al-Amīr al-Sa'id Naṣr II  
 331/943 al-Amīr al-Ḥamid Nūḥ I  
 343/954 al-Amīr al-Mu'ayyad  
 'Abd-al-Malik I

- 350/961 al-Amīr al-Sadīd Maṣṣūr I  
 365/976 al-Amīr al-Riḍā Nūḥ I  
 387/997 Maṣṣūr II  
 389/999 'Abd-al-Malik II  
 390–5/1000–5 Ismā'il II al-Muntaṣir  
*Division of territories  
 among Qarakhanids  
 (Transoxania) and  
 Ghaznavids (Khurasan)*

**The Būyids or Buwayhids,  
 320–454/932–1062**

*Persia and Iraq*

1. Line in Fārs and Khūzistān

- 322/934 'Imād al-Dawla 'Alī  
 338/949 'Aḍud al-Dawla  
 Fanā-Khusraw  
 372/983 Sharaf al-Dawla Shīrzil  
 380/990 Ṣamṣām al-Dawla  
 Marzubān  
 388/998 Bahā' al-Dawla Fīrūz  
 403/1012 Sulṭān al-Dawla  
 412/1021 Musharrif al-Dawla Ḥasan  
 415/1024 'Imād al-Dīn Marzubān  
 440/1048 al-Malik al-Raḥīm

- 447–54/1055–62 Fūlād-Sutūn (in Fārs only)  
*Power in Fārs seized by  
 the Shabānkāra'i Kurdish  
 chief Faḍlūya*

2. Line in Kirmān

- 324/936 Mu'izz al-Dawla Aḥmad  
 338/949 'Aḍud al-Dawla  
 Fanā-Khusraw  
 372/983 Ṣamṣām al-Dawla  
 Marzubān  
 388/998 Bahā' al-Dawla Fīrūz  
 403/1012 Qiwām al-Dawla  
 419–40/1028–48 'Imād al-Dīn Marzubān  
*Saljūq line of Qāwurd*

3. Line in Jibāl

- 320/932 'Imād al-Dawla 'Alī  
 335–66/947–77 Rukn al-Dawla Ḥasan

(a) Branch in Hamadān and Iṣfahān

- 366/977 Mu'ayyid al-Dawla Būya  
 373/983 Fakhr al-Dawla 'Alī  
 387/997 Shams al-Dawla  
 412–c.419/1021  
 –c.1028 Samā' al-Dawla (under  
 Kākūyid suzerainty)

(b) Branch in Ray

- 366/977 Fakhr al-Dawla 'Alī  
 387–420/997–  
 1029 Majd al-Dawla Rustam  
*Ghaznavid conquest*

4. Line in Iraq

- 334/945 Mu'izz al-Dawla Aḥmad  
 356/967 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār  
 367/978 'Aḍud al-Dawla  
 Fanā-Khusraw  
 372/983 Ṣamṣām al-Dawla  
 Marzubān  
 376/987 Sharaf al-Dawla Shīrzil  
 379/989 Bahā' al-Dawla Fīrūz  
 403/1012 Sulṭān al-Dawla  
 412/1021 Musharrif al-Dawla Ḥasan  
 416/1025 Jalāl al-Dawla Shīrzil  
 435/1044 'Imād al-Dīn al-Marzubān  
 440–7/1048–55 al-Malik al-Raḥīm  
 Khusraw-Fīrūz  
*Saljūq occupation of  
 Baghdad*

**The Ghaznavids, 366–582/977–1186**

- 366–87/977–97 Sebūktigin  
 387–8/997–8 Ismā'il  
 388–421/998  
 –1030 Maḥmūd  
 421/1030 and  
 432/1041 Muḥammad  
 421–32/1030/41 Mas'ūd I  
 432–?440/1041  
 –?1048 Mawdūd  
 ?440/?1048–9 Mas'ūd II  
 ?440/?1048–9 'Alī  
 ?440–?443/?1049  
 –?1052 'Abd al-Rashīd  
 443–51/1052–9 Farrukh-Zād  
 451–92/1059–99 Ibrāhīm  
 492–508/1099  
 –1115 Mas'ūd III  
 508–9/1115–16 Shīr-Zād  
 509–11/1116–17 Malik Arslan  
 511–?552/1117  
 –?1157 Bahrām Shāh  
 ?552–5/?1157  
 –60 Khusraw Shāh  
 555–82/1160–86 Khusraw Malik

**The Saljūqs, 429–590/1038–1194**

1. Great Saljūqs (Iraq and Persia)  
 429–590/1038–1194

429/1038	Rukn al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn Toghrīl I (Tughril)	423/1032	Hārūn ibn Altuntash (lieutenant of the nominal Khwārazmshāh, Sa'id ibn Mas'ūd of Ghazna, later independent of Ghazna)
455/063	'Aḡud al-Dawla Alp-Arslan	425/1034	Ismā'il Khāndān ibn Altuntash (independent of Ghazna)
465/1072	Jalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh I	432/1041	<i>conquest of Khwārazm by the Oghuz Yabghu, Shāh Malik of Jand</i>
485/1092	Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd I	<b>4. Line of Anūstigin c.470–628/ c.1077–1231, originally as governors for the Saljūqs, latterly as independent rulers in Central Asia and Persia</b>	
487/1094	Rukn al-Dīn Berk-yaruq (Barkiyāruq)		
498/1105	Mu'izz al-Dīn Malik-Shāh II		
498/1105	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad I		
511–52/1118–57	Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar (ruler in eastern Persia 490–552/1097–1157; after 511/1118 supreme Sultan of the Saljūq family)	c.470/c.1077	Anūstigin Gharcha'i
<b>In Iraq and western Persia only:</b>		490/1097	<i>Turkish governor Ekinchi b. Qochqar</i>
511/1118	Mughīth al-Dīn Maḥmud II	490/1097	Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad
525/1131	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dā'ūd	521/1127	'Alā' al-Dīn Atsīz
526/1132	Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl II	551/1156	II-Arslan
529/1134	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd	567/1172	'Alā' al-Dīn Tekish
547/1152	Mu'in al-Dīn Malik-Shāh III	567–89/1172–93	<i>Sultān Shāh ibn II-Arslan, rival ruler in northern Khurasan</i>
548/1153	Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad II	596/1200	'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad
555/1160	Ghiyāth al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh	617–28/1220–31	Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu (?) The exact form of this Turkish name is uncertain) <i>Mongol conquest</i>
556/1161	Mu'izz al-Dīn Arslan	<b>The Ayyūbids, 564–end of the 9th century/1169–end of the 15th century</b> <i>Egypt, Syria, Diyārbakr, the Yemen</i>	
571–90/1176–94	Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl III <i>Khwārazmshāhs</i>		
<b>The Khwārazmshāhs</b>			
<b>1. Afrīghids of Kāth AD 305–385/995</b>			
?–385/?–995	Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad <i>Ma'mūnid conquest</i>	564/1169	al-Malik al-Nāṣir I Ṣalāh al-Dīn (Saladin)
<b>2. Ma'mūnids of Gurgānī</b> 385–408/995–1017		589/1193	al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Imād al-Dīn
c.382/c.992	Abū 'Alī Ma'mūn I	595/1198	al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn
387/997	Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī	596/1200	al-Malik al-'Ādil I Sayf al-Dīn
399/1009	Abū al-'Abbās Ma'mūn II	615/1218	al-Malik al-Kāmil I Nāṣir al-Dīn
407–8/1017	Abū al-Hārith Muḥammad <i>Ghaznavid conquest</i>	635/1238	al-Malik al-'Ādil II Sayf al-Dīn
<b>3. Ghaznavid governors 408–25/1017–34</b>		637/1240	al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb
408/1017	Altuntash	647/1249	al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrān-Shāh



648–50/1250–2	al-Malik al-Ashraf II Muẓaffar al-Dīn <i>Bahrī Mamlūks</i>	694/1295	al-‘Ādil Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā
2. In Damascus		696/1297	al-Manṣūr Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn
582/1186	al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī	698/1299	al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, <i>second reign</i>
592/1196	al-Malik al-‘Ādil I Sayf al-Dīn	708/1309	al-Muẓaffar Rukn-al-Dīn Baybars II al-Jāshankīr
615/1218	al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf al-Dīn	709/1309	al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, <i>third reign</i>
624/1227	al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dā‘ūd	741/1340	al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Abū-Bakr
626/1229	al-Malik al-Ashraf I Muẓaffar al-Dīn	742/1341	al-Ashraf ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kūjūk
634/1237	al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād al-Dīn, <i>first reign</i>	743/1342	al-Nāṣir Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad
635/1238	al-Malik al-Kāmil I Nāṣir al-Dīn	743/1342	al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād al-Dīn Ismā‘īl
635/1238	al-Malik al-‘Ādil II Sayf al-Dīn	746/1345	al-Kāmil Sayf al-Dīn Sha‘bān I
636/1239	al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, <i>first reign</i>	747/1346	al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Ḥājji I
637/1239	al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād al-Dīn, <i>second reign</i>	748/1347	al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Hasan, <i>first reign</i>
643/1245	al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, <i>second reign</i>	752/1351	aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ
647/1249	al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Tūrān-Shāh (with Egypt)	755/1354	al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Hasan, <i>second reign</i>
648–58/1250–60	al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn <i>Mongol conquest</i>	762/1361	al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad
		764/1363	al-Ashraf Nāṣir al-Dīn Sha‘bān II
		778/1376	al-Manṣūr ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī
		783/1382	al-Ṣāliḥ, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥājji, <i>first reign</i>
		784/1382	al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq [Burji]
		791/1389	Ḥājji II ( <i>second reign, with honorific title al-Muẓaffar</i> )
		2. Burji line 784–922/1382–1517	
		784/1382	al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq, <i>first reign</i>
		791/1389	Ḥājji II ( <i>second reign, Bahrī</i> )
		792/1390	al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq, <i>second reign</i>
		801/1399	al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Faraj, <i>first reign</i>
		808/1405	al-Manṣūr ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz
		808/1405	al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Faraj, <i>second reign</i>

**The Mamlūks, 648–922/1250–1517**

*Egypt and Syria*

1. Bahrī line 648–792/1250–1390

648/1250	Shajar al-Durr
648/1250	al-Mu‘izz ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak
655/1257	al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī
657/1259	al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Qutuz
658/1260	al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī
676/1277	al-Sa‘īd Nāṣir al-Dīn Baraka [or Berke] Khan
678/1280	al-‘Ādil Badr al-Dīn Salāmish
678/1280	al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Qalā‘ūn al-Alfī
689/1290	al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl
693/1294	al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, <i>first reign</i>

815/1412 al-‘Ādil al-Musta‘in  
(‘Abbāsīd caliph, pro-  
claimed sultan)  
815/1412 al-Mu‘ayyad Sayf al-Dīn  
Shaykh  
824/1421 al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad  
824/1421 al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭaṭār  
824/1421 al-Ṣāliḥ Nāṣir al-Dīn  
Muḥammad  
825/1422 al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn  
Barsbay  
841/1437 al-‘Azīz Jamāl al-Dīn  
Yūsuf  
842/1438 al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn  
Jaqmaq  
857/1453 al-Manṣūr Fakhr al-Dīn  
‘Uthmān  
857/1453 al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Ināl  
865/1461 al-Mu‘ayyad Shihāb  
al-Dīn Aḥmad  
865/1461 al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn  
Khūshqadam  
872/1467 al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn  
Bilbay  
872/1468 al-Zāhir Timurbughā  
872/1468 al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn  
Qā‘it Bay  
901/1496 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad  
903/1498 al-Zāhir Qānṣūḥ

905/1500 al-Ashraf Jānbalāt  
906/1501 al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn  
Tūmān Bay  
906/1501 al-Ashraf Qānṣūḥ  
al-Ghawrī  
922/1517 al-Ashraf Tūmān Bay  
*Ottoman conquest*

**Muhammad ‘Alī’s Line  
1220–1372/1805–1953**

*Egypt*

1220/1805 Muḥammad ‘Alī Pasha  
1264/1848 Ibrāhīm Pasha  
1264/1848 ‘Abbās I Pasha  
1270/1854 Sa‘īd Pasha  
1280/1863 Ismā‘il (assumed title of  
Khedive in 1284/1867)  
1296/1879 Tawfīq  
1309/1892 ‘Abbās II Ḥilmī  
1333/1914 Husayn Kāmil (assumed  
title of Sultan)  
1335/1917 Aḥmad Fu‘ād I (assumed  
title of King in 1340/  
1922)  
1355/1936 Fārūq  
1371–2/1952–3 Fu‘ād II  
*Republican régime  
established*

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